Stoeffler, Claudia

FROM NINEVEH TO BABYLON: THE IMAGE OF MANHATTAN IN MODERN GERMAN LITERATURE

City University of New York PH.D. 1987

FROM NINEVEH TO BABYLON:

THE IMAGE OF MANHATTAN IN MODERN GERMAN LITERATURE

BY

CLAUDIA STOEFFLER

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Germanic Languages and Literatures in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

1987

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Germanic Languages and Literatures in satisfaction of the dissertation requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

April 29, 1987
Date

Burton Pike
Chair of examining Committee

4/29/87
Date

E. Allen McCormick
Executive Officer

Professor Dorothy James
Supervisory Committee

Abstract

FROM NINEVEH TO BABYLON:

THE IMAGE OF MANHATTAN IN MODERN GERMAN LITERATURE

by

Claudia Stoeffler

Adviser: Professor Burton Pike

The image of the city in literature reflects the historical change in the configuration of the physical city. The enclosed circular emblem representative of the Medieval and Renaissance city has given way to an image suggestive of the uncertain and the infinite in the twentieth century. The city of New York exemplifies this kaleidescopic nature of the modern city, and German literature is replete with images of Manhattan as a graphic expression of our age. The three texts analyzed, Kafka's novel fragment *Amerika (Der Verschollene)*, Brecht's poem "Der verschollene Ruhm der Riesenstadt New York" and Bachmann's radio play *Der gute Gott von Manhattan* reflect mutable and often mutually contradictory images of the city, and to a large extent, represent but a point on the continuum of German anti-urbanism.

In analyzing the three texts, my aim was not to determine the degree of verisimilitude between the writer's vision of New York and the topographical city, but rather to explore the cities of the mind that emerge. Kafka's New York is a city of perpetual change that reflects the elusive nature of the city itself. Brecht's poem, with its intention of referentiality, reveals itself to be more complex and paradoxical than the author may have intended, and the tension between the metaphorical and the representational is most pronounced in his text. Bachmann, as had Brecht, relies on stereotypical images to gain detachment from the object, the city, whereas Kafka captures the sense of New York through abstraction, or in Mumford's term, "etherealization". The three authors reflect the emphasis on the temporal over the spatial characteristic of the twentieth century, and perceive New York as an agent divorcing man from society. The longstanding view of the city as community has yielded to the city as solitude.

For Carol, Joan, and Bill

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Few endeavors are as solitary in nature as the writing of a dissertation. Without the gracious guidance of my adviser, Burton Pike, this study might never have been written. In addition to his careful readings and invaluable critical comments, he gave generously of both his time and knowledge. The relaxed candor of our conversations fostered exploration and allowed my ideas to crystallize. I am grateful.

My thanks also to Dorothy James for reading the manuscript and for her unflagging encouragement, and to Allen McCormick for his humor which leavened the task.

Special thanks to Alexander Smith for navigating the complications that arose in production of the final copy.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

> Your gaze scans the streets as if they were written pages: the city says everything you must think, makes you repeat her discourse, and while you believe you are visiting [the city of] Tamara you are only recording the names with which she defines herself and all her parts.
>
> - Italo Calvino

> Mind *takes form* in the city; and in turn, urban forms condition mind ... With language itself, it remains man's greatest work of art.
>
> - Lewis Mumford

As an artifact created by man, the city is indeed a collective work of art. It represents a composite of man's achievements and imagination over the centuries and is the concretized projection of his mind. Though man has called forth this mystery as a tangible entity, he can never fully explore or comprehend it. The individual can only approximate in words the essence of a given city at a specific point in time. James Dougherty writes that even to contemplate the word "city" is "to apprehend realities at the very limits of our comprehension." With its many layers of significance, the term itself "enters our speech always with a charge of meaning that exceeds its literal reference to some assemblage of women and men, streets and structures."[1] As such, the city in literature is more than the reduction of a topographical entity to words; it is an idea that gives birth to a multitude of images associated with the name of a given city or with the word "city" itself. To write about the city is to transcend the physical city.

Whereas some cities have always been the purview of literature—one thinks of Baudelaire's Paris or Eliot's London or Thomas Mann's Venice—, others have largely remained geographical entities. Cities such as Philadelphia or Lyon or Hamburg, though big cities in their own right, do not elicit a wide range of associations and are far less likely to be depicted in literature. Kevin Lynch has called this phenomenon the "imageability" of a city and has defined it as "that quality in a physical object which gives it a high probability of evoking a strong image in any given observer."[2] New York clearly belongs in this category, with particular emphasis on Manhattan which Burton Pike has dubbed "the myth-capital of the twentieth century."[3] One of the key reasons New York has become a prime urban locus in literature was provided by a rather unlikely admirer of the city, Leon Trotsky, who wrote: "New York impressed me tremendously because, more than any other city in the world, it is the fullest expression of our modern age."[4] The disparate and often

incongruous nature of New York reflects the turmoil and the lack of cohesion of our age.

As a rhetorical topos, New York has surprisingly also held a key position in modern German literature. The list of German-speaking authors in whose works Manhattan functions prominently is extensive. (A selective list is provided in Appendix A.) I have narrowed this list down to three works that reflect the complexity and diversity of this city and that lend themselves well to textual analysis. In analyzing Kafka's novel fragment *Amerika* (*Der Verschollene*), Brecht's poem "Verschollener Ruhm der Riesenstadt New York," and Bachmann's radio play *Der gute Gott von Manhattan*, my aim was not to determine the degree of verisimilitude between the writer's vision of New York and the topographical city, but rather to explore the images of the city that emerge in the texts. Burton Pike writes "... it is clear that the city evoked in words, especially in a fictional text, is toponymical rather than topographical. The name of the city and whatever physical features are labeled function within the relational context of the work; their reference to the real city outside the text may appear to be direct, but is actually indirect."[5] To this end, the works of the three authors chosen reflect images of the city that are distinctive, mutable, and often mutually contradictory. In the case of Kafka and Bachmann, the form of the works themselves overtly corresponds to the open-ended nature of the city, much in the manner of Bachelard's statement: "... language bears within itself the dialectic of open and closed. Through meaning it encloses, while through poetic expression, it opens up."[6] Brecht's poem, with its professed intention of referentiality, was chosen to counterbalance the more ambiguous representations of the city found in Bachmann and Kafka. However, a close reading of Brecht's writing has revealed it to be more complex *and* open-ended than even the author may have intended. The question raised by Geoffrey Hartman: "... does not the very existence of words indicate a breach with the phenomenality of things, or with the ideal of showing, of evidentiality, taken from that sphere?"[7] is answered with a definite affirmative in all three texts.

Since associations and perceptions presuppose a relationship to the temporal, an understanding of a twentieth century view of New York must take into account a culture's pre-existing attitudes towards the city. In the case of Germany's longstanding antagonism to the city, these past perceptions are of particular import. Several excellent studies have dealt with this topic at great length (They are listed in Appendix B). For the purposes of this study, it must be remembered that Kafka, Brecht, and Bachmann largely represent but a point on the continuum of German anti-urbanism.

This anti-modern stance is explained in part by the fact that Germany, unlike France or England that had highly developed urban centers by the early 1800's, remained a predominantly rural culture well into the late 1800's. This is clearly reflected in its

literature, as Rothe points out: "Während seit den Tagen Baudelaires auf dem Boden der imperialen Weltstadt Paris eine Großstadtlyrik gedieh, brachten erst die achtziger Jahre in Deutschland ein vergleichbares literarisches Phänomen hervor."[8] While the French and the English had developed a poetic idiom to describe the new urban environment, even after the industrialization of Germany, German literature was slow to reflect this development, as Döblin has lamented: "Es gehört eine gewisse innere Verdunkelung (sagt einer Verblödung) dazu, Kunstwerke in die Welt zu setzen. Nur so ist es verständlich, daß Deutschland schon 1890 ein stark industrialisiertes Land war, die Künstler aber ... noch immer bei Sonnenaufgängen und Gänzehirten verweilten."[9]

The first widespread appearance of Big City literature in Germany occurred around 1880 during the period of Naturalism; the second came during Expressionism, when the German Expressionists broke with the tendency to view the city in terms of the traditional city-country dichotomy. Under National Socialism, urban literature was largely supplanted by the *Blut and Boden* literature with its glorification of nature. Post WWII witnessed a resurgence in the city motif, as the *Trümmerliteratur* documented the aftermath of the war. The greatest shift in emphasis, however, was brought about by the 1950's *Wirtschaftswunder* and its attendant reduction of many of the traditional class conflicts. It has been said that "Die Großstadt der fünfziger Jahre ist gründlich entdämonisiert, versachlicht."[10] Bachmann's text questions the validity of that assertion.

Not only was German literature slow to reflect the new urban society, but when it did, its stance was decidedly political: "Es [die Großstadtdichtung in Deutschland] war von Anbeginn in weitestem Masse eine 'soziale Dichtung', die sich unmittelbar auf die gesellschaftliche Unterschicht bezog—im Gegensatz zur Pariser Großstadtlyrik des Symbolismus, der Décadence und des Fin de siècle."[11] In Germany the focus was predominantly on the city as the site of class inequities, with the full-scale emergence of the city motif coinciding with the growing awareness of the social evils concomitant to urban expansion. This newly critical attitude toward the city was, however, but a resumption of the hostile attitude prevalent during the nineteenth century.

Nietzsche's warning, "Oh Zarathustra, hier ist die Große Stadt; hier hast Du nichts zu suchen und alles zu verlieren." remains one of the starkest examples of nineteenth century anti-urbanism. Nietzsche was, needless to say, but one of many to criticize the city; in 1828 Heine had written of London:

> Ich habe das Merkwürdigste gesehen, was die Welt
> dem staunenden Geiste zeigen kann, ich habe es
> gesehen und staune noch immer—noch immer starrt
> in meinem Gedächtnis dieser steinerne Wald von

> Häusern und dazwischen der drängende Strom
> lebendiger Menschengesichter mit all ihren bunten
> Leidenschaften, mit all ihrer grauenhaften Hast der
> Liebe, des Hungers und des Haßes—ich spreche von
> London...Aber schickt keinen Poeten nach London!
> Dieser bare Ernst aller Dinge, diese kolossale
> Einförmigkeit, diese maschinenhafte Bewegung, diese
> Verdrießlichkeit der Freude selbst, dieses
> übertriebene London erdrückt die Phantasie und
> zerreißt das Herz ...[12]

Though the city is viewed with sceptical fascination, Heine leaves no room for doubt that the city environment is inimical to poetic contemplation. This sentiment later finds resonance in Hofmannsthal's *Der Tod des Tizian* (1892):

> Wohl schlief die Stadt: es wacht der Rausch, die Qual,
> Der Haß, der Geist, das Blut: das Leben wacht.
> Das Leben, das lebendige, allmächtige --
> Man kann es haben und doch sein vergessen!...[13]

Again the city is perceived as a disruptive and chaotic force, a view reflected in Rilke's Paris, Fontane's Berlin or Grillparzer's Vienna. The argument has been made that not all German-speaking writers reacted adversely to the city. In his study, Lees cites Goethe's statement in the 1820's as an example of German pro-urbanism: There was "no glimpse into history more beautiful than the one that teaches us how the cities of Germany formed highly significant entities through action, integrity, and dependability, and ... [how they] gained great advantages as they spread life and commerce." Furthermore, it was "of the greatest importance for the thinking man to belong to such corporations."[14] Such isolated praise is, however, more frequently outweighed by indictment of the city. In contrast to early twentieth century literature with its emphasis on the social ills of the city, nineteenth century literature largely shunned the city as detrimental to poetic inspiration.

The idea of the city as the root of all evil is, of course, as old as the books of the Old Testament. In Daniel, Isaiah, and Jeremiah, Babylon is singled out as the city epitomizing the evils of all cities.[15] Stephen Miller writes: "Babylon, perhaps because it was the city in which the Hebrews of the Old Testament were exiled, came to symbolize the evil of all earthly cities, and in Revelation it is described as a Great Whore."[16] In Dante's *Divine Comedy*, the city is directly equated with hell. This Dantesque metaphor resurfaces periodically throughout the centuries in the works of writers as diverse as Blake, T.S. Eliot, Dickens, Zola, Baudelaire, E.T.A. Hoffmann, Eichendorff, et al.

Both English and French anti-urbanism are frequently tempered with a sense of exhilaration at the city's vitality, much in the vein of Samuel Johnson's famous statement:

"When a man is tired of London, he is tired of life." In contrast, German literature rarely concentrated on the positive aspects of the city, although the difference is admittedly one of degree and not of content. It is against the backdrop of this predominantly negative perception of the city that the works of Kafka, Brecht, and Bachmann must be viewed. The negative images associated with the European Big Cities were felt to be even more applicable to New York, which was widely perceived as the apotheosis of the inhumane twentieth century metropolis. Mumford's view of New York as "solidified chaos" reflects the prevailing consensus.

The definition of literature as "... an ordering of life" highlights the interdependence between the city and the text.[17] Frequently the term "chaos" and "city" have been used interchangeably in literature. In response to Joyce Carol Oates' question: "If the City is a text, how shall we read it?," the works of Kafka, Brecht, and Bachmann offer three alternative readings. As an object of literary inquiry, the city has adamantly resisted categorization and has more often than not helped determine the form of a given work. Kafka's novel fragment depicts a New York that is a decidedly different place from Brecht's or Bachmann's. The impact of the city on these texts has, in turn, shaped the form my study. However, to assure a degree of commonality, the following questions were raised in reading and analyzing the texts: (1) What was the author's relationship to the city per se and how did this affect his/her depiction of the city? (2) Is Manhattan viewed from the perspective of the American/European polarity? (3) To what degree is the city viewed as a symbol for order or disorder? (4) What visual image of the city emerges through the texts? (5) Is Manhattan viewed as a static or dynamic entity? (6) Has the author presented the city through specificity or anonymity and abstraction, and (7) What relationship is established between the spatial and the temporal representations of the city?*

The chronological arrangement of the chapters, covering the period from 1911 to 1958, is of import only in the case of Brecht's poem, with its emphasis on the *Zeitgeist* at the time of its conception in 1929. More important than the chronological sequence is the

---

* Editions used and page numbers referred to:

Brod, Max, epilogue. *Amerika (Der Verschollene)* by Franz Kafka. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuchverlag GmbH, 1978.

Buono, Franco, epilogue. *Bertolt Brecht: Gedichte für Städtebewohner* by Bertolt BrechtFrankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1980.

Best, Otto, epilogue. *Der gute Gott von Manhattan* by Ingeborg Bachmann. Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam Jun., 1977.

pattern that emerged through an analysis of the texts themselves. In the case of Kafka, who had never traveled to America, the question of referentiality becomes moot, and yet the reader will not be surprised to learn that Kafka's image of Manhattan paradoxically best captures the essence of the city as we know it today. In the second chapter Kafka's abstracted, or in Mumford's phrase, "etherealized city," is juxtaposed with the seemingly more concrete depiction of Brecht's Manhattan. The concluding chapter on Bachmann's New York represents a balance between the first two authors. Through the use of specific place names, Bachmann had taken great pains to locate her play in a city most New Yorkers would easily recognize—an illusion she was quick to dispel through the use of stereotypical images and the fantastic or the absurd. The cities of the mind that emerge reflect the kaleidescopic nature of the city. Like the city itself, these texts are at times contradictory, at times complementary, but always open-ended in structure.

NOTES

[1] James Dougherty, *The Fivesquare City: The City in the Religious Imagination* (London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1980) ix.

[2] Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1960) 9.

[3] Burton Pike, *The Image of the City in Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981) 124.

[4] Mike Marqusee and Bill Harris, *New York: An Anthology* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1985) 3.

[5] Pike 12.

[6] Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, trans. Maria Jolas (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969) 222.

[7] Geoffrey Hartman, *Saving the Text: Literature/Derrida Philosophy* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press) xvi.

[8] Wolfgang Rothe, *Deutsche Großstadtlyrik vom Naturalismus bis zur Gegenwart* (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun., 1973) 5.

[9] Heinz Rölleke, "Die Stadt bei Stadler, Heym und Trakl," diss., U Köln, 1965, (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1966) 7.

[10] Rothe 30.

[11] Rothe 5.

[12] Rölleke 9.

[13] Hugo von Hofmannsthal, *Gesammelte Werke: Gedichte/ Dramen 1891-1898* (Frankfurt/Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1979) 253.

[14] Andrew Lees, *Cities Perceived: Urban Society in European and American Thought, 1820-1940* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985) 86.

[15] Lees 6.

[16] Stephen Miller, "Studies in the Idea of the City in Western Literature," diss., Rutgers University, 1970, 13.

[17] Pike 10.

[18] Joyce Carol Oates, "Imaginary Cities: America" In *Literature and the Urban Experience: Essays on the City and Literature* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1981) 11.

CHAPTER I

KAFKA'S

AMERIKA (DER VERSCHOLLENE)

> Kafka's novels evoke a world with its own structure, mood, and end... His is a city world. Even Kafka's Village must be a metropolitan fragment, a city over-populated and extending beyond our sight.
> - Austin Warren

Kafka and Prague. Kafka and the trial, or the castle, or New York. All are but variations on the same theme—Kafka and the city, the self and society. His is indeed a city world. It is the city abstracted, stripped down to its bare physical essence—endless walls and corridors leading nowhere and stiflingly small rooms strangely reminiscent of the early tenements of Prague in the 1890's. What we find is the portrait of a mechanized society in which the individual is the "outsider." Of Dostoevski and Kafka, Renato Poggiolo writes: "The novels of Dostoyevsky and Kafka are really ... 'novels of solitude', of a solitude which expresses itself materially and spiritually in the one dimension of a brick pavement or an inlaid floor, in the eternal fatality of a trip around one's room..."[1] Karl Rossmann, Joseph K., the land surveyor, K., and the protagonists of "Der Bau" or "Beschreibung eines Kampfes" or "Der Bau einer Stadt"—are all expressions of Kafka's own urban experience. They are characters exploring the twentieth century city by exploring the wanderings of their minds. Through the thoughts of the characters and their perceptions of the urban environment, Kafka presents us with the city as a metaphor for twentieth century life. It is the city as a legal labyrinth, as the impenetrable "höhere Instanz," as a power controlling man's fate. Kafka's characters have not chosen to make the city their home. Most are born into it. Karl Rossmann is exiled to it and only manages to leave New York through the utopian idea of the Nature Theater of Oklahoma.

As early as 1911, Kafka had anticipated the modern city, the city stretching beyond man's perception. The open-ended city, the city as fragment—this is the urban experience found in *Der Verschollene*, as Kafka referred to his first novel. It could be argued that a novel in which the city figures so predominantly was destined to remain a fragment, or as Adorno wrote: "Das Fragmentarische der drei Großen Romane,..., wird bedingt von ihrer inneren Form."[2] The object perceived, i.e. the city, has been called into existence by its perceiver. The author, the narrator and the reader each create their own city. There can be no "ending" to *Amerika* just as there will never be an ending to the perception of America, or more specifically, to a perception of the city of New York.

Though Kafka does little to delineate the city in *Amerika*, he has clearly distinguished it from Prague or any other European city. The circularity of the European city has been replaced with the linearity of the American whistle-stop city. The transience of modern life

finds resonance in the reader's last glimpse of Karl Rossmann riding on a train as it crosses numerous bridges. He has left the city of New York behind to experience the vastness of America—"Jetzt erst begriff er die Größe Amerikas"(218)--, but the reader learns nothing of this vastness. He is left with only the train disappearing into the distance, much as the cityscape in the previous chapters disappeared in the horizon. What we find in Kafka's New York are both the vertical and horizontal planes found in the city paintings of a Feininger or Nevinson, or the light imagery expressed in Meidner's "Apokalyptische Stadt."[3] The circular Baroque of European cities is not represented, although Kafka's New York exhibits traces of the Prague of post 1891, when the last remnants of the medieval wall and the old Jewish ghetto were razed to make way for unadorned tenement buildings. It was a new Prague, one in which Kafka was an even greater "outsider" than he had previously been in the Czech city with its prominent German-Jewish minority. In a conversation with Janouch, Kafka is reported to have said of Prague: "Wir gehen durch die breiten Straßen der neuerbauten Stadt. Doch unsere Blicke und Schritte sind unsicher. Innerlich zittern wir noch so wie in den alten Gassen des Elends. Unser Herz weiß noch nichts von der durchgeführten Assanation. Die ungesunde alte Judenstadt in uns ist viel wirklicher als die hygienische neue Stadt um uns. Wachend gehen wir durch einen Traum: selbst nur ein Spuk vergangener Zeiten."[4]

In describing his Prague, Kafka spoke in terms of the city's past. It was a lost past, but an acknowledged past nonetheless. In contrast, the New York of *Amerika* is suspended in time and space. There are no specific place names or familiar streets to evoke specific memories. As Adorno writes in his "Aufzeichnungen zu Kafka": "Alle seine Geschichten spielen in demselben raumlosen Raum, und so gründlich sind dessen Fugen verstopft, daß man zusammenzuckt, wenn einmal etwas erwähnt wird, was nicht in ihm seinen Ort hat, wie Spanien und Südfrankreich an einer Stelle des 'Schlosses', während ganz Amerika, als imago des Zwischendecks, jenem Raum einverleibt ist."[5] Kafka's New York is the anonymous twentieth century city where history is as quickly eradicated as it is made. Buildings are torn down and replaced with superstructures; streets and roads lead into highways that wind in and out of the city more like unattached appendages than the life-suppporting arteries they are euphemistically called. The city is as detached from its past and future as the individual is from his personal history.

This detachment and the fragmentation of society is reflected in Kafka's characters, who are more likely to be identified by occupation than by family name: the lawyer, the priest or the tradesman in *The Trial* and the stoker, the senator, or the hotel manageress in *Amerika*. Though the protagonist in Kafka's first novel still bears a proper name, he is clearly a forerunner to the Joseph K. and the K. of the later works. Kafka's *Amerika*

reflects the segmentation of personality in the city which Louis Wirth saw as defining the forms of urban social interaction: "Urbanites meet in highly segmental roles. Their relations are secondary rather than primary."[6] The only relationship Karl retains throughout the novel is with Robinson and Delamarche, a relationship which culminates in a slave/keeper dynamic until Karl is able to break free and head for the utopian Theater of Oklahoma, where "everyone was welcome." The passage from the city to the racetrack of Clayton, site of the Theater of Oklahoma, takes Karl underneath the city via the subway. The transition is described very briefly: "Aber er entschloß sich bald, teilte das für die Fahrt notwendige Geld ab und lief zur Untergrundbahn. Als er in Clayton ausstieg, hörte er gleich den Lärm vieler Trompeten..."(201) The motif of the subterranean city is touched on here as it is in Brecht and Bachmann.

The topographical New York of 1910 has been replaced by the toponymical city, and yet there is no mistaking Kafka's New York for a Chicago or a Los Angeles. The reader is given a sketch of New York, the undefined grid, on which he can create the twentieth-century New York that corresponds to his reality today. As Karl Rossmann looks down at the city from the safety of his uncle's balcony, his perception of the city calls for constant reassessment. The city street below "[erschien] dem betörten Auge so körperlich..., als werde über dieser Straße eine alles bedeckende Glasscheibe jeden Augenblick immer wieder mit aller Kraft zerschlagen."(31) The kaleidescopic image of the city eludes man's desire to capture its essence; it stretches beyond man's perception of reality and reaches into the realm of the imagination.

I have attempted to interpret Kafka's novel fragment without imposing either a sociological, a psychological, or any other absolute system on the work. The challenge of such an approach has been to avoid the inherent pitfall of lapsing into a haphazard and inconsistent approach. Aside from the brief study of influences that follows, the body of the chapter is dedicated to a textual analysis, proceeding from the general to the specific. Certain passages have required only a cursory examination of the role of the city in the text, whereas others have elicited almost a word by word analysis. In each instance, however, the text itself has determined the form of the analysis. Though it can be argued that such a non-systematic approach creates yet another system, Adorno's suggestion in his essay, "Aufzeichnungen zu Kafka" has served as a guideline for this study: "So aber wie Kafka zu dem Traum sich verhält, soll der Leser sich zu Kafka verhalten. Nämlich auf den inkommensurablen, undurchsichtigen Details, den blinden Stellen beharren."[7]

I

Literary Influences and Kafka Criticism

In a letter to Felice, dated Nov. 11, 1912, Kafka writes: "Die Geschichte, die ich schreibe, und die allerdings ins Endlose angelegt ist, heißt, um Ihnen einen vorläufigen Begriff zu geben "der Verschollene" und handelt ausschliesslich in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika."[8] Kafka had never traveled to the United States and yet he chose it as the setting for his first novel. Why America and not England, since it was Dickens' *David Copperfield* that had so greatly influenced him?[9] When asked this question by his friends as he was beginning the novel, Kafka replied: "I know the autobiography of Benjamin Franklin, and I always admired Walt Whitman, and I like the Americans because they are healthy and optimistic."[10] That was a rather atypical statement made by the author before he wrote the novel. Three years after he broke off working on *Amerika* an October 8th, 1917, diary entry reads: "'Der Heizer' glatte Dickensnachahmung, noch mehr der geplante Roman... Meine Absicht war, wie ich jetzt sehe, einen Dickens-Roman zu schreiben..."[11] Kafka had taken the industrialized cities of Dickens, compared them with his experiences of the city of Prague and his impressions of America as found in literature, and distilled them into "das allermodernste New York," as he described the setting of his novel to his publisher, Kurt Wolff.[12]

In 1911-12 the "Neue Rundschau," which Kafka subscribed to, had published a report on America by Arthur Holitscher, "Amerika heute und morgen. Reiseerlebnisse." According to W. Jahn's well-documented study, *Kafkas Roman "Der Verschollene"*, Kafka drew extensively upon Holitscher's description of New York. Further influences frequently cited are Kürnberger's *Der Amerikamüde* and Frantisek Soukup's travelogue, "Amerika. Eine Reihe von Bildern aus dem amerikanischen Leben."[13] The influences and parallels between the latter and Kafka's novel fragment have been critically examined in Hartmut Binder's *Kafka Kommentar*. In his epilogue to the first edition, Max Brod writes that "Franz Kafka [las] sehr gern Reisebücher, Memoiren..."[14] In addition to exposure to these direct sources and his familiarity with Whitman, Poe and Franklin, numerous diary entries show that Kafka seemed to pay particular attention to matters concerning America. Mark Spilka's notable study of the influences on Kafka draws a parallel between Franklin's life and Karl Rossmann's. He cites an entry in Franklin's memoirs that highlights these similarities:

> I determin'd on the point, but my father now siding with my brother, I was sensible that, if I attempted to go openly, means would be used to prevent me. My friend Collins, therefore, undertook to manage a little for me. He agreed with the captain

> of a New York sloop for my passage, under the notion of my being a young acquaintance of his that had got a naughty girl with child, whose friends would compel me to marry her, and therefore I could not appear or come away publicly.[15]

The opening sentence of the fragment closely parallels Franklin's quote: "Als der sechzehnjährige Karl Rossmann, der von seinen armen Eltern nach Amerika geschickt worden war, weil ihn ein Dienstmädchen verführt und ein Kind von ihm bekommen hatte, in dem schon langsam gewordenen Schiff in den Hafen von New York einfuhr....". Spilka concludes that from Franklin "came the notion of a land where fathers and sons might live in mutual trust and consideration regardless of their early quarrels," and "From Whitman he had probably received an expansive sense of acceptance, of inclusion with the great democratic embrace, which is the keynote at the close of *Amerika*."[16] Though I do not agree that *Amerika* ends on an optimistic tone of "democratic embrace," Spilka's study does provide an accurate portrayal of the prevailing *Zeitgeist* that led Kafka to choose New York as the backdrop for his novel. As Lienhard Bergel points out in his essay, "*Amerika*: Its Meaning": "Kafka was historically aware that in the twentieth century the process of emerging from childhood must take place in an Americanized world."[17] One is reminded of Walter Benjamin's reference to Paris as the capital of the 19th century and countless allusions to New York as the capital of the twentieth, or more specifically, Manhattan as "the myth capital of the twentieth century."[18]

Whatever the influences might have been, a great number of critics maintains that Kafka chose America because it most clearly lends itself to a portrayal of the role of capitalism in a post-industrial society. According to Lukács, Kafka depicts "die Welt des heutigen Kapitalismus als Hölle und die Ohnmacht alles Menschlichen dieser Umwelt gegenüber."[19] Lukács is, needless to say, not alone in his interpretation of Kafka's novel as providing "ein deutliches Beispiel der Unterdrückungsmächte in der modernen Zeit und Arbeitswelt."[20] In his 1958 study of Kafka, Wilhelm Emrich categorizes the novel as belonging "zu den hellsichtigsten dichterischen Enthüllungen der modernen Industriegesellschaft, die die Weltliteratur kennt."[21] Though the fragment does provide an accurate description of a depersonalized, industrialized society, Emrich's concluding statements would severely limit the scope of the novel: "Kapitalismus als Zustand der Welt und der Seele bis in die intimsten erotischen Regungen und alle zwischenmenschlichen Begegnungen hinein, das ist das eigentliche Thema des Romans 'Der Verschollene'."[22] Surely one runs into difficulty in reducing the novel in this way.

This raises one of the major problems in Kafka criticism: the quality of Kafka's writing lends itself to detailed exegeses of many persuasions. If the critic seeks to show that the work exemplifies the oppression of the working class, the text easily lends itself to

such an interpretation. If the critic is set on determining the autobiographical aspects of the novel, Kakfa has armed him with ample information: "...[das Gesicht des Romans] ist dem meinen schrecklich gleich."[23] And there is much to support Mark Spilka's psychoanalytic approach —"...the relation between stoker, boy and authorities seems more like a parable of the unconscious than a reflection of class struggle: one thinks of Freud rather than Marx; of id, ego and superego, rather than lower, middle and upper classes."[24] The density and complexity of Kafka's writing yield more than enough material to support these and many other diverse and often contradictory interpretations, since Kafka's texts force the reader to make his own associations. Thus, though most interpretations are valid in their own right, no single interpretation can claim exclusive validity. That would be tantamount to denying Kafka's genius. Paul Eisner's assertion that "Franz Kafka is explicable only in terms of his Prague, and thus only by means of an intimate knowledge of circumstances which are unique and will never recur again,"[25] though understandable, is nonetheless inaccurate in its one-dimensionality. Equally limited are the many ideological criticisms that either seek to claim or discredit Kafka. The Marxist critic Klaus Hermsdorf writes of Kafka's proletarian figures: "Clearly, that is no picture of the real prewar working class, whose best forces were well organized and clearly knowledgeable and went about changing their situation and the situation of all of society."[26] Surely it was not Kafka's main intention to document the role of the working classes in his novel. The insistence of most Marxist criticism that a work is either "realistic" or "decadent," depending on the degree of verisimilitude, has regrettably led most Marxist critics to dismiss Kafka as decadent, Walter Benjamin being the notable exception to this tendency.

In fact, Kafka's political views were equally critical of both capitalist and communist/socialist systems. In discussing Grosz' illustration, "The Face of the Ruling Class," with Gustav Janouch, Kafka argued:

> It is false, in that it proclaims this incomplete view to be the whole truth. The fat man in the top hat sits on the necks of the poor. That is correct. But the fat man is Capitalism, and that is not quite correct. The fat man oppresses the poor man within the conditions of a given system. But he is not the system itself. He is not even its master. On the contrary, the fat man also is in chains, which the picture does not show... Capitalism is a system of relationships, which goes from inside to out... Everything is relative, everything is in chains.[27]

And when asked if he did not believe in the expansion of the Russian Revolution, Kafka replied:

> As a flood spreads wider and wider, the water becomes shallower and dirtier. The Revolution evaporates, and leaves behind only the slime of a new bureaucracy. The chains of tormented mankind are made out of red tape.[28]

For Kafka, bureaucracy was the real villain, the colors of the flag were secondary. The bureaucrat was the "hangman," for he changed "living, changing human beings into dead code numbers, incapable of any change."[29] *Amerika* was to be only the beginning of the trial, the first wall of the castle. The possiblity of change had not yet been forever silenced. If, however, Kafka's work is to be analyzed from a sociological point of view, that analysis must reflect these complex and often paradoxical views. Merely to claim him for one side or the other does justice to neither and does little to explain his work.

II

New York in the Text

The reader is confronted with what Adorno had called a blind spot in the opening sentence of the novel, which provides background information on the protagonist and introduces the prime symbol of America, the Statue of Liberty.

> Als der sechzehnjährige Karl Rossmann, der von seinen armen Eltern nach Amerika geschickt worden war, weil ihn ein Dienstmädchen verführt und ein Kind von ihm bekommen hatte, in dem schon langsam gewordenen Schiff in den Hafen von New York einfuhr, erblickte er die schon längst beobachtete Statue der Freiheitsgöttin wie in einem plötzlich stärker gewordenen Sonnenlicht. Ihr Arm mit dem Schwert ragte wie neuerdings empor, und um ihre Gestalt wehten die freien Lüfte.
>
> 'So hoch!' sagte er sich und wurde, wie er so gar nicht an das Weggehen dachte, von der immer mehr anschwellenden Menge der Gepäckträger, die an ihm vorüberzogen, allmählich bis an das Bordgeländer geschoben.(5)

New York is first seen in an aggressive stance; the Statue of Liberty has been transformed into a "goddess" challenging the newcomer to succeed or fail under her sword. Much has been written about Kafka's interpretation of the torch as a sword. Spilka believes Kafka's exposure to Dicken's *American Notes* influenced him. Of weapons and America, Dickens had written: "With sharp points and edges such as these, Liberty in America hews and hacks her slaves; or failing that pursuit, her sons devote them to a better use, and turn them on each other."[30] The sword as a symbol of both violence and of freedom immediately presents America in the ambiguous light in which it is to remain throughout the fragment. Spilka suggests that the "uplifted sword is also drawn from the Prague coat of arms, and represents the continuation, in America, of European oppression."[31] Though such insights could lead one to believe that many of Kafka's symbols can be logically decoded, they are, in fact, misleading. For all of Kafka's precision and detail, it must be

remembered that he invented many detailed images to suit his literary intentions. For example, in the prose piece, "The City Coat of Arms," Kafka went to great lengths to describe the Prague coat of arms as depicting a clenched fist between two towers. In actuality, the coat of arms depicts an arm holding a sword. Kafka had created the clenched fist to convey the feeling of conflict between the two nationalities of the city.[32] To understand Kafka's perception of Prague or of New York, factors other than description and naming must be explored.

The sword as the symbol of ambiquity triggers a reaction in the protagonist and in the reader. The image of the phallic object is repeated with the appearance of a man with a cane, which, in turn, reminds Karl of his lost umbrella. The association sword/cane/ umbrella plunges him into bewilderment and into his first labyrinthine journey. The modern reader inevitably follows Karl Rossmann through this process of Freudian associations—the phallic object and the memory of the father. As Karl tries to make his way back to retrieve the forgotten umbrella, his path is obstructed. The stairs lead to a maze of narrow corridors until he is at a complete loss and finds himself knocking on a stranger's door, the stoker's. He asks the stoker if he is German, since he has heard of the dangers that befall newcomers in America. On the third page the reader learns that Karl would have studied engineering had he not been forced to come to America. Thus in the first three pages America is portrayed in broad strokes as a threatening, dangerous and forced exile. America is at this point synonymous with New York since Karl has yet to leave the ship. Karl is still the complete outsider viewing the New World from the vantage point of a German ocean liner. His struggle to integrate himself within the system is rationally approached. Unlike so many heroes of the nineteenth century *Bildungsromane*, Karl wants to become an engineer, not an artist. His fascination with the vitality of American efficiency is at odds with his conclusion that "It's impossible to defend oneself... where there is no good will."(102) The ambivalence expressed in Karl's perception of the Statue of Liberty is reinforced in his initial assessment of America.

The city will not provide Karl with the opportunity to become an engineer, just as his parents had denied him that opportunity. In its immensity, New York seems indifferent to the fate of the individual, just as Karl's parents are now indifferent to his career choices: "Meinen Eltern ist es jetzt ganz gleichgültig, was ich werde."(7) It is not until the Nature Theater of Oklahoma that Karl's personal interests and ambitions meet with any encouragement. In this case, Manhattan functions as an extension of his parent's authority over him; it is an agent that controls his fate.

Though Karl views America with reserved scepticism, he is quick to adopt some of its ways. In coaching the stoker on his defense to the captain, Karl explains that he need

not mention every minor point of dispute in presenting his case. Karl muses: "Wenn man in Amerika Koffer stehlen kann, kann man auch hie und da lügen."(16) He is prepared to play the game by the rules dictated by society—whether on board, or at his uncle's house or in the Hotel Occidental. Karl's "sin" does not stem from an inability to fit into society, but rather from the harsh and inappropriate punishment he receives upon the slightest deviation from society's rules. Each minor mistake, such as leaving his post as an elevator boy in the Hotel Occidental for a minute, results not in a reprimand, but leads to expulsion from the Hotel. It is the third time Karl has been "sent out of the garden." First, from his parent's home, then from his uncle's house and later from the hotel. It is not until Karl leaves an environment of his own free will that he approaches any sense of personal freedom. Though the open-ended form of the novel prevents any decisive conclusion, Kafka's diary entry, September 29, 1915, leaves little room for the optimism cited by Spilka and others:

> Roßmann und K., der Schuldlose und der Schuldige, schließlich beide unterschiedslos strafweise umgebracht, der Schuldlose mit leichterer Hand, mehr zur Seite geschoben als niedergeschlagen.[33]

Before he finds his way to the Nature Theater of Oklahoma, Karl gradually slides down the rungs of the social ladder to its lowest, asocial form, the level of Brunelda, Delamarche and Robinson. Karl's initial perceptions of and actions in America require further examination. His ability to take charge of and present the stoker's case to the captain sheds some light on his initial reaction to the New World. Throughout the defense, Karl "fühlte sich so kräftig und bei Verstand, wie er es vielleicht zu Hause niemals gewesen war. Wenn ihn doch seine Eltern sehen könnten, wie er im fremden Land vor angesehenen Persönlichkeiten das Gute verfocht..."(19) Karl's arrival in America seems to have awakened unsuspected qualities such as the strength of character he exhibits once the ship has docked in New York. The question comes to mind: surely such an able young man should have been in a position to argue his own case back home? The argument has been made by Mark Spilka that Karl, in speaking for the stoker, is indeed defending himself for the first time. The stoker thus functions as a substitute, as the agent required to bring out these attributes in the protagonist. These speculations will remain open here; what is noteworthy in this instance is that America, though perhaps intimidating at first glance, does not leave Karl in his state of confusion for long. Left to fend for the stoker/himself, Karl more than meets the challenges of the foreign country. And, though Kafka provides some specific information about Karl's past, the reader is, in fact, dealing strictly with a protagonist presented in terms of the present. The introductory sentence did more to dismiss Karl's past life than to

explain it. What we are dealing with is a young man at an indeterminate point in time confronted with the city of New York. The city, however, had existed in terms of the past in the form of Karl's preconceptions: "...es war ganz richtig, was Karl in dieser Hinsicht über Amerika gelesen hatte..."(30)

Karl's initial reaction to the New World and his newly gained confidence are very quickly eradicated. Kafka reinstalls his protagonist in a dependent relationship with the appearance of the American uncle. Upon recognizing his nephew, the overbearing uncle, the man with the cane, rushes over to embrace Karl, "der alles stumm geschehen ließ."(21) With the introduction of the uncle, Karl is once again relegated to a subordinate role, a position he resumes only reluctantly. His relationship to America is now defined in terms of social strata, the self-made uncle versus the newly-arrived nephew. Sokel argues that the uncle is also "...zunächst Repräsentant des optimistischen Amerikabildes" and supports this argument by contrasting the uncle with Karl's parents.[34] The "unbarmherzige" parents had cast Karl aside, whereas the "wohlwollende" uncle minimizes Karl's "sexuelles Verschulden." Sokel points out the illusory nature of this initial perception. For while the uncle seems to offer salvation to Karl, "für die Rettung muß ein teurer Preis entrichtet werden, so daß dem Geretten die Frage aufsteigt, ob dieser Preis nicht zu hoch ist, ob Amerika den Verzicht, den es erheischt, aufwiegt, ob der amerikanische Onkel 'ihm jemals werde den Heizer ersetzen können'."[35] When his uncle urges them to leave, Karl kisses the stoker's hand and "drückte sie an seine Wangen, wie einen Schatz, auf den man verzichten muß."(28) The similarity of their positions can not be overlooked. The stoker had been subjected to Groß injustice on the shores of America as Karl had been in the Old World. The relationship between Europe and America is thus first established in terms of justice, or rather the lack of it. In having to leave the stoker behind and begin life in America with his uncle, Karl is deprived of his ability to react to American society directly.

Not only has he relapsed into the role of a child, he is now also firmly entrenched in the hierarchy of society as the nephew of a senator—a role which his uncle is quick to remind him of: "Treib das [his leave-taking of the stoker] aber, schon mir zuliebe, nicht zu weit und lerne deine Stellung begreifen."(28) Once again, Karl readily adapts to the new situation: "Im Hause des Onkels gewöhnte sich Karl bald an die neuen Verhältnisse." (30) Though he assumes his role in American society readily, it is not without an awareness of the prevailing social differences. In speculating how difficult life would have been for him in America without his uncle, Karl is convinced that the immigration officers would probably have sent him back home: "Denn auf Mitleid durfte man hier nicht hoffen, und es war ganz richtig, was Karl in dieser Hinsicht über Amerika gelesen hatte; nur die Glücklichen schienen hier ihr Glück zwischen den unbekümmerten Gesichtern ihrer

Umgebung wahrhaft zu geniessen." (30) America, and by implication, the city of New York, is perceived as crassly divided between the fortunate and the unfortunate. Karl's readings about America have been confirmed. His past image and present experience of the city coincide.

III

The Uncle

In an attempt to study how Kafka's syntax has determined his expressive force, the following analyses offer close examination rather than a wide-ranging discussion of the three key passages depicting the city in the fragment. The first appears at the beginning of Chapter II as Karl looks down on the city street from the safe distance of his uncle's balcony.(31) This passage hearkens back to the key sentence in Chapter I: "Hinter alledem aber stand New York und sah Karl mit hunderttausend Fenstern seiner Wolkenkratzer an."(12) Though there had been numerous allusions to America, this sentence was the only direct reference to New York City in Chapter I, and it expresses Karl's initial awareness of the city. Here the city is functioning as an independent entity that acts on the protagonist and not as a setting or a backdrop for the action of the novel. In the second passage, Karl views the city from street level as he rides through New York in Pollunder's car on his way to the house in the country.(41-42) It is the only description of the city in which New York is not viewed from the safe distance of a boat, balcony or distant hill, but from the immediacy of its own streets. The final lengthy description of New York appears on page eighty-one in Chapter IV, "The Road to Rameses," as Karl glances back at the harbor of New York. Throughout the remainder of the fragment, the role of New York is most clearly felt by its absence. Karl's progression from the city, to the road to Rameses, to the Hotel Occidental, to the suburban apartment building of Delamarche, Brunelda and Robinson and finally to the Nature Theater of Oklahoma leads the reader from the realm of the seemingly concrete to the increasingly abstract world of Clayton, site of the Nature Theater. The farther removed from the city, the more abstract the writing and the more indefinite Karl's environment. The city clearly exemplifies a man-made order—imperfect though it be—imposed on a world in which there is little natural order. From the locus of a specific city, New York, Karl is last seen riding on a train crossing countless bridges until he is truly "Der Verschollene," lost in America.

