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COOK, KATHLEEN MATHEW
THE DRAMAS OF FRANZ WERFEL.

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THE DRAMAS OF FRANZ WERFEL

by

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A THESIS SUBMITTED
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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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ABSTRACT

THE DRAMAS OF FRANZ WERFEL

Kathleen Mayhew Cook

Werfel scholarship has devoted much attention to metaphysical verities which are said to be represented by mundane stage events. Often the dramatic cosmos has been reduced in the process of matching the idea of a play to any given essayistic theme of Werfel's. By taking an extrinsic approach, scholarship has not dealt in depth with the wealth of realistic detail in the dramas.

A close reading of the dramas reveals a dialectical approach by Werfel. Many of the dramas employ two main characters to represent antinomious forces. Evaluation of these forces is quite subtle. Principles are judged not by some abstract notion of good or evil but by their appropriateness to the social context. Characters are judged less by their intentions than by the eventual historical effect of their actions.

The earliest dramas have as conflicting forces poetic idealism and bourgeois conservatism. The later dramas are variations on the theme of political idealism versus historical pragmatism. These issues are discussed dispassionately. The process of confrontation carries more weight than the outcome, for there are no final solutions.
The institutions that man creates—religious, social and political—lose their validity in time. The often cataclysmic adjustment of traditional modes of behavior to new realities is Werfel's overriding dramatic theme.

Idealism which has no factual correspondence to history or society is steadily devalued over the course of the dramas. This devaluation is largely reflected through quite subtle descriptive systems. Also the power of action that the idealistic hero may suitably exercise is steadily reduced.

Although the dramas do not contain simple solutions, they do have an underlying value which is humanistic. The humanism of the drama consists of a balance achieved by man only with difficulty, a balance of his ideal concepts and his less than rational world. Man's achievements are wrested from a tumultuous world. The evil with which man must deal is not metaphysical in nature. Evil is the product of man's insensitivity to man, often of his desire to maintain a status quo in institutions or codes that no longer correspond to his needs. The acceptance of a revolutionary pattern in human events is seen in the dramas as a prerequisite to life.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.</td>
<td>DRAMA AS DIALOGUE</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.</td>
<td>EARLY DRAMAS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>First Dramas--Incipient Dialogue</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Philosophical Basis of First Dramas</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Der Besuch aus dem Elysium</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Die Versuchung</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Die Troerinnen</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Die Mittagsgöttin</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spiegelmensch</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.</td>
<td>MIDDLE DRAMAS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bocksgesang</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Schweiger</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Juarez und Maximilian</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Paulus unter den Juden</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Das Reich Gottes in Böhmen</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>LATE DRAMAS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Der Weg der Verheissung</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In einer Nacht</td>
<td>221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jacobovsky und der Oberst</td>
<td>231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CONCLUSION</td>
<td>243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INTRODUCTION
INTRODUCTION


(Franz Werfel, Introduction to Das Lied von Bernadette)

To know nothing of shipwreck and ocean but to swim from spar to spar with half-closed eyes as though in a swimming pool, that's what I call the technique of living.

(Franz Werfel, Theologumena, Between Heaven and Earth)

The essential, only and profoundest theme of the history of the world and of mankind, to which all others are subordinate, is the conflict between skepticism and faith.

(From Goethe's Notes to "West Ostlicher Divan," which Franz Werfel quotes as an inscription to Between Heaven and Earth)

Literary scholarship has neglected to evaluate the significance of Franz Werfel, and has specifically failed to do so in the context of public and politically-oriented drama. There are several reasons for this failure. One may be Werfel's personality. Paul Stöcklein sees Werfel as an anachronism and quotes Thomas Mann's patronizing summation: "Ich habe Franz Werfel immer sehr gern gehabt [...] Ich konnte seinem naiven und reichtalentierten Künstlertum nie übelnehmen, es sei denn in den unglücklichen Augenblicken, wo dies alles aggresiv-polemisch vorstiess. Er war im Grunde ein Opernmensch." The effusiveness and didactic quality of
Werfel's public statements and essays have perhaps obfuscated the literary issues. He may be taken less than seriously for extra-literary reasons, not the least of which is the fact that he was a member of that notorious group of Alma Mahler's husbands and lovers.

There is another reason why Werfel's significance as a literary artist has not been fully explored. Much of Werfel scholarship is a consequence of the hypothesis that his concerns are metaphysical. In his essays and evaluations of his own work Werfel did not exactly discourage this hypothesis. Therefore, many an article about him begins with the previously cited quotation from Das Lied von Bernadette, which I gave on page 1. As impressive as this summation sounds, it has had a rather deleterious effect on Werfel scholarship. The dramas in particular, many of which are fine expositions of the dialogue of man with man, are hardly to be appreciated as purely metaphysical. The search for eternal truths and entities has led scholars to abstract maxims from their context and let them stand as the "truth" of the work or to isolate characters and let their ideals be the "idea" of the work. To do so is to ignore the richness of Werfel's dramas.

Many are given specific historical settings, and all have a sensual imagery system so complex that it is unjust to extract a metaphysical idea as a basic idea or sole issue from this quite concrete world. Much analysis has been done in service of an idea or a characteristic as witness the dissertation titles "Die Erlösung zur Geistigkeit" or "The
Unworldly Character in the Dramas of Franz Werfel. The former dissertation attacks Werfel's works from the idea of inwardness (Innerlichkeit). This idea is isolated first from the essays and then from the poetic works. It is an idea which is certainly worth talking about in Werfel for it occupies much space. But the concept of inwardness is defined in the dramas only in tandem with less lofty concepts. The dramatic cosmos, of which inwardness is only one component, is not reducible to an aphorism. The latter dissertation, "The Unworldly Character in the Dramas of Franz Werfel," correctly identifies the type of the unworldly character as central to Franz Werfel's works. There is such a type in all the dramas. But there is nowhere to go from this fact, because these models have no meaning aside from the drama they inhabit. The world that Lukas has as an antagonist and the world that Jacobowsky is faced with are too dissimilar. By focusing on this particular aspect, Lea loses sight of Werfel's changing views on historical reality. Lea writes that the unworldly characters are the saintly who must live in an unsaintly world. Such a generalization cannot be supported, because it ignores the necessary ties of the "saintly" to the world. All this is not to say that ideas are not to be abstracted from this or any other literary work. Literary criticism like any other scholarship abstracts and classifies. But particularly with respect to Werfel, the tendency exists to choose that idea which is most appealing to our conservative or liberal tendencies (for
example) and let it speak for the whole. What is often ignored is the fact that the ideas or characters being abstracted are engaged in a dialogue and are working in a specific setting, both of which qualify and illuminate the ideas. In the best of the dramas there is communication of men and ideas, a give and take, and a notable absence of spots where one can identify a character or an idea as exclusively representative of Werfel's own ideas. Werfel uses the drama not pedantically but rhetorically.

The ideas abstracted from Werfel's work have most often been religious in nature. The result of over-emphasizing this sort of abstraction has been the flattening of the dialogue. Adolf Klarmann considers it to be Werfel's conviction that the true nature of literary art is allegory or the portrayal of "mystischen Grundtatsachen." If this is the case then whatever goes on in this world is of secondary importance. But this is certainly not the impression that one gets from even a cursory reading of the dramas. Indeed, on more detailed examination it seems that Werfel moves further away from idealistic visions and more toward man's responsibility to this world with each successive drama.

There are undeniably transcendental and supernatural devices and themes in Werfel's works, particularly in the early dramas. This other-worldly aspect is sometimes displeasing to a late 20th century reader. But I believe that the aesthetic displeasure occurs not because Werfel is insistently metaphysical in meaning but because the shift
from realism is so unexpected. It is because Werfel is firmly rooted in this world that the supernatural strikes us as a device. Kafka noted this too sudden shift in a criticism of Schweiger. Kafka does not have this problem with Die Verwandlung; Gregor Samsa's metamorphosis is not offensive to the reader because the setting is initially other-worldly. Or to take another example, Hauptmann's Und Pippa tanzt, has as a goal the careful construction of an ethereal world. We accept it because the drama builds up to such a goal. Werfel's strength does not lie in allegory, but in the formation of a historically real world.

As he encouraged the hypothesis that his work is basically metaphysical, so he encouraged the idea of himself and his work in opposition to and as a criticism of his time. The criticism is certainly present. Spiegelmensch attacks in a very effective way the instability and fickle interests of contemporary society. Schweiger examines the institutions designed to serve man: the state, the Church, the family, and finds them all wanting. Bocksgesang criticizes both the narrow, stultifying life of the propertied and those who would destroy the existent order. By the extent to which he criticizes artist and common man, Church and state, fashionable new stances with regard to art and politics, Werfel reveals that he is anything but an anachronism. He is a man who engages fully in the dialogue of his time.
It is the strength, particularly of the historical dramas, that they are critical, both of the entrenched forces of the past and the emergent forces of the future. Juarez und Maximilian, Das Reich Gottes in Böhmen, and Paulus unter den Juden portray the ever-repeating moment in history when man finds himself in conflict with his time. But there is no single-minded idealization of a solitary hero standing against the times. In Werfel, both sides—the idealism of the hero and the realism of the milieu—are subject to debate. Glorification of the past is never approbated in contrast to historical truths of the present. At their most optimistic, there is in Werfel's dramas a process of modification, of bargaining of new and old, ideals and historical necessities. We must assume that this process entered through Werfel's experience of history and that he, too, interacted with time. Statements about opposing the tide of history, such as the quote from the introduction to Das Lied von Bernadette on page 1, strike one as those of a man who felt himself to be pushed against a wall. Similarly, there is a defensiveness about his desire for a metaphysical reading of his work—almost a wistfulness. In the essays of Zwischen Oben und Unten, Werfel calls for a new spirituality to combat the rampant materialism of his times. But the spirituality called for is only to be achieved through man's efforts: "To be a human being means to set a parable over against life." It is man and his responsibility in history that is quite concretely discussed in the dramas.
Werfel has often been viewed as a metaphysical anachronism, and his works as testimonials, by the scholarship. This trend seems to be particularly pronounced in the period from the end of World War II to around 1960. (Puttkammer, Rehfeld, Klarmann) That this "Jenseits" interpretation is not the only one possible is evidenced by earlier and later criticism. For example, Richard Specht writing in 1926 sees Werfel as a revolutionary poser of questions rather than the purveyor of sententious ideas.\textsuperscript{15} Ernst Keller in 1958 manages to discuss Werfel without too much transcendental "hoopla" and puts man in the center of the world.\textsuperscript{16} Heribert Rück's dissertation of 1965,\textsuperscript{17} to which this study is most indebted, is the most adequate treatment of the dramas thus far. It is necessary to discuss it briefly at this point because it anticipates this dissertation at certain parts and makes important observations about the different periods of Werfel's dramas.

Rück divides the dramas into three distinct periods. The first period, up to 1920, does not have a dominant dramatic theme. The second period of 1920-1930 is the most dramatic (conflict with the world). After 1930 "Verkündigung" dominates--there is "Klärung" and "Harmonisierung." (Rück, xxiii)

Rück wavers between a view of Werfel as a poser of questions and Werfel as an answerer. He sees the former in Werfel's use of "Reihungsprinzip" as dramatic form "indem er das Ideele in These und Antithese auseinanderbricht." (Rück,
He notes further that the antithesis is so well
developed that sometimes critics asked who the hero was.
But then Rück, having so finely noted the dialectic, moves
it out of the reach of discussion: "Man übersah, dass es
sich um Entsprechungen handelte und um eine Spannung, die
unauflösbar blieb, weil sie in Metaphysischen wurzelte."
(Rück, xxiii) Conceptual pairs are thus swept under the
rug. Rück does still show uneasiness about the matter. He
posits the closed form of the latter dramas to a desire to
banish "... das Auseinanderstreben der Kräfte." (Rück, xxv)

Rück sees in Werfel a dramatic temperament and a dia-
lectical spirit, but he hesitates to deviate too much from
a strictly metaphysical approach. He posits two forces in
Werfel: "Nächtiges, Visionäres, träumerisch Unbewusstes auf
der einen und wacher Intellekt, höchste Bewusstheit, Skepsis
auf der anderen Seite." (Rück, xii) But Rück will not
finally interpret in light of this opposition but in the
traditional vein; Werfel's work as realistic examples of the
fall from grace, of the salvation of God through man and
vice versa. The dialectic for Rück is finally that between
God and man and not that between man and man.

Rück is correct in his assessment of the forces at work
in Werfel, but the removal of the dialogue to a supranatural
realm cancels the dialectic spirit that he notes. Werfel
has often been noted as an opponent of a complacent sort of
enlightenment, but then the dramatic conflicts of history
are seen as a pedagogic instrument for the education of man.
What is needed in Werfel criticism is an evaluation of the dramatic conflict in the setting in which it occurs, a modest enough proposal.

One may ask if it is not modern skepticism that leads to a new search for a "Diesseits" interpretation of Werfel's works. But Werfel's dramas in particular demand that we treat all aspects of the work and not just an idea that may be appealing. Rück has noted that many of the dramas are two-hero dramas in the fashion of Hebbel. (Rück, xxiii) The antithesis is not confined to the main characters but is revealed also in minor characters. The antithetical nature is perhaps most clearly revealed in symbolism: light and darkness, color and whiteness; movement and rigidity, and so forth. The antithetical imagery is extremely important to our understanding of the resolution of the drama. It will often be found that even as the utterances and ideas of the protagonists are qualified by their situations, so are traditional images qualified. Light, for example, is neither absolutely positive or negative. In some situations, it characterizes a purity which contrasts ironically to reality. In a slight variation it appears as a blinding force, a variant of the mirror which hinders perception. These images have of course been discussed in the research but not fully in their relationships. For example, not only light versus darkness needs to be discussed, but also light in relationship to white, to colors, to rigidity, to mirroring, to movement, and so forth.
The spirit that emerges from the dramas is not parochial, not religious in a narrow sense. In form and content there is dialectic. A scepticism of a healthy sort pervades. "The principle of wisdom is self-examination, Selbstvernichtung."\(^\text{18}\)

What will finally emerge from the dramas are not final solutions, aphorisms to live by, but moments of communication, ongoing dialogues. There is in Werfel's dramas the development of the dark beginnings of the meeting of human forces; from Thamlal not quite coming to terms with his Spiegelmensch to the entrance of the demonic and vital in Bocksgesang to the fullness of the dialogue between Paul and Gamaliel. The dialogue will peak in the dramas that might be termed as belonging to Neue Sachlichkeit: Paulus, Reich Gottes, Juarez. Then in less optimistic times the dialogue will be reduced to smaller terms and finally almost trivialized in In einer Nacht and Jacobowsky.

Paralleling this thematic development are changes in literary form and concerns: Werfel, renouncing expressionism and writing in the more sober, more historically-oriented realistic style of Neue Sachlichkeit. The change seems largely attributable to maturation but it too may be taken as evidence of the considerable degree with which Werfel was in touch with his own time. He is literally in the mainsteam. His early dramas (through Spiegelmensch) are virtually a paradigm of expressionist school as described by Viviani\(^\text{19}\) as are the middle dramas good examples of Neue
Sachlichkeit as described by Koebner.  

Politically, too, Werfel does not remove himself from his time. If, at an early date he denounces the visionary political goals of expressionism, it is not to abandon the political or social realm, but indeed to take it up fully for the first time in all its complexity in historically-founded drama.

Werfel's early expressionist dramas are, as Rück has pointed out, dramas in which the conflict is within the self. It is a divided self, and the conflict is that of idealism against some form of evil. Evil is represented by the Abdecker in *Die Mittagsgöttin*; it takes the form of war and death in the translation of *Die Trägerinnen*; the form of vanity and power in *Die Versuchung* and *Spiegelmensch*. The goal of the internal struggle is to attain dominance over evil. This as Rück points out is hardly possible in the world of the dramas; the solution is flight from the world. Suppression takes the place of conquering. Negotiation and communication which provide the interest of the middle dramas are largely absent in the early works. The statement of the Spiegelmensch in *Spiegelmensch* which speculates on the productive possibilities of man learning to live with the evil, with the fame-seeking aspects of his nature, marks a transition from Werfel's early dramas to his more mature products. Beginning in 1920 with the urgent tone of *Bocksgesang*, the necessity of negotiation makes itself felt, albeit here in the form of non-verbal interaction. The
opposing force is semi-demythologized in Schweiger—it receives a psychological explanation. In Juarez the "adult" Werfel is able to attribute forces opposing the ideal to historical necessity. Now the dialogue is full fledged; the ideal is not to be seen as above reality but qualified by it, even as the real is qualified by the ideal. Historical necessity retains its demonic aspects here as again in Paulus but in Paulus historical necessity is given the approbation of the fact that its carrier is Paul—is its product Christianity. Reich Gottes marks a second transition. Juarez and Paulus opposed idealism and historical necessity (the latter in a demonic form); Reich Gottes makes the same oppositions but with the demonic as emerging from idealism. By this time in Werfel's dramas there is real difficulty in isolating "good" and "evil." This is not the result of confusion but of looking at the world more clearly.

A final levelling occurs in In einer Nacht and Jacobowsky. In einer Nacht opposes again idealism and historical necessity or reality. The ideal forces have a kind of a triumph, but it is hard to sympathize with them, and their failure to attempt reconciliation is a causative factor in the development of irrationality and hatred in society. Jacobowsky in the drama of that name embodies historical reality, the Oberst idealism. That Jacobowsky is a comedy may be due to the fact that there is a treaty of sorts between the two for a short time. Thus the dramatic issues may be said to come to a kind of resolution, but the
issues have been much diminished. Whether we say they have been made trivial or simply reduced to human terms may be a matter of taste. *In einer Nacht* moves to a more personal sphere; the public (reference to Nazis, socialism) is finally abandoned. In the case of *Jacobowsky*, history has lost its grimness and become ensconced in the comic figure of Jacobowsky; idealism has become truly quixotic and thus denigrated in the Oberst. The miniaturization that occurs in the last two make them less a culmination than a reduction of the ongoing dialogue of the dramas. In interpretations that emphasize metaphysical verities, Jacobowsky is given a grand interpretation\(^{21}\) that contrasts strangely with the matter of fact charm of the drama. Werfel himself was surprised.\(^{22}\)

It is instructive at this point to note Rück's description of the progression of the dramas. He notes that the idealistic artistic type Maximilian is no longer completely positive in *Juarez*; the Realgesinnung type Juarez now has positive traits. Rück sees that Paul is like Juarez in the matter of historical justification but does not connect him with the demonic heroes; Chan an and not Paul is said to be the descendent of Thamal and Juvan. Rück says that Gamaliel also is an expression of the "geistiges Prinzip." (Rück, 116) Rück will not accept the change that has taken place here: Werfel is giving the demonic approval in the figure of Paul. The changes that Werfel is making in the constellation of figures at the time of *Reich Gottes*
causes some confusion. Prokop is seen by Rück to be the proponent of Realgesinnung. He is not seen as the descendent of Maximilian that he is because in a traditional view of Werfel one does not want to say that idealism (Prokop is an idealist) can have such disastrous results. The increasing degree with which historically appropriate actions—proceeding from historical reality and not from ideals are approbated—is not noted as a trend in Werfel's dramas. Rück does comment that "Rausch und Entgrenzung" are catastrophic but does not say that these qualities are now attributes of idealism rather than realism. Finally, Rück will see the last dramas as evidence of a harmony. Careful observation reveals however that there is a gradual erosion in the belief in ideal constructions and that the final mood is that of resignation rather than harmony.

It is customary to designate Spiegelmensch as the last of the expressionist dramas. Thus 1920 is the end of Werfel's early dramatic period. A second period is terminated with the abandonment of historical material after 1930. The third period includes the last two dramas, In einer Nacht and Jacobowsky. These divisions are suggested by changes in literary approaches, but they are not merely superficial divisions. The evidence that they are not lies primarily in the spirit of the dramas—the defiance of the early dramas, the sober spirit of the second period, the somewhat Biedermeier spirit of the last.

The changes that occur in the course of years in Werfel's
dramas might be described as a process of relating self and ideal to the world. The terms "Ich" and "Du" have been applied to a process of socialization particularly in the first dramatic period. They will be avoided here because they have acquired such a mystical connotation and do not do justice to the historical reality of the middle dramas. In terms of an "Ich and "Du" progression In einer Nacht and Jacobowsky are high points whereas in actuality they are a kind of footnote or epilogue. The early dramas are primarily concerned with the self and the ideal. The middle dramas modify the concerns of self and ideal by opposing them with real and sometimes demonic forces. The later dramas form an epilogue in that they continue the process of relating the ideal and the self to the outside—but somewhat cynically—by means of ascribing their circle of influence to a much smaller sphere.

This process of relating to the world in the nature of the dramatic dialogue is accompanied by a more ironic use of symbols. For example, the color symbolism of the Mittagöttin tends to be fairly straightforward, white representing purity, and colors the world. By the time of Juarez the traditional values have been thrown into question, and the whiteness and light represented by Maximilian are somewhat ironic; Gamaliel's whiteness in Paulus is to be appreciated only in contrast to the coming ascendancy of Christianity. Werfel gives us humorous information about the changes undergone in the symbolism in the first stage
directions of Jacobowsky where he informs that the blue light is not to be taken as a sign that we are about to experience a "-pathetischen, unangenehmen und schwer verständlichen Drama-".\textsuperscript{24}

This process of coming to terms with the world outside the self is also to be seen in the material chosen to dramatize. The period in which the self-ideal most fully relates to historical reality, the middle period, contains only one drama (Schweiger) that does not use historical material. Historical material grants full force to the opposing side; it encourages a valid dialogue.

In terms of the material, the early dramas rely heavily on magic or extraterrestrial forces. The middle dramas use these forces ever less frequently. Already in Schweiger the introduction of the subject is disquieting and detrimental to the whole. But the later In einer Nacht reintroduces the theme; indeed is merely an expansion of a first play, Besuch aus dem Elysium. Particularly the re-use of the miraculous in a petite-bourgeois setting is revealing in development of Werfel's dramas. Werfel returns to the small sphere. The themes of political leadership and great men are abandoned. Even the notion of political responsibility by ordinary citizens is finally dismissed in favor of a mystical love union in In einer Nacht. The public realm no longer dominates in the later dramas.

The process of relating affects dialogue, symbolism and material and sets off clearly a middle, objectivized period
which does not lead to the conclusion that a steadfast 
Werfel always wrote with one thing in mind, our relationship 
to the almighty. It leads rather to the picture of a man 
in response to his time, willing to probe its realities. 
The essence of his dramas is political, not metaphysical. 
The concern with the political reaches a peak in the middle 
dramas (Maximilian und Juarez; Prokop and Julian; Paulus 
and Gamaliel) but it is not absent in the early period. The 
bargaining of Die Versuchung may be seen as a forerunner of 
the non-absolute realm called the political. The trans-
lation of The Trojan Women has the thematic concern in a 
primitive form; the political is in the hands of the gods 
and there is no negotiation. Spiegelmensch treats the 
political as one of the worldly experiences to be gone 
through as a prelude to salvation. The problem of the 
purity of the political leader is present here in an in-
cipient form. Researchers have tended to emphasize the 
final salvation and denigrate the necessary steps for 
getting there; Thamal had to go through a political ex-
perience with the public realm. He had to deal with his 
mirror image as a prerequisite to salvation. We might 
describe the political as subordinate to the personal in the 
first and last periods; the opposite being true for the 
middle period. This is just a reformulation of the thesis 
that there is a process of relating (subject relating to 
object) going on but it is an important reformulation in 
explaining Werfel. It moves from a purely psychological
interpretation involving maturation to a broader social and political interpretation. It does much to explain the return to the Biedermeier of the last dramas; they are to be seen as a defensive response to the political desperation of Werfel's own times.

The early Werfel has been described as having believed in a Messianic solution and later abandoning that belief.\textsuperscript{25} This is nothing other than saying that Werfel gives up absolutes in favor of the compromises of this world. The compromises of the world are the essence of the political and social contract.\textsuperscript{26}

One objection that may be raised to calling Werfel's dramas political is the fact that political leadership flounders in the dramas, that there may be a failure of political activism.\textsuperscript{27} This is, however, precisely the nature of German political drama from Götz and Don Carlos to Peter Weiss' Hölderlin. That part of our lives described by political or social is never to be complete or perfect. It is too complex; it is a product of the vicissitudes of time and the imperfect dialogue of men. The failure of political activity is not an automatic mandate to ignore the political and seek life elsewhere; not unless we find, as the later Werfel may have, a monstrosity so great that we can no longer deal with it.

Another objection that might be made to a political interpretation are Werfel's own negative statements about politics. To answer this objection one may say that Werfel's
distaste for the political is first of all disillusionment, which implies belief in the political, even if that belief is disappointed. Secondly, it must be pointed out that Werfel's disdain for the political is for the small pettiness that is certainly an important part of everyday political life, rather than a disdain for the great questions of individual and corporate man that constitute ideological and artistic questions. 28

In the following study a broad use of the term political is used. It is not the advocacy of a certain party or policy but the topic of the meeting place of the individual and society. The essence of the political in poetic terms is a process of qualification of the individual by the state or society and the qualification of state or society by the individual. It is in this context that this dissertation discusses Werfel and the relationship of his dramas to his time. The intent is to capture the dramatic essence of Werfel: meeting and communication between men. We know from Werfel's essays that he gives the name God to the idea beyond the specific instance. But the task for now is to examine the specific instance and to begin from this side, "For the world begins in man." 29
FOOTNOTES: INTRODUCTION


3 Johann Wolfgang von Goethe in Between Heaven and Earth, vi.


6 Images in this study means descriptive terms which are consistently used to define some psychological trait. These images may be registered visually, as are, for example, dancing or movement or colors. They may also be registered auditorily as for example shouting with joy or being silent.


9 Lea, p. 271.

10 Adolf D. Klarmann, Franz Werfel: Die Dramen, Frankfurt: Fischer Verlag, 1959, p. 9. All quotations from the plays are from this edition. Page numbers are noted in parentheses. Volume I includes the dramas through Paulus unter den Juden. Volume II contains the remainder of the dramas.
11 Franz Kafka, Hochzeitsvorbereitungen auf dem Lande
275.

12 Werfel, Introduction to Das Lied von Bernadette, 83-
84.

13 Franz Werfel, Zwischen Oben und Unten (München:
Langen Müller, 1975), pp. 41-85.

14 Franz Werfel, Zwischen Oben und Unten, p. 222.

15 Richard Specht, Franz Werfel, Versuch einer
Zeitspiegelung (Berlin: Paul Zsolnay Verlag, 1926).

16 Ernst Keller, Franz Werfel. Sein Bild des Menschen

17 Heribert Rück, "Franz Werfel als Dramatiker" (Diss.
Marburg, 1965).

18 Franz Werfel, Introduction to Die Schlesischen

19 Annalisa Viviani, Das Drama des Expressionismus

20 Thomas Koebner, "Das Drama der Neuen Sachlichkeit und
die Krise des Liberalismus," Die deutsche Literatur in der
Weimarer Republik, ed. Wolfgang Rothe (Stuttgart: Reclam,
1974).

21 See Adolf D. Klarmann, "Allegory in Werfel's 'Das
Opfer' and 'Jacobowsky and the Colonel'," Germanic Review
20 No. 3 (October, 1945), pp. 195-217.

22 Klarmann, p. 195.

23 See discussion of Arnold in Rück, p. xx.

24 Werfel, Die Dramen, p. 243.

25 Rehfeld, Die Erlösung zur Geistigkeit.
Rehfeld, of course, does not draw these conclusions; she continues the discussion in terms of "Geistigkeit."


It is perhaps helpful to discuss an analogous case in this matter of semantics. Werfel also had negative things to say about realism (sometimes called radical realism), by which he meant limiting what is real to only that which is apprehended through the senses. He ascribed a much broader sense to the notion "real," which included the unseen idea. This realism is the proper subject of poetics.

Franz Werfel, Between Heaven and Earth, p. 75.
DRAMA AS DIALOGUE
It is not the aim of this study to define drama by describing Werfel's dramatic works. Rather the goal is to clarify and evaluate Werfel's contributions to dramatic usage. Thus it is necessary to begin with assumptions about the nature of drama. It is assumed here that the essence of drama is dialogue, and that all describable elements of a drama are manifestations of this dialogue. This definition is at the very least workable. It gives us a way to talk about the immediacy of drama without recourse to such schemes as the three unities. It is not necessary to restrict the essences of the drama to that of the event or its time to the course of the sun. If we describe drama as dialogue we do justice to the interaction we observe, be it the interaction of man and man, man and ideas, man and history. Because drama consists of forces interacting with one another, engaged in mutual interdependence, the outcome is not assured until the last words are uttered and the final stage directions given. Drama is dynamic, not static, and it arrests our interest in its resolution. Not only is there interaction on the stage but presumably we are engaged in the give and take. Even in drama that acts as though there is no audience, we enter the debate by identification through one or another of the figures. We are invited, if not commanded, to participate.

Until the drama runs its course, the conclusion is yet
to be made as to the value that is to be ascribed to the protagonists and their actions. The dialogue is not yet complete. The audience enters the process and is part of the final judgment. By identifying with a character, we are condemned or victorious. Or we may be shown that we cannot identify and may be asked to make an independent judgment.

Dialogue in its basic meaning as a conversation between two or more people is normally associated with drama; it is the primary means of conveying the ideas and actions of the drama. Conversational action and reaction propel the drama. It is an extension of this dynamism that pervades drama and that is here called dialogue in an expanded meaning. For example, in Hebbel's *Agnes Bernauer* there is, on the primary level, conversational dialogue; discussions of private and social responsibilities by various agents. Another level of this dialogue is continued with cumulative character descriptions, so the final image that we have of Agnes is a vivid contrast to the image of the duke. In addition, themes such as that of artifice in *Agnes Bernauer* are broken down into "conversational" elements: the royal jewelry and the skull that Albrecht and Agnes find in a trunk; the elaborate monument to the deceased duchess, and the duchess's own simple piety; the ruthless of the state and the necessity for such an artifice as the state. Finally, in historical dramas such as *Agnes Bernauer*, there is an added dimension to the
dialogue; history, its facts and myths, qualify the dramatic event. Thus the components of the dialogue consist not merely of conversant statements but also of antithetical figures, images, and settings.

Dialogue is a determining factor in the structure of the drama. A drama in which there is full and effective interchange will reflect this interchange in a form which shows a climax of the conflict and some form of resolution as definite points in the drama. In Agnes Bernauer, where there is free interchange and equal justification for the actions of both sides, the structure is bipartite with a climactic conclusion. Agnes Bernauer presents two participants in the dialogue: the rights of the individual realm, represented by Agnes; and the rights of the state, represented by Ernst. The first half of the drama belongs to Agnes; the second to Ernst. Albrecht is the bridge between the two forces and it is through his person that Hebbel expresses the necessity of the state. The structure is symmetrical, reflecting the idea that the actions undertaken by the characters are not willful and random but are rather a necessary fulfillment of psychological dictates or an idea (Agnes must yield to her love for Albrecht; Albrecht must yield to his duty as ruler). The tightness of the structure underlines Hebbel's Hegelian concept of the political process as the progression brought about by the confrontation of opposing ideas. To take another example, Goethe's Götz von Berlichingen shows how the dialogue between the
historical and political forces fails; the conflict between political idealism and political reality is continued. The structure of Götz is epic; a succession of scenes, sometimes only loosely related. The lack of a decisive action that would form a dramatic climax and the lack of a resolution of the political problems are reflections of the thesis of the drama; that political events are not finally controllable and that political fortunes rise and fall not in accordance with the plans of men, but randomly. The loose structure, that strings together scenes featuring a wide variety of characters and happenings is well suited to the complicated political reality that Goethe describes.

Structure reflects the dialogue. The "meaning" of the drama is a composite of the dialogue. For example, the meaning of Schiller's Don Carlos is not the glory of political idealism, as shown by the Marquis Posa, nor the terror of cynicism as exemplified by Phillip. The meaning is a composite idea that we derive by evaluating aspects such as the devious methods that the idealist Posa employs; Phillip's perception of his own power as being granted; the apolitical passion of Don Carlos; the lack of political responsibility on the part of the Spanish people; Phillip's divorce from nature; and the idea of a free political state in the repressive Spain of the 1700s. The audience's evaluation of the political action of these historical agents may then be generalized to apply to the political situation of the audience's time. The meaning is not
embedded in any one tendentious statement in the drama but is arrived at through our perception of the whole. While this may be said also of the novel in a general way, it seems particularly the case in the drama that the meaning is parcelled out to different characters and divided into parts, scenes and acts. The audience concretization in combining the aspects of the meaning is vital to the drama. The novel, by way of contrast, puts things together for the reader through the narrator.

In the drama small and seemingly insignificant detail may prove as significant as the grand and oft quoted. In Kleist's *Prince von Homburg*, the prince is condemned to death and has supposedly accepted his fate. He is calmly awaiting his execution. He is given a flower and says that he will put it in water *when he gets home*. Was the whole a dream or did the prince never come to a real understanding of his impending death? The point to be made here is that this seemingly insignificant statement, often overlooked, is as significant as any in which the Elector delineates the responsibilities of state or the Prince accepts the restrictions of state.

The nature of the dialogue influences the choice of material. It is more than coincidence that for drama the material is so often historical, the thematic so often political. The nexus is dialogue. Historical reality consists of men and ideas in context; the same is true for drama. Mythic and personal material may not avail itself
of historical credence but even when there is not a specific historical or political setting there is a high degree of social actuality in drama. This is the result of the traditional formal structure of drama: characters in conflict with other characters; the results of one act played against the developments of another act. Definition of man by his social environment, an integral part of drama, provides social actuality. To the degree to which drama possesses a social consciousness, a dialogue with the consciousness of the public is possible. Dialogue provides the concept of audience inclusion.

In summary, dramatic dialogue is a dynamic interchange of ideas and attitudes. The vehicle for this dialogue are the various characters, the statements made by those characters, imagery systems; and the changing situations at any given point in a drama. In the following discussion of Werfel's dramas, the dramatic dialogue as here defined, is the focal point. This is a logical attack which suggests itself in a reading of Werfel in several ways. First of all, there is a steady development in the direction of expressing the dialogue by means of sharply antithetical heroes and images. This emphasizes the dialogue. This development is chronological; the dramas will be discussed in their chronological order. Dialogue as the focal point is further suggested by the increasing impartiality with which Werfel treats the opposing forces. This impartiality sharpens the interest with which we view the confrontation
and brings our reasoning faculties into play. Werfel writes about this:


(Zwischen Oben und Unten, 598)

It will be the subject of discussion to note to what degree Werfel is able to achieve such a standpoint, that is, to fully realize the dialogue potential of the drama.

Werfel's dialectical spirit pervades the drama. It is the same attitude that Werfel speaks of in the "Vorrede zu den 'Schlesischen Liedern' des Petr Bezruč":

Das Princip der Weisheit aber ist in memoria Cartesii: ewiger, fruchtbarer Zweifel an sich selbst, unvergängliche Selbstvernichtung.

(Zwischen Oben und Unten, 477)

This spirit reveals itself most clearly in the historical dramas of his middle period. It must be asked to what extent the essentially magical material of the early dramas lends itself to the dramatic spirit. The last two dramas abandon the historical for the contemporary; does this affect the disposition of the drama? These questions can be answered through a careful analysis of the dialogue. Because the aim is to treat the dramas as a dialectic, only the completed dramas are dealt with here. The integrity of
each work is observed. It is assumed that all is important, from theorizing statements to images to settings.

Dealing with drama as dialogue grants the advantage of dealing with public reaction, as discussed above. This is particularly advantageous for Werfel research, as his work is subject to debate as to its basic disposition. Dramatic productions and critical and public reception have served as corrective factors in this treatise.

It is a tribute to the dramas that there are quite variant readings. The dialogue is taken up at one point or another and amplified. Treatment of ideological stances in Werfel has been quite extensive and basic to an understanding of Werfel. Waltraud Rehfeld provides an extensive portrayal of the theological Werfel. Essays are the starting point for Rehfeld, and she points out where the ideas are incorporated in the fictional writing. This dissertation is most indebted to that of Heribert Rück. Rück comments on the dialectical spirit of Werfel's works. He is instructive in the delineation of Werfel's dramatic periods. A. D. Klarmann, Ernst Keller, and Henry Lea, among others, have made important contributions to the critical dialogue. What is attempted in this study is a careful weighing of theological and secular, image and counter-image, hero and antihero.

Werfel's dramas are discussion worthy in their dramatic-dialogue formulation. The perspective and the aesthetic distance of the middle dramas make them well worth
noting in literary history. Werfel's dramatic career is also instructive in literary history because of the different artistic epochs of which he was a part.

Werfel's lifetime saw much literary ferment but even more social upheaval. The dramatic attempts, with their basic social orientation, are thus of particular interest. Most of Werfel's essayistic writing, which has a didactic and evangelistic quality, has aged. The dramas, which pose questions in a social context, have not.
EARLY DRAMAS
FIRST DRAMAS--INCIPIENT DIALOGUE

Werfel’s earliest dramas, Der Besuch aus dem Elysium, Die Versuchung, the translation Die Troerinnen, Die Mittagsgöttin, and Spiegelmensch have several obvious features in common. They focus on one character and his inner struggles. With the exception of Die Troerinnen, the heroes are young, artistically-oriented males. The dramas are written in verse or rhythmic prose. Magic devices are common to all but Die Troerinnen.

The focus of the early dramas is narrow. As in the first developmental stage of man, as described in the "Erster Schau" of Spiegelmensch, the heroes see primarily their own reflection instead of the world. Reality as perceived by these heroes is filtered and formed by the language of poetry. Historical actuality plays a very minor part in these dramas. Thus any dialogue remains largely internal. The great dialogue of the idealist consciousness with the complexities of reality, a major concern of Werfel throughout his dramatic career, struggles slowly to the foreground in these dramas.

