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An Overview of the Two Faces of the Church
in German Holocaust Literature:
Passivity and Opposition

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Presented for the Degree
of Master of Arts
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Jeremy Todd Hatfield

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ABSTRACT

This thesis presents an analysis of the activities of the Church during the Third Reich as depicted in representative works of German Holocaust literature, including Alfred Andersch's Sansibar; oder, der letzte Grund, Ulla Berkéwicz's Engel sind schwarz und weiß, Heinrich Böll's Billard um halbzehn, Bertolt Brecht's Der aufhaltsame Aufstieg des Arturo Ui and Furcht und Elend des dritten Reiches, Rolf Hochhuth's Der Stellvertreter, Ruth Klüger's weiter leben, and Ruth Rehmann's Der Mann auf der Kanzel. This thesis discusses both the Church's passivity to or collaboration with the Third Reich as well as the opposition and resistance it mounted against the Hitler regime in both historical accounts and literary treatments.

The thesis contains three chapters. The first presents an historical discussion of the Church's passivity and opposition. The second chapter discusses the Church's passivity or collaboration as it is depicted by the aforementioned literary works. The focus of the third chapter involves the literary portrayal of the Church's resistance/opposition to the Nazis. This thesis treats both the Protestant and Catholic Church, comparing the literary portrayals with historical accounts.

Overall, the literary works accurately reflect historical

fact. However, the authors' intentions vary from work to work, and this variation affects how the individual author incorporates history into his or her work. Few works of Holocaust literature focus exclusively on the Church. Most works that contain a portrayal of the Church present a rather negative one, depicting a Church that has "sold out" to the Nazis. However, some authors are mindful of the opposition some Church leaders and organizations effected; they include facts about it in their works to present a contrast to the passivity and thus give their works some balance.

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INTRODUCTION:

History and Literature

This thesis has its origins in a seminar in German Holocaust literature I took at the University of Tennessee in spring 1994. The instructor, Dr. Lauckner, was careful to give a broad overview of the events surrounding the Holocaust, so that we, her students, might understand the literature written about that time with greater depth. Along the way, we researched important individuals, organizations, conferences, programs, and the like, which were all part of the environment of Germany during the years 1933-45.

My particular commitment to Christianity made me very curious as to the Church's role in this part of German history. I had heard of Anna Rosmus, whose story the film Das schreckliche Mädchen (1989) chronicles, and her accounts of Catholic collaboration with the Nazis in Bavaria, but that was the extent of my knowledge of Church activity during the Hitler era, and I hoped that the Church had taken a more principled stand than what I had heard from Anna Rosmus. As I researched this part of German history for my seminar paper, I discovered that her accounts were largely true--for the most part, churches from both the Catholic and Protestant branches of the Christian faith sided with Hitler during that time. However, I also learned that this passivity was not universal.

There were also notable Catholics and Protestants who protested, opposed, and resisted the Nazis.

Historians give direct accounts of these persons and the Church's role in the Nazi era, but historians are not the only ones interested in this period of time. German writers of literature, some of whom personally experienced that time, but all of whom have to live with the German heritage of the mid-twentieth century, also offer literary accounts of what they understand about this era. Many include a portrayal of the Church during this time, and such portrayals were the focus of my seminar paper.

I took the research from that paper and developed it further. I looked in greater detail at what the historians found about both the Catholic and Protestant churches, and compared their accounts with representative works of Holocaust literature which contained depictions of the Church. While many authors tend to be rather critical of the Church in their works and recount how the churches allied themselves with Hitler, some authors accurately depict how some Christians and Christian organizations actively opposed Hitler. Authors' intentions in including a portrayal of the Church vary from work to work and affect the aspect of Church behavior emphasized, whether it be passivity or opposition. Therefore, no one work adequately describes the Church's role during the Third Reich, but when one studies a number of works containing

depictions of the Church during the Hitler era, one receives a balanced picture. The purpose of this thesis is to give such a balanced overview of the treatment of the Church in German Holocaust literature by considering both negative and positive portrayals.

The thesis is divided into three chapters. The first chapter gives an historical overview of the Church's activities during the Third Reich, and contrasts Church collaboration or passivity with those persons or organizations within the Church that opposed the Hitler regime. The second and third chapters discuss the literary depictions of Church activity during this period of German history in representative works of German Holocaust literature, including Alfred Andersch's Sansibar; oder, der letzte Grund, Ulla Berkéwicz's Engel sind schwarz und weiß, Heinrich Böll's Billard um halbzehn, Bertolt Brecht's Der aufhaltsame Aufstieg des Arturo Ui and Furcht und Elend des dritten Reiches, Rolf Hochhuth's Der Stellvertreter, Ruth Klüger's weiter leben, and Ruth Rehmann's Der Mann auf der Kanzel. The second chapter focuses on Church passivity to or collaboration with the Third Reich in these selected works. The third chapter treats Church opposition to the Nazis in this same selection of works.

CHAPTER 1

An Historical Overview of the Church during the Third Reich

A time of trial came to the Christian community in Germany in the years following World War I through the end of World War II. The growth of National Socialism into the dominant power during these years placed the Church (including both Catholic and Protestant branches) in a precarious position, particularly when Christian doctrine conflicted with the ideology and agenda of the Nazi party. Where such conflicts arose, the Nazi party employed both physical and psychological force to "persuade" Christian Germans to conform to Nazi doctrine. Psychological force included rhetoric and propaganda to manipulate behavior; physical force involved acts of terrorism to bring about the will of the Nazis where words alone failed to achieve this goal, as will be discussed later in this chapter. In the face of such force, every Christian had to decide for himself or herself whether to follow God or the doctrines of the Nazis. There were people in both Catholic and Protestant churches who actively resisted the Nazi party in one form or another, but the majority of Christian Germans remained passive.

Passivity: A Political Consideration

One major factor that contributed to the Church's

passivity during the Nazi regime was the close relationship between Church and State that had developed throughout European history. In the beginning of European Christianity, the small congregations had no influence in State affairs, nor did they rely on the State for protection. However, E. H. Broadbent explains that the relationship between Church and State changed in the early fourth century when the Roman emperor Constantine issued an edict in AD 312 ending the persecution of the churches; consequently, Christianity was looked upon with favor, and flourished (18-19). Broadbent further explains that because Constantine took on the role of arbitrator for the churches, Church and State became closely associated, to the point that the power of the State was at the disposal of those in leadership positions in the Church (20). This close association with the State would give the Church something of a political nature and consequently leave it susceptible to the political environment, as exemplified repeatedly throughout European history and again by the political considerations of both the Roman Catholic and Protestant Church in the years following World War I.

The Catholic Church enjoyed the considerable political influence it had inherited from the days of Constantine throughout Europe during the Middle Ages, and although it had been the target of numerous attacks by writers, philosophers, and statesmen in the centuries following the Middle Ages, it is still an influential institution in the twentieth century.

Broadbent shows that the Protestant Church in its beginnings also followed the Catholic Church's heritage of political activity, as exemplified through its ties with figures of authority, such as the princes of northern Germany who supported Luther (145). However, in the political chaos that followed the defeat of Germany in World War I, the status of both the Catholic and the Protestant Church in German society came into question. Several political factions were vying to restore order to the German political system in terms of their own agendas, and the outcome of this struggle would have impact on the viability of the Church as an institution. Communists comprised one such faction, which according to J. S. Conway represented atheistic "anti-Christian forces" (5, 13). The communists' antagonism toward Christianity frightened the German Catholics, and this fear manifested itself in denunciations of Marxism in pronouncements made by Catholic speakers on political developments in Germany (Conway 7). Protestants also feared that communist rule would bring a moral vacuum or a "state without principles," as Victoria Barnett explains in her discussion of the Protestants' consideration of communist or socialist ideology, already familiar to them in the workings of the leftist factions during the Weimar years (25).

This fear of communist rule made another party, the Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (NSDAP), seem a more attractive alternative for the Church to support during

these years of turmoil. The churches looked favorably upon two major features of its propaganda, the first of which was a hatred of communism. According to Conway, Hitler used this common ground shared by him and the churches and called for both Catholics and Protestants to stand with him to bring about a "national revival against the forces of 'international communism,'" an appeal which resonated strongly with members of both confessions (13). Because this propaganda caused many Christian Germans to see Hitler as a "bulwark against the anti-Christian forces of Communism," they eagerly rallied to support him (Conway 5). The second major element of the Nazi propaganda campaign that attracted the churches was that Hitler stressed not only whom he stood against, but also whom he supported. His party professed to support the Christian faith, as Conway illustrates with Article 24 of the NSDAP's official program:

We demand freedom for all religious denominations in the State so far as they are not a danger to it and do not militate against the customs and morality of the German race. The Party as such stands for positive Christianity, but does not bind itself in the matter of creed to any particular denomination. . . . (5)

The real aims of the Nazi party for the Church, which were not openly expressed because of political considerations (i.e., because Hitler sought to obtain a majority), were quite contrary to the image of itself that it evoked for the Christians of Germany. Robert Atkins gives a brief summation of Hitler's plans for the Church: since the Church

represented an ideology that conflicted with the goals of the Nazi party, it would have to be completely eradicated and replaced with a sort of spiritual leadership that espoused the Teutonic ideals and principles so esteemed by National Socialism (374). Many Nazis were aware of this ideological incompatibility between the Church and their party, and themselves expressed concern to Hitler over his efforts to win Church support. According to Conway, Hitler responded: "I need, for the building up of a great political movement, the Catholics of Bavaria just as the Protestants of Prussia. The rest can come later" (5). The latter part of this quotation alludes to the measures Hitler would take to Aryanize the institution of the Church in Germany after he had attained power, and these will be discussed later.

