The Influence of Theatre and ParaTheatre on the Holocaust

Dana Lori Chalmers

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ABSTRACT

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Using knowledge and approaches from four disciplines: History, Theatre, Archetypal Psychology and the Arts Therapies, and divided into three parts, this thesis analyses the ways in which the Nazis used Theatre and ParaTheatre to promote their ideology. It suggests that Theatre was not only an element of Nazi propaganda but also contributed to the creation of a 'culture of cruelty' which psychologically prepares a population for genocide.

After reviewing the areas of study relevant to this research in Part I, Part II begins the analysis by exploring the nature and value of archetypal images in Nazi theatre, the correlation of these images with their equivalents in Nazi ideology and with the imagery in Weimar Culture and German propaganda from the First and Second World Wars. Part II includes two theatrical components: Theatre and ParaTheatre. Within Theatre it examines three of the major 'genres' of Nazi Theatre: *Thingspiel*, Historical Drama and the Classics while ParaTheatre deals with public events intended to be witnessed, including spectacles such as the Nuremberg Rallies and scenes of public humiliation, torture, or murder. Both types of theatre contributed to the dominant Nazi archetypes of 'good' and 'evil', corresponding to the ideological images of the Aryan and the Jew. The analysis concludes in Part III with the application of these images and their historical antecedents to theories proposed within the disciplines contributing to this thesis that discuss routes towards influencing individual and social behaviour and creating the cultural foundations necessary for genocide.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Did Theatre contribute to the Holocaust? Even the mere question evokes instinctive scepticism, however almost all recent publications on Theatre in the Third Reich focus on or at least refer to the relationship between the theatrical productions of Nazi Germany and Nazi ideology and propaganda: "the documents that still exist reveal the highly successful effort to make the theatre a part of a gigantic propaganda effort that utilized and controlled all of the arts."[1] Using research and approaches from four disciplines: History, Theatre, Archetypal Psychology and the Arts Therapies, this study will suggest that Theatre was not only an element of Nazi propaganda but also contributed to the creation of a 'culture of cruelty' which psychologically prepares a population for participation in acts of extraordinary evil.

In studies of historical events leading to the rise of the Third Reich, most scholars focus on major events, prominent leaders, social trends, economic influences, propaganda, international compliance etc. It is easy to get engrossed in the implications of key historical events which preceded the Second World War and the Holocaust. Discussions abound about the Treaty of Versailles, the economic upheavals of the 20's, historical antisemitism and the rapid industrialisation of Germany after the First World War. There is no question that these and other historical factors significantly influenced the rise of the Third Reich, the Second World War and the Holocaust. Amidst the overwhelming complexities of these multidimensional and frequently controversial contributors, what is often overshadowed is the essential role of individual human beings. Individual human beings handed their neighbours and friends over to the

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[1] Glen Gadberry, *Theatre in the Third Reich, the Prewar Years: Essays on Theatre in Nazi Germany* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1995), 116.

authorities; herded people into cattle cars; removed possessions from homes; kept victims imprisoned in ghettos and concentration camps; and murdered them in unspeakable scenes of terror. Likewise, bystanders *chose* to watch processions of people being removed from their homes, tortured or murdered; they *chose* to watch and they *chose* to ignore it. In order for the Holocaust to occur, individual human beings had to decide to commit murder; and countless others had to allow it.

The role that Theatre played in the Holocaust was through its contributions to these individual choices. This study will emphasise this human component of the Holocaust; specifically one contributing factor to the ideological and psychological influences that allowed ordinary human beings to – often enthusiastically – commit mass murder, torture, degradation, enslavement and some of the most vicious crimes against humanity ever recorded.

There is no single trigger to turn an ordinary man into a genocidaire, but rather there are a multitude of possibilities, any one or combination of which could provide the necessary stimulus in one man to commit murder – and in another to stand by and watch. In short, each individual perpetrator and bystander was motivated, inspired and encouraged by different combinations of stimuli. This research discusses two related stimuli: Theatre and ParaTheatre and the ways in which they possibly influenced the actions of perpetrators and the inaction of bystanders.

The remainder of this study is divided into three parts. Part I outlines a basic review of each of the areas of study relevant to this research. Part II discusses the nature and value of archetypal images in Nazi theatre, the correlation of these images with their equivalents in Nazi ideology and with the imagery of German propaganda from the First and Second World Wars and the Weimar period. Finally, Part III applies

these images and their historical antecedents to four theories proposing different ways in which theatrical images can influence the psyche and behaviour as well as the result those influences have on the psycho-social forces which lead to genocide.

What is Absent

As ambitious as this study may be, there is a vast amount of academic ground which it does not cover. The first and most essential point to make is that this is not a study of the Theatre in the Third Reich. It is not a work of theatre history, nor is it an effort to give greater insight into that era of theatricality. There are numerous works discussed in the literature review in Part I that provide a far better and more complete analysis than this study.

Just as this study does not attempt to provide a complete (or even a partial) study of Nazi Theatre History, it also does not pretend to offer a balanced view of the Theatre of this period. This is a study of the theatre of the perpetrators, or at the very least, the theatre that the perpetrators sanctioned. As tempting as it is to focus theatrical research on the 'good' that theatre can do (and there is no doubt that theatre can and has been tremendously powerful as a form of resistance and a positive force in times of oppression), it is necessary to understand that if Theatre has the potential to be used as a positive social influence, it has equal potential for the opposite.

Moreover, in conducting a study that does, in part, attempt to understand an aspect of the motivations of the perpetrators, it is not an attempt to justify or excuse the actions of those involved. No matter how powerful or persuasive the propaganda, every perpetrator and bystander had a choice – often not a good or easy choice, but always a choice. In addition, this study by no means posits that the propaganda was

irresistible – the accuracy of this statement is amply evidenced by the actions of those who did resist and attempted to rescue and protect victims.

By the same token, this is not an attempt to condemn the theatre or artists of Nazi Germany. Nor is it an attempt to place the blame for the Holocaust on Theatre, propaganda or Nazi ideology – although all three were contributors. The purpose of this thesis is to begin to understand an essential and little explored component of perpetrating genocide in the hopes that the highly 'successful' techniques of the genocidaires can be countered with equal or greater efficacy.

This study has, unfortunately, not been able to include other genocides. This is not out of neglect but from the need to curtail the scope of the thesis to a manageable size. Even other genocides committed by the Nazis including those against the mentally and physically handicapped and the Roma and Sinti have, regretfully but necessarily, not been included in this study. Moreover, most of the discussion of the victims of the Holocaust has referred to the Jews. Once again, this is not out of an attempt to ignore or deny the numerous other groups, such as homosexuals, targeted by the Nazis, but was solely out of consideration for the already extended scope of this study.

<u>To be, or not to be...Interdisciplinary</u>

Interdisciplinary work brings with it innumerable challenges. One is often working with disciplines, concepts and methodologies that are outside one's previous range of experience. One has to learn to work outside familiar territories, frequently encountering new ways of looking at established material.

The same concerns can arise when considering who will read this type of study. When writing for a single discipline, there is an expectation that readers will have certain

background knowledge. For example, when writing for Theatre scholars, it is not necessary to explain terms such as 'blocking'[2] or 'the house',[3] or concepts such as staged imagery.[4] Theatre scholars will be familiar with the roles of directors, designers, producers and actors and will understand the implications of a proscenium stage vs. thrust or theatre in the round from both a practical point of view and with reference to different audience to performer relations. One cannot expect historians or psychologists to understand these terms or concepts since one cannot presume a familiarity with theatre practice. The result is the necessity to explain concepts from all the disciplines involved that would not require explanation in work primarily focused on a single discipline.

Combining these particular disciplines however, has created a number of interesting challenges. For example, historical research is traditionally based on evidence – ideally original source material that can be verified and referenced to prove its validity and establish any bias that may exist given its original context. The expression of personal opinion or sentiment in this type of research is considered poor academic practice. Archetypal psychology, on the other hand, is a discipline based almost entirely on perception. To discuss archetypes and images without expressing one's personal opinion and impression on them would be negligent. In other words, what one discipline considers unacceptable, another considers essential.

So the question becomes, why undertake these challenges? The simple answer is that the information and expertise necessary to conduct this type of research is simply not available in any single discipline. More than merely providing greater knowledge

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[2] The term used to describe the established and/or directed movements of an actor on the stage. The term can refer to either the process of establishing these movements or the movements themselves.
[3] The area in the theatre which is designated for audience seating (or standing).
[4] Please see Chapter 8 for a detailed discussion of this term.

resources however, interdisciplinary research provides the possibility of a multitude of different perspectives on the same issue.

Genocide research is ideally suited to this type of interdisciplinary approach. It influences and is influenced by every aspect of society from the government to education, the military to the legal system, the media to fine arts. Consequently, the study of genocide can, and has included, research from a variety of academic disciplines. Traditionally, both research and humanitarian work in genocide prevention and intervention has adopted a segregated disciplinary approach, such as only emphasizing genocide history, legal or military interventions or the psychology of genocide. A need for a different perspective is currently emerging: one that integrates uni-disciplinary research themes to provide a multidisciplinary approach focused on genocide as a whole, rather than on any single aspect of it.

Why These Particular Disciplines?

A number of potential disciplines in addition to the obvious ones of History and Theatre could, potentially, contribute to the study of the influence of Theatre on the Holocaust: these include Psychology, Sociology, Religious Studies, Marketing and Political Science. The choice of Archetypal Psychology arose from the need to establish a link between what theatre portrays – images, archetypes and themes – and the behaviour of individuals. Archetypal Psychology provided that connection by studying the power of images within the psyche.

As the research progressed however, it became apparent that a crucial aspect of this study was not being addressed – the psychological relationship between the images presented on the stage and the audience. While Archetypal Psychology could provide

theories on the value of images to the psyche and the soul, it emphasises the value of images as a means of expressing and revealing the soul rather than influencing it. Moreover, the images in Archetypal Psychology do not manifest physically, a distinct difference from theatrical imagery. What was needed was a way in which to establish a relationship between physical manifestations of images and the psyche that was both revelatory and influential – in essence, a relationship which could flow in both directions.

The Arts Therapies provided a solution to this problem as the fundamental principle upon which the Arts Therapies are based is the ability of the image to both reveal and influence the psyche. The combination of these two disciplines provided an ideal way in which to view the imagery on the Nazi stage and its relationship with the psyche's of its audience.

Beyond the contributions of each individual discipline however, the combination of History, Theatre, Archetypal Psychology and the Arts Therapies in the study of the influence of Theatre and ParaTheatre on the Holocaust is particularly powerful not only for the categories of knowledge which they each provide, but for the ease with which they combine.

PART ONE: REVIEW OF MAJOR CONCEPTS

CHAPTER 2: NAZI IDEOLOGY

The Aryan vs. The Jew

Nazi ideology is not known for its consistency or its logic. For example: the ideas of an inferior race (the Jews) posing a significant threat to the survival of a genetically superior race (the Aryans) or making claims to the superiority of the Nordic ideal of blonde hair and blue eyes while none of the Nazi leaders, including the almost god-like *Führer*, fit this ideal are superficially as contradictory as the oxymorons 'military intelligence' and 'thunderous silence'. Even the regime itself was contradictory, exhibiting "the paradox of an essentially elitist movement being able to articulate itself in egalitarian terms."[5]

Despite these and numerous other contradictions, Nazi ideology had its own, internal consistency. Based almost entirely on Hitler's world view,[6] "Nazi ideology and in turn Goebbels's propaganda embraced a veritable mythical solar system. At the center was the primary myth of Aryan man's racial struggle against the 'international Jewish conspiracy,' "[7] This mythical racial struggle would be a cosmic battle that would determine who would survive the next ice age. According to Hitler, there was an ongoing struggle for racial dominance between the last ice age and the next and only a community such as the idealised Germanic/Aryan society proposed by Hitler could survive the ice age – nature's test of humanity - by placing the community in

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[5] Gadberry, 19.
[6] Benjamin Sax and Dieter Kuntz, *Inside Hitler's Germany: A Documentary History of Life in the Third Reich* (Lexington, Massachusetts; Toronto, Ontario: D.C. Heath And Company, 1992), 185.
[7] Jay W. Baird, *The Mythical World of Nazi War Propaganda, 1939-1945* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1974), 4-5.

cooperative harmony with nature.[8] Consequently, the central precept in the Nazi world view was the struggle against the Jews. Beyond that however, "the life and death struggle of culture itself"[9] was, according to Nazi ideology, the greatest issue of the 20th Century since the 20th century would mark the final struggle between the Aryans and the Jews. As a result, Hitler and the Nazi Party had to prepare the German people for this battle.[10]

While it is tempting to isolate this component of Nazi ideology to solely reference The Holocaust – segregating it from the Second World War – Nazi ideology was, paradoxically, more consistent than that. The mythical battle against the Jews permeated every aspect of life, including the justification and rationalisation for the Second World War. "According to Hitler, the war was less a struggle among nations than a fight to the finish pitting Aryan against Jew."[11] Göring himself publicly declared in 1942 that "this is not the Second World War, this is the Great Racial War. The meaning of this war, and the reason we are fighting out there, is to decide whether the German and Aryan will prevail or if the Jew will rule the world"[12] Consequently, "Nazi propaganda had created a mythic world by 'transforming the political universe into a conflict of persons and personifications' in which a virtuous young Germany fought manfully against evil schemers, above all the Jews"[13]

With this (admittedly ridiculous) mythical battle between the Aryan and the Jew at the centre of Nazi ideology, every other aspect of Nazi propaganda and ideology including Social Darwinism and race theory, the superiority of the idealised Aryan

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[8] Sax and Kuntz, 187.
[9] Ibid., 185.
[10] Ibid., 187.
[11] Baird, 6.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Jeffrey Herf, *The Jewish Enemy: Nazi Propaganda During World War II and the Holocaust* (Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006), 2.

individual and society, the *Führer* myth, and the inferiority of the Jew was designed to support the battle against the mythical ultimate enemy or the actions taken to triumph in this ongoing struggle.

Social Darwinism/Race Theory

National Socialist Social Darwinism subscribed to the belief that the races of humanity – like Darwin's theories regarding the survival of species – are in a constant battle for the survival of the fittest. This aspect of Nazi ideology posited that races exist in a hierarchy[14] and that mixing races from different positions on that hierarchy would result in the deterioration of the superior (Aryan) race.[15] Hitler even suggested that "history furnishes us with innumerable instances that prove this law. It shows, with a startling clarity, that whenever Aryans have mingled their blood with that of an inferior race the result has been the downfall of the people who were the standard-bearers of a higher culture."[16] Consequently, racial purity became a fundamental concept in Nazi ideology[17] and protecting that racial purity became a priority[18] in order to ensure that the 'fittest' race – the superior Aryan race – would survive, particularly in the ongoing conflict with the Jews.

The Nazis devised a number of ways in which to ensure racial purity including encouraging (forcing) people to choose partners of the same race or with similar levels of racial purity[19] thereby promoting the propagation of the Nordic (Aryan) race[20] and

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[14] Sax and Kuntz, 185.
[15] Ibid., 187.
[16] Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, trans. James Murphy, 2nd ed., vol. Two Volumes in One (London, UK; New York, NY; Melbourne, Australia: Hurst and Blackett Ltd., 1942; reprint, 2004), 162.
[17] Michael Burleigh and Wolfgang Wippermann, *The Racial State: Germany 1933-1945* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 1991; reprint, 11th), 38.
[18] Sax and Kuntz, 189.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid.

inspiring strong feelings of obligation in those who the regime considered 'healthy' to reproduce in order to encourage the expansion of the pure Aryan race. Conversely, another tactic to ensure racial purity was to not allow apparently inferior people to reproduce.[21] This attitude was entirely justified by Hitler since he claimed that, "there is no such thing as allowing freedom of choice to sin against posterity and thus against the race."[22]

Race theory was obviously one of the fundamental pseudo scientific explanations the Nazis used to justify their mythic struggle for the dominance of the Aryan. It was used as a justification for the belief that such a cosmic battle existed in the first place and, more specifically, justified numerous racially inspired atrocities including the Nuremberg laws, the sterilisation campaigns of the late 1930's, the euthanasia movement (T4 program), the Holocaust (and accompanying genocides) and the Nazi medical experiments.[23]

Superior Aryan

The pseudo-science that placed the Aryans at the top of the racial hierarchy suggests that the purity of the Aryan is demonstrated by the fact that more 'purely Aryan' individuals exist.[24] Furthermore, the Nazis believed that "genetics and geography provided one's own people with a distinct advantage in human development and world culture."[25] This combination of genetics and geography was the founding principle in the myth of Blood and Soil – the mythical connection between the blood of the Aryan race and the soil if its homeland. This myth suggested that, "the privileged mixture of

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[21] Ibid.
[22] Hitler, 145.
[23] Burleigh and Wippermann, 305.
[24] Sax and Kuntz, 186.
[25] Gadberry, 6.

heredity and environment, nature and nurture, honed by generations of hardship and sacrifice, authorized the emergence of a triumphant people – once its enemies were overcome."[26]

The superiority of the Aryan was not solely justified by blood and genetics however. National Socialist ideology associated racial purity with culturally creative forces.[27] "Only one race, the Aryan, was culturally creative, able to establish and maintain cultural communities."[28] All other races could, at best, carry culture, or imitate Aryan culture – they could not create their own.[29]

Despite Aryan innate superiority, the Nazis believed that in order to win the battle against the Jews, the Aryans need to cultivate a new human type. This new Aryan, who would save the community from the degeneration of the 20th century, would be able to see through the dominating culturally destructive values and realise his or her role as a cultural leader.[30] He would actively oppose intellectual development – a predominantly Jewish trait – and instead would promote dedication to the good of the community, self sacrifice, service and responsibility.[31] He would build a community that exemplified the racial purity promoted in Nazi ideology. He would not approach racial superiority theoretically or intellectually, he would know instinctively, with his blood, that it was right.[32]

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[26] Ibid.
[27] Sax and Kuntz, 186.
[28] Ibid., 185.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid., 186.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid.

Superior Aryan Society

Nazi ideology went beyond merely proposing an ideal Aryan human type; it also proposed an equally idealised Aryan society. The new German society would promote the unity between nature and man; between the Blood (*Blut*), the People (*Volk*) and the Soil (*Boden*). This philosophy of society would transcend mere citizenship, instead embodying a deep connection with the past and place, the ancestors and home.[33] It would be similar to past Aryan societies while incorporating additional structure and control.[34] It would reawaken the self-sacrificing, communal German spirit[35] and nurture the traditional German love of nature, simple lifestyles and fellowship.[36] In the ideal Aryan society, the individual "should feel oneself part of a community informed by eternal values sanctioned by nature."[37] Furthermore, in keeping with the focus on the community over the individual, "the state [would not be] a servant of the people but an entity to which citizens owed unquestioning obedience."[38] National Socialist ideology condemned, as 'liberal' (and therefore associated with Jewish degenerate attitudes), the concept that laws (or the values associated with laws) could transcend the Nazi world view.[39] Instead, Nazi ideologues believed that all law arose from the needs of the *Volk*.[40]

In opposition to this almost communist viewpoint, National Socialism believed that "man's progress had derived from the activities not of the masses but of the individual leaders who directed the creative urges of the *Volk*."[41] Consequently, society should be re-organised to follow a single leader; a strong personality – someone whose

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[33] Ibid., 188.
[34] Ibid., 187.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Gadberry, 18.
[38] James Waller, *Becoming Evil: How Ordinary People Commit Genocide and Mass Killing* (Oxford, UK; New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2002), 181.
[39] Sax and Kuntz, 188.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ibid.

leadership is not derived from birth, wealth or education but from the power of his personality.[42] This social view advocated a government hierarchy in which each leader is a mini *Führer*, and each of those leaders appointed by those above them.[43]

In order to reconcile the apparent contradiction between the emphasis on community and the necessity for the dominance of a single, almost godlike leader, "Nazi theorists argued that [this social and political structure] embodied a truly democratic principle of realizing the will of the *Volk*"[44] since each mini *Führer*, as well as the *Führer* himself, would embody the needs of the *Volk* and thus, selflessly work towards their betterment.

Führer

The world of National Socialist ideology exhibited almost religious characteristics, particularly with regards to the *Führer*, who was almost deified by Nazi propaganda.[45] According to the ideology underlying Nazi mythology, the *Führer* was not simply a state official, "he recognised in himself the qualities that marked the true characteristics of the people"[46] and was uniquely qualified to identify the needs of the present community because of his inimitable understanding of the past.[47] He was, like a true messianic figure, "the living embodiment of the unity of the German *Volk*, individually and collectively, linking past, present, and future."[48]

The *Führer* became an almost mythical figure, untouchable by the less desirable components of the lives of mere mortals. This myth had, according to Ian Kershaw,

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[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ian Kershaw, *The 'Hitler Myth': Image and Reality in the Third Reich*, 2nd ed. (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1987), 254.
[46] Sax and Kuntz, 189.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid.

seven founding principles starting, like the Judeo-Christian Ten Commandments (the first commandment of which is 'I am the Lord your God, you shall have no other Gods before me' (Exodus 20:2)), with the belief that Hitler was the personification of the nation, representing the unity of the national community. Above the concerns of normal, everyday life; above materialistic, selfish interests, Hitler was the selfless exponent of national interests, unassailable by the less than selfless actions of those around him.[49] Secondly, Hitler single-handedly created the economic 'miracle' in Germany during the 1930's.[50] The third component of the Hitler myth was the image of Hitler as the ultimate representative of popular justice; the voice of the 'healthy sentiment of the people'; the upholder of public morality and the defender against the 'enemies of the people'.[51] On a more individual level, the fourth element of the myth maintained that Hitler was personally sincere and, unlike some other members of the Nazi party, was actually politically moderate regarding issues affecting traditions and institutions. According to this aspect of the myth, the more radical elements in the government kept the *Führer* 'in the dark' about some of their less welcomed activities.[52] The fifth and sixth parts of the image of Hitler viewed him, on an international level, as the upholder and defender of Germany's rights and the builder of the nation's strengths. While not viewed as a warmonger,[53] he was considered an incomparable military leader.[54] Finally, Hitler was the bulwark against Germany's ideological enemies. Kershaw posits that this aspect of the Hitler myth was most prominent among the dedicated Nazis and, for most people, only a secondary justification for their support of Hitler and the Nazi party, particularly

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[49] Kershaw, 253.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid., 254.

with regards to the antisemitic content.[55] While Kershaw's position that antisemitism was unlikely to be the main reason for the adulation of the *Führer*[56] is almost certainly accurate, it does not deny the importance of antisemitism in Nazi ideology as a whole.

Jew as Inferior Race (Antisemitism)

While antisemitism may not have been a significant inspiration to support Hitler, it was a significant aspect of Nazi ideology and propaganda. The depiction of Jews in Nazi ideology was not based on any religious definition of 'Jewishness' or the actual behaviour of Jews, past or present. It was, at least partially, based on an image produced by popular antisemitism and perpetuated by the need for an 'other' in opposition to the Aryan.[57]

The Jew in Nazi ideology was, to put it succinctly, a convenient embodiment of everything considered evil, impure and unwanted in the Nazi world view: "the image of the Jew was an amalgam of everything the Nazis disliked in the modern world, personifying all that they found repellent."[58] According to the Nazis, the Jews, as a race were the opposite of the pure, superior Aryan; the only truly inferior, distinctive race. In opposition to the community focused ideal of the Aryan, the Jews had no interest in the common community for all; they were materialistic and worked only for selfish reasons, creating a community of competing individual classes:[59] "The evil genius of the Jews lay in their ability to create negative types of communities and then set them into competition with each other."[60]

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[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid., 240.
[57] Sax and Kuntz, 186.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid., 187.

There are numerous (often contradictory) characteristics of the Jew in Nazi propaganda and ideology. Some of the most famous depictions of the Jew include the propaganda films *Der Ewige Jude* (The Eternal/Wandering Jew) and *Jud Süß. Der Ewige Jude* portrays Jews as "a parasitical race dedicated to gold and stealth, and devoid of soul, fit only for liquidation."[61] It "revealed that the Jew was motivated solely by 'lust for money,' the antithesis of the cherished values and ideals of the German cultural tradition. The Jew was a parasite. Not only did he differ from the Aryan in body, but more significantly in soul, for the Jew had no soul!"[62] To add to the imagery, *Jud Süß* claimed that the "archetype swindler, cheater, and 'race defiler' symbolized world Jewry."[63]

These famous depictions only scratch the surface of the characterisation of the evil Jew. His oft repeated characteristics include the Jew as the perpetrator of cruelty and barbarity[64] and (somehow) responsible for prostitution (and consequently syphilis).[65] The Jew was also responsible for both the outbreak and the loss of the First World War, not to mention the degeneration of the Weimar Republic that followed. Politically, the Jew was (impossibly) Marxist,[66] Capitalist[67] and Democratic, ruling other countries and manipulating their leadership through the Jewish dominance of world finance and ultimately, bent on Jewish world domination.[68]

Ultimately however, the most powerful image of the Jew was that he was a threat to the life and existence of the Aryan community.[69] All the other characteristics of

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[61] Baird, 6.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid., 7.
[64] Ibid., 6.
[65] Burleigh and Wippermann, 41.
[66] Herf, 101.
[67] Sax and Kuntz, 187.
[68] Herf, 185.
[69] Sax and Kuntz, 186.

the archetypal Jew contributed to this, single, image – the one that would ultimately justify Hitler's belief in the need for a decisive battle between the Aryan and the Jew.

Summary

Nazi Ideology was founded on the binary opposition between the Aryan and the Jew; good and evil. Justified by Social Darwinist racial theories and supported by popular imagery, the idealised Aryan in Nazi imagery was everything that was pure and good. He was racially superior, selfless, honourable and dedicated to the benefit of his community above all else. He was the embodiment of the 'good old days' when Germans lived simple, wholesome lives rooted in the land and strong family values. The equally idealised Aryan culture was both community based and authoritarian, with strong charismatic leaders embodying the needs of the *Volk*. With Hitler as the almost deified *Führer*, Nazi ideology resembled a secular religion as much as a political ideology.

In opposition to this perfect world of Aryan superiority was the Jew. Representative of all that is evil and polluting in the world, the Jew was a parasitic threat to the survival of the Aryan race. Depersonalised and reduced to an archetype of 'the Jew'[70] with no resemblance to actual qualities of Jewish religion or lifestyle, the Jew became the soul-less, demonic image of the ultimate evil, a devil determined to enslave the innocent Aryans and take over the world. This combination of melodramatic imagery set the stage for the final struggle between the Aryans and the Jews.

[70] Herf, 274.

CHAPTER 3: NAZI THEATRE

Within two months of Adolf Hitler becoming Chancellor of Germany in January of 1933, the Nazi leadership established "the Ministry of Propaganda and People's Enlightenment (*Reichsministerium für Propaganda und Volksaufklärung*) with responsibility for culture."[71] By the 22nd of September, this Ministry, with Joseph Goebbels in charge, had almost total control of all cultural matters in the Third Reich.[72] While there were several other high ranking Nazis with varying levels of control over the Theatre including Rainer Schlösser, the *Reichsdramaturg* and Herman Göring who had sole control over the Berlin State Theatre,[73] to name a few. Regardless of who held the power, Nazi theatre, ideology and politics were inextricably intertwined. This relationship was reinforced on the 15th of May 1934 when the Propaganda Ministry passed the Theatre Law stating "The arts are for the National Socialist State a public exercise; they are not only aesthetic but also moral in nature and the public interest demands not only police supervision but also guidance."[74] Moreover, as Rodney Symington points out, the Nazis demonstrated the value of Theatre in their regime through their attention to it and the massive increases in subsidies devoted to it.[75] In fact, the state subsidies for Theatre in the Third Reich increased almost five times in an eight year period.[76] Speeches from cultural leaders such as Goebbels, Schlösser and even Hitler himself clearly indicate the

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[71] John London, ed., *Theatre under the Nazis* (Manchester, United Kingdom; New York, USA: Manchester University Press, 2000), 8.
[72] Ibid, Bruce Zortman, *Hitler's Theater: Ideological Drama in Nazi Germany* (El Paso, Texas: Firestone Books, 1984), 3.
[73] Elisabeth Schulz Hostetter, *The Berlin State Theater under the Nazi Regime - a Study of the Administration, Key Productions, and Critical Responses from 1933-1944*, Studies in German Thought and History, vol. 24 (Lewiston, NY; Queenston, Ontario; Lampeter, Ceredigion, Wales: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2004), 5.
[74] David Welch, *The Third Reich: Politics and Propaganda*, 2nd ed. (London, England; New York, NY: Routledge, 2002), 32.
[75] Rodney Symington, *The Nazi Appropriation of Shakespeare: Cultural Politics in the Third Reich* (Lewiston, NY; Queenston, Ontario; Lampeter, Ceredigion, Wales: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2005), 47.
[76] Ibid.

Nazi aspiration to use theatre in political education and mass manipulation.[77] The arts in general and theatre in particular were intended and designed to represent the German *Geist* (Spirit); the soul of the *Volk* (the people). According to Joseph Goebbels, "because theatre has such a 'sweeping and powerful effect upon the *Volk*' – equal to the press, film and radio – it must serve the needs of the nation."[78] Consequently, the production of *Völkisch* plays increased to make up, on average, 58% of the entire repertory for German theatres.[79]

As was their general policy, the Nazis took over the theatres by eliminating that which they felt was undesirable which included anything Jewish, the major Weimar playwrights, foreign plays[80] and often 'contemporary' or potentially controversial works.[81] In addition, the Nazis dominated theatre by promoting or creating pieces to suit their constantly changing ideological and political needs.[82]

The majority of Nazi Theatre can be divided into three broad categories: *Thingspiel*, History Plays and Classics. Within the last two categories, there were productions whose primary aim was entertainment, and others focusing on indoctrinating Reich ideology. In all cases however, theatrical productions combined entertainment and ideology (or at least superficial compliance with the propaganda ministry), with most falling into the theatrical version of Primo Levi's Grey Zone.[83] This approach corresponded with Goebbels' advocacy of blending entertainment with

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[77] Gadberry, 8, 116, Symington, 47.
[78] Gadberry, 125.
[79] Günter Berghaus, ed., *Fascism and Theatre: Comparative Studies on the Aesthetics and Politics of Performance in Europe, 1925-1945* (Providence, Rhode Island; Oxford, United Kingdom: Berghahn Books, 1996), 144-145, Symington, 51.
[80] The definition of a 'foreign' play changed depending on the political climate. Shakespeare was a notable exception to the objection to foreign playwrights.
[81] Symington, 48-49.
[82] As the emphasis of this chapter is Nazi Theatre, it discusses that which the Nazis promoted, encouraged or created, rather than banned or undesirable theatre.
[83] Primo Levi, "The Grey Zone," in *Holocaust : Origins, Implementation, Aftermath*, ed. Omer Bartov (London, UK; New York, NY: Routledge, 2000).

propaganda.[84] In addition to these three categories, theatre in Nazi Germany also included Jewish Theatre. While Jewish Theatre is not a focus of this study, it is discussed briefly here and in the analysis.

Thingspiel

The best example of Nazi theatrical propaganda is "commonly regarded as the National Socialists' only original contribution to the development of German drama:"[85] *Thingspiel.* A genre of theatrical production designed to epitomize the fundamental values of Nazi Ideology,[86] *Thingspiel* was charged with the task of realising these principles in German Theatre.[87] Moreover, *Thingspiel* was based on a number of popular theatre forms, consequently, as Gerwin Strobl argues, "the *Thing's* value for the regime lay precisely in the fact that it reached beyond the Nazi constituency in political terms."[88]

The word *Thingspiel* derives from the words *Thing* (from the ancient word *ding*), meaning assembly, with connotations of the assembly place where pre-Christian Germanic Tribes believed to be the racially integrated Germanic people known as *Das Volk* passed judgement, and Spiel meaning 'play' or 'dramatic work.' Consequently, the most accurate translation of *'Thingspiel'* is the 'play of *Volk* judgement'.[89] According to Gerwin Strobl's recent study on German Theatre and Society however, "The Teutonic credentials were in fact wholly spurious. In reality, Gerst [Wilhelm Karl Gerst: one of the contributors to the *Thing* movement] sought to steer the Thing not into a neo pagan but

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[84] Welch, 43.
[85] London, ed., 54.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Ibid., 97.
[88] Gerwin Strobl, *The Swastika and the Stage: German Theatre and Society, 1933-1945*, ed. David Bradby, Cambridge Studies in Modern Theatre (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 58.
[89] Glen Gadberry, "The Thingspiel and Das Frankenberger Wurfelspiel," *The Drama Review* 24, no. 1. German Theatre Issue (1980): 103-104.

a pro-Catholic direction."[90] Regardless of the Pagan or Catholic inclinations, *Thingspiel* was intended to have a quasi-religious undertone.

Thingspiel have several essential elements. They are *Völkisch,* meaning national, or of the people[91] and according to *Reichsdramaturg* Rainer Schlösser, emphasise "concepts such as 'the völkisch blood-brotherhood' and 'communal experience.'"[92] By extension, the performers and audience were supposed to merge producing a cultic experience[93] with the experience of the mass veneration superseding the drama itself.[94] In addition, William Niven posits that *Thing* plays, with their connotations of Teutonic justice, were intended to imitate the collective decision making process that would allow audiences to feel that they were participating in these ancient rites of *Volk* judgement.[95] This genre depicts heroes who struggle to rise above their flawed environments. While they often lose the struggle and their lives in the process, their martyrdom leads the way for others to follow.[96] Finally, *Thingspiel* was intended to combine drama with music, sport, dance and politics to create a *Gesamtkunstwerk* (total work of art).[97] Beyond these characteristics however, William Niven identifies a number of the common themes present in *Thingspiel*: "the condemnation of the Weimar Republic[98], the celebration of the war dead, of national and heroic virtue, of morality and purity, of the

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[90] Strobl, 58.
[91] London, ed., 56.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Ibid., 57.
[94] George L. Mosse, *The Crisis of German Ideology: Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich*, The Universal Library (New York, NY: Grosset & Dunlap, 1964), 81.
[95] London, ed., 58.
[96] Ibid., 59.
[97] Ibid.
[98] The Weimar Republic was established after the First World War. During its brief, tumultuous life it was one of the most 'modern' states in the world. It was noted for its cultural modernity in art, literature, theatre and thought. It was also one of the first to give women the right to vote and work.
Peter Gay, *Weimar Culture: The Insider as Outsider* (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2001), xiii.
Detlev J.K. Peukert, *The Weimar Republic: The Crisis of Classical Modernity*, trans. Richard Deverson (New York, NY: Hill and Wang, 1989), 89-98.

people and the strong visionary leader, [and] the cult of participation: all of [which reflect] the political and cultural ideology of Hitler's movement."[99]

Just as *Thingspiel* intended to be the ultimate artistic and theatrical expression of the German soul, the Nazis conceived it being performed on the ultimate stage: *Thingplätze* (places of judgement). These were large, outdoor amphitheatres based on the Greek and Roman models built on sites that were significant to German history, maintaining the spiritual connection between the audience and their mythical Teutonic past while simultaneously adding to the impression of *Thingspiel* passing judgement on the past.[100] The *Thingplätze* were part of Goebbels' plan to build new theatres that

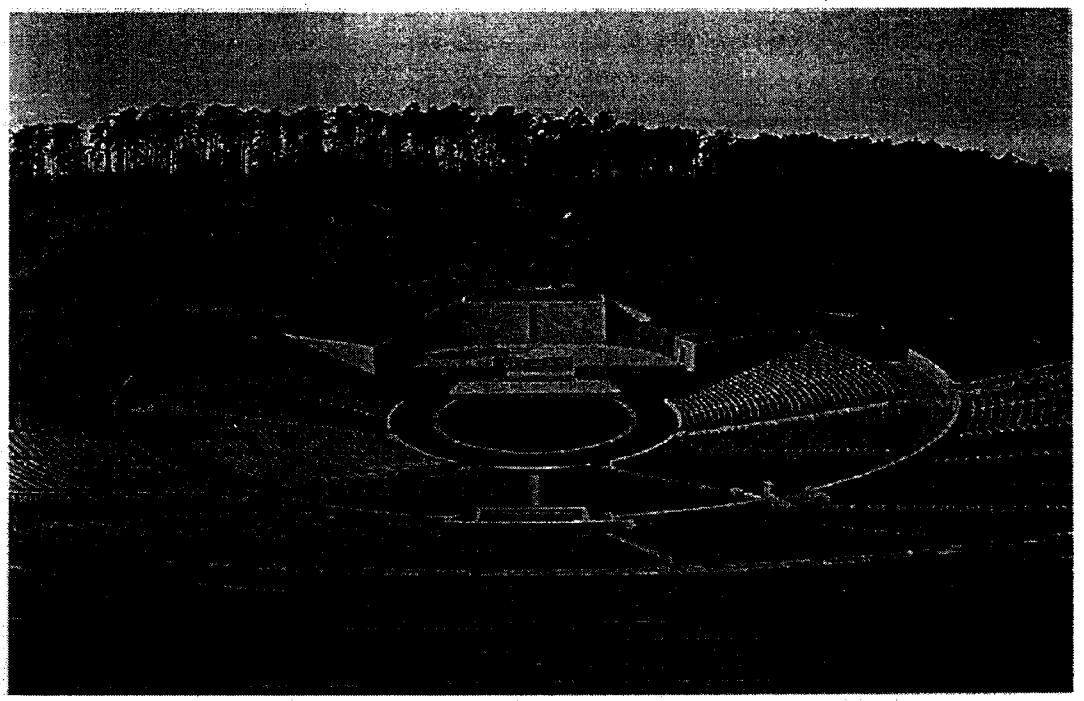

Figure 1. The Dietrich-Eckart- Büne *Thingplätze* in Berlin, Completed in 1936

Source: John London, ed., *Theatre under the Nazis* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 85

[99] London, ed., 73.
[100] Ibid., 55.

would accommodate audiences ranging from ten to fifty thousand, allowing the spiritual experience of *Thingspiel* to be experienced in these settings.[101]

Goebbels considered the *Thingplätze* to be 'National Socialism in stone' with Thingspiel, by extension, becoming the theatrical expression of National Socialism.[102] Consequently, it may come as something of a surprise that by 1935, with the single exception of the 1936 Olympic Games, *Thingspiel* had been banned from Nazi theatres. There were several reasons for the change of heart including: financial and technical difficulties,[103] the generally poor quality of the scripts themselves which violated Goebbels' sanctions against boring propaganda and ideological concerns such as the frequent Christian themes.[104] Furthermore, since most *Thing* plays depicted a revolution led by a charismatic leader intended to depict Hitler's 'heroic' rise to power, by 1935, this requisite theme stagnated and began to imply a call for a second revolution, this time against Hitler, rather than representing the 'revolution' Hitler supposedly led.[105] In other words, with Hitler in power, the Nazis did not want a theatre extolling the rise of other charismatic leaders. Just as they disempowered the Brown Shirts when they were no longer needed and began to pose a threat to the regime,[106] Goebbels sought to liquidate a theatrical mode that might persuade Germans to replace Hitler. While defining what plays qualify as *Thingspiel* is problematic at best (even the Nazis could not create a definitive list),[107] they were still not the only theatrical vehicle for propaganda in

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[101] Ibid., 56, Zortman, 30.
[102] London, ed., 73.
[103] Unlike the Greek and Roman Theatres upon which they were based, Thingplätze did not have perfect acoustics, often making it almost impossible for performers to be heard Ibid., 75.
[104] Ibid., 75-84.
[105] Ibid., 82.
[106] David J. Hogan, ed., *The Holocaust Chronicle* (Lincolnwood, Illinois: Publications International Ltd., 2001), 74.
[107] London, ed., 59-60.

the Reich. Consequently, after *Thingspiel's* ban in 1935 theatrical propaganda in History Plays[108] and the Classics[109] became prominent.

