"Erase the traces": urban experience in Walter Benjamin's commentary on Brecht's lyric poetry

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The issue of traces emerges prominently in one of the last works dedicated by Walter Benjamin to Bertolt Brecht: the 1938-9 commentary on the poems of the cycle Handbook for City-Dwellers (Aus dem Lesebuch für Stadtbewohner). In general, the theme of the traces allows Benjamin to return, in the context of the Brechtian lyric, to motifs found in another great cycle of modern lyric poems, the *Parisian Scenes* by Charles Baudelaire, about which Benjamin also wrote at the same time. In the set of essays on the French poet, questions such as the transformation of memory, the effacement of vestiges of individual experience in collective experience (the traces, once again), and the consequent feeling of estrangement towards the city are worked out in order to present the Parisian modernity from the perspective of Baudelaire's urban lyric. In Benjamin's essay "On some motifs in Baudelaire" (1939), such themes tend to converge in the diagnosis of the decline of a traditional conception of experience, that is, the experience shaped by the links between individual memory and collective history, which is, therefore, opposed to the solitary and restricted experience of the immediate present of the great city (the experience of the shock, in Benjamin's words).

Starting from this broader picture of modern urban lyrics, this paper aims to highlight the specificity of the Brechtian poetry commented on by Benjamin. The goal, however, is not simply to resume the themes of reflection on Baudelaire in order to make Brecht's lyric recognizable in the context of the decline of experience and memory. On the contrary, without prejudice to this diagnosis, it is aimed to carry on Benjamin's outlook in the essay "Experience and Poverty" (1933), that is, to examine the way in which decisive authors of the 1920s and 1930s, such as Brecht, deal with the challenges posed by this era of "poverty of experience". Without necessarily endorsing terms that had a good deal of rhetoric, such as "positive barbarism", for example, the intent here is to examine Brecht's referral to issues such as the link between the individual and the collective in order to configure a political-artistic experience capable of confront critically the events of those years. Although the concept of experience is not expressly elaborated in the comments on Brecht's poetry, it may be possible to state that the issues involved point beyond the diagnosis of the decline of traditional experience: that is, they concern the constitution of a strong concept of experience underlying the critical, artistic, and political work of such authors (Brecht, in this case) in those years, including the critical and historiographic work of Benjamin himself. This question forms the background of this essay.

Firstly, I will focus on two important questions to Brecht in the second half of the 1920s: 1) the teaching as a form of constitution and transmission of urban and political experience; 2) and the sobriety of the language developed in this transmission process. These two questions will be addressed in the extreme points of the *Handbook for City-Dwellers* (the 1st and 10th poems). In order to illuminate the interlace of these points, I will also turn to Brecht's theatrical work, more specifically to the play *The Measures Taken* (*Die Ma nahme*), which stands out in those days by the radicalism with which it deals with the question of the formation of the collective.

Before beginning the examination of the texts commented on by Benjamin, a few words about the specific form of the commentary, which is chosen by him as the most appropriate to the critical work with these poems. The commentary, he says, takes for granted the classical status of the work under discussion and thus, in a sense, begins with a prejudgment. It also differs from the assessment in that it concerns itself only with the beauty and positive content of the text. So the situation becomes highly dialectical when the commentary, a form that is both archaic and authoritarian, is applied to a body of poetry that not only has nothing archaic about it but defies what is recognized as authority today¹. Benjamin proposes a very peculiar way of considering Brecht as a classical author, from which the critical bias of the Brechtian production would arise. Before examining this conception of classicism, it is worth noting that his proposal is distinct from two other ways in which posterity regarded Brecht as a classic author, notably in his maturity years. First, classicism as an explicit project of the late Brecht to appropriate the culture of the past in the context of his project of a new theater. A second attribution of the word "classic" to Brecht is the one carried out by Heiner Müller, who identifies in the late Brecht an "emigration to classicism". The great parables that made Brecht famous, Müller sustains, would have arisen when Brecht was far away from the social and political struggles which were so important for his first conception of a pedagogical theater in the 1920s. The classic Brecht is in this way the Brecht of exile, very distant from his original audience and from German politics. Classicism here, as well as for the Goethe of Weimar, would be a literary reward for the absence of the German revolution. Of course, there are several connections between these two uses of the concept of classic.