Not every Christian German was convinced by the Nazis' public attitude towards the Church. Some clergy and theologians were aware of the true nature of the Nazi party and were ready to oppose Hitler, such as the presiding Catholic bishop of Germany, Cardinal Bertram von Breslau, who, before Hitler rose to power, set down to then-Chancellor and fellow Catholic Franz von Papen his reasons for opposition. These included the ideological incompatibility between the Church and the Nazis--several theologians had read Hitler's Mein Kampf, and had taken note of the attitudes against the Church Hitler had published there--and the hostile attitude of many high-ranking Nazi officials towards the Church (Conway

21). On the Protestant side, theologian and pastor Dietrich Bonhoeffer gave Germany an early warning. According to Dr. Richard V. Pierard, this warning came in the form of a radio address shortly after Hitler's appointment as chancellor. In the address, Bonhoeffer exhorted many to be wary of a leader who makes himself an idol and, in the process, mocks God (31). Despite these early warnings from respected leaders in the Christian community, support for the Nazis from the churches was strong and kept increasing.

So great was the support for the Nazi party, that the Catholic Church sought means to ensure the Church's existence without openly opposing the party. According to Conway, such resistance could have led to another undesirable "Kulturkampf" akin to that which the Church endured under Bismarck and which caused many to leave the Catholic Church, and it might have exposed the faithful remaining Catholics to persecution (22-23). These considerations led to negotiations between the Vatican and the Nazi party, and the Concordat of 1933 was drawn up and signed by the two sides. According to Peter Matheson, the Pope hoped that the Concordat would give the Church some legal standing in its relations with the Nazi state; however, Hitler used it to eliminate any Catholic resistance before it could be mustered (29-30).

On the Protestant side, Church doctrine and the interpretation of certain passages of Scripture pertaining to

the relationship of Church and State contributed to Church passivity to the Third Reich. One such passage is Romans 13.1-5:

Everyone must submit himself to the governing authorities, for there is no authority except that which God has established. The authorities that exist have been established by God. Consequently, he who rebels against the authority is rebelling against what God has instituted, and those who do so will bring judgement on themselves. For rulers hold no terror for those who do right, but for those who do wrong. Do you want to be free from fear of the one in authority? Then do what is right and he will commend you. For he is God's servant to do you good. But if you do wrong, be afraid, for he does not bear the sword for nothing. He is God's servant, an agent of wrath to bring punishment on the wrongdoer. Therefore, it is necessary to submit to the authorities, not only because of possible punishment but also because of conscience.¹

According to Victoria Barnett, Lutheran theology teaches that there are two kingdoms--a worldly kingdom and a heavenly kingdom--and that a Christian owes political obedience "to the throne" and religious obedience "to the altar" (11). Because of this theology, Barnett explains, Lutherans were devoutly obedient to the governing authorities over them, from the time of Luther onward (11). When the Nazi party established itself with a majority in the German Parliament in 1933, most German churches applied this doctrine to their relations with the Nazi regime, and, with the help of the Nazi party, proliferated this perspective of obedience through the church schools. According to Conway, Göring issued a directive that

¹ Quoted from the New International Version.

all Christian educators (including pastors) were not just to avoid any possible negative attitudes to Nazism in their teaching but to integrate active support of the Nazi regime into their curriculum (113-14). This involved emphasizing those elements of Christian doctrine which corresponded to the ideals of National Socialism and phasing out those which did not. An example of this selective revisionism involves Alfred Rosenberg's modification of the Scriptures, which, according to Clarissa Start Davidson, yielded a nationalized version which omitted the law of Moses and denied Jesus's Jewish heritage by identifying him instead as a Galilean (76). While this new doctrine de-emphasized those "undesirable" parts of the Bible, it reinforced, Conway states, obedience to higher authorities (187). Both Protestant and Catholic schools and churches propagated these ideas.

Oppositional Elements: The Faithful Few

During the Third Reich, while most Germans had yielded to the pressures placed upon them by the Nazi party, which was promoting its agenda in every institution in German society, there were a few scattered groups and individuals, both Catholic and Protestant, who were intent on upholding the principles taught in Scripture. Of course, some who supported the NSDAP may have thought that they were upholding Scripture because of their interpretation of Romans 13.1-5. Wolfgang Benz explains the motivation of those persons and groups in

the churches in Germany which actively opposed or resisted the Third Reich:

Der "Kirchenkampf" war ursprünglich nicht Widerstand gegen ein Menschenrechte und göttliches Gebot verletzendes Regime, sondern vor allem die Verteidigung institutioneller und religiöser Ansprüche sowie kirchlicher Lebensräume der beiden Amtskirchen gegenüber einem Staat, der totale Verfügungsgewalt über Menschen beanspruchte. (20)

Some of the recorded opposition came from groups of Christians who banded together into organizations to resist Hitler's attempts at *Gleichschaltung* of the churches. This Nazi desire to control the churches was made manifest in the quasi-Christian Deutsche Christen movement, which, according to James Bentley, taught Christian principles with National-Socialist overtones and was gaining great influence among Protestants in the early 1930s (46). The activities of the Deutsche Christen alarmed several Protestant pastors, among them Martin Niemöller, who, according to Davidson, organized meetings in his own home to discuss the foundational teachings of the Protestant Church and how the doctrine of the Deutsche Christen conflicted with them (48-49). He also preached against the Nazis because of their enmity towards the Church, made manifest through such legal proclamations as the Arierparagraph, which, Barnett explains, disqualified all pastors of non-Aryan origin as well as those who opposed the Nazi regime (35). Consequently, Niemöller's following increased, both among the laity and other Protestant pastors

who shared the same stance. These pastors organized the Pfarrernotbund to support their colleagues who had fallen victim to the Arierparagraph (Barnett 35). As Niemöller and his associates (including Bonhoeffer) became more involved in resisting Hitler from the pulpit, the Pfarrernotbund developed into the Bekenkende Kirche, which, according to Benz, represented significant opposition to the Nazi regime (17).

The Catholic counterpart to the Bekenkende Kirche was the group Christ-Königs Gesellschaft vom weißen Kreuz, founded by Catholic priest Max Josef Metzger, whom Günther Weisenborn describes as one of the best-known and most active persons who struggled for peace (64). As the Pfarrernotbund resulted in the Bekenkende Kirche, so did Metzger's group later become the Una-Sancta Bewegung, whose membership included not only Catholics but representatives of all Protestant denominations as well (Weisenborn 64). As its name implies, world peace and the reconciliation of all nations were the long-term goals of this movement. But in the short term, Metzger's vision foresaw that these goals would be fulfilled as Germany became more of a democratic, Christian, anti-militaristic and socially-engaged society (Benz 19).

Significant efforts to oppose the Hitler regime were also made by individuals of both branches of the Christian faith in Germany. The Catholic Church lays claim to several other key figures who actively opposed the regime. In addition to

Bertram and Metzger, Benz discusses Clemens August Graf von Galen, Bishop of Münster, whose protest against the euthanasia program for the extermination of the handicapped and mentally ill resulted in the program's demise. Other Catholics whom Benz mentions are Bernhard Lichtenberg, Domprobst of Berlin, and Pastor Heinrich Grüber, both of whom acted openly on behalf of persecuted Jews and thus publicly opposed the agenda of the Nazi regime (19-20).

In addition to Martin Niemöller, the Protestant side, too, had other active opponents of the Nazis. Theologian and pastor Dietrich Bonhoeffer resisted the Nazi regime, not only in speeches, radio broadcasts, sermons, and pamphlets, but also by rescuing Jews. Pierard mentions Bonhoeffer's enlistment in the Abwehr, an intelligence agency of the German army which Bonhoeffer used to communicate with underground resistance organizations, as well as to smuggle persecuted Jews out of Germany (33). Noted Swiss theologian Karl Barth also joined the Church Struggle by fighting against what he termed "hyphenated Christianity," or the combining of Christianity with nationalism, according to Conway, who states that Barth's stance also influenced pastors like Bonhoeffer, and particularly those who remained in the Bekennende Kirche (10-11).

The existence of such resistance naturally elicited a response from the Nazi party. Bentley finds the attitudes of

the Nazis towards the Bekennende Kirche illustrated in a jingle circulated through Berlin around the time of the 1936 Olympics:

Nach der Olympiade
Hauen wir die BK zu Marmelade;
Dann schmeissen wir die Juden raus,
Dann ist die BK aus. (123)

Niemöller himself was arrested five times, and his home ransacked by the Gestapo for evidence against him and the Bekennende Kirche; later he became the defendant in a one-sided trial and was sent to a concentration camp as Hitler's personal prisoner (Bentley 131). Other pastors shared similar fates. Davidson notes that some 500 pastors who spoke out in 1935 against the paganism imposed on the Church by the Nazi party were either jailed or placed under house arrest (73). Such pressure placed upon the clergy by the Nazis discouraged some who might have thought of opposing the Hitler regime. For example, according to The Encyclopedia of the Third Reich, as the Bekennende Kirche was gaining momentum among the Protestants, it consisted of some 7000 Protestant clergy--nearly half of all the Protestant clergy in Germany at that time--but when the Nazis began taking active measures against clerical resistance, that number quickly declined (21). But despite those who had fallen away, there were some who stayed faithful to the very end, even at the cost of their lives. Bonhoeffer was imprisoned at Tegel for his underground activity and was later hanged at Flossenbürg (Pierard 33).