History Plays

After the National Socialists took control over the German Theatres, they censored everything that could be deemed a criticism of the current regime. Particularly after the elimination of *Thingspiel* as the National Socialist Theatrical Genre, the propaganda ministry appeared to redouble its concern with more conventional forms of theatrical expression. By 1936, Joseph Goebbels decreed that artists should focus their attentions on the past since contemporary events and issues were in a constant state of change.[110] This 'suggestion' effectively eliminated the present from theatrical representation and even limited the possibilities of representing the future, as any future would be dependant on ideologies and actions of the present, which were 'in flux'. Consequently, in the first years of the Third Reich, Theatre depicting historical themes, events and personas became increasingly popular. In fact, after 1933 the vast majority of serious drama was historically based and, barring a few exceptions, no drama after 1934 was set in the present day.[111] Dr Rainer Schlösser, the Reichsdramaturg, further encouraged Historical Drama:

> Is there *any* historic material which would not be given a totally new face when advanced into the light of our natural and legitimate myth of blood and honour? Is there any group of [historical] questions which does not change completely as soon as it is put in relation to Nordic conceptions? We thought we had come to the end of the world and had exhausted all subjects, but now through the national revolution, the entire world, for a second time, is given to us once again.[112]

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[108] Ibid., 97.
[109] Hostetter, 129.
[110] London, ed., 101.
[111] Symington, 51.
[112] London, ed., 97.

Accordingly, there was a sudden influx of this type of drama into mainstream theatres, with newly written German plays being premiered and even foreign historical dramas being imported. Glen Gadberry concludes that "History plays accounted for 42 per cent of premieres, published dramas and foreign premieres in translation, a 30 per cent increase over the last years of Weimar."[113] In addition, the 'official' endorsement of Historical Drama from the Reichsdramaturg emphasised Schlösser's view of this theatrical genre as the most desirable way in which to embody National Socialist values in German Theatre.[114]

The content of Nazi History plays were, interestingly, not too dissimilar from the content of the average *Thing* play. Gadberry suggests that, like *Thingspiel*, "Nazi history plays taught and pleased, sometimes celebrated or mourned two thousand years of German history, or the lives of people related by blood, ideology or analogy."[115] Additionally, Nazi History plays included ideological characteristics such as resurgent nationalism, conservative subject matter, preoccupation with völkisch themes, [116] honouring the fatherland, the *Volk* and the *Führer*.[117] In fact, the apparent need to honour the *Führer* (or to focus on a single dominating character to create a militant *Führer* figure) appeared in nearly half of the Nazi history plays. [118] Furthermore, Nazi historical drama frequently created heroes out figures from German history who had been forgotten or ignored over time.[119]

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[113] Ibid., 100.
[114] Ibid., 97.
[115] Ibid., 122.
[116] Ibid., 136-137.
[117] Ibid., 122.
[118] Ibid., 103.
[119] Ibid., 106.

The plays themselves covered a wide range of historical periods from Ancient history to Post World War One.[120] While most of these productions simply used the historical subject matter to honour the fatherland and *Führer*, scholars such as Gadberry and Hostetter point out that some plays "radically realign 'the historical record'"[121] in order to maintain their ideological consistency. Almost invariably, authors romanticized history[122] with such devices as heightening and emphasising the righteousness of revolutionary groups[123] and ignoring the harmful, often violent consequences of the historic actions. Almost all productions however, exhibit immense pride in all things German despite the relative lack of artistry.[124] Furthermore, Nazi historical drama was almost forced to maintain consistent style and content due to what Gadberry calls the Third Reich's "distinct and absolute view of the past and human progress, informed by the core principle of Nazi ideology: racial hierarchy."[125]

Proponents of Nazi ideological theatre believed that artists should manifest in their plays those racial characteristics considered fundamental to German superiority.[126] This, combined with the ideological belief in history as a record of the ongoing struggle between the superior race and those seeking to destroy it[127] made for a (theatrically) promising background upon which to create a Nazi historical drama genre in that it promised a dramatic struggle.[128] Unfortunately, these promises went unfulfilled since yet another characteristic that Nazi History plays shared with *Thingspiel* was their lack of

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[120] Ibid., 100.
[121] Ibid., 122.
[122] Hostetter, 82.
[123] Ibid.
[124] London, ed., 122.
[125] Ibid., 122-123.
[126] Gadberry, *Theatre in the Third Reich, the Prewar Years: Essays on Theatre in Nazi Germany*, 53-54.
[127] London, ed., 123.
[128] Ibid.

essential conflict.[129] As Gadberry indicates, as with *Thingspiel*, representing conflict on a stage designed to parallel or represent a Nazi idealized past, present or future would have been unacceptable:

> If true drama requires real antagonists and motivated actions, Nazi historiography and most Third Reich historical playwrights were loath to create a balanced or complex struggle. Well-rounded or believable antagonists were incompatible with an absolute historical view based upon race, and so playwrights were satisfied with caricatures, cartoon figures or poster drama; audiences and critics were less impressed.[130]

While the Nazi ideology and politics may have successfully hobbled the efforts of *Thingspiel* and Historical Drama playwrights, the same techniques could not be applied to the third major component of Nazi Theatre: the classics.

The Classics

The third major component of Nazi Theatre was classical plays. Playwrights such as Goethe, Schiller and Shakespeare were all frequent stars on the stages of the Third Reich. [131] What separates these productions from their Thing or Historical Drama contemporaries, however, was that the Nazis could not completely control their content. Playwrights working on *Thingspiel* or Historical Dramas could (and often did) tailor their content to Nazi ideology. The result, as mentioned above, were frequently overtly propagandistic plays with two-dimensional characters, uninteresting plots that were unappealing to most theatre audiences. [132] Consequently, Hostetter posits that in order to use theatre to convey their ideological and propagandistic messages to an appreciative audience, "the Nazis had to content themselves with making the classics as

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[129] Ibid.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Symington, 57. London, ed., 123.
[132] Hostetter, 125.

propagandistic as possible."[133] This view is supported by Rodney Symington in his assertions that classical theatre was appropriated into Nazi ideology, giving primary importance to playwrights such as Goethe, Schiller and ironically, Shakespeare.[134] In essence, the Nazis defined who, of the classical playwrights, were 'German' and then exploited their work and reputation in service of fascist ideals.[135]

Promoting the production of the classics (particularly classics that had been or could be adapted to Nazi ideological themes) served several purposes for the Nazi regime. Firstly, the exploitation of the greatest playwrights in Germany's history gave a measure of legitimacy to the regime.[136] In other words, if the greatest playwrights of German history – people whose influence on German culture and even international culture continued to be significant – could be seen to support Nazi style ideology, their 'support' would add weight to the Nazi pedigree. The second benefit to the production of the classics emerged from what Symington identifies as the Nazis' desire "to demonstrate to the outside world that they were, after all, civilized. And finally, they also wished to placate people within Germany who might still have been somewhat sceptical about the regime's credentials."[137] While the Nazi's intention to use classical theatre for their political ends was clear, the actual process of appropriation was somewhat more challenging since the writers in question frequently expressed views that were diametrically opposed to the Nazi's political philosophy; including messages such as humanism, individualism, cosmopolitanism and freedom.[138]

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[133] Ibid., 150.
[134] Symington, 54-55.
[135] Ibid., 54.
[136] Ibid., 57.
[137] Ibid., 56.
[138] Ibid., 57.

As the shift in policy started to encourage classics as a means of contemporary commentary,[139] it started to become apparent that the majority of the theatre works with any artistic value in the Third Reich was rooted in the classical repertoire. While the Nazis did 'return to the past' in their choice of script, they developed a new way of 'interpreting' their drama: rather than abandoning the ideological themes dominating *Thingspiel* and Historical Drama, they began to impose them on other classical works. As Hostetter's study of the Berlin State Theatre reveals, even in classical productions "all theatrical icons, indices, and symbols of the period had to refer to (or signify) NSDAP[140] ideals."[141] In short, the so-called 'classical' repertoire was frequently, at best, a bastardised or perverted version of the originals.

With classical playwrights beyond the control of Nazi ideologues, the appropriated classical plays had to be 'adjusted' to maintain an accurate reflection of the necessary ideological images. For example, in *Faust*, controversial lines that may provoke anti-government sentiments were omitted.[142] Symington's study of the Nazi Appropriation of Shakespeare reveals that Shakespeare's plays were similarly abused. For example, the Nazi version of *Hamlet* cut a number of lines which might portray Hamlet as vacillating, intellectual or introspective,[143] choosing instead to transform the famous character as an aggressive, active young *Führer* figure who saves his race from external corruption.[144]

Other Shakespearean productions suffered similar treatment. *The Merchant of Venice,* a superficially obvious Nazi choice, endured several adjustments to make it

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[139] Hostetter, 129.
[140] The NSDAP is an acronym for the National Socialist Party.
Deborah Dwork and Robert Jan van Pelt, *Holocaust: A History* (New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Company, 2002), 54.
[141] Hostetter, 130.
[142] Ibid., 138.
[143] Symington, 195.
[144] Hostetter, 149. Symington, 195.

ideologically sound. To deal with the 'problem' that Shylock's Jewish daughter marries a Christian in the play, Jessica was converted into Shylock's Christian foster daughter, thereby allowing her to marry Lorenzo without violating the Nazi racial laws.[145] Similarly, lines that showed Shylock in a positive light were deleted[146] in order to ensure the depiction of Jews on stage as uniformly evil.[147]

Jewish Theatre

As the Nazis eliminated Jews from public life, many of the formerly successful Jewish theatre practitioners were forced to practice their professions through the only officially sanctioned cultural outlet for Jewish musicians and theatre practitioners: The *Jüdischer Kulturbund*.[148] While the laws eliminating Jews from German Theatre were not strictly enforced until 1935 (although implemented in 1933) and a handful of Jewish artists managed to maintain part time employment in German theatres, the majority of the Jewish Theatre artists in Germany joined The *Jüdischer Kulturbund*. This organisation was sanctioned and supervised by the Nazis and was, as Glen Gadberry notes, encouraged: "Such a notion of a separatist Jewish cultural organization appealed to the Nazis as they moved to purge their own art of Jewish elements. Indeed, they envisaged the *Kulturbund* as a showcase of Jewish art for Jews."[149] This level of Nazi support frequently raises some difficult questions regarding Jewish Theatre and 'collaboration'[150] – a concern which becomes acutely awkward when discussing Jewish Theatre as part of a study on the influence of Theatre on The Holocaust. Consequently,

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[145] Symington, 248.
[146] Ibid.
[147] The Nazi revisions and reinterpretations of the classics will be discussed in greater detail in Chapters 9 and 10.
[148] London, ed., 187.
[149] Gadberry, *Theatre in the Third Reich, the Prewar Years: Essays on Theatre in Nazi Germany*, 141, 145.
[150] Ibid., 150.

as important as Jewish Theatre in Nazi Germany is from an historical point of view and as a form of understanding one method of Jewish resistance,[151] for the purposes of this study, the content of Jewish Theatre – its practitioners, artistic values and organisation structures – are relevant only in the fact that they existed and were used by the Nazis to support their propaganda. The content of the Jewish Theatrical productions was barely relevant to the way in which Nazi propagandists wished to use it (beyond their insistence that it should deal with 'Jewish' issues and should not contradict Nazi censorship laws).

In the context of this study, the Jewish artists involved with the *Kulturbund* can no more be considered 'collaborators' than can Shakespeare, Goethe or Schiller. Like these classical playwrights, Gadberry observes that Jewish Theatre was appropriated and misused by the Nazis:

> ...after 1936, the Bund's existence 'was based ever more on the fact that the Nazis were using [... it] as a counterpropaganda against the growing pressure of foreign public opinion.' In fact, once the government centralized all regional cultural circles under the *Reichsverband der Jüdischer Kulturbünde* (1935), officials did refer to the Berlin-directed association as an example of their humanitarian Judenpolitik.[152]

In fact, the Nazis even used Jewish Theatre during the 1936 Olympic Games to showcase the allegedly liberal program for Jews by inviting foreign guests to *Kulturbond* events.[153] This use of Jewish Theatre as a means to convince the international world of the 'civilised' way in which the Nazis were treating the Jews continued even into the concentration camps where theatre was staged to reassure the international community of the quality of life inside the camps.[154] One of the most disturbing cases of the Nazis

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[151] Ibid.
[152] Ibid., 142.
[153] Ibid., 147.
[154] Ibid., 159.

appropriating Jewish or 'victim' theatre occurred in the concentration camp of Theresienstadt. The Nazis forced a Jewish director (who was an inmate of the camp) to direct the propaganda film *Der Führer schenkt den Juden eine Stadt* ('the *Führer* Gives the Jews a town') which depicted the allegedly luxurious lifestyle within the camp.[155]

Jewish theatre in Nazi Germany was an invaluable tool of resistance and emotional survival for the Jews, however its usefulness to the Nazis is what makes it relevant to this study. The Nazis took advantage of Jewish cultural expression to supplement their own propaganda. Just as they used *Thingspiel*, Historical Drama and the Classics to support their ideological delusions, the Nazis used Jewish theatre to mask the realities of their genocidal campaigns.

Some Statistics

It is difficult to compile a strictly accurate account of how many people Nazi Theatre was able to reach. There are, however, some statistics that give an idea of the scope of Theatre's contact with the German people and the demographics of the audiences. *Thingspiel* productions, not surprisingly, reached significant numbers of people. With audiences numbering in the tens of thousands, these plays could reach large groups of spectators with relatively few performances. In 1933 alone, 63 open air theatres played to a combined audience of approximately 820,000 audience members.[156]

The number of audience members attending more conventional theatres is more difficult to ascertain, particularly given the larger number of traditional theatres. While this study cannot provide an accurate account of these statistics, by using specific examples from some of the known data, it is possible to extrapolate a basic idea of

[155] Ibid., 163.
[156] London, ed., 18.

them. In general however, classical plays tended to have longer runs than contemporary scripts.[157]

According to Rodney Symington, there were over 200 theatres in the Third Reich.[158] Each of these theatres would have varied significantly in size. Two examples of some of larger theatres include the Berlin State Theatre and the *Theater des Volkes* (Theatre of the People). After its renovation in 1935 the Berlin State Theatre had a house[159] capacity of 978[160] and the *Theater des Volkes*, which was controlled by the Nazi organisation Strength Through Joy, had 3,500 seats.[161]

Using the Berlin State Theatre as an example, part one of Goethe's *Faust* was performed over 79 times and almost always to sold out houses. Shakespeare's *Hamlet* was a similarly popular play which was performed over 118 times.[162] This means, if one assumes an average audience size of 900 spectators in order to take into consideration that not all performances of these popular play would have been sold out, *Faust* would have played to over 71,100 people and *Hamlet* to over 106,000.

While these numbers are significant, it is important to consider that many audience members would have seen both *Hamlet* and *Faust* and even have seen *Hamlet*, for example, several times over the years of the Third Reich as performances would have differed from season to season. This being said, a production of *Hamlet* at the Berlin State Theatre in the 1935-1936 season, for example was performed 30 times,[163] making the total audience size for that production approximately 27,000 for a

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[157] Hostetter, 191-198.
[158] Symington, 246.
[159] The 'house' is the area of a theatre in which the audience sits. The 'house size' is the number of audience members at a given performance.
[160] Hostetter, 29.
[161] Ibid., 43.
[162] Ibid., 154.
[163] Ibid., 193.

successful season or perhaps 20,000 for a mediocre production. Very few of these 20-27 thousand people would have purchased multiple tickets.

A different way of looking at these numbers is to consider any given play within the Third Reich as a whole, for example, the *Merchant of Venice*. Not one of the most popular plays in the Third Reich, there were only 33 productions of the *Merchant of Venice* between February 1933 and August of 1944.[164] These 33 productions amounted to approximately 550 performances.[165] Although this study cannot provide accurate house sizes for these performances, even if one takes a relatively small average house size of 200 people per show, the *Merchant of Venice* would have been seen by over 100,000 people.

Regardless of how one views the statistics, the number of people attending the Theatre was fairly significant. The composition of these audiences however, was something the Nazis actively tried to change with their policy of theatre by and for the *Volk*. The majority of traditional Theatre audiences were from the 'middle class', with very few 'workers' making up the Theatre demographic. For example, at the Frankfurt Municipal Theatre, of the 3,765 season ticket holders in the 1936-37 season, only 65 could have been considered 'workers'.[166]

Given this distinct lack of balance in the social make up of Theatre audiences, organisations such as Strength Through Joy were remarkably successful at bringing working class people to traditional bourgeois theatres. One estimate from the *Frankfurter Zeitung* in December of 1937 indicated that Strength Through Joy brought workers to "over five million theatre performances and concerts in 1935 alone."[167]

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[164] Symington, 177.
[165] Ibid., 245-246.
[166] London, ed., 18.
[167] Ibid., 9.

Another estimate indicates that in 1938, of the people attending Strength Through Joy activities, over 8.1 million workers attended theatre performances and concerts.[168]

Nazi Theatre

It would be naïve to assume that every theatrical production in Nazi Germany was carefully designed or manipulated to become a form of overt Nazi Propaganda. In reality, many productions were comedies and light-hearted entertainments with little more association with Nazi ideology than their adherence to Nazi censorship laws. There were even the occasional attempts at subversion or divergence from Nazi theatre policy, but these were rare and usually eliminated hastily.[169] Even considering this however, the dominance of Nazi ideology and propaganda over the content and performance styles of Nazi theatre is evident and prodigious.[170] The creation of *Thingspiel* as a genre solely devoted to Nazi ideology and the subsequent merging of those themes with Historical Drama and the Classics kept Nazi ideology consistently on the stages of the Third Reich.

While there can be little question of the Nazi intention to use Theatre as a propaganda weapon, the efficacy of their campaign is debatable in so far as while Nazi controls over the theatre were widespread, they were inconsistent: what was banned in one region could be performed somewhere else. That being said however, the vast majority of productions hewed to the standards formulated by the Propaganda Ministry and, consequently, frequently espoused Nazi ideology and themes.

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[168] Ronald Smelser, *Robert Ley: Hitler's Labor Front Leader* (Oxford, United Kingdom; New York, USA: Berg, 1988), 216.
[169] Hostetter, 157.
[170] Berghaus, ed., 145.

CHAPTER 4: THEATRE AND PARATHEATRE

Definitions

Most contemporary dictionaries provide three major definitions for the word 'Theatre' as it applies to this study:

1. A building or place in which to view dramatic performances/spectacles/films for the amusement of the spectators.
2. The dramatic event/literature/performance itself, also referring to the career path of creating/producing dramatic spectacles.
3. An area in which something happens; a place of action; a place or sphere of enacting events of significance. (This can refer to the Theatre of war, the Theatre of the world or the Theatre of public life.)[171]

The first two definitions – a place to view dramatic events and the events themselves - represent the common social perception of the word 'Theatre', and will form the basis of the definition of the term for this study.

ParaTheatre however, is less easily defined. Literally, ParaTheatre refers to that which is beyond or related to Theatre, while remaining a somewhat 'abnormal' version of it.[172] This could include unconventionally staged theatrical events such as street Theatre, as well as parades, processions or political rallies. It could also incorporate the third definition of theatre mentioned above – the theatre of public life - normal, life events that, while not intended for entertainment or as Theatre *per se*, nevertheless are remarkable for their theatricality.

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[171] *Merriam-Webster Online*, [Webpage] (2008, accessed January 2008); available from http://www.m-w.com/cgi-bin/dictionary?book=Dictionary&va=propaganda.
[172] Ibid.(accessed).

The definition of ParaTheatre in this study includes both staged and spontaneous events, limited to those occurrences that were designed to be witnessed by an audience: people whose sole participatory role is that of an observer or implicit supporter. The definition will be narrowed further to include only Nazi sanctioned, sponsored or supported events or, more accurately, events that the Nazis did not punish or condemn. Furthermore, this study of ParaTheatre will only include events that were repeated often enough (in similar form), or publicised widely enough to reach a large audience.

CHAPTER 5: THEATRE FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

Influencing an Audience

The idea that Theatre can exert influence over its audience members is not a new concept; numerous genres have been created based on vastly divergent theories on how to be socially influential. These always begin with the simple question of how to bring 'culture' – or in this case, theatre – to an audience. Two primary theories have been developed to address this challenge - Cultural Democracy and the Democratisation of Culture – creating a continuum of possible combinations between the two extremes. While commonly used in reference to 'community theatre', these theories can be adapted to suit any theatrical form with aspirations of social influence. Cultural Democracy, at one end of the spectrum, usually defended by Owen Kelley and supported by the majority of community-engaged theatre theorists and practitioners, is the process by which every member of society has access to the means of production (almost a Marxist style ideal).[173] It is often described as the 'bottom up' approach, essentially proposing theatre by the people and for the people. The other end of the spectrum, supported by Roy Shaw, is the Democratization of Culture.[174] This approach advocates bringing the 'high arts' to those who have traditionally not had access to them; thereby making the already existing culture accessible to everybody. Roy Shaw also proposes that both of these approaches could be implemented simultaneously.[175] Through a discussion of theatrical genres that adopt these techniques, it becomes

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[173] Owen Kelly, *Community, Art and the State: Storming the Citadels* (London, UK; New York, NY: Comedia Publishing Group In Association with Marion Boyars, 1984).
Baz Kershaw, *The Politics of Performance: Radical Theatre as Cultural Intervention* (London, UK: Routledge, 1992), 184, Edward James Little, "Theatre and Community: Case Studies of Four Colway-Style Plays Performed in Canada" (University of Toronto, 1997), 30.
[174] Kershaw, *The Politics of Performance: Radical Theatre as Cultural Intervention*, 184.
Little, 29.
[175] Kershaw, *The Politics of Performance: Radical Theatre as Cultural Intervention*, 184.

possible to understand the ways in which each of these approaches – and the techniques which they incorporate – can become highly effective tools for influencing a theatrical audience.

The following discussion outlines the major theatrical genres of the 20th century that have focused on influencing audiences. They are broken down into those tending towards 'cultural democracy' (Community Engaged/Popular theatre and Agitprop) and those more inclined to the 'democratisation of culture' (Symbolism and Expressionism) as well as Brechtian theatre which bridges the two extremes. All of the theatrical genres discussed except Community Engaged theatre were present in Germany in the years prior to the rise of the Third Reich. Community Engaged theatre has been included here because it incorporates the most detailed study of the theories and techniques used to influence theatre audiences and participants, despite its post Second World War emergence.

Cultural Democracy

Community Engaged, Popular and Related Theatre Forms

The theories and practices of community engaged, popular and related theatre forms cover a significant range of possibilities, that are almost too numerous to identify and are constantly evolving. There are however, some aspects of community-engaged theatre that appear repeatedly across a number of different practices. These include: the stated *intention* of community engaged theatre to influence people and communities;[176] the necessity for *community involvement* and/or collective

[176] Frances Helen Babbage, *Augusto Boal* (London, United Kingdom; New York, NY: Routledge, 2004), Jan Cohen-Cruz and Mady Schutzman, eds., *A Boal Companion: Dialogues on Theatre and Cultural Politics* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2006), Kershaw, *The Politics of Performance: Radical Theatre as Cultural Intervention,*

participation;[177] the requirement that community plays are created within the *context* of the community itself – they are tailored to each individual community;[178] and the use of *unconventional divisions* between the audience and the performer.[179]

The intention of community theatre to influence its audience is what sets it aside from many other theatre forms. Its practitioners require that it is 'issue oriented'[180] and should be, or at least can be, designed to inspire social action.[181] Within this framework, some community theatre practitioners and theorists, most notably Baz Kershaw, emphasise the importance of ideology as necessary for inspiring change.[182] He states that "performances can be most usefully described as an ideological transaction between a company of performers and the community of their audience."[183] Ideology forms the basis for the communication between performer and audience, and community theatre has the potential to either uphold the dominant ideology or to oppose it.

The second key element in community-engaged theatre is the involvement of the community. Many conventional theatrical forms are created in relative isolation from society as a whole. To take a contemporary example, a Broadway or West End production is planned, cast and rehearsed without the knowledge of the rest of New York or London until the performances themselves are advertised. Community engaged

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Little, Mady Schutzman and Jan Cohen-Cruz, *Playing Boal: Theatre, Therapy, Activism* (London, UK; New York, NY: Routledge, 1994).

[177] Kershaw, *The Politics of Performance: Radical Theatre as Cultural Intervention*, 245, Robert H Leonard and Ann Kilkelly, *Performing Communities: Grassroots Ensemble Theaters Deeply Rooted in Eight U.S. Communities* (Oakland, California: New Village Press, 2006), 9, Little, 34.

[178] Cohen-Cruz and Schutzman, eds., 1, Leonard and Kilkelly, 9, Eugene van Erven, *Community Theatre: Global Perspectives* (London, UK; New York, NY: Routledge, 2001), 244.

[179] Peter Billingham, *Radical Initiatives in Interventionist Drama* (Bristol, UK; Portland, OR, USA: Intellect, 2005), 14, Cohen-Cruz and Schutzman, eds., 3.

[180] Leonard and Kilkelly, 8.

[181] Tim Prentki and Jan Selman, *Popular Theatre in Political Culture: Britain and Canada in Focus* (Bristol, UK; Portland, OR: Intellect, 2000), 132-145.

[182] Kershaw, *The Politics of Performance: Radical Theatre as Cultural Intervention*, 36.

[183] Ibid., 16.

theatre, in opposition to this model, emphasizes the necessity for community involvement and collective participation in every aspect of its creation,[184] starting at the earliest conceptualization stages of production.

There are numerous theoretical benefits from this level of involvement: it can help develop the community, empower it or aspects of it, regenerate community spirit, give voice to a marginalized group and support or oppose the prevailing ideology.[185] According to Anthony Cohen, a community is defined by that which it excludes.[186] Through the processes of collective participation and community involvement, community engaged theatre becomes part of the process by which a community defines itself, either accepting or challenging the existing 'exclusions'.

An extension of the community involvement principle is developing community theatre within the context of the community itself. This is, perhaps, one of the most important components of community theatre. The form and content of each production should be individualized and tailored to the community, rather than using a 'stock' production or formula. One technique which is often used to support this practice is the use of an historical event or a local/personal story[187] - usually one that is idiosyncratic to the community and possibly obscure - as the basis for the content of the play. The historical episode or story is often based on a history of oppression and the play itself will mount a criticism of that oppression in the present.[188] The use of a local story is what Elizabeth Burns calls an 'authenticating convention'; an aspect of the production to which audience members can relate. These conventions help to bridge the gap between the play as fiction and the play as socially relevant.

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[184] Little, 34.
[185] Ibid., 35.
[186] Kershaw, *The Politics of Performance: Radical Theatre as Cultural Intervention*, 30-32.
[187] van Erven, 2.
[188] Kershaw, *The Politics of Performance: Radical Theatre as Cultural Intervention*, 245-249.

Moreover, the context of a community theatre practice is not limited to the script. Every aspect of a performance, including the events surrounding it, can affect its ideological efficacy. This includes advertising, finances, how the audience gathers and how they disperse, to name only a few elements.[189] These help create what Susan Bennett calls the 'horizons of expectations'; the expectations with which an audience member arrives at the theatre.[190] They could include factors such as an audience's prior experience with this form of Theatre[191] and the venue in which a Theatrical event takes place. According to Bennett (based on her understanding of Coppieters' research), "many of the audience's receptive processes are pre-activated by their anticipation of a particular kind of event."[192] Through the manipulation of the events surrounding a theatrical production, it is possible to create horizons of expectations that will reinforce the production's ideological message.

Additionally, Bennett theorises that "the site of a performance is patently important,"[193] particularly the spatial relationships between the performers and the audience, since this physical relationship helps determine the psychological relationship between the performers and the audience. For example, a production on a proscenium stage creates a different relationship to one performed in a thrust or 'Theatre in the round' performance space. These relationships, which vary the proximity between the audience and the stage are, according to Bennett, critically influential on audience reception and as such, are a final, essential element in community-engaged theatre practices.

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[189] Ibid., 23-24.
[190] Susan Bennett, "The Audience and Theatre," in *Theatre Audiences: A Theory of Production and Reception* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1997), 100.
[191] Ibid.
[192] Ibid., 104.
[193] Ibid., 127.

Community-engaged theatre utilises unconventional divisions between the audience and performer, particularly those which break down traditional boundaries. This is accomplished through the use of audience participation or altering the customary use of space (such as placing audience members on the stage or actors in the audience). Other conventions include keeping all the performers on the stage at all times; juxtaposing real games or work with acted scenes (thereby incorporating the 'real' world into the world of the play); and casting the audience as the 'crowd'.[194]

Agitprop

Community-engaged and popular theatres are not the only, or even the first genres to use these techniques. In the years between the first and second World Wars, in both Europe and North America, Agitprop and Worker's theatre evolved as both a form of Marxist counter-propaganda and theatrical innovation, creating theatre both by and for the people. The term 'Agitprop' blends the words 'agitator' and 'propagandist', representing a branch of didactic amateur Theatre intended to be used as "a weapon in the class struggle."[195] Originally, Agitprop was, essentially, propaganda, aimed at promoting socialism and countering the perceived capitalist propaganda of the dominant culture. It was created without consideration for lasting artistic value and, in its early form, was developed and performed by and for the workers. Performances were mobile, usually occurring on street corners and at demonstrations and picket lines. The inherent mobility of the form was required, not only by the practical economic considerations (staying in one place too long did not pay as well as constantly moving), but also to avoid police harassment. Beyond its practical considerations however, Agitprop

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[194] Kershaw, *The Politics of Performance: Radical Theatre as Cultural Intervention*, 191.
[195] Robin Endres, "Introduction," in *Eight Men Speak and Other Plays from the Canadian Worker's Theatre*, ed. Richard Wright and Robin Endres (Toronto, Ontario: New Hogtown Press, 1976), xv.

performance locations had the beneficial result of almost eliminating the division between audience and performer, reinforcing its Marxist ideological message.

Moreover, Agitprop productions used a few simple, portable props to represent a number of set pieces/props. The characters were abstract representations of a given class (usually either the ruling or the working class) and the conflict was between social classes, not individuals. When the productions did use individualised characters, they were simplified and stereotyped: the 'bad guys' were rich, drunken degenerates, while the 'good guys' were morally pure, organised and disciplined workers.[196] One common element of the performance style was the use of mass recitation, which arose out of chanting slogans. All these elements were designed to parallel, represent and support the belief in the Marxist proletariat.[197]

In the spirit of Community Engaged theatre practices and Cultural Democracy, Agitprop introduced theatre to a segment of society which had previously had little or no exposure to it. As they began to enjoy Agitprop performances however, they tired of its oversimplified, condescending tone and sought more sophisticated Theatrical forms. The creators of Agitprop realised the limitations of the genre and eventually adopted some of the techniques (and trained performers) of the traditional 'bourgeois' Theatre. Eventually, it even settled into stationary locations, used trained actors and incorporated the need for artistic merit. Through these transitions, Agitprop evolved into the Stationary Workers Theatre after its supporters realised that content alone was not enough to create successful Theatre and consequently allowing artistic value to take precedence over content.[198]

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[196] Ibid., xviii.
[197] Ibid.
[198] Ibid.

Agitprop was one of the first theatrical genres of the 20th century to incorporate the techniques of culturally democratic, community engaged theatre. Incorporating each of the key elements of intention, community involvement, context and unconventional audience/performer relationships, Agitprop, Community Engaged and related theatrical forms began to develop some elements of theatrical production necessary for influencing an audience.

Democratisation of Culture

On the other end of the spectrum from Agitprop and culturally democratic theatre are the genres that focus on bringing 'high culture' to the masses; those tending towards the democratisation of culture model. The first half of the 20th century inspired numerous theatrical genres with this inclination. Some of the most well known of these are Symbolism and Expressionism.

Symbolism

While the use of symbols has always been a common stage practice, symbolism as a genre takes the art to its extreme. Symbolist drama while relatively short-lived and never particularly popular,[199] seeks the truth through subjective feelings and visions and expresses that truth through symbols designed to induce a specific mood or feeling in the audience.[200] In utilising symbols – which are frequently not universally understandable – to convey a message, proponents of this genre walk a fine line between the abstract and the specific. According to symbolists, abstract or vague

[199] Barnard Hewitt, *History of the Theatre from 1800 to the Present* (New York, NY: Random House Inc, 1970).
[200] Ibid.

symbolism is irresponsible,[201] while excessively specific symbolism hinders its power to expand through interpretation. Consequently, in true 'democratisation of culture' style, every aspect of a symbolist production is subordinate to the single vision of the director: "It [seeks] to create behind the proscenium arch the illusion, not of ordinary life, but of the imaginative life conceived by the playwright."[202] The actor becomes an 'uber-marionette':[203] a disciplined body used to present and interpret characters – a symbol. The performance style, based in movement and rhythm, compliments the abstract set design and elaborate lighting to convey the appropriate mood.

Expressionism

More popular and enduring than Symbolism, one of the earliest and strongest expressionist movements of the 20th century developed in Germany prior to the First World War. German theatrical expressionism was particularly dominant from approximately 1910 to the early 1920's. Originally a dramatic protest against the authority of the family and community, a rigid social order and the industrialisation and mechanisation of life, Expressionism glorified the individual and idealised the creative personality, portraying conflicts between youth and age, freedom and authority. Unfortunately, "so idealistic and sentimental a treatment of life could not long survive in a Theatre which, since Goethe and Schiller, had traditionally played a serious social role."[204] Consequently, after World War One, expressionism transferred its focus from the personal and subjective to a 'greater concern for man and society,'[205] shedding its

[201] J.L. Styan, *Modern Drama in Theory and Practice 2*, 3 vols., vol. 2 (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 3.
[202] Hewitt.
[203] Styan, 18.
[204] J.L. Styan, *Modern Drama in Theory and Practice 3*, 3 vols., vol. 3 (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 6.
[205] Ibid., 3-4.

sentimentality and often exhibiting, like Agitprop, politically radical, Marxist ideals[206] and a frequently revolutionary theme.

Early expressionist plays created a dreamlike, nightmarish atmosphere with shadowy, unrealistic lighting on simplified sets, using images rather than realistic representations. The disjointed, episodic plots utilising a "sequence of dramatic statements"[207] rather than a central dramatic conflict, in combination with similarly disjointed dialogue, broken down into one or two phrases at a time and enhanced with pauses and silences, create the impression of a 'stream of consciousness' or a nightmare designed to evoke sympathy. While later Expressionist plays incorporated many of these techniques developed by early Expressionism, they also began to include the use of impersonal crowds that would move and perform en-masse. [208]

Additionally, Expressionist acting often appeared to be 'over acting'. In its earliest manifestations, Expressionist acting was deliberately un-realistic, using the broad movements of a puppet (possibly a more literal manifestation of Symbolism's 'uber-marionette'),[209] and gradually becoming increasingly intense and violent.[210] Like Agitprop, Symbolism and later, *Thingspiel* (Nazi ideological theatre), Expressionist characters were not individuals, but rather representative figures.

Brecht

Bridging the two extremes of cultural democracy and the democratisation of culture is one of the most famous theatrical techniques for audience influence: Bertolt Brecht's alienation approach and dialectical theatre. Evolving out of Piscator's Epic

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[206] Ibid.
[207] Ibid., 4.
[208] Ibid.
[209] Ibid.
[210] Ibid.

Theatre which aimed to provide an arena in which to publically discuss political and social issues (which, in turn, evolved out of Agitprop), Brecht's dialectical theatre merged the socially conscious, issue based approach of Epic Theatre and its predecessor, Agitprop, with the skills of 'high art' including Shakespeare and classical Greek Theatre.[211]

Brecht spent most of his working career evolving his techniques, testing them in his productions,[212] particularly focussing on 'dialectical Theatre'. These didactic plays maintain the framework of a story while presenting the arguments of a moral dilemma. Brecht incorporates 'alienation' or 'distancing' to ensure that the audience focuses on the dilemma cognitively rather than emotionally. "Brecht's stage was to be stripped of its theatrical magic, and the audience refused the state of emotional, empathetic trance, a degrading condition [Brecht] associated with what he called the 'Aristotelian Theatre.'"[213] Brecht believed drama should be "a critique of life"[214] and an audience lulled into an emotional response would no longer think about the issues portrayed on the stage. Consequently, Brechtian theatre is characterised by repeated breaks in the emotional flow of the production, such as performers breaking 'character' to explain themselves, to 'force' the audience into a cognitive evaluation of the concepts.

