

Cross-Media Exchange in Weimar Culture: Von morgens bis mitternachts

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That the leading dramatist on the stages of Weimar Germany dismissed film as superficial entertainment should come as no surprise. It was a common polemical gesture, especially in the theatre, where many of his contemporaries shared misgivings about the rival new medium. However, in 1922 when Georg Kaiser publicly disparaged the general cultural trend toward what he labelled cinema style (“*Kinoismus*”), he failed to acknowledge the cinematic elements of his own 1912 play, *Von morgens bis mitternachts*, or its experimental film adaptation in 1920 by Karl Heinz Martin.¹ Conversely Weimar Germany’s premier art film director, Friedrich Wilhelm Murnau, who adapted *Faust* and *Tartuffe* for UFA studios on the big screen, disavowed his own early formation in the theatre when he called upon the cinema to free itself from the oppressive power of stage tradition.² Kaiser and Murnau both exhibit the extraordinarily conflicted relations between theatre and film in Germany during the 1920s, as the two media vied for supremacy and collided in some of Weimar culture’s most prominent figures.

These polemics intervene in a long-standing institutional debate over the emergence of film in the first decade of the 20th century. In Germany the controversy was prolonged and bitter. Opposition came not only from moralists and intellectuals, but also from the theatre, a privileged institution in German culture since the 18th century that saw its monopoly on entertainment challenged by the intrusion of cinema into the public sphere. The two squared off in a turf battle waged over 20 years in daily newspapers and trade journals. If a key impetus for the *Kinodebatte* was the self-interest of rival cultural institutions, its legacy was a rhetoric of competition that polarized theatre and film as fundamentally different and autonomous media.

Yet that polarized rhetoric of competition was misleading. It belied evidence of crossover activity between the two media, as the work of Kaiser and Murnau illustrates. Claims of autonomy by playwrights and filmmakers were undercut by their practice. Indeed in Weimar Germany—as in today’s era of technological change—experimentation between established and new media

became the norm. The intense resistance of the *Kinodebatte* invites a reading against the grain as a symptom of extensive cross-media collaboration and exchange. This approach reveals a welter of experimental activity that drew most people associated with early 20th-century German theatre—among traditional as well as avant-garde dramatists, actors, stage designers and directors of the period—across the contested border to the film industry. It exposes the porousness of that border and the intermediality of the works it produced, both the filmic dimensions of German drama as well as the theatrical dimensions of Weimar cinema.

This article focuses on the history of *Von morgens bis mitternachts* (From Morn to Midnight), including Kaiser's play and the subsequent film adaptation by Karl Heinz Martin, as an exemplary case study of intermediality in Weimar culture. The object is to explore the possibilities of cross-media exchange between theatre and film in the period and so to illuminate the disparity between this collaboration and the debate against it.

I. Kaiser's play

In the canon of German literature *Von morgens bis mitternachts* has the status of a pioneering play in German expressionism, an era in theatre history it initiates and exemplifies. Focusing on its episodic structure as a station play, scholars typically trace its heritage back to Strindberg (or even further back to the medieval passion play) and forward to the epic theatre of Brecht.³ Their frame of reference remains confined to literature, including a range of different styles throughout the text characterized as a pastiche from the history of German drama.⁴ The first acknowledgment of extra-literary influence surfaced among early theatre critics who noted a proximity to film montage, which many condemned as mechanistic and incompatible with the traditional idealist conception of art as an expression of personal experience. Skeptical reviews skewered *Von morgens bis mitternachts* with epithets. "Is this shotgun dramaturgy (*Revolverdramatik*) really the highpoint of contemporary German culture?" one impatient reviewer asked.⁵

An examination of cross-media relations in Weimar culture begins with the changed circumstances of literary production that place German drama in the orbit of cinema well before the 1920s. It shows that the impact on Kaiser's play of 1912 is more pervasive than the general allusion to montage suggests. The filmic connection is specific and historical, referencing the milieu, the formal conventions and the exhibition practice of early German cinema as well as the persona of its first international star. Like its characteristic program of short films, *Von morgens bis mitternachts* entertains with variety, offering the spectator a sequence of cinematic genres in a display of diverse actualities and story scenarios.

Historical context: media crisis of 1912

The immediate historical context of *Von morgens bis mitternachts* put it squarely in the path of a crisis in the media controversy. In 1912 the institutional debate between the theatre lobby and the film industry escalated into open confrontation. That spring the theatre lobby organized a boycott barring all members of the three leading theatre unions from any participation in film production. The film industry countered by negotiating contracts with several prominent dramatists and later that year even founded a joint production company. This manoeuvre effectively undercut the boycott and so was denounced in publications of the theatre lobby, where the rhetoric of the *Kinodebatte* turned hostile. Hauptmann and Schnitzler, who lent their names to the deal, were condemned as unscrupulous materialists, as artists who sold out to mass culture and criminal “cinema accomplices” (*Kino-Mittäter*) who had defected to the enemy and exposed the theatre to financial ruin: “Ich frage mich: Sieht denn niemand die große Gefahr, die in diesem [. . .] Umschwung der Verhältnisse dem ernstesten Theater droht? Besonders jetzt, in dieser krisenreichen Zeit, wo Theater und Pleite sich ergänzende Begriffe geworden?”⁶

Such backlash polemics with accusations of materialism reveal the economic stakes in the *Kinodebatte* for a theatre establishment worried about its survival. In defense of a cultural hierarchy privileging serious theatre, mass culture was represented as “the big danger.” In fact the events of 1912 definitively changed the conditions of cultural production. The emergence of joint contracts and production company put in place an institutional framework that actively fostered cross-media collaboration and provided a basis for the subsequent history of German film, especially its distinctive development in the *Autorenfilm* of 1913 and the art cinema of the Weimar period. For the theatre that signified concessions many were still not prepared to acknowledge. Even so, and though it continued for many years, the *Kinodebatte* with its mantra of autonomy was now on notice.

This media crisis coincides with the genesis of *Von morgens bis mitternachts* in 1912 and represents an important context within which the play needs to be located. Kaiser was an unacknowledged participant in the critical turn of events that year. Although this avant-garde dramatist neither participated in the boycott and its reversal nor signed a contract with the film industry at the time, his early play on the brink of expressionism tacitly registers and affirms German theatre’s incipient ties to the cinema well in advance of the Weimar era.