The heroes of these early dramas often evaluate their actions in terms of the intensity of the feeling produced. The only meaningful dialogue carried on is with their own consciousness. But here and there in these early dramas there are indications that even for the young Werfel this
internalized dialogue is hardly sufficient. It leads to a quagmire of subjectivity. Perhaps more importantly it is not conducive to good drama. The earliest internalized dramas hardly qualify as drama; Heribert Rück names them "Ekstasen."¹

There is a close relationship between Werfel's early lyric work and his early dramatic work. Die Mittagsgöttin is embedded in the poetic work Der Gerichtstag. W. H. Fox notes the close relationship of lyric and drama in this period and finds that the early lyric verse had often used forms that allowed for statement and counter-statement or dialogue.² Thus a dramatic disposition in a lyric framework is hypothesized.

The trend is for dramatic objectivity to grow out of a lyric subjectivity within this period. This correlates to an external dialogue largely replacing an internalized dialogue. The questioning, skeptical spirit that forms the core of Werfel's dramatic achievement grows in importance with each successive drama. The culmination of the process of objectivization for this period is Spieglemensch.
FOOTNOTES

1 Heribert Rück, _Franz Werfel als Dramatiker_, p. 1.

PHILOSOPHICAL BASIS OF THE EARLY DRAMAS

Werfel's assertions that he took a philosophical stance in opposition to the prevailing thought of his time cannot be proven on examination of his early dramas. They exemplify the tenets of vitalism as outlined by Gunther Martens in *Vitalismus und Expressionismus.* The general philosophical replacement of "cogito ergo sum" with life as the primary principle of being (Martens, 32) finds its reflection in Werfel in the existential development that the heroes of the early dramas undergo. The requirement imposed on all main characters from Lukas to Thamal is that life be submitted to in all its facets.

Nietzsche's concept of life, according to Martens, is "das biologisch-kreatürliche Grundprinzip der Natur schlechthin." (Martens, 36) It is characterized by "Vorwärtsdrängen," "Tendenz zur Steigerung, zur Überwindung seiner selbst." (Martens, 36) It is to be understood as "eine stetige, irreversible Bewegung." (Martens, 36).

Werfel casts about for the exact location of life. The youthful *Der Besuch* initially posits life in adventurousness and artificial excitement of various sorts. The equation of life with adventure proves insufficient, for it leaves the hero without true substance, as he learns in his encounter with bourgeois society. In *Die Versuchung*, life is equated with creativity. But because the artist's life is primarily
celebral, Werfel here sets up a relationship of artist to common folk which is expected to infuse the artist's life with natural vitality and enrich his partners with his spirituality. But the dichotomy of life and spirit remains unreconciled and thus troubling. This problem is much less apparent in Die Troerinnen because there is no exceptional hero or heroine. Life is conceived primarily as suffering, because its experiences are not freely chosen but imposed from without. Furthermore, the reason that tended to abstract itself from the material in the first two dramas is now seen in Die Troerinnen as a subordinate tool for the perception of life. The problem in the first two dramas might be formulated as: "I think, therefore I have separated myself from life"; in Die Troerinnen, "I live and also think in order to comprehend more fully what is involved in living." It is the conviction of vitalism that the powers of reasoning are merely one tool for perception (Martens, 40) and that they are inferior to the spontaneous creativity of "life" as a natural force.

Life in Die Mittagsgöttin is first and foremost biological. Laurentin is reborn into a physical world. But he is by nature a celebral being and can sustain the life he has won only by maintaining ties to those who draw their sustenance from the earth. The mutual (inter)dependence of life and spirit as described in Die Mittagsgöttin is a satisfying solution.

Spiegelmensch tries to define life by cataloging its
appearances. The lengthiness of the drama is attributable to the desire to have Thamal exhaust every avenue of life, exalted and debased. In terms of a vitalistic philosophy, Spiegelmensch is not satisfactory because life is not valued for itself but as a prelude to a heavenly realm.

Certainly none of the dramas values ratio above life. All struggle with the problem of the intransigence of the material on the one side and the irrelevance of the spirit on the other. Werfel's struggle with this problem reveals how involved he is with the philosophical questions of his time. On the whole, life assumes a position of servitude; it is a necessary process for the development of man. Because life is purveyed as a means toward the end of spiritual perfectability, all components of life are relativized. This is particularly apparent with respect to evil. The devil often assumes a pedagogical function. Werfel has not rid himself of an optimistic belief in progress. There is a value attached to experiences. This value is not, however—despite the conclusion of Spiegelmensch—an extramundane value. The events of the drama are not evaluated teleologically. Martens quotes Nietzsche: "Die teleologische Interpretation des Weltgeschehens zerstört 'die Unschuld des Werdens', 'man hat das Werden seiner Unschuld entkleidet, wenn irgendein So- und-so-Sein auf Wille, auf Absichten, auf Akte der Verantwortlichkeit zurückgeführt wird." (Martens, 41).

Werfel's standpoint is perhaps best evaluated from the
example given in *Spiegelmensch*. Thamal's actions are not condemned from an outside standpoint of an idea of the good; they do, however, have to be evaluated from the effects they have on society. In this respect, Werfel is closer to the positivism of a John Stuart Mill than the vitalism of Nietzsche.

In other matters Werfel's dramas reflect a vitalistic philosophy. The Nietzschean idea of perspective ("'Dionysios philosophos' ersetzt nun den Denker, der in früheren Zeiten ein höchstes Sein als prima causa lehrte; er systematisiert, kategorisiert und logisiert nicht die Vielfalt der Erscheinungen, sondern versucht das Leben in seiner Akausalität und Widersprüchlichkeit zu begreifen"

[Martens, 421] may be responsible for the lack of a single value perspective of events. In *Spiegelmensch*, the voice of *Spiegelmensch* is as much a voice of reason as is the voice of Thamal. In *Der Besuch aus dem Elysium*, we may choose to view events through identification with Lukas or through a bourgeois point of view. Without the assignment of external value systems, the matter of judgment becomes more complex. The audience finds itself in a position similar to that described by Martens:

Es setzt im unendlichen Strom des Werdens bestimmte Fixpunkte, an denen sich der einzelne halten und orientieren kann-Perspektiven, die niemals eine absolute Gültigkeit besitzen, sondern lediglich als Hilfskonstruktion zur Bewältigung der für den Menschen unfassbaren Unendlichkeit dienen; denn es bestünde gar kein Leben, wenn nicht auf dem Grunde
perspektivischer Schätzungen und Scheinbarkeiten!
(Martens, 42)
The single most attractive feature in Werfel's dramatic work is his own restraint in imposing external values; the audience is responsible for its own evaluation. Thus a dialogue is established between audience and drama.

In the discussion of the following dramas, it will be observed that audience concretization is a delicate matter—depending as much on slight shifts in imagery as great pronouncements. Nietzsche employed a language of images: "Das Denken in sichtbaren und fühlbaren Vorgängen...wie es in den Mythen des Altertums vorfindet, bedeutet ihm die einzige Möglichkeit, den 'steinharten verewigten Worten' ...und einer feststellenden Begrifflichkeit zu entgehen. Dieser Grundzug der lebensphilosophischen Darstellung spiegelt sich in einer Fülle von Bildern und metaphorischen Formen." (Martens, 47) Not only is Werfel influenced by this general technique of employing visual or physical descriptions as an agent of modification, he is also heir to specific Nietzschean symbolism. The following Nietzschean representations of life are to be found in the following first group of dramas: life as "Bewegung, Aktivität, Unruhe" (Martens, 48); the flame as the "ständig verzehrende und ständig erneuernde Lebensbewegung" (Martens, 48); midday as the "Umschreibung des Zeitpunktes, in dem der Mensch sich selbst überwindet und die absolute Bejahnung des Lebens erreicht" (Martens, 49); dance as the expression of life
"das nicht mehr an die starren Gesetze der Moral und Gesellschaft gefesselt ist," "Bewegung ohne Zweck"; flying, likewise a "Zeichen der Befreiung vom Geist der Schwere."

(Martens, 49) These Nietzschean metaphors dominate the following dramatic works. They are not, however, employed in an unmodified positive fashion. Life as "Bewegung, Aktivität, Unruhe" is opposed by images of narrowness and stability. Depending on the reality opposing the image—be it the "Beschränktheit" of peasants, or the community of the peasant with nature, for example—the value of the image changes. Dance changes in concept from historical necessity in Die Troerinnen to sensual irresponsibility in Spiegelmensch. Flying or unrestricted movement is modified over the course of the dramas; it finally implies a detrimental imbalance.

In conclusion, Werfel owes a great deal to the philosophy of vitalism, at least as concerns these early dramas. He fully uses and thereby enriches the concepts of dynamic perspective and imagery employed to break up the rigidity of language. The addition of his own pragmatic, socially-oriented philosophy adds to the dialectical strength of vitalism as he interprets it.
FOOTNOTES: PHILOSOPHICAL BASIS OF THE
EARLY DRAMAS

1 Introduction to Between Heaven and Earth, pp. vii-x.

2 VITALISMUS UND EXPRESSIONISMUS: EIN BEITRAG ZUR
GENESE UND DEUTUNG EXPRESSIONISTISCHER STILSTRUKTUREN UND
MOTIVE (STUTTGART, W. KOHLHAMMER, 1971).
DER BESUCH AUS DEM ELYSIUM
Der Besuch aus dem Elysium, written in 1910, is a slight drama in terms of action but promising in the area of interacting dramatic components. It begins with a form typical for its time, an effusive outpouring of a solitary hero. It draws on the tradition of the one act Jugendstil dramas with their "...Vorliebe fürs Intime, für das preziös Verfeinerte und bedeutsungsreich Anspielende..."¹ D.B.a.d.E. is a drama of masks and allusions. Winkler writes that Jugendstil favored the one act drama because it allowed exploration of a psychological theme without the restrictions of character consistency or elaborate plot.² This should permit an intense feeling to develop.

Maximillian Dauthendey in the one-act Glück examines the happiness of lovers from all aspects—time, intensity, physical appearance. Hermann Bahr's Die Tiefe Natur probes the nature of "love." The plot of Die Tiefe Natur is clearly of secondary importance. D.B.a.d.E. aims for a similar intensity and psychological depth in portraying an exceptional and sensitive man. But the basis of Werfel's dramatic nature is confrontation. So although he does provide a detailed portrait of the exceptional type, he modifies the intensity of this portrayal by developing the conflict in which the exceptional character is involved. The dramatic opposition to the monologue arises almost involuntarily. What begins as a traditional glorification of the man above the crowd is qualified to a certain
extent. A dialogue is begun.

The material might be characterized as mystic-mythic. Within a realistic setting, there occurs a resurrection and a variation of the immaculate conception. Lukas, an adventurer, revisits the woman he worshipped as an adolescent and has continued to worship from afar. She is expecting a child by her husband, who is once referred to by his name—Joseph. Lukas announces that the child will be his. Lukas' visit is short; he has in actuality been drowned in a shipwreck and must return to the Elysian fields. There is rather too much to be developed in a one-act drama: a visit from the beyond; a spiritual conception; a passionate, spiritual love which finds expression in outward adventure; the description of bourgeois existence. What gives the play a measure of coherence and makes it of interest is the point at which the first three of the above themes intersects with the fourth. At this point there is a form of dialogue. The first three constitute concerns of the inner realm of man, the last of man as a public being. In this drama a small dramatic voice is raised which will reach its apex in the later historical dramas.

The extent to which the emphasis remains on the inner metaphysical world in this early drama may be seen in the space devoted to each of the three characters. The Baurat with his bourgeois sensibility is given little space or complexity. He is something of a dolt, believing that
Lukas' solemn pronouncements are a joke. He reveals a blindness to more sensitive natures. This lack of sensitivity is typified by his final question, "Wo sind Sie denn" (D.B.a.d.E., 23), asked of the departed Lukas. This question refers not only to the physical whereabouts of Lukas but also to Lukas' spiritual locus. Inasmuch as the Baurat is portrayed as a bourgeois clod, Lukas' spirituality is glorified. But Werfel also gives Joseph an attractive feature, an undeniable solidity. Hedwig alludes to it when she refers to him as an "Ernährer" and calls him by his name, Josef. (D.B.a.d.E., 22) In this double appellation, the bourgeois practicality is given considerable approbation. Lukas has already indicated that the Baurat's type is the protector of his sort of spirituality by pronouncing him the "Vater meines Sohnes." (D.B.a.d.E., 21)

Hedwig is apparently somewhat less limited than her husband in understanding Lukas. On hearing herself described by Lukas in the most ethereal terms, she responds, although somewhat "bürgerlich verlegen," with a "poesivolle, nur halbverlogene Sentimentalität." (D.B.a.d.E., 18) At first she is sure of the mandates of her existence: "Tüchtig Milch trinken, fleissig turnen und spazieren gehn! (D.B.a.d.E., 15) Later she shares in Lukas' vision and recognizes that her life up to this point has been shallow. She perceives that the awaited child has the spirituality of Lukas: "Waren es deine blauen Augen,
Mensch dort im Dunkeln, die mich anlachten, wenn der
kleine Schatz im Traum auf meinem Schoss-spielte? Ich kann
sie nicht mehr auslachen, doch davonlaufen möchte ich auch
learns, through her love for Lukas, that her feeling for
her husband was mostly fear. She turns to her husband at
the end of the experience. Pedestrian life is impregnated
by spiritual life.

Lukas is Josef's counterpart. The reader is meant to
admire him. He has turned worshipful and unrequited love
for Hedwig into a life of great adventure. His love is
apparently profound, because he loves the essence of Hedwig
and her physical characteristics are unimportant to him.
But this sort of love is not fully approved of in the
drama. Lukas has so idealized the object of his love that
he really disdains Hedwig; he calls her a "Backfisch."
(D.B.a.d.E., 16) This love has lost sight of its object.
Lukas' scorn for Hedwig is one indication that Lukas and
the sensitive type that he represents are being criticized
by Werfel.

Lukas' ethereal existence is most critically examined
in his last speech where he completely disavows the
"Schattenleben." (D.B.a.d.E., 23) He longs for an ordinary
existence. He would gladly return to life and all its
superficial pleasures. He doubts his own greatness and
ascribes pettiness to Hedwig and Josef. This yearning for
the world contradicts his earlier disdain for everything
physical. Lukas apologizes for this contradiction. He says that it is merely part of the struggle in the final shedding of his personhood. This is not entirely convincing. The reader is left with the impression that an existence such as Lukas' is at best problematic. It can infuse ordinary existence with new sensitivity. Lukas has done this for Hedwig. But there is an emptiness in Lukas' life. All is reflection and abstraction. Paradise is the most extreme example of such abstraction. Lukas is returning from the Elysian Fields and he describes it: "In erhabener Weltrührung taumeln wir, wissend und unbewusst, weise und begrifflos, gefühltvoll und leer durch die unbemerkten Schnee-Ebenen, Hügelländer und Teichgenden Elysiums." (D.B.a.d.E., 21)

As though fearing the charge of emptiness, Werfel adds to the description of the Elysian Fields the following defense: "Doch niemand darf behaupten, dass in dieser vergessenen Existenz unsere Seele die entscheidende Eigenschaft verloren habe." (D.B.a.d.E., 22) He goes on to describe how characteristics are retained, "Alexanders Bild schwingt mutig durch die goldenen Lüfte, Goethe spricht, sich umwendend, zu begleitenden Gestalten und pocht an Fels und Gestein." (D.B.a.d.E., 22) In that land of pure existence only characteristic superficial gestures are retained as a kind of identifying leit-motiv. The problem here is to identify man outside of his social environment. This problem is an expansion of that posed by
Lukas: how can love exist apart from its object? Identifying man by a characteristic gesture hardly seems sufficient. The characteristic gestures of Alexander and Goethe are, it will be noted, physical gestures. Man is dependent on the physical world for his identity.

Conflict in D.B.a.d.E. is between the physical world on the one hand and, on the other hand, movement not defined by goal or substance. Movement not defined by goal or substance is represented by Lukas with his inner-man values. The earthly Lukas expressed his love through racing of one sort or another; movement valued for itself. He perceives Hedwig not as a physical phenomenon but as a "seliger Traum." (D.B.a.d.E., 18). She is little more than a "Verdichtung des zarten Athers." (D.B.a.d.E., 18). The highest enthusiasm that he feels for Hedwig is a vision of her death, when her body will move to nothingness in decomposition.

In the beyond earthly movement ceases and paradise is almost statuesque: "Und endlich dich, ein leises Bild zu sehen, in den süssen Gefilden und Hainen, wo keins dem andern nahekommt und alle vor namenlos augegangener Freude bis ins Herz hinein verstummen." (D.B.a.d.E., 18) Movement in paradise is movement without reference to space; Lukas characterizes it as "taumeln." (D.B.a.d.E., 21) Purposeless movement is the expression of longing which has all but divested itself of the object.

Closely associated with this motif of movement is the
notion of dissolution. Hedwig lives "aufgelöst" in Lukas (D.B.a.d.E., 17, 18); the inhabitants of paradise exhibit a nameless, free joy. (D.B.a.d.E., 18) Dissolution is a movement away from the physical source of the love, Hedwig, for example, or away from any reason from joy. This is the basic movement in Lukas' concept of life. Only when Lukas had been separated from Hedwig for a number of years and he could hardly imagine her any more, only then his "Liebe schweifte ins Unbegrenzte." (D.B.a.d.E., 18) The object becomes unimportant: "Ja, Sehnsucht is Bewegung, Wanderschaft, kein sich Zurückschmiegen ans Geliebte." (D.B.a.d.E., 19)

The opposite of dissolution, compactness, is used by Lukas to refer to his earlier life (D.B.a.d.E., 21) The bliss of purposeless movement of paradise is to be perceived by mortals in nature, in a "sich dämmmernd bewegende Welt," in the "Takt der Geräusche und im Gang des Lichts." (D.B.a.d.E., 21) This is a middle realm--noises perceived through their rhythm and light in its passage--between physical entanglement and total dissolution. Observation of the process and life in the physical world is a part of the message that Lukas brings: "Hörchen Sie auf die Geräusche der Geräte und Möbel, auf den Gang der Uhren, denn wie oft ist unser unbewusster Wille in den Dingen und bewegt sie. Ein Pochen mag Ihnen Verkündigung sein." (D.B.a.d.E., 21) Lukas thus makes a dichotomy between his sort of living beyond physical boundaries and those who
must rely on their surroundings. Two approaches to life are established in D.B.a.d.E., and the dialogue between the two will form a major concern throughout Werfel's dramas.

Krügel describes Lukas as a mixture of "spiritual attainments and material preoccupation." This is an accurate summation, but the two attributes do not contradict one another. It is through material preoccupation, or close attention to the physical, that deep emotions come into being. This is what Lukas advises when he says "Ein Pochen mag Ihnen Verkündigung sein." (D.B.a.d.E., 21) It is only when material involvement is foregone that a conflict between spiritual and material evolves. The physical world is more than a mere vessel for the spiritual world; the spiritual is not conceivable in terms other than physical. Thus it was impossible to describe the inhabitants of the Elysian Fields without reference to their physical gestures. It is thus not surprising that Lukas finds it difficult to abandon the earth and return to paradise:

Sprach ich von der Seligkeit des Nichtseins?
Von der Süße des Schattenlebens?

Lüge! Lüge! Feigheit eines ewigen Schwächlings,
eines unsterblichen Phlegmas! Wie läuten
draussen lustig die Elektrischen, ich möchte
heute abend ins Theater gehen! Und da, da
sitzest du und lagst niemals in meinen Armen.
O hätte ich, statt mich krankhaft ins
Unermessene zu steigern, die Kraft dazu
verwandt, dich zu erreichen.

(D.B.a.d.E., 23)

Light is the concern of the physical man. Hedwig before her alteration tries to make more light in the room. Josef at the end of the visit goes out to turn on the light. Dissolution, movement without reference, and finally darkness are the defining features of Lukas' brand of spirituality. Lukas arrives on a dark rainy afternoon. Hedwig refers repeatedly to the darkness. (D.B.a.d.E., 15, 17) At the height of Lukas' "Verkündigung" the Baurat announces somewhat prosaically that it is "stockdunkel." (D.B.a.d.E., 21). Darkness, like the movement described earlier and like dissolution result in a void. It is a romantic assumption that the essence of life is to be experienced in such a void. D.B.a.d.E. is a test of the validity of this assumption.

It is not insignificant that Goethe is one of the inhabitants of the Elysian Field in this drama. The picture of Goethe poking around on rocks is a graphic illustration of the fact that the question that Werfel is dealing with is a Goethean one. This question is the balancing of light and dark forces and the corrective didactic features of nature. Lukas moves beyond these points of reference—can
one? Various pronouncements of Lukas are strongly reminiscent of Werther as he (Werther) discusses the nature of unbounded feeling. Werther writes:

Lieber Wilhelm, ich habe allerlei nachgedacht, über die Begier im Menschen, sich auszubreiten, neue Entdeckungen zu machen, herumzuschweifen; und dann wieder über den inneren Trieb, sich der Einschränkung willig zu ergeben, in dem Gleise der Gewohnheit so hinzufahren und sich weder um rechts noch um links zu bekümmern.  

and

Oh, es ist mit der Ferne, wie mit der Zukunft! Ein grosses dämmerndes Ganzes ruht vor unserer Seele, unsere Empfindung verschwimmt darin wie unser Auge, und wir sehen uns, ach! unser ganzes Wesen hinzugeben, uns mit aller Wonne eines einzigen, grossen, herrlichen Gefühls ausfüllen zu lassen—Und ach! wenn wir hinzueilen, wenn das Dort nun Hier wird, ist alles vor wie nach, und wir stehen in unserer Armut, in unserer Eingeschränktheit, und unsere Seele lechzt nach entschlümpfetem Labsale.  

Lukas uses similar notions of movement to describe desire; a movement that is the apotheosis of "Einschränkung": Lukas speaks of "Die Sehnsucht, die sich von ihrem Mittelpunkt abkehrt" (D.B.a.d.E., 17) Of "Begeisterung" he says, "So schwankte sie zwischen Unendlichkeit und Nähe." (D.B.a.d.E., 18) He uses the same verb that Werther does above when he says, "meine Lebe schweifte ins Unbegrenzte." (D.B.a.d.E., 18)

The question raised by Der Besuch is whether abstract life and life beyond physical reference is true life. A simple answer to this question is not given. It is not possible to lift from the context the phrase "Ich war der seligste Mann meines Jahrhunderts, denn einen Sehnsüchtigern
Gab es nicht" (D.B.a.d.É., 16), and say that the drama means something like happiness consists of longing. Werfel makes sure that this does not happen. He makes the last words that Lukas speaks words of despair. Werfel establishes opposing values: the steadiness of Josef and the spirituality of Lukas. These are accompanied by opposing images: referential and non-referential movement, light and darkness, compactness and dissolution.

Werfel is a poser of questions, a skeptic. He questions the notion of a "new man," which is a topic of expressionism. Kaiser's Die Bürger von Calais, 1914, is an inspiring hymn in praise of the new man. Die Bürger von Calais examines how common man can rise to true humanity in an exceptional setting. D.B.a.d.É. suffers in any sort of comparison to Die Bürger von Calais, but a comparison of the two does illuminate a basic difference in Werfel. Werfel begins with an exceptional hero and then tests him in a banal setting. Werfel's method is different. Both Werfel and Kaiser see man as the salvation of the world, but Werfel is more concerned with how the new man can be of use in an ordinary situation. Reinhard Goering's Die Seeschlacht shares with D.B.a.d.É. the concern about the relationship between men. The fifth sailor voices this concern: "Glaubst du, dass unter Menschen alles schon erfüllt ist, / was zwischen Mensch und Mensch sein kann?" The fifth sailor is the fullest prototype of the new man in Die Seeschlacht. He is conscious and critical of his
actions, self-responsible, and joins, finally, wholeheartedly in the fray. All seven sailors eventually become as one new man. Any separation is oblitered: "Held oder Feigling--ist das ein Unterschied?" (Modern German Drama, 308). Werfel differs in such a conception of the new man in two ways. He divides mankind into two groups: the spiritually endowed and those who are bound to the material. Thus the relationship of man to man is more problematic for Werfel than for Goering for whom every man is both material limitation and idea. Werfel has the problem of accommodating the spiritual to the material—a problem he deals with over the course of all the dramas. This problem accounts for the second basic variance of Werfel from Goering as an expressionist: Werfel gives a more specific, and less allegorical setting. Werfel cannot ignore the real, concrete world. Goering is not much concerned about the physical attributes of the ship or the battle; they are transcended in the discussion of the meaning of life. Werfel in D.B.a.d.E. contrasts the shadowiness of an ideal-motivated existence with a concrete setting. Werfel questions the vision of the new man by letting the new man intersect with bourgeois mentality and with physical reality.

The extent to which Lukas holds the stage and the extent to which his pronouncements are lofty and grand may indicate that Werfel identifies with Lukas' vision. But the identification breaks down in the face of reality, the
result being the surprising final outburst of Lukas. In this final speech, Lukas disavows his shadowy existence and longs for simple physical pleasures. This is a break in the thought of the drama. The imagery of movement without reference is still used after this break in identification, but it no longer has a positive value. Earlier movement in paradise was blissful: "In erhabener Weltrühung taumeln wir." (D.B.a.d.E., 21) Now that existence is nothing more than a "Schattenreich," a term which connotes emptiness and death. Movement without reference was earlier conceived as the greatness to which man can aspire: "meine Liebe schweifte ins Unbegrenzte." (D.B.a.d.E., 8) Now it is a sickness in which man did not recognize his physical boundaries: "O hätte ich, statt mich krankhaft ins Unermessene zu steigern, die Kraft dazu verwandt, dich zu erreichen." (D.B.a.d.E., 23) Werfel would like to believe in a vision of greatness for man, but a process of objectivization asserts itself here and in later dramas.

The meaning of the drama is a composite of the characterization, imagery, and poetic perspective. Abstract spirituality, existing outside physical referentials, is problematic. A necessary balance is lost. Elenora K. Adams and Ursula Kuhlmann find that Lukas goes too far afield of reference and commits the sin of "das Begehren und das Erfullen 'der Sehnsucht'," resulting in an "ausgeprägter seelischer Masochismus." This is partially
correct, but it must not be forgotten that Lukas has infused Hedwig and her family with new life. Abstract spirituality has an important function in society. It must, however, not remove itself completely from common life.
FOOTNOTES -- DER BESUCH AUS DEM ELYSIUM


2 Winkler, p. 8.


5 Goethe, *Der Junge Goethe*, IV, 121.


DIE VERSUCHUNG
If any of Werfel's dramatic works deserve the appellation "Sprechdrama" it is Die Versuchung. There is no conflict of events to propel the play; an ego wounded in the past is the activating force. The wounded ego calls forth Satan and a conversation ensues that occupies most of the drama. Satan is finally banished and the conversation receives a new partner in the form of an archangel. There is also little inner action in the form of dramatic events which might have occurred within the personage of the poet. Although the hero changes from initial despair and a sense of jadedness to a triumphant sense of responsibility toward the world this seems more a change of mood than a profound transformation. There is nothing really to change the hero--the devil hardly tempts him and the archangel merely confirms his sense of mission.

The whole affair is fairly bloodless. Indeed it might be viewed as a treatise rather than as a drama. Conflict does not develop between the enticements of the devil and the poet's purity; the poet merely expounds on the un-attractiveness of the worldly enticements. The drama is of interest here for three reasons: the imagery it employs, the introduction of the concept of evil into the dialectical process, and the bargaining stance of man in relationship to the absolute.

As dialogue and thus as drama, Die Versuchung doesn't
succeed. It was written "an einem Manövertag 1912."
(Klarmann, F. W. Die Dramen, 537) The play shows the
limited amount of time devoted to it. The idea is very
slight: a list of the temptations the poet must face.
Arranged around this list are (one) a disappointed love
which calls forth despair and in despair's wake, Satan;
(two) a Satan not quite as clever as the poet and likeable
in his weakness; and (three) an archangel who confirms that
the poet has overcome temptation and thus belongs to a
higher order of mankind. The thematic concerns are much
the same as those of Der Besuch. Missing here is the
construction of a real force opposing the poetic hero.
The hero is initially disgusted by the shallowness of
humanity and the superficiality of the reality that man
creates. He rejects this reality. But after he turns down
the devil's offers of power over other people he does come
to see that he is meant to live among the people. The
poet's relationship with mankind is, however, not to be on
an equal basis. His task is to perceive the poetry in
mankind's frailty. The poet's personal anxieties are to be
subliminated; Miss Olivia is not mentioned in the reso-
lution. Reality is transformed into the material of
literature and the poet is transformed into the servant of
literature. The poet's relationship to reality is paternal.
An annoyingly superior tone is the result. This drama
stands quite alone in Werfel's works in its spirit of un-
qualified adulation of an inward life. In its lack of
perspective the drama is offensive. Rück reports that Werfel later called the play "abgeschmackt".¹

The essentially one dimensional aspect of the play is most apparent in the imagery. The convincing antithetical images of D.B.a.d.E. are not as well developed here, because the antithesis of poet and world is not allowed to develop. Only once will the real world assert itself as a force really deserving of attention. That is when the church assembly, coarse and provincial as individuals, unites in music to attain an elevated spiritual state. Otherwise reality is pathetic: a dying rabbit, a woman left alone in the world, a dying barmaid. The world as it is described here is hardly a force to be reckoned with on an equal basis; it is easy for the poet to assume a superior attitude toward it.

Initially the world is all flash and glitter for the poet, "Tribünen und Automobile, Fellachen und Ladys, Sphinx und Statistenbäuche, Kamele und Wiener Kaffees." (D.V., 27) The world of society and the theatre predom- inates in his thought. Whether this society is aristocratic or bohemian is not really specified. Nor do we know whether the poet is a bona fide member of this society or merely an aspirant to it. Whatever his status, he is easily intimidated and feels rebuked by women and waiters.

The poet feels impotent when confronted by firmer characters. But these characters are not given full characterization and thus not true substance. The poet's
rival for the attentions of a young lady is denigrated as "ein Statistiker des jährlichen Niederschlags, ein Wetterprophet" (D.V., 27). In this slighting characterization, non-artistic or factual perception of sensory phenomena is ridiculed.

A recurrent image in D.B.a.d.E. is movement which is not restricted to the attainment of a goal. This motion was evaluated in a scheme of balance and imbalance. In accordance with this scheme, bourgeois, non-artistic men in Die Versuchung are very goal-oriented and purposeful. The poet claims to admire them. They are full of "Ruhe, Gemessenheit und Mittelpunkt. Heute und morgen ist ihnen ein Ziel." (D.V. 28). But the poet's admiration is not very sincere; he finds these men clearly inferior in their ability to appreciate Miss Olivia. Non goal-oriented movement and its corollaries are thrown into question in D.B.a.d.E. by contrary images; in D.V., the contrary images never come into their own.

Bourgeois images here are images of narrowness rather than of balance: a teacher steps out of an "engbrüstigen Häuschen" and plucks lettuce from a "dünnen Vorbeet." (28) Narrowness is a way of life for most men: "Sie bemessen ja einander nach Willen und Erfolg." (28) The poet's initial reaction toward men who lead such a life is mixed: "O du verhasstes, geliebtes Menschentum./ Du angebetet, wohlerwogenes Handeln aus Gründen, du bespien ersehntes Beschränktsein!" (29) Death for the common man is not
evaluated any more positively than life. The death of the beloved in D.B.a.d.E. was seen as a move to a glorious nothingness and was positively evaluated. Here death seems not a release nor a final dissolution of limitations but a continuation of senseless illusion: Montezuma in his "Märtyrerheiterkeit" (28); the vision of a violent and theatrical death for Miss Olivia. So even the final dissolution to a true being not limited to the physical body is denied other non-poetic personages here. The common man has no consciousness of the immortality of his soul. The poet foresees the death of the barmaid Bronislawa. He will remember her through other young women. But the effect of his remembrance is not a glorification of Bronislawa, it is a glorification of the poet's powers:


(39-40)

Only in one instance can man (other than the poet) transcend pettiness, and that is through music. The village congregation, unpolished in musical ability and coarse in appearance, enters through music a "grosse Brüderschaft der Wesen." (38) The imagery is a continuation of that in D.B.a.d.E. At the moment when all
the individuals are united in the performance of the music there is a balance of the restricted spirit of the common man and the expansive spirit of the universe, as exemplified in the poet: "jedes Gemüt hört unbewusst den Takt seines eigenen Wandels und empfindet die grosse Brüderschaft der Wesen, fühlt wie sein Gang der Gang der Planeten ist, der Tanz der Sonnen und der kleine Lauf eines Wiesels." (38) But the vision of this balance between the limitations of the earthly bound common man and the grand scale rhythm of the universe is only momentary—the congregation soon lapses into its customary coarseness.

The poet retains the spiritual aspects of Lukas. But in D.V. these aspects are not questioned as they are in D.B.a.d.E. Spirituality is again non goal-oriented movement: "Mein Sehnsucht ist Flucht, mein Streben ein Wegstreben." (28) To be sure, such a character has social disadvantages—timidity, lack of firmness—but there is no association of sickness with it. Granted to this spirituality is the divine function of being a medium between man and God. Earthly discomforts are merely an unpleasant side effect of metaphysical superiority. The chosen one must suffer "chaotisches Gemüt, Unstandhaftigkeit, Unsittlichkeit." (36)

The play lacks dramatic conflict and partly because of this it lacks truth. The poet denies that he feels any conflict when he is offered comfort, power or fame by the devil. These are dismissed as a bag of cheap tricks. The
poet claims that his demands are at the same time more
humble and more real than the powers that the devil offers
to satisfy those demands. But certainly there is no
humility in the poet's final assertion that he is the
"Verkündigung." The poet does not say that he brings a
prophetic word; he is the prophecy. There is little aware-
ness that he is merely the voice of the people:

Die ganze grüne Erde liegt da und schweigt.
Ich werde sie ihnen schenken, und sie werden
reich von meiner Armut sein.
Denn siehe, ich bin die Verkündigung!

(40)

Conflict is suppressed. The poet brushes aside the
offers of the devil all too quickly. The devil's offers
do lead (albeit superficially) into the world, whence the
poet perceives he must go: "Jetzt weiss ich, dass ich
unter die Menschen muss." (36)

The subterranean message of the drama is quite
different from the surface solution. The surface solution
is that the poet, having swept aside earthly temptation,
is the messenger of the divine to the world. The poet is
the "schmerzliche Outsider." (39) Only the outsider can
be visionary. This idea, simplistic at best, is not
acceptable within the frame of the drama because its
elitism contradicts the "into-the-world" task that the poet
has. The frequency with which Werfel will bring up the
"temptations" of power, politics, and the attrappenents of
physical life in the course of the dramas are assurance
enough that the world is not to be transcended.
Who can help but see Werfel's youthful exuberance at work here, glowing over having left unimportant concerns behind. The poet feels no longer subject to, for example, the vagrancies of love. In response to the devil's offer that he will be the most beloved on earth, the poet responds, "Glaubst du, lächerliches Wesen, ich gäbe einen Heller drum, wenn mich Miss Olivia liebte? . . . Doch darüber erkühndige dich in meinem dramatischen Gedicht 'Der Besuch aus dem Elysium'." (31)

Such self assurance which is reiterated in the final pronouncement "Ich bin die Verkündigung" is more than can be accepted. It is after all "Verzweiflung" and "Demütigung" (29) that moves one beyond complacency. The poet claims that he has conquered pridefulness and the vice of self-glory. Within this drama these conflicting attitudes assume almost manic-depressive extremes. In the later Werfel these attitudes will be tempered into a critical questioning stance on the one hand and idealism on the other hand, both qualified by historical reality. In Die Versuchung, there is only mood reversal.

The devil of D.V. is very human and sympathetic. His role is largely pedagogic. Eleonora Adams and Ursula Kuhlmann find that this devil embodies the idea of the self appointed redeemer and the bringer of light, for whom God is too slow. ("Perspektiven über Werfels dramatisches Schaffen," 198) The devil offers the enticements of the great world, whereupon the poet sees the falseness of that
world and chooses the true world of humble people. Just as Werfel is not able to sweep the physical world aside for the poet, he is not able to transcend the attributes of the world in the character of the devil, a decidedly human character. The devil indirectly brings about enlightenment, not evil or despair. The poet finally recognizes his relationship: "Satan, Satan, du auch mein Bruder." (36)

It is significant that the devil is very human and an instrument of reverse psychology rather than of an absolute, other-worldly evil. These attributes make it possible for the poet to bargain with him. Werfel scholars such as Klarmann and Rehfeld have emphasized the metaphysical aspects of Werfel's works, but whenever "transcendent" forces come into play man is on equal footing, both in the fact that the transcendent force does not differ materially in character from man's character and in the fact that man is free to bargain. Much later in Der Weg der Verheissung, Israel will bargain with God in a manner very similar to the bargaining here. The mood is not religious, it is political. Man does not deal with absolute forces, he bargains with relative claims. Thus we find the conversation with the devil and the later anointment by the angel incongruent.

Die Versuchung marks the beginning of the examination of the role of evil and the demonic in historical processes. The issue is only raised here in
conversation. Interestingly enough, the last enticement that the devil offers is a demonic variant of the harmony of the abstract and the sensual. Man is at his best at such moments when he enters a time of consciousness and becomes aware of his own progression through time. He escapes his physical limitation and becomes attuned to the rhythm of the universe, of which he is a part. This is what happened to the village congregation united in music, as quoted above. The harmony thus to be achieved between individual and universe is offered by the devil in an extreme and perverted form. The poet would not only be in harmony with, he would be the metronome of, a falsely harmonized world. Satan speaks: "Ich will die Welt um dich bezaubern. Die Flüsse, die Lerchen, die Vulkane und Bestien seien Träger deiner Stimme, Behälter deines Schmerzes. Die sieben Farben sollen beglückt um dich tanzen. Dein Leib harmonisiert sich. Du kraftvoller Widerstrahl Gottes, Orpheus, süßes Abbild, Erinnerung meiner selbst, ehe ich schuldig worden." (D.V., 36) The central, and in later dramas, recurrent, image of the demonic variant of the natural world is the image of the seven colors. The colors are a veil which, though they emerge from the natural world, provide in essence a screen against true perception. The poet as a "kraftvoller Widerstrahl Gottes" will emit a dubious light, a mixture of the sublime and earthly. This mixture is quite different from the natural state of momentary transcendence
of the material. It was momentary transcendence when the village congregation became aware of itself as part of the natural order. The devil offers here a preternatural world, signified by Orpheus. Orpheus is finally destroyed by the same demonic world which he served. Thus to have the powers of Orpheus is to be in danger; a danger which arises when man is not able to live in harmony with the amoral forces of the demonic world. The very ideal of being a "Widerstrahl Gottes," however attractive it may be, is a false ideal.