Brecht's ability as a playwright and director combined with an audience's expectations when attending the theatre resulted in even Brecht himself recognising "his own inability to bring about a complete distancing effect."[215] He realised that, regardless of his intentions, he could not predict or determine the audience response to

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[211] Ibid., 139-140.
[212] Ibid., 140.
[213] Ibid., 142.
[214] Ibid., 141.
[215] Ibid., 153.

a play: "It seems that the spectator soon adjusts his perceptions to the new techniques, and is liable to find sympathy for a character even when it is not intended."[216]

Conclusion

The Theatrical genres discussed here maintained the single, unifying characteristic that they are each devoted to evoking a response in their audience: to influencing audiences and by extension, affecting social change. Using a vast array of techniques and theories, each of these genres, from Community Engaged theatre to Agitprop, Symbolism, Expressionism and Brechtian dialectical theatre, works towards their own, ideological goals. Whether approached from a Culturally Democratic model, or through the Democratisation of Culture paradigm , each of these genres, using techniques representative of the ideology which it promotes, were, in their respective contexts, culturally significant and arguably, socially influential. Moreover, many techniques from each of these genres appear, to a greater or lesser degree, in the Theatre of the Third Reich as discussed in Chapter 3.

[216] Ibid.

CHAPTER 6: ARCHETYPAL PSYCHOLOGY

Attempting to define archetypal psychology is an imprecise art. Discussions on the topic produce statements such as "a psychology of soul,"[217] or value,[218] rooted in imagination rather than science;[219] "the transformation of psyche into life,"[220] or the even more cryptic "fundamentally imaginal"[221] or "fundamentally human."[222] Yet, each of these insubstantial (and occasionally esoteric) phrases accurately describes, at least in part, the meaning of 'archetypal psychology'. The difficulty lies in the possibility that every interpretation of this branch of psychology is, and always will be, slightly different; much like every individual's response to an archetype would be unique.

One of the challenges of archetypal psychology (and other, similar practices) is its multiple dimensions, and the difficulty of visualising a 'map' of its study and practice. At its heart (or one of its hearts) lie four major concepts: soul, images, archetypes, and the Gods. Each of these exist, not in a simple hierarchical structure (soul, then images, then Gods), but rather as completely intermingling and intertwined ideas. This chapter addresses each of these components individually, (although a truly Hillmanian representation of them would have them intermingled as they would in the psyche since in Hillman's work, the form usually reflects the reality being discussed).[223] Furthermore, this chapter will briefly address relevant aspects of the practice of archetypal psychology.

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[217] James Hillman, *Re-Visioning Psychology* (New York, NY: Harper Perennial, 1975), xv.
[218] Thomas Moore, ed., *The Essential James Hillman: A Blue Fire* (London, UK: Routledge, 1990), 26.
[219] Ibid., 15.
[220] James Hillman, *The Myth of Analysis: Three Essays in Archetypal Psychology* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1972), 3.
[221] Moore, ed., 15-16.
[222] Hillman, *Re-Visioning Psychology*, xx.
[223] Moore, ed., 2-3.

Overview

In his discussions on archetypal psychology, James Hillman describes, proposes and practices "a psychology of soul that is based in a psychology of image."[224] It starts in the processes of imagination[225] and connects the individual soul/psyche with the collective, enabling "understanding at a collective level."[226] The key concepts in this branch of psychology are: soul, images, archetypes and myths (or religion and the Gods). Superficially, archetypal psychology relates myths and archetypes to images and dreams in order to better understand the psyche or the soul. However, it goes beyond merely matching myth to life,[227] in that through an image-based approach to the psyche, one is able to perceive some of the frequently occurring images and archetypes that manifest in, and in Hillmanian terms, animate all life.[228] They both express and imbue the images themselves and the aspects of life those images represent with meaning.

The Soul

At the core of archetypal psychology, or more accurately, permeating its entire existence, is the soul: an intangible presence, in part connected with religion, which creates meaning – infusing it into events and emotions.[229] According to Hillman, the soul is not concrete but rather a perspective one takes towards that which one encounters;[230] providing a connection between mind, body and spirit.[231] If one imagines time, space and thought as a tapestry, rather than separate linear threads, soul exists in

[224] Hillman, *Re-Visioning Psychology*, xvii.
[225] Ibid.
[226] Ibid., xx.
[227] Moore, ed., 15.
[228] Ibid., 15-16.
[229] Hillman, *Re-Visioning Psychology*, xvi.
[230] Ibid.
[231] Moore, ed., 112.

the space that is the moment between event and thought; if time, space and thought are the individual threads of the tapestry, soul is that which makes it art. Soul, however is more than simply the mediator[232] in that it exists beyond the merely human experience of the world, it is part of the world itself. Hillman posits that humans are not the only beings with consciousness;[233] suggesting that "soul is to be found in nature and community, in personal and ancestral history."[234]

Finally, Hillman stresses the difference between soul and spirit; "soul deals with suffering. It is the spirit that is elevated, that deals with the aesthetically pleasing. Soul deals with the aesthetically displeasing."[235] Archetypal psychology is not concerned with the lofty aspirations of the spirit that transcend human concerns. Instead, this psychology is interested in elements of the psyche that are fundamentally human in that they are also fundamentally flawed. It revels in the dysfunctions and challenges of the psyche, not in an attempt to 'cure' it, but with the desire to find meaning in it.[236]

In *Re-Visioning Psychology*, Hillman calls archetypal psychology the process of 'soul-making'. By this, he means that through archetypal psychology one begins to understand the psyche (Hillman often uses soul and psyche almost interchangeably) – the indefinable quality that gives meaning to life. In an entirely paradoxical relationship, through our understanding of the soul, it is able to mature and grow, and as it grows, so too does our understanding of it. Archetypal psychology is the process by which we not only understand the soul, but also through which we are able to affect it.

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[232] Hillman, *Re-Visioning Psychology*, xvi.
[233] T. Len Holdstock, "Archetypal Psychology," in *Transpersonal Art: The Paintings of Monika Von Moltke* (Johannesburg, South Africa: Africa Transpersonal Association, 1986), 28.
[234] Ibid., 32.
[235] Ibid.
[236] Moore, ed., 10.

Images and Words

Archetypal psychology views images as the foundation for every aspect of life, every action and object.[237] They are "the basic givens of psychic life, self-originating, inventive, spontaneous, complete, and organized in archetypal patterns."[238] Images are the vessels through which archetypal psychology views and 'makes' the soul,[239] or alternatively, they are the medium through which the soul is able to express itself. Hillman does not, however, suggest that only images provide a means of soulful communication, he also recognises the value and power of words: "Hillman appeals for an "angelology of words," a return to the ancient notion that words have a life of their own and say more than we mean when we use them."[240] In an archetypal analysis, "to see through the literal to the image is to glimpse soul."[241]

Archetypes

In their most literal sense, archetypes are the original models for images or patterns of images that recurrently manifest themselves in art, literature, dreams and ideas. Hillman, however, asks us to look beyond the literal to the imagistic, to see archetypes "as the *deepest patterns of psychic functioning*, the roots of the soul governing the perspectives we have of ourselves and the world. They are the axiomatic, self-evident images to which psychic life and our theories about it ever return."[242] According to Thomas Moore's interpretation of Hillman's work however, any image can be archetypal. He suggests that calling an image 'archetypal' identifies its value thereby

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[237] T. Len Holdstock, *Re-Examining Psychology: Critical Perspectives and African Insights* (London, UK; Philadelphia, PA: Routledge, 2000), 67.
[238] Hillman, *Re-Visioning Psychology*, xvii.
[239] Sanford L. Drob, "The Depth of the Soul: James Hillman's Vision of Psychology," *Journal of Humanistic Psychology* 39, no. 3 (1999): 60.
[240] Moore, ed., 7-8.
[241] Ibid., 17.
[242] Hillman, *Re-Visioning Psychology*, xix.

empowering the image with greater significance and importance.[243] The value that the word 'archetypal' gives to any image is what gives archetypes (or our image of archetypes) "their emotional possessive effect, their bedazzlement of consciousness so that it becomes blind to its own stance."[244]

Myth, Religion and Polytheism

Archetypal psychology occupies a world of myth and religion. Just as it views images as the fundamental basis for all actions and objects, it also "sees every fragment of life as myth and poetry."[245] If images and archetypes are the basis for actions and objects, then myths and religion (or the Gods) are the "archetypal premises within all experiences and all attitudes."[246] Moreover, Hillman takes Jung's image of a psyche divided between male and female and elevates it into mythological images of gods and goddesses.[247] By abandoning a single God/archetype, Hillman proposes an almost Darwinian psyche; one consisting of multiple 'personalities', coexisting in a constant reordering of dominance. "Hillman's psychological polytheism does not portray a life of chaos but one of many elements rising and falling in prominence, conflicting and dovetailing, in a rich counterpoint of themes and episodes."[248]

Practice

Those who encounter James Hillman's work frequently complain that he does not provide guidance regarding technique or method.[249] What guidance he does offer is

[243] Moore, ed., 26.
[244] Hillman, *Re-Visioning Psychology*, xix.
[245] Drob: 61.
[246] Hillman, *Re-Visioning Psychology*, 227.
[247] Moore, ed., 36.
[248] Ibid., 37.
[249] Ibid., 50.

unsurprisingly given the central role images play in archetypal psychology. Hillman's technique, and by association the methodology of archetypal psychology, works on the fundamental belief that the single most important component of the practice of archetypal psychology is the attitude towards the image; [250] ensuring that the image is considered in every detail and in its original context, maintaining its original form for as long as possible.[251]

> Much of the work of archetypal analysis aims at safeguarding and preserving images. The analyst watches for the tendency in a person or in society to honor its favored interpretive positions rather than the images, or to moralize against an image because it seems to go against standard values and comfortable feelings.[252]

Archetypal psychology works from the belief that in analyzing an image we tame it, attempting to make it fit into an acceptable paradigm, rather than accepting it in its entirety. Whether discussing the integrity of the image or the soul, archetypal psychology asks that one accepts what is presented in its entirety; neither inventing or imposing false interpretations, nor denying or reinterpreting uncomfortable meanings.

Conclusion

Archetypal psychology goes beyond the use of images, archetypes or Gods. It is also greater than soul making, or the vision of soul outside the concept of humanity. It is the study of the psyche, the soul, using the same means as those through which the soul communicates: images, myths, dreams, language and the Gods. It is the artistic image that integrates the soul into the universal tapestry of time, space and thought.

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[250] Ibid.
[251] Ibid., 51.
[252] Ibid., 16.

CHAPTER 7: THE ARTS THERAPIES

What Are The Arts Therapies?

The Arts Therapies, at their simplest level are "a form of psychotherapy that [use] art media as [their] primary mode of communication."[253] Under a psychoanalytic approach, the Arts Therapies involve "the use of different art media through which a client can express and work through the issues, problems and concerns that have brought her [or him] into therapy."[254] Comprised of a collection of diverse artistic practices,[255] including the visual arts, music, dance, movement and theatre, the Arts Therapies "facilitate the unfolding and understanding of psychic processes by providing a setting in which connections with previously repressed, unconscious material can surface,"[256] in part due to the externalisation of thoughts and feelings which the client may find difficult or impossible to express in a different setting.[257] The diverse practices of the Arts Therapies are connected by a single common belief in the healing value of image making;[258] in the Arts Therapies, these are concrete, material images as opposed to Archetypal Psychology's psychic images (images produced in the psyche). In both disciplines, value of the image – whether concrete or psychic – is a founding principle upon which their practice is based.[259]

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[253] *The British Association of Art Therapies*, [Website] (2008, accessed 30 April 2008); available from www.baat.org.
[254] Caroline Case and Tessa Dalley, *The Handbook of Art Therapy* (London, United Kingdom; New York, NY: Tavistock/Routledge, 1992), 1.
[255] Diane Waller and Andrea Gilroy, eds., *Art Therapy: A Handbook* (Buckingham, UK; Philadelphia, PA: Open University Press, 1992), 3.
[256] Tessa Dalley, Gabrielle Rifkind, and Kim Terry, *The Three Voices of Art Therapy: Image, Client, Therapist* (London, UK; New York, NY: Routledge, 1993), 7.
[257] Phil Jones, *The Arts Therapies: A Revolution in Healthcare* (Hove, East Sussex; New York, NY: Brunner-Routledge, 2005), 249, Waller and Gilroy, eds., *Art Therapy: A Handbook*, 5.
[258] Waller and Gilroy, eds., *Art Therapy: A Handbook*, 3.
[259] Moore, ed., 16.

The component of the Arts Therapies that is most relevant to this study is the nature of the communication inherent in this form of therapy. Unlike conventional therapy in which the communication is primarily binary – between the therapist and patient – the Arts Therapies add a third participant – the image. This chapter will explore the components of this triangular relationship, particularly the aspects of it relating to the image and witnessing.

Artist, Image and Viewer – Triangle of Influence

The nature of the communication in any therapeutic relationship is infused with layers upon layers of meaning and complexity; there is no single formula that will adequately represent the relationship between every client and every therapist. In the Arts Therapies, this relationship is complicated further by the addition of a third entity – the image. The image in the Arts Therapies, as will be discussed later, is usually viewed as something concrete – a sculpture, painting, scene, piece of music etc. This concrete image, as well as its symbolic meaning(s), becomes an integral part of the therapeutic relationship since, according to Joy Schaverien, a prominent art therapist, "certain pictures profoundly affect the viewer and may even alter her perception of the world. The work of art is, then, an object which mediates between people and a triangle is formed which is made up of artist-painting-viewer."[260] The three vertices of this triangle represent what are sometimes called the 'three voices of art therapy',[261] with the client, therapist and art work each having a 'voice' in the communication that develops around and between them. This trinary relationship creates, in effect, a 'triangle of influence' in

[260] Joy Schaverien, *The Revealing Image: Analytical Art Psychotherapy in Theory and Practice* (London, UK; New York, NY: Tavistock/Routledge, 1992), 118.
[261] Dalley, Rifkind, and Terry.

which each component of the triangle is able to influence and be influenced by the others.

The geometric image of a triangle is somewhat misleading, however. The word 'triangle' implies something static and two dimensional; three fixed points on a two dimensional representation with linear connections between each. The Arts Therapies however, create a far more dynamic trinary relationship;[262] one consisting of constantly shifting positions of dominance and far from linear influential connections between all of the three voices, often requiring the communication to move through one 'point' in order to get to the third. In this kind of interaction, the situations and relationships involved determine which points and which connections amidst the three points will be activated, enhanced or minimized.[263]

Three examples of the variations in this triangular relationship are categorised by Joy Schaverien as the relationships that dominate traditional Art Therapy, Art Psychotherapy and Analytical Art Therapy. In each of these 'categories' (which Schaverien stresses are not mutually exclusive and, in fact, can exist at different times in the same therapeutic session depending on the needs of the client and the situation),[264] different elements of the 'triangle' dominate the communication. For example, in what Schaverien labels as 'Art Therapy', the dominant channel of communication is from the client to the picture (art work) and then reflected back to the client (client-picture-client), with the therapist acting as an external witness.[265] In Art Psychotherapy, on the other hand, the dominant channel of communication exists between the patient and the therapist, with the art work/picture taking a secondary

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[262] Andrea Gilroy and Gerry McNeilly, eds., *The Changing Shape of Art Therapy: New Developments in Theory and Practice* (London, UK and Philadelphia, PA: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 2000), 55.
[263] Ibid., 57-59.
[264] Ibid., 61.
[265] Ibid., 61, 66-69.

position of dominance as an aid to that communication rather than an active component of it.[266]

The third example that Schaverien uses is what she calls 'Analytical Art Psychotherapy.' This is the relationship in which communication exists between all three components of the triangle – artist/client, artwork and viewer/therapist. In this relationship, the client influences and is influenced by both the art work and the therapist and the therapist influences and is influenced by both the client and the art work. While the art work is able to influence both the therapist and client however, as an inanimate object it has no psyche to influence.[267]

Images: Diagrammatic and Embodied

The image is the addition to the therapeutic relationship that is unique to the Arts Therapies. Other image based psychotherapies such as Archetypal Psychology and Jungian analyses do not imbue their mental images with 'lives' of their own, whereas in the Arts Therapies, the image is a key component in the therapeutic relationship and has a 'voice' in this communication that is separate from either the therapist or the patient. As in Archetypal Psychology, the interpretation of the term 'image' in the Arts Therapies is, of necessity, extremely broad in order to include the myriad of different artistic media which make up the Arts Therapies. In a situation with so much potential variation, the term 'image' can refer – with equal validity – to a painting, sculpture, dramatic scene or piece of music, to name only a few options.

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[266] Ibid., 61, 69-72.
[267] Ibid., 61, 72-73.

Joy Schaverien discusses the 'image' in the Arts Therapies as the "mediating object between two people, the artist and the viewer,"[268] or the patient and the therapist. While her discussion primarily relates to the image as a painting, her theories can be similarly applied to images in any of the artistic forms that make up the Arts Therapies. These images "embody thoughts and feelings. The image mediates between the unconscious and conscious, holding and symbolizing past, present and future aspects of the person who has made it. In this sense the image acts as a bridge between the inner world and outer reality."[269] With this relationship in mind, Schaverien categorises images into two forms: diagrammatic and embodied. In both diagrammatic and embodied images, the physical representation created is, to some extent, a manifestation of a mental image. The primary difference between the diagrammatic and embodied images however, exists in the process of creating the image and the artist's engagement with it; this process is what Schaverien calls the life *in* the image.[270]

Diagrammatic images represent that which the artist/client/patient already consciously knows.[271] These images are created intentionally, revealing those consciously controlled aspects of the psyche that the artist is willing to reveal, in the way in which the artist wants them represented. They are usually created with a mental image in mind, as an attempt to consciously re-create it,[272] frequently resulting in a less than accurate approximation that rarely expresses or represents, on its own, the original mental image. As a result, a diagrammatic image frequently requires additional explanation before its full meaning can be understood:[273] "it is not profoundly expressive

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[268] Schaverien, 117.
[269] Case and Dalley, 137.
[270] Schaverien, 102.
[271] Ibid., 86.
[272] Ibid.
[273] Gilroy and McNeilly, eds., 59.

within itself; rather, like a sign, it refers to something outside itself. It delineates the area of consciousness, affirms its edges and attempts to maintain these limits by residing within territory which is consciously known."[274] Within the triangular therapeutic relationship, the diagrammatic image facilitates a central focus on the "person-to-person axis, whilst the picture forms an illustration usually demanding a spoken explanation of its meaning."[275] Since this kind of image does not become imbued with a life of its own, "the import of such a picture is limited, and it may be considered dispensable once its intended meaning has been told."[276]

"Whilst the diagrammatic picture generally starts within known territory, the embodied image transcends what is consciously known."[277] The embodied image, unlike the diagrammatic image, starts as unconsciously as possible, without any intention to create a specific form, or represent a conscious thought. This kind of image is created when the artist "permits the image-making process to lead with no preconceived, conscious intention."[278] Rather than consciously attempting to produce a specific representation, the embodied image "develops from [the] interplay between the mental and the pictorial image."[279] Despite the fact that embodied images do not attempt to reproduce an image or a dream, [280] the "picture which is embodied is closer to the mental image, in that it retains the power which is attached to some mental images. This happens because, paradoxically, in the process of making the picture, the artist relinquishes the attempt to reproduce the preconceived image."[281] Consequently,

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[274] Schaverien, 91.
[275] Gilroy and McNeilly, eds., 59.
[276] Schaverien, 86.
[277] Ibid., 87.
[278] Ibid., 84.
[279] Ibid., 87.
[280] Ibid., 85.
[281] Ibid., 87.

embodied images often reveal aspects of the artist's psyche – their imaginal world.[282] Unlike the diagrammatic image, whose value is, primarily, as an aid to the communication between the therapist and the patient, an embodied image is significant in and of itself[283] – it holds meaning which does not require further explanation in order to understand – and as such becomes a central component of the therapeutic relationship in which "all the points of the triangle are activated, creating a dynamic field between them."[284] Accordingly, in the relationship between the artist (patient), image and viewer (therapist), "The impact of such an image is...'ineffable'."[285]

These two types of images are not entirely mutually exclusive, they can exist in the same series of pictures produced by a single artist/patient, or even elements of each can be present in the same picture/image.[286] The difference between them lies in the way in which they are created resulting in a diagrammatic image which, "like other forms of description, approximates experiences and evokes affect in relation to it. The embodied image, on the other hand is formative, in the true sense, and it mediates in the space between patient and therapist."[287]

The Viewer: Active Witnessing

In the 'triangle of influence,' if the image occupies one vertex, the other two include the patient and the therapist. At some point in the therapeutic relationship, both of those individuals (or groups on occasion) will become 'viewers' or 'witnesses' of the image and/or of each other. More than merely viewing however, the Arts Therapies

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[282] Ibid., 85.
[283] Ibid., 91.
[284] Gilroy and McNeilly, eds., 59.
[285] Schaverien, 87.
[286] Ibid., 85.
[287] Ibid.

require that witnesses become active in that they should be engaged participants, rather than traditionally 'passive' ones. As such, an Active Witness is simply an audience member/observer who participates. Augusto Boal, a noted theorist (and practitioner) of theatre for social change whose work is also well respected by experts from within the Arts Therapies, calls Active Witnesses 'spectactors' – the combination of spectator and actor.[288] Unlike a conventional audience member, whose contribution to a performance or art work is limited to viewing and (in the case of live performances) showing appreciation usually through applause, the Active Witness/Spectator is a contributor to the art work, not merely an observer of it.

From a therapeutic point of view, witnessing is a multi-directional process; there is value in being witnessed as much as there is in the process of witnessing. In this way, the role of the witness in the Arts Therapies takes its place in the triangle of influence as one that is both affective and affected, representing a clear example of the type of dynamic, multidirectional channels of communication that categorise this trinary relationship.

The concept of Active Witnessing in the Arts Therapies is seldom explored at all, and when it is, is almost invariably portrayed in an extremely positive light. In the therapeutic context, witnesses are described as 'one who is there to see and affirm'[289] and the experience of witnessing is considered to be one of profound empathy, communication and a means of understanding.[290] It can allow a perpetrator to see

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[288] Babbage, 42.
[289] Robert J. Landy, *Essays in Drama Therapy: The Double Life* (London, UK; Bristol, PA: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 1996), 95.
[290] Phil Jones, *Drama as Therapy: Theory, Practice, and Research*, 2nd ed. (Hove, East Sussex; New York, NY: Routledge, 2007), 109-111.

himself as his own victim, thereby understanding the pain (etc) he inflicted on someone else, or it can allow the victim to perceive the 'victim' in the perpetrator.[291]

Beyond empathy however, witnessing is an essential element of communication in the Arts Therapies, particularly in the period that Joy Shaverien calls the life *of* the picture.[292] Schaverien talks about the image as having several stages of life, including the life *in* the picture and the life *of* the picture.[293] The life *in* the picture is the period in which the image is created and it is this period that influences whether an image is diagrammatic or embodied.[294] The life *of* the picture "relates to the public effects of the picture."[295] It takes place when the image can be viewed without the influence of the process of its creation. While creating the art is the primary focus of the life *in* the picture, witnessing and interpreting become the primary focus of the life *of* the picture. In this process, Schaverien discusses five stages of the life of the picture based on the interaction between the image and the patient: Identification, Familiarisation, Acknowledgement, Assimilation and Disposal.[296] Identification occurs immediately after the picture has been created, when the patient/artist is still attached to the creative process. Familiarisation is obviously the period during which viewing the image results in it becoming familiar while Acknowledgement occurs as the patient begins to interpret the image, recognise its implications and identify other possible, unintended aspects of it. Finally, Assimilation and Disposal are the stages in which the implications of the image, having become conscious, are re-integrated with the psyche and the image can then be 'disposed' (which can also include keeping the image outside of a therapeutic

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[291] Ibid., 111.
[292] Schaverien, 103.
[293] Ibid.
[294] Ibid., 103.
[295] Ibid.
[296] Ibid., 106.

context).[297] While Schaverien's analysis is, firstly, focused on the visual arts and secondly emphasises the communication between the artist and the art work, it also applies to other artistic forms and specifies that all of the stages existing between the patient and the art work require the active participation of the therapist.[298] All five of these stages involve 'witnessing' in one form or another: the artist witnessing their creation with various levels of involvement, both cognitive and emotional; the therapist witnessing the image, both independently and through the perceptions of the patient; the artist and therapist witnessing each other in relation to the image; and, not to be discounted, the impact of the image itself and process of witnessing on the artist and therapist, and the impact of witnessing on the art work itself (which is particularly applicable to performed art work which can and does change with the presence of an audience).

The process of witnessing in the Arts Therapies is viewed as beneficial for both the patient/artist (who has his or her work affirmed and acknowledged) and for the witness (who can see him/herself through the art work, thus enabling greater understanding of both the work of art and his or her own psyche). More than facilitating empathy and affirmation however, Active Witnessing is a crucial component of the communication process in the Arts Therapies – the triangle of influence. In a relationship as dynamically inter-related as the trinary communication between therapist, patient and image, Witnessing *has* to be an active process and it cannot be solely unidirectional. As one member of the triangle is being witnessed, so too are they witnessing in a constantly shifting, dynamic process that exemplifies the communication in the Arts Therapies.

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[297] Ibid.
[298] Ibid.

Interpretation and Artistic Merit

When discussing images in a therapeutic context, whether they are mental or 'artistic' images, the issues surrounding interpretation are difficult to avoid. Interpretation in the Arts Therapies is yet another integral component of the trinary communication in this discipline. The image itself cannot be 'interpreted' accurately in a vacuum since "the picture is never the sole means of diagnosis."[299] From a therapist's point of view, the image can only be interpreted in relation to the patient and the knowledge the therapist has of their client in relation to the image.[300] "Interpretation, like diagnosis, is a matter of relationship: that of patient to the picture and therapist; and that of therapist to patient and picture."[301] Furthermore, the therapist is not the only source of interpretation; the client also interprets his own art, both independently and in conjunction with the therapist.[302]

One aspect of interpretation, or perhaps a barrier to interpretation, is judging art work for its artistic merit. This becomes complicated in a discipline in which "consciousness is mediated and transformed through symbolic forms."[303] How can one evaluate the artistic merit of another's transformed consciousness and would such an evaluation serve any useful purpose? One way around this dilemma is the assertion that "In good art the expression is true, in bad art false and in poor art unsuccessful."[304] In this way, one eliminates the need to evaluate the quality of the product by emphasising the intention of the artist over his or her artistic skill. "By this definition 'bad art' could be understood as the picture which has been made consciously with the intention of

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[299] Ibid., 3.
[300] Ibid.
[301] Ibid.
[302] Case and Dalley, 1.
[303] Schaverien, 4.
[304] Ibid., 92.

influencing the therapist in some way."[305] Rather than debating the artistic merit of an art form, it is more useful to discuss the power of that image to express or mediate within the triadic relationship between the therapist, client and image.

Summary and Conclusion

"In a profession such as art therapy developments evolved from practice; it is out of this that theory gradually emerges."[306] Consequently, it is not surprising that a discipline in which a physical image is a central component of the therapeutic process would create a theory of a triangular relationship to facilitate communication. The three participants in this triangle – artist, art work and viewer – relate to and with one another in a dynamic, integrated process that is simultaneously both complex and obvious. The images themselves, whether based in the visual or performing arts, fit within the trinary communication either as an aid to communication between artist and viewer – as is the case with diagrammatic images – or as an embodied image, which remains a separate entity standing independently of external explanation and which becomes an independent contributor to the triangle of influence. The relationships and communication processes within the Arts Therapies, while dizzying in their dynamic complexity, reveal a theoretical model for the type of constantly shifting powers of influence that exist between the artist, art work and audience.

[305] Ibid., 93.
[306] Gilroy and McNeilly, eds., 57.

PART TWO: THEATRICAL IMAGERY

CHAPTER 8: THE NATURE OF THEATRICAL IMAGERY

As was discussed in the chapters on Archetypal Psychology and the Arts Therapies, images are complex, layered and multidimensional. Theatrical imagery is no exception. Any given image on a stage is the result of the combination of several different art forms (directing; set, costume, lighting and sound design; and acting, to name but a few), each with imagery of their own.

Consequently, any single theatrical image will have numerous elements to it, layers of meaning, each of which contributes to the audience's understanding of the message those images are designed to convey. Many of these act on a subconscious level unless someone identifies them. One of the most common examples of this practice, even in modern film, is the use of biblical imagery in staging scenes, particularly scenes of high emotion.

A contemporary example of this phenomenon occurs in Cameron Mackintosh's famous musical *Les Misérables* during Eponine's death scene (figure 2[307]). Eponine, by no means a morally incorruptible figure after spending most of her life as a thief, sacrifices her own happiness to help Marius, the man with whom she is in love, find love with Cosette, her childhood rival. In the process she is shot and killed. In the scene depicted here, Eponine is dying in Marius' arms, forgiving him for his treatment of her.

[307] *Hugh-Panaro.Net*, [Website] (30 May 2007 2007, accessed 30 May 2007).

This staging closely resembles the biblical imagery of classical paintings depicting Christ after his descent from the cross (figure 3[308]). The same imagery can be found in numerous productions depicting the death of a 'good' character who has sacrificed him or herself for another.

Figure 2. *Les Misérables*, Eponine's Death

Source: Cameron Mackintosh, "Les Miserables," ed. Based on the novel by Victor Hugo (1985)

Associating characters on the stage with Christian imagery of this sort enhances Eponine's image as a hero – in this case a messianic figure and consequently increases the audience's emotion response to her and the subsequent impact such imagery could have on the psyche.

Figure 3: Titian: *Descent from the Cross*

Source: Paul Hamlyn, *Art Treasures of the World* (Feltham, Middlesex: The Hamlyn Publishing Group Ltd., 1961), 157

While this type of imagery is fascinating and frequently revealing, it is, unfortunately, extremely difficult to identify in the historical analysis of a production or theatrical

[308] Paul Hamlyn, *Art Treasures of the World* (Feltham, Middlesex: The Hamlyn Publishing Group Ltd., 1961).

genre. Theatre is a relatively transient art form that only exists in the moment in which it is performed and changes (hopefully only subtly) with every repeated performance. Consequently, what survives in the historical record are fragments of the whole such as photographs (which, understandably, become increasingly rare the further one retreats into the past), prompt books (the notes, usually kept by the stage manager, of all the performance and technical characteristics of the production), critical reviews and the occasional first hand accounts from artists or audience members.

Obviously the imagery discussed in the following chapters can only incorporate those images reflected in the historical record. Much of the information comes from theatre critics who, thanks to the Propaganda Ministry's need to preserve only a positive perception of the Reich, were extremely limited in what they could publish and consequently devoted much of their effort to describing productions rather than commenting on them.[309] While this kind of subjective record would normally be too potentially biased to be considered an empirically accurate historical source, it is ideally suited to research whose focus is on the *perception* of an event as much as the event itself.

The following chapters will use discuss theatrical imagery from several perspectives including the characters, costuming (the physical depiction of those characters), scripts (including common themes and the revision of extant plays to suit Nazi ideology) and the stage itself. Section Three will then evaluate the possible impact (or at least the probable intended impact) of these images in reference to the psyche.

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[309] Randall L. Bytwerk, *Bending Spines: The Propagandas of Nazi Germany and the German Democratic Republic* (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 2004), 113, London, ed., 20.

Why Shakespeare?

Theatrical literature frequently uses Shakespeare's plays as exemplars of theatrical (and literary) theory, practice and concepts. While I readily admit to bias in the Bard's favour, the frequent choice of Shakespeare in this study is not based solely on my personal affinity for his plays. As much as I abhor this similarity in our theatrical tastes, the Nazis also viewed Shakespeare as an exemplar of theatrical artistry and, in fact, as counter-intuitive as it sounds, an exemplar of German theatrical artistry.[310] One potential explanation for the German affinity for Shakespeare is the apparent universality of his plays.[311] "Shakespeare's characters continue to fascinate us because they are as familiar as our own time, our own place, our own mind. Like time travelers, they can drop in anywhere and feel at home, because they are archetypal."[312] Even anecdotes intended to demonstrate Shakespeare's lack of universal appeal actually accomplish the opposite. Consider anthropologist Laura Bohannan's account of sharing the story of Hamlet with African tribesmen around the campfire one evening:

> "She started with the ghost, at which the tribesmen rolled their eyes and whispered to each other that the ghost was no good. Ghosts are never any good and Hamlet shouldn't listen to this one. Bohannan tried to explain that the ghost was an honest ghost, but she had to admit that he came from hell. Next she told them that Uncle Claudius had married Hamlet's mother. The tribesmen murmured again, this time approvingly, since a proper tribal man must marry his brother's widow. They thought Hamlet a fool and Claudius a hero. The desperate anthropologist concluded her story with the final bloodbath, in which Hamlet gets revenge. Clucking his disapproval, the chief said, 'What a mess. No longer any king. Everybody's dead, and it's all Hamlet's fault. Listen to ghosts and you'll wind up one of them.' The anthropologist's story had fallen flat. Apparently the universality of Hamlet is by no means obvious, even to the accomplished storytellers of New Guinea" .

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[310] Symington, 7.
[311] V.S. Pritchett and others, *Shakespeare: The Comprehensive Soul* (London, UK: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1965), 13.
[312] Sally F. Porterfield, *Jung's Advice to the Players: A Jungian Reading of Shakespeare's Problem Plays* (Westport, Connecticut; London, UK: Greenwood Press, 1994), 3.

Laura Bohannan mistakenly assumed that her audience would interpret *Hamlet* as she did. Any image, archetype, theme or story, regardless of its universality, will be interpreted differently based on the bias of the interpreter. *Hamlet* is no different. The tribesmen did not see anything in the play that was not there. They did not 'misunderstand' or 'misinterpret' Shakespeare's meaning; rather, they understood and saw something that Laura Bohannan did not. They saw an alternative interpretation of Shakespeare's story that is no less valid for its lack of Western cultural bias. While the tribesmen may not have interpreted Hamlet as Laura Bohannan would have liked, the story still maintained a powerful emotional effect.

In this paper, Shakespeare's plays are used as examples for several reasons. First, Shakespeare was frequently produced in the Third Reich, with his plays amounting to approximately three percent of the total productions staged during the Nazi era[313] and with Shakespeare enjoying an overall popularity (based on the number of productions) second only to Schiller (and in some years, surpassing Schiller).[314] Furthermore, Shakespeare provides ideal examples for a study such as this due to the familiarity of most of his plays to most readers.

Disclaimer

The Nazis frequently reinterpreted Shakespeare, despite their strong cultural identification with the plays. Unlike the tribesmen in New Guinea however, the Nazis did not always merely offer an alternative interpretation of Shakespeare's plays; often they consciously changed the scripts to conform to their ideological needs.[315] The result was a bastardized version of the play that, while often untrue to the probable intentions of

[313] Symington, 169.
[314] Ibid.
[315] Ibid., 195, 248.

the author, was possibly even more psychologically powerful due to its reinforcement of major Nazi propaganda themes.

Unlike plays written by Nazi ideologues, it is impossible to ascribe Nazi ideological motivations to playwrights who predated National Socialism, sometimes by several centuries. This makes the task of discussing the correlations between these plays and the Nazi world view particularly problematic, especially given the strong visceral response that any association with Nazism evokes in contemporary readers.

To be clear, this study is not, in any way, suggesting that classical playwrights shared the ideological leanings of Hitler's Nazis. Nor is it suggesting that antisemitism, racial hierarchies or genocidal propaganda is inherent in any of the scripts discussed (explicitly or implicitly) in this study. What this study will discuss are the characteristics of the Nazi archetypal Hero/Messiah and the archetypal Shadow or Other.

The Nazi manifestation of this relatively common psychological (or sociological) phenomenon was dangerous in its combination of all these elements under a centralized image and, in the case of the Shadow, imposed upon a social minority with unprecedented vigour within the political, social, economic and cultural history and context of 1930's Germany. In this context – an authoritarian regime intent on world domination and consequently war - the image of the 'other' is extremely important, "for not only does it provide a target that can be attacked, but it also offers a scapegoat, the easiest means of diverting public attentions from genuine social and political problems at home."[316] In Nazi Germany, the propaganda machine clearly identified the Other – the Enemy – as the Jew.[317]

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[316] David Welch, "The Image of the Enemy," Propaganda and the German Cinema, 1933-1945 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983) 239.
[317] Herf, 265.

Good and Evil Characters in Nazi Theatre and ParaTheatre

As mentioned in Chapter 2, the Nazi worldview was focused on the binary opposition between the Aryan and the Jew; between the Nazi images of good and evil. Accordingly, Nazi Theatre exhibited the same essential conflict that dominated Nazi Ideology, depicting images and themes that closely resembled their ideological counterparts. Moreover, these images of good and evil, as represented in both Nazi propaganda and Nazi theatre were not new to the German consciousness (or unconscious). Within living memory, during both the years of the Weimar Republic and the First World War, these images – or elements of them – dominated German entertainment and propaganda.

Divided into two categories, this section will discuss the character based imagery that combined to form the Nazi Theatrical and ParaTheatrical archetypes of 'good' and 'evil'; the Hero or Messiah and the Shadow or Other. The discussion will incorporate contemporary Nazi works, written with Nazi ideology specifically in mind, as well as classical productions that were adapted to suit the purposes of Nazi Propaganda.

CHAPTER 9: THE PROTAGONIST

Nazi Theatre was nothing if not repetitive. Whether depicted on the conventional stage or the streets of Germany, through contemporary propaganda plays or appropriated classical works, Nazi image repeatedly and consistently appeared in the same forms. Protagonists in Nazi Theatre were more static and repetitive than any other characters. Even within this character image there was very little variation. The 'good characters' in the theatre (contemporary, classical and para) existed in one of only two forms: the *Volk* and the *Führer*. Both components of the protagonist's image remained true to their original forms throughout the years of the Third Reich and across all the theatrical genres that dominated Nazi Theatre. Like many images attributed to the Nazis, however, these manifestations of the theatrical protagonist were not original to the Nazis. This chapter will discuss the Nazis' images of 'good characters' as depicted in contemporary, classical and ParaTheatre. Furthermore, it will identify the same images in the pre-Nazi entertainment world of the Weimar Republic.