An examination of Kafka's verbal idiosyncracies should reveal how his ability to make the familiar strange may initially appear to render the text discontinuous and

impenetrable while actually forcing the reader to re-evaluate his own perceptions of the city. The first lengthy description of New York appears at the beginning of the second chapter, entitled "The Uncle." The preceding twenty-nine pages had contained only generalizations about America although the city of New York had always made its presence felt, as the key sentence—"Hinter alledem aber stand New York und sah Karl mit hunterttausend Fenstern seiner Wolkenkratzer an."—illustrates. The import of this sentence runs through the analysis. The paragraph exemplifies Kafka's ability to maintain three levels of perspective—the character's perception of the city, the narrator's description of the entire scene, and the reader's attempt to follow the relation between these two while comparing this description of New York with his subjective associations with the city.

> Ein schmaler Balkon zog sich vor dem Zimmer seiner ganzen Länge nach hin. Was aber in der Heimatstadt Karls wohl der höchste Aussichtspunkt gewesen wäre, gestattete hier nicht viel mehr als den Überblick über eine Straße, die zwischen zwei Reihen förmlich abgehackter Häuser gerade, und darum wie fliehend, in die Ferne sich verlief, wo aus vielem Dunst die Formen einer Kathedrale ungeheuer sich erhoben. Und morgens wie abends und in den Träumen der Nacht vollzog sich auf dieser Straße ein immer drängender Verkehr, der, von oben gesehen, sich als eine aus immer neuen Anfängen ineinandergestreute Mischung von verzerrten menschlichen Figuren und von Dächern der Fuhrwerke aller Art darstellte, von der aus sich noch eine neue, vervielfältigte, wildere Mischung von Lärm, Staub und Gerüchen erhob, und alles dieses wurde erfaßt und durchdrungen von einem mächtigen Licht, das immer wieder von der Menge der Gegenstände verstreut, fortgetragen und wieder eifrig herbeigebracht wurde und das dem betörten Auge so körperlich erschien, als werde über dieser Straße eine alles bedeckende Glasscheibe jeden Augenblick immer wieder mit aller Kraft zerschlagen.(31)

In commenting on New York in the novel fragment, Hartmut Binder draws parallels with Holitscher's travelogue, "Amerika heute und morgen," and confidently writes that "es sich um den Broadway handelt."[36] Throughout Kafka's novels one rarely finds a specific place name; on the contrary, specific names and places are so unusual in most of his writing that when they do occur, as in the early prose pieces, "Beschreibung eines Kampfes" (1904-05), and "Hochzeitsvorbereitung auf dem Lande" (1907), they jolt the reader familiar with Kafka's major works with an unexpected touch of the referential. Numerous specific name references,—the Ferdinandsstrasse, the Karlsbrücke, or the Statue der heiligen Ludmila—clearly locate the "Beschreibung eines Kampfes" in Prague, and according to Jiri Grusa, a "provincially idyllic scene from Kafka's early fragment of a novel 'Wedding Preparations in the Country', is so precisely situated in Prague that it can be identified on a map of the city."[37] By 1912, however, when Kafka first began *Der Verschollene*, he wrote in a letter to Max Brod: "Der Roman ist so Groß, wie über den ganzen Himmel hin entworfen..."[38] *Der Verschollene* incorporates the experience of

Prague, not the topographical Prague, in portraying New York as representative of the 20th-century modern city. Referentiality or specificity has given way to metaphor, as Kafka's reply to Janouch's insistence that Karl Rossmann and the stoker were drawn from life illustrates: "Ich zeichnete keine Menschen. Ich erzählte eine Geschichte. Das sind Bilder, nur Bilder."[39] Kafka concluded the argument by stating "Man photographiert Dinge, um sie aus dem Sinn zu verscheuchen. Meine Geschichten sind eine Art von Augenschliessen."[40] Kafka is appealing to the language of dreams, not to the language of ratiocination, to allow the world to reveal itself. In the same vein, it makes little difference whether the passage portraying New York as seen from the balcony is a description of Broadway or of Fifth Avenue. Kafka is describing his perception of a modern American city, New York, whereby the essence of the city is captured not in its referentiality to a New York of, let us say, 1910, but in its function as epitomizing the twentieth century metropolis.

Karl Rossmann first views the city as most immigrants do—from the deck of the boat. While still on board, the enormity of the island city with its bustling harbor had set its "hunderttausend Fenstern seiner Wolkenkratzer" on the new arrival. The subject/object lines have already been obscured. The new arrival sees the city; it then casts its eyes on him until he has become fully aware of its presence. The city, not Karl, is the active agent. Then, from the safe distance of his uncle's balcony, Karl ventures a long look at the pandemonium below. The panorama of New York that greeted the newcomer has given way to the restricted view of the citizen living within the city—the one block or street that constitutes his neighborhood. In the contrast between New York and Karl's home town, the reader is reminded that he is seeing the city through the eyes of a foreigner. Kafka, like most of the German-speaking authors writing about New York, is by definition destined to portray the role of the outsider. The frame of reference of the protagonist will inevitably be the author's own experience of the city. Thus, whereas a building of the same height would afford Karl a view of his entire city back home, his vision in New York is limited to the one street immediately below. ("Was aber in der Heimatstadt Karls wohl der höchste Aussichtspunkt gewesen wäre, gestatte hier nicht viel mehr als den Überblick über eine Straße.")(31)

The cavernous Manhattan so typical of later depictions of the city in literature had already found its way into Kafka's novel, written between 1912 and 1914. Kafka had succeeded in portraying "das allermodernste New York."[41] His New York is not restricted by time; traffic clogs its streets mornings, evenings and even during the hours when its inhabitants are caught in dreams. As seen from the balcony, the distorted human figures coalesce with vehicles of all kinds. Noise, dust and smells mingle, evoking a city

reminiscent of Dos Passos' *Manhattan Transfer*. The passage continues by describing the new entity that is born of this mixture: "... eine neue, vervielfältigte, wildere Mischung von Lärm, Staub und Gerüchen erhob [sich]..."(31) It is the light itself which now perceives and pervades the senses of sound, smell and touch. It, in turn, is dispersed by the objects, scurries away and then back again. The interplay between objects and light and between this vision and the dazzled eye of the spectator disbands the subject/object relationship between the city and the citizen. It is out of their interaction that the city of mind and the topographical city are united. The tension between the two has given birth to the mythical city. Without this interaction and tension the city would still be tied to topographical representation. Kafka has exceeded the bounds of the physical city and portrayed it as transmutable entity. The eye perceives the city "als werde über dieser Straße eine alles bedeckende Glasscheibe jeden Augenblick immmer wieder mit aller Kraft zerschlagen." The glass pane prevents the spectator from seeing New York directly, as if the reality of the city were too harsh; what is seen instead is a refracted, constantly changing image. There is an echo of Karl Rossmann's first glimpse of the New World: "... er [erblickte] die schon längst beobachtete Statue der Freiheitsgöttin wie in einem plötzlich stärker gewordenen Sonnenlicht."(5) Here, too, his view of the Statue of Liberty is seen through the filter of light. The light enshrouds the city in a mysterious veil, a veil that is not to be lifted hastily, if at all. It softens the edges and later provides a kaleidescopic view of the city as a constantly changing entity that can be fixed in neither time nor space.

In its structure and content the quoted passage can be viewed as an encapsulated verbal representation of the city. The three sentences of the paragraph fall into the following pattern:

1. ----------

2. ----------,----------,----------,und
   ---------,--------,--------,---------,----------
   ----

3. ----------,----,---------,----------
   ----------,
   ----------,-,-,--,---,----,----------
   ----------,und --------
   ----------,als ----------
   ----------.

The first short sentence is followed by a longer, modified sentence; the complex third sentence abounds in adjectives and adverbs and consists of paratactic dependent and independent clauses.

The visual representation of the sentence coincides with its contents: Just as Karl looks down on the complexity of the city, the reader progresses from a simple to a complex sentence structure. The longer the reader looks at the construction, the more he becomes enmeshed in the paragraph, i.e. in the representation of the city, just as Karl becomes ensnared by the view of the city below. The description of the street disappearing into the distance evokes a passage from the prose piece "Vor dem Gesetz," in which the gatekeeper to the first door is but one of many. Each door leads but to the next, which, in turn, leads to a door within a door within a door, etc. The mirror effect, the aspect of infinity, suggests the fragment, the open-ended form of the novel. This box within a box structure results in a cube-like piling up of objects, in this case, the buildings of the city, or the dependent clauses of the sentences. The paratactic structure of the sentence, the stringing together of dependent and independent clauses, mirrors the complexity and incongruity of the city. The farther the eye looks, the more it "sees" yet cannot absorb. As in perspective drawing, the objects get closer and closer to each other the nearer they are to the vanishing point. Closer and smaller and thus less discernible or comprehensible to the naked eye. The "dazzled eye" is overwhelmed and can no longer sort out the information given.

In returning to the first sentence, we find that it is completely straightforward. The vantage point, the location of the balcony, is described: it stretches out in front of the entire room. The reader is located in space. With the beginning of the second sentence he is drawn back in time, to the time when Karl was living in Europe. A contrast is drawn between Karl's home town and the city of New York. Space and time are joined together in the phrase "Was aber in der Heimatstadt Karls wohl der höchste Aussichtspunkt gewesen wäre, gestattete hier nicht viel mehr als den Überblick über eine Straße...." There is a horizontal movement back in time and a vertical movement depicting the spatial representation of the two vantage points, i.e. the balcony and " the highest vantage point in the town." The two movements join as the reader approaches the real subject of the paragraph—the view of the street below from the balcony above, i.e. the view of the city. Kafka has drawn the verbal equivalent of the many abstract expressionist paintings of the city in the 1920's.

The entire paragraph is dominated by nouns, just as the city is primarily made up of objects. These nouns are linked through paratactic clauses that are largely dependent, just as each part of the city is interlinked with and dependent on the other. One building forms the wall of the next building, one institution is subordinated to another, and so on. Only one co-ordinating conjunction connects two elements at one point, and even in this case, it is subordinated to a hypothetical situation by the conditional "als werde" of the subsequent clause. Of the 36 nouns, I count 23 abstract and 13 concrete nouns, whereby there is a

preference for the concrete nouns at the beginning of the paragraph, e.g. "Balkon," "Zimmer" and "Heimatstadt." With the juxtaposition of the abstract nouns, "Ferne, Dunst, Formen, Träumen, Nacht, Anfängen, Mischung, Figuren, Art," the paragraph becomes increasingly abstract. The repetition of the word "Mischung" introduces the three senses of sound, sight and smell, all of which are perceived and dispersed by an abstract noun, the "powerful light." This light acts upon the objects and is then, in turn, concretized with the introduction of the glass pane.

At the beginning of the paragraph most of the concrete objects are joined with intransitive verbs e.g. "eine Straße verlief sich," "die Formen ... erhoben sich." As the paragraph builds in momentum the verb form changes to the passive (...und alles dieses wurde erfaßt und durchdrungen...). Both the objects and the action have shifted to the abstract and non-specific, which is also reflected in a piling up of "abstract" adjectives in the last sentence: "verzerrten, mächtigen, betörten." The concluding sentence lends an illusion of the concrete again, which is, however, immediately dispelled through the use of the conditional "als werde" form. Kafka has presented the city, disassembled it and reconstructed it only to leave the image of the city in a state of constant flux through the refracted image of the glass. It is the city as kaleidescopic representation. Kafka has succeeded in holding up for examination an object which has always affirmed resistance to the world of systematic representation or interpretation. The city cannot be captured once and for all, it can only be sketched impressionistically. Through the image of the "Glasscheibe, [die] jeden Augenblick immer wieder mit aller Kraft zerschlagen [wird]," Kafka gives expression to the elusive and transitory nature of the city.

Personification has been described as "a means of taking hold of things which appear startlingly uncontrollable and independent."[42] This description applies equally well to the city and explains why Kafka has chosen personification as the main figure of speech in depicting New York. In the first chapter we find the key sentence: "Hinter alledem aber stand New York und sah Karl mit hunderttausend Fenstern seiner Wolkenkratzer an."(12) Karl has just entered the captain's cabin to plead the stoker's case. In the room he sees three windows which reveal the harbor outside. The choice of the number three can hardly have been unintentional. The boats in the harbor are juxtaposed with the waves of the sea. The man-made enters into a dialogue with the natural, a dialogue which had been foreshadowed by the choice of the number "three." It is at this point that New York is first introduced: "Hinter alledem [the sea and the boats] aber stand New York...." The use of the expletive "aber" places the city of New York beyond the argument of city versus nature. The city's existence is not questioned. Its chief function at this point is to provide a dialogical partner to Karl. "Hinter alledem aber stand New York und sah Karl mit

hunderttausend Fenstern seiner Wolkenkratzer an." It is the only sentence referring directly to New York in the first chapter, and yet the overbearing presence of the city is conveyed completely in the forcefulness of that one sentence. New York has set its "eyes" on the newcomer. In contrast to the eyes of the spectator viewing the city in Chapter Two, these "eyes" are not dazzled or overwhelmed. They simply "are." Only their number and spatial orientation qualifies them. Hundreds and thousands of them loom over the new arrival. The oppressive dominance of the city over the individual is immediately felt and is reaffirmed continually in the subsequent passages.

"A balcony stretches out in front of the room" in the opening sentence of the first paragraph analyzed. The inanimate has again been imbued with life. "A vantage point allowed him [Karl] here little more than a view of one street." The street, in turn, "ran perfectly straight between two rows of squarely chopped buildings... and seemed to be fleeing into the distance..." The streets of the city are quite literally alive and act independently of the people that inhabit them. It is as if they too seek to flee the structure of the city. It is the attempt to escape the self, an attempt which ultimately can only lead back to the object it sought to elude. Once created, the city cannot be destroyed. Even the ruins of a city form an entity that can never be erased—history. The past can not be recalled, and the city, as the spatial representation of the past, cannot be revoked. "The outline of a cathedral loomed enormous in a dense haze" - man's institutions constitute the city. Man has created them, yet once created, they assume their own indefinite life. The allusion to the holy trinity through the three windows has found its completion in the structure of the cathedral. In stark contrast to medieval and Renaissance depictions of the cathedral as the fixed focal point of the city, in the modern city this symbol of divine order is enshrouded in a dense haze. In this haze, "the night dreams" as the stream of traffic sends "into the upper air another confusion, more riotous and complicated, of noises, dust and smells....". Chaos gives way to more chaos in the waking world of the city. Only suspended activity, the night, is able to "dream." The dream world is held up as the alternative to man's frenetic activity. As the night dreams, "a flood of light which the multitudinous objects in the street scattered" is carried off and again busily brought back. The polarities of light and dark are evoked only to be shattered again as if "a glass roof stretched over the street were being violently smashed into fragments at every moment." The spatial reality of the city is subjugated to time. Burton Pike points out in *The Image of the City in Literature* that the imposition of the temporal metaphor, "is in keeping with the temporal orientation of our culture."[43] In emphasizing the temporal over the spatial, Kafka has again depicted the city as a constantly evolving entity, as a thing in itself that remains in the state of becoming rather than in the state of being.

IV

A Country House near New York

In contrast to the first key passage, which presents the city from the perspective of a balcony, the second is a description of New York from the perspective of the street. It forms the concluding paragraphs to the second chapter. Karl is driving out to the "Landhaus bei New York" with Pollunder; a narrative description of the city and the outlying suburbs forms the body of the paragraph:

> Sie sassen eng beieinander, und Herr Pollunder hielt Karls Hand in der seinen, während er erzählte. Karl wollte vieles über das Fräulein Klara hören, als sei er ungeduldig über die lange Fahrt und könne mit Hilfe der Erzählungen früher ankommen als in Wirklichkeit. Obwohl er am Abend noch niemals durch die New Yorker Straßen gefahren war, und über Trottoir und Fahrbahn aller Augenblicke die Richtung wechselnd, wie in einem Wirbelwind der Lärm jagte, nicht wie von Menschen verursacht, sondern wie ein fremdes Element, kümmerte sich Karl, während er Herrn Pollunders Worte genau aufzunehmen suchte, um nichts anderes als Herrn Pollunders dunkle Weste, über die quer eine dunkle Kette ruhig hing. Aus den Straßen, wo das Publikum in Großer, unverhüllter Furcht vor Verspätung in fliegendem Schritt und in Fahrzeugen, die zu möglichster Eile gebracht waren, zu den Theatern drängte, kamen sie durch Übergangsbezirke in die Vorstädte, wo ihr Automobil durch Polizeileute zu Pferd immer wieder in Seitenstraßen gewiesen wurde, da die Großen Straßen von den demonstrierenden Metallarbeitern, die im Streik standen, besetzt waren und nur der notwendigste Wagenverkehr an den Kreuzungsstellen gestattet werden konnte. Durchquerte dann das Automobil, aus dunkleren, dumpf hallenden Gassen kommend, einer dieser ganzen Plätzen gleichenden Großen Straßen, dann erschienen nach beiden Seiten hin in Perspektiven, denen niemand bis zum Ende folgen konnte, die Trottoirs angefüllt mit einer in winzigen Schritten sich bewegenden Masse, deren Gesang einheitlicher war als der einer einzigen Menschenstimme. In der freigehaltenen Fahrbahn aber sah man hie und da einen Polizisten auf unbeweglichem Pferde oder Träger von Fahnen oder beschrieben, über die Straße gespannten Tüchern oder einen von Mitarbeitern und Ordonnanzen umgebenen Arbeiterführer oder einen Wagen der elektrischen Straßenbahn, der sich nicht rasch genug geflüchtet hatte und nun leer und dunkel dastand, während der Führer und der Schaffner auf der Plattform sassen. Kleine Trupps von Neugierigen standen weit entfernt von den wirklichen Demonstranten und verliessen ihre Plätze nicht, obwohl sie über die eingentlichen Ereignisse im unklaren blieben. Karl aber lehnte froh in dem Arm, den Herr Pollunder um ihn gelegt hatte; die Überzeugung, daß er bald in einem beleuchteten, von Mauern umgebenen, von Hunden bewachten Landhause ein willkommener Gast sein werde, tat ihm über alle Massen wohl,..."(41-42)

The paragraph breaks down as follows:

1. ----------, und ----------, ----------.
   Two short independent clauses connected by "und" and one dependent clause.

2. ----------,----------
---------.
One independent and one dependent clause.

3. ----------, und ----------
----------, ----------,
----------, ----------, ----------
----------,----------,----------
Two independent clauses connected by "und" and four dependent clauses.

4. ----------,----------,
----------,----------,----------
----------,----------,
----------,----------,----------
---------.
One main clause with seven dependent clauses, most of which are relative clauses.

5. ----------,----------,----------
----------, ----------,------
----------,----------,----------
----------.
One main clause with three dependent clauses.

6. ----------
----------,----------,----------
----------,-------
----------,----------.
One independent clause and two dependent clauses.

7. ----------,----------
One independent clause and one dependent clause.

8. ----------,----------;-----
---------,----------, ------- ----------, und wenn
----------, ----------,----------, --------
----------,----------.

One independent and one dependent clause separated from the rest of the sentence by a semicolon. Then one independent and one dependent clause connected to a third independent clause with four dependent clauses by the "und wenn" construction.

In contrast to the first key passage depicting the city, which progressed from simplicity to complexity in its sentence structure, the second passage displays a uniformity in its sentence structure as soon as the city has been brought into the picture in the third sentence. On the average, the sentences consist of one or two independent clauses and several dependent clauses. The visual representation of these two passages is strikingly different; this difference arises, I believe, because of the difference in perspective from which the city is viewed. A juxtaposition of the two passages reveals the following pattern:

First passage:

Second passage:

---,---

---,---,---

---,---

---,---,---

etc.

The increasing complexity of the sentence structure of the first passage corresponds to the perspective which is described; in this passage the city was viewed from a balcony. In the second passage, the point of view is from street level. The protagonist is immersed in the object, i.e. the city, he is viewing. He is, in fact, a part of that object. Once again, the subject/object lines have been obscured, hearkening back to the key sentence in the first chapter: "Hinter allemdem aber stand New York und sah Karl mit hunderttausend Fenstern seiner Wolkenkratzer an." This uniformity in sentence structure is, however, not established until the city is introduced in the third sentence of the paragraph.

The first two sentences are both short and uncomplicated and seem to foreshadow the description of the city that follows. They describe Karl's physical situation and his state of mind in driving through the city streets for the first time. In the first sentence we are told that Karl sat close to Pullunder as they drove through the city to the house in the country. The sentence consists of two, short independent clauses and one equally short dependent clause. The second sentence tells of Karl's impatience with the ride and his hope that by asking questions about Miss Clara he might shorten the duration of the ride.

Karl is not at all predisposed to seeing as much of the city as possible during the trip. On the contrary, his only thoughts are how to occupy himself during the ride so as not to experience the city. Again the sentence structure is simple: one independent and one dependent clause. These two short sentences tell us something about the person who will be perceiving the city in the sentences to follow. Kafka is presenting an omniscient narrator who sees Karl in spatial terms (Sie sassen eng beieinander...) and yet simultaneously assumes the role of speaking for Karl, albeit with the ambiguous "als sei...." The reader has little choice but to experience the city through Karl's eyes.

In the third sentence we learn that although Karl "had never driven through the streets of New York in the evening," he displayed no outward interest in observing the city; on the contrary, he is intent on shutting New York out by concentrating on Pollunder's words and later his vest. ("...kümmerte sich Karl um nichts anderes als Herrn Pollunders dunkle

Weste...") At this point the tension between Karl and the city is established. Up to this point he had been successful in avoiding direct contact with the city. It had remained an object he observed from the security of his uncle's balcony. Now that he is being driven through the streets of New York, he is surrounded by a whirlwind of noise, a noise created not by human beings but by some "strange element." This sentence contains three "as if" constructions, thereby establishing a sense of the unreal.(...wie in einem Wirbelwind der Lärm jagte,... nicht wie von Menschen verursacht, sondern wie ein fremdes Element...)

Everything about the city is alien to Karl, so alien that he cannot bring himself to confront New York at all. He seeks refuge in focusing on the golden chain that spans Pollunder's vest. The reference to the pocket watch, to time, is immediately picked up in the following sentence. The city is viewed as in a perpetual race with time; its inhabitants are driven out of an "unverhüllter Furcht vor Verspätung" even when they are only going to the theater. The very complexity of city life requires punctuality and calculability of its inhabitants. In the suburbs the hectic pace of the theater-goers of the inner city is echoed in the confusion of mounted policemen, cars and striking metalworkers. The passage seems to prefigure the uniformed masses of workers depicted in Lang's film, *Metropolis*. In the expressionistic manner, striking metal workers are abstracted into "a moving mass of people, slowly shuffling forward, whose singing was more homogeneous than any single human voice."[44] The individual has been replaced by the mass, a mass having one powerful voice. This mass is very clearly tied to the city through the evocation of the empty streetcar, a motif we will later find again in Brecht's "Verschollener Ruhm der Riesenstadt New York." Throughout this description the point of view has been primarily that of the omniscient narrator. The reader knows that Karl must be seeing the scene described, but his presence is no longer directly felt in the passage. Karl has now become an integral part of the anonymous city; he is but one link in the "moving mass of people."

It is not until the last sentence that Kafka re-introduces Karl into the scene. Karl seems to have been impervious to the scene described. Again he turns away from the city: he "merely leaned back on the arm which Mr. Pollunder had put round him," secure in the knowledge that he would soon be a welcome guest in a well-lighted country house "surrounded by high walls and guarded by watch-dogs."(54) Karl's relationship to the city remains that of the outsider; threatened by the turbulent life of the city, he seeks refuge in a country house surrounded by high walls. Kafka is, however, not developing the city - country dichotomy so common in much of the 19th century literature dealing with the city, but rather establishing the dialectic of the individual versus society—a theme he has explored extensively. And what better topic than the city could Kafka have chosen to highlight the struggle between the individual and society?

Throughout the paragraph concrete nouns dominate the abstract by a ratio of at least two to one. This is in stark contrast to the first passage in which the emphasis had been on abstract nouns and passive verb forms. The second passage also shows a preference for active verb forms and in general a straightforward prose style. Aside from the personifications of the noise "chasing" as if in a whirlwind [an image omitted in the Muir translation] and the image of the "electric tram which had not escaped quickly enough," no other figures of speech are used. In this passage the city is depicted in an unembellished style; the elusive kaleidescopic city of the first passage has given way to an evocation of a very tangible city. A mere enumeration of the most frequently used nouns provides insight into this representation of the city. Nouns such as "streets/ pavement/ roadways/ traffic/ theatre-goers/ police/ a demonstration of metal-workers/thoroughfares/ squares/a moving mass of people/etc." all evoke a city familiar to most present-day inhabitants of New York. These largely neutral nouns are interrelated and connected through such charged phrases as "unconnected with humanity/hurried/flying steps/at the utmost speed/an endless perspective of pavements/a moving mass of people/etc." While it initially appeared that Kafka was presenting an impartial view of the city, it soon becomes clear that he is, in fact, emphasizing those criticisms most frequently leveled at the city: the lack of time, the inhuman quality, and the individual lost in a "moving mass of people." This viewpoint is further strengthened by Karl Rossmann's behavior; he turns away from the city as if to deny its existence.

What has remained consistent in these two passages depicting the city is the emphasis on the temporal over the spatial. In the first passage the city was redefining itself every moment through the use of the image of the "Glasscheibe" that seemed constantly to be breaking over the street. The image of the city refused to stay fixed. In the second passage there is a fixed vision of the city, but Karl and the city's inhabitants are in too much of a hurry to perceive it, whether consciously or unconsciously. He turned away from the city as he had turned away from Fanny and would later turn further and further away from society. In this instance, Kafka's use of the city clearly illustrates the division between the self and society, between a Karl Rossmann and society, or a Franz K. and finally between the reductionist K. of the Castle.

V

The Road to Rameses

In the middle of the fourth chapter, entitled "The Road to Rameses," we find the last passage describing New York. Karl has just met Robinson and Delamarche and is musing out loud that he ought perhaps to remain in New York since it would always afford him the opportunity to return to Europe. His companions will hear nothing of this and urge him on. Finally Karl convinces himself that he might indeed make his fortune better once he is away from New York and the possibility of returning home. The paragraph opens with Karl eagerly leading his two companions on until they come to "rising country" where they pause now and then to look back at the panorama of New York:

> Sie kamen in eine ansteigende Gegend, und wenn sie hie und da stehenblieben, konnten sie beim Rückblick das Panorama New Yorks und seines Hafens immer ausgedehnter sich entwickeln sehen. Die Brücke, die New York mit Brooklyn verbindet, hing zart über den East River, und sie erzitterte, wenn man die Augen klein machte. Sie schien ganz ohne Verkehr zu sein, und unter ihr spannte sich das unbelebte, glatte Wasserband. Alles in beiden Riesenstädten schien leer und nutzlos aufgestellt. Unter den Häusern gab es kaum einen Unterschied zwischen den Großen und den kleinen. In der unsichtbaren Tiefe der Straßen ging wahrscheinlich das Leben fort nach seiner Art, aber über ihnen war nichts zu sehen als leichter Dunst, der sich zwar nicht bewegte, aber ohne Mühe verjagbar zu sein schien. Selbst in den Hafen, den größten der Welt, war Ruhe eingekehrt, und nur hie und da glaubte man, wohl beeinflußt von der Erinnerung an einen früheren Anblick aus der Nähe, ein Schiff zu sehen, das eine kurze Strecke sich fortschob. Aber man konnt ihm auch nicht lange folgen, es entging den Augen und war nicht mehr zu finden.
>
> Aber Delamarche und Robinson sahen offenbar viel mehr, sie zeigten nach rechts und links und überwölbten mit den ausgestreckten Händen Plätze und Gärten, die sie mit Namen benannten. Sie konnten es nicht begreifen, daß Karl über zwei Monate in New York gewesen war und kaum etwas anderes von der Stadt gesehen hatte als eine Straße.... (81-82)

The paragraph breaks down as follows:

1. Introductory sentence - prior to city being introduced

   ----------,----------, und sie
   ----------,----------,----------
   ----------,----------.
   Two independent clauses connected by "und"; three dependent clauses.

2. ----------, und wenn----------
   ----------,----------.
   Two independent clauses connected by "und" and one dependent clause.

3. ----------,----------,----------
   ----------, und sie ----------,----------
   ----------.

Two independent clauses connected by "und"; two dependent clauses.

4. ----------, und unter ihr ----------.
Two independent clauses connected by "und."

5. ----------.
One independent clause.

6. ----------.
One independent clause.

7. ----------, aber
----------,----------,
----------.
Two independent clauses connected by "und"; two dependent clauses.

8. ----------,----------,----------,
und nur hie und da ----------, ----------,
----------,----------.
Two independent clauses connected by "und"; three dependent clauses.

9. ----------,es entging-
----------.
Two independent clauses separated by a comma.

10. ----------,----------
----------,----------.
Two independent clauses connected with a comma; one dependent clause.

11. ----------,----------
----------.
One independent and one dependent clause.

The regularity of the above sentence structures can not be overlooked. Kafka's normally intricate sentence pattern has given way to a series of short compound sentences joined by the conjunction "und." In the middle of these eleven sentences, we find sentence five and six to be simple sentences with one independent clause. The import of these two sentences will be examined at a later point. Following these two sentences, the compound sentence pattern is repeated, whereby the two independent clauses are joined by a comma instead of the conjunction "und." The relative simplicity of the sentences coincides with the lighthearted tone of the passage. The simplicity of the syntax of this passage also corresponds to the tranquility with which the city is being viewed. From the distance, the city looks "leer und nutzlos," its houses indistinquishable from each other. The emptiness and monotony of the city is conveyed in the repetitive sentence structure, i.e. a series of short compound sentences showing little distinction from each other. The sentences are as indistinguishable from each other as are the houses of the city. There is scarcely a trace of the turbulent city presented in the first two passages. We read instead that "Selbst in den

Hafen, den größten der Welt, war Ruhe eingekehrt...."

In contrast to the first two passages with their preponderance of nouns over verbs, the third passage contains an almost equal number of verbs and nouns, thereby lending a quicker pace and lighter tone to the entire paragraph, as in the sentence Karl and his two companions saw the harbor, "extending more and more spaciously below them." An airiness pervades the passage; the verbs used evoke a lightness as if the city were viewed as a shining chimera: "the bridge hung delicately over the East River" and "seemed to tremble." The verbs "appeared" and "seemed" are used repeatedly, heightening the sense of the unreal. Towards the end of the paragraph we are told that "even to the harbor, the greatest in the world, peace had returned." The sense of peace and peacefulness conveyed has far more to do with Karl's state of mind than with the state of the city. At this point Karl seems to have come to terms with his decision to leave New York, to try his luck in America's interior. Kafka deals directly with the transitory nature of this peace in writing that one could fancy that one saw a ship cutting the water, but that this perception was colored by "an earlier view [of the city] close at hand." Past impressions of the city color the present perception of the city. It must be remembered that from up close the city had been perceived as a chaotic melange of noise "quite unconnected with humanity," "hurried steps" and "vehicles at the utmost possible speed," together with "a moving mass of people." The image had been anything but peaceful. Kafka has now revised this image, but is careful to remind the reader that the city might appear differently because of memories of the city when viewed from "up close." Past and present impressions and perceptions of the city have now been merged, and we are reminded that each new perception of an object is affected by the previous experiences of the perceiver.

The narrator's description of the three companions viewing the city seems detached upon first reading ["now it was he who led the two others..."]. However, upon closer examination the reader becomes aware of the intermingling of Karl's thoughts and the narrator's description. For example, in reading "Karl simply could not make out in what way he had caused them such happiness" we have, on the one hand, a straightforward description of Karl as a character while we are simultaneously allowed access to Karl's mind in its state of confusion about his companions' happiness. The reader is then led to the description of New York by following the path of the three companions: "... they now came to rising country, and when they stopped here and there they could see on looking back the panorama of New York... below them." Here the reader seems to be seeing through the eyes of the three spectators; the first sentence of the subsequent paragraph dispels this impression for we are told that "Delamarche and Robinson clearly saw much more...." We are thus led to believe that the preceding description of the city had been

New York as perceived by Karl alone.

A closer look at the nouns used reveals a preference for concrete nouns such as "Gegend, Hafen, Brücke, Riesenstädte" etc. The ambiguity and complexity of the first two passages have been replaced with clearly defined nouns and a simple sentence structure. This is most apparent in the key sentences, sentences five and six, which appear in the middle of the text. There we read that "Both the huge cities seemed to stand there empty and purposeless." and "As for the houses, it was scarcely possible to distinguish the large ones from the small." In the first passage only one street in the city had been described; in the second the streets of the city at large and the streets leading to the suburbs had been depicted. Now New York is viewed in its relationship to another large urban area, Brooklyn. In mentioning Brooklyn Kafka also evokes associations with Whitman's poem "Crossing Brooklyn Ferry." Whereas Whitman had heralded the "city of hurried and sparkling waters" and reconciled the city's individuated people, Kafka's New York is "empty and purposeless," its houses indistinguishable from each other. Whitman's "city of spires and masts" is viewed from the opposite perspective. Kafka writes not of spires and skyscrapers but of the "invisible depths of the streets" of New York. In choosing to describe the empty spaces created by New York's skyscrapers as well as the empty space created by the river between the two cities, Kafka calls attention to the void the city has created within the community of man. Kafka writes that "life probably went on after its own fashion" and "only now and then, probably influenced by some memory of an earlier view close at hand, did one fancy that one saw a ship cutting the water for a little distance." This possibly fictitious ship, the only sign of life in the city, however, soon "escaped one's eyes and was no more to be found." Even if the ship had been real, its existence was extremely short-lived. Karl glances back at the city and finds only a sleeping giant. He suspects life in its streets and squares but sees only a "leichter Dunst."

In contrast, "Delamarche and Robinson clearly saw much more; they pointed to right and to left, and their outstretched hands gestured over squares and gardens which they named by their names." Kafka has set these two characters up in opposition to Karl: "They could not understand how Karl could stay for two months in New York and yet see hardly anything of the city but one street." They gesture "with outstretched arms" embracing the city, whereas Karl looks and sees nothing. Kafka is making it very clear that this is Karl's view of the city. By interjecting Delamarche and Robinson's view, he prevents the reader from assuming that the protagonist's opinion coincides with the author's.

In the first passage the eye had been "dazzled" by the city. Though it had been Karl who was looking down at the city from his uncle's balcony, it was not specifically his eye that had been "betört," but an impersonal "eye"[dem betörtem Auge]. In the second

passage Karl averts his eyes from the city streets and focuses on Pollunder's vest, which was spanned by the pocket watch. The passage is replete with references to time and the lack of it in the city. Even in the first sentence referring to the city, the isolated sentence in the first chapter, "Hinter alledem aber stand New York und sah Karl mit hunderttausend Fenstern seiner Wolkenkratzer an." Karl does not "see" the city. It is the city that "sees" Karl. In the final passage Karl is unable to perceive any life in the city though he is looking directly at it. Kafka emphasizes that this perception of the city is peculiar to Karl in this instance by juxtaposing Karl with Robinson and Delamarche. Not only do they "see" the city, but they also engage in the Adamic act of naming the city. They are capable of seeing what exists for they have called the objects, the "squares and the gardens" by their names. They are a part of the community created by the city, however marginal their position in society may be. Karl, on the other hand, is indeed "Der Verschollene" in the most complete sense. He stands outside the borders of society and can not find a way in even though he strains to see; the link to society "escaped one's eyes and was no more to be seen."

The difficulty here is in establishing when Kafka is speaking for himself and when he has chosen to detach himself from the subject, in this case the city, by ascribing the opinions and perceptions to Karl. Throughout all three passages the narrator has proven highly unreliable. The ambiguity and opacity of Kafka's later works can already be felt in his first novel fragment.

In conclusion, these three key passages represent an encapsulated view of Kafka's relationship to the city, more specifically, to New York City. We must remember that it is to America and not to France or England that the young Karl Rossmann travels. In locating his novel in the New World, Kafka was able to incorporate the prevailing image in Europe around 1910 of America as unexplored terrain. New York was the gateway to that America. For many immigrants it had, in fact, not become a point en route, but the final destination. Karl Rossmann, however, travels through the city without ever really having been a part of the city, of society. He moves on, and in the final pages of the fragment, he is still moving on as he rides over bridges and past mountains on the train to nowhere. There is little evidence that Kafka intended his protagonist to finally reach a destination. In fact, Kafka's preferred title, *Der Verschollene* points to just the opposite: Karl Rossmann embodies the individual lost in the city, and by extension, lost in society.

The city of New York best conveyed this sense of transience and impermanence. It was then, as it is now, a city in which the spatial would always be subordinated to the temporal. No structure would be impervious to the city's constant need for change. This denial of a fixed spatial identity and a sense of permanence gives rise to the sense of

alienation and disorientation Karl experiences. For in the first key passage it is the city that is the active agent that views Karl Rossmann, the new arrival, (Hinter alledem aber stand New York...) and not the individual. Karl is but one more visitor passing through this entity firmly fixed in time yet constantly changing in its spatial configuration. In the second passage Karl averts his eyes from the city as he rides through its streets. It is the only time the city is viewed from street level, and it proves too much for Karl even to contemplate. (Obwohl er ... noch niemals durch die New Yorker Straßen gefahren war, ... kümmerte sich Karl, ... um nichts anderes als Herrn Pollunders dunkle Weste, über die quer eine dunkle Kette ruhig hing.) The existence of the city and its impact on the individual is denied through complete avoidance. The protagonist focuses instead on a symbol for time, the pocket watch. He has no more connection to the masses outside the car than he did to the passengers on the ship. Karl is passing through New York as modern man passes through society, without a focal point and without a destination. In the final passage on New York, the city is viewed from the distance and appears "leer und nutzlos," like man in the age of anxiety. New York is no more clearly delineated than is the castle, and its inhabitants are as much in the dark as to the nature of their work as is the land surveyor, K.

However, we are presented with the inevitable Kafkaesque paradox. While it seems logical to conclude that New York is only symbolic of the fragmentation and disorientation of modern society, in the novel it is only in the city that we find any clear structure at all. Though it is presented as overpowering, menacing, and in a constant state of flux, this kaleidescopic image of the city still represents a semblance of order, imperfect though it be. The farther west Karl travels, the more vague his surroundings become. From the claustrophobic precision of his uncle's warehouses in the city, to the incomplete structure of the house in the country, Karl Rossmann continues his journey from the concrete (in a double sense) to the increasingly abstract. The Road to Rameses leads him to the artificial structure of the Hotel Occidental with its transposed German Manageress and then to the anarchy of the Brunelda, Robinson and Delamarche household in the suburbs with its slave/keeper dynamic. The penultimate stop is the utopian Nature Theater of Oklahoma, "das jeden aufnahm." From there Karl takes his seat next to his former colleague from the Hotel Occidental, Giacomo. Together they set out on their train ride across America accompanied by the narrator's ambiguous comment: "So sorgenlos hatten sie in Amerika noch keine Reise gemacht."(217) As they continue their journey to nowhere they "tried to follow with a pointing finger the direction in which they lost themselves...."[45]

This is the last line of the fragment, and for all its open-endedness, the text seems to have come full circle, not in the sense of a resolution, but in the Kafkaesque sense that it is irrelevant to know where Karl is going or what is in the Castle or, for that matter, to ever

get to the Castle. What is of import is the journey itself, though it may often take the form of aimless wanderings. At the beginning of the novel Karl sets out on a journey as he does on the last page of the fragment. But this last page is no more finite than is the image of the city Kafka has portrayed. Both are in a perpetual state of flux: the light refracting the image of the city "... das dem betörten Auge so körperlich erschien, als werde über dieser Straße eine alles bedeckende Glasscheibe jeden Augenblick immer wieder mit aller Kraft zerschlagen," and the text which elicits constant revision from the reader.

Notes

[1] Renato Poggiolo, "Kafka and Dostoyevsky" In *The Kafka Problem* (New York: Gordian Press, 1975) 109-110.

[2] Theodor W. Adorno, *Prismen: Kulturkritik und Gesellschaft* (Berlin: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1955) 332.

[3] Arts Council of Great Britain, *Cityscape: 1910-39* (London: Graphis Press, 1977-8) #102.

[4] Gustav Janouch, *Franz Kafka und seine Welt* (Wien: Hans Deutsch Verlag, 1965) 17-18.

[5] Adorno 319.

[6] Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life." In *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV (July, 1938) 12.

[7] Adorno 307.

[8] Erich Heller and Joachim Beug, *Dichter über ihre Dichtungen: Franz Kafka* (München: Ernst Heimeran Verlag, 1969) 33.

[9] Mark Spilka, *Dickens and Kafka: A Mutual Interpretation* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1963) 130.

[10] Klaus Mann, preface, *Amerika*, by Franz Kafka, trans. Edwin Muir (New York: New Directions Publishing Cor., 1962) xii.

[11] Hartmut Binder, *Kafka Kommentar zu den Romanen, Rezensionen, Aphorismen und zum Brief an den Vater* (München: Winkler Verlag, 1976) 56.

[12] Peter U. Beicken, *Franz Kafka: Eine kritische Einführung in die Forschung* (Frankfurt am Main: Athenaion Verlag GmbH, 1974) 252.

[13] Wolfgang Jahn, *Kafkas Roman "Der Verschollene" ("Amerika")*. (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandung und Carl Ernst Poeschl Verlag GmbH, 1965) 144-145.

[14] Max Brod, epilogue, *Amerika* by Franz Kafka (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag GmbH, 1978) 233.

[15] Spilka 125.

[16] Spilka 124.

[17] Lienhard Bergel, "*Amerika*: Its Meaning" in *Franz Kafka Today*, ed. Angel Flores and Homer Swander (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964) 124.

[18] Burton Pike, *The Image of the City in Modern Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981) 124.

[19] Georg Lukács, *Essays über Realismus* (Berlin: Hermann Luchterhand Verlag GmbH, 1971) 254.

[20] Beicken 254.

[21] Wilhelm Emrich, *Franz Kafka: Das Baugesetz seiner Dichtung, Der mündige Mensch jenseits von Nihilismus und Tradition.* (Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum Verlag GmbH, 1960) 227.

[22] Emrich 244.

[23] Heller, *Dichter über ihre Dichtungen: Franz Kafka.*, 35.

[24] Spilka 154.

[25] Paul Eisner, *Franz Kafka and Prague* (New York: Golden Griffin Books [Arts, Inc.],1950) 6.

[26] Klaus Hermsdorf "Kafka's *America*" *In Franz Kafka: An Anthology of Marxist Criticism*, Ed. and Trans. Kenneth Hughes (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1981) 24.

[27] Janouch, *Conversations with Kafka*, 151-152.

[28] Janouch, *Conversations* 120.

[29] Janouch, *Conversations* 19.

[30] Spilka 128.

[31] Spilka 129.

[32] Eisner 93.

[33] Heller 46.

[34] Sokel, "Zwischen Drohung und Erretung. Zur Funktion Amerikas in Kafkas Roman 'Der Verschollene'" In *Amerika in der deutschen Literatur* (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun., 1975) 248.

[35] Sokel 249.

[36] Binder 99.

[37] Jiří Gruša, *Franz Kafka of Prague* (New York: Schocken Books, 1983) 9.

[38] Heller, *Dichter über ihre Dichtungen*, 31.

[39] Heller 49.

[40] Heller 49.

[41] Beicken 252.

[42] Alex Preminger, ed. *Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974) 612.

[43] Pike 131-132.

[44] Mann 53-54.

