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THE CONCEPT OF ORDER IN THE DRAMA OF FRITZ HOCHWÄLDER

by

Sr. M. Paula Holdman

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

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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.

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Abstract

THE CONCEPT OF ORDER IN THE DRAMA OF FRITZ HOCHWÄLDER

by

Sr. M. Paula Holdman

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Fritz Hochwälder belongs to the generation of Europeans, writers in exile, whose lives were permanently changed by the holocaust of the Nazi era. His first internationally acclaimed drama, written in a Swiss internment camp in 1942, shows the dramatist's absorption in the interaction of order as command (Befehl) and as a state of existence (Ordnung). The frequent use of these terms and the recurring problem of man's response to them led to this study of six dramas, four of which have been published in new editions: Das heilige Experiment, Der öffentliche Ankläger, Der Unschuldige, Der Himbeerpflücker, and two versions of Der Befehl. A Viennese by birth, Hochwälder prefers the theater of ideas, eschewing both the documentary and epic stage. He transmutes the holocaust of the twentieth century to portray Everyman's timeless struggle against violence and aggression. The tragic and ironic interplay of Befehl and Ordnung, accented by sharply defined imagery, becomes an organic element in the highly unified structures of the major plays. Imbued with the traditions of dramatic form, lucid dialogue, and exuberant theater, Hochwälder cherishes the

influences of the Austrian folk theater. Yet, by means of satire, structural parallels, and open endings, he shapes a drama of alienation which reveals the broader influence of Büchner and twentieth-century dramatists. In the conflict of Befehl and Ordnung in the lives of his protagonists, Hochwälder dramatizes the problem of violence in modern life.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

When Martin Esslin writes that he believes in the function of the theater as a social force,¹ he affirms the conclusions of the scholars, playwrights and critics who met at Bregenz, Austria in 1962, to discuss the German-speaking theater. While members of the conference declared that the theater constitutes an important institution for self-knowledge because the theater-goer acquires a notion of his existence within a larger context,² Esslin himself has since gone further, declaring that the European theater produces a solid body of drama, which outwardly, in as traditional a form as the well-made Broadway play, deals with the problems of the time in a profound manner and on a high intellectual level.³

Fritz Hochwalder: Dramatist in Exile

It is significant for this study of the dramatic work of Fritz Hochwalder (1911-) that the Bregenz Symposium met in the small corner of Austria which links the cultures of three German-speaking peoples: the Swiss, the Austrians, and the Germans. It was there that the twenty-seven year old Hochwalder managed to elude the Viennese Nazis in 1938, after months of useless waiting for a travel visa. Reaching the border, in the Austrian Vorarlberg near the town of

Bregenz, he swam across the 'old' Rhine on August 18, to find political asylum and a new life in Switzerland.⁴ By 1962, Hochwalder's presence at the Bregenz Symposium attested to his position as an internationally acclaimed Austrian dramatist. Moreover, his address to the conference, "Vom Versagen des Dramas in unserer Zeit,"⁵ as well as a body of completed work, indicated his commitment to the living theater.

A sophisticated craftsman and a passionate moralist,⁶ Fritz Hochwalder has characterized living theater as theater marked by language which is universally understood, simple, unadorned and direct. It is further marked by Naivitat, that factor of ingenuousness, which reflects unadulterated pleasure in play. Finally, it is characterized by the presence of conscience which holds the mirror up to the spectator so that he is forced to take issue with himself, "his heart being purified without himself being changed."⁷ By challenging the spectator to draw his own conclusions and ponder his own choices,⁸ Hochwalder's theater has achieved a quality of prophetic insight as well as of social significance.

Fritz Hochwalder is a writer whose devotion to the art of the theater, familiarity with the Austrian stage genius, and enthusiasm for language,⁹ wit, and form enabled him to survive the political shocks of the 1930's. His relish of the 'Gallic' clarity of Kleist's dramatic structure,

of the fluid composition of Büchner's dramas, and the controlled power of the work of a fellow-exile, Georg Kaiser, the German Expressionist, inured him to the handicaps of cultural isolation. Interned in Switzerland (1938-45), after escaping from Nazi Austria with his newly acquired master-craftsman's license, he was not permitted, as a foreigner, to compete with Swiss cabinetmakers and upholsterers. The prospect of enforced leisure, combined with his years of reading, theater-going, and early dramatic efforts¹⁰ in Vienna, led him to the writing of his first internationally successful work, Das heilige Experiment (1942).

His own report of this decision, which was to lead him so swiftly to prominence in the years after the second World War, resembles the narrative charm of a page from Eichendorff's Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts:

Bis 1938 hatte ich meine früh begonnenen Versuche als Dramatiker eher als 'hobby' denn als ernsthaft in Frage kommenden Beruf betrachtet. Diese Einstellung änderte sich notwendigerweise in der Emigration. . . . Zwar war ich arm wie eine Kirchenmaus, doch hielt mich die kärgliche Unterstützung, die ich annehmen musste, gerade über Wasser. Da meine Bühnenschreiberei an keinerlei praktische Bedürfnisse gebunden war, und da ich überdies wusste, dass meine Arbeit, zufolge der Unmöglichkeit einer Auswertung während des Kriegs, nichts abwerfen würde, befand ich mich als völlig Unbemittelter faktisch in der Situation eines reichen Privatiers, der sich den Luxus leisten kann, zu schreiben was ihm Spass macht. Diese sonderbare Konstellation verbesserte sich schon im Frühjahr 1942, als mir Freunde für die Zeit meinesurlaubes vom Arbeitslager ein kleines Holzhäuschen in Ascona, am Lago Maggiore, zur Verfügung stellten. Dort sass ich mutterseelenallein, ernährte mich hauptsächlich von Suppenwürfeln, sah in den blauen Himmel des Südens und schrieb in zwei Monaten, Das heilige Experiment.¹¹

Produced in 1943, in Biel-Solothurn, Switzerland, the drama

was soon translated and presented in major cities around the world. The French translation, Sur la Terre comme au Ciel, the English,¹² The Strong are Lonely, the Italian, Sacro Esperimento, and the Spanish, Asi en la Tierra como en el Ciele marked the astounding success of the play.¹³

Landschaft der Kindheit: Loss of
the Artist's Milieu

In an autobiographical essay, "'Auf der Gassen'" [sic],¹⁴ Fritz Hochwalder traces his early interest in the theater to afternoon performances in Vienna's Raimundtheater, where Herr Hildner, his inspired young teacher from the Zollergasse Volksschule brought his class to watch productions of Der Bauer als Millionar and Der Verschwender. Later on, at the Reform Realgymnasium in the Albertgasse, young Hochwalder took part in theatrical productions of the Literaturfachgruppe, a group of literary-minded students. He revealed a bent for comedy in performances of such plays as Ludwig Thoma's farce, Die kleinen Verwandten.¹⁵ This comic-satiric strain has since been evident in Hochwalder's own dramas. Minor characters, such as Sanson, in Der offentliche Anklager (The Public Prosecutor), Mizzi, in Der Unschuldige (The Innocent Man), Zagl, in Der Himbeerpflucker (The Raspberry-Picker), as well as major figures, such as Steisshauptl, in the last named play, and Inspector Wondrak and Birnstrudel, in Donnerstag (Thursday), bear witness to Hochwalder's affinity for the humorous and the satiric.

The dramatist's love of the sense of 'play,' of the balance of comic and tragic dimensions in human existence, his emphasis on what he calls 'naiveté' both stem from his Austrian taste for cosmopolitan drama. This was the fare of the Viennese stage: drama compounded of Spanish and Austro-Hungarian elements, rich in the buffoonery of the Commedia dell' Arte, permeated with the spirituality as well as the politics of centuries of Catholicism,¹⁶ alive with language which clearly revealed the complex, dual nature of humankind. Like Max Frisch, the great man of modern Swiss literature, Hochwälder regards the theater, despite his propensity for the tragi-satiric, as a medium close to the spirit of the circus. He has emphasized that Vienna's theater, like all great dramatic art, arose from the farces and slapstick of annual fairs, not from mere dramatic theory: "nicht graue Theorie schuf das wienerische Theater, es ist aus Jahrmarkt und Possenreisserei gewachsen, wie alle grosse Theaterkunst."¹⁷ He has shown that, over the centuries, during eras when drama flourished, the greatest playwrights were also the authors of the greatest comedies: Shakespeare, Molière, Raimund, Nestroy. In London, Paris, Madrid, Venice, and Vienna, comedy arose from 'folk art' and evidenced a genius for 'dramatic play.'¹⁸

In the aforementioned essay, "Landschaft der Kindheit: 'Auf der Gassen,'" which describes his childhood in Vienna's seventh district, Hochwälder refers to himself ironically as

a "miniatur Teufel" and "privatim ein Waldschrat." These appellations set the tone of the memoir, illuminating the sad-happy biography of a Jewish child growing up in the life-stream of the great city. The narrative pulses with details which the author conjures up as if he were dramatizing scenes for the stage: the black-draped portrait of the recently dead Kaiser Josef in his mother's tiny antique shop, the stockiness of his deaf grandmother, the rows of little limbs and buttocks drying in the doll factory opposite his home at No. 3 Westbahnstrasse, and the Czech love-songs of Anna Waldbrühl, the family servant, who sang as she ironed. Wryly, the dramatist admits that today he would probably go mad with the noises rising to the family's fourth floor apartment from the inner court, where iron piping was cut and fitted. To the budding writer, funerals in Vienna were something of a festival. "Mr. So and So" took on the grandeur of his baroque funeral trappings which appeared to the imaginative youngster strangely like the decorated underpinnings of the pastry plates, the Tortenunterlagen at the baker's shop!¹⁹ The Gallic spirit that influenced Nestroy, tempered by that of the Viennese, set the lively scene which Fritz Hochwälder grew to cherish. The meeting of the Austrian-Slavic-Gallic esprit later served to modify the tragic undertones moving below the surface of Hochwälder's humor, both in the mature works, as well as in his autobiographical prose.

Hochwalder addressed himself to the figure of Vienna's comic stage character in the Bregenz lecture: "gemeint ist jener ewige Hanswurst, der schopferisch hinter dem Drama steht am wirksamsten in dessen vergnuglichsten Form, der Tragodie."²⁰ The beloved Hanswurst of Viennese folk-comedy symbolizes for Hochwalder a meeting of those elements he believes inherent in human nature as well as in great theater. The Hanswurst spoken of here represents a master of wit, of clarity, and of naivete on whatever national stage he plays. Hochwalder enlarges upon this: "Zuruck zu Hanswurst, er ist ein ernster Mann, alle Biographen bestatigen es, das Denken, die Philosophie erst erweckt ihn zum Buhnenleben, er braucht sie als Hintergrund, ohne sie keine Lazzi; freilich sein Ehrgeiz geht aufs Allgemein-verstandliche, Einfache, Schlichte, Naive, in summa aufs Grosse, nichts ist ihm so zuwider, wie Pseudo-literatur, wo diese kultiviert und jenes verachtet wird, hat er nichts zu melden."²¹

This drive for universal communication, for reflecting many levels of reality, for using every nuance of speech and its pauses, lies at the core of Hochwalder's own dramatic dialogue. Characteristic of the Hanswurst role was the sly playing with language. The dramatist, who calls himself a substitute for the vanished Hanswurst figure,²² has built simple dialogues with such sharp juxtapositions that conversations in the plays become explosively comic or unexpectedly sinister. For example, Christian Erdmann, protagonist of Der

Unschuldige, wishes to summon the town prosecutor, Dr. Stark, to prove his innocence in an apparent murder case. His life-long friend and confidant, Julius, who spends every Friday at Erdmann's home, advises against it. Mizzi's interruption is an adroitly ironic climax:

Julius: Ich rate ab.

Christian: Warum? Weshalb?

Julius: Weil die Polizei genau so gefährlich ist wie das Verbrechen.

Christian: Wie das Verbrechen--? Bist du wahnsinning? --Wie das Verbrechen. . . . Hab ich vielleicht was auf dem Kerbholz? Hab ich Zeit meines Lebens die Geringste Unkorrektheit begangen? Bin ich nicht das Muster eines ehrenwerten Bürgers, bin ich nicht durch und durch unschuldig?--Weshalb soll ich mich nicht vertrauensvoll an die Behörde wenden, warum soll ich mich nicht mit dem Amtsrichter zu Tisch setzen? Augenblicklich schreib ich ihm!

Julius: Sieh zu, dass du es nicht bereust.

Christian: Bereuen--lächerlich. (Mizzi kommt.)

Mizzi: Herr Julius--Ihr Bad ist eingelaufen.

Julius: Danke, mein Kind. Ist es auch heiss genug?

Mizzi: So heiss, dass ein vernünftiger Mensch nicht hineinsteigen würd. (I, p. 145)

While Julius goes off good-naturedly to take his hot bath, Erdmann does, indeed, get himself into very hot water legally.

It was at the opening of his Bregenz lecture that the dramatist enumerated the goals he had set for himself. His self-identification with Hanswurst rendered his comments at least partially personal and autobiographical. Enlarging on the dramatic significance of the old stage character, the

Austrian writer declared, "Meine Damen und Herren, es ist kaum zu glauben, in welcher spekulative Unkosten man sich stürzen muss, will man die tiefere Bedeutung von Kasperls Kapriolen erforschen."²³

Thus, the alignment of Hanswurst with the darker, more problematic meaning of life--an alignment which Hochwälder made both at the opening and conclusion of his lecture--argues his case for the marriage of the comic and the tragic in drama. In his plays, Hochwälder strives for that paradoxical union of the sense of play with the struggles of conscience, those elements of drama he has repeatedly linked with clarity of thought, dramatic form, and theatrical know-how.²⁴

The tone of the Forum essay concerning his childhood in Vienna reveals the same paradoxical temper: the exaggerated overtones of a child's impressions mitigated by the suave, humorous understatement that discloses a tragic social milieu and a dangerous political climate. Living images of Hanswurst, like the foolish Gustl ("der narrische Gustl, ein Hansltippler"), walked the streets of young Hochwälder's Vienna and died, too, as Gustl did, on a cold winter night in a telephone booth.²⁵ The dramatist describes his first days as a master craftsman when gulasch soup at twenty groschen a bowl was a staple for the unemployed. Yet, he never guessed, nor could his parents, who sat trembling behind the blinds during the rioting of 'Red' demonstrators

in Vienna's streets, that twenty-five years later, Leo and Therese Hochwalder would be seized by efficient, 'orderly' men and sent to gas chambers in Poland.²⁶ In the shadow thrust over those last days in his native city, the dramatist may have unconsciously described himself in writing of the Hanswurst of stage tradition: "gemeint ist jener ewige Hanswurst, der schopferisch hinter dem Drama steht . . . dessen liebstes Kind, wie einleitend erwahnt, die Tragodie ist . . . das eigentliche Schlachtfeld des Theaters."²⁷

Hochwalder has stated that there is nothing autobiographical to be found in his dramatic works. Nevertheless, political chaos has marked the tenor of his life, and critics agree that political questions serve as a springboard for the dramatic action of the plays.²⁸ In Bregenz, in 1962, he referred quietly to his exile from Vienna, the city of his birth, and to the political homelessness of the Jewish refugee after the Austrian Anschluss with Nazi Germany.²⁹

As a Westerner, he has pointed out that his international recognition began in a Communist state in 1946, with the long-running Czechoslovakian production of his comedy, Hotel du Commerce, written during the period of internment in Switzerland. Dealing with a wartime society and with class distinctions, the production was directed by Alfred Radok in Prague at the Theater of the Fifth of May.³⁰ When the iron curtain abruptly isolated Budapest and Prague and separated Fritz Hochwalder from the Slavic-Hungarian theater

tradition, he mourned the deprivation of cultural ties so long a part of Austrian theatrical history. Political disorder deprived him once again of a significant artistic milieu.

Hochwalder's Theater of Ideas: The Interaction
of Befehl (Command) and Ordnung (Order)

So it is that his major plays deal with a command (Befehl) from some political or civil source, disrupting the inner or exterior order (Ordnung) of the protagonist's life and ultimately of society. It will be the aim of this dissertation to examine the multileveled concept of order in six of the plays to ascertain its significance in regard to the form and content of his work as a whole. The concept of order frequently appears in the dramas, first, as an ordinance (Befehl) which, having been issued from a political or civic authority, introduces the action of the play or reopens the past, so that the action represents the consequences of the past. Two of the plays bear the title, Der Befehl, so frequent and devastating is this concept of order as command.

Secondly, Hochwalder repeatedly makes use of the term Ordnung in referring to a generally accepted sociopolitical form of existence, a status quo, to which the individual conforms as a member of society. At times, this social order in the dramas represents a purely superficial 'orderliness' of existence, rather than an order based on man's commitment to his fellow man. Richard Thieberger comments on this

concept of order in Hochwalder's work which presents "die Aufrechterhaltung einer Ordnung, die mit Gerechtigkeit nichts mehr zu tun hat."³¹

The concept of order in the plays further includes an inner psychological or spiritual composure (Ordnung) of the main characters who, in turn, influence the general social order. These differences of concept often interact within the structure of the individual play. For example, an ordinance (Befehl) may create conflict and disorder within the character's human psyche. There follows disorientation from society and problems of identity as in Der Unschuldige or Der Befehl. This tragic inner disorder is emphasized in some instances by a parallel experience parodied in the life of a minor figure such as the poet, Escambarlet, in Donadieu.

In some of the plays, Hochwalder dramatizes the effect of a political order (Befehl) which leads the protagonist from tragic dilemma to a new vision and an inner sense of order (Ordnung), as in the case of the protagonist, Donadieu, in the drama of the same name.

Finally, an official ordinance (Befehl) may lead to such a superficial or corrupt state of Ordnung that deep disorder marks the tenor of society. Der offentliche Anklager provides such a picture of total social and political disorder. To emphasize the horror of this state, the dramatist often resorts to satire and caricature.

The consistent repetition of the terms Befehl and Ordnung in the drama of Fritz Hochwalder, then, has led to this investigation of order as a sociopolitical ordinance and order as a state of social harmony in the framework of the individual plays. The interaction of Befehl and Ordnung has been the ultimate point of interest in each analysis. Hochwalder explicitly states that his dramas all represent particular phases of his writing career. These phases have passed as the plays took on something of an independent life of their own, and as he became absorbed in new material.³² Therefore, this study of the concept of order will be based on theme within the plays, rather than on a principle of chronology. The investigation will include six major plays which represent the dramatist's most important period of work--from 1942 to 1968. Three of these, Das heilige Experiment, Der ffentliche Anklager, and Der Himbeerpflucker were re-edited and included in the one-volume edition published in 1968.³³ The remaining works to be studied here are the two versions of Der Befehl, the stage play,³⁴ as well as the now widely acclaimed Eurovision production of 1965,³⁵ and the comedy, Der Unschuldige, which surprised the author with its notable success at the Burgtheater in Vienna.³⁶ References have been made to other dramas, but a complete study of them has not been attempted in this dissertation.

The General Use of These Terms
In Modern German Drama

Since the purpose here is to examine the drama of Hochwalder, prolonged comparisons to other writers are not in order. The terms Ordnung and Befehl occur fairly frequently in modern German dramatic works. Examples are to be found in Brecht's Kaukasische Kreidekreis, Frisch's Andorra, Dürrenmatt's Es Steht Geschrieben, Der Besuch der alten Dame, and die Physiker, Hochhut's Der Stellvertreter. However, the terms are used by a great number of characters in these plays or they refer to a variety of unrelated commands, or may appear merely in stage directions. The dramatists do not make consistent application of the terms as structural elements in the drama. In addition, the command (Befehl) is not directed to a protagonist, has no bearing upon his past life, nor upon the unity of plot which is so vital a characteristic of Hochwalder's drama. It is not the occasional or arbitrary use of Befehl and Ordnung which is the subject of the present study. Nevertheless, Hochwalder's preoccupation with the interrelation of command and order places his work in the mainstream of his era.

As a man committed to the theater, not to any political or ideological bias, Fritz Hochwalder eschews documentary theater. Through the use of literary analogs, universal themes, formal dramatic structure and historical settings, he maintains a studied distance toward his material. His characters, as H. F. Garten comments, are not revived for

their historical interest but embody moral forces of timeless relevance; their conflicts are conflicts of ideas.³⁷ In this regard, George Wellwarth declares that Hochwälder concentrates on the most basic form of drama, since he raises a conflict in the mind of his protagonists and lets the audience watch them become aware of it, to discover "the difference between the illusion they have lived and the reality they should have lived."³⁸ Thus, in Der Befehl, Franz Mittermayer gradually accepts the truth of his cruelty to others during his police assignments in Amsterdam. His obedience to an order destroys his own peace as well as that of others: "Es war ein Befehl. --Der Mann steht nach wie vor im Polizeidienst, ein angesehener Kollege, dem nicht das mindeste nachzuweisen ist--ich bin der einzige, der ihn entlarven kann, und ich werde es tun, erbarmungslos--(Richtet sich auf): Ich habe meinen Befehl, wie er damals den seinen."³⁹ Although each character in Hochwälder's théâtre d'idées must come to grips with the problem of order in his own life, his decision frequently merges the fate of the larger community with his own. Lavalette, the Catholic soldier, does what the Huguenot, Donadieu, is ordered by decree not to attempt. He kills Du Bosc and brings peace again for society at large in the drama, Donadieu:

Judith (voll Staunen--langsam--): --Ihr--rächt uns?

Lavalette: Nichts von Rache! (Steckt den Degen ein)
Recht tun heisst: sich reinigen vom eignen Bösen.⁴⁰

However, Pater Ladislaus Oros, S.J., the militant protector

of the mission Indians in Das heilige Experiment, brings tragedy upon himself and his converts in attempting to preserve the order of the Gottes Staat in Paraguay:

Miura (prüft die Schriftstücke): Diese alle--zum Tod?

Arago: Alle.

Miura: Wieviel?

Arago: Dreissig.

Miura: Dreissig. --Ist das nicht übertrieben streng?

Arago: Wir müssen.

Miura: Müssen?

Arago: Den Rädelsführer unter den Patres--den Oros.

Miura: Gewiss--der hat sein Leben verwirkt.

Arago: Und aus jeder Siedlung einen Indio--zur Abschreckung. (V.iv.p. 65)

The destruction of illusion is characteristic of the drama of ideas and occurs repeatedly in the work of Fritz Hochwälder.

Probably the most frequent criticism leveled against the Austrian dramatist is his adherence to the classical unities and to the traditional form of the drama. Peter Demetz remarks that although the Brechtian epic and the theater of the absurd may have obscured Hochwälder's legitimate achievements, there remains an exuberance and a prose style that spell good theater.⁴¹ As a master craftsman, Fritz Hochwälder approaches the drama with his senses trained upon the proportions of the whole work. Adalbert Schmidt writes: "Beim Bau seiner Theaterstücke kehrt er bewusst das

Handwerkliche hervor. Alles episodische Rankenwerk, jede Stimmungszugabe hat auszuscheiden, die Darstellung beschränkt sich auf das dramatische Fruchtbare, das die Handlung weiterrückt."⁴² As recently as the present decade, the dramatist replied to a critic of his "antiquierte Form" that he was not an avant-garde writer: "Ich behaupte nicht, ein Avantgardist zu sein. Ich stehe auf dem Boden des Wiener Volkstheaters."⁴³

In discussing his preference for clarity and form, scholars and reviewers neglect to comment on the problems of Austrian literature, problems with which every Austrian writer has had to cope. Not until the end of the nineteenth century could Austria challenge the domination of German letters within her own borders. Impressionism then became a hallmark of the Austrian spirit: playful yet serious, sensual yet melancholic, mannered yet preserving the saving characteristic of a larger concern for mankind. Hugo von Hofmannsthal sounded an alarm, however, when he wrote his "Lord Chandos Brief," thereby underscoring the disintegration of language.

Hochwälder grew to maturity as scholars all around him--Karl Kraus, Sigmund Freud, and Martin Buber, to name a few--strove to rid language of imprecision and hypocrisy. The detestation which Wittgenstein, Schoenberg, and Kraus had for all that was slovenly or imprecise amounted to an anguish that was fundamentally ethical. Kraus' book, Die

* Sprache, was a monument to form and to clarity of thought. "His vision of language was, in the final analysis, rooted in the specifically Judaic concept of the revelation of the will of God through the Word, the Word of power which brings what it says to pass."⁴⁴

So it is that Hochwalder, wholly devoted to his Viennese birthright, approaches the drama with deeply ingrained personal and historical convictions concerning language, style, and form--convictions which provide a rich soil for the emergence of the concept of order within his dramatic works. Speaking of his theatrical heritage from Raimund and Nestroy, Hochwalder defends his position as a traditionalist in the essay, "Über mein Theater":

In einem Gedicht von Bertold Brecht heisst es: "Von diesen Stadten wird bleiben der durch sie hindurchging, der Wind." Diese nihilistische These, auf die Wiener Theatertradition bezogen, erweist sich als positiv. Gewiss, dahin ist die grosse Zeit des Volkstheaters, dahin der farbenfrohe Untergang, der uns Hofmannsthal und Schnitzler schenkte, dahin die hektische Betriebsamkeit der Zwischenkriegszeit-- . . . geblieben aber ist der Wind, die Luft, der Dunstkreis, die Atmosphare der Wienerstadt, wie eh und je vom Theater besessen und geschwangert, so was verweht nicht so leicht.⁴⁵

Although the dramatist has more recently commented that Austrian literature is "eine Untergangsliteratur,"⁴⁶ his commitment to the land from which he continues to exile himself illumines Hochwalder's deep attachment to the influences of the Viennese folk theater. The comic depiction of the common man, the positive stress on moderation and simplicity, the inspiration gained from Shakespearian exuberance--all

qualities of Ferdinand Raimund's Volkstheater are characteristics of Hochwalder's own comedies and modern Mysterienspiel, Donnerstag. Like Johann Nepomuk Nestroy, Hochwalder has discovered the contrapuntal strengths of the comic and the satiric within the structure of traditional form in the drama. At the same time, he struggles, as did both Raimund and Nestroy, to present the unavoidable contradictions of reality which lie below the surface of all comedy.⁴⁷ His drama intends to reveal the same tragic disparity displayed in the earlier plays, "Das Durchschauen der unvermeidbaren Aufspaltung."⁴⁸ Writing in defense of Hochwalder's preference for the traditional form of the theater of Raimund and Nestroy, Hans Vogelsang remarks, "Durch diese einander erganzenden Komponenten seiner dramatischen Kunst lost uns Hochwalder aus dem Chaos stammelnder Formlosigkeiten."⁴⁹

Purpose of this Study: The Multiple Concept of
Order in Hochwalder's Plays

The present analysis of six of Fritz Hochwalder's most frequently produced dramas will address itself to four specific questions in examining the concept of order within the plays. First, is the drama concerned with an order (Befehl) from a political authority, an ordinance that initiates the main action? Secondly, does this order (Befehl) reactivate events of the past so that the action of the drama represents the consequences of the past? Thirdly, does the ordinance (Befehl) reflect aspects of the social or

moral order of society (Ordnung) within the framework of the individual play? Finally, does the ordinance (Befehl) effect any change upon the social or moral order (Ordnung) within any given work?

Footnotes to Chapter I

¹ Martin Esslin, "Approaches to Reality," The New Theater of Europe, IV (New York: Dell, 1970), xxx.

² Leroy Shaw, "Introduction," The German Theater Today (Austin: University of Texas, 1963), p. 9.

³ Esslin, p. xxix.

⁴ In an interview in his Zürich home, May 29, 1973, the dramatist modestly described the incident for this writer, claiming the river to be quite narrow at this juncture.

⁵ Fritz Hochwälder, "Vom Versagen des Dramas in unserer Zeit," Maske und Kothurn, 8 (1962), 19-30. Later modified in a revised version of another essay, "Über mein Theater," appended to Der Befehl (Graz: Stiasny Bücherei, 1967), pp. 88-107.

⁶ Esslin, pp. xviii-xix.

⁷ Leroy Shaw, "Introduction," The German Theater Today, p. 12. Cf. Hochwälder, "Vom Versagen des Dramas," p. 30.

⁸ Esslin, p. xxx.

⁹ Despite thirty-odd years in Zürich, Hochwälder's diction and patterns of speech are so Austrian that Frau Ady Egleston, librarian of the Austrian Institute in New York City at that time, commented on the fact in meeting the writer at Kennedy Airport, May 3, 1973. Hochwälder replied that after his escape from Vienna, his mother tongue was the one personal possession that remained. "Eine Maxime von La Rochefoucauld lautet: 'Der Tonfall des Landes, darin man geboren ist, bleibt im Geist und Herzen wie in der Sprache.'" Cf. "Über mein Theater," rev. ed., p. 94.

¹⁰ At the age of twenty-one, he saw his play, Jehr, open March 1, 1933, in the Wiener Kammerspiele. In 1936, his comedy, Liebe in Florenz, was staged in Vienna's Theater der 49. He has long since disclaimed both youthful attempts. Otto Rommel, "Nachwort," Das heilige Experiment (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1964), p. 72.

¹¹ Fritz Hochwälder, "Über mein Theater," German Life and Letters, 12 (Jan. 1959), 102-3. Cf. rev. ed., p. 89. (Originally in "Dramatik der Gegenwart," Wiener Kurier, 1953.)

¹² Seymour L. Flaxman, "Fritz Hochwalder. Das heilige Experiment," rev. in Books Abroad, 28, No. 4 (Autumn 1954), 458.

¹³ Hans Weigel, "Verwort," Dramen I von Fritz Hochwalder (München: Langen, Müller, 1960), 17. Cf. Thierry Maulnier, "Pirandello, Hochwalder, Max Frisch," Revue de Paris, 72 (April 1965), 126.

¹⁴ Fritz Hochwalder, Neues Forum, 13, Heft 148-49 (April-Mai 1966), 274.

¹⁵ Adapted by F. T. Csokor for the Vienna stage. Cf. Richard Thieberger, "Introduction," Donadieu (London: Harrap, 1967), p. 11.

¹⁶ Hochwalder attempts to clarify the error of his being called a Catholic writer. The confusion arose with his Jesuit drama, Das heilige Experiment. He explains that to be Viennese is to have experienced the Catholic cultural traditions. See "Über mein Theater," German Life and Letters, p. 106.

¹⁷ Hochwalder, "Über mein Theater," rev. ed., p. 96. Frisch has written: "Das Dramatische, der dialektische Ringkampf, worin man da und dort das einzig mögliche Theater oder doch die Quintessenz des Theaters erblicken möchte, verlangt die Bühne nur insofern als die in der Tat immer auch etwas von einem Ring hat, von einer Arena, von einer Manege." Ausgewählte Prosa (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1950), pp. 14-15.

¹⁸ Hochwalder, "Vom Versagen des Dramas," p. 27.

¹⁹ Hochwalder, Neues Forum, pp. 273-74.

²⁰ Hochwalder, "Vom Versagen des Dramas," p. 19.

²¹ Ibid., p. 23.

²² Ibid., p. 19.

²³ Ibid., pp. 19, 21. The use of the expression, "tiefere Bedeutung," made famous by Christian Dietrich Grabbe (1801-36) in his drama, Scherz, Satire, und tiefere Bedeutung, cannot be ignored. As Martin Esslin has pointed out, it is characteristic of Hochwalder's style to make good use of literary allusions. Like the German dramatist, Grabbe, Hochwalder's work evidences both satiric wit and tragic overtones.

²⁴ Hochwalder, "Über mein Theater," rev. ed., p. 99.

25 "'Mich bringens nicht nach Lainz, lieber sterb ich im Telephonhäusl,' was in einer strengen Winternacht auch geschah, Friede seiner Asche." Hochwälder, Neues Forum, p. 275.

26 Loc. cit.

27 Hochwälder, "Vom Versagen des Dramas," p. 30.

28 Rommel, p. 76.

29 Hochwälder, "Vom Versagen des Dramas," p. 19.

30 Hochwälder, "Über mein Theater," rev. ed., p. 90.

31 Richard Thieberger, "Macht und Recht in den Dramen Fritz Hochwälders," Deutsche Rundschau, 83 (Nov. 1957), 1152.

32 Hochwälder, "Über mein Theater," rev. ed., p. 104.

33 Fritz Hochwälder, Dramen (München: Langen, Müller, 1968), pp. 7-68; 69-150; 285-349.

34 Fritz Hochwälder, Theater-Texte, Bd. 7 (München: Langen, Müller, 1968).

35 Fritz Hochwälder, Der Befehl (Graz: Stiasny Bäckerei, 1967), pp. 7-85.

36 Fritz Hochwälder, Dramen II (München: Langen, Müller, 1964), 119-206.

37 H. F. Garten, "Fritz Hochwälder," Modern German Drama (London: Methuen, 1964), p. 249.

38 George Wellwarth, "Fritz Hochwälder: The Drama within the Self," The Theater of Protest and Paradox, rev. ed. (New York: New York University Press, 1971), p. 208.

39 Hochwälder, Der Befehl, p. 78.

40 Hochwälder, Dramen, p. 207.

41 Peter Demetz, "Six Playwrights," Postwar German Literature (New York: Schocken, 1972), p. 109.

42 Adalbert Schmidt, "Fritz Hochwälder," Literaturgeschichte. Wege und Wandelungen moderner Dichtung, 2 Aufl. (Salzburg, Stuttgart: Bergland, 1959), pp. 444-45.

43 Fritz Hochwalder, "Das Individuum ist zu verandern," Kolner Stadtanzeiger, 3 April 1971, n.p.

44 Fred Field, Last Days of Mankind: Karl Kraus and His Vienna (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1967), p. 27.

45 Hochwalder, "Uber mein Theater," German Life and Letters, p. 109.

46 Gunter Lehofer, "Das osterreichische," Kleine Zeitung Klagenfurt, 18 Juni 1971.

47 Heinz Kindermann, "Raimund und Nestroy," Meister der Komodie (Wien-Munchen: Donau Verlag, 1952), pp. 241-59. Cf. also Dorothy Prohaska, Raimund and Vienna (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), p. 152.

48 Kindermann, p. 77.

49 Hans Vogelsang, "Ekstatische und Klassizistische Dramatik," osterreichische Dramatik des 20. Jahrhunderts (Wien: W. Braumuller, 1963), p. 173.