The Hero vs. the Messiah

The 'hero' is an image, an archetype with number of distinct characteristics that are familiar and recognisable to audiences either on a conscious or sub-conscious level. Many definitions of the 'hero' incorporate the same basic characteristics: his origins (they are usually noble or even descended from kings or gods); an unusual birth or unusual circumstances surrounding that birth; difficulties or threats in childhood such as banishment; a life distinguished by outstanding exploits and triumphs; the conquest of dangers in defence of something or someone precious (which he often subsequently

possesses); the triumphant return to his home and finally his death, usually as a result of his own flaw (Achilles Heel).[318] In addition, heroes are often tasked with returning order to a disordered world,[319] often requiring the annihilation of the existing state in order to make way for the millenarian goal – the goal of a perfect, idealised world.[320]

A second category of hero is the 'community hero'. In contrast to the individual hero described above. This hero has a responsibility to his community which grows with the strengthening of his relationship "to his community and his decision to save the people's honor."[321] Community heroes closely resemble the messianic myths that are central to many religions. The messianic image/archetype frequently occurs in Western consciousness. While each religion is slightly different, most messianic stories center on a single person who will lead the world (or at least his people) into a utopian age of peace and prosperity. In the Christian tradition – which would have been familiar to Germans and Europeans in the first half of the 20th century – Jesus, the Christian messiah was, unlike a theatrical hero, a carpenter not a nobleman. He was one of 'the people' who sacrificed himself in order to save the rest of humanity. This messianic image, of a man who suffered and died for his people, subsequently rising from the dead in order to usher in a new age of enlightenment, was one that appeared with remarkable frequency in Nazi Theatre. The support for this image came from its links to the *Führer* myth which portrayed Hitler as the 'saviour' of the German people who would lead Germany into a new age of prosperity and success, not the religious messianic traditions. The distinction is however, mostly one of semantics as the *Führer* myth also

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[318] Glenn Wilson, *The Psychology of the Performing Arts* (London, UK; Sydney, Australia: Croom Helm, 1985), 33-34..
[319] Ibid., 35-36.
[320] Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millenium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1970), 14. Wilson, 36.
[321] Zortman, 32..

embodied Christian messianic imagery. Theatrically however, most Nazi heroes more closely resemble the 'secular' messianic image than the theatrical 'hero' archetype.

Contemporary Nazi Theatre

Das Volk

Thingspiel productions often featured casts of thousands that predominantly represented one multifaceted character: the *Volk*. This theatrical representation of the *Volk* en masse arose in three primary forms: as the masses themselves, as the past heroes of German history, particularly from the First World War and occasionally as wholesome, honourable women who embraced traditional roles.

Like their ideological equivalent, crowd scenes massing the *Volk* on stage embodied the true spirit of Germanness, transforming feelings of alienation into those of belonging.[322] In general, those within the crowd who opposed the Weimar government had youth and energy in opposition to the government officials who were old and ineffectually inflexible.[323] The purpose of these large crowds of 'good' Germans was ideologically obvious: to give emphasise the masses and the power of the *Volk* over the individual[324] In many cases, the Hitler Youth made up this massive chorus to demonstrate this principle.[325] Furthermore, the prominent use of mass choruses and marching groups added a slightly militaristic character to the productions, but also furthered the illusion of the production being about and part of *'Das Volk'*.[326]

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[322] London, ed., 69, George L. Mosse, *Nazi Culture: Intellectual, Cultural and Social Life in the Third Reich*, trans. Salvator Attanasio and others (New York, New York: Schocken Books Inc., 1981), xxi.
[323] Hostetter, 82..
[324] Ibid., 153.
[325] Zortman, 31..
[326] London, ed., 55-59.

An additional element of the mass chorus of the *Volk* are the characters that are, even theatrically, only present in spirit. One of the most prominent themes in Nazi theatre, particularly *Thingspiel*, was the veneration for the dead victims of the First World War.[327] These productions celebrated "the dead in the way in which Christ's martyrs are celebrated in the Book of Revelation, where those who have died for Christ protest at the condition of the world and plead with God to take vengeance (Revelation 6.10)."[328] In several plays, the dead of World War One arose to destroy the corrupt regime that had forgotten them (in short, the Weimar Republic, both figuratively and literally).[329] This character, like the Ghost in *Hamlet*, represented the belief that the deaths of the First World War created a moral debt that the living must repay by rebuilding Germany's greatness, thus legitimizing the destined Third Reich by its evolution out of the heroic past of World War One.[330]

The Hero/Führer

The Nazi 'heroes' were not particularly theatrically exciting. Unlike the dramatic hero who was required to struggle to overcome the flaw that would ultimately destroy him, Nazi messianic heroes were, as William Niven notes "perfect in almost every respect: determined, robust, patient, visionary, dynamic, selfless repositories of absolute virtue,"[331] in sum, boring. Like the pure and wholesome crowds, the heroic messianic figures embodied the true spirit of Germanness, [332] or even Germany itself. They had an almost unlimited capacity for self-sacrifice and suffering[333] and exemplified the image of

[327] Ibid., 72-73.
[328] Ibid., 79.
[329] Ibid., 62-64.
[330] Ibid., 72-73.
[331] Ibid., 70.
[332] Ibid., 69.
[333] Ibid., 70.

the hardworking Aryan peasant rising above his surroundings from the masses to lead a revolution against evil and in service of the greater good.[334]

The *Thing* hero was a man who struggled to rise above his environment. He would start as an outsider, usually a perfect 'superman', both physically and morally. Most importantly, however, he was quintessentially *Völkisch*, a man bound to his community and representative of all its most positive characteristics.[335] Paradoxically, he was also a more dynamic individual than the community he represented.[336] In essence, the hero – whether one calls him a Hero, Messiah or *Führer* – was both one of the masses and a leader, apart from the *Volk* but embodying its spirit.

This image and for all practical purposes, this character, appeared repeatedly in Nazi theatre. Hostetter notes that Hans Johst, for example, as one of the most well known of the Nazi playwrights and one who was held legally accountable for his actions after the war,[337] "almost always centered his plays around a hardworking, lower class, 'Aryan,' male hero who rose out of the masses to lead a revolution of righteousness."[338] He was also the first Nazi playwright to draw direct parallels between historical events and contemporary Nazism.[339] In addition to Johst's works, prominent Nazi plays such as *Job dem Deutschen, The German Passion,* and *Neurode,* all feature *Führer* type messianic heroes.

Job dem Deutschen, like most Nazi plays, embodied the battle between good (Job and Germany) and evil (anything non-German).[340] Job is the archetypal martyr with the added symbolic significance of having lost his sons in the war. He has lost his home

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[334] Hostetter, 77, London, ed., 70.
[335] London, ed., 69.
[336] Ibid., 59 and 69-72.
[337] Hostetter, 78.
[338] Ibid., 77.
[339] Ibid., 81.
[340] Zortman, 45.

and land and is afflicted by both poverty and illness. He is tempted but, like Jesus, resists temptation and maintains his faith.[341] Consequently, Job is transformed into an elevated 'superindividual', a messiah who would lead Germany and, ultimately, the rest of the world.[342] While Job's strong Christian sentiments eventually incurred the displeasure of the Nazi regime (the Nazis did not like the appearance that they could only justify Nazism through Christianity),[343] the *Führer*/messianic imagery remained consistent with approved Nazi heroes.

In a less overtly Christian example, Kurt Heynicke's *Neurode* incorporates three heroic characters, each representing aspects of the image. Karl Radke is the ever present 'sacrificed' character; killed as a mine worker, he is the symbol of one who was sacrificed for the good of the community.[344] His brother Wilhelm is the second hero who inspires the community to sacrifice their possessions in an attempt to purchase the mine from the Trust.[345] The final figure is the Stranger, representing the charismatic *Führer* who mystically appears in order to unify all the conflicting parties in the name of a unified Germany.[346] In the process of German unification, the Stranger adopts an approach that obviously parallels Nazi values in that his endeavour to save the mine is out of a desire to provide the miners with a place to work, regardless of its safety or prosperity because, as the Stranger states, "work was their 'total reason for living.'"[347] These three characters combine to create the Nazi hero: the member of the community who suffered and sacrificed himself for that community; the person who leads the community from within while making sacrifices for the greater good; and the *Führer* who

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[341] London, ed., 70..
[342] Zortman, 45.
[343] London, ed., 83.
[344] Zortman, 54.
[345] Ibid.
[346] Ibid., 54-55.
[347] Ibid., 55.

ultimately unifies the community, ushering in a new age after forging the organically rooted spirituality of the community in the fire of apocalyptic conflict.

The staging of some contemporary Nazi productions reinforced the messianic imagery of Nazi ideology. Euringer's *The German Passion* – another Christian themed play superimposed upon the Nazi regime – created a trio equivalent to the 'Father, Son and Holy Spirit' in the '*Führer*, Messiah and God.'[348] Descriptions of the final moments of this production bear a striking resemblance to the staged imagery described and pictured in Chapter 8 (figures 2 and 3):

> The concluding moments [of *the German Passion*] reveal a spectacular tableau of Christian symbols imposed upon those of the new regime: The Chorus of Children rejoice in song accompanied by the organ; the Mother sobs at the feet of the ascending Blessed Spirit; and the Evil Spirit sinks away to his doom as the roar of hell intermingles with an 'earthly march.'[349]

Characters such as these, while undoubtedly boring from a theatrical point of view, certainly epitomized Nazi myths. As William Niven suggests, in addition to being perfect models of Aryan superiority, "their moral sheen singles them out from their corrupt or dilatory environment, and their sense of wonder at the disarray of the world around them is matched only by their proselytizing vigour."[350] As characters on a stage however, they were far less interesting than the 'evil' characters portrayed with far greater depth whom they vanquished; however, they embodied the Nazis' propaganda image projecting the *Führer* legend and the messianic myths that surrounded it, and representing Germany itself emerging organically from the spirituality of the reborn community. "Just as Christ arose from the dead, so Germany had its resurrection in 1933...The Germanic people became the supreme martyr, their suffering elevated and

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[348] Ibid., 65.
[349] Ibid., 63.
[350] London, ed., 70.

glorified."[351] This connection could only add to the psychological power of the Nazi theatrical 'good guy' as it played on the German collective psyche through both the *Führer* imagery and the bonds it illuminated linking to the past with the present.

Classical Theatre

The Hero/Führer

Although in new dramatic forms such as *Thingspiel*, authors were able to write their central characters to conform to the accepted *Führer* imagery, classical, pre-Nazi playwrights were not always as accommodating. Consequently, the characters in classical plays were often 'reinterpreted' (or perhaps from the Nazi perspective, 'correctly' interpreted) to advance the appropriate *Führer* image. "As Goebbels so aptly put it in 1933: 'It is not a question of content [...] It is a question of the spectator's relationship to that content.'"[352] What he meant, of course, was that the key component of a production was not the author's intent or the script itself, but rather how "the spectators' understanding of the content could be 'channeled' in the correct direction."[353] No plays were above the meddling influence of Nazi ideological requirements, including the extremely well known and respected classics such as Goethe's *Faust* and Shakespeare's *Hamlet*.

In Goethe's *Faust,* "Faust, Mephisto, and Gretchen became iconic personalities who idealised aspects of NSDAP gender and social accepted norms."[354] Specifically, Faust became the required *Führer* figure.[355] Under the Nazi regime, Professor Faust

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[351] Ibid., 78.
[352] Symington, 264.
[353] Ibid.
[354] Hostetter, 139..
[355] Ibid., 142.

became more 'German',[356] exemplifying Hitler's Aryan model. Paul Hartmann's performance in 1941, for example, "seemed to capture the necessary mixture of raw physical power and intellectual integrity which typified Hitler's ideal 'Aryan man.'"[357] Faust incorporated the characteristics of the typical *Führer* figure in that "his active, self-assured striving for perfection fully justified any violent deeds he conducted while on earth."[358]

In a slight diversion from the *Führer* imagery, even Gretchen underwent some 'Nazification'. In the same 1941 production, the Austrian actress Käthe Gold performed the role of Gretchen in such a way that it directly connected the character with the contemporary conception of womanhood.[359] Creating a character that was "Naïve, young, natural, and uncomplicated in appearance and dress, Gold played the role as an archetypal German farm girl who depended on an older, more worldly man for her worth."[360] This characterisation of a well-known German character led one reviewer to proclaim that "she is a Gretchen of the *Volk.*"[361]

Shakespeare's plays underwent similar adaptations with *Hamlet* being a particularly apt example. Even prior to the Third Reich, Germany perceived a special relationship between the character of Hamlet and Germany, with the nineteenth century poet Ferdinand Freiligrath going so far as to declare that "Hamlet is Germany".[362] It would therefore, be almost expected that the Nazi *Hamlet* be adapted to suit the new Nazi vision of Germany. In fact, the Hamlet of the Third Reich was "a young, aggressive

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[356] Ibid., 141.
[357] Ibid., 148.
[358] Ibid., 142.
[359] Ibid., 143.
[360] Ibid.
[361] Ibid.
[362] Symington, 187-188.

man who saves his race and the entire state from eternal corruption,"[363] in contrast to the usually depicted introspective, indecisive, intellectual young man. The traditional depiction of Hamlet "as a vacillating, overburdened human agent – was anathema [to] the national socialist ideologues"[364] and too closely resembled the productions from the Weimar era which the Nazis condemned as 'cultural bolshevism.'[365] Consequently, after 1933 directors transformed Hamlet into a hard, masculine, calculating and avenging hero,[366] reinterpreting the play with Nazi ideology in mind.[367]

In 1936 the Berlin State Theatre produced, what became, the representative production of *Hamlet* in the Third Reich. Directed by Lothar Muthel and staring Gustaf Gründgens, this production of Shakespeare's most famous play was the most successful of the Third Reich dramas with nearly 200 performances, of which many were sold out.[368] In it, Gründgens' interpretation of the title role was of "a calculating, active director of a political tale and in which, filled with obsession, he raises himself to the stature of an avenging conscience at the decadent royal court."[369] This interpretation, in combination with a number of script changes, which cut scenes and lines that might have made Hamlet appear reluctant to act[370] resulted in an adaptation with a decidedly *Führer* like hero. Even the casting, while probably a consequence of Gründgens' popularity as a 'star', also suited the Aryan imagery required by Nazi ideology. As one critic at the time stated, "Gründgen's [*sic*] blond hair, blue eyes, and youthful strength and energy personified the 'active Hamlet which the laws of our time demand."[371] In a

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[363] Hostetter, 149.
[364] Symington, 189.
[365] Ibid.
[366] Ibid., 189-191.
[367] Ibid., 201.
[368] Ibid., 191-192.
[369] Ibid., 191.
[370] Ibid., 195.
[371] Hostetter, 151.

rare example of a situation in which details of the production elements of a performance have survived, the set and costumes of Gründgens' Hamlet reinforced the *Führer* like image. The set and costumes were designed to make Hamlet's surroundings appear primitive and barbaric in comparison to Hamlet (recently returned from a German university and thus far more civilized). The almost medieval feel of the set in combination with the furs used for the costuming contrasted sharply with Hamlet's clean lined costume and emphasised surroundings that created "a world around Hamlet which possessed great potential, but which seemed corrupted and decayed by evil outside forces."[372]

There were those, including Marcel Reich-Ranicki, a well-known German literary critic today, who after seeing the production as a teenager, believed that this production of *Hamlet* actually included metaphorical opposition to the regime.[373] Rodney Symington concludes, however, that it is unlikely "that the average theatregoer saw the same allusions as Reich-Ranicki did. For most other critics did not see Gründgens's [*sic*] Hamlet that way either."[374] Most critics saw a new Hamlet, interpreted to fit with the times. Even an American reviewer named Janet Flanner who saw the production and was likely to have a less biased opinion agreed with the consensus that this was a new Hamlet;

> here was a new and strictly Nordic version of the melancholy Dane, with his castle built of rough logs, his rampart guards wrapped in fur raglans, with wool mufflers tied over their ears, and not one ghost but many, doomed to walk the earth amidst shadow and macabre light effects. Never has Shakespeare's most thoughtful play seemed so violent. Gründgens' Hamlet is a prince who wants revenge and madness rather than poesy and speculation as his sombre dress; he shouts, he whispers; his mother and stepfather scream with weary woe; Ophelia in her floral madness climbs tables and chairs distributing her rue [...] Gründgens'

[372] Ibid., 152.
[373] Symington, 193.
[374] Ibid.

> finest readings seem marred by his narcissism [...] From the gravediggers' comedy on, the whole well-calculated production slipped into disorder, and Gründgens' death scene, endlessly prolonged by marching soldiers, trumpets, and presenting of arms seemed almost local burlesque. One visitor, at least, left the Schauspielhaus with the impression that Hamlet was going to be given a fine Party funeral.[375]

This level of reinterpretation by directors in the Nazi period, far from being unusual, was common throughout the classical repertoire. Some productions, such as *William Tell*, were performed more often due to their easy adaptability to ideological needs[376] while others required greater revisions in order to make them acceptable. Among Shakespeare's works alone, *Hamlet* was not alone in suffering distortions to suit the *Führer*/messianic imagery; Nazi theatre producers appropriated, for the regime's ideological needs, some of the most well known characters in the theatrical cannon, among them *King Lear*,[377] *Othello* and *Macbeth*. The new staging of *King Lear* presented it as a 'Nordic sea-ballad' or a 'typical Germanic tragedy'[378] and *Othello* was, fairly obviously, revised to make the character a light skinned Arab rather than a black man.[379] Producers even reinterpreted *Macbeth* to the extent that the ending was reversed in order to make Macbeth the true hero and victor.[380]

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[375] Ibid., 194.
[376] Zortman, 79 Footnote.
[377] Symington, 253.
[378] Ibid.
[379] Ibid.
[380] Ibid.

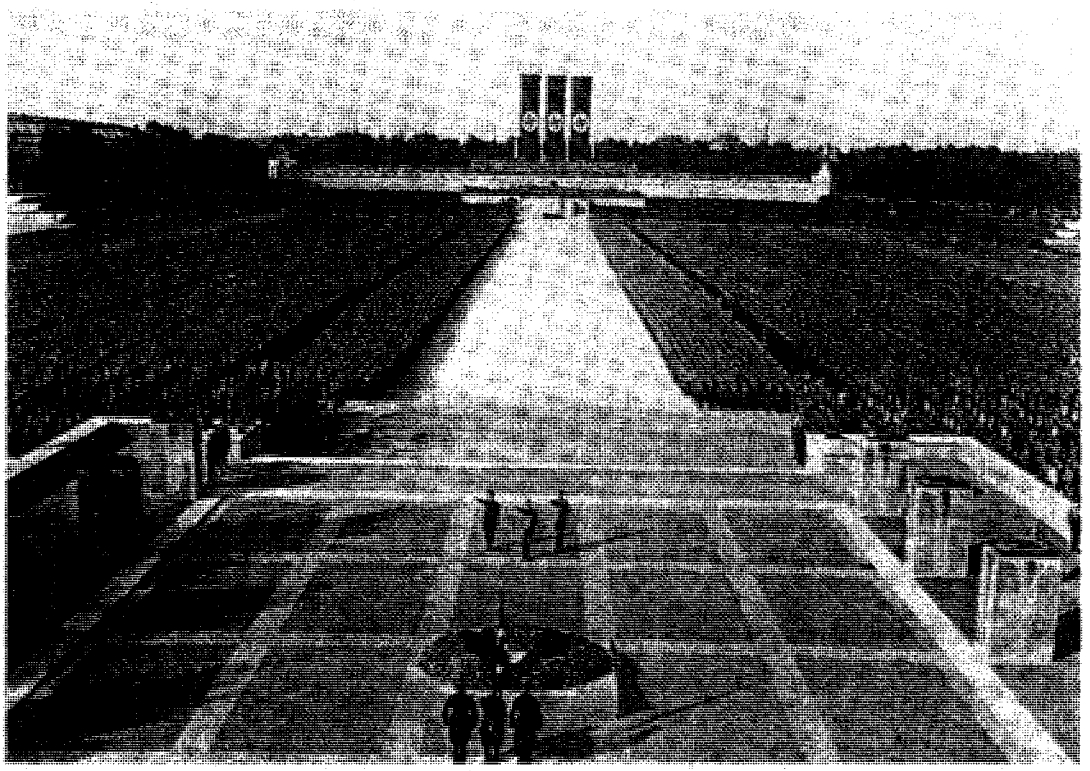

Figure 4. Germany 1934. The Nuremberg Rallies.

Source: William L. Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, Illustrated and Abridged ed. (London: The Hamlyn Publishing Group Limited, 1987)

Most Nazi ParaTheatre that idealises the *Volk* and the *Führer* falls under the broad heading of propaganda, a practice which Goebbels viewed as an art form. At the 1934 Nuremberg Party Rallies, Goebbels stated:

> may the bright flame of our enthusiasm never be extinguished. It alone gives light and warmth to the creative art of modern political propaganda. This comes from the depths of the people and from these depths of the people it must always again find its roots and its strength. It may be good to possess power based on strength but it is better to win and hold the heart of a people.[381]

[381] Leni Riefenstahl, "Triumph of the Will," (Germany: Synapse Films, 1935).

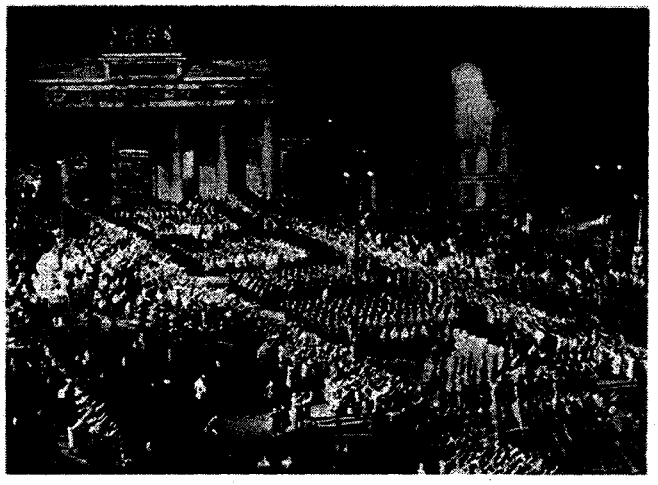

Figure 5. Germany, 30 January 1933. The torch lit parade celebrating the Nazi rise to power.

Source: William L. Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, Illustrated and Abridged ed. (London: The Hamlyn Publishing Group Limited, 1987)

The ParaTheatrical majesty of the parades (figures 5[382] and 6[383]), party rallies (figures 4 and 7-10) and other Nazi spectacles was intended to be one of the ways in which the Nazi party was able to attain this goal – 'to win and hold the heart of a people'. These spectacles were produced on a massive scale, often including hundreds of thousands of participants,[384] not to mention every theatrical trapping imaginable: scripts, lighting and sound effects, sets, costumes and even some audience participation. As theatre, they were remarkable for their grandeur and – as much as we may abhor admitting it – artistry. Amidst the spectacle, grandeur and shouts of nationalistic vigour, these events epitomised the Nazi images of the idealised Aryans: the *Volk*, and the *Führer*.

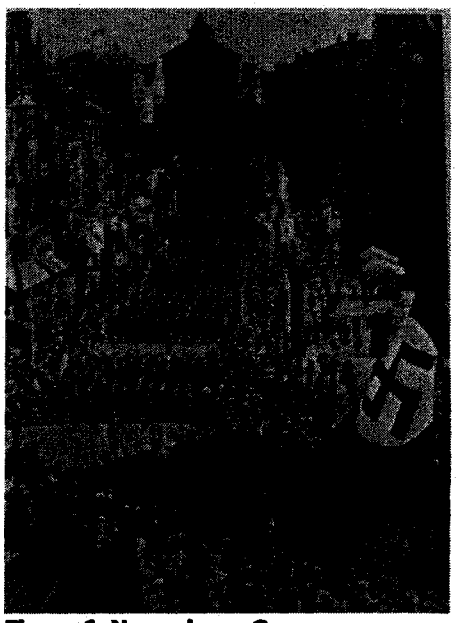

Figure 6. Nuremberg, Germany.

Source: Randall Bytwerk, *German Propaganda Archive*(Calvin College, 2007, accessed 15 April 2007); available from http://www.bytwerk.com/gpa/fliegende.htm

The image of the unified *Volk* is

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[382] William L. Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, Illustrated and Abridged ed. (London, UK: The Hamlyn Publishing Group Limited, 1987), 14.
[383] Randall Bytwerk, *German Propaganda Archive*(Calvin College, 2007, accessed 15 April 2007); available from http://www.bytwerk.com/gpa/fliegende.htm.
[384] Riefenstahl.

impossible to miss in the accumulation of hundreds of thousands of people, united in voice, as they chant '*heil*', movement, as they salute their *Führer*, and action, as they march in unison through the streets and parade grounds.

The messages of Nazi theatre, particularly *Thingspiel*, were also clear, particularly in the rallies with, for example, Dr Robert Ley, the head of the German Labour Front proclaiming: "All our work must be dictated by a single thought that the German worker be made an upright, proud and equally entitled national comrade"[385] and the Labour Service chanting "One people, one leader, one Reich, Germany!"[386] Hitler himself ended one of his speeches with a vow that he believed the German people were taking: "that each hour, on every day to think only of Germany of the people and Reich and of our German nation!"[387] The message was clear: the *Volk* before the individual.

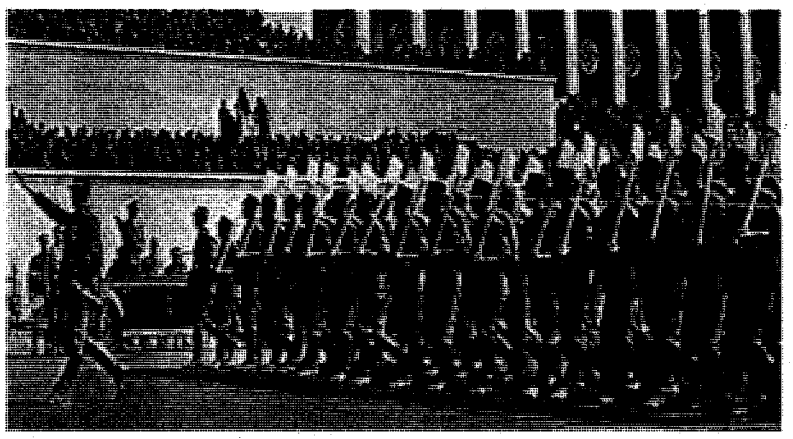

Figure 7. Nuremberg, Germany, 8 September 1937. Hitler reviews units of the Reichsarbeitsdienst (RAD: Reich Labour Service).

Source: *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum: Photo Archives Online Catalogue* [Online Archive], (accessed 7 May 2008); available from http://www.ushmm.org/

The themes and imagery throughout these spectacles remained consistent, as if they were *Thingspiel* productions, scripted and performed for the entertainment of the masses. As in *Thingspiel*, even the dead from the First World War were ceremonially honoured. As a row of soldiers bearing the flags of the Third Reich slowly lowered them

[385] Ibid.
[386] Ibid.
[387] Ibid.

to the floor, the soldiers chanted "you are not dead...you live in Germany."[388] With this rhetoric, the obligation to the fallen soldiers became inextricably entangled with the obligation of every individual German to serve the Reich.

Figure 8. Nuremberg, Germany 1927-1929. Standing amidst a large crowd, Adolf Hitler gives the Nazi salute.

Source: *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum: Photo Archives Online Catalogue* [Online Archive], (accessed 7 May 2008); available from http://www.ushmm.org/

The *Führer* was no exception to the continuity of imagery between the conventional Nazi stages and the ParaTheatrical spectacles. He was always a central figure, one of the *Volk*, but clearly their leader. Frequently shown amidst vast crowds, the *Führer* was always just slightly elevated (figures 7 and 8) – not enough to make him 'different', but enough to illustrate his status. As always, the script supported the image, with Rudolph Hess proclaiming to Hitler, in the 1934 Nuremberg Rallies "You are Germany! When you act, the nation acts. When you judge, the people judge."[389]

Yet another connection to the more conventional forms of Nazi theatrical expression, particularly in the early years of the Reich, was the religious imagery of Nazi propaganda. Within the first three minutes of Leni Riefenstahl's *Triumph of The Will*, Hitler is described as returning to Nuremberg to review his 'faithful followers'.[390] Later, there are unmistakable connections to religious ceremonies in choral speaking and call

[388] Ibid.
[389] Ibid.
[390] Ibid.

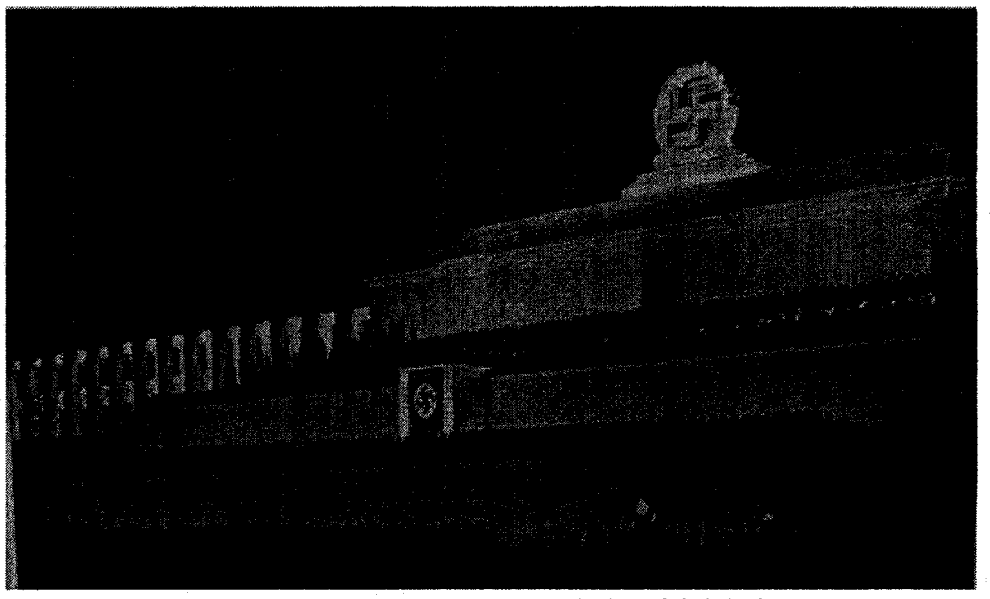

Figure 9. Germany, 1934. Albert Speer's 'Cathedral of Light' designed for the annual Nazi Party Rallies at Nuremberg.

Source: Randall Bytwerk, *German Propaganda Archive*(Calvin College, 2007, accessed 15 April 2007); available from http://www.bytwerk.com/gpa/fliegende.htm

and response, accompanied by prayer like rituals acted out alongside hymns of praise for the *Führer*.

Even the tribute to the dead who still 'live in Germany' evokes images of Christ's rising from the dead to live in all things. Hitler's words to the German Youth at the 1934 Nuremberg Rallies even paraphrase the Nicene Creed[391] by stating "for you are flesh from our flesh and blood from our blood! The same spirit that governs us burns in your young minds."[392] Moreover, Albert Speer's design for the 'set' of the Nuremberg Rallies reinforces the religious connotations. Using 130 searchlights to send vertical focused beams of light into the night sky, Albert Speer created what he called a 'cathedral of light' (figures 9 and 10).[393]

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[391] The second line of the Nicene Creed states "We believe in one Lord, Jesus Christ, the only Son of God, eternally begotten of the Father, **God from God, Light from Light, true God from true God**, begotten, not made, of one being with the Father."
[392] Riefenstahl.
[393] Albert Speer, *Inside the Third Reich*, trans. Richard and Clara Winston (New York, NY: The Macmillan Company, 1970), 37.

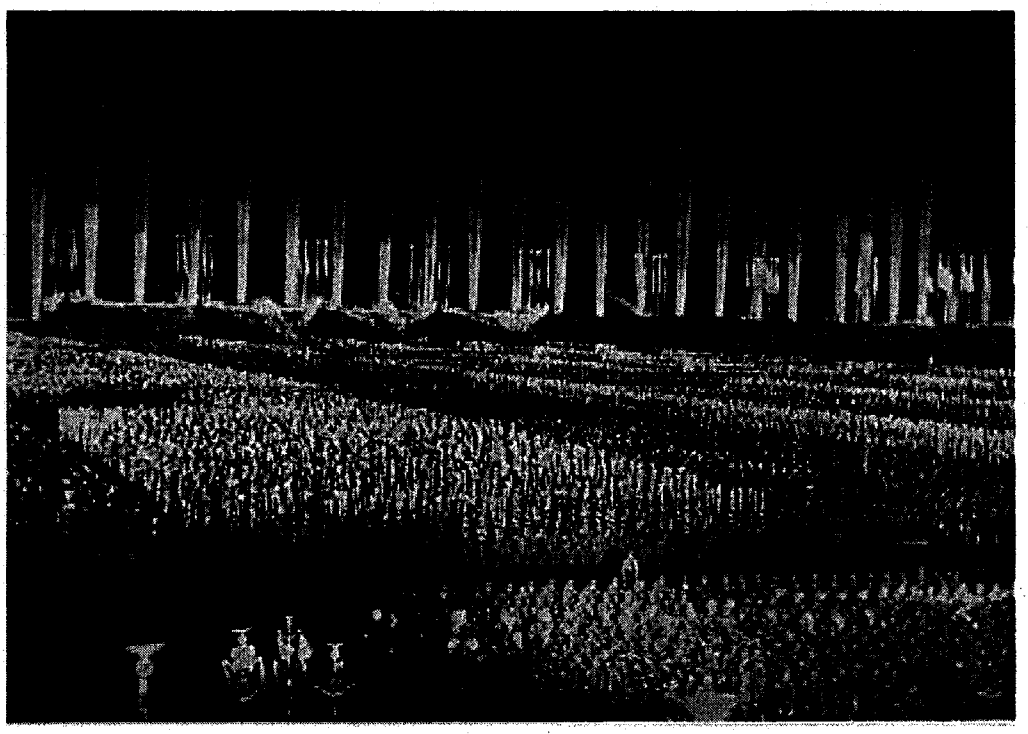

Figure 10. Germany, 1934. Albert Speer's 'Cathedral of Light'.

Source: Randall Bytwerk, *German Propaganda Archive*(Calvin College, 2007, accessed 15 April 2007); available from http://www.bytwerk.com/gpa/fliegende.htm

The combination of these images is the ultimate message of the Nazi 'protagonist' image: "one *Volk*, one *Führer*, one Reich: Germany." The people, the fallen soldiers of the past and Hitler himself were all, first and foremost, Germany, destined by God to usher in a new age – the Thousand Year Reich.

Historical Context: The Hero/*Führer*

The Nazis did not invent the messianic imagery that their ideologically inspired theatre propagated, they appropriated it. In this case, the imagery is as old as theatre itself, but in Germany in particular, the messianic theatrical character was already extremely popular in the culture of the Weimar Republic as 'The New Man' (adapted by Hitler as 'The New Aryan Man').

In Weimar culture, The New Man was, like the *Führer*, a messianic figure,[394] inspired leader,[395] a man of incredible vision[396] who would rise above his current life, and lead his fellows into a new, more natural world.[397] As with the Nazi version of this image, the characteristics of this archetype are simple adaptations from the well known Christian version: a messiah, born as 'one of the people' or 'one of the masses', will rise above his surroundings, leading his fellow men into a utopian world.

The theatrical concept of The New Man was first proposed by "Georg Kaiser...possibly the most brilliant of the new German playwrights, and the best representative of German expressionism."[398] In 1922, he wrote his Nietzschean manifesto "*Der kommende Mensch oder Dichtung und Energie (The New Man, or Poetry and Energy)* [which] constituted an idealistic programme by which man could rise above his machine-age environment and return to the natural order of things."[399] The main character in Kaiser's expressionist dramas, embody this archetype. An ideal example is *Die Bürger von Calais (The Burghers of Calais).* While technically written and produced slightly before Weimar's time, it embodies the characteristic messianic archetype which

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[394] Styan, *Modern Drama in Theory and Practice 3*, 140.
[395] Siegfried Kracauer, *From Caligari to Hitler: A Psychological History of the German Film* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1947), 266.
[396] Styan, *Modern Drama in Theory and Practice 3*, 140.
[397] Ibid., 47.
[398] Ibid.
[399] Ibid.

continued into Weimar's Theatre. In this play, The New Man is Eustache, a pacifist who opposes the armed defence of his besieged city in the hopes of avoiding bloodshed and destruction. He makes his point by taking his own life; illustrating the nature of pacifist self sacrifice which was also a frequent presence in Nazi Theatre. At the end of the play, with his coffin placed upon an altar, "Eustache's body rises up in an ethereal light like the Ascension of Christ."[400] Similar characteristics can be found in other *Kaiserreich* dramas including "the *Spazierer* in *Hölle Weg Erde*; the Millionaire's Son in *Die Koralle* and *Gas I*; the Millionaire-Worker in *Gas II*; the Pawnbroker in *Nebeneinander*; the Captian in *Gats*."[401]

The Protagonist

The *Volk* and the *Führer* were images that dominated German entertainment long before the Nazis came to power. They were the quintessential 'good guy' in German consciousness and one of the foundations upon which Hitler and the Nazi party built their regime. As a consequence, their familiarity to audiences ensured that they would not be questioned. After all, they had existed forever, why would they be dangerous now?

Despite their apparent innocuousness, they were also essential to the Holocaust. In order for a population to commit genocide, it is necessary to view the 'other', the victim, as something other than human – something inferior – and as a threat.[402] Implicit in this requirement is the fact that for the 'other' to be inferior, one has to

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[400] Ibid., 48.
[401] Richard C. Helt, "A Note on Georg Kaiser's "New Man"," *The South Central Bulletin* 35, no. 4 (1975): 125.
[402] Graham C. Kinloch and Raj P. Mohan, eds., *Genocide: Approaches, Case Studies and Responses* (New York, NY: Algora Publishing, 2005), 17 and 22.
Barbara Harff, "No Lessons Learned from the Holocaust? Assessing Risks of Genocide and Political Mass Murder since 1965," *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 1 (2003): 57.

believe oneself to be superior. The Nazi image of the idealised Aryan – whether he was *Volk* or *Führer* – was an image of a superior being; one who was threatened by pollution from toxic sources. The fact that it was already a component of German consciousness only increased its power as an archetype.

This image was clear in all aspects of Nazi propaganda, including Theatre. Theatre is, however, different from many propaganda forms. Unlike a newspaper or magazine, a theatrical image appears in context – it tells a story. The idealised Aryan's story on the Nazi stage was one of revolution against forces of corruption. It required the elimination of evil in order for good to prevail. This story, in conjunction with the propagandistic and ideological image clearly connects to one of the essential components of genocidal consciousness – the necessity to destroy, in its entirety, the enemy, the anti-type who is the embodiment of all that is evil.