The archangel gives the poet the task of being a "Mittler," a "Gesandte." This is a more modest description of the poet's task. This spirit of modesty is not, however, sustained when the poet says "Ich bin die Verkündigung." One is left with the impression that the poet is accepting to a large degree the same powers previously offered by the devil. These powers are now sanctified because it is an angel rather than a devil granting them. Krügel says this when he writes that the poet resists the temptations of the devil but not those of the archangel. (Suffering and the Sacrificial Ethos, 38) Krügel rejects the validity of the solution and finds that the victorious end rings false.

Die Versuchung is full of contradictory forces. Man caught in his ego is futile; but a sanctified ego is approbated. The devil offers evil and enlightenment. The
natural world veils and reveals. Bourgeois existence is narrow and stultifying and at the same time offers the only field for the gleaning of truth. Die Versuchung is atypical of Werfel's dramatic works in that the contradictions are not allowed to develop into dialogue but are suppressed. The issues are apparently very close to Werfel at this time. He does not achieve any distance to the material. The pretense of distance to the problems is great, as though they were all solved.
FOOTNOTES -- DIE VERSUCHUNG

DIE TROERINNEN
In 1913, Werfel turned his attention away from the private dilemmas of the poetic individuals of Der Besuch and Die Versuchung and focused on a great public event. In the summer of 1913, Werfel translated Euripides' The Trojan Women. Arthur Luther, Werfel's contemporary, wrote that the translation effectively addressed concerns of the public at this time: "Was Hekuba, Andromache und Kassandra litten, hatten damals Tausende von deutschen Frauen und Müttern leiden müssen; die 2000 Jahre alte Dichtung ergriff uns so, als wäre sie in unsern Tagen geschrieben."¹

In an attempt to discover how Werfel's translation addresses modern concerns, I have compared it with other translations. I have chosen as a primary basis for comparison Gilbert Murray's translation, which first appeared in March 1905.² There are two advantages to this choice over others, aside from the quality of Murray's translation. One is the fact of the contemporaneity of the two versions. One may assume a somewhat common experiential base for the two versions, and diversions can be noted. Secondly, Murray's is a verse translation, as is Werfel's. I also checked Werfel's adaptation against the translation of Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff,³ on whom Werfel is said to have relied for his translation.⁴

Werfel's Die Troerinnen has not changed the essential qualities of Euripides' drama: the portrayal of the
greatness that mankind can achieve in the face of overwhelming adversity. Werfel has adapted the drama to his time. He does this primarily by incorporating vocabulary which reflects ideas of Lebensphilosophie. Werfel deviates from Murray most prominently in the aspect of images; he colors the events of the drama with the images of his own literary tradition, such as dancing. This is a deviation which is easy to bring about without affecting the plot. The plot is essentially unchanged by Werfel. Yet the mood of Werfel's version differs considerably from Murray's. Werfel presents celebration of the tragedy while Murray portrays stoicism. The fact that the two versions have quite different moods is due primarily to Werfel's additions of imagery and rhythm. Helga Meister found Werfel's version to be distinguished by its rhythm and melody. She compared the Werfel translation with that of Wilamowitz as well as with later translations by Ernst Buschor (1957), Ludwig Wolde (1959), and Mattias Braun (1959). Meister does not note the imagery that Werfel adds but does note the change in mood that Werfel effects: "Der enge Bezug zur Musik und zum Tanz ist Werfels eigene Leistung. Hierin geht er weit über das Original hinaus."

(Meister, 60)

When one examines Werfel's adaptation, two points about Werfel's dramas become clearer. One is that the idea content is very dependent on imagery. Secondly, this imagery is carried forth from one drama to the next.
is a continuum of imagery from D.B. to D.V. to D.T.

One addition that Werfel makes is to substitute "dance" or "dancing" for various concepts. Dance is a development of that image in D.B. and D.V. of movement that is non-goal oriented. This dance is a dance of misery; the ship that will take the Trojan women away from their home dances (D.T. 48) Murray uses a more neutral 'awakens' (Murray, 19) and Wilamowitz has merely: "Ach heut schon aus der Heimat/führt uns die Flotte fort?" (Wilamowitz 307) It is a dance of insanity that Cassandra calls for. (Werfel 54) Murray gives us the translation "tranced feet" (Murray 29) describing Cassandra; Werfel escalates the notion to "Tanz." (54)

Dance as non-goal oriented movement has the meaning of the seemingly senseless historical vicissitudes that man must experience. Werfel's Hekuba expresses her despair over events: "Götter, ich rufe euch--und rufend weiss ich, Dass ihr der schlimmste Beistand seid. Doch ruf ich, Und ruf Götter, denn das Herz bedarf/ Im Tanz der unerbittlich eisigen Welt/ Des Betens." (58) Dance does not appear in this context in Murray. In Wilamowitz, Hekuba says: "Ihr Götter--Götter leisten keinen Beistand, es klingt nur gut, wenn in der Not der Mensch sich an sie wendet." (319) Nature is a part of the historical vicissitudes described by dance. This nature is endowed with demonic qualities when Werfel has Hekuba say that the seaman in an overpowering storm releases the boat to the
"Tanz der Elemente." (Werfel, 65) In Murray's translation the boat is yielded to "fate and high waters." (Murray, 45) Wilamowitz has, similarly, "geben sie es auf und lassen sich von Sturm und Wogen treiben." (329) Even inanimate nature assumes motion in Werfel's version: Hekuba envisions that her grandson will rebuild the city: "Der Stein erkennt ihn, und er tanzt empor, / Die Saule wächst aus ihrem Sturz" (Werfel, 66)

Dance in Die Troerinnen denotes activity to and fro, an activity dependent on the external stimulus of music, or here in an expanded sense of the world. Wolfgang Rasch in a lecture entitled, "Tanz als Lebenssymbol um 1900," documents the frequent use of actual dancing in dramas around 1900. He writes that dance is celebrated as "Erlösung von dem individuell begrenzten Dasein, als Vereinigung mit den Weltkräften, die als rhythmische Bewegung erfahren werden." (64) In D.T. dance is used only figuratively, but it does have the meaning that Rasch derives from dance in this period. D.T. ends with music. The chorus responds to the beginning dance of misery by rhythmically beating the earth. There is "eine ungeheure Musik" which only breaks off shortly with Hekuba's resolve to carry her life to its end and then the music resumes. Man should not resist the stimulus; even in death situations he responds to it. Hekuba commands, "Auf, auf mein morscher Fuss zum letzten Tanz nun." (Werfel, 87) This is a celebration of even the destructive phases of life.
Hekuba cheers the fire: "Die Türme beben und schwanken,/ Die Zinnen, lustige Tänzer/ Springen, springen herab."
(Werfel, 88) All of these references appear in Werfel but not Murray nor Wilamowitz.

Arranged around the central image of "tanzen" in Werfel's D.T. are auxiliary verbal images which also celebrate the vivacity, transitoriness, and fluctuation of life processes. "Beben," "schwanken" and "springen" in the last mentioned quote are additions of Werfel. Destruction is to be accepted with a kind of joy. Werfel's Hekuba bewails her servitude to Odysseus but also grants that the misery of such servitude has a life of its own when she says: "Jauchzt nicht das Elend auf und fühlt sich selig, Fährt nicht ein Tanz dem Jammer in die Glieder?" (Werfel, 52) This notion of dance and the vivacity of misery does not appear in the two other versions. Jauchzen, a verb of vocal velocity, will appear again in Werfel's version. Kassandra pronounces the Trojans blessed in their defeat: "Kniet hin und schleudert jauchzend eure Arme,/ Besiegte ihr, ein Übermass der Gnade/ Ist euer Schicksal vor des Siegers Schicksal."
(Werfel, 55) Werfel's Hekuba combines the images of movement (here towards her death) with joy:

Ich fliege, schweb, wehe dir entgegen!
Geliebte Stadt; als deine hell'ste Flamme
Will ich mich jauchzend bis zu Ende taumeln!
(Werfel, 87)

No comparable images of movement appear in Murray or
Wilamowitz.

A part of this joy is simply that the misery that the Trojans endured is so great that they look forward to the end, even in death. So Werfel's Hekuba names the last hope "ausgelöscht zu werden!" (Werfel, 36) But perhaps more important as an explanation for this almost perverse celebration is the fact that this misery is redemptive. The sorrow absolves the tragedy in a way similar to that when the flood absolved the sins of the world. So Hekuba refers to the "steigende Sintflut der Tränen" (Werfel, 63) A metamorphosis takes place. In its extreme form, Cassandra is "In Tod und vielfachen Tod...verwandelt" (Werfel, 54). The city, the repository of the proud hopes of the Trojans is seen by Werfel's Hekuba to "zerbrechen/Wie ein Gefäss. (Werfel, 59) Murray speaks here merely of a "citadel sacked." (Murray, 35) In Werfel, Andromache is consumed: "Ich brenne aus und bin nicht mehr vor Schmerzen." (Werfel, 66) The women in their tents, "Jammern...vor Angst verlöschen." (Werfel, 48) Andromache perceives that "Vernichtung ist der Ratschluss." (Werfel, 68) Finally, at the end of the drama, everything is consumed in Werfel's version: "Eine neue Woge von Feuer und Fanfare verschlingt das Bild." (Werfel, 89). The tragedy is overshadowed by the depth of the sorrow.

The misery of the Trojan women is not redemptive in any specific religious sense. It is redemptive in that misery extended to an extreme becomes joy, even as
darkness becomes light in human experience. In the full realization of sorrow there is a completeness akin to happiness. Thus, Werfel describes the sorrow with a number of antithetical images: "Schwarze Strahl" (Werfel, 60); "Lichte des Nichts" (Werfel, 63); tears which become "Kristall des Lebens" (Werfel, 69). Andromache becomes a "Stein des Grams" (Werfel, 81) by this process in which the motility of grief exceeds itself and becomes stone. Hekuba believes she will become stone (Werfel, 69) when her grandchild is led away.

The chorus describes the redemption in natural terms; night becoming day. (Werfel, 69) Hekuba attempts to force the process by trying to throw herself into the flames. She turns her "erstarnten Mund zum Jubel" and her "morscher Fuss zum letzten Tanz." (Werfel, 87) But it is not yet time for the last dance.

The images of movement and change give Werfel's work a dynamic mood which contrasts with the stateliness of Murray's translation. The dynamism of Werfel's version is emphasized by the short-line verse form in which the chorus occasionally speaks. Euripides' drama, as Murray translates it, is about a state of tragedy; Murray sees it as "an intense study of one great situation, with little plot, little construction, little or no relief or variety." (Murray, 5) Werfel, on the other hand, is concerned with a chain of events. Human events are a dance in which there is no respite. Thus he gives a reason for the downfall of
the Trojans: hybris. Werfel's Hekuba admits to it.
(Werfel, 47, 64) This is important because it removes the event from isolation in time and because it emphasizes man's responsibility for his own fate. We know from the prologue that the Greeks, too, will fall. No one event can be viewed in isolation.

By introducing the motivational concept of hybris, Werfel suggests that it is the Trojans who are responsible for their own fate. Guilt can be present only if there is also an awareness of responsibility. The longest addition that Werfel makes to the drama supports the notion that man must take his life into his own hands. Man cannot depend on the world to supply justice or reward for virtue. Hekuba defends virtue even though happiness does not necessarily follow it. (Werfel, 69-70) Integrity is the endowment of man to life. The world is engaged in an unreflected dance. Hekuba says:

Doch eilt die Wolke ewig ungerührt,
Die frühe Schwalbe stürmt, der Fluss entführt
Die unerschöpfliche Welle fort und fort.
Nichts rettet mir den Enkel vor dem Mord,
Hier knie ich--rufend um Gerechtigkeit,
Und was ich rufe ist ein armes Wort.

(70)

Man supplies whatever reason there is in this world.

Werfel leaves Euripides' concept of the relationship between man and God virtually unchanged. The gods, Poseidon and Athena in particular, do control public circumstances: the fall of Troy and the difficulties that the Greeks will face in returning home. They do not have
control over man's private responses. The heroism of Hekuba and the Trojan women is a human accomplishment. Man even has a part in determining the directive of the gods. For example, the violation of Cassandra by the Greeks is the cause of Pallas Athene's turn against the Greeks. Werfel does not deviate from Murray nor Wilamowitz in that speech in which Hekuba tells Helena not to "Häng Narrenkleider...un Gotterschultern" (Werfel, 76) Man cannot blame his ills on the gods. Werfel strengthens this thought in Euripides: he has Menelaus tell Helena not to veil her sin with the name of Aphrodite. In this way, the human causal connection is clarified. Werfel expands the passage that points to Paris as cause for the trouble. Arrogance on the part of the Greeks, a disregard for the danger posed by Paris, lust on Helena's part, sacrilege on the Greeks' part—all have been causal factors in the holocaust.

Werfel is often perceived as a metaphysicist, but he should more aptly be termed a humanist. The notions of human guilt and responsibility in Euripides' drama to which Werfel is responding imply that salvation does exist for man and that this salvation must come from within man. Salvation resides in man's recognition, that is, in his own intellectual awareness of his responsibility in historical events. Werfel has the chorus say:

Wann steigt hinauf der Tag aus fahlen Traum? Wir träumen Schmerz um Schmerz, und Schlaf heisst dieser Raum
Und unsere Träne, die sich heiss ins Auge brennt
Wird bald Kristall des Lachens sein,
Wenn das zerbissene Herz den Trug der Nacht erkennt.
Dann stürmt das morgensvolle Anlitz ein
In Trojas Freiheit und das blauerschallende
Firmament.
(Werfel, 69)

This does not appear in Murray nor in Wilamowitz.

Hekuba, and we through her, have undergone a process of enlightenment. Knowing the senseless movement of the world and our own involuntary response to it, we are nevertheless encouraged to look beyond the darkness to the "blauerschallende Firmament." The darkness has the same pedagogical function that the devil had in D.V. Without darkness, without the "schwarze Strahl," we never look beyond the appearance of things; we never perceive the world as a senseless dance. This notion of Werfel's which we will encounter again and again is very similar to that of his contemporary and school mate in Prague, Kafka. The metamorphosis and the trial in Kafka are the equivalents of the "schwarze Strahl" that Werfel adds to Euripides' drama. Hekuba's response after enlightenment is to take up the challenge; to live her life.

Werfel has changed the drama in ways which emphasize its humanist values. Most importantly, mythological references have been reduced and suggestions of political revolution have been added. References to Telamon and Heracles, Eos, Tithonus (Wilamowitz, 333-335) are omitted in Werfel. Werfel may have reduced the mythological references for the sake of his audience. They are
certainly less meaningful to us. The political additions—a reference to slavery (the chorus, p. 60), the arousal of the crowd to Helena's suggestion that she's not responsible for events (pp. 74 and 75), and particularly the fire and fanfare which Werfel gives to the end (his eleventh scene)—form a revolutionary undercurrent. It is significant that the first specific suggestion of political discontent among the people arises during Helena's speech; she suggests that she is not responsible for the political consequences of her actions. Helen's defence of her fleeing with Paris is to say that she was not in control: "Was dacht ich mir, als ich das Haus verliess,/ Und meinen Gatten fortlied mit dem Fremdling,/ Und Abschied nahm von meinem Vaterland?/ Ich weiss es nicht...du musst die Göttin fragen.../ Sie trägt die Schuld...ihr Wille ist geschehen.... (Werfel, 74). She maintains that man is not a free agent; indeed that Menelaus does not have the freedom to decide her punishment, that this would spite the gods. The crowd which had been quietly grumbling now shows a state of "Empörung"; "Die Empörung des Volkes hat mit leisem Ton die Rede begleitet, zum Schluss steigert sie sich in die wild skandierten Anapäste der Chöre." (Werfel, 75) Helen shows herself to be completely ignorant, not only of her own responsibility but also of the nature of the world. She believes that the crown is her right.

As has been seen from the previously examined dramas, it is Werfel's way to set up antitheses and let those
characters who represent them engage in a dialogue. In D.T., the imagery of movement and dance, which creates the natural, mechanical, and senseless world forms one antithetical position. The other antithetical position is man's intellect, represented by morals drawn by Hekuba:
"Gut sein ist mehr als glücklich sein"; "hier ist nicht mehr/ Ein Recht zum Tod. Seht her, so nehme ich/ Mein Leben an die Brust und trag's zu Ende!!" (89) The partners, or antithetical positions, are equal; the intellect cannot come to maturity without the realization of the chain of events outside it. Man cannot remove himself from the dance of the world but he can give it his own meaning.

Man gives sense to the tragedies that he endures.

Hekuba praises the tragedy as the vehicle for immortality:

Die Götter wussten keine andre Huld
Für uns und für die Stadt, als Qual und Tod.
Umsonst die Opfer—doch ich opfe neu,
Und auf den Knien lieg ich hier, und danke!
Den Göttern dank ich mit der letzten Flamme,
Die in mir ist, denn sie zerstörten uns.
Nur die schont, o Götter, tötet ihr,
Von ihnen weiss die Muse nichts, und nicht
verwelkt die Zeit an ihrem Hauch!
Kein Lied
O Schiff der Ewigkeit—trägt sie dahin!
Wir aber werden durch Gezeiten wachsen,
Und rächen uns an den Unsterblichen
So durch Unsterblichkeit!
(85-86)

Man's immortality is an achievement, unlike the given immortality of the gods. Hekuba somewhat ironically thanks the gods for destruction. In sorrow the Trojan women are purified; the dross discarded.

Man achieves greatness through adversity. The
adversary is sometimes seen to be the gods. Andromache feels opposed by the gods: "Zorn der Götter, geballt, grinst aus dem Drang des Gewölks." (Werfel, 62). Nature too is seen to be in an adversary relationship. Kassandra predicts the next link in the historical chain, Agamemnon's demise in a "tierdurchheulter Nachtzeit." (Werfel, 57) The slavery that the Trojan women will undergo has already been personified as a "Tier." (Werfel, 50) Thus nature as represented by the animal is anything but innocuous. Only by full awareness of man's responsible situation is nature to be kept in check. Man cannot rely on the gods or on nature for illumination; in the final analysis he stands like Hekuba in "einem schwarzen Licht."

The opposition of man's reason and the fate provided by the gods in a demonic natural world is the antithesis of spirit and life. In Euripides' drama, Werfel saw the antithetical pairs that are the basis for his concept of drama. As stated, this pair consists of a natural, dance-like demonic world and the sense-giving intellect of man. The changes that Werfel made, primarily additions in imagery, sharpened this antithesis. As discussed on pages 3-5, Werfel added the word "dance" to various passages. He also added verbal terms which connote motion and which celebrate the transitory nature and fluctuation of life processes. By giving the fate of the Trojan women rhythmic and life-like attributes, Werfel strengthens the conflict. It is not the Greeks who must be overcome by the Trojan
women. Menelaus and Talthybios are hardly to be construed as the enemy. They do not have the force to be the antagonist, for they too must deal with a given set of historical circumstances. The enemy is the fate dealt out by the gods to Trojan and Greek alike. This fate includes the impersonal dance-like forces of nature.

As noted above, Werfel made changes in Euripides' drama that bring out history as a discriminate succession of events. There is a background of nature and history which is given the rhythmic characteristics of dance and the demonic characteristics of the animal. This background is reflexive in constitution; power and loss of power, happiness and misery alternate. But opposed to this background are events which man can influence through his reasoning ability. Werfel is not putting forth the notion that holocaust or war is a necessary eventuality. Given the demonic realities of the world it is a likelihood if man does not exercise his enlightening powers. Werfel's Die Troerinnen is a plea for enlightenment which is set against and is a product of darkness.
FOOTNOTES -- DIE TROERINNEN

1 Arthur Luther, **Franz Werfel und seine besten Bühnenwerke** (Berlin: Franz Schneider, 1922), p. 43.


6 Wilamowitz has only "Tränenströme vergießen." (325)
DIE MITTAGSGÖTTIN
Die Mittagsgöttin was written in the fall of 1918. (Klarman, 549) It originally appeared as the second part of the fourth volume of the poetic work Der Gerichtstag. (Klarman, 549) It reexamines the thematic concerns of Der Besuch and Die Versuchung, namely, the exceptional character who exists on the fringe of society and who has a messianic function with regard to society. In the two previous dramas, problems arose which were not resolved: the outsider's reluctance to abandon normalcy; the superior attitude of the outsider to normal people; the unbalanced character that the outsider assumes. The sensual world enticed the outsider, and every attempt to glorify the elite was countermanded by bourgeois sensibility. Antithetical imagery—such as darkness and light, purposeless motion and balance—reflected the struggle in Der Besuch, where the antithesis was allowed to develop into drama.

Die Mittagsgöttin takes a somewhat different course. For one thing, it is primarily a lyrical play. Ian C. Loram contrasts it to expressionist plays of Kaiser, Toller, and Hasenclever and finds D.M. "more obviously religious" and "considerably more lyric."¹

D.M. also differs from Der Besuch and Die Versuchung in that the problem of the exceptional character and his relationship to society is solved, albeit in a magical sphere. The world, in the character of Mara, brings forth spirit, in the form of Laurentin. Spirit then serves the world as a protector. Laurentin is the son and the father. The only
problem with this resolution is the mystical aura which surrounds it.

Laurentin's development, the primary topic of the play, is described in mystical terms: he gathers his "colors" into "white." This development does not take place as the result of an encounter with historical reality. Werfel calls the drama a "Zauberspiel."

In a magical transformation, the vagabond Laurentin is literally reborn as a result of his encounter with Mara. He achieves a more sensitive state of consciousness through this physical encounter. This elevated consciousness is expressed not in mental but in audio-visual terms: "schweigen" and "ein weisses Licht." At the beginning of the play, Laurentin describes the futile life he has been living:

Wohl habe ich weise gespasst,  
Ein ernster Gaukler ihrer Wirtsstuben—  
Schon applaudieren mir die Frau'n und Buben,  
Doch sind mir all die Nächte leere Last,  
Wenn ich in ihrem toten Licht und Rauche  
Mit Worten meine Schweigsamkeit verbrauche.  
Und da ich ihre und meine Wüsten nenne,  
Bin ich nicht übel gelitten und gut gescholten;  
Doch durch meine Künste, Witze und Volten  
Geschieht es nicht, dass ich mich blühend brenne.  
Ach, muss ich den Blick nach innen schlagen,  
Flieh ich und kann mich nicht ertragen.  
Ich schwinge die Peitsche, mein Zirkustier  
Im Sprung durch zwanzig Reifen zu jagen,  
Durch die Reifen der Eitelkeit!  
(93)

Laurentin has wasted his silence, that is, he has not listened to his own being. He has used speech in a
frivolous and flamboyant manner; he did not use it to burn away his own deceptions. His life was as theatrical as a circus. Life for him has been devoid of the substance of stillness: "Drum ist alles in mir Zeit, / Und nichts ist Raum und Ruhen." (D.M., 93) He has avoided his own fulfillment, aware of the pain it could cause him.

Laurentin has engaged in the dance of life without reflection. Dance in Die Troerinnen is that rhythmic pattern of life in which man participates involuntarily. Dance represents the vicissitudes of public events to which man is subject. Man does have the ability, indeed the responsibility, to be reflective and to give life his own meaning. In Die Mittagsgöttin, the suggestion is made that if one takes the risks involved ("Er wird verbrannt" [93], it is possible to stand still, "im Tanz eingehalten." [93]) Die Troerinnen described a circular pattern of historical events which was only to be altered through enlightenment. Participation was inevitable but man could become knowledgeable about his role in the chain of events. For Laurentin, the circle must be broken. He needs to escape from the progression of time in order to gain perspective and knowledge of that time. The dance in which Laurentin finds himself engaged is not merely without direction, it is circular and prohibits achievement of his tasks. "Und will ich meine Liebe beginnen, / So kreiseln uneinige Geister mich fort."

(93) The circular conveyance of Laurentin describes what Werfel conceives as the effect of history on man. It is
man's task to remove himself and reflect. Laurentin is entrapped by the world of appearances, which are typified by colors. He refers to himself as "papagenobunt." (93) The colors are devoid of substance; worse than empty, they are arid: "Solange wir noch in Farben gehn, / Sind wir ein kahles Salzüsten-Wehn." (D.M., 94) Loran writes about the colors in D.M., that they "represent the undesirable, perhaps because they are the result of the diffusion of an essential, basic, element into a number of less clear, hence more distracting parts. Man is not yet capable of whole-hearted dedication to one goal, but diffuses his energy in 'Blendwerk- und Prisman- Spiel'. . . ." "Laurentin longs to reunite these spectrum colors into their original concentrated form, and in so doing to recover his own essence." (Loran, 59-60)

In the presence of Mara, Laurentin becomes aware of his own incompleteness:

Wenn sich dein Reifen zu mir neigt
Und meine Dürre dir entgegenzeigt,
Ist mir's, als wär die Neigung alles Sein,
Als hielte inne schon mein Kreisel-Schein,
Und schmilze ab das eitle Eifer-Gift
Des Narren, der sich selbst übertrifft.

(96)

Laurentin's awareness that he has lived in the impoverished state of a "Kreisel-Schein," is a precondition for his rebirth. But this realization is only a first step toward his development, as Laurentin demonstrates in his reply to Mara's charge that he has never loved:
Ich nie geliebt!
Wie aus des Leuchtturms Haupt
Brach grosser Strahl aus mir, in dem es tanzt und
staubt.
Scheinwerfer Strahl, der durch die Ödnis schweift.
Auf einmal wird ein Segel licht und reift
Zur - Wirklichkeit in ihm. Und wie es schwilt
Fühlt er sich selbst in dem bestrahlten Bild;
In dem bestrahlten Schiff zum erstenmal
Wird Strahlens-Wisser der verschlafene Strahl,
Und schwemmt hinaus mit Ungeduld und Ruf,
Sein Schaffen liebend, liebt er, was er schuf.
Im Ding das Ding, aus dem er sich erfuhr;
Und wenn das Schiff aus seinem Walten taucht
So ist es ihm erloschen und verbraucht.
(D.M., 97)

He must do more than realize the circular deception of self-
love; he must also understand the egotism of other-directed
love. Laurentin is asked not only to transcend the egotism
of the child; he is asked to transcend the egotism of the
adult which finds fulfillment in the love of others. It is
to be noted that Laurentin's love as described above was on
quite a grand scale, a "Scheinwerfer Strahl." (97) This
contrasts with the small light with which Mara provides
Laurentin at the end of his birth. Laurentin is brought to
reject that "grosser Strahl, in dem es tanzt und staubt."
(96) In D.B.a.d.E. and D.V., verbs of non-goal oriented
motion, such as tanzen and stauben are intellectual
attributes which contrast with attributes of stability.
They often describe imbalances and incongruities. Here
Mara urges Laurentin to listen to the world: "der Wesen
wilden Gruss, / Die Wirklichkeit des ungeheuren Dus!" (97)
The corrective factor is in nature: "Des Ichs Triumph, was
sich in Grenzen zirkt, / Sieh wie's aufschauernd und
erwachend wirkt / In diesem wilden Teppich von Musik, / Wo ein Takt Dauer ist und Augenblick." (97) In the sounds and movements of living things such as the cockle, the swallow, the lark, and even the linden tree, Laurentin will find true time and place.² Laurentin complained that he had no "Raum" and "Ruhen." "Raum" and "Ruhen" are attributes of a personality which has achieved balance and tranquility; a personality which can withstand the pressures of outside events and not merely react reflexively to those events. But, paradoxically, this personality is attained not by solitary endeavors but through an attunement to the world. The resurrection of the world, which will come by the awakening of the Knaben-Gott, is precipitated by the realization of one who is attuned to the world.

Laurentin has searched for a god "der streng sich schied / Von seiner Welt." (D.M., 98) It is Mara's task to teach of the God who was born into the world and who is yet revealed there. The god that Mara refers to is not supra-mundane. Laurentin has already gone through that free-floating state of the outsider of D.B. and D.V. when Mara introduces the beat of the world to his solitude. Laurentin returns to the humble state of self through time awareness experienced by the congregation in D.V. and described in D.B.

In the first part of Laurentin's evolvement, he is a fairly passive bystander. He has merely had to reach the state where he could be helped by Mara in a process of
reduction or compression. Mara encloses around his "farbige Zerfahrenheit" a coat of a "goldgeheimen Fluss." (101) The magical river symbolizes the resurrection of the spirit. He is surprised there to find himself made "zierlich und klein." (101) Only the small and humble can enter into the kingdom of nature.

Laurentin keeps insisting on superimposing his own rhythm as a substitute for becoming aware of the rhythm of the world; Mara asks him to keep quiet: "Weh tut mir deine Ungeduld, / Die klopft und klopft." (103) Impatience and forcing of natural rhythms are Laurentin's sins in Die Mittagsgöttin. Mara is warned to wait well and she is told of a woman who in pregnancy did not wait well and thus lost her own life as well as that of the child.

It is Mara who knows how to wait and who delivers Laurentin. It is she who endures the claims of night and death in the form of the "Abdecker." The "Abdecker," the knacker, collects the physical remains of life on his cart at the darkest time of night. He finds Mara and waits to see if she will succumb to him during the night. The knacker is always ready to assert his supremacy over human effort.

The confrontation between Mara and the knacker forms the dramatic interest of the play. Equal justification is granted both sides. Mara represents physical and spiritual beauty and the hope of mankind. But night and the "Abdecker" are also necessary parts of life. He defends himself ably
against Mara's complaint that he is disturbing. "des Werdenden Ruhe" with his "schneidender Peitsche"; he answers that "Die Peitsche ist / Des Fuhrmanns Stimme./ Die Stimme ist keinem Wesen verwehrt." (D.M., 107) If man does realize some ideal, he does it only under duress. The insistence of time, represented by the whip of the knacker, is always present. "Des Werdenden Ruhe" must always be a largely internal state, because our physical being is subject to termination. Even as the Trojan women achieved a state of enlightenment in the midst of the dance of historical necessity, so the visionary Mara and Laurentin must achieve their goal surrounded by death's inevitability.

The Abdecker's function is a sobering one: to teach man of his own mortality and of the basic imperfectability of the world. The whip is his instrument. Its sharpness divides time into units devoid of significance, thus denying man's significance. The whip has a rhythm all its own, a rhythm that must be reconciled with the rhythm of nature and that of impatient man.

The Abdecker exercises his "deflating" functions by showing various mistakes of nature in his wagon, by being the ruler "des kleinen Fehlers, / Der Fürst des unendlichen / Dezimalbruchs, Feind aller Lösung," (108) in short, by revealing how unlike gods men are. Even our love, like Laurentin's, will miss the mark: "Wenn zu gross werden / Die Worte der Liebenden / Herrsche ich über die Salzwüste, / Die sie durchflattern, / Ohne ihr Nest zu finden." (108)
Werfel is a relativist; the Abdecker, as the modern day representative of the nether forces, posits evil not so much as an absolute force but rather either as an imperfection, or as idealistic grandeur.

There is one way in which man asserts dominance over the Abdecker. Man uses the limitations imposed by death to enhance life. Evil is used in a pedagogical scheme. Long before the Abdecker has appeared, Mara praises the death that condemns us "damit Vollkommenheit / Sich süßer reift." (D.M., 98) The Abdecker teaches the two lessons to be learned: "Betrug ist alles Leuchten...ernsthaft bleibt der Wissende" (110) and the fact that "alle Farben Angst sind." (111) Man learns from the knacker that appearance, light and color, are not permanent and thus not to be equated with truth.

The Abdecker overstates his case. Not all illumination is deception; only that which is unnaturally magnified, for example, Laurentin's former "Scheinwerfer Strahl." And if colors are anxiety, they are also the path which one follows into the white. He overstates his case of necessity, for his is an absolute force of death, decay and error, even as Mara's is an absolute force of light and new life. Laurentin and all renewed forms of life are the product of the tension between these forces.

But this is not to say that man is merely a product of absolute forces which are beyond his control. Night is necessary but day retains ascendancy. Mara says: "Ich
aber weiss / Wir gehen nicht von Nacht in Nacht! / Wir gehen von Tag zu Tag." (111) Mankind has a great determining voice in the course of events as is evident in the most suspenseful moment of conflict between Mara and the Abdecker. In this moment the stage directions have the various loathsome forms dancing about; the Abdecker is holding his whip and an aborted fetus; the music is becoming louder and changing from \( \frac{4}{4} \) to \( 6/8 \) time. The situation is described as a "schwiegende Stellung in höchster Spannung." (114) Laurentin responds to it. For once he is responsive to a rhythm other than his own. By calling out Mara's name, he prevents the ascendancy of night over day, of death over life. He releases Mara so that she may give birth and abandon, for a time, her role as a goddess.

Thus man is created and creator. Such a circular arrangement is elaborated in the third act of the drama. Laurentin sets out to find help for Mara. The world seems quite empty but finally he finds a peasant group on their way to harvest. There is some question as to whether they will help Mara; the woman in particular is reluctant. But the man insists and with their willingness to help the circle is completed and enlarged. It was not a physical necessity that Mara be helped, but a spiritual one. It is a process of "Steigerung" and one that must be constantly fed.

Immediately upon the agreement of the peasants to help, Mara appears with a child, hardly new-born. Although Mara
is perceived by the old peasant to be Mary, the child is not holy in a specific religious sense. It is holy in that each succeeding generation that builds on the light, however meager, of the previous generation, is holy. This may appear as a limited understanding of holiness, but it is appropriate to this play which is an exploration of man's limits. Holiness here is the continuation of hope in spite of individual mortality and shortcomings.

Each successive generation provides the source of hope. Laurentin asks if his son will exceed him and is told by Mara: "Stets übertrifft das Spätere." (123) Resurrection is eternal and unlimited; Mara says: "Ich aber sehe einen gossen Zug: Das Wandervolk der Dinge. / Im Schlaf des Lebens steigt es / Von einer Auferstehung zur höheren Auferstehung hin." (128) It is a beautifully hopeful vision that Mara gives of a natural progression: "Des Höchsten Sinn ist Hoffnung. / Aus Weile und Bewegung / Springt ihm die höhere Bewegung her. / Sein Sohn ist jeder Sohn." (129) The key concepts are "Weile und Bewegung" which are personified in Mara and Laurentin. Whatever is good and hopeful arises out of the confrontation of the two.

At the beginning of this discussion (page 1), it was stated that Die Mittagsgöttin is atypical in Werfel's oeuvre to the degree to which there is resolution of conflict. The resolution is not entirely believable; Laurentin is installed as the resident holy man. The meaning of the drama is not to be found in this resolution but in the dialogue
which precedes it. This dialogue is given the name of "Begegnung," or encounter. Laurentin's preparation for his meeting with Mara was as a man concerned with the mechanisms of society, as a political activist. Through Mara (whose "Sinn ist Begegnung" (i.e., he meets darkness, his death, and his life. The circle is completed through his communication with his fellow-man, his plea for help for Mara and his acceptance of help in the form of lodging. Although Laurentin moves off into solitude, it is to a state which results from his contact with society.

Laurentin does not grow out of society; he does not become an outsider, but he grows into it. This is the meaning of Laurentin's having grown ever smaller—he fits much better now. In solitude his small light will not have to compete against the brilliance of day. Even in his hermitage Laurentin is part of a social contract. The old man says his gift of a place to live is not unselfish: "In meinem Walde geht es um. Ich will, dass Sie die bösen Geister auf sich ziehen, dann kann ich selber ruhig schlafen." (132)

At first glance this statement of the old man is disturbing. Indeed, on a first impression the whole play is elitist and messianic in import. We have seen, however, that God the Father is potentially Everyman and God the Son is every potential child. If Laurentin is chosen to exercise a spiritual function it is a division of labor as much as anything else. He is entrusted with an important task:
"Ich will denken, ich will denken, bis der schwere Stein
meines Ichs zur stetig weissen Flamme wird, bis meine Farben
wieder vereint sind ins heilig-einfach Weisse, meine Worte
gesammelt ins Schweigen, dann will ich Gott erinnern, und
ihm sein Rätsel zuschweigen." (132) Even as man is greatly
dependent on man in this vision, so is God dependent on man.
Werfel ensures that the circle of interdependence is the
final impression given when he gives the last words not to
Laurentin but to the old man, who with his workers has an
equal share in the task ahead: "Macht diesen Sonntag zum
Werktag! / Und dies geschehe zum Zeichen, dass eurer Enkel
Werktag dereinst Sonntag sei! Denn wir arbeiten, den Fluch
der Arbeit zu vernichten; wir leben, höheres Leben heraufzu-
führen, und sind erlöst in denen, die da kommen." (133)
This task is not only exalted, it is also prosaic. With
Mara's disappearance, the verse form is abandoned. The work
day is begun.