CHAPTER II

DER ÖFFENTLICHE ANKLÄGER, A NOTORIOUS
PUBLIC PROSECUTOR

Between 1958 and 1963 Fritz Hochwälder completed two dramas whose modern-day protagonists, Niklaus Manuel Pomfrit,¹ Ulrich Valmont, and the latter's double, Hans Bloner,² betray their dramatic origins in gradually intensified portraits of ruthless inhumanity. As early as 1947-48, Hochwälder had completed Der öffentliche Ankläger, a work which the dramatist himself called "dieses Kriminal Lehrstück . . . in Art einer Teufelskomödie."³ In the compact, classically structured three-act drama, he presented the programmed cruelty of Antoine Fouquier-Tinville, public prosecutor during the last days of the reign of terror in Paris in the year 1794. As Paul Hübner has pointed out: "im Grunde ist bereits die Figur Fouquiers im Schauspiel 'Der öffentliche Ankläger' ein 'Nicht-Mensch.'"⁴

Pomfrit, Valmont and particularly Hans Bloner provide the dramatist's own response to critics who compare the theme of self-destruction in Der öffentliche Ankläger⁵ to the fate of Sophocles' protagonist in Oedipus Rex. Harold Hobson, for example, has declared that Hochwälder's play does not follow the Greek classic closely enough, since Fouquier-Tinville, unlike Oedipus, fails to grow morally. "He is

precisely the same man he has been from the beginning, reckless of the skin of others, careful of his own."⁶ Hobson's criticism, however, substantiates the very reality which the Austrian dramatist sees as the hallmark of his era, the dissolution of order, the age of the Nicht-Mensch: "der zeitgemässe Prototyp, unserer postnihilistischen Epoche, seines Zeichens durchtechnisierter Hominide, ist kaum mehr als Mensch ansprechbar."⁷ If, as the modern Everyman, bereft of faith, hope and charity, Pomfrit is mesmerized by mechanical images on a silver screen, Bloner appears as the hybrid Don Juan-Jedermann, a Mephistophelian incarnation of Ulrich Valmont's tape-recorded voice. They are the natural heirs of Hochwälder's public prosecutor who characterizes himself as part of a machine, the soulless machine of organized terror: "Ich habe mich gegen diese Maschine gewehrt. . . . Ich war immer nur das Beil!"⁸ Köpft man ein Beil?" (I.vi.pp. 86-87). Succumbing to the spirit and ideas of their individual cultures, the worlds of das Wirtschaftswunder, of world wars and revolutionary violence, these protagonists abandon the universal laws of social or moral order which Oedipus sought to honor. Hochwälder notes in the essay, "Vom Versagen des Dramas in unserer Zeit": "vom Phanömen des unbewussten Gewissenschwundes. Kaum wird der Defekt als solcher empfunden, geschweige bekämpft, mit verstaubten Begriffen wie 'Nazismus' hat das alles längst nichts mehr zu tun."⁹

Der öffentliche Ankläger opened in Stuttgart on November 10, 1948, was subsequently presented in Vienna's Burgtheater, in Lübeck, Hamburg, Saarbrücken, among other German-speaking cities, and was shown in English on the London stage in 1957. BBC televised The Public Prosecutor¹⁰ in 1953 and again in 1957. In the third volume of Das europäische Drama, Paul Fechter emphasizes the fact that Fritz Hochwälder resorts to the traditional dramatic structure found in Das heilige Experiment, but the dramatist demonstrates once again how vital to the theater are the tensions and directness of his classic form.¹¹ Ernst Alker also writes of Der öffentliche Ankläger as a triumph of sound technique and an unflinching sense of theater.¹²

Hochwälder's Non-Documentary Drama

Historically, Hochwälder departs from the events surrounding Antoine Quentin Fouquier-Tinville's actual fall from power, but he gains immensely in dramatizing the effects of violence as a disruption of social order. In an article in the Neue Wiener Tageszeitung, Hochwälder reminded playgoers of the actual details of the prosecutor's life:

Ein kleiner Jurist, Hungerleider, dessen hervorstechendste Eigenschaften Fleiss und Willfähigkeit sind, wird durch die Woge der grossen Revolution hochgetragen, er bekommt durch die Protektion seines Verwandten Desmoulins, den er zum Dank später guillotiniert, eine untergeordnete Stelle im Revolutionstribunal, zur Zeit der Schreckensherrschaft wird er der unentbehrliche Staatsanwalt, der die Aufträge der Mächtigen rasch und geschickt erfüllt und alle aus dem Weg räumt, die der Sicherheitsausschuss beseitigt haben will. --Als eine merkwürdige Koalition von wirklichen Freiheitsfreunden, verkappten Royalisten und

verängstigten Schreckensleuten die Triumvirn am 9. Thermidor stürzt, bleibt Fouquier noch einige Tage im Amt und bringt sogar das Kunststück fertig, seinen bisherigen Brotherrn, Robespierre, auf die Guillotine zu judizieren. Jedoch am 14. Thermidor wird Fouquier zu seinem grössten Erstaunen selbst verhaftet und nach einigen Monaten wird ihm, zusammen mit anderen Richtern und Geschworenen des Tribunals der Prozess gemacht, der mit Todesurteil endet.¹³

The action of the play occurs three weeks after the fall of Robespierre on July 27, 1794 (the ninth Thermidor according to the name by which the revolutionaries designated that month). Although the historical Antoine Quentin Fouquier-Tinville was arrested, to his amazement, on August 1, 1794 (14 Thermidor) and lingered in prison until his execution on May 7, 1795,¹⁴ Hochwälder's protagonist unwittingly carries out his own sentence within twenty-four hours at the order of Theresia Tallien.

Despite the dramatic ironies of the plot and the obvious unities of time, place and action, the dramatist quite rightly does not speak of this work, where evil meets an evil end, as a tragedy. On the contrary, like Brecht who applied the term to his own work, Hochwälder calls it a Lehrstück, albeit ein Kriminal Lehrstück: "es sollte in Art einer Teufelskomödie gezeigt werden, wie sich der Schrecken selbst das Haupt abschlägt."¹⁵ Furthermore, in calling Der öffentliche Ankläger a type of Teufelskomödie Fritz Hochwälder paved the way for Max Frisch's political satire, Biedermann und die Brandstifter (1953) which carries the subtitle, Ein Lehrstück ohne Lehre. Just as Fouquier-Tinville

manipulates Judge Montané, witnesses Simon and Fabricius, and executioner, Monsieur Sanson, and thereby sets a trap for himself, Frisch's two arsonists manipulate Herr Biedermann who cooperates in the destruction of his own life.

Reign of Terror as a Setting for
Befehl and Ordnung

An atmosphere of tense expectancy charges the three acts of Der öffentliche Ankläger. All Paris awaits the repealing of the terrible Law of Prairial (from the revolutionary name for June), by means of which even members of the Convention had been denounced and guillotined on the vaguest charges of treason. Sanson's expostulation over the loss of his assistants and tumbrils satirizes the horror of the Revolution and the immediacy of the return of order (Ordnung):

Nach dem Neunten Thermidor habe ich aufgeatmet. Die Schrecken Herrschaft war vorbei, die allgemeine Freiheit wiederhergestellt, überall Verbrüderung, man tanzte auf den Strassen, die Gefängnisse leerten sich--nun, da habe ich damit gerechnet, dass die Guillotine in der nächsten Zeit Rost ansetzen wird. Mit Sicherheit erwartete ich eine Depression in meinem Gewerbe.--Und jetzt weiss ich nicht mehr, wo mir der Kopf steht--vor lauter Kopfab schlagen! Vorgestern hatte ich zwölf Klienten, gestern dreissig und heute zweiundsiebzig. Wie soll ich diese zweiundsiebzig mit dem gewohnten Anstand unters Beil bringen?--Meine Gehilfen sind fast alle entlassen, einige von ihnen arbeiten bereits in anderen Berufen, teils als Heilgehilfen, teils als Journalisten. Die Pferde sind an den Abdecker gegangen, die Karren sind zu Kleinholz geschlagen. (I.v.p. 78)

Within the framework of this tragicomedy, it is the impending restoration of social order which sets up an ironic series of commands (Befehle) that will defeat, rather than insure, the desired order (Ordnung). It must be established

that the initial command: Theresia's demand that a secret trial be held to condemn a victim known only to herself (and incidentally to her husband), differs from that in Hochwalder's other works, since it represents criminal intrigue at the highest political level and is designed as a trap. Whether this command affects the nature of society in general (Ordnung), whether it calls up the past, whether it creates problems of self-identity or of alienation from society--these are the questions to be examined here.

Certainly the frequently suggested comparisons with the political terrors of the Third Reich (1933-45) are apparent in the criminal proceedings with which the public prosecutor, Fouquier-Tinville, handles human destinies. "Immer ist aber ein Bezug zu unserer jungsten Vergangenheit da. Fur Fouquier-Tinville konnte der Name Roland Freisler stehen, der Konvent und die Ausschusse konnten Himmler oder Heidrich [sic] oder Reichssicherheitshauptamt heissen," writes Paul Hubner.¹⁶ In addition, Ernst Alker views the drama as a protest against dictatorship: "Nicht nur der nahe-liegende Zeitbezug--Erinnerung an den Prasidenten der Volksgerichte Roland Freisler und den Chef des Sicherheitsdienstes der SS Reinhard Heydrich--stellt sich ein, noch mehr die Frage nach der Berechtigung jeglicher von der Staatsmacht gelenkten Justiz."¹⁷ However none of Fritz Hochwalder's plays approaches the documentary drama in style or content. Unlike Hochhut and Weiss, he believes historical

distance tends to produce greater, more lasting dramatic impact in bringing home the stark realities of the recent past. "Um so instinktsicherer war Hochwälders Gespür, dass die Greuel des Dritten Reiches durch Zeit-Theater nicht fassbar seien und die Unmenschlichkeiten dieser Jahre nur im historischen Spiegelbild demonstriert werden könnten. Dennoch ist es [Der öffentliche Ankläger] alles anders als ein Thesenstück geworden, da sich bei Hochwälder jeder Stoff in Szene, in Brot für das Theater verwandelt," writes Hübner.¹⁸

Importance of the Role of Woman

In discussing Der öffentliche Ankläger, Paul Fechter appears to be the only critic who notes that Theresia Tallien, known by the grateful citizens of Paris as Notre Dame de Thermidor, becomes the 'heroine' of the second half of the three-act drama. Up to the middle of Act Two, the public prosecutor dominates the play,¹⁹ as the title indicates. Thereafter, his adversary, Theresia de Fontanay-Cabarrus, daughter of a minister of Spain and a divorcée, now the wife of Jean Lambert Tallien, takes the center of the stage. It is she who urged the overthrow of Robespierre and labored to save victims of the terror. It is now she who seeks the restoration of civil order (Ordnung), encouraging the repeal of the terrible Prairial Law.

Busy with the execution of the last seventy-two prisoners in the Conciergerie, confident in his expertise

and power, Fouquier-Tinville appears in nine of the ten scenes of Act One. His are the first words of command (Die Todesurteile?) and the last words in this act. However, from the police report in Scene One, he learns that Madame Tallien controls the new regime: "Theresia Tallien beherrscht die Regierung. Tallien selbst ist bloss eine Puppe in ihrer Hand" (I.i.p.71). Scene Eight substantiates the fact of her power over her husband, and the next scene proves her ascendancy over the prosecutor, as she orders him to carry out the Prairial Law for the last time--against a victim known only to herself.

Act Two presents Fouquier in all of the eleven scenes as he sets the machinery of terror in motion. His psychologically devastating methods of destroying the moral fiber of men before he destroys their physical life are Hochwalder's comments on the sufferings of the victims of his own era. Again, as in the first act, Fouquier's words conclude Act Two. However, it is in Act Two (Scenes 6, 7, and 8) that Theresia is introduced to the innermost workings of the reign of terror. Ignorant of the fate she has planned for him, Antoine Fouquier-Tinville decrees one for her that she is unable to recognize: "Ich sagte: wir sind einig. Das bedeutet: wir sind durch diesen Prozess verbunden, unaufloslich aneinandergelockt" (II.vi.p.119).

If she dominates the third act by her presence in each of the nine scenes, it is that she now represents

Fouquier's spirit as the Teufels Bürokrat. Hochwälder highlights the legacy of crime which the prosecutor symbolically passes on in the dramatic moment of his arrest when Fouquier hurls his hat, cape and scarf to the floor. Critics view Theresia's deadly quarrel with her husband, Jean, in Scene Nine as her failure to establish order in Paris (Ordnung).²⁰ Even more indicative, to the present writer, is her sinister invitation to the judge; it has the air of an order (Befehl):

Theresia: Sie haben uns einen unschätzbaren Dienst erwiesen. Kommen Sie morgen abend nach "La Chaumière"--Sie werden bei mir die führenden Männer der Republik treffen. . . .

Montane: Ich bitte, mich zu entschuldigen.

Theresia: Ich werde Sie den Bürgerinnen Custine und Beauharnais vorstellen.

(Montane blickt sie schweigend an.)

Theresia: (sehr bestimmt) Ich rechne mit Ihrem Erscheinen! (Pause)

Montane: (verneigt sich) Ich werde kommen.
(III.vii.p.147)

The figure of Theresia, who, according to history, later divorced Jean Tallien and died in 1835, as the wife of the Comte de Caraman,²¹ is unusual in the work of Fritz Hochwälder.²² In no other drama does he give woman so important a role, despite the fact that woman often represents humanity's demand for social or moral order (Ordnung) in his plays. In Esther,²³ which he wrote while he was interned in Switzerland in 1940, the heroine is overshadowed by the suffering of her uncle, Mordechai, and of her nation.

Staschia in Die Herberge (1954-55) and Judith and Barbe in Donadieu (1953) play minor roles in the disorders of life.²⁴ However, the border guard's wife in Der Flüchtling (1944-45) and the cook, Bürgerl, in Der Himbeerpflücker (1964)²⁵ brave the male world in their stand for order.

Recalling the composition of Der Flüchtling,²⁶ which had been written at the instigation of Georg Kaiser, Fritz Hochwälder writes: "Danach kam--auf reichlich schwachen Beinen--ein Dreipersonenstück, Der Flüchtling, welches ich 1944 auf Anregung und Wunsch Georg Kaisers schrieb, und das merkwürdigerweise zu meinen meistaufgeführten Arbeiten zählt; zwar versuche ich immer wieder, das Werkchen zurückzuhalten, jedoch es gelingt mir höchst selten. Der Flüchtling hat sich selbstständig gemacht und entwischt seinem bekümmerten Erzeuger."²⁷ Like Theresia, who grows in moral stature in prison, the wife of the border guard becomes an activist once she experiences the violent disruption of order (Ordnung) by guards on her own doorstep. The heroine of Der Flüchtling is horrified when she sees her husband's secret list of neighbors to be betrayed just as Theresia Tallien is horrified watching Fouquier's inhumanity toward the condemned. Richard Thieberger notes the influence of the German Expressionist, Georg Kaiser (1878-1945), on Fritz Hochwälder more clearly in the work dealing with the French Revolution than in the one Kaiser had suggested to the Austrian dramatist. Thieberger writes: "Im Öffentlichen Ankläger vollends

geschieht niemandem Unrecht als dem, der am meisten Unrecht verübt hat; er wird zu seinem eigenen Werkzeug gegen sich selbst. Hier wird bei Hochwälder die Schule Georg Kaisers wohl noch deutlicher sichtbar als in dem von diesem übernommenen Stoff des Flüchtlings."²⁸

Influence of Georg Kaiser: Imagery

Perhaps Kaiser's own heroine, Ann, in his late play, Das Floss der Medusa (1943), reveals even more similarity to Theresia than the wife who rescues and flees with the fugitive. Ann and Madame Tallien both become the tragic objects of their own machinations, destroying the order (Ordnung) they propose to bring about by demanding (Befehl) the death of a human being. Both women instigate murder by the manipulation of other persons. Only too late does Ann learn that she herself was the one destined to die by lot, while Theresia has yet to discover that her extermination, like her rescue, was planned by her husband. Hochwälder's open-ended drama, unlike the expressionistic statement of Kaiser's work, leaves Theresia with tragic surmisings rather than simple facts.

Thieberger's assertion that Der öffentliche Ankläger clearly indicates the influence of Kaiser's school of drama upon Hochwälder has, of course, deeper aspects than the mere comparative study of these women characters who fail to achieve order (Ordnung). Hochwälder has repeatedly made it clear that his dramatic heritage is Austrian, more particularly,

Viennese. However, his admitted sources are sufficiently European²⁹ to indicate broader influences. These were filtered, in part, through Kaiser and, in part, through the politically-orientated favorite of the German Expressionists, George Büchner,³⁰ whose works Hochwälder had known and studied long before he fled Vienna.

Like his fellow in exile, Kaiser, Hochwälder uses history as a springboard for his drama, and creates a completely new situation, just as George Kaiser does in Die Bürger von Calais.³¹ At the same time, both dramatists capture the tensions and the atmosphere of the eras they choose to depict. On the whole, both eschew the conflicts of love between men and women for other issues which have wracked Europe in the twentieth century. Der öffentliche Ankläger clearly shows Hochwälder's tendency to allow an idea to organize the structure of his drama. If Kaiser's work assumes form and symmetry through the dynamism and the energy of his revolt against materialism and industrialism,³² Hochwälder's drama of ideas is governed, as Hans Weigel and other critics note, by his innate love of form and clarity. Again and again in his essays, he emphasizes the heritage of Austria's theater: "Klarheit des Gedankens, Sinn für Form, Theaterblut."³³ Der öffentliche Ankläger exemplifies the continuity of a literary tradition which purposes to shape language and to structure the chaos of history and human experience. The drama may be described as a satiric comment

on the twofold concept of order being examined in this present study: Befehl and Ordnung.

At the height of the public prosecutor's criminal power and in the presence of his victims, Fouquier-Tinville boasts of his deep concern for the security of public order: "Befestigung der Ordnung" (III.2. p.139). The mockery of his legal jargon summarizes the ironic statement of the play as a whole. Hochwalder has concretized this statement in symbols of the machine, the ultimate image of flawless order (Ordnung). Somewhat in the manner of T. S. Eliot, Hochwalder permits the guillotine to serve as the objective correlative for the machine imagery throughout the three acts.³⁴ The imagery itself mirrors various phases of human response to commands (Befehle) and to the social order (Ordnung).

Quentin Fouquier-Tinville, the protagonist, describes his life by frequent use of images of mechanized activity, and Hochwalder thus adds ironic details to the larger satire. For example, the prosecutor claims he has labored like a 'slave' in the 'palace of justice'! His catalog of duties sounds like the complaints of a busy householder:

Was war ich?--Ein Sklave meines Amtes, sonst nichts!
 Vom fruhem Morgen bis zur Gerichtsstunde bearbeitete ich
 Akten, aus denen ich Anklagen zusammenstellen musste.
 Wahrend der Sitzungspausen musste ich die Geschworenen
 praparieren, damit die Urteile nach Wunsch der
 Ausschusse gefallt wurden. Nach Schluss der Verhandlungen
 hatte ich mit dem Prasidenten die Tagesordnung der
 nachsten Sitzung zu besprechen, dann ging ich hinunter
 in die Conciergerie, um den Aufsehern Ordres zu erteilen
 und die Todeslisten zu verlesen--ich hatte kaum Zeit, an
 der Kantine einen Imbiss zu nehmen. (I.ix.p.92)

For Fouquier, however, the round of criminal duties is as mechanical as the turning of a mill: "Die Mühle drehte sich vom Konvent zu den Ausschüssen, von den Ausschüssen zu mir, von mir zu Sanson . . . Monatelang ging das so" (I.ix.p.92). This mill image, which emphasizes the smoothly ordered progress of terror and inhumanity, is repeated by the prosecutor's secretary, Grébeauval, as a token of flattery: "Es wird doch alles zu Wasser auf Ihrer Mühle, Bürger Fouquier" (I.x.p.96). Here, as elsewhere in Der öffentliche Ankläger, the dramatist captures the horror of the French Revolution, his symbol of all the rationalized violence of modern times. He shows, too, the pedestrian nature of the murderer who kills by command and the brutality of the social order in which he lives.

In a society organized on the basis of mechanical obedience to (Befehle) orders, Jean Tallien enlarges the soulless image of the public prosecutor, explaining to his wife, Theresia, their need in the future of such a willing tool: "Wir vernichten das Werkzeug, das sich uns willenlos in die Hand gibt!" (III.i.p.134). Ironically, Fouquier-Tinville defends his position with this image, calling himself a mere ax, an instrument only. However, the machine imagery is not overworked by Hochwälder. The prosecutor's fatal pride in the faultless (Ordnung) operation of his office, a pride which causes critics to compare his fate to that of Oedipus, tempts him to boast, "wer befiehlt dem Scharfrichter, den

Gendarmen im Justizpalast, den Zeugen und Spitzeln, wer wird von der Geheimpolizei immer zuerst bedient?" (I.vi.p.87). The same pride in the machine-like certainty of his plans blinds him to the fate awaiting him, as he demands security from Theresia for his help in the secret midnight trial to destroy her unnamed enemy.

The suggestion here that nothing can slow the relentless operation of crime and death, once the machinery is put into motion is repeatedly stressed by Fouquier: "Die Maschine ist im Gang--wir können nicht mehr zurück" (II.viii.p.125). He assures his secretary, Grébeauval, that a judge has been snared to carry out the illegal proceedings: "Ja, die Maschine ist geschmiert" (II.ix.p.127).

As the trap closes around Fouquier himself, Theresia Tallien hardens herself against pity and human feelings, thereby assuming the prosecutor's psychological role as the tool and the manipulator of the terror machine. Hans Vogelsang points out that the symbol of death here, the guillotine, is reminiscent of Kafka's death machine in the prose story, In der Strafkolonie.³⁵ However, Hochwälder's use of the imagery of the machine seems more inclusive, since it embraces the machinery of the law (das Prairial Gesetz), the machinery of terror, and the highly satirized machinery of execution, presided over by Sanson and his staff. The imagery itself stresses the total concept of order as Ordnung and as Befehl.

Among humanity's responses in Der öffentliche Ankläger to the orders (Befehle) transmitted to the various representatives of society is the response of indignation of the respectable citizen, the chief executioner, Sanson. Hochwälder's portrait of Charles Henri Sanson covers a whole range of gallows humor. The portrait is, moreover, the caricature of a caricature. It is a dramatist's in-joke of the dutiful middle-class, of those orderly Pflichtmenschen, abhorred both by Büchner and Brecht.³⁶ Broad satire reveals those civil servants who, in carrying out orders (Befehle), regardless of their nature, are concerned chiefly about their reputation as reliable workmen:

Sanson: Man verbreitet Schmähchriften, da!--So ein Schandpapier wagt man--(Fouquier nimmt das Blatt, betrachtet es--lacht). Sie lachen?

Fouquier: Nicht übel.

Sanson: Das nennen Sie nicht übel?--Überall, wohin ich komme, sehe ich mich in dieser Lage konterfeit!

Fouquier: (betrachtet noch immer das Blatt): "Charles Henri Sanson--in Ermanglung anderer Delinquenten sich selbst hinrichtend!"--Nicht schlecht! (Gibt ihm das Blatt zurück) Seien Sie nicht zimperlich, Sanson, nehmen Sie derartige harmlose Scherze nicht tragisch. (I.v.p.77)

In contrast to Mittermayer in Der Befehl or to the border guard in Der Flüchtling, both Pflichtmenschen whose obedience to orders drives them to a tragic death, Hochwälder's depiction of Sanson is highly comic. The master executioner combines the humorless self-consciousness of Everyman and the sly folk wisdom of Hanswurst. He is the only character

in the drama who dares to bring Fouquier up short.

Sanson (indigniert): Sie schneiden mir das Wort ab--bin ich etwa Ihr Angeklagter?

Fouquier: (beherrscht): Verzeihen Sie, das macht die Gewohnheit. Nur weiter! (I.v.p.78)

Like Hanswurst who poked fun at Vienna's old social order, Sanson is also the only Frenchman who dares make light of the new order and the whole revolutionary machinery:

Fouquier: --. . . Die Republik--

Sanson: Die Republik, immer die Republik! Ich pfeife auf eine Republik, die mir solche Schwierigkeiten macht!

Fouquier: Sanson!

Sanson: Ach was, wem das Herz voll ist, dem geht der Mund über. Ich war nie besonders fortschrittlich, ich hatte Angehörige des allerhöchsten königlichen Hauses unter meinen Klienten, und ich bin stolz darauf--das sage ich ganz offen. (I.v.p.79)

Described as a revered, about-to-retire civil servant, the executioner³⁷ bears the name traditionally representative of physical prowess. Like Oedipus, the biblical Samson is a tragic hero, one who, in destroying himself, purposes to destroy an evil social order. In contrast to the monumental self-sacrifice of the Old Testament figure, Sanson's scheduled activity is the daily business of efficient murder. Appalled at the 'mass murder' of seventy-two prisoners, Sanson's distress arises only from the lack of apparatus, the lack of order (Ordnung) in his labors. He is the one person who flouts the commands (Befehle) of the public prosecutor in manipulating the machinery of the terror.

In lieu of orders (Befehle), Fouquier plays upon the executioner's love of craftsmanship (Ordnung) in the fourth scene of Act Two, as Sanson, dressed in his holiday clothes, announces his retirement. It is the height of irony that the public prosecutor unwittingly arranges his own beheading by manipulating Sanson's pride and jealousy. Hochwälder's love of ironic tag names heightens the comic effect as Fouquier sets a deathtrap for himself. Protesting against his young successor, the executioner expostulates:

"Hippolyte Mouton--zum Oberscharfrichter? Diesen Dilettanten, diesen elenden Stümper, diesen Provinzhenker wollen Sie zum Oberscharfrichter ernennen?" (II.iv.p.115). The choice of the French, Mouton, is double ironic, since Sanson is the sheep being led back to his grisly duties by the wily Antoine Fouquier-Tinville. On the other hand, it is the latter who is preparing his own gallows, his own slaughter.³⁸

Sanson, unaware that he is responding with machine-like precision to Fouquier's will, demands the right to execute the last great victim of the terror. To demonstrate his powers, which Fouquier-Tinville mockingly suggests have been failing, according to Sanson's own complaints, the elderly executioner enacts the business at the scaffold. Seizing the public prosecutor by the throat, Sanson presents events which, for him, are merely exercises in skill, but for the audience, ominous signs of Fouquier's fate. The dramatist thus offers a mime of a scene outside the structure of the

play. In this manner, Fritz Hochwälder frees himself from the strictures of the unity of time and place. At the same time, he exposes the disorders of the order-loving (Ordnung) Everyman, the presiding genius of the guillotine machine.

Conflict of Command and Order: Hochwälder's Work
in the Light of Büchner's Dantons Tod

Except for the apparently independent Sanson, all action throughout the drama appears to be initiated by a command or by a series of orders. Paralleling the images of mechanized activity which describes official life in the Conciergerie is the public prosecutor's reiteration of the word "order" or "command" (Befehl). A remark of Fouquier-Tinville to Grébeauval emphasizes this aspect of Der öffentliche Ankläger, an aspect which permits the dramatist to demonstrate the perverted Nazi psychology of the underling as the bearer of orders: "Man führt durch was einem befohlen wird--alles anders ist von Übel" (I.i.p.72).³⁹ Fouquier's moral and psychological existence seems to be rooted in a world where reality depends wholly upon precise, flawless response to an order. The repetition of the noun, Befehl, and the verb, befehlen, indicates this. As the Talliens, husband and wife, take over the reins of government, Fouquier is ready: "Ich erwarte neue Befehle" (I.ii.p.74). In excusing his obedience to the terrorist regime, his simplistic explanation is merely: "--man schickte mir Befehle" (I.ix. p.92). Like the police inspector, Franz Mittermayer, in

Hochwalder's Der Befehl, the public prosecutor accepts the mandates of his superiors without question: "Gib mir ein gutes Gesetz und massvolle Befehle--und du hast in mir einen gewissenhaften Beamten. . . . Gib mir blutige Befehle--und ich wurde zum Satan!" (I.vi.p.87).⁴⁰

In the final irony of Fouquier's Oedipus-like search for Theresia Tallien's nameless victim: his search through the dossiers, his veiled accusations, his terrorizing of Fabricius, of the elderly, near-sighted Heron, even of his own secretary, it is he himself who demands the order (Befehl) of his own arrest! Having presented his case, he turns to Judge Montane who has opened the sealed envelope and stares unbelieving at the contents of Theresia's order. Impatiently, Fouquier-Tinville demands the verdict: "Verkunden Sie den Befehl!" (III.iii.pp.141-42).

Consistent use of the imperative verb heightens the atmosphere of tension and haste in Der offentliche Anklager. In a world where immediate action is commanded (Befehl), the only state of social order (Ordnung) is the progressive order of violence and death. The dramatist's adherence to the classic unity of time, the span of twenty-four hours, is totally functional in the revolutionary setting where the last seventy-two prisoners are ordered to be dispatched by afternoon and the last victim of terror is to be sentenced by midnight.

In the fulfillment of orders in the drama, images of speeding machinery increase the sensation of haste. The public prosecutor symbolically sets the switch with his remark to Grébeauval: "Es muss alles Tempo haben" (II.ii. p.27). From the opening of Act One, the pressure of passing time gives urgency to every new order (Befehl) as Fouquier-Tinville points out: "Die Zeit drängt also" (I.ix.p.94). Both he and Madame Tallien speak of the "machine running"; "the machine is in gear"; "the machine lacks one wheel to set it in motion." Having chosen to follow the orders of the convention, the prosecutor for that tribunal describes his life of violence as a careening journey into hell. It is a scene of apparent confession: "Als ich zur Besinnung gekommen war--sass ich auf dem Kutschbock eines Höllengefährts. Unmöglich abzuspringen--während dieser rasenden Fahrt. Um mich am Leben zu erhalten, um nicht zu Tode geschleudert zu werden, musste ich den Karren zu immer irrsinnigerem Tempo antreiben" (II.vi.p.119).

George Wellwarth discusses the use of a moment of inner enlightenment, a dramatic device which Hochwälder has favored in early works such as Esther, Der Flüchtling, and Donadieu. The present writer has noted such moments of illumination, comparable, in part, to James Joyce's epiphany,⁴¹ in later plays such as Der Befehl and Der Himbeerpflücker. Wellwarth writes, "we can see Hochwälder's use of the flash of moral enlightenment as a dramatic and

didactic device. One decisive key event occurs which changes a man's whole life by rearranging the perspective of his memories." However, Wellwarth contends, "Nobody is enlightened in this play. Fouquier-Tinville satisfactorily falls into the trap he has been tricked into setting for himself and that is that."⁴² No mention is made by the critic of Scene Nine in the second act. It is here that the prosecutor's inner realization takes place.⁴³

Although Hochwalder's scene is based on actual historical fact, the similarity to Buchner's 'Es ist Nacht' scene in Act Two of Danton's Tod is striking. In both plays, the protagonist goes toward a window and is emotionally shaken by the revelation of his experience.

(Es ist Nacht)

Danton (am Fenster): Will denn das nie aufhoren? Wird das Licht nie ausgluhn und der Schall nie modern? Will's denn nie still und dunkel werden, dass wir uns die garstigen Sunden einander nicht mehr anhoren und ansehen?--September!--

Julie (ruft von innen): Danton! Danton?

Danton: He?

Julie (tritt ein): Was rufst du?

Danton: Rief ich?

Julie: Du sprachst von garstigen Sunden und dann stohntest du: September!

Danton: Ich, ich? Nein, ich sprach nicht: das dacht ich kaum, das waren nur ganz leise, heimliche Gedanken.

Julie: Du zitterst, Danton!

Danton: Und soll ich nicht zittern, wenn so die Wände plaudern? Wenn mein Leib so zerschellt ist, dass meine Gedanken unstet, umirrend mit den Lippen der Steine reden? Das ist seltsam.⁴⁴

Danton's trembling, caused by aural and visual effects which draw him to the window, signifies the repentance and remorse he feels for the violence perpetrated in the massacres of September, 1792. The scene marks his inner enlightenment, following upon genuine emotion. Hochwalder's protagonist, on the other hand, has a habit of peering from his window in the Conciergerie to survey the activity of prisoners, executioners and jailers. It is the perfect synchronization (Ordnung) of his orders (Befehl) for the snaring of his last victim which draws him absent-mindedly to the window. The moment of warning, of enlightenment follows:

Fouquier (leise): Grebeauval.

Grebeauval: Sie befehlen?

Fouquier: Komm her.

Grebeauval tritt zu ihm ans Fenster.

Fouquier (streckt die Hand aus): Dort-siehst du es?

Grebeauval: Was ist dort?

Fouquier: Siehst du es nicht?

Grebeauval: Nein--ich sehe nichts.

Fouquier: Die Seine--der Fluss

Grebeauval: Freilich . . . da ist der Fluss. . . .

Fouquier: (mit leiser Stimme, in der unterdruckte Angst mitschwingt): Du must es doch sehen. . . .

Grebeauval: Ich sehe nur den Fluss. . . .

Fouquier: Bist du denn blind?

.

Grébeauval: Was ist so Besonders an dem Fluss?

Fouquier: (langsam): Blut. . . . Das Wasser rinnt voll
Blut. . . .

Grébeauval: Gewiss, das sind die Abwässer aus den
Fleischereien. . . .

Fouquier (blickt unbeweglich und stumm aus dem Fenster).
(II.ix.pp.127-28)

However, Fouquier, like Christian Erdmann in Der Unschuldige, lacks the ability to accept his moment of vision. An overweening pride, hubris, in his self-made order of existence and in the machine-like execution of his commands blinds him spiritually as Oedipus blinded himself physically. In total contrast to Büchner's Danton, Fouquier, the tool of the tribunal, ignores the vision which might have saved him. Trembling and agitated by the sight of the blood-stained river, he nevertheless refuses to entertain either pity or fear. Brashly he addresses his secretary: "Und wenn Fouquier-Tinville einen Augenblick geglaubt hätte, der Fluss schwimme voll Menschenblut--was wäre dabei gewesen?" (II.ix.p.129).