Benjamin's concept of "classic" differs distinctly from these mentioned above; and this not only because his commentary is dedicated to poems written before the "emigration to classicism", poems like those of the *Handbook for City-Dwellers*. Readers of Benjamin's youth texts, such as the

¹ W. Benjamin., "Kommentare zu Gedichen von Brecht. Zur Form des Kommentars", in *Gesammelte Schriften* II-2, Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp 1999, pp. 539. English translation: W. Benjamin. "Commentary on Poems by Brecht", in *Selected Writings*, volume 4, 1938-1940, p. 215.

² H. Müller, "Fatzer ± Keuner", in *Werke 8, Schriften*, Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp 2005, p. 223.

essay on Goethe's novel *The Elective Affinities*, will recall the concepts of criticism and commentary as well as the truth content and material content of the work of art. The commentary, the essay says, starts from the historical distance between the work and the historical time of the critic. It presupposes, therefore, a double meaning of duration or afterlife of the work: 1) a process of unavoidable ageing of the materials used in its production, reinforcing thus its historicity; 2) and the reception of the work, that is, the readings and prejudices accumulated in the epochs after its production. As an historical and philological activity, the commentary would pave the way for criticism, which is properly dedicated to the truth of these materials, which are first readable at the time of its reception by the critic. In this context, the "classic", much more than an attribute intrinsic to the work itself (or an attribute resulting from its canonization), is a category of its historicity.

From the mid-1920s on, Benjamin's growing attention to contemporary works and artists may explain the abandonment, at least explicitly, of this distinction between criticism and commentary. For his contemporary writers, the commentary would lose its raison d'être, although Benjamin continues to pay attention to the reception of the works, as evidenced by his controversy against the theological reception of Kafka (the famous letter to Scholem is also from 1938). For the same reason, considerations of reception and historical distance again occupy Benjamin in methodological considerations of his planned book on Baudelaire. In a fragment of 1938 (the same year of the commentaries on Brecht's poems, the essays on Baudelaire, and the letter on Kafka), he refers to the introduction provided by bourgeois society to any reading of Baudelaire's poetry. And he asserts that from a materialistic perspective of cultural transmission, a critical reading of Baudelaire would also require the evaluation of this learning in order to free the object of criticism from a "fetishist" concept of culture (the one which separates the culture from its material conditions of production and transmission). It would not be unreasonable to find here a restitution of the problem of the classical work.

In this way, we may wonder if reading Brecht as a classical author is justified. In other words, how does Benjamin introduce in these comments the question of the historical distance required for the genre of commentary? His answer lies in confronting the present historical situation, that is, the knowledge that tomorrow could bring destruction on such a scale that yesterday's texts and creations might seem as distant from us as centuriesold artifacts³. To recognize that a catastrophe is being gestated at the present time puts the recent culture and history under a new perspective. In other words, it introduces a historical distance from the present time. The productivity of such a distance is not, however, reduced to concede a kind of anachronistic relevance to the traditional form of the commentary. It also allows us to decipher the recent history in the poems of the Handbook: the experience of urban clandestinity, so often evoked in the cycle, gains precise historical contours due to the experience of exile imposed on communist political and intellectual militancy. It is this experience that guides the interpretation proposed by Benjamin to the poem "Erase the traces".

Part from your buddies at the station
In the morning go into town with your coat buttoned up
Find yourself a room, and when your buddy knocks
Don't open, O don't open the door
But
Erase the traces!

If you meet your parents in the city of Hamburg or somewhere else Pass them like a stranger, turn a corner, don't acknowledge them Pull the hat they gave you down over your face Don't show, O don't show your face But Erase the traces!

Eat the meat that's there! Don't save! Go into any house if it rains, and sit on any chair that's there But don't stay sitting! And don't forget your hat! I tell you, Erase the traces!

