

THE DEPUTY
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF TWO DIFFERENT ADAPTATIONS OF THE
SAME STAGE PLAY BY ROLF HOCHHUTH

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ABSTRACT

The Deputy is a play written by Rolf Hochhuth. Hochhuth was a German editor-turned-playwright who grew up as a Nazi youth. Something that we must understand is that to the Nazi youth of the 1930s and '40s, their own activities were viewed by them much the way we view our Boy and Girl Scout activities. They were looking out from the inside of a system that the rest of the world was looking in at and despising. As an adult in the 1950s Hochhuth began to question what had happened in the Third Reich and why. After extensive research he came to the personal conclusion that if there had been any one individual who could have stood up and brought the attention of the world to the rescue of all the people to whom Hitler had brought so much death and destruction it would have been the Pope: Pope Pius XII. Hochhuth then asked himself why Pius chose the course of action—and inaction—that he did. The ultimate result of this research was *The Deputy*, Hochhuth's first and longest play, published and first produced in 1963. A live theatrical production of the entire original script as written would be

seven to eight hours in length. Although it has been produced dozens of times, there is no record of the entire play ever having been staged.

Hochhuth wrote *The Deputy* in German. There are both English and American translations. The 1964 New York Broadway production is an adaptation by Jerome Rothenberg of the American translation by Richard and Clara Winston (Simon 1964, S-486: 3). In the fall of 1994, The Missouri Repertory Theatre, at the direction of George Keathley, staged a production of its own adaptation from the same American translation. The differences between these two adaptations are many. This is the focus of my thesis. I do not wish to argue or reargue the points of the play or those of its critics, but rather to simply look at which adaptation of the American translation is more theatrically vital and feasible to present to a modern American audience.

APPROVAL PAGE

The faculty listed below, appointed by the Dean of the University of Missouri-Kansas City Conservatory, have examined a thesis titled “*The Deputy*”, presented by Jeph BurroughsScanlon, candidate for the Master of Arts Degree, and verify that in their opinion it is worthy of acceptance.

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PREFACE

Walter Kerr in his comments on the New York production of *The Deputy*, in the *New York Herald Tribune* of 27 February 1964 stated that:

[T]he world has been shocked into the realization that a question exists which has not been answered. What were Pius' motives in remaining silent? Were they --could any conceivable combination of motives possibly be-- adequate to account for what he did not do? The question is in the world's hands now, for scholars, for theologians, for everyman to try to answer. Because no one can ever be certain that he has fully read one man's mind—Pius' mind—the question may never be answered. But short of an answer as we still are, it seems to me that extraordinary good has already come of the mere forming of the question... ...[T]he occasional violence the play has provoked seems the whimper of a spoiled child alongside the responsible speech, and the shouldering of a burden, by responsible adults. Without the play we might not have looked into ourselves and the looking—in my opinion, for what it is worth—is due, salutary and already profitable (Simon 1964, S-486: 7).

Indeed, the question has been asked! Having posed it, one asks where do we go from here? While researching various versions of *The Deputy* by Rolf Hochhuth (*Der Stellvertreter* originally published in German), I have become interested in the reasons and methods that each director or producer has or had in developing his or her own stage production. I hope to concern myself with the questions of dramatic structure, theatrical effect, stage worthiness, and vitality of *The Deputy* as a living piece of literature and especially as a work of live theatre. Specifically, I want to compare and contrast the 1964 New York and 1994 Kansas City productions of *The Deputy*. I will present materials in support of two main points: a) that the most appropriate script of *The Deputy* would be a combination of the of the two, which would keep the general historical perspective intact and would also be dramatically and theatrically vital and feasible; and b) that it does not matter whether or not the play is absolutely historically accurate on all accounts. It brings up some very important questions that should be addressed and discussed, although, of course, they cannot be “answered” in any comprehensive final manner. Reading, studying, and producing *The Deputy* can be considered a mode of “teaching

the conflicts.”

To clarify my first point, I will analyze and document the structure of both the New York and Kansas City productions by looking at the rehearsal process and the actual run of each show, but especially through an analysis of the scripts themselves, which are quite varied and dissimilar, although both are adapted from the original American translation by Richard and Clara Winston, published by Grove Press in 1964. The script of *The Deputy* performed in Kansas City in 1994 has not been published so I will use my own firsthand account of those rehearsals and the stage managers prompt book as my primary source for that production. Samuel French, Inc. published the script of the play performed on Broadway (New York) in 1964 as *The Deputy, A Drama* adapted by Jerome Rothenberg. There is also an English translation of *The Deputy* actually published as *The Representative* translated by Robert David MacDonald and published by Methuen (London) in 1963. Although this translation of the play offers many additional items for consideration in a study such as this, I have chosen to keep the scope of my research narrowed to the two American productions of *The Deputy* previously mentioned.