CHAPTER 10: THE ANTAGONIST

Unlike the protagonist, the Nazi theatrical representation of evil was remarkably dynamic considering the relatively strict confines of the image. As an archetype, it had four primary characteristics salient in the ideological representation of the Jew in Nazi propaganda. The fundamental character types that constituted evil on the Nazi stage were: the 'puppet master' – a character who manipulates, dominates or controls others; the 'swindler' – a character who behaves in immoral and frequently illegal ways for profit or personal gain usually at the expense of others; the image of the evil person as inferior or – at the extremes – dehumanised, animalistic or even demonic; and finally, the distorted physical representation of the anti-type character itself with the stereotypical, propagandistic visage of the Jew, bearing costume adornments such as a skull cap or robe and characterisations which enhance his appearance as inhuman and weak.

These embodiments of evil did not appear with equal frequency or intensity across each of the main 'genres' of Nazi Theatre including *Thingspiel*, Historical Drama, Classical plays and ParaTheatre. Instead, they coexisted in the Nazi repertoire as fragmentary components of a single image that rose and fell in positions of dominance and levels of intensity across the genres and over the time span of the Third Reich.

This chapter will discuss the manifestations of each of these four components of the Nazi perception of evil within the contemporary repertoire, classical plays and ParaTheatre. It will conclude, as with the previous chapter on the protagonist, with a discussion of equivalent imagery in the entertainment of the Weimar Republic as well as the propagandas of the First and Second World Wars.

Contemporary Theatre

Contemporary Nazi theatre faced the unique challenge of having to represent a frequently confusing (and often contradictory) ideology on the stage. This created almost paralyzing boundaries within which theatre artists had to work. Consequently, contemporary Nazi theatre emphasised the one stable aspect of the ideology they could identify – the superior Aryan. In opposition, 'evil' on the contemporary stage predominantly incorporated two of the four components of the evil archetype: the 'puppet master' and the 'swindler'.

Thingspiel

Given the *Thingspiel* prodivity for displaying characters as 'types' rather than individuals, it is not surprising that, unlike the conventional theatrical villain, the *Thingspiel* 'evil' was manifest in the characteristics of a group (usually a society or government) rather than an individual. This decadent, degenerate, corrupt and most importantly, capitalist/socialist past regime was implicitly and sometimes explicitly, the Weimar Republic. In these contemporary productions, the hero fights a regime that embodies the first two characteristics of the Nazi archetypal evil: it is a dominating, oppressive force, that is "rampantly capitalistic,"[403] a "den of iniquity,"[404] and often profiting from the suffering of others.

An ideal example of this trend in *Thingspiel* is Kurt Heynicke's *Neurode*. Like many *Thingspiele*, *Neurode* begins at some point during the Weimar Republic.[405] As was indicated in the previous chapter, *Neurode's* story begins when Wilhelm Radke returns

[403] London, ed., 63.
[404] Ibid.
[405] Zortman, 49.

to a Silesian village called Neurode to the news that his brother was killed in a mine explosion. Wilhelm takes responsibility for his brother's wife and son, supports them by taking his brother's job in the mine; working, as any good German man should.[406] The owners of the mine however, decide to close the mine, ostensibly out of interest in the safety of the workers, but in reality because it is no longer profitable.[407] The miners make a desperate attempt to rescue their former livelihood, even attempting to buy the mine themselves, but they cannot muster enough money and the owners, an organisation called The Trust, put the mine and its machinery up for auction. At the last minute, as the auction is about to commence, a Stranger intervenes. At first, he chastises The Trust with the words "do you count only money?"[408] When his critique achieves nothing, he offers to buy the mine – because he stands for Germany, just as the miners did.[409]

Through the Trust, *Neurode* creates the classic *Thingspiel* villain: the oppressive, capitalist power in the Weimar Republic who disregards the core German values of work and the welfare of the *Volk* in favour of more selfish motives of greed and exploitation. In their role as the owners of the mine, the Trust is already in a position of power, the abuse of which is indicated almost immediately through the death of Radke's brother in the mine and reinforced by the futility of the miners' efforts to take control of their own livelihoods. This is the first characteristic of Nazi evil: the dominating, oppressive force, controlling the lives of the *Volk*.

The second characteristic of the Nazi image of evil is the materialistic swindler – a characteristic that undoubtedly applies to *Neurode's* Trust. The audience is informed,

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[406] Ibid., 51.
[407] London, ed., 62.
[408] Zortman, 52.
[409] Ibid., 53.

almost immediately, of the danger of the mine and of those who profit from it. Consequently, the Trust becomes a cold-hearted exploiter that does not hesitate to extract financial gain from the work and suffering of honest Germans. Even in closing the mine and consequently increasing the miners' suffering, the Trust stands to make a profit from the auction of its machinery. This combination was a double 'crime' from the Nazi perspective: it contributed to the central cause of the problems of the Weimar Republic – unemployment[410] – (for which Socialism, Communism and Capitalism are all blamed, at one point or another, in *Thing* productions)[411] and does so for the purpose of financial gain. Furthermore, the Trust disregards the most sacred component of German life – work, for if "work is the heartbeat of the new Reich",[412] then eliminating that heartbeat – removing the means of work – is tantamount to murdering the Reich itself.

These themes appear through almost all *Thing* antagonists along with the common accusation of 'degeneracy'. In *Neurode*, the 'degenerate' component of the villain is comparatively unclear, only manifesting itself through the Trust, whose capitalist values would have been considered degenerate by the Nazis before they achieved power. In other *Thingspiele* such as Euringer's *Dance of Death* and the *German Passion 1933,* this tendency is more apparent. In the *Dance of Death*, the Golden Doll "embodies the lure of gold, champagne, Socialism and sexual abandon: 'Naked and made of purest gold / I am the lust of this world!'"[413] Similarly, in the *Passion*, the Evil Spirit "compares Europe to a brothel, continuing: 'Export to all countries. What's wanted is racial contamination!' "[414] In both cases, the link between sexual sins of lust and prostitution and capitalist finance represented by gold and export

[410] London, ed., 64.
[411] Ibid.
[412] Zortman, 53.
[413] London, ed., 63.
[414] Ibid., 64.

is impossible to miss. Even in *Neurode*, while the sexual connotation is missing, the same accusation is made against the Trust when the Stranger accuses them with the words "do you only count money?" implying that their only interest is financial – that they lust after gold and profit.

Contemporary Nazi villains were, not surprisingly, the antithesis of their heroes. If the "sense of sacrifice knew no bounds in the *Thing* plays,"[415] the villains epitomized selfishness. This depiction reinforced the connection between evil and the Weimar Republic. In the Nazi worldview, the Weimar Republic symbolised the opposite of the noble, sacrificing masses; it was selfish – interested only in self-gratification whether sexual or economic – and extolled the value of the individual over the community.[416]

In true Nazi fashion, however, *Thing* plays always end with the removal of evil, usually through revolution or at least a significant change in power. In *Neurode*, the Stranger, symbolically identified with the Reich, ousts the Trust through the purchase of the mine, while in other *Thingspiele*, evil is removed in a number of ways, even including banishment to perdition/Hell/the abyss, such as occurs to the Evil Enemy in *The Play about Job, the German* and the Evil Spirit in the *German Passion 1933*.[417] "The removal of evil and the elevation of good constitute the final act of judgement";[418] a sentiment in keeping with the Nazi view of the appropriate method for dealing with perceived antagonists – the Jews.

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[415] Ibid., 66.
[416] Ibid., 64.
[417] Ibid., 71.
[418] Ibid.

Historical Drama

Nazi history plays were, for all intents and purposes, extremely similar to *Thingspiel* in their dominant themes and character imagery. Like *Thingspiel*, history plays were a means of reinforcing or teaching Nazi ideology.[419] Consequently, history plays focused on revolution, thus frequently embodying the imagery of 'evil' in the state itself. Plays such as *Oliver Cromwell* by Mirko Jelusich (1933) glorifying Cromwell for "dissolving an extravagant monarchy and corrupt parliament to forge his new state"[420] followed the ideological revolutionary guidelines in an fashion similar to *Thingspiel*, only set several centuries earlier in history.

Historical drama had greater licence for variation than *Thingspiel;* the villains and storylines expanded to include individual characters. Regardless of the manifestation of evil, the antagonist's desire for personal gain leads to cheating and swindling others without care for their suffering.

An ideal example of this individual manifestation of the Nazi 'evil' image is *Rothschild is the Victor at Waterloo* (*Rothschild siegt bei Waterloo*) by Eberhard Wolfgang Möller. In a perversion of historical events, Möller tells the story (historically inaccurate but, according to Möller 'well known to be true')[421] of Nathan Rothschild. In Möller's play, Rothschild supposedly witnesses Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo. Immediately after the battle, he rushes back to London where he misinforms a select group of people at the English Stock Exchange that Wellington was defeated. This lie results in economic panic and a financial collapse. Rothschild then takes advantage of this momentary artificially manufactured stock market crash by purchasing vast

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[419] Ibid., 115.
[420] Ibid., 104.
[421] Gadberry, *Theatre in the Third Reich, the Prewar Years: Essays on Theatre in Nazi Germany*, 66. London, ed., 108.

quantities of the temporarily worthless stock, thus amassing fortunes when the news of Wellington's victory results in a corresponding financial boom.[422]

Möller portrays Rothschild as a liar and a cheat. In addition to his immoral manipulation of the English stock market for his own financial gain, he hides behind a manufactured mask of an honest, humble life. He attempts to manipulate his family background in order to make it appear more 'honourable' (claiming a humble, military background with a patriotic father who was an active churchgoer).[423] His manipulation of the stock market after Waterloo, beyond being unethical and casting Rothschild as a liar and a cheat, is further criticised for dishonouring of the casualties of a major battle. In profiting from the outcome of the Battle of Waterloo, Rothschild is portrayed as exploiting war casualties for his own financial gain. He epitomises every negative aspect of the rampant capitalist, profiting from the suffering of others, including the soldiers who fell in the battle against Napoleon.[424] Moreover, in an added, imagistic bonus, Rothschild is Jewish; from an extremely well known family of wealthy Jewish financiers. The text itself contains very few direct Jewish references but incorporates small reminders of the lead villain's background.[425]

While Möller supposedly perceived no need to reinforce the Jewish elements of Rothschild's character in the script considering the fame of the family, producers were not always as subtle. The most prominent production of *Rothschild is the Victor at Waterloo* was at the Third National Theatre Festival in Munich in 1936. In this production, the director emphasised the 'racial' issue by staging the performance as a

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[422] London, ed., 108-109.
[423] Ibid., 109.
[424] Soldiers dying for their country were almost sacred in Nazi Theatre and Ideology. Ibid., 72-73.
[425] Ibid., 109.

'satire against Jewish capitalism'.[426] In addition, this production reinforced the 'stab in the back' conspiracy theory from the First World War, described by Gadberry as "how capitalists (Jewish and otherwise) had profited from the blood of 'real Germans', much as Rothschild, the 'monstrous money-maker', cheats what one critic called the 'soldiers and fisherfolk – honourable, straightforward, modest humanity' in the play."[427] Evidently, critics for the Nazi newspaper, *The Völkischer Beobachter,* and similar publications noticed and appreciated these elements: they

> revelled in this portrayal of the 'old, fixed mask of the Eternal Jew', as played by Friedrich Domin, and praised the settings of Eduard Sturm, especially his English Stock Exchange: 'this round temple of money, its [*sic*] walls stock listings and its [*sic*] dome the globe; the oriental [i.e. Jewish] faces and gestures were remarkably effective in this corrupt money-space'.[428]

Antagonists such as *Neurode's* Trust and Rothschild, in their one dimensional villainy, were strictly products of Nazi ideological requirements. "Well rounded or believable antagonists were incompatible with an absolute historical view based upon race, and so playwrights were satisfied with caricatures, cartoon figures or poster drama."[429] The result of this style of stereotypical characterisation was a paradox. While the Nazi worldview and ideological obsession with an ongoing battle for supremacy among the races would suggest an ideological drama laden with tension and dissonance, "the ironic and recurring complaint about the history plays of Nazi Germany, even from their most sympathetic critics, is that they were constructed without essential conflict."[430] Consequently, while Nazi contemporary theatre was, without question,

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[426] Ibid., 110.
[427] Ibid.
[428] Ibid.
[429] Ibid., 123.
[430] Ibid.

ideologically sound and prolific, classical plays dominated the theatrical repertoire of the Third Reich.

Classical Theatre

The termination of the *Thing* movement in 1936 marked the end of the Nazi Party's attempt to create their own propagandistic Theatrical Genre. It did not, however, end the Reich's attempts to use Theatre to promote National Socialist values. As Hostetter notes, "by 1935, the party...began shifting cultural policy to encourage the use of old, classical works as vehicles to comment on contemporary conditions."[431] This new policy served a number of purposes, including reinforcing the Reich's image of itself as a culturally civilized and thriving centre while simultaneously bringing audiences back to the theatres in the face of the rapidly dwindling success of the *Thing* movement. Furthermore, it reinforced Nazi propagandistic messages of a long history of cultural superiority through the production of German classical theatre. In the absence of a theatrical genre through which to promote their ideology, however, propagandising the classics became the best alternative.[432]

Just as *Thingspiel*, History plays and Nazi propaganda established the qualities that made up the Enemy of the Aryan Race, so the classical repertoire unwittingly provided that archetype a name; the social group upon which the Nazis could project their own worst qualities – The Jews. The characteristics of 'evil' manifested in classical theatre were consistent with antagonists in the contemporary repertoire: the dominating/controlling manipulator (sometimes known as the puppet-master and the swindler. The classical repertoire, however, was able to take these representations

[431] Hostetter, 129.
[432] Ibid., 150.

further and solidify their associations with the propagandistic characteristics of the Jewish 'race'. Some productions even explicitly depicted the villain as a Jew, a demon, the Devil himself or all three. Furthermore, regardless of the evil character's identity, the physical representation of that character was frequently reminiscent of the physical stereotypes of the Jew.

Puppet Master and Swindler

The 'puppet master' and the 'swindler' are common villains who, either through manipulation or cheating, benefit from the suffering they inflict. Characters such as Claudius in *Hamlet*, Shylock in the *Merchant of Venice* and Mephistopheles in Goethe's *Faust* all embody, in whole or in part, this aspect of the archetypal 'other'.

Hamlet's King Claudius is, from the first act, a character who profits from the pain of others: he murders the King of Denmark, marries his wife and takes his throne even before the play begins. His manipulations continue through the play culminating in his use of Laertes to murder Hamlet – the only character who would accuse him of fratricide and regicide. True to the image, Claudius is not willing to risk his plan on Laertes' skill alone and consequently cheats by ensuring that Laertes' blade is poisoned.

Likewise, *The Merchant of Venice's* Shylock is a money lender who offers to lend Antonio money on the condition that if he does not repay it on time, his forfeit will be one pound of flesh. Antonio is unable to repay the debt, resulting in a court battle with Shylock who insists on claiming is forfeit. Critics considered Shylock's insistence on revenge cowardly while Antonio was depicted as an honourable man respecting an unfair deal.[433] In the Nazi portrayals, Shylock cheats Antonio, makes unreasonable deals

[433] London, ed., 246.

such as requiring a pound of flesh and enjoys the power he has over the more honest man. He is unyielding and, in the Nazi view, inhuman.

Similarly, Goethe's Mephistopheles is the ultimate manipulative and controlling character. Mephistopheles is the devil who offers Faust a trade: Mephisto agrees to serve Faust for as long as he lives on earth if Faust will serve him in Hell after death. If Faust experiences one moment in life in which he is so happy that he does not want that moment to end, Faust will immediately die. The deal Mephisto offers allows him to manipulate Faust – a previously honourable, good man – into performing evil acts, even to the point of seducing a woman with whom he was falling in love; choosing the sin of lust over the more honourable love – at Mephisto's urging.

All three of these characters - Claudius, Shylock and Mephisto - deceive, manipulate and ultimately harm the good characters surrounding them. In doing so, they stand to profit from the pain they intentionally cause: Claudius will win the throne of Denmark, uncontested by his troublesome nephew; Shylock would get his pound of flesh, his satisfaction and the right to continue to control others to whom he would lend money; and Mephisto, the devil, would gain the soul of God's favourite mortal. In the Third Reich, each of these plays had specific importance. *Hamlet* and *Faust* were two of the most successful and popular productions of the period[434] and the *Merchant of Venice* had extremely powerful and even at the time, obvious thematic relevance. In all of these productions and numerous others, the image of evil portrayed on the stage was the evil of the puppet master and manipulator.

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[434] Symington, 177.
Hostetter, 145.

The Devil, the Demon and the Jew

The classical repertoire of the Nazi period, as the dominant genre in the theatrical repertoire, provides some of the clearest examples of the relationship between the Jew and the archetypal evil - particularly through the characters of Mephistopheles and Shylock. At first glance, the use of these two characters to prove this particular point may seem like cheating; after all, Shylock is Jewish, and Mephistopheles is the devil himself and thus, the archetypal evil. These characters however, were not solely represented as stereotypical images of themselves – the Jew and the devil – rather, they personified each others' archetypal imagery. In these two classic plays, Nazi theatre made the devil a Jew, and the Jew the Devil.

In 1941, the role of Mephistopheles in Goethe's *Faust* was played by one of Germany's most famous actors, Gustaf Gründgens. Having played the same character almost a decade earlier during the years of the Weimar Republic, critics' responses to Gründgens' portrayal display an interesting change in the representation of Goethe's famous devil. Elisabeth Schultz Hostetter's analysis of the productions of the Berlin State Theatre reveal Gründgens' 1932 Weimar Mephistopheles as "a fun-loving, decadent hoodlum..."[435], amusing, playful and extravagant rather than insidious or menacing.[436] In 1941 however, his portrayal became far more sinister.[437] In a powerful depiction of the banality of evil,[438] Gründgens "toned down his look into a more human, dignified, and lithe form which Kienzl's 1941 review described as 'a gentleman dressed in human clothes, overpowering with cold scorn, and far away from cheap game playing."[439]

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[435] Hostetter, 137.
[436] Ibid., 141.
[437] Ibid., 140.
[438] Ibid., 141.
[439] Ibid.

This description is powerfully reminiscent of other Nazi propaganda images depicting 'The Jew'. Furthermore, Gründgens' costuming suggests that the actor altered his appearance to resemble Jewish stereotypes.[440] While it is possible to argue that these accents were subtle and unintentional, as Hostetter points out, there is no doubt that "avid Nazis (such as Göring) [...] expected such connections could have easily read in elements of Jewish characterization both in Gründgen's character portrayal and appearance."[441] Furthermore, the image was so dominant in National Socialist life that it seems unlikely that an experienced actor and director, someone who spent his life analysing and portraying theatrical imagery, would have missed the obvious associations. Moreover, Hostetter's analysis reveals that the image was so clearly identifiable that "when describing the appearance and action of the character as 'intellectually, demonic,' critics highlighted terms which directly mirrored the language frequently found in government generated, negative stereotyping of Jews"[442] particularly given the low value Hitler assigned to educated, upper-class people.[443] While Mephistopheles is, indeed, the devil, Gründgens displayed, or at least suggested, that in Germany in 1941, the image of the devil was the Jew.

Arguably the most famous theatrical Jew is, of course, Shakespeare's Shylock. Like many of Shakespeare's characters, Shylock is somewhat ambiguous. He is neither overtly good nor evil, and interpretations of the character can and have emphasised both ends of the spectrum. In Nazi Germany, while the number of productions of *The Merchant of Venice* actually decreased in comparison with the Weimar years,[444] there

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[440] Ibid.
[441] Ibid.
[442] Ibid.
[443] Ibid., 142.
[444] Symington, 244.

were still 33 productions,[445] many of which created, in Shylock, a particularly clear image.

Rodney Symington describes a 1933 production in a provincial town in which "the actor portrayed Shylock as embodying the dominant 'Jewish' characteristics of 'cunning craftiness, hate, wrath, and destruction.'"[446] A decade later, in another production at the Rose Theatre in Berlin "actors were placed in the audience, and when Shylock entered they shouted out insults and threats."[447] While these examples clearly identify some of the characteristics of the evil Jew image, the 1943 production in Vienna brings the characterisation of Shylock into a clearly demonic light. For 32 performances (a particularly long run), Werner Krauss, who played the leading role in the Nazi antisemitic propaganda film, *Jud Süß*, gave Shylock demonic life. The critics descriptions graphically recorded Krauss's portrayal: "something revoltingly foreign, something amazingly despicable slinks across the stage"[448] and in another description:

> The affected way of shuffling along, the hopping and stamping about in a rage, the clawing hand gestures, the raucous or mumbling voice – all this makes up the pathological picture of the East European racial type in all his external and internal human dirtiness, emphasizing danger through humour.[449]

Both critics give Krauss's portrayal a distinctly inhuman flavour describing him as the incarnation of the evil in the Jew.[450] On its own, but particularly in conjunction with the broader framework of Nazi propaganda, Krauss's depiction of Shylock suggests the demonic, or at the very least, inhuman characteristics of National Socialisms archetypal evil – the Jew.

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[445] Ibid., 177.
[446] Ibid., 247.
[447] Ibid., 250.
[448] Ibid.
[449] London, ed., 246, Symington, 250.
[450] London, ed., 246.

Physical Depiction

As the reviews mentioned above indicate, the Nazi staged Jew had a very clear physical description. "Looking at how Nazi producers cast and directed specific actors reveals that they skilfully used personality and appearance to represent idealized embodiments of NSDAP goals."[451] Just as the apparently perfect Aryans were frequently depicted with the idealised Aryan blonde hair and blue eyes, so the stage evil was depicted with all the negative stereotypes the Nazis could infuse into their image of the Jew including the essential depiction of the Jew as vermin. In the critics description of the 1942-1943 production of *The Merchant of Venice* from the *Völkischer Beobachter,* Shylock's physical characterisation is described in excruciating detail:

> Words are inadequate to describe the linguistic and mimic variety of Werner Krauß's Shylock...Every fiber of his body seems impregnated with Jewish blood; he mumbles, slavers, gurgles, grunts and squawks with alarming authenticity, scurries back and forth like a rat, though he does so the hard way – knock-kneed; one literally smells his bad breath, feels the itching under his caftan and senses the nausea that overcomes him at the end of the court scene. Everything demonic is submerged in the impotent rage of the little ghetto usurer; in the wobbling of his body, in the frantic blinking of his eye lids and the arching of his arms, he becomes a caricature...[452]

In a less 'caricature' like manifestation, Gründgens' Mephisto portrayed the devil as the, possibly even more feared, image of the Jew as a human being; the Jew as infiltrator. In case the hints were too subtle however, as mentioned earlier, Gründgens added accents to his costume such as a long black robe and skull cap that referenced the traditional attire of Jewish characters on the German stage.[453]

These physical manifestations of the characters did not need to be obvious in order to be effective. The propaganda of the time was so prevalent and consistent that

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[451] Hostetter, 91.
[452] Gadberry, *Theatre in the Third Reich, the Prewar Years: Essays on Theatre in Nazi Germany*, 96.
[453] Hostetter, 141..

even the subtlest choices, conscious or otherwise, would likely have created the necessary associations. The image, as an archetype, was so forceful in its presence in the lives of ordinary Germans that the connections - even more than half a century later, with few physical records of the productions in existence - are difficult to miss.

ParaTheatre

As the analysis of character imagery progresses, a few trends in Nazi imagery become apparent. The first is that the image of the hero, the idealised Aryan, remained consistent – one could even say static – throughout the Nazi era. In contrast however, the image of evil, evolved over time. In early Nazi Theatre from the late 1920's until the end of *Thingspiel* in 1936, the dominant image of evil was the Weimar Republic; only implicitly connected with Jews. In other genres, the image become more focused, starting to emphasise the individual characteristics of implicitly Jewish evil with occasional examples of villains with specifically Jewish characteristics.

Concurrent with this evolution, however, was the implementation of increasingly restrictive laws against the Jews as well as increasingly vitriolic antisemitic political propaganda. ParaTheatre was where these trends merged. ParaTheatre – public events specifically intended to be viewed by an audience and repeated in similar forms on several occasions – was the most extreme manifestation of the Nazi image of evil. These ParaTheatrical events were the predecessors to the Holocaust and the final stage in the evolution of the Nazi theatrical image of evil.

This study will discuss three main forms of Nazi ParaTheatre as they relate to 'Evil' imagery: 'parades', public degradation and humiliation, and public executions or murders. Parades and humiliation firmly reinforced the image of the Jew as criminal in an extension of the Swindler imagery, as well as inferior and inhuman while public executions and murders, while informed and reinforced by these images, were aimed at discouraging resistance and implicating east Europeans and Baltic people in the Nazi attempt to destroy the Jews of Europe. The theatricality of these events contributed to their effectiveness in achieving these goals.

Parades

Some of the most familiar images from the Nazi era involve the massive parades, spectacles and rallies that epitomized Nazi politics. The 'parades' discussed here are mirror images of these more familiar spectacles. Just as Nazi ideology centred on the battle between the Aryan and the Jew, so the Theatre and ParaTheatre reflected the same dichotomy. The familiar spectacles of the Nuremberg Rallies and the Torch Lit Parade have their polar opposite imagery in the public mass arrests, deportations and organised 'parades' marching victims through the streets as a form of public humiliation. Just as the spectacular Nazi rallies/parades reinforced the superiority of the Aryan, so the events

Figure 11. Germany. Deportations in Wuerzburg.

Source: Gerhard Schoenberner, *The Holocaust: The Nazi Destruction of Europe's Jews*, trans. Susan Sweet (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1985), 118

discussed here were designed to reinforce the inferiority of the 'other' most frequently, the Jew or those who associated with Jews.

Figure 13. Jews arrested after Kristallnacht

Source: William L. Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, Illustrated and Abridged ed. (London: The Hamlyn Publishing Group Limited, 1987), 110

Figures 11,[454] 12[455] and 13[456] show images of Jewish deportations. These were common events during the latter years of the Third Reich. In each of these images, Jews were rounded up and herded, under guard, to ghettos or concentration camps. The ParaTheatrical images these actions created turned victims into criminals and gave the 'audience' a villain to watch being punished. In each case, audiences watched the spectacle as the 'criminals' of the Reich were 'arrested' and 'brought to justice'.

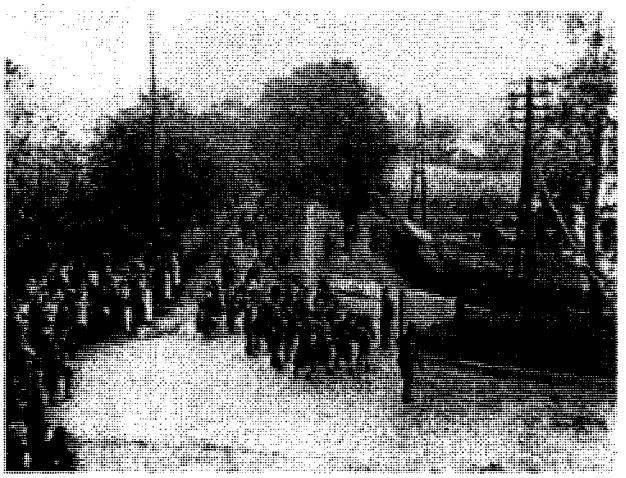

Figure 12. Hungary, Spring 1944. Jews being marched to the deportation centre under the watchful eyes of the guards and local population.

Source: Stephen Spielberg and Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation, *The Last Days* (London: Seven Dials, 2000), 38

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[454] Gerhard Schoenberner, *The Holocaust: The Nazi Destruction of Europe's Jews*, trans. Susan Sweet (Edmonton, Alberta: Hurtig Publishers, 1985), 118.
[455] Shirer, 110.
[456] Stephen Spielberg and Survivors of the Shoah Visual History Foundation, *The Last Days* (London, UK: Seven Dials, 2000), 38.

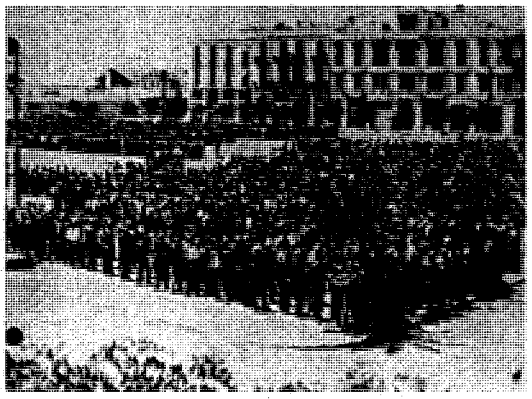

Figure 14. Jews of Salonika, 11 July 1942. Courtesy of David Sion.

Source: *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum: Photo Archives Online Catalogue*, (accessed 7 May 2008); available from http://www.ushmm.org/

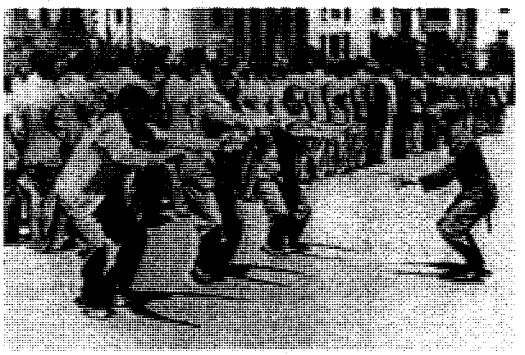

Figure 15. Jews of Salonika, 11 July 1942. Courtesy of David Sion

Source: *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum: Photo Archives Online Catalogue*, (accessed 7 May 2008); available from http://www.ushmm.org/

A similar form of ParaTheatre were the mass round ups of Jews in which they were pulled from crowds, or ordered to report to a central location and subsequently humiliated for the entertainment of the local population and the Nazi officials. In one example (figures 14 and 15), on the 11th of July 1942 in Northern Greece, 10 000 Jews were assembled in *Eleftheria* (Freedom) square and kept there all day while German and Italian soldiers forced them to do calisthenics and other unpleasant tasks for the amusement of the audience. Those who could not stand the heat or exertion were beaten or doused with cold water to revive them.[457]

Figure 16. Minsk Mazowiecki, Poland, 1940. Jewish men are publicly humiliated in the market square by being forced to race against one another while riding on the backs of their fellows. Courtesy of Zydowski Instytut Historyczny Instytut.

Source: *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum: Photo Archives Online Catalogue* [Online Archive], (accessed 7 May 2008); available from http://www.ushmm.org/

[457] *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum: Photo Archives Online Catalogue*, [Online Archive] (2008, accessed 7 May 2008); available from http://www.ushmm.org/.

Figure 17. Szczebrzeszyn, Poland. German Police publicly humiliate Jews in the yard of the town council. German soldiers and other spectators can be seen in the background. Courtesy of Instytut Pamieci Narodowej

Source: *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum: Photo Archives Online Catalogue*, (accessed 7 May 2008); available from http://www.ushmm.org/

In another example (figure 16), this time in Poland, a group of Jewish men were selected out of a larger group of people gathered together by the Germans from the streets surrounding the market square. As the Jews were being humiliated, the remainder of the gathered group which is visible in the background of the image watched the performance along with the group of Poles, also rounded up by the Germans.[458]

Figure 18. Germany, November 1938. Jews are humiliated in the city centre on Kristallnacht. Courtesy of Goddard Yosi.

Source: *Yad Vashem: The Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority*, [Online Archive] (2008, accessed 7 May 2008); available from http://www6.yadvashem.org/wps/portal/photo?lang=en&homepage=true

'Entertainments' such as these occurred all over the Reich. Humiliating spectacles involving Jews forced to do demeaning activity at the whim of soldiers and for the 'pleasure' of the non-Jewish audiences were a frequent source of amusement. Framed by the image of the Jews as powerful manipulators, these entertainments reversed the roles. Perhaps in response to the propagandistic and theatrical image of the puppet master, ParaTheatre forced Jews into the role of the puppet with the superior Aryans pulling the strings. Almost invariably, spectacles such as

[458] Ibid.(accessed).

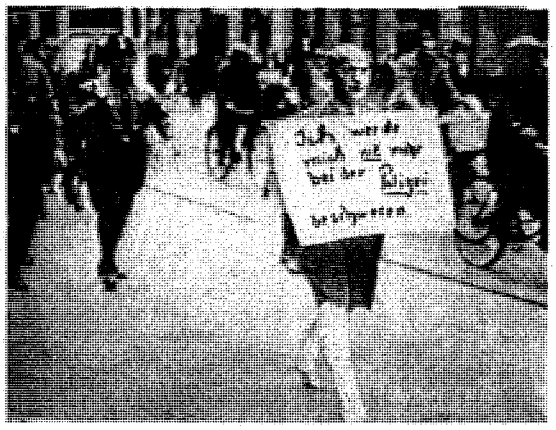

Figure 19. Sign reads "I shall never complain to the police again."

Source: Gerhard Schoenberner, *The Holocaust: The Nazi Destruction of Europe's Jews*, trans. Susan Sweet (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1985), 15

these took place in the town square or some other, equally public location, thereby maximising the audience exposure.

Mass deportations were not the only form of 'parading' that took place during the Nazi era. A frequent form of public humiliation was to parade individuals through the streets donning placards with their 'crimes' printed on them (figures 19[459] and 20[460]). Much like the mass deportations, this type of 'parading' identified Jews and those who associated with them as criminals however, in these individual humiliations, the Nazis were able to reinforce the dehumanising aspect of their theatrical propaganda. Individuals were reduced to little more than a sign, a symbol of the evils of the Reich. No longer individuals, they were examples and warnings to those who would commit the same infractions.

Figure 20. Leipzig, Germany 1937. Signs read "Don't buy from Jews; Shop at German stores!" Courtesy of William Blye.

Source: *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum: Photo Archives Online Catalogue*, (accessed 7 May 2008); available from http://www.ushmm.org/

[459] Schoenberner, 15.
[460] *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum: Photo Archives Online Catalogue*, (accessed).

Degradation/Humiliation

While mass public spectacle was frequently a favourite form of ParaTheatre, the Nazis appeared to have a similar fondness for more personal forms of humiliation. These events created a very specific, very personal form of humiliation for their victims. Activities such as shaving beards and heads, cleaning the streets and forced public nudity were designed to demean the victims; to reinforce their image as 'inferior'.

Figure 21. Lodz, Poland 1939-1940. Polish peasants jeer as a Jew is forced to cut the beard of a fellow Jew. Courtesy of Frank Morgens (Mieczyslaw Morgenstern).

Source: *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum: Photo Archives Online Catalogue* [Online Archive], (accessed 7 May 2008); available from http://www.ushmm.org/

Figure 22. Tomaszow Mazowiecki, [Lodz] Poland Sept-Oct 1939. A group of German soldiers and civilians look on as a Jewish man is forced to cut the beard of another. Courtesy of Instytut Pamieci Narodowej.

Source: *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum: Photo Archives Online Catalogue* [Online Archive], (accessed 7 May 2008); available from http://www.ushmm.org/

As a practice that was forbidden to strictly religious Jews, shaving was a popular form of relatively mild humiliation for Jewish men. Beyond the pure entertainment value, removing facial hair against religious strictures was one way to lower the dignity of the victims in the eyes of the spectators and demoralized the victims.

Another popular form of degradation as a form of ParaTheatre was to force Jews to scrub the streets or sidewalks. Possibly related to the Nazi propagandistic image of Jews being 'dirty,'[461] figures 23, 24 and 25 show, what appear to be, several different occasions upon which Jews 'performed' in this manner for the local audiences and Nazis. Yet again, as with public spectacles of forced calisthenics, compelling Jews to perform the menial and demeaning task of scrubbing the streets responded to the conventional theatrical imagery of the Jew as wealthy arrogant masters controlling the innocent, hard working Aryans by reversing the roles, with the Aryans forcing Jews into hard manual labour.

Figure 23. Vienna, Austria. Jews who were forced to clean the street as an act of humiliation. Courtesy of Dr Rosenkrantz.

Source: *Yad Vashem: The Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority*, [Online Archive] (2008, accessed 7 May 2008); available from http://www6.yadvashem.org/wps/portal/photo?lang=en&homepage=true

Figure 24. Austrian Jews scrubbing the streets with a crowd observing.

Source: David J. Hogan, ed., The Holocaust Chronicle (Lincolnwood, Illinois: Publications International Ltd., 2001)

Figure 25. Vienna, Austria, March-April 1938. Austrian Nazis and local residents look on as Jews are forced to get on their hands and knees and scrub the pavement.

Source: *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum: Photo Archives Online Catalogue* [Online Archive], (accessed 7 May 2008); available from http://www.ushmm.org/

[461] Fritz Hippler, "Der Ewige Jude," (Germany: Terra, 1940).

Dehumanisation: Nudity

Figure 26. Lvov, Poland. June-July 1941. A Jewish woman stripped of her clothing by a Ukrainian mob and abused during a pogrom.

Source: *Yad Vashem: The Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority*, [Online Archive] (2008, accessed 7 May 2008); available from http://www6.yadvashem.org/wps/portal/photo?lang=en&homepage=true

One of the common words associated with discussions of the Jews in the Holocaust is 'dehumanisation' – the idea that the Nazis' tactics removed the humanity of their victims; from the perspectives of the perpetrators, victims, and bystanders. Primo Levi's Survival in Auschwitz emphasises this concept: "The personages in these pages are not men. Their humanity is buried, or they themselves have buried it, under an offence

Figure 27. Kielce Poland. Naked Jews in the snow.

Source: *Yad Vashem: The Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority*, [Online Archive] (2008, accessed 7 May 2008); available from http://www6.yadvashem.org/wps/portal/photo?lang=en&homepage=true

Figure 28. Grojec, [Warsaw] Poland, 1939-1940. Two religious Jews are forced to stand outside in front of a wall with their pants open. Courtesy of Instytut Pamieci Narodowej.

Source: *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum: Photo Archives Online Catalogue* [Online Archive], (accessed 7 May 2008); available from http://www.ushmm.org/

Figure 29. Poland, Chelm. German soldiers surrounding a woman whose clothes were ripped off her.

Source: *Yad Vashem: The Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority*, [Online Archive] (2008, accessed 7 May 2008); available from http://www6.yadvashem.org/wps/portal/photo?lang=en&homepage=true

Figure 30. Lvov, Poland, July 1941. Woman abused by a local mob following the German occupation.

Source: *Yad Vashem: The Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority*, [Online Archive] (2008, accessed 7 May 2008); available from http://www6.yadvashem.org/wps/portal/photo?lang=en&homepage=true

received or inflicted on someone else."[462] Levi refers to the inhumanity of the victims, perpetrators and bystanders, pointing out that in order to dehumanise another, one has to sacrifice one's own humanity in the process.