Urban milieu

The story of the Cashier—a small-town bank teller who rebels against the routine of middle-class life by embezzling a pile of money, and absconding to

the city in search of self-renewal and existential meaning—is dramatized in a series of seven discrete episodes compressed into the period of a single day, as the title says, from morn to midnight. Though it observes the unity of time (with poetic license), the otherwise fragmented structure of place and action in *Von morgens bis mitternachts* signals a departure from classical models of theatre toward a new model inflected by the modern entertainment industry.

Kaiser regularly visited Berlin and frequented the cultural life of the city, which is on display in his scenario. The settings in the “big city of B.” provide a journey through the urban milieu of early cinema with a tour of different sites exploring sports (sports arena), entertainment (nightclub) and religion (Salvation Army hall). When the Cashier attends a six-day cycle race at the *Sportpalast*—a building that opened in 1910 and became identified with a sport imported from America that was the rage in pre-World War I Berlin—the play even offers reportage on a topical event in a trendy urban setting with the kind of documentary authenticity reminiscent of actualities that were popular in early cinema during the first decade of the century.⁷

The “numbers program” format of early cinema

Moving away from traditional German drama, *Von morgens bis mitternachts* abandons the paradigm of three to five acts with a plot contained by the classical unities. While innovation is not unusual for a period that experimented with alternative dramatic forms, what distinguishes Kaiser’s play is a structure that replicates the standard exhibition practice of early cinema, called the numbers program. The typical format of that program in 1910 consisted of ten short films of documentary and fiction genres with heterogeneous appeal.⁸ The sequence was not random but strategically designed to entertain the audience through diversity and contrast. Organized overall in two parts with an intermission, the program culminated in a spectacular finale featuring a star personality.

Von morgens bis mitternachts employs a similar structure. Its scenario is fragmented into discrete episodes without spatial continuity. Each episode places the protagonist in a new setting with a different group of secondary characters. Sudden shifts in style, from naturalism to visionary expressionism, introduce further discontinuities in the text which cannot be reconciled by a title that gestures toward containment through a temporal reference more metaphorical than literal. With its many different settings, its constantly changing ensemble and contrasting styles, Kaiser’s play not only functions like the numbers program of early cinema, its individual scenes also correlate with the film genres represented in that program. In this play subtitled *Stück in zwei Teilen*, Part I deploys the genres of crime drama, comedy of mistaken identity, scenic landscape and fantasy culminating in the sort of visual illusion created by special effects technology common in popular magic or trick films.⁹ After the intermission Part II moves from domestic melodrama through actuality

and dance to a grand finale featuring the central protagonist with a large cast of extras that culminates in another visual illusion with a surprise ending. This correlation with the numbers program illustrates how its principles of diversity and contrast function in Kaiser's play. Though what might be called the variety format or vaudeville aesthetic¹⁰ of *Von morgens bis mitternachts* originally derives from 19th-century popular theatre, it is mediated here by early cinema with its emphasis on fiction and the story film. In effect Kaiser's play reappropriates an earlier theatrical legacy through the cinema, underscoring the historical imbrication of the media beyond any attempt to erect institutional barriers or essentialist distinctions between them.

Dramaturgy shaped by conventions & resources of silent film

While the script relies primarily on staccato exchanges in dialogue alternating with extended lyrical monologues, it also features a dramaturgy shaped by the conventions and resources of silent film. This is already evident in the exposition, where the protagonist is first introduced as a silent figure whose gestures function in the absence of speech. Throughout his encounter with the lady from Italy in the opening scene, the Cashier's emotional turmoil registers solely as a physical event through the movement of hands, mouth, and eyes:

- Dame (*rasch an den Schalter.*) [. . .]
 Kassierer (*streckt die flache Hand hin.*) [. . .]
 Dame (*Sie streift einen Handschuh ab [. . .] sich aufstützend sinkt ihre Hand auf die Hand des Kassierers.*) [. . .]
 Kassierer (*dreht sich über die Hand in seiner Hand. Jetzt ranken seine Brillenscheiben am Handgelenk aufwärts*) [. . .]
 Dame (*sich dem Kassierer zuwendend—trifft in sein Gesicht.*)
 Kassierer (*lächelt*) [. . .]
 Dame (*Dem Kassierer die Hand hinstreckend*) [. . .]
 Kassierer (*Büsche des Bartes wogen—Brille sinkt in blühende Höhlen eröffneter Augen.*)¹¹

In an anarchic moment of desire that will disrupt his staid bourgeois life and change it forever, the sexual awakening of the Cashier courses across his face. In these expressionist stage directions, the intimate pantomime seems scripted for a series of close-up body and head shots with a film camera rather than the distant stage of a theatre.

It was Brecht who first linked the recourse to pantomime in *Von morgens bis mitternachts* with silent film convention, singling out the Salvation Army scene at the end of the play for special comment. On this last stage of his journey through urban culture, after eliminating sports and entertainment as a source of fulfilment, the Cashier turns to religion. In a mission hall filled with evangelical converts, he steps up to the podium to do penance. Ready to renounce the false god of materialism that has ruled his life, the Cashier repudiates money

by literally throwing it away into the crowd. But as the bills fall, the converts fight over them and scatter, exposing their hypocrisy in a wordless pantomime. Brecht exclaimed: “Kaiser macht eine Filmaufnahme!”¹²

Reliance on the technological resources of silent film in this play is also apparent in strategically placed special effects, notably an apparition that blends in and out of view at highpoints of the action. The same spectral figure appears at the end of each main section, underscoring the two-part structure of the cinema numbers program format adopted in Kaiser’s scenario. In the course of his journey, the Cashier twice calls upon nature to reveal some ultimate existential meaning. Both times at that point a scenic object (first a tree, then a chandelier) morphs into a human skeleton, invoking mortality in a confrontation with Death. The curtain line of Part I underscores the ephemeral and hallucinatory character of this tableau: “Ich sagte doch gleich, dass die Erscheinung nur vorübergehend war.”¹³ The return of that vision in Part II anticipates the Cashier’s death with a gesture: “Von morgens bis mitternachts rase ich im Kreise—nun zeigt sein fingerhergewinktes Zeichen den Ausweg.”¹⁴ Framed as a technical display for the audience, the staging here reproduces the kind of spectacle associated with the early cinema of attractions.¹⁵ In the trick films of Guido Seeber, for example, cinematic manipulations provide novelty through the animation of inanimate objects. Kaiser’s play likewise culminates in allegorical *Memento mori*-tableaux with spectacular animation effects.¹⁶