In examining my second point, some may discount any further discussion because of my not considering absolute historical accuracy as the utmost of importance. My view is that *The Deputy* is a vehicle for the theatre. My discipline and this research are based on the idea that we can learn and grow from what we project and depict on stage and that it does not matter whether we do this by means of history, future events, or some other form of imagined fantasy or a combination thereof.

“Good Theater,” as defined by members of the Kansas City production’s audience in a letter to the editor of *The Kansas City Star* on Friday, 30 September 1994, “is a production

that makes you think, stimulates conversation and helps you visualize events you cannot witness in person, ...*The Deputy*" (Gulley 1994, C-6).

CHAPTER 1: History of *Der Stellvertreter* (original German script 1963)

This chapter summarizes some of the significant early life events and major influences on Rolf Hochhuth and how they pointed the novice writer in the direction of writing the voluminous *Der Stellvertreter* (in its original German; *The Deputy*, as the American translation) as his first significant work. Because *The Deputy* has always been met with protest, contention or at the very least questions of validity in every venue it has ever played, I find it particularly important to examine the early life and background of, as well as the influences upon, Hochhuth and his writing. I will touch on Hochhuth's very specific point of view on the use of theatre as a "political tool" and his intent in writing *The Deputy*. This chapter will also give an overview of the influences that the book and more specifically the performances of *The Deputy* had throughout the countries where it was available in print and performed.

Rolf Hochhuth was born in 1931 in the small town of Eschwege in Northern Hesse, Germany (Stone 1964, 66). His family was Protestant. His father was a semi-successful shoe manufacturer. At the age of ten, Hochhuth joined the Deutsches Jungvolk division of Hitler Youth. The boys of this group were supervised in fairly normal games and activities, but were also firmly indoctrinated in nationalistic patriotism. They regularly had to pick up propaganda leaflets dropped from the air by the Allies (Ward 1977, 16). In a 1964 interview with Judith Stone, Hochhuth expressed his view of the world and the war against Germany in his youth. "We feared the Russians," he said "and because of the bombing of the Allies, we hated the Allies. From a propaganda point of view, it was not a good idea for the Allies to bomb civilian centers. As boys of the Hitler Youth, we had to pick up pamphlets and leaflets dropped by the Allies. On these leaflets, it was written 'We are not fighting the German people but the Nazis.' But we boys mocked those words because we saw dead women and children and we were

impressed and hated those who had done it" (Stone 1964, 67). In this same interview, Hochhuth said that to the end of the war he had wished for Germany to win, but that "my parents did not wish it and they would never have thought it possible that Germany could win after the invasion of Russia, but of course, they could not tell their feelings or they would have been killed" (Stone 1964, 67).

“When the war ended, the Americans occupied Hochhuth's hometown of Eschwege and nominated as mayor Rolf's uncle, who had been a well-known businessman but not a Nazi. He appointed thirteen-year-old Rolf to be his messenger between Town Hall and the military government” (Stone 1964, 68). It was at this point in young Hochhuth's life that the realities of day-to-day life and politics became overwhelmingly complex and confusing for him. He began to read a great deal and to write poetry and short stories. While reading *Buddenbrooks* (1901) by Thomas Mann, young Rolf learned that Mann had voluntarily left Germany because of his opposition to Hitler. "Mann has influenced me most," Hochhuth said. “The early Thomas Mann, his attitude towards life, his humanity, his engagement in politics. I have learned from Thomas Mann that the poet always must be active in politics. That he is also responsible. *The Deputy is politics*” (Stone 1964, 68).

After leaving school in 1948, Hochhuth studied bookkeeping at a vocational college and worked as a bookseller. An illness, which left parts of his face permanently paralyzed, also delayed his university education. Eventually he attended the universities of Heidelberg and Munich from 1952 to 1955, studying history and philosophy (Wakeman 1975, 648). Before production and publication of *The Deputy*, Hochhuth was an editor of books, "editions of the classics" for Verlag C. Bertelsmann, a large German publishing firm (Marx 1964, 376).