Whatever you say, don't say it twice If you find your ideas in anyone else, disown them. He who has signed nothing, who has left no picture behind

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³ W. Benjamin. "Kommentare zu Gedichten von Brecht. Zur Form des Kommentars", cit., p. 540; *Selected Writings*, cit., pp. 215-6.

Who was not there at the time, who has said nothing How are they to catch him! Erase the traces!

Make sure, when you turn your thoughts to dying That no gravestone divulges where you lie With a clear inscription indicting you And the year of your death, which convicts you! Once again, Erase the traces!

(That's what I was told.)⁴

Benjamin's commentary insists, above all, on an innovation in the context of urban lyricism (Whitman, Verhaeren, Baudelaire, Heym). Brecht would have been the first to put the urban inhabitant in the foreground. Until then, the lyric of the great city would have abstracted from this kind of inhabitant. Even in Baudelaire the focus would be the transitoriness of Paris and the Parisian would only appear as bearer of the stigma of the city transience.

To read from this inhabitant the circumstances of the exile requires, however, some precaution. Benjamin mentions that some critics (Arnold Zweig) say that the poem would have gained a new meaning after 1933, but he insists that the emigrant status is not to be restricted to that of the one who was forced to leave the country. It also concerns the situation of those struggling in their own country for the exploited social class. The situation of the communists in the Weimar Republic is then qualified as a cryptoemigration, which means both actual emigration and the illegality to which the opponents would be subjected. The imperative to "erase the traces" would be a command for both the illegals and the intellectuals opposed to the regime.

It is through this inhabitant that the city appears in the poem as a battlefield, in a double sense, linking the anarchic experience of the struggle for existence (the Brecht's former *Hauspostille*) with the revolutionary perspective of the struggle of classes (the later Brecht of poems like "The Three Soldiers"). The poem would articulate both not only in the elaboration

⁴ B. Brecht, "Efface the traces" ["Verwish die Spuren"], apud W. Benjamin, Selected Writings, cit., p. 232.

of a perspective of distant observation, averse to sentimentalism, but also in the sober and cold diction of language, which would be explicitly thematized in the last of the ten poems of the cycle. As Benjamin says, Brecht is the least sentimental observer in the city.

I would like to highlight now this concept of "crypto-emigration" in order to discuss this position of the non-sentimental observer. We know that the absence of sentimentality in Brecht's writing is connected to a politicalartistic stance of critical and rational content, which sustains the pedagogical and enlightening approach of its production. The very title of the cycle of poems (Handbook) reinforces this intention. The coldness and sobriety of language is an essential component to the elaboration of a posture marked by detachment, which would receive extensive theoretical development in the following decade (1930) (the theatrical theory of the effect of estrangement is one of its developments). It is in this context that the crypto-emigration becomes a revealing concept, since it does not restrict the exile to the geographic distance of the exiled. On the contrary, it emphasizes the construction of a distanced position from the urban reality in which it is inserted, a position that, according to Brecht, would be able to mobilize the few available means (Brechtian poverty) for what he calls, in many texts of this period, especially in the learning plays, the "transformation of the world". The clandestine nature of the cryptoemigration, rather than a unilateral erasure of individuality, can be reformulated by Brecht in a form of political action and transmission of the urban experience. For a further understanding of this question, let us return to the poem.

In each one of the five stanzas, the speaker evokes an "you" in situations marked by anonymity and dissolution of bonds, directing him the same imperative: "erase the traces". The initial stanzas present the requirement of breaking personal ties under the conditions of urban existence. The first two stanzas signal the clandestinity of one who can no longer be seen by those who would recognize him. The hat received from his parents – a symbol of care and protection – is now being used as an instrument for the removal of relationships. It composes with the coat a garment designed to

perform a new function: to cover up the body's dimensions and facial features in order to transform the newcomer into an anonymous figure. On the other hand, the physical space (housing and city) – the notion of urban dwelling – dissociates itself from the notion of home (*Heim*), either as the house recognizable by the inhabitants' comrades, or as the city in which origins and identities are recognized. The ceiling, as the third stanza indicates, is nothing more than a temporary shelter, averse to permanence.