[45] Mann 298.

CHAPTER II

BRECHT'S POEM

"VERSCHOLLENER RUHM DER RIESENSTADT NEW YORK"

Als ich mir überlegte, was
Kipling für die Nation machte,
die die Welt "zivilisierte," kam
ich zu der epochalen Entdeckung,
daß eigentlich noch kein Mensch
die große Stadt als Dschungel
beschrieben hat. [...] Die
Feindseligkeit der großen Stadt,
ihre bösartige, steinerne
Konsistenz, ihre babylonische
Verwirrung, kurz: ihre Poesie ist
noch nicht geschaffen.
-Bertolt Brecht

While the motif of the city permeates the work of both Kafka and Brecht, in the writings of Brecht, it assumes a decidedly political cast. The poem "Verschollener Ruhm der Riesenstadt New York" is as intricately intertwined with his perceptions of America, in general, and of New York, in particular, during the stock market crisis of 1929, as it is with his experiences in and perceptions of Berlin at that time. It also functions on a highly metaphorical level, as the title indicates. This examination will therefore be a conflation of these two often conflicting levels of discourse. The first half of the chapter interprets the poem within its contextual framework and provides a setting for the second, more analytically oriented, section.

The combination of these two elements calls for a threefold interpretation: descriptive, comparative and analytical. First, Brecht's relationship to the city will be examined through an analysis of the city motif in his poetry. In broad strokes I will attempt to present the *Zeitgeist* of Berlin in the Twenties as the backdrop that was to shape Brecht's *Amerikabild.* Establishing the prevailing *Zeitgeist* of Berlin is of particular relevance since the argument can be and has been made that much of what Brecht wrote about the city and New York in the late Twenties was to some extent a transference of his feelings about Berlin.[1]

Brecht's works in which the image of America is pervasive will be examined and then compared to his portrayal of New York in "Verschollener Ruhm der Riesenstadt New York" (subsequently referred to as "Verschollener Ruhm"). In his essay "Das Amerikabild Brechts," Brandt points out that "Das Gedicht 'Verschollener Ruhm der Riesenstadt New York'..., als vorweggenommene Perspektive aus der Nachwelt bald nach der New Yorker Börsenkatastrophe von 1929 geschrieben, stellt eine Gleichung: USA = God's own country = New York, auf, eine bei Europäern nicht seltene Fehlrechnung."[2] Brandt points out that Brecht adopted a rather simplistic line of reasoning in his understanding of America and New York in the poem. It is important to understand how Brecht came to such a view,

and to ask whether there was some validity to the equation at the time Brecht wrote the poem. Brecht is rarely as unambiguous as he seems upon first reading. We might ask whether his perceptions of America and/or New York were not, in fact, more complex than the above equation suggests.

Emphasis will be on an interpretation of the poem itself, but the textual analyses will be interspersed with observations relating to the *Zeitgeist* of Berlin in the Twenties. It will address such questions as: (1) How was Brecht's *Amerikabild* formed? (2) Could "Verschollener Ruhm" just as easily have been set in Chicago? and (3) What American authors influenced him during the writing of this poem? The many excellent studies on Brecht's *Amerikabild* allow me to restrict my own remarks on this topic.[3] As in the Kafka and Bachmann chapters, an overall interpretation of the poem will precede the more detailed explication.

Verschollener Ruhm der

Riesenstadt New York

1
Wer erinnert sich wohl noch
An den Ruhm der Riesenstadt New York
In dem Jahrzehnt nach dem g roßen Krieg?

2
Welch ein episch gefeiertes Becken war doch dieses Amerika
damals!
God's own country!
Nur mit den Anfangsbuchstaben seiner Vornamen genannt:
USA
Wie unser jedermann bekannter, unverwechselbarer
Jugendfreund

3
Dieses unerschöpfliche Becken, hieß es
Nahm alles auf, was hineinfiel, und verwandelte es
In zweimal zwei Wochen bis zur Kenntlichkeit!
Alle Rassen, an diesem lustvollen Kontinent gelandet
Gaben sich eifrigst auf, ihre eingewurzelten Eigenarten vergessend
Wie schlechte Gewohnheiten
Um
Schleunigst so zu werden wie die hierorts so sehr Anwesenden!
Die aber nahmen sie großzügig und unbesorgt auf wie allzu
Unterschiedliche
(Unterschiedlich nur durch die Unterschiedlichkeit ihrer
kümmerlichen Existenzen!).
Wie ein guter Sauerteig fürchteten sie nicht
Jede auch noch so große Masse von Teig: sie wußten
Sie durchdrangen alles!

Welch ein Ruhm! Welch ein Jahrhundert!

4
Ach, diese Stimmen ihrer Frauen aus den Schalldosen!
So sang man (bewahrt diese Platten auf!) im goldenen Zeitalter!
Wohllaut der abendlichen Wasser von Miami!
Unaufhaltsame Heiterkeit der über nie endende Straßen schnell fahrenden
Geschlechter!
Machtvolle Trauer singender Weiber, in Zuversicht breitbrüstige Männer
beweinend, aber immer noch umgeben von
Breitbrüstigen Männern!

5
Seltene Menschenexemplare stellten sie zusammen in ganzen Parks
Fütterten sie sachkundige, badeten sie und ließen sie wiegen
Damit ihre unvergleichlichen Bewegungen im Lichtbild festgehalten würden
Für alle Nachkommenden.

6
Ihre riesigen Bauwerke führten sie auf mit unvergleichlicher
Verschwendung
Besten Menschenmaterials. Vollkommen offen, vor aller Welt
Holten sie aus ihren Arbeitern heraus, was in ihnen war
Schoßen mit Flinten in die Kohlenschächte und warfen ihre abgebrauchten
Knochen und
Vernutzten Muskeln auf die Straße mit
Gutmütigem Lachen.
Aber mit sportlicher Anerkennung berichteten sie
Von der gleichen groben Unerbittlichkeit der Arbeiter bei
den Streiks
Mit homerischem Ausmaß.

7
Armut galt dort für schimpflich!
In den Filmen dieser gesegneten Nation verübten Männer
Ins Unglück geraten, beim Anblick von Armenwohnungen,
die Klaviere und Ledersofas enthielten
Kurzerhand Selbstmord.

8
Welch ein Ruhm! Welch ein Jahrhundert!
Ach, auch wir verlangten solche breitspurigen Anzüge aus
groben Stoffen
Mit den Wattewülsten an den Schultern, welche die
Männer so breit machen
Daß drei von ihnen den ganzen Gehsteig beanspruchen.
Auch wir versuchten, unsere Bewegungen zu bremsen
Die Hände langsam in die Taschen zu stecken und uns aus den Stühlen
In denen wir (wie für alle Ewigkeit) gelegen hatten, langsam
herauszuarbeiten
Wie ein ganzes Staatswesen, das sich umwälzt.
Auch wir stopften uns den Mund voll Kaugummi
(Beechnut)
Von dem es hieß, daß er die Kinnladen auf die Dauer vortrieb

Und sassen mit ewig mahlenden Kiefern wie in unaufhörlicher Freßgier.
Auch unseren Gesichtern wünschten wir jene gefürchtete
Undurchsichtigkeit zu verleihen
Des "poker face man," der sich seinen Mitbürgern als unlösliches Rätsel aufgab.
Auch wir lächelten ständig wie vor oder nach guten Geschäften
Die der Beweis einer gut funktionierenden Verdauung sind.
Auch wir tappten unseren Gegenübers (lauter zukünftigen Kunden)
Gerne an die Arme, Schenkel und zwischen die Schulterblätter
Ausprobierend, wie man solche Burschen in die Hand bekommt
Mit schmeichelnden und zupackenden Griffen wie nach Hunden.
So eiferten wir diesem berühmten Menschenschlag nach, welcher bestimmt schien
Die Erde zu beherrschen, indem er sie vorwärts brachte.

9
Welch eine Zuversicht! Was für ein Anspom!
Diese Maschinenhallen: die größten der Welt!
Zeugungspropaganda betrieben die Autofabriken: sie bauten schon Autos (auf Abzahlung)
Für die Ungeborenen! Denen, die
Beinahe ungebrauchte Kleidungsstücke wegwarfen (aber so
Daß sie sofort verdarben, am besten in Kalk!)
Wurden Prämien bezahlt! Diese Brücken:
Blühendes Land verbanden sie mit blühendem Land!
Endlos!
Die längsten der Welt! Diese Hochhäuser:
Die so hoch ihre Steine geschichtet hatten
Daß sie alles überragten, betrachteten von ihrer Höhe sorgenvoll die Neubauten
Die eben erst aus dem Boden wuchsen und die
Ihren Mammutbau überragen würden.
(Manche befürchteten schon, das Wachstum dieser Städte
Könnte nicht mehr gestoppt werden, sie müßten
Ihre Tage beschliessen mit zwanzig Etagen anderer Städte über sich
Und würden in Särgen verstaut, die übereinander
Eingegraben werden!)

10
Aber sonst: welche Zuversicht! Selbst die Toten
Wurden geschminkt und mit wohligem Lächeln versehen
(Ich verzeichne solche Züge aus dem Gedächtnis, andere
Habe ich vergessen), nicht einmal
Den Entronnenen wurde Hoffnungslosigkeit gestattet!

11
Was für Menschen! Ihre Boxer die stärksten!
Ihre Erfinder die praktischsten! Ihre Züge die schnellsten!
Auch die bevölkersten!
Und das alles schien 1000 Jahre zu dauern
Sprengten doch die Leute der Stadt New York selber aus:
Ihre Stadt sei auf Felsgrund gebaut und also
Unzerstörbar!

12
Wahrlich, ihr ganzes System des Gemeinlebens war
unvergleichlich
Welch ein Ruhm! Welch ein Jahrhundert!

13
Allerdings dauerte dieses Jahrhundert
Nur knappe acht Jahre.

14
Denn eines Tages durchlief die Welt das Gerücht seltsamer
Zusammenbrüche
Auf einem berühmten Kontinent, und seine noch gestern gehamsterten
Geldscheine wurden wie faule, stinkende Fische mit Ekel weggewiesen.

15
Heute, wo es sich herumgesprochen hat
Daß diese Leute bankrott sind
Sehen wir auf den anderen Kontinenten (die zwar auch bankrott sind)
Allerhand anders, wie es uns vorkommt, schärfer.

16
Was ist das mit den Hochhäusern?
Wir betrachten sie kühler.
Was für verächtliche Schuppen sind Hochhäuser, welche keine Miete mehr
abwerfen!
So hoch hinauf voller Armut? Bis unter die Wolken voll von Schulden?
Was ist das mit den Eisenbahnzügen?
In den Eisenbahnzügen, die rollenden Hotels gleichen, heißt es
Wohnt jetzt oft kein Mensch.
Er fährt nirgends hin
Mit einer unvergleichlichen Schnelligkeit!
Was ist das mit den Brücken? Sie verbinden
(Die längsten der Welt!) Schuttplätze jetzt mit Schuttplätzen!
Und was ist mit den Menschen?

17
Immer noch, hören wir, schminken sich diese, aber
Jetzt: um Stellen zu ergattern. Die 22jährigen
Frauen schnupfen jetzt Kokain, bevor sie sich anstellen
Einen Platz an der Schreibmaschine für sich zu erobern.
Ganze Familien jagen den Töchtern das Gift in die Schenkel
Das sie feurig aussehen macht.

18
Noch werden Schallplatten verkauft, freilich wenige
Doch was erzählen uns diese Ziegen eigentlich, die nicht
Singen gelernt haben? Was
Ist der Sinn dieser Gesänge? Was haben sie uns
Eigentlich vorgesungen all diese Jahre lang?
Warum missfallen uns jetzt diese einstmals gefeierten Stimmen?
Warum
Machen uns diese Lichtbilder der Städte so gar keinen
Eindruck mehr?

Weil es sich herumgesprochen hat
Daß diese Leute bankrott sind!

19
Ihre Maschinen nämlich, heißt es, liegen in riesigen Haufen
(den größten der Welt!)
Und rosten
Wie die Maschinen der alten Welt (in kleineren Haufen).

20
Noch finden Weltmeisterschaftskämpfe vor ein paar zerstreut
sitzengebliebenen Zuschauern statt:
Der jeweils stärkste Mann
Kommt nicht auf gegen das geheimnisvolle Gesetz
Das die Menschen aus den gestopft vollen Läden treibt!

21
Ihr Lächeln festhaltend (nichts sonst mehr!), stehen die ausgedienten
Weltmeister
Den paar letzten verkehrenden Trams im Wege.
Drei dieser breitspurigen Leute füllen den Gehsteig, aber
Was wird *sie* füllen, vor die Nacht kommt?
Nur die Schultern wärmt Watte denen, die in unaufhörlichen
Zügen
Tag und Nacht die leeren Schluchten der leblosen
Steinhaufen durcheilen.
Ihre Bewegungen sind langsam wie die hungriger und geschwächter Tiere.
Wie ein ganzes Staatswesen, das sich umwälzt
Arbeiten sie sich langsam aus den Gossen heraus, in
denen sie zu liegen scheinen wie für die Ewigkeit.
Ihre Zuversichtlichkeit, heißt es
Ist noch da; sie begründet sich auf die Hoffnung
Daß der Regen morgen von unten nach oben fliessen wird.
Ihre Heiterkeit, heißt es, ist unaufhaltsam
Wenn sie ein Stück Fleisch in einer Auslage hängen sehen.

22
Aber etliche, hören wir, können immer noch Arbeit finden:
da, wo man
Den Weizen in ganzen Zugladungen in das Meer schüttet,
welches
Das pazifische gennant wird.
Und die auf den Parkbänken übernachten, hören wir, sollen
Mit ganz unerlaubten Gedanken
Diese leeren Hochhäuser sehen vor dem Einschlafen.

23
Welch ein Bankrott! Wie ist da
Ein großer Ruhm verschollen! Welch eine Entdeckung:
Dass ihr System des Gemeinlebens denselben
Jämmerlichen Fehler aufwies wie das
Bescheidenerer Leute!

I

DOCUMENTATION OF THE POEM

In the 1980 Suhrkamp edition of Brecht's *Gedichte für Städtebewohner*, "Verschollener Ruhm" is listed as "Zum Lesebuch Für Städtebewohner gehörige[s] Gedicht."[4] "Verschollener Ruhm" has shared the fate of many of Brecht's poems in that the author did little to assure its publication and categorization. In Willett's 1976 edition of Brecht's poems from 1913 - 1956, the editor points out that "more perhaps than any other major writer except Kafka, Brecht was content that the greater part of his achievement should remain unknown."[5] "Verschollener Ruhm" became one of many poems that shared the gypsy life of its exiled author, appearing first with one series of poems and then with another. The first known publication was in the "Exilzeitschrift" *Die Sammlung* in 1934.[6] (Further reference will be made to this initial publication, since the second version that appeared in 1951 in the East German *Aufbau Verlag* contained a major change in content in the twelfth stanza, which Seliger ascribes to a shift in ideology in the later Brecht.)[7] In this second edition, entitled *Hundert Gedichte: 1918 - 1950*, the poem appears under the overall title "Berichte/Chroniken" and is placed between "Kohlen für Mike," one of Brecht's earlier poems (1927), and the poem "Abbau des Schiffes Oskawa durch die Mannschaft." In the 1961 Suhrkamp collection of *Gesammelte Werke* it appeared in Volume III, along with three other unrelated poems, as an *Anhang* to the *Lieder Gedichte Chöre*, a position it has retained in the updated version of *Gesammelte Werke*. Brecht had compiled this second edition of his poems in 1933 while in exile in Denmark. An editor's note explains the chronological order of the poems in the 1961 *Gesammelte Werke*: "Die nicht von Brecht selbst zusammengefassten und unveröffentlichten Gedichten aus den Jahren 1929 - 34 sind wie die im zweiten Band der 'Gedichte' von den Redakteuren chronologisch angeordnet."[8] While there has been some dispute about the date of the poem, it is widely believed to have been written between 1929 and 1930, i.e. at the height of the stock market crash.

In Willett's 1976 collection we read that the model for the poem "is presumably Whitman, for instance his 'Crossing Brooklyn Ferry'."[9] Brecht had read Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* in the German translation, but "Verschollener Ruhm" bears little resemblance to either the mood or content of Whitman's lyrics, except perhaps to satirize them. There is very little to support even that theory, for Brecht's parodistic streak takes a decidedly different turn from that of a parody of Whitman's lyric style.

II

Brecht and the City

An understanding of Brecht's relationship to the city itself serves to clarify his view of New York. Like Kafka and Bachmann, Brecht spent the greater part of his life in big cities, and like Kafka, he had no first-hand knowledge of America or New York when he wrote the poem. His perceptions of this city were formed largely by his reactions to the city, in general, and by his reactions to Berlin, in particular. In 1920, following the death of his mother, Brecht first left his native Augsburg to settle in Munich. A brief study at the University of Munich was soon abandoned in favor of full-time writing. Of Munich as a city Brecht had very little good to say: "In dieser Stadt kann man sich nicht umdrehen, und die Leute sind so dumm, daß man so viel Humor braucht, daß man schlechter Laune wird."[10] Munich, however, enabled him to make frequent trips to Berlin. His early attempts to establish contacts with publishing houses and theaters in Berlin did not meet with much success, but his inital reactions to Berlin are telling. In 1920 he wrote to his friend Neher: "Berlin ist eine wunderwolle Angelegenheit ... Alles ist schrecklich überfüllt von Geschmacklosigkeiten, aber in was für einem Format, Kind."[11] The initial fascination for the newcomer soon gave way to feelings of claustrophobia. A later diary entry, dated Dec. 12, 1921, reads: "Es ist keine Luft in dieser Stadt, an diesem Ort kann man nicht leben. Es schnürt mir den Hals zu, ich stehe auf, fliehe in ein Restaurant, fliehe aus dem Restaurant, trabe in der eisigen Mondnacht herum, krieche wieder hier herein, schreibe mit Unlust, muß wieder in die Klappe, kann nicht schlafen."[12] This is reminiscent of Rilke's Malte Laurids Brigge wandering through the streets of Paris asking: "Was hätte es für einen Sinn gehabt, noch irgendwohin zu gehen, ich war leer. Wie ein leeres Papier trieb ich an den Häusern entlang, den Boulvevard wieder hinauf."[13] These sentiments are echoed in another of Brecht's autobiographical entries: "Steine auf einem platten Boden: Das ist eine Heimat; nein, das ist keine Heimat. Wieviel fremde Leute, wie ungewiß die Abstände. Die Lampe brennt nieder. Ich habe seitlich links etwas Kopfweh."[14] Shortly thereafter, Brecht was so run-down that he had to be treated for undernourishment in the Charité Hospital.[15]

Brecht's early experiences in Berlin were thus not markedly positive, and they clearly reflected the experiences of a newcomer to the capital. However, though his reactions were by and large negative, there is a definite sense of ambivalence. By 1925 Brecht had adapted to the city milieu somewhat, as the following entry indicates: "Nach Genuß von etwas schwarzem Kaffee erscheinen auch die Eisenzementbauten in besserem Licht. Ich habe mit Erschrecken gesehen (auf einem Reklameprospekt einer amerikanischen Baufirma), daß diese Wolkenkratzer auch in dem Erdbeben von San Franzisko stehenblieben, aber im Grund halte ich sie doch nach einigem Nachdenken für vergänglicher als etwa

Bauernhütten; die standen tausend Jahre lang, denn sie waren auswechselbar, verbrauchten sich rasch und wuchsen also wieder auf ohne Aufhebens. Es ist gut, daß mir dieser Gedanke zu Hilfe kam; denn ich betrachte diese langen und ruhmvollen Häuser mit Großem Vergnügen."[16] Five years later, these sentiments would find expression in his poem on New York. Brecht's attitude toward the city is perhaps one of the clearest examples of *Haßliebe* in modern German literature, with the emphasis usually falling on *Haß*. In contrast to many of his other city poems, "Verschollener Ruhm" reflects some of Brecht's ambivalent feelings about the city, though here too the emphasis is predominantly on the negative. These paradoxes constitute the very essence of Brecht the writer, and Brecht the man. Schevill has called him "a master of contradictions, of opposites."[17] This highly paradoxical nature also enabled Brecht to reflect the paradoxical nature of the city.

Nowhere are these paradoxes and contradictions more cogently expressed than in "Verschollener Ruhm der Riesenstadt New York." The poem has, in fact, frequently been cited as a pivotal piece in Brecht's attitude towards America. Seliger writes: "Das 1930 entstandene Gedicht 'Verschollener Ruhm der Riesenstadt New York' ist als Schlußbilanz von Brechts jahrelanger Auseinandersetzung mit dem Amerikanismus anzusehen."[18] Though I would differ with the word "Schlußbilanz," the poem clearly illustrates Brecht's ambivalence about his earlier enthusiasm for America and his denunciation of America at the height of the stock market crash in 1929. Parmalee's assertion that "... Brecht is nowhere more explicit about his attitudes toward America"[19] than in "Verschollener Ruhm" is certainly true, and nowhere is Brecht more explicit about his attitude toward the city in general than in this poem.

III

Brecht and the City Motif

Brecht's early impressions of Berlin shaped the very nature of his writings. The city motif became central in his poetry and plays. In the poem "Ausschließlich wegen der zunehmenden Unordnung," written several years after "Verschollener Ruhm," Brecht had defined his position toward art and politics and the consequences this entailed:

> In unseren Städten des Klassenkampfs
> Haben etliche von uns in diesen Jahren beschlossen
> Nicht mehr zu reden von Hafenstädten, Schnee auf den
> Dächern, Frauen
> Geruch reifer Äpfel im Keller, Empfindungen des
> Fleisches
> All dem, was den Menschen rund macht und menschlich

Sondern zu reden nur mehr von der Unordnung
Also einseitig zu werden, dürr, verstrickt in die
Geschäfte
Der Politik und das trockene "unwürdige" Vokabular
Der dialektischen Ökonomie
Damit nicht dieses furchtbare gedrängt Zusammensein
Von Schneefällen (sie sind nicht nur kalt, wir
wissen's)
Ausbeutung, verlocktem Fleisch und Klassenjustiz eine
Billigung
So vielseitiger Welt in uns erzeuge, Lust an
Den Widersprüchen solch blutigen Lebens
Ihr versteht.[20]

Brecht was fully aware that art in the service of morality would by definition be "thinner" and often one-sided, yet he felt there was no other option at that time, the "dunkele Zeiten," as he called them. In this poem the city is singled out as best reflecting the *Klassenkampf*. At the time he was writing "Verschollener Ruhm," Brecht had fully adopted the idea that poetry was to serve politics. Morley regrets the loss of the "exuberance and colourful language of the *Hauspostille*"[21] in favor of a "more sober, consciously manipulated style," and sees this change as "a logical result of the study of Marxism: the tone of the voice is now that of the poet on the public platform."[22] After Brecht began his readings of Marx in 1926 there is indeed a decided change in the tone of his poetry. However, it must be borne in mind that the years 1926 - 1930—the approximate years that most influenced the writing of "Verschollener Ruhm"—not only reflect Brecht's most extreme political phase but also reflect the years of greatest economic upheaval both in Germany and the U.S. In Germany, the first two decades of this century had clearly marked the largest population shift from the country to the city, and with this shift came the inevitable development of urban slums and the crass juxtaposition of tenement houses and luxury skyscrapers. During this period the term *Großstadt* became firmly entrenched in the literature of Expressionism and the *Neue Sachlichkeit*. Brecht, like most of his contemporaries, viewed the city accurately as the focal point of this economic upheaval, this "zunehmende Unordnung." As early as 1921 he clearly defined his goals: "Als ich mir überlegte, was Kipling für die Nation machte, die die Welt "zivilisierte," kam ich zu der epochalen Entdeckung, daß eigenlich noch kein Mensch die große Stadt als Dschungel beschrieben hat. [...] Die Feindseligkeit der großen Stadt, ihre bösartige, steinerne Konsistenz, ihre babylonische Verwirrung, kurz: ihre Poesie ist noch nicht geschaffen."[23] Brecht's autobiographical entries are by no means to be taken at face value. When he wrote this entry in 1921, he was well aware of the urban poetry of Expressionists such as Heym, Benn, and Becher. However, he felt the Expressionists concentrated on the

subjective too much, thus minimizing their subject matter—in this case, the city. Grimm has explored Brecht's ambivalent relationship to Expressionism in his excellent essay "Brecht's Anfänge," as have Muschg, Gaede and Willett in their studies.[24] What is of import here is Brecht's resistance to any form of categorization, be it Expressionism or the *Neue Sachlichkeit* of the mid-1920's, a period for which he shows greater affinity than for Expressionism.

Notwithstanding Brecht's reservations about the ability of Expressionism to reflect the "Poesie der Großstadt," the years 1910 to 1920 witnessed an unequaled flourishing of the city motif: "... nie zuvor und danach haben wohl so viele Strophen das Phänomen 'moderne Großstadt' unmittelbar thematisiert."[25] The city made its presence felt in all art forms well into the early Twenties. Carl Reißner's 112 drawings of *Bilder der Großstadt* appeared at this time, as did the documentary film *Berlin. Symphonie einer Großstadt* by Walter Ruttmann and Carl Mayer.[26] At the time that Brecht was writing "Verschollener Ruhm," an anthology of new big-city poetry appeared, *Um uns die Stadt 'Eine Anthologie neuer Großstadtdichtung'*, published by Robert Seitz and Heinz Zucker in 1931, including works by Max Barthel, Feuchtwanger, Hermann-Neiße, Kästner, Mehring, Ringelnatz, Tucholsky, Erich Weinert and others.[27] Of these authors, however, it is usually Brecht who is singled out as having captured the essence of the city. Willett writes that "The most powerful of these verses came from the unfinished cycle called 'A Reader for Those who Live in Cities' which Brecht wrote during his first two years in the capital, a spare, unsentimental statement of big-city morality as it struck him on arriving from the deceptive geniality of Bavaria. No other work shows quite so strongly how the city theme imposed its own economical, impersonal style..."[28] Brecht closes the "Reader" with the sobering poem "Wenn ich mit dir rede":

> Wenn ich mit dir rede
> Kalt und allgemein
> Mit den trockensten Wörtern
> Ohne dich anzublicken
> (Ich erkenne dich scheinbar nicht
> In deiner besonderen Artung und Schwierigkeit)
> So rede ich doch nur
> Wie die Wirklichkeit selber
> (Die nüchterne, durch deine besondere Artung
> unbestechliche
> Deiner Schwierigkeit überdrüssige)
> Die du mir nicht zu erkennen scheinst.[29]

Brecht has chosen here to address his audience directly, and in the case of these poems, he had quite literally intended to speak to his readers, i.e. his listeners. Licher

points out in his study *Zur Lyrik Brechts* "daß diese Gedichte als Texte für Schallplatten gedacht waren."[30] Brecht was unable to find a record company willing to support the project at that time, and the collection first appeared in today's form in the *Hundert Gedichte*. The narrator claims to speak only as coldly and in terms as general as reality itself, in this case, the reality of the city as Brecht perceived it. The city, depicted here as indifferent to the difficulties of the individual, had previously been held responsible for instilling coldness and apathy in the average city-dweller in "O Falladah, Die Du Hangest." In that poem the narrator's question is cast out into empty space, thus reflecting the very words he uses: "Was für eine Kälte muß über die Leute gekommen sein! ... Daß sie jetzt so durch und durch erkaltet?"[31]

In addition to poems that deal specifically with the city, the city motif can be found as well in most of Brecht's poems of a more general nature. For example, in "Fragen eines lesenden Arbeiters," the reference is less direct, though perhaps even more forceful:

> Wer baute das siebentorige Theben?
> In den Büchern stehen die Namen von Königen.
> Haben die Könige die Felsbrocken herbeigeschleppt?
> Und das mehrmals zerstörte Babylon --
> Wer baute es so viele Male auf?...
> ... Das große Rom
> Ist voll von Triumphbögen. Wer errichtete sie?...[32]

Brecht seemed incapable of writing about life without defining it in terms of the city. Though the thrust of this poem is clearly ideological in that it establishes the need to credit the working classes with contributions to civilization hitherto ascribed by historians exclusively to the ruling classes, Brecht has simultaneously defined the history of civilization as the history of the city, a position it has consistently enjoyed. Buono points out that in Brecht's later poetry the theme of the city is given precedence even over Brecht's political arguments: "Das Thema der Stadt macht zusehends den Themen des eigentlichen politischen Kampfes Platz."[33] I would argue that the city is not a separate theme for Brecht but is incorporated into that political arena. As early as 1926 with his introduction to Marx, Brecht unequivocally defined his relationship to the city as follows: "Als heroische Landschaft habe ich die Stadt, als Gesichtspunkt die Relativität, als Situation den Einzug der Menschheit in die großen Städte zu Beginn des dritten Jahrtausends..."[34] This is perhaps the clearest statement we have on Brecht's relationship to the city.

IV

BRECHT AND AMERICA

The equation set up at the beginning of this chapter—USA = God's own country = New York—merits closer examination. Chicago figures prominently in Brecht's work, and the argument could easily be made that US = God's own country = Chicago. This equation would, however, be overlooking a key factor. As the financial center of America, New York lends itself far more readily to the implicit equation: USA = God's own country = capitalism = the big city = New York. Critics have often reproached Brecht for not having an adequate understanding of the economic structure of the country he was criticizing. Brecht had raised the same doubts in a diary entry of 1935:

Für ein bestimmtes Theaterstück brauchte ich als Hintergrund die Weizenbörse Chicagos. Ich dachte, durch einige Umfragen bei Spezialisten und Praktikern mir rasch die nötigen Kenntnisse verschaffen zu können. Die Sache kam anders ... Ich gewann den Eindruck, daß diese Vorgänge schlechthin unerklärlich, das heißt von der Vernunft nicht erfaßbar, und das heißt wieder einfach unvernünftig waren. Die Art, wie das Getreide der Welt verteilt wurde, war schlechthin unbegreiflich. Von jeden Standpunkt aus ausser demjenigen einer Handvoll Spekulanten war dieser Getreidemarkt ein einziger Sumpf..."[35]

Although Brecht felt he did not adequately comprehend the economic system, he did feel that he had a very clear overall understanding of America, which he expressed in the following lines from the "Reader":

> Ich höre Sie sagen:
> Er redet von Amerika
> Er versteht nichts davon.
> Er war nicht dort.
> Aber glauben Sie mir
> Sie verstehen mich sehr gut, wenn ich von Amerika rede.
> Und das Beste an Amerika ist:
> Daß wir es verstehen.
> Sie, Herr
> Versteht man nicht
> Aber New York versteht man...[36]

These provocative and challenging lines were written between 1926 and 1933, roughly the same time Brecht was working on "Verschollener Ruhm." The confident tone of this poem clearly anticipates the questions of future readers and critics. It is not the intention of this study to determine to what extent Brecht did or did not fully understand the city and society he was to criticize so harshly; studies to that effect abound. For example, E. W. White writes that Brecht viewed America "half dazzled by the tinsel glare of a scene he has never thoroughly understood but which, for that very reason, can be all the more

easily twisted to serve his artistic purpose."[37] And Bryher argued that Brecht's "need for a legend, for escape, is rationalized through a Red Indian America that would astonish that continent, Mahagonny, a world of tomahawks, hurricanes, early gangster films and gold rush days..."[38] Both critics, it seems, are looking for a means to deflect Brecht's criticism, rather than examining it for its validity. In the same vein, Brecht's emphasis on the functional value of poetry is usually substantiated with his statement that: "Alle Großen Gedichte haben den Wert von Dokumenten."[39] This frequently cited quote is rarely followed by Brecht's immediate qualifying sentence: "In ihnen ist die Sprechweise des Verfassers enthalten, eines wichtigen Menschen."[40] Poetry is thus viewed as being grounded in reality, but only the reality of a given author.

With this sentence in mind, we come closer to the New York represented in "Verschollener Ruhm." As with Kafka's *Amerika* and Bachmann's *Der gute Gott von Manhattan*, we are here largely dealing with the New York of Brecht's mind, an image of the city that was formed through readings, films, radio broadcasts, postcards of the city and through heresay. It is perhaps the latter—the *Zeitgeist* of Berlin in the Twenties—that was pivotal in shaping Brecht's image of New York and America. An understanding of that milieu is crucial to an understanding of Brecht's image of this city.

V

THE *ZEITGEIST* OF BERLIN IN THE TWENTIES

Addressing the fact that Brecht had never traveled to the U.S. before writing about it, Ruland writes: "...in place of first-hand experience he had had what was surely the next most useful thing, a decade in Germany when America's influence dominated everybody and everything, the songs people sang, the dreams they dreamed, even the way they walked and held their shoulders... Berthold Brecht became "Bert" and Georg Grosz "George"; sport, "Virginia" cigars and jazz became necessities of life; and American movies and novels helped people the arts with cowboys and Indians, Chicago mobsters and girls from the Salvation Army. It is this America that forms the backdrop for so much of Brecht's early work."[41] And in commenting on the elements that went into the image of the fictional city in Mahagonny, a make-believe picture of America, Lotte Lenya recalled:

> All of us were of course fascinated by America, as we knew it from books, movies, popular songs, headlines —this was the America of the garish Twenties, with its Capones, Texas Guinans, Aimée Semple MacPhersons, Ponzis—the Florida boom and crash, also a disastrous Florida hurricane—a ghastly photograph, reproduced in every German newspaper, of the murderess Ruth Snyder in the electric chair—Hollywood films about the

Wild West and the Yukon—Jack London's adventure novels—Tin Pan Alley songs ...[42]

In Berlin in the Twenties it seemed almost impossible to avoid being infected with this *Amerikanismus*. Though much has been written to prove that Brecht's stance towards America was critical from the very beginning, the quotes above and the poem "Verschollener Ruhm" undermine the validity of that assertion. Brecht, like his fellow writers, was not impervious to the prevailing *Zeitgeist*. There is a middle ground between Grimm's assertion that there was no *Bruch*, no sudden change in Brecht's *Amerikabild*, and critics such as Seliger, who claim that "Verschollener Ruhm" marked a turning point in Brecht's attitude toward America. Marxist critics concur with Grimm's statement that: "Dieser 'Schlüsselbegriff der Dialektik' [Brecht's perception of dialectics as encompassing and consisting of paradoxes and contradictions] paßt sowohl für Brechts Amerikabild als auch für sein Verhältnis zum Marxismus, denn auch bei diesem sollte kein Wendepunkt angesetzt werden."[43] Both sides of the argument can be supported with quotes from Brecht and other sources; however, I feel the answer again lies somewhere between these two extremes. "Verschollener Ruhm" provides ample support for both cases.

Not only was the air filled with American movies and popular songs, but many American writers were popular in translation at that time. Among the most widely read, and those Brecht is generally thought to have read, were: Karl May, Harriet Beecher Stowe, James Fennimore Cooper, Walt Whitman, Mark Twain, Jack London, Upton Sinclair, Sinclair Lewis, Eugene O'Neill and Theodore Dreiser.[44]

The years 1926 - 1929 also witnessed the appearance of the first jazz records by Duke Ellington and Jelly Roll Morton, and established Chicago as the jazz capital of the world. The syncopated rhythm of jazz was readily adopted by Weill and Brecht, as was the ambience associated with boxing and the heavyweight championships alluded to in "Verschollener Ruhm." Many of these aspects of *Amerikanismus* were also reflected in Brecht's numerous plays and poems in which Chicago or New York functioned as a motif or setting.

VI

MOTIF OF AMERICA IN BRECHT'S WORKS

The most important of Brecht's works usually cited in which America figures predominantly are: *Im Dickicht der Städte* (1921-23), *Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny* (1928-29), *Die heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe* (1929-30), and the poem

"Verschollener Ruhm der Riesenstadt New York" (1930).[45] Of these works, only "Verschollener Ruhm" is set exclusively in New York. Chicago serves as the backdrop for the others, although there are noteworthy references to New York City in *Im Dickicht der Städte*. The short piece *Der Flug der Lindberghs* (1928-29), later renamed *Der Ozeanflug*, (1930) is perhaps the only strictly positive portrayal of America in Brecht's work, although it is the triumph of technology that is celebrated more than America itself.

In addition to the works above, the parable *Der aufhaltsame Aufstieg des Arturo Ui* (1941) creates a fictitious Chicago, a city of gangsters, with Arturo Ui standing in for Hitler, and other transposed characters such as Dogsborough for Hindenburg, Giri for Goering, Givola for Goebbels, and Dullfeet for Dollfuss. Chicago here symbolizes all that Brecht hated about the capitalist world.

The largely unsuccessful piece *Happy End* (1928- 1929) is also set in Chicago and is relevant to this study only in the obvious satire of America implicit in the title. The Salvation Army motif, a motif popular with Shaw as well as Brecht, functions predominantly here as it does in *Die heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe*.

Of the many poems that deal specifically with America, the best known are: "Komm mit mir nach Georgia," "Lied eines Mannes in San Franzisko," "Sang der Maschinen," "Lied einer Familie aus der Savannah" "Die Nachtlager," "Ballade von der Hanna Cash, "Kohlen für Mike" and "Die Hollywood-Elegien."[46]

These works are relevant to an understanding of "Verschollener Ruhm" only to the degree that the image of the city or of New York in these works corroborates or contradicts the image of the city in "Verschollener Ruhm." Definite parallels as well as differences can be seen in a comparison of the image of New York in the play *Im Dickicht* with that of the poem. The dominant theme of the play is the inability of modern man to communicate with his fellow man. The character Shlink captures the essence of the play when he says: "Ja, so Groß ist die Vereinzelung, daß es nicht einmal einen Kampf gibt."[47] At the conclusion, Shlink asks Garga if he is going to Tahiti. Garga's laconic reply: "New York ... Ich werde hingehen, und ich werde zurückkommen mit eisernen Gliedern, dunkler Haut, die Wut im Auge. Meinem Gesicht nach wird man glauben, daß ich von starker Rasse bin. Ich werde Gold haben, müssig sein und brutal...."[48] New York is viewed as an agent endowing Garga with animal-like strength or the strength of an indestructible machine with "eisernen Gliedern." It is a city perceived as promoting the class of the indolent wealthy, "[die] Gold haben... [und] müssig [sind]...," a theme further developed in "Verschollener Ruhm."

Chicago does not fare much better in the play. In a conversation between Manky and John Garga, the father of the protagonist, the city is depicted as follows:

> John: In solchen Städten kann man nicht von hier bis zum nächsten Haus sehen. Sie wissen nicht, was es bedeutet, wenn Sie eine bestimmte Zeitung lesen.
> Manky: Oder wenn Sie ein Billett kaufen müssen.
> John: Wenn die Leute mit diesen elektrischen Wagen fahren, bekommen sie vielleicht davon ...
> Manky: Den Magenkrebs.
> John: Sie wissen es nicht. Der Weizen in den Staaten wächst durch Sommer und Winter.
> Manky: Aber Sie haben plötzlich, ohne daß es Ihnen einer sagt, kein Mittagessen. Sie gehen mit Ihren Kindern auf der Straße, und das vierte Gebot wird genau beobachtet, und plötzlich haben Sie nur mehr die Hand Ihres Sohnes oder Ihrer Tochter in der Hand, und Ihr Sohn und Ihre Tochter selber sind schon bis über ihre Köpfe in einem plötzlichen Kies versunken.[49]

Little distinction is made between Chicago and New York except that New York is by implication viewed as tougher, more brutal and inhuman than Chicago. It is the ultimate "Big City," the city of last resort. There is, however, a great difference between Brecht's perception of the American Big City in *Im Dickicht* and in "Verschollener Ruhm." In *Im Dickicht* Chicago is the city as jungle, an impenetrable network ensnaring its inhabitants. This is a motif Brecht later modified, though the essential feeling of losing oneself in the city remains constant throughout the early plays and poems. In "Verschollener Ruhm," by contrast, the city is no longer capable of evoking the organic quality of a jungle. New York has been pared down to a sterile, overpowering entity that leaves its inhabitants "hurry[ing] through the empty canyons of lifeless stonepiles."[50] Brecht's perception of the city has progressed from viewing it as an incomprehensible maze to seeing it in "Verschollener Ruhm" in a far more detached manner as an entity that offers man neither protection nor even the solace of having an opponent outside of oneself. Man is left alone with his own anxiety. On the association of the city with anxiety in modern literature, Burton Pike has written: "The city as a spatial form presents both the image of a map and the image of a labyrinth: figures by which characters orient, but can also lose, themselves. Reflecting this inherent ambiguity, the image of the city functions as a nodal point of anxiety for the reader as well as for the characters."[51] In the poem the association of anxiety and the city is carried to the last degree.

Of the play *The Rise and Fall of the City of Mahagonny*, Ruland writes that "the target is the baseness to which man's avarice and lust can bring him, and the setting is again the city—always for Brecht the cesspool of human depravity—this time a mythical city in Florida called Mahagonny (Mähägonny), or 'the city of nets.'"[52] The city is here clearly still closely related to the jungle motif in *Im Dickicht* if only by means of the epithet 'the city of nets'. There are, however, very strong elements of the apocalyptic city we find

in "Verschollener Ruhm," most notably the well-known refrain sung by the men:

> Unter unsern Städten sind Gossen
> In ihnen ist nichts und über ihnen ist Rauch.
> Wir sind noch drin. Wir habe nichts genossen.
> Wir vergehen rasch und langsam vergehen sie auch.[53]

This refrain is sung repeatedly throughout the play and sets the tone of the entire piece. Equally well defined is the notion that poverty is the greatest crime one can commit in America. The protagonist Paule Ackermann has committed crimes as serious as murder, but he is condemned to death "wegen Mangel an Geld, was das größte Verbrechen ist, das auf dem Erdenrund vorkommt."[54] In "Verschollener Ruhm" we read "Armut galt dort [in America] für schimpflich!"[55] Thus, many of the conclusions about America expressed in the poem had indeed been arrived at far earlier, while others only gradually evolved in the form we later find them in "Verschollener Ruhm."

Before turning to the poem itself, one question remains: Could "Verschollener Ruhm" just as easily have been set in Chicago or Miami or any other Big City? Although Brecht's New York was not based on any first-hand knowledge of the city—"die paradiesstadt new york (die ich auf dem augsburger plärrer in den panoramen abgebildet sah, auf bildern aus den 50er jahren stammend..."[56]—, it would be a serious mistake to relegate his Chicago or New York to the purely metaphorical, as Marcel Reich-Ranicki claims when he writes:

> Unlike the Brechtians, Brecht knew very well how little his plays had to do with countries which he used as background. The India of *A Man is a Man* and the Russia of the *Mother*, the London of the *Threepenny Opera* and the Chicago of *St. Joan of the Stockyards* - considered carefully, we see that these are all fairy-tale worlds, poetic fictions. Geographical concepts prove always to be mere provocations with the modish (and usually so cheap) chic of the exotic. The town Mahagonny no more lies in the USA than Szechuan in China.[57]

There are several problems with this apparently definitive stance: First, Brecht had no need to resort to such an obvious device as using a foreign setting to produce the effect of the exotic. Through his extraordinary use of language, through the interjection of foreign phrases - mostly English - and unexpected colloquial phrases, Brecht was able to evoke a sense of the unusual and the different. Secondly, there is indeed much that is fictitious about the Chicago of *St. Joan* or the New York of "Verschollener Ruhm," and I am by no means claiming that Brecht strove for verisimilitude. I agree fully with Hoover that "...ein ungebrochen widerspiegelndes, faktengetreu berichtendes dokumentarisches Bild Amerikas gibt es nicht bei Brecht."[58] However, Chicago was not a random choice for the setting of *St.Joan*, but reflected the influence of Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* on Brecht in writing this

play.[59] Similarly, though Brecht's Manhattan is not identified through any specific street names nor landmarks—aside from the conspicuous title --, the reader senses that the ubiquitous skyscrapers that clutter the poem could only be a reference to New York. Brecht does provide a temporal point of orientation by centering the poem around the stock market crash of 1929, thus reaffirming America's financial center as the locus of the poem.