In 1957 Hochhuth married Marianne Heinemann, a former schoolmate whose mother had been killed in 1943 as a member of a resistance group. They had two sons, Martin and Friedrich, and were divorced in 1972 (Moritz 1976, 192). "In 1975 Hochhuth married Dana Pavic, a Yugoslavian medical student; they have one son..." (White 1992, 215) and live in Basil, Switzerland. (Harte and Riley 1969, 5-8:548).

Why Rolf Hochhuth wrote *The Deputy*

While at his editing job with Bertelsmann in 1955, Hochhuth was writing a novel about the end of Nazi rule in Germany and the beginning of its occupation by foreign forces. This researcher has found no evidence that this novel was ever published. The novel was far more a work of history than it was a work of fiction for Hochhuth. In some of his historical research using the documents of the Nuremberg trials, he discovered the odd character of Kurt Gerstein, the SS officer who became a major character on the side of "good" in *The Deputy* (Stone 1964, 69). Notes that Hochhuth had written about Gerstein became an embryo for *The Deputy*. Kurt Gerstein, the historical figure was a member of the Protestant Confessing Church, who joined the SS in order to resist Hitler. Gerstein, a pacifist who had insinuated himself into the SS and the concentration-camp program in the belief that "dictatorships can be abolished only from within" (Bermel 1964, 19). With a background in science and medicine, Gerstein was placed in a position that gave him firsthand knowledge of Auschwitz and Treblinka and of what was happening in those camps. In the hopes of getting an official direct action from the Church, he tried, without success, to report specifics of Auschwitz and Treblinka to church officials in Berlin (Ward 1977, 25). Later, "in the autumn of 1958, Pius died," Hochhuth said in his interview with Stone. "In Germany, the newspapers and radio declared that a holy man had died. The Germans loved Pius... ..they called him the German Pope" (Stone 1964, 69).

Hochhuth's attention was drawn to the fact that Hitler had killed almost 2500 Catholic priests. Hochhuth felt that "the holy men were those people who had died in concentration camps and not a man who died in his bed at a high age." He went on to explain, "I saw that this was the tragedy, the tragedy that the Vatican out of reasons of state did not support those members of their own church who sacrificed themselves." Later in the same interview, Hochhuth pointed out that, "I did not discover the fact of the Pope's silence. In 1944, Albert Camus had posed the question: 'How was it possible that Pius kept silent?' François Mauriac asked the same question, as did the Catholic philosopher Friedrich Heer in Austria" (Stone 1964, 70).

How Hochhuth categorized the genre of his own work was strongly influenced by the Absurdist movement that was growing throughout western theater in the 1950s. Hochhuth opposed Absurdist Theater and believed "that theater should function as a tribunal or moral platform for the author. A play in the Absurd tradition is never censored by politicians because its criticism remains undirected." Hochhuth wished to be more threatening to those he attacked. It was for these reasons that he found it necessary to use realistic devices in the theater, implying the use of documentary material. "It meant studying history and distilling the truth from the rubble heap of documents. Hochhuth recognized that one would thus be open to the criticism that one had simply written *reportage* (journalism), not drama, but he staunchly defended this approach" (Ward 1977, 20). Hochhuth went a step further with his theory of what theater "should be" in a 1967 *New York Times Magazine* article by Martin Esslin, stating, "I am a humanist. In other words, I still maintain a belief in the autonomy of the individual and that the individual can make some impact on the world. I repeat: My belief in the power of the individual is small. But that does not mean that one should not – without, I hope, in any

way being a hypocrite – write plays about people who prove the opposite” (Esslin 1967, 158-9).

Hochhuth stated in the “Sidelights on History” at the conclusion of *The Deputy* that his concept of “Realism” is not intended to be “historical truth,” but has history at its foundation and has a certain truth of its own. He said that as the author he must be free to create fictional characters and scenes and he should heighten reality through the use of poetic language, and that the whole must represent the “truth”: “If I submit the following notes on controversial events and testimony, it is to demonstrate that as far as possible I have adhered to the facts. I allowed my imagination free play only to the extent that I had to transform the existing raw material of history into drama. Reality was respected throughout, but much of its slag had to be removed” (Hochhuth 1964a, 287). He stated further: “At the same time, the play cannot be simply a re-creation of a given historical event. It must not be ‘a giant fresco of the past, but rather something indicative, with characters who behave in a way representative of our actions and feelings.’ It must have symbolic force” (Ward 1977, 21).