Metzger was also imprisoned on charges of "Vorbereitung zum Hochverrat und Feindbegünstigung" and later executed in Brandenburg (Benz 19).

There were, therefore, two kinds of Christians in Germany during the Third Reich. On the one hand, there were those who considered the Church to be an institution like any other, part of German society, and therefore subject to the whims of German popular opinion, which the ruling authorities manifested. This accounts for the passivity of most of the churches, both Catholic and Protestant. On the other hand, there was a minority who saw the Church as existing independently of German social policies, or the world for that matter. They saw the Church dependent not so much on the political movements of the day, but rather upon the will of God. Therefore, those few chose to place their faith in Christ and stand firm in Christian teachings, even if it meant defying the ruling authorities.

CHAPTER 2

The Church's Passivity to/Collaboration with the Third Reich in Holocaust Literature

Historical documents, articles, and books are one source of information about the Church's role and activities during the Third Reich. Yet the literature which was written about that time in German history provides both another way of learning about the period and perspectives regarding that era. Some German authors depict the role of the Church in their works concerning their country in the years 1933-45, and the picture of the Church that they sketch in many aspects accurately reflects historical reality and evidences varying degrees of personal research on the subject. However, documentary literature, such as Rolf Hochhuth's Der Stellvertreter (1963), is not a mere dramatic portrayal of historic fact. As an art form, a literary work also carries the author's interpretation of the historical facts he or she incorporates into the work. With personal interpretation comes personal bias, which can cause the work to place more emphasis on one aspect of the Church's activities instead of giving a balanced view of the Church's overall situation during that time. Most of the literature that includes a portrayal of the Church tends to focus upon the Church's passivity.

Hochhuth's Der Stellvertreter and the Catholic Church's Reaction to the Communist Threat

The tendency to focus upon one aspect of the Church's activity can compromise the quality of the facts conveyed in a work. Robert Brustein implies that this is the case with Hochhuth's Der Stellvertreter, for he classifies the drama as an "*animal amphibium*"--a combination of fact and fiction which cannot be considered either good history or good literature (22). While Brustein commends Hochhuth's research and the "unassailability" of the facts the playwright has gathered, he states that the interpretation of those facts as they are presented--under the sole assumption that the Vatican remained silent--"raises questions," and that is his greatest criticism of Der Stellvertreter (22). Other critics, such as Albrecht von Kessel, have also challenged Hochhuth in this regard (71-75), but Hochhuth responds to these critics in his article "The Playwright Answers," and defends the historical viability of his work. He mentions the forty-plus pages of historical documentation which he includes in the appendix of Der Stellvertreter and insists that it contains the evidence which supports the theme of Der Stellvertreter: that the Catholic Church remained silent when it had every ability to protest, resist the Hitler regime, and consequently stop the Holocaust (76-80).

In Der Stellvertreter itself, we see a fairly accurate portrayal of the Catholic Church over a three-year period, a

portrayal which corresponds closely to the historical overview of the Church's situation as provided in chapter 1. However, most of the facts which Hochhuth presents in Der Stellvertreter focus on the inactivity of the Church in Germany during the Third Reich and criticize the Church. Chapter 1 discussed the Catholic Church's fear of communism. According to Egon Schwarz, Hochhuth treats this concern as the central underlying motivation for the Church's dealings with the Third Reich. Schwarz explains that the high-ranking Catholic clergy in the drama--the Pope and the Cardinal² in particular--consider Western Europe a Christian domain, and he quotes the associations they draw between Europe and Christianity, such as "die christliche Kultur" and "das christliche Europa" (Schwarz 295). Hochhuth uses the term "christliches Abendland" (119) to further establish the idea of a Christian Europe under threat by communism, but according to Robert Leiber, Pius XII employed it very seldom and, even then, with caution in order not to connect the concepts of the Catholic faith and western culture too closely (49). Instead of using the term for historical accuracy, Hochhuth employs it to heighten awareness of the threat that communism presented to Christian culture in Western Europe, which the Cardinal describes to Gerstein in act 3, scene 2:

² Because Hochhuth uses the Expressionistic technique of identifying persons by their offices instead of their actual names, as is the case with the Pope and the Cardinal, I will follow the same practice in this thesis.

. . . Sie werden doch kein Kommunist sein,
nicht wahr--wünschen Sie die Rote Armee
herbei? Sehen Sie das denn nicht vor sich, ja,
wie Altäre geplündert, Priester erschlagen,
Frauen geschändet werden, ja? (119)

The assertion that Western Europe is Christian makes the tension of the threat even greater. Rolf C. Zimmermann explains that Hochhuth uses the method of playing on tensions to arouse indignation in his audience by giving the drama a more polemic nature (139). More examples of Hochhuth's technique will appear in later discussion.

Chapter 1 also treated the Catholic Church's awareness of Hitler's anti-communist stance and the Church's effort to use Hitler as a bulwark against the communist threat. Hochhuth portrays in his own way the Catholics' hope that Hitler could stop the expansion of communism, a hope reflected by the words of Graf Fontana: ". . . [Hitler] ganz allein besitzt die Macht, / Europa vor den Russen zu erretten" (84). Therefore, according to Hochhuth's interpretation of the relationship between the Catholic Church and the Third Reich, the Catholic clergy determined to utilize Hitler's potential as an "instrument" against communism:

RICCARDO: . . . [ich kann] nicht verstehen,
daß wir auch nur erwägen,
Hitler als Werkzeug zu benutzen.
PAPST: Ein Werkzeug, das wir fallenlassen werden,
so schnell es geht
(Stellvertreter 165)

Here we see another technique Hochhuth uses to give the audience more historical background--he includes fictional characters to give narration in dialogue. Lionel Abel cites Riccardo Fontana³ as such a character (82). Hochhuth risks detracting from the believability of the history he is presenting by incorporating fictional elements, according to Schwarz (300). However, the technique of having fictitious characters lecture the audience enables Hochhuth to communicate the research he has done and his interpretation of it, for, as Rainer Taëni notes in his impression of Hochhuth's approach to portraying history, "Der Zuschauer soll unterrichtet werden über die Vorgänge der Kriegsjahre, die Judenverfolgungen und das Verhältnis zwischen dem Vatikan und Hitler" (47).

In availing itself of Hitler's protection from communism, the Catholic Church also supported the Nazi regime. Since the Church was aware of the nature of the NSDAP, and consequently of the conflicts between the Nazi agenda and Catholic doctrine, there was an inherent moral dilemma in its decision to side with Hitler. Hochhuth was greatly interested in this

³ While Riccardo does not appear in actual history, Hochhuth has incorporated into this character aspects of other persons, such as Father Maximilian Kolbe. Riccardo's accompanying the Jews to Auschwitz closely resembles Kolbe's deportation to Poland, which Hochhuth reports in his notes in the appendix of the drama (230). Taëni includes both Kolbe and Lichtenberg as models for the character of Riccardo, since both were Catholics who protested against the persecution of the Jews (42).

moral conflict, which he depicts throughout Der Stellvertreter. The Cardinal's answer to Gerstein's condemnation of the Pope's silence in the face of the Holocaust in act 3, scene 2 explicitly illustrates the Church's dilemma:

. . . Natürlich, ja, natürlich--trotzdem,
lieber Herr, der Qualm der Krematorien
hat auch Sie [Gerstein] dafür blind gemacht,
daß es doch eine--eine Alternative
zur Rettung der Opfer durch die Rote Armee
geben muß, geben *muß*, um des
Abendlandes willen, nicht wahr . . .
. . . Der Einzug Stalins in Berlin--ja, lieber Gott,
das ist ein Preis, den *kann*,
den darf Europa nicht bezahlen!" (119)

Egon Schwarz notes Hochhuth's interest in moral matters, and his tendency to use facts and present them in terms of moral judgments. Hochhuth insists in "The Playwright Answers" that Der Stellvertreter is solidly supported by historical fact, and that his views are thus the right views (76-80), but Schwarz explains that, while Der Stellvertreter might include true facts, the manner in which Hochhuth presents those facts is not that of an historian, but rather that of a moralist. In Hochhuth's essays reflecting his research concerning the Third Reich, Schwarz has discovered the playwright's tendency to label the people he studied, thus integrating his moral perspective into his research (300-01). One example of such a label in Der Stellvertreter is Riccardo's criticism of the Pope as a "Verbrecher" because of the Pope's silence about the Nazi persecution of the Jews (Stellvertreter 83).

Hochhuth uses another label to describe the Concordat between the Vatican and the Third Reich, when Gerstein exclaims with alarm in the first act: "Exzellenz, der Vatikan *paktiert* mit Hitler!" (25, italics mine). The term *paktieren* carries negative connotations, particularly in the sense of making an agreement with an enemy, according to the Duden Universales Wörterbuch. Furthermore, the facts that Hochhuth wrote Der Stellvertreter in the 1950s, and that it appeared on stage in West Germany in the 1960s during the Cold War, when West Germany was a member of NATO, whose enemy at that time was the Warsaw Pact, enhance the negative connotations of the word *paktieren*.