There are works in which the choice of cities seems fully arbitrary, a prime example being the *Sieben Todessünden*. Ruland writes of this play: "There is little point to the cities named in *Seven Sins* - with the obvious exception of Los Angeles where the film is made—except to make the tale panoramic: seven states and every section of the country help demonstrate how pervasive are the family's values."[60] Of the seven sites visited (only five are specified as cities; the state of Tennessee is associated with the vice of greed, and for the first vice, sloth, no specific site is mentioned at all), no obvious pattern emerges. The two sisters crisscross the United States visiting "Faulheit" (city not mentioned)/ "Stolz" (Memphis)/ "Zorn" (L.A)/ "Völlerei" (Philadelphia)/ "Unzucht" (Boston) / "Habsucht" (Tennessee - no specific city mentioned) and "Neid" (San Francisco). Not only is the choice of the individual city irrelevant, but the journey itself illustrates Brecht's lack of concern with geographical accuracy, in that even the most carefree traveler would hardly choose such a haphazard itinerary. The analysis that follows examines Brecht's use of both the representational and the metaphorical in depicting the city of New York.

VII

EXPLICATION OF THE POEM

Brecht has set the tone for the entire poem in the title itself. The words "Verschollener Ruhm der Riesenstadt New York" evoke a good deal more than the stock market crash of 1929 and its concomitant economic disaster. In the word "verschollen" the reader is referred back to an undefined past. The connotative association of "verschollen" is more of a ship lost at sea than of a city in the twentieth century. The mythical city of Atlantis might be called "verschollen." But it must be remembered that it is the fame of the city, not the city itself, that is lost, thus the title serves to twice remove New York from the realm of representational fiction.

Is this to say that Marcel Reich-Ranicki was right after all? That "Brecht knew very well how little his plays had to do with countries [cities] which he used as background..."? While Brecht is clearly addressing the economic and political situation in New York in 1929, he is simultaneously working with the metonymic function of the name "New York"

and its ability to stand for a whole complex of representations. The text functions on two levels of discourse, the representational and the metaphorical. It is my belief that only a balance between these two approaches will lead to a satisfactory interpretation of the poem.

The second word of the title, "Ruhm," is also laden with multiple meanings. "Glory, fame, renown and honor" are but the most obvious translations of the word. Like "verschollen," "Ruhm" takes the reader back to a time long since past and evokes such associations as the glory of Rome or the notoreity of Babylon. It suggests a time or place at its zenith and conveys undertones of immortality. Next we come to the epithet "Riesenstadt New York." The use of the word "Riesen" is a clear indicator that much of the poem will abound in hyperbole. Gigantic though New York with its population of over five million must have seemed to the average European in 1929, it is more probable that Brecht was calling attention to his own use of exaggeration and caricature throughout the poem rather than making reference to the city's intimidating size.

The title has signalled the parodistic and satirical elements of the poem, elements that often serve to heighten the sense of reality by calling attention to the most prominent features. In a poem replete with intentially stereotypical images of the American, one would expect to find at least the lights of Broadway or the glitter of Fifth Avenue satirized. Throughout the twenty-three stanzas, however, there is only one specific reference to New York aside from the words of the title. In the eleventh stanza we read: "Und das alles schien 1000 Jahre zu dauern sprengten doch die Leute der Stadt New York selber aus: Ihre Stadt sei auf Felsgrund gebaut und also unzerstörbar!" Brecht has kept his New York uncluttered with specific place names, and yet the reader senses that this is unmistakably New York: the sheer dimensions of the city cry out the name Manhattan. ("Diese Hochhäuser, die so hoch ihre Steine geschichtet hatten, daß sie alles überragten, betrachteten von ihrer Höhe sorgenvoll die Neubauten die eben erst aus dem Boden wuchsen und die Ihren Mammutbau überragen würden.")

Brecht's extraordinary use of language reflects his dialectical view of reality and the work of art, creating a perpetual tension between the representational and the mythic quality in the poem. As always, Brecht's is a spare language, stripped of embellishing adjectives or adverbs and pared down to an almost ascetic simplicity. This lean style is further enchanced by a deliberate sparseness in imagery and metaphor. The nouns are by and large concrete, thus highlighting the occasional use of abstract nouns, such as the uncharacteristic line in the fourth stanza: "Unaufhaltsame Heiterkeit der über nie endende Straßen schnell fahrenden Geschlechter." The frequent use of passive and conditional verbs provides a sense of detachment between the narrator and the text. Again and again we read: "Dieses... Becken, *hieß es" or "Ihre Stadt sei* auf Felsgrund gebaut" and "Immer noch,

hören wir" , "Ihre Heiterkeit, heißt es..." and " Aber etliche, hören wir,...." It is as if the narrator were only repeating a well-established fact. He is not telling the reader anything new; the facts are there for all the world to see and do not depend on the credibility of the narrator for their verification or validity. The level of diction is consistently colloquial, with an occasional slang expression or word interjected: "Seltene Menschenexemplare *fütterten* sie sachkundig...." The rhyme is best described using Brecht's own words: it consists of "reimlose Verse mit unregelmässigen Rhythmen."[61] An examination of the most common words and phrases used in the poem sheds light on its meaning. Not only is the repeated use of specific words or phrases revealing, but often the absence of words or concepts proves equally insightful. The following is a list of the words and phrases used repeatedly in the poem. The number(s) in parentheses indicate the stanzas in which they occur.

WELCH EIN RUHM! WELCH EIN JAHRHUNDERT! (3,8,12)
transformed into:
WELCH EINE ZUVERSICHT! WAS FÜR EIN ANSPORN! (9)
and then into:
WELCH EIN BANKROTT! (23)
DIE STIMMEN IHRER FRAUEN AUS DEN SCHALLDOSEN (4,18)
BREITBRÜSTIGE MÄNNER (4,8,21)
LICHTBILD (5,18) UND FILMEN (7)
WIE EIN GANZES STAATSWESEN, DAS SICH UMWÄLZT (8,21)
KAUGUMMI (8)
HOCHHÄUSER (6,9,16,21)
STÄDTE (9,11)
MASCHINEN (9,17,19)
ZUVERSICHTLICHKEIT (4,9,21)
LÄCHELN (8,10,21)
HOFFNUNG (21,
KONTINENT (3,14,15)
SCHNELL/SCHNELLIGKEIT (3,4,16,21)
GESCHMINKT (10,17)
BANKROTT (15,18,23)

The concept of time in Brecht's New York is largely defined in terms of speed. "Eifrigst, schleunigst, schnell" are as much a part of the fabric of these stanzas as they were in the Kafka and Bachmann texts. In direct antithesis to these words rushing towards the future are signposts such as "damals" , "verschollen" and "Ruhm" that point to an indefinite past and have only the most tenuous connection to the twentieth century. The present is almost totally absent in the poem as the reader is shuttled back and forth between the past through evocation of the "goldene[s] Zeitalter" and the future in the form of the photographs for posterity. The American and his more modest, though equally foolish, European counterpart, are left in a state of suspension. Erewhon is not re-visited, for it has never been left.

The words in the title and the opening refrain appear almost as frequently as do the references to time, with the greatest emphasis on the word "Ruhm." The notion of America

created out of hearsay, by word of mouth, finds its final resolution in the notion that the failure of this system was similarly set in motion through mere words: "Denn eines Tages durchlief die Welt das Gerücht seltsamer Zusammenbrüche auf einem berühmten Kontinent...." Brecht is here addressing the demise of the idea of America, an idea that was so ingrained in German life and literature that it is often hard to distinguish between the America that is and the myth of America.

Other common repetitions such as "Hochhäuser, Zuversichtlichkeit, Lächeln, geschminkt and Hoffnung" all reinforce the stereotypical image of the American. The American is portrayed as a gum-chewing, overly confident and incessantly smiling optimist. Even when he has lost all else, he holds onto his smile. This eternally hopeful individual is ruthlessly satirized in the image of the living imposing their creed of eternal hope on the dead by fixing an omnipresent smile on the faces of the corpses. Brecht, as Bachmann, is clearly using the cliché and the stereotype to convey the essence of a culture, and in this case, of a city. Through such self-conscious use of images the reader will readily recognize as exaggeration, Brecht further removes the poem from the purely representational and simultaneously achieves the sense of detachment or alienation so central to his writings.

The description of the physical appearance of the American provides a clear example for Brecht's use of stereotypes. These "broad-chested men" seem to flaunt their superiority and bear little resemblance to their European ancestors. It follows that American machines, buildings and cities are bigger and better than their European counterparts. ("Diese Maschinenhallen: die größten der Welt!"... "Diese Brücken ... Die längsten der Welt!" (Stanza 9) Brecht has presented a verbal caricature of the American that evokes the familiar phrase "everything is bigger in America." It was this view of America that was perhaps most prevalent in Berlin in the Twenties and that finds satiric expression in a mock prayer offered by the master of ceremonies of the "Alt-Bayern" cabaret in Berlin, Hellmuth Krüger:

> Dear God, let me become an American,
> that's my greatest wish on earth.
> Everything in America is larger, better,
> faster than here--
> at least I think it is.
> The houses are higher and the
> millionaires richer
> than in the old out-of-work world.
> Every beggar has his own car,
> but there aren't many beggars.
> They deliver newspapers when they are
> kids;

that earns them their first million.
And they pray to God to deliver them from
their true selves
and give them chewing gum instead.
And give them, this day, their daily beer,
whiskey, and wine!
For Prohibition, they say cannot be God's
will.
Dear God, let me become an American.[62]

Another common stereotype was the image of the "painted American woman." In Brecht we find this epithet applied to the entire society, a society that paints its women to send them off to work and paints its corpses as if to ward off death. A similar corpse image occurred in Bachmann's depiction of the American, in which we read "und Hunderte von Leichen wurden in den Trauerhäusern manikürt, geschminkt und zur Schau gestellt."[63] In addition to being overly confident, over-sized and unnecessarily hasty, the American is viewed as a narcissitic, self-indulgent creature whose gestures are "perpetuated in photographs for all who came after." Their films have documented and recorded the many suicides that the stock market crash brought with it—suicides that were flaunted on the screen and treated as but another form of entertainment. In this society, everything, even death, is convertible into material for consumption. Most of these negative impressions, like the achievements of the Americans, had not been witnessed first-hand by the European; they came into being through the mere strength of "rumour"—through the myth of America.

In Brecht's poem the argument is suggested that the European seemed willing to accept the grandiose American as long as he lived up to that grandiosity: "Heute, wo es sich herumgesprochen hat, daß diese Leute bankrott sind sehen wir auf den anderen Kontinenten (die zwar auch bankrott sind)/ Allerhand anders, wie es uns vorkommt, schärfer."(Stanza 15) With the introduction of bankruptcy, the image of the American collapses totally. Brecht, who criticized America as a country where "poverty was considered a crime...," seems to be applying the same criterion in judging the American. He seems to be saying that once the American is forced to admit the emptiness of his smile, the futility of his hope, he is worthy of condemnation. However, Brecht hastens to add that the American holds on to his smile - "sonst nichts mehr" - and his hope, hope based on the assumption "daß der Regen morgen von unten nach oben fliessen wird." (Stanza 21) This persistent optimism rankles the European Brecht and provides him with the material necessary for satire. It was inconceivable for Brecht to write without taking a critical stance. He has pointed to the necessity of the *Nützlichkeit der Lyrik* on more than one occasion, but perhaps nowhere as convincingly as in the last stanza of the frequently

quoted poem "Schlechte Zeiten für Lyrik":

> In mir streiten sich
> Die Begeisterung über den blühenden Apfelbaum
> Und das Entsetzen über die Reden des Anstreichers.
> Aber nur das zweite
> Drängt mich zum Schreibtisch.[64]

It seems almost impossible to imagine Brecht writing a poem about America, or any other country for that matter, which would not largely consist of negative criticism. For Brecht to write was to examine critically the object of his writing, whether in the form of satire or parody. Dr. Johnson's assertion that satire is "a poem in which wickedness or folly is censured" readily applies to Brecht's poem. Clement Greenberg has called Brecht the "consummate parodist because he is above all a playwright and dramatic poet, and by instinct puts on a mask before speaking."[65] The satirist's mask is, however, momentarily dropped in the last stanza of the poem: "... Wie ist da ein Großer Ruhm verschollen!" Satire has momentarily given way to lament, a lament at the folly of the American system for squandering what had seemed such a promising experiment for mankind.

Verschollener Ruhm der Riesenstadt New York

> 1
> Wer erinnert sich wohl noch
> An den Ruhm der Riesenstadt New York
> In dem Jahrzehnt nach dem großen Krieg?

An anonymous narrator opens the poem with a single question which establishes the fame New York had enjoyed during the 1920's. The city is first viewed in juxtaposition to Post-World War I, i.e in relation to Europe. Although the time frame given falls between 1918 and the late 20's, the use of the word "wohl" suggests that it is unlikely that anyone will remember this time. A recapitulation of the words of the title "den Ruhm der Riesenstadt New York" re-introduces the element of a distant past. This indefinite past time is then undermined in the third line, which anchors the text to a very specific time period. The tension between the representational and the metaphorical is firmly established in the first three lines of the poem. The New York depicted seems representative of the fate of the industrialized cities of Western civilization during the onslaught of the stock market crash in 1929, much in the manner of Spengler's *Decline of the West.* And since the stock market crash shook what little faith Brecht had had in the American system, he singled out the site of that historic event, New York, to bear the brunt of his criticism of capitalism and its

interconnectedness with the city.

2
Welch ein episch gefeiertes Becken war doch dieses Amerika
damals!
God's own country!
Nur mit den Anfangsbuchstaben seiner Vornamen genannt:
USA
Wie unser jedermann bekannter, unverwechselbarer
Jugendfreund

The singular position granted New York in the first stanza is now generalized to include the celebrated "melting pot" concept of America evoked through the word "Becken," a word to be examined at a later point. Brecht's use of the word "episch" elicits a body of literature which had celebrated and occasionally denounced the New World. (As a motif, America had long since established itself in German literature, from Goethe to Heine to Wedekind.) Then follows the weighty word "damals" with its dual function in this sentence. It connects the poem itself to this body of literature and simultaneously conveys to the reader the impression that much time has elapsed since America enjoyed this celebrated status. This distant past bears little relationship to the actual time when America or New York were associated with the unknown or the exotic. The post World War I flush of America's popularity in Germany, specifically Berlin, is evoked. The impact of "damals" is reinforced in the last line of the stanza: "USA ... Wie unser jedermann bekannter, unverwechselbarer Jugendfreund!" In that distant past, the word "America" had been used to evoke a land of limitless possibilities.

The English phrase "God's own country" in the German text lends the passage a distinctly ironic, almost cynical tone. Anglicisms and exotic expressions are, of course, common in Brecht's writings and often serve as a means of expressing ironic detachment. Brecht is thus not committing himself to judge whether or not America does indeed merit such a label; he is merely repeating the phrase Americans themselves like to use in reference to their country. Ironic bemusement is also reflected in the line that America is so grand as to refer to itself only with its initials, a pattern Brecht himself and many of his fellow writers had adopted themselves, e.g. in the poem "Vom armen B.B.", written nine years before "Verschollener Ruhm."

The second stanza is particularly noteworthy because it contains insights into Brecht's earlier attitude toward America. His disillusionment and cynicism have now focused on a specific object, New York. This disillusionment has replaced the utopian optimism he once felt about America in general, and that he was later to identify with socialism and communism. In granting America the status of a "Jugendfreund," Brecht had

acknowledged the hopeful admiration and expectation that he, along with countless others, had held for the New World. A diary entry from June, 1920, reads: "Wie mich dieses Deutschland langweilt! Es ist ein gutes, mittleres Land,...aber welche Einwohner! Ein verkommener Bauernstand, dessen Roheit aber keine fabelhaften Unwesen gebiert, sondern eine stille Vertierung, ein verfetteter Mittelstand und eine matte Intellektuelle! Bleibt: Amerika!"[66] America had been the country the European Lost Generation had turned to. It had held the promise of the New World. When that promise failed to materialize, increasing cynicism set in—a cynicism that was in direct proportion to the degree of hope and expectation that had preceded it. In categorizing Brecht as objective, didactic and above all, free from emotion, this very outward display of emotion in the form of satire or parody is frequently overlooked. For the satirist claims to write to reform or to convey moral instruction by means of laughter and mockery. When an ideal has been thwarted, the disillusioned idealist frequently turns to satire to convey this disillusionment. The image America had enjoyed in Europe after WWI was a heady combination of boundless possibilities and vital force. It was the image of a land in which Baal would have flourished -- a land which had promised so much and now, in 1929, offered so little.

3
Dieses unerschöpfliche Becken, hieß es
Nahm alles auf, was hineinfiel, und verwandelte es
In zweimal zwei Wochen bis zur Kenntlichkeit!
Alle Rassen, an diesem lustvollen Kontinent gelandet
Gaben sich eifrigst auf, ihre eingewurzelten Eigenarten vergessend
Wie schlechte Gewohnheiten
Um
Schleunigst so zu werden wie die hierorts so sehr Anwesenden!
Die aber nahmen sie Großzügig und unbesorgt auf wie allzu
Unterschiedliche
(Unterschiedlich nur durch die Unterschiedlichkeit ihrer
kümmerlichen Existenzen!).
Wie ein guter Sauerteig fürchteten sie nicht
Jede auch noch so große Masse von Teig: sie wußten
Sie durchdrangen alles!
Welch ein Ruhm! Welch ein Jahrhundert!

The third stanza provides a further reason why New York and not Chicago serve as the setting in this poem. As the port of entry for European immigrants, the city has long been viewed as the last outpost of Europe in the New World or the beginning of the New World, depending on the point of perspective. The stanza develops the theme of the "melting pot," but Brecht does not use the standard term of "Smelztiegel." Instead he has introduced a sexual undertone in choosing the word "Becken," a word most commonly associated with the female figure, the child-bearing "pelvis." Like a woman's pelvis/womb,

which combines two dissimilar elements to produce a third independent being, America "nahm alles auf, was hineinfiel"; the image is sustained through the subsequent verb "sich aufgeben." It is interesting to note that both the land of the immigrants and the immigrants themselves are associated with the female figure. It is the land that "nahm alles auf, was hineinfiel," and the races of peoples that "[die] sich eifrigst auf[gaben]" to this "lustvollen Kontinent."

The poem stresses the eagerness of the immigrants to assimilate themselves, shedding their European identities like so many "bad habits" in order to become a part of the homogenized mass whose presence could be so strongly felt. The "Anwesenden," the Americans who had come a few generations earlier, are said to have generously and openly received the immigrants and are portrayed as so secure in their identity ("Wie ein guter Sauerteig fürchteten sie nicht Jede auch noch so Große Masse von Teig:") that they feel no threat whatsoever from the new arrivals. Then we come to the first allusion to male sexuality: (Sie wußten sie durchdrangen alles!). While the immigrant who is to be assimilated is assigned the female gender, the dominant force that absorbs this molded mass is rendered in terminology associated with the male. The terrain on which this process takes place is, as mentioned, again associated with the female. Thus, the land that gives birth to the American is feminine, while those born are perceived in purely masculine terms. They are the fit members of the species preparing to absorb and transform the next malleable "female" immigrants.

4
Ach, diese Stimmen ihrer Frauen aus den Schalldosen!
So sang man (bewahrt diese Platten auf!) im goldenen Zeitalter!
Wohllaut der abendlichen Wasser von Miami!
Unaufhaltsame Heiterkeit der über nie endende Straßen
schnell fahrenden Geschlechter!
Machtvolle Trauer singender Weiber, in Zuversicht breitbrüstige
    Männer beweinend, aber immer noch umgeben von
Breitbrüstigen Männern!

In the fourth stanza the American woman is singled out as representative of the outwardly pacifying effect of American culture on society, the lulling sounds of the city that belie the chaos beneath. The uncontainable gaiety of the streets is juxtaposed with the mighty lamentations of women—women who mourn their broad-chested men even while they are surrounded by them. The siren's song of decline seems to be winding its way through the streets of the city, re-enacting the expulsion from the Garden of Eden. Again it is the female sex that is associated with the fall of man, in this case, the decline of the city. The image of the "breitbrüstige Männer," which initially appears to typify the American

male, was, in fact, more widely used by Brecht and appears in his poem "Das Entsetzen, arm zu sein." In that poem, as in "Verschollener Ruhm," "die breitbrüstigen Männer" symbolize the aggressor, the fittest of the species.

5
Seltene Menschenexemplare stellten sie zusammen in ganzen Parks
Fütterten sie sachkundige, badeten sie und liessen sie wiegen
Damit ihre unvergleichlichen Bewegungen im Lichtbild festgehalten würden
Für alle Nachkommenden.

The diversity of American culture is addressed in the fifth stanza, not as a vital force, but as a declining culture that is scientifically preserved, bathed, fed and photographed for posterity. The American has been mummified, but these rare specimens are indistinguishable from the equally rare breed that collects and quantifies them. As a breed, the American is the object to be studied and simultaneously the observer studying the object. America has created its own hermetic circle, and, as in Bachmann's *Der Gute Gott von Manhattan*, there is no escape from this cycle even in death. (This motif is again picked up in Stanza Nine in the description of the graves piled one on top of the other.)

6
Ihre riesigen Bauwerke führten sie auf mit unvergleichlicher
Verschwendung
Besten Menschenmaterials. Vollkommen offen, vor aller Welt
Holten sie aus ihren Arbeitern heraus, was in ihnen war
Schossen mit Flinten in die Kohlenschächte und warfen ihre
abgebrauchten Knochen und
Vernutzten Muskeln auf die Straße mit
Gutmütigem Lachen.
Aber mit sportlicher Anerkennung berichteten sie
Von der gleichen groben Unerbittlichkeit der Arbeiter bei den Streiks
Mit homerischem Ausmaß.

Whereas the five preceding stanzas contained a sense of loss for the America that might have been, the sixth stanza builds to a crescendo of unstinting condemnation of the exploitative nature of American society. The gigantic buildings that had been the object of so much admiration are said to have been built at the expense of human lives. By defining workers as "Menschenmaterials" Brecht is using the terminology of Marxism to inveigh against Capitalism. The matter-of-fact tone of the narrator corresponds to the indifference expressed in the text, providing an overlap between form and content ("Vollkommmen offen, vor aller Welt holten sie aus ihren Arbeitern heraus, was in ihnen war..."). Anger at the system gives way to cynicism at the conclusion of the stanza for the workers, too, were said to be capable of such "coarse mercilessness," thus illustrating the cyclical nature of exploitation.

7
Armut galt dort für schimpflich!
In den Filmen dieser gesegneten Nation verübten Männer
Ins Unglück geraten, beim Anblick von Armenwohnungen,
die Klaviere und Ledersofas enthielten
Kurzerhand Selbstmord.

As in the fictional city of Mahagonny, the worst imaginable crime in America is that of poverty ("Darum wirst du zum Tode verurteilt, Paule Ackermann... Wegen Mangel an Geld, Was das größte Verbrechen ist, das auf dem Erdenrund vorkommt."[67] Brecht's *Amerikabild* was greatly influenced by the America portrayed in film. Griffith's *America* and many of Chaplin's films, such as *The Kid* or *The Gold Rush*, and Cruze's *The City that Never Sleeps* all came out in the early Twenties. As early as 1921 Brecht documented the influence film had on him in writing *Im Dickicht der Städte*: "Bassermann als Kean. Klöpfer als Götz. Dorsch in einem Vaudeville. Chaplin (Quelle - als Sträfling.) Ich mache einiges zum 'Dickicht',...."[68] Brecht's caricature-like depictions of the American have an almost Chaplinesque quality about them. The influence of Lang's *Metroplis* (1926) can also be felt in a later stanza that depicts the "Mammutbauten" of the city. The reference to the callous film industry that capitalized on tragedy for the purposes of entertainment, is played off against the ironic expression "dieser gesegneten Nation." This leads directly into the ironic exclamations of the following stanza.

8
Welch ein Ruhm! Welch ein Jahrhundert!
Ach, auch wir verlangten solche breitspurigen Anzüge aus groben Stoffen
Mit den Wattewülsten an den Schultern, welche die
Männer so breit machen
Daß drei von ihnen den ganzen Gehsteig beanspruchen.
Auch wir versuchten, unsere Bewegungen zu bremsen
Die Hände langsam in die Taschen zu stecken und uns aus den Stühlen
In denen wir (wie für alle Ewigkeit) gelegen hatten, langsam
herauszuarbeiten
Wie ein ganzes Staatswesen, das sich umwälzt.
Auch wir stopften uns den Mund voll Kaugummi
(Beechnut)
Von dem es hieß, daß er die Kinnladen auf die Dauer vortrieb
Und sassen mit ewig mahlenden Kiefern wie in unaufhörlicher Freßgier.
Auch unseren Gesichtern wünschten wir jene gefürchtete
Undurchsichtigkeit zu verleihen
Des "poker face man," der sich seinen Mitbürgern als unlösliches Rätsel
aufgab.
Auch wir lächelten ständig wie vor oder nach guten Geschäften
Die der Beweis einer gut funktionierenden Verdauung sind.
Auch wir tappten unseren Gegenübers (lauter zukünftigen Kunden)
Gerne and die Arme, Schenkel und zwischen die Schulterblätter
Ausprobierend, wie man solche Burschen in die Hand bekommt

Mit schmeichelnden und zupackenden Griffen wie nach Hunden.
So eiferten wir diesem berühmten Menschenschlag nach, welcher bestimmt schien
Die Erde zu beherrschen, indem er sie vorwärts brachte.

The hollow refrain "Welch ein Ruhm! Welch ein Jahrhundert!" here sets a melancholy rather than derisive tone. In her book *Brecht's America*, Parmalee points out that "There are few *Ach's* in Brecht's poetry; this poem contains two..." She continues by pointing out that in contrast to the first ironic "Ach," this second exclamation almost takes the form of "a confession."[69] Brecht here concedes that the Europeans, in their attempt to imitate the Americans, had also been caught up with the America fever. The broad-chested American with his padded shoulders of coarse material had not only been an object of derision but also a figure to be emulated. Not only were the outer characteristics of the American, his clothes, emulated, but his gait and his casual demeanor were studied as well. Brecht is here again drawing on the *Zeitgeist of Amerikanismus* in Berlin at the time he wrote the poem. In Willett we read: "In Germany the new vogue [Amerikanismus] could link up with the already exisiting myth of a skyscraper-cum-cowboy civilization across the Atlantic—as seen in wartime drawings by Grosz like 'Old Jimmy' and 'Memory of New York'—to determine the whole climate of the period. That Americanism which earlier, as in Arp's case had stood for advanced technology, now became a way of looking, acting and doing things...."[70]

However, even while Brecht concedes that the Europeans, too, tried to adopt this behavior, harsh disapproval of that very behavior is ever-present. The play in peppered with a cast of cliché characters that try to capture the essence of the vulgar American. The American is said to stuff his mouth full of gum (Beechnut) and to sit there "with jaws ruminating as in endless greed." Everything about this figure is seen as a political action, even his incessant gum-chewing. The image of the voracious and greedy American is then replaced with the image of the famous poker-face man, the sphinx of Western civilization. This relatively value-free character then gives way to the image of the incessantly smiling American, the man who grins with the smugness of someone who has just completed a lucrative business deal. Each cliché image represents a type of American well known to the European through film. The list of characters culminates in a depiction of the quintessential capitalist, the back-slapping American who views every individual as but another potential customer. The reader is advised that this motion is used when "carressing or grabbing a dog." The American thus deals with his fellow man as he would with an animal, a dog. Brecht's biting denunciation ends with the ironic statement that this race that the Europeans had striven to imitate, this race that bears greater resemblance to the ferocity of animals than

to the traits of civilized man, had seemed destined to rule the world by means of its technological superiority. Brecht's use of stereotypes is not restricted here to the realm of satire, but clearly serves to support his invective against the American system itself.

9
Welch eine Zuversicht! Was für ein Ansporn!
Diese Maschinenhallen: die größten der Welt!
Zeugungspropaganda betrieben die Autofabriken: sie
bauten schon Autos (auf Abzahlung)
Für die Ungeborenen! Denen, die
Beinahe ungebrauchte Kleidungsstücke wegwarfen (aber so
Daß sie sofort verdarben, am besten in Kalk!)
Wurden Prämien bezahlt! Diese Brücken:
Blühendes Land verbanden sie mit blühendem Land!
Endlos!
Die längsten der Welt! Diese Hochhäuser:
Die so hoch ihre Steine geschichtet hatten
Daß sie alles überragten, betrachteten von ihrer Höhe sorgenvoll die
Neubauten
Die eben erst aus dem Boden wuchsen und die
Ihren Mammutbau überragen würden.
(Manche befürchteten schon, das Wachstum dieser Städte
Könnte nicht mehr gestoppt werden, sie müßten
Ihre Tage beschliessen mit zwanzig Etagen anderer Städte über sich
Und würden in Särgen verstaut, die übereinander
Eingegraben werden!)

The established refrain, "Welch ein Ruhm ... etc.", has now been slightly modified: Fame, an attribute acquired through a past action, is now replaced with a noun that points toward the future, "confidence." However, this confidence is viewed from hindsight, as is the subsequent word "incentive" that has replaced the word "century." The entire stanza becomes a play with time. Seen in retrospect, the confidence and incentive prove unwarranted. From this perspective in the past, the idea of birth is introduced with the lines "Zeugungspropaganda betrieben die Autofabriken...für die Ungeborenen." At the conclusion of the stanza, birth, in the form of the growth of cities, and death are intermingled in the image of the cemeteries of the city built one on top of the other. Just as the skyscrapers will overshadow each other, the graves of each following generation will be built on top of the graves of the last generation. As in stanza five, time is expressed in terms of the future, i.e. birth, and in terms of the past, i.e. death. The present is again absent.

This stanza also contains the most concentrated expression of satire in the form of hyperbole. We read of the "Maschinenhallen: die größten der Welt!" and "Diese Brücken ... die längsten der Welt," etc, etc. To a certain extent, this indulging in superlatives arose out of a fascination with the newly proclaimed "Machine Age." America was indeed the

country in which this "new age" was most visible, and New York with its "Mammutbau[ten]" provided the perfect exemplar of this age.

The ninth stanza is perhaps the best example of the almost total absence of the human in Brecht's New York. The lines progress from the "Maschinenhallen" to the "Autofabriken... für die Ungeborenen" to the "Brücken" and "Hochäuser" and conclude with the coffins piled one on top of the other without mention of a living creature. The implicit theme of the city as a graveyard pervades the poem. Brecht's New York is as devoid of human life as was the phantom city of Mahagonny with its haunting refrain:

> Unter unsern Städten sind Gossen
> In ihnen ist nichts und über ihnen ist Rauch.
> Wir sind noch drin. Wir haben nichts genossen.
> Wir vergehen rasch und langsam vergehen sie auch.[71]

> 10
> Aber sonst: welche Zuversicht! Selbst die Toten
> Wurden geschminkt und mit wohligem Lächeln versehen
> (Ich verzeichne solche Züge aus dem Gedächtnis, andere
> Habe ich vergessen), nicht einmal
> Den Entronnenen wurde Hoffnungslosigkeit gestattet!

The opening of stanza ten with its conciliatory phrase "Aber sonst" seems to be offering some relief from the unbridled criticism of the preceding stanza. Brecht, however, only teases the reader with this opening, for the subsequent words are but a rejoinder of the theme of the disdainful treatment of the dead in America. The memory of the smiles forced onto the faces of the dead are said to be drawn from memory, and yet we are well aware that Brecht had not visited America prior to writing the poem. The previously rather ambiguous narrator of the first nine stanzas had taken the form of the collective "we," with the understanding that this "we" reflected we, the Europeans. Throughout the poem this "we" is counterbalanced and played off against the implicit "they," the Americans. It is a fairly straightforward juxtaposition of the European versus the American. In contrast, the present stanza interjects a personal note through the use of the first person singular narrator. Furthermore, the entire sentence has an air of the absurd about it: "These characteristics I am setting down from memory; others I have forgotten." The logical pattern of the above sentence might read something like this: "These characteristics I am setting down from memory, the others I have invented or the others have been told to me." We find instead the personal narrator expressing a seemingly nonsensical thought. As in the opening refrain, the reader is led to expect one thing and then left to ponder the meaning of the seeming non-sequitor that follows. It is the only time the first person singular is used

throughout the poem, and though this could be coincidental, it is highly unlikely that Brecht did not deliberately introduce this tone of the absurd. Brecht not only viewed the contemporary American as lost, he viewed even the dead American, the "Entronnenen" as inescapably entrapped in the mire of endless smiles. The unsettling image of the dead condemned to wear the inane smiles of the living for all eternity comes to mind. Even in death there is no escape for the American; he is doomed to wear his fool's smile throughout eternity like Dante's lost souls.

11
Was für Menschen! Ihre Boxer die stärksten!
Ihre Erfinder die praktischsten! Ihre Züge die schnellsten!
Auch die bevölkersten!
Und das alles schien 1000 Jahre zu dauern
Sprengten doch die Leute der Stadt New York selber aus:
Ihre Stadt sei auf Felsgrund gebaut und also
Unzerstörbar!

Stanza eleven signals a shift from the preoccupation with the dead to a fascination with the vital force of the boxer. Brecht's interest in boxing and his friendship with the boxer, Samson Körner, are well-known, and the use of boxing as a metaphor for the brutal struggle for survival in a capitalistic society is prominent in his work. The subtitle to *Im Dickicht der Städte* reads "Der Kampf zweier Männer in der Riesenstadt Chicago." The pragmatic and inventive American alluded to in the stanza is not mentioned without qualification. Great hopes had been entertained for this new society, a society that had held out the promise of immortality with its city built on rock. The biblical allusion to a house built on rock is hardly arbitrary given Brecht's statement that contrary to what one would expect, it was the Bible that most influenced his writing.

12
Wahrlich, ihr ganzes System des Gemeinlebens war unvergleichlich
Welch ein Ruhm! Welch ein Jahrhundert!

There has been considerable controversy over this short twelvth stanza. The original 1934 version had read:

Wahrlich, ihr ganzes System des Gemeinlebens war das bestmögliche.
Welch ein Ruhm! Welch ein Jahrhundert![72]

Of the original version Seliger writes: "Im Jahre 1930 konnte sich Brecht ein solch offenes Geständnis seiner frühen Amerikabegeisterung leisten. Dem etablierten marxistischen Dichter mußte so etwas peinlich sein."[73] Hoover firmly dismisses this interpretation with the argument that "das Adjektiv "bestmöglich" ... auf Voltaires

Ironisierung der 'bestmöglichen aller Welten' im *Candide* an[spielt] und drückt damit eine ebenso starke Verurteilung aus wie die spätere Fassung."[74] It is difficult indeed to imagine the ironic Brecht innocently or inadvertently using such an obvious literary allusion as the phrase "das bestmögliche."

The use of the word "Gemeinlebens" also seems strangely incongruous with the satiric tone of most of the poem. One thinks of the concept of the city as community, a concept not easily reconciled with Brecht's overall pessimistic view of the city. The use of the word can be understood as an expression of Brecht's sense of loss for the community that the city could have been; it is repeated in the final stanza, thus heightening its impact. Again the initial refrain "Welch ein Ruhm! Welch ein Jahrhundert" concludes the stanza and sets the tone for the climactic shift in the thirteenth stanza.

13
Allerdings dauerte dieses Jahrhundert
Nur knappe acht Jahre.

Grimm has cited this thirteenth stanza as highly illustrative of what he called Brecht's use of "the mid-text shift," i.e. the technique of introducing a thought that questions everything the text had expressed prior to that point.[75] It is as if Brecht were standing the poem on its head and challenging the reader to figure out which side really is up. In the case of "Verschollener Ruhm," this is rather easily done since the thirteenth stanza does not revoke everything set down in the first twelve stanzas, but rather serves as a culmination of them. An extremely short time span of eight years—i.e. roughly the period between the end of World War I and the beginning of the stock market crash—is cited as changing the fate of an entire country. The thousand year empire referred to in the eleventh stanza is now seen in the harsh light of reality as a mere speck in time. Again, the form and content of the poem coincide, for Brecht has chosen to reflect this short time span of eight years with an equally short stanza in the poem; it is, in fact, the shortest stanza in the poem.

14
Denn eines Tages durchlief die Welt das Gerücht seltsamer
Zusammenbrüche
Auf einem berühmten Kontinent, und seine noch gestern gehamsterten
Geldscheine
Wurden wie faule, stinkende Fische mit Ekel weggewiesen.

Syntactically speaking, this stanza is the linguistic continuation of the thirteenth through the use of the conjunction "denn." It is also the logical continuation in that a causal link is established between the end of the "American century" and the power of words. A civilization or country has been said to collapse because of the force of rumor, of hearsay:

"Denn eines Tages durchlief die Welt das Gerücht seltsamer Zusammenbrüche...." By 1929 the present global economy had long since made its impact, and Germany's Black Friday several years before the American stock market crash had only been a precursor of what was to come. Throughout the poem, the U.S. is rarely defined as a country; instead Brecht has mockingly adopted the American chauvinistic attitude of referring to it as a continent, with the obvious implication of U.S. imperialism over Canada. This stanza also contains one of the few metaphors in the poem -- the equation of dollar bills with stinking fish that are turned away in revulsion.

15
Heute, wo es sich herumgesprochen hat
Daß diese Leute bankrott sind
Sehen wir auf den anderen Kontinenten (die zwar auch bankrott sind)
Allerhand anders, wie es uns vorkommt, schärfer.

The last line of this stanza lends some validity to interpretations of the poem that have stressed the first twelve stanzas as more or less praising the U.S. Parmalee speaks of the "two-part structure of the poem" and writes that "the images of former glory in the first half are repeated in the second half, but all of them are seen from a new perspective...."[76] And Seliger writes even more unequivocally that "Im esten Teil des Gedichts (Strophen 1 - 12) werden die Errungenschaften und Leistungen genannt, die den Dichter beeindruckten und seine Begeisterung hervorriefen."[77] Though there is indeed a shift in the tenor of the poem, I do not agree that such a clear-cut division exists. As with the controversy over Brecht's change in attitude towards America in general, I find a gradual shift in emphasis, not a neat two-part division.

The narrator has again distanced himself from the text through the passive phrase "wo es sich herumgesprochen hat," thus providing additional validity to that which follows. It is now taken as a generally accepted fact that "diese Leute bankrott sind." The non-committal tone is sustained through the phrase ("wie es uns vorkommt") that follows, describing the Europeans who see everything more clearly now. Does this clarity derive from the American bankruptcy? Is the author allowing the reader to assume that he is falling into the same trap he had accused the Americans of, i.e. that of judging poverty or bankruptcy a crime? This seems to connote an implicit acceptance of the American system, provided it had remained successful. Again, I think it is a matter of degree, for Brecht is too clever a manipulator to allow himself to be pinned down to a clear-cut answer. In the first twelve stanzas he had levied many criticisms against the U.S. although they were couched in the concession that the European, too, had adopted this style. Now that the American system has revealed itself as inherently empty, bankrupt, the imitators of that

system, i.e. the Europeans, are free to fall back on their Europeanism in assessing the failed culture of the Americans. The final stanza of the poem provides a more satisfying answer to this seemingly contradictory stance.

16
Was ist das mit den Hochhäusern?
Wir betrachten sie kühler.
Was für verächtliche Schuppen sind Hochhäuser, welche keine Miete mehr
abwerfen!
So hoch hinauf voller Armut? Bis unter die Wolken voll
von Schulden?
Was ist das mit den Eisenbahnzügen?
In den Eisenbahnzügen, die rollenden Hotels gleichen, heißt es
Wohnt jetzt oft kein Mensch.
Er fährt nirgends hin
Mit einer unvergleichlichen Schnelligkeit!
Was ist das mit den Brücken? Sie verbinden
(Die längsten der Welt!) Schuttplätze jetzt mit Schuttplätzen!
Und was ist mit den Menschen?

The series of questions in the stanza begins with the inanimate, "mit den Hochhäusern," and ends with the human. Now that the skyscrapers and the railroad cars are said to be empty, the absence of the human is noted. This progression from the inanimate to the animate has undergone several stages. From the skyscrapers defying the sky, to the empty railroad cars going nowhere at breakneck speed, we come to the bridges that now only connect one garbage heap with another. Only after the word "Schuttplätzen" is the human introduced. The close juxtaposition of the two words suggests that these human beings are as washed up as their cities, a theme further developed in the following stanza.

17
Immer noch, hören wir, schminken sich diese, aber
Jetzt: um Stellen zu ergattern. Die 22jährigen
Frauen schnupfen jetzt Kokain, bevor sie sich anstellen
Einen Platz an der Schreibmaschine für sich zu erobern.
Ganze Familien jagen den Töchtern das Gift in die Schenkel
Das sie feurig aussehen macht.

The initial words "immer noch" heighten the apocalyptic tone of the poem with their implied connotation of "but not much longer." The "Menschen" of the previous stanza have now been replaced with "die Frauen." In fact, the only representation we have of men throughout the entire poem is of the men with "den Wattwülsten an den Schultern...." What the reader sees is a surreal image of empty suits, not men, walking down the streets. The men themselves cannot be imagined; their suits are like the empty buildings, remnants

of what once was, or what the reader has to imagine once existed, for Brecht has done little to delineate a New York of the past teeming with Whitman's masses. What we have instead is the human as a negative presence and with it, the city as a negative presence, as in the refrain from Mahagonny, "In ihnen ist nichts, und über ihnen ist Rauch."

The repetition of the word "Schminken" evokes its previous association with death. Just as the dead had been painted in their coffins, the young twenty-two-year old women are depicted as artificial, both externally through make-up and internally through the use of cocaine. By using the language of warfare, "Einen Platz an der Schreibmaschine für sich zu erobern..", Brecht leaves no room for doubt in his equation of the city with hell. The allusion to prostitution follows in the final line: "Ganze Familien jagen den Töchtern das Gift in die Schenkel das sie feurig aussehen macht." The word "Schenkel" also evokes Brecht's use of animal imagery which will be developed further in stanzas 18 and 21. Reading diagonally across the stanza, the following words dominate: "Schminken/Frauen/Kokain/Einen Platz ... erobern/Gift/ Schenkel/das sie feurig aussehen macht." Brecht is but elaborating on the brutal city world of pimps and prostitutes, drugs and desperation portrayed in *Mahagonny* and in *Im Dickicht.*

18
Noch werden Schallplatten verkauft, freilich wenige
Doch was erzählen uns diese Ziegen eigentlich, die nicht
Singen gelernt haben? Was
Ist der Sinn dieser Gesänge? Was haben sie uns
Eigentlich vorgesungen all diese Jahre lang?
Warum mißfallen uns jetzt diese einstmals gefeierten Stimmen?
Warum
Machen uns diese Lichtbilder der Städte so gar keinen
Eindruck mehr?
Weil es sich herumgesprochen hat
Daß diese Leute bankrott sind!