Again, in his 1964 *Ramparts* interview with Stone, Hochhuth stated his belief that *The Deputy* “may be a lesson for the future if only people will accept it.” A friend asked him, ‘Why do you take such pains to write about the final solution? In 20 years’ time no will talk about it’. Hochhuth’s response acknowledged that his friend was probably right, “actually the victims have always been forgotten very quickly. But in spite of that, I am convinced – not only in spite of it, but because of it, that the play can teach a lesson which is timeless.” He went on to say that to oppose injustice “one needn’t be a moral man. It is enough to do nothing which damages others. (To a critic who asked, ‘Is this indeed enough?’ Hochhuth replied, ‘It may not be much if you measure saints by it, but for people it is enough.’)” (Stone 1964, 66).

Hochhuth gave a somewhat unclear, yet likely the most accurate, recorded version of how research began and how *Der Stellvertreter* actually came about, in an interview with Patricia Marx in the *Partisan Review* in the summer of 1964. When asked specifically how the idea of the play presented itself and how it took shape Hochhuth responded:

It all happened a long time ago, and it is very hard for me to reconstruct exactly how it began. I think I took down a few notes, referring to the character of Gerstein, because my idea was to write a short story about him--quite a long time ago.

Later, however, in 1956, I met a man in Austria who had helped with the gassing in Auschwitz. He had been transferred there as political punishment. And I read accounts, which referred back to this subject. Then it first became clear to me what the form of the play must be.

Also, at that time, the book, *The Third Reich and the Jews*, which contained the report of Gerstein, was published. And then, in 1958, a book appeared containing the documents concerning the Vatican's attitude toward the deportation of Jews from Rome. At that time, I was living in Munster because my wife was a student there; and I heard accounts of a vain attempt to arrest Bishop Galen--or rather, of the Nazis' hesitation to imprison him. I cannot say more than this. It is now seven years ago. It all fitted itself together like a mosaic.

Then, the actual work on the play began, my daily work on it starting in the spring of 1959 (Marx 1964, 364).

Publication and first productions throughout Europe

Hochhuth had finished writing *Der Stellvertreter* in 1961, but fears of legal action by the Vatican prevented its publication until H. M. Ledig-Rowohlt of the Rowohlt publishing house came forth in 1962 and agreed to publish it. With the proofs in hand, Ledig-Rowohlt approached the celebrated avant-gardist producer Erwin Piscator, who quickly agreed to stage a full production of the play (White 1992, 215). Rowohlt Verlag of Hamburg, Germany published *Der Stellvertreter* on February 20, 1963. The play opened at the Freie Volksbühne in West Berlin the same day under the direction of Piscator (Moritz 1976, 190). "The book sold 40,000 copies in three months and 460,000 by 1976. In the seven months after the first

publication and performance, the publishers received about three thousand reviews, reports, and letters” (White 1992, 217).

The Deputy was a strong and daring first statement for Hochhuth as a novice playwright and it immediately established his world reputation. The play initially had seventy-five different productions translated into seventeen languages in twenty-seven countries (Ward 1977, 11). Piscator’s 1963 production in Berlin had 117 initial performances and then toured to twenty-one cities throughout Germany. The following year there were thirteen productions across Germany totaling more than 500 performances. Peter Brook’s production at Théâtre Athénée in Paris in 1963 was said to have been even more popular, with 346 performances (White 1992, 217). Another early production was staged by Ingmar Bergmann at Dramaten in Stockholm, Sweden, in 1963 (Ward 1977, 42).

Early on Hochhuth had refused to have *Der Stellvertreter* published or produced in East Germany. He feared “it would be misinterpreted and used as propaganda against” West Germany, but by 1966 he gave in and the play was produced at the Deutsches Theater in East Berlin, under the direction of Hans-Dieter Meves and Friedo Solter. It also played in Dresden, Rostock, and Leipzig (Ward 1977, 43).

The play was awarded the literary prize of the Junge Generation (Young Generation) in Berlin, in 1963 and Hochhuth received the Frederic G. Melcher Book Award in the United States, in 1965 (White 1992, 219). The Melcher Book Award was given annually to a work published in the United States during the previous calendar year judged to be the most significant contribution to religious liberalism.