Asta Nielsen: star film persona as model for *Dame*

Scholars, limiting their frame of reference to literary precedents, have identified *Frau Welt* in Baroque literature and Sacher-Masoch’s modern novel, *Venus in Furs*, as sources for the character of the Italian temptress.¹⁷ Given the pervasive cinematic dimensions of the play, an equally plausible model is the star persona of Asta Nielsen, the first international celebrity of German silent cinema. The films of this Danish actress dominated the market in the early 1910s and would not have escaped the attention of Kaiser, a frequent visitor to Berlin. *Abgründe* (1910), Nielsen’s first feature imported from Denmark scandalized German audiences with her sexually explicit dancing. In 1911–1912 she made thirteen feature films in Germany under contract with Deutsche Bioscop, beginning with *Heisses Blut*. From this and other titles in the Asta Nielsen Series, a distinctly eroticized film persona emerged that led the cinema reform movement to protest her pernicious moral influence on spectators and filmmaking throughout Europe: “Asta Nielsen, die weltberühmte ‘Duse des Kientopps’ wird als die Hauptvertreterin der gefährlichen Richtung der ‘sinnlichen Filme’ hingestellt, und es wird ihre ganze Art und Weise, durch Körperverrenkungen sehr bedenklicher Art die Sinnenlust der Zuschauer zu wecken, ebenso die von ihr damit in ganz Europa gemachte Schule als im höchsten Grade verwerflich bezeichnet.”¹⁸

If Nielsen's roles were sexually charged, her dynamic acting style (although she was known for understated rather than overwrought histrionic movement) and facial expressiveness were unusual among film actresses of the period and deemed improper, even pornographic. Her characters in these films have a siren effect on the men around her. In *Der fremde Vogel* (1911) Nielsen plays the role of an alluring foreigner, an American tourist whose visit drives a local farmer to abandon his betrothed, leaving family and home to run away with her. The consequences are fatal, in this case to the woman. Elsewhere, in *Abgründe* as in many other Nielsen films of the period like *Die Verräterin* (1912), *Totentanz* (1912), and *Das Mädchen ohne Vaterland* (1912), when an affair sours, the woman is implicated in the death of her lover. In the dynamics of this masochistic patriarchal fantasy, invariably Nielsen's role is to be the catalyst of tragedy.

Nielsen's femme fatale persona evokes the impact of *Dame* on her entrance in *Von morgens bis mitternachts*. At the beginning of the play, this figure sets the plot in motion by stimulating male fantasy through her exotic and erotic presence. Dressed in silk, fur, and expensive jewellery, the lady from Italy sweeps into the bank with a trail of perfume, disrupting the work environment and distracting all the men, bank officials and customers alike.¹⁹ After she leaves, they speculate that the mysterious foreigner with her urgent request for a large sum of money is a swindler, a "modern siren."²⁰ Though mistaken that perception seduces the Cashier, motivating his vitalist quest for freedom and adventure with fatal consequences.

In *Von morgens bis mitternachts* theatre encounters the cinema at a transitional moment in the development of the German film industry. By 1912 short films for the numbers program are being displaced by feature-length narrative films produced in series with big-name screen stars.²¹ Kaiser's play registers the impact of both forms along with the star persona of Asta Nielsen.

Early reception of the play

Max Reinhardt predicted a brilliant theatrical future for Kaiser and negotiated a contract with him for the premiere of *Von morgens bis mitternachts* at the Deutsches Theater. However censorship intervened for the duration of World War I and kept the play off the Berlin stage. The pathos of the final scene invited trouble. The Cashier's suicide, the failure of his Nietzschean search for new values ending in self-annihilation, was a provocative gesture unlikely to boost wartime morale. Nevertheless when the play did eventually premiere in Munich in 1917, the finale garnered praise as a bold and effective theatrical tableau. Negative comments focused instead on its concessions to modern technology that violated traditional aesthetics and put Kaiser's play beyond the pale of art: "Was diese sieben Bilder in ihrem Werte einschränkt, ist das Überwiegen der Technik über die ursprüngliche dichterische Kraft, mit der die Idee

ersonnen ist.”²² Critic Alfred Kerr dismissed the episodic scenario with elaborate lighting effects culminating in an apocalyptic vision and the crucifixion of the martyred hero in more pointed terms: “Alles das erweckt mir die Vorstellung von Tricks, die nach Tieferem klingen, ohne tiefer zu sein. Anspruchsvoller Film.”²³ Among theatre critics the play predictably invoked the defensive *Kinodebatte* rhetoric of competition and technophobia targeting film.

Despite the misgivings of some reviewers about *Von morgens bis mitternachts* over its filmic dramaturgy, others acknowledged the play’s “analytical engagement with the problems of its time.”²⁴ The protagonist’s suicide, following disillusionment and betrayal his final exit strategy from a world in the grasp of money’s fraudulent power (“das Geld ist der armseligste Schwindel unter allem Betrug”), represented a forceful indictment of capitalism.²⁵ After World War I the relevance of this critique intensified. Currency rates that had remained stable for more than a generation dropped precipitously at that time, creating widespread fear of proletarianization in the middle class. By early 1920 the discourse on capitalism in *Von morgens bis mitternachts* resonated even more urgently than in 1912, resignified by the effects of postwar inflation.²⁶

II. Karl Heinz Martin’s film adaptation

It was in this post-WWI climate that Karl Heinz Martin undertook a film adaptation that addressed one of the traumatic experiences of early Weimar Germany. In a recent analysis Jürgen Kasten shows how Martin’s film takes up features of expressionist art through a process of appropriation.²⁷ While the essay backtracks somewhat on this point at the end—praising *Von morgens bis mitternachts* for stylistic purity as “eines der reinsten filmischen Darstellungskonzepte überhaupt”—it provides evidence for what might be more aptly called the intermedial character of the film. Kasten focuses on the visual arts, attributing the two-dimensional linearity of the décor to the influence of expressionist painting and graphic design. However, since the impetus for that choice actually came via the theatre, its role in mediating the style of the film décor also needs to be examined. It is important to track the path of cross-media relations. In the case of *Von morgens bis mitternachts*, how did the play become a film? Or to rephrase that question with Kasten’s concept of appropriation (*mediale Aneignung*), a process of adapting one medium to the requirements and possibilities of another: just how did the process of cross-media appropriation work?