The public prosecutor is granted the flash of inner enlightenment by which a Danton, an Esther, or Donadieu rediscovers an order (Ordnung) greater than themselves or their cause. Fouquier simply refuses the moment of insight. Precursor of Pomfrit and Hans Bloner, he is the conscienceless modern man Hochwälder presents in 1003. In Wellwarth's

essay, the critic comments, "In fact, it is probably nearer to the actual human truth to say that man never learns by experience, that he is irredeemably set upon a labyrinthine and enclosed psychological path in childhood. But Hochwalder's view of human nature is nonetheless eminently suitable for the stage, since it condenses into a single moment the experience of a lifetime."⁴⁵

Hochwalder's latest drama, Lazaretti (1974),⁴⁶ enlarges upon the rejection of order (Ordnung) as well as of conscience. Here the scholar, Paul Camenisch, and the artist, Viktor Lazaretti, disillusioned with life, are themselves infected with the violence, terror and aggression which they have studied. The manuscript of Lazaretti's new book, Vom Tod der Verfolger, is the center of the plot in which the elderly Professor Camenisch, jealous of his secretary's suitor, Dr. Robert Fliess, a psychiatrist, tangles in a deadly game of murder with the latter. Like Fouquier and Hans Bloner, Camenisch and Fliess choose murder and violence rather than bow to the fate which the social order (Ordnung) decrees. Robert Fliess elucidates this choice for Ludwig Galgotzy who questions the guilt of Oedipus during a discussion at lunch: "ich glaube zu wissen, wo die eigentliche Schuld liegt.--Oedipus handelt!--Nichts ware passiert, hatte er den Orakelspruch auf sich beruhen lassen" (I.pp.33-34).⁴⁷

Although the violence in Lazaretti and in the earlier work, 1003, is largely theoretical, depicting the attempt of

artists and thinkers to solve the riddle of Nichtmenschen like Fouquier who live outside the realm of guilt, Hochwaller reveals their own secret indifference to the demands of social and moral order (Ordnung). In the symbolically paradisaical setting of Tessin, Lazaretti's manuscript motivates men to destroy one another. Torn between her debt of gratitude to her benefactor, the professor, and her affection for Robert, Rouzha Winter renounces them both as she realizes the horror of their plans: "Das Zauberwort!--Terror, Agression, Gewalt--was ihr in euern Buchern aufdeckt, ist das Geheimnis eurer eigenen Niedertracht, kehrt erst vor eurer Tur, ehe ihr die Menschheit beschuldigt!"⁴⁸

In 1003, Ulrich Valmont, the protagonist and playwright, struggles to create and re-humanize Hans Bloner: "Im Leben freilich treibt er's ungeniert . . . Im Leben, ja . . . aber auf der Buhne . . . (leise) . . . der Nichtmensch . . . auf der Buhne . . . schwer" (I.pp.211-12). Mockingly, Valmont salutes the Nichtmensch: Fouquier, Bloner, Camenisch, "Hut ab vor dem modernen Alberich, nichts trifft ihn, nichts beruhrt ihn, man spricht und sticht durch ihn hindurch, er leidet nicht--gibt es was Besseres, Hoheres?" (I.p.213). Beneath the suave exterior of the Nichtmensch, who has eluded order (Ordnung) and achieved total freedom, lies an empty abyss. Valmont comments in the play, 1003, "und hinter all dem triumphiert das absolute Nichts" (I.p.211). It is this absolute void, this complete

dehumanization which makes it impossible for the public prosecutor, Der öffentliche Ankläger, to recognize and to respond to his moment of enlightenment. He himself concedes his abdication of all that represents human feeling and human order (Ordnung) when he tells Madame Theresia Tallien: "Wir beim Tribunal-- . . . Man hat uns so geformt, dass wir grausam und pedantisch geworden sind" (II.vi.p.118).⁴⁹

Hochwälder punctuates this abdication of humanity with the use of animal imagery which occurs only in the dialogue of Fouquier. For instance, in searching the files to ascertain the name of Theresia's victim, he remarks, "wir stöbern so lange in diesen Akten, bis wir auf der Fährte sind und den Tiger gestellt haben" (I.x.p.97). Later on, he enumerates the victims who have died on the scaffold, declaring: "Es hat Danton sein mächtiges Brüllen hören lassen. . . . Das Schwein Hébert ist vor Angst fast krepirt" (II.viii.p.125). Of the anguished Fabricius, who has striven to ignore the prosecutor's order (Befehl) to perjure himself, Fouquier crows triumphantly, "Gebrochen--wie ein störrisches Pferd. Dem sitzt der Schrecken in den Gliedern" (II.xi.p.131).

Inextricably bound to the dictum that personal survival and success are the direct outcomes of following orders (Befehle) with flawless regularity, Fouquier-Tinville has forfeited his own rights as a human being and views humanity with unnatural ferocity and bestiality.

He has sacrificed his humanity to the machine of terror and disorder, too. Paris has become a vast prison and social order (Ordnung) has vanished because of the commands he has carried out. He assures Madame Tallien, "Ah, unsere Zeit ist dem Mitleid nicht günstig, seit die Könige stürzten und die Menschheit im Sturmschritt verbessert wird, ist die Grausamkeit kommun geworden" (II.viii.p.126). Theresia has become his Doppelgänger in the reign of terror, causing men like Montané and Fabricius to betray their inner convictions. There is a direct relation between her initial order (Befehl), an order that calls for revenge and murder, and the failure of the general return to order (Ordnung). Fouquier, unable to respond to pity or fear, has alienated himself from mankind. At the same time, he has sown suspicion in the minds of the Talliens, alienating husband and wife. Montané, the man of conscience, represents society under their rule, still unable to achieve freedom and order (Ordnung) in his private life.

Although many parallels in regard to violence and social disorder can be drawn between Hochwälder's latest work, Lazaretti, which handles the twentieth-century problem of mutually assured destruction, and Der öffentliche Ankläger, there is a vital difference. In Lazaretti, there is no actual loss of life, despite the statement of Peltzer, "In dieser Welt ist Verbrechen nur durch Verbrechen zu bekämpfen."⁵⁰ The feuding parties, Camenisch and Fliess,

suffer no personal violence. Their loss is the very human loss of a woman whom they both love.

In Der Öffentliche Ankläger, on the contrary, Fritz Hochwälder provides an ironic conclusion for his Teufelskömodie. The public prosecutor, who urges the destruction of terror through terror, "die Vernichtung des Schreckens durch den Schrecken" (II.vii.p.122) destroys himself in the process.

Footnotes to Chapter II

¹ Fritz Hochwalder, "Donnerstag," Dramen I (München: Langen, Müller, 1960), 191-292.

² Fritz Hochwalder, "1003," Dramen II (München: Langen, Müller, 1964), 207-64.

³ Fritz Hochwalder, "Über mein Theater," German Life and Letters, 12 (Jan. 1959), 104.

⁴ Fritz Hochwalder, "Vorwort," Dramen II, 8.

⁵ Fritz Hochwalder, Dramen (München: Langen, Müller, 1968), pp. 69-150. All quotations will be taken from this edition and documented in the text. Act and scene will be given in Roman numerals with pagination in Arabic numbers.

⁶ Harold Hobson, "The Public Prosecutor," The Sunday Times, 24 October 1957 as quoted by J. R. Foster, ed., Der Öffentliche Anklager by F. Hochwalder (1962; rpt. London: Methuen, 1972), p. 117.

⁷ Fritz Hochwalder, "Vom Versagen des Dramas in unserer Zeit," Maske und Kothurn, 8 (1962), 25.

⁸ Hochwalder's insight often gives a prophetic tone to his dialogue. This is apparent in the lines of Ladislaus Oros, S.J., in Das heilige Experiment. Here Fouquier-Tinville uses the reasoning which Adolf Eichmann was to exhibit during his trial in 1961, fourteen years after the play was written. See Hannah Arendt, Eichmann in Jerusalem (New York: Viking, 1964), pp. 24, 114 ff.

⁹ Hochwalder, "Vom Versagen des Dramas in unserer Zeit," p. 24.

¹⁰ Fritz Hochwalder, The Public Prosecutor, trans. Kitty Black (London: French, 1958). See also Plays of the Year, XVI (New York: Ungar, 1958), 327-432.

¹¹ Paul Fechter, Das europaische Drama, III (Mannheim: Bibliographisches Institut, 1958), 231.

¹² Ernst Alker, "Der Dramatiker Fritz Hochwalder," Österreich in Geschichte und Literatur, 15, Heft 8 (1971), 467.

¹³ Fritz Hochwalder, "Der öffentliche Anklager," Neue Wiener Tageszeitung, 13, Nr. 2 (1949), 6.

¹⁴ Foster, p. 6. Thomas Carlyle gives the date May 8. Cf. The French Revolution (New York: Heritage Press, 1956), p. 629. Foster must have taken the date from Albert Croquez and Georges Loublie: "Le 18 Florial--7 Mai 1795--Fouquier-Tinville est conduit au supplice." Fouquier Tinville. L'Accusateur Public (Paris: Julliard, 1945), p. 274.

¹⁵ Hochwalder, "Über mein Theater," German Life and Letters, p. 104; Der Befehl, rev. ed. (Graz: Stiasny, 1967), p. 92. Unlike Hochwalder, Bertolt Brecht believed in the didactic theater: "Das Theater bleibt Theater, auch wenn es Lehrtheater ist, und soweit es gutes Theater ist, ist es amüsant." Schriften zum Theater (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1973), p. 66.

¹⁶ Paul Hübner, "Vorwort," Dramen II von F. Hochwalder (München: Langen, Müller), p. 10.

¹⁷ Alker, "Der Dramatiker Fritz Hochwalder," p. 467.

¹⁸ Hübner, "Vorwort," p. 9.

¹⁹ Fechter, Das europaische Drama, p. 231.

²⁰ Hans Vogelsang, "Das klassizistische Ideendrama Fritz Hochwalders," Österreich in Geschichte und Literatur 2, Heft 4 (1958), 224-32; I. C. Loram, "Fritz Hochwalder," Monatshefte, 57 (Jan. 1965), 12; Hübner, "Vorwort," p. 13.

²¹ Foster, p. 14.

²² "Die Frau ist keine absolute politische Figur. Sie kommt zu kurz in meinem Drama, es ist wahr," said Hochwalder to this writer in an interview in his Zürich home, May 29, 1973.

²³ Fritz Hochwalder, Ein altes Märchen, neu in dramatische Form gebracht (Zürich: Elgg, 1960).

²⁴ Hochwalder, Dramen, pp. 209-84; 151-208.

²⁵ Ibid., pp. 285-349.

²⁶ Fritz Hochwalder, Der Flüchtling, rev. ed. (Zürich: Elgg, 1955).

²⁷ Hochwalder, "Über mein Theater," German Life and Letters, p. 104.

²⁸ Georg Kaiser, "Macht und Recht in den Dramen Fritz Hochwalders," Deutsche Rundschau, 83 (Nov. 1957), 1152.

²⁹ Cf. Karl F. Müller, "Dialogo con El Dramaturgo Fritz Hochwälder," Boletín de Estudios Germanicos, 5 (1964), 161.

³⁰ Annalisa Vivani, Das Drama des Expressionismus (München: Winkler, 1970), p. 25.

³¹ Eberhard Lämmert, "Kaiser: Die Bürger von Calais," Das deutsche Drama, II, ed. Benno von Wiese (Düsseldorf: A. Bagel, 1964), 308.

³² "Ideen in diesem Kaiserschen Sinne sind dabei keineswegs 'theoretische Bedeutungshalte.' Sie müssen hier sehr konkret als die thematisch und formal wirkenden Kräfte verstanden werden, die den Figuren Realität und dem Spiel Anstoss und Richtung geben." *Ibid.*, p. 310.

³³ Hochwälder, "Über mein Theater," German Life and Letters, p. 110; see also "Über mein Theater," rev. ed., Der Befehl (Graz: Stiasny, 1967), p. 99; "Unschätzbare Atmosphäre," Burgtheater Programm zu 'Donnerstag,' 25 Jänner 1960, S.14-18.

³⁴ Carlyle suggests the same imagery: "The Guillotine, by its speed of going, will give index of the general velocity of the Republic. The clanking of its huge axe, rising and falling there, in horrid systole-diastole, is portion of the whole enormous live-movement and pulsation of the Sansculottic System!" The French Revolution, p. 529.

³⁵ Vogelsang, "Das klassizistische Ideendrama Fritz Hochwälders," p. 230.

³⁶ Max Spalter, Brecht's Tradition (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1967), p. 94.

³⁷ "Due to its realistic character, the Baroque pictura had the power to affect the audience deeply and cause a tragic catharsis; in its place we find in the contemporary pictura, on account of its farcical nature, a comic catharsis." Frank Schnur, "The Executioner: A Baroque Figure on the Modern German Stage," The Germanic Review, 48, No. 4 (Nov. 1973), 268.

³⁸ The dramatist is also probably playing on the historical use of the noun, Mouton: "He [Fouquier] has his moutons, detestable traitor jackals, who report and bear witness; that they themselves may be allowed to live,--for a time." Cf. Carlyle, p. 582.

³⁹ Arendt, p. 27.

40 "Each individual possesses a conscience which to a greater or lesser degree serves to restrain the unimpeded flow of impulses destructive to others. But when he merges his person into an organizational structure, a new creature replaces autonomous man, unhindered by the limitations of individual morality." Stanley Milgram, Obedience to Authority (New York: Harper Row, 1974), p. 188.

41 "The epiphany . . . the sudden 'revelation of the whatness of a thing,' the moment in which 'the soul of the commonest object . . . seems to us radiant.'" Richard Ellmann, James Joyce (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 87.

42 George Wellwarth, The Theater of Protest and Paradox, rev. ed. (New York: New York University Press, 1971), pp. 215, 222.

43 "The action of Der öffentliche Ankläger is not historical. Fouquier-Tinville did not arrange his own prosecution and trial. Nevertheless, Hochwälder gives us a picture of those horrifying times which is completely accurate in spirit and often in literal detail as well. For example, Act II, Scene 9 is based on an incident which is reported as occurring shortly before the fall of Robespierre, where there were more than 7,000 people in the prisons of Paris and most of them seemed doomed to join Louis XVI, Danton, Charlotte Corday, and so many others in the Madeleine cemetery. Fouquier was crossing the Pont-Neuf one evening with three others when he was suddenly observed to totter like a drunkard. Leaning on the parapet of the bridge, he pointed a trembling finger at the Seine and said in a hoarse voice: 'La Seine! La Seine! Vous ne voyez donc pas? Elle roule des flots de sang. Regardez . . . regardez donc comme elle est rouge.' His companions looked down, and one of them replied: 'C'est comme tous les jours: les eaux de la Boucherie se déversent ici.'" J. R. Foster, "Introduction," Der öffentliche Ankläger, p. 7.

44 Georg Büchner, Sämtliche Werke und Briefe, I, ed. W. R. Lehmann (Hamburg: Wegner Verlag, 1968), 40.

45 Wellwarth, The Theater of Protest and Paradox, p. 222.

46 A premiere was held in August, 1975 at the Salzburg festival. It will be presented in Vienna in 1976 at the Theater in der Josefstadt, where Leopold Rudolf will again take the leading role. Cf. "News and Events," Austrian Institute Program, February 1975, n.p. A typescript is available.

⁴⁷ Friedrich Dürrenmatt makes a very similar statement through the character Diego in the early radio play, Der Doppelgänger (Zürich: die Arche, 1960), p. 60.

⁴⁸ Fritz Hochwälder, Lazaretti. Schauspiel in Drei Akten. Typescript (Zürich, 1974), p. 61.

⁴⁹ Hochwälder's use of the term "pedantisch" foreshadows the testimony at Eichmann's trial. Hannah Arendt reports that it "was Dr. Servatius, a tax and business lawyer from Cologne who had never joined the Nazi party and who nevertheless was to teach the court a lesson in what it means not to be 'emotional.'" Arendt, p. 69.

⁵⁰ Hochwälder, Lazaretti, p. 53.

CHAPTER III

DER UNSCHULDIGE: THE INNOCENT ONE

Fritz Hochwalder experienced early in life the forces which erupt in a modern state to regulate the freedom, the existence, and the death of an individual citizen. For every Austrian or German artist, such as Georg Kaiser, whom Hochwalder met in exile, there has been another like Jura Soyfer (1912-39) who failed to reach the safety of the Swiss border, was arrested, and died in Buchenwald.¹ Anonymous, complex, as Friedrich Durrenmatt has described it,² the modern state penetrates every man's little world, gathering facts which are folded away in dossiers, filing cabinets and computers.

Thus, Charlotte's question in the opening lines of Der Unschuldige introduces the machinery of public authority as it sets about invading the privacy of Christian Erdmann's garden and eventually his very soul. "Die Stadt? Die Stadt hat es angeordnet?--Was hat die Stadt in unserem Garten zu suchen?"³ asks the startled housewife of Mizzi who is serving the breakfast coffee. "An ordinance? What kind of ordinance?"⁴ demands the twenty-seven year old daughter of the family. These queries are echoed by the shocked Herr Erdmann who thunders, "Was hat die Stadt in meinem Garten zu suchen--unerhort!" (I.p.132). The stream of questions, that

grow increasingly poignant and penetrating, continues to counterpoint the dramatic structure of the three-act comedy which adheres to the traditional unities. Not only do these queries counteract the formal structure, but they foreshadow the open-ended conclusion of the play.

A highly polished, sophisticated comedy, which Paul Hübner calls a Satyrspiel,⁵ Der Unschuldige has a taut structural unity⁶ and philosophical as well as sociopolitical implications. It presents an array of comically humdrum characters dominated by the commanding presence of a retired business manager. The dramatist first took up the work in 1948-49, put it aside, and tried both in 1952 and 1956 to give it new direction. Finally, inspired by Attila Horbiger's brilliant performance in the role of Andusz, the coachman, in the Burgtheater's production of Hochwälder's Die Herberge in 1957, the playwright resumed work on the original plot in 1958. The next year saw Der Unschuldige on the boards at the Burgtheater in Vienna.⁷ Like Shakespeare's so-called dark comedies, the plot moves swiftly from misunderstanding and error to the border of hallucination and near tragedy. The reversal of events creates a comic, but uneasy happy ending. Characteristic of Hochwälder's dramatic technique is the open ending, fraught with questions which linger after the curtain falls.

The city ordinance (Befehl) has been put into effect when Der Unschuldige opens, and the havoc wrought by ditch

diggers in Christian Erdmann's carefully nurtured rose garden serves as an image of the compounded disruption of public and private disorder throughout the play. Enumerating his losses, Erdmann achieves a tragi-comic artistry in the catalog of destruction: "alle meine Rosen, Maréchal Niel, Souvenir de Malmaison⁸ und wie sie alle heissen, blutrote, dunkelpurpurne, dahin." A master of hyperbole, his description of the disorder inflicted by the city authority parallels the disorder his arrogance creates in his own life and the lives of those around him: "verschwunden, zerhackt, zertreten, verwüstet, verbrannt, verscharrt" (I.p.132).⁹

The Significance of Structure:
The Open Ending

In a larger context, the shocking and melodramatic discovery of the corpse beneath the rose garden signals the gradual revelation of what lies just below the surface of society's orderly propriety (Ordnung). Herr Christian Erdmann comes to the breakfast table, the personification of self-conscious well-being, a man for whom even nature maintains an orderly routine. "Solange der Mensch schlafen kann, ist die Maschinerie in Ordnung, und das ist die Hauptsache. Nur kein Durcheinander, nur keine Unruhe. . . . Wenn der Sommer zu Ende geht, die Früchte reifen, dann überkommt einen unwillkürlich Dankbarkeit, Zufriedenheit, ich möchte beinah sagen: Glück.--Dass wir sind, wie wir sind! Dass wir leben, wie wir leben" (I.pp.124-25). How they live is

demonstrated most graphically when Herr Julius, the family friend, arrives for his weekly Friday sojourn with the Erdmanns. Despite the gossip about the skeleton by the townsfolk, he assures Charlotte that it will be just another Friday among themselves. He will follow his usual Friday schedule: "ist heut nicht Freitag, Grossreinemachen in meiner Junggesellenwohnung. . . . Mein Programm bei euch ist dieses: Zuerst nehm ich ein heisses Bad, daheim hab ich keins, und seine Freunde soll man ausnutzen bis zum letzten." After a hot bath and lunch, Julius laughingly tells his hostess, "schlaf ich bis drei, dann geh ich spazieren, drauf erfolgt die obligate Freitagnachmittags-Schachpartie mit Christian, Abendessen und angenehmes Verweilen im Familienkreis, gegen zehn Aufbruch und Heimkehr ins gereinigte Heim. Einverstanden?" (I.pp.141-42).

In addition to serving as a strong focus upon the unity of time in the play, the Tagesprogramm provides the playwright with a satirical device to demonstrate the mechanical nature of the "order" which governs the lives of these characters. The same programmed reality, characteristic of the industrial world from which he has retired, constitutes "order" in Christian's domestic life until the fatal "find" in the long cultivated rose garden. Then, for the first time in his life, he asks, "Was ist nicht in Ordnung in meinem Haus?" (II.p.150). The question arises when Mizzi gives notice that she must leave the service of

the family. It is the main question to which the play addresses itself, counterpointing the unities of time, place and action by summoning up persons and events from the past. Neighbor Petternigg's malicious reports of Christian's bachelor days, their humorous contradiction by Krott,¹⁰ the elderly gardener, and their outright denials by Julius are tested against the orderly entries in the city police records. In this way, the so-called "traditional structure" of the three acts achieves more complex dimensions of time and space, while the answer to Christian's question, "What's not in order in my house?" begins to take shape.

Comedy and Symbols of Order: The Rose Garden,
the Friday Program, the Police Records

Very early in the first act, Christian himself has had a sudden misgiving that the quiet order of the house has been disturbed in some undefined manner. He muses, "wie komm ich drauf, dass was los sein soll? . . . gestörte Gewohnheit, sonst nichts. Dergleichen verfliegt wie ein Wölkchen, vorbei dahin" (I.pp.124-25). The dramatic irony of the Satyrspiel is pinpointed in this "little cloud" image. The same image recurs in the closing third act as Christian points to an actual cloud to comfort his distressed wife, Charlotte. In Act One, the image is an abstract figure of speech, typical of Christian's tendency to dramatize his emotions. It occurs after the audience has learned from his entire household that he is a man of iron will and of

irascible nature. An only son, Erdmann inherited house, garden, and gardener before he became manager of an iron and steel company.¹¹ Krott still bears the scar from a shoe hurled at him for bringing Herr Direktor a message before the daily ritual of breakfast. Mizzi, the not-so-young housemaid, who has secretly been keeping company with Karl, a city employee ["Was für ein Karl?" (II.p.150) quips her surprised employer], can point to the mark on the wall where her irate master had thrown the breakfast cheese. "In letzter Zeit will er den Käs nur mehr vollfett, wie mir aus Versehn ein Viertelfetter dazwischen gekommen ist, hat er ihn an die Wand geschmissen, sehn Sie, dort ist noch der Fleck, man sieht ihn nicht so deutlich, weil er nur viertel fett ist" (I.p.122), Mizzi tells Frau Erdmann. This, then, is the man who can boast how attached he is to good order: "Alles geht drunter und drüber, dabei weiss man, wie sehr ich auf Ordnung erpicht bin" (II.p.148).

Christian is openly suspected of the murder of a former suitor of his wife, both by the townspeople and his familiars, who are only too well acquainted with his habits of temper and threatening speech. The Fleck or spot now takes on the character of a Verbrechen or crime!¹² Ironically, he is finally exonerated by a young anthropologist of whom Christian had promised to "dispose." In a hilarious juxtaposition of dramatic moods, Oscar Breitnadler, comical as his name, asks the harried Direktor for his

daughter's hand as well as for the priceless anthropological specimen long buried in the Erdmann garden. Christine's Höhlenmensch (caveman) sweeps away scandal as completely as the "little cloud" disappears from the sky.

It is Charlotte's remorse for her suspicions that calls forth the repetition of her husband's image of the cloud. There is, however, a change of tone:

Christian: Dort-siehst du?--dort fliegt ein Wölkchen,
Rauch, blauer Dunst--wohin?--ins Firmament, das
klar ist wie zuvor . . . Genauso wollen wir es
halten, einverstanden?

Charlotte: . . . ein Wölkchen . . . bloss ein Wölkchen?

Christian: Wer trauert einem Wölkchen nach, wer denkt
noch dran, wenn es vorbei ist? Gibt's nichts
Besseres, Wichtigeres--feiern wir nicht Verlobung?
(III.201).

Christian speaks with genuine human tenderness to his wife. Moreover, he points to the disappearance of a real cloud, in part, a symbol of the real danger that has passed, and he immediately concerns himself with the justice due to Oscar and the happiness of other human beings. Thus, on one level, the comedy represents much ado about nothing. The gruesome scandal of the rose garden is happily revealed to be an unprecedented collector's item for the city museum. At the same time, Vater Erdmann retrieves his good name and his loyal, if long-suffering, servants. The "little cloud" has indeed passed, leaving something "better" and "more important" after it; namely, a restoration of public and private order (Ordnung).

Dramatically the image of the 'little cloud' constitutes a foreshadowing and a conclusion of the main action of the play. It is used imperceptibly as a structural device which unifies the several levels of meaning in the play. In addition, the image of a passing disorder, both domestic and civic, is strengthened by the playwright's emphasis of the term Bagatelle, i.e., "trifle."

Comedy and the Symbols of Disorder:
Bagatelle, the Corpse, the Manhunt

Petternigg, archetype of the envious, curious neighbor, is the first character to use the word, ostensibly to comfort Charlotte and Christine Erdmann. (The alliterated names of Christian's family add both to the universalizing of the characters and to the dramatic tone of the trifling-comic.) However, Petternigg serves merely as Job's comforter: "behandeln Sie den mysteriösen Fund als-Bagatelle, so oder so, das Geheimnis wird gelüftet . . . wer jemanden umbringt, ist so gut wie gehängt" (I.p.140). Unaware of the threat, Christian baits him in regard to a long-standing debt. Twice he describes it as a mere Bagatelle, and even offers further assistance. Petternigg chooses to interpret this as a bribe for silence. The use of the term by the district judge, Dr. Stark, in Act Two totally unnerves his host, Erdmann. The small-town judge, whose tag name, severe, has failed to intimidate Christian, acknowledges his longing for a crime worthy of his professional talent: "Seit Wochen

vergeude ich meine Zeit mit Bagatellen, verhör diebische Praktikanten. Wenn bloss Unschuldslämmer weiden, wenn es nicht Jagd auf Grosswild gäbe, wo sollte man avancieren?" (II.p.176). In the juxtaposition of Bagatellen . . . Unschuldslammer . . . Jagd . . . Grosswild, Hochwälder uses a theme that reappears in many of his later plays. The theme of the hunt (Jagd) for so-called big-time criminals (Grosswild) is usually associated with characters who represent authority and civic order (Ordnung). The theme negates the concept of genuine human order.¹³ In the case of Judge Stark, Erdmann has been forewarned both by his weekly chess partner and by his wife. "Er gilt als kaltherziger Streber . . . Man sagt, er ginge über Leichen" (II.p.149), Charlotte warns Christian. She is marvelously unaware of her pun about the skeleton in their own backyard! The sinister reference to "big game" finally alerts Christian to his danger, and as the judge reads the old records in the police dossiers, he defends himself, repeating the word Bagatelle twice: "das sind Dummheiten, Lappalien, derartige Bagatellen beweisen keineswegs--" (III.p.187).

Trifles, yet in each repetition of Bagatelle there lies an irony which negates the trifling and suggests larger motifs of order and disorder, positing answers to Christian's outraged question: "Was ist nicht in Ordnung in meinem Haus?" It is in the repeated image, das Wölkchen, as well as the frequent use of the term, Bagatelle, that the

playwright has prepared with elaborate irony for the restoration of daily proprieties and order (Ordnung). Bowing to the official city report, Judge Stark admits with admirable restraint, "Wir haben uns geirrt" (III.p.197). The comedy of errors has apparently come full circle. Not only had the judge erred! So too had the city workmen, the town ordinance having been previously rescinded! Error, as usual, had compounded error, and Krott had confessed to a murder that no one had committed, while the "misfortune" had all started, as Charlotte explains, when Novotny delivered Camembert for breakfast that was not Camembert at all!

The Everyman Tradition in Drama

Hochwalder's use of Unheil for the misfortune at the breakfast table points to a significantly modern aspect of the comedy, Der Unschuldige. Conceived in 1947, just after World War II and completed as a showcase for the actor, Attila Horbiger, at the Burgtheater in Vienna, the drama exemplifies one of the directions which early postwar drama was taking.¹⁴ In the face of a messenger (Petternigg), who announces the shocking presence of death (the skeleton of an unknown soldier) found in the priceless rose garden, Christian (Everyman) Erdmann (mortal of earth) is pressed for a reckoning (the investigation). He searches for knowledge about his past (original evil or a crime) and for his present identity. "Wer sitzt dir gegenuber?" (III.p.205) he asks his friend, Julius. The quest for self-knowledge leads him to

ask the questions that were nagging every man who had survived the catastrophe of the Second World War:

Bin ich nicht das Muster eines ehrenwerten Bürgers, bin ich nicht durch und durch unschuldig? (I.p.145)

Christian: Jetzt kommt was ich von Ihnen wissen will:--
(leise) Wie war ich damals?

Krott: Wie Sie waren--?

Christian: Wie ich war!

Krott: Ich sag's lieber nicht! (II.p.165)

Christian: Was war ich für ein Mensch, Krott?

Krott: Jesus mein Gott und Herr--: ein starker Mensch, ein schwacher Mensch, eben ein Mensch. . . .
(Christian schlägt die Hände vors Gesicht.)
(II.p.168)

Christian: Herrgott! . . . sieht so ein Mörder aus?
(III.p.186)

As in the traditional Jedermann plot, Hochwälder leads his protagonist to the three persons who may be helpful to him.¹⁵ Christian Erdmann turns to his old retainer, Krott, to his lifelong friend, Julius, and in a modern deviation of the three-friends formula, to a representative of the state and of public order, to the district judge. In regard to the latter, Hochwälder's Christian gains in satire by entertaining ulterior motives in being "saved" by Judge Stark. Like the three friends of the traditional Everyman, each of these fails him. Christian's protest is that of every man who has been hunted down or betrayed: "jählings streck ich die Hand aus, such stütze, Hilfe und stoss ins Abgrundleere" (II.p.171).

His "betrayal" is indicative of the anonymous control that the modern state exercises over its citizens. The

elderly Krott fears the threat of the home for the aged. Julius, whom Charlotte had called the family "salvation" ("unsere Rettung"), does not want to "get involved," since the police are as dangerous as crime itself. Finally, the man, who in Christian's opinion would be the most prosperous son-in-law, sees in Herr Erdmann merely a stepping stone to a career in the higher courts of law.

Abandoned on all sides like the morality play protagonist, Christian makes a frenzied "confession." The images used by Hochwalder up to this point in the play to emphasize the need of cleansing oneself of fault or guilt are properly ironic. Mizzi, the housemaid, has discussed the stain on the wall (Fleck, I.p.122) caused by Erdmann in his anger; Julius makes it clear that his house is being thoroughly cleaned on Friday (Grossreinmachen, I.p.141) and that a bath is in order; Christian confesses his troubles (dir wurd ich beichten, I.p.143); the judge puns inadvertently about confessing (Ich muss gestehn--, II.p.181), and Petternigg rattles on about his innocence (mich reinwaschen, III.p.184). By means of such references, the dramatist presents his modern Everyman haunted by the need of a cleansing from guilt and disorder. Christian's form of secular confession, however, has nothing to do with the essence of sacramental confession in the old morality plays.¹⁶

Erdmann is melodramatically "saved" by the prototype of the unworldly scholar (Glaube and Caritas).¹⁷ Armed with

orderly evidence (Gute Werke) and with bumbling modesty, Dr. Breitnadler brings the city's official verdict. At the height of disorder and madness, he appears like a good-natured angel for what Julius had nervously described as the last judgment. "Was ist los? Tagt hier das Jüngste Gericht?" (III.p.191) queries the fearful Julius. The dramatist prepares for climactic moments such as this by references which build a chain of images. For example, the image of the final judgment emerges gradually. Christian says to Charlotte, as she questions him: "Das klingt wie bei Gericht" (II.p.153). Again, the word unnerves him when Mizzi defends her opinion pertly: "Ich kann's beschwören, wenn's sein muss, vor Gericht--vor Gericht!" (II.p.164).

It is Christine, Erdmann's daughter, who sums up the tragedy-turned-comedy and announces the general restoration of order (Ordnung): "Papa, liebster Papa! Mit einem Schlag ist alles in Ordnung!" (III.p.199). A universally comic haste that marks the excited return to normalcy strengthens the impression that the play has many characteristics of a Volksstück. Typical of a folk play, the judge bustles out to sign the necessary documents: "Wir verfassen unverzüglich das notwendige Protokoll" (III.p.198). Haste motivates everyone but Julius. Christine hurries Oskar off to register for their marriage license: "Ich begleite dich zum Gericht--dann wie der Blitz hinüber aufs Standesamt, wir lassen uns noch heut aufbieten!" (III.p.199). Krott rejoices "das alles

wieder in Ordnung ist," and he dashes out to fill in the grave: "Ich geh stantepede hinaus und schütt die Grube zu . . . morgen weiss kein Mensch mehr, dass da ein schwarzes Loch war" (III.p.200). Mizzi runs into town to tell Karl the good news: "dass alles wieder in Ordnung ist. . . . Ich renn und bin in längstens zwei Stunden wieder da!" (III.p.200). The slanderer, Petternigg, crassly wants his cash back, now that "alles wieder in Ordnung ist" (III.p.199). Overcome with remorse, Charlotte finally is comforted by Christian's reference to the "little cloud." His gallant reference to the engagement dinner sends her scampering to the kitchen: "Verlobung--meiner Seel [sic], Verlobung! Du hast recht: das macht alles gut! . . . um Himmelswillen, und in zwei Stunden soll das Nachtmahl auf den Tisch, Rehrücken, noch nicht gespickt, eine Heidenarbeit . . . zu all dem läuft das Mädchen fort . . . ich muss in die Küche--" (III.p.200).

In her study of the court of law in German literature of the twentieth century, Hildegard Emmel has noted that the problems of guilt and judgment have moved to the forefront of literature, because the concept of a divine judge is questioned today.¹⁸ At the same time the basic elements of the Everyman tradition: that man strive for purification and salvation and that he differentiate between good and evil, have become blurred. Instead of death and renewal, there remains only the anguish of the continuing search, as

for example, Beckmann in Draussen vor der Tür.¹⁹ The revival of the Jedermann theme arises from the larger one of Angst: the anguish, guilt, alienation, madness and loss of identity which pervades the drama of the twentieth century. Hence, the travesty of Christian's trial, presented in mythic, Everyman terms, reflects the painful loss of order and orientation in the post-war world.

The Anti-Folk Play as a Negation of Order

For Christian, the old order of existence: "That we are as we are . . . and live as we live" is no longer conceivable. A sense of alienation has seized him: "Weiss ich nicht mehr, wer und was ich bin" (II.p.169). His encounter with his mirror-image, reviving a long-forgotten temptation to murder his rival, mocks the shallow "innocence" and "order" of his daily life: "Nie wieder lässt mich die Vergangenheit, nie, nie--Kummer dich nicht--leicht gesagt. Wenn sich die Vergangenheit um mich kummert" (II.p.169).