Die Mittagsgöttin ends on such a positive note that it
is necessary to remind oneself where the struggle begins and
whence it returns. Laurentin comes from the struggle with
the Abdecker and returns to the night. Laurentin realizes
that his selection is to be engaged in "einem unlöslichen
Kampf." (130) And lest Laurentin's spiritual task be
imagined as an abstract task, let it be remembered that it
came about through the world. Laurentin fell asleep under
a linden tree, but the natural world taught him much more
than the idyllic landscape that the tree suggests. He sees
not only his own death but he also realizes: "Die Welt umwirbt mich / Kräuter und Stengel, / Sie flüstern ihr Geheimnis / Streichelnd in meinen gehärteten Leib, / Ich höre euch / Unfassbare Sprachen!" (125) Movement is a concept of hope in this drama; it is progression toward the ever better. But it gets its impetus from that movement of nature represented by Mara, whom Laurentin names "den mächtigen Taumel." (126)
FOOTNOTES -- DIE MITTAGSGÖTTIN


2 This is the moment of human transcendence as described in *Die Versuchung* in reference to the church congregation in song and in *Der Besuch* by Lukas¹ admonition to listen to the beat of inanimate objects.
SPIEGELMENSCH: MAGICHE TRILOGIE
The theme of transformation explored in *Die Mittagsgöttin* is laboriously expounded upon in *Spiegelmensch: Magische Trilogie*, written in 1919-1920. (Klarmann, 549) It is both an intensification and a culmination of the themes which were the substance of the earliest dramas: concern for the private realm of man. Like its predecessor, *Die Mittagsgöttin*, it removes the conflict from the real into a magical realm. *Die Mittagsgöttin* maintained a degree of social realism by virtue of the fact that the magical realm was nourished by and in turn nourished society and the natural. *Spiegelmensch* resolves the conflict of the "I" with reality by allowing for a selfless fulfillment of the "I" after death. This is, of course, no true solution to the problem which has been concerning Werfel in these early dramas, namely the question of whether self-fulfillment can be a private and non-social affair. The problem of the select individual who is exalted into a state of suspension and loses the balance of normal life is not brought to resolution. Nevertheless, *Spiegelmensch* is a turning point in Werfel's dramas, for hereafter there will be a more specific (in many cases historical) partner to the chosen individual. In subsequent dramas the theme of the necessity of historical processes, with which Werfel imprinted *Die Troerinnen*, will emerge as a force which more than equals that of the solitary hero.

The solitary hero of *Spiegelmensch*, Thamal, wishes to leave society and quit himself of ambition and earthly
striving. He wants to join a cloister. This action is not approved by the monk who finds Thamal unprepared for a reflective life. According to the monk one must first be consumed in the experiences of life. So Thamal passes through various stations in the second part of the drama, entitled "Eins ums andere." He kills his father, explores his ego as a demagogue and god, and wins away his best friend's wife. In the third part, entitled "Fenster" he experiences the following degrading experiences: the coldness of philosophical abstraction in the scene "Schnee Ebene"; the realization of the baseness of his actions in the cemetery; the misery of subordination and slavery; the lowest point, the necessity of pronouncing himself guilty, in "Gericht"; and the final stirrings of his mirror image in "Kerkerzelle." As if to emphasize the fact that man's true path is not the avoidance but the plumbing of experience, Werfel has his Thamal pass through stations of every conceivable elevation and degradation.

But the thoroughness with which the path of the chosen one is treated does not mean that the problem is resolved. It is only in life after death that Thamal attains peace. As steps to this goal the way stations remain sketchy and figures such as Ampheh and Dschalifar never attain even the complexity of, for example, Joseph and Hedwig in the one-act drama D.B. By far the most satisfying resolution to this thematic conflict was the circle of involvement (man and society) described in Die Mittagsgöttin. Spiegelmensch uses
the world as a backdrop and carries the dialogue farther away from reality by splitting the hero into a spiritual and a worldly half.

Werfel's original intention was to make Spiegelmensch "eine Pantomine, ein Ballet, das sich in vielen wilden Bildern und in federndem Tempo zwischen Mensch und Spiegelmensch abspielen sollte." (Klarmann, 549) Elements of pantomine, burlesque, satire and caricature are present in the completed drama. Due to these elements it is an entertaining drama, but it is not the forum where the problematic relationship of man and world could be solved. Werfel just reviews the problem and says in effect: here it is, the tension between the individual and society is a driving force in the affairs of the world, but the problems that this tension engenders will not be solved in the confines of this world. Despite the formal division into three parts there are really only two primary plot lines to the whole. The first is Thamal's rise to worldly power. The second is Thamal's loss of power and ego.

Dramatic intersections of Thamal and the minor characters (the father, Dschalifar, and Ampheh) and even the crucial intersection of Thamal and the Spiegelmensch are minimal. As confrontation drama, Spiegelmensch fails. The character of Spiegelmensch reveals the failure of confrontation in the scene in which Thamal decides to kill his ego. This scene (and not the mindless ending in which Thamal joins the self-illuminating monks) is the dramatic conclusion.
In the former scene the enfeebled voice of Spiegelmensch pronounces what is the only substantial idea of the play—that there is the possibility of working with and gaining immeasurably by negotiation with one's egoistic, ambitious side, with the dark side of being. The charade of being alternately dominated by and dominating darkness could give way to a more enlightened state of affairs. The course of human events does not have to consist of ascendancy and subordination of the ego. This idea occupies little space in the drama and certainly is not exemplified, but it is an idea which forms a bridge to the later dramas and to the idea of history as role-player in the drama.

Thamal first appears in that immature stage of spiritual abstraction which was the curse of the heroes of D.B., D.V., and D.M. He requests admission to the cloister, naively wishing to become "rein" and "vollkommen." (139) He believes the way to achieve this is by suppression of his nature: "Ich will alle Flammen niederhalten." (139) The abbot remonstrates that purity does not endear one to god as it is "unbeweglich" and "steigt nicht die himmlische Leiter empor." (139) The motif of movement returns as a prerequisite to true life; it is that responsive, painful movement of the dance (as in Die Troerinnen). The abbot assesses the involuntary, responsive nature of such movement: "Nur aus der Vernichtung gerät unsäglich / Der blutig Gehetzte ans Tor." (139) Laurentin's (Die Mittagsgöttin) greatest sin was to impose his own rhythm on that of the
world. This is also the case for Thamal. He tries to force matters. He claims to have knowledge of and to be separated from the world but he has yet to experience it as the abbot predicts: "Und was unwissend deine Unrast sucht / zur Peitsche wird dir diese feige Flucht." (140) Thamal's own impatient rhythm will have to be corrected by that most ungentle rhythm of darkness. Thamal's sin is the sin of abstraction which separates mental reflection from experience; the abbot warns Thamal to leave if Thamal is still operating "auf jenen Wellen...Wo Wort und Wahrheit, / Sinn und Sinn entzweit." (140)

Thamal does not listen. The abbot outlines the three developmental stages of man: the first stage is that in which man sees only himself in all that surrounds him; the second stage is that in which man becomes aware of the world; and the third stage is that in which man is in harmony with his surroundings and they become a part of him. (145) Thamal believes himself to be in the second stage. He is still in the first stage, largely because he is denying the need for the world and its painful experiences. He is refusing to take part in that involuntary dance of the world: "Nun bin ich geweiht und werde verwandelt / Hinab denn: Tag, Tanz, Spiel, Leidenschaft." (145) His intent is not realized; the shot at his image in the mirror releases Spiegelmensch and begins the dance in earnest. Spiegelmensch begins running and dancing through the cell. (149) Thamal has quite inadvertently set himself on the path to the
fulfillment which he desires. As is the case with Laurentin, it is a kind of activism (political for Laurentin, religious for Thamal) which sets the process in motion.

The pedagogical role is once again assumed by the nether forces, specifically by Spiegelmensch. Spiegelmensch is not the "evil" side of Thamal who is to be overcome in a battle of good and evil.² Spiegelmensch is a being more complex than can be summarized in the term "evil." In part, he represents the public or the competitive side of one's nature—he is introduced as not identical to Thamal—"viel marktschreierischer gekleidet." (149) He is that part of man whose basic striving is for power. In his presence Thamal experiences great intensity of light, reminiscent of the false "Scheinwerfer" light of Laurentin: "Lichtekstasen / Entstehen, vergehn," "Lila lacht es und loht!" (150) Spiegelmensch is further defined as that part of man which defines itself not in relationship to others but as an absolute: "Ich bin mein Ich! bin meine eigene Grenze." (150)

The first truth that Spiegelmensch brings to Thamal is the awareness of the hypocrisy of his desire to divest himself of his ego. Spiegelmensch mocks Thamal's false humility and brings him to admit his desire to become great. Of course, it is not truth that Spiegelmensch is serving—it is his own flourishing. Thus he offers Thamal that demonically harmonious world (offered by the devil to the poet in D.V.) in which the rhythm would be determined by Thamal. (153) An allusion to the Orpheus myth is made here
as it was in D. Versuchung when Spiegelmensch tells Thamal that he is more than an "Original," he is an "Instrument." (154) Spiegelmensch promises that Thamal's words will be music that will enchant the world. Thamal's words will be as free moving and unrestricted as the heroes of the first dramas were. Spiegelmensch tells Thamal that unlike the words of most poets that hardly fly to the rooftop, "wo dein Wort seine Schwingen breitet, / Ist ihm keine Grenze, kein Ende bereitet--" (154) "Keine Grenze" is not a positive attribute; this unbalanced soaring will lead Thamal to his own destruction. Spiegelmensch is all too glad to affirm that Thamal is the "Punkt der Punkte." (155) Spiegelmensch convinces Thamal that he is rightfully the new god being sought by the masses; that he can turn their "Katzenjammer" into "Freude." This vision is very attractive to Thamal, and it overpowers reality so that the briefly perceived wound that he inflicted on himself in shooting at Spiegelmensch is as quickly forgotten. The calling of the monk that could have saved Thamal is also prevented by Spiegelmensch. Thus the acts of salvation for man--an exact observation of nature and a joining of the social circle (compare Die Mittagsgöttin)--are not realized by Thamal at this time.

In Part One entitled "Spiegel," Thamal sees only himself in the world. The problem is not mere egoism but rather narcissism, a boundariless, referenceless destructive movement of his ego. Thamal will have to experience how far
he can go in the expansion of his ego in the second part of the drama, "Eins ums andere."

In the first scene of "Eins ums andere," Thamal kills his father by wishing him dead. This is a logical place for Thamal's ego expansion to begin, because he destroys the primary tie to human society. It is not an entirely unsympathetic act as the father is somewhat harsh and unwilling to acknowledge worth in his son. The father says, "Was würst du ohne mich?" (164) Life without the constraints imposed by the restrictive government of the father is now possible as Thamal becomes ever more like his Spiegelmensch. Spiegelmensch further defines himself in his drinking song in the scene "Terasse des Palastes." He is the proponent of a carefree attitude toward life. Spiegelmensch praises the accomplishment of the devil: a life without regrets. The devil is a "Friedhof von Erinnerungen." (169) Without memories and responsibilities, man is free to move without boundaries—again decidedly a problematic concept.

Dschalifar recognizes Thamal as one who wishes to move beyond natural boundaries: "Du bist ein Glücksmensch, aller Bindung bar, / Ein Presto, nicht im Rhythmus aufzuhalten." (173) The contrast between the solitary hero and the simple man is made explicit in this scene. Dschalifar says that self-knowledge brings "Die Schluss-Bilanz, das Selbst-Gericht!" (174) Dschalifar is the incarnation of the steadfastness of the common man: "Ich bin ein Bauernsohn und sehr gekettet / An Erbbesitz, ein Mensch, der gern sich
frettet, / Das Irdische nicht aus den Zähnen lässt, / Ich fliege nicht, doch steh ich dafür fest." (175) In the second step of his expansion Thamal breaks the very necessary tie between the exceptional person and his simpler counterpart: Thamal longs to build the highest tower where he can be seen but not have to see others. This scene ends in "Taumel" for Thamal, wild motion without reference and purpose. Thamal is now free-floating.

He feels free to seduce Ampheh, Dschalifar's wife, to the world of light and irresponsible motion that he inhabits. He interprets the world according to his own ways and interprets the dance of the earth as "das Gesetz / Des Stosses und geringsten Widerstandes." (178) He recognizes no necessity or purposefulness in human activity; men are only "Kugeln, die abwärts rollen / Zu Schlaf und Frass, ins möglichst Angenehme." (178) Ampheh has already been affected by Thamal's ideas; Thamal tells her "Es taumelt, tanzt und quirlt nachts dein Schlaf." (179) Thamal is at this point in an ambiguous state. By destructive acts such as killing his father and seducing Ampheh, he has freed himself from restraints on his narcissistic development. This means on the one hand that he is isolated from social corrective factors, but on the other hand that he is free from hypocrisy. In a beginning scene he says he will hold down his flame; now he is all "Feuer, Stürme, Blitze, / Abgrund, Sturz, Himmelfahrten." (180) Thamal is at least cognizant of the contradictions inherent in him. There is awareness on his
part that fulfillment is not easy to achieve and he finds it a weakness in Amphéthat she may "nie aufwehn / In jenen Flammen, die uns verzehren, / Doch blühen machen und zum Gott verklären?" (179) Thamal still, however, does not recognize an extremely important fact; that the dance is one of necessity and purpose and not of random movement. He reveals himself once again to be painfully ignorant of the world. He both exaggerates man's freedom to move irrespective of others and trivializes the necessary movement of social beings.

Amphé yields to the power of Thamal. She is attracted to the light given off by his ego: "Nur du / Warm, spendend, schöpferisch!" (181) Amphé shares in the confidence that Thamal exudes. She, too, has lost reference to the world: "So schwebend ist mir!" (183) Spiegelmensch has a cynical interpretation of Amphé's enthusiasm, namely that it is nature's way to make the man enthusiastic before the sexual act and the woman after. The truth lies somewhere between Thamal's and Amphé's idealization and Spiegelmensch's assessment. Spiegelmensch is a reminder that man is not free of base instincts. He is an instructor in that sensual and transient area of life which the Abdecker presented in Die Mittagsgöttin. Spiegelmensch's lesson is certainly not learned by Thamal at this point. He asks that Amphé also serve the dream that he serves. (183)

Thamal's and Amphé's paths soon diverge. His
restlessness is irritated by her daily presence. The announcement that she is carrying his child is not welcomed; he suggests that she get rid of it. On becoming pregnant, Ampheh's ties to reality have been reestablished. She has entered that state in which one recognizes and becomes one with nature. Ampheh explains:

Als ich heut in der glühenden Frühe
Ging durch das Reifen, Brausen, Geblühe,
Und um mich von Wachstum stampfte der Raum,
Ward ich verwandelt und fühlte mich Baum.
Mystisch verwechselt ward da mein heimlichstes Wesen,
Und zu einem unsagbaren Tiefblick erlesen.
Ach, ich erkannte so viel,--und war nicht mehr blind.

(186)

This moment of nature awareness is the closest to paradise man can come.

At this point, the rhythm of death and transience is introduced to Thamal by the circus travelers. Spiegelmensch hears them first: "Was peitscht und klingelt dort?" (187) As the Knacker's whip in Die Mittagsgöttin, so this whip is also the instrument of the rhythm of death. The circus group's main attraction is the dancer Fisillih. Thamal is at a stage of complete estrangement from nature, having rejected his child, and he feels no fear before the brutal dance. He welcomes its overtones of death and decay. Spiegelmensch appraises Fisillih as a "Totenkopf mit süßer Haut bezogen." Thamal replies "gerade diese Hässlichkeit regt auf." (189)

The Gaukler, who is the monk in disguise, tells Thamal
of the land of Cholshamba, the kingdom of the snakes. Here the dance of death exists in a most repellent form: "Ein Schlangen-Meer, gehorsam seinem Ruf / Wälzt ekel schlupfrige Wellen auf die Saaten Cholshambas, des gesegneten des Staaten. / Aymar, des Landes Gott, der Lichte, Gute, / Ihn hetzt Ananthas mit der Schlangenrute." (188) Thamal sees the situation as a perfect outlet for his wish for "Die Tat; Die Tat." (190) He continues blindly on his path of self-indulgence, ignoring a parallel between himself and Ananthas, the snake-king. Ananthas, too, is one who ignores the world and follows and imposes his own rhythm; the Gaukler explains that Ananthas is "Einer von den Obren, / Der niederstieg und seinen Sinn erschuf." (188)

Only glimmers of recognition come to Thamal now and then, as when he believes to have seen the Gaukler before. Spiegelmensch shows his astuteness when he says of the Gaukler, "Mir wird ganz unbehaglich, seh ich die Asketenglatze, und es scheint, die Nase / Ist spitz von einer anderen Ekstase / Als der seiltänzerischen." (188) This for Spiegelmensch is divine awareness. It is also indicative of the proximity of the religious and the artistic or unrestricted modes of life, the latter of which is referred to by the term "seiltänzerisch." Both seek to overcome physical and social limitations and, after the model of Nietzsche's "Seiltänzer," to define man's ambiguous state. Zarathustra says, "Der Mensch ist ein Seil, geknüpft zwischen Tier und Übermensch--ein Seil über einem
Abgründe." Both the artistic and the religious modes of life are dangerous vocations in that both require a balance --a balance between freedom and constraint. Both modes of life involve taking a perspective distance from our material limitations: the artistic in that the artist assumes control over shaping the material; the religious in that the religious man assumes some knowledge about how God shapes material. Both vocations may assume more liberty than is advisable. Thamal has yet to find the necessary religious and the artistic modes are also potentially dangerous in the influence they exert. The masses cannot easily discern the difference between the man who has truly succeeded in walking the rope and one who merely appears to do so. As Zarathustra discusses the Seiltänzer, the crowd demands to see a physical manifestation: "Wir hörten nun genug von dem Seiltänzer; nun lasst uns ihn auch sehen!" (13) The visible tight rope walker also believes that he is the one being described by Zarathustra. Man undermines what can be by assuming that what is is sufficient. Thamal has impatiently assumed that he was ready to take on the world.

Thamal's motives for setting out to become the savior of Cholshamba are mixed. On the one hand he sees it as the chance to expand his ego to an extent heretofore unexperienced. On the other hand, there is a real idealism involved which subordinates his ego: "Den Dämon will ich ergreifen, / Und sieg ich nicht, zerschellen und vergehnn!!" (190) Spiegelmensch is aware of the latter feeling and rightfully
fears the adventure.

The situation in Cholshamba is one that parallels Thamal's position. The people of Cholshamba, like Thamal, have removed themselves from the restraints of tradition. They are defiling their own god, who they said was weak and failed to defend them against Ananthas. The citizens of Cholshamba fail miserably in their freedom. Their failure is a prophecy of what will happen to Thamal who enjoys a similar form of freedom.

Thamal's and the audience's perspective on the actions of the citizens of Cholshamba are mixed. On the one hand the audience has been prepared for the rebellion of the citizens against the old god by the monk's early statement that the gods "sterben, Jeder zu seiner Zeit." (143) Tradition is being swept aside with hardly a defense. However, the audience is not prepared for the violence which accompanies the rebellion. The citizens have become a mob even as Thamal becomes a criminal.

There is an overwhelming pessimism in the scene "Cholshamba, das Land der Schlangen." The people fail to assume responsibility for their own destinies. This failure is shared by even the most reasonable of the people, their high priest. He is on the verge of accepting his tasks as protector when he quickly abandons these tasks to the first person who wanders into view, and that is Thamal. The pessimism includes even the heavenly realm: the god is so remote that he is practically non-existent. "Er kämpft für
euch auf seinem bleichen Sitze, / Dem schneeumtauschten auf Parvatas Spitze." (193) Once again the religious is described with references to dancing, the least purposeful of human motions. "Spitze," which Spiegelmensch used to describe an aspect of the monk's appearance, is again used here to describe the residence of god. The "Spitze," as an extreme form, is not easily accessible to the common man.

The general desperation is revealed also by the fact that both the high priest and the people accept Thamal as the new god without hesitation and thought. He is accepted for the glow of his unrestricted ego which is mistaken as a divine quality by the high priest who says: "Wie von Erwählung dir die Hand erschimmert!" and by the people who praise him: "Er ist schön! Er ist jung! Und schlank." (195)

Thamal sets about saving the people of Cholshamba. He finds the evil that enslaves them to be of a peculiar sort. It is evil in a Nietzschean sense (Martens, 42): a mindless sloth, "Schlamm und Sumpf und Quatsch!" (197) Indolence is the nature of evil; the voices about Ananthas tell Thamal: "Bitt dich, mach kein Geschrei! / Es ist ja alles einerlei, / Wir liegen ja so weich. / Leg dich zu uns / !Gleich! / Deck dich zu / Und rülpe in Ruh." (197) Thamal correctly solves the puzzle that gives him control over Cholshamba. The puzzle is to recognize the identity of Ananthas and his court. Thamal surmises: "Ihr seid das Geborene, das niemals lebt, / Und dennoch vergebens zu Tode strebt, / Das freudlos
und leidlos und ohne Geschlecht / Sich gerade dafür am
Lebendigen rächt, / Indem es vergiftet das Fühlende,
Starke, / Bis es gleicht eurem eignen verschimmelnden
Quarke /!

(199) Ananthas' evil retinue fades away but ex-
pects to return soon because Thamal can only remain the
victor if he remains pure in intent. Ananthas hardly ex-
pects this.

Denn hör! Du kannst solang nur Sieger sein,
Als du in deinem eigenen Willen rein!
Und da--bei allem schuldigen Respekt--
Stets in Erkenntnis Selbstkenntnis steckt,
Und nur in meinem Reich der weiche Weg nicht holpert,
Bin ich gewiss,--du bist heute noch gestolpert....

(200)

The requirement is not, as might be presumed on first glance,
that the leader remain pure, but that he remain single-
minded. The goal must retain its limits. Thamal especially
will not be able to sustain such a state. He falls prey to
the very evil he sees in Ananthas' animals, an evil that has
divested itself of reference and lacks all contour. Even
the free spirit Thamal fears the lack of reference: "Könnt
ich nur eine Zacke packen, / Einen Fels." (197) It is ironic
that Thamal is disturbed by this because his journey thus
far has consisted in divesting his being of contour and
restriction.

It is a world peculiarly devoid of substance that
Thamal is creating for himself. The admirers describe the
moving forces of this world; they are nothing more than fad:

ERSTER BEWUNDERER: Gott sei Dank! Das Wunderbare
Kommt in Mode, kommt in Schwung.
Und es folgt auf Forscher-Jahre
Thamal, for the day that he rules Cholshamba, has been
given a form by his task. But goal-directed control of the
ego is short-lived. Thamal, at Spiegelmensch's suggestion,
lets himself be pronounced god. This is the final step in
Thamal's breaking away. He has already announced through
previous actions that he is not subject to human conventions;
now by accepting deification he says that he is not even
human.

The weightlessness of Thamal's condition is now re-
lected in his state, "innerste Verzückung." (206)
Spiegelmensch and Fisillih reflect this by performing
"einen tollen unzüchtigen Tanz," (206) in which motion with-
out reference reaches its peak: "Der Tanz von Spiegelmensch
und Fisillih geht in orgiastisches Finale über."² (207) The
dance and the soaring of his ego have reached a culmination;
now begins the painful process of his reintegration into
social restrictions. This process begins immediately when
the dance of Spiegelmensch and Fisillih is interrupted by
the death march for Thamal's father. Thamal is thus reminded
of the fact that actions do have consequences. Other reminders of this come immediately: Dschalifar comes seeking
his wife; the people of Cholshamba transfer their political
allegiance from Thamal back to Ananthas.

In freeing himself of social restraints, Thamal had
been on a search for self-fulfillment. He finds, however,
that only his mirror image, not he himself has found this
fulfillment. Spiegelmensch is now fully expanded, a picture
of health:

Sieh meine Wangen an, wie sie brennen
Von einem köstlichen rot.
Der ganze Mensch ist nicht mehr zu erkennen,
Er riecht nach Gesundheit und frischem Brot.
Und schlag ich die Schenkel, die rundlichen drallen,
Fröhlockt das Echo wie Peitschenknallen.

(210)

Thamal, in the meantime, has become pale and meager. He is
the color of snow. Part Two ends on this note which is a
statement of two dialectic components previously noted in
the dramas. The first component is that man does not
achieve selfhood by releasing unconstrainedly his will into
the world. The second component is that man cannot achieve
selfhood if he fails to experience his will in conflict with
the world. Thamal has attempted selfhood by enacting his
will; this did not bring about the goal of selfhood that he
envisioned. But the actions that he took were very
necessary ones; without them he would never have achieved the
vulnerable state which is necessary for his development.
Thamal is now white; like Laurentin he is "taught." He is divested of colors. As was the case in earlier dramas, the teacher is none other than various forms of evil. Spiegelmensch advocated such evil, although as a person he was fairly innocuous and more vulgar than anything else. He describes himself at his prime: "Und ich, der ich plastisch worden und physisch, / Voll Leibenslan bin und erzdionysisch." (210)

It is altogether appropriate that Thamal finds himself on an infinite snowy plain at the beginning of the last act. The desolation of his soul is matched by that of the landscape. His only companion is the Schneemann: "Ich bin der Unbedingte, Nackte, Der Wesentliche, ganz und gar Abstrakte. Ich hasse alles Sinnenhafte, wiss es!" (213) In "Eins ums andere," Thamal filled the world with his image. Here it seems as though his image has dissolved everything: "Kein Baum, nur Raum, nur Raum, nur Raum vor mir! Leerfrass! O Raum voll Reue, zugeschnupper!" (213) Not even his mirror image will take Thamal on now. Spiegelmensch and Thamal have gone separate ways; Spiegelmensch is continuing a political career and Thamal has turned inward. The three admirers, now Spiegelmensch's companions, reduce Thamal's former efforts in Cholshamba to merely fashionable political actions. The times have changed, leaving Thamal behind. The newest political orientation is described by the second sycophant: "Darum, wer mit uns radikal und krass, / Der rutscht nach rechts und redet nur von race! Merk dir den
Gratis-Tip!" (215) Spiegelmensch reduced the world for Thamal to a fashionable toy as Thamal now realizes: "Als er noch mit mir lebte, wie voll Schwung / War jeder Tag und voll Eroberung!! / Er blies und fachte meine Seele an, / Er liess mich schweben über Wie und Wann!" Thamal was allowed to determine the world, to be suspended over it.

In the scene "Friedhof," Thamal learns how little man can determine in the sense that he had envisioned. He calls forth Ampheh who tells him that the child he fathered died early, "Weil dir dein Same, Mann, nicht heilig war." (220) Thamal has unknowingly been standing on the child's grave. His sin is just this ignorance. A state of enlightenment that Werfel advised in Die Troerinnen is similarly advised here. It is not enough that man live out his passions; Thamal presents himself to Ampheh as "Reingebrannt." That state is not sufficient and she leaves him.

Thamal is further forced to see the consequences of his action as he observes Spiegelmensch delivering a funeral oration for Dschalifar. Dschalifar, having been left by Ampheh, married Fisillih. Spiegelmensch's speech is very derogatory. Thamal tries to assassinate Spiegelmensch, but is prevented by an observant crowd and by the guard (the monk in disguise). The guard says that it is not yet time for the second shot.

The next station (Hafen) for Thamal is to be a slave aboard a ship. He has reached an emotional state akin to madness. The shipmaster warns: "Hab acht dort auf den
Mann! In seinen Augen ging ein Feuer an / Wie Irrsinn."

(225) Spiegelmensch boards this ship and requests Thamal as his servant. Thamal refuses to serve him. He will no longer exist in a state of servitude to his public image. Spiegelmensch cannot exist without this acquiescence on Thamal's part and so shrinks to his original "Magerkeit."

At this point there is a break in the development of the play. The break is quite evident even in the formal construction of the drama; the verse form is temporarily abandoned in favor of prose. The prose may even be extemporized as stated in the stage directions: "Solo [Spiegelmensch] In der Prosa darf der Schauspieler extemporieren und auch auf aktuelle Begebenheiten anspielen."

(229) This prose section is spoken only by Spiegelmensch. It is very important for two reasons. One is that it puts Thamal's development (the sole topic of the drama) into perspective. Even as Thamal has been given perspective by viewing his actions with respect to their effects, so we are given a perspective extra muros. Werfel allows Spiegelmensch to step outside the cohesion of the stage action to comment upon it.

Secondly, this prose section is important because its message marks the beginning of the end of the first phase of Werfel's dramas. Werfel has Spiegelmensch say that the world does not have to consist of either letting one's will run freely or killing off that will. Spiegelmensch says: "Ach, das Unglück ist, man weiss nicht mit mir umzugehen."
(Mit wahrem Feur) Wenn hier unter Ihnen ein Mann sässe, aber ein Mann, der mit mir ein männliches Komponiss schliessen wollte, ich schwöre es ihm zu, in drei Monaten beherrschen und erneuern wir die alte Erde!" (230) Spiegelmensch points out how indebted the world is to his kind: Hätte von Homer über Shakespeare zu den Dadaisten je ein Dichter gedichtet, wenn ich nicht dagewesen wäre?" (229) He has the tendency to overstate his case but his voice for the most part is pure reason. His plea is for moderation, against the senseless swing that Thamal exemplifies.

Unfortunately, Spiegelmensch's speech finds little echo in the remainder of the drama. The idea of a sober assessment of reality, which is what Spiegelmensch advocates, is not unexpected in the drama. In "Fenster," Thamal is being shown to evaluate his actions and their effects. And in the next scene, "Gericht," Thamal reaches a high level of responsibility when he pronounces his own sentence. But the idea of appropriate reaction in response to the world (even in its demonic aspects) is suddenly dropped as Thamal leaves this world.

In a survey of the attitudes of the whole of Werfel's dramas, this passage is a definite break. In previous dramas, the real was always seen as a necessary corrective factor of human endeavors. But the private realm always retained dominance and a tenuous superiority. And the real was often romanticized. The real lacked the historical
complexity that it will assume in the following dramas. Spiegelmensch is urging that complexity be assumed in examination of the affairs of men. (229-230)

The theme of complexity as well as that of man's own responsibility are continued in the scene "Gericht." The judge refuses to pass sentence on Thamal, stating that he does not have sufficient knowledge:

Was aber sehen einzig die Gerichte  
Die grobgebaute szenische Geschichte  
Allein das Unsagbare, Venerable,  
Das Leicht-Verwischte, Zart-Imponderable,  
Die Feinheit Gottes, den Gestalten-Duft,  
Den halben Blick, die Schwingung in der Luft,  
Des Töpfers Blick, das gebrochene Licht,  
Das alles sehn wir armen Richter nicht."

(232)

This particular passage confirms my conviction that Werfel's dramas are much more complex than they appear. The judge further states: "Kann der allergrößte Dichter / Sich so verstricken fremdem Seelennetz, / Dass er verstünde sein Kausalgesetz?" (233) If it is possible to discern the configurations of this world (and the world in drama), it is only possible through careful attention to the "Leicht-Verwischte, Zart-Imponderable." (232)

Actions are not to be viewed in isolation but in perspective. The first bit of evidence brought in Thamal's trials provides perspective through circumstance; Thamal's father can forgive his son's action because he has done the same to his father: "diese nächtige Tat, die mich gefällt, / Sie ist bedingt in der Chemie der Welt." (234) The next witness is the high priest. He, too, raises questions about
Thamal's guilt: "Ist er im Recht? Haben die Götter ihre Zeiten, / Und müssen wir Greise sie heimbegleiten?" (234) Thamal's assumption of a divine role is qualified by the possibility that the gods should be replaced. Dschalifar ameliorates Thamal's crime against him by saying that Thamal is exceptional. Ampheh states that she loves him still.

There is only one crime that cannot be ignored--Thamal's crime against the future by having fathered a crippled child. There is no defense for negligence here. Thamal pronounces his own death sentence.

Thamal's trial is a lesson in psychological determinism only up to a point—that point being where he changes from creation to creator, from son to man. It is significant that it is not the displacement of the god that is the overwhelming sin for Thamal but the displacement of the son. Man is determined by his past but he still is responsible for shaping the future. The delineation of human freedom and responsibility is analogous to the delineation created in Die Troerinnen. There is a historical pattern (described in terms of dance in Die Troerinnen) which is quite inescapable and in which it is man's duty to engage. At the same time, it is necessary to be cognizant of man's part in shaping this pattern.

The drama deteriorates in the last two scenes. In "Kerkerzelle," Spiegelmensch appears to Thamal in various guises. Spiegelmensch is attempting to save his own life by keeping Thamal from death. The enticements offered by
Spiegelmensch as reasons for Thamal to stay in this world are highly similar to those that appealed to Lukas in D.B.a.d.E. and offered by the devil in D.V.: "Und all die rasenden Strassen, / Die durch siedende Städte sich krampfen, / Der Häuser, der Säle beglückendes Dampfen, / Die Lichter, Gesichter, wild, ohne Massen, / Sie sollten dich nicht mehr selig erschrecken / Und deinen aufreizendsten Jubelschrei wecken!!" (237) The picture of seething vitality was extremely attractive to the "younger" heroes of the earlier dramas. Thamal is a more mature hero; not even Spiegelmensch's offers of exotic adventure are tempting to him any longer.

Spiegelmensch reaches his lowest point when he offers "Lustmord als heiliges Sakrament!" (239) as the final enticement. Spiegelmensch suggests that Thamal should kill a child and symbolically thus sabotage the world: "Und Nadir-Erkenntnisse werden frei, Die kein Feiger nennt: / Lustmord als heiliges Sakrament! / Und Weltvernichtung statt Selbstvernichtung / Als Opfer-Ekstase und Gottes-Auflichtung!!" (239) Spiegelmensch's suggestion is very graphic and extremely loathsome, but here again there is truth mixed in the terror. Spiegelmensch's thesis is that if it is holy to sacrifice one's own life then it is holier to sacrifice the world. This extension is inappropriate in a scheme of conventional morality--one may have the right to determine one's own death but not that of others. But because the drama has carefully established the theme of responsibility
up to this scene, it is less Spiegelmensch's extension of
the proposal than it is Thamal's basic suggestion that is
wrong. Logically, Thamal's later development does not lead
to "Selbstvernichtung."

Spiegelmensch next tries appearing as a woman to
seduce Thamal. The drama is being unnecessarily prolonged
here and this guise by Spiegelmensch is quite crude. There
is, however, an interesting passage which combines several
images that Werfel uses to describe the false appearance of
the world. The Weib, who is Spiegelmensch in disguise,
speaks:

O verstoss mich nicht: (Leise)
Weisst du denn nicht? Noch warten goldene Zone,
Das Süd-Licht rollt durch Palmen-Avenuen?
Du wirst mit mir in grellen Häusern wohnen,
Lust-Scheiterhaufen, die uns nie verglühnen.
Wenn schlaff wir ruhn auf flutenden Terassen,
Wird sich Orchester-Wonne niederlassen,
Wie Tiefsee-Fische schlafen wir im Grund
Der Weltmusik, befriedigt, schwebend, bunt!

(240)

The problem with this vision is its falseness—it presents
a bright harmony that does not reflect reality. The false-
ness manifests itself in bright light and colors—golden,
crude, bright; in motion without points of reference—
revolving, resting, swelling, soaring. There is no pro-
gression of time or matter. The vision is that of suspension
to the point of imprisonment in one stratum of existence—
unreflected pleasure. This is a false world because it
does not include struggle. Even as vision, it is only
appealing to a crass sensuality. Its harmony is supra-
natural and resembles that harmony which is offered by the
devil to the poet of D.V. It is an unnatural expansion of the momentary communion of man and time which is attested to in D.V. and D.M.

In his last attempt to save himself, Spiegelmensch offers one more unnatural enticement. He disguises himself as an indigent monk who attempts to frighten Thamal with the horrors of death. He again offers to arrest time. He is casting salt in the corners of the room: "Salz ist ein Zerstörungs-Produkt und erhält / Von der Zerstörung das Leben, das süsse." (241) It is possible only through destruction to preserve life, says Spiegelmensch.

Much to Spiegelmensch's horror, however, it is just such a course that Thamal adopts. He chooses, in spite of Spiegelmensch's allurements, to preserve his spiritual life by destroying his physical self. Thamal never finds a way to deal with his ego: "Kein Ausweg, der nicht Umweg ist zu ihm / Und keine Türe offen, ihn zu fliehen. Jetzt seh ich ein, dass ich allein, Um frei zu sein von ihm, mich töten muss." (244) This solution is so unsatisfactory that the reader agrees with Spiegelmensch's assessment of Thamal's resolution:

Dein Pathos, O Thamal, ist immer noch gross, Im heroischen Blankvers bist du famos. Doch im süss-pointierten, im hupfenden Rhythmus Der dem Witz unters Kleid greift, dass er tänzelt und mit muss, Bist du der altmetaphysische Tor, In der Kehle Chorale und keinen Humor! Sonst käme es dir nicht so leicht aus dem Sinn, Dass ich deine einzige Liebe bin! (244)
Werfel does not let Thamal's self-sacrifice go unquestioned; he puts the sacrifice in an ironic perspective by juxtaposing Spiegelmensch's deflating remarks.\[^4\]

Only if one accepts a soul divided into spirit and ego—the first whose domain is the beyond and the latter whose domain is earth—does Thamal's solution make any sense. The drama has not led us to accept such a dichotomy. It is true that one character was divided into two aspects, Thamal and Spiegelmensch. They became ever more divergent; Spiegelmensch advocated selfishness, while Thamal learned the deleterious effects of pure self-expansion. But Thamal learned of these effects through interaction with the world. Despite the eastern-tinged mystical extravagance of the first and last scenes there is not much faith invested in the life beyond. Thamal's actions were judged by their effect on human society. The one scene that involved the gods expressed doubt of their existence. Again, Spiegelmensch is the voice of reason when he says, "Gut! Sterben! Aber wozu? / Für wen willst du und zu wessen Nutzen? / Den Fleck, der du bist, von der Welt wegputzen?" (245) Spiegelmensch's sarcasm persists through Thamal's final resolve. The questioning voice is not stilled. He points out the theatricality of the proceedings. Thamal is, however, immune because he has already left the sober spirit briefly induced by his passage through the world. The language he uses clearly indicates that he has not learned much. He is entering a bliss that sounds much like that offered by
Spiegelmensch. Thamal says: "Ein Mysterium ist jede Opfertat! Ah! Mich durchrasen / Der Todes-Wahl beschworne Wonen." (245) It is very hard to distinguish this ecstasy from that of the beginning scenes when Thamal is just setting out on his pilgrimage. He speaks of "Liebbedürfnis," "Brand-Licht ohne Mass," "gott-ursprüngliche(n) Gestalt." (246) Spiegelmensch voices my own objections to Thamal's raptures when he protests "Das Absolute?? Spiegel-Sichtung!! Die letzte Lüge?? Selbstvernichtung!" (247) After the development of the idea of responsibility in respect to the world, Thamal's exclamations "Licht, Schwebe" form a regression.