Hochhuth not only expresses his perspective on the nature of the Concordat by carefully chosen words; his portrayal of the Concordat's effects on the Nazi party and the Catholic Church also suggests a pact between the two parties. Hochhuth interprets the Nazis' part of the pact as an agreement not to interfere with the Church. In act 3, a Jewish family is moving into a monastery to escape persecution. The boy wants to take his toy gun with him, to which the father responds:

Ins Kloster?--Julia, hörst du,
Er [der Junge] will das Kloster mit einem Revolver
überfallen.
Das machen ja nicht mal die Nazis. (106)

Later in the act, the abbot boasts of the sanctuary his monastery provides from the Nazis: ". . . den Klosterfrieden

respektieren sie" (113). In act 5, an SS officer reacts to orders he has received concerning the Church:

Unglaublich, wo der Führer erst neulich wieder ausdrücklich betont hat, daß die Kirche nicht vor dem Endsieg angegriffen wird! (187)

Hochhuth suggests through this last quotation that the Nazis have been refraining from attacking the Church, demonstrating a degree of restraint that they would not normally have exercised unless something hindered them. In this case, the hindering factor is the agreement they had made with the Church through the Concordat.

Hochhuth also portrays the agreement's effects on the Concordat's other party, the Catholic Church. As discussed in chapter 1, Matheson confirms that the Church's silence was due to the Concordat. Whereas Matheson states that this silence resulted from the Nazis' abuse of the Concordat (29-30), Hochhuth maintains that the Concordat itself compelled the Church to remain silent. The passage concerning the "Qualm der Krematorien" (Stellvertreter 119) has already illustrated Hochhuth's interpretation of the Church's silence regarding the Nazi persecution of the Jews. However, he also implies that the Pope had made it absolutely clear that there was to be no organized resistance to Hitler on behalf of the Vatican, when he depicts the Pope's alarm upon discovering that one of his bishops has threatened to protest in the name of the Church:

FONTANA: (etwas unsicher, er ahnt schon, was folgt):

Ja, ich hörte von meinem Sohn,
Bischof Hudal habe heute früh
dem deutschen Kommandanten angedroht,
daß Heiligkeit Protest
erheben werde, zum erstenmal seit Kriegsbeginn.

PAPST (mit Schärfe): Der Bischof hat gedroht?--In
Unserem Namen!

Eminenz [Kardinal], haben Sie Hudal ermächtigt,
im Namen des Heiligen Stuhles oder gar
in Unserem Namen . . .

KARDINAL: Gott ist mein Zeuge, Heiligkeit! Ich hörte
von dem Protest erst eben, hier, vom Grafen . . .
Ich will nicht, kann nicht glauben, nicht
wahr (160)

Furthermore, according to Hochhuth, the Church's silence included failing to support those who did resist the Hitler regime as a matter of conscience. For example, he accuses the Catholic Church of abandoning Domprobst Lichtenberg, who included prayers for persecuted Jews in his services and thus protested against the Hitler regime. He makes his accusation through a question Gerstein asks Riccardo:

. . . Warum hat er [der Papst] den alten Lichtenberg,
den Domprobst von St. Hedwig,
nicht herausgehauen? Das Gesindel [die Nazis]
warf ihn in Gefängnis, nur weil
er auch die Juden in sein Gebet einschloß.
Eure Priester beten doch auch für den Führer--
wie kann der Papst dann zusehen,
daß man sie wegschleppt, wenn sie
für die Juden beten? (61)

In the drama the Pope states the reasons for his silence:
"Wer helfen will, darf Hitler / nicht provozieren" (161).
This response partially reflects the reason Leiber offers for
Pius XII's failure to resist the Nazis--that a "Kirchenkampf"

is easy to start, but harder to endure; for that reason, the Pope did everything possible to avoid entangling the Church in such a struggle (60). However, in Hochhuth's portrayal of the Concordat as a pact, the Church keeps its silence in the interest of cooperating with the "instrument"--the NSDAP--that would keep communism out of Europe. Labeling the agreement which the Church entered into with the Nazis as a pact further serves Hochhuth's purpose of criticizing the Catholic Church.

It is clear that Hochhuth has researched Church history during the Third Reich rather thoroughly, but the manner in which he presents historical facts raises questions regarding the credibility of those facts in the drama. While some have hailed Der Stellvertreter as a "documentary drama," Jan Berg considers the "documentary" half of the term to be inappropriate, because true documentaries present facts in a "scientific" fashion--as they are, without bias (23-24). Berg's generalization is inaccurate, since literature, by its very nature, cannot present facts in this way, and the matter of literary perspective necessarily colors the presentation of history. In Hochhuth's case, it is the degree of bias and manipulation which is problematic. Brustein finds such a manipulation in Hochhuth's choice of source materials for Der Stellvertreter, particularly in regard to the Pope's official stance on the Nazi party and the Holocaust. According to Brustein, Hochhuth "catalogued personages almost exclusively according to their attitudes concerning the Pope's silence"

(23). Furthermore, as mentioned before, Hochhuth's mingling of fact with emotion can impart further bias, as the audience might be persuaded to let their emotions play an important part in assessing the facts presented in the drama.

On the other hand, if the drama's strongest point is not its depiction of history, it is its presentation of moral situations. Brustein states that, although Hochhuth has not demonstrated himself an accurate historian through his work in Der Stellvertreter, he has at least proven himself to be a "man of discriminating moral intelligence" (24). As a literary artist, Hochhuth focuses upon exploring the possible effects of failing to uphold one's moral code. He does not deviate from that focus, and in that regard, he gives his work some consistency, which is what Brustein describes as the "moral integrity" of Der Stellvertreter (23). Erwin Piscator, who produced the first run of Der Stellvertreter in Berlin in 1963, underscores this sense of consistency in Hochhuth's drama. He describes a parallel between Hochhuth's approach to his drama and the way Friedrich Schiller presented his historically-based dramas, a parallel which involves Schiller's concept of art's autonomy:

Es [Der Stellvertreter] sieht, wie das Drama Schillers, den Menschen als Handelnden, der im Handeln "Stellvertreter" einer Idee ist: frei in der Erfüllung dieser Idee, frei in der Einsicht in die Notwendigkeit "kategorischen," das heißt: sittlichen, menschenwürdigen Handelns. (quoted in preface to Der Stellvertreter vii)

Hochhuth used the freedom available to him, as expressed in Schiller's philosophy, to maintain his focus on examining the moral situation of the Catholic Church during the Nazi era; in that sense, Hochhuth maintains the "moral integrity" which Brustein mentioned.

Ruth Rehmann's Der Mann auf der Kanzel: The Protestant Church's Patriotic Nature

Another work which almost exclusively emphasizes the activity of the Church during the Third Reich is Ruth Rehmann's novel Der Mann auf der Kanzel (1979). It differs from Der Stellvertreter in focus and purpose. Whereas Der Stellvertreter emphasizes the activity of the Catholic Church as a whole in Europe during the Hitler regime, Der Mann auf der Kanzel is more specific in scope, treating the Protestant Church in Germany during the same era through the actions of a Protestant pastor. In Der Stellvertreter Hochhuth criticizes the Catholic Church for its failure to resist the Nazis (see further discussion in chapter 3), but Marie-Luise Gättens asserts that Rehmann wrote Der Mann auf der Kanzel as a means of coping with what the Protestant Church had done. Gättens explains there was a period of silence after World War II during which Germans largely avoided confrontation with their country's National-Socialist past; however, in the 1960s there was a movement to break this silence and deal with this period of German history, marked by such works as Alexander and Margarete Mitscherlich's social commentary Die

Unfähigkeit zu trauern, which postulated that genuine social progress could take place only in confrontation with the past ("The Hard Work of Remembering" 74). Failure to confront the issues involved with this part of Germany's history would serve to undermine the integrity of German society, internally (i.e., among Germans), and externally (i.e., Germany's ability to relate to other countries, and vice versa). Der Mann auf der Kanzel is, in effect, a manifestation of this self-examination, finding both good and bad, and attempting to profit from both.

Rehmann's conception of Der Mann auf der Kanzel stems from this movement in that the novel reflects her struggles with the reaction of her family to the Nazi regime. Gätgens states that Rehmann is the daughter of a Protestant pastor who was among those Germans of status and influence who "firmly closed their eyes to the murderous policy of the Nazis"; in dealing with her father's response, Rehmann carefully reconstructs the events and circumstances surrounding him and his office during those years ("The Hard Work of Remembering" 76). It is obvious that she has done some very painstaking research, for much of her portrayal of the circumstances of the Protestant Church through the novel's central character, Pastor Reinhold, corresponds with the historical findings pertaining to the Protestant Church discussed in chapter 1 of this thesis. While the novel shares with Hochhuth's drama a carefully researched historical basis, the manner in which

Rehmann portrays the facts she has unearthed is quite different from Hochhuth's approach. As shown earlier in this chapter, Hochhuth's technique of creating tensions in his audience reinforces his critique of the Catholic Church in Der Stellvertreter, but his polemicism undermines the credibility of his facts. However, according to Susan G. Figge, Rehmann wrote Der Mann auf der Kanzel as a memoir to her father; with this purpose in mind, she has carefully incorporated her research into the novel without including strong emotion, a method which, Figge states, assures the authenticity of the novel as a memoir (280). Rehmann utilizes a certain degree of artistic license in portraying her research, but, whereas Hochhuth uses words carefully chosen for emotional impact, Rehmann does not cloud the reader's judgment or try to force it with such strong emotion. Instead, she lets the facts speak for themselves, as exemplified by the dry facts which characterize an interview between the pastor's daughter and a teacher in chapter 11.