The singing of the women that had been described as the "Wohllaut der abendlichen Wasser von Miami! Unaufhaltsame Heiterkeit der über nie endende Straßen schnell fahrenden Geschlechter!" of the fourth stanza has now been twisted into the malicious phrase "Ziegen ..., die nicht singen gelernt haben..." The derogatory and misogynistic term "Ziegen" lends an unusually bitter touch to Brecht's already highly caustic criticism. The singing of the American woman stands in as a metaphor for all that is wrong with this system—it is the seductive quality that had induced the Europeans to ape them, luring them to their own destruction.

Again the question is raised as to why the photographs of the American cities no longer fascinate the European, and again the answer offered is that the system has shown

itself to be bankrupt. Whereas stanza fifteen had been somewhat tentative in this conclusion, stanza eighteen is definitive in the reason given and in its denunciation. It is these concluding stanzas—and not the first twelve—that provide insight into Brecht's initial fascination with America. In the fifth stanza we had read that the Americans preserved their unforgettable gestures in photographs, much in the manner of a curator documenting a museum piece. However, in the eighteenth stanza we first read that photographs of American cities once made an enormous impression on the European. It was, in fact, largely through photographs that Brecht himself had become familiar with the skyline of New York. In 1926 "the architect Erich Mendolsohn had published his photographs of the United States under the title *Amerika. Bilderbuch eines Architekten*. Like the pictures which Brecht (who knew this book) put in the published version of his play *In the Jungle of Cities*, these are city and industrial scenes, of New York, Chicago, Detroit."[78] That book had been published at roughly the same time that Brecht was working on "Verschollener Ruhm," and its influence on him can not be underestimated. It was through such books that Brecht became both fascinated and repelled by the America they depicted. In the following stanza we find further elaboration on the theme of the Machine Age.

19
Ihre Maschinen nämlich, heißt es, liegen in riesigen Haufen
(den größten der Welt!)
Und rosten
Wie die Maschinen der alten Welt (in kleineren Haufen).

Stanza nineteen is connected to the thought pattern of the preceding stanza with the word "nämlich." The ill-tuned siren's song of the American woman has now been replaced with the poorly functioning machines. This time the progression is from the abstractly human (the siren's song) to the inanimate (the idle machines) and back to the human in the form of the world championships in the following stanza. The juxtaposition of the smaller heaps— with the obvious association of "heap" and "garbage"—of idle machines in the Old World versus the larger heaps in the New is but a reiteration of the notion that what befalls America will ultimately affect the rest of the Western world, or at least most certainly, Germany.

20
Noch finden Weltmeisterschaftskämpfe vor ein paar zerstreut
sitzengebliebenen Zuschauern statt:
Der jeweils stärkste Mann
Kommt nicht auf gegen das geheimnisvolle Gesetz
Das die Menschen aus den gestopft vollen Läden treibt!

As in stanzas seventeen and eighteen, the word "noch" signals the beginning of the

end. There is a definite sense of "Just wait, things can't go on this way much longer"; in many of the stanzas the author not only signals the end of an age, but also seems to take some delight in this decline. A certain sense of *Schadenfreude* lurks just beneath the surface. There are, however, several stanzas in which this is not the case, and these must be examined in greater detail, for my contention is that Brecht was writing primarily from disillusionment and not from petty cynicism.

Much has been written about Brecht's fascination with boxing; the boxing match can indeed be seen as a metaphor for the American system in Brecht's writings, whether in his play *Im Dickicht der Stadt* or in his many *Gedichte für Städtebewohner*. In the twenty-first stanza, the boxer is viewed as a participant in a game that has been long since over. He is merely a player with no more insight into the rules of his particular game than the average American citizen has into the mechanisms of his economic system. Both are but pawns in the gears of the Machine Age, an age which came to a grinding halt in 1929.

Even the author pleads ignorance to understanding the functions of this society; a "geheimnisvolle[s] Gesetz" has brought the economy to a halt. In his diary Brecht conceded that even months of plowing through economic texts and consulting with a financial expert did not afford him the understanding of the American wheat market that he had sought: "Ich gewann den Eindruck, daß diese Vorgänge schlechthin unerklärlich, das heißt wieder einfach unvernünftig waren."[79] One senses a definite yearning for an order and a rational system that the American system with its penchant for serendipity and risk could never provide. This has often been cited as one of the main reasons why Brecht later embraced the more clearly defined system of Marxism. The randomness of the American system and perhaps the unfailing—and to Brecht's mind unwarranted—optimism of the American people are two of the factors the author criticises most harshly in this poem.

21
Ihr Lächeln festhaltend (nichts sonst mehr!), stehen die ausgedienten
    Weltmeister
Den paar letzten verkehrenden Trams im Wege.
Drei dieser breitspurigen Leute füllen den Gehsteig, aber
Was wird *sie* füllen, vor die Nacht kommt?
Nur die Schultern wärmt Watte denen, die in unaufhörlichen
    Zügen
Tag und Nacht die leeren Schluchten der leblosen
Steinhaufen durcheilen.
Ihre Bewegungen sind langsam wie die hungriger und
    geschwächter Tiere.
Wie ein ganzes Staatswesen, das sich umwälzt
Arbeiten sie sich langsam aus den Gossen heraus, in
    denen sie zu liegen scheinen wie für die Ewigkeit.
Ihre Zuversichtlichkeit, heißt es
Ist noch da; sie begründet sich auf die Hoffnung

Daß der Regen morgen von unten nach oben fliessen wird.
Ihre Heiterkeit, heißt es, ist unaufhaltsam
Wenn sie ein Stück Fleisch in einer Auslage hängen sehen.

Again the human is set off against the machine: the retired world champions are said to be standing in the way of the few streetcars still running. Brecht has depicted here a totally devitalized society clashing with the very inventions it has created. The image of the smiling idiot comes to mind, a solitary individual left behind by an age strained by the abrasions and angularities of machines he has created but not yet mastered.

Whereas the broad-chested men had been the source of admiration or at least astonishment in the previous stanzas, they are now mere objects that fill the sidewalk. The human is everywhere seen as superfluous, meaningless. It is a mere mass that occupies space. Even their very mass is called into question as the narrator asks: "Was wird *sie* füllen, vor die Nacht kommt?" The padding on their shoulders will not warm them; it will warm only their exteriors - within they will be as "empty" and "lifeless" as the stone heaps through which they hurry day and night. This is strangely reminiscent of Eliot's "Hollow Men," "leaning together headpiece filled with straw," and published just five years before "Verschollener Ruhm" was written.[80] Brecht would undoubtedly have refuted any connection, and yet there is a definite similarity in the tone of the pre-conversion Eliot and that of Brecht's early poetry.

This stanza also contains the starkest example of Brecht's use of animal imagery. The American, who had previously been said to treat others as one would a dog, is now likened to a hungry and weakened animal that can only manage to drag itself "through the empty canyons of lifeless stonepiles" and "out of the gutters." The image is followed by the analogy with the State, a sentence first expressed in the eighth stanza: "Wie ein ganzes Staatswesen, das sich umwälzt." This is Brecht, the politician, speaking. In 1929, Brecht was convinced that the American system was irretrievably lost. However, he wrote that the Americans were trying to work themselves out of the gutters in which they seemed to lie as if for all eternity: "Wie ein ganzes Staatswesen, das sich umwälzt, arbeiten sie sich langsam aus den Gossen heraus, in denen sie zu liegen scheinen wie für die Ewigkeit." These lines echo lines in stanza eight in which the European was said to imitate the American by putting his hands in his pockets and by working his way "out of the armchairs in which we had reclined (as for all eternity)." This anticipated eternity is played off against New York's actual "glory"—in Brecht's eyes, a glory that lasted barely eight years, from the early years after WWI to 1929.

Brecht's harsh condemnation of the American is perhaps nowhere as pronounced as in the last two lines of the stanza: "Ihre Heiterkeit, heißt es, ist unaufhaltsam wenn sie ein

Stück Fleisch in einer Auslage hängen sehen." The image of the voracious American consumer again exceeds the limits of satire and enters the realm of pure invective.

22
Aber etliche, hören wir, können immer noch Arbeit finden:
da, wo man
Den Weizen in ganzen Zugladungen in das Meer schüttet,
welches
Das pazifische gennant wird.
Und die auf den Parkbänken übernachten, hören wir, sollen
Mit ganz unerlaubten Gedanken
Diese leeren Hochhäuser sehen vor dem Einschlafen.

The "aber" of the penultimate stanza holds out some hope, hope which is, however, immediately dispelled, for those few who are able to find work find it in the disreputable job of pouring excess wheat into the Pacific Ocean, an unfortunate practice common during the Coolidge Presidency and adopted as a solution to unprecedented over-production. Brecht has stressed the underlying irony of the word "Pacific" , i.e. "peaceful, reconciliatory," by calling attention to the name itself: "welches das pazifische genannt wird." The bankruptcy of the country is then personalized through the image of the "unemployed" lying on the park benches of the city, blankly staring up at the empty skyscrapers before dropping off to sleep "with quite impermissible thoughts." The city as a tomb is again evoked. The reader can only speculate as to what the thoughts of the unemployed might be, for Brecht has drawn a parallel relationship between the reader and the poem and the inhabitants of the city. Just as the city-dweller is alienated from his fellow man, the reader is left outside of the thoughts of the poem's vagrant character. This brings us to Brecht's concluding stanza, the summation of the author's views and attitudes toward America, in general, and toward the city of New York in particular.

23
Welch ein Bankrott! Wie ist da
Ein großer Ruhm verschollen! Welch eine Entdeckung:
Daß ihr System des Gemeinlebens denselben
Jämmerlichen Fehler aufwies wie das
Bescheidenerer Leute!

In contrast to the strictly cynical tone of the preceding stanzas, the last stanza bears more than a touch of melancholy at the failure of the American system. The *Schadenfreude* so characteristic of the earlier stanzas of the poem has given way to regret that America, like its more modest imitator, Europe, has not withstood the test of time. From the initial exclamatory phrase, "Welch ein gefeiertes Becken," to the more general "Welch ein Ruhm" and the premonitory "Welch eine Zuversicht!," we have come full circle to the concluding

exclamation: "Welch ein Bankrott!" The glory and fame of New York extolled in the opening stanza are inverted in the final stanza. By repeating the title "Verschollener Ruhm der Riesenstadt New York" in an inverted sentence (Wie ist da ein Großer Ruhm verschollen!") Brecht seals the fate of New York. From the vantage point of 1930, America's future had seemed bleak indeed. However, Brecht goes one step further—he includes the Western European nations in this decline. The single distinction between the two systems is one of degree. Both systems are said to have suffered under a "jämmerlichen Fehler." The author does not presume to know the exact nature of this mistake, and in the last stanza, he does not even judge it. Exactly why Brecht chose to end on such a conciliatory note is not as important as the fact that he did, much in the manner of his famous poem "An die Nachgeborenen":

> Ihr aber, wenn es so weit sein wird
> Daß der Mensch dem Menschen ein Helfer ist
> Gedenkt unsrer
> Mit Nachsicht.[81]

NOTES

[1] In an attempt to establish that some of Brecht's hostility toward New York was a form of transference of his reaction to Berlin, Willett writes: "Then there was the submerged bulk of that incomplete iceberg, the 'Reader for those who live in cities', previously known only through ten poems in the pre-1933 *Versuche*, together with the small group of Epistles which foreshadowed it, suggesting that Brecht's distinctively spare, unrhymed verse style was a direct reaction to the stony hostility of Berlin." Though "Verschollener Ruhm" does not formally belong to the "Reader for those who live in cities," it is frequently grouped with this collection. John Willett and Ralph Manheim, *Bertolt Brecht Poems: 1913-1956* (London: Methuen, 1976) xi.

[2] Thomas O. Brandt, "Das Amerikabild Brechts." In *Deutschlands literarisches Amerikabild* Ed. Alexander Ritter (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1977) 462.

[3] Three of the key studies that specifically treat Brecht's *Amerikabild* are Thomas O. Brandt, *Die Vieldeutigkeit Bertolt Brechts* (Heidelberg: Lothar Stiehm Verlag, 1968); Patty Lee Parmalee, *Brecht's America* (Miami: Ohio State University Press, 1975); and Helfried W. Seliger, *Das Amerikabild Bertolt Brechts* (Bonn: Bouvier Verlag Herbert Grundmann, 1974).

[4] Franco Buono, afterword, *Bertolt Brecht: Gedichte für Städtebewohner* by Bertolt Brecht (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1980) 6.

[5] Willett, *Bertolt Brecht Poems*, x.

[6] Helfried W. Seliger, *Das Amerikabild Bertolt Brechts* (Bonn: Bouvier Verlag Herbert Grundmann, 1974) 182.

[7] Seliger 182.

[8] Willett, *Brecht Poems*, 548.

[9] Willett, *Brecht Poems*, 548

[10] Klaus Völker, *Brecht-Chronik* (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag GmbH & Co., KG, 1984) 33.

[11] Völker 21.

[12] Bertolt Brecht, *Tagebücher 1920-1922: Autobiographische Aufzeichnungen 1920-1954* Ed. Herta Ramthun, (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1978) 180.

[13] Rainer Maria Rilke, *Die Aufzeichnungen des Malte Laurids Brigge* (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1980) 69.

[14] Brecht, *Tagebücher*, 180-181.

[15] Frederic Ewen, *Bertolt Brecht: His Life, His Art and His Times* (New York: The Citadel Press, 1967) 101-102.

[16] Brecht, *Tagebücher*, 205.

[17] James Schevill,"Bertolt Brecht in New York" In *The Tulane Drama Review*, Vol. 6, 1961, 107.

[18] Seliger 180.

[19] Patty Lee Parmalee, *Brecht's America* (Miami: Ohio State University Press, 1975) 226.

[20] Buono 94.

[21] Michael Morley, *Brecht: a study* (Totowa: Rowan and Littlefield, 1977) 109.

[22] Morley 109.

[23] Brecht, *Tagebücher*, 145.

[24] Grimm's essay "Brechts Anfänge" in *Aspekte des Expressionismus*, Gaede's "Bertolt Brecht" in *Expressionismus als Literatur*, 595-605, and Willett's essay "Brecht and Expressionism" in *Brecht in Context*, 73-86, provide contrasting points of view on Brecht's relationship to Expressionism.

[25] Wolfgang Rothe, *Deutsche Großstadtlyrik vom Naturalismus bis zur Gegenwart* (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun., 1973) 13.

[26] John Willett, *Art and Politics in the Weimar Period: The New Sobriety, 1917-1933* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978) 101.

[27] Willett, *Art and Politics*, 101-102.

[28] Willett, *Art and Politics*, 101-102.

[29] Buono 46.

[30] Edmund Licher, *Zur Lyrik Brechts: Aspekte ihrer Dialektik und Kommunikativität* (Frankfurt/Main: Verlag Peter Lang GmbH, 1984) 169.

[31] Buono 11.

[32] Brecht, *Gesammelte Werke*, Vol.9, 656.

[33] Buono 156.

[34] Brecht, *Tagebücher*, 208.

[35] Brecht, *Tagebücher*, 221-222.

[36] Buono 56.

[37] Ulrich Weisstein, "Brecht in America: A Preliminary Survey." In *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. 78 (1963), 380.

[38] Weisstein 380.

[39] Bertolt Brecht, *Über Lyrik*, Ed. Elizabeth Hauptmann and Rosemarie Hill (Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1964) 8.

[40] Brecht, *Über Lyrik*, 8.

[41] Richard Ruland, "The American Plays of Bertolt Brecht," In *American Quarterly*, Vol. XV (Fall 1963, No. 3) 372.

[42] Ruland, *American Quarterly*, 376.

[43] Marjorie L. Hoover, "'Ihr geht gemeinsam den Weg nach unten'. Aufstieg und Fall Amerikas im Werk Bertolt Brechts" In *Amerika in der deutschen Literatur* (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun., 1975) 302.

[44] Brandt 453-454.

[45] Brandt 451.

[46] Brandt 451.

[47] Brecht, *Frühe Stücke*, 201.

[48] Brecht, *Frühe Stücke*, 202.

[49] Brecht, *Frühe Stücke*, 159-160.

[50] Willett, *Brecht Poems*, 173.

[51] Burton Pike, *The Image of the City in Modern Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981) 121.

[52] Ruland, *American Quarterly*, 375.

[53] Brecht, *Gesammelte Werke 2*, 505.

[54] Brecht, *Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny* (Berlin: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1955) 70.

[55] Buono 85.

[56] Brecht, *Arbeitsjournal*, 372.

[57] Marcel Reich-Ranicki in *Die Zeit*, Nr. 12, 1973, 26.

[58] Hoover 312.

[59] Brandt 34.

[60] Ruland, *American Quarterly*, 386.

[61] Brecht, *Über Lyrik*, 14.

[62] Wolf von Eckardt and Sander L. Gilman, *Bertolt Brecht's Berlin: A Scrapbook of the Twenties* (New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1975) 25-26.

[63] Ingeborg Bachmann, *Der gute Gott von Manhattan* (Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun., 1977) 26.

[64] Brecht, *Gesammelte Werke 9*, 744.

[65] Clement Greenberg, "Bertolt Brecht's Poetry" In *Partisan Review*, (March-April, 1941) Vol. VIII, No. 2, 118.

[66] Brecht, *Tagebücher*, 11.

[67] Brecht, *Mahagonny*, 70.

[68] Brecht, *Tagebücher*, 175.

[69] Parmalee 229.

[70] Willett, *Weimar*, 98.

[71] Brecht, *Mahagonny*, 12.

[72] Seliger 182.

[73] Seliger 182.

[74] Hoover 302.

[75] Reinhold Grimm, "Bertolt Brecht and Carl Sandburg: Kindred Spirits" at MLA Convention, Chicago, 1985

[76] Parmalee 226.

[77] Seliger 180.

[78] Willett's *Weimar*, 99.

[79] Brecht, *Tagebücher*, 221.

[80] Eliot, *Collected Poems 1909 - 1962*, (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1963) 77.

[81] Brecht, *Gesammelte Werke*, Vol 9, 725.

CHAPTER III

BACHMANN'S

DER GUTE GOTT VON MANHATTAN

> In allen Senkrechten und Geraden der Stadt war Leben, und der wütende Hymnus begann wieder, auf die Arbeit, den Lohn und größren Gewinn... Und die Menschen fühlten sich lebendig, wo immer sie gingen, und dieser Stadt zugehörig—der einzigen, die sie je erfunden und entworfen hatten für jedes ihrer Bedürfnisse. Diese Stadt der Städte, die in ihrer Rastlosigkeit und Agonie jeden aufnahm und in der Alles gedeihen konnte! Alles. Auch dies.
>
> - Ingeborg Bachmann

This is the image of Manhattan Ingeborg Bachmann creates in her radio play, *Der gute Gott von Manhattan*. Manhattan is depicted as the only city conceived and designed to meet all of man's needs. Viewed as the epitome of the twentieth century metropolis, it is the one city man has created where anything is possible, even "this." In the play "this" reveals itself as the love between a young woman from the New World, Jennifer, and a young man from the Old World, Jan. The motif of love is used to represent an attempt to transcend limits, in this instance, the limits or laws of convention and order. Jennifer illustrates the Freudian belief that love breaks "the boundary lines between the ego and the external world"[1] as she enters into a realm Bachmann has designated as the *Grenzübertritt*, a transcendence of the limits. Bachmann has chosen Manhattan as the city most conducive to conveying this *Grenzübertritt*. New York's architectural trademark, the skyscraper, is incorporated into the text as a spatial representation of this crossing over the limits. In 1959 Bachmann received the "Hörspielpreis der Kriegsblinden" for the play, and in her acceptance speech she wrote: "Im Widerspiel des Unmöglichen mit dem Möglichen erweitern wir unsere Möglichkeiten."[2] The tension between the possible and the impossible, a realm closely related to the utopic, gives birth to the *Grenzübertritt*. The city of Manhattan as symbolic of this utopic state is finely interwoven throughout the play, reinforcing and heightening the sense of the absolute and the infinite that the love motif connotes.

In Kafka's *Amerika* the presence of New York could be felt only intermittently, i.e. in the three key passages located in the first third of the work. Thereafter the city was not mentioned at all, though some of the references to the suburban apartment house of Delamarche and Robinson could be applied to New York, e.g. the height of the building or the aspect of anonymity. In contrast, the presence of New York permeates the entire play

Der gute Gott von Manhattan. The radio play begins with a scene in Grand Central Station and ends in a bar on 46th Street. In the seventy-four pages of the play the reader follows the lovers, Jan and Jennifer, as they wander through the city - from Grand Central Station into the street, to a bar, a flea-bag hotel and on the subway up to 125th Street. In Harlem the two stop in another bar, a church and a record store, winding their way back to Lexington Avenue where they return to the Atlantic Hotel. From the Brooklyn Bridge at midnight their dreams take them to Chinatown, the Village, Harlem and the Bowery. Times Square is evoked in a letter from the ubiquitous squirrels, who function as the "messengers of the good God of Manhattan," and Central Park is seen from a ride in a hansom cab. Even the boroughs of Queens and the Bronx are briefly mentioned.

Bachmann has infused her play with countless references to the topographical New York. Certainly no reference is more specific than that of a place name. While designating the setting with a specific name does lend the text verisimilitude, it must be borne in mind that New York functions primarily as a symbol in Bachmann's play. By symbol I mean "any device whereby we are enabled to make an abstraction"[3], as Susanne Langer has put it. The mimetic quality of the play can thus be deceptive in that it induces the reader to compare Bachmann's New York with the topographical New York. The importance of the setting of "Manhattan" rests in the associative quality of the name itself; the name is used to evoke a specific state of mind—for Bachmann it is that of the *Grenzübertritt*. The city as exemplifying this *Grenzübertritt* will be the focus of this study.

After providing some basic biographical information and exploring the philosophical and literary influences in the radio play, I will examine why Bachmann specifically chose New York. An analysis of the key passage on the city and an examination of the structure and levels of discourse of the play follow.

I

Literary and Philosophical Influences

Bachmann's brief life spans the years 1926 - 1973 and can best be typified as restless. At the age of nineteen she left her home town of Klagenfurt permanently and began her studies of philosophy at the University of Innsbruck. One year later she moved to Vienna where she completed her studies with a dissertation on *Die kritische Aufnahme der Existentialphilosophie Martin Heideggers*.[4] In 1952 she traveled to Italy for the first time. She was to spend the greater part of her last twenty odd years there, with numerous extended visits to Vienna, Munich, Paris and Zurich. Her first book of poems, *Die gestundete Zeit*, was published in 1953 and immediately won critical acclaim. In 1955 she

accepted a one-year invitation to attend the international seminar of the Harvard Summer School of Arts and Sciences and of Education under the direction of Henry Kissinger. During this time she made numerous visits to New York City. Three years later her impressions of America were reflected in her third and most famous radio play, *Der gute Gott von Manhattan*, which was broadcast as a joint production of the *Bayerischer Rundfunk* and the *Norddeutscher Rundfunks Hamburg*. Bachmann's three radio plays mark her transition from poetry to prose. The language of the radio plays with its strong lyric strains is far more closely related to her poetry than to the later prose works.

In both her prose and poetry the concept of the *Grenzübertritt* plays a major role and is clearly derived from Bachmann's earlier preoccupation with the aspect of the *Grenze*, the border or limit. The earliest reference to the *Grenze* is made with respect to her home town. Of Klagenfurt she wrote:

> Ich glaube, daß die Enge dieses Tals und das Bewusstsein der Grenze mir das Fernweh eingetragen haben. Als der Krieg zu Ende war, ging ich fort und kam voll Ungeduld und Erwartung nach Wien, das unerreichbar in meiner Vorstellung gewesen war. Es wurde wieder eine Heimat an der Grenze: zwischen Ost und West, zwischen einer großen Vergangenheit und einer dunklen Zukunft. Und wenn ich später auch nach Paris und London, nach Deutschland und Italien gekommen bin, so besagt das wenig, denn in meiner Erinnerung wird der Weg aus dem Tal nach Wien immer der längste bleiben.[5]

Even in this purely biographical account, Bachmann views geographical borders in their relationship to the abstract, in this instance to the borders of time. Vienna is at once a physical entity and the city existing in a time between a great past and a dark future. The element of the utopic, which will figure so dominantly in her later writings, is foreshadowed in this early description of the city as "unerreichbar," unattainable. Later we read that Klagenfurt lay "im Süden, an der Grenze, in einem Tal, das zwei Namen hat - einen deutschen und einen slowenischen.... So ist nahe der Grenze noch einmal die Grenze: die Grenze der Sprache."[6] Here the concept of the *Grenze* is viewed with respect to the geographical borders and in its relationship to language. The theme of the limits of language pervades Bachmann's prose and poetry, and can be traced back to her readings of Wittgenstein's *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*.

Of the many poems that deal with the limits of language, none is perhaps as illustrative of this interplay between concrete and abstract borders as the fifth poem of the series, entitled "Von einem Land, einem fluß und den Seen." First published in 1956, two years before the radio play, in the collection *Anrufung des Großen Bären*, the collection secured Bachmann's reputation in German lyric poetry.

Wer weiss, wann sie dem Land die Grenzen zogen
und um die Kiefern Stacheldrahtverhau?
Der Wildbach hat die Zündschnur ausgetreten,
der Fuchs vertrieb den Sprengstoff aus dem Bau.
Wer weiss, was sie auf Grat und Gipfel suchten?
Ein Wort? wir haben's gut im Mund verwahrt;
es spricht sich schöner aus in beiden Sprachen
und wird, wenn wir verstummen, noch gepaart.

...

Seit uns die Namen in die Dinge wiegen,
wir Zeichen geben, uns ein Zeichen kommt,
ist Schnee nicht nur die weisse Fracht von oben,
ist Schnee auch Stille, die uns überkommt.
Daß uns nichts trennt, muß jeder Trennung fühlen;
in gleicher Luft spürt er den gleichen Schnitt.
Nur grüne Grenzen und der Lüfte Grenzen
vernarben unter jedem Nachtwindschritt.
Wir aber wollen über Grenzen sprechen,
und gehn auch Grenzen noch durch jedes Wort:
wir werden sie vor Heimweh überschreiten
und dann im Einklang stehn mit jedem Ort.[7]

Once again Bachmann proceeds from the concrete borders of geography to the abstract limits of language. In the second stanza, the relationship between object and word is introduced with the question: "Ein Wort?" The word is not spoken ("wir haben's gut im Mund verwahrt"), but the object is perceived in two languages simultaneously. Later we find a specific reference to Babylon ("Wenn sich in Babel auch die Welt verwirrte,..." —verse 4, line 1), and yet the ability of language to reconcile and not to divide, is emphasized: "Daß uns nichts trennt, muß jeder Trennung fühlen." The last verse reiterates this paradoxical form of union; the individual is aware of the limits of language, and this awareness of separation is, in turn, shared by all, thus providing a link between the self and society, or at least between those included in the "we" of the poem. This "we" has been widely and, I think accurately, interpreted as "we, the poets." Bachmann writes that the poet who succeeds in transcending the limits of language will be able to place himself in harmony with "jedem Ort," the real and the utopic.

In the radio play the theme of the limits of language is clearly derived from Wittgenstein's proposition: "Die Grenzen meiner Sprache bedeuten die Grenzen meiner Welt."(5.6)[8] In speaking of Bachmann's "geistige Väter," most critics give equal importance to Heidegger and Wittgenstein[9]; her dissertation on Heidegger is cited as evidence of his influence on her writings. Bachmann's dissertation was, in fact, largely an attack on Heidegger's philosophy. In an interview in *Literatur und Kritik* Bachmann said

"... ich habe gegen Heidegger dissertiert. Denn ich habe damals gemeint mit 22 Jahren, diesen Mann werde ich jetzt stürzen! ... Und Heidegger habe ich natürlich nicht gestürzt."[10] In the conclusion of her dissertation, Bachmann expressed her doubts about Heidegger's philosophy by stating that "... die unaussprechbaren, unfixierbaren Unmittelbarkeiten des emotional-aktualen Bereichs des Menschen [versuche Heidegger zwar] rational zu erfassen ..., das Ergebnis wird immer die gefährliche Halbrationalizierung einer Sphäre sein, die mit dem Wort Wittgensteins berührt werden kann: 'Wovon man nicht sprechen kann, darüber muß man schweigen!'"[11] The dissertation itself thus marks the turning away from Heidegger to Wittgenstein.

Though traces of Heideggerian philosophy linger in the play, e.g. the concept of the *Gegenzeit*, the major philosophical influence was certainly Wittgenstein. In departing from both Wittgenstein and Heidegger, however, Bachmann maintained that the border between the "Sagbares und Unsagbares" (Wittgenstein's terms), was an area better explored in art than in philosophy: "Dem Bedürfnis nach Ausdruck dieses anderen Wirklichkeitsbereiches, der sich der Fixierung durch eine systematisierende Existentialphilosophie entzieht, kommt jedoch die Kunst mit ihren vielfältigen Möglichkeiten in ungleich höherem Masse entgegen."[12] Theo Mechtenberg sees this rejection of Heidegger's philosophy in favor of poetry as Bachmann's "'ästhetische Rechtfertigung' der Welt in dichterischer Ausdrucksform..."[13] For Bachmann, poetry was not so much a means of justifying or explaining life as a means of expressing *das Unsagbare*, what Wittgenstein had called *das Mystische*. ("Es gibt allerdings Unaussprechliches. Dies zeigt sich, es ist das Mystische." 6.522)[14] In her essay, "Ludwig Wittgenstein: Zu einem Kapitel der jüngsten Philosophiegeschichte," Bachmann pointedly asks: "Was ist nun dieses Unsagbare? Zuerst begegnet es uns als die Unmöglichkeit, die logische Form selbst darzustellen. Diese zeigt sich. Sie spiegelt sich im Satz. Der Satz weist sie auf. Was sich zeigt, kann nicht gesagt werden; es ist das Mystische. Hier erfährt die Logik ihre Grenze, und da sie die Welt erfüllt, da die Welt in die Struktur der logischen Form eintritt, ist ihre Grenze die Grenze unserer Welt. So verstehen wir den Satz: 'Die Grenzen meiner Sprache bedeuten die Grenzen meiner Welt. 95.60'"[15] The flaw in the above statement rests in the fact that "die logische Form...,[die] sich zeigt [und] im Satz spiegelt" must consist of words, and these words can, in turn, "be said." What I believe Bachmann is aiming at is better expressed in her assertion that art is far more capable of revealing *das Unsagbare* than is philosophy.

In addition to the influence of Wittgenstein's philosophy on the play, much of the basis for Bachmann's concept of the *Grenzübertritt* can be found in Musil's *Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften*. Numerous critics, specifically Gäbler, Reinert and Holschuh, have stressed Musil's influence on Bachmann.[16] This influence can most clearly be seen in Bachmann's

essays on Musil. The following description of Ulrich can be found in the essay, "Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften," written in the form of a dialogue between Ulrich, Musil and two speakers:

> 1. Sprecher: Sein [Ulrichs] Weg des Denkens fällt mit dem der Liebe zusammen, und was nun geschieht, ist nicht der Ablauf einer Liebesgeschichte, sondern der der 'letzten Liebesgeschichte'. Bruder und Schwester geraten auf einen Weg, der mit dem der 'Gottergriffenen' vieles gemeinsam hat. Sie beschäftigen sich mit den Zeugnissen großer Mystiker, um dahinter zu kommen, wie Bewußtsein und Welt entgrenzt werden können, und für eine kurze Zeit erreichen sie den 'anderen Zustand', in dem sie moralisch in einen Uratomzustand aufgelöst werden - den 'anderen Zustand'.[17]

The concept of *Grenzübertritt* is here defined in terms of an *Entgrenzung* between consciousness and the world. In the twenty-third scene of the radio play the judge asks the good God: "Wovon ist die Rede?" to which he receives the following reply: "Von einem anderen Zustand. Von einem Grenzübertritt."(62) Bachmann has not only adopted Musil's term, *der andere Zustand*, she has also used it to represent the same idea, i.e. the idea of absolute and transcendent love. In the same essay, Bachmann introduces Musil's concept of *die taghelle Mystik* and loosely interprets it as a "Möglichkeit einer vorübergehenden Abweichung von der gewohnten Ordnung des Erlebens."[18] By that definition, there is little difference between Jan and Jennifer's departure from the order of things and Musil's *taghelle Mystik*. They, too, seek to break out of the laws of society, or as Jan says: "...es kann auch das Gesetz der Welt ... nicht mehr auf uns liegen."(54) Bachmann has combined Wittgenstein's definition of *das Unaussprechliche* as *das Mystische* and Musil's concepts of *der andere Zustand* and *taghelle Mystik* and redefined them as *der Grenzübertritt* in the radio play.

The play unfolds on two primary levels of discourse: the good God of Manhattan is on trial for "Attentaten gegen Menschen, die niemand bekümmert hatten"(9), among them Jennifer. His task is to prevent a *Grenzübertritt* from taking place. Jan and Jennifer's love story is recapitulated by the good God in the form of a story within a story. Further commentary on the love story is provided through the use of music, a chorus and three seemingly independent scenes involving the messengers of the good God, the squirrels. The love story ends with an explosion claiming Jennifer's life; Jan is last seen in a bar on 46th street waiting for the next ship to Europe. The good God is dismissed without a judgment having been passed: "Guter Gott: ... Ihren Spruch - werde ich nie erfahren? ... Schweigen - bis zuletzt? / Richter *allein*: Schweigen." The play ends with the evocation of Wittgenstein's proposition: "Wovon man nicht sprechen kann, darüber muß man

schweigen."[19]

A second Wittgensteinian proposition is reflected in the lovers' attempt to find a new language; they seek to circumvent the proposition that: "Die Grenzen meiner Sprache bedeuten die Grenzen meiner Welt."(5.6)[20] Jan gives specific expression to this longing for the impossible when he states: "...ich möchte in mir den Bau niederreissen, der ich bin, und der andere sein, der ich nie war"(53) and later, "Ich weiß nichts weiter, nur daß ich hier leben und sterben will mit dir und zu dir reden in einer neuen Sprache;"(66) This striving to exceed the natural limits is metaphorically represented in the play through the use of the floors of the Hotel Atlantic. In a self-conscious and obvious use of spatial representation, Bachmann has the lovers move from the ground floor to the seventh floor, to the thirtieth and finally to the fifty-seventh floor as the intensity of their love increases. As they ascend to the city's farthest outposts, the highest stories of its skyscrapers, they become farther and farther removed from society: "Von dem Zimmer oben gab es eine seltsame Aussicht. Eine im Flug verlassene Welt lag unten. In einem Aug konnte man schon den Mond und im anderen noch die Sonne haben. Das Meer wölbte sich sichtbar in der Ferne und zog Schiffe und Rauch hinunter an andere Erdteile."(57) The couple has left the peopled world of New York behind. Their attempt to break free from the bonds of the earth is expressed in the successive comments about each floor. Jennifer says of the ground floor that it is "schmutzig von feuchter Zuckerluft" - the viscous connection to humanity is viewed as "dirty" and "sickeningly sweet." Of the seventh floor we read that there is "eine Luftmaschine mit kalter Luft," and on the 30th floor "die Luft [ist] dünner" and "Geräuschwellen gleiten ab an den Mauern." The atmosphere—like their language—becomes increasingly ethereal. And finally, of the 57th floor Jan says: "Genau hier ist es zu spüren, wo es wenig Erde gibt. Hier ist Raum."(58) There is indeed "space," but it is unoccupied space, just as their new language is to be free of words. The implicit antithesis to this unoccupied space resounds in the text: "Raum" is juxtaposed to the preceding "Erde." Their isolation from the earth, i.e. from society, is complete - an isolation which New York City, in its spatial configuration, encourages. Ultimately, the wrath of the good God of Manhattan at their transgression against the order of life, forces them, or at least Jennifer, to leave this world entirely. Jan hears only a "dumpfe Detonation" and the strange music. As the judge says: "Er [Jan] war rückfällig geworden, und die Ordnung streckte einen Augenblick lang die Arme nach ihm aus."(73) "Order" had made itself apparent to Jan in the form of "Druckerschwärze." Through the reading of the newspaper in the bar, the concept of time had seeped in again, and "Er war gerettet. Die Erde hatte ihn wieder."(73) This blatant parody of the last lines of *Faust*—for the earth and not heaven have reclaimed Jan—will be repeated several times throughout the play. In its

ambiguity this sentence reflects the same ironical attitude as does the name "the good God of Manhattan," which will be discussed later. As for Jennifer, she has been "unter die Sternbilder versetzt worden" (63). Elevated to the level of an image, Jennifer has completed the *Grenzübertritt* in death.

II

THE MOTIF OF THE CITY IN BACHMANN'S WRITINGS

Though Bachmann clearly preferred big cities to small towns, this is not to say that her attitude toward the big city is automatically one of uncritical praise. Burton Pike has suggested: "...perhaps the central fascination of the city, both real and fictional, is that it embodies man's contradictory feelings - pride, love, anxiety, and hatred - toward the civilization he has created and the culture to which he belongs."[21] Bachmann echoes this ambivalence toward the city in her prose pieces *Das dreissigste Jahr, Was ich in Rom sah und hörte, Ein Ort für Zufälle, Besichtigung einer alten Stadt, Malina* and, of course, in her poems and in *Der gute Gott von Manhattan.* A brief survey of the role of the city in some of these works will help to assess to what degree Bachmann's sentiments about New York are peculiar to that specific city, and to what degree they are a reflection of her feelings about big cities in general.

In *Das dreissigste Jahr* we are presented with a two-page, detailed description of Vienna. On leaving the city again, the protagonist dreams of Vienna during the train ride out of town. The passage begins with a declarative, accusatory "Stadt ohne Gewähr!," and is interspersed with vivid images of the city (Stadt...wie eine Große, schlampige Fischerin sehe ich sie noch immer an dem Großen gleichmütigen Strom sitzen und ihre silbrige und verweste Beute einziehen."(40-41) An entire barrage of appositives attempts to define Vienna, e.g "Strandgutstadt!, Türkenmondstadt! Barrikadenstadt!, Endstadt! als gäb es kein Gleis hinaus!, Scheiterhaufenstadt,..., Schweigestadt! Stumme Inquisitorin mit dem unverbindlichen Lächeln., Schüchterne Stadt im Zwiegespräch,..., Peststadt mit Todesgeruch!"(41) The passage ends, however, with the reconciliatory thought: "Laßt mich an den Glanz eines Tages denken,... als die Stadt gewaschen war und gereinigt, als sternförmig die Straßen von ihrem Kern, ihrem starken Herz, ausliefen, gereinigt,... weil Auferstehung war, vom Tod, vom Vergessen!"(41) Vienna is presented in all its disparate and contradictory aspects. Though there are many negative images, the overall effect of the passage is more of an encomium than an indictment. The city is, however, not blindly eulogized; its unsavory characteristics are listed only to be put in perspective by the final paragraph, which leaves the reader with the image of the city in its vitality, its "starken

Herz." (Vienna functions prominently in Bachmann's work; of the seven stories in the collection *Das dreissigste Jahr*, five are set in Vienna.)

In "Besichtigung einer alten Stadt," a six-page text originally conceived as the opening for the third chapter of the novel *Malina* and later published in the special edition of *Text und Kritik* in 1971, Vienna is presented through the eyes of the tourist. Malina and the first-person narrator pretend to be Americans so that they can experience "ein ganz neues Wien."[22] Seen through the lens of the tourist, Vienna paradoxically appears simultaneously familiar and alien. Through the use of the stereotypical reactions of tourists, Malina and the narrator have placed themselves in a clearly defined role in relation to the city. They are the observers, and the city the object of observation. The narrative introduces the reader to such stereotypical associations of Vienna as "Mozartkugeln, die Staatsoper, ... Wiener Kipfel, ... einen Walzertraum, ... und den Prater," to mention but a few. While Malina and the narrator assume a posture of distance toward the sights of Vienna, the reader is engaged in the many real aspects of the city, even though they are presented in an obviously ironical form. Malina utters such phrases as "... I love culture, I adore such old countries like yours," in an attempt to pass as a bona fide American tourist. Bachmann is simultaneously indulging in a parody of the American as well as the American perception of Vienna. (In *Der gute Gott von Manhattan* we also find some of the same stereotypical conceptions of New York satirized.) Since the novel *Malina* is largely autobiographical, Vienna plays a highly significant role throughout the work; as Bachmann writes of the novel: "...der Ort ist im Großen und ganzen Wien."[23]

When Bachmann received the "Georg-Büchner-Preis" in 1964, "Ein Ort für Zufälle" was conceived as an acceptance speech. At the outset of the speech Bachmann states that

> es wird von einer Gegend hier die Rede sein,
> umständehalber, von einer Stadt, da mehr sich
> nicht anbietet, einer die sich auf 'Teilung'
> hinausreden möchte. Teilung: das ist ein anderes
> Wort, es nimmt vieles ab, das Denken nicht
> zuletzt. Es hört sich an nach Operation;
> postoperative Schmerzen nicht ausgeschlossen,
> letaler Ausgang selten... Die Beschädigung von
> Berlin, deren geschichtliche Voraussetzungen
> bekannt sind, erlaubt weder Mystifizierung noch
> eignet sie sich zum Symbol. Was sie erzwingt,
> ist jedoch eine Einstellung auf Krankheit, auf
> eine Konsequenz von variablen Krankheitsbildern,
> die wiederum Krankheit hervorruft.[24]

Berlin as the topic of her speech has indeed not undergone mystification nor been elevated to a symbol. In this instance the author is concerned with the topographical city,

with Berlin after the erection of the wall in 1961. This work is cited to illustrate Bachmann's interest in the city per se, be it the city as representative of her Austrian heritage or the city in the form of a realistic portrayal of post World War II Berlin.

Several additional works might be mentioned here: her prose piece, "Was ich in Rom sah und hörte," and the numerous poems that specifically deal with cities, e.g. the poems "Paris," "Große Landschaft bei Wien," "Römisches Nachtbild" and "Harlem." One can conclude from the above examples that Bachmann's perception of the city - Vienna, Berlin or Rome - is marked by ambivalence. While Bachmann condemns Vienna as a "Peststadt mit Todesgeruch," she simultaneously reminds the reader and herself to think of "den Glanz eines Tages ... als die Stadt gewaschen war und gereinigt...."(41) Even as the city repels her, the very strength of this emotion elicits an equally strong counter-emotion. Of Rome Bachmann wrote little but undiluted praise. Her relationship to the Eternal City bears great similarity to the unquestioning admiration one bestows on the exotic. It is also noteworthy that in spite of her love-hate relationship with the big city, Bachmann rarely lived outside the confines of a metropolitan area, and all her work reflects this choice.