The final scene "Kloster" avails itself of what is the most distasteful to modern readers of Werfel. The magical transformations that occur are showily theatrical and mechanical. The holiness of the monks is expressed by having them be their own "Lichtspender," and by demonstrating that they have no mirror image. The great mirror is transformed into a great window:

Mächtige Zaubererschütterung. Mit einem Schlag hat sich der Spiegel in ein gigantisches Fenster verwandelt. Von allen Seiten strömt rasendes Tageslicht in die Halle. Hinter dem Fenster eine stark bewegte, trunken Farben- und Formenwelt, die für den Zuschauer jene höhere Realität bedeuten soll, die nur den Personen auf der Bühne zugänglich ist.

(249)

Thamal has drunk the poison and is now a member of this great beyond.

Even if one can accept the mechanical magical aura,
it is not possible to ignore what Werfel has done with the basic problem of the play. The problem of self is no problem in the after world because there is no action, no possibility of any conflict. The scene ends while the "sechsundzwanzig Mönche ungerührt und mild grinsend hockenbleiben." (250) It is possible that this last scene satirizes the interest of Werfel's time in eastern religions. This interest was ridiculed along with other fads in a speech of one of Thamal's admirers earlier in the drama. (202) The play satirizes both the fashions that come and go in beliefs and the naivety of the people. It may also be that the tastelessness of this last scene is due to Werfel's over-enthusiasm for the stage possibilities of the mirror theme.

Despite the simplistic solution, Spiegelmensch is not a simple-minded drama. The success it enjoyed must be due to its irreverent spirit, the latter largely attributable to the sceptical spirit of the Spiegelmensch.
FOOTNOTES: SPIEGELMENSCH

1 The knacker in Die Mittagsgöttin used the whip to assert his own rhythm of time and finality on nature.

2 Lambasa writes the following with regard to the character of Spiegelmensch:

The conflict of this drama is occasioned by the complexity of the life not outside of but within, the ego. This is, however, not a struggle to the death between our baser instincts and the more noble impulses. The baser self needs the nobler, wants to keep it alive, but seeks always to control and use it for its own ends. But these ends are too egoistically-oriented and would never lead to a complete life. The great and perfect life is the life of complete absorption in man's total nature.

(115, 116)

3 Friedrich Nietzsche, Also sprach Zarathustra (München: Musarion Verlag, 1925), XIII, 11.

4 Critics have noticed that Spiegelmensch is among other things, a Faust parody. Leopold Zahn writes that

Thamal ist eine Art Faust; sein Spiegelmensch, der den resignierenden, lebensüberdrüssigen Thamal wieder zum Lebensgenuss verführt, gleicht Mephisto.

(Leopold Zahn, Franz Werfel, 1966, p. 21)

Rudolf Kayser in 1922 called Spiegelmensch

...ein umgekehrter 'Faust': der statt aus dem volkstümlichen Theater die Metaphysik--aus der Metaphysik das volkstümliche Theater entwickeln möchte.

(Kayser, Die Neue Rundschau, XXXIII 8 [August, 1922], 913-915)
MIDDLE DRAMAS
BOCKSGESANG
Spiegelmensch, for all its interest in the idea that man must be responsive to and responsible for society, was finally more interested in magical transformations and visual effects than in recreating a social model. Bocksgesang, written in 1921 (Klarmann, 553) moves to a greater degree of naturalism. It is Werfel's first prose drama, and the somewhat more sober tone of this prose reflects the fact that Werfel is dealing with revolution on a larger scale; it is no longer the private transformation of a Laurentin or a Thamal that concerns him but greater and more visible social transformations.

The 31-year-old Werfel is no longer quite so myopic; he no longer sees man's dilemma as compressed into the problematic of artist versus bourgeois. Beginning with Bocksgesang, there is an expanded vision which includes social detail. The detail is not unified enough to form an artistic entity in Bocksgesang. It is also marred by the fact that the transition from a ritual, magical mode to a naturalistic mode is imperfect. For Bocksgesang, and its successor Schweiger, there is a disturbing incongruence of natural setting and supernatural incident. There is in this stage of Werfel's development still an idea complex which cannot be expressed through the natural world. This aberration in the midst of a realistic setting gives the unfortunate impression that Werfel's goal is to produce sensation.
It is less the aberration, however, than the juxtaposition of the supranatural with the mundane that precipitates aesthetic displeasure. The sociological detail does not prepare us for monsters coming on stage. There is a definite split between the detached social analysis and portrayal and the magic effects with which Werfel surrounds the appearance of the monster. It is, of course, the intent of Bocksgesang to demonstrate that a split exists in the nature of the world which corresponds to, on the one hand, our logical or sociological perception of the world and, on the other hand, our aphysical irrational perception of it. There are at least these two levels of understanding and of being. The drama is successful in establishing that such levels exist, less successful in establishing the nature of the irrational level. The first drama to do this successfully will be Juarez und Maximilian.

The greater detail of Bocksgesang is reflected in greater historical consciousness. Although the historical setting is somewhat vague—"Die Handlung spielt in einer slawischen Landschaft jenseits der Donau an der Wende des achtzehnten zum neunzehnten Jahrhundert"—the time stated is significant enough to be a provocative factor in the action. This is the general time period of the American and French revolutions. The play is a commentary on the revolutionary impulse and its causes.

As history's role increases, the role of individuals, who can act in defiance of historical reality, decreases.
Bocksgesang begins a trend which will culminate in Jacobowsky. Bocksgesang continues to treat the solitary hero but as a type he is much diminished. The action no longer depends so heavily on him. Werfel is, with the ever-diminishing hero, taking part in a philosophical trend of his time. One thinks of the little man hero of Die Hose, by Carl Steinheim, or, perhaps closer in spirit to Werfel, of the all-too-human Napoleon of Napoleon greift ein by Walter Hasenclever. And one is struck by the similarity of Werfel and Kafka in the fact that the protagonist must undergo a process of reduction. Joseph K's trial is a matter of divesting himself of the attributes of his image—literally of fitting himself into the low ceiling room of his courts. Maximilian in Juarez und Maximilian undergoes exactly the same process in a less metaphorical description.

One way in which Werfel reduces the role of protagonist here is to split the proceedings of the drama into levels: historical, sociological, and psychological. The protagonist Juvan does not possess full awareness of the sociological and psychological causes of the rebellion. These causes are represented by other groups of characters. The American, the Jew, and the tightrope walker represent the disenfranchised and underprivileged. The physician represents a philosophical obsolescence. Jevrem and Stevan represent entrenched abusers of power. Juvan does not synthesize the conflict of these groups into a revolutionary statement. Truth is not revealed to him in its entirety; he could not
grasp it.

Juvan reveals no awareness of the specific historical situation. The Slavic countryside at the time of the turn of the 18th to the 19th century is the first detail that we are given. The time is portrayed as geographic and historical, an era of intellectual fermentation; the dialogue of the day which represents this time concerns privilege and economic independence. But because this is a Slavic landscape on the other side of the Danube and therefore remote from the sites of revolution, it may be assumed that it is the spirit of revolution rather than any specific demands that has arrived here. Juvan's rebelliousness confirms this; he is an angry young man who has no direction to his anger. He is not even aware that he is awaiting a revolutionary task until pressed to this knowledge by the prophet Bogoboj. Juvan as a revolutionary has much in common with the adventurer Lukas of D.B.a.d.E., the poet of d.V., the holy man of d.M., and Thamal; his vocation is abstract and prophetic.

The essence of the revolution is appreciated only by those directly concerned: the landed and the landless. The landed are Gospodar Jevrem and Gospodar Stevan. They fear the landless. The situation is extremely unstable. Werfel has chosen a volatile setting to show the vicissitudes of economic reality. Jevrem and Stevan have not always been privileged; they have built their fortunes relying on the lassitude of the Turks. At the same time they rely on the protection of his soldiers against the unprivileged. The
landless they correctly perceive to be their enemy, but they also hope to use these people as a work force for their son, respectively, son-in-law. The uncleared forests "fressen das Fruchtland und warten des Rodens." The situation of these rich men is extremely precarious, something of which they are hardly cognizant. Their world is ripe for change as is evident in the lethargic picture that Jevrem gives: "Unsere Alderväter noch Zinsbauern und Fronlinge dem Türken, aber der Spahi ist alt geworden und sitzt, die Margileh schmauchend, in den Steinhäusern der Vilajets oder schaut von seinen Kriegstürmen müde in die Stromwellen hinab."

(255) The situation is reminiscent of the idea of Spiegelmensch that the gods do die off in time.

There is also philosophic obsolescence in the setting of this drama. The representative of philosophic thought is the old physician who believes in Voltaire rather than God. Voltaire's philosophy is, for him, an acceptance of the order of nature without having to explain it in terms of god or the devil. He urges the Milics to acknowledge their son openly, the "biologisch-anatomisch-morpho-physiologische Wunder." (263) He wants to have it scientifically examined.

The physician is a sympathetic character. He pleads for enlightenment in speaking with the old couple who have kept the abnormality hidden away through the years: "Und kleiner Mensch, der du die Schöpfung nach deinem Ebenbilde missest und richtest, was nicht alles hältst du für missglückt und ungeraten! [Mit Ausdruck] Natur, die
verspielte Träumerin, überall regiert sie und erfüllt mit heiligerer Freude als alle gegriffelte Offenbarung den wissenden Geist!" (264) The physician does not advocate a narrow rationalism: he acknowledges irrational forces in his appraisal of nature as the "verspielte Träumerin." But this physician and his enlightenment philosophy are old, as he admits. He wants to go see the monstrosity but cannot remember if he has been given the key. Looking in his pocket he says "Dass doch!—Mein Wachslicht,—mein Feurzeug!?—Ah, da ist er! Oh, ich werde alt. Ich werde alt." (266)

The philosophy that the physician represents is about to have run its course, but not before it has affected history. It is the physician who neglects to lock the door of the monster's stall. It appears as though the philosophy of man's self-autonomy is responsible for having released the terror. But this is only partially the case—the suppression of the evil thus far is equally responsible.

The physician's philosophy is inadequate to deal with the extent of the monstrosity and with the superstition of the society. The physician, who intended to examine the monster scientifically, was overwhelmed: "Da könnte man fast wieder an Gott glauben lernen. Ich Kaltblütiger bin in Schweiss geraten.... Gross ist die Natur und klein die Phantasie." (268) When the physician makes reference to his "Wachslicht," he is making a statement not only about the age and impotence of his philosophy, he is also referring to the immensity of the present darkness. An enlightened
society depends on a broad base; that certainly does not exist here.

The historical and philosophic situation—turn from 17th to 18th century; a Slavic people dependent on Turkish tolerance; an enlightenment philosophy rapidly becoming impotent—has set the stage for the black events to come. Everything is pointing to a major change.

The landless are making Milic and his peers uneasy with their demands for land. They are represented by three men: the American, the Jew Feivel, and the Seiltänzer—the tightrope walker. All three are types; Feivel represents a sociological type, the American a historical attitude, and the tightrope walker a metaphorical distinction. They are three ways of expressing the outsider of society, each adding a dimension to the concept. The Jew, Feivel, is a stereotype. He is warm, more humane than his Christian counterparts, but all too willing to accept the role of subservient merchant that the majority culture deems fit for him. The American is almost without personal characteristics; he does not give his family name. (273) He has absorbed from his stay in America the idea that there is nothing sacrosanct about the existent distribution of wealth. Thus he does not feel his request for the idle land to be impudent. His non-subservient manner enrages the land owners. The tightrope walker represents that imagery complex frequently encountered in the dramas thus far, including dancing, floating, and non-goal oriented movement of various sorts. In the tightrope walker
this image receives its least favorable treatment. Not even the tightrope walker can glorify the wandering existence he led. For Werfel, this is a decisive step in the abandonment of this type of existence. The tightrope walker says: "In der Jugend, wie schön ist das alles! Man springt früh aus dem Laub, dass die Knochen knacken, und schmeisst einen Stein in die Sonne! Aber da auf einmal, ihr Erbgessessenen, ist dieses Weh da, dieses Schreckliche." (274)

What the three disparate characters have in common is their desire for a piece of land. The rootless class, represented metaphorically by the tightrope walker, sociologically by the Jew and historically by the American, has begun to hold land husbandry in high esteem. By their very esteem of the land, it is they who will become the true rooted characters. The actual proprietors of the land do not stand in a true relationship to it; they merely use it. Gospodar Stevan Milic sharply turns down the petition of the three for land: "O ihr Söhne der Blutschande, unter uns wollt ihr wohnen, denen das Land gehört, die es bebauen und betreuen? Unter uns Lichten, uns Lichten? Bei Tag, bei Nacht soll sich die Fratze in Kirche und Schenke umtun? Auf zweien und vieren zwischen uns Aufrechten wollt ihr schreiten? Weg, weg! (278) The appellation "Lichten" is incongruent with the character of true caretaker of the land. Milic disregards the autonomy of the land and asserts a dominance that clearly does not exist. The most serious misjudgement that he makes is to imagine that he and his sort are anything
but a form of animal dependent on the earth. By calling his peers the "Aufrechten," he assumes an independence. Physically taken it is independence of gravity that he assumes—Milic has become the Seiltänzer.

It is especially ironic that Milic should claim such attributes, since he fathered the animal-like monstrosity. Milic associates the three petitioners with his monstrous offspring: "Ihr Verfluchten! Habt ihr des Menschen Anlitz? Nein, nicht des Menschen Anlitz? Ha! Narben, Nase, Zahnluck, Glotzaug, Fuchsbart! Das Anlitz des hundertjährigen, pfiffigen, böckischen Affen, sein Gesicht, das Gesicht, das verborgen bleiben soll! Da, da ist es ausgebrochen!" (277) The old nurse Babka, who has cared for the monstrosity all these years, used the same words to describe it. (261) The aberration of nature in his son that he has hidden for many years is no longer to be suppressed. It now presents itself in the persons of the three petitioners in a public manner. But Milic cannot accept the darkness. Milic has come to the preliminary realization, however, that property ownership may be at the root of his problems: "O ihr Verstossenen, die auf keinem Eigen sitzt, wisst ihr denn, wie glücklich ihr seid." (278)

The first two acts are expository. They have established a socially decadent situation: an arranged engagement between an obstinate young woman, Stanja, and a somewhat warped young man, Mirko. Both have lived in environments of violence. Stanja's family is not, as her
mother reveals, the peaceful harmony that it presents.
Stanja's mother is often beaten by her father. Mirko says
that he will beat Stanja after they are married; Stanja
replies that this is the practice everywhere. Mirko has
repressed the desire to know about the monster hidden away.
All is suppression. Silence is the character of this world;
it is used to describe Stanja. (253) Mirko has not develop-
ed because he has stayed silent: "So schwieg ich denn und
liess das auf meinem Vater ruhn, was ich nicht weiss." (259)

The symbol of all the darkness that has been
suppressed and will emerge is the monster. It has recovered
after an illness. Silence is its nature, paradoxically
applied to its voice: "Den Genesungsschrei geschrien mit
dieser Stimme, die immer schweigt." (261)

The situation of the parents of the monstrosity is
seemingly hopeless—there is no way to deal with it without
acknowledging the darkness within themselves. Because they
cannot do the latter, Milic admits: "Wir sind keine Menschen
mehr...." (267) The psychological failure to treat one
another as realities is a parallel to the failure of the
landowners to treat the land as autonomous.

Although the revolution has political and economic
roots, these are not the primary stimulants for the common
folk. They respond to the music and the general feeling of
unrest. The countryside is filled with superstition and
supernatural events: Bogoboj says, "Ich höre im Winde den
Bocksgesang." (280) Juvan, the leader of the revolution,
is not a revolutionary out of any conscious sense of social involvement but rather because he is fascinated by the movement of change. He says, "Es ist möglich, dass ich im Leben nur eine Freude gehabt habe, als ich einmal einen großen Wald brennen sah...." (281) Burning is a part of Werfel's imagery complex which describes goal-less motion valued for its own sake. Here it is clearly associated with a horrible destructiveness.

When approached by the rejected petitioners for aid, Juvan professes indifference. Boredom is the mask that he wears as Stanja wears that of silence. Stanja has seen Juvan once and has loved him from that time. Stanja's mask is torn away by Juvan's presence; he remarks, "Wenig schweigsam bist du, Schweigsame!" (287). She delights in the destructive movement that she senses in Juvan. Such destructive movement is perfectly described in her exultation: "Ich lache über die brennenden Schmetterlinge. Über die Fledermäuse da oben lache ich." (287)

Stanja cannot shake Juvan's indifference by her open advancements. His is an indifference born of a consciousness concerning the volatile nature of events. Stanja says that she likes the vagrants. Juvan replies that as the daughter of the rich we will soon be persecuting them: "Es soll aber geschehen. So sag ich! Solange soll's geschehn, bis es sich unkehrt, und sie euch hetzen! Und dann mag es sich wieder verkehren!" (287) Juvan is a true child of the dance—only the motion and rhythm is apparent to him. His
name suggests youth which is revolution for its own sake. What the petitioners so earnestly desire, land and emotional roots, are spurned by Juvan. He is a thief, but his thievery is seen as positive by a Stanja who has witnessed ownership: "Wer die Finger der Käufer kennt, wird segnen des Räubers Hand." (288) Juvan is preferable to his bourgeois counterpart Mirko, who will kill Stanja if he cannot possess her. Possession is the sin of the propertied. It is a sin because it always entails abuse.

Mirko is dominated by the monstrosity of possession and Juvan by the monstrosity of destructive life. Juvan is the only one to really see this monstrosity of life. Others are confused as to whether it is a man or not. This confusion reflects the idea of the drama: man does not know himself because he ignores the animal aspects of his nature and sees himself exclusively as "aufrecht."

Juvan's revolution soon proves that man has a dark side. The revolution is loathsome, because it uses violence for its own sake and not as the means to an end. There is no attempt to meet the needs of the petitioners. The Seiltänzer, the American and the Jew Feivel are all horrified. Juvan never professed social goals and it is soon apparent that all he desires is "Vernichtung" and demonic hysteria.

The revolution is the apotheosis of the arrival of light and god. Juvan and the revolutionaries recite their litany:
"Mensch ist das gekreuzigte Tier" (295) asserts Juvan, but at the last moment he is unable to act as though he is purely animal. In the midst of the preparations for the black mass, the Gospodar Milic arrives with his family, offering amnesty and land if the revolution is stopped and his animal-son returned to him. Juvan agrees to this only on the condition that Stanja, the daughter of the rich, be sacrificed to the monster. This condition would not have been accepted by the landowners, but Stanja, who reveals herself to be the true revolutionary, willingly offers herself to union with the monster-god. Juvan breaks down as the son of darkness but redeems his humanity by trying, futilely, to prevent the union that he suggested.

The revolution has no lasting political results. It had no goals and no chance of succeeding if it had had goals, for Milic had long since called in the Turkish soldiers to subdue the rebels. The only results are psychological: the nihilistic Juvan comes to believe in something, his love for Stanja. The rich man's daughter Stanja who has only known people as objects comes to believe in herself by being the one who acknowledges that man is also animal. Thus some sort of equilibrium has been achieved. It was perhaps only possible by a revolution of the most violent sort, because
"der Mensch ist ein Knoten," (295) and it was the revolutionary goal to untie it. (295) The revolutionary force, as embodied by the animal-like man, is neither good nor evil. It is simply necessity, and like similar "dark" forces of earlier plays it has a didactic or cathartic function.

The Voltaire physician explains the revolution rationally and soberly: "Euer Geheimnis,--dieser Schlüssel dazu--und meine Vergesslichkeit, Herr, haben genügt, und eine kleine Welt ist untergegangen. O herrliche lückenlose Ursachenkette der Natur, in die kein überirdisches Prinzip eingreifen muss, das notwendige Wunder zu erfüllen! Gott selbst, wie Voltaire sage, müsste sich zum Atheismus bekehren." According to this, revolutionary upheaval is a very natural and inevitable course of events. It occurs because there is a darkness in man and because man's rationality, as ridiculed in the physician's forgetfulness, is not always adequate to prevent it. It is inevitable that the masses take up the revolution: "Denn Not und Leiden wollen erlöst werden, und leicht sehn sie in einer menschlichen Missgeburt den Gott oder das Gegenteil." (303) The darkness is inexplicable to the physician; he can only call it the product of "noch nicht erforschten Jahreszeiten, Sonnenfinsternisse, Nordlichter und magnetische Stürme. Es juckt die Ordnung. Die Urverwirrung steigt an die Oberfläche. Das Verborgene Tier stösst uns auf." (304) It is significant that the physician employs the term "jücken,"
itches, in his description; the revolution is thereby made synonymous with that irrational impulse which characterized forces as seemingly diverse as the rootlessness of the idealistic heroes of d.B. and d.M., the historical changes of D.T., and Spiegelmensch. These forces share one important feature—they are catalysts in the process of history. In situations where the balance of man and nature or the balance of man's inner polarity has been stultified this motion appears in one form or another. The situation may not be improved morally, but it is a more balanced arrangement that asserts itself. The Gospodar Milic and his wife have lost both sons in the upheaval but they are happy now. They see themselves as "erlöst." (305) Their sons were the polar features of nature: "Der Geratene und der Missratene, Der Geheime und der Offenbare." (305) Only after these had been revealed in confrontation was there peace for the old couple.

From the confrontation comes not only a restoration of the equilibrium but also a synthesis, for Stanja, the child of the rich, will bear the child of the "Missratene." She joins the Milic couple as they rebuild from the ruins of the revolution.

There is also an amalgamation of idealism, represented by Juwan, and life, Stanja. Juwan is to be executed for his part in the revolution. He analyzes his life:

Wahnsinn! Wer war ich? Wer? Auf dem Rücken liegend bestarrt ich den toten Himmel, ohne Gedanken, voll nur der Leidenschaft, etwas zu rächen, was ich niemals erkannt habe, vielleicht den namenlosen Vater! Hass wider die Sicheren,
Ehrzapelnden, Bös-Bemuhten! Sehnsucht der Rückkehr in Tier-Aug und Atem! Nur eine Lust in mir, die des Untergangs, nur eine Freude, einsam in dem Sturm zu brüllen, nur ein Licht: das Licht, das vom Feuer kommt! Ewig gesellt den Gefährdeten, weil ich so durstig war nach der täglichen Vernichtung, nach diesem ungeheuren Rausch! Da aber..." (314)

The "da aber" refers to his realization that he loves Stanja. The intensity with which he hated is also an intensity of love. It had been blocked in the previously stagnant world.

Stanja will carry on Juvan's idealism even as she carries the child of the animal-man. She repeatedly assures Juvan that she has remained true to him. In his weakness he wants to hear that she was not united with the "Missratene": "Stanja! Rede! Er hat dich berührt." (315) Stanja replies, "Nein, du Geliebter! Nein! Dieses Leben, wisse, ist dein!" (315) This is not merely a lie to appease Juvan. The child is a child of many forces; much more than simply the continuation of the animal aspect of man. It is also the child of social unrest and an idealism which seeks to set matters right.

This child will be called on to be the catalyst in the future. There is no doubt that the world will require a radical change. Stanja's parents with their bourgeois placidity are proof enough that the evil of the status quo has not been eliminated. Stanja's mother expresses the inevitability in an ironic and banal way: "Der Wasserkrug an der Tischkante wartet, dass einer ihn umstösst." (310)
The mother's moralizing illustrates that there are many truths to the revolution. No one character understands the truth in all its aspects. This is exemplified by the "lie" Stanja tells Juvan.

The generalized historical truth is that human matters are ever changing and always the same. The force for change will remain in the world, (317) but the narrow-mindedness that requires the change will always be present. The more specific historic truth concerns the revolutions of the eighteenth century, especially the American revolution. The American in Bocksgesang is a sober pragmatist. He did not "believe" in the revolution but in the results he hoped it would have: "Aber Verstand des Mannes zieht Vorteil selbst aus Gott und dem Wahnwitz." (294) Unfortunately, the pragmatism of the American revolution is of no avail in this old world. The American understands that Juvan is motivated by something other than a social conscience: "Ich kalkuliere, ihrarbeitet für den Untergang." (296) But the American is unable to resist the emotionalism that pervades the uprising; he, too, joins the chanting of the masses. Whatever success the American revolution may have had, there is a darkness here that precludes any similar success.

The physician is a character very similar to the American. I think it is safe to assume that Werfel "likes" these two characters and admires the philosophy that they represent. It is equally obvious, however, that philosophies of social and economic equality and enlightenment are
hardly effective in this sort of setting.

The one theme that units the different levels and many characters is that of rootlessness and belonging. Juvan, whose entire being had only the focus of rootlessness in the form of destructive motion, finally becomes attached to the earth in Stanja. Mirko and the animal's parents who had destroyed their relationship with nature by denying the dionysian aspects of nature take up that relationship again when the balance is restored by the revolution. The physician who had come to believe that all is manageable sees that nature is a force too incomprehensible to be controlled.

With the theme of rootlessness and belonging verified as the center of the drama, it is obvious that this is but another manifestation of what is the developing idea of all the dramas, namely that man's reality is centered in this world with all its darkness. There is no need to, the physician states, resort to notions of heaven or hell to explain man. Sin, as set out by Werfel, does not mean non-conformance to ideals of good or evil. It is the failure to respond to the physical world around us, be it land, people, or economic situations. The sin which is the cause of the destructive revolution here is the maintenance of an obsolescent status quo. The society is responsible for having assumed Juvan's life. Instead of creating youth, Juvan was called on to destroy.
FOOTNOTES: BOCKSGESANG

1 Jevram and Stevan have arranged a marriage between their children, Stanja and Mirko. Mirko has a brother who has been hidden away since birth; he is a monstrous abnormality of nature. He escapes and is claimed as a god by the landless who are revolting. Juvan, a student, is Stanja's true love. He leads the revolt. He commands Stanja to sacrifice herself to the monstrosity. She does so in a black mass. The revolution fails. Mirko and the monstrosity are killed; Juvan executed. But the monstrosity lives on; Stanja is carrying its child.
SCHWEIGER; EIN TRAUERSPIEL IN DREI AKTEN
Schweiger, ein Trauerspiel in drei Akten, was written in 1922. It seeks to define the nature of the creative sensitive young man who does not quite fit into society but who has an inspirational function. This type has been encountered again and again in the dramas thus far. He has been variously described by epithets such as poet and wanderer and with descriptive terms which referred to his freedom from restriction. In Schweiger, the type will be defined again metaphorically. But Werfel becomes more specific about the nature of this hero in this drama when he gives the characteristics of the hero a psychological description.

Schweiger is much less lyric than the preceding dramas; it is almost naturalistic in tone. The setting for Schweiger, "Provinzstadt," and the time: "Mittwoch, der 28. April, Freitag, der 29. August, Sonntag, der 7. September eines Jahres nach dem Krieg" (320) are considerably more specific than those given for Bocksgesang. Bocksgesang with its place "in einer slawischen Landschaft" and time "an der Wende des 18. zum 19. Jahrhunderts" was already much more specific than anything up to that point.

This growing tendency to specify is not merely a change in style from expressionism to Neue Sachlichkeit. Werfel is giving new information on the creative type's relationship to society because he is questioning the use of this character as a prophetic figure for society. Werfel's method for such questioning is to describe in social or
psychological terms the nature of the creative individual 
and to be very inclusive about the role of social institu-
tions in using such a person. Thus, Werfel portrays the 
negotiations of such a man as Schweiger with marriage, with 
society, with politics, and with (in Werfel's estimation) the 
pseudo-science of psychology. Schweiger has many demands 
on his special character. It is much more difficult to 
establish specifically the communal relationship that was 
held out as an ideal in Die Mittagsgöttin. That relation-
ship was not put to the test in a specific shape. Schweiger 
tests the relationship.

Franz Schweiger's metaphorical description clearly 
allies him with the poetic types of previous dramas. His 
name "Schweiger" implies a distance from normal human inter-
course; he is exceptional. "Schweigen" is an attribute of 
Stanja and Juvan in Bocksgesang. They were not normally 
responsive to social patterns. Franz Schweiger's models 
in the previous dramas tried to impose a rhythm of their own 
on the natural rhythm of the world. Laurentin's impatient 
rhythm in Die Mittagsgöttin had to be corrected. Schweiger's 
own attempts to establish a personal rhythm consist of his 
work as a clock maker. Clocks are artifices; they divide 
time into precise and artificial units. Schweiger's work-
room is a portrayal of the disquiet of his own being: "Beim 
Aufgehen des Vorhangs hört man den unruhigen Rhythmus vieler 
leise tickender Uhren." (321)

In Die Versuchung, the devil offered the poet a
magical Orpheus-like existence: "Ich will die Welt um dich bezaubern. Die Flüsse, die Lerchen, die Vulkane und Bestien seien Träger deiner Stimme, Behälter deines Schmerzes. Die sieben Farben sollen beglückt um dich tanzen. Dein Leib harmonisiert sich. Du kraftvoller Widerstahl Gottes, Orpheus, süsses, seliges Abbild, Erinnerung meiner selbst, ehe ich schuldig worden." (Die Versuchung, 36) The poet of Die Versuchung rejects the offer of the Orphic experience but Schweiger is to some degree already living it. He is a rhythm maker. He is a man described in colors. Frau Strohschneider is the occultist neighbor who sees Schweiger's traits as magic. She calls him a "Blumenmensch" (325) and compares him to Jesus. (325) The meaning of being a "Blumenmensch" is ambivalent. On the one hand it means that Schweiger is living in the deceptively colorful world of flowers; on the other, that he is in proximity to the corrective forces of nature. Schweiger has the potential of being a "Jesus," one whose radical behavior became a social model. The ambivalent nature of Schweiger is described by the aura that Strohschneider sees around him: "Lila Grund und weisser Strahlrand wie von Magnesium." (328) This suggests holiness (white) emanating from sorrow (pale violet); a holiness achieved through suffering.

Strohschneider's demeanor does not really discredit her convictions about Schweiger, for these are shared, if in different form, by all others who meet Schweiger. Schweiger's wife Anna says that he appears "überirdisch"
"nach dieser langen schrecklichen Krankheit, die er
durchgemacht hatte. Rein als hätte das Fieber in ihm den
Menschen ausgebrannt.--Fortgebrannt.--5 (325) Thus, Anna
acknowledges the basic characteristic of Schweiger's state:
emptiness. Anna and Franz Schweiger have had a strained
marriage. Anna knows little of Schweiger's past, only that
he had a difficult illness. She fears some secret. There
is a chest belonging to Schweiger that she imagines holds
such a secret. When she reveals this to him he asks her to
open it. It is not locked, as she had imagined and is almost
empty. It contains only a picture of Schweiger as a six
year old child. Anna is enormously relieved, but un-
deservedly so as the emptiness of Schweiger's life, as
symbolized by the empty chest, is an extremely dangerous
state. Anna has already partially recognized this when she
said that the humanity was burned away in him.

The emptiness, we learn during the course of the drama,
is an artificially induced state. Schweiger is in reality
a man named Forster who in a fit of madness shot into a
group of children and killed one. The psychiatrist who
treated Forster blocked the memory of this terrible deed, so
that Schweiger is left with a silence about the black
aspects of his nature.6

Schweiger's "emptiness" is an extension of the theme
of Bocksgesang: evil being suppressed; in Bocksgesang in the
form of the monstrosity hidden away in the stall. It is
wrong, Bocksgesang says, not to acknowledge imperfection,
and it will assert itself violently if suppressed.

Schweiger takes this question a step further—if the knowledge of evil is banished, if guilt is removed, what can happen? The preceding dramas condition one to suspect that what will happen is not good. The free floating state, as for Thamal in Spiegelmensch, is fraught with problems.

Schweiger takes up his life again with a clean slate. It is a seemingly wonderful state of affairs, a new Eden. But problems arise when others recognize the uniqueness in Schweiger and attempt to use it to gain their own ends.

The politicians see in Schweiger a potential leader with charismatic force. Travnik and Topas are the two representatives of the socialist party who try to get Schweiger to accept office. The party has decayed into mere rhetoric and it is losing strength. The issues are no longer of interest as Topas admits: "Die verfluchte Klassenkampf-Sentimentalität aus den siebziger Jahren!" "Was wir brauchen ist ein neuer Führertypus." (333) In Schweiger, the people sense "was Höheres, wovor sie sich bekreuzigen möchten." (334)

The socialist politicians are in competition not only with other political parties but also with the church: "Die Christlichsozialen haben massenhaft Zulauf. Und was gar arg ist, unsere Proletarierinnen fangen auch schon wieder an, in die Kirche zu rennen." (334) Political parties in particular could gain much from a spiritual type such as Schweiger. The politicians Travnik and Topas are of the
opinion that man is not a purely rational animal. Issues such as worker's rights are not of lasting concern. The public does not seek solution of their problems, they seek an absolution of their problems by a magical leader. If that magic be divine or demonic is of no concern. Travnik is not even sure that there is any difference between the creature of heaven or that of hell. After having described Schweiger as holy, he refers to him as "den an die Wand gemalten Teuxel." (335) Schweiger, who is free of the restraints of memory, can be an instrument of god or the devil.

The chances of Schweiger achieving any good are lessened by the fact that he lives in such a fragmented society. Just as the political parties fear the Church, the Church fears the mystics. The Church is represented in the drama by the Jesuit, Cooperator Rotter. He comes to Schweiger's shop on the pretext of having his watch fixed. He meets Frau Strohschneider there and threatens her as she tries to explain her absence from mass: "Wir kennen recht wohl den Kreis verwirrter Personen, die sich anmassen, mittels kindischen Humbugs in die Geheimnisse Gottes zu greifen." (327) The divine mystery is being used as a tool against the common people. Rotter's name suggests the ruthlessness of the counter reformation.

The Church is like the socialist party in that both intend to assume as much control over humanity as possible. Apparently the Church is as little in touch as the worker's party with the religious-pietistic inclinations of the people.
Thus the Church also is dependent on life from Schweiger's type; from men who are somehow untainted by mundane concerns. The Church, like the political institutions, is not really concerned with the nature of Schweiger's "otherness." The Jesuit Rotter finds Schweiger to be like Jesus in intensity and absoluteness. Rotter is not interested in good deeds, he is interested in greatness. He finds Forster's deed to be "Das Böse! Nicht das zweckhafte Böse, das ja nur eine verständliche Auswirkung des Egoismus ist. Nein, das sinn- und grundlose, das absolute Böse nennen wir's mit dem richtigen Begriff: Der Böse." (370) Absolute evil is, like absolute good, an access for the common man to the supra-mundane. Evil is even more accessible than the divine because it is so present in human life. The good is not so easily appropriated: "Denn Christus bedarf der Eucharistie, sich mit dem Menschen zu vereinigen." (370)

Rotter, like Travnik and Topas, is not interested in Schweiger as a man but in the force that the empty vessel Schweiger may hold. The Church recognizes the other-worldly in men but not their humanity. For Rotter, human behavior is based on being "nurmoralisch"; mankind acts only "aus dem Egoismus ihrer Rassen- und Gesellschaftsordnung." (371) Rotter is thus of no help to Schweiger when the memory of his terrible deed has been restored. But on his own Schweiger accepts the weight of his guilt and determines to live with it in his community, if that be possible. Schweiger de-mythologizes the evil that Rotter worships; he recognizes it
as loneliness: "Jene furchtbare Form der Einsamkeit von innen, die alle Leitungsdrähte zerreist, in der wir besinnungslos verwesen." (372) This is clearly the boundariless free state which Werfel has repeatedly warned against in the dramas.

Forster shot at the children in such a mental state. This state was perpetuated in Schweiger when the psychologist Viereck erased Forster's guilt and memory. In erasing a man's knowledge of evil man is made less human. Viereck would like to make mankind in his own mold. The rather obvious allusion of Viereck's name is to the way in which he would like mankind to appear—a neat box with no untidy aberrations in the service of good or evil. Viereck reveals to Schweiger his true identity as Viereck in order to keep Schweiger from becoming the socialist party candidate. Viereck may have once acted in what he thought were Schweiger's best interests but now he values his political prejudices higher than the man Schweiger. His main concern is to protect "das deutsche Volk" against the "Jewish-socialist movement." (349) Humanity has been replaced in Viereck by political repressiveness and the god-like assumptions of his profession. He is described: "Im Ausdruck wechseln Energie, fixe Idee, Missionserfülltheit und ein gewisser, dem Irrenarzt eigener Sadismus, miteinander ab." (348)

Schweiger did not really expect much help from political parties, the Church, or psychiatry. He was
willing to take on his burden, the same burden that all mankind bears: "Ich muss diese Schuld produktiv machen, das Ungeheure in Verantwortung und Liebe zu allem Lebendigen umsetzen. In meiner Ahnung habe ich in den letzten Jahren ja nach nichts andern gestrebt. Wenn ich unverfolgt Schweiger bis an mein Ende heissen darf, werde ich anonym bleiben, meine Beziehungen zu jener und jeder Partei abbrechen, und was ich wirken will, von Mensch zu Mensch wirken." (351) This is a high goal, the realization of which depends on others accepting us in all our imperfections. The only thing that Schweiger believed could be of help to him on his pilgrimage was his wife and their as yet unborn child. When Viereck tells Schweiger's wife Anna about Forster's crime she feels that the child will be monstrous. She has an abortion and leaves Schweiger.

With this primary connection broken, Schweiger's faith in his potential is destroyed and he is "free" to become Forster. He is about to shoot again into a crowd of children parading in front of his house in his honor. He has saved these children from a burning ship earlier, shortly after his wife left him. His saving the children was atonement for the first crime as Forster. Now he is about to commit the sin again. If man is not bound to the institutions of family, church or state; if these institutions do not recognize the humanity in a person, then all restraint is lost. Schweiger can be a savior or a nihilist in rapid succession.

At the last moment, even as Schweiger is ready to
fire, he drops the weapon. Some control reasserts itself and a balance is resumed.

Schweiger is not a personal tragedy despite the fact that it is an individual life that is sacrificed. Schweiger comes to terms with his restored humanity. His struggle, which consists of his not abandoning constraint to purely passionate actions, is won at the last moment. The tragedy is society's.

Society fails on two counts. Before Schweiger is told his former identity as Forster, he is like an empty vessel, or an instrument. Social institutions were ready to use his purity in order to prop up a decaying power structure. The socialist party with all its rhetoric no longer corresponded to the needs of the people. The socialist leaders Travnik and Topas themselves reflect the split of the party into workers and intellectuals. Their names suggest the limited understanding the party has of people; Travnik sees in man a creature of work or travail; Topas sees in the people an idea, a topic. Instead of seeking new politics to reflect a new reality, a charismatic leader, Schweiger, is sought.