In September 1919 a young director made theatre history with the premiere of Ernst Toller’s *Die Wandlung*. This production, regarded as the breakthrough of theatrical expressionism in Berlin, turned Karl Heinz Martin into a celebrity and created new opportunities in his career. Early the following spring, in February 1920, Reinhardt recruited him as both the director for the

Grosses Schauspielhaus and general manager for all the Reinhardt theatres in Berlin. The same month his name surfaced in Kaiser's correspondence about preliminary plans for the film adaptation of *Von morgens bis mitternachts*.²⁸ In yet another contemporaneous development, *Das Cabinet des Dr. Caligari* premiered on February 27, 1920.

This constellation of events suggests that *Von morgens bis mitternachts* represented an attempt to build on the success of *Die Wandlung* by importing the project of theatrical expressionism into film with the same resources that had made it successful in the theatre: a vanguard expressionist play; a leading expressionist theatre director along with his acting ensemble enhanced by the participation of Ernst Deutsch, one of the paradigmatic expressionist actors in the German theatre;²⁹ and Robert Neppach, the set designer who collaborated with Martin on *Die Wandlung*. While *Caligari* has also been linked obliquely to *Die Wandlung* as the first stage production in Berlin with sets in the style of expressionist easel painting,³⁰ the connection with the crossover theatrical team that produced the film version of *Von morgens bis mitternachts* is direct and pervasive. Even so, the adaptation that emerged was neither filmed theatre nor simply derivative theatrical expressionism. Recent scholars have characterized it as an avant-garde film, indeed a more radical experiment than *Caligari*.³¹ In fact *Von morgens bis mitternachts* goes well beyond *Caligari*, not only in the extreme two-dimensional stylization of its décor, which Kasten privileges, but also in its innovative use of cinematography. Martin collaborated on this project with Carl Hoffmann, one of the most experienced cameramen of the period, who adapted Kaiser's text to historically specific possibilities of the cinema in 1920 in ways that have not been fully recognized.³²

Hoffmann belonged to the first generation of filmmakers in the 1910s, who learned the trade by doing everything. He later recalled that a cameraman in those early years photographed, developed and edited the films, "ein Mädchen für Alles."³³ As a member of the old guard, Hoffmann's experience encompassed the entire production process. By 1920 he had more than 80 films to his credit with most of the major directors of the period including Rippert, Neuss, Oswald, May, Schünzel, Leni, Murnau, and Lang. Hoffmann's specialty was the film of the fantastic, including special effects developed for the *Homunculus* series, but he also had expertise in other film genres, particularly the detective film. Under the aegis of this veteran cinematographer the adaptation of *Von morgens bis mitternachts* came to exhibit many sophisticated film techniques.

Editing (parallel montage) and genre (detective film)

Hoffmann was the only member of the production team with experience in editing. In this area he intervened to update the filmic dramaturgy of the play by replacing its numbers structure with later developments in narrative cinema.

For example, formerly consecutive scenes are now linked by parallel montage as simultaneous or more complex multi-temporal events. Through this editing technique the Lady's visit to the bank in the opening scene is crosscut with other locations (both the hotel where her son waits impatiently for cash as well as the shop where he earlier had found a painting he wanted to purchase), thereby coordinating related events that motivate her presence in the bank. This alternates with flashbacks introduced to render subjective thoughts and memories of the Cashier. At the end of the film flashback memories, recapitulating important stages of his journey, also structure the final scene. Thus parallel montage integrates different levels of time, place and interiority in a layered narrative that exhibits a denser cinematic texture.

Overall the sequencing of the Cashier's story is adapted to the conventions of the detective film, the most popular serial film genre of the postwar period. The seven scenes of the original play are redistributed into a prototypical five-act crime scenario, representing 1) crime, 2) discovery, 3) escape, 4) chase, and 5) capture. After the embezzlement in act one, parallel montage divides the action into two synchronic plot lines. Cross-cutting between the clerk on the run and the law on his trail, it recasts the narrative in subsequent acts as a sustained chase with action and suspense. Added scenes feature policemen, telegraphers and newspaper boys engaged in a manhunt across the city. The intertitles circulate news of the suspect's escape and the warrant for his arrest. Meanwhile at the top of many sets and on one occasion at the centre of an insert shot, a clock with large hands functions like a stop watch with a deadline reminding the Cashier—and the spectator—that time is running out. To the extent that the cumulative effect of all these changes in the scenario is a proximity to generic conventions of the detective film, it becomes apparent that what is known as a high-culture art film is also inflected by popular cinema.³⁴

Close-up emblematic shot of money with thematic emphasis on inflation

Whatever Hoffmann's role in the editing of *Von morgens bis mitternachts*, his control over its cinematography was total. Act one opens with a montage of establishing shots introducing the bank setting: iron gates over the exterior entrance give way to massive double doors over the interior vault, opening slowly to reveal a shadowy figure that walks out of depth toward the camera until the vault closes back over him. The last shot in the series shows the Cashier at work behind bars in his narrow window, hunched over the till counting coins. This introductory montage uses animation to portray the institution of the bank as a prison and the Cashier as a creature caught in its uncanny power. The camera further defines the nature of that power, as it cuts in to progressively closer shots within the scene. An extreme close-up features banknotes deposited by a wealthy client. Large paper bills marked only with zeros, they

represent a sign of run-away inflation, the emptiness of currency devalued to nothing. An overdetermined emblematic image, the number zero has no value, like the paper money that serves here as its carrier. (In Germany the gold standard had been abolished in 1914.) Both signify absence; together they reinforce the collapse of all economic and cultural value into a void.³⁵ These are the banknotes the Cashier will stuff into his coat at the end of act one, then spend freely, and later hold up and demonstratively fling to the crowd at the end of act five. Here Hoffmann's camera work in the film focuses on money as image and spectacle in terms that foreground the postwar inflation trauma.

Expressionist subjectivity: death mask dissolve

Hoffmann's cinematography also introduces a range of special effects in *Von morgens bis mitternachts*. One of his trademarks from the *Homunculus* series is the dissolve (*Überblendung*), used here to convey the hallucinatory subjectivity of the Cashier. With this technique the main scenic challenge of the dramatic text finds a uniquely cinematic solution onscreen. Its importance is enhanced by a far-reaching change in the scenario that replaces the visions of the play with new ones in the film.

The encounter that precipitates the Cashier's awakening in a quintessential expressionist *Aufbruch* occurs at the bank in act one, when the touch of the Lady's hand arouses his repressed life instinct. Then a Beggar Woman appears and, extending her hand through the counter window, asks for alms. While the Cashier watches from the left, a dissolve on the right side of the frame suddenly transforms the face of the beggar into a mask imprinted with a skull. This composition is a graphic match with the earlier shot, linking both women to the male gaze in a fantasy around the allure of money, sex, and death.