This brings us to the question of why Bachmannn chose Manhattan as the backdrop for her play - a city she knew personally only through occasional short visits. In an otherwise excellent article on *Der gute Gott von Manhattan*, Gunilla Bergsten writes that "[Die Großstadt] heißt zufälligerweise New York, genauso gut könnte sie Wien oder noch anders heißen. Im Stück wird sie zu einem Symbol für das unbändige, sich überstürzende Leben,..."[25] This view ignores the polarity the play establishes between the American (Jennifer) and the European (Jan). It also ignores Bachmann's emphasis on the importance of choosing a place name in a work of literature. In the "Frankfurter Vorlesungen" held in 1959/60 she wrote in an essay entitled "Der Umgang mit Namen":

> Weil der Dichtung in Glücksfällen Namen gelungen sind und die Taufe möglich war, ist für die Schriftsteller das Namensproblem und die Namensfrage etwas sehr Bewegendes, und zwar nicht nur in bezug auf Gestalten, sondern auch auf Orte, auf Straßen, die auf dieser ausserordentlichen Landkarte eingetragen werden müssen, in diesen Atlas, den nur die Literatur sichtbar macht. Diese Landkarte deckt sich nur an wenigen Stellen mit den Karten der Geographen....[26]

The name "Manhattan" was clearly chosen with great care. On the one hand, Bachmann draws on the myths connected with the name of the actual city, and on the other, she writes confidently that the author is at liberty to create a place bearing little or no resemblance to the topographical city. One thinks of Whitman's "Manahatta," his "city of hurried and sparkling waters!" or the countless other "literary Manhattans." In addition to

the topographical city and the city of the mind, as in the case of Kafka and Brecht, we have yet a third city: the city created from the translation of one individual's experience with a specific city into writing. Of the intangible maps created by literature, Bachmann writes: "Und Orte gibt es darauf [auf den Karten], manche viele Male, wohl hundertmal Venedig, aber immer ein anderes, das von Goldoni und von Nietzsche, eines von Hofmannsthal und eines von Thomas Mann..."[27] In *Der gute Gott von Manhattan* the reader experiences Bachmann's Manhattan. Though Bachmann's New York may reflect her personal experiences in this city to some extent, it is influenced far more by her attitude towards cities in general, and most specifically by what she hoped to achieve in choosing New York as the setting for the play.

Of all the cities Bachmann was familiar with -- Vienna, Rome, Paris, London, Zurich and New York—she chose New York, and specifically, Manhattan, to depict this striving for the unattainable. The most obvious example of this "reaching for the beyond" is expressed in the architecture of New York with its soaring skyscrapers that seem to defy the laws of gravity. A Baroque Vienna stretching out horizontally in all directions still conveys some sense of natural, or organic growth, as Spengler might have said. And the Rome Bachmann knew so well would hardly lend itself for the play, for it is far too laden with history ever to shed the sense of time. It is interesting that Freud chose Rome for his comparison of the past of the human mind with the history of cities. He had speculated: "Now let us, by a flight of the imagination, suppose that Rome is not a human habitation but a psychical entity with a similarly long and copious past - an entity, that is to say, in which nothing that has once come into existence will have passed away and all the earlier phases of development continue to exist alongside the latest one."[28] The city of Rome lends itself well to such speculations; it is inconceivable to imagine Rome without simultaneously imagining its past. In contrast, New York seems to erase all traces of time in its rush to anticipate the future. Time is experienced, if it is experienced at all, as belonging to the future. And since the future is unknown, time in Bachmann's New York becomes an unknowable entity, it becomes the *Gegenzeit*. The concept of the *Gegenzeit* is introduced in conjunction with the beginning of the *andere Zustand* towards the end of the play; it is firmly linked to the state of being in love. Fischerova asserts that this *Grenzübertritt* through love represents "die völlige Annullierung der Zeit."[29] As Jan says in the room on the 57th floor: "Ich will, was noch niemals war, kein Ende."(61) This desire to escape time is further expressed in Jan and Jennifer's denial of the past ("Jan: ... Ich will nichts von dir wissen, dich ausklammern aus deinen Geschichten...")(51), and in their game with the future:

Jan: Sag: wann ist morgen?
Jennifer: Frühestens morgen.
Jan: Und heute?
Jennifer: Spätestens heute.
Jan: Jetzt?
Jennifer, *langsam, ihn umarmend*: Gleich jetzt.(28)

Further examination of the opening of the play is necessary to trace the development of the concepts of the *Gegenzeit* and the *Grenzübertritt* and their relationship to the city.

III

THE CITY IN THE PLAY

The radio play opens with a very specific time and place: a New York City courtroom at the height of summer. As the accused is brought into the room, the time frame becomes even more specific: "New York City, August, 1950." The accused is asked his name, place and date of birth, skin color, height and weight, religion, alcohol consumption and if there is any history of mental illness. His laconic response: "Not that I know of." The city is thus introduced in conjunction with the process of ordering -- a function it has long served. Out of the natural order of things in the universe, the city imposes a man-made order. It represents man's attempts to understand his universe through categorization and cataloging. In the city, records of births and deaths are kept, man is divided into various skin colors and into the height and weight of his physical appearance. His religious beliefs are systematized, as are his leisure-time activities and his health. The need for ordering in turn gives birth to the offspring of the city, its institutions: its courtrooms, its census bureaus, and its health departments. The city defines and delineates man from the outside. Its process of ordering is but an extension of the primeval process of naming. It is in the naming of a thing that its reality consists, or in Bachmann's words, "... der Name allein genügt, um in der Welt zu sein."[30]

The evocative power of place names is stressed in Joyce Carol Oates' essay "Imaginary Cities: America" in which she writes: "The more autonomous an archetype in the unconscious, the greater its numinosity in what we might call...the collective or mass imagination, the more contradictions it displays in consciousness—the greater the range of emotions it arouses."[31] Most would agree that New York does indeed hold such a position—the idea of New York is certainly far stronger for most people than their actual experience of the city. Kevin Lynch defines this phenomenon as "imageability," and points out that there are certain cities that have a greater degree of "imageability," i.e. "that quality in a physical object which gives it a high probability of evoking a strong image in any given

observer."[32] He goes on to say that "in the United States one is tempted to cite parts of Manhattan, San Fransciso, Boston or perhaps the lake front of Chicago"[33] as possessing this quality. More than perhaps any other city in the twentieth century, the evocation of the name "Manhattan" elicits associations ranging from viewing New York as the center of capitalism to seeing it as the city of the destitute and the downtrodden. And since the subconscious associations are so varied and strong, the conscious expression of these associations will usually assume even more radical forms of expression. These strong feelings of love and hate result in the most common emotional response to the city, that of ambivalence. This accounts in part for the many radical depictions of New York as epitomizing decadence, alienation or depravity, or of the equally frequent depictions of the city as the seat of power and money.

The reader experiences the attributes of the city not merely through the portrayal of the locale, but also through the rendering of the fictional characters. For the city "is the dramatic background against which fictional persons enact their representative struggles with those values the City embodies, which are frequently internalized."[34] Applying this to Bachmann's radio play, one can readily see how the qualities that distinguish New York can be applied to Jan and Jennifer, how they as characters can be said to have internalized the attributes of the space they inhabit. And the reverse holds true since the attributes of the characters can be ascribed to the city in which the action unfolds. We see this primarily with respect to time: just as the lovers strive to transcend the limits of time ("Ich will was noch niemals war: kein Ende")(61), so too the city is portrayed in a race with time, as in the sentence: "Der wilde Sommer flog in neuen Farben auf den Lack der Autokarosserien ..."(26). In a scene on the Brooklyn Bridge, which will be examined later, this timelessness is even more evident. The transference of characteristics from character to locale calls to mind such characters as Humboldt in Bellow's *Humboldt's Gift*. Von Humboldt Fleisher's personality is strikingly similar to Chicago's—quick, tough and tinged with wry humor.

IV

THEME AND STRUCTURE OF THE PLAY

Most critics reduce the theme of the play to that of love. Love does indeed play a key role in the work—it is used to exemplify the *Grenzübertritt*. In her speech accepting the "Hörspielpreis der Kriegsblinden" for the play, Bachmann wrote: "Nun steckt aber in jedem Fall, auch im alltäglichsten von Liebe, der Grenzfall, den wir, bei näherem Zusehen, erblicken können und vielleicht uns bemühen sollten, zu erblicken. Denn bei allem, was

wir tun, denken und fühlen, möchten wir manchmal bis zum Äussersten gehen. Der Wunsch wird in uns wach, die Grenzen zu überschreiten, die uns gesetzt sind."[35] Bachmann obviously considers the motif of the love story subordinate to the concept of exceeding the limits. A transcendence of the limits also inherently establishes a dichotomy between the Here and the Beyond. Though this polarity is implicit in the concept of the *Grenzübertritt*, Bachmann is more concerned with the process of striving for that which lies Beyond than with the Beyond per se. Angst-Hürlimann sums up Bachmann's thematic preoccupation as follows: "Auch im Thematischen geht es ihr immer wieder um die Grenze: um die Grenze des Möglichen, der Existenz, der Sprache."[36] Angst-Hürlimann is, however, in the minority; most critics, i.e. Pausch, Funke or Gäbler, to name but a few, view the play as a "zeitgemässes Liebesgedicht."[37] Holschuh does greater justice to the play in perceiving its multifaceted dimensions: "*Der gute Gott von Manhattan* ist ein komplex gebautes Hörspiel, und eine Interpretation, die in der Hauptsache auf die Liebesgeschichte beschränkt bliebe, hätte die vielleicht wichtigsten Einsichten versäumt."[38] The motif of love is used to illustrate this *Grenzübertritt*. In other stories, such as "Das dreissigste Jahr" or "Die Zikaden," the theme of flight serves the same purpose.

Critics have repeatedly pointed out that "Das Manhattan, von dem die Rede ist, mutet eher wie eine Opernkulisse denn als ein Duplikat jenes New Yorker Stadtteils an, in dem sich Widersprüche austragen, von denen nur Tote sich nichts träumen lassen.'[39] Since Manhattan clearly functions as a symbol within Bachmann's play, we need not look any further to the topographical New York to verify the accuracy of Bachmann's Manhattan. Bachmann is dealing with a Manhattan of the mind, a city she has created to convey the tension between "das Mögliche und das Unmögliche." Werner Weber reflects this view in his 1958 review of the play: "Ingeborg Bachmann fühlt, denkt, gestaltet in diesem Spiel auf dem Mythenboden, wo nicht Rechnung und nicht Wägen herrschen, sondern Sein im ältesten Verhältnis."[40] This assessment comes closer to Bachmann's Manhattan, for she has indeed transformed the topographical city into an imaginary locale capable of absorbing and communicating the myths associated with the name.

In addition to the two primary levels of discourse, a third level is interjected intermittently—the three squirrel scenes. In the tenth scene we find a story within a story within a story in the form of the theater of Billy and Frankie, the two squirrels. This scene deals primarily with the theme of love in the work; the direct presence of the city in the play can most clearly be felt in two main levels of discourse. The entire seventy-four-page play is unevenly divided into twenty-nine short scenes, some only one page long, others two to three pages long. The courtroom in the 1950's forms the setting for the opening and closing scenes. Of the twenty-nine scenes, eleven take place in the courtroom, and the

remainder between Jan and Jennifer, with the exception of the three short squirrel scenes. The shift in narrative is fairly evenly divided between the two levels of discourse.

These twenty-nine scenes are complemented by two additional key elements: the omnipresent voices, or chorus, and the evocation of music throughout the piece. The role of music in the play merits closer attention. In the first four scenes music arises out of the most unlikely places. At the end of Scene One, the good God states: "Gegen fünf Uhr nachmittag, kurz nachdem der Schnellzug aus Boston in der Unterwelt von Grand Central eingelaufen war und die Reisenden sich in den Hallen und vor den Ausgängen verliefen, als sie den rotglühenden und grünenden Pfeilen nachgingen, als die Orgelmusik aus den Wänden quoll - als alle Uhrzeiger liefen und das Licht ohne Unterlaß in den Rühren tanzte gegen die immerwährende Finsternis, waren zwei Neue angekommen."(10-11) Organ music that flowed out of the walls accompanied Jan and Jennifer's emergence from the bowels of Grand Central. As if returning from the netherworld of Hades where Timelessness reigns, they are jolted into a land where "alle Uhrzeiger liefen," where every minute counts and is accounted for. The city is thus first viewed in its relationship to time - a relationship which changes in tandem with the unfolding of the love story. A second polarity is established between the "immerwährende Finsternis" and the new land where "das Licht ohne Unterlaß in den Röhren tanzte." They have arrived in the land of neon lights and countless clocks. This city obeys neither the laws of nature nor the laws of man. It is an entity, once created, that literally dances to its own tune. The pulse of the city sucks up the two new arrivals, and as the good God says: "Und doch sind es der Ort, die Stellung eines Uhrzeigers, eine unglaubliche Musik, ein zitternder Zug auf einem Schienenstrang und ein Knäul von Menschenstimmen, die möglich machen, daß es wieder beginnt"(11).

This "unglaubliche Musik" is heard again when Jennifer throws a coin into the vending machine: "Für ein Geldstück bekommt man Nüsse und Musik fürs ganze Leben"(14). Jan never responds to her comments about music. When she looks for music on the radio, he asks: "Musik? Meine liebe Jennifer, jetzt wirst du keine hören—*und doch beginnt jetzt die Musik leise*. Denn ich werde es nicht dulden."(21-22) Though the reader is told in the stage directions that the music gets louder, Jan once again seems deaf to it. At the end of the theater piece by Billy and Frankie, we read "*Die Musik erklingt, als hätte sie ein Zeichen für den Anfang des Theaters zu sein.*"(35) It is, in fact, the beginning of the play and not the end, if we consider the love stories of the theater piece to be merely a prefiguration of the "Anfang des Theaters" between Jan and Jennifer. Jan is only capable of speaking about music, not of experiencing it directly. "Jan: Und was ist's mit der Musik? Wenn wir muße haben, hören wir uns ein bedeutendes Klavierkonzert an, dessen

Ecksätzen man Brillanz nachrühmen könnte und dessen geistvolle Organik besticht."(53) The last instance of music in the play occurs at Jennifer's death when Jan hears the explosion from the bar on 46th Street: "*Er dreht weiter und stößt auf die Musik, die laut hervorbricht und dann von einer dumpfen Detonation abgebrochen wird.*"(72) Music is thus clearly identified with the character of Jennifer and her ability to reach "beyond the borders," i.e. to strive for transcendent love through death. Music has been described as "a tonal analogue of emotive life."[41] In Bachmann's play, it functions in this way as the symbolic representation of Jennifer's emotions. Through the use of the radio play, Bachmann has been able to introduce music and words in their purely tonal form, with the result that the "Worte selbst [sind] schon 'Handlungen,' sofern in ihnen die Entwicklung gestaltet ist. Im Pathos wird die Liebe von Jan und Jennifer wirklicher als in irgend einer Handlung. Deswegen ist das Hörspiel das geeignete Medium für die Darstellung des utopischen Prozesses..."[42] As a symbol, music can express "the forms of vital experience which language is peculiarly unfit to convey."[43] Through the genre of the radio play and its emphasis on sound, Bachmann has been able to get closer to transcending the world of convention and mimesis that is more closely associated with language than with music. Music can indeed be said to be the only art form totally freed from the representational quality of most writing. Of music, Bachmann had stated on more than one occasion: "... Und für mich ist das [Musik] mehr als Schreiben und mehr als alles."[44]

The good God's statement at the end of Scene One merits closer examination: "Und doch sind es der Ort, die Stellung eines Uhrzeigers, eine unglaubliche Musik, ein zitternder Zug auf einem Schienenstrang und ein Knäul von Menschenstimmen, die möglich machen, daß es wieder beginnt."(11) Bachmann uses the character of the good God to introduce the story of Jan and Jennifer and to list the component parts of the play itself: the time and place, the music, the train carrying the two main characters, and the chorus in the form of the "Menschenstimmen." The chorus is first introduced in conjunction with the cryptic phrase "es beginnt." (11) There is no immediate response to the judge's question: "Was beginnt?" (11) What the text offers instead are the sounds of "*STIMMEN, ohne Timbre, ohne Betonung, klar und gleichmässig.*"(11) Both the chorus and the music appear consistently throughout the play until the *Grenzübertritt* has been achieved through Jennifer's death.

Much has been written about this chorus. It indeed evokes the plays of antiquity in its function as on omninous harbinger. Michael Gäbler has called them "Stimmen im Zeichen des Untergangs, warnend und fragend"[45]and concludes that the voices "werden zum wichtigsten Kompositionselement des Hörspiels; sie durchdringen es, bilden seine Struktur; sie greifen die Themen auf, die sie variieren."[46] Though the chorus does

constitute an important element throughout the play, it serves a far greater function than to merely introduce the various themes of the work. Holschuh's argument that the voices play much the same role as the chorus in Bachmann's poem, "Reklame," is very convincing: "Auch im Gedicht 'Reklame' gibt es eine solche Stimme, sie spricht dem Menschen in die Quere und versucht seine Fragen zu übertönen und mit beschwichtigenden Sprüchen zum Schweigen zu bringen."[47] A brief look at the poem highlights the similarities and also demonstrates that the chorus is a part of Bachmann's technique for representing the voices of society at large.

REKLAME

Wohin aber gehen wir
ohne sorge sei ohne sorge
wenn es dunkel und wenn es kalt wird
sei ohne sorge
aber
mit musik
was sollen wir tun
heiter und mit musik
und denken
heiter
angesichts eines Endes
mit musik
und wohin tragen wir
am besten
unsre Fragen und den Schauer aller Jahre
in die Traumwäscherei ohne sorge sei ohne sorge
was aber geschieht
am besten
wenn Totenstille

eintritt[48]

The voices are the lulling sounds of the modern world, the omnipresent Musak we all hear. In the penultimate line, the author has omitted the written voice, and yet it will inevitably be filled in by the reader. The mere blank space itself gives the mind occasion to occupy the space, for our world has become a world cluttered with words -- words used to placate, to sooth and to prevent thinking. In the play there is a slight variation of this theme. The words are indeed the sounds of the modern world, but more specifically, they are the sounds of the modern city, and as such they contain the perennial warnings most city dwellers take for granted:

GEHEN BEI GRÜNEM LICHT WEITERGEHEN
DENK DARAN SOLANGE ES ZEIT IST
DU KANNST ES NICHT MIT DIR NEHMEN
WEITERGEHEN SCHNELLER SCHLAFEN

SCHNELLER TRÄUMEN MIT UNS
WOLKENBRÜCHE NIEDERSCHLÄGE SCHNELLER
ERDBEBEN LEICHTER
SICHERER BEI GRÜNEM LICHT DENK DARAN
VORSICHT VOR DER ROTEN UND BRAUNEN
DER SCHWARZEN UND GELBEN GEFAHR
WAS SOLLEN SICH UNSRE MÖRDER DENKEN
DU KANNST ES NICHT HALT!
BEI ROTEM LICHT STEHEN BLEIBEN!(11)

These voices of the city are also transmitted in non-verbal form such as the traffic lights we have all learned to obey. In the broadest sense, they are the signs of the city, the signs that form a part of our urban consciousness -- the Broadway billboard, "You can't take it with you," finds its way into Bachmann's text as it has quietly found its way into the mind of any casual stroller in the theater district. At a later point in the play we read that the lovers are to meet "...auf dem Broadway unter dem Wasserfall aus Pepsi Cola neben dem Großen Rauchring von Lucky Strike."(31) Here the message or sign of the city is conveyed not through the chorus, but through a letter from Billy and Frankie, the squirrels. The chorus, and in this instance the squirrels, are techniques Bachmann uses to weave the city into the text.

Günter Blöcker sees the chorus as a technique of alienation: "Wo immer die Situation allzu konkret zu werden droht, schießt die Autorin Stimmen dazwischen und bricht so die Realität auf...."[49] This interpretation has neatly reversed the role of the chorus, for rather than disrupting reality, the chorus heightens the reality of the city, New York. Holschuh writes succinctly that "Ihr Gerede [die Stimmen] erstellt eine akustische Kulisse, ein für Manhattan bezeichnendes Gewirr von Schlagzeilen, Reklamesprüchen, Verkehrsanweisungen usw."[50] Of the chorus and its relationship to New York, Best writes that "Hintergrund und Ort der Handlung ist New York, als Geräusch- und Klangkulisse mit gestaltlosen, die 'normale' Realität in Wortkollagen reproduzierenden Stimmen ständig anwesend."[51] Not only does the chorus act as an acoustic stage set, it also provides the link between the lovers and the city.

The strategic placement of the chorus is important: the voices are heard in seven separate scenes, both in the dialogues between the good God and the judge and in those between Jan and Jennifer. At the end of the First Scene, we find the chorus lines cited above: "GEHEN BEI GRÜNEM LICHT WEITERGEHEN; DENK DARAN SOLANGE ES ZEIT IST," etc. In this instance they provide the transition from one level of discourse to the other, from the courtroom scene to the scene at Grand Central Station. It is as if the city were directly interjecting itself between the characters. It is a calling attention to itself as an entity to be reckoned with. Fischerova views the chorus as "die versprachlichte

'Welt', eine Sammlung von unbewußt wahrgenommenem Sprachmaterial...."[52] The city can indeed be viewed as tangible expression of man's thoughts - thoughts and ideas converted into concrete and glass, into museums to preserve the past and schools to create the future. It is, in essence, the city as concretized "thinking." In Bachmann's play, this "thinking" is best expressed through the voices of the chorus, i.e. the voices of the city.

The second occurrence of the voices appears at the end of the Third Scene. Jan and Jennifer are just awakening at noon from their first night together in a flea-bag hotel. The hotel manager, a stylized version of the harsh, no-nonsense New Yorker, brusquely knocks on their door, telling them to hurry and vacate the room: "Aber dalli, dalli *entfernter* Wann sollen wir aufräumen. Unerhört! Mittag vorbei. Da sollte man doch..."(23) The chorus replaces the woman's shrill voice and echoes the voices of the city and the inner voices of Jan and Jennifer:

> WEITERGEHEN BEI GRÜNEM LICHT WEITERGEHEN
> VERTRAUEN SIE UNS GESTEHEN SIE UNS
> WARUM NICHT GENUß OHNE REUE,
> SAGT ES ALLEN SAGT ES DER WELT
> VORMERK AUF SONNEN EIN KONTO AM MOND
> TRAUMSTOFF DICHTER LICHTER BRENNBARER
> IHR LETZTES HEMD DER WEG ALLER DINGE
> WARUM GEBEN SIE ANDERN DIE SCHULD
> PULVERT AUF SPORNT AN BERAUSCHT
> IN DIE BREITE GEHEN IN DIE FERNE SEHEN,
> DENK DARAN BEI ROTEM LICHT:
> STEHENBLEIBEN! DU KANNST ES NICHT (23-24)

The two lovers have now become an integral part of the city: their desire for abandonment without feelings of guilt ("WARUM NICHT GENUß OHNE REUE") is intertwined with the prevailing ethos of the city. Simultaneously the voices of the city vie for their confidence : "VERTRAUEN SIE UNS GESTEHEN SIE UNS...," while reminding them of their limitations: "STEHENBLEIBEN! DU KANNST ES NICHT-" and of the city's ultimate power over them.

It is not until the end of Scene Thirteen that the chorus reappears. In this scene Jan is trying to verbalize his love to Jennifer: "Ich bin trunken von dir, mein Geist, und wahnsinning vor Begierde nach dir. Du bist wie Wein..."(37) When Jennifer asks "Was ist das?," Jan laconically replies: "Es sind Worte." Jennifer's questioning whether they reflect his "Inneres" meets with cynical resignation: "Mein Innres! Ich habe sehr eifrig gesucht und geforscht in vielen Jahren, aber ich habe in meinem Innern nie jemand getroffen."(38) The ultimate limitation of words is interrupted through yet another modern form of verbal expression: the telephone. Jennifer answers and tells Jan he has a berth on the ship and can leave now. At this point the chorus replaces the words of the couple:

DENK DARAN SOLANGE ES ZEIT IST
GIB GOTT EINE CHANCE
UND VERSÜß DIR DAS LEBEN
FANGT GRILLEN UND HÄRTET DEN STAHL
TUT GUTES UND TUT ES SCHNELL
DIANA ZWEIHUNDERTSTUNDENKILOMETER
IM KOMMEN WIE NIE ZUVOR
SACHSCHÄDEN MENSCHENLEBEN
KEHR EIN UND UM UND KOMM DRÜBER HINWEG
DU KANNST ES NICHT MIT DIR NEHMEN
GEHEN IMMER WEITER GEHEN
BEI GRÜNEM LICHT DENK DARAN!(38)

In platitudinous phrases the chorus attempts to placate the couple's fears. In the middle of the monologue, however, there is a shift in the content and intentionality of their message. The chorus is no longer speaking to the couple but of the couple and their fate: "DIANA ZWEIHUNDERTSTUNDENKILOMETER ; IM KOMMEN WIE NIE ZUVOR; SACHSCHÄDEN MENSCHENLEBEN..." Their future is once again anticipated as it had been through the gypsy's reading of Jennifer's hand. Jennifer, in fact, had no future: "Ich kann nichts lesen in deiner Hand."(16) The chorus has also changed its form of address. In the past monologues both partners had been equally addressed, now the ominous "GEHEN IMMER WEITER GEHEN" is primarily directed towards Jan. Even the repetitive "YOU CAN'T TAKE IT WITH YOU" can now be seen as a direct address to Jan who fights against a time-bound love: "Und darum will ich dein Skelett noch als Skelett umarmen und diese Kette um dein Gebein klirren hören am Nimmermehrtag..."(60) Again the presence of the city is directly felt through the reference to the speed of their love and the accelerated form of life in the city; there is no time to stop and think; the city's motto - at two hundred kilometers per hour - is to move on, to always move on when the light is green.

In the next three occurrences of the chorus, the voices function as a commentary on the acts to come or those that have just happened. Two sentences are consistently found in the chorus: "DU KANNST ES NICHT MIT DIR NEHMEN" and "SOLANGE ES ZEIT IST DENK DARAN!." In the Twenty-sixth Scene Jan has left Jennifer and is sitting in a bar on 46th Street. The love story has found a resolution, and the element of time is introduced again by evoking man's personal way of recording time, the watch (Jan: ... wie spät ist es eigentlich? Meine Uhr geht so langsam.") and the city's way of ordering time, the newspaper. (Jan: "Ist das eine Zeitung - von heute?")(71) While he is sitting there, the bartender fiddles with an apparatus, some modern device not specifically designated as a radio or television. It is simply another twentieth century form of verbal communication. "Barmann: Das Baseballspiel ist schon vorbei. Reklame natürlich." The word "Reklame"

evokes the chorus again: (*STIMMEN, leise, aus dem Apparat kommend*: GEHEN WEITERGEHEN GEHEN), which, in turn, precipitate Jan's following words: "Ich muß gehen." The text is now unravelling itself, with the chorus acting as catalyst: "DENK DARAN SOLANGE ES ZEIT IST".... "KEINE GNADE DENK DARAN ... KEINE GNADE KEINE ZEIT FÜR GNADE" Jan *auffahrend*: Die Zeit! Können Sie nicht ein anderes Programm suchen? /Barmann: Kann's ja versuchen. Er versucht eine andere Station zu finden. STIMMEN *hervorbrechend, von Nebengeräuschen begleitet.* DENK DARAN DU KANNST ES NICHT; HALT! STEHENBLEIBEN BEI LICHT HALT!"(72) The last word of the scene is the bartender's "Versuchen" . As he turns the dial, he comes across the music, Jennifer's music, "*die laut hervorbricht und dann von einer dumpfen Detonation abgelöst wird.*"(70-72) The dictates of the city, "HALT! STEHENBLEIBEN BEI LICHT HALT!" have found their final expression in the form of the explosion. Nothing remains of the city's presence or of the love between Jan and Jennifer but echoes of Wittgenstein's "Schweigen." Jennifer "ist allein gestorben" and "...unter Sternbildern versetzt worden," and Jan is on his way back to Europe. The city, New York, has fulfilled its function in the text, and its presence disappears with the dissolution of the love between the enraptured American and the skeptical European. Bachmann has concluded her text with the verbal sign for an absence of words—silence. The verdict and the conclusion rest with the word "silence." It is a case of language commenting on itself and offering as a solution the absence of language.

The five levels of the play thus serve the following functions: (1) The dialogue between the good God and the judge, which transpires entirely in the realm of the fantastic, provides the outer frame of the story; the presence of the city is intermittently felt in these scenes; (2) The dialogue between Jan and Jennifer, which vascillates between the world of the fantastic and that of the representational, develops in the form of the story the good God is telling the judge. By means of their dialogue the reader is directly confronted with the city through the people the couple meets and the places they visit. (3) The three squirrel scenes, which take place within the realm of the fantastic or absurd, serve the primary purpose of elaborating and commenting on the love story. They place the specific story of Jan and Jennifer within the context of the great love stories of history, e.g. Orpheus and Eurydice, Romeo and Juliet, Tristan and Isolde, etc. (4) The music throughout the play can be seen as representative of Jennifer's emotional life. and (5) The chorus or voices are both representative of the voices of the city and the inner voices of the lovers.

NEW YORK IN THE TEXT

While some of the references to New York in the text may be relevant for juxtaposing Bachmann's Manhattan with the topographical city, I have concentrated on those instances in the play that best illustrate the city in its relation to time and space, and by implication, to the *Grenzübertritt*. The first time New York appears is in the first scene in connection with the process of ordering, of categorizing: "New York City, den _____ August, neunzehnhundert...fünfzig."(6) This entry serves to anchor the reader firmly in a specific place at a specific time. The dictates of time and space have in no way been questioned; they are taken as a given, as a fact on which the reader can orient himself. The technique is mimetic up to this point. We are in a courtroom at a specific time and place and in the presence of a judge and an accused. After the judge has interrogated the accused as to the particulars of his residence: "Es ist doch zum Beispiel richtig, daß Sie drei Zimmer in einem alten Haus and der Ecke der 63. Straße und der Fifth Avenue in der Nähe des Zoos bewohnten ...," the accused asks ironically: "Sollten Sie auch wissen, wer ich bin?"(7) The fairy tale of Rumpelstiltskin is just beneath the surface, and later in the text, more direct references occur: "Ach wie gut, daß niemand weiß!"(46), "Ach wie gut."(72) After a short, embarrassed pause, the judge replies: "Der gute Gott von Manhattan. Manche sagen auch: der gute Gott der Eichhörnchen."(7) The accused considers this answer and responds approvingly: "Der gute Gott. Nicht schlecht."(7) Man has called God into existence through the process of naming. When the judge later refers to him as the "Urheber dieser Vorkommnisse"(9), the good God's bemused response is once again: "Urheber. Sehr gut. Der Urheber."(9) The multiple meanings of the word "Urheber"—creator, author, founder, agent—once again suggest Bachmann's play with language.

Bachmann's choice of the title also points to this play with language. The name "der gute Gott von Manhattan" evokes many literary associations - from Whitman's "Manahatta" to the apocalyptic poems of Georg Heym, specifically the poem, "Der Gott der Stadt" (1911), to Brecht's "Gott in Mahagonny." Exactly who or what is this "good God of Manhattan"? The God of Bachmann's play no longer resides or reigns over the universe, but has been restricted to the city of Manhattan. His domain is now the man-made world of the city, and his customary epithet of "wrathful God" or "angry God" has been ironically replaced with the adjective "good." Nothing in the play can be taken at face value if we bear in mind that it was the good God's messengers, the squirrels, who initiated and promoted the love between Jan and Jennifer through their letters. This begs the question: Is the good God thus inveighing against that which he has helped to create?

A further relationship is established between the good God and Manhattan. The

accused says of himself: "Ich war ein Geschäft für Manhattan."(7) The association of Manhattan and business or profit is established early on. Of the squirrels we are told by the judge that "Es soll Länder geben, in denen diese Nagetiere scheu und unschuldig sind; aber sie sehen gemein und verdorben aus bei uns, und es heißt, sie seien mit dem Bösen im Bund."(8) This sentence certainly lends credence to Funke's interpretation of the squirrels: "Mit der Benennung dieser Tiere hat sich der Hörer keineswegs auf possierliche Spaßmacher einzustellen, sondern auf die Zwietrachtspendern der nordischen Mythologie. Die diabolischen Botengänge des Eichhorns Ratatoskr am Stamm der Weltesche Ygdrasil dienen bis zum heutigen Tage diesen Nagetieren als negatives Etikett."[53] Bachmann was surely aware of this association. Bergsten suggests they lend the text a trace of the absurd: "Der Zug des Absurden, der dem guten Gott anhaftet, wird noch durch die in seinem Dienste stehenden Eichhörnchen hervorgehoben."[54] Holschuh has an entirely different view: "Die Eichhörnchen sind das Leitmotiv ihres Spiels mit der Liebe und gegen Vernunft und menschliche Gesellschaft.... Die Eichhörnchen sind für Jan und Jennifer, was die Musik für den Hörer ist, ein Leitmotiv; für ein Geldstück bekommt man 'Nüße und Musik fürs ganze Leben.'"[55] The best explanation is offered by the text itself: the good God explains that the squirrels "waren mein Nachrichtendienst, die Briefträger, Melder, Kundschafter, Agenten. Mehrere hundert waren mir untertan, und zwei von ihnen, Billy und Frankie, hatte ich als Hauptleute."(8) The institutions of the city with their bureaucratic heirarchy are evoked -- the post office, the messenger service, the entire communications network essential to the functioning of the city. Since the origin of the squirrel mythology contains a highly pejorative connotation, one can assume that Bachmann held an equally negative view of the city's functionaries, its messengers, its "squirrels."

In returning to the title of the play, ironic religious undertones seem to set the tone for the entire play. If we accept the text's explanation that "Manhattan" means "heavenly earth," and if this is indeed "die einzige [Stadt], die sie je erfunden und entworfen hatten für jedes ihrer Bedürfniße"(26), it logically follows that its inhabitants could not "go to heaven" after death since they already are in heaven. They would find themselves instead, like Jennifer, in a place that is "Schwarz wie in der Hölle."(26) And yet the God who reigns over this city is being tried for murder, has indeed admitted to many similar murders in the past ("eine Kette von Attentaten gegen Menschen, die niemand bekümmert hatten,...")(9) Is this Manhattan, this heavenly earth, quite literally representative of a hell on earth? Holschuh convincingly concludes: "Je tiefer man dringt, desto deutlicher wird, daß dieses Hörspiel auf einen 'schwebenden' Sinn zielt, das heißt auf eine Bedeutung, die sich nicht bei einer bestimmten Formel zu Boden zwingen läßt, weil sie stets auch ein Gegenteil dieser Formel überdeckt."[56]

This "suspended meaning" captures the perpetual state of flux that is the essence of the city, and is rendered in the piece through the various forms of a "Spiel." Not only are the squirrels, and by implication, the good God, involved in this "play," as well as Jan and Jennifer ("Jetzt waren sie beim Spielen. Spielten: Liebe.")(31), but the author herself is engaged in this game. A God who loves "order" resorts to assassinations to eliminate the very chaos he has called into being. In today's jargon, the good God of Manhattan would be called the ultimate anarchist. Of the squirrels we read: "...es heißt, sie seien mit dem Bösen im Bund."(8) And since they are the good God's messengers, it would seem that the epithet, "good God," is but one more instance of Bachmann's irony. Is the transcendent love of Jan and Jennifer, and by implication, the city of New York, extolled or condemned? Jennifer "fliegt in die Hölle"; we also read, however, that she, as the other lovers in history, "mögen... vielleicht unter die Sternbilder versetzt worden sein."(63) Jan is condemned to life, as the good God sarcastically comments: "Er verdient wirklich zu leben."(10) Bachmann has turned the concepts of good and evil, heaven and hell upside down in an attempt to escape the limits of language. Her play is a text trying to free itself of its essence—of words. There could be no verdict or answer other than the one the play offers: silence.

Much has been written about Bachmann's playful attitude towards the absurd, and certainly, the title "the good God of the squirrels or of Manhattan" has moved the play from the realm of the representational to a level of the fantastic or absurd. The relationship of the play to the fairy-tale form has also been suggested: "Was man in Ingeborg Bachmanns Stück als märchenhaft bezeichnen könnte, ist die Gegenwärtigkeit des Wunderbaren: redende und 'helfende' Eichhörnchen und ihr Meister, der gute Gott."[57] This interpretation will not concern itself with establishing the exact genre of the play. Fischerova expresses well the difficulties such a task would entail: "Gerade weil das Ende offen bleibt und das komplizierte, vielschichtige Geschehen dem Interpreten genug Widerstand leistet, dürfte bei diesem Stück ein Problem besonders wichtig sein: das der Gattungszugehörigkeit."[58]

The second level of the narrative, the story between Jan and Jennifer, begins "kurz nachdem der Schnellzug aus Boston in der Unterwelt von Grand Central eingelaufen war und die Reisenden sich in den Hallen und vor den Ausgängen verliefen,...."(10) The city as a part of a larger network, the network of cities connected by trains that run underground, is called to mind - a network in which human travelers get lost in the innumerable halls and exits reminiscent of Kafka's New York. The first words spoken between the two lovers is Jennifer's pregnant question: "Sie suchen den Ausgang?"(12) The word "exit" clearly entertains a metaphoric relationship with the word "death," and thus prefigures the outcome of the play. The good God had, in fact, intended both of the

lovers to die in the explosion. Jan had fortuitously sensed the need to be alone again - "[er] verspürte plötzlich [Lust], allein zu sein, eine halbe Stunde lang ruhig zu sitzen und zu denken, wie er früher gedacht hatte, und zu reden, wie er früher geredet hatte..."(73) Jan, the European, is "saved" and returns to the Old World. The European - American polarity had been established when Jennifer had asked what had brought him to New York: "Den Wunsch, abzureisen."(13) New York is again viewed as the closest American connection to Europe. In Kafka's *Amerika*, Karl had wanted to stay near New York for the same reason: "In New York war das Meer und zu jeder Zeit die Möglichkeit der Rückkehr in die Heimat."[59]

Any suspicion the reader might harbor that Bachmann is interested in recreating the New York she experienced in 1955 is completely dispelled by the lines "Dann werde ich in dieses fliederfarbene Taxi steigen. Und Sie können das weis-blaue dahinter nehmen. Die beiden werden sich noch oft begegnen, auf dem Broadway und weiter oben in der Bronx. Aber Sie werden nicht mehr darinnen sein und ich auch nicht."(13) The conveyances of the city, its taxis, are not the familiar yellow cabs known to any casual visitor of New York, but purple and blue and white - colors that signal the author's intention to take the reader to her New York and not the topographical New York found in a travelogue. The city will bring the two together, and then like the fabulous colored cabs, they will simply disappear. The coming together of unlikely elements is fostered by the city, as is the often rapid dissolution of these unions. The city's inhabitants and visitors have little choice but to engage in the state of flux that is the essence of the city.

The first letter the lovers receive from the squirrels, i.e. from the good God, says: "Sag es niemand! Du wirst diesen Abend mit Jennifer auf der himmlischen Erde verbringen...."(15) In response to Jennifer's question why "himmlische Erde," Jan matter-of-factly replies "Weil das ihr Name hier ist. Ma - na Hat - ta. So haben es mir die Indianer erklärt. Aber sie waren kostümiert und so echt wie die Büffel, die man auf den Rennbahnen das Laufen lehrte."(15) While there is some basis to the etymology of Manhattan as "heavenly earth," Bachmann once again plainly informs the reader she is not too concerned with the exact details of etymology. The reader merely knows that this is what the Indians had told Jan. When and where Jan had met Indians is, needless to say, left unexplained. What is clear, however, is that the days of the genuine Indian are long since past, and that race tracks have replaced the buffalo prairies. We are in a twentieth century America as seen through the eyes of the disillusioned European, who is even more intrigued by the America of cowboys and Indians than the American himself.

The cosmopolitan nature of the city is touched on in connection with the food available in the city: "Italienisches, und Chinesiches, Spanisches und Russisches ... und

die Früchte aller Meere vor den Früchten aller Länder." (15) The global city is called to mind—a city in which the nationalities of the world are thrown together in an unassimilated mixture, each retaining its own kitchen and its own language.

As in Kafka's *Amerika*, in which the protagonist meets few Americans and primarily Europeans, Jan and Jennifer run into "eine echte Zigeunerin," i.e. someone non-American. However, they also come across a beggar, interchangeably called "armer Mann," "Bettler" and in his own words: " ... ein armer Mann wie Mack."(18) Upon hearing the word "Mack," Jennifer asks "Sie sind Schauspieler?," thus encouraging the reader to make associations with the film, "The Third Man." (Bachmann was, in fact, familiar with the 1949 film and specifically referred to it in the second chapter of *Malina*.)[60] The beggar's response: "Eingegangen in die schmerzensreiche Stadt und in die immerwährende Qual, verloren unter Verlorenen. Um eine kleine Gabe bitte ich für mich und meinesgleichen."(18) The couple is initiated into the city through the words of the beggar. His city of pain, torture and lost souls evokes the Dantesque depiction of Hell as a walled city whose gates bear the inscription: "Per me si va nella città dolente" ("Through me one goes into the mournful city.")[61] This image is corroborated through the following words of the beggar: "In keinem Namen. Und vergelt's niemand. Wir sind zu viele hier, Fräulein, in der Bettlerstadt. Haben keine Farbe. Neiden den Weisen und den Schwarzen die Haut. Endstation Bowery. Aber Sie gehören in die Hochbahn mit Ihrem Kavalier, eh sie abgerissen wird. Hier stinkt alles zu sehr zum Himmel."(18) Allusions to Everyman and no man - Hofmannsthal and the cyclops lost in the labyrinth, to be followed by an allusion to Beckett's *Endgame*, written 1957, one year before Bachmann's play. The word "Kavalier" is a throwback to Hofmannsthal's *Rosenkavalier*. The passage is replete with the cities of the past and present—a city located by a specific place name as New York, e.g. the Bowery, and yet transcending geography. It is the opposite of the city of the opening scene, where time and space were fixed as a courtroom in New York in the 1950's. The reader is now confronted with the aggregate cities of history, the cities of literature and the cities of the mind.

Shortly after this passage we find the key passage on the city, a passage analyzed in the conclusion to this chapter. This two-page depiction of New York is strategically placed between the *Bettlerstadt* passage and the following scene on the Brooklyn Bridge at midnight. Jan and Jennifer "gingen hin [to Brooklyn Bridge],... um eine Weile zu schweigen."(30) They leave their bed at midnight and make their way to the bridge to be silent together for awhile. It is midnight—the hour when day and night are suspended for but a brief moment. Bachmann extends the suspension to the spatial realm as well—the lovers choose a bridge suspended over water for their place of silent communion. Time and

space, and with them, language, have been placed in a position of suspension. The real cities of Brooklyn and Manhattan are stretched out in front of them, and yet Jan and Jennifer use this occasion to travel to various parts of the city in their mind. In the subsequent scene, entitled "Im Freien," they are standing on the bridge fantasizing:

> Jan *spielend, heiter*: Wenn du mitkommst bis in die Chinesenstadt, kaufe ich dir ein Drachenhemd.
> Jennifer: So bin ich beschützt.
> Jan: Wenn du mitkommst bis ins Village, stehle ich für dich eine Feuerleiter, damit du dich retten kannst, wenn es brennt...
> Jennifer: So bin ich gerettet.
> Jan: Wenn du mitgehst nach Harlem, kaufe ich dir eine dunkle Haut, damit dich keiner wiedererkennt. Denn ich allein will dich lieben und noch lange.
> Jennifer *aus der Rolle fallend*: Wie lange? Jan: Spiel, Jennifer! Frag nicht: wie lange? Sondern sag: so bin ich geborgen.(30)

The use of the word "Drachenhemd" evokes the old Germanic fairy tale of Siegfried, the Dragonslayer, and thus establishes the traditional male - female role of protector and protected. The fire escape in the Village calls to mind the innumerable fires running through Dos Passos' *Manhattan Transfer*. In the reference to Harlem, we find the old motif of changing one's identity, which is commonly captured in the colloquial German idiom alluded to in the text: "Man kann sich nicht die Haut wechseln." And finally, when Jan chides Jennifer for falling out of her role, the initial male-female theme of protector-protected is resumed with the line: "...so bin ich geborgen." Their word-game continues to take them to the Bowery and is then picked up by a new letter from the squirrels saying: "Sag es niemand. Heute nacht erwartet dich Jennifer auf dem Broadway unter dem Wasserfall aus Pepsi Cola neben dem Großen Rauchring von Lucky Strike."(31) The New Yorker will recognize this periphrastic description of the Times Square billboard. Bachmann leaves the two characters at the center of the city, Times Square, only to resume their mental journey through New York in the dialogue between the good God and the judge:

Guter Gott: Jetzt waren sie beim Spielen. Spielten: Liebe. Sie spielten es überall, in den dunklen Straßenecken und den dämmrigen Bars am Broadway, unter den zuckenden Lichtkreiseln der 42. Straße vor den Kinopalästen, im Strahlenregen künstlicher Sonnen und Kometen. Aber es erging ihnen beim Spiel wie beim Lachen. Sie verstiessen gegen jeden vernünftigen Brauch, den man davon machen kann.(31)

Their love and the language they use are both a form of game, a playing with reality. If one sees the motif of love as merely representative of this attempt to transcend the limits of reality, i.e of language, then it becomes quite clear that this game is as real as their

language is real. Just as language establishes a form of order in our world, so it, too, is ultimately sentenced to non-being, to silence, when the attempt is made to transcend that order.