An atmosphere of increasing alienation marks the comic structure of Der Unschuldige. Servants' anecdotes set the comic tone, which gains momentum with the use of tag names, puns, catalogs of nouns, alliterative and hyperbolic phrases as well as chorus-like repetition. Two leitmotifs, violence and madness, intensify the tone of alienation. Sinister threats, violent speech, and accusations of violence bring scandal to the upper-middle-class villa and reduce its owner to a state of hysteria and his living room to a court of

inquiry.²⁰ The motif of madness, suggested by the frequency of words such as crazy, insanity, and imbecility, is also more subtly suggested by remonstrances against anger, by incoherence in the dialogue, frequently comic in nature, and by forgetfulness as well as hallucination.²¹

The emphasis upon the irrational increases the dramatic tension as the drama moves to the moment of vision when Christian sees his image in the mirror (II.p.163). "Sie sind nicht bei Trost--was hab ich zu verheimlichen, was soll ich gestehen?" (I.p.137) he asks his neighbor. Even as a young gardener, Krott was "a little crazy," Petternigg tells the judge, while he declares to Erdmann: "Ich dachte, Sie hätten dem Krott befohlen, die Grube zuzuschaufeln. Heller Wahnsinn wär das! . . . da ist nichts mehr zu vertuschen, das muss jedem vernünftigen Menschen einleuchten!" (I.p.138). Shock and disbelief mark Christian's retort "Ein Hirngespinnst, Wahn, Täuschung, Aberwitz!" (I.p.139). He labels Krott "idiot" for lying to protect him, and Mizzi's finacé a "madman" for suspecting him. The magnificent comedy of the serving girl's rejoinder silences the astounded Herr Erdmann for the moment: "O nein, da muss ich schon sagen: irrsinnig ist mein Karl nicht, im Gegenteil, er hat ganz vernünftig erzählt, was für Geschichten über Sie, Herr Direktor, im Umlauf sind" (II.p.151).

The irrational conclusions of rational humanity are comically alliterated in the phrase, "bin weder blöd noch blind," which Christian repeats in exasperation: "Sind Sie blöd, blind? Sehen Sie nicht, dass der Gartenzwerg phantasiert?" (III.p.189).

As the vocabulary of madness and insanity proliferates, the concept of order (Ordnung) in the comedy becomes more complex. Shaken by suspicion and hallucination, Christian Erdmann interprets the humorously ambiguous questions of the judge as state evidence against him. Enraged, he declares himself guilty of murder and ready to carry out his own defense. Christian's cry: "ich stelle mich: Erdmann, Mörder Erdmann!" (II.p.181) rings out like Hoffmannsthal's "Jedermann" and Max Frisch's "Biedermann . . . Jedermann!"

The district judge, Dr. Stark, labels this behavior "insanity" (II.p.176), but he is forced by the violence of Christian's insults to open the proceedings. Only too late does Erdmann reverse his plea, "das war Verzweiflung, Ausbruch, Notwehr--ich war nicht bei Sinnen, verwirrt, verrückt . . . ich bin unschuldig. . . . Sie bringen mich um den Verstand" (III.p.186). Calling his confession an act of desperation, he shouts that they are driving him out of his mind! The problem of order (Ordnung) in the play has moved from comic ambiguity to tragic misunderstanding.

In his preface to Der Unschuldige, Paul Hübner states that the play is less a Kriminalkomödie in the literary sense

than an amusing "Spiel des als ob."²² This game of "as if" suggests that the satire deals, at least in part, with the artist and his problem of order. Der Unschuldige dramatizes, as do some of Hochwalder's other works such as Donadieu and 1003, the process of creative selectivity, by means of which the artist draws order from the chaos of literary possibilities or choices. Hochwalder establishes Christian as an artist-figure early in the comedy.

As the play opens, Frau Erdmann checks the imposing catalog of foods which her husband expects on the morning menu. This involves an orderly array of breads, followed by a selection of cheese and of sliced meats:

Weissbrot, Vollkornbrot, Pumpernickel
 Camembert, Bel Paese, Tilsiter--alles vollfett?

 Lachschen, Kochschinken, Rucherspeck,
 Kaffee, Milch, Butter, englische Marmalade.
 Und das Ei--wo ist das Ei? (I.pp.122-23)

In contrast to Charlotte's nervous survey of the table, Christian arrives to examine the laden board with consummate appreciation of variety and abundance. His recital of the menu is an ironic inventory of potential choices on the basis of which he ranks himself with the poet. "Womit fang ich heut an? Keine Ratschlage, wenn ich bitten darf." After making his decision with care, Herr Erdmann declares, "Willkommen, der Camembert wird genommen, ihr seht, bei mir reicht es zum Dichter, wengleich ich von hervorragend glucklichem Durchschnitt bin--" (I.p.125). It is in the

matter of selectivity that the protagonist sees himself as an artist-figure!

In the second act, Christian is twice compared to the artist. The first time occurs in the encounter with the malevolent Petternigg who says: "Manche Leute haben Nerven aus Stahl und Eisen, das ist Begabung wie Maler und Dichter. Ich sag oft zu meiner Frau: Hut ab, unser Nachbar ist ein verwegener Mann" (II.p.157). Filled with envy and curiosity, Petternigg equates the man of iron nerve with the artist! Fear makes him ready to betray such men. His profile of Direktor Erdmann, however, is not unlike Julius' opinion of his headstrong friend. Later in the same act, the dramatist allows Julius to state, in affirmative terms, the comparison which Petternigg had drawn in malice:

Christian: Die Wahrheit, Julius--bin ich ein Mörder?

Julius: Respekt--du suchst dir gleich das Feinste aus.

 Ich seh im Mörder eine Art von Künstler,
 unbeherrscht, naiv, intensiv--auch der Ruhm bleibt
 nicht aus, lies die Prozessberichte, die Reportagen.
 Beide Mörder wie Künstler, büßen ihr Werk, da
 hätten wir noch eine Parallele. (II.p.170)

According to Julius, both the artist and the murderer live outside the order of everyday life (Ordnung).

Following the gross accusations of his neighbor, Christian, who habitually dramatizes himself, catches sight of his angry face in the full-length mirror and silently goes through the motions of overcoming an opponent. His encounter suggests not only the awakened conscience of a medieval

Everyman (Jedermann) and the alienated identity of a modern Doppelgänger, but the dramatist's Spiel des Als Ob. There is consistent structural unity between this silent miming of a crime in the second act and the so-called epilog of Act Three, which, on the surface, seems to be an afterthought to the play. Yet, here again, the playwright presents Christian in the midst of the artist's "game of as-if"--the process of selection and of order.

It is significant that the last scene, the "epilog" of the play, centers upon the weekly chess game with Herr Julius. The setting up of the game, the routine allotment of the black and white pieces emphasize the recent restoration of civil and domestic order. Yet, chess is a game of conflict and multiplicity of choices. Christian opens the game with what he calls the classic "E 2--E 4" opening. This is a move of formidable striking power, in which the player retains the initiative, while his opponent is uncomfortably restricted.²³ At the same moment, Christian unnerves his opponent by re-opening the possibility of his guilt:

Christian: Julius, ich will dir was anvertrauen, ganz
in geheimen, gewissermassen "sub rosa"--(zieht)
E 2--E 4: die klassische Eröffnung.

Julius: "sub rosa"--

Christian: Ein Fachausdruck, unter Juristen
gebräuchlich. (III.p.203)

The ironic use of the Latin, sub rosa²⁴ both before and following the German noun, Eröffnung, satirizes Christian's second dramatic "confession" of crime. It reduces his new

story of murder--along with the brief moment when he sees himself, morally, as a murderer in the mirror episode--to the level of the artist's game of "as if," the Bagatelle, and the passing "little cloud." The epilog with Julius shows the modern Everyman unwilling to accept the responsibility of absolute Ordnung in his life.²⁵

Traditionally, the protagonist of comedy does not undergo any lasting change of character.²⁶ Christian's "confession" to Julius indicates no more relation to Everyman's confession (or Jedermann's) than did his outrageous and angry confession of guilt to Judge Stark in the Second Act:

Ich bezichtige mich des vorsätzlichen Mordes, jetzt wissen Sie, was Ihnen bevorsteht. Sie haben mir die Tat nachzuweisen mit allem, was dazu gehört, es ist Ihre Angelegenheit, nicht meine, weh Ihnen, wenn Sie versagen! Heraus mit den Akten, heran mit den Zeugen! Wen hab ich ermordet? Wann habe ich wen ermordet? Wie? Weshalb? Wieso?

Stark: Ich muss gestehen--

Christian: Nicht Sie--ich! ich! (II.p.181)

The rhythm of Christian's language, the movement of the adverbs--"heraus . . . heran," the alliteration of w, the repetition of interrogatives, and his punning impudence to the judge accent his inability to establish genuine order in his life. Neither the intrusion of the city order (Befehl) nor the insight gained from his "double" in the mirror episode, nor the unexpected skirmish with "death" helps him

answer his own query: "Was ist nicht in Ordnung in meinem Haus?"

As Herbert Knust points out, the twentieth-century Everyman does not accept his guilt, nor does he find his way back to an Absolute. An answer for him lies only in the continued search amid the disorder and delusion around him.²⁷

Footnotes to Chapter III

¹ Hans Weigel, "Vorwort," Dramen I von Fritz Hochwälder (München: Langen, Müller, 1960), 12.

² Friedrich Dürrenmatt, "Theaterprobleme," Theater-Schriften u. Reden, ed. Elisabeth Brock-Sulzer (Zürich: Die Arche, 1966), p. 120.

³ Fritz Hochwälder, Dramen II (München: Langen, Müller, 1964), 121. All quotations are from this edition and appear in the text. Roman numerals indicate the act; Arabic, the page.

⁴ Thomas D. Haley, "A Translation and Analysis of Der Unschuldige (The Innocent Man) by F. Hochwälder," Master's Diss., University of Denver, August 1969, p. 17.

⁵ Hübner claims that the play is Hochwälder's attempt to use the obverse side of the tragic coin minted in Der öffentliche Ankläger. "Vorwort," Dramen II, 13.

⁶ The action takes place in the living room of the Erdmann villa within twenty-four hours. All the basic elements of the play, including Dr. Stark, whose reputation as a shrewd lawyer misleads Christian, are included in Act One. Haley errs in stating that the judge is not introduced until the Second Act. Cf. Der Unschuldige, pp. 145-46.

⁷ Fritz Hochwälder, "Anmerkung zur Komödie, Der Unschuldige," Burgtheater Programm, Nr. 8 (1957), p. 1.

⁸ In the tradition of the Viennese folk comedy, Hochwälder frequently uses tag names, redende Namen. Heinz Kindermann writes: "Diesen . . . Typengestalten werden aber jedesmal auch einige Karikaturen aus dem damaligen Wiener Gesellschaftleben, meist mit 'sprechenden' Namen ausgestattet, gegenübergestellt." Cf. "Einführung," Dichtung aus Österreich, ed. H. Kindermann, M. Dietrich, et al. (Wien: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1966), p. 34*.

⁹ Haley sees this catalog as a reference to Christian's good reputation which is placed in jeopardy by the discovery of the corpse.

¹⁰ "The name of Mudd is translated from the German 'Krott,' a colloquial word for caked dirt. Besides its humorous overtones, the name bears a relation to the 'earth' mentioned above [Erdmann]." Haley, p. 107.

¹¹ Hochwalder is a master of dramatic detail. Here he uses even the simplest fact to bring suspicion upon Christian Erdmann. "Mit einer Eisenstange muss es geschehen sein, anders ist es nicht moglich-- . . . hab nicht umsonst zwanzig Jahre lang mit Stahl und Eisen zu tun gehabt," Christian tells the amazed Julius (I.p.144).

¹² Paul Hubner comments on Hochwalder's use of suspense in regard to Christian's guilt. "Die in den alltaglichen Fruhstucksjargon eingestreuten Andeutungen--der Camembert sei ein Stein, mit dem man glatt ermorden konnte oder er sei zu allem fahig--verdichten den harmlosen Klatsch zum Verdacht. In das kleine Feuerchen der zunachst primitiven Verdachtigung wird immer wieder Kunstvoll ein kleines Indizienbrikett gelegt, so dass dem Zuschauer, der wie meist bei Hochwalder zu schnell im Bilde ist, eine wichtige Prise Ungewissheit verbleibt." Cf. "Vorwort," Dramen II, 14-15.

¹³ In Der Fluchtlings, a hunt for the fugitive merges with the theme of the Doppelganger when the border guard confronts his "game" and his own personal guilt. In the case of Erdmann (as also of Fouquier and Mittermayer), the hunter and the victim are the same person although each protagonist differs in his consciousness of and attitude to these roles.

¹⁴ "In kritischen Beitragen u. vereinzelt Anmerkungen zur Stoff--und Motivgeschichte der letzten Jahrzehnte ist viel vom Jedermann die Rede. Mit diesem Terminus beschrankt man sich nicht mehr auf H. v. Hofmannsthal's Erneuerung des spatmittelalterlichen Everyman-Spiels, sondern verweist auf eine zeitgemasse Wiederbelebung der dramatischen Moralitat und des Mysterienspiels uberhaupt. "Die vielseitige Anwendung dieses Kollektivbegriffs mag symptomatisch sein fur unsere Zeit der Vermassung, fur die immer wiederkehrende Frage nach dem Sinn des Menschseins an sich in einer vom Chaos bedrohten Welt." Herbert Knust, "Moderne Variationen des Jedermann-Spiels," in Helen Adolf: Festschrift, ed. S. Z. Buehne, J. L. Hodge and L. B. Pinto (New York: F. Ungar, 1968), pp. 309-10.

¹⁵ "Der Kern dieser Fabel ist--nach Karl Goedeke's grundlegender Untersuchung--die Drei-Freunde Parabel . . . die nach langer, weitverzweigter Wirkungsgeschichte gegen Ende des funfzehnten Jahrhunderts ihre dramatische Gestaltung fand." Knust, p. 311.

¹⁶ T. F. Van Laan gives a clear analysis of the mortification and penitence in the 'House of Confession.' Cf. "Everyman: A Structural Analysis," Publication of Modern Language Association, 78 (1963), 470-71. See also Martin Stevens, "The Reshaping of Everyman: Hofmannsthal at Salzburg," German Quarterly, 48 (March 1973), 121. Stevens

discusses confession in the Dutch Elckerlijck, in Hans Sachs' Hecastus, and in Jedermann.

¹⁷ The comparisons to allegorical figures of Faith, Love and Good Works are my own. Ironically, it is Breitnadler, grateful for Christian's blessing, who calls the latter an angel: "Sie sind ein Engel!" (III.p.199).

¹⁸ Hildegard Emmel, Das Gericht in der deutschen Literatur des 20. Jahrhunderts (Bern: Francke, 1963), pp. 7-21.

¹⁹ Knust, p. 325.

²⁰ "Wenn Sie sich noch einmal unterstehn, mein Haus zu betreten, dann werde ich--ich werde--Aasgeir, Bankrotteur, Verleumder!--Verleumder--Verleumder--Verleumder" (II.p.161). Calling his neighbor a vulture, bankrupt, and slanderer, Christian threatens him, should he enter the house ever again.

²¹ Krott: Sie sind ihm an die Gurgel wie ein Tiger.

Christian: Wem bin ich an die Gurgel?

Krott: Denken Sie nach.

Christian: Ich denk ohnehin. (III.p.191)

²² Hübner, "Vorwort," Dramen II, 14.

²³ Fred Reinfeld, How to Play Winning Chess (New York: Bantam, 1962), pp. 86-87.

²⁴ In the medieval world, the Latin phrase sub rosa indicated the enclosure and secrecy of the Roman Catholic Sacrament of Confession. The confessional "box" was customarily located beneath a rose window or a carved representation of the rose which symbolized secrecy, the very opposite of Eröffnung, revelation. Cf. Joseph Devlin, ed. Webster's Universal Dictionary, II (New York: World Syndicate, 1936).

²⁵ Christian's reversion to unruly speech and domineering behavior gives added significance to the Volkstheater character of the play. Heinz Kindermann describes these tendencies. "Einführung," p. 35*.

²⁶ "The impatient, moody and fastidious character of Christian Erdmann is perhaps modelled on Rappelkopf in Raimund's Der Alpenkönig und der Menschenfeind, but unlike Rappelkopf, Christian does not undergo a permanent change of personality." Eileen Murphy, "The Drama of Fritz Hochwälder," master's thesis, University College, Swansea, Wales, 1972.

²⁷ Knust, pp. 324-25.

CHAPTER IV

DER HIMBEERPFLÜCKER, THE RASPBERRY PICKER
AS A NAZI MYTH

Sieglinde: Haben Sie Denn keine Menschlichkeit?

Zagl: Nein, ich bin kerngesund. (III.p.334)¹

The absurdity of the conversation between the flirtatious Sieglinde and the matter-of-fact servant in Der Himbeerpflücker sets the ironic tone with which Fritz Hochwälder has chosen to dramatize the consequences of the holocaust of the twentieth century.

Sieglinde: Have you no humanity?

Zagl: No, I'm perfectly healthy. (III.p.203)²

Setting his play in the present, Hochwälder has avoided the direct presentation of atrocity which stuns reason and diminishes the facility of weighing the significance of appalling social disorder. The playwright's approach to this problem in Der Himbeerpflücker has been the choice of satiric comedy which explores the concept of "order" in post-war Europe. The dramatic distance gained by his medium offers the playwright margin for the credibly incredible. Der Himbeerpflücker, completed in February, 1964, originated with the impressions which Hochwälder gained while observing the political landscape of Austria's second republic. Together with Der Befehl, which appeared as a television

production in 1965, for the Eurovision Series, Der Himbeerpflücker represents a comment on the aftermath of the Hitler period.

In examining the concept of "order" in this comedy, which the author himself regards as a farce (Posse), the present study addresses itself to the four questions concerning the origin of the command (Befehl) which initiates the main action, the relation of the order to past events, the relation of the command to the general social or moral order within the play, and the effect it may have on the society represented in the drama. Before these questions can be answered, there must be some discussion of the tradition within which the dramatist writes.

Tradition and the New Folk Play

Fritz Hochwälder's life-long preoccupation with the forms and traditions of the Austrian theater made it fairly inevitable that he would seize upon the Volksstück as a vehicle for his satire. It is not, however, with the classic folk play of his countrymen, Ferdinand Raimund (1790-1836) nor Johann Nestroy (1802-62), that he could create the atmosphere proper to a post-Hitler world. The early folk plays portrayed the advantages of life which had not yet been devoured by the growing processes of industrialization. They presented a world where dialects, songs, superstitions, and political jokes reflected warmer personal relationships than did the formalities of the high German language in the

city theaters. The Volksstück offered rowdy opposition to the urbane deceits of a metropolitan society. Such characteristics of the Viennese Volkstheater were hardly broad enough to encompass the political upheavals and social disorder with which dramatists have attempted to cope in the twentieth century.

Fortunately, there had been a genuine effort to revitalize the folk play form before Hochwälder fled his native city in 1938. As the earliest important initiator of this effort, Ödön von Horváth has been the center of increasing critical attention by men such as Theodor W. Adorno.³ Fritz Hochwälder was twenty years old and busy writing his own early plays when, on July 5, 1931, the Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung announced Horváth's completion of the Volksstück, Geschichten aus dem Wiener Wald (Tales from the Vienna Woods). In that year, at the suggestion of the German dramatist, Carl Zuckmayer, Ödön von Horváth was awarded the Kleist prize for his two Volksstücke, Italienische Nacht (1930) and Geschichten aus dem Wiener Wald (1930-31). Horváth himself discussed the form with Willi Cronaur in an interview on the Bavarian radio program, April 6, 1932. The playwright pointed out that the character of the old Volksstück had changed completely within two hundred years. To present a genuinely modern one, a writer would have to substitute the prattle of twentieth-century jargon in place of the provincial dialects. He could then

dramatize age-old problems of humanity in an entirely new vein by assuming a sceptical approach, in place of the positive attitudes to life found in the old Volksstück. Horváth declared that through a synthesis of irony and seriousness, through the emphasis on the epic, rather than the dramatic elements, he was striving to create a modern version of the genre, one strongly marked by satire. "Ja, ich stehe zu Satir absolut positiv. Ich kann garnicht anders," he stated.⁴

His folk plays and discussion were not only published much earlier than Bertolt Brecht's Herr Puntila und sein Knecht Matti: Ein Volksstück (1940-41) and Brecht's essay on the folk play, "Anmerkungen zum Volksstück" (1940), but Horváth's works were produced in Germany where Brecht had an opportunity to study them. For example, the Volksstück, Revolte auf Côte 3018, premiered on November 4, 1927, in the Hamburg Kammerspielen and appeared in its revised form, Die Bergbahn, January 4, 1929, in Berlin in the Bülowplatz Theater. Meanwhile, both versions had been published in 1927. Berlin's Theater on the Schiffbauerdamm, later to be made famous by Brecht's own company, saw the premiere of Italienische Nacht, March 20, 1931, while the curtain went up on the Geschichten aus dem Wiener Wald on November 2, of the same year.⁵

In 1932, theaters in both Berlin and Leipzig held premieres of Kasimir und Karoline. Horváth's note about

this drama of an unemployed chauffeur and a girl he meets at Munich's Oktoberfest finds echoes in comments which were printed much later in Brecht's essay on the Volksstück.

Horváth wrote: "es ist überhaupt keine Satire, es ist die Ballade vom arbeitslosen Chauffeur Kasimir und seiner Braut mit der Ambition eine Ballade von stiller Trauer, gemildert durch Humor, das heisst durch die alltägliche Erkenntnis: 'Sterben müssen wir alle!'"⁶

Bertolt Brecht, in his 1940 essay, discussed the character of the Volksstück in general and the dramatization of his own work, Herr Puntila und Sein Knecht Matti. This, too, centers upon a chauffeur, Matti, who finds himself without work. Brecht glanced back at the crudeness of the old folk plays and commented: "Das Volksstück ist für gewöhnlich krudes und anspruchsloses Theater und die gelehrte Ästhetik schweigt es tot oder behandelt es herablassend."⁷ Brecht felt that the 'revue' had replaced the folk plays of the world, just as popular tunes had replaced the genuine folk-song. Moreover, the revue gradually became a literary form that retained nothing of the naiveté of the old folk pieces. Nevertheless, the mere existence of such literary revues proved the lack of a dramatic folk theater that was at once naive, poetic, realistic and not merely a political arena. In the interests of such a folk theater, Brecht pleaded for a style which would be artistic and natural at the same time: "Die Realität mag unschön sein, das verbannt sie durchaus

nicht von einer Stilbühne. Gerade ihre Unschönheit kann der Hauptgegenstand der Darstellung sein--niedere menschliche Eigenschaften wie Habsucht, Prahlerei, Dummheit, Unwissenheit, Streitsucht in der Komödie, das entmenschte soziale Milieu im ernstesten Drama."⁸

Thus Brecht echoed Horváth in arguing for a new type of Volksstück which would not only give life to the old masterpieces but would prepare the way for new ones. Of Puntilla, Bertolt Brecht wrote,

Es mag unadäquat erscheinen, für ein einzelnes kleines Volksstück so weitgehende Erörterungen anzustellen, so grosse Schattern heraufzubeschwören und am Ende sogar eine völlig neue Kunst der theatralischen Darstellung zu fordern . . . sie ist nötig für unser ganzes Repertoire, ganz unentbehrbar die Darstellung der grossen Meisterwerke vergangener Epochen und muss ausgebildet werden, damit neue Meisterwerke entstehen können.⁹

Brecht's ideas for a modernized form of the Volksstück clearly build upon those proposed at least eight years earlier in the work of Ödön von Horváth.

In his essay on Hochwälder's Der Himbeerpflücker, Theodor W. Adorno refers to the enormities of the disorder of Hitler's world, horrors which necessarily shaped a world of abstract human relationships. Such a world made realism in the theater artistically questionable. Adorno writes that a serious playwright could only hope to dramatize the effects of such unspeakable disorder upon men: what it did to them, how they reacted to it. To present the holocaust itself was beyond the scope of the stage. So it was, that a new dramatic tradition foreseen by Horváth and furthered by

Brecht, took root in the form of the anti-Volksstück. It is here that Hochwalder's play, Der Himbeerpflucker begins.¹⁰

Negation of Order (Ordnung) through a Structure
of Contrasts and Parallels

Hochwalder selects his setting for his comedy from the colorful, international jargon of tourist office brochures, complete with a "Hansel and Gretel" Wirtshaus displaying a wrought iron sign, Zum weissen Lamm. Zagl, the factotum, tells the two mysterious, newly arrived guests: "Werden sich wohlfuhlen in Bad Brauning, es kann noch wunderschon sein im Oktober, Spaziergange, Hohenweg, die Fuchsberggruine, Kino, Schwimmbad, seit 'm Fruhjahr betoniert" (I.pp.295-96). Bad Brauning has not only recovered from World War II, it is burgeoning with tourist attractions. Like Durrenmatt's renovated Gullen, it has been made financially solvent by a grisly community history-- in Hochwalder's satire, the wasteland of a former concentration camp, Wustenhofen. Gradually Bad Brauning is revealed as a moral wasteland, the parallel of the former death camp. Martin Esslin notes, "The satirical intention is clearly but elegantly indicated by the name of the place of action, Brauning (which alludes to Hitler's birthplace, Braunau, and to the official color of Nazism . . . stormtroopers wore brown shirts, the party headquarters in Munich was called the Brown House)."¹¹ Even the playwright's selection of time in the play, October, the "off season" called more

significantly in the original German by Zagl, "die tote Saison," emphasizes the intangible aura of horror which pervades the apparently orderly lives of these small town folk. Steisshäuptl, a former drayman and Nazi group leader (Ortsgruppenleiter), now the prosperous Bürgermeister, innkeeper, movie-house manager, and fire chief, orders his wanton daughter, Sieglinde:

heute abend muss ich es wissen, was er von mir will und eventuell wieviel-- Zeigt dem Fremdling die Sehenswürdigkeiten, Fuchsenberggruine, sehr romantisch, die Himbeerstauden drin . . . und wie sich der Fluss unten silbern ans Städtchen schmiegt, das daliegt wie auf einem alten Gemälde--es ist auch mein Verdienst . . . man setzt sich auf eine Bank von Verschönerungsverein kein Störenfried weit und breit. (I.pp.306-07)

Hochwälder presents the old salty figures of the Volksstück now steeped in a briny satire that deals with the corrosion of moral and social order (Ordnung) through man's grotesque fascination for criminal power and profit. There is the obscene and vigorously clever innkeeper, Steisshäuptl, whom Theodore Adorno identifies as "der saftige Prachtkerl."¹² There are his rivals, the equally brutish but stupid Ybbsgrüber, the builder, and his suave partner, Herr Stadlmeier, the factory owner. Sieglinde is the teen-ager whose ironically Wagnerian name was chosen for her at the height of Hitler's rule. There are the educated hypocrites, Dr. Schnopf, Schoolmaster Huett and Suppinger, the lawyer. Following the Volkstheater tradition, many of their "tag" names comment upon their lives and professions. Esslin writes, "The villain of the piece, Steisshäuptl, for example,

has a name which is just possible in Austria, but which in fact means 'little arse head.'"¹³ Other names that inform the audience of the dramatist's satiric intentions are Ziереis, the police inspector, who cannot resist women and took advantage of women prisoners during the war; Ybbsgrüбер, whose name combines ditch digging and carping criticism; Zagl, which stems from intimidation and, in dialect, from the meanings of pigtail and penis. More interesting is the jewel thief's name, Kerz, an abbreviation for the meaning of candle or upright. Equally pertinent is Burgerl, the one genuine human being in the play. Her name represents stability, surety, even nobility, since Hochwälder mentions the drama, Die Bürger von Calais by Georg Kaiser (III.p.338).

One by one their corrupt war time activities are exposed in the light of the crimes of the "Raspberry Picker," a former concentration camp troop leader at Wüstenhofen.

Ybbsgrüбер explains:

Jetzt ist es so was wie ein Museum, aber damals. . . .
 Er hat die Häftlinge gern in den Steinbruch abkommandiert,
 im Sommer, Himbeeren sammeln, Zusatznahrung, und dann hat
 er einen nach dem andern mit dem Zielfernrohrgewehr . . .
 prch! Er war leidenschaftlicher Scharfschütze. . . .
 Kurz bevor die Amis einmarschiert sind, soll er hier in
 Brauning gewesen sein, zum ersten und zum letzten Mal,
 mit einem Lastwagen und einem Chauffeur . . . niemand
 weiss, wie er heisst und ausschaut. (I.pp.291-92)

Does the action of this play begin, like so many of Fritz Hochwälder's works with an order? Almost immediately there is an order (Befehl) given indirectly by unnamed authorities of sinister, shadowy origins. Actually there

exists a series of orders and counterorders. The overriding one, however, is the command of strict incognito for "high ranking" fugitives, especially for the one that may be sent to Bad Brauning by die entsprechenden Stellen, as the anonymous leaders of the Old Comrades Association (I.p.153) are referred to by ex-Colonel Ybbsgrüber, president of the Kameradeschaftsbund in Brauning. Zagl, for instance, begs Lawyer Suppinger to be discreet in his interview with the stranger at the inn, "Strengste Anonymität--es liegt ein Befehl vor!" (II.p.311).

Countermanding this is the order (Befehl) of police inspector Ziereis, whose business is also secret. Checking the register of the White Lamb Inn, which is comically innocent of guests, the inspector commands the clerk: "Erzähl'n Sie mir nichts, Zagl, was war, das war, aber dass Sie mir von heut an nichts vernachlässigen, ich drück kein Aug mehr zu, merken Sie sich das" (I.pp.292-93). The triumph of this satire lies not only in the contradiction that neither of these orders is effected, although they are set in motion, but also that mistaken identity, traditional element of the well-made comedy, provides a grotesque anonymity for the guest who comes to the inn.

The Images of the Holocaust

Martin Esslin declares The Raspberry Picker (Der Himbeerpflücker) an admirably constructed play which "demonstrates in a truly exemplary fashion the principles of

satiric comedy of this type."¹⁴ Hochwalder has built the play on a series of contrasts and parallels. These interact to bring to light the disorders of the past that have become part of everyday life in the orderly little village of Bad Brauning. The sign of the White Lamb Inn, reminiscent of Austria's famed hostelry, Zum weissen Rossl, signals the public tourist image which Brauning and its mayor, Konrad Steisshauptl, have nurtured for the past two decades. Hence, Sieglinde's bold coiffure and flirtation, ironic indices of what she calls "changing times," shock the cook, Burgerl, and the man servant, Zagl. They pronounce her flaming hair a disgrace her father will not tolerate.

At the same time, there emerges an image which concretizes the dichotomy of order (Ordnung) in Bad Brauning. Beneath the skin of the lamb lies the wolf of the old folk plays and tales:

Zagl: Wenn es um die Moral geht, ist er eisern, als
Witwer und Burgermeister.

.

Burgerl: Er ist imstand und haut alles zusammen, als
ehemaliger Bierfahrer--

Zagl: Wirf ihm nicht den Bierfahrer vor, er ist eine
Respektsperson. (I.p.287)

Steisshauptl will not allow scandal to ruin his next tourist season. The blessed peace of financial gain is not to be disturbed by a red-haired hussy nor a fugitive raspberry picker arriving to reclaim his boxes of gold, more exactly, the gold teeth of his former prisoners. "So eine selige

Ruhe war hier, ein Gottesfrieden, man hat nur ans Verdienen gedacht, und jetzt kommt auf einmal einer daher mit achttausend Toten--" declares the exasperated mayor-innkeeper. To which Zagl can calmly reply, "Sechstausend, höchstens" (I.p.303).

The vivid character of the old Volksstück, the Anschaulichkeit, as Ivo Braak terms it,¹⁵ emerges in the grotesque unmasking of Brauning. In contrast to the ironic symbol of the white lamb, Hochwälder's Brauning is a town steeped in the colors of holocaust, of blood and fire. Rumor, for example, spreads like wild fire (Lauffeur, I. p.290) and the slogans of blood and honor (Blut und Ehre, I.p.309) carry memories of marching leather boots. Raspberry canes rise in the old quarry like ghosts of the six thousand slaughtered as they gathered the red fruit. Zagl is prepared for trial by fire ("Ich leg die Hände ins Feuer," I.p.302), while the jewel thief scoffs at his companion's jealousy of the red-haired Sieglinde, whose beehive coiffure is sarcastically said to "burn." Steisshäuptl's post as chairman of the fire department convention in nearby Ganselstadt recalls the conflagration in the top floor of Gottlieb's home in Max Frisch's satire, Biedermann und die Brandstifter. It is the "presence" of the political fugitive on the upper floor of the inn, however, which unleashes the flaming emotions that bathe the White Lamb and the Austrian town in a symbolic tide of blood. "Oha, meine Herrn, ich werd's euch

schneiden--so tief, dass euch das Blut an den Plafond spritzt" (I.p.330), cries Steisshauptl when he learns of his cronies' plotting to recover the gold delivered to him twenty years before.¹⁶

The double manhunt, combined with the Volksstück motif of mistaken identity, establishes the satiric parallel of an elegant, philandering thief, who harbors a dread of blood and violence, and the fugitive of Wüstenhofen, whose target practice was a game of murder. In keeping with the satiric intention of the comedy, Fritz Hochwälder adds other dimensions to the theme of the manhunt which is graphically symbolized by the Jagdhaus, a former Nazi hunting lodge in the vicinity of Brauning. Here, the red-haired Sieglinde makes her "conquest" of the hotel guest from Room 7. Here, the innkeeper, her father, plans to hide the "raspberry picker" until he can be spirited over the border. The theme of the manhunt (Menschenjagd) complements the holocaust of blood and fire. There are, for example, Burgerl's references to a murderer's bathing in the blood of two recent victims in the forest and the sinister references to Schoolmaster Huett's wartime hunting for fleeing foreign workers in his native German forests!

Parallels in Literature

Martin Esslin compares Hochwälder's work to that of Bertolt Brecht's in the sophisticated attention to literary allusion.¹⁷ Noting that Brecht enhanced his own work by

parallels to great dramatists, such as Shakespeare and Schiller, Esslin views Der Himbeerpflücker as a sardonic version of Nikolai Gogol's The Government Inspector, also known as The Inspector General.¹⁸ Considered the greatest comedy Russia has produced and the greatest of Gogol's three serious attempts at playwriting, the Inspector General was written in 1835. It was revised for the 1842 edition of the author's collected works. In the Russian story, a handsome swindler, Ivan Aleksandrovich Khlestakov, a penniless clerk from St. Petersburg, is mistaken for a government inspector from that capital and terrifies the corrupt officials of a small town.¹⁹ As in Der Himbeerpflücker, anonymity and mistaken identity provide the formula for successful comedy. Khlestakov, like Alexander Kerz, the jewel thief in Hochwälder's satire, charms the ladies. However, in both plays there is a deliberate parody of love intrigue and both plays move in an atmosphere of fear.²⁰ The Russian, in contrast to the Austrian thief, makes off with a small fortune before his would-be corrupters know they have been deceived.