The death mask dissolve becomes a recursive figure throughout the film that completely supplants and redefines the *Memento mori*-motif in the play. The key change is a shift in gender. Instead of the Cashier's encounter with a male skeleton, that he welcomes and with whom he closely identifies in the play,³⁶ he meets the externalized threat of a female death mask from which he recoils in horror. Not twice, but six times. The dissolve recurs in encounters with the Beggar Woman, Daughter, Prostitute, Dancer, and Salvation Army Girl.³⁷ This enhanced death motif represents more than a traditional Baroque *vanitas* allusion to human mortality. The obsessive repetition of a (literal) femme fatale connects *Von morgens bis mitternachts* to other films of the period with feminized monsters and phallic women in a misogynist "discourse of castration" in Weimar cinema, that vividly thematizes male anxiety about women's changing social and economic roles after World War I.³⁸ Indeed the very same motif resurfaces in the genre of the street film, in *Die Strasse* (1923), where another bourgeois antihero on a quest for adventure in the modern metropolis encounters a death mask dissolve in face of a streetwalker.³⁹

The dynamics are familiar. A real or implied transaction over money triggers a punitive fantasy around social mobility (desire for sex and wealth countered by fear of rejection and poverty)—aggravated here by a monetary crisis in Germany that had escalated into catastrophic hyperinflation by 1923.

The death mask dissolve in *Von morgens bis mitternachts* is consistently framed as an object of the gaze. Technically this is achieved in one of two ways: the Cashier and what he sees appear together within the same frame using the cinematic device of a split-screen or they are incorporated through separate glance-object shots into a sequential POV structure. In both variants the dissolve is shown to be subsidiary to the character and linked to his vision. The dissolve cues a metaphorical substitution, replacing optical vision (the human face he sees) with perceptual vision (the death mask he imagines) generated by the mental process of the Cashier. Hoffmann's innovative camera work in effect mobilizes the resources of trick photography to render the subjectivity of expressionist drama. In later films of the Weimar period he will continue to develop more elaborate POV dissolve sequences to express subjectivity in *Dr. Mabuse* (1921/1922), *Variété* (1925), and *Faust* (1926).⁴⁰

Reception of the film

Von morgens bis mitternachts never had a public screening in Weimar Germany. Although the film passed censorship and was promoted in the trade papers for a year, it was not picked up by a single theatre. Rudolf Kurtz, director of Ilag-Film, the small company that produced the film, speculated that the radical stylization, which reduced the actors to formal elements in the décor, precluded audience identification with the characters and so blocked the commercial distribution of the film.⁴¹ Neppach's design, more stylized than the sets for *Caligari*, seems to have compromised even the most basic marketing of the film. While often praised as consistent with other elements of the film,⁴² the design actually worked at cross purposes with Hoffmann's visionary cinematography. Although some have analyzed the aesthetics of *Von morgens bis mitternachts* in terms of a coherent avant-garde Brechtian distanciation,⁴³ its set design and camera work were in conflict. The latter promoted subjectivity and character psychology, emphasizing the Freudian mechanism of projection through the use of dissolves and subjective camera that invite *Einfühlung* rather than *Verfremdung*. Neppach's design, which most film historians have championed, was problematic. Hoffmann also sensed this discrepancy as the source of the problem. As he put it: "Ich stehe auf dem Standpunkt, dass die Wucht eines Bildes vom Objektiv ausgehen muss, dass die Dekoration gleichsam dem Objektiv 'entgegengebogen' werden muss."⁴⁴ He believed in the primacy of the camera—the reverse priority of *Von morgens bis mitternachts*, where scene design trumped the camera. Perhaps that was the cost of having a theatre director in charge of the film.

Kaiser was disappointed by its lack of resonance. He had pressed his publisher to negotiate a lucrative contract with the film production company.⁴⁵ But his stature as a writer was allied with the theatre, even if it failed to provide an adequate income from the cross-marketing strategy devised for *Von morgens bis mitternachts*. By 1922 he had become the foremost dramatist in the repertory of German theatre with over 40 premieres throughout the country as well as productions in major cities around the world (New York, Moscow, Prag, Madrid, Tokyo, Rome, Warsaw, Amsterdam, London, Paris, Budapest, Copenhagen, and Sydney).⁴⁶ Prolific, successful and associated with the innovations of expressionist drama, he was hailed by critics as the “king” of the German stage, successor to Hauptmann and Strindberg, the “writer of the moment.”⁴⁷ This also made him an arbiter of public opinion, a cultural authority consulted for his views on contemporary debates.

It was at this time in response to a survey in the art journal, *Das Kunstblatt*, that Kaiser publicly distanced himself from the cinema, dismissing film as a form of dilettantism not worth serious consideration. Compared with the enduring mandate of expressionism, as he put it, *Kinoismus* is a transitory phenomenon, nothing more than a passing fad.⁴⁸ However the discrepancy between his public statements and his artistic practice invites scrutiny. Kaiser’s statements revisit conservative polemics that ally cinema with popular entertainment opposed to the high-culture art with which he identified. Nonetheless the filmic dramaturgy of his plays—not only *Von morgens bis mitternachts*—along with continuing efforts to cross-market his plays as films document an ongoing engagement with the cinema despite his ambivalence toward the medium.⁴⁹

Nebeneinander (1923), the final play in a trilogy that began with *Von morgens bis mitternachts*, satirizes film through the character of Neumann. Kaiser’s conservative criticism of the cinema is personified in this unscrupulous opportunist who exploits people and movies alike as opportunities for a profitable business transaction.⁵⁰ Neumann, the pragmatic “new man” of the moment (successor to the utopian *Neuer Mensch* of German expressionist drama), acts here as a spokesman for the film industry. The last line of the play is spoken by his business partner, unappealingly characterized as a fat stock market speculator, who puts up the money for the deal. “*Ex Kino lux!*” he exclaims, punning a cynical inversion of the Latin phrase *ex oriente lux*.⁵¹ Rather than the light of divine inspiration from cultures of the East, the implication is that Western urban culture seeks false enlightenment in the trivial images of the commercial movie screen. Thus *Nebeneinander* once again engages the *Kinodebatte*, now openly siding with a critique of the film industry as a front for capitalist greed and shallow consumerism. This points to what remained throughout the 1920s a critical dilemma for the theatre in Weimar Germany. Like so many others, Kaiser was caught in a double bind between acknowledgment and disavowal of the powerful presence of cinema in his culture and, of necessity, in his own work as well.