There are two widely recognized English language translations of the full text: *The Representative*, translated by Robert David MacDonald (London); and *The Deputy*, translated

by Richard and Clara Winston (New York). A reading of the American translation of *The Deputy* indicates that any full performance of this play would take at least six hours and possibly eight hours or more. Adaptations have varied widely in different cities and languages but virtually all staged productions have been cut drastically so that each actual performance has lasted from two to three hours. Referring to the initial productions in various cities and countries of Europe, Hochhuth has stated that, “the most comprehensive version was shown in Vienna, the shortest in Berlin, the most modern in Paris” (Harte and Riley 1969, 5-8:549). In a 1967 *New York Times Magazine* article Martin Esslin suggested that *The Deputy* is “far too long for the theater and, cut down to size, [is] bound to become fragments. Each producer keeps different bits in, so each production becomes, in effect, a different play. This may have some advantages. It also has grave disadvantages” (Esslin 1967, 161).

Some scholars have rightly suggested that these short versions “tended to oversimplify Hochhuth’s thesis and make his depiction of Pius XII appear excessively abrasive” (Moritz 1976, 191). Referring again to Esslin’s 1967 article, he states that Hochhuth’s “aim is to explore the human condition on the basis of verifiable human reality and to penetrate to the tragic core of man’s plight on earth” (Esslin 1967, 159). One can say that Hochhuth does not back away from this standard even to the extent of using the Pope to symbolize all of humanity. Hochhuth states in his 1964 interview with Stone, “To me Pius is a symbol, not only for all leaders, but for all men—Christians, Atheists, Jews. For all men who are passive when their brother is deported to death. Pius was at the top of the hierarchy and, therefore, he had the greatest duty to speak. But every man—the Protestants, the Jews, Churchill, Eden, Cordell Hull, all had the duty to speak” (Stone 1964, 65). However, later in the same interview with Stone he does press the personal responsibility onto the Pope more firmly, “Those Catholic

priests whom Hitler killed are the true martyrs of the Catholic Church in our time, not the man who personally never tried to protest. I saw that this was the tragedy, the tragedy that the Vatican out of reasons of state did not support those members of their own church who sacrificed themselves” (Stone 1964, 69). In *Sidelights on History*, the historical appendix that Hochhuth wrote as an epilogue to the published full text of *The Deputy*, he expressed a view of Pope Pius XII in the strongest of terms, as he stated that Pius, “had far too keen an instinct for effect to fear violence against himself.” (Hochhuth 1964a, 351). Hochhuth went on to very specifically say that Pius, “was not a ‘criminal for reasons of state’; he was a fence-sitter, an over-ambitious careerist who, having attained his goal, wasted his time on inconsequential trifles while the tormented world waited in vain for a word of spiritual leadership from him.” (Hochhuth 1964a, 352).

Hochhuth largely concerned himself with the enormous silence and failure to act on the part of the Pope. He was unable to view the Pope as tragically indecisive or even as torn by his choice of limited alternatives because throughout his research Hochhuth found such overwhelming evidence that the Pope had been outwardly passive in his concern for all individuals deported to the concentration camps. Because of this, the *character* of the Pope in Hochhuth’s drama could not contribute substantially to the dramatic action. His silence however, was the subject of much of the dialogue in *The Deputy* (Ward 1977, 26). In Hochhuth’s own words the creation of the Pope as a *character* came about with the “question of how, in this so-called Christian Europe, the murder of an entire people could take place without the highest moral authority on this earth having a word to say about it” (Marx 1964, 364).

Hitler and the Nazis murdered nearly 2500 Catholic priests (Stone 1964, 69). Hochhuth dedicated *The Deputy* to the memory of two individual Catholics who were sent to their death in the concentration camps. One was Father Maximilian Kolbe, Internee No. 16670, a Polish Franciscan priest who died in 1941 in a starvation cell at Auschwitz after asking to take the place of a prisoner who was going to be among ten men punished to death by starvation in retaliation for the escape of one prisoner. He died too slowly for the SS and they finally gave him an injection to hasten his end. The other was Provost Bernard Lichtenberg of the Cathedral in Berlin who prayed publicly for the Jews, was arrested and who asked to be allowed to share the fate of the Jews in the East. He was taken to Dachau and died on the way there in 1943 (Stone 1964, 69-70).