On the stages of the streets of the Third Reich, this process of

[462] Primo Levi, *Survival in Auschwitz*, trans. Giulio Einaudi (New York, NY: Touchstone, 1958; reprint, 1996), 121.

Figure 31. Poland, Chelm. A woman dressing after being photographed naked.

Source: *Yad Vashem: The Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority*, [Online Archive] (2008, accessed 7 May 2008); available from http://www6.yadvashem.org/wps/portal/photo?lang=en&homepage=true

Figure 32. Poland, Chelm. A woman forced to undress in front of German soldiers.

Source: *Yad Vashem: The Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority*, [Online Archive] (2008, accessed 7 May 2008); available from http://www6.yadvashem.org/wps/portal/photo?lang=en&homepage=true

dehumanisation – of victims, perpetrators and bystanders – began. One of the most dramatic of these steps however, is the removal of the things that make us human; the symbols of civilisation. Clothing is, in Western culture, one such symbol. Figures 26-32 capture the unwilling 'performances' in which, without regard for sex or situation, perpetrators forced their victims to expose themselves in extremely public, humiliating and dehumanising ways.

Violence

On the 7th of August 1941 in Zhitomir, a truck driver from Technical Battalion 6 heard the news (from an announcement over the loudspeaker) that at a certain time that day, Jews would be shot in the marketplace. Being off duty that day, he went to watch the show. Approximately fifty Jews had been gathered together in the marketplace (according to the truck driver.) In fact, over 400 Jews were arrested and ultimately murdered that day[463]. He watched as several of them were beaten. Then, following the scheduled hanging of two Jews (figure 35), the remainder were herded to a stretch of open ground with a ditch dug into it and filled with water. Each of the Jews was made to jump over the ditch. Those who could not clear it due to age, undernourishment or the effects of ill treatment (the majority) were beaten with various blunt instruments. At the end of the spectacle, the Jews were shot.[464]

Figure 33. Lvov, Poland, July 1941. A woman abused by a local mob during a pogrom.

Source: *Yad Vashem: The Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority*, [Online Archive] (2008, accessed 7 May 2008); available from http://www6.yadvashem.org/wps/portal/photo?lang=en&homepage=true

[463] *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum: Photo Archives Online Catalogue*, (accessed).
[464] Ernst Klee, Willi Dressen, and Volker Riess, eds., *"The Good Old Days": The Holocaust as Seen by Its Perpetrators and Bystanders* (Old Saybrook, CT: Konecky & Konecky, 1991), 108-111.

Figure 34: Lvov, Poland: Beating Jews in the Street

Source: *Yad Vashem: The Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority*, [Online Archive] (2008, accessed 7 May 2008); available from http://www6.yadvashem.org/wps/portal/photo?lang=en&homepage=true

Like any theatrical production, this performance, and others like it (as depicted in figures 35 and 36) was planned, advertised, and performed. The theatricality inherent in these acts of violence made it possible for them to act as very public and very graphic warnings against opposing the regime. They sent a clear message as to the consequences of resistance; a message which was essential to the successful implementation of genocide.

Executions

The ultimate punishment for any criminal is execution. Whatever the form, hanging, firing squad, electric chair or lethal injection, the implication is the same – the criminal being executed committed the worst crimes possible in the perception of the legal system.

Figure 35. Ukraine, 7 August 1941. Spectators witness the public execution of Mosche Kogan and Wolf Kieper. Original caption reads: "Jewish judges and executioners now being executed." Courtesy of Stanley Weithorn.

Source: *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum: Photo Archives Online Catalogue* [Online Archive], (accessed 7 May 2008); available from http://www.ushmm.org/

Figure 36. Russia. Jews hanged from trees, wearing signs listing their crimes. Courtesy of Natan Englanden (Submitter) and Ms. Theresa (Source).

Source: *Yad Vashem: The Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority*, [Online Archive] (2008, accessed 7 May 2008); available from http://www6.yadvashem.org/wps/portal/photo?lang=en&homepage=true

In *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Michel Foucault talks about the 'spectacle of the scaffold'[465] in which

> It was the task of the guilty man to bear openly his condemnation and the truth of the crime that he had committed. His body, displayed, exhibited in procession, tortured, served as the public support of a procedure that had hitherto remained in the shade; in him, on him, the sentence had to be legible for all.[466]

This spectacle, in Foucault's estimation, served several purposes. Among other things, the public execution forced the criminal to (at least appear to) affirm his own crime and the justice behind the sentence (through placards, parades etc).

Figure 37. Execution. Note the 'audience' on the right.

Source: Michael Burleigh and Wolfgang Wippermann, *The Racial State: Germany 1933-1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991; reprint, 11th)

Furthermore, it "established the public execution as the moment of truth."[467] In the case of the Jews of the Third Reich however, their crime was that of existence and their execution could

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[465] Michel Foucault, *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison* trans. Alan Sheridan (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1977), 32-69.
[466] Ibid., 43.
[467] Ibid.

Figure 38. Drohobycz, Poland; USSR; Ukraine, 9 August 1944. View through a second story window of a group of victims who are being lined up for execution by a firing squad.

Source: *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum: Photo Archives Online Catalogue* [Online Archive], (accessed 7 May 2008); available from http://www.ushmm.org/

reveal nothing that would absolve them of that sin. They were criminals from birth and through the use of public executions (as depicted in figures 35-38), the spectacle of their murders (executions) displayed, to all who witnessed, their nature as such while simultaneously ensuring that those who observed would understand the consequences of opposing the regime.

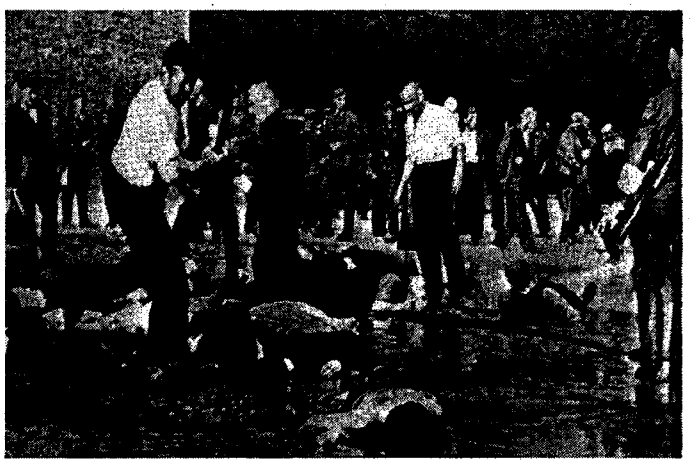

Figure 39. Lithuania. The Kaunas (Kovno) Massacre.

Source: Gerhard Schoenberner, *The Holocaust: The Nazi Destruction of Europe's Jews*, trans. Susan Sweet (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1985), 41

Massacres

Many forms of Theatre for Social Change advocate audience participation or engagement on the grounds that involved audiences maintain stronger connections with the work; reinforcing the ownership of and identification with its content and purpose. Until now, the discussion of ParaTheatre has focused on events that were witnessed without expectation of significant audience involvement or participation. This final section on massacres however, represents the most horrific component of Nazi ParaTheatrical spectacles

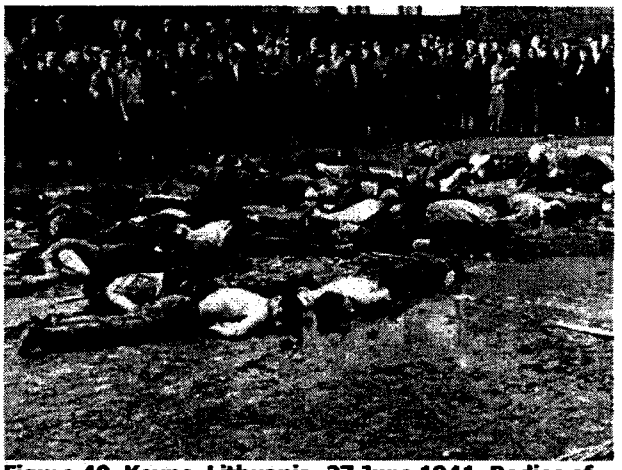

Figure 40. Kovno, Lithuania, 27 June 1941. Bodies of Jews who were murdered by Lithuanian nationalists. Submitted by Judith Levin. Courtesy of Dokumetationsarchiv Des Osterreichischen Wiederstand.

Source: *Yad Vashem: The Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority*, [Online Archive] (2008, accessed 7 May 2008); available from http://www6.yadvashem.org/wps/portal/photo?lang=en&homepage=true

which both enhanced their image of 'evil' and supported their efforts to annihilate the Jews of Europe. It also represents one of the most 'significant' ways in which 'audiences' participated in ParaTheatrical 'performances'.

One particularly brutal massacre took place in Kovno, Lithuania in mid 1941. Upon entering the city, members of the *Einsatzgruppen* made contact with antisemitic elements within the population, encouraging them to engage in pogroms. "The impression had to be created that the local population itself had taken the first steps of its own accord as a natural reaction to decades of oppression by the Jews..."[468] By ensuring that the local population was involved, the Nazis were able to implicate East Europeans and Baltic people in Nazi atrocities.

Every effort was made to "ensure that reliable elements in the local population participated in the fight against the local pests in their country."[469] In Kovno, this tactic was particularly successful. The details of the reports vary slightly on the number of people performing the actual killings and the identities of the audience (German soldiers or Lithuanian civilians) but the fundamental content is always the same.[470] In a square near the centre of town, approximately fifty Jews were brutally beaten to death with

[468] Klee, Dressen, and Riess, eds., 24.
[469] Ibid.
[470] Ibid., 24-35.

steel bars while an audience of onlookers cheered with every new death. One report even claims that one of the murderers, after completing his brutal performance, picked up an accordion and proceeded to play the Lithuanian national anthem while standing atop the bodies of those he had murdered.[471] This level of participation helped the Nazis establish the apparent complicity of Eastern Europeans in the acts of violence perpetrated against the Jews.

ParaTheatre was the most extreme public manifestation of the Nazi image of evil. In this form of public spectacle, the Nazis took the imagery that existed in the world of the stage and brought it into vivid, excruciating life. They turned the swindler into a criminal and made his crime worthy of the most vicious acts of retribution possible. They also took the theatrical image of the inhuman Jew and made it real through acts of extreme dehumanisation. They removed every symbol of humanity and civilisation in order to ensure that their victims could not be perceived as anything other than inferior.

At the same time, however, they surrounded these events with the trappings of theatre – they made them spectacles of entertainment rather than examples of egregious evil. In doing so, they allowed audiences the same 'distance' they experience at the theatre – they erected a 'fourth wall' between the spectator and the spectacle. Consequently, when people watched executions and tortures, they observed, occasionally they participated, and if they failed to enjoy the show, they left. They did not intervene in this 'play' any more than they would leap on the stage to warn Romeo that Juliet was not truly dead.

Not only did the imagery in Nazi Theatre parallel many of the images created in ParaTheatre, but it also prepared the perpetrators and bystanders to create and allow

[471] Ibid., 31.

these ParaTheatrical events. If Nazi Theatre identified the Jew as criminals, swindlers and cheats, then ParaTheatre executed the sentence for that crime through deportation, humiliation, violence and death. ParaTheatre was the final and most vivid manifestation of evil in Nazi live 'entertainment'. It is also the point at which Theatre and the Holocaust meet over an extremely blurry boundary. The discussion in this paper does not trivialise the experiences of those involved, however it does recognise that the image of 'theatre' as 'trivial' contributed to making these events possible.

The Antagonist

Archetypes and images are not concrete, easily definable or easily categorised. They are amorphous, malleable, multifaceted and frequently extremely difficult to explain rationally. This study has attempted to break down some of the most notable images in Nazi Theatre into individual characteristics, but in connecting these characteristics with their contemporary and historical equivalents, the categories from one era frequently connect with slightly different categories from another.

The characteristics of the 'Other' in Nazi Theatre as the Puppet Master, Swindler or Cheat and Demon are all characteristics of the Enemy/Other image that were familiar to the German population prior to 1933 and were also prevalent in other forms of Nazi propaganda. Furthermore, even in Weimar era entertainment, these images were connected as facets of a single whole. During the Weimar years, they were usually referred to as the Tyrant and the Monster while the same characters appeared in German propaganda from the First and Second World Wars as the Enemy. While a detailed discussion of these images is beyond the scope of this thesis, regardless of their labels, the characteristics of the image, the qualities that made up the German Shadow

remained consistent in German consciousness through the Weimar years and both World Wars.[472]

The imagery that created the Nazi 'evil' on stage was extremely complex and made up of images and archetypes that had been part of German (and Western) cultural traditions for decades and, in some cases, centuries. The Nazis gave this image a name, an identity and in doing so, created a very real target upon which to pin decades of fears. Rather than viewing a propaganda image of a fabricated enemy, German audiences saw on the Nazi stage, the living embodiment of generations of fears; they saw an enemy which was familiar, one they'd been fighting for decades and eventually, particularly in ParaTheatre, their enemy was given a name – the Jew. He was controlling and manipulative, a criminal without care for the suffering he inflicts, an inhuman monster equivalent to the devil himself and, when not masquerading as human in order to infiltrate and undermine the Aryan race, he always looked the same. He was the evil Germany had been fighting since the First World War, in both body and spirit.

In Nazi theatre he was always a threat, an evil against which the protagonist had to defend. He was powerful and dangerous and frequently the hero could only defeat him by sacrificing himself. A clearer warning could not have been issued: do not underestimate this enemy, destroy him before he destroys you.

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[472] For more detailed discussion related to these character images in World War Two propaganda see Jeffrey Herf's *The Jewish Enemy* as cited in the bibliography. For a discussion of similar imagery in the First World War, see Matthew Stibbe, *German Anglophobia and the Great War, 1914-1918* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2001). Finally, for a discussion of these character images in Weimar film, see Siegfried Kracauer's *From Caligari to Hitler* as cited in the bibliography.

CHAPTER 11: IMAGERY AND THE HOLOCAUST

One Final Image

Until now, the imagery discussed has been almost entirely focused on the characters in Nazi Theatre however, the characters were not the only images with the potential impact of archetypes; Nazi theatre also incorporated a number of common, even archetypal themes. Through the discussion of the good and evil character imagery, a number of these are already apparent, including "excessive materialism, glorification of war and military death, rejection of democracy and a declaration of belief in the *Führer* state."[473] In addition, trends such as "a resurgent nationalism, a conservative/traditional choice of subject matter and a preoccupation with Völkisch...themes" [474] dominated the theatrical repertoire during the Third Reich alongside "ideological concepts such as the '*Führer* Idea,' heroic sacrifice for the 'people's community' and the inevitability of the 'racial struggle.'"[475] What is possibly more interesting however is the image that is conspicuous for its absence.

Despite the themes above – many of which depict revolution, war, violence and conflict - in traditional forms of theatre, "the audience does not witness the actual violence or adverse effects of the acts, rather the play stays focused on the justification and passionate rationale of the charming and fully humanized perpetrator."[476] Violence, negative consequences of actions and the horrors of war were images that, given the other themes in the Nazi repertoire, should have played a prominent role, but in Nazi

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[473] Hostetter, 85.
[474] London, ed., 137.
[475] Hostetter, 85.
[476] Ibid., 82.

theatre they were noticeably and intentionally absent (although they existed in abundance in Nazi ParaTheatre).

One particularly salient expression of the absent image occurred during the 1933 Berlin premier of Hanns Johst's *Propheten.* After viewing a preview of the performance, Göring (who maintained control over the Berlin State Theatre) "demanded that the production staff immediately edit and re-block a scene in which a Jewish character was violently beaten, executed on the gallows, and buried in a pile of manure with a pitchfork."[477] Nazi ideology clearly identified and defined the Jewish enemy "as the group on which the collective fears of the nation might be directed, and thereby purged."[478] Even with such strong ideological backing however, when it came to depicting antisemitism on stage, Göring's understood that, "particularly in Berlin, [...] the idea of excessive violence against Jews could alienate potential party members during the early and politically delicate stages of government reformation."[479] Theatre of this nature, at this time, could have inspired public debate regarding acts of violence.

Even as the reign of the Nazi party solidified however, traditional theatres rarely portrayed the level of violence, particularly antisemitic violence, which one would expect, rather keeping exhibitions of violence in the realm of ParaTheatre. Instead, as the previous character analysis suggests, they were far more eager "to detect a Jewish aspect in things one considered disagreeable."[480] In this respect, the Nazi image of all things 'disagreeable' – the archetypal 'Shadow', 'Other', 'Enemy' or 'Villain' – merged with their ideological stereotype of the Jew in a truly paradoxical relationship which facilitated the violence in ParaTheatre while maintaining the 'civilized' image of

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[477] Ibid., 114.
[478] Baird, 3..
[479] Hostetter, 114.
[480] Strobl, 118.

conventional Theatre. By maintaining their relatively cautious approach to violence on stage, the Nazis ensured that the horrors of the 'real world' could be escaped in the theatres.[481] Rather than representing the reality of the world around it, Nazi Theatre maintained the illusion of a civilized world while ParaTheatre could ensure that the villains and evil represented on the Nazi stages were publically and violently 'punished'.

Importance of Imagery

Propaganda is, essentially, a message designed to persuade an audience to accept a particular set of values or ideals. In Nazi Theatre, this message was composed of a series of images, both overt and subtle, that reappeared in various theatrical genres throughout the Third Reich. Images of the protagonist as the *völkisch* Aryan or a *Führer* figure and the antagonist as a manipulative swindler with inhuman or even demonic characteristics conveyed a clear message of the superiority of the Aryan and the inferiority of the Jew. In many cases the message went so far as to suggest that the only way to ensure the survival of the superior Aryan was through the elimination of the evil that threatens it.[482] Alternatively, this imagery ensured the portrayal of the antagonist as either criminal (and thus deserving of punishment) or inhuman (and consequently not governed by the laws and moral codes that regulate human relations).

As Gerwin Strobl points out however, what the Nazis intended to accomplish with the theatre far exceeds the realities of their accomplishments.[483] While most scholars agree that the Nazis intended to use Theatre in their propaganda campaigns[484] they

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[481] Gadberry, *Theatre in the Third Reich, the Prewar Years: Essays on Theatre in Nazi Germany*, 134.
[482] London, ed., 71.
[483] Strobl, 153-173.
Symington, 269.
[484] Gadberry, *Theatre in the Third Reich, the Prewar Years: Essays on Theatre in Nazi Germany*, 1-12, Hostetter, 59, London, ed., 8-9, Symington, 178.

disagree on the extent to which this attempt was successful. Some assert that "Hitler, the swastika, and the gas chamber [...] dominated the theatre space as completely as they did every other aspect of German life."[485] Alternatively however, others posit that, the Nazi attempt to control the theatres was only partially successful.[486]

The imagery in Nazi Theatre however, did not have to be completely controlled to be an effective means of propaganda or a contributor to the Holocaust. It is only necessary to ascertain that a significant number of productions incorporated ideology related imagery. For example, the reputedly ideologically sound 1936 production of *Hamlet* was one of the most successful productions of the Third Reich with almost 200 performances, many of which were sold out.[487] Even the viciously antisemitic 1943 version of *The Merchant of Venice* ran for 32 performances – nearly a full month at the height of the Second World War. Similarly, the 1936 *Thingspiel* production of *Das Frankenberger Wurfelspiel* (*The Frankenberger Dice Game*), while featuring a cast of 1,200 performers, played to a total audience of 73,122 people over only four performances. Given numbers such as these, it is difficult to debate the fact that productions incorporating ideological imagery were, at least, a noticeable presence on the Nazi stage. Even the more sceptical scholars agree that most theatres avoided productions that could be negatively perceived by the regime.[488]

While the existence of these images identifies the propagandistic message within Nazi Theatre, it does not clarify the ways in which that message may have influenced German audiences. The earlier chapters on Theatre for Social Change, Archetypal Psychology and The Arts Therapies outlined a number of different approaches to

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[485] Gadberry, *Theatre in the Third Reich, the Prewar Years: Essays on Theatre in Nazi Germany*, 1.
[486] Symington, 178.
[487] Ibid., 192.
[488] Ibid., 263.

influencing and understanding the psyche. In relation to how these disciplines inform the study of how Nazi Theatre contributed to the Holocaust, it becomes apparent that the extant Theatre research on influencing social change is almost entirely focused on structure and methodology – the methods by which a production/project can work towards becoming socially influential theatre. Archetypal Psychology and The Arts Therapies, on the other hand, focus on the images themselves; the archetypes and myths (and their creation) that manifest on the stage, with The Arts Therapies helping to connect structure and content through the relationships that are formed with and around those images (such as the 'triangle of influence' described in Chapter 7). The power of Nazi Theatre lies in the fact that it incorporates both the influential structures of Theatre for Social Change with the 'emotionally possessive' content explored in image based psychologies.

Much of the discussion in Part Two of this thesis surrounds the nature of the images and archetypes that manifested in Nazi Theatre and ParaTheatre. Part Three explores Nazi Theatre within the context of three different theories on influencing audiences. Chapter 12 applies psychological and sociological theories relating to persuasive messages to Nazi Theatre while Chapters 13 and 14 address Nazi Theatre as it relates to Theatre for Social Change and the Arts Therapies respectively. Part Three will conclude by placing the analysis thus far into a broader paradigm showing the psycho-social influences which lead people to commit acts of extraordinary evil.

PART THREE: THE INFLUENCE OF THEATRE ON THE HOLOCAUST

CHAPTER 12: THEATRICAL IMAGERY AND ATTITUDE CHANGE

Persuasive messages are designed to initiate or instigate 'attitude change' and since studies have demonstrated that "attitudes had causal predominance over behaviours which suggests that attitudes have an important degree of *predictive* utility."[489] In other words, changing a person's attitude can change their behaviour. Similar research shows that "attitude and behaviour measures are said to correspond when they match on action, target, context and time dimensions."[490] In short, if a successful persuasive message clearly identifies an attitude change regarding the target (in the Nazi's case, the Jews), the context (Nazi Germany), the time dimensions (immediately) and the action (anything ranging from segregation to elimination), it has a good chance of leading to behaviour change.

There is an array of research that analyses the efficacy of persuasive messages and the circumstances under which different kinds of messages will be effective in producing attitude change. Within this research, researchers argue there are two primary avenues through which persuasive messages can work: cognitive and narrative. The cognitive route focuses on a persuasive argument that affects attitude change through more or less logical arguments. Narrative messages are story based as in a novel or a play. The remainder of this chapter will explore Nazi Theatre and the imagery within Nazi Theatre in the context of both routes towards attitude change. In this

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[489] Robert B. Cialdini, Richard E. Petty, and John T. Cacioppo, "Attitude and Attitude Change," *Annual Review of Psychology* 32 (1981): 366.
[490] Ibid.

context, the imagery discussed in the preceding chapters of this thesis constitutes the content of the persuasive messages under examination.

Cognitive Persuasive Messages

According to accepted cognitive theories on influencing attitude change, there are two main routes to attitude change: central and peripheral.[491] The central route uses accurate information,or information that claims to be accurate, and logical arguments to convince someone of the value of their product or idea. Due to the deep cognitive focus of this method, "attitude changes induced via the central route are postulated to be relatively enduring and predictive of behaviour."[492] The peripheral route, on the other hand, uses various positive and negative 'cues' to influence attitude and behaviour change. These cues include tactics such as using association with an attractive person to 'sell' a product or idea, thus connecting the attractive person to the idea without any logical basis for the connection. The peripheral route is "postulated to be relatively temporary and unpredictive of behaviour."[493]

Petty and Cacioppo *et al.* suggest that neither the central nor peripheral routes alone can account for all the components of attitude change but rather, in order to study attitude change in its entirety, one must incorporate both. As part of this technique, they developed the Elaboration Likelihood Model (ELM). The ELM suggests that the different methods or routes to persuasion will be more or less effective depending on the probability of stimulating message or issue related thoughts such as arguments in favour of or against the message. In other words, the more likely a person

[491] Richard E. Petty, John T. Cacioppo, and David Schumann, "Central and Peripheral Routes to Advertising Effectiveness: The Moderating Role of Involvement," *The Journal of Consumer Research* 10, no. 2 (1983): 135.
[492] Ibid.
[493] Ibid.: 136.

is to positively elaborate upon the 'message' independently, the greater the impact of the message will be.

The persuasiveness of a message and the likelihood that an audience will positively elaborate upon it is mediated by several factors including the viewer's involvement, the extent to which the message fits with accepted norms, and the frequency with which the message is repeated. Conversely, the persuasiveness of the message can be inhibited by the resistance the viewer has to it – the negative elaboration or counterarguments aroused within the viewer in response to the message.

Petty and Cacioppo posit that 'involvement' will be one factor which will affect an audience's elaboration likelihood. In their 1983 study, they tested the impact of audience 'involvement' on the relative values of the central and peripheral routes to persuasion. They measured viewer involvement by the degree to which the audience could relate the issue or product to their own lives. For example, when dealing with a product, if the audience member knows that they will be unable to purchase the product, their 'involvement' will be significantly less than if the product were available to them. The result of their experiment indicated that in situations with low involvement, peripheral clues had greater impact than central arguments, resulting in a higher 'elaboration likelihood', and in situations with high involvement, central arguments proved more valuable than peripheral clues.[494]

Normative influences are another, although less important, contributing factor to the influence of persuasive messages as they relate to behaviour change.[495] The extent to which a message fits within accepted social norms can motivate people to either agree with an argument or dismiss potential counterarguments and resistance.

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[494] Ibid.: 144.
[495] Cialdini, Petty, and Cacioppo: 368.

Furthermore, the message can provide reassurance that the attitude change resulting from the persuasive message would be beneficial.

Repetition of a persuasive message can be either a negative or a positive influence on its efficacy. Excessive repetition of a message, particularly one with a low 'involvement' factor, as defined above, can become tedious for viewers, resulting in negative elaboration on the content, thus reducing or eliminating the persuasiveness of the argument. Alternatively,

> moderate repetition should enhance thoughts most when recipients have some prior knowledge about the topic, when the topic and ad execution are sufficiently relevant and interesting that recipients are motivated to devote the cognitive resources to thinking about the issue, and when the associations and implications evoked by the message arguments are sufficiently rich that their pool is not easily exhausted.[496]

The messages incorporated into the imagery of Nazi Theatre possessed all three of these qualities. They were highly involving in that the messages were frequently designed to parallel ongoing social and political anxieties. In addition, merely by representing these images on a stage sanctioned and supported by the Propaganda Ministry, the message conveyed on that stage was implicitly endorsed by the most powerful sources of German society's norms: the party and the state. Finally, as many sceptics about the extent to which Nazi Theatre was successful as propaganda point out, propagandistic productions were not the only productions in the Third Reich. They were liberally interspersed with lighter, entertainment based theatre that, if not actively supporting the regime, did nothing to oppose it. This imbrication effectively created moderate repetition of the persuasive message within Nazi Theatre, thus enhancing its efficacy.

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[496] John T. Cacioppo and Richard E. Petty, "Effects of Message Repitition on Argument Processing, Recall, and Persuasion," *Basic and Applied Social Psychology* 10, no. 1 (1989): 11.

Resistance

When a person receives a persuasive message, they form arguments either for or against that message. The more positive the arguments, the more likely they are to be persuaded by the message.[497] Negative arguments, or resistance, reduce or even negate the efficacy of the persuasive message. In order to make persuasive messages more effective, therefore, one needs to either ensure that any arguments that are formulated are positive or find ways to avoid or combat resistance. The inherent challenge in this task is that merely the knowledge of the persuasive intent of the message is enough to elicit the formation of counterarguments, particularly with regards to involving issues when one does not agree with its content.[498] In most cases, the techniques involved in combating resistance to a persuasive message involve either building the strength of the message itself or obstructing the creation of counterarguments.

One method of increasing the strength of a message is "inoculation" by building up the message's resistance to counterarguments. In order to do this, one can use one of several methods. The first method applies to situations in which one is reasonably certain that the message will provoke counterarguments. In this case, providing the argument of the persuasive message prior to the message itself obviates "the person's need to counterargue *during* the message rendering the person more susceptible."[499] Similarly, in situations in which the audience would not have considered any counterarguments, or even believed that any other position could be possible, the most effective technique to build up resistance is to provide the audience with potential counterarguments and logical explanations as to why these are not valid. Alternatively, if

[497] Cialdini, Petty, and Cacioppo: 360-361.
[498] Ibid.: 362.
[499] Ibid.

audiences are already familiar with both pro and con positions on an issue, all that is necessary to build up resistance is to inform the audience that it will be receiving a message intended to persuade its members to change their attitude or opinion. This information alone is enough to develop resistance to counterarguments.[500]

In opposition to these techniques are ways in which one can avoid or minimise the creation of counterarguments in opposition to the persuasive message. One way in which to accomplish this is to distract the audience enough to inhibit the creation of counterarguments while still allowing audiences to understand and absorb the message.[501] Alternatively one can find ways to discredit the source of the material. When using cognitive persuasion techniques, the credibility of the source is essential to the persuasiveness of the arguments. Even from a peripheral route, the appeal of the source can influence how the message is received. The more appealing and credible the source, the more likely it is that the message will result in attitude change.[502]

Nazi propaganda used all of these techniques. Most prominent within the Theatre however, was their use of paranoid imagery of the Jew to discredit any potential arguments against their ideological message. For example, the image of the evil Jew as a swindler made any argument coming from a Jew or a Jewish source suspect – no matter how logical or reasonable it might have appeared. Combining the image of the Jew as a puppet master with the image of the Jew as swindler also discredited arguments coming from non-Aryan sources based on the theory that the Jews were controlling or manipulating all the enemies of Nazi Germany. In this way, the Nazis sought to discredit any argument that opposed the Nazi regime and its policies.

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[500] Ibid.: 361.
[501] Robert A. Osterhouse and Timothy C. Brock, "Distraction Increases Yielding to Propaganda by Inhibiting Counterarguing," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 15, no. 4 (1970): 355.
[502] Petty, Cacioppo, and Schumann: 138.

Narrative Persuasion

If the goal behind effective persuasion techniques is to eliminate or negate the power of counterarguments, then it stands to reason that finding a means of conveying that persuasive message that does not trigger counterarguments would be a highly powerful form of persuasion. Narratives are one way in which to avoid these triggers since stories are generally presented as entertainment, resulting in few explicit triggers for counterarguing.[503]

The power of narratives to convey persuasive message lies in the narrative form itself. When we read or watch a good story, we become lost in it. For the time in which we are involved with that imaginary universe, the real world fades and even disappears, particularly when good stories are being narrated. Green and Brock call this effect 'transportation', referring to the way in which readers or viewers are 'transported' into the fictional world of the narrative. Transportation, rather than dealing with cognitive involvement, describes immersion in a text. Therefore "transported readers may be less likely to disbelieve or counterargue story claims, and thus their beliefs may be influenced."[504] Essentially, transportation in narratives aids the persuasive message by bypassing many of the triggers for resistance. In addition, while a viewer is immersed in the story, "parts of the world of origin become inaccessible"[505] including many of the facts that challenge the message in the narrative.[506] Unlike ELM and other cognitive models which deal with the amount of thought a person devotes to the message, "the components of transportation include emotional reactions, mental imagery, and a loss of

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[503] Melanie C. Green and Timothy C. Brock, "The Role of Transportation in the Persuasiveness of Public Narratives," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 79, no. 5 (2000): 703.
[504] Ibid.: 702.
[505] Ibid.
[506] Ibid.

access to real-world information,"[507] all of which are fundamental components of the theatrical experience.

> In studies testing the efficiency of transportation in changing attitudes, the data provided initial evidence that transportation is associated with story-consistent beliefs. Highly transported participants showed beliefs more consonant with story conclusions as well as positive evaluations of the story protagonists.[508]

In addition, transported stories feel more real than persuasive ones emphasising cognitive persuasion to the extent that they enable mimicry of a real experience, resulting in an "experiential component as well as a melding of cognition and affect."[509] Experiential learning is one of the most efficient and enduring forms of attitude change and in imitating it, transportation capitalises on this type of influence.[510]

Furthermore, transporting narratives are not subject to many of the same limitations as cognitive messages including the limits of truth, credibility and subtlety. Stories, even those apparently based on reality, whether overtly fictional or non-fictional,[511] are "held to different truth standards than rhetorical messages."[512] Audiences want to believe the fictional world in order to enjoy it[513] and, consequently, people who willingly suspend their disbelief in order to enjoy the story simultaneously suspend their ability to identify and argue against inconsistencies and false or unreasonable messages within the story.[514] Similarly, just as audiences are unlikely to question the veracity of the content of the story, they are unlikely to question the credibility of its source. In fact, studies have demonstrated that the more transported

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[507] Ibid.: 703.
[508] Ibid.: 707.
[509] Ibid.: 719.
[510] Ibid.: 702.
[511] Ibid.: 706.
[512] Ibid.: 702.
[513] Ibid.
[514] Ibid.: 712.

the viewer becomes, the less important the credibility of the source appears to be. [515] As a consequence of the minimal questioning a narrative faces, the persuasive message no longer has to be explicitly stated in order to affect attitude change. Many of the belief-change dimensions that are manifested in the studies on transportation demonstrated that some of the altered attitudes "were not explicitly articulated in the story."[516]

The attitude change resulting from transportation is, essentially, a function of bypassing the natural defences one erects when faced with a propagandistic message. It is still, however, subject to many of the constraints of persuasive messages such as the functions of repetition and the influence of normative values. Like cognitive persuasion, the efficacy of transportation can also be diminished, or at least mediated, by the knowledge of the persuasive intent behind the narrative[517] and reinforced by the positive elaboration described in the ELM.[518] In this way, the Nazi ideological message conveyed through classical or entertainment based productions and apparently spontaneous, politically subtle ParaTheatre would have been even more persuasive than *Thingspiel* or other overtly propagandistic productions. Finally, while studies have yet to ascertain the long term efficacy of this form of attitude change, there are some theoretical reasons for assuming that the attitude change from transportation might have longer term influence than that resulting from cognitive persuasion techniques. [519]

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[515] Ibid.: 719.
[516] Ibid.: 718.
[517] Jennifer Edson Escalas, "Self-Referencing and Persuasion: Narrative Transportation Versus Analytical Elaboration," *Journal of Consumer Research* 33 (2007): 428.
[518] Note: ELM can also be influenced by narratives in that if a cognitive persuasive message triggers a positive, story based elaboration, the transportation effect can influence the persuasiveness of the cognitive message. Ibid.: 421.
[519] Green and Brock: 719.

ELM, Transportation and Theatre for Social Change

While the psychological theories outlined above provide a measure of scientific validity to the concept of theatre as an effective form of persuasion, theatre theorists and artists have subscribed to these theories for at least 80 or 90 years already. Several of the theories described in the earlier chapter on Theatre for Social Change display remarkable similarities with the psychological literature cited above. Influential German playwright Berthold Brecht attempted to force theatre audiences to respond to theatre cognitively, to elaborate on the messages they perceived in order to make their own judgements about their validity. Brecht's alienation technique was based on the insightful belief that his arguments would have a deeper, longer lasting impact if they were centrally, cognitively based rather than peripherally, emotionally suggested – as he perceived most theatre to be.

What Brecht discovered in his experimentation with alienation is that Theatre audiences have certain expectations when they attend a performance. When audiences attend the theatre or encounter a narrative, in most cases they expect to be entertained, just as audiences encountering an advertisement expect to be exposed to a persuasive message. Brecht's attempts to modify the experience were frustrated when audiences insisted on responding to his productions by empathising with the characters and being transported into the stories. He demonstrated what Plato described centuries ago in his 'allegory of the cave'[520] – that people will revert back to the familiar – to their horizons of expectation – regardless of the oppositional forces at work. In theatre, the expectation is to be entertained, to be transported into another world. Theatre

[520] Plato, *The Republic*, trans. G.M.A. Grube and revised by C.D.C Reeve, 2nd ed. (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 1992), 186-212.

audiences not only allow this transportation, they insist on it, thus making theatre audiences extremely susceptible to persuasive messages.

Nazi Theatre and Transportation

Nazi Theatre undoubtedly transported its audiences into the fictional worlds it created through its playwrights, actors, production values and, of course, its imagery. Playwrights such as Eberhard Wolfgang Möller were able to "appeal to people's basest instincts. He enabled his audiences to repress their humanitarian consciences by indulging in an exercise of mass hatred instead. He taught them what they wanted to know: it was not only legitimate, but a patriotic duty to hate."[521] He transported his audiences into a world in which hate was not only acceptable but desired.

No matter how well written the play, however, it is the actors that give it life and make it real. "Both Göring and Goebbels were profoundly impressed by the power actors exerted in society and were very interested in getting them under their control."[522] Actors such as Werner Krauß were invaluable tools in this effort. Krauß is described as having an extraordinary ability to create a binding connection between himself and his audience,[523] reaching out from within himself to lure the spectator into the character's soul.[524] Some assessments of his skill even assert that "those who saw his work were not always able to distinguish between illusion and reality; they lost their own reality for his."[525]

Actors such as Krauß contribute to creating a play in which the audience has no choice but to become part of the fantasy. One example of this was the 1936 production

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[521] Gadberry, *Theatre in the Third Reich, the Prewar Years: Essays on Theatre in Nazi Germany*, 73.
[522] Ibid., 106.
[523] Ibid., 93.
[524] Ibid.
[525] Ibid.

of Dietrich Eckart's 1912 nationalist adaptation[526] of Peer Gynt. In this mammoth example of Nazi Theatricality descriptions of the audience responses indicate that the performance "successfully drew the audience into that unified state that Goebbels desired"[527] and that transportation based persuasion requires. As one critic noted, at the end of Aase's death scene "when the curtain closed noiselessly, not only had Peer Gynt's mother died, there was no one in the audience who did not have the memory of a final farewell of a loved one."[528] Other descriptions of the performance describe actors as 'enchanting' the audience and spectators travelling through the colourful world of the play.[529]

Similar descriptions of a 1934 production of Schiller's *The Robbers* describe the same unifying, transporting effect:

> The play, the staging, the direction, and all the acting all achieved what Goebbels desired: the audience fell directly under the spell of the presentation and individuals united to become a connected mass. An anonymous critic said that the workers became a community with the same ideas and goals. He believed this was brought about because the actors were capable of drawing the audience in to feel it had experienced all that the characters had experienced in the play. Erich Krafft noted that the actors often used the side stages for monologues and to make direct contact with the audience. Heinz von Lichtberg, the critic for the Party's newspaper, *Der Völkischer Beobachter*, concluded his review by noting the 'colossal effect' that moved from the stage to the audience, enchanting the viewers continuously.[530]

The transporting effect of Nazi theatre is not surprising. As the previous chapters demonstrated, Nazi Theatre was laden with imagery. The imagery in these productions was so powerful and so familiar to their audiences from decades of repetition in similar

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[526] Dietrich Eckart was highly antisemitic and his translation drastically altered the original play in a way that appealed to Nazi nationalism.
Ibid., 114.
[527] Ibid.
[528] Otto Ernst Hesse, "Großes Zaubertheater," *Berliner Zeitung am Mittag*, 6 March 1936. as cited in Gadberry, *Theatre in the Third Reich, the Prewar Years: Essays on Theatre in Nazi Germany*, 114.
[529] Gadberry, *Theatre in the Third Reich, the Prewar Years: Essays on Theatre in Nazi Germany*, 114.
[530] Ibid., 109.

forms that they were as much archetypes as images. As Hillman notes, "one thing is absolutely essential to the notion of archetypes: their emotional possessive effect, their bedazzlement of consciousness so that it becomes blind to its own stance."[531] In short, archetypes transport us into the powerful world of images, the world of imagination that Theatre both inhabits and creates.