The Church, too, wishes to retain power. It is no longer reflective of the needs of the people, who have turned to mysticism. The Church's base, Jesus, is remote and inaccessible. Therefore, to maintain its institutional power, the Church turns from absolute good to absolute evil. Thus, Schweiger's uniqueness will not be used, as he might
have hoped, for the good of mankind. Shortly before he is
told of his former life, he reveals to his wife that he has
plans for public service, specifically school reform. But
the Church and the political party plan to use him to
bolster their dying institutions. Thus, society fails to
treat adequately the metaphysical in man.

Just as importantly, they fail to serve Schweiger's
human needs. Schweiger wants desperately to be accepted as
man—who has both guilt and love. It is his wife who most
fails him in this respect. Schweiger's previous lack of
human failings was disturbing to her. When told of his
crime, she cannot forgive his failings.

Anna Schweiger denies life to Franz Schweiger's child.
In so doing, she is denying creation, not allowing that good
can come from evil. She is wrong in assuming this. Franz
was as capable of saving the children from the burning ship
as of shooting into the crowd of children.

The sin against Franz Schweiger was that of treating
his condition rather than his potential, of saying at one
point "You are holy" and at another "You are so evil as to
be beyond redemption." The transgression of society is to
retard the progression of history. This is done by judging
a man in a particular point of time. It is also done when
artificial means are used to enliven dead institutions.

Boundaries between abstract notions of good and evil
are not distinct here. Schweiger is proof of this. There
is only one way of evaluating an action: to determine if it
is appropriate to the reality of a given situation. The
most exalted act for man is to be truly responsive in a re-
lationship. This is the action that Schweiger exemplifies
in accepting his guilt and nevertheless retaining hope.
Failure to respond to Schweiger is the damnation of society.
The only unforgivable sin is a sin of omission; the failure
to engage in true dialogue with one's fellow man.

Harold Lenz writes that Schweiger tries to enact ex-
pressionist ideals, but "society isolates him more and more."
"The poet's message is clear: faith and unselfish brother-
hood are necessary to bridge the tragic chasms in life."8
FOOTNOTES: SCHWEIGER, EIN TRAUERSPIEL
IN DREI AKTEN

1 Werfel chose a present day setting for his drama. He added significance by the numbers of the days of the week. The 28th and 29th correspond to a "natural" month as measured by lunar and menstrual cycles. These dates introduce the idea that there is a natural time which is in variance with calendar time, an invention of man. Thus the stage is set for conflict. The significance of the 7th is the creation. When Schweiger refuses to shoot into the crowd, he creates a new world, if only in himself, of humanity. He heals on a small basis the imperfection revealed in the variance of the earlier numbers.

2 Werfel's contemporary, Richard Specht, finds the inclusion of all these institutions results in an Überfüllung an Motiven." In spite of this, he writes, the play was a commercial success, played on 83 stages. Richard Specht, Franz Werfel: Versuch einer Zeitspiegelung, p. 242.

3 Helga Meister notes that Schweiger has as prototypes Stanja and the monks of Spiegelmensch and sees Schweiger as a "Merkmal des Göttlichen." (105) Franz Werfel Dramen und ihre Inszenierungen auf der deutscherprachigen Bühne, p. 105

4 As was Laurentin before he gathered his colors into white.

5 This is the fire that purifies, as in Die Troerinnen.

6 Arthur Schnitzler criticized the drama on the basis of its psychology; he found Forster's pathology unlikely. Schnitzler found otherwise that the drama has occasional dialectical strength. "Schweiger von Werfel, Kritisches aus dem Nachlass," Die Neue Rundschau, 73 N. 2/3 (1962), p. 228.


8 Harold Lenz, "Franz Werfel's 'Schweiger'," Monatshefte 28, Nr. 4 (April, 1936), 168-172.
JUAREZ UND MAXIMILIAN
The dramas *Spiegelmensch*, *Bocksgesang*, and *Schweiger* have in common a social orientation. Each is concerned with the social and historical ramifications of the actions of the idealistic hero. Each is also concerned with the alliance of the demonic with idealism. The Mephisto-like Spiegelmensch perverted and at the same time educated Thamal's idealism. The idealism of Juvan intended to use the purely demonic animal strength of the goat-man as an instrument for social change, but Juvan found himself used by that demonic force. Schweiger's idealism is a function of his demonic tendencies. The demonic in Schweiger is demythologized and defined as insanity. In 1924, Werfel wrote *Juarez und Maximilian*. Using the material of Maximilian I's reign in Mexico, Werfel is able to discuss fully idealism and demonism and the historical effects of the conflict of these two forces. Werfel finally finds in the figure of Benito Juarez a satisfactory historical model for the demonic. The dramas have consistently presented man's need to deal with the demonic on his journey to becoming fully human. But the demonic has never to this time been adequately formulated; it was sometimes melodramatic in *Die Mittagsgöttin*, sometimes trivial as in the figure of Spiegelmensch, sometime somewhat ludicrous as in the figure of the monstrosity of *Bocksgesang*. In *Juarez und Maximilian*, the demonic is equated with historical necessity.
The demonic is perhaps no longer an adequate descriptive term except as it connotes being possessed. The possession of Benito Juarez is with a spirit, but it is with the spirit of history. Benito Juarez is fully attuned to the rhythm of the fluctuations of the historical process. This was an attribute in the earlier dramas of idealistic heroes.\(^1\)

Idealism, because it is increasingly losing its relationship to the sustaining forces of the earth, is declining in Werfel's evaluation. Yet Maximilian, the idealistic hero of Juarez und Maximilian, is a very sympathetic character. Benito Juarez is right, but Maximilian is noble. The conflict between the forces of nobility and historical necessity which remains unsolved in the drama gives the play a richness of spirit. The dialectic of the drama assumes greater importance than any victory of one force over another. Herbert Lindenberger describes this kind of dramatic process as he writes about Corneille:

> The genius of the Corneillian theater consists in the constant 'upward' movement by means of which one set of values is at first espoused and then absorbed by a new and 'higher' set of values. The heroism we experience exists in the very act of transcendence. History and heroism work in a kind of reciprocal relation to one another: our knowledge that the hero lives within a particular historical context gives meaning to his acts, while his acts, in turn, endow history with its central meanings. History magnifies and is magnified in return.\(^2\)

In Juarez und Maximilian, it is history itself in the form of Benito Juarez which transcends the noble set of values espoused by Maximilian. The historical process has, in turn,
been clarified by Maximilian's having attempted to enact his ideals.

Helga Meister sees the conflict between Maximilian's lofty aspirations and the stark realities of the historical process as a reflection of the literary style of 1924:

_Juarez und Maximilian_ wurde in der Zeit der 'Neuen Sachlichkeit' geschrieben, die den Stoff der Historie bevorzugte. Im Zentrum von Werfels Drama aber steht ein Idealist, der inmitten einer Welt lebt, für die der reale Erfolg zählt. Er steht als Figur im Gegensatz zu ihrer Sachlichkeit und in der Form seiner Ausserungen im Widerspruch zu den Stilmerkmalen der 'Neuen Sachlichkeit'.

I think that it is true that Werfel's idealist is being re-evaluated. But it is also true that there is in Werfel a debate independent of style which corresponds to the conflict of Maximilian's position in the new world. From his first drama Werfel has questioned the appropriateness of idealism to reality. This question is the source of Werfel's dramatic creativity.

In Werfel's oeuvre, this struggle of idealism and historical reality finds its fullest expression in his three historical dramas: _Juarez und Maximilian, Paulus unter den Juden_, and _Das Reich Gottes in Böhmen_. Each examines idealism from a different perspective. And in each idealism is examined in dialogue with a complicated historical reality. The historical is never merely a setting; it is integral in defining and limiting idealism. In each of these dramas Werfel comes close to fulfilling the model of political drama as described by Lindenberger:
As a form of representation, drama—in comparison, say, with painting, lyric, even with prose fiction and narrative history—is ideally suited to the kind of complexity we have come to value in Henry IV: through the confrontation of characters representing sharply divergent points of view, drama can expose the pretensions of public personalities, uncover the relationship between political acts and the motives that govern them, and portray a person's role in intricate ways in which the private self becomes a part of the roles it is forced to play in public situations. In contrast to other literary forms such as the lyric and the novel, which utilize point of view to guide us, directly or indirectly, toward discernible sets of meanings, drama can (even if it does not often do so) present a group of characters each of whom competes with the others to convince us to view the play as a whole from his own angle of vision. This tendency of drama to 'expose' and 'uncover', though it has often created difficulties in sustaining heroic assertions within a play, has also made the genre an ideal medium for the understanding of politics.\footnote{Juarez und Maximilian shows sophistication as historical drama. Two basics for good historical drama are very capably produced: the complexity of historical affairs and the evocation of a real time. The presentation of the innate complexity of historical affairs is perhaps easily achieved for Werfel, accustomed as he is to presenting for every force its opposite. The dialectical method which has been observed in every play is fully applicable here. In this method there are no schemes for appropriate behavior which we may want to find exemplified in any one character. Neither Maximilian's idealism nor Juarez' pragmatism is meant to serve without modification as a model for political leadership or true humanity. Werfel evokes a real time in Juarez und Maximilian in several ways. Perhaps most importantly he establishes that}
the event of Maximilian's reign in Mexico possesses a reality not limited to what the media or historians can reproduce. The play opens with the American journalist Clark trying to get a "story" about the Mexican affair. He is not able to understand the significance of the affair: the nobility of Maximilian's attempts to establish a liberal regime; the absolute appropriateness of Juarez as leader of the Mexican people. The journalist Clark is only able to grasp the plot lines of the drama. In showing Clark as a shallow person, Werfel asserts that the action about to be unfolded has a reality greater than that of a bygone newspaper incident. The play ends on this same note, with a bitter analysis by Maximilian's friend and physician, Herzfeld: "Und in drei Monaten ist alles ein gelber Zeitungsfetzen, in einem Jahr eine Anekdote, und dann...." (465) Here again there is insistence that the event dramatized possesses a high degree of reality. Juarez und Maximilian is not a period piece, because it refers backward and forward in history. There are references to previous attempts of rulers imposing themselves on Mexico and there are comparisons of the Mexican revolution with the French revolution. And there is an important reference forward; the shattering of Maximilian's monarchy is seen as the prophecy of the demise of European monarchies. Thus the feeling is created that this is an important event in a chain in which we are still involved. Juarez und Maximilian further avoids becoming a period piece through the fact that its main characters, Maximilian and Juarez, without being
anachronistic, are characters from the early part of the 20th century. Maximilian is like the sensitive Andrea of Hofmannsthal's *Gestern*, only grown old, who has come to the realization that sensitivity does not suffice as the tool to complete life. Juarez is that small hero to be found in Sternheim and Brecht.

Werfel creates a real time setting in his portrayal of the Mexican people and the superimposed Austrians. Everything possible is done to anchor this event in its time: references to the U.S. civil war and contemporaneous European events. One does not have the feeling that one is being found in an artificial and exotic environment. The struggle of unsubstantiated idealism against historical necessity is sufficiently emblematized that any audience can apply it to itself. And audiences have indeed reacted to the political aspects of the play. Helga Meister reports that in a Leipzig production in 1926, Porfirio Diaz was applauded for his anti-monarchist speech and the audience's anti-French feelings were satisfied by the negative portrayal of Bazaine. She further writes that in a Düsseldorf production in 1925 the director Gustav Lindemann felt it necessary to remove political references in the drama in light of the fact that a demilitarization of the Rühr was anticipated and it was important that political passions not be aroused. These incidents point to the fact that the drama was not politically moribund.

In *Juarez und Maximilian*, Werfel is working through the problem of historical drama which evaluates the significance
of the heroic individual as he opposes the course of history. Lindenberger finds that by the nineteenth century the historical process rather than the individual becomes the chief carrier of the heroic action. Werfel arrives at this solution in the course of Juarez und Maximilian. Scene by scene one sees how little control Maximilian can have over the situation, based as he is in the world of his idealism.

Werfel has been concerned in each of the preceding dramas with the messianic tasks and rights of the superior individual. Juarez und Maximilian sharpens these issues by transferring them from the poetic to the political sphere. And strangely enough the noble Maximilian is much more accessible than the earlier poetic heroes have been; one can identify with him. There is much less elitism in his election than in the election of a figure such as Laurentin. Maximilian is much closer to Everyman than preceding heroes have been. As the hero shrinks, the world grows. Werfel is reaching true adulthood and finding a world outside himself impressive in its realness. Ideal constructs decline in evaluation, and images such as light and freedom, always suspect in Werfel's dramas, are used almost ironically here.

For the primary issue in Juarez und Maximilian, the struggle between idealism and historical necessity, there is no simple relationship of principle to character. Maximilian is the most obviously idealistic character, even though the actions he undertakes in the drama do not arise out of his ideals but are reactions to insults or are actions
predetermined by larger powers such as Napoleon III.
Maximilian is the puppet of Napoleon, Bazaine (the French
general in Mexico), and his own ego. He believes in noble
issues such as land and church reform, but finds little
opportunity to effect these reforms. Benito Juarez will
carry out many of the goals that Maximilian professes, but
one is not allowed to see him as an idealist: "Juarez tut
nur das Notwendige" (464); not the good but the necessary.

In terms of strength, the struggle in Juarez und
Maximilian is one-sided. History is on the side of Juarez.
He is the legitimate ruler in Mexico; his reforms are based
on his self-knowledge as a Mexican peasant. Maximilian's
claim to the Mexican throne as the heir of Charles V are
very dubious, needless to say. Maximilian is basing his
adventure on the colonial spirit of the past three centuries.
Maximilian knows that there is no present justification for
his assumption of power; it is no secret to him that the
plebiscite which chose him was rigged. Maximilian's
supporters are not motivated by idealism but by adventure.
Maximilian's most rabid support comes from his wife Carlotta,
and Werfel leaves no doubt that her belief in Maximilian is
largely madness. Maximilian's support in Mexico, which con-
sists of the nobility and the church, favor him only because
they fear the loss of their property at the hands of Benito
Juarez. Given the lack of justification for Maximilian's
undertaking, it is remarkable that Maximilian is such a
sympathetic character and the drama does maintain its tension.
This happens only because we identify with a basic urge in Maximilian: the urge toward self display. The archduke Maximilian had no chance to be effective in the world; the emperor Maximilian does. Maximilian's idealism is no doubt genuine, but no less genuine is his insistence that the reforms take place through his personage. His overwhelming need is for recognition. At one point Maximilian attempts a reconciliation with Juarez and sends a picture of himself with the inscription "Der Sinn der Feindschaft ist die Versöhnung." (393) Juarez' assessment of this, "Der Mann spiegelt sich," is indubitably correct. When the picture is returned to Maximilian, the idealism that was so inextricably woven to Maximilian's personage is destroyed. Upon receiving the picture Maximilian signs the blood decree that commands death to all who oppose the empire.

Werfel puts Maximilian's idealism in perspective; it is not glorified. Neither is the force of history, even though Juarez' pragmatism is tempered with good causes. To take an example, Juarez has forbidden officers to demean and strike soldiers; he has reformed the military and everything is now done by regulation. But if a soldier is remiss in his duties he may be executed. Juarez does not allow ideals to interfere with his role as the instrument of historical change. Riva Palacio terms him "ein logischer Schraubstock." (391)

Werfel's characters are evaluated by the images that are attached to them. Interestingly enough, it is Juarez who has some of the attributes that were earlier attached to such holy
men as Laurentin, notably "Einsamkeit." Clark asks if Juarez really exists, as he is seldom seen in public. His secretary replies that he "wahrt seine Einsamkeit." (388) It is Juarez and not Maximilian who seems to have reached the third stage of mankind as set out in Spiegelmensch; "starr" is the word associated with his appearance. (395) The exalted monks at the end of Spiegelmensch had no mirror image. Juarez never appears on stage and thus is a presence not limited to substance: "Der hochverehrte Senor Benito Juarez scheint ein Abstraktum zu sein." (387) Perhaps most interestingly Juarez has taken over the role of the monstrosity of Bocksgesang. Like the monster he does not appear on stage but his effect is tremendous. The journalist Clark can hardly bear to look at him. But unlike the monster, Juarez has no magical properties. The journalist Clark wants to entitle his story "Der Magus der Revolution." Juarez' clerk finds that that would be misleading: "Don Juarez ist die schlichte Vernunft selbst!" (395) The force opposing apparent idealism, Benito Juarez, has been demystified, although not weakened. In Juarez the eternal revolution has found its simple, egoless prophet.

Juarez is the antithesis of the heroic. His battle strategy is retreat and outwitting. The clerk states Juarez' policy in not having attacked the French when they first came: "Krankheiten muss man reifen lassen." (388) Juarez waits for the inevitable withdrawal of French support. As to Maximilian, Juarez must merely send Maximilian's
picture back, knowing that this will lead to desperate and self-defeating actions on Maximilian's part.

Even physically, Juarez is completely unprepossessing. Finally, in the last scene, a description is given of him: "Ein kleiner, alter Mensch...Der Rock sitzt schlecht.... Er geht behutsam...." (465) His appearance is the physical manifestation of his small, anti-heroic personage. Lindenberger writes that "heroes tend to diminish not only within a literary tradition as a whole, but also in a genre, in a period, in the writings of a particular author, and indeed, in the course of a single work." (Lindenberger, 65) Juarez can certainly be used to support this theory, in Juarez und Maximilian taken by itself and Juarez as the successor to Laurentin and his type. As to the other "hero" of Juarez und Maximilian, his large physical size is indicative of his failure to achieve true heroism.

Maximilian's height is an embarrassment in Mexico. He is materially different from the Mexicans and he makes perhaps unconscious allusions to this difference. It is astonishing that he sends a picture of himself with the message of reconciliation to Juarez. Maximilian relies on physical signs to prove that he is in the right. In returning the insignia of Montezuma which was taken by Karl V from Mexico, Maximilian feels that he makes right an old transgression. The problem is that Maximilian attaches significance to physical properties, a significance which they may or may not have. When Maximilian is advised that Juarez has withdrawn
to the Rio del Norte, Maximilian assumes that this means victory for him:


(400)

None of these assumptions are correct. Juarez' government has not ceased to exist, nor had the Monroe Doctrine. Maximilian invests events with meanings derived from his own wishes and noble intentions. This is a dangerous matter for it blinds one to reality. It is also a very trivial way to proceed. This is brought to Maximilian's attention when he is given a present by his Mexican generals. The present is a golden M: "Jeder Balken dieses M trägt den Namen eines Generals: Marquez, Miramon, Meja, Mendez! Vier M bilden das grosse M, das auf der einen Seite Maximilian, auf der anderen Mexico bedeutet!" (436) This symbolic M is ludicrous and Maximilian realizes it, but he does not realize how accurately it mirrors his own role as image-maker.

What Maximilian wants to do is to bring the material world into correspondence with his vision of it. But the material world has its own intransigence, and the reflection of even a good vision is often of dubious worth. Maximilian sent the picture of himself to Juarez as a gesture of sincerity but what is reflected is only vanity. Maximilian accuses the Church of tolerating heathen worship of the
madonna of Guadalupe. The spokesman of the Church, Labatista, is enlightened about the distortion that visions undergo when they get translated into the material of human lives: "Es gehört zum elastischen Wesen unserer wunderbaren Religion, dass die ewigen Heilswahrheiten sich dem Verstande anpassen, in dem sie sich spiegeln." (408)

It is a noble trait in Maximilian that convinces him that there are transcendent values. And although he goes astray by giving meanings to events that he wishes they had, he is not wrong in his assumption that there are verities to be deduced from the real world. He has problems deducing them because he is possessed by his vision. But he tries: "Sein schmales Gesicht hat den gespannt aufmerksamem Ausdruck eines Horchenden, dem die Menschen tief fremd sind, der ihre Rede nicht versteht und dennoch immer auf der Höhe der Situation sein will." (395) Maximilian often errs in his assessment of people. He trusts the traitor Lopez even when Lopez warns him of the fickle nature of the Mexican character. This blind faith is the result of his being an alien. One of Porfirio Diaz' most damning accusations against Maximilian is phrased in terms of Maximilian's alienness: "Die Anklage! Erzherzog Ferdinand Max! Sie sind als Fremdeater der Fremden in dieses Land gekommen, dass Sie nichts angeht." (438)

Maximilian's "strangeness" is a result of his lack of perception of the rhythm of the world, that rhythm of darkness and light to which Mara introduces Laurentin in Die Mittagsgöttin. Carlotta is unable to bring earthly knowledge
to Maximilian, barren as she is. Maximilian perceives her as his savior: "Dein kühner Sinn hat aus einem Österreicher einen Weltmenschen gemacht. Ich war ein Dilettant, der schlechte Reimereien verbrochen hat. Du hast das Wahrhaft-Schöpferische in mir erweckt." (403) Carlotta is not able to correct those "schlechte Reimereien." Instead she encourages the visionary aspect of Maximilian's character and this never is balanced by the forces of darkness.

It is ultimately a lack of balance in Maximilian's character that leads him to perpetrate such evils as the decree of death to all political opposition. His goodness does not correspond to any object. Maximilian is described in terms of white and light: familiar images from the earlier dramas used to describe spirituality in need of ballast. Maximilian is in that free-floating state of the poet of Die Versuchung and Thamal; he tells Carlotta, "Du hast mit deinem herrlichen Mut meine Fesseln gelöst." (403) Carlotta idealizes his purity: "Alles, was du anrührst, wird rein." Bazaine refers to Maximilian's role as the force of light resentfully: "Eure Majestät ziehen die strahlende Milde vor, und ich muss den bissigen Hund spielen." (412) The military advisor Pierron assesses Maximilian's ability to lead: "Max ist eine zarte Lichterscheinung. Er kann den Hass nicht ertragen, der ein Genie zur lodernden Fackel macht." (417) Maximilian is unable to understand why his good intentions have brought about events like the massacre after his blood decree. He does not blame his vision: "Mit dem Schwebegfühl
eines Engels bin ich in dieses Land gekommen." (421)
"Schweben" is a dangerous state in which the ego defines the
world (it was used to describe Thamal), but Maximilian sees
it as a holy feeling. Light and free-floating motion are
never unambiguously positive symbols in Werfel. Carlotta's
refusal to accept Maximilian's proposed abdication points
this out clearly: "Jetzt, wenn du so redest, entschwindest
du mir, bist klein, bist niedrig! Wegwerfen die Souverän-
tät, die goldene Luft der Gipfel? Du willst noch leben, wenn
man uns nicht mehr 'Majestät' sagt? Ich nicht! Kann ein
Sonnenstrahl abdizieren?" (421) Carlotta's "goldene Luft"
and "Sonnenstrahl" are more reflections of an exalted
superiority than true goodness. Goodness and light are in
any event pretty much a private affair. Princess Salm-Salm
calls Maximilian "die lichteste Unschuld." Porfirio Diaz
questions whether this is even pertinent: "Subjektive
Unschuld hebt weder das Naturgesetz, noch auch das göttliche
und menschliche auf." (454)

The final assessment of Maximilian's vision and light is
not a positive one. Maximilian's physician Basch, who is an
alchemist by hobby, is the most hopeful: "Glaubst du nicht,
dass jede Schönheit und jedes Opfer fortklingt und den Licht-
Schatz der Welt vermehrt?" (464) The realist Herzfeld sees
that Maximilian's love did not meet its object: "Sein
Liebesstrahl traf keinen Gegenstand. Der Stoff seiner
Gestaltungslust war Irrtum." (464) Again it is the misfit
of the ideals with the real material world that is the source
of sorrow. Herzfeld expresses how pure light often engenders something quite different from itself: "Sieh diese schreckliche Sonne. Sie brütet den ganzen siebenfarbigen Spuk aus." (464) That colorful mischief is none other than history, ever shifting.

It is a difficult matter to find a balance between being blinded by the light of one's own ideas and succumbing to the colorful claims of self-interest. Those who succeed in finding such a balance are those like Benito Juarez who have "keine Leidenschaften" but who are attuned to a fluctuating history. The Mexican character understands revolution on one level or another. The traitor Lopez defends change: "Ist ein Mann ein Verräter, der eine Frau heiss geliebt hat; und siehe da, nun ist sie alt geworden, gewohnt, gewöhnlich, ausgesogen. Er muss davon gehn, er muss sie verlassen, das Neue suchen, das Andere." (397) This attitude contrasts strongly to Maximilian's description of his own family: "Diese Binnenseelen, die ihr Atridenschicksal gar nicht begreifen." (403) Unlike the Mexican whose passion is directed into the world, Maximilian's race acts on internal systems and values.

There are two characters, Porfirio Diaz and Princess Salm-Salm, who especially typify an openness to support what is obviously historically appropriate. Both are tightrope walkers, "Seiltänzer." This is a metaphor used in Bocksgesang to describe those who, although propertiless, had a true relationship to the land. Porfirio Diaz describes his escape
from prison: "Als ich zwanzig Meter hoch über der Strasse
hing, der Sandsteinheilige, um den mein Seil geschlungen
war, bedenklich schwankte, und der harte Postenschritt unten
immer näher kam, das...das war ein unbeschreiblich grosser
Augenblick, ein Augenblick mächtigen Glücks." (391) It is
really a non-permanent sandstone saint, Benito Juárez, on
whom Porfirio Díaz is depending, but he is correct in his
taking the minute for whatever it is worth. His actions
evince a trust in what can be, based on the phenomenology of
the moment. The Princess Salm-Salm was actually a tightrope
walker in a circus and she shows the same adaptability as
Porfirio Díaz. She is a passionate supporter of Maximilian.
She offers to give herself to Porfirio Díaz if he will pre-
vent Maximilian's execution. She recognizes Maximilian's
greatness, but when she sees Juárez in all his simplicity
she pronounces him "der grosse und wahre Herr dieser Zeit."
(465) This transfer of allegiance should not be taken as a
proof of her shallowness but as an indication that times do
change. The time for a Juárez had come.

If Juárez und Maximilian has an isolatable message it is
that man--citizens and leaders--must be attentive to changes
in history. Actions cannot be judged by some absolute stan-
dards of good and evil but in terms of their historical
effects. Whatever happened in the past cannot determine one's
actions in the present. The fact that Maximilian's ancestor
Charles V was a distant sovereign of Mexico does not confer
upon Maximilian any present day rights. It is the strength
and salvation of the Mexican revolutionaries that they are open and do not act merely on a predetermined course of action. The journalist Clark wanted to know Juarez' intentions and strategies. Riva Palacio found this question "sehr neugierig." He was happy he could not answer it, as the generals had closed orders. Even as there is no anticipation of the future for these day to day revolutionaries, there is no fixation on the past. The fifth of May "ist heute eine schöne Erinnerung ohne Konsequenz." (392) Only in this way can time and history be experienced. Sin, as transgression against the natural order, is the imposition of an image on a reality that will be experienced in its own rhythm. The structure of the drama, three phases each consisting of a number of representations ("Bilder"), underlines the conception of history as a shifting tableau. Change, which is suggested by this structure, is not to be viewed as merely random. Adams and Kuhlmann express the thought that the causal logic of historical change is not understood by Maximilian; that man wants to bring order to chaos without realizing that chaos may represent an order.\textsuperscript{10} Wilhelm Grenznan writes that the epic succession of scenes should not hide the fact "dass Macht und Gegenmacht kraftvoll zueinander in Beziehung gesetzt worden sind."\textsuperscript{11}
FOOTNOTES: JUAREZ UND MAXIMILIAN

1 Such as Laurentin of Die Mittagsgöttin.


5 Meister, p. 135.

6 Meister, p. 135.

7 Lindenberger, p. 63.

8 Rück writes of Juarez: "Als unheimliche, unsichtbare, ans mythische grenzende Macht erinnert er an das Bockswesen, und mit Juvan verbinden ihn seine Hellwachheit, seine unbeugsame Klarheit, sein kaltes Blut." (p. 92)

9 The bright light of Thamal's intellect was subjected to the colorful sensuality of the circus group in the course of Thamal's education.


PAULUS UNTER DEN JUDEN
Paulus unter den Juden treats the familiar Werfel theme of the choice that man must make: either to live within limitations prescribed by laws or society, or to expand life into an existence without limits. There is a new perspective here; the existence without limits, represented by Paul, is Christianity. Thus the mania of unrestricted existence is granted historical approbation. Christianity did become an important way of life. Paul is the descendent of all the idealistic heroes of the previous dramas but his idealism, unlike theirs, is not subjected to correction. He is, and remains, "Der Besessene." (481)

There is, in Paulus, a fully developed discussion of limitations and restrictions. It is not an abstract discussion. It takes place through the lives of major and minor characters. Werfel wrote of the play: "Nicht die Religion wird dargestellt, sondern die Menschen, die sie an sich erleiden." (559) The lives of Paul and Chananc-extremists in different causes--form a perspective on unrestricted passion. The lives of Gamaliel and the high priest illustrate life within restrictions. A dialogue about the nature of man's role is the result of these lives in conflict.

Besides this internal conflict of believing men there is conflict with the secular world. The Jews and the sect of Christianity are barely tolerated by the Romans. The Jewish leaders must constantly buy their very right to existence. The Romans are ever ready to seize on any
pretext to annihilate the Jewish people. It is a situation
fraught with tension. Israel must walk the tightrope, but
the chances of imbalance on the side of the law or the
spirit are very great.

The sons of the high priest, Chanan and Matthias, are
indicative of the ways in which the people of Israel can
doom themselves. Chanan had joined Saul in his persecution
of Stephen. Their aim was a purification of the Jewish
nation and people. The purification sought took the form
of exclusion of any lightness of spirit, any leniency with
self. Chanan's description illustrates this: "Sein Wesen
zeigt die gekünstelte Ruhe, um die sich alle Verbissen-
Leidenschaftlichen mühen." (469) Chanan's denial of self
is extreme: "Meine Verwandten hess ich, ich hasse selbst,
die ich befreien will, und mich, ach und mich!! Denn
verflucht ist, wer sich selber sieht." (493) The fanaticism
of Chanan is expressed as self-hatred and not seeing one-
self. Chanan is the end product of destroying one's ego,
the goal of Thamal in Sp. Thamal finally overcomes seeing
himself in the next world. In this world the only way to
remove one's own errors in perception is through complete
abnegation. Paul recognizes that Chanan is his former
self: "O du Gespenst meines alten Menschen!" (493) Paul
as Saul had submitted his passion to the rigors of the law:

Denn früh schon schärften sie mir die Thora
ein. Da war die Welt erfüllt von flammenden
Gesetzesengeln, die alle Welt belagerten. Und
all ihre Schwertel loderten gegen mich, tausend
und abertausend! Ich peitschte meinen Leib,
In Werfel's earlier dramas the notion of *peitschen* was the sensual and death-associated correction of free floating intellectual spirits. Saul was the opposite of these earlier spirits. He was fully immersed in restrictions and laws. He used the law, the reminder of human mortality and imperfections, against himself. Paul describes Saul: "Dort ist Schaul! Das war ein Mensch, der im Tode lebte. Er sah nur Tod. Und da er nur Tod sah, konnte er nicht leben. Und da er nicht leben konnte, schuf er Tod." (490)

The death of spirit through subservience to laws is one of the dangers posed to the Jewish people. The other is a complete rejection of the law and tradition. Matthias, the younger son of the high priest, like his brother hates his own people. But unlike Chanan who becomes ascetic, Matthias becomes hedonistic. He admires the Germanic soldier Frisius for his physical characteristics. Chanan criticizes Matthias for his envy of Frisius, saying that the Roman soldiers are slaves: "Recht bunte Sklaven! Hübsch angezogen!" (477) Matthias is in love with a heathen, a Greek girl who is a dancer.¹ His love for a dancer symbolizes his preoccupation with a false sensuality that includes neither the death and darkness with which his brother and Saul were occupied nor the intellectual life and light of Paul and Gamaliel. The dress of the two brothers illustrates the varying ways in which both express
self-hatred. Chanan wears "die braune Kutte der Zeloten." (469); Matthias wears "den Paradeanzug der Hellenisten, Stola und Dalmatica." (475) Their father, the high priest, "ist weiss gewandet." (471) The younger generation of Israel, represented by Matthias and Chanan, has broken down the white of their forefathers into colors: the color of night and death worn by Chanan and the deceptively gay colors admired by Matthias. ² Their father warns: "Der Allheilige will, dass wir ein Volk des Lichtes seien. Darum soll jeder Jude ein weisses Kleid tragen." (478)

The high priest's admonitions are in vain. The destruction of Israel's state as a nation of holy men and the destruction of its tenuous position as a tolerated people of the Roman empire is certain. This destruction is not only historically certain because of the activities of the zealots and the Nazarenes but also because it is axiomatic that sons cannot accept the gifts of their fathers. The high priest laments: "Herr der Welt! Warum sind die Kinder des Menschen die Verzerrung seiner selbst." (479) Rebellion of the younger is so much a given that it is the tradition to be overcome that is seen as the core of the problem. The high priest says of Chanan "Nein, er ist nicht schlecht! Seine Seele ist verschämt bis zur Bosheit! Er wollte dem Ewigen reiner dienen als ich! Sieh, ich wandere und weiss! Nicht die Kinder sind schuldig an sich, die Väter sind's!" (517)

It is significant that the high priest says here, "Ich
wandere und weiss." In *Die Troerinnen*, it was a step toward man's completion that he accept the fluctuations of the world. In the high priest's seemingly random movement "Ich wandere" there is a yielding to a common world rhythm. This is an idea frequently encountered in Werfel—that man must listen to rhythms and not impose his own.³ Too rigid an adherence to the law is a man-made rhythm which prevents harmony, because laws are not identical with the spirit of the law. Gamaliel defends Paul against the other rabbis who are demanding that his heresy be punished. Rabbi Zaddok says: "Patriarch, dein Amt ist es, das Gesetz zu wahren." (503) Gamaliel replies: "Mit anderen Augen blickt es mich täglich an. Denn das Wort wandert." (503) This notion of wandering is in accordance with a view of history which notes primarily its violent fluctuations.

The way in which the older Jews best fulfill their destinies is to treat the laws as flexible and to be attuned to natural rhythms. The outstanding model for this is Gamaliel, who is called "Der Gerechte." This name does not come from a strict observance of the law on Gamaliel's part. The rabbi who keeps all the laws, the "Rabbi Beschwörer" is ridiculed: "Der Beschwörer! Der furchtbare Mann, der alle sechshundert und dreizehn Gebote hält und die Kinder und Kindeskinder der Gebote. Da er alles beobachtet, kann Gott nichts gegen ihn tun." (485) The fact that even God is powerless in the face of such an observer of the law is quite humorous.
Gamaliel is the opposite of the exorcist rabbi. He is, according to Werfel's idea of a complete man, closely attuned to nature. One of his students says that Gamaliel "versteht die Sprache aller Geschöpfe." (498) This is in response to the boast by a student of another rabbi that "wenn Rabbi Zaddok im Freien betet, die Vögel in der Luft verbrennen." (498) It is the duty of man to understand as Gamaliel does. All too often man in his zeal can alter nature as Rabbi Zaddok does. This control over the natural order was offered to the poet in Die Versuchung and to Thamal in Spiegelmensch. Thamal accepted the offer and it led to excesses and crimes.

But Gamaliel's knowledge of the divine and his awareness of the ultimate limitation of mortality makes him a "schöne Mann" and "Der Gerechte": "Uns ist die Thora die werdende Erde, die wir Schritt für Schritt dem Tode abringen." (500) His belief is that the revelation of the divine is gradual and eternal: "Denn jedes Kind trägt den Namen Gott wartet!" (500). Gamaliel in his confrontation with Paul's belief in Jesus as the Messiah is willing to acknowledge Jesus as a holy man of God. But to acknowledge that he was the Messiah would be to abandon a beautiful vision in which every man plays a part in completing God in the world. Gamaliel begs Paul to admit that Jesus was a man. Paulus says, "Wie kann ich? Aus uns Menschen kommt die Erneuerung nicht!" (529) Gamaliel replies, "Aus uns Menschen kommt sie allein! Um dieses Tempels willen sag:
Er war ein Mensch!" (529)

Light is the defining metaphor for the difference in outlook between Paul and Gamaliel. Saul became Paul as the result of the blinding light at Damascus. From Gamaliel's point of view as a teacher and a tool of enlightenment, such rapid revelation is dangerous: "Denn auch das Licht ist schuldig, wenn es für schwache Augen zu grell ist. Sehr gefährlich hat Jehoschua das Gesetz erhellt. Und dazu war es zu früh." (528) Nothing in Gamaliel's reading of nature prepares him for the violent upheaval which is Christianity.

Gamaliel is fully of this world. His justness means that he is as fully cognizant as possible. Paul's and Christianity's path is so different that agreement is impossible. Paul is referred to as "Der Besessene." (481) A Nazarene woman describes him: "Ein böser Engel plagt ihn. Hast du nicht gesehen, wie verdreht seine Augen sind, die Fäuste zusammengekrampft, die Lippen nach innen gekrümmt. Und diese Lasterstimme, wenn er schreit 'Fleisch, du mein Satansengel!' Und 'Christus, schlage ihn'!" (481) Paul is in this world but not of it. His responsibility is not to men. Thus it is not surprising that he displays characteristics of those solitary heroes of earlier dramas who have moved beyond the constraints of tradition. He is referred to as "toll." (482) He is consumed by a fiery passion as was Lukas in D.B.: "Gott wollte, dass ich ausdorre, damit ich jetzt brenne." (490) The revolutionary word comes out of a silent being as was the case in Schweiger and Bocks;
Paul says "Nicht ich hab das furchtbare Wort gesprochen, sondern er selbst, der in mir ist. Ich wollte schweigen, aber dieses Wort fuhr aus." (492) Paul exhausted his ego as did Thamal. He tells Chanan: "Ich kann nicht länger in dir spiegeln!" (494) In this world Paul is the egoless shell that Thamal was in the beyond. Paul says: "Ich bin eine arme leere Hülse, die der Erreger verbraucht." (510) This description bears a similarity to that of the inhabitants of the Elysian Field in D.B.: "In erhabener Weltrührung taumeln wir, wissend und unbewusst, weise und begrifflos, gefühlvoll und leer durch die unbemerkten Schnee-Ebenen, Hügelländer und Teichgegenden Elysiums." (21) Referenceless motion, a characteristic of other imbalanced heroes, was sometimes expressed in a verb of local velocity, jauchzen. Paul asks, "Was ist diese starke jauchzende Liebe in mir?! Woher die Ewigkeit im Herzen, die alle Angst und Verwesung verbrennt?!" (528)

The solitary, visionary hero has been tested in previous dramas and been found ineffective in his state of imbalance. He needed ballast in the form of sustained contact with less ethereal souls. Paul, however, is given no correction such as Laurentin and Thamal were. Gamaliel tries in vain to bring Paul's vision into the perspective of the social order; Paul is a "Kind der Sorglosigkeit." (526)

Paul's vision is allowed to stand uncorrected. The vision does not break down in the course of the drama. This
"demented" vision even survived to become a very important religion. Thus Paul's approach to life is approbated. There are times in the course of history that irrationality is the force that advances change, if not progress. The world of this drama was ripe for change and Israel had become not so much a nation of men set aside but just a few holy men.