Like Gogol, Fritz Hochwälder peoples his play with caricatures of small town leaders whose absence of moral fiber is mercilessly and sometimes hilariously exposed. In both dramas, the characters are recognizable as grotesque symbols of real counterparts: fools and scoundrels. Unlike Gogol's work, which has not one sympathetic character, Der

Himbeerpflücker is graced with the figure of Burgerl, the cook, who serves the playwright as a mouthpiece for humanity (Menschlichkeit) and moral and social order (Ordnung).

The citizens of Bad Brauning mistake Kerz for the major war criminal, Ernst Meiche, whose reputation fills them with nostalgia: "damals haben wir den Alltag vergessen, nein: er hat uns vergessen . . . die Fanfaren, der Fahنشmuck, die Standarten . . . schwarzes Lederzeug, der Atem der Geschichte" (II.p.309). Awed by the immense crimes of Meiche, alias "the raspberry picker," the frequenters of the White Lamb Inn agree to help him across the nearby frontier--"to Egypt, South America, or somewhere" (Bullock, III.p.153). Outwitted by Steisshäuptl, they comply eagerly to the order (Befehl) for anonymity--too late! Since the secrets of their personal fortunes and private crimes depend on Meiche's escape, their delusion is a bitter one.

Like the Volksstück of the traditional Austrian folk theater, Der Himbeerpflücker is a highly topical play.

Hochwälder himself comments:

Der alpenlandische Nazismus österreichischer Provenienz, der Ur-Nazismus demnach, war und ist keineswegs, als was man ihn unentwegt hinzustellen beliebt: das Werk einiger Volksverderber und Rattenfänger. In Wirklichkeit entspringt der ungebrochene faule Zauber der unstillbaren Sehnsucht jener vielen, die nie, nie wieder ihr eignes Abbild so erfolgreich gesteigert sehen werden, wie es in vergangener Blutzzeit geschah: in Person eines ihnen aus Visage und Wesen geschnitten . . . Troglodytenführers . . . einer miserablen Schwank-und Possenfigur, der ums Haar gelungen wäre, wovon man in Bad Brauning träumt: die Welt der eigenen Minderwertigkeit zu unterwerfen. Wahrlich "der Schoss ist fruchtbar noch, aus dem das

kroch."--Da liegt der Hund begraben, und genau da setzt meine Komödie ein, die leider keine Erfindung, sondern Reportage ist, vielfach abgeschwächt und gemildert allerdings auf dass sich einige Glaubwürdigkeit einstelle.²¹

The plethora of documentary books and media that center upon the Hitler years in Europe substantiate the playwright's concern and Esslin's statement that "war criminals might turn into figures of such gigantic evil, that they, like Milton's Satan, must become epic heroes who arouse as much admiration as they do hatred."²² The disorder which Hochwälder attacks in the play seems, to the present writer, to have been explored in sources closer than Gogol's The Government Inspector. In 1930, Carl Zuckmayer's satire, Der Hauptmann von Köpenick (The Captain from Köpenick) made history on the German stage with a classic depiction of the disorder of power, symbolized for the German world by a second-hand Prussian uniform. In the comedy, the insignificant Wilhelm Voigt is mistaken for an army captain and almost succeeds in getting the identification papers he needs to exist as a human being. The cringing officials, who prior to his appearance in a uniform, handle Voigt as less than human, are not-too-distant models for Konrad Steisshäuptl and his fellows who condemn the insignificant thief, Alexander Kerz. In his introduction to German Drama Between the Wars, George Wellwarth writes: "In its ultimate manifestation, the spirit displayed by the town officials of Köpenick became the goose-stepping, brown-shirted thugs of

the Nazi era with their 'Sieg Heils' and their numbed, glazed, brutalized mindlessness."²³

Zuckmayer again dramatized the mesmerizing disorder of power in a totally new approach to the problem and a totally new era, that of the Second World War. In The Devil's General (Des Teufels General, 1946) the playwright presented the blatantly 'new' woman of National Socialism, of whom Hochwalder's Zagl might exclaim, "eine Katastrophe" (I.p.293) and Burgerl might say, "die Schand" (I.p.288) as they do of Sieglinde. Zuckmayer's Putzchen von Mohrunge breaks her engagement to the young air corps lieutenant, Hartmann, who cannot produce four generations of Aryan family papers. In her determination to achieve status in the Nazi ranks, she betrays General Harras, the protagonist, on the grounds of his protection of some Jewish friends, just as Grappina contemptuously betrays Alexander Kerz after his shocked refusal to play the mass murderer to gain his freedom. Zuckmayer's Putzchen is a feminine counterpart of Hochwalder's grotesque "force of nature" (Naturgewalt, II.p.330), Konrad Steisshauptl, when she tells Harras there are only two kinds of people in the world: those who give orders and those who are ordered. "Frei ist, wer die andern beherrscht. Es gibt nur zwei Parteien auf der Welt, die oben--die unten. Und wer unten liegt, der hat Unrecht, und verdient's nicht besser. Das ist die Wirklichkeit. Sie gehoren hinauf. Ganz hoch hinauf!"²⁴

Certainly the order (Befehl) to grant anonymity to fleeing political criminals reflects the state of social and moral affairs (Ordnung) in Hochwalder's Der Himbeerpflucker. Does it effect any change in this state? Does it have any effect at all? Change of any serious nature is not characteristic of comedy nor of an anti-Volksstuck, as Theodor Adorno has called this satire.

The Corruption of Command (Befehl)

What the playwright has done is to present the grotesque success of humanity masquerading behind the symbolic tourist attraction of the White Lamb. He parallels this with a view of Bad Brauning set against the background of the concentration camp, Wustenhofen. It is for the audience to draw its own conclusions. Theodor Adorno expresses the fear that the latter may mistake the triumphant Steisshauptl, the blackguard, for a hero.²⁵

Close reading of the text, however, reveals that Hochwalder has provided keys to the triumph of disorder at the conclusion of the play. One of these keys is the aspect of time within the structure of the comedy. The second is the use of specific animal imagery throughout the work.

Of the many series of ironic comparisons which build the structure of the three-act comedy, one of the most vital is that of time. As has been seen, the order to protect Ernst Meiche, alias "the raspberry picker," reopens a period of Bad Brauning's history which has lain dormant for twenty

years. In the shadows cast by this troop leader, time becomes a myth: past, present and future are simultaneously active. For Sieglinde, the younger generation, ignorant of the past, the times are ripe for changes, which ironically are shown to be very old and vulgar ones and governed by her father's need to hide the past. "Wir leben in einer neuen Zeit, der Vater muss es auch zur Kenntnis nehmen," she tells the servants (I.p.287).

For Schoolmaster Huett, who hunted men, time is cyclic and man remains what he is--fully capable of dealing with thieves, fugitives and the race question. "Kleinmut ist fehl am Platz, wir bleiben, die wir waren," the schoolmaster declares (I.p.288), victim himself of the author's double irony. For Kerz, the thief of Ganselstadt, time has been an opportunity to role-play, to act many parts: "Filmboss, Generaldirektor, Offizier, spanischer Grande, Barone di Treviso, was weiss ich, warum nicht der vor dem man hier zittert?" (II.p.323). But he retreats in horror from the role of "the raspberry picker," from the safety of a future based on the premise that murder is nobler than theft. For Ybbsgrüber and his pack of old comrades, the past is a dream of blood and honor, a memory of heroic grandeur undiminished by the inhumanity of Wüstenhofen or Wilna: "Es war eine andere Zeit, und wo gehobelt wird, fliegen Späne" (II.p.331). It is Steishauptl, however, who brandishes time like a double edged sword. "Think of what

we were then and what we are now. Rich, but from the point of view of ideals, scum!" (Bullock, I.p.173) he soliloquizes ironically. One by one, he exposes the orders and disorders of the past: the betrayals, misuse of office, ill-gotten wealth. "Ja, die Vergangenheit ist eine Macht" (II.p.327), he muses grimly, determined to preserve his own stolen fortune. Through a constant shift of time, Hochwalder illuminates the grotesque character of his protagonist: "die Menschheit . . . bin ich selbst" (II.p.332), boasts Steisshauptl, providing the dramatist's satiric statement on the depleted moral order (Ordnung) of Bad Brauning.

The second key in understanding the triumph of the innkeeper is the nature of the imagery in Der Himbeerpflucker. The frequent references to animal life contrast sharply with the main image derived from the name of the inn, the white lamb. The fox, the wolf, the horse, the dog, packs of dogs, and the animal stable are all given as descriptions of the characters and the inn which they frequent. "Wenn man den Wolfen nennt, kommt er g'rennt," quotes Zagl, dumbfounded upon the first appearance of the supposedly infamous guest (I.p.296). In his hypocritical "protection" of his black-mailed associates, Steisshauptl climaxes the list of images in describing himself as a dog: "kein Hund schert sich mehr um sie" (III.p.339). Unfortunately, this comment is omitted in the English translation by Michael Bullock. "No dog goes to more trouble for you," summarizes Hochwalder's allegorical

comments on the lack of order (Ordnung) in Bad Brauning.

Yet, the dramatist presents another representative of humanity. It is the reliable family servant, the cook, Burgerl, who distinguishes between the counsel to be followed and the orders (Befehle) to be ignored, who advises Sieglinde, disapproves of Zagl, and warns her employer of betrayal. She leaves the audience to answer her question: "Ja, was bildet's ihr euch denn ein? Ich red nichts, aber einmal reisst mir die Geduld, wollt's ihr keinen Frieden, keine Ruh? . . . wer ist denn was bei euch? . . . auf einen armen Hund trampelt's ihr herum . . . seid's ihr keine Menschen? (III.p.347).

It is the dramatist's question to his audience: can you vouch for your own humanity?

Footnotes to Chapter IV

¹ Fritz Hochwälder, "Der Himbeerpflücker," Dramen (München: Langen, Müller, 1968), p. 334. All quotations will be taken from this edition. Roman numerals indicate acts cited. Arabic numbers indicate pagination.

² Fritz Hochwälder, "The Raspberry Picker," trans. Michael Bullock, The New Theater of Europe IV, ed. Martin Esslin (New York: Delta, 1970), 203.

³ T. W. Adorno, "Reflexion über das Volksstück (Zu Fritz Hochwälders Himbeerpflücker)," Der Befehl (Graz: Stiasny, 1967), p. 109.

⁴ Ödön von Horváth, "Interview," Gesammelte Werke: Volksstücke, Schauspiele, I, ed. Dieter Hildebrandt, Walter Huder, u. Traugott Krischke (Frankfurt-am-Main: Suhrkamp, 1970), 11-12.

⁵ Horváth, "Anmerkungen," Gesammelte Werke, I, 3*-4*.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 5*-7*.

⁷ Bertolt Brecht, "Anmerkung zum Volksstück," Schriften zum Theater, Bd. 41 (Frankfurt am Main: Bibliothek Suhrkamp, 1973), 115.

⁸ Ibid., p. 120.

⁹ Ibid., p. 123.

¹⁰ Adorno, p. 109.

¹¹ Martin Esslin, "Approaches to Reality," The New Theater of Europe IV (New York: Delta, 1970), xx.

¹² Adorno, p. 109.

¹³ Esslin, "Approaches to Reality," p. xx.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. xx.

¹⁵ Ivo Braak, "Volksstück," Poetik in Stichworten, 3rd ed. (Kiel: F. Hirt, 1969), p. 245.

¹⁶ "Im Himbeerpflücker (1965) sollte Gericht gehalten werden über die Ewiggestrigen," Heinz Kindermann, "Einführung," Dichtung aus Österreich, ed. H. Kindermann, M. Dietrich, et al. (Wien, München: Österreichischer Bundes-Verlag, 1966), p. 90*.

- 17 Esslin, "Approaches to Reality," p. 19.
- 18 Nikolai Gogol, "The Inspector General," The Collected Tales and Plays of Nikolai Gogol, ed. Leonard J. Kent (New York: Pantheon, 1964), pp. 597-676.
- 19 "The lightning which strikes the morass does not have the triumph of justice as a consequence, as in Molière. Everything remains as uncertain and as threatening as in the beginning." Vsevolod Setchkarev, Gogol, His Life and Works, trans. Robert Kramer (New York University, 1965), pp. 170-71.
- 20 Ibid., pp. 168, 170.
- 21 Hochwälder, "Über mein Theater," rev. ed., Der Befehl (Graz: Stiasny, 1967), pp. 105-06.
- 22 Esslin, "Approaches to Reality," p. xx.
- 23 George Wellwarth, German Drama Between the Wars (New York: Dutton, 1972), p. xii.
- 24 Carl Zuckmayer, "Des Teufels General," Gesammelte Werke: Dramen, III (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 1960), 591.
- 25 Adorno, p. 110.

CHAPTER V

DER BEFEHL: TWO PLAYS CALLED "THE ORDER"

When Fritz Hochwalder was commissioned to write a play for the Eurovision series, Das grosste Theater der Welt, in 1965, he undertook the dramatization of a problem which had surfaced again and again in his most frequently produced works. That problem centered on different aspects of a man's acceptance of and his obedience to an order (Befehl) as well as upon the ensuing effects in the life of the individual and of the social order in general (Ordnung). As early as his first international success in 1942, Hochwalder had shown the enormous cost of an order to Pater Alfonso Fernandez, S.J., and to the Jesuit Indian reductions of eighteenth-century Paraguay in the drama, Das heilige Experiment.¹ However, disobedience to orders proved equally costly to the unfortunate border guard in the 1944 production, Der Fluchtlings.² Again, the violence perpetrated by Fouquier-Tinville, the public prosecutor, (Der offentliche Anklager, 1947-48)³ in carrying out his orders proved to be fatal for him and for society at large during the reign of the French terror.

Der Befehl, which was the first German-language contribution to the international Eurovision series, was televised in Paris and Vienna in January, 1967, and it was presented by BBC under the title of The Order on January 18, of the same year.⁴ Hochwalder, who believes that the work

is closely allied to his satire, Der Himbeerpflücker,⁵ because it deals with the far reaching effects of the Nazi era, has summarized the plot in his essay, "Über mein Theater":

Nach dem "Himbeerpflücker"--Satyrspiel behandelt mein bisher letztes Stück, "Der Befehl," die Tragödie des kleinen Befehlsempfängers schlechthin. Wieder Gegenwart, in der Vergangenheit lebendig wird: ein braver Wiener Oberinspektor erhält von seinem Vorgesetzten den Auftrag, einen ehemaligen Angehörigen der deutschen Feldpolizei ausfindig zu machen, der 1942, im besetzten Holland anlässlich einer Verhaftung ein unschuldiges Kind ermordet hatte und nach Kriegsende spurlos verschwunden blieb. Sehr rasch muss der heutige Befehlsempfänger zu seinem Entsetzen entdecken, dass er mit dem Gesuchten identisch ist.⁶

As is frequently the case with summaries, in general, and with Hochwälder's essays dealing with his own work, in particular,⁷ the dramatist oversimplifies his carefully executed plot and the complex psychological significance of both versions of Der Befehl.

Similarities of the Eurovision Play and the Theater Text

In the Eurovision play, as well as the stage production, which appeared in print a year later,⁸ Hochwälder's penchant for low-keyed irony emerges in the very title itself. The conflict in both works involves not merely an order but a whole series of orders which follow upon the first one. That order triggers the tragedy not only of one average man, Franz Mittermayer, in a violent era but of a generation of Durchschnittsmenschen such as Mittermayer's partner on the police force in occupied Amsterdam, Herr Josef

Hainzl,⁹ or Major Otto Pokorny, their former superior officer, and Heinrich Muff, the most notorious man of the group. They were among the Feldpolizei who had not demurred at obeying and had accepted the brutal social order (Ordnung) of their day only to discover that the wheels of the gods grind slowly but grind exceedingly small.

However, the dramatist's irony does not limit the problem of unquestioning obedience to an order to any single era. Both versions of the play, Der Befehl, gradually universalize the problem of man's tendency toward blind obedience to authority, despite the nature of the order given. Ironic are the protests of the police commissioner, Herr Oberpolizeirat in the stage text: "Machen wir uns nichts vor, Herr Sektionschef, der blinde Befehlsgehorsam gehört nun einmal der Vergangenheit an, und ich weiss nicht, ob das so schlecht ist" (I.ii.p.6).¹⁰ Equally ironic is the comment of Dwornik, Mittermayer's genial district inspector: "Befehl, Gehorsam, Pflicht . . . einmal kommt der Moment, wo man--mit Verlaub--drauf pfeift" (III.ii.p.55).¹¹ The order of their modern-day diplomatic corps and of the Viennese Oberpolizeirat himself serves as a distant, but fatal parallel to that which had been issued November 12, 1942, during the Nazi occupation of Holland for the arrest of Dutch resistance worker, Jan de Goede, and his daughter, Ansje. Of the sixteen repetitions of the word Befehl in the Eurovision play alone, seven are sharp commands to find, in

face of any obstacle, the police officer who had struck Ansje twenty years before and had watched her drown in one of Amsterdam's canals.¹²

From the outset, a multi-leveled concentration of theme, characteristic of Hochwalder's drama, marks the swift introduction to the problem of order. The title emphasizes the fact that an ordinance, issued by authority--in both plays for political ends--is at stake. Secondly, the author himself has stated in his summary of the plot that a new order is issued to the Viennese police in behalf of a diplomatic visitor, Jan de Goede, and the past is reactivated in the present. The action of the plays represents the consequences of an order given upon an order--a rather more sophisticated complication than that in Hochwalder's early work.

Does the command (Befehl) given to Franz Mittermayer and his co-workers twenty years after the fatal order (Befehl) of 1942 reflect changes in the tenor (Ordnung) of society? Do these orders affect the individual lives of the characters in the two works which the playwright entitled Der Befehl? Do the orders reveal any tangible evidence of the nature of twentieth-century society? To answer these questions, it is necessary to examine the two versions of his play in more detail and ascertain whether they render a common point of view.

It was Fritz Hochwalder who suggested to the present writer that a comparison study be made between the 1967 Eurovision play and the theater text of 1968.¹³ The fact that the latter text is presently out of print, but that the television production exists in a special paperback edition, to which is appended essays bearing on Hochwalder's work, reflects the vitality of the original Eurovision text. In the commentary, "Zu Hochwalders 'Der Befehl,'" Franz Theodor Csokor notes his fellow Austrian's success in the new genre, the television play: "Fritz Hochwalder ist es hier gegluckt, in Verknappung und Vertiefung eines fruheren Concettos, aus dem sich sein 'offentlicher Anklager' erhob, den Modellfall einer neuen dramatischen Gattung in der ihr homogenen Form zu schaffen, namlich jenen der Television als Buhnenstuck auf optische und seelische Weise."¹⁴

So topical was the production that a storm of disapproval arose in the German press when Intendant Holzamer, director of the Hamburg television, refused to present the Eurovision play on the grounds that "Der Befehl zu Missdeutungen hatte fuhren konnen." Despite critics from Hamburg's periodical, Hor Zu, who had reviewed the televised drama in Vienna and found no grounds for the refusal, the German channels did not offer it for viewers.¹⁵ That a drama by the Austrian exile should be powerful enough to create a censorship problem in 1967 offers a comment on the judgment of theater critics who, in general, have been misled by the

traditional structure of most of Hochwalder's plays.¹⁶ As will be seen in a later chapter of this study, even his first internationally recognized work, Das heilige Experiment, contains within its three act framework enough revolutionary ideas to be a thoroughly contemporary picture of problems within the church and state.

In both the stage version of 1968, and the television production of 1967, Hochwalder's interest in the concept of order is riveted upon man's habit of accepting a command (Befehl) as a routine aspect of his work. Der Befehl is not merely the dramatization of one aging detective's pride in a peerless record of service to Vienna's police force and the traumatic discovery of the truth about his life. It also dramatizes the ironic truth which Dwornik, the district inspector, alone can understand. In the Eurovision drama, he muses: "Der Tater, ja . . . Wer war's?--Kein Berufsverbrecher, das ist evident; auch kein Sadist, alles spricht dagegen. . . . Ich kann mir nicht helfen: je langer ich nachdenk, umso eher glaub ich, dass es ein Durchschnittsmensch gewesen ist; einer von denen, die heute Gaskassier sein konnten" (III.i.p.76). Any man in the street, the gas man,¹⁷ the detective himself, might have accepted the Nazi order of life. One need not have been a fanatic nor a sadist to buckle to authority in times of terror, a situation which the dramatist demonstrates in the characters of Fabricius and Heron in Der offentliche Anklager.

The fact dawns upon Rayonsinspektor Dwornik as he quietly observes Mittermayer's anguish. In the theater text of Der Befehl, Dwornik expresses himself less concretely, but just as tolerantly: "Seien wir ehrlich: man muss kein Fanatiker gewesen sein und kein Sadist, um damals etwas angestellt zu haben, das man heute nicht mehr begreifen kann" (III.ii.p.54). The detective's honesty is a bold contrast to the confusion of values revealed in the other characters.

Meanwhile, the play itself offers ironic proof of his theories as each of the main characters reacts to the orders (Befehle) given by the ministry, the police commissioner, or the detectives themselves. Hochwalder's affection for ironic comment on the nature of his characters is evident once again in tag names like Mittermayer, the average man in the midst of his fellowmen, and Poslanetz, the ambitious criminal detective caught in his own net, or Muff, the gloomy ex-Nazi murderer who cannot escape his past. All of these appear in both versions of Der Befehl, as do the Oberpolizeirat, Otto Pokorny, and the Dutch minister, Jan de Goede.¹⁸

Although both plays have three acts, the Eurovision version takes full advantage of the camera's roving nature. In contrast to Hochwalder's customary observation of the three unities, the Eurovision play sweeps in a wide arc, depicting scenes of Amsterdam, Vienna and its suburbs. In contrast, the stage play seems static, despite a total of

eight different Viennese settings which are a major departure from the highly unified scene of the White Lamb Inn (Der Himbeerpflücker), the Erdmann villa (Der Unschuldige), or the castle of Galargues (Donadieu). Although Hochwälder had relinquished the unities of time and place in Donnerstag, which he had written for the 1959 Salzburg festival,¹⁹ he could, fastidious theater man that he is,²⁰ justify his deviation by reason of genre. Donnerstag is a modern morality in which a captivating demon, Inspektor Wondrak, takes orders from Belial, Inc., and Everyman wanders between the satanic and the transcendental.²¹

However, nothing in the earlier works can be compared to the variety and fluidity of the Eurovision production of Der Befehl nor even to the more restricted theater version. Franz Csokor attributes the form of Der Befehl not merely to the demands of the new medium but to the influence of a nineteenth-century German dramatist whom Hochwälder had long respected, Georg Büchner. Before examining this claim, a further study can be made of the two texts.

There are eight scenes in the first act of the Eurovision play as opposed to five in the theater text; nine as opposed to five theater scenes in the second act, and five in contrast to the four theater scenes in the third act. The twenty-two televised scenes are not only more numerous, but they are, thanks to the camera, far more diverse than the fourteen stage scenes which show a structured, back-to-back

plan. For example, the first and third acts in the theater text open in Mittermayer's apartment, and the curtains close on the same scene in the first and second act. The fourteen theater scenes are laid indoors, with the possible exception of the easily staged third scene, "Vor der Milchbar," in Act One, which does not occur in the television work at all.

Hochwalder apparently created the Eurovision production, mindful of the easy transitions made possible by cameras. He moves the action back and forth from hotels and police bureaus in Vienna and Amsterdam to Viennese suburbs and meadows. The following outlines of the two versions of Der Befehl reveal at a glance the compact structure of the theater production in contrast to the loose, wide-ranging one of the earlier televised play. What cannot be gleaned, however, from the outlines is the discovery that although both plays feature the same major characters and present the same conflict stemming from the same order (Befehl), the more compact structure of the stage play seems to diminish the figure of the protagonist, Mittermayer, and render him less sympathetic. At the same time, the longer scenes permit a more expansive style of dialogue that diffuses the dramatic impact created on television by the concentrated speech and "pregnant silences" as Peter Demetz has written in reference to another drama by Hochwalder.²²

1967 Eurovision international television production: Der Befehl

	<u>AKT I</u>	<u>AKT II</u>	<u>AKT III</u>
Szene 1:	Bureau des Oberpolizeirates	Mittermayers Wohnzimmer	Dienstzimmer
Szene 2:	Zimmer: Hotel Imperial	Dienstzimmer	Zimmer im Imperial
Szene 3:	Dienstzimmer	Beim Oberpolizeirat	Gaststube des Praterwirthshauses
Szene 4:	Möbelfabrik Otto Pokorny	Auf der Schweinefarm des Heinrich Muffs	Unter dem Konstantinhügel
Szene 5:	Praterwirthshaus	Dienstzimmer in der Amsterdamer Polizei-direktion	Beim Oberpolizeirat
Szene 6:	Extrazimmer	Pokornys Bureau	
Szene 7:	Gaststube	Maleratelier (Amsterdam)	
Szene 8:	Mittermayers Wohnung	Beim Oberpolizeirat	
Szene 9:		Hotel Imperial (Wien)	

1968 Theater Texte, Band 7: Der Befehl

AKT I

AKT II

AKT III

Szene 1:	Mittermayers Wohnung	Privat Sanatorium	Mittermayers Wohnung
Szene 2:	Bureau des Oberpolizeirates	Dienstzimmer	Dienstzimmer
Szene 3:	Vor der Milchbar	Möbelfabrik Otto Pokorny	Bureau des Oberpolizeirates
Szene 4:	Dienstzimmer	Hainzls Buschenschenke	Hotel Imperial
Szene 5:	Mittermayers Wohnung	Mittermayers Wohnung	

Although the immediate order to find the murderer of the sixteen-year-old Ansjé de Goede is ironically given to Franz Mittermayer, the very man who was originally ordered to arrest her, both versions of the play depict the consequences of the two orders upon the lives of three other men, thus intensifying and universalizing Mittermayer's tragedy. On this score, the theater text has a dramatic advantage, since the author makes use of the stage to insert scenes with minor characters who add new dimensions of information or ironic comment to the play. For example, the waitress in the milk bar prepares the audience for Mittermayer's death by gossiping to him about the gangster, Kopetzky. The loneliness of her garrulous old customer enhances the inspector's own fear of retirement, as well as his fear of disgrace.

A contrast to Mittermayer's anguish is the self-confidence and slick business dealing of Otto Pokorny, his former superior officer, whose private remarks belie the advice he gives Franz to forget the de Goede case. Leaving the office to attend his favorite opera, Don Giovanni, Pokorny tells Sabine,²³ his pretty secretary: "Merkwürdige, jedesmal, wenn der Komtur erscheint, glaub ich, er hat's auf mich abgesehen. . . . Das ist das Wunderbare im Theater: man erkennt die eigne Niedertracht, lässt sich erschüttern, beinah bessern, applaudiert wie ein Wilder, und fünf Minuten später pfeift man drauf.--Das nennt man Reinigung" (II.iii.p.38).²⁴

Having made himself Generaldirektor of a furniture factory, the corpulent Pokorny wipes out the memory of past orders through the catharsis of a life long diversion, a possible reflection upon the art-collecting Hermann Göring. In the stage play, he tells Mittermayer:

Wo kämen wir hin, wenn uns die Vergangenheit auf Schritt und Tritt verfolgt?--Was wir getan haben, hat nichts mehr mit uns zu tun, ich lehne es ab, dafür grad zu stehn--wir waren anders, damals, und die andern auch. --Wenn heute ein Kind ins Wasser fällt, spring ich ihm nach und rett es unter Lebensgefahr; damals war's mir egal.--Wir haben Befehle empfangen und durchgeführt.
(II.iii.p.36)

Like Don Giovanni, Pokorny simply shrugs off responsibility for his crimes.

The theater text of Der Befehl differs from the Eurovision text in the confrontation scene, not only that it is Mittermayer's former comrade-in-arms, Hainzl, rather than the father of the murdered Dutch girl, Ansje, whom he searches out, but that it occurs in mid-play in the theater version [II.iv.pp.40-44], rather than at the climax of the work. In a trenchantly ironic dialogue between two toppers in Josef Hainzl's rustic wine tavern, the sixty-three-year-old ex-Nazi is described as a man of the soil, a man of nature (Naturverbundenheit). He labors in the vineyards, has a nineteen-year-old wife, and drinks five liters of wine before he slumps over the Stammtisch each evening. Sadly, the two guests agree civilization has spoiled men like themselves. It is by Hainzl that Mittermayer, the man with the perfect police dossier, is reminded of his own old drinking

form and of his brutal war-time duties: "Man hat uns strikt befohlen: schneidiges Vorgehen, schlagen, treten--das haben wir uns nicht zweimal sagen lassen-beim Appell hat's immer geheissen: Nehmt euch ein Beispiel an den beiden" (II.iv.pp.39, 43).²⁵ For Hainzl, as for Steisshauptl and Ybbsgrüber in Hochwälder's Der Himbeerpflücker, the memory of Nazi slogans, banners and marching feet flood him with nostalgia: "das Herz hängt an der Zeit, sowas vergisst man nicht" (II.iv.p.41). Mittermayer reverts to his own youthful callousness in despair, while Josef sinks back into drunken forgetfulness.

The third man whose shattered life serves as a parallel to that of Oberinspektor Mittermayer's is Heinrich Muff. The record of his atrocities in the Vienna police files convinces Poslanetz, Mittermayer's second assistant, that Muff is the Amsterdam killer. Both texts of Der Befehl characterize Poslanetz as an ambitious young detective, like Dr. Stark in Der Unschuldige, of whom Charlotte Erdmann remarks, "Man sagt er ginge über Leichen."²⁶ In this instance, Poslanetz aims to outmaneuver the two other detectives as well as the suspect, Muff. Both plays show the latter leading a secluded post-war life as a breeder of pigs--symbolic in itself! The dramatist carries this irony further when Muff admits to Mittermayer, during his interrogation at the police station, that he never slaughters his own animals: "Nein, ich bring's nicht über's Herz."²⁷

Poslanetz's accusation is proved false by the drawing, slow-moving, but perceptive Dwornik. Nevertheless, it serves to demolish Muff's long-sought peace of soul. In the Eurovision production he absconds in despair from the farm where the over-eager young Poslanetz has hunted him down: "Ist keine Ruh, noch immer nicht" (II.iv.p.47).

The significant irony of the two plays lies in a third order (Befehl) under which Franz Mittermayer, unlike the other characters, has unconsciously labored. Surviving his post-war crisis of nerves in a sanitarium, Franz is near the end of an outstanding career when the order comes to pursue the Amsterdam case for important diplomatic circles. His official dossier contains a high recommendation from Major Pokorny in praise of his work and propriety in Amsterdam. His boast, "Ich war immer anständig. . . . Immer anständig, korrekt, jawohl" (I.i.p.9; I.vi.p.28) emphasizes the tragic flaw of a middle-class Everyman, in the Eurovision text.

In both texts of Der Befehl, it is Otto Pokorny who reminds Mittermayer of the third and secret order (Befehl) which the former had given him immediately following Ansje's death in 1942. "Unmittelbar nach dem missglückten Einsatz hab ich Ihnen strikt befohlen, alles was damit zusammenhangt, radikal zu vergessen--" his former officer tells the disbelieving police inspector. So ingrained has been his habit of following orders that Mittermayer had obediently taken to drink and forgotten the crime. His disbelief that he himself

is the murderer being sought in Vienna astounds Otto: "Da sieht man wieder einmal, was ein Befehl ist" (I.iv.p.22).²⁸

Superiority of the Eurovision Play

It has been stated previously that the international Eurovision production of Der Befehl is more dramatically conceived than the theater version. Not only does Fritz Hochwälder take full advantage of the camera medium, bringing the murderer back to the scene of the crime in Amsterdam, at Prinsengracht 119, but he juxtaposes dynamic confrontation scenes. For example, Mittermayer is jolted by the reality of the crime reported by Mijnheer Jan de Goede, leader of the Dutch diplomatic delegation to Vienna. The police inspector later interrogates the blind Vrouw Magdalena Cornelissen, the only living witness to his arrest of the de Goede girl. In addition, there are repeated confrontations with the apparition of his youthful Nazi self, Franz Mittermayer, der Grüne.

Furthermore, unlike the theater production, where Mittermayer's death takes place off stage and is merely reported, as in classic Greek tragedy, the Eurovision play focuses on the scene itself and the tragic delusion which plunges Franz into the dark waters of the meadow stream. In the Eurovision presentation, the detective lunges drunkenly, but accidentally, to his death in an attempt to destroy his double, der Grüne, as the green-uniformed police were called during the occupation of Holland in this play. Ironically,

the drowning is accepted as suicide by de Goede as well as by the Kriminalbeamte Poslanetz and the chief of police. The latter considers it merely the return of Franz's post-war nervous breakdown. Hochwalder, who favors linguistic ironies, moves Herr Oberpolizeirat to remark: "Ein tief betrubliches Ereignis, und von echter Tragik.--Der einzige Mann, der dem unbekanntem Tater gefahrlieh war, geht hin und legt in plotzlicher Sinnesverwirrung Hand an sich" (III.v.p.85).