Conclusion

Most children who have been lucky enough to visit Disney World will have a memory of an extreme desire to meet Mickey Mouse or see Cinderella's Castle. For many children those fictional characters, even the completely unbelievable ones such as a person sized talking mouse, are absolutely real. In childhood, some of our earliest experiences of morality and ethical behaviour come from narratives: children's stories, fairytales, nursery rhymes and songs all tell a story with a 'moral', a lesson to be learned. From the earliest ages, we are taught to learn moral behaviour from fiction and to associate images of 'good' and 'evil' with the characters brought to life through those narratives. The characters that we perceived as real – as friends who were as familiar as family – taught us about right and wrong, good and bad, heroic and wicked. It is hardly surprising that this tendency to learn from narratives, instilled during the most developmentally critical years of childhood, continues into adulthood.

Nazi Theatre used all of the techniques of effective persuasion in their theatres. Using archetypal imagery of the most fundamental concepts of good and evil they utilised both direct and indirect means of persuasion and through the use of imagery consistent with that of the Weimar years and the First World War propaganda, they

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[531] Hillman, *Re-Visioning Psychology*, xix.

significantly increased the likelihood of positive elaboration on their message. They ensured, through the proliferation of their propaganda, that the message they conveyed was one in keeping with the social norms created by their propaganda and by maintaining a combination of persuasive and entertainment based productions, they moderated the repetition of the message. Most importantly, however, by using theatre – a narrative form – the Nazis avoided triggering resistance to their message, thus increasing the susceptibility of their audience to their desired attitude change. "As the president of the Theater Chamber wrote in 1939: 'Theater is a weapon of spiritual struggle. It is ready for combat at the front lines of the intellectual battle.'"[532]

[532] Bytwerk, *Bending Spines: The Propagandas of Nazi Germany and the German Democratic Republic*, 111-112..

CHAPTER 13: NAZI THEATRE AND THEATRE FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

The various components of theatre in the Third Reich incorporate all of the fundamental characteristics of theatre for social change to the point that, from the establishment of theatre under the mandate of the Reich Propaganda Ministry, Nazi Theatre could be perceived as a single 'theatre for social change' endeavour. As outlined in Chapter 5, most forms of theatre with aspirations of social influence share some common characteristics: the intention to affect social change, using methods within the spectrum between cultural democracy and the democratisation of culture; projects are individually tailored to the community, placing them within a community context; encouraging community involvement or collective participation; and performances frequently featuring unconventional divisions between performers and audiences. Nazi theatre incorporated all of these characteristics.

Most socially conscious theatre however, is aimed (at least in part) at empowering the audience, either as individuals or as a community. Nazi Theatre, on the other hand, had within their mandate the goal of ensuring the dominance of the state over the community and the community over the individual while simultaneously maintaining the appearance of *Volk* focused art and politics. Consequently, Nazi theatre within the context of theatre for social change is a mass of conflicting aspirations and contradictory ideologies.

The previous chapter indicated that the intention of Nazi Theatre to be socially influential is not under debate; its inclusion in the Reich Ministry for Propaganda and Popular Enlightenment alone is an indication of this objective. This aspiration was openly stated on the 15th of March 1933, when Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels

promised that state policy will work in accord with the ultimate goal of winning the German people's approval and support of the national philosophy:

> It is not enough for people to be more or less reconciled to our regime, to be persuaded to adopt a neutral attitude towards us, rather we want to work on people until they have capitulated to us, until they grasp ideologically what is happening in Germany today not only must be accepted but also can be accepted.[533]

Later, the Propaganda Ministry further defined the role of theatre in this endeavour when the office of *Reichsdramaturg* was created (with Dr. Rainer Schlösser in the position) in order to "realize the cultural principles of National Socialism in the world of German Theatre."[534] From this foundation upon which National Socialist Theatre evolved, emerges the first contradiction in Nazi Theatre as theatre for social change.

A regime with the stated goal of inflicting its ideology upon the theatrical repertoire with the intention of persuading the audiences of its necessity should (within the context of this discussion) fall clearly within the realm of the democratisation of culture – essentially a 'top down' approach to theatre for social change. Ideologically however, the NSDP theatre mandate was to create theatre by and for the *Volk*.[535] According to Goebbels, even the Propaganda Ministry "arose out of the people and will always execute the will of the people"[536]; a sentiment that indicates a philosophy ostensibly closely aligned with cultural democracy. In this respect, Nazi Theatre chose an unusual blend of the two approaches: it maintained government control over the theatres (including content, style, form, themes, cast, advertising etc) - an approach normally associated with advocating the democratisation of culture due to its inherent

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[533] Axel Friedrichs, ed., *Die Nationalsozialistische Revolution 1933* (Berlin, Germany: 1937), 262-271. As cited in Gadberry, *Theatre in the Third Reich, the Prewar Years: Essays on Theatre in Nazi Germany*, 8.
[534] Gadberry, *Theatre in the Third Reich, the Prewar Years: Essays on Theatre in Nazi Germany*, 10.
[535] London, ed., 100.
[536] Friedrichs, ed., 262-271. As cited in Gadberry, *Theatre in the Third Reich, the Prewar Years: Essays on Theatre in Nazi Germany*, 8.

inability to provide universal access to the means or 'fruits' of production - while projecting an image of the theatres as representative of and emerging from within the *Volk* (cultural democracy). Rather than a blend of the two philosophies – which would have placed Nazi theatre somewhere along the spectrum between the two extremes – National Socialist policy incorporated both of the extremes in an apparently bizarre and highly contradictory combination.

Democratisation of Nazi Culture

One of the main features of the Nazis' 'democratisation of culture' campaign was the significant increase in state funding provided to theatres in order to increase their quality and accessibility.[537] One of the main objectives surrounding theatre was to ensure that it would be accessible to and appropriate for all Germans, regardless of wealth, age or social status.[538] In fact, one of the major critiques of the Weimar era culture from Hitler was the fact that many of its productions were not suitable for all audiences: "the plays produced on the stage were of such a nature that the people would have benefited by not visiting them at all. A sad symptom of decline was manifested by the fact that in the case of many 'art centres' the sign was posted on the entrance doors: *For Adults Only.*"[539]

With Nazi controlled content ensuring the appropriateness of the plays for all audiences, the next step was to ensure that theatre was easily accessible. Consequently, ticket prices to *Thingspiel* productions were reduced to extremely affordable levels, even

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[537] Gadberry, *Theatre in the Third Reich, the Prewar Years: Essays on Theatre in Nazi Germany*, 78. Strobl, 1.
[538] London, ed., 9.
[539] Hitler, 148.

to the detriment of the genre itself.[540] Furthermore there were massive campaigns to encourage people to attend the theatre including organisations such as *Kraft durch Freude*, (Strength through Joy) which purchased blocks of theatre tickets for its working class members.[541] Democratising the culture of the Third Reich was such a priority for the Propaganda Ministry that, according to National Socialist propaganda, attending the theatre was not only encouraged, it was an obligation for anybody who considered themselves 'German'.[542]

Cultural Democracy

Community Context

If the Nazis were democratising their culture, they were democratising a form of culture that, in some respects, closely resembles other, more recent community engaged theatre. One of the main features of this type of theatre for social change is the community specific context. In community engaged theatre, as described earlier, productions are tailored to the individual community, usually featuring authenticating conventions (aspects of the production designed to connect the fantasy of the play to the reality of the region or its history) taken from the history or identity of the area.[543] Every form of Nazi Theatre (*Thingspiel*, History Plays, Classical Theatre and ParaTheatre) discussed in this study utilised this technique. Nazi theatre however, viewed the 'community' as Germany itself; as a single unified *Volk*, rather than the smaller groups commonly part of community engaged theatre. In Nazi Contemporary Theatre (*Thingspiel* and many of the history plays), the Propaganda Ministry's

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[540] London, ed., 75.
[541] Gadberry, *Theatre in the Third Reich, the Prewar Years: Essays on Theatre in Nazi Germany*, 38, London, ed., 9.
[542] Gadberry, *Theatre in the Third Reich, the Prewar Years: Essays on Theatre in Nazi Germany*, 133.
[543] Kershaw, *The Politics of Performance: Radical Theatre as Cultural Intervention*, 245-249.

encouragement of historical events and personalities has already been established (See Chapter 9).[544] In many community engaged productions, the historical memory that is evoked is one of past oppression, thus encouraging the community to fight current oppression. Nazi Theatre shared this tendency, usually by representing the Weimar Republic as the oppressive regime.[545] These plays created a constructed, imagined past in order to create a foundation for the ideological community of the present. Beyond that however, the Nazi design for Thingplätze included the requirement that they be built on places of historical or mythological importance to German history and culture.[546] Even the name connected these theatres to the German past with the word 'Thing' evoking connotations of Teutonic rites of judgement.[547]

The classical repertoire, for all its presence in the 'dominant' culture and thus not usually considered part of community engaged theatre, also incorporated some of the community context conventions. A significant aspect of Nazi sponsored German identity was its connection with the past and the belief in a superior German culture. Through the promotion of works from classical German playwrights (in conjunction with their elimination of most non-German pieces), the Nazis helped to reinforce this connection to the 'community' of ancient Germans. Furthermore, even when the Nazis allowed the use of non-German plays, the production values and propaganda that surrounded them emphasised the Germanness of the plays or characters in order to overcome any limitations of their 'foreign' origins.[548]

ParaTheatre's connection to the culturally specific context required in community engaged theatre is obvious. Unlike more conventional forms of theatre, ParaTheatre did

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[544] London, ed., 101.
[545] Ibid., 62-64.
[546] Gadberry, "The Thingspiel and Das Frankenberger Wurfelspiel," 105.
[547] Ibid.: 104.
[548] Hostetter, 146-148.

not require authenticating conventions to connect it with 'reality' or even with the community; these were inherent within the form. Without the use of esoteric historical events, ParaTheatre connected the audience with the 'performers' through friends, neighbours and familiar members of the community.

Community Involvement/Collective Participation

In addition to mounting productions within the context of the community in question, a further fundamental component of Theatre for Social Change is the need for community involvement; it empowers the community in their own self expression and increases the emotional investment with the production and by extension, its ideological foundations. While all theatre requires the participation/involvement of the audience, in this case the participation being discussed requires a more active role. At the very least community involvement in this context would require the audience to be, what Boal calls 'spectactors' (active spectators).[549] Consequently, for the purposes of the following discussion, the 'audience' will not be considered as part of the collective participation. By this definition, Nazi theatre incorporated 'community involvement' in *Thingspiel*, Historical Drama and ParaTheatre.

The mandate of *Thingspiel* as theatre by and for the *Volk* also included provisions for collective participation in productions. In order to do this, *Thingspiel* utilised the combination of professional and amateur performers[550] in a similar style to that advocated by the Colway community theatre projects.[551] Many *Thingspiel* productions had casts that numbered in the thousands. To do this, choruses were made up of members of the community, such as the Hitler Youth, while speaking roles were

[549] Babbage, 42.
[550] Gadberry, "The Thingspiel and Das Frankenberger Wurfelspiel," 111.
[551] Little, 1.

played by professionals.[552] As with community theatre, this technique bound the audience (many of whom would have been friends and relatives of the performers) to the production with the same intensity as proud parents viewing their children in a school play.

While Nazi Historical Drama, unlike *Thingspiel*, could not incorporate collective participation, it did encourage community involvement. The Reich Propaganda Ministry encouraged the production of new plays, particularly those which celebrated German History.[553] Members of the community (Germans) were encouraged to submit their writing for consideration resulting in a massive influx of new plays to be screened by the propaganda ministry. "One account tells of 500 scripts about the Germanic hero Arminius which were submitted in 1933."[554] Under these conditions, in the years between 1933 and 1938 there was a 12.6% increase in production of German plays (from 1393-1568) over the years between 1927 and 1932.[555] This increase was largely the result of playwriting in the Third Reich.[556] Furthermore, "History plays accounted for 42% of premieres, published dramas and foreign premiers in translation."[557]

The collective participation inherent in ParaTheatre is also obvious. Party Rallies were showcases for the participation and solidarity of the *Volk* with parades and Party spectacles serving the same function.[558] Events like these involved community participation on a massive scale. Less positive versions of ParaTheatre (such as those discussed in Chapter 10) were likewise participation driven – although in these cases the collective participation was not as voluntary. Parading people through the streets,

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[552] London, ed., 67-69.
[553] Ibid., 101.
[554] Ibid., 23.
[555] Ibid., 99.
[556] Ibid.
[557] Ibid., 99-100.
[558] Berghaus, ed., 172-173.

degradation and public dehumanisation all required the forced participation of the victims, at the very least. Examples of mass violence (pogroms for example) and massacres, on the other hand, required the unwilling contribution of the victims in addition to the more willing participation of the perpetrators. (In this case, passive bystanders constitute the 'audience'.) As with more conventional theatrical forms, the involvement of the community in ParaTheatrical events encouraged feelings of ownership and connection: essential to a political party claiming to embody the will of the *Volk* and equally beneficial to a regime in which violence against a targeted group was encouraged (people find it more difficult to oppose events in which they or their close friends/relatives participated).

Unconventional Divisions between Audience and Performer

The purpose of unconventional divisions between the audience and performer are – like the community context and collective participation – designed to develop and enhance the connection between the audience and performers; between the fantasy of the play and the reality of the surrounding world.[559] The stronger the connection between the audience and the play, the greater the impact of the production's underlying ideology.

The physical relationship between the spectators and actors in *Thingspiel* was one of blurry and frequently shifting boundaries. Like some community engaged theatre projects, Thingplätze did not have clearly defined divisions between the stage and the house (the area of a theatre in which the audience sits). Furthermore, entrances and

[559] London, ed., 67.

exits often took place through the house, encouraging the illusion of the play being part of the surrounding world or of the real world being part of the fantasy.[560]

To reinforce this illusion, *Thingspiel* performers rarely left the stage – an action which would break the illusion. Instead, when they were not needed, or when the production required the presence of the 'masses', the chorus would join the audience in watching the action on the stage, thus creating the illusion of the play's *Volk* being one with the *Volk* in the audience. This had the added benefit of making the audience feel as if they had a role in the play.

One challenge to *Thingspiel's* efficacy in terms of its audience to performer relationship was the size of its audiences. Susan Bennett's theories on audience/performer relationships indicate that smaller, more intimate theatres foster the relationship that socially influential theatre requires more efficiently than larger theatres.[561] Thingplätze however had house sizes in the tens of thousands (sometimes up to 50 000 including standing room).[562] This would indicate, based on Bennett's theories, that the audience size was too great to inspire any kind of intimate connection between spectators and stage. On the other hand, the massive casts created a relatively small audience to performer ratio. For example, a 20 000 person audience in relation to a 1000 person cast is only a ratio of 20:1. This might create the illusion of intimacy even where the sheer size of the amphitheatre would belie it.

If the divisions between audience and spectator in *Thingspiel* were blurred, in ParaTheatre they were almost nonexistent. While party rallies and government organised spectacles were quite similar to *Thingspiel* in their form, the smaller ParaTheatrical events described in Chapter 10 almost eliminated whatever boundaries

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[560] Ibid.
[561] Bennett, 131-132.
[562] London, ed., 56.

existed between observers and participants. With the exceptions of public executions, the physical divide between audience and theatrical action was almost nonexistent, while the role allocations could be shifted extremely easily. (In other words, an audience member could become a 'performer' or visa versa with very little difficulty.) Moreover these events, while often drawing a significant crowd, rarely reached the vast audience sizes of most theatres and, due to the nature of the audience (one that is undefined and able to move and interact at will), the effect of intimacy would have been enhanced.

Democratisation of Culture – Again

As much as these techniques encouraged the illusion of cultural democracy - of the participation and contribution of the '*Volk*' to the theatre - ultimately they were as illusory as the history represented on the Nazi stages; they resembled the real thing but at key points, the Nazis manipulated the truth. While the Nazis fostered the fantasy of völkisch theatre, the reality was that Nazi Theatre was controlled from above. True 'cultural democracy' requires, beyond community involvement, equal access to the means of production. In Nazi Theatre, even the community participation was carefully orchestrated and manipulated to ensure the right impression with minimal loss of control. The means of production were far outside the grasp of the *Volk*. For example, while new plays were encouraged and the production of such plays significantly increased under National Socialism, each of the scripts was vetted by the Nazi censors.[563]

The Reich's sponsorship of classical theatre and history plays after banning *Thingspiel* in 1936 reinforced their 'top down' approach to the arts. Several discussions

[563] Hostetter, 154.

of conventional theatre (admittedly from those who advocate community engaged theatre) claim that it is a tool of social oppression[564] or a "space of domination".[565] Rather than the community engaged philosophy of advocating action and participation, conventional theatre encourages and even requires that audience members become passive observers. The result is that this style of theatre 'teaches' audiences to watch, to be bystanders to the activities and events that surround them.[566] The most that audiences of conventional theatre are asked to do is to empathise with the action on stage. Many theorists, such as Boal and Brecht, actively reject empathy for the same reasons that the Nazis presumably supported it: empathy encourages a spectator to adopt the values of the production as his/her own[567] rather than cognitively consider and evaluate the action on the stage as both Boal and Brecht advocate. This perception is supported by the research on transportation in narratives as a means of eliminating cognitive counterarguments to persuasive messages (see Chapter 12).

Furthermore, even the structure of the plays themselves reinforces the dominance of high level leadership. In most conventional theatre the main character is somehow superior to the characters that surround them. Where these productions include choruses, rather than taking an active role in the outcome of the play, they, like the audience, are observers of the activities of the select few who are above them. They do not control the action (as they frequently did in *Thingspiel*) but rather, are frequently almost unnecessary to the development of the plot.

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[564] Babbage, 37.
[565] Baz Kershaw, *The Radical in Performance: Between Brecht and Baudrillard* (New York, NY: Routledge, 1999), 31.
[566] Babbage, 38.
[567] Ibid., 43.

Results

Theatre for Social Change theorists, particularly those active in community engaged theories, depict theatre as presenting a "vision of the world in transformation and [... showing] the means of carrying out that transformation or of delaying it."[568] When used correctly, these advocates suggest that theatre is a training ground for action.[569] It allows spectators to rehearse events safely before implementing them.[570] The more 'real' the rehearsal appears, the more likely it is to translate into action.

These theories incorporate numerous tactics to encourage audiences to rehearse for the action they propose. Starting with their intention to create a social impact, productions, within specific community contexts, use community involvement and unconventional divisions between audience and actors in order to enhance the power of their messages. For some, the ideal situation involves community involvement (and even control) in every aspect of the production while others advocate centralised control over content and production, disseminated to the entire community (with most falling somewhere on the spectrum between the two extremes).

Nazi Theatre used all of these techniques in their attempt to use theatre as a form of social influence. They ensured that productions fit within the appropriate völkisch context and advocated community involvement when it suited their ideological purposes (such as the early years of the Reich when the Nazis were justifying revolution to support Hitler's somewhat revolutionary rise to power) and audience passivity when they wanted to ensure submissive support in the later years of the Reich. Similarly they created productions which integrated audience and actor when they wanted to create a feeling of *Volk* solidarity and used clearly defined audience/performer relationships when

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[568] Ibid., 40.
[569] Ibid.
[570] Little, 8.

advocating the benefits of dictator style leadership. These physical relationships supported the onstage imagery described in Chapter 9 with *Thingspiel* and ParaTheatre (in particular) conveying the image of the *Volk* as a dominant force while Historical Drama and the Classical Repertoire idealised the *Führer* image.

The Nazis unconventional and opprobrious use of these techniques created a distinct picture of the life for which theatre was a rehearsal. It epitomized what Glen Gadberry calls the "paradox of an essentially elitist movement being able to articulate itself in egalitarian terms."[571] Both the stage fantasy and the egregious reality of the Third Reich were examples of constricting control from above presenting the image of community power from below. The result was a paradox: individuals participated in theatre – both conventional and ParaTheatrical – in acts of *Volk* solidarity while the same actions – even those spontaneously evolving from within the community – manifested the desires and intentions of the regime leaders. The combination of democratisation of culture and cultural democracy extremes in Nazi Theatre created exactly the contradictions that would serve Nazi genocidal aims. It advocated the image of *Volk* power – which increased feelings of control and responsibility among ordinary people, thus ensuring continued participation, while simultaneously encouraging an attitude of submissive capitulation to a few 'lead' actors on the 'stage' of life, ensuring with equal power the implicit consent of the masses to the actions of their leaders. While the dizzying connections are as paradoxical as the chicken and the egg, the result was that the stages of the Third Reich contributed to the social attitudes that made the Holocaust possible – ones of complicit passivity in bystanders and active support in perpetrators.

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[571] Gadberry, *Theatre in the Third Reich, the Prewar Years: Essays on Theatre in Nazi Germany*, 19.

CHAPTER 14: NAZI THEATRE AND THE ARTS THERAPIES

Chapter 7 outlined the fundamental relationships integral to the Arts Therapies: the triangle of influence consisting of the artist, image and viewer. This relationship can be adapted (some would say, perverted) to suit the situation in Nazi Germany as it related to Theatre and ParaTheatre. In the adapted version, the Nazi ideology in combination with theatre artists becomes the 'artist', the image remains the productions themselves (and the message they contain) and the viewer is the audience. As in conventional Arts Therapies however - where viewers are often both the therapist and the artist – Nazi audiences also included the ideologues and theatre artists themselves.

Until now, this analysis has discussed individual components of what made Theatre an influential and integral part of German life and Nazi propaganda: the imagery within productions and the various qualities of theatrical communication that are likely to heighten the efficacy of the propagandistic messages (images) within it. From a therapeutic point of view, these qualities – transportation, relationships between audience and spectators, audience participation etc. – can be seen as ways in which to strengthen the trinary relationship between the Nazi ideologues/ideology, the plays themselves and the audiences. This chapter will focus on the relationship itself as it applies to Nazi Germany, the images in Nazi Theatre within the context of the Arts Therapies and the one point on the triangle that has yet to be discussed: the audience.

Triangle of (Social) Influence

Therapeutic relationships are, of necessity, focused on the client to a certain degree in that therapy exists in service of the client – to reveal, develop and in many

cases, heal the client's psyche. The images created in the Arts Therapies, in the presence of a therapist, are as much an expression of the artist's psyche as they are a means by which the artist can reveal or come to terms with aspects of his conscious or unconscious mind. While this is by no means the only benefit of this relationship, it is a primary concern.

In order to adapt this relationship to the study of the influence of Theatre and ParaTheatre on the Holocaust it is necessary to, in effect, invert the focus of the relationship. In therapy, the artist's psyche is the focus of the relationship. With regards to socially influential Theatre however, it is the *audience's* collective psyche that assumes a central role. Much like the National Socialist Theatre's illusion of cultural democracy masking the democratisation of culture, Nazi Theatre also projected the illusion of theatre not only influencing the collective psyche of the audience, but also revealing it (theatre by and for the *Volk*). Consequently, while the reality of the relationship was one of the Regime/ideology (artist) influencing the audience (viewer) through the image, the illusion was one of the audience as artist with the regime in a witnessing role and all engaged in a dynamic mutually beneficial relationship.

Images

Regardless of the real or illusory directions of influence, the one point on the triangle of influence that remains constant is the image as a mediator between the psyche and the outside world, between the artist and the viewer. As discussed in Chapter 7, the Arts Therapies identify two types of images: diagrammatic and embodied. The difference between diagrammatic and embodied images primarily exists in what Joy Schaverien calls the 'life in the image' – the period in which the image is

being created. Diagrammatic images are those created with conscious intent to depict a particular mental image, convey a specific message or to influence the therapist.[572] They remain clearly within the limits of that which is consciously known. Embodied images, on the other hand, evolve unconsciously – with no preconceived notions as to what the final product will become.[573] An image is embodied if it reveals an aspect of the artist's or viewer's psyche that was not previously known. These images maintain a life or 'body' of their own – within the psyche but also independent of it in that they do not require explanation to communicate their meaning. The difference between these images influences the level on which their message is communicated.

This is not a simple division, nor is it a clear case of dividing images into 'diagrammatic' and 'embodied' categories since both can contain elements of one another. In Nazi Theatre, these complexities are particularly evident in the difference between the artist's intentions and the audience's perceptions. Based on intention, plays created with propagandistic intent are diagrammatic and those with images embedded into entertainment or daily life are embodied. Alternatively, from the perspective of the viewer, if the audience was aware of (or imagined) the propagandistic intention behind the image, from their perspective, it would be diagrammatic, while if the image affects the audience on an unconscious level (it is not obviously propagandistic), the image would be embodied – regardless of the intentions of the regime or the artists.

While many Nazi productions which were intended to be propagandistic were known as such by the audiences (such as *Thingspiel*), a significant number were not, particularly those from the classical repertoire. For example, an intentionally propagandistic classical production is, based on the intention of the artist, diagrammatic.

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[572] Schaverien, 86.
[573] Ibid., 87.

When attending a classical production however, audiences do not expect propaganda. Consequently, the audience's expectations and perceptions of the production as entertainment would make that production embodied, thereby increasing the power of the message, which may then retain "the power attached to some mental images."[574]

The image, within the triangular relationship "mediates the space between the patient and the therapist"[575]; it is a bridge between the outer world and the inner[576] and acts as a communication conduit between the two other points of the triangle. Furthermore, images can provide a connection between the individual and the collective.[577] Translated into the trinary relationship between Nazi Theatre, Nazi Ideology and audiences, Theatre becomes the connection between the ideology and ordinary Germans; between the individual audience member and the *Volk*. In diagrammatic theatre, this served to illustrate, support and even instruct Nazi Ideology, as diagrammatic images refer to something outside of themselves. In embodied productions however, the impact of the imagery required no additional explanation, no ideology through which to recognise the image; it could act on an unconscious level. If the impact of an embodied image in the Arts Therapies is 'ineffable'[578], then the impact of such a production on an audience is likely to have the same power.

Witnessing

The process of witnessing in the Arts Therapies is almost invariably presented as positive and beneficial to all those involved. It is an experience of profound empathy and

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[574] Ibid.
[575] Ibid., 85.
[576] Case and Dalley, 137.
[577] Frances F. Kaplan, ed., *Art Therapy and Social Action* (London, UK; Philadelphia, PA: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 2007), 22.
[578] Schaverien, 87.

essential to the multi-directional communication process between client, image and therapist.[579] While in a therapeutic context, this positive perception of the concept of the Active Witness is appropriate, when adapting that concept to a less controlled environment (such as analyzing the influence of Theatre on The Holocaust), there are numerous pitfalls that pervert the positive aspects of the Active Witness to something far more insidious and potentially dangerous.

There are two key differences between witnessing in a therapeutic context and the same process in a setting such as Nazi Germany. Both of these differences may have served to enhance the impact of the witnessed events/images beyond even the therapeutic experience. Firstly, in therapy, there exists a process of disengagement that could not exist in Nazi Germany. Secondly, while in a therapeutic setting the therapist acts as a mediating influence – a voice of moral reason acting in the client's interests – when the relationship is adapted to Nazi Germany, that role is filled by the regime itself acting in its own interests.

Disengaging

As described in Chapter 7, Joy Schaverien identifies five stages of the life of an image: Identification, Familiarisation, Acknowledgement, Assimilation and Disposal. The last three stages of this life – Acknowledgement, Assimilation and Disposal – are the processes which allow patients and therapists to disengage from the image and from the process of witnessing. Disengaging is a powerful therapeutic tool in that it allows both the patient and therapist to make sense of the image; to bring it into consciousness and thus understand on a cognitive levels its meaning and implications. In addition, this

[579] Jones, *Drama as Therapy: Theory, Practice, and Research*, 109-111.

process allows the witness to remove themselves from the emotional intensity inherent in the process of witnessing.

In National Socialist Germany, this process was almost impossible. In the triangle of influence in Nazi Germany, the artist is the regime or ideology itself. As such, Theatre and ParaTheatre were not the only images being produced by that artist. In fact, the images were constantly present in multiple incarnations and using a variety of forms, in fact, all the familiar forms of propaganda. Consequently, with the entire society being bombarded by a constant stream of ideologically inspired images both on the stage and off, 'audiences' were forced into an almost constant state of witnessing. When they left the theatres, they walked past posters, read the newspapers, listened to a radio show or helped their children with ideologically manipulated homework.[580] The propaganda, and therefore the images, were omnipresent, turning the German people into a constant witness; an audience to a ubiquitous play.

Furthermore, the process of cognitively evaluating ideological images and thus disengaging from them and the process of witnessing them, was actively discouraged.[581] Witnesses were expected to accept Theatre and ParaTheatre based on their belief in the ideology rather than their cognitive understanding; the images were intended to influence people on an emotional, subconscious or even unconscious level.

Like the difference between transportation and cognitive based persuasion discussed in Chapter 12, allowing audiences to disengage would have brought the implications of the image to consciousness and thus inspired obstacles and counterarguments that would reduce their efficacy. It is therefore, not surprising that disengaging from the imagery in Nazi Germany – theatrical or otherwise – was

[580] Even children's textbooks incorporated antisemitic or ideologically inspired messages. Hogan, ed., 64.
[581] Sax and Kuntz, 186.

extremely difficult. The constant barrage of new images combined with the expectation that one accept ideology rather than think about it resulted in a series of images that never reached the third, fourth or fifth stage of life – they were never acknowledged, assimilated or disposed of; they were merely reproduced, transferred from one form to another – from one play or ParaTheatrical event to the next – with the witnesses following in their wake.

Audience: Mediating Influence

Returning to the triangle of influence, in a therapeutic context, the therapist plays an additional role in the relationship – the authority figure who provides a moderating influence and the voice of moral guidance. For example, when dealing with a patient who has committed a violent crime such as murder, there is no question that the crime is morally and legally 'wrong.' Consequently, one of the goals of the therapy is to help the patient avoid repeating that crime in the future. In this situation, the knowledge of the moral repugnance of the crime is essential to the way in which both patient and therapist witness the imagery relating to it. While the patient might be aware of the illegality and immorality of his actions, the therapist ensures that he does not attempt to rationalise or justify the crime – thus enabling him to repeat it.

What if the situation were altered slightly? Instead of committing murder, the hypothetical patient killed someone in self defence or in defence of someone else and was in therapy to come to terms with that action. In this case, the therapist – as the mediating influence – may guide that patient to understand that he did the right thing, that he had no other choice, and perhaps even that his actions were 'heroic'.

In Nazi Germany, the mediating influence of the 'authority figure' (therapist) existed only in the society itself – the laws and accepted practices of National Socialism. Consequently, rather than viewing a murderer as a criminal, under National Socialism he could be perceived as the hero from the second example – if he had killed the right person. Since the Nazis viewed non-Aryans as a threat to the existence and dominance of the Aryan people, murdering a Jew or disabled person would be viewed – by the mediating influence of the time – as an act of self-defence.

Given this moral inversion, the process of witnessing – with the powerful empathetic responses and intense inter-relationships that it entails – becomes equally perverted. Most therapeutic situations are designed to help the patient live a 'normal' life within society. Consequently, therapists, through their relationships with the clients, reinforce the moral and/or legal strictures of that society. Theatre in Nazi Germany was subject to the same moral mediation from within the relationship between the ideology (artist), the productions (image) and the audience (viewer). Consequently, in the presence of a mediating influence which reflected immoral guides, Theatre and the process of witnessing it reinforced the dominant ideology.

Summary

The triangle of influence in the Arts Therapies is a relationship with immense power to affect those within it. By adapting this relationship to Theatre in Nazi Germany, it is possible to identify the same trinary relationship. In the abstract, adapting this relationship to a social setting requires some adjustments such as shifting the emphasis from the intentions of the artist to the knowledge and expectations of the spectators. In an authoritarian, highly propagandised atmosphere such as Nazi Germany, additional

problems emerge, including the elimination of the process of disengagement. It also identifies the potential hazard that is faced when the mediating social influences are not benign. Each of these diversions from the therapeutic triangle of influence probably served to support the efficacy of Nazi Theatre as a conduit of information from the ideology (the artist) to the audience, thus enhancing the power of Theatre as an ideological tool of the Third Reich.

CHAPTER 15: *BECOMING EVIL*

No single factor explains the actions of the participants in the Holocaust. Just as it is impossible to ascertain a formula by which people survived concentration camps, so too it is impossible to identify a simple formula to explain how ordinary men and women became the 'willing executioners' of the Holocaust. The impossibility of this explanation is not that it does not exist in theory, but that the actual complexity of human individuality and motivations preclude its existence. With reference to the Holocaust, however, one of the many contributors to the ability of human beings to commit genocide that is widely acknowledged is the role of ideologies in how the human mind constructs reality and responds to it through action.

Chapters 8 – 11 of this study outlined some of the connections between Nazi Theatre/ParaTheatre and Nazi Ideology. These similarities are not surprising given the pervasiveness of Nazi propaganda, nor are these observations unique in the literature on Nazi Theatre. These four chapters also, however, identified the same images of good and evil in German public life in the years prior to the Nazi rise to power as early as the First World War. The presence of these images over such a long period – within the living memory of many of the adults of the Nazi era – and in conjunction with such a dramatic period in German history, gave them a powerful place in German consciousness; it made them archetypal and embodied – imbued with a life of their own.

Starting with the basic archetypes of 'good' and 'evil' and overlaying them with propaganda characteristics from Weimar and World War One, the Nazis were able to create the archetypal images of German good and German evil; or more accurately, German good and non-German evil. With the psychological power of an archetype

behind them, these images – whether depicted on the pages of magazines, wall posters, radio or the stage – undoubtedly had what Hillman describes as an undeniable 'emotional possessive effect'.[582] Moreover, with such a powerful lineage behind them, the images were so integrally part of the German consciousness that they were unnoticeable; existing on an unconscious level, these embodied images potentially possessed an 'ineffable' impact.

Chapters 12-14 explored this psychological effect from three different perspectives: the Sociological/Marketing theory of persuasive messages; the theories and practices of Theatre for Social Change; and the principles underlying the dynamic relationship encountered in the Arts Therapies, principles that the Nazis inverted and preverted. Regardless of the perspective or the discipline within which one studies these images, the theoretical outcome is the same: Theatre involving archetypal or embodied images, predominantly within good productions which are likely to be engrossing or 'transporting', have a strong potential to exert psychological influence on spectators and participants, particularly when these occur within a context that is congruent with them.

As much as these theories may indicate the probability that Theatre had a social influence and, in conjunction with established relationships between attitude and behaviour change, a consequential contribution to the Holocaust, this relationship cannot be empirically demonstrated. It is impossible to establish retroactively a direct link between Theatrical or ParaTheatrical productions in Nazi German and the perpetration of acts of genocide. The last three chapters, however, have hopefully demonstrated a strong probability of connection between the imagery produced on the stages of the Third Reich and the attitude change necessary for the Holocaust to have

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[582] Hillman, *Re-Visioning Psychology*, xix.

occurred. These theories however, have limited themselves primarily to the individual level – the discussion of the individual psyche as it is affected by images and persuasive messages on the stage and the relationship between those images and the artists and viewers with whom they interact. This final chapter places this research into a broader framework combining the individual psychology of genocide with the social context necessary for its 'success'. In addition, it outlines some aspects of Theatre that, while perhaps not enough to encourage people to perpetrate genocide, may have contributed to the ability of ordinary people to become bystanders – to stand by without intervening. Finally, this chapter concludes with proposals for the future direction of research on theatre and genocide.

The Evil Paradigm

James Waller's book, *Becoming Evil: How Ordinary People Commit Genocide and Mass Killing*, rather than proposing a single explanation for one of the most despicable possibilities of human behaviour, suggests a combination of innate and conditioned contributors to the individual and collective psyche that contribute to the phenomenon of 'extraordinary evil'. He proposes a paradigm – a framework – that outlines several

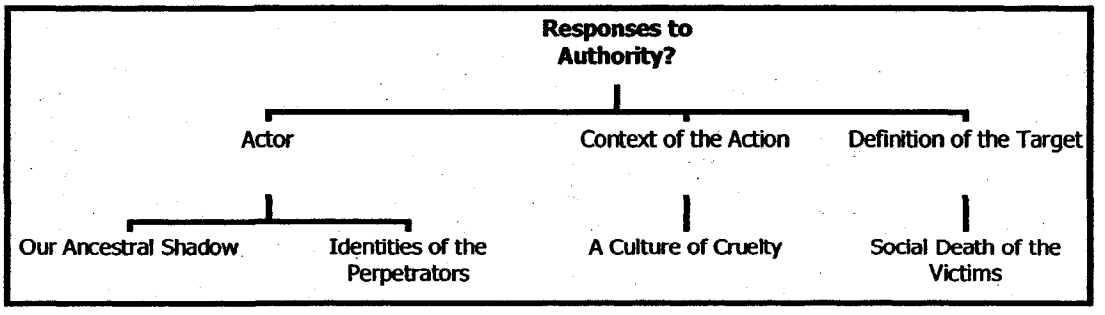

Figure 41. What Forces Shape our Responses to Authority?

Source: James Waller, *Becoming Evil: How Ordinary People Commit Genocide and Mass Killing*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2002. 134

aspects of individual and social psychology that contribute to the ability of ordinary human beings to commit acts of extraordinary evil.