Much has changed since then. When the *Schaubühne* in Berlin revived *Von morgens bis mitternachts* in 1993, critics noted the exceptional visual power of a stage production shaped by allusions to film history flowing from Weimar cinema: “Die kühnsten Bilder aber scheinen aus dem Kino zu stammen: aus den Filmen Friedrich Wilhelm Murnaus, Fritz Langs und ihrer Epigonen. Schon am Anfang steht eine *Nosferatu*-Nummer.”⁵² Establishing a cinematic context for the production, the iconography of the opening scene cited Murnau’s classic horror film in a startling image of the Cashier as a gaunt, dark-eyed vampire. Today theatre in Germany actively seeks a connection with the mass media. This posture—a postmodern affirmation of border crossing—is fundamentally different from the hostility among theatre critics toward the new medium of film in the early years of German cinema. Even in the era of the *Kinodebatte*, however, the closed rhetoric was belied by a more open practice. Then as now, this is well illustrated by the cross-media exchange evident throughout the history of *Von morgens bis mitternachts*.

¹Georg Kaiser, “Ein neuer Naturalismus??” *Werke* IV. Ed. Walter Huder. (Berlin: Propyläen, 1971), 572.

²See my essay on this issue, “The debate about stage tradition in Weimar cinema: Murnau’s *Herr Tartüff*.” *Überschreitungen: Dialoge zwischen Literatur- und Theaterwissenschaft, Architektur und Bildender Kunst*. Ed. Jörg Sader. (Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2002), 257–67.

³See for example the commentary of Walter Huder, editor of Kaiser’s collected works in *Werke* VI. (Berlin: Propyläen, 1972), 852; also Ernst Schürer, *Georg Kaiser und Bertolt Brecht*. (Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum, 1971), 52–53. More recent studies of the play in the context of theatrical expressionism allude to its episodic structure as an exemplary model for the “interruptive dramaturgy that [. . .] would become the heart of Brechtian dramaturgical method.” David F. Kuhns, *German Expressionist Theatre*. (London: Cambridge, 1997), 232. See also Michael Patterson, *The Revolution in German Theatre 1900–1933*. (Boston: Routledge, 1981), 62.

⁴“Ein Kenner hat die Auswahl getroffen, aber aus einer Komposition, die von Grabbe bis zu Wedekind und Sternheim orientiert ist, keine *neue* [sic] stilistische Einheit geschaffen. Es ist ein Literaturdrama geworden [. . .] die geschickte Synthese eines Kundigen.” Richard Elchinger, *Münchener Neueste Nachrichten*, 30.IV.1917, reprinted in Günter Rühle, *Theater für die Republik 1917–1933 im Spiegel der Kritik*. (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1967), 58–60. Compare Walter Huder’s commentary in the edition of Kaiser’s play he edited for Reclam *Universal-Bibliothek* (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1970), 67–77.

⁵Karl Strecker, *Tägliche Rundschau*, 18.I.1918, cited in Rüdiger Steinlein, *Theaterkritische Rezeption des expressionistischen Dramas*. (Kronberg im Taunus: Scriptor, 1974), 163.

⁶Erich Oesterheld, “Wie die deutschen Dramatiker Barbaren wurden.” *Die Aktion*, 26. II. 1913, reprinted in Anton Kaes, ed., *Kino-Debatte*. (Tübingen: Niemayer, 1978), 100. For further discussion of the events in 1912, see also Helmut H. Diederichs, *Anfänge deutscher Filmkritik*. (Stuttgart: Robert Fischer & Uwe Wiederoither, 1986), 46–54.

⁷Egon Erwin Kisch later wrote a famous essay about the six-day cycle race phenomenon in Germany which memorializes Kaiser’s play, “Elliptische Tretmühle” (1926). *Nichts ist erregender als die Wahrheit: Reportagen aus vier Jahrzehnten*. Ed. Walther Schmieding. (Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1979), vol. 1, 168–72.

⁸See the analysis of “*das Kino-Musterprogramm von 1910*” in Corinna Müller, *Frühe deutsche Kinematographie*. (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1994), 12ff. Cf. also fn. 29 on film genres, 248.

⁹Cinematic transformation techniques through stop motion and substitution splicing were pioneered in France by Méliès, whose films were also widely distributed in Germany at the time.

See Barry Salt, *Film Style and Technology: History and Analysis*. (London: Starword, 1983). Also Thomas Elsaesser, ed., *Early Cinema*. (London: BFI, 1990), 90, 97ff.

¹⁰Henry Jenkins, *What made pistachio nuts? Early sound comedy and the vaudeville aesthetic*. (New York: Columbia U P, 1992).

¹¹Kaiser, *Werke I*, 472–73.

¹²Bertolt Brecht, “Aus Notizbüchern” (17.VI.1921). *Gesammelte Werke* 15. Ed. Elisabeth Hauptmann. (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1967), 58.

¹³Kaiser, *Werke I*, 484.

¹⁴Kaiser, *Werke I*, 517.

¹⁵This term is the dominant concept for early cinema until 1907. See Tom Gunning, “The Cinema of Attractions: Early Film, Its Spectator and the Avant-Garde.” Elsaesser, *Early Cinema*, 56–62.

¹⁶See esp. Seeber’s early animation films, *Prosit Neujahr* (1909) and *Die Geheimnisvolle Streichdose* (1910). Annika Schoemann, *Der deutsche Animationsfilm: von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart 1909–2001*. (Sankt Augustin: Gardez, 2003), 85–90. Contrast my filmic attribution of these effects with Gerhard Knapp’s analysis of the two tableaux which interprets their iconicity in term of *Bühnenwirksamkeit*. “Georg Kaisers expressionistische Bildinszenierungen,” *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur neueren Germanistik* (1999): 237–44.

¹⁷Richard William Sheppard, “Unholy Families: The Oedipal Psychopathology of Four Expressionist *Ich-Dramen*.” *Orbis Litterarum* 41 (1986): 369.

¹⁸“Protest gegen Asta Nielsen,” *Bild und Film* (December 1912). *Asta Nielsen, Ihr Leben in Fotodokumenten, Selbstzeugnissen und zeitgenössischen Betrachtungen*. Ed. Renate Seydel. (Berlin: Henschelverlag, 1981), 69. Note that the star image of this film actress is linked by analogy with the theatrical celebrity, Eleonora Duse, in terms of her supposedly ennobling artistic influence on the medium—a claim disputed here by Nielsen’s critics in the cinema reform movement.