In spite of the decline of Israel, it is not Paul but Gamaliel who stands out as the hero of the drama. His rationality is tempered with a pantheistic spirit. His attunement to the rhythm of life is expressed by his dancing movement:


Neither Gamaliel nor any one else can prevent the end or the fluctuations of history. God does not accept the sacrificial goat; the discord in the Jewish community is seized upon by the secular world as a pretext to attack the Jews; and Gamaliel, unanswered by God as to Jesus' identity, takes his life.

But Israel has not come to an end; it is merely dormant. Gamaliel's corpse is brought in. The Roman governor acknowledges Gamaliel as "unüberwindlich." (534) Rabbi Schimon kneels by Gamaliel's corpse: "Vater! Warum
schweigst du so gewaltig." (53½) Out of this silence, as out of the earlier silence of Paul, a new revolutionary word will emerge in the future.

For such an event as the gift of God's son to the world, which is the basis of Paul's visionary irrationality, will occur again. Indeed, it has occurred in the human realm in the drama. The high priest learns of his son's, Chanan's, suicide attempt. The high priest is preparing for Yom Kippur. Chanan is either near death or already dead and the high priest wants to abandon his divine tasks to exercise the human function of being with his son. But he does not and it is said of him: "Ein Vater hat seinen Sohn hingegben. Ein Mensch hat den Menschen überrungen." As the high priest gives up his son, the temple is "getaucht" "in eine dunkelglühende Glorie." (52½)

There exists an alternative as illustrated by the high priest in which every human has the opportunity to be a dimension of the divine. It was Gamaliel's thesis that the divine was slowly and laboriously revealed in this world. But finally the nature of revelation remains an open question. The drama is divided into six "Bilder" which are meant to flow into one another; Werfel writes "Die Struktur der Schauplätze ermöglicht und fordert rasche Verwandlung." (468) There is not meant to be a final word on the part of either Paul or Gamaliel. The dialogue will continue. Jacob is horrified that Paul believes that Jesus superceded the law: "Denn der Herr hat selbst gesagt: Solang Erd und
Himmel bestehn, wird kein Sätzlein der Thora verschwinden."
(492) Paul replies, "Hat er selbst denn das Geheimnis des
Christus völlig erkannt?" (492) There is in all future
events an openness which insures that the final answer
never exists.

The idea that there will be revealed meanings as yet
unsuspected by us and indeed unknown to the being considered
omniscient is an exciting one. It demands that man con-
stantly evaluate both adherence to tradition and revolt.
The disciples in the play must struggle to decide if Paul's
aberrations are divinely inspired or are madness. It is
the nature of this play to be open about the path man is to
take—be it Paul's or Gamaliel's. Only one task is urged
of every man: to be fully cognizant of the changes in the
world. Werfel himself takes up this task for his time when
he points to changes coming in Germany. Silence is Werfel's
precursor to revolution; Paul's revolutionary word came out
of his silence. When Matthias asks the German soldier
Frisius about his Germanic people, Frisius devises this
formulation to describe them: "Sie leben in einsamen
Gehöften und schweigen." (475) In the future something
will erupt from this silence; Werfel may be saying that in
1926 this future has arrived. In 1926, when P.u.d.J. was
written, there was much evaluation to be done of new forces
and beliefs. Paul's belief is easy for us to evaluate after
the passage of centuries. But it was difficult for his con-
temporaries. In every era man is faced with a similarly
difficult task.
FOOTNOTES: PAULUS UNTER DEN JUDEN

1. This is reminiscent of Thamal's journey into sensuality and his love for the dancer Fisillih.

2. The same process occurred in Die Mittagsgöttin in reverse order: Lauren gathered up his colors into white. Laurentin became a holy man. Here the purity of the Jewish people breaks down so that a new holiness can appear.


4. This is a vision of holiness like that expressed in Die Mittagsgöttin in which every child was a holy child.

5. Richard Specht (Franz Werfel, 1926, p. 313) finds Gamaliel to be the main figure of the play and questions whether this can be Werfel's intention, given the title of the play. Paul Fechter writes that it is the intention of the play to show the old world of law at an end but that Werfel has problems with this. He reports on a performance in the Deutsche Theater in 1929: "Ernst Deutsch spielte mit starker rhetorischer Wirkung den Paulus, Friedrich Kayssler den Gamaliel. Die Substanzüberlegenheit des Älteren über den Jüngeren wirkte sich dahin aus, dass am Ende zwischen Wortssinn und innerem Vorgang auf der Szene eine breite Kluft sich auftat: dem Begriff nach siegte Paulus, für das ererbende Gefühl aber der alte Rabbi. Juda erwies sich in ihm substanzmässig als der Stärkere, und die innere Gewichtsverteilung der Tragödie wurde durch die Besetzung ins Gegenteil verkehrt." Das Europäische Drama (Mannheim: Bibliographisches Institut, 1958), III, p. 78.
DAS REICH GOTTES IN BÖHMEN
Werfel wrote Das Reich Gottes in Böhmen in 1930 at the age of 40. It is a carefully constructed play and its structure emblematizes the historical themes that have dominated Werfel's dramatic efforts since Bocksgesang. The messianic individual is still a topic of discussion in D.R.G.i.B. but it is a topic which now becomes subservient to the portrayal of historical processes.

The structure of the play underlines Werfel's concept of history. The first aspect is that the one constant feature of history is its inconstancy—what is today will certainly not be tomorrow. The drama thus does not linger on any grand scenes which idealize the past nor does it prophesy a golden future, but rather moves evenly through the height of Prokop's revolutionary rule of Bohemia and the fall of that rule. The drama is divided into three parts. The first and third parts are divided into tableaux and interludes; the stage directions read "Die Zwischen spiele folgen unmittelbar aufs Hauptspiel, so dass jeder Teil der Tragödie pausenlos abrollt." (9) The effect of this very regular change is to convince the audience of the unrelenting and inevitable succession of events: history as the dance in which we all involuntarily engage.¹ Five of the eight interludes portray the effect of the revolution on the peasants, underlining the universality of the effects of political actions. Historical fluctuations are very real and immediate.
A corollary of the concept of history as fluctuation is the idea that every historical power contains its own seed of demise. This idea is presented in the figures of the two protagonists, Prokop and Julian. They embody opposing historical forces. At the height of Prokop's power there are features which will assure his fall. Conversely, in the very powerlessness of Julian at the beginning of the drama there is a strength which will emerge triumphant at the end of the drama. At that point Prokop, having lost power and in a state of vulnerability, will be in a position to take up the revolution once more. The struggle begins anew. This reversal of fortunes is reflected in the circular structure of the drama. A complete reversal of fortunes is reflected in the parallel words which each protagonist speaks at his own nadir of power. The cardinal Julian, fresh from defeat and doubtful of his faith, asks in Part I/Scene 1: "Ich? Bin ich denn ich?" (12). The deposed Prokop asks, at a time when he no longer believes in the cause of the common people, "Ich... Bin ich denn noch ich?" (85) Only Part II provides a pause in the struggle for power. Part II is only one scene, the council at Basel, in which Julian and the church and Prokop and his Bohemian brothers negotiate for reconciliation between Bohemia and the Church. This scene is the dramatic high point of the drama. After attempts at reconciliation fail the dance of revolution and counter-revolution continues.
Werfel chose a fecund time and place in *D.R.G.* to illustrate history as inevitable revolution. The time is 1431–1434, the place Bohemia and Basel. Bohemia was torn by conflict with the Church, rising nationalist expectations, and a changing economic situation. In 1431, the Church was in a weakened position, only recently having recovered from the Great Schism. The Bohemian John Huss, who had attempted to reform the Church in Bohemia in the corrupt time of the Great Schism, was burned at the stake in 1415. His legacy was a sect, the Hussites, who were motivated by a desire to purify their church and by strong feelings of animosity against the German clergy. (Ferguson & Brunn, 308)

For Huss and for his followers, the nationalist issue was closely allied to the theological issues. Bohemia had gained in autonomy when the Golden Bull of 1356 established the King of Bohemia as one of the electors of the Holy Roman Empire. Economically, this period sees the decline of the feudal system and uncertainty as to how economic power will be distributed in the future. Bohemia has at this time all the strengths and lack of constraint as the revolutionary son. Much like the young Thamal, the Bohemians are ready to take on the corrupt world of their fathers. The Bohemians are taking up a battle against a power-oriented church, the indifferent government of Wenceslas and Sigismund, and economic suppression by the nobility.

Werfel shapes this material by the structure of the
drama and by the attributes assigned to characters and groups of characters. It is the Hussites who most closely correspond to the violent upheaval which expresses the historical process at this time. The Hussites are characterized by a familiar attribute, "tanzen." They refer to their battles against the crusaders as "Tänze." (14) In dancing, in a responsive movement to the unconscious earthly rhythm, there is abandonment to the animal side of nature. Early Hussite leaders made no attempt to control this reflexive mode of life, as is described by the Bohemian comrade Tvaroch: "Früher war es anders, Burschen! Zu Zizkas goldener Zeit. Da haben wir tagsüber den Sigismund über die Grenze geprügelt und die Nacht dann durchsoffen und durchtanzt." (13) The Hussites are characterized by vitality and a certain distance from civilization. The following stage description of Tvaroch is given: "Er trägt den lang nach unten gezogenen Schnurrbart und das wetter wilde Hussitengesicht zur Schau, das in Böhmen Mode ist und in der übrigen Welt Gegenstand gruselnder Neugier." (13)

Among the Hussites there are two leaders who would attempt to direct and appropriate the force of the Hussites: the leader Prokop and the priest Rokycana. The play depicts their efforts in economic and religious reform. Land is distributed among the peasants and resources shared. In religious matters, both forms of the sacrament are administered and each man is to be a priest. The focus of all the reform is universal privilege and responsibility. The
intent is noble, and in trying to effect these reforms in Bohemia the Hussite leaders are meeting a challenge voiced earlier in Werfel's dramas: to learn to use the dark strivings of man. 7

There is indication at the beginning of the play that the Hussite attempts at self government and religious autonomy are valid. Cardinal Julian, who has led an unsuccessful crusade against the Hussites at Tau, comes disguised as a humble Italian priest to try to find out what it is that is right in the Hussitic rebellion, "warum Gott ihnen recht gibt." (12)

One reason that the Hussitic rebellion is divinely approved is that it is responsive to its time, and thus characterized by dance. The church has lost this quality. It prevents the epiphany of Christ; Prokop says, "Wie blutig müht sich die Kirche Christi, damit Christus nicht wahr und wirklich werde!" (18) The church indicates its stagnation by its need for physical evidence of belief. The opening scene shows the Roman Catholic monks scurrying about concealing mass garments, pictures of saints, and such. The former abbot directing this work is Hieronymus Hromada; his name is reflective of orientation to a time past.

The Hussitic movement does for a time capture the spirit of God in the world. The "Kelch," the shared cup of the sacrament, is the symbol of their movement. It is eagerly partaken of by the people. At the "Tabortag" on
which the Hussites celebrate a day against the use of force
there is the description of Rokycana offering the sacra-
mental wine to the people: they are "ekstatische Brüder-
köpfe, an deren Lippen er den Kelch führt." (41)

Julian recognizes the spirit of Christ in the
Hussites. A further indication that the spirit is there is
the presence of the priest Rokycana in the Hussitic move-
ment. He is referred to as "Der Bewusste." (34) His con-
sciousness consists of being cognizant of where the spirit
is in the world. This cognizance is revealed in "ironisch
verschleierten Augen." (34) Rokycana's veiled vision is
indicative of his ability to see matters in their true
perspective. He is not blinded by the light as is Prokop.

It takes the wisdom of a Rokycana to remain attuned to
the shifts of history and the spirit of love in the world.
The spirit moves on. It leaves the Hussites when their
actions are no longer motivated by love and respect for
their land and a desire for purity in their church. The
beginning of this shift occurs on the holiday against force.
At one moment the Bohemian brothers are sharing the sacra-
ment; in the next they are killing. A German is executed
due to false witness by a Bohemian leader. The Bohemian
leader defends himself: "Falsches Zeugnis?...Ein Deutscher
muss schon dafür gestraft werden, dass er ein Deutscher
ist...Feind ist Feind...Ich kann nicht den ganzen Tag
Predigt hören...Haltet Ihr uns für Kerzelweiber?...Wir wider
die Gewalt?...Sakra noch einmal, wir sind die Gewalt!!..."(44)
The cornerstone of Prokop's rule was love and tolerance. He proudly told Julian about Bergstadt, the German city that was protected although the "Deutschen im Land sind Tabors bitterste Feinde..." (41) But on the Tabortag the Germans in Bergstadt kill a Hussitic comrade and the Hussites burn Bergstadt in retaliation. Julian's prophecy at the beginning of this day of celebration has been fulfilled. Prokop asked Julian, "Spürt Ihr das grosse Geheimnis?...Dort unten ist die Einheit, die wahre Kirche, das Sakrament, darob sich nicht zweifeln lässt..." (40) Julian replies that he sees "dies schöne Bild und doch ein andres zugleich. Die festliche Masse dort unten. Und im nächsten Augenblick eine schwarze brüllende Menge." (40)

Rokycana has also foreseen the change to come: "Ich bin sehr kurzsichtig, Prokop...Scheint es mir nur so?... Aber ich sehe alles verwandelt...Keine Begeisterung mehr... Staub und Hass..." (43) He urges Prokop to consider Julian's request that the Bohemians attend a conference in Basel for the purpose of reconciliation. Rokycana has come to believe that it is time that the Hussites realize that their attempt to reform their world is failing; that it will be necessary to compromise and negotiate: "Kein Volk kann wie ein abgebundenes Glied leben. Der versperrte Flussarm versumpft, und nur die Stechmücken freuen sich." (43) As Prokop hesitates to make the decision to attend the council, fearing the consequences if agreement fails, Rokycana says, "Die Sterne sind errechenbar, nicht der Mensch. Ein
Mückenstich wird zum Völkerschicksal. Lass uns das Ziel nicht verlieren! Die feste Brücke zwischen göttlicher Wahrheit und irdischer Wirklichkeit zu sein, dies ist die Aufgabe unserer Nation. Versprich mir, Prokop, dass du in Basel kalt und gelassen bleibst." (51) It is Rokycana's strength that he sees how matters can change abruptly on the basis of something as uncontrollable as a gnat bite. This is a reference forward to the end of the play when the plague does bring any grand plans to an abrupt halt. Rokycana pleads that Prokop remain "kalt und gelassen" at the conference, that he be conscious as is Rokycana.

This is not possible for Prokop, who is fire and light and expansiveness. He embodies all the messianic features of his predecessors in Werfel's dramas. In Bohemia, the fact that he carries no weapon also sets him apart. There is an empty space around him as there was around Schweiger; "ein leerer Raum um ihn." (17) Fire characterizes him; of impurities in his government he says, "Ausbrennen will ich's, feuriger, als du Verstand hast, zu fassen..." (24) The distance about him and the fire of his idealism which separates him from his fellow man are qualities which have led his countrymen to great victories. The same qualities will cause his downfall. He is so obsessed by his task that he ignores his wife, who betrays him with one of his generals. The defection of this general is decisive in Prokop's defeat.

Prokop's vision blinds him to the treacheries of his
own leaders and even to individuals in his beloved people. Overwhelmed by the crowd at the Tabortag, Prokop explains his withdrawal to Julian: "Wenn sie so nahe kommen... Anlitz für Anlitz...Seht, seht...Dies dort unten ist größer, viel größer." (This last is a reference to the mass of people, 40.)

Finally, Prokop's vision will overcome his humanity. One of the four articles of Prague demanded the impartial execution of justice, regardless of the class or privilege of the criminal. Prokop refuses leniency even to his sister Stascha when she is condemned to death. When Prokop does this, his vision becomes a vision of darkness instead of light. In an opening scene (1,2), Stascha had asked Prokop about the chiliastic teachings of their mother. Prokop responds: "Das Leben ist wichtig und nicht der Tod." (22) In Part 3, scene 3, after sentencing his sister and hearing of revolt in his troops, Prokop says: "Wichtig ist nur der Tod." (80)

Visionary idealism such as Prokop's may lose all perspective and replace reality. It is a very obvious device that Werfel has Prokop's old mother be blind. Without the "sight" of a Prokop, she is able to distinguish "Licht und Finsternis." (47) It is she who must tell Prokop of his wife's betrayal when this is widely known. And it is the blind mother who outlives her children with the strength of a simpler faith. She knows no visionary future such as her son represents. Prokop asks his mother
if no one has told her who he is. She avoids such knowledge, "Meine kleine Pflicht ist es, Ordnung zu halten." (48) Only at the end of the drama is there partial recognition of who her son is. When Prokop is dead, Julian calls out to her, "Mutter." She answers, "Die Stimm kenn ich nicht ..." To Julian's question, "Mutter... Seht Ihr nicht euren Sohn?, she answers, "Nein..." (89) The fact that she does not mistake Julian's voice for her son's is acknowledgement that his voice was prophetic; that if she could not "see" the vision she could appreciate its conveyer as elected.

Idealism is no doubt held up to a critical mirror in D.R.G. It has not nearly as much power as it assumes. For one thing, the enactment of ideals depended on the continuing alliance of the poor, the burghers, and the lesser nobility. Historically, the burghers were pivotal in the balance of power.11 And in Werfel's drama counteracting the dialogue of Julian and Prokop, there is the courtship of the burghers Ach and Ichgereut by various members of the nobility who know that their survival depends on this alliance. These nobles have a certain advantage, being motivated by simple self interest. Their self-serving actions form a cynical backdrop to the discussions of the kingdom of God. At the council of Basel they make a running comment on the proceedings and applaud the inflexibilities that make a rapprochement between the two forms of belief an impossibility. Besides the Realpolitik forces, there are forces of nature which oppose ideal constructions.
Werfel mentions the natural calamities such as crop failure and plague which historically did contribute to Prokop's downfall. 12 There are forces which thwart man's loftiest ideals.

A more serious criticism of idealism is its translation into human lives. To the soldiers who fought under Prokop, his ideals of a simple holy prudent life meant abstinence from the joys of the flesh. Youth, too, was not convinced by any of their elders' words: "Die Alten wissen grad so gut wie ich, dass kein Gott lebt, dass Geist, Seele, Christus hohle Worte sind. Doch sie betrügen sich und uns. Ob römisch, ob hussitisch, es ist der gleiche Schwindel. Aber die Betschwestern des Fortschritts sind die Ärgsten." (46)

The last two interludes show for whom the Hussitic revolution fought and whom they most failed: the poor. In the first of these, poor women have been ordered to sweep the streets clean; a scholar has decided that this is the way to prevent the plague. The women complain

Kehraus und kehrein! Wir stänkern die Luft voll, und die Erd wird nicht rein...Nichts als Papier, verwestes Papier... Ja, Papier, Papier...Zwanzigjähriger Ketzermist...Kehrt, kehrt!...Plakate, Aufrufe, Artikel, Proklamationen... 'Die Erde Gottes gehört allen Menschen'... 'An das tschechische Volk'... 'An alle Völker'... 'Nieder mit den Besitzern und den Pfaffen'... 'Kein Bauer soll schuften für den Herrn'... 'Kein Mensch soll hungern mehr'... Kehrt, kehrt!... Faules Wort-Laub...Hunger, Hunger, Hunger...

(84)

The ideals of the revolution are mere bits of trash to be
cleared away lest they darken more an already dark future. In the last interlude the masses have returned to the silent misery which the revolution tried to alleviate. There is no speaking, no individuals, only stage directions for this scene: "Zwischen Böhmisch Brod und Kolin. Gesang, Trommelschlag, Geschützdonner verlieren sich nach und nach.—Lange Stille. Ein Zug von Verwundeten in blutigen Notverbänden schleicht vorüber. Stöhndes Gesumm." (87) The revolution dies for the moment and is replaced by silent suffering.

Despite the fact that the revolution was not communicated to any great extent, it was effective. This is historically perhaps more true than Werfel's drama allows. Josef Macek points out that "Though the reign of the poor in Tabor (1420-1421) lasted only about one year, it is one of the climaxes of the anti-feudal struggle in world history." Macek sees the revolution as a forerunner of bourgeois revolution and the German reformation. Its immediate effects were to destroy the economic supremacy of the church and to further Czech national feeling and the Czech language.

The positive effects that Werfel portrays in the drama have mostly to do with the church through the character of Julian. Julian is corrected by the earthly forces that he witnesses in the Bohemians. The church opens itself to the fact that Christ is a moving force: "Christus selbst schickt uns die hussitische Kritik, nicht damit wir in
niederes Ärgernis verfallen, sondern damit wir sie wider
das Schlechte in uns selbst wenden. Die stolzeste Kraft
des Glaubens ist es, den Zweifel durstig in sich
aufzunehmen." (54) There is, at this point in the survey
of the dramas, no doubt that self-doubt and examination
are not only the prerequisites to true life, but are the
highest state achievable to mankind. Julian and Prokop's
parallel statements, "Bin ich noch ich?" are the points at
which they come closest to the truth. When Julian says it
he acknowledges the validity of the Hussitic experiment;
when Prokop says it he acknowledges its failure. The his-
torical parallel to this self-doubt is revolution; this is
why revolution comes up again and again as a dramatic topic
for Werfel.

In opening itself to the Hussitic criticism, the
Church redeems itself and atones for its corruption. In
the course of the drama the Church moves closer to the
common man and his needs. The Church grants to Bohemia the
right to give the sacrament of the chalice. The Church
also acknowledges by the fact that Julian pursues Prokop
throughout the course of the play that the Church needs
the incarnation again and again. It is in constant danger
of becoming irrelevant and unattuned to the realities of a
given situation—the same danger faced by Prokop.

In the next to last scene, Julian and Prokop are shown
simultaneously on the stage. Prokop is apparently yielding
to the darkness, Julian is glorying in the "ewige Festigkeit"
of God. But even at this moment Julian is not free to ignore the "Zeit und Bewegung" of the Hussites. As Julian fades from the scene, he calls out, "Prokop, komm! whereupon Prokop says, "Nie komm ich wieder." (86)

For Prokop's way remains separate from Julian's. Prokop's way is to struggle with the here and now. For Julian, the Hussitic prohibition against iconolatry is illogical for, "Alles, die ganze Welt, Ihr und ich, sind nur Bilder, in denen Gottes Gegenwart wirkt." Prokop sees matters from a different perspective. Julian asks Prokop, "Wenn die Ewigkeit ein grosses Nichts ist, was wäre dann die Zeitlichkeit?" Prokop answers, "Wenn wirs auch nicht vollenden, wir sterben dafür, dass diese Zeitlichkeit hier zur grossen Ewigkeit werde!" (26)

The insistence of Prokop on man's determining role is finally carried to its logical consequence in the last scene. Prokop refuses conciliation with Julian and the Church. Prokop says, "Mein Kampf war gut, unser Kampf war gut, und der gute Kampf, er geht weiter..." (88) Julian protests, "Widersprich nur deinen Augen! Aus ihnen weint Licht und Gott..." (88) Julian sees divinity in Prokop's eyes but is perhaps not able to accept that this suffering fight to the death is Prokop's way of salvation. It is a great relief that Prokop does not recant, that he does not shift his responsibility to a Church he considers to belong to the past. Julian wants to administer the last rites to the dying Prokop but is refused, "Fort, goldener
Christus..." (89) This golden Christ is an invention of the Church to maintain the status quo; the real Christ was a creature of light and darkness like Prokop.

Prokop accepts only milk in the end—the milk that his mother always kept available. Milk was a symbol of his belief in his people. This belief had been damaged. In his deepest despair, Prokop had referred to "Mutters angebrannte Milch." (85) With the return of his faith, he drinks eagerly of this milk once more. There can be, so the drama ends, a kingdom of God on earth. The revolution will continue.
FOOTNOTES: DAS REICH GOTTES IN BÖHMen

1 This idea was most clearly expressed in Die Troerinnen. Dance appears as a descriptive term in Das Reich Gottes in Böhmen and will be discussed later.


3 Ferguson and Brunn, p. 278.

4 Ferguson and Brunn, p. 276.

5 The drama builds on historical characters. Prokop was a great and revered leader, although a patrician and less ascetic than Werfel portrays him. Julian, too, is a historical figure who was sent by the Pope to lead an army against the Hussitic army. He became convinced on defeat that the Hussites were only to be overcome through negotiation. It is also recorded that he formed a friendship with Prokop in Basel. Joseph Macek, The Hussite Movement in Bohemia (London: Lawrence C. Wishart, 1965), pp. 57-89. Werfel embroiders on the historical facts to the end of bringing the conflicting historical forces into close proximity. Werfel has Julian come to Prokop disguised as a simple priest to witness the Hussites for himself. This facilitates a dialogue of these forces.

6 It was apparently a challenge to reproduce this vitality on stage. Helga Meister reports that at the first performance in 6/12/1930 at the Burgheater, the Hussites sometimes appeared merely as "schreckliche Lärmacher." This was the opinion of Julius Stern in the Volkszeitung of 9/12/1930. Meister, 202.

7 This plea was most eloquently voiced by the mirror-man in Spiegelmensch.

8 Prokop's revulsion for individuals is a trait he shares with Maximilian who reflects: "Fort sind sie!... Individuen!...Ein Schmetterling stiess mir jetzt ins Gesicht. Warum erschrecken wir vor dem fremdem Individuum? Ein Grauen geht vom anderen Leben, aus, von jedem!" (Juarez und Maximilian, 428)
9 Joseph Macek, p. 110.

10 It is interesting to note that Prokop's predecessor, Zizka, was blind and a very successful leader. Macek, 54.

11 Macek, 73.

12 Macek, 69.

13 Macek, 81.

14 Macek, 79.

LATE DRAMAS
DER WEG DER VERHEISSUNG
Der Weg der Verheissung, written in 1934, occupies a special place in Werfel's dramas because this play, as Werfel himself wrote "will keine Dichtung sein, sondern ein dienendes Werk." (509) The drama illustrates anecdotes from biblical history as a means to strengthen a Jewish congregation which is facing upheaval. The intent of the drama is inspirational and didactic.

Because of these didactic intentions, Der Weg der Verheissung is not dramatic in the manner one expects from Werfel. There is no sense that the time portrayed is specific and thus is a partner in the dialogue. Particularly in the previous three dramas the thought was present that failure to treat the concrete realities of one's time was tantamount to a failure of one's humanity. In Der Weg der Verheissung, the historical portrayal is anecdotal and paradigmatic, so that what emerges from the whole is the creation of an inspirational model rather than the recreation of a complex historical tableau.¹ The virtues of this inspirational model are timeless. Werfel gives members of the congregation the same virtues as those of the biblical heroes they are recalling. The biblical anecdotes are being recalled by "einer zeitlosen Gemeinde Israel in einer zeitlosen Nacht der Verfolgung." (91) Virtues are abstracted from the historical situations and exemplified in a timeless congregation. Because Werfel's intent is so focused he does some of the work he normally leaves to the
public: abstracting the moral from the historical dialogue. Thus the direction of the drama is from time to timeless.

The other anomaly in the time aspect of Der Weg der Verheissung is that the present here does not involve action but rather waiting. The "timeless" congregation knows that it is about to be exiled. The members are waiting through the night, reflecting on the long history of exile for the nation of Israel. Their perspective, which is the audience's perspective, is passive.² The time of the congregation's heroism is yet to be. Only at the end of the drama is the congregation ordered to leave.

The notion of the "not yet" of history has permeated all of his historical dramas. In the conclusion of every historical situation there was more than a hint of the reversal of that situation. The absence of absolute answers, the "not yet" complete knowledge of man and even of God is responsible for the open dialogues in Werfel's dramas. Here the "not yet" is more than a notion; it constitutes the substance of the dramatic proceedings. Present time is suspended within the drama.

The importance of the here and now of drama is deferred in Der Weg der Verheissung so that a lesson can be absorbed. This lesson comes from the dramatic episodes that are recalled by the congregation: Abraham's decision to sacrifice his son; Joseph's care for the brothers who sold him into slavery; the difficult decision of Moses to lead his people from Egypt; the use and abuse of power by
David; Zedekiah's refusal to humble himself and thus save Israel from exile.

Werfel saves Der Weg der Verheissung from becoming a dreary lesson first of all by humanizing and demythologizing the Biblical heroes. Sara laughs at the prophecy of the angels that she will bear a child. Abraham bargains with God over the destruction of Sodom:


(105)

Abraham finally elicits God's promise to spare Sodom even for the sake of ten just men.

Werfel's concept of the balance of power between man and God also gives the play some dramatic tension. Man is not living out a preordained scheme; he has a determining voice. When the Israelites have sinned in worshipping a golden idol, God intends to punish them. Moses entreats God to spare them, saying that he personally will bear their sins: "Dann häufe die Sünde / Des Volkes auf mich. Ich trag sie allein. / Auf mich alle Sünde!" (135) and God, appearing as "Der Strahl," "nach einer langen Pause, sehr weich" relents to Moses' plea: "Mose, steh auf! / Um deinetwillen hab ich vergeben." (135) The rabbi of the congregation repeats Moses' gesture of supplication, lifting his hands in entreaty. It is as though man can alter the
course of history if he loves enough and entreats urgently. Moses saved his people from destruction.

The last biblical scene that the congregation evokes must have been chosen to illustrate how man can be decisive. Zedekiah, the king, has determined no longer to pay fealty to the Babylonian king Nebuchanezzar. Zedekiah has decided this against the advice of the prophet Jeremiah, who foretells how this action will lead the Israelites to exile and bondage. Zedekiah hears Jeremiah's prophecy but cannot bring himself to do the one thing that would avert the tragedy: humble himself before Nebuchanezzar. This decision has far-reaching consequences. Jeremiah predicts "Das Schwert und der Brand Verzehrt / Die Stadt, das Volk, den heiligen Tempel." (172) Zedekiah's decision is seen as crucial to the exile of the Israelites, an exile which will last through the centuries, even up to the time of the congregation of the play. "Der Fromme," the pious member of the congregation, begs Zedekiah:

Unser Schicksal hängt an deinem Mund, König ... Verstell dich nicht, als ob du nicht hörtest... Du hörst uns... Entscheide anders ... Denk an den Morgen, der bald heraufkommt ... Denk an die Jahrtausende der Qual, die mit ihm beginnen..."

(171)

Zedekiah's decision is observed by three angels: two white angels and a dark angel. The dark angel carries a lighted torch with which he will begin the fire of destruction should Zedekiah choose the prideful way which will send his people into exile. The fact that destruction is
seen as coming from God points to a changing concept of Werfel's formulation of evil. The dramas have insisted on the acknowledgement of evil as a reality. *Bocksgesang* dealt with the terrible consequences of the suppression of evil. In *Der Weg der Verheissung*, there is a part of the heavenly body, the dark angel, which deals with the evil in man. There is no devil figure in *Der Weg der Verheissung*. There is a "Widersprecher" who has some of the questioning, skeptical spirit of Spiegelmensch, but he has been downgraded in importance to a mere cynic. He is ejected from the congregation and then appears in the biblical anecdotes.

The acceptance of evil and the amalgamation of dark and light, evil and good, as represented by the dark and light angels—this is an important integration. Throughout the dramas, Werfel has struggled with the definition of the nature and source of evil. It had magical connotations in the earliest dramas, for example the powers offered by the devil to the poet in *D.V.* or the powers given to Thamal by Spiegelmensch. Evil was associated with a pantheistic spirit in *Bocksgesang*; formulated as a psychological aberration in *Schweiger*. Only with *Juarez* does evil no longer appear as the force opposing idealism; it is replaced by the force of history. In *Der Weg der Verheissung*, it appears that there is no evil that cannot be foreseen by God; the dark angel is there to utilize Zedekiah's wrong and sinful decision. All the suffering that will follow will become a part of a process of redemption. The angel of
the "Endzeit" speaks:

Ihr Schläfer des Schmerzes! Kein Zeitengericht
Kann Israel löschen und machen zunächst
Der ewige Bund, die Verheißung des Herrn
Wird währen länger als Sonne und Stern.
Seid dankbar dem Leid! Denn auch was geschieht,
Ist göttliche Kraft, die euch höher zieht.
Seid dankbar dem Feuer, weil's läuternd euch
zwingt.

(175)

This appropriation of the misery caused by evil reduces
the significance of evil, even as the significance of ideal-
ism has been reduced through the course of the dramas.

This is a philosophical statement by Werfel; that whatever
man's actions, in the service of good or of evil, these
actions can be used to the eventual good of mankind. I per-
sonally object to this pedagogical approach to human suffer-
ing and it is hard to see how it will be implemented. God
in the drama appears to be as much as man can make him—the
united strength of Abraham, Joseph and Moses. Thus the burn-
ing bush, when Moses asks it how he is to identify the God
of Israel answers: "Ich-bin-der-ich-werde sein" ist mein
Name. Ich-werde-sein, sprich, hat mich gesandt." (127) The
importance of the momentary decision in fleshing out this
not yet complete God is vital. The discussion of the three
angels over Zedekiah illustrates this:

Der dunkle Engel: Der Herr allein kann Sein
Haus vernichten.
Ich habe Auftrag: Entzündet den Brand!
Der erste weisse Engel: Ich habe Aufträge:
Noch wartet die Gnade.
Der zweite weisse Engel: Ich habe Auftrag:
Es entscheide der Mensch.

(171)
It is discordant with this existential scheme of salvation to see a future justification for suffering.

Aside from the theological validity of the integration of good and evil, this integration has implications for Werfel's dramatic achievements. It has been a hallmark of the dramas thus far that Werfel has conceived, in the form of dramatic personages, the confrontation of antinomious forces engaging in a meaningful dialogue. These forces were never as simplistic as good and evil but rather presented themselves as idealism and bourgeois sensibility or humanistic idealism and religious idealism, to name a few examples. The strength of the dialogue of these forces lay in the value attributed to both sides. But beginning with Der Weg der Verheissung, this dialogue is no longer central. In the next drama, In einer Nacht, Werfel rewrites the material of his first drama, but makes the gap between the two forces so great that there is no dialogue. And in the final play, a comedy(!), the opposition is made trivial.

In Der Weg der Verheissung, the end of the division into such forces is seen in the vision of a religious community. This religious community is described by the term "dreamers." At the end of the drama the angels and the people recite the 126th Psalm: "Wenn der Herr die Gefangenen erlöst, / Dann werden wir sein wie die Träumer." (176) In the future the idealistic dreamers will have no opposition; their vision will be shared by all. In the past that is remembered by the congregation it was dreaming and
all the attributes of idealistic heroes which typified the heroes of God. The angels come to Abraham "des Brennenden Mittags" as Laurentin's dream came to him. (102) Idealism has differing wellsprings as the rabbi points out: "Der Herr begegnete Abraham im Licht...Jakob aber war ein Träumer der Nacht. Denn er war der erste Verfolgte unter uns." (109) Joseph's strength is his receptiveness to his dreams and the fact that God favors him with such dreams: "Dem Herrn beliebt's ja, ihm Träume zu senden." (112) This strength is passed on to selected individuals; a thirteen year old in the congregation, who is very receptive to the examples of heroism, is typified by the cynical "Widersprecher" as "Ein neuer Träumer." (124) Moses has the quality of being strange: "Ein Fremder war ich im fremden Land." (125) His is the revolutionary act that arises from silence: "Herr, Herr! Ich bin niemals beredt gewesen. Du hörst doch...wie ich stocke...und stottere...Mein Zunge ist plump...und schwer mein Wort...." (127) Of the kings, David shares the attunement to nature of the idealistic hero as reflected in the 114th Psalm: "Als der Ewige uns aus Agypten geführt, / Hat er Israel sich zum Thronsitz erkürt. / Das Meer floh zurzeit / Und der Jordan wich weit. / Aufhüpften wie Widder die Berge im Tanz / Und wie junge Lämmer der Hügel Kranz." (148) David embodies the notion of proceeding in a manner only to be determined minute by minute. He begged God in vain to spare the life of his child which was conceived in sin. This could not be; it is
now his task to slowly find again the promise of that child. David says to Bathsheba "Nun aber? Wer holt es? Wir wandern zu ihm. / Doch nimmer wandert es wieder zu uns."⁶ (159) Jeremiah is the prophet who is a dreamer. (165) He is possessed as was Paul by his vision. The people see him as a "Fluchbesessener." (165) The vision is typified by suffering and burning and motility, as has been witnessed before: "Oh wie ich leide / und innen brenne. / Mein Auge rinnt / und rinnt und ruht nicht.... (171) Among the leaders of Israel are all manner of idealistic heroes; inspired by visions of light and dark, nature and eternity.