Protests throughout Europe

Demonstrations, protests, public outcries and even riots occurred in many, if not most or all of the cities in which *The Deputy* was initially performed throughout Europe. In an attempt to curb Catholic criticism, most German productions minimized the scandal about the Pope not speaking out. This was, however, intended by Hochhuth to be the central theme of the play. Instead, God's silence about Auschwitz, brought to light by the character of Father Riccardo Fontana in the final act, became a far more serious issue in most of the German productions than the Pope's silence. "Nevertheless, by use of religious symbolism, the productions assured the spectator of the director's respectability in matters of belief. A darkened stage and sound effects such as church bells and organ music created a pseudosacral atmosphere" (White 1992, 217).

There was significant public outcry when a production of the play was scheduled for Basil, Switzerland, in 1963. The Catholic Church itself "started a campaign that led to serious

public disorder” but the Swiss defended Hochhuth’s “freedom of speech against six thousand Catholic and right-wing demonstrators” (White 1992, 218). The Swiss government would not ban the play so “the opposition turned to massive demonstrations. Two hundred policemen were needed to provide security on opening night. Each of the seventeen performances was interrupted, whereupon the play was removed from the repertory” (Ward 1977, 43).

In Rome a small theater was built exclusively for the purpose of a 1965 production of *The Deputy*. The play was almost banned by the government and the actors were driven out of the theater and fled to the bookshop of the publisher of the Italian edition where an impromptu performance was given (White 1992, 217-8).

A demonstration at the Théâtre Athénée in Paris in 1963 was described as especially intense “where protesting persons showered pamphlets on the audience, threw stench bombs and even clambered onto the stage” (Harte and Riley 1969, 5-8:549). Even productions of the play in Austria and Germany in the 1980s drew protests and attempts to cancel the performances by the Catholic Church (White 1992, 218).

Papal Response

Roman Catholics around the world had strong and intense feelings about *The Deputy* and the fallout from the performances throughout Europe. Their feelings often “ranged from outrage to contrition”. There were some Catholics who claimed that Pius XII had made at least two outright “public statements against Nazi oppression of the Jews and helped thousands to escape”. Then there was George N. Shuster, a Roman Catholic writer and educator who, while dissecting what he called Hochhuth’s “regrettable caricature” of Pius XII, conceded in the *New York Times* (Shuster 1964, 30): “Many of us would rest easier if the Pope had spoken--and this is not a regret Hochhuth has conjured up: it is of long standing”. Hochhuth was accused of

“misrepresenting historical reality and the character of Pius XII” by Cardinal Giovanni Battista Montini, later Pope Paul VI (Moritz 1976, 191).

There were at least two plays written attempting to defend Pope Pius XII and his actions during World War II: *Pastor Angelicus* by Spanish playwright Juan Antonio de Laiglesia (The Catholic Northwest Progress 1964, 2) and *The Comforter* by Reverend Edward Molloy of the Redemptorist order (Stein 1964, 9). There were also two books written in the early 1960s in defense of Pius and his actions: *A Question of Judgment* by Dr. Joseph Lichten (1963) and the more critical and scholarly Guenther Lewy's *The Catholic Church and Nazi Germany* (1964). Eventually, however, Hochhuth and *The Deputy* had had so much worldwide attention that the Vatican had no choice but to take him and his play seriously.

The Catholic Church was not slow to react. Only a few days after the premiere in Berlin in February 1963, a response by Pius XII's personal secretary, Father Robert Leiber, a German Jesuit, was published in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*. Leiber pointed out the Pope's charitable acts toward the Jews during the war period and countered Hochhuth's challenge with the thesis that had the Pope spoken out more directly he would have brought on even worse reprisals (Ward 1977, 43).

More significantly, shortly before his election to the Papacy as Pope Paul VI in June 1963, Cardinal Montini wrote a letter commenting on newspaper reports of Hochhuth's play to the *Tablet*, the leading Catholic periodical in England. In it, he did not deny the fact of Pope Pius' silence, but defended the character of Pius and told of his concern for all the victims and fear of bringing on even greater tragedies (Stone 1964, 70). Hochhuth replied directly, outlining the main points of disagreements between himself and the church. Admittedly, Montini had only secondhand knowledge of the play, relying on reviews in the press for his

impression of it. “The image of Pius XII which Hochhuth presents, or is said to present, is a false one,” he wrote. The Pope, according to Montini, had been neither cowardly nor heartless, nor had his attitude been “inspired by a calculating political opportunism.” (Ward 1977, 43-44). Montini, like Leiber, argued that Hochhuth had overlooked completely that “an attitude of protest and condemnation such as this young man blames the Pope for not having adopted would have been not only futile but harmful.” (Ward 1977, 44). But the cardinal, without proving his point, proceeded to make the erroneous assumption, as did many of Hochhuth’s critics who had not actually read the play, that the author was, by focusing on the guilt of the Pope, trying to divert guilt away from the Germans themselves (Ward 1977, 44).