¹⁹Several publicity shots of Nielsen in 1912 introduce the actress in star photos wearing gowns with plunging necklines and furs in Seydel, *Asta Nielsen* 68, 72. See other similar photos from this period in Nielsen’s autobiography, *Die Schweigende Muse*. (München: Wilhelm Heyne, 1979), 156, 158, 193.

²⁰Kaiser, *Werke I*, 471.

²¹Corinna Müller, “The Emergence of the Feature Film in Germany between 1910 and 1911.” *Before Caligari: German Cinema, 1905–1920*. Ed. Paulo Cherchi Usai. (Pordenone: La Giornate del Cinema Muto, 1990), 94–113.

²²Richard Elchinger in Rühle, *Theater für die Republik*, 59.

²³Kerr, *Die Welt im Drama*. (Berlin: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1964), 256–58. Compare other reviews of early productions in Steinlein, *Theaterkritische Rezeption des expressionistischen Dramas*, 160–71 and Peter Tyson, *The Reception of Georg Kaiser, Texts and Analysis*, vol. 1. (New York: Peter Lang, 1984), 27–48. For an analysis of the more recent reception of Kaiser’s play, see Audrone B. Willeke, *Georg Kaiser and the Critics: A Profile of Expressionism’s Leading Playwright*. (Columbia: Camden House, 1995), 81–86.

²⁴“Kaiser ringt noch immer mit den Elementen, aus denen die literarische ‘Moderne’ zusammengesetzt ist. Aber es kann auch nicht einen Augenblick zweifelhaft sein, daß nur wenige unserer jüngsten ‘Ringer,’ vielleicht sogar keiner außer Kaiser, soviel begründete Aussicht haben, von der analytischen Beschäftigung mit den Problemen der Gegenwart in absehbarer Zeit zur Synthese neuer, in die Zukunft weisender Werte zu gelangen.” Richard Braungart, *Münchener Zeitung*, 30.IV.1917. Rühle, *Theater für die Republik*, 60.

²⁵Kaiser, *Werke I*, 515.

²⁶The heightened postwar relevance of Kaiser’s play is emphasized by Siegfried Jacobsohn: “Jede Dichtung ist ein Bekenntnis aus ihrer Zeit [. . .] Hier aber wird förmlich das Verhängnis der Zeit eingefangen: die sich aus blinder Gier nach Besitz um ihr Heil bringt [. . .] Georg Kaisers künstlerisches Verdienst ist, dass er ein Sinnbild gibt [. . .] Es geht hier nicht um den einen Amokläufer: es geht um das Amokläufertum einer Periode, die [. . .] der Hölle zujagt.” *Das Jahr der Bühne*, vol. 8 (1918–1919): 189–92. Reprinted in Tyson, *Reception of Georg Kaiser*, 36–37.

²⁷Kasten has emphasized this point in many articles on the film, first in *Der Expressionistische Film*. (Münster: MAKS, 1990), 52–60, esp. 54; then in “Filmstil als Markenartikel. Der

expressionistische Film und das Stilexperiment *Von morgens bis mitternachts*." *Die Perfektionierung des Scheins. Das Kino der Weimarer Republik im Kontext der Künste*. (München: Fink, 2000). Ed. Harro Segeberg, 37–65, esp. 49; finally also in the condensed version of this essay in English, "On Karl Heinz Martin's *From Morn to Midnight*." *Expressionist Film, New Perspectives*. Ed. Dietrich Scheunemann. (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2003), 157–72, esp. 164.

²⁸"Augenblicklich arbeiten Martin und ich an einem Filmprojekt; über das Anfangsstadium sind wir noch nicht hinausgekommen, aber wir entwickeln Energie." Letter 96 dated 21.II.1920. *Georg Kaiser in Sachen Georg Kaiser: Briefe 1916–1933*. Ed. Gesa M.Valk. (Leipzig and Weimar: Gustav Kiepenheuer, 1989), 119.

²⁹Among his contemporaries in expressionist performance Deutsch was considered "the quintessential *Schrei* ecstatic actor" along with Fritz Kortner and Werner Krauss. Kuhns, *German Expressionist Theatre*, 114. For an overview of his early media career on stage and screen, see Jürgen Kasten, "Ernst Deutsch—Ekstase eines Flagelanten." *Grenzgänger zwischen Theater und Kino: Schauspielerporträts aus dem Berlin der Zwanziger Jahre*. Ed. Knut Hickethier. (Berlin: Ästhetik und Kommunikation, 1986), 127–42.

³⁰Barry Salt called it entertainment industry opportunism in "From German Stage to German Screen." Usai, *Before Caligari*, 402–23.

³¹Kasten, "From Morn to Midnight," 164; "Filmstil als Markenartikel," 60. See also Inge Degenhardt, "'Von morgens bis mitternachts rase ich im Kreise,' Vom expressionistischen Schauspiel zum filmischen Denkspiel." *Code-Wechsel. Texte im Medienvergleich*. Ed. Ernest W.B. Hess-Lüttich. (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1990), 93–126. —Restored with intertitles in 1993, Martin's film is available at the *Filmmuseum Berlin—Deutsche Kinemathek* among other archives in Germany.

³²Kasten details many film techniques, but without acknowledging Hoffmann. As will become apparent, his evaluation also differs from mine.

³³Carl Hoffmann, "Der Kameramann als Mädchen für Alles." *Film-Kurier*, Nr. 84, 7.IV.1928. See also his statement in *Filmkünstler. Wir über uns selbst*. Ed. Hermann Treuner. (Berlin: Sibyllen-Verlag, 1928): "Damals mußte der Operateur noch alles machen, Drehen, Entwickeln, Belichten und den Film auch selbst schneiden."

³⁴This hybrid genre-mixing represents further evidence that undercuts Kasten's claim about the 'stylistic purity' of *Von morgens bis mitternachts*. One might also argue this point in terms of the different kinds of border crossing involved here: *intermedial* borders between theatre and cinema as well as *intramedial* borders within the film industry between high- and low-culture film genres.

³⁵Bernd Widdig, *Culture and Inflation in Weimar Germany*. (Berkeley: U of California P, 2001). See esp. ch. 4, "Under the Sign of Zero: Money and Inflation," 79–110.