Chapter 1 of this thesis pointed out that one of the central factors contributing to passivity within the German Protestant Churches was their history of association with the governing authorities. Rehmann also repeatedly raises this issue in Der Mann auf der Kanzel and portrays it as one of the main factors in the pastor's reluctance to protest against the Nazi regime. Her description of the pastor's "three fathers"

demonstrates this fundamental connection: "[Der Pfarrer] hatte drei Väter, den leiblichen, den Vater im Himmel und den alten Kaiser und König von Preußen" (20). Gättens states that the German system showed the critical need of a figure in authority, and after the Kaiser's abdication, Hitler replaced him as this authority figure upon rising to power ("The Hard Work of Remembering" 78-79). Rehmann herself openly explains this need by a quotation from Bismarck:

Schon Bismarck habe gesagt: Die deutsche Vaterlandsliebe bedarf eines Fürsten, auf den sich ihre Anhänglichkeit konzentriert! . . . Nun sei [der Pfarrer] glücklich, seinem Führer dienen zu können. (70)

However, Gättens recognizes in this system a distinct, rigid hierarchy of loyalty and obedience to the governing authorities, which made the idea of rebellion unthinkable ("The Hard Work of Remembering" 81). The strong Protestant emphasis on Romans 13.1-5 mentioned in chapter 1 of this thesis confirms Gättens' assertion, and Rehmann alludes to the importance and effect of this passage in chapter 11: "Nur, wenn die weltliche Gewalt gegen das Recht verstößt, darf der Luther-Christ 'um Christi willen' leiden, *jedoch nicht Widerstand leisten*" (123, italics mine).

According to Gättens, such a world-view blinds the pastor to the criminal nature of the Nazi party ("The Hard Work of Remembering" 80). Rehmann illustrates the resultant quelling of any notion of opposition because of this blindness by the

pastor's reaction to a teacher's intentions of resisting Hitler:

"Was Sie da machen, das geht doch gegen die Obrigkeit!"

"Ja!" sagt der Lehrer.

"Das kann ich nicht!" sagt der Pfarrer, erst leise dann heftiger den Kopf schüttelnd. (151)

The fact that the word *Obrigkeit* is the same word used for the governing authorities in the Luther translation of Romans 13 (as opposed to *Regierungsgewalt* or *Verwaltung* or other similar words) shows the influence the pastor's theology has on his stance of silence. Another result of this blindness is the pastor's conviction that the State can do no wrong, which Gättens finds in his reaction to a report from Jacobi, a Jewish acquaintance, about the Nazis' deportation of Jews: unbelief, because the State has made no announcement of such activity ("The Hard Work of Remembering" 79).

While the Church's views on authority were significant in its passive stance, as Gättens emphasizes in her articles concerning the Church in Der Mann auf der Kanzel,⁴ these views were not the only factor which caused it to align itself with the NSDAP. Common interests between the NSDAP and the Protestant Church, especially those which were patriotic or nationalistic, are another factor which Rehmann includes in

⁴ Gättens has, thus far, written two additional articles about Der Mann auf der Kanzel (see bibliography). However, the information she includes concerning the Church in these articles overlaps her earlier work.

her novel. Pastor Reinhold demonstrates a particular affinity for his country in a remark he makes about the theologian Karl Barth: ". . . Barth sei eben ein Schweizer" (75). Reinhold takes special care to point out Barth's nationality, and in the same quotation, associates him with another Swiss theologian, Calvin, to set up a contrast with German theologians, such as Luther. Reinhold uses this contrast to criticize a non-German (Barth) for speaking out against the German Church's nationalistic tendencies. Rehmann cites Reinhold's later criticism of his daughter for commenting that a mixture of faith and patriotism is dangerous (78) to further underscore the patriotic/nationalistic elements in German Protestantism.

This common ground shared between the Protestants and the NSDAP quelled in many any perceived necessity to oppose the instrument Hitler would use to control the Protestant churches: the pseudo-Christian movement Deutsche Christen. In an interview in Der Mann auf der Kanzel, a teacher recalls that this opposition faltered because the nationalists and the Protestants shared too many similar interests:

Gegen die Deutschen Christen wehrt sich . . . die offizielle [evangelische] Kirche, aber ihr Widerstand zerbricht an der Übereinstimmung in wesentlichen Punkten: Verherrlichung der Nation, Abneigung gegen die Demokratie, Verteufelung des Marxismus. (125)

These interests all manifest a certain collection of attitudes, or what Figge terms "psychosocial patterns" which

Rehmann herself had observed and included in Der Mann auf der Kanzel (283). These attitudes, demonstrated by the three points stated above, center on German nationalism. Glorification of the German nation is the most obvious evidence of the Church's nationalistic character. Resistance to the establishment of a democracy in Germany derives from the Church's desire to restore what had symbolized the nation for so long--the figurehead of the Kaiser, with whom the Protestant Church had been so closely associated, according to Pierard (30-31). Distaste for communism is the least obvious of the three in regard to nationalism, but Rehmann is careful to reveal the reasons behind this attitude in a remark Reinhold's wife makes about their daughter's communist friend:

Sie [die Tochter] sei verhetzt, stehe unter schlechtem Einfluß. Ihr Freund . . . sei ein Roter wie fast alle Proleten, und die Roten seien es, die den Kaiser verraten hätten (61)

The last part of the quotation demonstrates the heart of the Protestants' dislike, which originated from the days of the leftist Weimar Republic: the communists disrupted the hierarchical order established during the Empire, an order which, according to Gättens, heavily influenced the attitudes of the Protestant Church ("The Hard Work of Remembering" 79).

Brief Glimpses of Church Passivity in Other Works of Holocaust Literature

Most other works of Holocaust literature and other

literature written about the Third Reich do not go into as much detail about Church activities as Der Stellvertreter or Der Mann auf der Kanzel. Nonetheless, because the Church has played such an important role in German society, and because Hitler valued it as an important source of support, some German authors include at least a brief portrayal of the Church during the Third Reich in their literary depictions of this period.

Bertolt Brecht's play Der aufhaltsame Aufstieg des Arturo Ui (1957) briefly depicts the Church as driven into passivity by the brutal nature of the NSDAP. The main focus of the play, according to David Bathrick, is an unmasking of the true nature of the Hitler regime (1933-45), which Brecht achieves by using a group of gangsters in Chicago during the 1930s to symbolize the Nazis. The leader of the gang, Arturo Ui--who, according to Robert Atkins, represents Adolf Hitler (385)--employs Realpolitik to gain control of a "cauliflower trust." Assassinations and bombings are the means by which Ui "persuades" the members of the trust to follow him. When one member, Ignatius Dullfeet, resists, Ui's thugs eliminate him, and Dullfeet's funeral enables Brecht to depict how Hitler's terror tactics silenced the Church. Brecht represents the Church by a "pastor's voice" (the pastor is off-stage and unseen), which laments Dullfeet's demise, but does not mention the cause of his death, a fact which many who are present at the funeral know. Ui's right-hand men, Givola and Giri, who

Atkins states represent Goebbels and Göring respectively (385-86), comment on the pastor's "tactfulness":

GIVOLA: Ein Mann mit Takt! Nichts von der Todesart.

GIRI: Ein Mann mit Takt? Ein Mann mit sieben Kindern!
(Arturo Ui, 108)

Brecht suggests in the above lines that the Church leaders feared for the safety of others for whom they were responsible--in this quotation, their children, but the same sense of responsibility also extended to their congregations--and therefore, Church leaders attempted nothing that would provoke Hitler. Furthermore, Brecht's stage directions in regard to the pastor's voice, which specifically call for an off-stage voice from an unseen person, also suggest the Church's general absence in the midst of the strife under Nazi rule.

In Furcht und Elend des dritten Reiches (1943) we see another portrayal by Brecht of the Church's silence because of its fear of Hitler. As in Arturo Ui, the Church is not the main focus, but it is portrayed as part of the whole of German society which fell prey to Hitler's influence. In the twentieth scene, titled "Die Bergpredigt," there is a dying man, whose wife and pastor are comforting and ministering to him. The presence of the man's son, a member of the SA, seems to be creating tension, as evidenced by the pastor's nervous glances toward him. The tension becomes even more evident when the dying man presents a question concerning the

credibility of the Christian faith, attacked by the son and his comrades, whom the man has heard say, "das ist alles von einem Juden und gilt nicht" (Furcht und Elend 104). His wife furthers the sense of tension by stating that answering the question in the presence of the SA man could leave the pastor susceptible to imprisonment, much like the Jehovah's Witness of scene 4, "Moorsoldaten." The pastor gives no clear answer to the question, but rather responds equivocally by citing Mark 12.17, "Gebt Gott, was Gottes ist, und dem Kaiser, was des Kaisers ist" (Furcht und Elend 105). This quotation shows the struggle the clergy faced to maintain the integrity of their mission on the one hand and to satisfy the demands of the governing authorities on the other. In this scene, the pastor's danger stems from Hitler's agenda for the Church, which, Atkins explains, was to become more nationalized in its doctrine and thus better reflect the Aryan virtues so highly esteemed by the Third Reich, or it would be eliminated (374-75).