The polarity of language and reality is continued on the following page with the introduction of the puppet theater in Central Park. The squirrels, the agents of God, are producing the show, a show consisting of "fünf der schönsten Liebesgeschichten der Welt! ... Orpheus und Eurydike. Tristan und Isolde. Romeo and Julia. Abälard und Heloise. Francesca und Paolo."(33) The lovers are all condemned to hell. The puppet theater is but the text commenting on the text. The love-story of Jan and Jennifer is tautologically reproduced; the puppet theater ends with the schedule for tomorrow:

> Die Vorschau auf morgen; das furchtbare Lieben und Sterben von einigen anderen Paaren, überliefert durch Chroniken, bekannte Schauerstücke und Zeitungen, aus aller Herren Ländern wie den indianischen Totentälern, dem bestialischen Rheinland und dem stinkenden Venedig, die vorzügliche Kulissen abgaben für die Entwicklung schöner Gefühle.(35)

In citing Venice and the Rhineland as providing excellent backdrops for "die Entwicklung schöner Gefühle," Bachmann hearkens back to her essay on names with its numerous references to Venice. In its self-referentiality, the passage easily translates into an acknowledgement that Manhattan is a "vorzügliche Kulisse" for this particular love story. Through the twice removed lens of the puppet theater, the reader has gained access to a hall of mirrors in which he sees his own reflection stretching on into infinity. Once again, time and space have been suspended, and the reader is left with Wittgenstein's dictum: "Wovon man nicht sprechen kann, darüber muß man schweigen." This is the solution Bachmannn offers in her literary work. In speaking of the play itself in her acceptance Speech for the *Hörspielpreis der Kriegsblinden*," Bachmann concedes:

Es ist auch mir gewiß, daß wir in der Ordnung bleiben müssen, daß es den Austritt aus der Gesellschaft nicht gibt und wir uns aneinander prüfen müssen. Innerhalb der Grenzen aber haben wir den Blick gerichtet auf das Vollkommene, das Unmögliche, Unerreichbare, sei es der Liebe, der Freiheit oder jeder reinen Größe. Im Widerspiel des Unmöglichen mit dem Möglichen erweitern wir unsere Möglichkeiten. Daß wir es erzeugen, dieses Spannungsverhältnis, an dem wir wachsen, darauf, meine ich, kommt es an; daß wir uns orientieren an einem Ziel, das freilich, wenn wir uns nähern, sich noch einmal entfernt.[62]

Again the Faustian text is evoked, for the perfect moment is, of course, never realized. In Jennifer's last dialogue she speaks with the good God: "...ich bin ausser mir. Ich brenne bis in meine Eingeweide vor Liebe und verbrenne die Zeit zu Liebe, in der er

hier sein wird und noch nicht hier ist. Ich bin gesammelt über den Augenblick hinaus bis in meinen letzten und liebe ihn."(69) She is literally in the state of being outside of herself, outside of time (...ich ... verbrenne die Zeit zu Liebe...) and is collected "über den Augenblick hinaus," "bis er hier sein wird und noch nicht hier ist." That moment in time never takes place. There is the time immediately preceding and following it, but the actual moment itself is "burnt," is extinguished. As for Jan, "Er war gerettet. Die Erde hatte ihn wieder. Jetzt wird er längst zurück sein und bei schlechter Laune und mit mässigen Ansichten lange leben."(73) Ultimately incapable of transcendent love, he is condemned to a long life of mediocrity. The moment is past, the moment never took place in time, for it all took place in the *Gegenzeit* ("Die Gegenzeit beginnt.")(61) In response to the judge's question: "Wovon ist die Rede?," the accused replies: "...von einem Grenzübertritt."(62) In discussing the assassinations that preceded this one, the good God comments on this *Grenzübertritt*:

> Jede Geschichte fand in einer anderen Sprache statt. Bis in die Wortlosigkeit verlief jede anders. Auch die Zeit war eine andere, in die jede getaucht war. Aber wer sich nicht damit beschäftigt hat, mag wohl Ähnlichkeiten drin sehen. So wie es eine Ähnlichkeit zwischen Zweibeinern gibt. Aber alle hatten die Neigung, die natürlichen Klammern zu lösen, um dann keinen Halt mehr in der Welt zu finden. Sagt man nicht, es seien nicht immer die Mörder sondern manchmal die Ermordeten schuldig? (62)

The victim and not the murderer may be responsible for the crime; the judge and the accused are interchangeable: "Dann müßten Sie [der Richter] mit mir im Bund sein, und ich weiß es nur noch nicht. Dann war es vielleicht nicht beabsichtigt, mich ausser Gefecht zu setzen, sondern etwas zur Sprache zu bringen, worüber besser nicht geredet werden sollte. Und zwei Ordner wären einer."(64) Bachmann raises the question that something was to be spoken of, and then immediately eradicates the possibility of discussing that very thing in saying it is better left unsaid. What remains again, is the nullfication of language—silence.

For Bachmann literature is no longer a photographic reproduction of reality—if it ever indeed was that -- but a series of mirrors held up to reality, casting an infinite number of images, just as the city of Manhattan in its constant state of flux is open to an infinite number of perceptions. What the reader thus sees is a text within a text within a text, etc... There is no such thing as one specific story, but only a series of stories which have been stopped in time and space creating the illusion of one story, when, in effect, it is but a segment of a sequence of stories. Jan and Jennifer's story is thus merely a segment in the series of the love stories of history. Of Jennifer and the other lovers the good God says:

"[Nein,] nicht begraben. Verstehen Sie. Versetzt. Unter Bilder."(63) Jennifer has been elevated to the level of a "Bild," an image. She has succeeded in completing the *Grenzübertritt*, and is now defined in terms that exclude the limits of time and space.

VI

KEY PASSAGE ON MANHATTAN

Just as the motif of love, and specifically the character of Jennifer, serve primarily to illustrate the concept of the *Grenzübertritt*, the city of New York functions far more as an agent of this state of being than as a setting. Bachmann's ambivalence toward the city pervades the entire text, and thus places the very concept of the *Grenzübertritt* in an ambiguous light. This calls to mind the author's concession that "Es ist auch mir gewiß, daß wir in der Ordnung bleiben müssen, daß es den Austritt aus der Gesellschaft nicht gibt und wir uns aneinander prüfen müssen. Innerhalb der Grenzen aber haben wir den Blick gerichtet auf das Vollkommene, das Unmögliche, Unerreichbare...."[63] In its incongruity and disparity, Bachmann's image of Manhattan contains elements of the impossible, the unattainable. The following key passage on the city echoes her ambivalence toward Manhattan and presents the many paradoxical and contradictory aspects of the city. This complex image of Manhattan is presented to the reader in the form of a monologue by the good God in the presence of the judge.

> Guter Gott: Der Tag war da. In allen Senkrechten und Geraden der Stadt war Leben, und der wütende Hymnus begann wieder, auf die Arbeit, den Lohn und größren Gewinn. Die Schornsteine röhrten und standen da wie Kolonnen eines wiedererstandenen Ninive und Babylon, und die stumpfen und spitzen Schädel der Gigantenhäuser rührten an den grauen Tropenhimmel, der von Feuchtigkeit troff und wie ein unförmiger ekliger Schwamm die Dächer näßte. Die Rhapsoden in den großen Druckereien griffen in die Setzmaschinen, kündeten die Geschehnisse und annoncierten Künftiges. Tonnen von Kohlköpfen rollten auf die Märkte, und Hunderte von Leichen wurden in den Trauerhäusern manikürt, geschminkt und zur Schau gestellt.
>
> Unter dem Druck hoher Atmosphären wurden die Abfälle vom vergangenen Tag vernichtet, und in den Warenhäusern wühlten die Käufer nach neuer Nahrung und den Fetzen von morgen. Über die Fließbänder zogen die Pakete, und die Rolltreppen brachten Menschentrauben hinauf und hinunter durch Schwaden von Ruß, Giftluft und Abgasen.
>
> Der wilde Sommer flog in neuen Farben auf den Lack der Autokarosserien und auf die Hüte der Frauen, die die Park Avenue herunterschwebten, an die glänzenden Hüllen für Reis und Honig, Truthahn und Krabbe.
>
> Und die Menschen fühlten sich lebendig, wo immer sie gingen, und dieser Stadt zugehörig—der einzigen, die sie je erfunden und entworfen hatten für jedes ihrer Bedürfnisse. Dieser Stadt der Städte, die in ihrer

> Rastlosigkeit und Agonie jeden aufnahm und in der alles gedeihen konnte! Alles. Auch dies.(25-26)

The monologue is embedded in a casual conversation between the good God and the judge in Scene Four. The short introductory sentence, "Der Tag war da," had already been spoken twice before by the good God within that scene. It had been his reply to the judge's assertion that Jan and Jennifer's story was "ein Fall wie viele Fälle." ("Kein Fall. Der Tag war da. Die Nachtfiguren versanken.")(24) This was a specific case, a case that would lead to the *Grenzübertritt*. Night, i.e. the state in which man's concept of time is not operative, is over, and it is the day that "es anfing"—"es" being the love between Jan and Jennifer. Bachmann presents the description of the city and the beginning of the love affair simultaneously. The city and the love story are immediately brought into close association. If the city is viewed as a symbol of man's attempt to create order, the question arises as to whether New York is first seen as a counterbalance to the chaos of their love. This would create but another instance of the paradoxical nature of the text if we bear in mind that the good God had initially been presented as opposing the chaos created by the lovers—a chaos he himself had set into motion through his messengers, the squirrels. A close analysis of the above passage provides some insight into these paradoxes.

In these four relatively short paragraphs, Bachmann juxtaposes a series of contradictory images of the city. In rapid succession we read that "life throbbed in all the verticals and horizontals of the city," evoking the city paintings of the abstract expressionists and bearing striking resemblance to Kafka's geometric New York. Then the "angry hymn began again—the hymn to work, wages and greater profits." The work-driven American who worships at the altar of profits initially stands in as a representative of the city of New York. In the next sentence, "belching smokestacks" conjure up images of the "columns of a resurrected Nineveh or Babylon," while "the rounded-off or pointed skulls of the gigantic houses" reach up to a "gray, tropical sky, which was dripping with moisture and which wet down the roofs like an amorphous, disgusting sponge." The modern—the horizontals and the verticals—is played off against the smokestacks of the industrial revolution, which, in turn, are used to evoke the ruins of antiquity. This temporal image is largely subordinated to the predominantly spatial images of the first two sentences, e.g. the evocation of the "Senkrechten und Geraden, Schornsteine, Kolonnen, Ninive and Babylon, Schädel der Gigantenhäuser, Tropenhimmel, Schwamm, Dächer."

The roofs of the city have been transformed into "skulls," whereby the German "Schädel" calls forth both the image of a dullard and a dead man. These skulls, in turn, reach up to a sky imbued with life. It "dripped with moisture," and "like an amorphous sponge, it leaves its murky, slimy film on the roofs of the city." Even the heavens have

been tainted by the man-made creation, the city. The city, in turn, seems entrapped in the viscous film of its creator, mankind. Nature has been permanently sealed off, leaving a self-perpetuating hermetic circle around the city. The author does not speculate about a Beyond; she describes only what the eye perceives. Deprived of new life, i.e. air, the city can only feed off its dead. At this point, a short, one-sentence description of the city's time-keeper, its newspapers, is interjected and calls attention to itself through its strangely neutral, if not favorable, tone: "Die Rhapsoden in den großen Druckerein griffen in die Setzmaschinen, kündeten die Geschehnisse und annoncierten Künftiges." This deceptively objective tone is immediately dispelled with the sentence that follows. The image of the skulls is reinforced by the image of "tons of cabbage heads rolling on the market" and finds its resolution in a third image of death and decay in the "hundreds of corpses being manicured in the funeral homes, made up and put on display." Through such close juxtaposition the three images merge, leaving a Nineveh and Babylon that may have been resurrected, but whose inhabitants remain painted corpses on display in the largest museum of the world, the city.

The largely spatial images at the beginning of the paragraph have yielded to metaphors of time. This is very much in keeping with the modern tendency to organize space in temporal terms. As Burton Pike has observed: "In our contemporary world...time operates as the cultural convention which dominates the way we look at the spatial world around us...."[64] Bachmann had opened the paragraph with the purely temporal sentence: "Der Tag war da." The temporal evocation of life was then combined with the spatial image of the phrase, "In allen Senkrechten und Geraden der Stadt war Leben." Both serve to introduce the city as a vital force. By the end of the paragraph, however, this life force has revealed itself to be but a display of manicured corpses, bearing great resemblance to Brecht's images of the dead.

In the first sentence of the second paragraph the rather nebulous phrase, "Druck hoher Atmosphären," is said to be responsible for disposing of the garbage from the day before. The decay of human bodies alluded to has now been replaced by the refuse left by humans. The only transition offered for this shift from the human to the inhuman is the "Druck hoher Atmosphären." Something outside the realm of the city is said to eliminate human refuse. The phrase "die Abfälle vom vergangenen Tag" is only the beginning of the reference to man's material consumption. Bachmann has portrayed the popular "Konsumgesellschaft" with the image of a society greedily rummaging through the department stores for new "nourishment"—in its literal as well as metaphorical sense—and for the "rags of tomorrow." The colloquial German usage of "Fetzen" lends the text an extremely contemporary denunciation of the consumer society.

The self-perpetuation of this society first alluded to in the initial paragraph is now reiterated through the evocation of the "conveyor belts" carrying "packages." Once again the interchangeabilty of the animate with the inanimate is illustrated through the jüxtaposition of the escalators carrying "Menschentrauben" versus the conveyor belts carrying packages. Human beings are referred to as clusters of beings, bearing no more distinction from each other than grapes on a vine, the most common association of the word "Trauben." What distinction there had been between the animate and the inanimate has now been fully erased for both are transported through the "swaths" of "soot, poisonous air and exhaust fumes." (The interchangeability of the animate with the inanimate was also pronounced in Brecht's poem.) Bachmann has left no room for doubt about her feelings for the city in this paragraph. The city is viewed solely as a dehumanizing, defiling agent.

The subsequent paragraph offers almost a complete reversal of the first. Here we read of a "wild summer flying by in new colors in the paint of the bodies of the cars and of ladies' hats." The unlikely combination of ladies' hats and cars is said to be swaying down Park Avenue, past the gleaming "Hüllen" for rice and honey, turkey and shrimp. The reference to the land of milk and honey might be obvious enough, as is perhaps the evocation of the turkey in association with the American holiday of Thanksgiving, but both associations seem unduly far-fetched. And what of the shrimp, and more specifically, what of the incongruous combination of all these elements? Bachmann has certainly not combined them without careful consideration. Is this perhaps an instance of Bachmann's reaching too far in an effort to "shock" the sensibilities of a twentieth century anodyne culture, as she feels it must be in her essay "Fragen und Scheinfragen"? In reply to Simon Weil's statement "Das Volk braucht Poesie wie Brot," Bachmann wrote:

> ...Aber die Leute brauchen heute Kino und Illustrierte wie Schlagsahne, und die anspruchsvolleren Leute (und zu denen gehören nämlich auch wir) brauchen ein wenig Schock, ein wenig Ionesco oder Beatnikgeheul, um nicht überhaupt den Appetit auf alles zu verlieren. Poesie wie Brot? Dieses Brot müßte zwischen den Zähnen knirschen und den Hunger wiedererwecken, ehe es ihn stillt. Und diese Poesie wird scharf von Erkenntnis und bitter von Sehnsucht sein müssen, um an den Schlaf der Menschen rühren zu können. Wir schlafen ja, sind Schläfer, aus Furcht, uns und unsere Welt wahrnehmen zu müssen.[65]

Is Bachmann trying to wake up the reader through her incongruous piling up of images to evoke a city created but no longer controlled by man? In Bachmann's Manhattan, however, in spite of or perhaps because of the above conditions, "die Menschen fühlten sich lebendig, wo immer sie gingen, und dieser Stadt zugehörig - der

einzigen, die sie je erfunden und entworfen hatten für jedes ihrer Bedürfnisse." The inhabitants of Manhattan are alive and anything but alienated from their city. They have a sense of belonging to it. It is their city. They have invented and designed "this city of cities" to meet their every need. Is man's sense of belonging once again tied to his material well-being? Would Bachmann have us believe that in spite of the inhuman conditions she describes, the New Yorker feels at home in this city merely because his physical needs are met? Bachmann has consistently portrayed the city of New York and its inhabitants as existing in a state of paradox. The New York she has created is as elusive as is the changing topography of the city itself.

Several factors must be taken into consideration in summarizing Bachmann's perception of Manhattan: (1) the relationship between the motif of love, the concept of the *Grenzübertritt* and the image of the city; (2) the image of the city as conveyed through the chorus; (3) the significance of the name "Ma-na Hat-ta" and the title, "the good God of Manhattan"; (4) the specific place names that appear in the work; (5) the people Jan and Jennifer meet in Manhattan; and (6) the miscellaneous phrases scattered throughout the play that provide a collage-like image of the city.

The relationship between the motif of love, the concept of the *Grenzübertritt* and the image of the city was established in the very first scenes of the play. The *Grenzübertritt* as a state of being in which the normal borders of time and space have been suspended is easily understood in terms of the motif of love. This "breakdown of the boundary lines between the ego and the external world" obscures the borders of time and space. The distinction between the self and the other has been lifted; the "I" merges into a "we," forming a third distinct entity, the couple. Conventional clock-time also has no hold on the lovers as day and night become arbitrary divisions. Love annihilates time, or in the words of Jennifer: "Ich ... verbrenne die Zeit zu Liebe."(69) Bachmann's perception of Manhattan encompasses this transcendence of the natural limits. Manhattan is celebrated as "Dieser Stadt der Städte, die in ihrer Rastlosigkeit und Agonie jeden aufnahm und in der alles gedeihen konnte! Alles. Auch dies."(26), "dies" being the love motif. In this city anything is possible just as it is in the state of being in love. Manhattan dispenses with the traditional conceptions of time and space as a means of charting man's past as it absorbs one new building after the other, one new immigrant group after the other. A palpable sense of the city as an entity in a state of flux filters down to even the most casual visitor, and it is this feeling Bachmann has captured in the play. In "its agony and restlessness" New York absorbs everyone and everything, thus approximating the state of the *Grenzübertritt*. A juxtaposition of Bachmann's statement about the play: "Der Wunsch wird in uns wach, die Grenzen zu überschreiten" and her description of New York in the

play: "Dieser Stadt der Städte ... in der alles gedeihen konnte! Alles. Auch dies." clearly indicates why Bachmann chose Manhattan to illustrate this *Grenzübertritt.*

Through the technique of the chorus, the listener of the radio play is subjected to the barrage of opinions and slogans that engulf the average New York city-dweller, e.g.: "GEHEN BEI GRÜNEM LICHT WEITERGEHEN" or "TUT GUTES AND TUT ES SCHNELL/ DIANA ZWEIHUNDERTSTUNDENKILOMETER...GEHEN IMMER WEITER GEHEN." The chorus provides the tempo of the city, as well as echoing and foreshadowing the outcome of the love story (DIANA ZWEIHUNDERTSTUNDEN-KILOMETER). Their love catapults them forward just as the city allows only forward motion. In this city there is no time to stop in the rushing crowd. To stop is to place oneself outside the body of the city, the mass of mankind surging inextricably forward. Time is annulled, for there is no one there to register its passing.

The name "Ma-na Hat-ta" is said to be the Indian word for "himmlische Erde." ("Ma-na Hat-ta. So haben es mir die Indianer erklärt. Aber sie waren kostümiert und so echt wie die Büffel, die man auf den Rennbahnen das Laufen lehrte."(15) Bachmann indicates that this etymology may not have come from a reliable source in presenting the authenticity of the Indians in a dubious light. She was surely familiar with Whitman's poem, "Manahatta," and with his explanation of the word's origin: "MANAHATTA, 'the place encircled by many swift tides and sparkling waters'. How fit a name for America's great democratic island city!."[66] Yet this interpretation is not reflected in Bachmann's play. Traces of Whitman's poem do find resonance in Bachmann's work: Whitman's words to describe the city ("unruly, musical, self-sufficient and hurried") are replaced with "der wütende Hymnus [der Stadt]/lebendig/ Rastlosigkeit und Agonie."

Bachmann has taken from Whitman and other sources the connection of the name "Manhattan" with the American Indian and used the derivation most suitable to the ironical nature of the play. "The heavenly earth" is played off against "the good God of Manhattan." The paradoxical nature of the good God has been firmly established: though he is portrayed as an advocate for order, it is he who has instigated the very chaos he opposes. Bachmann is playing with the concepts of good and evil, and by illustrating their interchangeability, is aligning herself with post-Nietzschean philosophy, a position very much in keeping with her adherence to Existentialism. The difficulty arises when one tries to reconcile her existentialist views with the many strains of Romantic idealism that pervade the text. This leaves us with an author attempting to transcend her own disparate philosophical beliefs and ultimately falling somewhere between ideal transcendentalism and cynical anarchism. Ultimately, there can be no breaking out of the bounds of time and space ("Es ist auch mir gewiß, daß wir in der Ordnung bleiben müssen..."), there can only

be a striving towards this *Grenzübertritt*. Through the use of irony and paradox inherent in the names, "the heavenly earth" and "the good God of Manhattan," Bachmann's image of Manhattan assumes the paradoxical nature of our twentieth century world. This is certainly a very widely held view of Manhattan, a view found even in the harshest critics of the city, Leon Trotsky: "New York impressed me tremendously because more than any other city in the world, it is the fullest expression of our modern age."[67] The places in New York the couple visits or fantasizes about tell us a great deal about Bachmann's Manhattan. We read about Grand Central Station, Harlem, the Brooklyn Bridge, Times Square, the Bowery, Broadway, Chinatown, the Village, a midtown cafeteria, a parade in Central Park, dark streets and dimly-lit bars on 42nd Street, rooms in the Atlantic Hotel on Lexington Avenue that provide a bird's eye view of the city, and a bar on 46th Street inaccessible to customers because of street repair. For the most part, this New York differs little from the New York the average tourist experiences. Bachmann is drawing on the familiar associations with New York—the Brooklyn Bridge, Chinatown, the Village, etc—and combining them with the equally familiar assocations of New York as a city of dingy hotel rooms and dark bars. Nowhere do we find the Manhattan experienced by the average New Yorker. There are no museums, libraries or offices in Bachmann's Manhattan. No concert halls, theaters, schools, movie houses or restaurants. The subway does find its way into the play, but not in the form most Manhattanites experience it, i.e. as a means of getting to and from work. Jan and Jennifer take the subway up to Harlem on what amounts to a sightseeing tour. A brief reference to Black music is made, echoing the particular fascination Harlem held for Germans in the Fifties and to this day. In short, we have an outsider's Manhattan, a Manhattan seen through the eyes of the casual visitor or tourist. Bachmann was by no means limited to this stereotypical depiction of New York. She had used the same technique in a description of Vienna in the novel *Malina*, a city she was thoroughly familiar with. Bachmann, as had Brecht, uses stereotypical observations as a means of achieving ironic detachment from the object. Throughout the play the city is viewed largely through the lens of the outsider, the outsider who has the freedom to comment objectively and often far more accurately than the resident who must come to terms with his environment in order to live in it.

In Bachmann's New York "Man sperrt zweimal die Tür ab und steht noch ein drittes Mal auf, um nachzusehen, ob sie verschlossen ist. Immer seltener geht man aus." The individual has become isolated from society through the pervasive fear of crime. This aspect of Bachmann's New York was largely refuted in the key passage on the city which describes the New Yorker's attitude toward the city and not the attitude of the outsiders, Jan and Jennifer. There we read: "Und die Menschen fühlten sich lebendig, wo immer sie

gingen, und dieser Stadt zugehörig..."(26) Bachmann allows herself only this key passage to comment on how she assumes the native New Yorker experiences the city. Most of the comments come from Jan and Jennifer, who initially live in a room that was " so schmutzig und finster...—etwas für Fliegen, für Schaben als Aufenthalt." The last room they occupy provides a totally different view of the city: "Und ich will mir einprägen für immer: die stille Nacht...die glänzende Insel, über der wir sind..."(58) From a distance the city poses no threat in Bachmann's text as in Kafka's text. The island motif had also been mentioned in two other passages. It is a motif Bachmann frequently uses to highlight the theme of man trying to live outside of society, e.g. in her radio play, *Die Zikaden*. In the case of *Der gute Gott von Manhattan*, the island motif perfectly complements the motif of love, further corroborating Bachmann's choice of Manhattan as a backdrop and simultaneous agent for the *Grenzübertritt*.

A cursory glance at the cast of characters illustrates how little interest Bachmann had in recreating a topographical Manhattan. In their order of appearance we have: the good God, the judge, Jan, a young man from the Old World, Jennifer, a young girl from the New World, the two squirrels, Billy and Frankie, a warden, a court clerk, a gypsy, a beggar, a woman (who runs the first hotel), a doorman, an elevator man, a newspaper boy, a policeman, two children, a bartender, and the voices -- monotonous and genderless and bearing great resemblance to Brecht's disembodied voices. And, as in the Kafka text, this cast of characters is for the most part synonymous with the cast of an Expressionistic play. Even Jan and Jennifer are but representative of the Old and the New World. There are three sets of couples: the good God and the judge, who comment on the love story; Jan and Jennifer, who live the love story; and the squirrels, Billy and Frankie, who provide the commentary on the great love stories of history—thus providing the structure of a story within a story within a story. Of the remaining characters, only the gypsy and the beggar carry on a longer dialogue. The gypsy foreshadows the outcome of the love story, particularly Jennifer's fate, and the beggar comments on the city. Again the love story and the city are juxtaposed. Jennifer is told by the gypsy that she has no future, and the beggar tells of his fate in the city: "Eingegangen in die schmerzensreiche Stadt und in die immerwährende Qual, verloren unter Verlorenen... Wir sind zu viele hier, Fräulein in der Bettlerstadt. Haben keine Farbe. Neiden den Weissen und Schwarzen die Haut. Endstation Bowery."(18) He, too, has no future. The city has erased the concept of time for the beggar, just as nothing can be read in Jennifer's palm because there is no life line. Nowhere is there a trace of the native or the self-proclaimed New Yorker, even the bartender sounds more like Viennese *Gastwirt* than an American. Bachmann has peopled her Manhattan with types, types that substantiate her image of Manhattan as fostering a

Grenzübertritt. With the exception of the judge, they are all characters that stand outside society, e.g. the lovers, the good God, the gypsy and the beggar. The various phrases in the play that refer specifically to the city or to America provide insight into Bachmann's perception of Manhattan. The most striking examples in their order of appearance are: "neue und alte Welt/Hundehitze in N.Y./der gute Gott war ein Geschäft für Manhattan/in der Unterwelt von Grand Central/mir gefallen Europäer/ auf dem Broadway und weiter oben in der Bronx/ himmlische Erde/ in einer Nachtbar...oder einem Stundenhotel/die Bettlerstadt/Endstation Bowery/die Cafeteria/eine Bar und ein Grammaphongeschäft in Harlem"/ and lastly, the periphrastic description of Times Square, "auf dem Broadway unter dem Wasserfall aus Pepsi Cola neben dem Großen Rauchring von Lucky Strike." What we find again is a series of stereotypical impressions of Manhattan and of America. Brand names such as Pepsi Cola and Lucky Strike corroborate the impression of a consumer society—a theme that played a dominant role in the key passage on the city. Bachmann's use of the stereotypical bears striking resemblance to Brecht's. Both have used the stereotypical image image to gain ironic detachment from the object and to capture the essence of that object. And like Kafka, their use of the city motif portrays man alienated and isolated from society. Whether the essence of New York is captured through abstraction, as in the Kafka and Brecht texts, or through the use of the stereotypical, as in the Brecht and Bachmann texts, the city is viewed as an agent divorcing man from society. The longstanding view of the city as community has given way to the city as solitude.

NOTES

[1] Sigmund Freud, *Civilization and its Discontents*, trans. James Strachey (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1961) 13.

[2] Christine Koschel et al., *Ingeborg Bachmann Werke* (München: R. Piper & Co. Verlag, 1978) IV, 276.

[3] Susanne K. Langer, *Feeling and Form* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953) xi.

[4] Koschel, IV, 419.

[5] Koschel, IV, 301.

[6] Koschel, IV, 301.

[7] Koschel, I, 88-89.

[8] Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*, trans. C.K. Ogden from 6th ed. (1922; rpt. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1983) 148.

[9] Holger Pausch, *Ingeborg Bachmann* (Berlin: Colloquium Verlag Otto H. Hess, 1975) 13.

[10] Otto Bareiss and Frauke Ohloff, *Ingeborg Bachmann: Eine Bibliographie* (München: R. Piper & Co. Verlag, 1978) 4.

[11] Ingeborg Bachmann, "Die kritische Aufnahme der Existentialphilosophie Martin Heideggers," diss., U Wien, 1950, 114-115.

[12] Bachmann, Diss. 116.

[13] Theo Mechtenberg, *Utopie als ästhetische Kategorie: Eine Untersuchung der Lyrik Ingeborg Bachmanns* (Stuttgart: Akademischer Verlag Hans-Dieter Heinz, 1978) 34.

[14] Wittgenstein 186.

[15] Koschel, IV, 20.

[16] Michael Gäbler, "Manhattan, Liebe und Untergang: Notizen zu dem Hörspiel 'Der gute Gott von Manhattan'" In *Text und Kritik: Zeitschrift für Literatur* No. 6 (Aachen: Verlag Dr. Rudolf Georgi, 1964) 14.

Gäbler writes: "Es wird deutlich geworden sein, daß Ingeborg Bachmann die grundlegenden Vorstellungen aus Musils Werk in ihr Hörspiel übernommen hat. Auch sie beschreibt einen moralischen Konflikt. Jan und Jennifer erstreben die mögliche Utopie der Liebe, den 'anderen Zustand', der sie aus den herrschenden Ordnungen der Gesellschaft in die absolute Freiheit der neuen Moral herausführen soll, und tatsächlich gelingt ihnen für kurze Zeit der Grenzübertritt,..."

Claus Reinert, *Unzumutbare Wahrheiten? Einführung in Ingeborg Bachmanns Hörspiel "Der gute Gott von Manhattan"* (Bonn: Bouvier Verlag Herbert Grundmann, 1983) 42.

Claus Reinert: "Es kann kein Zweifel darüber bestehen, daß Jans und Jennifers Erlebnisstrukturen den Vorstellungen Robert Musils nachgebildet sind."

Albrecht Holschuh, "Utopismus im Werk Ingeborg Bachmanns: Eine Thematische Untersuchung," diss., Princeton, 1964, 148.

Holschuh traces the similarities between Bachmann's concept of utopia and that of Musil by juxtaposing excerpts from *Der Mann ohne Eigenschaften* with Bachmann's essays:

Bachmann	*Musil*
Wenn aber nun die Schreibenden den Mut hätten, sich für utopische Existenzen zu erklären, dann brauchten sie nicht mehr jenes Land, jenes zweifelhafte Utopia anzunehmen - etwas, das man Kultur, Nation und so weiter zu nennen pflegt und in dem sie sich bisher ihren Platz erkämpften. (344)	Die Schreibenden haben nicht den Mut, sich für utopische Existenzen zu erklären. Sie nehmen ein Land Utopia an, in dem sie auf ihrem Platz währen; sie nennen es Kultur, Nation und so weiter. Eine Utopie ist aber kein Ziel, sondern eine Richtung., p. 1636 in the 1952 ed. aus den Paralipomena zum *Mann ohne Eigenschaften*

Holschuh's comparison leaves little room for doubt as to the origin of Bachmann's utopia concept. Though Bachmann introduced the above sentences with the assertion that "Bei Musil kann man diesen Worten 'Utopie', 'utopisch' hie und da auch begegnen im Zusammenhang mit der Literatur, ...; er hat die Gedanken nicht ausgeführt, nur das Stichwort gegeben, das ich heute aufzugreifen versuchte," her subsequent sentences are almost a word for word copy of Musil's thoughts. She clearly owed a greater debt to Musil than she was willing to acknowledge.

[17] Koschel, IV, 98.

[18] Koschel, IV, 99-100.

[19] Wittgenstein, #7.0, 188.

[20] Wittgenstein, #5.6., 148.

[21] Burton Pike, *The Image of the City in Modern Literature* (Princeton: University Press, 1981) 26.

[22] Koschel, II, 277.

[23] Koschel, III, 14.

[24] Koschel, IV, 278-279.

[25] Gunilla Bergsten, "Liebe als Grenzübertritt. Zu Ingeborg Bachmanns Hörspiel 'Der gute Gott von Manhattan'" In *Deutsche Weltliteratur von Goethe bis Ingeborg*

Bachmann (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1972) 278.

[26] Ingeborg Bachmann, *Frankfurter Vorlesungen: Probleme zeitgenössicher Dichtung* (München: R. Piper & Co. Verlag, 1982), 63.

[27] Bachmann, *Frankfurter Vorlesungen*, 63.

[28] Freud 17.

[29] Viola Fischerova, "Ingeborg Bachmanns 'Der gute Gott von Manhattan' - ein Mythos" In *Literatur und Kritik*, No. 115, (Salzburg, June, 1977) 282.

[30] Bachmann, *Frankfurter Vorlesungen*, 62.

[31] Michael C. Jaye and Ann Chalmers Watts, eds. *Literature and the Urban Experience* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1981) 11.

[32] Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1960) 9.

[33] Lynch 10.

[34] Joyce Carol Oates "Imaginary Cities: America" In *Literature and the Urban Experience*, 11-12.

[35] Koschel, IV, 276.

[36] Beatrice Angst-Hürlimann, *Im Widerspiel des Unmöglichen mit dem Möglichen: Zum Problem der Sprache bei Ingeborg Bachmann*, diss., U Zürich, 1971 (Zürich: Juris Druck und Verlag, 1971), 109

[37] Pausch, *Ingeborg Bachmann*, 49; Jürgen P. Wallmann, *Ingeborg Bachmann: Die Hörspiele*, 309; Funke, *Zwei Hörspiele*, 52; Gäbler, "Manhattan, Liebe und Untergang," 13.

[38] Albrecht Holschuh, "Utopismus im Werk Ingeborg Bachmanns: Eine Thematische Untersuchung," diss., Princeton, 1964, 148.

[39] Wolf Wondratschek in *Marginalien* "War das Hörspiel der Fünfziger Jahre reaktionär?: Eine Kontroverse am Beispiel von Ingeborg Bachmanns 'Der gute Gott von Manhattan'" In *Merkur: Deutsche Zeitschrift für europäisches Denken*, No. 2 (Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag, 1970) 191-192.

[40] Weber, in *Marginalien*, 192.

[41] Langer 27.

[42] Holschuh 139.

[43] Langer 32.

[44] Andreas Hapkemeyer, *Ingeborg Bachmann: Bilder aus Ihrem Leben* (München: R. Piper & Co. Verlag, 1983) 82.

[45] Gäbler 16.

[46] Gäbler 16.

[47] Holschuh 141.

[48] Koschel, I, 114.

[49] Blöcker, "Ein vorbildliches Hörspiel: *Der gute Gott von Manhattan*," in *Die Zeit*, Nr. 42 (1958).

[50] Holschuh 140.

[51] Otto F. Best, Nachwort to the Reklamedition of *Der gute Gott von Manhattan* 82.

[52] Fischerova 290.

[53] Funke, *Zwei Hörspiele* 55

[54] Bergsten 280.

[55] Holschuh 161.

[56] Holschuh 168.

[57] Fischerova 280.

[58] Fischerova 280.

[59] Kafka, *Amerika*, 81.

[60] Hapkemeyer, *Bilder*, 28.

[61] Leslie Fiedler, "Mythicizing the City" In *Literature and the Urban Experience* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1981), 115.

[62] Koschel IV, 276.

[63] Koschel IV, 276.

[64] Pike 119.

[65] Bachmann, *Frankfurter Vorlesungen*, 21.

[66] Mike Marqusee and Bill Harris, eds. *New York: An Anthology* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1985) 2.

[67] Mike Marqusee, *New York*, 3.

> Cities also believe they are the work of the mind or of chance, but neither the one nor the other suffices to hold up their walls. You take delight not in a city's seven or seventy wonders, but in the answer it gives to a question of yours.
>
> Or the question it asks you, forcing you to answer, like Thebes through the mouth of the Sphinx.
>
> - Italo Calvino

The image of the city in literature reflects the historical change in the configuration of the physical city itself. The enclosed circular emblem representative of the Medieval and Renaissance city has given way to an image suggestive of the uncertain and the infinite in the twentieth century. The circular European walled city has been supplanted by the linear American city of skyscrapers. The very form of New York, its architecture, has determined the language used to describe it. Of Henry James' antagonistic relationship to New York's skyscrapers, Peter Conrad writes: "Erecting buildings is a version of narrative, an accretion of storeys which resembles the telling of stories. James remarks that 'one story is good until another is told, and the skyscrapers are the last words of economic ingenuity only till another word be written.'"[1] And there will always be another story and more words. Kafka's story has no ending, just as the protagonist's journey has no ending. Brecht constructs what initally appears to be an enclosed image of the city; his seemingly finite image of the city, however, collapses on closer scrutiny. Brecht may have proclaimed the demise of New York, but his mind-city is equally fragmented in that its origins lie in an indefinite past predating even the existence of America. Bachmann's New York reflects the idea of the city as narrative. The final word of the play, "silence," does not proclaim the death of language and/or the city, but the absence of this entity. In Bachmann's terms, the *Grenzübertritt* has led man beyond the city and beyond language. Just as the city of New York precludes a sense of the finite, the questions raised in this study resist definitive answers.

My initial question, "What was the author's relationship to the city per se?" can, however, be answered in a straightforward manner. Of the three authors studied, only Kafka was born in a big city. Both Bachmann and Brecht were born and raised in smaller towns and moved to big cities only after adolescence. Though the thrust of this study has not focussed on the biographical or psychological background of the individual author, the factor of transference has often been mentioned with respect to Brecht's relationship to

Berlin and to New York. Much of his hostility to New York clearly stems from his earlier experiences in Berlin. This is of import only inasmuch as it illustrates that "the concept of 'the city' must be understood as in large measure an abstract receptacle for displaced feelings about other things."[2] The most obvious form of transference for Brecht is the geographic; in the case of Bachmann, this direct topographical transference is not evident since her New York never aspired to referentiality. As for Kafka, the question becomes moot, for the city-country or big city-small town dichotomy was never an issue. To divorce Kafka from the city is to divorce Kafka from his being. All three authors, however, clearly used the city motif—whether consciously or unconsciously—as "an abstract receptacle for displaced feelings."

In the works examined, New York is frequently viewed from the perspective of the American/European polarity. In Kafka's text, there are numerous specific instances which highlight Karl Rossmann's role as the European outsider. He first sees the American city from the safe distance of the German ocean liner, then from the security of his uncle's balcony, later from the enclosure of Pollunder's car, and finally from the Road to Rameses. The Hotel Occidental is significantly also run by a German emigrant; in short, the novel fragment is peopled with Europeans, not with Americans. When Karl looks down on the city from the balcony, the comparison with his home town in Europe immediately springs to mind. In Kafka, this duality is not restricted to the American versus the European, but takes on the added dimension of the outsider versus society. American society is defined in terms of what the European is not. Karl stands outside the borders of this society and can not find a way in "though he strains to see"; the link to the city, to society "escaped [his] eyes and was no more to be found."(112) In the case of Brecht's poem, the American/European polarity provides the entire skeleton of the work; the poem opens with the juxtaposition of "den Ruhm der Riesenstadt New York" with the decade in Europe "nach dem Großen Krieg." The concluding stanza repeats this parallel by stressing that "ihr [the American's] System des Gemeinlebens [wies] denselben / Jämmerlichen Fehler auf wie das Bescheidenerer Leute!" The American system here epitomizes the flaws of the European.

In Bachmann's play, this duality is firmly established in the cast of characters: Jan, "ein junger Mann aus der alten Welt," is paired off with Jennifer, "ein junges Mädchen aus der neuen Welt." Jennifer seeks to transcend the limits of the city and of language, and is elevated to the level of an image; she has been "unter die Sternbilder versetzt worden"(63). Jan returns to the Old World and is condemned "to life." The New World, in this case, New York, is associated with the transcendent, with the striving for the impossible. It is the embodiment of the utopian.

Through their accepted role as outsiders, all three authors have claimed a degree of objectivity in their perceptions of the city. In both Bachmann and Kafka, the role of the outsider is not restricted to limits of nationality, but takes on the broader aspect of the wanderer (Karl) and the seeker (Jennifer). Brecht's American/European polarity ultimately collapses into itself in that the American reveals himself to be only an exaggerated expression of his European counterpart. The pronominal "we/they" division is, in the final analysis, reduced to an "us."

Far more elusive is the question of whether the city is representative of order or chaos. In both Kafka and Bachmann, we are presented with a paradox. Although Karl Rossmann views the city as a "wilde Mischung von Lärm, Staub und Gerüchen," his environment becomes more and more abstract the farther removed he becomes from the city. The city exemplifies a man-made order—imperfect though it be—imposed on a world in which there is little natural order. In the last paragraph of the fragment we find Karl disappearing into the vastness of America on a train:

> Am ersten Tag fuhren sie durch ein hohes Gebirge. Bläulich-schwarze Steinmassen gingen in spitzen Keilen bis an den Zug heran, man beugte sich aus dem Fenster und suchte vergebens ihre Gipfel, dunkle, schmale, zerrissene Täler öffneten sich...(218)

Kafka has not set the scene of the idyllic country landscape as opposed to the chaos of the city. The stone masses of the countryside merely echo the stone masses of the city left behind, suggesting that there is, in fact, little distinction between this final journey and the initial journey to the city. Kafka has not externalized chaos, but has presented it as a reflection of the inner being of his protagonist.

Bachmann's text is the most obscure on this point. At the opening of her play the city is depicted as an agent of systematization; man is categorized according to his religion, his institutions, his physical description and even his alcohol consumption. The judge, a functionary of the city, attempts to categorize the ambiguous figure of the Good God of Manhattan. With the word "God," the association with the ordering of the universe is evoked, but this link is broken through the knowledge that this God is responsible for the chaos set in motion by the bombings in the city. Bachmann has turned the concepts of good and evil, heaven and hell upside down in an attempt to transcend the limits of language. Jan escapes the city because "er war rückfällig geworden, und die Ordnung streckte einen Augenblick lang die Arme nach ihm aus."(73) This "order" had literally made itself apparent to Jan in the form of the printed word, in this case, the newspaper. Through the city's form of quantifying time and events, the newspaper, Jan is "saved." The city is viewed both as a stratified and ordered society and as an anarchic force.