In the last two stanzas, in turn, physical clandestinity also becomes intellectual and spiritual clandestinity. Words, thoughts and portraits are signs of permanence, testimony, bonds, in short, traces which attest some presence, even beyond the moment of death, as indicates the reference of the last strophe to the inscription on the tombstone. As bearers of traces that can be reconstituted to some notion of identity, all must be denied. These last stanzas offer not only a radicalization of the imperative ("erase the traces") in order to reinforce the complete effacement of individual traces in collective creations. By rhetorically asking, as if to emphasize the correctness of the imperative, "How are they to catch him?", they introduce a dividing line between two confronting camps. This is what legitimates Benjamin's effort to draw a historical reference between these imperatives of anonymity and the concreteness of a real, historically traceable problem, namely, the situation of the communist militants during the Weimar Republic.

In the learning plays of the late 1920s, the instruction to self-erasing is mobilized to discuss assumptions of the formation of the collectivity or, more specifically, the individual commitment to a collective effort. In different ways, this collective effort appears, in a pedagogical feature, both in the emancipatory orientation of science and technique produced within capitalism (*The Flight across the Ocean, The Baden-Baden Lesson on Consent*) and in the struggle for expansion of communism against the exploitation in capitalist societies (*The Measures Taken*).

In this last play, *The Measures Taken*, the effacement of one's identity is a condition for the collective struggle. It is known that the play uses the artifice of the play within the play to examine the correction of two political

behaviors: (1) the behavior of the "young comrade" who puts at risk the survival of the revolutionary group by reacting in a very emotional and immediate way to capitalist conditions of exploitation; (2) the behavior of the revolutionary group, the "four agitators", who stage for the "choir of control", the "party", the measure already taken against the young comrade. Such a measure had been the murder of the "young comrade" in favor of the survival of the group and the continuation of the advance of the communist struggle, a decision that is submitted by theatrical means to the examination of the collectivity, represented here by the appeal to the choir. Again, as in the poem, it is a constellation formed with the effacement of individuality, clandestine political work, and the constant threat that the discovery of one's own identity will revert to one's own death. Erasure is therefore also a condition of survival.

The second scene of the play is called "Effacement" (Auslöschung). The revolutionaries, working illegally in China at the service of the party, should not be seen. Clandestinity is a condition of illegal work, a process that Brecht enacts through the use of masks, which serve in such plays to the presentation of the consent of those who wear them by abdicating their own identity. The "party house director" gives masks to the agitators and says, «Now you are no longer yourselves. (...) From this moment on, you are no longer anyone, from this moment on, and perhaps even to its disappearance (...)»⁵. The demand for erasure can then be understood as a necessity placed by the circumstances of the struggle for that collective goal. Moreover, it is also a gesture of detachment in relation to a notion of identity prior to the establishment of this dialectic between individual and collective, a dialectic always based on the consciousness of the historicity of the human personality.

The effacement, however, is not imposed by the party. An essential issue for the learning plays as a whole is the consent, the manifestation of "agreement", which explains the difficulties of the formation of the collective. The individual has to express with conscience (the "yes" is said

⁵ B. Brecht, *Die Maβnahme*, in *Gesammelte Werke 2*, Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp 1968, p. 637.

after moment of reflection) his agreement, while the collective must not avoid the responsibility for the destiny of the individual. There is a double demand: of subjection of individual interests to the legitimate pretensions of the collectivity; and collective verification of the legitimacy (reasonableness) of the claims presented to the individual. Both topics touch individual competence to evaluate issues of extreme seriousness, such as one's own survival itself. As the party asks, it is a matter of questioning the consent to one's own death and to the concealment of the dead.

Contrary to the interpretation that prevailed in much of the reception of this play, Brecht did not intend to show the party as an anonymous and bureaucratic instance that must survive the individual at all costs (this is the negative prejudice formed by the reception of the play). It is, above all, a form of organization of individuals. As a co-bearer of a collective decision-making process, the individual must accept the competence of the collective experience organized around the party, but the party must, in turn, gain that competence through intra-party democracy. In this sense, only wisdom can be produced collectively. "Be wise with us", the text says. Such "us" does not necessarily indicate an established party, but the collective learning process to which the design of the learning piece seeks to give a staged form.