In Heinrich Böll's Billard um halbzehn (1959), there is a more explicit portrayal of Hitler's aim of nationalizing the Church by having it participate in pre-Christian Teutonic-pagan rituals. The novel centers on the Fähmel family and its association with a monastery, the Abbey of St. Anton. The eldest Fähmel, Heinrich, designed and built the abbey. His son, Robert, destroyed it, supposedly to open up a field of fire for artillery during World War II. But the reader later

learns how the monks of the abbey submitted to the will of the Third Reich by participating in a *Sonnwendfeier*, which Heinrich speculates was the real reason Robert destroyed the abbey:

Vielleicht hatte er es getan, weil ein halbes Dutzend Mönche damals zur Sonnwendfeier den Kosakenhügel hinaufgezogen waren und oben, als das Feuer aufloderte: *Es zittern die morschen Knochen* angestimmt hatten . . . rings ums Sonnwendfeuer die Dorfjugend aus Dodringen, Schaklingen, Kisslingen und Denklingen; die erhitzten Gesichter der jungen Männer und Mädchen leuchteten wild im Sonnwendfeuer . . . und alle sangen, was der biedere Mönch, der dem biedereren Ackerpferd die Sporen in die Flanken bohrte, anstimmte: *Es zittern die morschen Knochen*. Gröhlend, mit Fackeln in der Hand, zogen sie den Berg hinunter; sollte er dem jungen Mann sagen, daß er es tat, weil sie die Weisung *Weide meine Lämmer* nicht befolgt hatten (Billard 137)

Robert C. Conrad describes this scene as a portrayal of a lack of moral opposition to Hitler and explains that Böll used it to show how the Catholic Church chose to ally itself with the dominant ideology (78). However, Böll's inclusion of Christ's command from John 21.15, "Feed my lambs,"⁵ shows more than just an alliance. The monks' failure to adhere to this command brings about an accusation of apostasy--turning away from Christian values to take up others. In this case, the monks abandon their vows to embrace the revival of Teutonic pagan spirituality.

The Catholic Church was an institution which sought to

⁵My translation from the 1984 version of the Luther Bible and from Böll's text.

maintain a certain moral standard. For centuries in Europe, it was deemed by Europeans to be the authority on such a standard. Because it and the Protestant Church failed to uphold this standard in a time of grave crisis, they exposed themselves to later charges of hypocrisy and cowardice by authors. For this reason, most of the portrayals of the Church during the Third Reich are critical and negative, emphasizing the Church's passivity toward and/or collaboration with the Nazis, rather than giving a thorough view of both the positive and negative aspects of the Church's response during this time.

CHAPTER 3

Church Resistance and/or Opposition in Holocaust Literature

Wilhelm Niemöller states in his article about the Niemöller archives that there was much Allied propaganda which denied that the Germans mounted any resistance to the Hitler regime; the truth, however, was that hundreds of clergymen engaged in active resistance (102). Similarly, to say that depictions of a passive stance toward or collaboration with the Hitler regime provide the only images of the role of the Church in German literature about that period is equally incorrect. Rolf Hochhuth's Der Stellvertreter, Ruth Rehmann's Der Mann auf der Kanzel, Alfred Andersch's Sansibar; oder, der letzte Grund (1957), Ursula Berkéwicz's Engel sind schwarz und weiß (1991), and Ruth Klüger's weiter leben (1992) all offer a contrastive view when they portray persons who actively resisted the Nazis. Although the authors may have intended to heighten their criticism of Church silence by the example set by those who resisted, they show, nonetheless, that some opposition to the Hitler regime did exist, despite Conrad's claim, mentioned in chapter 2, that the Church had entirely given in to the dominant ideology.

Catholic and Protestant Resistance/Opposition in Der Stellvertreter: Hochhuth's Interpretation of the Real Representatives of Christ

While Hochhuth focuses mainly on Catholic passivity in

Der Stellvertreter, he does not ignore the fact that there were some noteworthy Catholics who resisted the Nazis rigorously. He dedicates the drama to Prelate Bernhard Lichtenberg, who was the Domprobst of St. Hedwig in Berlin. As mentioned in chapter 1, Lichtenberg opposed the Hitler regime by including persecuted Jews in his prayers. In act 1 of Der Stellvertreter, Gerstein alludes to this opposition obliquely in his account of Lichtenberg's subsequent resistance:

Lichtenberg, dessen Haftzeit abgelaufen ist,
hat bei der Gestapo beantragt,
das Schicksal der Juden im Osten
teilen zu dürfen--haben Sie das gehört? (62)

Hochhuth also incorporates into his drama a portrayal of Clemens August Graf von Galen's protest against the Nazis' euthanasia program. Riccardo describes Galen's successful opposition, which resulted in the Nazi regime's halting the killing of the mentally ill and disabled:

O Vater, Galens Beispiel gibt mir
ja recht! Er protestierte mitten in Deutschland
gegen die Mörder
Und sein Protest bewirkte, daß die Kranken
nicht mehr ermordet werden.
Nur ein Bischof mußte sich erheben--
Und Hitler schreckte schon zurück. (80-81)

The use of the word *Beispiel* reveals the purpose for which Hochhuth included this aspect of the Church's activity during the Third Reich--to make a moral point. As noted in chapter 2, Schwarz has commented on Hochhuth's use of language to

illustrate points of morality (300-01).

Hochhuth notes that his research suggested that the Catholic Church had had more influence over Hitler than it had exercised. In his article "The Playwright Answers," he cites two examples which demonstrate this influence: Galen's protest and the request of the Papal Nuncio in Bratislava for the investigation into the killing of Jewish deportees near Lublin, which halted deportations from Slovakia for two years (77). In Der Stellvertreter, Hochhuth also asserts that the Church has not used all its influence, not only by citing the example of Galen, but also by having Riccardo state that if only one bishop's protest was so effective, then a protest from the Pope would have accomplished even more (85). Therefore, Hochhuth's inclusion of examples of Church opposition to the Third Reich serves to make his criticism of the Church's silent majority even more pronounced.

Hochhuth underscores his criticism of the Church's fear of the Nazis by his portrayal in Der Stellvertreter of acts of bravery in both the Catholic and Protestant Churches. He shows that Galen protested at the height of Hitler's popularity and was never once arrested for it (81). Another example of bravery comes from the Protestant side of the Church Struggle, which Hochhuth depicts in the character of Kurt Gerstein, whom he incorporated into Der Stellvertreter in order to celebrate Gerstein's acts of heroism (Brustein 23).

Gerstein, a member of the Bekennende Kirche, opposes the Third Reich from the inside as a member of the SS, much as Bonhoeffer did in the Abwehr. The methods by which he uses his office to resist the Nazis involve smuggling persecuted Jews out of Germany, as he attempts with Jacobson in act 1, scene 3, as well as intentionally misplacing materials the Nazis can use to destroy their victims, such as a shipment of Zyklon-B (Stellvertreter 54-74). Such activity involves a degree of risk, and Gerstein demonstrates an awareness of that risk, as his statement to Riccardo shows:

Ein Christ in dieser Zeit *kann* gar nicht
überleben, wenn er konsequent ist.
Ich meine nicht die Sonntagschristen,
man hüte sich vor einem fleißigen Kirchengänger--
ich denke an die Christen, die Kierkegaard
gemeint hat: Spione Gottes--ich bin
Spion in der SS.
Spione aber werden hingerichtet,
das ist mir klar. (65-66)

In this quotation, Hochhuth differentiates two types of Christians. On the one hand, there are those who follow Christian customs out of convention ("Sonntagschristen" or "Kirchengänger"); on the other hand, there are those who have deeper convictions. Gerstein's identification with the latter class accounts for his resisting the Third Reich and also demonstrates Hochhuth's understanding that conscience motivated the clergymen and church-based organizations involved in resistance, a fact supported by Benz's comment (noted in chapter 1) that conscience was the central

motivation for Church resistance. Hochhuth's views on human morality explain his admiration for Gerstein, who acted on the dictates of his conscience regardless of the risk, and for Galen, who opposed Hitler despite the latter's popularity. According to Schwarz, Hochhuth takes the position that each person is "universal," i.e., that morality exists independent of circumstances, and that a person is, therefore, able to act independently on his/her faith and beliefs (296).

Brustein states that Hochhuth emphasizes personal accountability in Der Stellvertreter (22-23). Hochhuth praises this characteristic in Galen and Gerstein and condemns the Pope and other high-ranking Catholic clergy, such as the Cardinal and the Nuncio in Berlin, for their failure to demonstrate personal responsibility by standing up to the Nazis. But instead of just contrasting those who act with those who do not act, the playwright uses the fictional character Riccardo to illustrate how Hochhuth feels the Catholic Church should have reacted. At the beginning of the drama, Riccardo is much like any other Catholic priest, concerned about the status of Hitler's war with Stalin, but a change takes place in him after his meeting with Gerstein in act 2. From this point on, he investigates the Church's role more carefully and attempts to provoke the Pope to protest in the light of successful resistance attempts by Catholics and others, such as the King of Denmark, whose protest Riccardo imitates by wearing a star of David on his cassock in act 4.

When the Pope still refuses to resist Hitler, Riccardo decides to personally protest the execution of the Jews by accompanying a transport to Auschwitz.