³⁶"Verzeihung, ich rede dich mit Sie an. Wir stehen doch wohl auf du und du. Die Verwandtschaft bezeugt sich inneweg. Ich glaube sogar, du steckst in mir drin. Also winde dich aus dem Astwerk los, das dich von allen Seiten durchsticht, und rutsche in mich hinein." Kaiser, *Werke I*, 484.

³⁷Emphasizing the continuity between these figures, all five were played by a single actress (Roma Bahn), who was Martin's wife and a pivotal member of his theatre ensemble. The white death mask she wore in the film represents a direct citation of Martin's stage production of *Die Wandlung*, reprising the white skull caps of the skeletons in the macabre dance of death scene. Compare plates 15 and 21 in Patterson, *The Revolution in German Theatre*.

³⁸Richard W. McCormick, *Gender and Sexuality in Weimar Modernity*. (New York: Palgrave, 2001). See esp. ch. 2: "From *Caligari* to Dietrich: Anxieties about Sex and Gender in Weimar Cinema and Culture," 15–37. Kasten's analysis of the death motif is misleading. It treats the visions of the play as if they were included in the film as well, missing important differences between the two in the role and function of gender. Kasten, "From Morn to Midnight," 163.

³⁹Though the motif is strikingly similar, given the limited circulation of Martin's film at the time, it is unlikely that this is a direct citation. Anton Kaes, "Sites of Desire: The Weimar Street Film." *Film Architecture: Set Designs from Metropolis to Blade Runner*. Ed. Dietrich Neumann. (Munich and New York: Prestel, 1996), 27.

⁴⁰Notable examples include the in-camera POV dissolve in *Faust* representing the old philosopher's longing for youth and erotic fulfillment or the more complex series of hallucinatory visions comprising Boss's revenge fantasy in *Variété*. For an illuminating analysis of

Hoffmann's camera work in these films in terms of the technological capacities of Weimar cinema, see Frances Guerin, *A Culture of Light: Cinema and Technology in 1920s Germany*. (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota, 2005), 113–25 and 200–16.

⁴¹Rudolf Kurtz, *Expressionismus und Film*. (Berlin: Verlag der Lichtbildbühne, 1926), 69. An early full page advertisement in *Der Film* (16.X.1920) anticipated the market failure of *Von morgens bis mitternachts* on account of limited tolerance in the general public for abstraction in narrative cinema. It tried to meet that objection simply by discounting it in a pitch to movie theatre owners keen on commercial success: "Theaterbesitzer! Sichert Euch rechtzeitig den grossen Erfolg! [. . .] Hier handelt es sich um eine neue Darstellungsform, die sich gewollt von der Wirklichkeit entfernt, und doch wird jeder Betrachter sie fehlerlos erkennen, deuten, übersetzen."

⁴²"In congenial teamwork, the set designer and cameraman Carl Hoffmann heightened the painterly aspect of the architecture." Peter Lähn, *Film Architecture*, 70.

⁴³Degenhardt, "Denkspiel," 120. See also Sabine Wilke, "Ökonomie und Sexualität in Georg Kaisers *Von morgens bis mitternachts* und seiner Verfilmung durch Karl-Heinz Martin." *Orbis Litterarum* 54 (1999): 212–13.

⁴⁴Hoffmann quoted in Thomas Brandlmeier, "Carl Hoffmann." *CineGraph. Lexikon zum deutschsprachigen Film*. Ed. Hans-Michael Bock. (München: text + kritik), E1.

⁴⁵Deep in debt and desperately in need of cash (in October 1920 Kaiser himself would be arrested and tried for embezzlement in one of the famous celebrity trials of the period), it seems he regarded film primarily as a source of income. The contract for *Von morgens bis mitternachts* earned him 15,000 marks royalty—not enough, it turns out, to keep him out of jail.

⁴⁶Kaiser, *Werke* VI, 853–54.

⁴⁷Friedrich Düsel 1919, cited in Willeke, *Georg Kaiser and the Critics*, 2.

⁴⁸"Das Gesetz der Kunst (Expressionismus) wurde in dieser Jetztzeit erstmalig bewusst etabliert [. . .] In Pausen der Ruhe [. . .] dringt der Dilettantismus ein: Naturalismus—Kinoismus. Beide Beschäftigungen (die zur ernsthaften Beachtung keinen Anlass geben) reussieren nur vorübergehend durch ihre ununterbietbare Anspruchslosigkeit. Absorbiert wird in Zukunft der Naturalismus vom Kinoismus. Das Bedürfnis nach künstlicher Unterhaltung ist hier glatt gedeckt." Rundfrage der Zeitschrift *Das Kunstblatt* (September 1922). *Werke* IV, 572.

⁴⁹Kaiser also wrote 33 film sketches and exposés, most of them after 1933 during his exile in Switzerland. A selection is included in *Werke* IV, 11–107.

⁵⁰This is not without irony to the extent that Kaiser himself, who was perennially in debt, looked to films as a way to raise money. *Nebeneinander* represents another filmic play by Kaiser that Decla-Bioscop, a major studio that produced *Caligari*, wanted to option. This time the film company initiated negotiations with a letter to the author. Once again Kaiser lobbied his publisher: "Einliegend ein Brief der Decla. Ich bitte Sie die Verhandlungen gleich einzuleiten—und zu einem guten Ende zu führen. Es ist nötig, dass endlich von einer grösseren Gesellschaft wie die Decla ist ein Film nach einem meiner Werke gemacht wird. *Nebeneinander* ist ein vorzüglicher Filmstoff—es wird sich ein erhebliches Honorar erzielen lassen [. . .] Ich weiss, dass Sie geschickt verhandeln werden." [Letter 329, 10.XII.1923, to Gustav Kiepenheuer. Valk, *Briefe*, 270.] In his response Kiepenheuer assured Kaiser: "Ich habe unsere Forderung zunächst auf 2000 Dollar [sic] gestellt. Des ferneren werde ich die Bedingung stellen, dass beispielsweise bei der Decla als Regisseure nur Berger und Lang in Frage kommen. Von diesem wirklich ersten Film hängt doch nachher in der Auswirkung ausserordentlich viel ab." [Letter of 12.XII.1923 cited in Fn. 329, Valk 391.] These conditions may have been too ambitious and negotiations stalled. But their correspondence clearly reveals the importance that both author and publisher attached to cross marketing as a potential source of money, prestige and enhanced impact in multiple venues.

⁵¹Kaiser, *Werke* II, 342.

⁵²Wolfgang Hoebel, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 22.V.1993. The production at the *Berliner Schaubühne am Lehniner Platz*, directed by Andrea Breth, premiered on May 16, 1993.