It is in the realm of collective action that the imperative of "erasing the traces" (the episode of "effacement") gains a duplicity: it may indicate both the physical death of the young comrade and the clandestine nature of communist militancy. The relationship between individual and collective will determine one outcome or another. Whoever leaves traces is the young comrade who removes his mask and reveals his identity, abandoning the collective with the same gesture with which he puts his safety at risk. The decision to kill him while fleeing and erase his facial features is the form taken by the need to "erase traces" in a situation where collective effort is threatened by the unilaterality of individual positioning. The decision is the act of physical violence capable of restoring the four agitators to the situation that allows the revolutionary work, that is, clandestinity, a situation in which "erasure" is a form of illegal existence in favor of the cause of the transformation of the world. *The Measures Taken* thus

addresses a main issue for Brecht in the late 1920s: violence in the composition of collectives; violence against individualism and against the physical existence of deviant members. The *Fatzer* fragments, written by Brecht in those same years, address this question even more radically by interweaving the decision to eliminate the deviant member – the egoist – in the process of shredding the collective, ultimately conveying to the public the responsibility to reconstitute the coherence of the events that led to the death of the deserters. *The Measures Taken*, in turn, still maintains a dramatic arrangement, supported by the possibility of teaching the correct behavior by discussing the misbehavior of the young comrade.

Also in the poem of 1926 the pedagogical perspective of the "erase the traces", as well as its collective aim, is to be found. After the five stanzas, all marked by the pathos of clandestinity, Brecht concludes with an astonishing verse in parentheses: «(That's what I was taught)». This formal arrangement is recurrent in the cycle: the last verse, always in parentheses, sheds new light on previous verses, suggesting to the reader a second reading of the poem. Changing a gender trait, the dramatic character of the second person in the present time yields to the epic nature of the third person in the past, distancing the previous stanzas and allowing a new knowledge about its content. The epic trait of the last verse reveals the process of transmitting the precepts about urban behavior. The instructions given to a new "you" are also the content of a teaching passed on in a past time that is now updated by the act of passing it on. It is, therefore, a process of transmission of experience capable of establishing the links which the adverse circumstances of clandestinity threaten to prevent.

This relationship between "I" and "you", between the first and second persons, constitutes the great difficulty of understanding the poem and also its great poetic finding. The poetic form does not establish the authority of a poet who conveys a world view or a particular knowledge to his readers. This authority of the author is demobilized by Brecht. Recall Benjamin's observation that Brecht turns himself against what is taken as authority. The figure of the poet is one of these forms of authority. One of the poem's achievements is, in this sense, to remove "I" and "you" from the stand of

fixed identities, placing them in the position of poles that only constitute themselves in such process of transmitting the teaching. The suggestion of the second reading thus resumes the necessary repetition of the transmission of an experience of collective nature. A technical data reinforces this point of view: the poems were thought to be recorded and listened to in vinyl disc, creating therefore conditions for a transformation of the reception by means of their collective listening⁶.

The reasons of such mode of composition of the poetic discourse come to the fore in the last poem of the cycle.

When I speak to you
Cold and impersonally
Using the driest words
Without looking at you
(I seemingly fail to recognize you
In your particular nature and difficulty)

I speak to you merely like reality itself
(Sober, not to be bribed by your particular nature Tired of your difficulty)
Which in my view you seem not to recognize.⁷

Between the first and second person there is a distinction between two approaches to the reality: the speaker has already recognized how this reality is, which is still unknown to the "You". Adopting the diction of reality – cold, impersonal – becomes then a form of teaching. Sober is not only the reality, but also the language permeated by the knowledge of this reality which imposes clandestinity to those interested in transforming it. At the end of *The Measures Taken*, we find the following conclusion: "Only taught by reality can we transform reality". It is this teaching that gives the cold, dry, direct tone of the poems of this cycle.