By contrast, Mittermayer's deliberate suicide in the stage text appears to everyone, with the exception of Dwornik, who has long ago guessed his superior's secret, to have occurred in the line of duty. Yet, the capture of Kopetzky, a gangster, is not Franz's assignment, as both he and the commissioner remark in the stage text: "Es ist nicht mein Ressort" (I.iii.p.17); "Es war nie sein Ressort" (III.iii.p.56). It is the same type of death which General Harras seeks in Carl Zuckmayer's Des Teufels General to atone for his acceptance of Nazi orders: "Wer auf Erden des Teufels General wurde und ihm die Bahn gebombt hat--der muss ihm auch Quartier in der Holle machen."²⁹

The Jedermann Tradition

The dramatist's success in universalizing the basic theme of the play is more artistically conceived in the Eurovision text. Dwornik, a mouthpiece for the author in both versions of Der Befehl, expresses this theme at great

length in the third act of the theater text: that under stress or in times of violence, every man is liable to submit blindly to authority, despite the character of the orders (Befehle) given. His discussion of this is far more subtle in the Eurovision production. It is a theme that Fritz Hochwalder has frequently dramatized but never with more sympathetic characters.³⁰ In the prose essays, he outlined the problem, but not until the completion of Der Befehl did the dramatist offer any conclusions about blind obedience to an order. In "Vom Versagen des Dramas in unserer Zeit," he merely sketches the life of a man like Mittermayer:

Ein Offizier, der in Auschwitz Menschenfrachten auftrag- und ordnungsgemass zum Tode beforderte, rief jedesmal, wenn sich die Tur der Gaskammer hinter den Opfern schloss und das Zyklon B fallig war, seinen Untergebenen zu: "Na, gib ihnen schon zu fressen!" Begegneten wir dem Mann wieder, wir waren erstaunt, einen kultivierten Herrn von tadellosen Manieren vorzufinden, mit durchaus normalen Lebensgewohnheiten.³¹

The first suggestion of the universality of the theme in Der Befehl appears with the use of the protagonist's name, Mittermayer. It is, as has been said previously, a tag name, indicating that Franz is an average man among his fellowmen, among men like Otto Pokorny, Heinrich Muff, Josef Hainzl and the owner of the Prater tavern in the Eurovision play, Herr Takatsch.³² He is not merely a 'type' character by any means, yet like Frisch's Biedermann and Hofmannsthal's Jedermann, Mittermayer's fate is that of every man. Lore Lucas sums up Hochwalder's technique in the study, "Dramaturgische

Schichtung": "Allgemeines Schicksal komprimiert sich im Einzelschicksal, um zugleich wieder ins Generelle auszugreifen. Vergangenheits-Vorgänge sind in die Gegenwarterscheinung gesammelt."³³

A much more subtle device in the dialogue which reflects the universality of theme is the turn of speech of Franz Mittermayer's mother, a character replaced by Anna, his wife, in the stage version. After an anguished drinking spree in the Praterwirtshaus, the protagonist returns home to a darkened apartment, where a younger, green-clad Franz mocks him, repeating his own cruel threats to Ansje twenty years before, repeating his own secret decision to let Heinrich Muff take the blame. As the aging inspector cries out against the sneering apparition, his elderly mother appears in her night robe, protesting in the words of Hofmannsthal's character, "Mein Bub . . . mein lieber, guter Bub" (I.viii.p.35). In the following first scene of the second act, they breakfast together, and she echoes Jedermann's mother as she answers Mittermayer's "Wohin gehst du?" with the reply, "In die Kirche."

Finally, Dwornik, himself now ironically a victim of taxing orders from his frustrated chief, summarizes the universal nature of the theme in a sentence which appears in both texts and which provides F. T. Csokor with one of many reasons to mention the influence of Georg Büchner's Woyzeck on Der Befehl. "Unglaublich, was in einem Menschen steckt," muses Dwornik aloud.³⁴

The Influence of Büchner

It is no accident that Hochwälder's tragic television drama of the Durchschnittsmensch, who knows so well how to take orders, bears distinct resemblances to the now famous work of the nineteenth-century German dramatist. While the young Austrian was still attending the Volkshochschule in Vienna in the 1920's, he delivered a talk in which he lay great stress on the art of Georg Büchner (1813-37) whose drama Woyzeck, had recently been adapted by Csokor for the Viennese stage.³⁵ In addition, by 1927, Csokor had completed his own play on the life of Büchner, Die Gesellschaft der Menschenrechte, which ran in Munich and Vienna until 1933, when it was closed by order of the Nazi government.³⁶ Thus, Hochwälder, who did not flee Vienna until 1938, had had stimulating contact with the revolutionary young German's life and dramatic work. That Woyzeck had not been recognized in Germany until 1850, when the play was first printed, and until 1913, when it was first staged in Munich,³⁷ was mentioned by Fritz Hochwälder at the 1962 Bregenz Festspiele: "Das Genie Büchners erst nach Jahrzehnten entdeckt."³⁸ Certainly Büchner's share in the struggle for political freedom, his exile in Strassburg, and his last year in Zürich, where he died, combined to add great weight to his influence upon the Austrian exile.

It is a tribute to Hochwälder's dramatic insight that he could abandon his decided preference for classic form

when the opportunity to use Georg Büchner's episodic technique arose quite naturally through the medium of television. From the outline of Der Befehl in this chapter, it is clear that Hochwälder abandoned the unities of time, place and action in favor of a mosaic structure.³⁹ In a juxtaposition of scenes, he has succeeded, like Büchner, in making the content of one episode footnote that of another, so that there exists a total irony of structure.⁴⁰ An example of this is the contradiction that while Herr Oberpolizeirat declares the day of the totally obedient civil servant is now past, he demands that very obedience from all three detectives in the play.

In the movement from figure to figure, as Mittermayer, Poslanetz and Dwornik attempt to trace their prey, Hochwälder creates a play based on a technique seen in Woyzeck. Margret Dietrich describes this: "Eine Art Stationendrama war in dieser Weise schon Büchners Wozzek, der--erst in unserem Jahrhundert entdeckt--von unerhörter Wirkung auf dramatische Gestaltungsfragen der Gegenwart gewesen ist." The fragmented, loosely strung scenes of this Stationendrama were later brilliantly used by Georg Kaiser in the tragedy, Von Morgens bis Mitternachts (1912, 1917), and Hochwälder had further observed their use in Csokor's early play Der grosse Kampf (1914).⁴¹ Unlike Büchner, who died before he could put the scenes of Woyzeck into a permanent order, Hochwälder divides his twenty-two scenes into three acts.

However, this in no way disturbs the fluid movement of Der Befehl.

Although the two plays involve the murder of a young woman, the elements of human love and jealousy, of fidelity, remorse and total loss render the lyric prose of the earlier German work far more poignant. It is to be noted that Büchner's play is concerned with the disorders of nineteenth-century society and these lead to the tragic climax of murder. Hochwälder's more typical twentieth-century plot focuses on the tragic consequences of Ansjé's murder which had occurred in an era of unparalleled social disorder, twenty years before the action of Der Befehl.

Both Woyzeck, the insignificant barber-soldier, and Mittermayer, the respectable Oberinspektor, suffer from hallucination and psychological disorientation. However, Büchner's protagonist, a voluntary subject for a doctor's crude dietary experiment which enables Woyzeck to supplement his soldier's pay, experiences apocalyptic voices and visions from sheer hunger and superstitious fear. The mysterious sights and sounds occur even before jealousy and despair drive him to murder Marie. He suffers monumentally from what is done to him by a heartless society. Mittermayer's hallucinations, on the other hand, are totally private, occurring long after the murder of de Goede's daughter and stemming from physical excess, both in drink and in the cruelty Mittermayer has perpetrated against society. The

two men are dehumanized by the orders they obey, but unlike Franz, whose middle-class passion for status⁴² leads him to obey orders even to the point of crime, Woyzeck never loses his own sense of identity nor his basic humanity.

Franz Mittermayer is the victim of autoscopy, that is, the visual hallucination of the physical self, the manifest double in literature.⁴³ This appearance of the Doppelgänger is fairly frequent in Hochwälder's drama. For example, the angry Christian Erdmann of Der Unschuldige (1957-58) catches a glimpse of his mirrored image as he shouts deprecations upon the retreating figure of Petternigg. In a rush of memory, he mimes before the mirror his long forgotten temptation to murder a rival suitor of his wife, Charlotte. In the experimental play, 1003, Hochwälder goes much further in the dramatic use of the double, restricting the number of characters on stage to Ulrich Valmont, a playwright, and Hans Bloner, the protagonist of Valmont's next literary venture. The tape-recorded voice is that of the playwright at work. Valmont's plan to re-humanize modern man, characterized by the conscienceless Bloner, through the drama, is foiled. He discovers that the sadist Bloner is his other self: "Der Nicht-mensch: Projektion der eignen Niedertracht!"⁴⁴

Franz Mittermayer's lifetime of respectability is suddenly placed in jeopardy in the Eurovision text of Der Befehl as he is forced to accept the facts that have dropped out of his consciousness for twenty years. Like Maupassant,

who saw his hallucinatory double sit at the other side of the desk to dictate what he should write, Mittermayer returns from the Praterwirtshaus determined to preserve his career and finds his double. Behind his desk sits der Grüne, his younger, slimmer, green-uniformed self. Robert Rogers comments on such phenomena: "When an author portrays a protagonist as seeing his double, it is not simply a device or gimmick calculated to arouse the reader's interest by virtue of the strangeness of the episode but is, in fact, a result of his sense of the division to which the human mind in conflict with itself is susceptible."⁴⁵ Mittermayer is horrified, just as Valmont is in 1003, when his double describes his former brutalities⁴⁶ and then suggests means of incriminating another man. Since Franz had already decided, between drinks in the tavern, that he would save his own reputation even at the expense of Heinrich Muff, the scene is best described by the statement, "Where a philosopher might speak of conflicts between body and spirit . . . a literary artist would be likely to conjure up representative characters."⁴⁷ Mittermayer, torn between his conscience, his desire to maintain his reputation and to win his promotion, exemplifies the classic literary character dogged by a Doppelgänger. Der Grüne is not only a conscience figure but a figure that projects Mittermayer's narcissism and wish-fulfillment.⁴⁸ In contrast to this personalism of the twentieth century, the awe-inspiring visions of Büchner's

Woyzeck project a panorama of universal doom.

Georg Büchner learned Shakespeare's technique of commenting upon plot and setting by means of song, and Woyzeck is filled with subtle, but painful truths about man's misery. In the famous fair scene, "Buden, Lichter, Volk," an old man sings while a child dances to the barrel organ:

Auf der Welt ist kein Bestand
Wir müssen alle sterben,
Das ist uns wohlbekannt!⁴⁹

In one of the most pregnant scenes of Der Befehl, Hochwälder introduces the same theme by means of the same instrument. The fact that there is no singer for the tune, "Oh, du lieber Augustin," increases the subtlety of the dramatist's comment upon the fate which Mittermayer knows awaits him at Prinsengracht 119.

O du lieber Augustin, alles is hin,
's Geld is hin,
's Madl is hin,

Wollt noch vom Geld nix sagen,
Hatt i nur 's Madl beim Krag'n!

s' Geld is weg,
's Madl is weg,
Augustin liegt im Dreck!

O du lieber Augustin, alles is hin!⁵⁰

As the wordless strains float into Inspector Knippers' Amsterdam office, Vienna's Oberinspektor Mittermayer symbolically accepts impermanence and death:

Knippers (lächelnd): Heimatklänge. . . .

Mittermayer: Bei uns gibt es keine Werkelmänner mehr. . . .

Knippers: "Werkelmänner"--lustige Bezeichnung, nie zuvor gehört. . . . Sagt man so, bei euch?

Mittermayer (dreht sich um): Ich möchte hin.⁵¹

Knippers: Verzeihung--?

Mittermayer: Zur Prinsengracht.

Knippers: An den Tatort? (II.v.pp.50-51)

Where Büchner, in the manner of Shakespeare, uses a host of unimportant characters, performers and barkers at the fair, to accent the disorder of Woyzeck's world and the inescapability of man's final end, Fritz Hochwälder reverts to the allegorical tradition of Hofmannsthal's Jedermann and the satiric humor of the Austrian Volkstheater. Combining the disorders of this world with eschatological allusions, Hochwälder presents the startling figure of Death himself in the Praterwirtshaus near the little river where Franz Mittermayer is to meet death by drowning. Death, a costumed actor on his way home from work, thrusts his scythe into the umbrella stand and complains, "Eine Existenz, zum Verzweifeln. . . . Jeden Abend auf der Geisterbahn herumrennen und die Leute erschrecken--traurig, wenn man bedenkt, wer man einmal war, und dass es manchen gibt, der im Ernst gezittert hat vor einem" (I.v.pp.26-27). His complaint, tinged with comic overtones and the satiric intentions of the playwright, reflects the history of each of the ex-Nazis in the play.

Both Woyzeck and Mittermayer return to the scene of murder and both instigate an interrogation scene--for very

different reasons. Convinced of Marie's infidelity to him, Woyzeck emphasizes the sense of sight, torturing himself with the thought of his loss:

Woyzeck: Ich hab ihn gesehn.

Marie: Mann kann viel sehn, wenn man zwei Auge hat und man nicht blind ist und die Sonn scheint.

Woyzeck: Mit diessen [sic] Augen!

Marie (keck): Und wenn auch.⁵²

Mittermayer, too, is tortured with the need to ascertain that he had indeed murdered Ansjé de Goede. Vrouw Magdalena Cornelissen is the only living witness to the crime and has been blind for years. In vain does the detective demand a description of the Viennese policeman:

Mittermayer: Keine Geschichten. Jedes Wort, jeder Laut ist wichtig. Angeblich soll er Wiener Dialekt gesprochen haben, stimmt das?

Cornelissen (zitternd): . . . Ich . . . weiss es nicht. . . .

Mittermayer: Freilich, da kommt nur ein Einheimischer mit, nicht einmal ein Reichsdeutscher. . . . Wir haben es manchmal als Geheimsprache benützt, man muss aufgewachsen sein damit--wie ich, zum Beispiel.

(Pause)

Mittermayer: Es heisst: Blinde sind besonders hellhörig . . . Passen Sie gut auf, Frau. Hat es vielleicht geklungen wie--: (Brüllt) "Mach mir keine Schwierigkeiten, Judenbankert--"

(Cornelissen fährt hoch, wie von einer Tarantel gestochen.)

Mittermayer (hört und sieht nichts): "Du kommst mit, oder ich zerquetsch dich wie eine Laus--"

Cornelissen streckt abwehrend die Hände aus. (II.vii. pp.62-63).

The emphasis on the senses of sight and sound occurs again in both plays at the moments of death. As Woyzeck stabs Marie to death, two passers-by hear the cries. One attributes the sounds to the pond water, the singing of insects and the ringing of cracked bells, while the other guesses the truth and makes off to help.

Erste Person. Halt!

Zweite Person. Hörst du? Still! Da!

Erste Person. Uu! Da! Was ein Ton.

Zweite Person. Es ist das Wasser, es ruft, schon lang ist Niemand ertrunken. Fort, s'ist nicht gut, es zu hören.

Erste Person. Uu jetzt [sic] wieder. Wie ein Mensch der stirbt.

Zweite Person. Es ist unheimlich, so dunstig, allenthalb Nebel, grau und das Summen der Käfer wie gesprungne Glocken. Fort!

Erste Person. Nein, zu deutlich, zu laut. Da hinauf.
Komm mit.⁵³

The same sounds of water, of a human voice, and of a pair of passers-by occur in the scene, "Unter dem Konstantinhügel" in Der Befehl. More typical of the twentieth century are the lovers in Hochwälder's play, who do not go to the aid of the drowning man as Büchner's Erste Person insists upon doing. Reflecting the attitude of Otto Pokorny, who, in both versions of Hochwälder's work, refuses to "get involved," the girl and boy in this scene hurry away from their retreat near the bank of the little waterway.

Mittermayer: . . . das Wasser . . . (Kniet hin, taucht die Hände ein, netzt das Gesicht; richtet sich auf.)

Da muss ein Steg sein, eine Brücke . . . (Erhebt sich.) Dort . . . Hinüber und davon--(Tut einige Schritte; bleibt wie angenagelt stehn . . .) du . . .

(Stille.)

(Plötzlich, mit der Stimme des 'Grünen'):
 "Erinner dich--: Wenn du eine Dummheit machst, brech ich dir das Genick" (Abwehrend): Weg . . .
 Weg von mir--(Abermals bricht die Stimme aus ihm):
 "Nützt nichts--: wir rechnen ab--" (Duckt sich; keuchend): Rühr mich nicht an . . . Zurück, oder--
 (Spöttisch): "Die Faust ins Gesicht, wie damals--?"
 (Springt vor, ans Ufer): Verdammter Mörder--(Holt aus, schlägt mit Wucht ins Leere, stürzt kopfüber ins Wasser und versinkt.)

(Stille. Aus dem Gebusch gegenüber tritt ein blutjunges Liesbespaar.)

Mädchen: Da ist einer ins Wasser.

Bursche: Ein Besoffener.

Mädchen: So hilf ihm--

Bursche: Bin nicht aufs Hirn gefallen.

Mädchen: Ein Mensch ertrinkt--

Bursche: Geht's uns was an? (Zieht sie weg.) Fort!
 (III.iv.p.82)

Neither text of Woyzeck nor of Der Befehl indicates that the protagonists commit deliberate suicide. Nor is there a question of insanity. Both men are obsessed with a problem which leads them into the danger of death by drowning.⁵⁴ In the case of Franz Mittermayer, the episode completes the total irony of structure mentioned above. Following the order to arrest de Goede and his daughter, he strikes Ansje who falls backwards into the canal and drowns as he heartlessly drives from the scene:

Der Grüne: Rotzmensch--hast du sie angebrüllt, schon im Stiegenhaus--du kommst jetzt mit, oder--

Mittermayer (verneint)

Der Grüne (lacht): Befehlsgemäß vergessen, nicht wahr?
(Wieder scharf): Und dann, als sie stehn geblieben ist, bei der Brücke vor der Gracht, zitternd vor Angst--bist du nicht hin und hast ihr die Faust ins Gesicht geschlagen, mit aller Wucht? Hast ihr nicht nachgeschrie'n: Ersauf von mir aus, Judenbankert.--Nein?

(Mittermayer schlägt die Hände vors Gesicht.)

Der Grüne: Dabei war's keine Jüdin, aber es schimpft sich leichter so.--Damals, was? (I.viii.p.33)

Mittermayer dies as he has killed: near a bridge over a narrow stretch of water, he tumbles drunkenly into the depths while a young girl orders her companion to help him--in vain. Paul Hübner has commented, appropriately enough:

Seine Dramen . . . entstehen aus der hellwachen theatralischen Vernunft und der Beherrschung des genau ineinandergreifenden Gefüges, was als "Technik des hochgeputzten Reissers" missverstanden worden und einer der Gründe ist, warum Hochwälder in seiner praktischen Nüchternheit, die seine dramatische Leidenschaft nicht ausschliesst, das Publikum eher erreicht als die avantgardistische literarische Kritik.⁵⁵

The influence of Georg Büchner's early, revolutionary drama, Woyzeck (1837), upon the Eurovision production of Der Befehl (1967) reveals itself clearly in the fluidity of structure, similarity of themes and dramatic technique. It places Fritz Hochwälder's play in the mainstream of the German-speaking dramatic tradition.

The Problem of Order

In both versions of Der Befehl, Hochwalder has dramatized the duality of human nature under the pressures generated by the commands of authority. His intense concern for the problem, arising from the political events in Austria and Germany in the 1930's and 1940's,⁵⁶ was registered with the writing of Das heilige Experiment in 1942 and underscored in a work encouraged by Georg Kaiser, Der Fluchtlings (1944). In this latter three-character play, a trapped fugitive berates the threatening border guard whose orders are to turn over the man who has escaped from a passing transport railroad car on the way to the camps. Before the guard's wife, the stranger denounces the inhumanity of her husband:

Dass man freie Menschen zusammentreibt und zur Sklavenarbeit verschleppt, geht ihn nichts an! Er dient bloss. Wem er dient, das will er nicht wissen und wer es ihm ins Gesicht sagt, der ist sein Feind. Denn wurd er drauf horen . . . dass er ein Handlanger von Verbrechern ist und also nicht um ein Haar besser als seine Herren. Wie es Verbrechern ergeht weiss er. Und trotzdem will er nichts anderes als in Frieden leben. Um jeden Preis!⁵⁷

Ashamed of betraying other men, the guard answers the accusation of having acted as a tool for criminal authorities with the same excuses proffered by Pokorny in Der Befehl as well as the public prosecutor, Fouquier-Tinville, in Der offentliche Anklager: "Aber was soll denn unsereiner tun . . . der nur den Befehl der Vorgesetzten ausfuhrt und an nichts anderes denkt als an sein Haus und an sein Weib und an seinen Dienst. . . . Es kann doch keine Strafe geben fur

etwas, das man nicht aus eigenem unternimmt sondern bloss, weil man einen Befehl durchführt!" He concludes, using the same imagery of the machine which is used by Fouquier, "Ich bin nichts anderes als da Gewehr, ich gehorch dem Druck, was ich denke und sage, zählt nicht--."58

Over and over, the characters in the plays echo the guard's statements of self-defense: I only carried out my orders; a man cannot be blamed for doing what he is ordered to do. "Befehl ist Befehl" is the ironic theme which threads its way through Der Himbeerpflücker and the plays mentioned above. It is to be noted, that except for the latter work and for Der Befehl, all Hochwälder's dramas dealing with the problem of unquestioning obedience to authority were written and produced before the widely publicized trial of Adolph Eichmann in 1961. They foreshadowed with amazing accuracy the statements made by him in explaining his compliance with Nazi orders in regard to the misuse of his fellow men. Hannah Arendt reports that Eichmann "remembered perfectly well that he would have had a bad conscience only if he had not done what he had been ordered to do--to ship millions of men, women and children to their death with great zeal and the most meticulous care." Furthermore, at war's end in 1945, it was the prospect of life without orders which overwhelmed him. He admitted, "'I sensed I would have to live a leaderless and difficult individual life. I would receive no directives from anybody, no orders and commands would any longer be issued to me.'"59

Dürrenmatt and Hochwälder

This problem of Befehl, of commands received from authority, is apparent in dramatists writing in the German language at the time of the Eichmann trial. References to Befehl are scattered throughout Rolf Hochhut's Deputy (Der Stellvertreter) (1963) and are particularly interesting in Friedrich Dürrenmatt's The Physicists (Die Physiker). In the latter play, a tragi-comedy, written in 1962, Dürrenmatt presents the scientist as a classic case of the dilemma of modern man. For Joseph Eisler and Alec Jasper Kilton, world famous physicists, who represent, respectively, the politics of the east and of the west, the orders of their governments override the value of human life, just as Eichmann's orders had done. Despite their prestige as learned men, they obediently incarcerate themselves in a foreign sanitarium for the insane to spy upon the protagonist, Möbius, in a political struggle to gain his scientific tracts. They demean themselves as madmen, murder their nurses, and half-heartedly attempt a duel with revolvers. "Befehl ist Befehl" is the comment they both make while shrugging off any responsibility for criminal action. Dürrenmatt's satire enables Newton, alias Kilton, to parallel the order of a tidy room to the ordering of the universe through mathematical formulas. "Ich bin eigentlich nur Physiker aus Ordnungsliebe geworden,"⁶⁰ he tells the detective. Both scientists brush aside Möbius' concern for society in the light of his

technical discoveries, but they become victims of their own indifference to human order.

Although both Hochhut and Dürrenmatt make references to command (Befehl) and to order (Ordnung), the interaction of these concepts is not a structural element in the plays as it is to be found in the work of Hochwälder. In addition, the command is not directed to the protagonist himself nor has a relation to his past life, as is the case of the protagonists in this study of Fritz Hochwälder's dramas. Dürrenmatt, like Hochwälder, has no interest in the documentary stage which has provided a forum for Hochhut. However, both writers mirror the protestant ethic of Europe in contrast to the Judaeo-Christian tradition which causes Hochwälder to focus on the effects of a command upon man's inner psyche as well as the order (Ordnung) or disorder which follows upon this.

Does the concept of order as command (Befehl) and as a state of society (Ordnung) in Hochwälder's two versions of the drama, Der Befehl reflect any tangible aspect of the nature of twentieth-century society? A psychological study by Stanley Milgram of the City University of New York entitled "Some Conditions of Obedience and Disobedience to Authority" has recently shown that both versions of the play come very close to portraying the general attitude of that society to the commands of authority (Befehl) and the acceptance of a social situation (Ordnung).

In carefully controlled laboratory experiments at Yale University and later in Bridgeport, Connecticut, sixty-two percent of a thousand normally well-meaning, responsible persons obeyed the demands of laboratory authorities and carried out orders for a so-called study of the effect of punishment on memory. Misled by the deliberately pre-arranged appearances of authority, very responsible men and women uncritically accepted decisions of the experimenter and performed what in real life could only have been labeled very harsh acts. This is not to deny that there existed no tension among the obedient subjects. On the contrary, deep inner conflict between the natural disposition not to harm others and the tendency to obey those in authority raised enormous dilemmas. Nevertheless, the disturbing results showed that "A substantial proportion of people do what they are told to do, irrespective of content of the act and without limitations of conscience, so long as they perceive that the command comes from a legitimate authority."⁶¹

Thus Franz Mittermayer's behavior in following orders in Holland, once Nazi authority had been made legal in Vienna⁶² is part of his general compliance with orders issued by a variety of authoritative figures throughout Der Befehl. In both versions of the play, the de Goede case is given to him as an order and he responds instantaneously:

Mittermayer: Ein Spezialeinsatz?

Oberpolizeirat (trink; stellt das Glas ab): Ein Befehl.

(Mittermayer richtet sich unwillkürlich auf)

Oberpolizeirat (lacht): Wie ein Zirkuspferd beim
Trompetenklang-- (Eurovision, I.i.p.9)

Hochwälder adds scene upon scene in an ironic generalization of everyman's response to an order. In the Amsterdam hotel, Inspector Knippers knocks on the door just as der Grüne tempts the heavily drinking Mittermayer to commit suicide by throwing himself out the window into the canal below. Knippers is triumphant with his official joke ("Open in the name of the police") when Franz obediently opens the door:

(Von draussen eine energische Stimme:)

"Öffnen.--Kriminalpolizei."

(Mittermayer wie oben. Die Stimme draussen:)

"Öffnen Sie augenblicklich."

(Mittermayer zur Tür; schliesst auf. Inspektor Knippers tritt ein.)

Knippers (lächelnd): Erstaunlich, wie so etwas wirkt,
nicht wahr?--auch wenn es bloss ein Scherz unter
Kollegen ist. (Eurovision, II.ix.p.68)

Mittermayer's compliance is mirrored by the acquiescence of Dwornik and Poslanetz to the Oberpolizeirat who, in turn, assures the Austrian minister and Dutch delegation of his complete cooperation. In a devastating series of scenes both in the stage and television productions, Hochwälder portrays the fate of men like Mittermayer, Muff, Pokorny, and Hainzl. They have carried their compliance to its logical extreme and spend their lives dulling the memory of their deeds.

Footnotes to Chapter V

¹ Fritz Hochwalder, Das heilige Experiment, Universal Bibliothek, Nr. 8100 (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1958, 1964).

² Fritz Hochwalder, Der Fluchtlings, Schauspiel in Drei Akten, Neufassung (Elgg: Elgg Volksverlag, 1955).

³ Fritz Hochwalder, "Der offentliche Anklager," Dramen (Munchen: Langen, Muller, 1968), pp. 71-149.

⁴ Charles B. Johnson, ed., "Select Bibliography," Donadieu by Fritz Hochwalder (London: G. G. Harrap, 1967), pp. 38-39.

⁵ Fritz Hochwalder, "Der Himbeerpflucker," Dramen, pp. 287-349.

⁶ Fritz Hochwalder, "Uber mein Theater," rev. ed., Der Befehl (Graz: Stiasny, 1967), pp. 106-7.

⁷ "Freilich, ich bezeichne mich nicht unbedingt als 'Schriftsteller,' mit Vergnugen bleibe ich Analphabet, um auf meine Weise Stucke auf die Bretter zu stellen-- unliterarisch, unpratenzios, volkstumlich." Fritz Hochwalder, "Uber mein Theater," German Life and Letters, 13, No. 2 (Jan. 1959), 110. Rev. ed., p. 99.

⁸ Fritz Hochwalder, Der Befehl, Schauspiel in drei Akten, Theater-Texte, Bd. 7 (Munchen: Langen, Muller, 1968). The citations from the stage text are from this edition. Roman numerals indicate act and scene. Arabic numbers show pagination.

⁹ Hainzl does not figure in the Eurovision play. "Kurz danach ist er mit ein paar Kugeln im Bauch liegen geblieben, mitten in Amsterdam." Der Befehl (Graz: Stiasny, 1967), p. 24. All quotations from the Eurovision text are from this edition.

¹⁰ These lines do not appear in the Eurovision play, where the commissioner at first admires and later demands Mittermayer's compliance.

¹¹ Dwornik is more subtle in the Eurovision play in helping his superior, Mittermayer, face de Goede and acknowledge his crime.

¹² The theater text contains fourteen repetitions of the word Befehl, six of which refer to the present order to locate the missing murderer.

- 13 Interview with the playwright, May 29, 1973, Zürich.
- 14 Hochwälder, Der Befehl, p. 86.
- 15 "Ausreden um ein abgesetztes Fernsehspiel," Hör Zu, Nr. 15, Hamburg, April 1967, n.p.
- 16 "Wienerisch und österreichisch ist auch Hochwälders formaler Konservatismus." Hans Weigel, "Vorwort," Dramen I von F. Hochwälder (München: Langen, Müller, 1960), 19.
- 17 Dwornik appears to have some of the characteristics of Hans Wurst: his humor and earthy wisdom as well as his tragic vision. The mention of "der Gaskassier" has humorous overtones apparent in Mizzi's fiance in Der Unschuldige. Cf. Dramen II (München: Langen, Müller, 1964), 46-47.
- 18 Seymour L. Flaxman has pointed out that "Muff" is a derogatory name for a German in the Netherlands. He also directed attention to the translation of Jan de Goede as John the Good, for the present writer.
- 19 Hochwälder, Dramen I, 191-292.
- 20 "Fritz Hochwälder besitzt noch aus seiner Wiener Jugend den Meisterbrief des Tapezierergewerbes, und die ihm davon eingeborene Handwerkredlichkeit merkt man am sauberen Aufbau seiner Stücke." F. T. Csokor, "Aus F. Hochwälders Werkstatt," Wort in der Zeit, VI, Heft 1 (Jan. 1960), 29. "Die Personalunion des Dramatikers und Tapeziers hat ihre unverwechselbare Eigenart gewonnen, indem sie sich einen Wiener als Gefäss erwählte; in seiner unliterarischen Theater-Ausschliesslichkeit ist Fritz Hochwälder aber nicht nur Nachkomme seiner erklärten Vorbilder Raimund und Nestroy, sondern auch im gleichen Geist am Werk . . . wie die Nur-Dramatiker u. Bühnenhandwerker Shakespeare u. Molière u. der fast gleichaltrige Jean Anouilh. Sie alle sind Mitglieder einer unsichtbaren, ewigen Tapezier-Innung des Welttheaters." Hans Weigel, "Vorwort," p. 20.
- 21 Peter Demetz, "Fritz Hochwälder," Postwar German Literature (New York: Schocken, 1972), pp. 110-11.
- 22 Ibid., p. 111.
- 23 Sabine is one of the characters in The Skin of Our Teeth by Thornton Wilder, the American playwright who was extremely popular on the Swiss stage, the only free, German-speaking stage during and immediately after the second World War. In his unrevised essay, "Über mein Theater," Hochwälder writes of Wilder, who was completely at home in the German

language, "Thornton Wilder, der zum Unterschied von seinen Bewunderern und Nachahmern weiss, was wirklich gut ist." German Life and Letters, p. 112.

24 Hochwälder protests didacticism in art, especially in drama. "Seit einigen Jahren setzt sich Brecht verdienstermassen allenthalben als Klassiker durch--später Nachfahre des deutschen Idealismus, der er im Grunde ist; auch der Irrglaube, das Theater vermöchte den Menschen zu ändern, ist gleichen Ursprungs, sympathischer Wahn, marxistisch überbaut.--Im Zirkus, während flinke Arbeiter schweigsam den Umbau besorgen, erscheint manchmal mit grossem Geschrei ein Clown, ein Zwerg, er kommandiert, er dirigiert, doch niemand kümmert sich um ihn, den das Publikum verlacht. . . . Solchem Divertissement ist der Einfluss vergleichbar, den das Theater in Wirklichkeit auf die Menschen ausübt, es ändert nicht ein Jota, wohl aber ist der Mensch imstande das Theater zu verändern, dass dies geschehe, bleibt unsere Hoffnung." Cf. "Vom Versagen des Dramas in unserer Zeit," Maske und Kothurn, 8 (1962), 28.

25 Compare Steisshäuptl's reference to himself: "Ich bin eine Naturgewalt, gegen mich seid's ihr alle miteinander Scheisser!" Der Himbeerpflücker, II, p. 330.

26 Hochwälder, Der Unschuldige, II, p. 149.

27 In the Eurovision text, Muff says: "Ich bring's nicht übers Herz" (II.iv.p.46).

28 "The Nazis . . . changed the military 'recipient of orders,' the Befehlsempfänger, into a 'bearer of orders,' a Befehlsträger, indicating, as in the ancient 'bearer of ill tidings,' the burden of responsibility and of importance that weighed supposedly upon those who had to execute orders." Hannah Arendt, Eichmann in Jerusalem (New York: Viking Press, 1964), p. 27.

29 Carl Zuckmayer, "Des Teufels General," Gesammelte Werke: Dramen III (Frankfurt-am-Main: S. Fischer, 1960), 617.

30 Richard Thieberger discusses the protagonist of Der Flüchtling, a man like Mittermayer: "Ein linientreuer Grenzwächter, der lieber gehorcht als denkt, wird durch die Verfolgung eines flüchtigen Widerstandskämpfers schuldig." Cf. "Macht und Recht in den Dramen Fritz Hochwälders," Deutsche Rundschau, 83 (November 1957), 1149.

31 Hochwälder, "Vom Versagen des Dramas in unserer Zeit," pp. 23-24.

32 The innkeeper, who has been dealing in the black market, believes Oberinspektor Mittermayer's lonely drinking bout is a ruse to spy upon him. Cf. I,v,vi,vii, pp. 25-31. Also III.iii.pp.80-81.

33 Lore Lucas, "Dramaturgische Schichtung," Dialogstrukturen und ihre szenischen Elemente im deutschsprachigen Drama des 20. Jahrhunderts, Abhandlungen zur Kunst-, Musik- und Literaturwissenschaft, Bd. 72 (Bonn: H. Bouvier, 1969), 178.

34 Theater-Texte, III.ii.p.54. Der Befehl (1967), III.i.p.75. Cf. Csokor, "Zu Hochwälders Der Befehl," p. 87. "Jeder Mensch ist ein Abgrund. Es schwindelt einem, wenn man hinabsieht!" G. Büchner, Woyzeck, ed. M. Jacobs (Manchester: University Press, 1963), p. 90. Jacobs uses the text of Fritz Bergemann, Büchners Werke und Briefe (Leipzig: Insel, 1949). It is this text Csokor quotes from Scene x, Mariens Kammer. The Hamburger Ausgabe, G. Büchner, Sämtliche Werke und Briefe, I, ed. W. R. Lehmann (Wegner Verlag, 1968) does not contain this speech by Woyzeck.

35 Richard Thieberger, "Introduction," Donadieu by F. Hochwälder (London: Harrap, 1967), p. 11.

36 "1927 schloss ich mein Stück um Georg Büchner, Gesellschaft der Menschenrechte ab," F. T. Csokor, Der Mensch und die Macht (Wien: Zsolnay, 1963), pp. 117-18.