The symbolism of the idealistic hero does serve to some extent to hold the drama together. As a vehicle for the stage, the complexity and breadth of the action were more apparent than the simplifying unity of the idealistic heroes. Fulrich-Leisler and Prossnita report on the complicated negotiations that preceded and delayed the opening of the play.⁷ Werfel intended with the complicated stage in five levels to achieve a "Bisher unerhörte[n] dramatische[n] Polyphonie." (512) The play was appreciated as spectacular. (Fulrich-Leisler, 176) Klarmann reports that because of the enormous cost of the drama it was discontinued four months after the initial performance in New York on January 7, 1937 (509)
1 Heribert Rück is of the opinion that space and time have no dramatic function in the play.

2 Meister comments on the merge of the spectators, both the congregation and the audience, in a transcending process: "Trotz Werfels vorwiegend epischem Text und trotz der distanziert wirkenden Musik Weils überwältigte Reinhardt die Sinne der Zuschauer, so dass die Trennung zwischen Spieler und Publikum aufgehoben wurde." (221)

3 Shared by Schweiger, Maximilian and Prokop, among others.

4 The revolutionary word comes from silence; Schweiger, Bockgesang and Paulus express this thought.

5 Gamaliel also showed this nature attunement.

6 It was Gamaliel who felt that it was the responsibility of man to follow the wandering word.

IN EINER NACHT
In einer Nacht is the last play of Werfel's published in Austria in his lifetime. (512) It was written and published in 1937 and was produced in October of that same year in Vienna.¹ (512) It is quite clearly a leave-taking of Austria; this is reflected in the dramatic dialogue, in the structure, and in the idea of the drama. The dialogue of antinomious forces, which characterized the historical dramas especially, is abandoned in the course of this drama. In the threatening atmosphere of 1937 a dialectic which could lead to rapprochement is seen as impossible. In einer Nacht is written in three acts: the first exposition; the second crisis, the third resolution. It is a closed structure and the final resolution has a deus ex machina effect.² The structure is indicative of the abandonment of dialogue. There is no hint of continuing historical changes. The third act brings all to conclusion. This is only possible by the extraordinary device of having someone resurrected from apparent death. Perhaps the most important indication of the abandonment of dialogue as the dramatic principle for this drama is the idea of the drama: the complete alienation of good and evil characters from each other.

In einer Nacht is an expansion of the material that Werfel used for his first drama, D.B.a.d.E., in which the adventurous idealist Lukas returns to visit his old love.
She is living a bourgeois life with her husband Josef. They are expecting a child. She is kindled by Lukas' visions and his prophecies that the child will bear his characteristics. Lukas appears to be a character much superior to Josef but reveals at the end the imbalance of his life and his admiration for the balance of bourgeois existence.

The manner in which Werfel adapts this material 25 years later shows the changes of Werfel's philosophy and world. Lukas was a reckless adventurer, much concerned about the physical proof of his spirit. He exercised a somewhat messianic function in the lives of Hedwig and Josef; impregnating their pedestrian ways with a higher consciousness. Lukas' counterpart in *In einer Nacht* is Gabriel. Gabriel is a Lukas grown much older. Almost his first words to Eduard are "Über sehr vieles denk ich jetzt anders." (183) Gabriel is a modern hero, small in physique as well as illusions. His description reminds one of Jaurez: "Er ist genau gleichaltrig mit Eduard, doch schmal und frühzeitig ergraut." (183) There is no messianic idealism in him: "Ich bin aus keinerlei Idealismus nach Südamerika gegangen, sondern aus Armut. Aus meiner Armut und aus der Armut meiner Heimat." (187) Gabriel is famous for his service to the indigent of Peru but he denies that there is anything extraordinary about it. It is a noble undertaking but perhaps the wrong thing for Gabriel to have done. For one thing, he did not fight for Felizitas but still remained as a ghost to haunt that marriage. Gabriel
went, like Maximilian, to a new world which is strange to him. The falseness of this world to him is expressed by bright colors:

Ich sehe alles nur durch schwarze Brillen, die man dort vom Morgen bis zum Abend tragen muss. Die Welt um mich gleicht einem farbigen und öden Jenseits, wo ich nicht ruhen darf, sondern allerlei schattenhafte Handgriffe und Zeremonien auszuführen habe, Gott weiss warum.

(93)

Gabriel had a responsibility to exercise in his own country; instead he conducted meaningless ceremonies in a foreign land. Eduard reminisces about how Gabriel was his spiritual leader in their youth: "Denn unsere hundert Gespräche hab ich nicht vergessen. Was haben wir nicht alles zusammendiskutiert, noch im Gymnasium... Du ahnst nicht, wie oft ich mich an unsere Gespräche erinnere, an diese übrigens recht bittere Zeit, in der du mein geistiger Führer gewesen bist...." (183) To this statement Gabriel replies that he thinks differently about many things now.

It is unfortunate that the contact between Gabriel and Eduard was broken, because no process of modification between these two quite opposite forces took place. The gap between their worlds has widened irreconcilably. Gabriel makes reference in conversation with Felizatas to how strange this old world seems to him:

Zwischen uns liegen mehr als Ozeane und Kontinente. Ich kann es gar nicht beschreiben, mit welcher Wehmut dieser Nebel erfüllt, diese kotig-würzige Erde, diese brennenden Herbstwälder hier, in denen du lebst....

(193)
Gabriel left the old word in self defense, to escape his and its poverty. When he comes back to visit, Eduard begs him to stay. Gabriel's refusal to stay this second time is a refusal of integrity, for Eduard is obviously planning to use Gabriel in order to expand his own power. Eduard, as a common man of force, needs the man of spirit in the same way that the masses need the charismatic leader. Eduard referred to the young Gabriel as his "geistiger Führer." (183) At the time of the drama, 1934, there is no doubt that intellectual spirits such as Gabriel's would not have a beneficial effect on society but would merely be appropriated. Eduard suggests:

Ich werde ihm ein Primariat verschaffen, ihn zum Universitätsprofessor, zu einer internationalen Größe, zum Millionär machen. Die gewisse Richtung, die demnächst im Lande unzweifelhaft an die Macht kommt, ist mir also kolossal verpflichtet, kann ich wohl sagen....

(200)

Nevertheless, the extent to which these intellectually and spiritually superior fail to deal with the Edwards of the world is seen quite critically in this drama. Eduard is by no means a sympathetic character but he gets our sympathy in his dealings with Gabriel and Felizitas. He once offers medical materials to Gabriel, really trying to buy his affection. He offers champagne to Gabriel and Felizitas and both refuse: "Kinder, ihr seid aber enorm unkameradschaftlich. Ihr lasst mich in Feuer geraten und selbst sitzt ihr da in eurem nüchternen Hochmut wie zwei
mokante Engel der Überle genheit." (200)

Gabriel's original withdrawal from Eduard's world may have been as justified as the latter withdrawal but both have disastrous results. In the absence of dialogue with a man such as Gabriel, Eduard became the man of ideas and light. Ideal constructions in his hands became very dangerous. Eduard lives in the condition of "Einsamkeit" shared by other idealistic heroes of the drama. 5 Gabriel says "Wie ich dich in Erinnerung hab, lieber Eduard, bist du durchaus nicht für die Einsamkeit geboren...Und es ist sehr einsam hier..." (184) Alienation was another characterization of idealistic heroes in the dramas. To Gabriel's statement, "Ich bin ein Fremder," Eduard replies, "Du, ich weiss nicht, wer von uns beiden der Fremde ist ...." (184) Although Eduard has never left his home, he has become estranged, largely through his desire to own everything, including political control and land and his wife.

Eduard also possesses and is possessed by fixed ideas, much as was Maximilian. Eduard says to Gabriel and Felizitas, "Ihr lasst mich da lange Rede halten...Es kommt mir jetzt direkt so vor, als wenn unter euch ich der Schwärmer wär und ihr die Durchschnittsmenschen...." (189)

Eduard's ideals are symbolized, familiarly, by light and fire. Eduard referred to Gabriel's and Felizitas' allowing him to fall into the fire. (200) Gabriel's visit occurs during an interruption of electrical service. Eduard
is very annoyed by this: "Himmelherrgott, Licht will ich haben, Licht, diese Kerzen machen mich rasend." (189) When Eduard is being questioned about Gabriel's murder, the room is brightly illuminated by a carbide lamp: "Auf dem Esstisch vor dem Kamin aber steht eine unerbittliche Karbidlampe, die mit ihrem grell kalten abscheulichen Licht die Gesichter und Gegenstände bläulich weiss bemalt und ringsum grosse Schatten erzeugt." (224) Dr. Grundgeyer, the sceptical and wise doctor who is testifying as to the cause of Gabriel's death, says "Dieses scheussliche Karbidlicht ist Gift für meine Augen...." (225) Eduard replies, "Das tut mir leid. Ich finde aber, das Licht stimmt blendend zu unserer Tätigkeit." (225)

Eduard is an evil character in that he intends to blind; he intends to stand between man and nature by owning and manipulating men and land and ideas. His sin is to destroy the responsiveness of mankind.

The most important message that Werfel's dramas have is the duty of man to be responsive to historical reality. This message is present in In einer Nacht up to a certain point. The historical reality here is that it is the simple, solid Eduards of this world that promulgate evil. It is Eduard's defense that it is the Bolsheviks that have been the cause of unrest in Austria; indeed, that it is they who have shot Gabriel. Eduard refers to them as "unsere dunklen Elemente." (195) But it is not some mysteriously dark, demonic force that is leading Austria to
destruction; it is Eduard. Mankind's destruction does not come from what we consider the darkness; something foreign to ourselves. It is Eduard who curses the darkness:

"Jetzt sind wir als eine schlecht beleuchtete Insel in einem schwarzen Nebelmeer exponiert." (194) No one but Eduard objects to that. He demands the deception that light brings. Light blinds and dulls to other sensations. So Eduard says "Mich stört es nicht, vor dem Feuer zu sitzen...." (198)

Felizitas is the only one who recognizes the danger of Eduard early; she asks Gabriel "Hast du nicht aus jedem seiner Worte bemerkt, dass er verzweifelt mit dem Feuer spielt, dass er unser Schicksal auf die Probe stellt?" (191) Gabriel has not recognized the evil: "Ich habe Eduard immer als einen Egoisten von der gutmütigen Sorte gekannt." (191) It is only Felizitas who at the end really regrets not having dealt with Eduard. She says, "Ich war grausam zu dir, Eduard, solange du...Jetzt erst sehe ich, wieviel Unrecht ich dir getan habe...Ich leide um dich, Eduard... Ah, warum kann ich dir nicht helfen...." (234)

It is significant that the threat of Eduard was not acknowledged. His type was a long time in the making. He is a distortion of the precepts of Nietzsche: "Habe ich nicht immer für einen Herrenmenschen gehalten, jenseits von Gut und Böse, und zwar mit einigem Recht?" (22) He had glorified war and force for twenty years:

Im Trommelfeur bin ich spazierengegangen, mehr
als einmal, lustig lustig, und das war
gefährlicher...Auch jetzt gehts um mein nacktes
Leben. Ein Soldat bin ich, dass ist mein
einziges Talent, und ich will um mein nacktes
Leben kämpfen, dass euch Hören und Sehen
vergeht...Warum auch nicht? Kein Mensch kann
mich ja leiden....

(221)

This is what Gabriel knew as an amiable egoist. Eduard's
respectability was impressive. Even art allied itself with
him in the form of the dilettante Kovacs.

The drama makes the point that this Eduard should have
been dealt with. But it stops short of portraying the
devastating social consequences that the Eduards brought on.
It ends by moving the action from the social to the private
sphere, so that suddenly it is only Gabriel and Felizitas'
love that the drama concerns itself with. The drama allows
this love to survive by having Gabriel's death be only an
apparent one; he is resurrected. In a very unlikely ending,
Gabriel says:

Komm, Felizitas, komm...Was kann uns noch
Böses geschehen in dieser Welt der Wunder?!
...Der wirkliche Tod?...Ich glaube jetzt, es
gibt nur ein Sterben und keinen wirklichen
Tod....

(240)

Spirit survives nicely even in this world of force. Even
force is helped out by this ending; because Gabriel survives
Eduard is not a murderer: "Du hast uns gerettet, dich und
mich und ihn...Nun ist er davon erlöst ein Mörder zu sein
...Und auch wir sind davon erlöst, dass er es ist." (239)

There may be positive ways of viewing this escapist
ending. One might say that Werfel is holding out a hope by
saying that man's nobler spirit can survive great oppression. But I think that the very ludicrousness of the final scenes in which Gabriel is floating around the stage frightening Eduard is an indication that the ending should not be taken seriously. The best thing that may be said about Gabriel's miraculous revival is that it reflects Werfel's own desire to escape that world.

_In einer Nacht_ does develop more thoroughly some thoughts that all of the dramas have been developing. The day of the dynamic, expressive hero is long past. Gabriel is Lukas only in the mechanics of the role. Secondly, unmodified idealism is a danger unsurpassed by any demons. Third, dialogue is man's historical task and last, evil is always common and close at hand.
1 Meister lists only this one production of the play in 1937.

2 Rück writes that Werfel intends the structure to be closed but the puzzling aspect is that the causality includes the hereafter. Rück finds that the effect is grotesque.

3 Gabriel has been a doctor in Peru. He returns to Austria in 1930. By chance, he meets his old friend Eduard. Eduard is a large landowner and an important person in his vicinity. He has been married for six years to Gabriel’s old love, Felizitas. Eduard insists that Gabriel visit him and Felizitas. Gabriel does so against his better judgement; the love between him and Felizitas is still strong. Their passion is apparent to Eduard who has always known that Gabriel was a presence in his marriage. The meeting is painful and Gabriel decides to leave abruptly. On the way to the train station Eduard shoots Gabriel. He is pronounced dead, probably not from the slight gun wound but from a weak heart. Eduard first maintains that it is his Bolshevik enemies who, mistaking Gabriel for him, shot Gabriel. Only after he sees that even with Gabriel gone he cannot have Felizitas does he confess and is arrested. Felizitas is about to kill herself in grief when Gabriel recovers. He and Felizitas are joyful over the prospect of a life together.

4 Bright colors have signified a false world of appearances in the plays: for Laurentin in D.M., for Maximilian in Jaurez.

5 Laurentin, Lukas, Schweiger, Juarez, Maximilian, and Paulus.

6 Paul was blinded by a light so that he would have the narrow focus of a religious orientation. Prokop’s blind mother sees better than her son who is characterized by light.
JACOBOWSKY UND DER OBERST
Jacobowsky und der Oberst is subtitled "Komödie einer Tragödie." This classification is accurate and reflects the reductive process that Werfel ideas undergo in this drama. In this process idealism and pragmatism are reduced to quixotism and survival tactics. Imagery which carried ideas in previous dramas is discounted here.  

Jacobowsky und der Oberst was written in 1941-1942, serious enough times. One asks why Werfel chose to translate the grave concerns of a lifetime—questions of intellect and its relationship to power and history—why Werfel chose to reformulate these questions in a comic vehicle. Part of the answer is that Werfel is using humor to talk about issues about which he feels no little despair. This comedy may also have been written as an embarrassed reaction to In einer Nacht with its attempt to circumvent the difficulties of the human situation by its miraculous ending. The very first stage directions of Jacobowsky indicate that Werfel does not intend to write another melodrama:

Beim Aufgehen des Vorhangs lässt sich im ersten Augenblick die Befürchtung nicht ganz abweisen, man werde einem pathetischen, unangenehmen und schwer verständlichen Drama bewohnen müssen, denn die Bühne ist in ein magisch blaues Licht getaucht, aus dem sich in gespenstischer Erstattung einige menschliche Gestalten losringen, die regungslos entlang der Wände auf Holzbänken sitzen. Nicht genug damit, es erschallt zu Häupten der blau beleuchteten Gespenster die überlebensgrosse Grabesstimme eines unheilverkündigenden griechischen Gottes.—Zum Glück stellt es sich jedoch sofort heraus, dass
die Stimme keinem Deus ex machina angehört, der aus den Wolken spricht, sondern einem französischen Ministerpräsidenten im Radio, dass ferner das magische Licht von einigen nackten Glühbirnen ausgesendet wird, die man nach Vorschrift des französischen Luftschutzes blau angestrichen hat, und das schliesslich die regungslosen Gestalten keine symbolische Bedeutung haben, sondern Hotelgäste sind, die der nächtliche Luftangriff auf Paris um ein Uhr nachts aus den Betten gescheucht und in dieser Waschküche zusammengetrieben hat.

(243)

These stage directions are an admonishment; not to read into the play more than is suggested.

Jacobowsky does fit into the logical continuum of the dramas; its comic facade does not portend a philosophical change. Jacobowsky reiterates these themes: the need for confrontation and dialogue of idealism and pragmatism; the importance of man's decision in the determination of historical events; a view of the world in which man proceeds step by step, depending on his senses, and gives his own rational meaning to the absurd fluctuations of the historical process.

The large idealistic hero of Jacobowsky is the Polish colonel Tadeusz Boleslav Stjerbinsky. His family name suggests death. The death that he experiences in the drama is the death of his ideal of the chivalrous knight and lord. This ideal is fairly delapidated by 1940, as is evident in Stjerbinsky's description: he is "ein hoher, sehr ausgemergelter Mann in Felduniform mit vielen Auszeichnungen." (253) Stjerbinsky represents the ridiculous aspects of the knightly ideal. He risks capture by the Germans to
see his beloved Marianne again. When he arrives at her house he awakens her by playing on his violin. Jacobowsky cannot believe that this scene is being enacted: "Wie wird mir? Ist das Wirklichkeit? Ist das Vision? Die deutschen Geschütze brumen. Frankreich verreckt. Frankreichs Rosen duften, als gehe sie das Ganze nichts an. Der Tod aus Polen fieldelt im Mondlicht." (282)

Stjerbinsky is fulfilling a dead ideal. When Jacobowsky protests the side excursion made to see Marianne, Stjerbinsky defends it by saying "Ich hab els Edelmann einer Dame gegeben mein Wort." (279) It does not escape Jacobowsky how askew this ideal is. He asks "In welchem Jahrhundert leben Sie, Colonel?" (279) Stjerbinsky is living in a scheme entirely inappropriate to the realities of his day. Jacobowsky goes on to tell Stjerbinsky "Sie haben keine Ahnung von den Nazis, und Sie hassen sie nicht einmal." (279)

Stjerbinsky's strategy was made for a simpler world. Jacobowsky needs Stjerbinsky to drive the car that he has bought. Stjerbinsky assures him that he can drive even though he is a cavalrist: "Ist die Strasse schnurgerade, fahre ich sehr brillant. Kurven hasse ich." (269) The time in which Stjerbinsky's rigid codes of behavior were appropriate was a time of unquestioned fealty to one's nation and to an unambiguous god. The tragic gentleman, whose somewhat exaggerated assessment of the situation must nevertheless echo Werfel's assessment, doubts the god who
is called upon to extract the people from the possibility of German victory: "Der alte Gott wird sie daran nicht hindern, Madame, und der alte Pétain noch weniger. Ich fürchte, dass diese beiden reifen und verehrungswürdigen Persönlichkeiten der Fünften Kolonne angehören." (247) The world of Jacobowsky is absurd. For example, Jacobowsky, who does not have the proper papers to be in France, is apprehended by a French officer. The officer tells Jacobowsky that he would have to procure papers to be legally admitted as a prerequisite to obtaining papers to leave. In the midst of the complicated discussion the officer goes off duty and the whole paper predicament is forgotten.

There is a much more serious criticism of Stjerbinsky's model of behavior, namely that it is not cognizant of evil in the world. Although Stjerbinsky has fought against the Nazis, it was only against another faceless dragon. Jacobowsky tells Stjerbinsky he has no concept of the Nazis, that indeed "Sie aber hätten ganz gut Hitler sein können, und Sie könnten es noch immer werden. Jederzeit!" (280) Stjerbinsky's ignorance can be described in a familiar way; he is blinded by his ideals and has no concept of historical change. Marianne sees and initially admires this in Stjerbinsky: "Ihre Augen sind dieselben. Erbarmungslos und vergesslich wie das Meer." (283) This quotation indicates that the colonel reacts involuntarily to the fluctuations, without registering them. In this sense he could
as easily be a Hitler as fight against one.

Jacobowsky is what the colonel is not:


(248)

He has achieved a moderation and control that he perceives as socially necessary. Of course the society that he has in mind is somewhat outdated. Like the colonel, he is no longer quite in correspondence with the realities of his day.

Jacobowsky is characterized by the enlightenment ideal of moderation. This is sometimes expressed by a light appropriated from nature; he is said to have a "sonnige Natur." (248, 318) Jacobowsky often uses words that point to a rational philosophy: "Vernunft" (281, 279) and "Verstand." (319, 281) This philosophy, like Jacobowsky's apparel, is somewhat outdated. This rationality is certainly more useful than the colonel's ironclad code of behavior but it does tend to become mere rationalization:


(329)
The list of possibilities goes on.

Jacobowsky's experience in suffering and persecution gives him an advantage in the difficult days that the drama portrays. He has a sophisticated understanding of the situation. When the French official tells him "Als Ausländer haben Sie ohne Bescheinigung der Behörde nicht das Recht, frei zu fluktieren..." (287) Jacobowsky responds "Ich fluktuiere nicht frei sondern gezwungenermassen. Im übrigen fluktuiert ganz Frankreich..." (288) He has an awareness of historical changes to which he and everyone else is subject.

Jacobowsky, unlike Stjerbinsky, does not have to overcome the illusion that he is in control of his destiny. Stjerbinsky's servant Szabuniewicz tells how he thought the colonel had once been killed falling from his horse but Stjerbinsky revived saying "Weine nicht, Szabuniewicz! Deinem Stjerbinsky passiert nichts. Denn er ist ein Herr des Lebens." (284) Jacobowsky asks sceptically "Was ist das, ein Herr des Lebens?" (284) Because Jacobowsky is accustomed to negotiating with power for his right to existence, it is he rather than Stjerbinsky who is able to procure a car and repeatedly obtain gasoline to fuel it. Each time he is able to get gasoline is a miracle. Once German soldiers even give it to him. He says "Mein grösstes Wunder, wahrhaftig! Ich hab wieder Essence bezogen, und diesmal direkt von der Hölle!" (313) Jacobowsky's ability to act in all sorts of situations with all sorts of powers is a trivial statement
of Werfel's idea that humanity needs to deal with both dark and light forces.

If Jacobowsky is fairly well able to get along in this absurd world, Stjerbinsky is definitely not. He can drive but must be reminded of such things as to release the brakes. He is painfully aware of how it is Jacobowsky who provides food and fuel and not he: "Ich beginne mein Wert zu verlieren...." (295) Stjerbinsky is gradually reduced over the course of the drama so that he will be able to function. He is treated as a child by his servant. He is saved from the Germans by a ruse devised by Jacobowsky in which all pretend that Stjerbinsky is a mad man. This fiction is not hard to accept. When the German officer moves toward Stjerbinsky to interrogate him, Stjerbinsky really has the "Augen eines Wahnsinnigen." (301) There is a madness in the code and traditions of the European gentleman-soldier. Werfel ridicules the glorification of war that was once the mode and which lives on in Stjerbinsky: "Winn ich sterbe, dann lebe ich! Und darum lieb ich den Krieg und die Attacke, mit Nacktem Sabel mitten hinein in die Maschinengewehre, und den Rausch und den Zweikampf. Ja, und die Ehre, dieses Prachtgefühl, dass meine Seele keine schwarzen Füsse hat...." (306)

Stjerbinsky is disguised once more, this time as a blind man, when he is to make connection with the English commander who is to rescue him. Real blindness has signified, in previous dramas, the ability to perceive reality.
Stjerbinsky is not very good at even simulating this: "Marianne führt den Obersten am Arm, der eine schwarze Brille trägt und einen weissen Stock und ohne jedes mimische Talent den Blinden simuliert." (324) Stjerbinsky is a blind man in another sense which the dramas have also discussed, a blindness which proceeds from fixed idea. When Stjerbinsky is assured of being rescued, he "reisst die Brille von den Augen und zertritt sie. 'Ich bin nicht mehr blind.... Ich bin nicht mehr blind...Stjerbinskys Glück!'" (328) Marianne replies angrily, "Sie sind blind und werden es bleiben...." (328)

Stjerbinsky learns from being a child, the escaped insane asylum patient, and the blind man. He finally accepts the darkness and tells Jacobowsky that there is a third possibility "Dort draussen im Nebel, Jacobowsky! In Gottes schwarzem Nebel! Kommen Sie...." (330) Stjerbinsky replaces his straight road with the uncertainties of a dark fog. What is more, he comes to the realization that his ideals of freedom are not to be confused with his personage. When Jacobowsky is refused passage on the boat to England, Stjerbinsky refuses it too: "es kommt nicht darauf an, dass ich lebe. Meine Profession ist ja: Sterben! Es kommt nur darauf an, dass diese Dokumente sicher nach London gelangen." (337) What Stjerbinsky finally achieves is a degree of the knowledge that Jacobowsky possesses: that the world is fluctuation to which man must adjust his meaning. It is hopeful that
Stjerbinsky accepts the fog even though the duel between Stjerbinsky and Jacobowsky is said to be "nur aufgeschoben ...." (339)

Stjerbinsky is not the only one who learns and changes in the course of the drama. Jacobowsky learns by falling in love with Marianne. He comes to value himself more so that his rationalizations about his own destruction do not come so easily. His sarcasm gives way to real anger. (315)

As Stjerbinsky learns from Jacobowsky that there is a reality which suffers under feudal romantic ideas such as his, so Jacobowsky learns from Stjerbinsky that there are dreams and third possibilities. It is Stjerbinsky's intervention that makes it possible for Jacobowsky to assume his place on the boat to England. This is a fairy tale that comes true. Twice in the drama Jacobowsky compared improbable events to Grimm's Märchen. Jacobowsky's rationality is expanded by the events of the drama. He becomes himself and his name in the course of time; like his Biblical namesake he becomes a dreamer.

Despite the fact that modifications do take place the conflict is as said, only postponed. The conflict between Jacobowsky and the colonel is finally one of focus. Stjerbinsky acts on faith to a transcendental vision, Jacobowsky on faith to a worldly vision. Jacobowsky says to the colonel, "Sie reden von Ehre und achten nicht einmal Menschenwürde." Stjerbinsky replies, "Menschenwürde ist eine Erfindung des kleinen Mannes für den kleinen
Mann!" (306) Our sympathy must go to Jacobowsky in this exchange but there are other times when one must agree with Stjerbinsky: "Sie glauben, man kann Gott und das Leben ausrechnen. Man kann's nicht." (330)

The problem of the relationship of idealism to historical realities remains unsolved here. It is probably unfair to say that Werfel has become completely sceptical about ideals working through history because idealism is ensconced in the ludicrous Stjerbinsky. After all, Stjerbinsky is modified and becomes valuable to Jacobowsky.

What one can say in looking at this and the two preceding dramas is that at this point in Werfel's career he is no longer very interested in the open questions that made his middle dramas good dramas. Werfel is looking for solutions in these last three dramas. In Jacobowsky und der Oberst, he finds a solution in making the figures comic. We can accept the solution--Jacobowsky and the colonel going to England and Marianne waiting in France--because this is a comedy and it is only situational resolve that is needed. In the end Werfel must have felt hopeless and impotent, somewhat like the tragic gentleman in Jacobowsky "der mit starrem Wahnsinnsausdruck ein Streichholz nach dem andern anzündet und ausbläst." Jacobowsky asks him what he intends to prove by doing this. The tragic gentleman continues as though in a trance, saying "Was ist Paris? Was ist Frankreich? Was ist die Menschheit? In jeder von diesen kleinen Flammen entstehen und vergehen Weltsysteme, Sonne,
Erden, Menschheiten, Millionen Kriege, Siege, Niederlagen
...Was ist Paris?" (259)

Despite the fact that Werfel had despaired of creating serious worlds by the time he wrote Jacobowsky und der Oberst, there is enough serious material here to draw consideration to Werfel's earlier dramas. What Jacobowsky teaches Stjerbinsky is reliance on one's self rather than predetermined ideals. The importance of every man in history; the importance of negotiation with reality; the importance of the meaning with which man imprints the absurdity of the world—all these ideas are present in this drama. Jacobowsky does not allow himself to be interrupted when he says:

Hättet ihr aber, ihr und alle andern, am Anfang nicht gesagt: 'Recht geschieht dem Jacobowsky!' oder bestenfalls: 'Was gehts uns an!', sondern:
'Der Jacobowsky ist ein Mensch, und wir können nicht dulden, dass ein Mensch so behandelt wird', dann wäret ihr alle ein paar Jahre später nicht so elend, lüppisch und schmählich zugrunde gegangen, Hitler wäre geblieben was er ist, ein Stamtischnarr in einem stinkigen Münchner Bierhaus. Somit seid ihr selbst, ihr allein und alle andern, die Grösse Hitlers, seine Genialität, sein Blitzkrieg, sein Sieg und seine Weltherrschaft....

(281)
FOOTNOTES: JACOBOWSKY UND DER OBERST

1 Such as were exemplified by Maximilian and Juarez.

2 This occurs in the first stage directions of this drama (given on the first page of this discussion). Werfel is attempting a play which does not demand more than cursory attention; he intends to write a light play. It is significant that even with this purpose the imagery of light and blindness and dark continues to play a major role. These are so integrated with his philosophy of man as the giver of reason and man as the creature of darkness that they are indispensable.

3 There is a 1979 adaptation of Jacobowsky entitled "The Grand Tour." Brendan Gill gives it an unfavorable review and comments on the original Broadway version: "Was it merely in hopes of inventing a successful imitation of such so-called "Hadassah musicals" as "Milk and Honey" and "Fiddler on the Roof" that the many makers and shapers of the production went back thirty-five years and tried to resurrect, in a changed form a Broadway comedy called "Jacobowsky and the Colonel?" In an adaptation by S. N. Behrman of an original work by Franz Werfel, the play had a certain success during the Second World War, with Oscar Karlweis playing the role of Jacobowsky, a resourceful Jewish refugee, and Louis Calhern playing an aristocratic Polish colonel who despises Jews and yet, in his ineptitude, must depend upon Jacobowsky to save his life. Looking back, I am at a loss to understand what it was that we were laughing at in that comedy, though laugh we did. What can have been so funny about a poor little fictive Jewish refugee in invaded France escaping from the Nazis when at that very moment (1944) hundreds of thousands of Jewish refugees were huddled in concentration camps because they had attempted to escape from the Nazis and failed? Given that it was then well within the bounds of possibility that Hitler would conquer all Europe (if not, indeed, the world), how dared we see the horrifyingly unequal contest between him and a remnant of condemned and perhaps dying Jews as a fit subject for--of all things!--Viennese stage witticisms and American huffing and puffing buffoonery?" "Out of the Past," The New Yorker, January 22, 1979, p. 88.
CONCLUSION
CONCLUSION

In the preceding discussions I have focused on each drama as a statement composed of structure, ideas, and imagery. It was necessary to deal in depth with these components because only a close examination reveals the statement, or more often question, that the drama poses. With the exception of Der Weg der Verheissung, Werfel stands outside the dramas. Characters and ideas are evaluated by the images which describe them and the dynamics of the process in which they are engaged. It is often not easy to identify the hero of a drama (Paul or Gamaliel?) or the ideal course of action (compromise in the name of eternity or unrelenting attention to justice on earth?). The questions that the dramas posed must be formulated before Werfel can be reassessed in the context of literary history.

I began with the premise that the focus of the drama was not man's relationship with eternal powers but man's relationship with man. I found nothing in the dramas to disprove this thesis. Only the last three dramas tend to shift in the direction of God as escape clause, and here only in the sense that man materializes God by historical appreciation of a people.

The centrality of the relationship of man to man revealed itself as the basis for Werfel's repeated use of political and religious settings. Werfel did not use a
political setting in Juarez because he had a belief or a vested interest in republicanism or monarchy but because in the upheaval of the changes in political systems man examines his true relationship to historical reality, that is, to his fellow man. Paulus was not dealing so much with the question of whether Judaism or Christianity is the one true belief but rather at how one conciliates belief and humanity. The earlier dramas groped for the roles in which human responsibilities could most effectively be examined. The poet and bourgeois society were the earliest models. Spiegelmensch went through every model possible—murderer, seducer, politician—to examine when it is man's responsibility to tear down and when to preserve. After Spiegelmensch Werfel adopted the political and religious realms as the forums most conducive to man's self examination.

All drama is of course about the relationship of man to man. But man is often subservient in dramas to some ideal, be it political or ethical. This is not the case in Werfel's dramas. In the earliest dramas there is an ideal of a sensitive, poetic individual who may be employed to better society. But even here the key is: to better society. The poetic individual was judged not on the basis of an isolated beauty that he could create or that he possessed but on the basis of how his specialness could benefit society. With the course of the dramas there is less and less trust in ideal constructions which do not correspond to the realities of mankind in his historical
conditions. Ideals come to be mirrors, which only give us back our own reflection, or blinding lights which prevent us from recognizing the true name of the darkness or evil which always is with man.

The preoccupation of this dissertation with imagery does not contradict the humanistic import of the dramas. Imagery serves as an evaluative tool to man in judgments and in assessing the appropriateness of his actions. This is excellently said by the judge of Spiegelmensch who cannot decide Thamal's guilt or innocence:

Was aber sehen einzig die Gerichte
Die grobgetüte szensiche Geschichte.
Sind Zweifei da, bannt sie der Psychiater.
Der Clown der Wissenschaft im Rechtstheater.
Allein das Unsagbare, Venerable,
Das Leicht-Verwischte, Zart-Imponderable,
Die Feinheit Gottes, den Gestalten-Duft,
Den halben Blick, die Schwingung in der Luft,
Des Tonfalls Wunder, das gebrochne Licht,
Das alles sehn wir armen Richer nicht. (I, 232)

There is no way of separating significant events, or ideas, from the equally significant images that accompany them.

Imagery qualifies and clarifies. The need for clarification is great for twentieth century man, who cannot live within rigid moral codes. Within Werfel's lifetime he saw revolutionary aspirations become a rigid norm and he experienced how such safe values as home and heritage were twisted into something evil. How then is man to judge, to separate religion from dementia or noble ideal from fixed obsession? Werfel's answer is a fittingly modest one: a reading of historical realities that is as accurate as
possible. Poetically speaking, this means attention to images.

I have avoided the application of Werfel's essayistic ideas to the dramas or the extraction of such ideas from the dramas in an effort to prevent the simplistic assessments that the judge of Spiegelmensch pointed out. To deal with the complexities of the dramatic works by correlating them with main essayistic ideas seems a narrowness of approach exceeding that of my own. The one danger that Werfel's dramas constantly point to is the danger of totally inappropriate response based on preconceived concepts.

There are no simple ideas that can be isolated from the context of the dramas. One cannot, for example, take from Das Reich Gottes in Böhmen the following: man cannot establish the kingdom of God on earth. Prokop fails to establish such a kingdom in a lasting sense, but he does inspire the Church and accelerate a move toward democrati-

There is, too, a developing set of ideas in the progression of the dramas. The underlying value of this set of ideas is humanism. This is not an easily achieved humanism, evolved from a belief in the basic tractability of the world. This humanism is only wrested with difficulty from a tumultuous world. It is a complex philosophy. It is not free to ignore the background of nature and man's less than rational tendencies. These must be carefully attended, never ignored
or suppressed. There is an aphorism of Werfel's which is meaningful in thinking of Werfel's dramatic works: To be a human being means to set a parable against life.¹

To struggle with what it means to be a human being—this is the source of Werfel's parables of poet and society; of leader and masses; of small and large heroes. The parables chosen lead always to social settings. How does the poet justify his selfishness; how does the leader reconcile his large vision with individuals. Every man has this struggle. Like the poet, every man seeks ways to preserve his individuation and serve the common good. Like the leader, we seek ways to reconcile our vision of the good with reality.

I do not intend to imply that the dramas are parables in the sense that there is some "truth" above the appearances of the drama. All truth is inextricably bound with those appearances. Parables stand for themselves; abstract explanations are inevitably reductive. The parables function much the way language do; they select and classify and shape. They are ways of thinking about reality without necessarily becoming models for our own behavior. The following description by Martin Heidegger of what thinking does not do could be used to describe what Werfel's plays do not do:

Thinking does not bring knowledge as do the sciences. Thinking does not produce usable practical wisdom. Thinking does not solve the riddles of the universe. Thinking does not endow us directly with the power to act.²

The thought of Werfel's plays does not aim at any of these
goals.

The best of Werfel's dramas are reflective dialogues. They do not give specific models for action. There are progressive ideas in these dialogues. One of these is the power of action of the hero in relationship to society. This was often expressed, simply enough, by physical size. Werfel began by writing about messianic leaders and from the beginning was forced to bring their free-floating state into balance with smaller scales. Werfel reached the best prototype of a small leader in Juarez. After this the idea was not dealt with seriously.

Another main idea was the fit of ideal constructions to historical reality. Ideal constructions from the earliest dramas were acceptable only after moderation and correction by earthly forces.

Werfel concerned himself with the identification of evil. Such identification must precede any attempt of man to understand reality. Over the course of the dramas evil is steadily demystified. Werfel comes to the point of view that evil has nothing to do with demons. It comes not from without but from the common man's desire to control and possess and always preserve the status quo.

One of the most oft-repeated themes was the necessity to be aware of the fluctuations of history; to see that God does not always reside in the same places in the world; to accept the necessity of revolution and the open-ended.

There is a balance that is implied in the concept of
setting a parable against the world. Parables are tentative and descriptive; they must be checked for accuracy. At the same time the world and its bewildering detail should not overwhelm man and his sense-giving, thinking function. It is a dangerous task that man undertakes in pausing to think: "Weh dem, der im Tanz einhält. / Er wird verbrannt." (I,93) One risks the danger of imposing an idea that distorts in its loftiness; a purity so abstract that it is sinful in its ignorance of the nature of the world. Mara refers to this when she says of Laurentin: "Doch diese Reinheit sündigt." (I, 96) The early dramas wanted to balance in one character the functions of sense-giving with receptiveness to the irrationality of the world. The historical dramas of the middle years tended to embody mixtures of this antinomy in separate characters. This separation continued in the last three dramas.

Whether the balance be achieved in one character or in the process of history through the repeated confrontation of these forces, the result is the same: an unending dialogue.
FOOTNOTES: CONCLUSION


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