More than a new language, sobriety also teaches a new attitude towards the city. A decisive term for both the understanding of Brecht's work and Benjamin's interpretation, the sober posture is a cold attitude, far away

⁶ The recording would also prevent the pauses during the reading, requiring a new integral listening of the poem and, therefore, incorporating to the reception the movement of the teaching.

⁷ B. Brecht, Gedichte, in Gesammelte Werke 8, cit., p. 277.

⁸ B. Brecht, *Die Maβnahme*, cit., p. 663.

from sentimentality, which allows us to regulate the correct distance from reality in order to guarantee conditions of survival in circumstances of political clandestine work. The term has both political and theatrical connections. In the third scene of *The Measures Taken* ("The Stone"), the four agitators instruct the young comrade to approach the workers and to help them to claim better working conditions (better shoes, in that case). The success of the mission depends, however, on the observation of a basic precept: «Do not give way to compassion»⁹. The readers of Aristotle's *Poetics* know that compassion is one of the two emotions that make up the effect of tragedy on the spectator, that is, the catharsis. We also know that Brecht's critique of what he calls Aristotelian dramaturgy approximates the notions of catharsis and identification (or empathy), a link at first not very evident in the *Poetics*. To identify with the spectacle is, according to Brecht, to react to it in an exclusively emotional way, which would leave no room for the development of a critical and reflexive attitude towards the events presented.

In *The Measures Taken*, the behavior of the young comrade has something of this empathy. Its starting position is also that of an observer and it will be evaluated as such. Faced with the suffering of others, he gives in to compassion, feels the pain of the workers, and reacts immediately and unthinkingly, jeopardizing the wider goal of creating the conditions for the eradication of exploitation. In other words, the play uses the character of the young comrade to study this type of posture regulated by empathy. As Benjamin points out in another essay on Brecht ("Bert Brecht"), the Brechtian character does not offer a model of behavior – positive or negative – with which to identify, but instruments for analyzing and correcting a social attitude. Rather, they represent types interested in social transformation or a type from whose perspective social transformation can be examined from the point of view of an existing social type.

In this learning play, it is the posture of the four agitators that makes possible the evaluation of the measure taken. They present the events that have taken place, assume the roles of themselves and of the young comrade,

⁹ B. Brecht, Die Maßnahme, cit., p. 640.

but maintain a distanced position from events with no empathy with them, so that others – the choir, the party, the spectators – may make their minds about what happened. During the 1930s, Brecht would characterize this position as being that of the actor-demonstrator¹⁰: he is the one who does not identify himself with his character and does not allow himself to be carried away by his emotions, but assumes a rational position before him in order to deal with the greater taste of his performance: to show that he is showing, in order to prevent the relapse of the spectacle into illusionism. The sober posture is, in short, a distanced positioning from the events presented, conquered and perfected through the theater.

In Brecht's urban lyric, the sobriety of language also concerns a detachment from the city. In the imperative "Erase the traces", we find the exercise of a certain attitude of detachment that would provide something more than the recognition of the clandestine conditions imposed by the illegal work. There is also the teaching of conditions of survival that are critically opposed to the authority fought by the same illegality. In this sense, Brecht did not write a poem about the impossibility of shared experience in modernity, much less about the general conditions of life in the big city. Just as Baudelaire's poems are not limited to recording the decline of experience, but confront such decline in order to give the weight of real experience to the experience of the shock, so too Brecht's poems do not lend themselves to a lament of the distance between men or to the redemptive invocation of its overcoming. Such an effort would imply the perilous neighborhood of the idealizing ideologies of tradition. Other ways can be found in these same comments of Benjamin. In the poems mentioned here, they are found in these links between emigration, clandestinity and teaching, and are also present in the last poem of these commentaries, the "Legend of the origin of the book Tao-Te-Ching on Lao-tsu's road into exile": in this poem, Benjamin concludes, what we learn from the kindness and

¹⁰ Cf. B. Brecht, "Die Straßenszene. Grundmodell einer Szene des epischen Theaters", in *Gesammelte Werke 16*, cit., pp. 546-558.



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