37 F. Schmitt, J. Göres, ed., Abriss der deutschen Literaturgeschichte in Tabellen (Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum, 1963), p. 146.

38 Hochwälder, "Vom Versagen des Dramas in unserer Zeit," p. 26.

39 "Im ursprünglich für das Fernsehen verfassten Stück Der Befehl (1967) macht sich Annäherung an die Mosaik-Technik in Georg Büchners Woyzeck bemerkbar." Ernst Alker, "Der Dramatiker F. Hochwälder," Österreich in Geschichte und Literatur, 15, Heft 8 (1971), 466-69.

40 Max Spalter, "Georg Büchner," Brecht's Tradition (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1967), pp. 82-83.

41 Margret Dietrich, "Fritz Hochwälder," Das moderne Drama, 2. Auflage (Stuttgart: A. Kröner, 1963), pp. 645-46.

42 Like Büchner and his forerunner, Lenz, Hochwälder portrays the vanity and self-importance of the middle class. Poslanetz and Pokorny are insufferable in Der Befehl as Dr. Stark and Petternigg are in Der Unschuldige. Cf. Brecht's Tradition, p. 89.

- 43 Robert Rogers, The Double in Literature (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1970), p. 14.
- 44 Hochwälder, "1003," Dramen II, 262.
- 45 Rogers, p. 29.
- 46 In the stage production, this information is given by Hainzl in II.iv.pp.42-44.
- 47 Rogers, pp. 29-30.
- 48 Hochwälder writes briefly of the question of the double: "Sehr rasch muss der heutige Befehlsempfänger zu seinem Entsetzen entdecken, dass er mit dem Gesuchten identisch ist, und daraus ergibt sich im Verlauf des Stückes--analog der alten Fabel von Dr. Jekyll und Mr. Hyde--eine veritable Ich-Spaltung: mein Held fällt im Duell mit sich selbst." Cf. "Über mein Theater," rev. ed., p. 107. Ernst Alker notes: "Es dürfte sich eher um das Duell zweier Uniformen handeln; mit dem Wechsel der Montur wird aus dem gutmütigen Wiener Polizisten, fasziniert durch den Befehl, der eigene Weichheit überkompensierende Nazi-Scherge," Österreich in Geschichte u. Literatur, 15 (1971), 469.
- 49 W. R. Lehmann, ed., Georg Büchner, Sämtliche Werke und Briefe, I, 411. All quotations are from this edition.
- 50 In the first edition of Hochwälder's essay, "Über mein Theater," he refers to this folksong in regard to the Austrian theater: "'Alles ist hin,' wie Augustin sagt, nicht der heilige, sondern der liebe--," German Life and Letters, p. 109.
- 51 Italics are mine.
- 52 Büchner, "Auf der Gasse," Woyzeck, p. 416.
- 53 Büchner, Woyzeck, p. 428.
- 54 The debate as to the arrangement of scenes in Büchner's Woyzeck can never be permanently settled. In contrast to the 1949 Bergmann edition of the play, Woyzeck returns from the pond to play with the child and the idiot in the 1968 Hamburger Ausgabe edited by Lehmann.
- 55 Hübner, "Vorwort," Dramen II, 15-16.
- 56 "For the memory of the experience of 1938 still haunts him: the enthusiastic crowds that welcomed Hitler on his arrival in the major cities Linz, Graz, Vienna; the way in which old friends suddenly turned against those who had

. . . lost their right to live because they were Jews. How could all those wild emotions suddenly have vanished as though they never existed?" Martin Esslin, "Introduction," The New Theater of Europe IV (New York: Delta, 1970), xix.

57 Hochwalder, Der Fluchtling, Neufassung, III, 56.

58 Ibid., pp. 57-58. George E. Wellwarth discusses this problem inconclusively in "Fritz Hochwalder: The Drama within the Self," Quarterly Journal of Speech, 49, No. 3 (Oct. 1963), 274-81.

59 Arendt, pp. 25, 32.

60 Friedrich Durrenmatt, "Die Physiker," Komodien II und Fruhe Stucke (Zurich: die Arche, 1963), 294.

61 Stanley Milgram, "Some Conditions of Obedience and Disobedience to Authority," Human Relations, 18, No. 1 (1965), 76. See also Daniel Bell, "Is Eichmann in All of Us?" (Arts and Leisure) New York Times, 26 May 1974, pp. 1, 13.

62 In both versions of Der Befehl, Hochwalder establishes that Mittermayer supported social order (Ordnung); that he had opposed Nazism while it was still an illegal political party, that he lost his position on the Viennese police force when the movement came to power and was only reinstated through the emergency needs of war.

CHAPTER VI

DAS HEILIGE EXPERIMENT: PARAGUAY'S HOLY EXPERIMENT

Fritz Hochwalder had completed his three important historical dramas when he wrote in the morning edition of Die Presse, May 9, 1954:

Gibt es denn uberhaupt ein historisches Stuck? Ich glaube namlich nicht. Wenn sich der Vorhang hebt, dann wird alles, was auf der Buhne vor unseren Augen geschieht, von lebendigen Menschen gesagt und getan. Uber die Gegenwartigkeit der Aussage entscheidet einzig und allein der Grad des Interesses, das sie von uns abverlangt. Alles, was auf der Buhne geschieht wird also zum Heute und Hier, mag es historisch vor zwei oder zweitausend Jahren spielen. Zweite Uberlegung: Die Ansiedlung eines uns interessierenden Problems in einem geschichtlichen Raum objektiviert und steigert zugleich die Aussage, welche im Gewand der Gegenwart leicht Gefahr lauft, zur Kolportage und zum Leitartikel zu werden. In meinen Stucken werden Probleme aufgegriffen, die uns alle angehen. Alle konnen und sollen nicht einer Meinung sein. Im sogenannten historischen Stuck nun interessieren die Divergenzen zur Gegenwart zumindest ebenso wie die Parallelen. Es stimmt und stimmt nicht.¹

The dramatist was, of course, responding to critics like Richard Hoffman, who viewed Donadieu mainly as a commentary on the events and problems of World War II,² or Kurt Becsi, who had interpreted Das heilige Experiment as a meeting of Catholicism and communism, of Rome and Moscow.³ The vitality and piquancy of Hochwalder's theater, however, lies, at least in part, in the detachment with which he presents his drama of ideas. Again and again, close critics of his work have remarked his apparent impartiality in regard to the problems

he raises in his plays.⁴ Speaking for those who are thoroughly acquainted with Hochwalder's style, Hans Weigel comments:

Und dies wird man als Hochwalder-Kenner gleichfalls verstehen; denn nie sind in seinen Werken Recht und Unrecht schematisch einzelnen Kontrahenten des dramatischen Prozesses zugeordnet. Hochwalder verfugt uber eine anima naturaliter dramatica und lasst . . . beiden Seiten ihre subjektive bona fides, er klagt beide an und verteidigt sie zugleich, und dies konnte angesichts eines solchen Stoffs damals und bis heute zutiefst missverstandlich wirken.⁵

This disciplined attitude of artistic impartiality has enabled Hochwalder to present the human tragedy involved in the historical process of Real-Politik. From biblical times, represented in his privately circulated drama, Esther (1940), to the medieval society of Meier Helmbrecht (1946), as well as that of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Europe in Donadieu (1954) and Der offentliche Anklager (1948), and onward to the present in his latest and yet unpublished work, Lazaretti (1973-74), he has dramatized the human condition set against the background of a deeply entrenched sociopolitical order (Ordnung). Constrained by the orders (Befehle) of one authority or another, his characters must depend upon personal inner resources in the struggle for moral and often physical survival.

It was a Swiss colleague who made it possible for the exiled Hochwalder to see his first major work produced in March, 1943. Hans Weigel reports, "Ein trefflicher Schweizer Kollege, der Dramatiker und Ramuz-ubersetzer Werner Johannes

Guggenheim, setzte sich kameradschaftlich für die Arbeit eines völlig Unbekannten ein, und am 24. März 1943 brachte das Städtebundtheater Biel-Solothurn das Schauspiel in Biel zum erstenmal auf die Bühne."⁶ The success of Das heilige Experiment caused Hochwälder to send the script to Richard Thieberger as soon as World War II ended. Translating it into French, Thieberger gave the drama the provisional title, Terre de Dieu. In 1947, Das heilige Experiment was performed in Vienna at the Burgtheater and Radio Paris broadcast the play in 1950. Shortly after this, a young French producer, Jean Mercure, changed the title to Sur la terre comme au ciel and presented the drama in March, 1952, at the Théâtre de l'Athénée. So successful was the production that it continued at the Théâtre Apollo for an entire season.⁷

Most Successful Historical Play

Das heilige Experiment is a dramatization of eighteenth-century realist politics during the colonization of the new world in South America. Economic competition and power politics pit the mother country and her Spanish colonists against the privileged Jesuit reductions of Paraguay, where one hundred and fifty thousand Guarani Indians have sought refuge from the horrors of colonial slave traffic.⁸ The dilemma with which the Jesuits assigned to Paraguay are suddenly faced takes shape in the play and reaches a climax in the span of one day--July 16, 1767. Historically, this is the liturgical feast of Our Lady of

Mount Carmel, a dramatically effective choice of date by the author. Bound to the King of Spain as his subjects and by their vows of poverty, chastity and obedience to the Society of Jesus, the missionary priests have spent their genius in the organization and Christianization of the one-hundred and-fifty-year-old mission settlements in Paraguay.

Provinzial: (vor der Landkarte) Hier haben wir euch aufgetan Gottes Reich am Parana und Uruguay. Dreissig Siedlungen--hundertundfünfzigtausend indianische Christen.--Wollt ihr, Candia, Naguacu, eure siebentausend hergeben für Gottes Grösse?

Candia: So wie wir kommen, freiwillig, wir siebentausend --so werden alle Indios in diesem Land zum guten Gott Jesu kommen. (I.i.p.10)⁹

The scene of the play, the provincial's quarters in the Jesuit college in Buenos Aires, not only provides the unity of setting but accords with the historical records of the Paraguay experiment.¹⁰ Having moved, as history attests, into the interior between the Parana and present Uruguay Rivers, the Jesuit fathers sought greater safety from the Brazilian Paulistas, who had been raiding their sites since 1620 and carrying off the mission Indians to be sold into slavery. With the permission of the Spanish throne, priests with campaign experience, such as Father Ladislaus Oros, the chief catalyst in the play, began the military training of the Indians for self-defense.¹¹

Organic Elements of the Drama

Militarism, viewed by the critics as a symbol of the Hitler era, permeates Das heilige Experiment with its all-male roster of Spanish soldiery, colonists, clerics and Indian catechists. Hence, the concept of order both as ordinance (Befehl) and as a form of existence (Ordnung) in this, Fritz Hochwalder's first international dramatic success, is a strikingly organic element of the entire play. Father Alfonso Fernandez, S.J., provincial superior of Paraguay's Jesuits, is commanded (Befehl) by the royalist, Don Pedro de Miura, to order the surrender of the settlements to him as emissary of the King of Spain. Refusal will forfeit the existence of the Society of Jesus in the homeland. Issued by political authorities and tragically re-inforced by religious ones,¹² the ordinance (Befehl) introduces the action of the plot and the consequent annihilation of the missionary state, called variously in the text, Gottes Staat and Gottes Reich, an image of Utopian good order (Ordnung).

How does the ordinance (Befehl), to abandon the reductions, affect the harmony of life as well as the psychological and spiritual composure (Ordnung) of the characters in the drama? Is there any problem of identity or disorientation from society, such as is to be found in Der Unschuldige and Der Befehl? Does the command lead from a tragic dilemma to a new vision and inner composure (Ordnung), as in the case of the protagonist of Donadieu? It will be the aim of this

chapter to explore answers to these questions.

Reviewing a performance of Das heilige Experiment in Hamburg, Peter Forster wrote: "Das heilige Experiment im Jungen Theater; es klingt nach Wagnis, weil's noch keiner in Hamburg gespielt hat. Die Scheu vor des Stückes herkömmlicher Dramaturgie dürfte mit dieser Aufführung verfliegen; gebannt folgt das Publikum dem dramatischen Unterricht über ein nahezu unbekanntes Gesellschaftsmodell: christlichen Marxismus."¹³ Christian Marxism is one description for the astounding reality of the "so-called Jesuit state of Paraguay" which won the approval of leaders of the Age of Enlightenment. They were Voltaire, D'Alembert, and Montesquieu, men, who as the Provincial points out to his assistant, Father Oros,¹⁴ otherwise opposed the Society of Jesus in Europe. To these philosophers, Paraguay was an admirable experiment, proving that the European intellect could create a society according to given plans.¹⁵

For the characters of Fritz Hochwälder's drama, it was a holy experiment, the fruit of enormous spiritual and physical discipline. From the first scene, the dramatist captures the ceremonious formality of old-world religious life that extended even to the missions of the colonial world. With not a little irony and knowledge, he presents the thoroughly efficient spirit of a well-managed religious institution bent on glorifying God in this world: ad majorem Dei gloriam. It is the maxim of that spiritual militia of the counter-reformation, particularly directed

against Luther and his doctrine, and led by a Spaniard who made obedience to the will of God the leit-motif of the Company of Jesus.¹⁶ Between 1522 and 1540, Ignatius, the founder, finalized his book of practical guidance, The Spiritual Exercises, a rugged school of sanctity which was to become the religious training ground of centuries of men and women.¹⁷ Hochwalder was keenly aware of this tradition:

Seit 1936 hatte mich der historische Staat der Jesuiten im Paraguay des siebzehnten und achtzehnten Jahrhunderts interessiert, von 1938 an hatte ich Musse, die erreichbare Literatur kennenzulernen. Bei naherer Beschaftigung mit dem Stoff erkannte ich die einzigartige Moglichkeit, die Fragen nach sozialer Gerechtigkeit und dem Reich Gottes auf Erden durch Ansiedlung in einem geschichtlichen Raum zu objektivieren und unserer Gegenwart nahezubringen.¹⁸

Thematic Influence of Csokor

Moreover, when, in 1945, he sent the manuscript of Das heilige Experiment to a fellow exile, Franz Theodor Csokor, who was then in Rome, he spoke of the incentive which Csokor's own play, Gottes General, had aroused in him. Csokor later reported: "neben dem Quellenwerk Fulop-Millers habe ihn auch mein wahrend des Krieges in Holland erschienenenes Loyola Drama, Gottes General, zu seiner Arbeit angeregt, die bereits (1943) in Biel ihre Urauffuhrung erlebt habe: so schrieb er."¹⁹

The third Reich had already thrown its shadow over Austria when Csokor, encouraged by Odon von Horvath, finished the last scene of Gottes General, ein Drama in

sieben Stationen. The work is a play based on the life and writings of Ignatius Loyola and his first Jesuit companions. It had been Horváth who had felt that the times warranted saints, not warriors, for the drama. It had been Horváth too, who previous to his untimely death in Paris, had found the exiled Csokor a publisher in Holland by 1938, just before the Nazis took over that country. Csokor used Loyola's letters and Spiritual Exercises, as well as his diaries, with poetic license to portray the Spanish saint.

Als Ordensstifter, der seine Boten in alle Weltteile sendet, wird er der grösste der spanischen Conquistadoren von Columbus bis Cortez, freilich ohne ihren blutbefleckten Ruhm. In seinem Verhältnis zum Göttlichen aber ist er (wie jeder Heilige bis zu einem gewissen Grade) revolutionär. In seiner kriegerischen Strenge gemahnt er manchesmal an seinen Pariser Schulkollegen und grimmigen Gegner Calvin. Ignatius von Loyola stösst zu Gottes Heerbann, er hilft Gott mit seinem Fähnlein und ist 'ad majorem Dei gloriam' bereit, alles auf sich zu nehmen, Kampf und Schmach und Tod.²⁰

For Franz Csokor, Ignatius' struggle to save Christianity was an image of the European struggle against the forces of moral and political disruption from 1933 onward.

Although Hochwälder's Jesuit provincial, Alfonso Fernandez, bears some resemblance to the older figure of Loyola whom Csokor depicts as the priest tempted both to pride and despair, as the superior loved by his companions, and as the leader separated from the man closest to him, the plays differ in structure and context. Unlike Csokor's Gottes General, with its panoramic form of seven 'stations,' portraying Loyola moving from Pamplona to the Holy Land and

back to Rome in unhurried epic style, Hochwalder's five-act play creates a powerful, dramatic impact. Through the tension supplied by the three dramatic unities, the realism of the mercantile world and of political struggle, Hochwalder achieves a tragic immediacy which bears no resemblance to Csokor's exotic romanticism. Nevertheless, Das heilige Experiment serves as an interesting sequel to Gottes General, and it is clear that Hochwalder may well have built on details suggested in the earlier play. Loyola, who, as the protagonist in Csokor's play, sends his six companions out to the ends of the earth, assigns the new world to Salmeron, the youngest man:

Da! Die neue Erde! Das Land des Columbus!

Funfte Station, S. 108.

To Xavier, later sainted as the apostle to the Indies, he assigns the whole of Asia:

Denn das Grosste habe ich dir aufgespart: Die Mutter der Welt mit der Wiege des Herrn! Asien vom Osten zum Westen!

Funfte Station, S. 108.

Not Ignatius Loyola, the founder, but his follower, Francis Xavier, a main character in Csokor's drama, serves as the legendary model of the dedicated Jesuit missionary in Das heilige Experiment. Similarly, a schoolroom globe in the Sorbonne symbolizes the 'Holy Land' which the Society will conquer for God. In Hochwalder's work, on the contrary, a globe in the Superior's council room reflects the world

brought under the sword by Spain, while a wall map adorned with a traditional picture of St. Francis represents Gottes Staat, the Paraguay mission experiment.

Structure of "The Two Standards"

Sensitive to the character of his dramatic material, Fritz Hochwalder wrote Das heilige Experiment within a dramatic structure which resembles key portions of the Spiritual Exercises. In the well-known meditation on the "Two Standards"²¹ Ignatius calls upon the exercitant to make a decision that will affect his whole life. The retreatant has encountered the challenge of opting for God in an earlier reflection entitled "the kingdom of Christ." Now he is presented with the image of the two standards²² which Loyola derived from the earliest writings of the church fathers: the city of God and the city of Satan.

Ranged against the scholarly and competent padres of Paraguay in the drama are the determined royalist, Don Pedro de Miura and his company of Spanish soldiers; the investigating commissioners, the officers in the service of Spain; the belligerent colonial traders and the slave owners. It is Miura who sums up their united efforts in fulfilling the order (Befehl) to destroy the mission state:

Villano: Wir haben unseren Auftrag erfullt!

Miura: Ja. Wir sind am Ziel. (Aufblickend) Das Reich Gottes ist beim Teufel. (V.viii.p.61)

So frequent throughout Das heilige Experiment is the

appearance of phrases like "Gottes Staat" (pp. 9, 38, 38, 43), "das Reich Gottes" (pp. 32, 47, 47, 61), "Gottesstaat" (p. 36), "Reich des guten Gottes" (p. 9) that the title, Das heilige Experiment, serves as an ironic after-thought at the close of the tragedy. The characters, both native and European, view the thirty reductions of Paraguay as the province of the Jesuit missionaries, referring to it as "einen Staat" (pp. 25, 27, 32, 35, 36), "jenes Reich" (pp. 32, 47) as well as "euer Staat" (pp. 15, 17, 26, 26, 27, 31, 32, 34, 41). This last term is repeated four times on page forty alone. The Jesuits themselves refer to the thirty mission sites as a state, and, in the manner of Brecht, the stage is ironically dominated by an immense map of the "Gottes Reich." Speaking of their work, the missionaries frequently interchange the words "Gottes Staat" with the phrase "unser Staat" (pp. 9, 17, 35, 39, 40, 42, 48). It is, dramatically, a subtle indication of the material success against which the Society of Jesus is warned in the Spiritual Exercises of the founder. In a vigorously colorful metaphor which Cornelis, the worldly-wise and sympathetic "heretic," recognizes as a tragic misconception, the provincial superior, Father Fernandez, declares: "Nach hundertfünfzig Jahren der Vorbereitung geht die Jesugesellschaft in Paraguay zum Angriff über. (Zeigt auf die Landkarte.) Der junge Riese reckt sich. Er schreitet über die Flüsse, er rückt durch Wildnis und Steppe vor--bis der letzte Indio in diesem

Land für Christus gewonnen ist" (I.viii.p.17).

There is an ominous, militant ring to the priest's triumphant description of their success. The Society "invades" Paraguay as a conqueror! In place of the gentle ruler in the meditation of the Spiritual Exercises, the Christ-figure drawing souls through humility and patience (Ordnung), the Jesuit state is a young giant thrashing his way across the wilds of Paraguay in search of followers for Christ!

It is the poetic outburst (note the alliterative personification of "Riese reckt"; the assonance of "schreitet über die Flüsse; er rückt durch Wildnis und Steppe vor . . .") of an idealist dedicated to the success of his undertaking. However, the metaphor foreshadows the call to arms, at first in obedience to an order and later in defiance of one, by the fiery Padre Oros who is entrusted with the defensive military training of the Indians. The metaphor also finds an echo in the Provincial's short-lived decision to resist the injustice of Spain's edict.

That the Paraguay reductions represent a territory of unprecedented order (Ordnung) is confirmed by antagonistic colonial slave owners like José Bustillos ("in Eurem Zauberstaat Milch und Honig fließt" [I.iv.p.14]); by the jovial Calvinist, André Cornelis ("Jawohl--weil der Herba Maté der Jesuiten mit Liebe gepflanzt ist . . . und das schmeckt man aus dem Tee--in der ganzen Welt" [II.vi.p.36]);

and by Miura, the very man who carries out the order (Befehl) of destroying the work and deporting the padres ("Donnerwetter --was habt ihr da für einen Staat aufgebaut" [II.v.p.35]); ("Ein Reich der Liebe und Gerechtigkeit" [II.viii.p.41]).

Fritz Hochwälder creates the dramatic tension of two standards of existence by contrasting the perfect order of the Gottes Staat (Ordnung) with the slave nation of the Spanish landowners, allegorically replacing the two standards described by the Ignatian method of prayer.

Miura: Weshalb laufen die Indios der Grundbesitzer zu euch über?

Hundertpfund: Weil sie bei den Grundbesitzern in Sklaverei sind, geschunden und geprügelt werden.

Miura: Wie steht's denn mit der Bestrafung in euren Siedlungen? Wie ahndet ihr Verfehlungen?

Hundertpfund: Wir verwarnen. Im Wiederholungsfall, bei leichteren Fällen, setzt es fünfundzwanzig Stockstreiche. In schweren Fällen einige Monate Gefängnis.

Miura: Und die Todesstrafe?

Hundertpfund: Gibt's bei uns nicht. Sie ist auch nicht notwendig. Raub kommt nicht vor: es hat jeder, was er braucht. Um Geldes willen verletzt niemand ein Gebot--in unserem Staat ist Geld unbekannt.

Miura: Ihr habt kein Geld? (II.v.pp.34-35)

Astounded by the simplicity and justice of life in the mission sites (Ordnung), Miura still protests that the Indians are no angels, that murders must occur. Father Hundertpfund agrees that occasionally a murderer is discovered and punished by banishment. In reply to the question of where such criminals go, Hundertpfund explains: "Wohin er will.

Wir krümmen ihm kein Haar. Er darf die süsse Freiheit kosten. In den Städten. Und da kommt er flugs zu den Grundbesitzern als Sklave. Da ist er auch bei Christen--aber was für welchen!" (II.vi.pp.34-35). Enraged by the success of the reductions and his own financial losses, José Bustillos vents his anger in a crescendo of ugly orders (Befehle) to the father provincial: "Schafft Eure Indios schleunigst aus der Stadt" (I.iv.p.3); "Treibt euren Menschenhandel woanders" (I.iv.p.14); "Geht zurück, woher ihr gekommen seid!" (I.iv.p.14); "Verzieht euch ins Kloster!" (I.iv.p.14).

Austrian Folk Theater

Ironically, these last commands foreshadow the very orders (Befehle) Father Fernandez will hear again both from Miura, the king's deputy, and from Father Querini, the legate of the Jesuit General. However, it is the snarling Bustillos who labels the experiment in Paraguay, a magic land, "Eurem Zauberstaat," the idyll about which humanity is forever dreaming. Hochwälder introduces the word Zauberstaat, conscious of course, of the traditions of the Viennese stage, of Ferdinand Raimund's fairy kingdoms and Johann Nestroy's comic escapades. Amid the tensions of Real-Politik, the dramatist not only recalls an old tradition, but adds a new chapter to it by presenting life in the reductions (Ordnung) on the comic, as well as the historical level.

There is the humorous tag name, Hundertpfund,²³ for the superior; there are in-church puns which the latter draws from the language of the scripture. For example, Pater Hundertpfund describes the disappointment of the Spanish critics in finding no evidence of supposed wealth in the reductions. "Die Gesichter der Kommissäre: lang wie Israels Wanderung durch die Wüste.--Da sitzen sie jetzt im Kanaan der Jesuiten und finden nichts" (I.ii.p.11). Some of Pater Hundertpfund's puns provide ironic commentary upon the action of the play as a whole. The advancing destroyers are, for example, reported as having stopped to pray in the Church of the Redeemer. The superior remarks: "Die Spanier beten in der Erlöserkirche" (I.ii.p.11).

In addition, there are the lively, humorous bargaining scenes between the procurator, Father Clarke and Mynheer Cornelis, the tea merchant from Rotterdam (I.v-vii.pp.15-17). Equally comic are the interrogations of the exasperated miles gloriosus, Don Miguel Villano, who needs three donkeys to haul his useless testimony against the Jesuits to the official hearings (II.i.pp.20-21; II.ii.pp.22-25).

Villano: Da--da ist Material! Monatelang war ich unterwegs--dieses ganze Material--und noch viel mehr--habe ich hierher geschleppt. In Candelaria bepakte ich einen Esel damit. In Miguel waren schon zwei Esel nötig, um diese Unmenge, diese Flut, diesen Berg von Material zu befördern. Und in Loreto musste ich einen dritten Esel--

Arago: Ihr seid selbst ein riesengrosser, ein ganz ungeheurer Esel!

Villano: Ich mache Euch darauf aufmerksam, dass Ihr mich beleidigt. (II.i.p.20)

The questioning of Don Villano provides a comic parallel to the interrogations by Miura, by the provincial, and by the envoy from Rome. Together they form an important structural pattern throughout the play. The comic passages not only recall the farce of Vienna's folk theaters but show a marked likeness to Dogberry's fantastic interrogations in Shakespeare's Much Ado About Nothing. Arago's questioning of Don Villano is, moreover, a slapstick dress rehearsal of his interrogation by de Miura and emphasizes the political farce which Spain carries out against the Gottes Reich.

Miura: Don Villano--ist es richtig, dass die Jesuiten in Paraguay ein souveränes Reich haben?

Villano: Ja. Das ist richtig.

Miura: Pater Provinzial?

Provinzial: Wir haben kein souveränes Reich.

Villano: Die Jesuiten machen hier, was sie wollen--ergo sind sie souverän.

Miura: Sie haben sich aber nicht losgesagt von der spanischen Majestät?

Villano: Nein. Losgesagt haben sie sich nicht.

Miura: Sie sind also nach wie vor des Königs Untertanen?

Villano: Ja. Untertanen sind sie.

Miura: Dann sind sie doch nicht souverän!

Villano: Man kann auch sagen: sie sind nicht souverän.

Miura: Don Arago--schreibt ins Protokoll. (II.ii.p.23)

Don Pedro de Miura's repeated order to Arago to "write it

down," to record the accusations, emphasizes the travesty which Hochwalder dramatizes repeatedly in the trial-scenes throughout his works. It is the travesty where sentence has been passed before a hearing can be held.

Command (Befehl) as a Source
of Order (Ordnung)

The first scenes of Das heilige Experiment establish the missionary work as a holy one, a genuine attempt to establish the kingdom of God (Ordnung) among the Guarani Indians in Paraguay. Trained in the Ignatian tradition of obedience²⁴ and following the orders (Befehle) of European superiors, the Jesuits in the new world create a state built upon strong leadership. In Scene One, Candia and Naguacu ask for admittance to the reductions along with seven thousand tribesmen. Interrogated by the provincial, they beg: "Gib du uns die Befehle des guten Gottes--" (I.i.p.10). Like their protectors, the missionaries, the Indians are receptive to orders (Befehle).

A totally different group surrounds Pater Fernandez in Scene Two. His Jesuit staff offers suggestions as to who shall tend the seven thousand newcomers accustomed only to the wilderness. Fernandez rejects Pater Reinegg, the musician, Pater Torres, the Spaniard. Even Briegniel²⁵ is rejected in favor of Pater Berendt from San Tome, the most experienced man of the Paraguay missions. The local superior protests with compassion:

Hundertpfund: Berendt hängt an der Bevölkerung von San Tomé. Er ist nun volle zwanzig Jahre dort.

Provinzial: Er ist unser erfahrenster Missionar. Er kommt in die neue Siedlung, zu dem noch heidnischen Stamm des Naguacu und Candia. Fertigt einen Boten nach San Tomé ab, Hundertpfund!--Patres, gebt mir nun euren Bericht, nehmt Platz! (I.ii.p.11)

The decision falls upon Berendt--for the best interests of the Indians. No further comment, no demurring. The order (Befehl) is to be sent to San Tomé. Father Provincial moves on to the business of the day and Father Hundertpfund reports good humoredly on the progress of the investigation of the reductions. Both of the above scenes establish the importance of the concept of order as command (Befehl) in the structure of the drama. They give credence to the soldier-priest's testimony during Don Pedro de Miura's questioning: "Genau wie wir Patres im heiligen Gehorsam unsern Vorgesetzten ergeben sind--genauso folgen unsere Indios ohne Widerspruch unseren Befehlen" (II.vii.p.38). The provincial, too, assures de Miura of their fidelity to the commands of the king: "Solange der König keine Sünde von uns verlangt, sind wir ihm unbedingt gehorsam" (II.ii.p.24). Neither missionary realizes that his testimony is an ironic comment on his own response to the fall of the "kingdom." Fritz Hochwälder uses the key virtue of the Jesuit Society as the tragic reversal upon which the drama turns. Within the Gottes Staat, in marked contrast to the Spanish forces, orders are given and taken with considered

reverence.²⁶ Again the dramatist foreshadows the tragic conflict:

Provinzial: Ich habe doch Euer Vertrauen, Oros?

Oros: Ich kann dieses Wort nicht gebrauchen. Ich vertraue mir, gewiss. Aber Euch--Euch gehorche ich. Ich gehorsche Euch auch dann, wenn ich mir selbst den Gehorsam verweigern würde. (III.iii. p.51)

Close reading of the play reveals the increasing frequency of the word "order" (Befehl), either as a noun or a verb, throughout the text. An approximate comparison shows that the word appears frequently in every act:

Act One: four examples

Act Two: nine examples

Act Three: five examples

Act Four: nineteen examples

Act Five: four examples

During the brief armed resistance against the Spanish in Act Four, the use of the word "order" (Befehl) is more than doubled in comparison to any other act. However, the dialogue throughout all five acts is marked by the use of the imperative, appropriate to the Spanish military forces, the Italian delegate of the General, and the militant nature of the Society of Jesus.

Within the boundaries of the experimental state--allegorically, the kingdom of Christ described in the Spiritual Exercises--are the missionaries, who give or receive orders in the spirit of charity and humility, and

the Indians, who have asked to follow the orders of the "good God." Beyond the pale of the experiment, aligned with the powers of Spain--allegorically the kingdom of Satan--stand those whose orders are to destroy the Gottesstaat. Slander-tongued colonists and traders replace the monstrous companions of the Father of Lies who presides over the kingdom of Satan in the meditation on the Two Standards. Again and again the dramatist draws up the lines of the opposing camps as St. Ignatius had done in the Exercises. Pedro de Miura describes the two kingdoms:

Ihr sät und erntet ohne Habgier--die Indios singen Euer Loblied--und laufen unsern Grundbesitzern davon! Eure Produkte gehen in die Welt hinaus--unsere Händler verarmen. Bei euch herrscht Frieden und Wohlstand--im spanischen Mutterland Elend und Unzufriedenheit. Dieses Land, das wir mit unserm Blut erobert haben--ihr macht es gross: gegen uns! Ein kleines Volk seid ihr in eurem Staat--und wir, die Mächtigen, müssen vor eurem Beispiel zittern! Wir dehnen uns durch unsere Kriege aus--ihr durch euren Frieden. (II.viii.p.41)

Real-Politik and the Eclipse of Ordnung

Act One closes dramatically with Miura's shockingly abrupt revelation of Spain's second order, the arrest of the Jesuits: "Der zweite Befehl lautet allerdings: Für die Dauer der Verhandlung hat der Visitator die Jesuiten in schützende Haft zu nehmen" (I.x.p.20). This plot device of a delayed revelation of an order, appropriate enough in a technological age of time-released power, occurs as a repeated pattern throughout Das heilige Experiment. This is seen in a dramatic complication typical of Fritz Hochwälder

in Act Two, where the roles of the two kingdoms and the roles of those giving and taking orders are reversed. In secrecy, Miura orders the provincial, Padre Fernandez, to deliver up the missions on his own initiative as a traitor to the cause he has served. Thus Spain can save political face in destroying her own holy experiment before the world. The bonus will be the Spanish crown's prevention of the liquidation of the Jesuit Society in the homeland. With similar secrecy, this order (Befehl) is reiterated in Act Three, as Querini reveals his identity and repudiates the success of the reductions. In a magnificent stage bit, Hochwalder allegorizes the reversal of one hundred and fifty years of orders, as Querini motions the provincial away, and assumes the position of authority at the latter's desk. The Society in Spain, not the Gottes Reich in Paraguay is to be saved. The kingdom of God has been penetrated by the kingdom of Satan, just as Ignatius had warned his men in the Spiritual Exercises, just as Miura admits in the play: "Das Reich Gottes ist beim Teufel." So, too, Cornelis reports: "--die ihr unter uns gehaust habt--wie die Teufel--" (V.v.p.66).

Scene Five of the third act finds the agonized Pater Alphonso Fernandez attempting to utter the "Anima Christi" before issuing the order to his priests to surrender. It is the prayer to the crucified Christ²⁷ and coincides at this point in the play with the crucified will of the provincial.

From the opening of the play, he has immersed himself in the ultimate goal of the Jesuits, underestimating the disorders of the enemy and his own desire for success: "Gewiss, einmal wird auch unser Staat fallen. Aber das Experiment ist gelungen. Es wird wiederholt werden. In Jahrhunderten. Bis endlich in die Welt jener Frieden kommt, den die Menschheit ersehnt" (I.viii.p.17).