As in the Bachmann and Kafka texts, Brecht's poem presents the city as a metaphor for both order and chaos. The city was called into existence through an amorphous mass of dough (Große Masse von Teig) that absorbed each subsequent mass of dough [here mass of new immigrants]. The combination of "riesige Bauwerke" and "Menschenmaterials" with "abgebrauchten Muskeln" was said to give rise to the "Mammutbauten" that were piled one on top of the other like so many graves. This organic mass is presented in the poem in its fossilized or frozen form, while the "leblosen Steinhaufen" seem to belie a distant past in which "order" may have existed.

In all three works the visual image of the city is consistent and bears great resemblance to the geometric paintings of abstract Expressionism. Angles and sharp contours define the image of New York, and in Kafka we have the jagged edges of the city refracted in the constantly breaking pane of glass—"und das dem betörten Auge so körperlich erschien, als werde über dieser Straße eine alles bedeckende Glasscheibe jeden Augenblick immer wieder mit aller Kraft zerschlagen."(31) Bachmann's key passage on the city begins with the words "...In allen Senkrechten und Geraden der Stadt war Leben,...," and Brecht's incongruous mass of dough [the city's inhabitants] gives way to "Hochhäuser, die so hoch ihre Steine geschichtet hatten, daß sie alles überragten...." All three texts have captured the geometric topography of the city.

It is difficult to imagine a New York that is not in a state of flux. Both Bachmann and Kafka's mind-cities reflect this transitory nature of the city. Kafka's metaphor of the glass pane stretched over the city captures the kaleidescopic image of the city, an image that changes with each successive glance at the object. Of Bachmann's play Holschuh writes: "Je tiefer man dringt, desto deutlicher wird, daß dieses Hörspiel auf einen 'schwebenden' Sinn zielt, das heißt auf eine Bedeutung, die sich nicht bei einer bestimmten Formel zu Boden zwingen läßt, weil sie stets auch ein Gegenteil dieser Formel überdeckt."[3] This "suspended meaning" in Bachmann's text bears striking resemblance to Kafka's image of New York and captures the perpetual state of flux that is the essence of the city. In contrast, Brecht's poem is like a cinematic freeze frame of the image of the city. Though allusion is made to a distant past when New York enjoyed fame, this past is presented as a mythical past bearing no relation to a highly dubious present or to a future that can not even be imagined. While the immediate time frame is clearly established in the opening stanza, "Wer erinnert sich wohl noch/ An den Ruhm der Riesenstadt New York/ In dem Jahrzehnt nach dem Großen Krieg?," the narrator presents a New York that seems to exist outside of the conventional perceptions of time and space. This is, in part, achieved through the almost total absence of the human and with it, the registering of time. We hear only disembodied voices, "...diese Stimmen ihrer Frauen aus den Schalldosen! So sang man ...

im goldenen Zeitalter!." There is no link between these voices and the year 1929, or any specific year, for that matter. They are voices as mythic in their origin as is the purported glory of New York. A static image of the city as museum or mausoleum predominates.

This impression is heightened through the almost total absence of any specific place names in Brecht's text. Aside from the ambiguous title, there is only one direct reference to New York in stanza eleven. And yet the reader clearly senses that this piling up of "Hochhäuser" and "Mammutbauten" can only be Manhattan. In this respect, Brecht has used the same technique of abstraction to capture the sense of the city as has Kafka. While Kafka does supply the reader with the city's prime monument, the Statue of Liberty, he frequently uses specific details or place names to illustrate his personal impression of something rather than to establish a mimetic relationship. (The Statue of Liberty holding a sword rather than the torch is a prime example.) Bachmann has taken an entirely different approach. Her New York teems with specific place names from "Grand Central Station, to Harlem, to the Brooklyn Bridge, to Times Square, Central Park, 46th Street, Chinatown" in a style evocative of Whitman's urban pantheism. However, by defamiliarizing the stereotypical landmarks of the city through repeated use, she achieves much the same affect as does Brecht through his use of stereotypical images of the American. The stereotypical is evoked repeatedly until the word used to designate a person, place, object or idea is completely detached from that which it is meant to signify. The separation between signifier and the signified is complete. The reader must re-establish the word/object connection, thereby re-creating the process of language itself, while simultaneously creating a third New York, that of his mind.

Burton Pike writes that "since its [the city's] conceptual as well as its empirical referent is a physical object in space, the word-city is an inherently spatial image."[4] Furthermore, "this unavoidable association with spatiality conflicts in modern literature with the dominating convention of time. Perhaps this explains why so many cities in contemporary literature are etherealized or disembodied."[5] This is certainly applicable to Brecht's New York, which is abstracted, or etherealized, to such a degree that the question paradoxically arises whether his New York has perhaps outstripped its referent to an even greater degree than have the New York of Kafka or Bachmann. In the second key passage on New York in Kafka's text, Karl Rossmann is exposed to the immediacy of the streets of the city. He turns away from the physical reality of the city and focusses on a conspicuous symbol of time, Pollunder's pocket watch. Having established the link with the temporal, the narrator now comments on the obvious lack of time that the city dwellers experience. Even after the car leaves the city limits, we read of the haste of the striking metal workers and the suburban theater-goers. As in Brecht's poem, the words that dominate this passage

are terms associated with speed: "fliegendem Schritt/ zu möglichster Eile/ einer in winzigen Schritten sich bewegende Masse/ nicht rasch genug geflüchtet"(41-42). This denial of the spatial presence of the city, combined with an emphasis on the temporal, gives rise to the sense of alienation and disorientation that Karl experiences throughout the fragment.

In Brecht's poem the dominance of the temporal over the spatial is even more pronounced. The physical city and its inhabitants are both defined as negative entities:

> Drei dieser breitspuringen Leute füllen den Gehsteig, aber
> Was wird sie füllen, vor die Nacht kommt?
> Nur die Schultern wärmt Watte denen, die in unaufhörlichen
> Zügen
> Tag und Nacht die leeren Schluchten der leblosen
> Steinhaufen durcheilen.

Like Eliot's "Hollow Men," "leaning together headpiece filled with straw"[6], the city dweller, devoid of substance, scurries through the empty canyons of lifeless stone piles. The stone piles do not add up to buildings, but create empty canyons, again evoking Eliot's mind-cities: "Falling towers/ Jerusalem Athens Alexandria/ Vienna London/ Unreal."[7] In Brecht's poem, it is not the object, the skyscraper, that is perceived, but the space around the object. Whereas the city is de-natured as a physical entity, it is reified as a temporal presence. Its glorious past is initially associated with the mythical number of one thousand years; this past is then reduced to a century, and is ultimately set at a mere eight years. Brecht here seems to be echoing Kafka's playful and arbitrary attitude toward precise dates or descriptions since there is no clear reason for the number eight.

In Bachmann's text, both time and space are interlinked with the concept of the *Grenzübertritt*. With respect to the love motif and its relation to the city, this transcending of the borders has been described as "die völlige Annullierung der Zeit."[8] Time, in Bachmann's New York, is experienced, if it is experienced at all, as belonging to the future. It has become an unknowable entity that Bachmann has called the *Gegenzeit*. The couple Jan and Jennifer had initially emerged from the "Unterwelt von Grand Central" with its direct allusion to the netherworld of Hades, and at the conclusion, Jennifer again enters the realm of timelessness, where it was "schwarz wie in der Hölle."(72) The spatial representation of the city takes the form of the self-conscious use of the image of the skyscraper as a metaphor for the *Grenzübertritt*. The couple's continual ascent to a subsequently higher floor in the Hotel Atlantic (with its reference to the Atlantic separating the European Jan and the American Jennifer), culminates in their complete alienation from society. Like Karl Rossmann, they remain outsiders to the city until they, like Karl, ultimately leave it. And like the pronominal voices of Brecht's New York, they leave

behind a city they have neither fully inhabited nor fully understood. The reader, in turn, has wandered through Kafka's labyrinthine New York, passed through Brecht's disembodied city, and left behind Bachmann's city of transcendence, "die in ihrer Rastlosigkeit und Agonie jeden aufnahm und in der alles gedeihen konnte! Alles. Auch dies."

NOTES

[1] Peter Conrad, *The Art of the City: Views and Versions of New York* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984) 39.

[2] Leo Marx, "The Puzzle of Anti-Urbanism in Classic American Literature" In *Literature and the Urban Experience: Essays on the City and Literature* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1981) 64.

[3] Albrecht Holschuh, "Utopismus im Werk Ingeborg Bachmanns: Eine thematische Untersuchung" (Diss. Princeton, 1964) 168.

[4] Burton Pike, *The Image of the City in Modern Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981) 120.

[5] Pike 5.

[6] T.S. Eliot, *The Wasteland and Other Poems*, (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1962) 44.

[7] T.S. Eliot, *Collected Poems, 1909-1935*, (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1936) 77.

[8] Viola Fischerova, "Ingeborg Bachmanns 'Der gute Gott von Manhattan' - ein Mythos" In *Literature und Kritik*, No. 115, (Salzburg, June, 1977) 282.

APPENDIX A

THE IMAGE OF MANHATTEN IN MODERN GERMAN LITERATURE

(selective list)

Bachmann:	*Der gute Gott von Manhattan*
	"Harlem"
Brecht:	"Verschollener Ruhm der Riesenstadt New York"
	"Vom armen B.B."
Enzensberger:	*Amerikafahrt*
Federspiel:	*New York: Museum des Hasses*
	Die beste Stadt verblinde
	"Träume aus Plastik"
Frankenberg:	*New York 61. Straße,*
Frisch:	*Homo Faber*
	Tagebuch 1966 - 1971
	Stiller
	Montauk
Handke:	*Der kurze Brief zum langen Abschied*
Heckmann:	*Der Große Knockout in sieben Runden*
Johnson:	*Jahrestage*, 4 vols.
Kafka:	*Amerika (Der Verschollene)*
Kelter:	*Die steinerne Insel: Antworten aus New York*
Koeppens:	*Amerikafahrt*
Kunert:	"Downtown Manhattan am Sonntagmorgen"
	Der andere Planet
Raeber:	*Alexius unter der Treppe oder Geständnisse von einer Katze*
Zuckmayer:	*Amerika ist anders*

APPENDIX B
STUDIES ON THE CITY IN GERMAN LITERATURE

Benjamin, Walter. "Die Wiederkehr des Flaneurs" In *Gesammelte Schriften* Vol. III, Ed. Hella Tiedemann Bartels, Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1972, 194-199.

Bieber, Hugo. "Berlin in der Literatur" In *Kunstschau* 2, 1925, 140-143.

Blume, Bernhard. "Die Stadt als seelische Landschaft im Leben und Werk R.M. Rilkes" In *Monatshefte für den deutschen Unterricht* 43, 1951, 65-82, 133-149.

Brettschneider, Werner. *Die großen Städte als lyrisches Thema.* Karlsruhe, 1971.

Freisfeld, Andreas. *Das Leiden an der Stadt: Spuren der Verstädterung in deutschen Romanen des 20. Jahrhunderts.* Köln: Böhlau Verlag KG, 1982.

Franke, Hans. "Der Großstadtroman. Versuch zur Abgrenzung eines dichterischen Themas," *Bücherkunde* 8, 1941, pp. 135-141.

Hermann, Gerhard. *Der Großstadtroman.* Stettin, 1931.

Hübner, Oskar, and Johannes Moegelin, eds. *'Im steinernen Meer'. Großstadtgedichte.* Berlin, 1910.

Klotz, Volker. *Die erzählte Stadt: Ein Sujet als Herausforderung des Romans von Lesage bis Döblin..* München: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1969.

Kohlschmidt, Werner. "Aspekte des Stadtmotivs in der deutschen Dichtung." In "Un Dialogue des Nations." Albert Fuchs zum 70. Geburtstag. München-Paris, 1967.

Küchler, E. "Das Stadtleben bei Verhaeren," Diss. Hamburg 1930.

Küppers, Gerda. "Stadt und Stadterleben in der Epik des Mittelalters," Diss. Bonn 1934.

Lemaire, H. "Das Stadt-Landproblem und seine Gestaltung im deutschen Roman des 19. und 20. Jahrhundert," Diss. Bonn 1933.

Lennig, Walter. "Die anonyme Stadt im deutschen Roman" In *Neue deutsche Hefte*, No. 49, 1958, 468-470.

Martini, Fritz. "Die Stadt in der Dichtung Wilhelm Raabes." Diss. Berlin 1934.

Meyer, H. *Raum und Zeit in Wilhelm Raabes Erzählkunst.* In *DVjs.* 27, (1953), 236-267.

Pahl, J. *Die Stadt im Aufbruch der perspektivischen Welt: Versuch über einen neuen Gestaltbegriff der Stadt.* Berlin: Ullstein Verlag, 1963.

Pfütze, M. "'Burg' und 'Stadt' in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters." In *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur.* Vol. 80, Halle 1958, 272-319.

Riha, Karl. *Die Beschreibung der 'Großen Stadt': Zur Entstehung des Großstadtmotivs in der deutschen Literatur (ca. 1750 - ca. 1850).* Berlin: Verlag Gehlen, 1970.

Ritterhaus, Siegfried. "Das Problem der Stadt in Leben und Werk R.M. Rilkes." Diss. Freiburg 1955.

Rölleke, Heinz. *Die Stadt bei Stadler, Heym und Trakl.* Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1966.

Rothe, Wolfgang. *Deutsche Großstadtlyrik vom Naturalismus bis zur Gegenwart.* Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun., 1973.

Schneider, Karl L. "Georg Heyms Gedicht 'Der Gott der Stadt'" In *Zerbrochene Formen: Wort und Bild im Expressionismus.* Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe Verlag, 1967.

Schelowsky, Herbert. "Das Erlebnis der Großstadt und seine Gestaltung in der neueren deutschen Lyrik," Diss. München 1937.

Schorske, Carl E. "The Idea of the City in European Thought: Voltaire to Spengler," in *The Historian and the City.* Ed. Oscar Handlin and John Burchard. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1963, 94-114.

Seitz, Robert, and Heinz Zucker. *Um uns die Stadt: Eine Anthologie neuer Großstadtdichtung.* Berlin 1931.

Sengle, Friedrich. "Wunschbild Land und Schreckbild Stadt." In *Studium Generale* XVI/10 (1963), 619-630.

Staiger, Emil. "Zu einem Gedicht Georg Trakls." *Euphorion* 55, 1961, 279-296.

Stella, Gertrud. "Die Großstadt in der Lyrik," Diss. Wien 1935.

Thalmann, Marianne. *Romantiker entdecken die Stadt.* München: Nymphenburger Verlagshandlung GmbH., 1965.

Thiele, Herbert. "Die Stadt in der deutschen Lyrik." In *Wirkendes Wort,* Jg, 11, 1961, 103-111.

Trautmann, Rene. *Die Stadt in der deutschen Erzählungskunst des 19. Jahrhunderts (1830 - 1880).* Winterthur: Verlag P. G. Keller, 1957.

Vietta, Silvio. "Großstadtwahrnehmung und ihre literarische Darstellung. Expressionistischer Reihungsstil und Collage" In *DVjs* Nr. 48, 1974.

Zinecker, Rudolf. "Deutsche Großstadtlyrik (1910-1930)." In *Sammlung gemeinnütziger Vorträge,* Nr. 657/58, Prague, 1934.

WORKS CITED

The City in Literature

Assenov, Assen. *New York: Die Welt noch einmal. Deutsche Schriftsteller erleben die Stadt.* Düsseldorf: Claassen Verlag GmbH, 1982.

Barthelme, Donald. *City Life.* New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1970.

Bauschinger, Sigrid. "Mythos Manhattan. Die Faszination einer Stadt" in *Amerika in der deutschen Literatur: Neue Welt - Nordamerika - USA.* Ed. S. Bauschinger, H. Denkler, W. Malsch. Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun., 1975.

Bichsel, Peter. "Amerika gibt es nicht" in *Kindergeschichten.* Hermann Luchterhand Verlag, 1969.

Calvino, Italo. *Invisible Cities.* Trans. William Weaver. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1972.

Citron, Pierre. *La Poèsie de Paris dans la littérature francaise de Rousseau à Baudelaire.* 2 vols. Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1961.

Conrad, Peter. *The Art of the City: Views and Versions of New York.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1984.

Coulanges, Fustel de. *La Cité antique.* Paris: Hachette, 1880.

Cowan, Michael H. *City of the West: Emerson, America, and Urban Metaphor.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967.

Crane, Hart. *The Complete Poems and Selected Letters and Prose of Hart Crane.* Ed. Brom Weber. New York: Liveright, 1966.

Dougherty, James. *The Fivesquare City: The City in the Religious Imagination.* Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1980.

Durzak, Manfred. *Das Amerika-Bild in der deutschen Gegenwartsliteratur.* Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer GmbH, 1979.

----------. *Die deutsche Literatur der Gegenwart: Aspekte und Tendenzen.* Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun., 1971.

Eliot, T.S. *Collected Poems, 1909-1935.* New York: Harcourt Brace, 1936.

Ellul, Jacques. *The Meaning of the City.* Trans. Dennis Pardee. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1970.

Fanger, Donald. *Doestoevsky and Romantic Realism: A Study of Dostoevsky in Relation to Balzac, Dickens, and Gogol.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979.

Festa-McCormick, Diana. *The City as Catalyst.* Rutherford: Fairleigh Dicksenson University Press, 1970.

Freisfeld, Andreas. *Das Leiden an der Stadt.* Köln: Böhlau Verlag, 1982.

Freud, Sigmund. *Civilization and its Discontents*. Trans. and Ed. James Strachey. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1961.

Gelfant, Blanche. *The American City Novel*. 2nd ed. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970.

Gong, Alfred. *Interview mit Amerika: 50 deutschsprachige Autoren in der neuen Welt*. Munich: Nyphenburger Verlagshandlung GmbH, 1962.

Handke, Peter. *Der kurze Brief zum langen Abschied*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1971.

Handlin, Oscar, and John Burchard, eds. *The Historian and the City*. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1963.

Hannerz, Ulf. *Exploring the City: Inquiries Toward an Urban Anthropology*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1980.

Howe, Irving. "The City in Literature." *Commentary*. 51, No. 5 (1971), 61-68.

Jacobs, Jane. *The Economy of Cities*. New York: Vintage Books, 1969.

Jaye, Michael, and Ann C. Watts, eds. *Literature and the Urban Experience: Essays on the City and Literature*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1981.

Johnson, Uwe. *Jahrestage: Aus dem Leben von Gesine Cresspahl*. 4 vols. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1970.

Klotz, Volker. *Die erzählte Stadt: Ein Sujet als Herausforderung des Romans von Lesage bis Döblin*. Munich: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1969.

Koohlhaas, Rem. *Delirious New York*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Koeppen, Wolfgang. *Amerikafahrt*. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1982.

Lees, Andrew. *Cities Perceived: Urban Society in European and American Thought, 1820-1940*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1985.

Lynch, Kevin. *The Image of the City*. Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1960.

Marqusee, Mike, and Bill Harris, eds. *New York: An Anthology*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1985.

Mumford, Lewis. *The City in History: Its Origins, its Transformations, and its Prospects*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1961.

----------. *The Culture of Cities*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1970.

Pahl, J. *Die Stadt im Aufbruch der perspektivischen Welt: Versuch über einen neuen Gestaltbegriff der Stadt*. Berlin: Ullstein Verlag, 1963.

Pike, Burton. *The Image of the City in Modern Literature*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981.

Ritter, Alexander. *Deutschlands literarisches Amerikabild.* Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1977.

Rothe, Wolfgang. *Deutsche Großstadtlyrik vom Naturalismus bis zur Gegenwart.* Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun., 1973.

Rölleke, Heinz. "Die Stadt bei Stadler, Heym und Trakl." Diss. U Köln, 1965.

Ruland, Richard. *America in Modern European Literature: From Image to Metaphor.* New York: New York University Press, 1976.

Schneider, Karl L. *Zerbrochene Formen: Wort und Bild im Expressionismus.* Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe Verlag, 1967.

Schorske, Carl E. "The Idea of the City in European Thought: Voltaire to Spengler" in *The Historian and the City.* Ed. Oscar Handlin and John Burchard. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1963, 94-114.

Siegel, Adrienne. *The Image of the American City in Popular Literature 1820-1870.* Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1981.

Simmel, Georg. "The Metropolis and Mental Life" in *The Sociology of Georg Simmel.* Ed. Kurt Wolff. Glencoe: Free Press, 1950, 409-424.

Spears, Monroe K. *Dionysus and the City: Modernism in Twentieth Century Poetry.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.

Spengler, Oswald. *The Decline of the West.* Trans. Charles Francis Atkinson. 2 vols. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966.

Stout, Janis P. *Sodems in Eden: The City in American Fiction before 1860.* Contributions in American Studies, Nr. 19, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1976.

Tanner, Tony. *City of Words. American Fiction 1950-1970.* New York: Harper & Row, 1971.

Toynbee, Arnold. *Cities on the Move.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.

Weber, Max. *The City.* Trans. and Ed. Don Martindale and Gertrud Neuwirth. New York: Free Press, 1958.

Weimer, David R. *The City as Metaphor.* New York: Random House, 1966.

White, Morton, and Lucia White. *The Intellectual versus the City: From Thomas Jefferson to Frank Lloyd Wright.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Williams, Raymond. *The Country and the City.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1973.

FRANZ KAFKA

Adorno, Theodor. *Prismen: Kulturkritik und Gesellschaft.* Berlin: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1955.

Bauer, Johann. *Kafka and Prague.* Trans. P.S. Falla. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971.

Baumer, Franz. *Franz Kafka.* New York: Frederick Ungar Publisher Co., 1971.

Beicken, Peter U. *Franz Kafka: Eine kritische Einführung in die Forschung.* Frankfurt am Main: Athenaion Verlag GmbH, 1974.

Benjamin, Walter. *Illuminations.* Ed. Hannah Arendt. New York: Schocken Books, 1969.

Binder, Hartmut. *Kafka Kommentar zu den Romanen, Rezensionen, Aphorismen und zum Brief an den Vater.* München: Winkler Verlag, 1976.

Blanchot, Maurice. *The Space of Literature.* Trans. Ann Smock. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982.

Brod, Max, epilogue. *Amerika (Der Verschollene)* by Franz Kafka. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuchverlag GmbH, 1978.

Deleuze, Gilles, and, Felix Guattari. *Kafka: Toward a Minor Literature.* Trans. Dana Polan. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986.

Emrich, Wilhelm. *Franz Kafka: Das Baugesetz seiner Dichtung, Der mündige Mensch jenseits von Nihilismus und Tradition.* Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum Verlag GmbH, 1960.

----------. *Franz Kafka.* Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum Verlag, 1965.

----------. *Geist und Widergeist: Wahrheit und Lüge der Literatur Studien.* Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum Verlag, 1965.

Eisner, Paul. *Franz Kafka and Prague.* New York: Golden Griffin Books [Arts, Inc.], 1950.

Flores, Angel, and Homer Swander. *Franz Kafka Today.* Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1964.

----------. *The Kafka Problem.* New York: Gordian Press, 1975.

----------. *The Kafka Debate: New Perspectives for Our Times.* New York: Gordian Press, 1977.

Foulkes, A.P. *The Reluctant Pessimist: A Study of Franz Kafka.* Paris: Mouton, 1967.

Gray, Ronald. *Kafka: A Collection of Critical Essays.* Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1962.

----------. *Franz Kafka.* Cambridge: The University Press, 1973.

Grusa, Jiri. *Franz Kafka of Prague*. Trans. Eric Mosbacher. New York: Schocken Books, 1983.

Hayman, Ronald. *Kafka: A Bibiography*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.

Heller, Erich, and Joachim Beug, eds. *Dichter über ihre Dichtungen: Franz Kafka*. München: Ernst Heimeran Verlag, 1969.

Heller, Erich. *Kafka*. Glasgow: William Collins Sons & Co. Ltd., 1974.

----------. *The Disinherited Mind: Essays in Modern German Literature and Thought*. New York: Harcourt Brace Janovich, 1975.

Hughes, Kenneth. *Franz Kafka: An Anthology of Marxist Criticism*. Hanover: University Press of New England, 1981.

Jahn, Wolfgang. *Kafkas Roman "Der Verschollene" ("Amerika")*. Stuttgart: J.B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung und Carl Ernst Poeschel Verlag GmbH, 1965.

Janouch, Gustav. *Conversations with Kafka*. Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlag GmbH, 1968.

----------. *Franz Kafka und seine Welt*. Wien: Hans Deutsch Verlag, 1965.

Kafka, Franz. *Amerika*. Trans. Willa and Edwin Muir, Norfolk: New Directions, 1946.

Kuna, Franz. *Franz Kafka: Literature as Corrective Punishment*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1974.

Krusche, Dietrich. *Kafka und Kafka-Deutung: Die problematisierte Interaktion*. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1974.

Lukács, Georg. *Essays über Realismus*. Berlin: Hermann Luchterhand Verlag GmbH, 1971.

Pascal, Roy. *Kafka's Narrators: A Study of his Stories and Sketches*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

Politzer, Heinz. *Franz Kafka, der Künstler*. Gütersloh: Mohn & Co., 1965.

Pongs, Hermann. *Franz Kafka: Dichter des Labyrinths*. Heidelberg: Wolfgang Rothe Verlag, 1960.

Rolleston, James. *Kafka's Narrative Theater*. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1974.

Sokel, Walter H. *Franz Kafka: Tragik und Ironie - zur Struktur seiner Kunst*. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1976.

----------. "Zwischen Drohung und Errettung. Zur Funktion Amerikas in Kafkas Roman 'Der Verschollene'" In *Amerika in der deutschen Literatur*. Ed. Sigrid Bauschinger, et al. Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun., 1975.

Spann, Meno. *Franz Kafka*. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1976.

Spilka, Mark. *Dickens and Kafka: a mutual interpretation.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1963.

Stern, J.P. *The World of Franz Kafka.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1980.

Walser, Martin. *Beschreibung einer Form: Versuch über Franz Kafka.* München: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1961.

BERTOLT BRECHT

Primary Sources

Brecht, Bertolt. *Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny: Oper.* Berlin: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1955.

----------. *Die heilige Johannna der Schlachthöfe.* Berlin: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1955.

----------. *Frühe Stücke: Baal, Trommeln in der Nacht, Im Dickicht der Städte.* Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1967.

----------. *Gesammelte Werke.* 20 vols. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1967.

----------. *Schriften zur Politik und Gesellschaft 1919 - 1956.* Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1967.

----------. *Tagebücher 1920-1922: Autobiographische Aufzeichnungen 1920-1954.* Ed. Herta Ramthun. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1978.

----------. *Über Lyrik.* Ed. Elisabeth Hauptmann and Rosemarie Hill. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1964.

Secondary Sources

Arendt, Hannah. *Men in Dark Times.* New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1968.

Barthes, Roland. *Critical Essays.* Trans. Richard Howard. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1972.

Bathrik, David. *The Dialektik and the Early Brecht: An Interpretive Study of "Trommeln in der Nacht".* Stuttgart: Akademischer Verlag Hans-Dieter Heinz, 1975.

Bauschinger, Sigrid., Horst Denkler, and Wilfried Malsch. *Amerika in der deutschen Literatur: Neue Welt - Nordamerika USA.* Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun., 1975.

Benjamin, Walter. *Versuche über Brecht.* Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1966.

Bentley, Eric, et al. *Brecht Heute: Jahrbuch der internationalen Brecht-Gesellschaft.* Frankfurt/Main: Athenäum Verlag GmbH, 1971.

Borneman, Ernest. "Credo Quia Absurdum: An Epitaph for Bertolt Brecht." *The Kenyon*

Review, Vol. XXI (Spring, 1959, No. 2): 169-198.

Brandt, Thomas O. "Das Amerikabild Brechts." In *Deutschlands literarisches Amerikabild.* Ed. Alexander Ritter. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1977, pp. 451-467.

----------. *Die Vieldeutigkeit Bertolt Brechts.* Heidelberg: Lothar Stiehm Verlag, 1968.

Buono, Franco, afterword. *Bertolt Brecht: Gedichte für Städtebewohner.* Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1980.

Demetz, Peter. *Brecht: A Collection of Critical Essays.* Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1962.

Eliot, T.S. *Collected Poems 1909 - 1962.* New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1963.

Esslin, Martin. *Bertolt Brecht.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1969.

----------. *Mediations: Essays on Brecht, Beckett, and the Media.* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1962.

Ewen, Frederic. *Bertolt Brecht: His Life, His Art and His Times.* New York: The Citadel Press, 1967.

Fassmann, Kurt. *Brecht: Eine Bildbiographie.* München: Kindler Verlag, 1958.

Frisch, Max. *Erinnerungen an Brecht.* Berlin: Friedenauer Presse, 1968.

Fuegi, John., Reinhold Grimm, and Jost Hermand. *Brecht-Jahrbuch 1976.* Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1976.

Gaede, Friedrich. "Bertolt Brecht" In *Expressionismus als Literatur: Gesammelte Studien.* München: Francke Verlag, 1969.

Greenberg, Clement. "Bertolt Brecht's Poetry" In *Partisan Review* (March-April, 1941) Vol VIII, No. 2: 114-127.

Grimm, Reinhold. *Bertolt Brecht.* Stuttgart: J.B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1971.

----------. *Bertolt Brecht und die Weltliteratur.* Nürnberg: Verlag Hans Carl, 1961.

----------. "Brechts Anfänge" In *Aspekte des Expressionismus.* Heidelberg: Lothar Stiehm Verlag, GmbH. 1968.

----------. *Brecht und Nietzsche oder Geständnisse eines Dichters: Fünf Essays und ein Bruchstück.* Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1979.

----------, Jost Hermand. *Brecht-Jahrbuch 1980.* Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1981.

Haas, Willy. *Bert Brecht.* Berlin: Colloquium Verlag Otto H. Hess, 1958.

Hays, H.R. *Bertolt Brecht: Selected Poems.* New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1947.

Hecht, Werner. *Brecht im Gespräch: Diskussionen, Dialoge, Interviews.* Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1975.

----------, ed. *Bertolt Brecht: Arbeitsjournal,* Vol. 1 (1938 - 1942) Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1973. 2 vols.

Hinck, Walter. *Ausgewählte Gedichte Brechts mit Interpretationen.* Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1978.

Hinderer, Walter. *Geschichte der deutschen Lyrik: vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart.* Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun., 1983.

Hoover, Marjorie L. "'Ihr geht gemeinsam den Weg nach unten'. Aufstieg und Fall Amerikas im Werk Bertolt Brechts" In *Amerika in der deutschen Literatur.* Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun., 1975.

Jacobs, Jürgen. "Wie die Wirklichkeit selber. Zu Brechts *Lesebuch für Städtebewohner.*" In *Brecht-Jahrbuch 1974.* Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1975.

Kesting, Marianne. *Bertolt Brecht: mit Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten.* Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag GmbH, 1959.

Klotz, Volker. *Bertolt Brecht: Versuch über das Werk.* Bad Homburg v.d.H.: Athenäum Verlag GmbH, 1971.

Knopf, Jan. *Bertolt Brecht: Ein kritischer Forschungsbericht - Fragwürdiges in der Brecht-Forschung.* Frankfurt/Main: Athenäum Verlag GmbH, 1974.

Kunisch, Hermann. *Handbuch der deutschen Gegenwartsliteratur.* München: Nymphenburger Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1969.

Leonhard, Kurt. *Moderne Lyrik: Monolog und Manifest, ein Leitfaden.* Bremen: Carl Schünemann Verlag, 1963.

Licher, Edmund. *Zur Lyrik Brechts: Aspekte ihrer Dialektik und Kommunikativität.* Frankfurt/Main: Verlag Peter Lang GmbH, 1984.

Lyon, James K. *Bertolt Brecht in America.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980.

----------. *Bertolt Brecht: The Despair and the Polemic.* Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1968.

Mayer, Hans. *Bertolt Brecht und die Tradition.* München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag GmbH & Co. KG, 1965.

----------. *Anmerkungen zu Brecht.* Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1965.

Morley, Michael. *Brecht: a study.* Totowa: Rowman and Littlefield, 1977.

Most, Johann. *Kapital und Arbeit: 'Das Kapital' in einer handlichen Zusammenfassung. Von Marx und Engels selbst revidiert und überarbeitet.* Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1972.

Muschg, Walter. *Von Trakl zu Brecht: Dichter des Expressionismus.* München: R. Piper &

Co Verlag, 1963.

Needle, Jan and Peter Thomson. *Brecht.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1981.

Nubel, Walter. "Bertolt Brecht-Bibliographie" In *Sinn und Form Zweites Sonderheft Bertolt Brecht* (1957): 481-623.

Parmalee, Patty Lee. *Brecht's America.* Miami: Ohio State University Press, 1975.

Pike, Burton. *The Image of the City in Modern Literature.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981.

Rilke, Rainer Maria. *Die Aufzeichnungen des Malte Laurids Brigge.* Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1980.

Rothe, Wolfgang. *Deutsche Großstadtlyrik vom Naturalismus bis zur Gegenwart.* Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam jun., 1973.

Ruland, Richard. *America in Modern European Literature: From Image to Metaphor.* New York: New York University Press, 1976.

----------. "The American Plays of Bertolt Brecht." *American Quarterly,* Vol. XV (Fall 1963, No. 3): 371-389.

Schevill, James. "Bertolt Brecht in New York." In *The Tulane Drama Review* Vol. 6 (1961): 98-107.

Schumann, Klaus. *Untersuchungen zur Lyrik Brechts: Themen, Formen, Weiterungen.* Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag Berlin und Weimar, 1973.

Seliger, Helfried W. *Das Amerikabild Bertolt Brechts.* Bonn: Bouvier Verlag Herbert Grundmann, 1974.

Spalter, Max. *Brecht's Tradition.* Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1967.

Speirs, Ronald. *Brecht's Early Plays.* London: The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1982.

Völker, Klaus. *Brecht-Chronik: Daten zu Leben und Werk.* München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag GmbH & Co. KG, 1984.

Weber, Betty Nance and Hubert Heinen. *Bertolt Brecht: Political Theory and Literary Practice.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1980.

Weideli, Walter. *The Art of Bertolt Brecht.* New York: New York University Press, 1963.

Weisstein, Ulrich. "Brecht in America: A Preliminary Survey." *Modern Language Notes.* Vol. 78 (1963): 373-396.

Willett, John. *Art and Politics in the Weimar Period: The New Sobriety, 1917-1933.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1978.

----------. *Brecht in Context: Comparative Approaches.*

Willett, John and Ralph Manheim. *Bertolt Brecht Poems 1913-1956*. London: Methuen, 1976.

Witt, Hubert. Trans. John Peet *Brecht As They Knew Him*. New York: International Publishers, 1974.

INGEBORG BACHMANN

Primary Sources

Bachmann, Ingeborg. *Das dreissigste Jahr: Erzählungen*. München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag GmbH & Co. KG, 1984.

----------. *Der gute Gott von Manhattan*. Stuttgart: Philipp Reclam Jun., 1977.

----------. *Ein Ort für Zufälle*. Berlin: Verlag Klaus Wagenbach, 1965.

----------. *Frankfurter Vorlesungen: Probleme zeitgenössischer Dichtung*. München: R. Piper & Co. Verlag, 1984.

Koschel, Christine, et al. *Ingeborg Bachmann Werke*. 4 vols. München: R. Piper & Co. Verlag, 1978.

Secondary Sources

Aichinger, Ingrid. "Im Widerspiel des Möglichen mit dem Unmöglichen: Das Werk der österreichischen Dichterin Ingeborg Bachmann" In *Österreich in Geschichte und Literatur*. XII, Nr. 4. Graz: Verlag Styria, 1968.

Angst-Hürlimann, Beatrice. *Im Widerspiel des Unmöglichen mit dem Möglichen: Zum Problem der Sprache bei Ingeborg Bachmann*. Diss. Zürich 1971. Zürich: Juris Druck und Verlag, 1971.

Arnold, Heinz Ludwig. *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur aus Methoden: Westdeutsche Literatur von 1945-71*. Vol. II. Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1972.

----------. *Text + Kritik*. (Heft) 6: Ingeborg Bachmann. 4th ed., München: edition text + kritik GmbH, 1980.

----------. *Text + Kritik*. Sonderband zu Ingeborg Bachmann. München: Piper-Verlag, 1984.

Bareiss, Otto, and Frauke Ohloff. *Ingeborg Bachmann: Eine Bibliographie*. München: R. Piper & Co. Verlag, 1978.

Becker, Jürgen. "War das Hörspiel der Fünfziger Jahre reaktionär?: Eine Kontroverse am Beispiel von Ingeborg

Bachmanns 'Der gute Gott von Manhattan'." In *Merkur: Deutsche Zeitschrift für europäisches Denken*, Nr. 2, Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag, February, 1970.

Bergsten, Gunilla. "Liebe als Grenzübertritt. Zu Ingeborg Bachmanns Hörspiel 'Der gute Gott von Manhattan'" In *Deutsche Weltliteratur von Goethe bis Ingeborg Bachmann*. Ed. Klaus W. Jonas. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1972.

Crews, Elisabeth. "Wort und Wahrheit: Das Problem der Sprache in der Prosa Ingeborg Bachmanns." Diss. Minnesota 1977.

Fischerova, Viola. "Ingeborg Bachmanns 'Der gute Gott von Manhattan' - ein Mythos" In *Literatur und Kritik*. No. 115, Salzburg, Juni 1977.

Freud, Sigmund. *Civilization and its Discontents*. Trans. James Strachey, New York: W.W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1961.

Funke, Horst-Günter. *Die literarische Form des deutschen Hörspiels in historischer Entwicklung*. Diss. Erlangen 1962.

----------. "Zwei Hörspiele: Die Zikaden, Der gute Gott von Manhattan" In *Interpretation zum Deutschunterricht*. Ruprecht Hirschenauer and Albrecht Weber. München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1969.

Gäbler, Michael. "Manhattan, Liebe und Untergang: Notizen zu dem Hörspiel 'Der gute Gott von Manhattan'" In *Text und Kritik: Zeitschrift für Literatur*. No. 6, Aachen: Verlag Dr. Rudolf Georgi, 1964.

Gürtler, Christa. *Schreiben Frauen anders: Untersuchungen zu Ingeborg Bachmann und Barbara Frischmuth*. Diss. Stuttgart 1983. Akademsicher Verlag Hans-Dieter Heinz.

Hapkemeyer, Andreas. *Die Sprachthematik in der Prosa Ingeborg Bachmanns: Todesarten und Sprachformen*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1982.

----------. *Ingeborg Bachmann: Bilder aus ihrem Leben*. München: R. Piper & Co. Verlag, 1983.

Heer, Friedrich. "Eine Frau aus Österreich: In Memoriam Ingeborg Bachmann." In *Die Brücke: Kärtner Kulturzeitschrift.*, No. 1, 1975.

Hirschenauer, Rupert and Albrecht Weber. *Interpretationen zu Ingeborg Bachmann: Beiträge eines Arbeitskreises*. München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1976.

Höller, Hans. "Geschichtsbewußtsein und moderne Lyrik: Zu einigen Gedichten von Ingeborg Bachmann." In *Literatur und Kritik*. No. 115. Salzburg, Juni 1977.

Holschuh, Albrecht. "Utopismus im Werk Ingeborg Bachmanns: Eine thematische Untersuchung." Diss. Princeton 1964.

Holthusen, Hans Egon. "Die Lyrik Ingeborg Bachmanns" In *Das Schöne und das Wahre*. Hans Egon Holthusen. München: R. Piper & Co. Verlag, 1958.

Jakubowicz-Pisarek, Marta. *Stand der Forschung zum Werk von Ingeborg Bachmann*. Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang, 1984.

Jaye, Michael C. and Ann Chalmers Watts, eds. *Literature and the Urban Experience: Essays on the City and Literature*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1981.

Johnson, Uwe. *Eine Reise nach Klagenfurt.* Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1974.

Jurgensen, Manfred. *Ingeborg Bachmann: Die neue Sprache.* Bern: Verlag Peter Lang AG, 1981.

Kunisch, Hermann. *Handbuch der deutschen Gegenwartsliteratur.* München: Nymphenburger Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1969.

Langer, Susanne. *Feeling and Form: A Theory of Art.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953.

Lynch, Kevin. *The Image of the City.* Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1960.

Marsch, Edgar. "Ingeborg Bachmann" In *Deutsche Dichter der Gegenwart.* Ed. Benno von Wiese. Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1973.

Mechtenberg, Theo. *Utopie als Ästhetische Kategorie: Eine Untersuchung der Lyrik Ingeborg Bachmanns.* Stuttgart: Akademischer Verlag Hans-Dieter Heinz, 1978.

Pausch, Holger. *Ingeborg Bachmann.* Berlin: Colloquium Verlag Otto H. Hess, 1975.

Reich-Ranicki, Marcel. "Die Dichterin wechselt das Repertoire" In *Entgegnung: Zur deutschen Literatur der siebziger Jahre.* Ed. Marcel Reich-Ranicki. Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt GmbH, 1979.

Reinert, Claus. *Unzumutbare Wahrheiten? Einführung in Ingeborg Bachmanns Hörspiel "Der gute Gott von Manhattan".* Bonn: Bouvier Verlag Herbert Grundmann, 1983.

Renolder, Klemens. "Im ungeistigen Raum unserer traurigen Länder: Zu Utopie und Geschichte bei Christa Wolf und Ingeborg Bachmann." In *Der dunkle Schatten, dem ich schon seit Anfang folge: Ingeborg Bachmann - Vorschläge zu einer neuen Lektüre des Werks.* Ed. Hans Höller. München: Löcker Verlag, 1982.

Schoolfield, G. C. "Ingeborg Bachmann." In *Essays on Contemporary German Literature.* Ed. Brian Keith-Smith. London: Oswald Wolff Ltd., 1966.

Schulz, Beate Annemarie. "Struktur- und Motivanalyse ausgewählter Prosa von Ingeborg Bachmann." Diss. Maryland 1979.

"Stenogramm der Zeit" In *Spiegel.*, August 18. 1954.

Stoffer-Heibel, Cornelia. *Metaphernstudien: Versuch einer Typologie der Text- und Themafunktionen der Metaphorik in der Lyrik Ingeborg Bachmanns, Peter Huchels und Hans Magnus Enzensbergers.* Stuttgart: Akademischer Verlag Hans-Dieter Heinz, 1981.

Schwitzke, Heinz. *Das Hörspiel. Dramaturgie und Geschichte.* Berlin: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1963.

Weber, Werner. "Der gute Gott von Manhattan" In *Neue Züricher Zeitung*, 6. Dezember 1958.

Wittgenstein, Ludwig. *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1922.

Wolf, Christa. "Die zumutbare Wahrheit - Ingeborg Bachmann" In *Lesen und Schreiben*. Christa Wolf. Darmstadt: Sammlung Luchterhand, 1972.

Wondratschek, Wolf. "Die utopische Idee: zur Prosa Ingeborg Bachmanns" In *Text + Kritik: Zeitschrift für Literatur*. No. 6, Aachen: Verlag Dr. Rudolf Georgi, 1964.

Wondratschek, Wolf. "War das Hörspiel der Fünfziger Jahre reaktionär: Eine Kontroverse am Beispiel von Ingeborg Bachmanns 'Der gute Gott von Manhattan'." In *Merkur: Deutsche Zeitschrift für europäisches Denken*. No. 2, Stuttgart: Ernst Klett Verlag, 1970.