Although this effort does not save the Jews, Hochhuth clearly portrays the principle behind Riccardo's protest: the moral standard which his Church is supposed to represent requires personal involvement--action--corresponding to that standard. This act of properly upholding the standard gives rise to the drama's title, Der Stellvertreter: Catholic doctrine asserts that the Pope is the representative of Christ on earth, but by contrasting Pius XII's silence with the protest of others, Hochhuth alleges that this Pope fails to live up to that role. Riccardo makes this accusation directly in act 3, in response to the abbot's concern about Riccardo's apparent intention to protest without papal consent: "Ja, wenn der Papst vergißt, anstelle Christi zu sprechen!" (126). In act 4, Riccardo is preparing to act on his convictions, but not without first attacking the Pope a second time for abandoning his role, this time in his very presence: "Gott soll die Kirche nicht verderben, / nur weil ein Papst sich seinem Ruf entzieht" (176).

Der Mann auf der Kanzel: Oppositional Tendencies in Both Pastor Reinhold and the Protestant Church

Gättens states that as Rehmann researched and wrote Der Mann auf der Kanzel, she struggled with two views of her

father's stance during the Third Reich: whereas "political public memory" frowned upon her father's passivity, her personal memory cherished her father ("The Hard Work of Remembering" 76). To resolve this struggle required a careful analysis of all aspects of her father's activity during the Third Reich, and as a result, she includes in her novel some images of oppositional tendencies within her father. Parallel to these images are reports in the novel of oppositional Protestants, part of the faithful few who resisted Hitler while the Protestant Church on the whole remained silent.

In the interview in chapter 11 of Der Mann auf der Kanzel, the teacher explains why Niemöller and his associates in the Bekennende Kirche engaged in ecclesiastical rather than political protest:

Ihr [Niemöllers und der der Bekennenden Kirche] Widerstand entzündet sich keineswegs an den politischen Entwicklungen, die auch für Barth nur nebensächliche, vorübergehende Erscheinungen sind, sondern an theologischen Kontroversen mit der Glaubensbewegung Deutsche Christen, die . . . die Ziele der NSDAP zu ihren eigenen gemacht hat (125)

The pastor discusses these theological conflicts in chapter 13; for example, the biblical description of the Savior did not fit into the Nazis' nationalistic ideals since Christ was born Jewish, preached salvation to the Jews, and emphasized repentance over the power and greatness of man, the weakness of the strong, the poverty of the rich and the blessedness of the lowly and rejected (135). Consequently, the Nazis sought

a new image for a savior, and there they came into conflict with men such as Niemöller and Barth.

To some extent, the pastor also exhibits this conflict. He draws a parallel between the NSDAP and devils when, upon the intrusion of SA men on his service, he leads the congregation in the third stanza of Luther's "Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott":

Dröhnend stimmt er an: "Und wenn die Welt voll Teufel wär und wollt uns gar verschlingen." Das Klavier fiel an, dann die Gemeinde, mit jedem Wort trotziger, kräftiger, freudiger, "so fürchten wir uns nicht so sehr, es muß uns doch gelingen. Der Fürst dieser Welt, so sau'r er sich stellt, tut er uns doch nicht, das macht, er ist gericht. Ein Wörtlein kann ihn fällen." (138)

The congregation sings so loud by the end of the stanza that it drives the "Uniformierten" out of the sanctuary (138). This is the only place in the novel where the pastor comes close to open resistance; other incidents imply subtle disapproval, such as one involving a copy of Mein Kampf, which a relative gives to him as a birthday present. He refuses it, stating merely, "Ich will das Zeug nicht im Haus haben" (170). Other incidents which also show that the pastor has some distaste for the Nazi regime include his requesting that a window be closed as the Nazis parade past (118) and the series of passages in which he indirectly hinders his daughter's involvement with the Jungmädel (166-68). In none of these examples does he openly state his reasons for acting the way he does.

The personality of the pastor, then, contains a sort of schism. On the one hand, he has a strong belief in obeying authority, as discussed in chapter 2. On the other, there is also the obligation inherent in his office as pastor to obey the teachings of his God. The Protestant Church displayed this same sort of schism during the Hitler era: at times it would give in to the wiles of the NSDAP, but at others it would oppose the Nazis.

Der lesende Klosterschüler and the Fight for Religious Freedom in Andersch's Sansibar; oder, der letzte Grund

Alfred Andersch's novel Sansibar; oder, der letzte Grund (1957) is another polemic work, like Hochhuth's Der Stellvertreter, but, like Rehmann's Der Mann auf der Kanzel, it attempts to show both sides of the Church Struggle. Unlike either work and most of the works analyzed in this thesis, however, Andersch's novel concludes with an essentially positive view of the Church Struggle in Nazi Germany.

Andersch symbolizes the struggle by Pastor Helander's attempts to smuggle a statuette of a boy studying the Bible--the Lesender Klosterschüler--out of northern Germany into Sweden, thereby saving it from the "Anderen," who wish to remove it from the church in Rerik. The statuette represents intellectual freedom, as Judith, a Jewish refugee, explains in her conversation with a young apprentice at the end of the story:

Er [der Junge] deutete auf das Paket mit der Figur [Der lesende Klosterschüler]. Himmel, dachte Judith, wie soll ich ihm das erklären? Hast du ihn dir genau angesehen? fragte sie.

Ja, erwiderte der Junge.

Er sieht doch aus wie einer, der alle Bücher liest, oder?

Er liest nur die Bibel, sagte der Junge. Deswegen war er doch in der Kirche aufgestellt.

In der Kirche, ja, da las er die Bibel. Aber hast du ihn vorhin im Boot gesehen?

Ja.

Da las er ein ganz anderes Buch, fandest du nicht? Was für eins?

Irgendeins, sagte Judith. Er liest alles, was er will. Weil er alles liest, was er will, sollte er eingesperrt werden. Und deswegen muß er jetzt wohin, wo er lesen kann, soviel er will. (195)

According to Ursula Reinhold, there is an historical basis for the story about the statuette. Ernst Barlach, a German artist whom the Nazis persecuted because of the political nature of his works, created a statuette entitled Lesender Klosterschüler, which was smuggled out of Rerik in 1938 to escape the Nazi ban on art deemed politically suspect (124).

Freedom of expression is one aspect of the statuette, as Reinhold suggests in her discussion about the statuette (124). For Irene Heidelberger-Leonard, the statuette represents the freedom to seek the truth (103). When one considers that the Nazis attempted to control both the doctrine in which clergymen were trained as well as their interpretations of that doctrine, one can better understand the nature of Helander's attempts to smuggle the statuette out of Germany. Peter Demetz states that Helander is trying to rescue

religion's life from the "Anderen" (25).

However, Helander's attempts to save the statuette do not come about without conflict. In many respects, his conflicts are the same as Pastor Reinhold's in Der Mann auf der Kanzel. On the one hand, Helander has a strong allegiance to his faith, which, according to Heidelberger-Leonard, does not stem from the "nationale Großmacht Deutschlands," but rather from the Protestant Christian world, which the Bekennende Kirche was struggling to preserve (97). Yet, on the other hand, Helander fears the Nazis. He contemplates the possible retributions he can expect for his actions: "Den 'Klosterschüler' retten, heißt: morgen früh abgeführt werden. In ein Konzentrationslager mit dem Tod im Bein" (128). Helander suffered an injury in World War I that resulted in the amputation of one of his legs. This injury would leave him particularly susceptible to torture, which adds to his fear: "Sie werden mich schlagen lassen, die Anderen, aus Rache und in Erfahrung zu bringen, wo ich die Figur versteckt hatte, und in der Folter wird die Wunde an meinem Beinstumpf aufbrechen" (130). Helander's wavering faith in God is yet another factor which causes him to reconsider rescuing the Klosterschüler. The value that saving the statue has for him depends on how real he perceives the cause which the statue symbolizes. Since that cause is religion's life, as discussed above, Helander's perception of God is at issue. According to Demetz, Helander believes in a "deus absconditus" or a God who

is absent or, at best, distant from the crisis at hand (24). In the novel, Helander struggles with the notion that God has allowed the "Anderen" to take over and is not interested in Europe's current sufferings. Taken to its logical conclusion, this reasoning would suggest that God does not care whether or not the statuette is saved (72, 129).

All these factors reflect the anxieties at work in Helander, and tensions are a major characteristic of Sansibar. According to Demetz, when Andersch wrote Sansibar, he was a polemicist and illustrated in the novel the considerations involved in the decision-making process (22). But he resolves these tensions and enables his characters to make their decisions. In Helander's case, after deliberating on the advantages and disadvantages of the decision facing him, he decides to let the Klosterschüler be smuggled to Sweden and face the consequences of his choice. Later, the "Anderen" come for him, and Helander loses his life when they shoot him, but he fulfills his mission to save the Klosterschüler and what it represents. In that sense, one can regard the portrayal of Church resistance by the example of Helander as positive.

The Involvement of Both Clergy and Congregation in Berkéwicz's Engel sind schwarz und weiß

Thus far, the literary portrayals of the Church during the Third Reich have focused on the actions of the clergy,

with the exception of the layman Gerstein in Der Stellvertreter. However, in her novel Engel sind schwarz und weiß, Ulla Berkéwicz shows that both clergy and members of the congregation were engaged in the German Church Struggle. In much the same way that Hochhuth and Andersch illustrate the resisting Church by depicting the clergy, Berkéwicz portrays the pastor who is associated with the resistance group "Trutzgesang" as her example of how the Church supported resistance movements. In the novel, the pastor advises the group about the theological inconsistencies between the Nazi movement and Christianity, including how the Nazis manipulate certain aspects of Christian theology to justify and even gain support for persecuting the Jews (139-48). This pastor's activities are very similar to Martin Niemöller's beginnings as an opposition leader, discussed in chapter 1.