In the figure of the provincial, Pater Fernandez, the dramatist establishes the repeated phenomenon of men who are unwilling or unable to read the handwriting on the wall. Like many Europeans in the face of the Nazi cataclysm, Fernandez retorts to the warnings of Cornelis, "Spanien ist nicht Portugal" (I.iii.p.13). Hochwalder foreshadows the disintegration of order (Ordnung) in the priest's inner and outer world by measuring him against the merchant's commercial acumen (I.viii.pp.17-18) and against the military expertise of the former Hussar, Pater Oros, whom one critic names the provincial's other self (I.iii.pp.12-13; IV.i. pp.53-54).²⁸

Step by step, the dramatist multiplies the loss of order (Ordnung), thus intensifying the tragedy initiated by the repeated command (Befehl) to surrender the reductions. Paralleling the duplication of this order by State and Church, he presents the double fate of the man who obeys as well as the one who rebels. Pater Ladislaus Oros' testimony at the hearing had been an ironic foreshadowing of these twin fates.

Unwittingly, he had acknowledged the fact upon which both Spain and the Jesuits have already sealed the doom of the holy experiment. It is a readiness to oppose force with force: "Aber wird sind bereit, jedem mit der Waffe zu begegnen, der Gottes Staat in Paraguay vernichten will. Jedem" (II.vii.p.38). He is, of course, speaking of the slave traders, but his last word, "everyone," is prophetic. He announces thereby the loss of order in the Gottes Staat: rebellion and the killing of the provincial, Pater Alfonso Fernandez, S.J. The one person who poses the greatest threat to the Kingdom of God in Paraguay proves to be the provincial himself, and he is met by the weapons of his cherished Indians and his Doppelgänger, Pater Oros. Hochwälder thus enlarges on the pattern of reversal in the play.

As in Der Befehl and Der Unschuldige, a command (Befehl) leads to the loss of inner peace and self-identity (Ordnung). Alfonso Fernandez betrays his deepest convictions when he forgets his own testimony to Miura that anyone disrupting the Gottes Reich would be breaking the highest laws of life: "Dieses Experiment ist heilig! Wer es anrührt, wer es freventlich stört-sündigt an Gott" (II.viii.p.41). It is Ladislaus Oros, his other self, who reminds him of this when the provincial chooses to honor his vow of obedience rather than the good of the greater number, the protection of one hundred and fifty thousand Indians.²⁹

Oros: Ihr befiehlt--eine Sünde. Das Gehorsamsgelübde ist aufgehoben, wenn der Vorgesetzte zur Sünde verleitet.

Provincial: Ich verleite Euch zur Sünde?

Oros: Ist Meuchelmord an der eigenen Familie nicht eine Todsünde?--Und was ist es, das Ihr mir befehlen wollt? Eine Todsünde ist es! (IV.iii.p.57)

In a desperate effort to establish order, Pater Fernandez strips Oros of his status as a Jesuit, a status upon which the provincial's own identity founders. To be a Jesuit meant to be obedient to superiors, but to obey the order (Befehl) to surrender the missions meant to destroy himself and his people. The dramatist exercises prophetic insight, a talent that surfaces in many of the plays, when he permits Oros to defend a new concept of religious life that was not to take root in the church for some twenty-five years after the writing of Das heilige Experiment: "Vielleicht sind wir alle längst keine Jesuiten mehr. Gott sieht nicht, welche Kutte man trägt--Gott will, dass diese Welt geändert werde! Und wir Jesuiten in Paraguay haben sie geändert" (IV.iii. p.57). It is striking that the dramatist's own comment quoted early in this chapter considers such divergencies as proper to the historical play: "Im sogenannten historischen Stück nun interessieren die Divergenzen zur Gegenwart zumindest ebenso wie die Parallelen. Es stimmt und stimmt nicht."³⁰

Here, as in Der öffentliche Ankläger, Hochwälder uses historical data with poetic license. Actually, by July 16,

1787, the day on which the action of the play occurs, the Society of Jesus had already been banished from the mother country and the South American missionaries had received the edict of Charles III, which Aranda, de facto the dictator of Spain, had sent to the colonies on March 6 of that year. Unnerved by the slanderous reports of the Duke of Alba, an admirer of the French philosophers, D'Alembert, Voltaire, and others, Charles III moved against the Jesuits in imitation of the French court. Amid total secrecy, Aranda arranged the nation-wide arrest and exile of approximately six thousand Jesuits on April 2, 1767. Marched across land, they took ship like convicts for Italy.³¹ During the summer of 1767 all 2,617 Jesuits, regardless of nationality (there were over two hundred and fifty Germans involved) were deported from Mexico, Peru, Chile, Paraguay and New Granada.³² In Paraguay, as elsewhere, despite the protests of their people, the Jesuits accepted the sentence. "They obeyed everywhere."³³

In the framework of the drama, a command (Befehl) destroys the perfect social order (Ordnung) of the Gottes Staat. This pattern of destruction is repeated throughout the play until Pedro de Miura, following the injunction of his subordinate, Arago, signs the death warrant for the rebel, Pater Oros, and an Indian from each of the thirty reductions.

The provincial, too, has been destroyed by a command (Befehl), but Hochwalder, himself having seen the end of a

world order, suggests that Pater Fernandez, like the dramatist's protagonists, Donadieu and Schimke, has discovered the error of measuring the spirit with material success.³⁴ Forgiving his rebellious companion, Oros, Alfonso Fernandez regains his inner peace (Ordnung) and identity: "Franz Xaver . . . er weist den Weg" (V.i.p.63).

Footnotes to Chapter VI

¹ Quoted by Richard Meister, "Religiöse Problematik in den Dramen Hochwälders," Maske und Kothurn, 2, Heft 2 (1956), 61.

² Ibid., p. 60.

³ Kurt Becsi, Die dritte Schöpfung: Das moderne Drama der Völker (Wien: Österreichische UNESCO Kommission, 1955), p. 107.

⁴ "To a journalist--Francois Daiset--who once asked him, in connection with Das heilige Experiment, 'Of the Father Provincial and the Jesuit General's envoy, whose side do you take?' he replied without hesitation that he took neither side, but left it to the individual spectator to form his own opinions and draw his own conclusions. Though he poses the questions, it has never been Hochwälder's intention to answer them." Richard Thieberger, "Introduction," Donadieu (London: Harrap, 1967), p. 17.

⁵ Hans Weigel, "Vorwort," Dramen I (München: Langen, Müller, 1959), 16.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Thieberger, p. 15. Hans Weigel errs in giving the date 1951. Cf. Martin Esslin, "Approaches to Reality," The New Theater of Europe, IV (New York: Delta, 1970), xviii. Cf. also Hans Vogelsang, "Das klassizistische Ideendrama Fritz Hochwälders," Österreich in Geschichte und Literatur, II, Heft 4 (1958), 226.

⁸ "The new mission of the Guarani so prospered that eventually 33 Reductions were set up, which harbored at one time 150,000 souls." Martin P. Harney, S.J., The Jesuits in History (New York: America Press, 1941), pp. 245-46. Hochwälder adheres to history although he cites the number of reductions as thirty. The number is more satisfactory dramatically.

⁹ Fritz Hochwälder, "Das heilige Experiment," Dramen (München: Langen, Müller, 1968). All quotations will be cited from this edition. Act and scene will be given in Roman numerals.

¹⁰ "To forestall any underhand delays on the part of the Provincial, the arrest of the Jesuits in the colleges was to be carried out first, so that the missionaries to the heathen would obey orders more readily on seeing that they

had been deprived of these supports." Ludwig von Pastor, History of the Popes, trans. E. E. Peeler, vol. 37 (St. Louis: University of St. Louis, 1950), p. 147.

¹¹ J. F. Bannon, S.J., and Peter Dunne, S.J., Latin America, An Historical Survey, rev. ed. (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1958), p. 191. In a scene that resembles the comic nuances of Hans Wurst and Shakespeare's clowns, Hochwalder alludes to these criminal raids, giving a tag name of 'Mike, the villain' to Don Miguel Villano, who exclaims in exasperation: "denn was gibt es in den jesuitischen Provinzen? Es gibt Tee, Getreide, Baumwolle--und dazu hundertfunzigtausend Indios, vom lieben Gott wie geschaffen zum Sklavendasein!" Das heilige Experiment, II.i.p.21.

¹² Beneath the detachment Hochwalder gains by means of a historical setting lies the triumph of disorder, a tragic but recurring historical event.

¹³ Peter Forster, "Gott Will Good Will," Hamburger Morgenpost, 9.1.1971.

¹⁴ Hochwalder, Das heilige Experiment, I.iii.p.13.

¹⁵ Magnus Morner, ed., "Introduction," The Expulsion of the Jesuits from Latin America (New York: Knopf, 1965), pp. 17-18.

¹⁶ "The word is taken in a military sense (compania) as a regiment of one under whom they do service." Juan Polanco, S.J., Vita Ignatii Loiolae in Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu, I (Madrid: n.p., 1894-98), 74, as quoted by Harney, p. 110.

¹⁷ "The very heart of the Exercises is the contemplation of the call of Christ the King, in which we are called upon to take part in the battle between Christ and Satan." Hugo Rahner, "Exerzitiien," Lexikon der Padagogik, I (Herder: Freiburg i. Br., 1953), 1105-06. Cf. Hugo Rahner, Ignatius The Theologian, trans. Michael Barry (New York: Herder, 1968), pp. 55-56.

¹⁸ Hochwalder, "Uber mein Theater," Der Befehl (Graz: Stiasny, 1967), pp. 90-91.

¹⁹ "Aus Fritz Hochwalders Werkstatt," Wort in der Zeit, VI, Heft 1 (Jan. 1960), 29-30.

²⁰ Franz Theodor Csokor, "Epilog des Autors," Gottes General (Hamburg: Paul Zsolnay, 1956), pp. 143-45. All quotations are taken from this edition.

21 "This image has a pre-historical origin. It is constantly used in Scripture and tradition (for example, Jerusalem-Babylon . . .)." Karl Rahner, S.J., Spiritual Exercises (New York: Herder, 1965), p. 170.

22 Ignatius Loyola, The Spiritual Exercises, trans. Thomas Corbishley, S.J. (Westminster, Md.: Catholic Booksellers, 1973), pp. 52-55.

23 "Hundertpfund" plays on the scriptural answer of Christ to his apostles: "And every one that hath left house or brethren or sisters or father or mother or wife or children or lands, for my name's sake shall receive a hundredfold." Matthew 19:29, The Holy Bible (New York: Douay Bible House, 1944). The name is particularly applicable, since in all religious orders it is historically the superior who is responsible for the general welfare. The pun indicates Hochwalder's familiarity with the church of which he once wrote: "So bin ich erst spat, und im Ausland draufgekommen, dass verschiedene--nicht immer gute--Charaktereigenschaften, mit denen ich mich personlich behaftet glaubte, in Wirklichkeit bloss Charaktereigenschaften des typischen Wieners sind . . . dessen eindrucklichstes Merkmal die katholische Lebens- und Denkensart ist, was immer auch im Geburtszeugnis oder Taufschein . . . vermerkt sein mag." Cf. Hochwalder, "Über mein Theater," rev. ed., pp. 94-95.

24 Ignatius wrote the celebrated Epistle on the Virtue of Obedience. Cf. Harney, p. 115.

25 "German, French and Italian Jesuits . . . easily provoked nationalistic suspicions and hostility." Morner, p. 15.

26 "The motive for obeying the superior is declared to be love and not fear; the unity of the order is proposed through fraternal charity." Harney, p. 120.

27 "The Exercises are preceded by the well-known prayer, Anima Christi." Harney, p. 50.

28 Peter Demetz, Postwar German Literature (New York: Schocken, 1972), p. 110.

29 Fritz Hochwalder's admiration for tolerance is evidenced in his characters like Oros who identifies here with the Indians as his family. This humanity is emphasized in the detective, Dwornik, in Der Befehl and in the petty thief, Kerz, in Der Himbeerpflucker.

30 See Footnote 1, page 184.

³¹ Salvador de Madariaga, "The Fall of the Jesuits--
The Triumph of the Philosophers," The Expulsion of the
Jesuits from Latin America, pp. 34-39. See also Harney,
p. 316.

³² Harney, p. 317.

³³ Madariaga, p. 40.

³⁴ H. M. Feret, Sur La Terre Comme au Ciel. Le vrai
Drame de Hochwälder (Paris: Les Editions Du Cerf, 1953),
p. 71.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION: THE INTERACTION OF BEFEHL
AND ORDNUNG

In 1968, the publication of a new edition of five of Fritz Hochwalder's dramas gave impetus to renewed interest in the Austrian exile's work on the part of translators and critics. Hochwalder had met with unprecedented success immediately after World War II in theaters all over the world.¹ This was due, at least partially, to what Peter Demetz calls Hochwalder's extraordinary scenic exuberance, as well as to his vitality in the realm of the funny and the grotesque.²

Bicentennial of the Burgtheater

However, the subjection of drama to Bertolt Brecht's epic theater and to the theater of the absurd resulted in the overshadowing of the work of dramatists as structurally traditional as Hochwalder.³ Time nevertheless, remains master of the polemic.⁴ A detailed study of Fritz Hochwalder's plays has been overdue, not only in the light of the choice of his latest drama for Vienna's celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the Burgtheater in 1976, but out of respect for the Austrian traditions that his work embodies: "Klarheit des Gedankens, Sinn fur Form, Theaterblut."⁵

Six major plays were selected for the present study. They represent the author's most important period of work--from 1942 to 1968. Grounds for the choice arose from the variations and similarities found in the six dramas, from their reception by critics of international repute, and from the dramatist's supervision of new editions.

The consistent repetition of the terms Befehl and Ordnung in the drama of Fritz Hochwälder led to this study of order as a sociopolitical ordinance and of order as a state of social harmony, both interiorly and exteriorly. The interaction of Befehl and Ordnung has been the ultimate point of interest in this dissertation. In examining the concept of order in Das heilige Experiment, Der Unschuldige, Der öffentliche Ankläger, the two versions of Der Befehl, and Der Himbeerpflücker, reference has been made to a number of other dramas of this period of Hochwälder's achievement but a complete study of them has not been attempted here.

The present analysis has addressed itself to the following questions: Is the drama concerned with an order (Befehl) from a political authority, an ordinance that initiates the main action? Secondly, does this order (Befehl) reactivate events of the past, so that the action of the drama represents the consequences of the past? Thirdly, does the ordinance (Befehl) reflect aspects of the social or moral order of society (Ordnung) within the framework of the individual play? Finally, does the ordinance

(Befehl) effect any change upon the social or moral order (Ordnung) within any given work?

This study of the six plays has shown that the dramatist is concerned with human beings whose routine course of existence is violently disturbed by an order (Befehl) or series of orders. Constituting a threat to the individual's well-being or the social order at large (Ordnung), the command places the protagonist in a dilemma, the solution of which forms the basis of the plot. Through the words of the detective, Dwornik, in Der Befehl,⁶ Hochwalder describes his protagonists: "normal bis zum Exzess . . . mit einem Wort: einer wie ich" (III.i.p.75). Normality is the hallmark of these characters. When, through the intrusion of the unexpected order (Befehl), the pattern of life is disrupted, they are confounded. It is this characteristic of normality which creates a sense of the universal in the dramas as a whole. In presenting the Everyman of modern times, Fritz Hochwalder indicates his unanimity with the Bregenz critics who view the theater as a significant institution for society as a whole. Yet, this is not to imply that the Austrian writer proposes solutions to the questions his work raises, nor that his protagonists escape the consequences of the modern Zeitgeist.

Hochwalder's early plays, the so-called historical dramas, accentuate the timelessness of humanity's struggle to achieve order (Ordnung) in the wake of command (Befehl).

They gain further dimensions of universality, since he eschews the documentary theater, such as that of Peter Weiss or Rolf Hochhuth. Like Max Frisch, Hochwalder esteems the dramatic quality of "play" which the stage affords the playwright. Hence he makes use of dramatic irony, dynamic characterization, comic parallels, and open endings to counterpoint his formal, traditional dramatic structures.

Ernst Alker refers to the open ending of Der Unschuldige in what he calls "das hinter dem Schluss auftauchende Fragezeichen."⁷ Certainly, Christian Erdmann's tantalizing question to his old friend and chess partner, "Spielen wir Schach, oder gaffen wir einander an?" (III. p.205) summarizes the action of the comedy and the query that lies at the heart of the plot. Does the order (Ordnung) of society simply resemble a game of chess?

The satiric structure of Der Himbeerpflucker achieves in this bitter farce what the open ending accomplishes in the other five dramas. If Hochwalder makes use of the closed ending, he poses questions about the nature of social order (Ordnung) in Bad Brauning by means of ironic imagery, hyperbole, and grotesque parallels. As in the other plays examined here, the questions linger after the curtains close upon the triumphant villainy of Konrad Steisshauptl, the dramatist's caricature of humanity. Perhaps it is, in part, the quality of "play" inherited from the Austrian folk theater that enables Hochwalder to avoid the pervasive

pessimism of Friedrich Dürrenmatt. There is, for instance, very substantial dramatic relief in a protestant "heretic's" repeated defense of a Jesuit provincial or a Dutch police chief's professional joke on his Viennese counterpart. Even in the topical satire, Hochwälder's thieves and villains never assume the grotesque dimensions by means of which Dürrenmatt creates his drama of personified ideas. The human proportions of Hochwälder's characters are never totally lost in a society of abstract horror.

Despite differences of style and dramatic tone in the works under discussion, Hochwälder has focused on the plight of individuals caught between the obligation of carrying out an order--usually political or civic in nature--and their responsibility to society as a whole. These two factors are the antipodes of the continuum along which the six dramas have been discussed.

The Emergence of Violence

At one end of this scale, order as command (Befehl) appears constantly aligned to violence and the inhumane. For example, although Der Unschuldige and Der Himbeerpflücker are satires, the order (Befehl) which initiates the action in both plays eventually involves problems related to aggression, war, and death. In the other four works, plots differ widely, but again violence is closely linked to the order (Befehl) that introduces the dramatic action. In Der öffentliche Ankläger, for instance, murder is the direct objective and

outcome of the command (Befehl) given by Theresia Tallien for the fall of the public prosecutor, Fouquier-Tinville. In Das heilige Experiment, manslaughter and a multiple death sentence follow upon the order (Befehl) of de Miura and of Querini to surrender the missions to the Spanish crown. However, as in the two plays entitled Der Befehl, where murder and suicide result from orders given some twenty years apart, these tragedies are not the objectives of the commands issued. Violence simply follows in their wake. In other words, in all six dramas under consideration, as well as in others mentioned among the works of Fritz Hochwalder,⁸ there is a relationship between an order as command (Befehl) and aggression.

The other antipode of the present study is the concept of order as it relates to harmony for the individual and society as a whole. The term Ordnung, as has been stated in the previous chapters, occurs repeatedly in the individual dramas although it shows variations from play to play. In Der Unschuldige, where Hochwalder's comic tone glazes the surface of a nearly tragic domestic situation, Ordnung is at first satirized as a social necessity in the respectable, middle class family. The householder is justifiably aware of his good repute, friends and neighbors rely on his bounty, servants are efficient and loyal, meals are plentiful, and daily life runs on an orderly time table. Suddenly suspicion, doubt, and rumor change this mechanical view of order, and

the protagonist, Christian Erdmann, experiences the truth, at least briefly, about his arrogance. The play becomes an allegory of everyman's search for order (Ordnung), for a metaphysical dimension to his life.

Once again, in Der Himbeerpflücker, the dramatist satirizes the facade of Ordnung which is beginning to attract tourists to Bad Brauning. The picturesque White Lamb Inn, the forest trails, the romantic hunting lodge, all public symbols of a peaceful and order-loving village, are proved sinister clues to a Nazi past. It is, on the contrary, the shocked sensibilities of the petty jewel thief, a Jew, and the rough, but honest kindness of Burgerl, the cook, that finally reveal an understanding of order in this postwar picture of Austria. Hochwälder relates genuine Ordnung, in both these satires, to human beings who reverence life and shun violence.

In the next plays, the concept of order, as social order, shows wide divergences and, at the same time, definite similarities. For the protagonist of Der Befehl, in both versions of the play, Ordnung is centered upon a lifetime of service in Vienna's police force. Franz Mittermayer's record of unrelenting pursuit and success reflects the same mechanized orderliness which Christian Erdmann exhibits in Der Unschuldige and which Fouquier carries to its tragic extreme in Der öffentliche Ankläger. The dramatist accentuates Oberpolizei Mittermayer's limited view of Ordnung

through the parallel figure of his ambitious assistant, Inspector Poslanetz. Mittermayer's aggressiveness in Amsterdam is paralleled by Poslanetz's merciless pursuit of Heinrich Muff in Vienna. Dwornik, a foil to the characters of the other detectives, represents humanity and Ordnung through his patient study of the criminal and the case. However, like Burgerl and the jewel thief, Kerz, his is an inner strength. The structure of Hochwalder's plays suggests again and again that Ordnung can only survive in the individual.

Satire as a Means of Alienation

The concept of Ordnung as social order in Der ffentliche Anklager is totally negative. In keeping with the setting, the French Revolution, and with the genre, a Teufelskomdie, the dramatist presents the breakdown of order in every area of society. The world consists of those who condemn and those who are condemned to death. "Mein Amt ist-zu tten" (II.vii.p.118) declares the public prosecutor, conjuring up the Nazi holocaust for modern audiences. Order exists in the mechanical proceedings of execution: the number of prisoners, the need of tumbrils, the timing of the journey, and the speed of the guillotine. The dramatist employs caricature and hyperbole to portray Sanson, Paris' chief executioner, a man of exquisite orderliness.⁹ His lament over the disrepute and disorder into which the

approaching peace has thrown him recalls Brecht's sergeant-major's lament in Mutter Courage und ihre Kinder.

Perhaps the ideal society which Hochwalder dramatizes in his first great theater success, Das heilige Experiment, represents an order (Ordnung) which men could only dream of during the era of Hitler. The Gottes Staat, a state within a state, is juxtaposed to aggression too powerful to withstand. However, unlike the other works of Hochwalder in this study, Das heilige Experiment presents a restoration of Ordnung on a level organically appropriate to the plot. It is here that the critic, George Wellwarth, errs concerning the Jesuit provincial of the Paraguay reductions: "Father Alfonso has wavered between two courses of action, both wrong; and there were no other alternatives. Devoutly religious all his life, he is faced at the moment of death with the knowledge that religion has no solution to the problem of life. Hochwalder's play is the tragedy of moral frustration."¹⁰ Wellwarth's first error lies in the fact that the provincial had the same alternative which Father Oros chose, that is, rebellion and, finally, a death sentence. His second error is that he does not pursue Hochwalder's dialogue to the moment of the provincial's death. He stops and comments on the dialogue just before the Jesuit experiences his "flash of moral enlightenment,"¹¹ a phrase which the critic coined himself.

Rather than frustration, the provincial and his assistant, Father Oros, both experience a sense of interior order. They make their peace with one another and their Jesuit community. Oros tells his Spanish captors, "Kommandant . . . ich bin bereit!" (V.i.p.62), while Alfonso, comforted by the image of the great Jesuit missionary, Francis Xavier, dies with the words, "Ihn können sie uns nicht nehmen . . . seht, Patres, seht-- . . . er gibt das Beispiel--er weist den Weg" (V.i.p.63). These are not the words of moral frustration, but of an interior order of soul that parallels the "holy experiment" (Ordnung) which Hochwälder presents in the drama. Wellwarth has ignored his own perceptive comment, "This horrifying destruction of illusion and rearrangement of personal values is the basis of Fritz Hochwälder's drama."¹²

In answer, then, to the question posed in each chapter of this study of the Austrian dramatist, it is true that all the plays suggest that humanity is constantly subject to the politically oriented command or order (Befehl) which, in turn, is tied to violence or aggression. Wherever, furthermore, social order (Ordnung) is founded upon mere habits of orderliness, that is, upon superficial and mechanical attitudes to existence, aggression and violence assume control as soon as "orderliness" is engulfed by command.¹³ This is the target of Fritz Hochwälder's satire and caricature. Between the "orderly" but dehumanized world of Der

Öffentliche Ankläger and the Ordnung of the Paraguay experiment are ranged the worlds of the satires and the two versions of Der Befehl, in which tolerant, humane individuals attempt to preserve society (Ordnung) in the face of aggression and command (Befehl). None of Hochwälder's dramas suggests that such success is imminent. On the contrary, Lazzaretti, his most recent drama, shows man's increasing capacity for violence. Nevertheless, in the six plays discussed here, the dramatist pits the individual capable of reflecting Ordnung in his own life against the repeated pressures of Befehl, of aggression and violence. In an early essay, Hochwälder refers to the enormous difficulty of maintaining such an inner spirit of independence.¹⁴ It is no accident, then, that characters such as Dwornik, Kerz, Burgerl, Cornelis, and Breitnadler wear their humanity jauntily, humorously, sometimes even clownishly. To lighten their moral burden, Hochwälder "continues the long tradition of the popular Viennese theater rather than the more literary tradition of North Germany."¹⁵ Characteristic of the dramatist's style is the role-playing borrowed from his folk theater sources. While Cornelis spars with Father Clarke over the price of the Paraguay tea, Alexander Kerz enjoys his role of deceiving his deceivers in Bad Brauning.

Hochwälder's comic relief preserves his drama of ideas from the doldrums of the documentary stage. His comedy is as refreshing as the Austrian baroque tradition which

Oskar Maurus Fontana has called, "Die Vermischung der tragischen Maske mit dem grünen Hut, dem Symbol des Hanswursts."¹⁶ It is this depiction of man's dual nature which sharply divides Hochwälder's style from the work of Dürrenmatt and Frisch. Despite the contemporary themes of Befehl, of command and aggression, of Ordnung as opposed to orderliness, Hochwälder focuses on the concrete rather than the abstract in his drama. The vigorous, salty characteristics of Hans Wurst pervade Hochwälder's comic tone and preserve the sense of humanity's need of social order (Ordnung). Fontana writes, "Auch in der Phase der seelenzergliedernden nervenbetonten Dramatik, auch in dieser Entscheidung zum zwanzigsten Jahrhundert reisst die . . . Verbindung mit dem Volk nicht ab."¹⁷

Concept of Order, an Organic Element of Structure

In each drama, the harmony of the protagonist's existence is disrupted by an order (Befehl), which, like Everyman's experience, reveals the questionable decisions or motives of the character. No one escapes the exposure of guilt. Even Alfonso Fernandez, S.J., having relied on the material success of the Indian missions, is physically destroyed by that success. Thus, the command issued in each instance does reactivate the past and reflect aspects of the social order (Ordnung) within the framework of the individual drama. In none of the plays is society or the general order of society (Ordnung) benefited by the command (Befehl) which

introduces the action of the plot. On the contrary, aggression or violence dominates the scene. Perhaps Hochwalder reveals himself most truly a classicist in the bitter triumphs of the family tyrant, Christian Erdmann, and of the village tyrant, Steisshauptl. However, as in the stage production of Der Befehl,¹⁸ the dramatist indicates through minor characters that man regrets his inability to oppose or denounce the forces which undermine order (Ordnung).

The pressure of time dominates the atmosphere of these dramas, emphasizing the repeated theme of command (Befehl) and the threat to good order (Ordnung). Constant use of the imperative mood accentuates the tension of haste which Hochwalder heightens with images of rushing stage coaches, unexpected dinner parties, hurried criminal proceedings, and sinister manhunts. Frequent use of color, sound, and vision, sometimes in the manner of Georg Buchner, increases the atmosphere of haste in the wake of a command. Occasional references to Oedipus not only serve as reminders of swiftly approaching fate but of man's blindness in the classical sense of traditional drama. Heron's blindness in Der offentliche Anklager is an ironic device in the condemning of his persecutor, the public prosecutor.

Hochwalder has shown in the Eurovision production of Der Befehl that, when the medium demands it, he can produce a fluid epic structure in place of the traditional form he seems to favor. Der Befehl mirrors the effects of history

upon more than one generation of men. However, unlike Brecht, Hochwalder maintains an impartial attitude towards his subject, leaving his audience free to respond independently to the conflict portrayed. This restraint of the Austrian dramatist has led critics to comment that robust villains like the mayor of Bad Brauning may be mistaken for the author's concept of a hero.

In discussing Fritz Hochwalder's dramatic form and style, Hans Weigel, like so many other critics, mentions the dramatist's use of analogs and sources.

Wienerisch und osterreichisch ist auch Hochwalders Ruckgriff auf "Quellen"; ebensowenig wie er "modern" zu sein wunscht, will er um jeden Preis original sein und holt sich seine Stoffe von Cervantes (Liebe in Florenz),¹⁹ Georg Kaiser (Der Fluchtlings), von Maupassant (Hotel du Commerce), Werner dem Gartner (Meier Helmbrecht),²⁰ Conrad Ferdinand Meyer (Donadieu). Und osterreichisch ist schliesslich der Radius, der einen Kreis vom Hispanischen (Das heilige Experiment) bis ins Galizisch-Wolhynische (Die Herberge) bestreicht und dann das Zentrum transparent werden lasst (das barocke Welttheater-Mysterienspiel Donnerstag).²¹

This use of sources seems, to the present writer, to rest on grounds particularly related to Hochwalder's situation during and after World War II. In both editions of his essay, "Über mein Theater," he writes of his isolation from the literary world and the need of a milieu for the productive dramatist. "Ohne Kameradie kann der Vereinsamte mit seinem Pfund nicht so wuchern wie er sollte und mochte, zumal auf dem Gebiet des Theaters, welches das Kollektiv, die Zusammenarbeit vieler nicht nur begunstigt, sondern fordert," states Hochwalder.²² Interned in Switzerland during the war, he was

not merely deprived of his native city, but of every cultural and emotional tie which fosters creativity. The influence of literary sources, then, must assume immense importance for the artist in such a double exile.

Despite Pan-European sources, however, Fritz Hochwälder rarely strays from the classic form of the traditional drama. Inge Meidinger-Greise sees no objection to such individuality in this century, when she writes,

Es geht gerade hier jeder, heisse er nun Jahn oder Nossack, Zuckmayer oder Ahlsen, Andres oder Hochwälder, seinen eigensten Weg und nimmt sich aus dem anarchischen Vorrat der Dramenmöglichkeiten unseres Jahrhunderts Vorbild und Teilanregung heraus. Nie sah man deutlicher als heute, dass unsere deutsche Dramengeschichte, die des Einzelwagnisses ist.²³

The classical unities of time, place, and action function organically in Hochwälder's work, since they reflect, as the dramas do themselves, the limitations and restraints of the human condition in the latter part of the twentieth century. Within the exigencies of the dramatic unities, Hochwälder telescopes the agon of the age of overkill: the command which calls for the disruption of society, for the invasion of privacy, for mass murder, and for mutually assured destruction. In juxtaposing the concept of order as command (Befehl) and as social order (Ordnung), Hochwälder dramatizes humanity's confrontation with the violence of the era for which he writes.

Footnotes to Chapter VII

¹ "Er hatte, zum Unterschied von den meisten anderen Schreibenden, mit dem Beginn der neuen Zeit tatsächlich etliche Manuskripte im Schreibtsich." Hans Weigel, "Vorwort," Dramen I (München: Langen, Müller, 1959), 17.

² Peter Demetz, "Six Playwrights," Postwar German Literature (New York: Schocken, 1972), p. III.

³ "Die Revolution . . . setzte Konventionalismus und Struktur für gleich--mit jenem räumte sie auch diese ab. Und genau das . . . ist das Ende des Dramas auf dem Theater." Siegfried Melchinger, Theater der Gegenwart (Frankfurt-am-Main: Fischer Bücherei, 1956), p. 151.

⁴ Walter Kerr, "Brecht Outdistanced by Time" (Arts and Leisure), New York Times, 1 Dec. 1974, pp. 1, 5.

⁵ Fritz Hochwälder, "Über mein Theater," rev. ed., Der Befehl (Graz: Stiasny, 1967), p. 99.

⁶ Fritz Hochwälder, Der Befehl (Graz: Stiasny, 1967).

⁷ Ernst Alker, "Der Dramatiker Fritz Hochwälder," Österreich in Geschichte und Literatur, 15, Heft 8 (1971), 466.

⁸ Der Flüchtling, Donadieu, 1003.

⁹ Hochwälder's satire achieves the distance, or Verfremdungseffekt, of which Brecht constantly spoke. If the satire appears to be exaggerated, a description of society at the time of the terror in Paris from another source proves the contrary. "'At Meudon,' says Montgaillard with considerable calmness, 'there was a Tannery of Human Skins; such of the Guillotined as seemed worth flaying: of which perfectly good wash-leather was made.'" Thomas Carlyle, The French Revolution (New York: Heritage Press, 1956), p. 566.

¹⁰ "Fritz Hochwälder: The Drama within the Self," Theater of Protest and Paradox, rev. ed. (New York: New York University Press, 1971), p. 222.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 215.

¹² Ibid., p. 208.

¹³ Charles Moeller, "Fritz Hochwälder et les délais du Royaume," Litterature du XXe Siècle et Christianisme, IV (Tournai, Belgique: Casterman, 1960), 419.

¹⁴ Fritz Hochwalder, "Vom Versagen des Dramas in unserer Zeit," Maske und Kothurn, 8 (1962), 24-25.

¹⁵ J. G. Robertson, A History of German Literature, ed. Dorothy Reich, et al. (Elmsford, N. Y.: London House and Maxwell, 1970), p. 631.

¹⁶ Oskar Maurus Fontana, "Statt eines Vorworts," osterreichisches Theater des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts (Munchen: Langen, Muller, 1961), p. 14.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 15.

¹⁸ Fritz Hochwalder, Theater-Texte (Munchen: Langen, Muller, 1968), p. 60.

¹⁹ A comedy produced in 1936 in Vienna and since disclaimed. Cf. Otto Rommel, "Nachwort," Das heilige Experiment, Universal Bibliothek 8100 (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1964), p. 72.

²⁰ Fritz Hochwalder, Meier Helmbrecht (Zurich: Elgg, 1956).

²¹ Weigel, "Vorwort," p. 20.

²² Fritz Hochwalder, "uber mein Theater," German Life and Letters, 12 (Jan. 1959), 113. Cf. also Der Befehl (Graz: Stiasny, 1967), p. 93.

²³ Inge Meidinger-Greise, Welterlebnis in deutscher Gegenwartsdichtung, 2 (Nurnberg: Glock und Lutz, 1956), 392.

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