The paradigm starts with the forces that shape our responses to authority. He classifies these forces under three categories: the Actor, meaning the individuals involved; the Context of the Action, meaning the society in which evil occurs which Waller calls a Culture of Cruelty; and the Definition of the Target, meaning the ways in which victims are identified and eliminated from society. Waller's discussion of the 'Actors' is divided into two components: the innate characteristics in human nature that make all human beings susceptible to acts of extraordinary evil, which he calls the Ancestral Shadow; and the influences and characteristics that awaken this potential, which he subsumes under a rubric, the Identities of the Perpetrators.

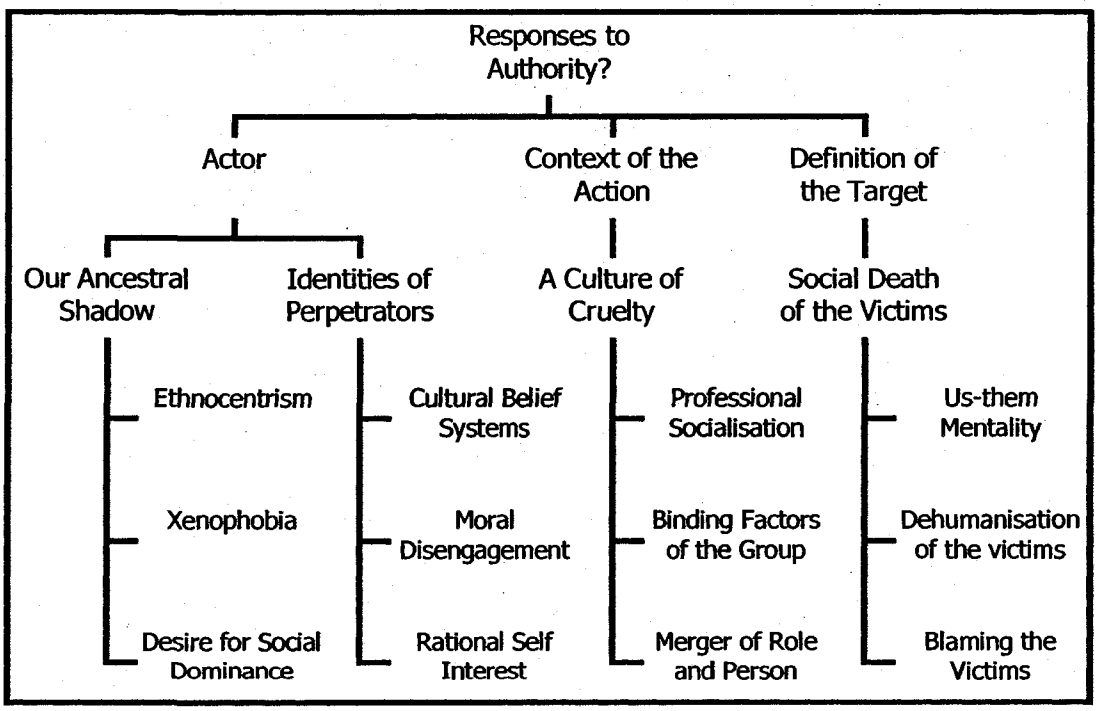

Figure 42. Responses to Authority.

Source: James Waller. *Becoming Evil: How Ordinary People Commit Genocide and Mass Killing.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2002. 134

Each of these broad categories is subdivided into specific influences as outlined in figure 42 and then divided further into highly specific components as illustrated in figures 43 and 44. The result is a paradigm that outlines a number of different contributors to the human ability to commit genocide and mass murder.

In the case of the Holocaust, Theatre contributed to several of these factors. In fact, of the three primary divisions – the Actor, Context, and Targeting the Victims – Theatre was a significant contributor to two of the three categories (the Actor and Targeting the

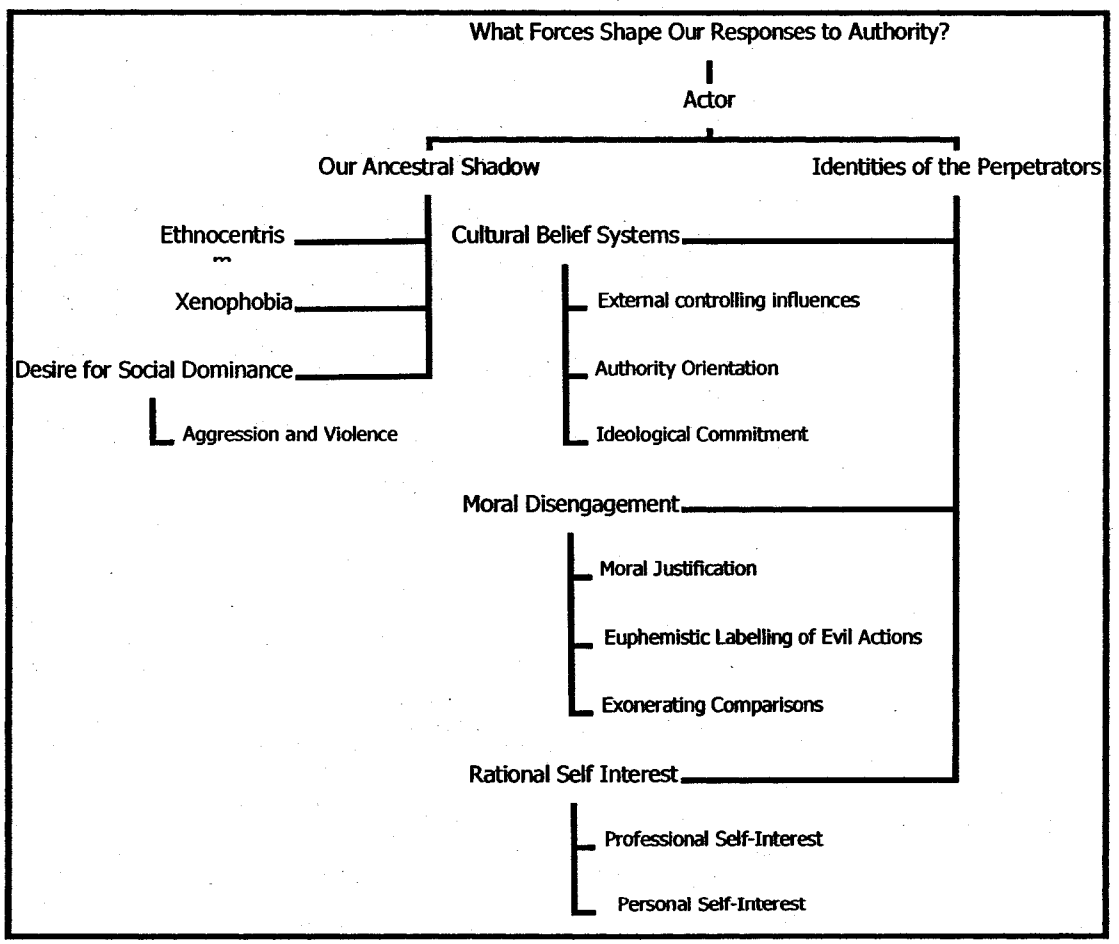

Figure 43. Responses to Authority, Detailed: 1.

Source: James Waller. *Becoming Evil: How Ordinary People Commit Genocide and Mass Killing.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2002. 134

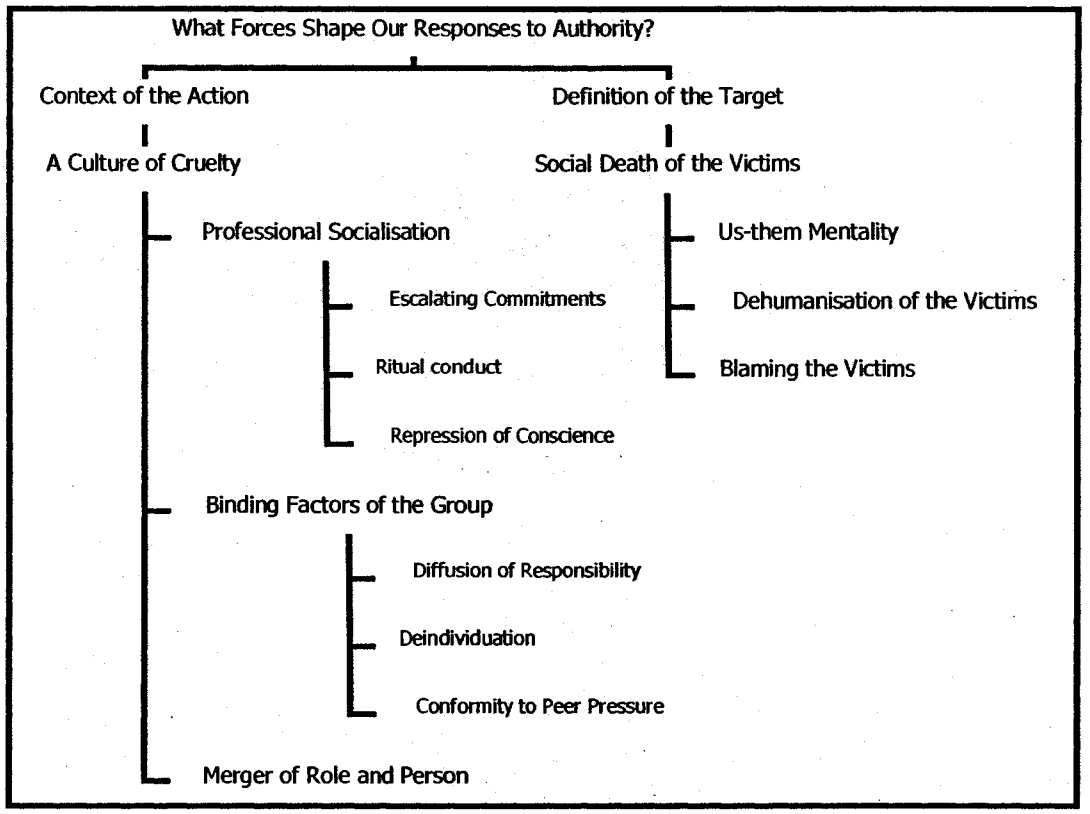

Figure 44. Responses to Authority, Detailed: 2.

Source: James Waller. *Becoming Evil: How Ordinary People Commit Genocide and Mass Killing.* Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2002. 134

Victims) and a minor influence within the third (the Social Context). Of the 12 specific influences outlined in the detailed breakdown of James Waller's framework for how ordinary people commit acts of extraordinary evil (figures 43 and 44) Theatre or ParaTheatre in Nazi Germany contributed to all except Rational Self Interest.

Actor

Our Ancestral Shadow

The Ancestral Shadow consists of "three innate, evolution-produced tendencies of human nature that are most relevant to understanding our capacity for extraordinary

evil."[583] Waller identifies these tendencies as Ethnocentrism, Xenophobia and the Desire for Social Dominance. Ethnocentrism and Xenophobia are essentially two sides of the same ideological coin: Ethnocentrism is the belief in the superiority or centrality of one's own group while Xenophobia is the fear or hatred of outsiders and strangers. The combination of these two inclinations results in the third characteristic that makes up the Ancestral Shadow – the Desire for Social Dominance. Aside from the sexual drive, the innate need for one's own group to dominate is one of the most powerful motivating forces in the human psyche.[584] It also results in an increased tendency towards aggression and violence.[585] These three characteristics are common to everybody to some degree but can be evoked or enhanced by external forces.[586] It is here that Theatre played a role. While Theatre could not have created ethnocentric or xenophobic traits in the population of Germany, it could and did evoke those drives and enhance those fundamental needs. The images of the Perfect Aryan and the Evil Jew were ideal tools with which to encourage ethnocentric and xenophobic tendencies. When combined with the superiority and inferiority inherent in these archetypal theatrical images of the Aryan protagonist as a heroic saviour, superior in all ways to the manipulative, cheating, evil antagonists, they evoked all three of these innate characteristics in the audiences.

Identities of the Perpetrators

While the innate characteristics of the Ancestral Shadow are present in all individuals, they do not explain why some people become perpetrators while others do not. Given that we all possess the innate characteristics to make us capable of evil acts,

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[583] Waller, *Becoming Evil: How Ordinary People Commit Genocide and Mass Killing*, 153.
[584] Ibid., 156.
[585] Ibid., 157.
[586] Ibid., 156.

additional 'dispositional influences' contribute to awakening that potential including Cultural Belief Systems, Moral Disengagement and Rational Self-Interest, which includes actions motivated by the probability of personal or professional gain. Theatre in Nazi Germany played a role in the creation and propagation of both cultural belief systems and moral disengagement.

Cultural Belief Systems

James Waller identifies Cultural Belief Systems as "stable and enduring information a person has about other people, objects, and issues."[587] With reference to the perpetrators of extraordinary evil, there are three relevant belief systems: those about external, controlling influences on one's life, those dealing with one's orientation to authority and those promoting ideological commitment. Theatre in Nazi Germany contributed to the strength of belief systems such as these in the Third Reich.

Belief systems advocating external and controlling influences are those that see control in an external being or force such as God or fate, thus encouraging those who subscribe to the belief to react passively to authoritative orders.[588] The Theatrical proclivity for messianic saviour figures in the role of the protagonist contributed to this belief in Nazi Germany. The idea that, as in *Neurode*, a saviour will arrive to rescue the masses from their hardships is a powerful image in a belief system that places the locus of control outside of the 'normal' individual.

An additional element that contributes to cultural belief systems advocating an external locus of control is a culture that encourages obedience excessively through threats of dire consequences to punish acts of disobedience or family structures

[587] Ibid., 178.
[588] Ibid., 180.

zealously privileging obedience to the father as a major cultural value. While it is likely that this particular contribution to the Holocaust undoubtedly came out of German culture itself, it is interesting to note that the second most popular Shakespearean play in Nazi Germany was *The Taming of the Shrew* (second only to Twelfth Night and followed by *Hamlet*)[589] a play entirely devoted to the means by which a disobedient woman can be trained to obedience. In fact, Kate's final speech in this production includes strongly advocates unequivocal obedience:

> Thy husband is thy Lord, thy life, thy keeper,
> Thy head, thy soveraigne: One that cares for thee,
> And for thy maintenance. Commits his body
> To painfull labour, both by sea and land:
> To watch the night in stormes, the day in cold,
> Whil'st thou ly'st warm at home, secure and safe,
> And craves no other tribute at thy hands,
> But love, faire lookes, and true obedience;
> Too little payment for so great a debt.
> Such dutie as the subject owes the Prince,
> Even such a woman oweth to her husband:[590]

Admittedly, one of the most enduring appeals of this play, in particular this speech, is the debate over whether or not Kate actually means what she says. Since any ambiguity in Kate's intention could only have been communicated through the actress's portrayal, it is difficult, if not impossible, to tell, in retrospect, how this speech was interpreted in the Third Reich productions or even if its interpretation was consistent throughout the productions. Given the portrayal of other female characters such as Goethe's Gretchen[591] however, it is not unreasonable to hypothesise that Kate may have been played without any ambiguity behind her final submissive lines.

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[589] Symington, 177.
[590] Neil Freeman, ed., *The Applause First Folio of Shakespeare in Modern Type* (New York, NY; London, UK: Applause, 2001), 229.
[591] Hostetter, 143.

Similarly, Theatre's emphasis of the Fuhrer figure reinforced the social attitude towards leaders, particularly Hitler, as holding supreme authority over the nation as a whole as well as the actions of individuals within Germany. ParaTheatre reinforced this system which advocated an external locus of control through the violent acts of torture and murder which were designed to repress resistance through threats of dire consequences for any disobedience. While it is clear that the cultural system that encouraged excessive obedience was a dominant part of German culture long before 1933, Nazi Theatre and ParaTheatre certainly reinforced it.

Moreover, Nazi Theatre contributed to what Waller identifies as a belief system "about an ideal social organization and way of life"[592] thereby advocating and enhancing ideological commitment. While ideological commitment varies among individual perpetrators, it still plays at least a partial role in understanding their actions. The key component in these ideologies is hate.[593] Hatred functions to increase the distance between perpetrator and victim while manufacturing a passionate commitment to the beliefs that will allow the final destruction of the target of that hatred.[594] Ideologies of hate have three components: the negation of intimacy (seeking distance from the targeted group), passion such as anger or fear in response to a threat, and the decision or commitment involving a cognitive devaluation and diminution of the target. An ideology of 'burning hate' develops when all three components feed off each other such as occurred in Nazi propaganda. Propaganda is a key element in the development of ideologies of 'burning hate'. It "functions to negate the intimacy toward the targeted entity, generate passion, and generate commitment to false beliefs through the

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[592] Waller, *Becoming Evil: How Ordinary People Commit Genocide and Mass Killing*, 182-183.
[593] Ibid., 184.
[594] Ibid.

implantation of false presuppositions."[595] Nazi Theatre, as a part of the propaganda machine, assisted in this process. Correlating the ideological image of the Jew with theatrical antagonists aids the process of seeking distance from the target – after all, who identifies with the villain of the play? Creating living, breathing images of the villains as puppet masters and swindlers on the stage in combination with criminalising Jews in ParaTheatrical activities helped to inspire a combination of anger and fear – anger at those who 'cheated' and fear of the criminals who pose a threat to society. Finally, the imagery of 'evil' as a monster or demon on the stage in conjunction with the dehumanisation of Jews in ParaTheatre contributed to the cognitive devaluation of the target. These images recurred constantly in Nazi Germany with the stage being only one of the countless possible locations for their appearances. Consequently, they were in a state of constant reinforcement; feeding off one another in numerous guises to create a propaganda of burning hatred resulting in the ideological commitment to the ultimate destruction of 'the enemy'.

Moral Disengagement

Moral Disengagement, as the second dispositional influence that contributes to why some individuals become perpetrators of genocide, is a "process by which some individuals or groups are placed outside the boundary in which moral values, rules, and considerations of fairness apply."[596] This effect allows people to commit genocide without considering their victims within their own moral sphere; placing them outside the boundaries of their own morality. The three practices that Waller suggests creates this effect are moral justification, euphemistic labelling of evil actions and exonerating

[595] Ibid.
[596] Ibid., 186.

comparisons. Moral justifications justify evil by portraying it as serving a worthy purpose. As a result, action against the victims becomes a moral imperative with motives becoming far more than mere rationalizations.[597] These moral imperatives "specify what is good, what is right, what is evil, and what is dangerous"[598] and once in place, they can "provoke a collectivity to engage in acts of uncommon virtue or unspeakable atrocity."[599] To add to the disengagement effect, actions of 'unspeakable atrocity' are frequently euphemistically labelled – not to disguise their true nature, since people are aware of their true meaning – but rather to help confine the actions to a "safe realm of dissociation, disavowal, and emotional distance."[600]

Theatre's contributions to moral justifications and euphemistic labelling are obvious and have already been discussed in different contexts throughout this thesis. Creating imagery portraying 'evil' as a swindler, puppet master and criminal simultaneously creates a moral imperative to protect society from these dangerous threats to its safety. Furthermore, depicting these acts as a defence against a threatening group (for example, ParaTheatrical imagery depicting Jews as criminals worthy of execution) labels the murders committed under the guise of this defence as 'executions' and therefore both legal and morally justifiable. Where Theatre plays a more unusual role in moral disengagement is by creating Exonerating Comparisons.

Exonerating Comparisons work on the principle that "how behaviour is viewed is colored by what it is compared against."[601] As a result, the perceived merit (or lack thereof) of behaviours is determined relative to other experiences. One interpretation of this would be for perpetrators to compare their actions with the perceived threats of

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[597] Ibid., 187.
[598] Ibid.
[599] Ibid.
[600] Ibid., 189.
[601] Ibid.

their enemies (in this case, the manipulative, criminal, demonic Jew) and consequently find them justified. Alternatively, however, they can compare their behaviours towards the enemy against their own prior experiences as perpetrators. In this respect, Theatre and ParaTheatre are unique forms of propaganda in that they can provide these 'experiences' for audiences in controlled environments. For example, having 'planted' audience members throw projectiles at Shylock when he enters the stage provides an experience for the audience that creates a frame of reference to which to refer when assessing the merit of other more 'real' behaviours. Because of Theatre's ability to transport audiences into the world of the play, performances can become extremely close to recreating experiential learning, thereby creating exonerating comparisons with ones' own personal experience and consequently contributing to the dispositional influences that lead some people to become perpetrators of genocide.

Situational Influences: A Culture of Cruelty

The situational influences that contribute to genocide create what Waller calls a 'Culture of Cruelty'. Two of the factors that Waller posits contribute to the development of a culture of cruelty are professional socialisation and the binding factors of the group. Theatre contributed, to a greater or lesser extent, to both of these contributing factors in Nazi Germany.

One of the elements of professional socialisation that Waller identifies is ritual conduct, behaviours that are unproductive but remain persistent despite the fact that they consume scarce energy. Ritual behaviours persist because they carry significant meaning for the participants, they give events a 'high purpose', reinforcing the

invincibility of the perpetrators and authenticating the realism of the ideology.[602] Ritual conduct in the Holocaust could refer to many of the ParaTheatrical events such as the Nuremberg Rallies and party Parades which reinforced the unity of the German people. This type of theatrical ritual, however, was also present in concentration camps in activities such as endless "roll calls, camp parades, meaningless physical exercises, and the stripping and beating of victims already marked for death."[603] While these events were not subject to public viewing, they were part of the ParaTheatrical entertainment of the SS and Nazi guards: "these pieces of SS theatre, constructed and enacted daily, reanimated the SS sense of high purpose [...] and sustained both morale and self-image in what was, indubitably but inadmissibly, psychologically a hardship post."[604] Events such as these, both theatrically ritualised and designed to inflict maximum humiliation, according to the commandant of Treblinka, made it possible for perpetrators to do what they did.[605]

Ritual conduct as a situational influence helped to reinforce the purpose of events and also to remove these events from the 'normal' aspects of daily life. In addition, a second key socialising influence that makes events like the Holocaust possible is the factors which keep people within an evildoing group such as diffusion of responsibility, deindividuation and conformity to peer pressure. Not surprisingly, given its *Volk* focused themes, Nazi Theatre strongly reinforced these influences, particularly diffusion of responsibility and deindividuation.

In a group, particularly one that identifies itself as a group rather than a number of individuals within that group, there is a feeling that no single person is responsible for

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[602] Ibid., 207.
[603] Ibid.
[604] Inga Clendinnen, *Reading the Holocaust* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 142. As cited in Waller, *Becoming Evil: How Ordinary People Commit Genocide and Mass Killing*, 207.
[605] Waller, *Becoming Evil: How Ordinary People Commit Genocide and Mass Killing*, 207.

the actions of the group. For example, in a theatrical production, the lead actor or director cannot take full credit for the success or failure of the play since the entire cast and crew is responsible for the production and each member contributes his or her own expertise to the success or failure of the whole. In genocides, this concept results in a feeling of invulnerability; one person is not responsible for the murder(s) since someone else gave the order, shot the gun, created the gas, operated the crematoria etc. Even individuals acting on their own can convince themselves that their actions are on behalf of the group and thus they cannot be held responsible for them; for example, the "I was just following orders" defence. Paradoxically, this liberation from perceived responsibility can also create a sense of powerlessness in the idea that refusing a distasteful or immoral task will not end the action since somebody else will simply take over, but will only result in alienating one's friends or colleagues. Finally, it can force an individual to re-evaluate their own moral guidelines based on the idea that 'everybody else is doing it'. For example, the oft quoted question posed by parents, 'if everybody else is jumping off a bridge, will you?' is more accurately phrased by 'if everybody else is jumping off a bridge, it must be a good idea or else they would not *all* do it'.

Nazi Theatre's strong emphasis on the *Volk* as a single spiritual and organic entity with an almost 'all for one and one for all' underlying philosophy was ideally suited to reinforcing the diffusion of responsibility in the Third Reich. Being German meant being part of an extremely powerful and, in the imagery presented at the theatre, extremely cohesive group. The successes and sacrifices of individuals become the successes and sacrifices of all. Furthermore, the structure of the contemporary theatre identified characters as 'types' rather than individuals. This imagery creates a sense of anonymity; the illusion that a person cannot be identified other than as a member of a

group – as a type.[606] This type of deindividuation increases the tendency of individuals towards aggression and, while probably not created by Theatre in the Third Reich, was definitely reinforced by it.

Definition of the Target: Social Death of the Victims

The final component of genocide in James Waller's paradigm is the definition of the target. This process is defined by increasing the distance between the perpetrators and the victims in order to facilitate 'easier' killing. The process begins by first 'killing' the victims within a social setting – essentially removing them from society in a form of 'social death' in order to make their physical demise easier to accept and condone. Many of these processes are familiar components of Holocaust propaganda and have already been discussed in this thesis. They include us vs. them thinking that divides the society into 'in' and 'out' / 'good' and 'evil' groups; dehumanisation and demonization; and blaming the victims for their own fate by suggesting that they somehow earned their death in the same way a violent criminal earns the death sentence.[607]

The theatrical links to all three of these concepts have already been discussed at length through examination of the archetypal 'good' and 'evil' imagery, images of antagonists/villains as devils or monsters, and the criminalisation of the victims on both the contemporary stages and ParaTheatrical events. In fact, the theatrical imagery discussed thus far all indicates that Theatre played a role in the social death of the victims of Nazi Germany. There is, however, an additional element to Nazi Theatre that is part of the genocidal process of dehumanisation.

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[606] Ibid., 217.
[607] Ibid., 243-256.

The instinctive image of 'dehumanisation' in a genocide tends to be rather literal; it is the categorisation or identification of victims as something other than human such as the Jews in Nazi Germany being represented as vermin and the Tutsi in Rwanda as cockroaches. There is however, more to this concept. Dehumanisation can also refer to deprivation of the identity of the victim group and their exclusion from humanity. One aspect of this is 'linguistic dehumanisation', a process by which victims are denied even a name, instead being referred to as 'they' or 'them'. For example, in one study of the life stories passed down from families with a Nazi past,

> Jews are recalled as people with identities, or at least with professions, and, perhaps, even a name, in the early years of the Third Reich. In later years, however, and especially after the November pogrom of 1938, Jews disappear more and more from these stories. Typical of these recollections is an indirect way of speaking about 'them' in the third person – for example, 'and then suddenly *they* were gone.'[608]

This process of exclusion also manifested itself on the stage. While ParaTheatre tended to be the venue for overt dehumanisation in the sense of treating Jews as animals or less than human, the conventional theatre rarely depicted explicitly Jewish characters at all. While the imagery of the villains and antagonists on the Nazi stages were clearly depicting the same characterisations of the Nazi ideological image of the Jew, the characters were rarely Jewish. The German stage was supposed to be a centre of civilisation and cultural superiority; in the Nazi eyes, this was not the place for Jews. This created an imagistic or archetypal version of the linguistic dehumanisation described above. Just as explicit mention of Jews gradually disappeared from language, so too were the explicit Jews removed from the stage; and just as references to Jews in language continued abstractly, so the images of 'the Jew' on stage continued without

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[608] Ibid., 247.

reference to any concrete Jewish identity. In essence, the absence of Jewish characters on the German stage created a type of archetypal or imagistic dehumanisation.

Bystanders

Nazi Theatre and ParaTheatre can be linked to James Waller's paradigm of how ordinary people commit acts of extraordinary evil. They enhanced and played on the innate characteristics of human nature that make all people capable of evil; contributed to the dispositional influences which make some individuals more susceptible to becoming perpetrators than others; helped to create and reinforce the cultural and situational influences which make acts of extraordinary evil possible; and became a venue in which to identify the victims and dehumanise them, thereby eliminating them from society and humanity, ultimately facilitating their murders.

Perpetrators of genocide are not, however, the only people necessary in order to facilitate a successful genocide. In order for a massive event like the Holocaust to take place, not only must human beings commit acts of extraordinary evil, but the remainder of the population must allow such acts. In other words, just as a genocide cannot happen without perpetrators, it is equally unlikely to occur – at least with any degree of 'success' – without bystanders. One of the common claims from bystanders is that they did not know what was happening. Given the public nature of deportations, executions, torture, discriminatory laws, pogroms, etc, this is a difficult concept to believe. It seems more likely that, instead, bystanders found ways to ignore their guilty knowledge, or to delude themselves into rejecting its validity. While many of the factors discussed above may have contributed to the ability of bystanders to implicitly support the Holocaust,

there are two other theatrical contributions to this phenomenon that deserve mention: Theatre as pure entertainment and Jewish Theatre.

> In the late 1930's, the tone of conventional Nazi Theatre began to change:
>
> Earlier the goal at the theatre was to move the individuals in the audience to a sense of greatness and unity through the presentation of classics and performances reminding them of the traditions of German literature. Now the idea was to keep the audiences supporting the government, but to do it by presenting light, sentimental, traditional operettas that pictured life as it was in the good old days in Germany and would be again in the future. Here were blonde, blue-eyed Aryans (often in traditional folk costumes, the maidens with long braids) falling in love and finding happiness. The romantic and exotic settings and subject matter were selected to take the people's minds off problems in German society.[609]

Consequently, as the Third Reich evolved, Theatre became a distraction; a way to improve morale and divert the attention of the population from the horrors that were developing. In addition, the general public's perception of theatre as 'frivolous' probably worked in the Reich's favour, as people may have believed that such an inconsequential aspect of society, particularly portraying purely entertainment based pieces, would not continue through horrors, atrocities and impending or ongoing war. Furthermore, very practical minded individuals may have concluded that if the rumoured horrors and dangers truly did exist, the Reich would not be pouring money and development resources into an insignificant aspect of cultural life, as they did to the Theatres.[610] As Hitler said, "Performances must be 'illusion' for the masses"[611] and Theatre provided the illusion that all was well in the Third Reich.

If entertainment based theatre was distraction for the German masses, the mere presence of Jewish Theatre in Nazi Germany was exploited to provide the same

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[609] Gadberry, *Theatre in the Third Reich, the Prewar Years: Essays on Theatre in Nazi Germany*, 115.
[610] Strobl, 1.
[611] Gadberry, *Theatre in the Third Reich, the Prewar Years: Essays on Theatre in Nazi Germany*, 134.

reassurance to the international community. Some studies suggest that after "1936, the [Kultur]Bund's [the association which governed Jewish Theatre] existence 'was based ever more on the fact that the Nazis were using us [Jewish Theatre] as counterpropaganda against the growing pressure of foreign public opinion'[612,613] with some referring to the existence of Jewish Theatre as an example of the Nazi's 'humanitarian' policies towards Jews.[614] The Berlin Olympics provided an incomparable opportunity for the Nazis to demonstrate their liberal 'separate but equal' policies which they did, in part, by inviting foreign guests to *Kulturbund* performances (Jewish Theatre productions).[615] Even theatre in concentration camps was used to reassure the world of the quality of life the Germans offered the Jews:[616]

> In Malines in Belgium, where prisoners of French, German, Flemish, and Dutch origins were interned, the SS arranged for those who had been theatre performers to present 'variety shows' in the camp yard on Saturdays and Sundays. Following these performances reports would appear in the Belgian press to present a better picture of camp life and to diminish rumours of German atrocities.[617]

The use of Jewish Theatre in concentration camps and through the *Kulturbund* to defend the National Socialist Government against accusations of inhuman treatment of the Jews in Germany is one among many perverted twists of Nazi culture. In retrospect, from the Jewish perspective, it was an impossible choice: to continue to create theatre that the Nazis would appropriate for their own purposes or to eliminate Jewish theatre completely and thereby eliminate a powerful source of psychological and emotional resistance and, in part, give a victory to a regime which sought to deny the existence of

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[612] Monika Richarz, ed., *Jewish Life in Germany: Memoirs from Three Centuries* (Bloomington, IN: 1991), 383. as cited in Gadberry, *Theatre in the Third Reich, the Prewar Years: Essays on Theatre in Nazi Germany*, 142.
[613] Gadberry, *Theatre in the Third Reich, the Prewar Years: Essays on Theatre in Nazi Germany*, 142.
[614] Ibid.
[615] Ibid., 147.
[616] Ibid., 159.
[617] Ibid.

any authentic Jewish culture. With hindsight, however, there was no choice at all. The Jews could no more control Nazi counterpropaganda than they could control the Nuremberg laws or deportation orders; they could, however, control their theatre and thereby provide a resource that, as Gadberry concludes "must have been meaningful psychologically, morally, and intellectually for all those involved as a way of preserving their sense of self and heightening their quality of life – at least temporarily."[618]

Unfortunately, regardless of the innocuous nature of entertainment based theatre which dominated the Nazi stages throughout the Third Reich or the psychological and spiritual benefit of Jewish Theatre, both aspects of Jewish cultural life in Nazi Germany helped to contribute to the existence of bystanders willing to ignore the horrors around them – within Germany and in the broader international community.

The Paradigm and Theatre

James Waller's framework explaining the psychological processes necessary for individuals to commit acts of extraordinary evil suggests 12 major influences which can transform an ordinary person into a genocidaire as outlined in figures 43 and 44. With varying degrees of intensity, either Theatre or ParaTheatre or a combination of the two contributed to 11 of these 12 key psychological influences. Not only did Theatre and ParaTheatre contribute to the propagandistic and ideological goals of the Reich, but they also contributed to the social and cultural forces which allowed that ideology to result in genocide.

[618] Ibid., 152.

The End – and The Beginning

Theatre and ParaTheatre in Nazi Germany were, at the very least, cogs in the propaganda machine: they supported Nazi Ideology, reinforced propagandistic imagery and contributed to the creation of a society so polarized between archetypes of 'good' and 'evil' that it eliminated those it considered evil from humanity in order to make it possible to murder them.

Theatre is, however, an unusual form of propaganda. Unlike magazines, newspapers, wall posters, radio, television and now, the internet, Theatre is live. Theatre brings the opprobrious images of genocidal propaganda into the minds of living, breathing human beings; into a reality that is far more real, despite its relative lack of technological sophistication, due to the intimacy it creates between audiences and performers. Unlike other forms of propaganda, theatre involves the audience, even if only in allowing audience responses such as laughter or applause to influence the production, making audiences part of the propaganda rather than a mere spectator to it.

Furthermore, theatre is rarely perceived as 'propaganda'. It is entertainment and thus an arena in which mental defences are lowered and fantasy encouraged. It transports audiences into its own world, creating relationships with characters and allowing audiences to become part of the story, experiencing it for themselves without ever leaving their seats. In fact, its 'frivolous' image and reputation as a form of 'high culture' made its mere existence a message to those observing that the world could not be so bad if supposedly inconsequential aspects of society like theatre could continue; that Germany under Nazi rule was still a cultural leader in the world – despite having eliminated a significant portion of its artists; and that any people who continued to

produce theatre – an ostensibly unimportant aspect of life – could not be oppressed the way the Jews 'supposedly' were.

While this study posits that Theatre contributed to the Holocaust on both an individual and societal level, it does not assign blame to the artists and theatre practitioners of the Nazi period. Nor does it suggest that Theatre had such an overpowering and hypnotic effect that audiences had no choice but to succumb to its imagery and persuasive messages. Assigning blame at this point in time is useless and regardless of the level of influence Theatre may exert on its audiences, the choice to commit evil acts or stand by and allow them to happen always remains a conscious decision. There were individuals in Nazi-controlled Europe who were able to make the choice to resist and attempt to rescue victims, and there were a number of occasions of mass resistance both within and outside the victim group which were both successful and in direct opposition to Nazi ideology and propaganda. Theatre and other forms of propaganda are not now, nor were they ever, so powerful as to negate the free will of those who chose to act or not to act.

While this study does not assign blame, provide a comprehensive explanation for the actions of perpetrators and bystanders, or excuse the actions of those involved, it does open several avenues for future research as well as creating possibilities for future practical applications. The obvious routes of future research will be to address many of the concepts outlined in this study in greater depth. This study took several unusual approaches to the study of Theatre in the Third Reich in its deployment of image based analyses, its study of ParaTheatre as a form of Theatre, and its attempt to link both Theatre and ParaTheatre to each other and to the Holocaust. All of these concepts could benefit from far more detailed study and analysis. In addition, adding to this list of

entertainment modes by including the contributions of other forms of live performance such as Music and Opera or by studying the influence of theatre prior to the Third Reich on the creation of its ideology and imagery could all provide interesting insights relevant to this study. Moreover, for those wanting more empirically based evidence of the link between Theatre and Genocide, a study attempting to associate, both geographically and chronologically, propagandistic theatre (of varying levels of subtlety) with acts of violence or genocide-related activity would provide an interesting avenue for future study.

On a more practical level, however, the essence of what this study has proposed is that Theatre and entertainment have a powerful potential to influence the psyche on both an individual and collective level. The implications of this are to use this power and the techniques adopted by the perpetrators of genocide in efforts to further elaborate a model of entertainment based, pre-emptive propaganda that emphasises genocide prevention prior to the advocacy of genocidal aims or the implementation of human rights violations. Such efforts are already underway, spearheaded by the BBC Trust, Search for Common Ground, and Oxfam. As an aspect of public life almost uniformly dismissed as frivolous, entertainment has the potential for benign intervention that, when implemented in response to warning signs of looming mass atrocity crimes sounded by local populations and non-governmental organisations can powerfully interdict negative trends without threatening sovereignty or creating new political tensions.

Moreover, given the potential for Theatre to convey persuasive messages, Theatre could also be used to raise awareness of the need to prevent and intervene in genocides in countries with the power and capabilities to do so. Since many of these

countries are democratic and thus reliant on the interests of the population to create political priorities, using Theatre to convey the importance of genocide prevention and international human rights related policies could help to bring these concerns into the political arena and assist in creating the political will to address these international concerns.

As most Theatre artists will confirm, the stage is a place of possibilities, an empty space which can take you literally anywhere, and allow you to meet anybody, both real and imaginary. With such possibilities in such an innocuous setting, is it any wonder that the Nazis saw the power of this art form to influence the minds of its audience? Romeo Dallaire, former commander of the United Nations Task Force in Rwanda, suggests that genocide begins when the concept that it is acceptable to murder an entire group of people emerges.[619] While it is far too late to change the impact that Theatre had on the Holocaust, this research will add to the foundation upon which the potential of the stage can be studied to give greater insight into the motivations of the human beings who commit or permit genocide and, ultimately, to expand use of the power of this persuasive arena of possibilities to ensure that the idea, the concept of genocide, becomes so offensive to human consciousness that it never manifests itself again.

[619] Romeo Dallaire, "Guest Speaker on Preventing Genocide," in *Montreal Institute for Genocide Studies Speaker Series* (Concordia University; Montreal, Quebec: 2007).

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