However, the conflict the Church faced did not involve the clergy alone. Berkéwicz shows that it made its way into the homes of the faithful as well. In Reinhold's home, the conflict involves his mother, Magda, a faithful Christian, and his father, Heinrich, an active member of the SA. It manifests itself in an argument about the sort of group to which Reinhold should belong:

Magda hatte Heinrich gebeten, Reinhold in die katholische Jugend eintreten zu lassen, und Heinrich hatte ihr als Antwort aus der Zeitung vorgelesen: Eine einzige Fahne flattert dem Jungvolk voran. Der Millionärssohn und der Arbeitersohn tragen ein und dieselbe Uniform. Denn allein die Jugend ist

vorurteilsfrei und einer echten Gemeinschaft fähig. Jugend ist [National-] Sozialismus.

Unser Herrgott ist der einzige Gott, hatte Magda gesagt, dem sollen wir dienen und niemandem sonst.

Als der Erlaß kam, daß Beamtenkinder keine Mitglieder konfessioneller Jugendverbände sein durften, war der Streit zwischen Heinrich und Magda entschieden. (55-56)

It is clear that Magda wants Reinhold to be brought up according to the Christian values to which she adheres. Taking Reinhold to church is one means by which she attempts to accomplish this goal (50-52). However, Heinrich wants to separate Reinhold from those values and instead instill in his son a nationalistic, Teutonic world-view. His encouraging Reinhold to join the Hitlerjugend, taking him on trips to places rich in Teutonic history, and teaching him German folklore are Heinrich's means of achieving his desires for his son (58-61). Reinhold abandons his mother's faith for the new set of values he discovers in the Hitlerjugend, but Magda's boldness in asking her husband to let Reinhold participate in the Catholic youth group and her declaration that they should serve no one but the Christian God demonstrate her opposition to the Nazis and their ideology.

What the Jews Saw: The Church's Protection of the Jews in Der Stellvertreter, Sansibar; oder, der letzte Grund, and Klüger's weiter leben

While the Nazis were carrying out the Holocaust, oppositional pastors such as Martin Niemöller explained to their congregations that the Nazis' manipulation of the

Scriptures to justify anti-semitism were actually contrary to biblical dictates. Furthermore, they exhorted their congregations to assist persecuted Jews with whatever means possible. This chapter has already discussed how Der Stellvertreter reflects this aspect of the Church's resistance by the assistance given to Jews by Gerstein, Riccardo, and Lichtenberg.

Hochhuth also shows that some Jews looked to the Church as a source of protection; in act 3, for example, a Catholic factory owner of Jewish descent protests his captivity by claiming papal protection:

Meine Familie ist katholisch.
Katholischer Adel
Ich sage Ihnen, meine Verhaftung
wird schärfste Interventionen nach sich ziehen.
. . . Herr Obersturmführer, fürchten Sie den
Protest des Duces und des Papstes.
Wagen Sie es nicht (139-41)

We have also seen how Hochhuth briefly shows that the Catholic Church extended some sanctuary to the Jews by means of monasteries, and how the Protestants, exemplified by Gerstein, smuggled Jews out of Germany. Hochhuth also implies that the Catholic Church did its own share of this smuggling when he mentions the "Raphaels-Verein" which financed the flight of thousands abroad (Stellvertreter 91).

Andersch briefly treats this subject of the resisting Church's attitudes toward the persecuted Jews by Pastor

Helander's opinion of the Jewish woman Judith in Sansibar: "Eine Jüdin, dachte er, und: ob sie getauft ist? Es ist gleichgültig, gab er sich zur Antwort, wer von den Anderen gejagt wird, ist getauft" (156). Helander thereby acknowledges a commonality between himself and Judith, and expresses acceptance of her. As several Jews seek sanctuary provided by the Catholic Church in Der Stellvertreter, so Judith looks to the Church for protection in Sansibar: "Kirchen waren zum Schutz da" (143). However, that she would look to the Church for assistance in her need comes as a surprise to her.

Ruth Klüger discusses a similar incident in her life in her work weiter leben, which is an account of her experiences as a Jewish prisoner in several Nazi labor and concentration camps. Her memoir shows that she had been largely unaware of the Church's situation during the Hitler regime. While she had heard of a Catholic priest who allowed himself to be gassed in place of a Catholic Jew--possibly Kolbe, although Klüger makes no mention of the priest's name (74)--she had no idea of the extent of the German Church Struggle, nor of the resisting Church's intervention on behalf of persecuted Jews. On the contrary, Klüger states that she and her sister "hatten in [ihrem] kurzen Leben keine Beweise christlicher Nächstenliebe zu verzeichnen gehabt" (177).

However, weiter leben recounts how, after escaping the

labor camp at Christianstadt with Ruth and her sister, her mother decides to seek help from a local pastor. It is then that Klüger experiences firsthand the efforts the resisting Church was making to aid persecuted Jews. Her mother has some knowledge of the German Church Struggle, for Klüger states, "Doch meine Mutter war der Ansicht, daß die Kirche und die Nazis Feinde waren" (177). Because of this perceived enmity between the Church and the Nazis, Klüger's mother trusts the pastor not to hand them back over to the Nazis. Her faith is rewarded, for the pastor supplies them with identification papers which had belonged to deceased members of his congregation, but now provide the Klügers with "legitimate" identities that will allow them to move more freely until the end of the war (178). Although Klüger states that she has forgotten the details about the incident, such as the pastor's name and the names under which she and her family lived, she nonetheless credits the pastor's selflessness as an important contribution to her survival as a persecuted Jew in Nazi Germany (178-79).

CONCLUSION

The literary portrayal of the Church's activities during the Third Reich on the whole corresponds closely to historical fact. From the historical overview in chapter 1, I concluded from my research that the Church's passivity stemmed from its institutionalization in German society, which caused it to be vulnerable to social movements, and German authors who emphasized the Church's passivity or collaboration seem to have reached the same conclusion. This is most evident in Der Mann auf der Kanzel, where nationalism and patriotism--which are social, not ecclesiastical issues--tend to cloud Pastor Reinhold's position on Nazism, in regard to both his opinions and actions. Der Stellvertreter also portrays a Church which has fallen victim to its own dependence on politics, as it seeks to use social means to preserve itself from the threat of communism. Arturo Ui and Furcht und Elend show, to a degree, the Church's political maneuvering to avoid conflict with the Third Reich, while Böll, in Billard um halbzehn, accuses the Church of abandoning its mission in allying itself with the dominant political power.

Literary portrayals of Church opposition to the Third Reich also correspond with the conclusions I drew from my historical research. Church opposition was a matter of conscience, and Hochhuth treats this aspect of the Church Struggle well in Der Stellvertreter by his depictions of

Gerstein and his allusions to von Galen, Lichtenberg and Kolbe, all of whom actively opposed Hitler because of their consciences, and by Hochhuth's characterization of the Pope, whom the playwright portrays as having none. Rehmann confirms the importance of conscience in the resisting Church by the facts she includes in Der Mann auf der Kanzel, as well as in her illustration of her own father's struggles with his conscience. Helander undergoes a similar conflict in Sansibar.

As I researched and wrote this thesis, I encountered a few related topics which could be pursued in separate papers, but were beyond the scope of this project. In Engel sind schwarz und weiß, Berkéwicz includes a portrayal of SS initiation rites that suggests an occultic aspect to the Germanic religion promoted by the Nazis. It would be interesting to explore whether this aspect also appears in other literary works about the Third Reich.

Biblical imagery in some of these works is another avenue for research. An example of such imagery in Der Stellvertreter is the Pope's washing his hands clean of guilt in the fate of the Jews, much as Pontius Pilate did before executing Jesus Christ. There is also some very intricate biblical imagery in Billard um halbzehn, particularly concerning the nature and interaction of those characters considered to be "lambs" and those regarded as "buffaloes."

Brecht's works also contain biblical images and motifs, as an article by Robert Atkins, G. Ronald Murphy's Brecht and the Bible, and Mary Sue Gilbert Treat's thesis, "Religious Figures in the Dramas of Bertolt Brecht," report. While the biblical imagery of specific works or specific authors has been treated, there is as yet no research on the biblical imagery found in Holocaust literature in general.

One could study in greater detail other topics treated only generally in this thesis, such as the relations between Jews and Christians in works of German Holocaust literature. The dynamics of conscience, which is a major theme in Der Stellvertreter, would be another good topic to explore more thoroughly.

History and literature are, however, the main foci of this thesis. History itself is always present, and both historians and literary writers are, to an extent, bound to historical fact, which manifests itself one way or another in the works they write. However, as Piscator noted based on his familiarity with Schiller's theory concerning the arts, writers enjoy a little more freedom in expressing their interpretation of historical fact (Preface to Der Stellvertreter vii). In regard to the role of the Church during the Third Reich, this thesis shows the variations among representative works of Holocaust literature. While the portrayals in these works have historical validity, the

agendas that the authors have for depicting the facts in their works account for the differences among their illustrations, whether they attack the Church for its passivity, or commend the Church for its opposition.

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