By 1964, the year following the first productions and printed publication of *The Deputy* and two other books dealing with Pius’ acts and behavior during World War II, there had been relatively little response from the Vatican. Hochhuth said in his 1964 interview with Stone that “If the Vatican had in its archives documents to throw doubt, even *only* to throw doubt, on my play, they would have found them and published them” (Stone 1964, 70).

Whether having knowledge of this statement himself or because it was simply the next logical course of action, Pope Paul VI attempted to do just exactly that. In the aftermath of the controversy surrounding *The Deputy*, in 1964 Pope Paul VI authorized four Jesuit scholars to access the Vatican's secret archives, which are normally not opened for seventy-five years. A selected collection of primary sources, *Actes et Documents du Saint Siège relatifs à la Seconde Guerre Mondiale*, was published in eleven volumes between 1965 and 1981 (Blet 1999, xii). Only through this process was some archival information from the Vatican archives released far more prematurely than anyone there had hoped it would be. This entire process forced the

Vatican, and much of the world, to look even more “critically at Pius XII who had up to then been thought a candidate for canonization” (White 1992, 218).

The *Actes* documents are not translated from their original languages (Italian, French, German, Spanish, Latin and English) (Blet 1999, xii) and the volume introductions are in French. Notable documents not part of the eleven volumes of *Actes* include most of the letters from Bishop Konrad Preysing of Berlin to Pope Pius XII in 1943 and 1944, the papers of Austrian bishop Alois Hudal, and virtually everything appertaining to Eastern Europe. Saul Friedländer's *Pius XII and the Third Reich: A Documentation* (1966) did not cite any of the initial volumes of the *Actes* and drew instead on unpublished diplomatic documents from German Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Demers 1967, 252). Most historical works following this subject later, however, draw heavily on the *Actes*. It is becoming clear to this researcher that Pope Paul VI may have been more intent on “scrubbing” the archives than about a “truth finding” mission with the *Actes* as it regards some of the decisions of Pope Pius XII, both large and small.

During the papacy of Pope Pius XII (March 2, 1939 – October 9, 1958), Giovanni Battista Montini, later Pope Paul VI, was a significant and trusted leader in The Vatican. In 1937, Montini was named Substitute for Ordinary Affairs under Cardinal Pacelli (later Pius XII), the Secretary of State for The Vatican. Even earlier, in 1931, Cardinal Pacelli appointed Montini to teach history at the Pontifical Academy for Diplomats (Franzen 1988, 419).

When Pacelli became Pope Pius XII in 1939, he confirmed Montini’s appointment as Substitute under the new Cardinal Secretary of State Luigi Maglione. In this new role, equivalent to a chief of staff, Montini met with Pius each morning developing a very close and trusting working relationship with the Pontiff (Lazzarini 1964, 57). As World War II was

racing across Europe in 1939, Montini was becoming a principal actor in the Secretariat of State of the Holy See. He was in charge of taking care of the "ordinary affairs" of the Secretariat of State. This consumed most mornings. In the afternoon Montini spent time in the Office of the Private Secretary of Pius XII. During the war tens of thousands of letters from around the world were sent to Pius XII. One of Montini's tasks was to reply to these letters on behalf of Pius XII.

Maglione died in 1944. At this time, Pius XII appointed Domenico Tardini and Montini together as joint heads of Secretariat of State, each with the title of Pro-Secretary of State (Lazzarini 1964, 57). All of this to say, by the time Pius died in 1958, Cardinal Montini had been in a twenty-seven-year professional working relationship with Pius. During some of this time he was quite literally writing on behalf of Pius XII to members of the Catholic faith around the world. This researcher finds it reasonable to ascertain that, by 1963 when Cardinal Montini became Pope Paul VI, he had a vested interest in securing (even protecting) the reputation of Pius XII. This may even be understated as Montini was such a significant participant in the responses that Pius put out to the Catholic faithful throughout the world, particularly during the war and in the years immediately following, that Pope Paul VI may have even been at work to protect and to secure his *own* reputation by hand-selecting and authorizing four Jesuit scholars to access the Vatican's secret archives and then publishing the *Actes* over the following sixteen years.

On September 21, 1945, the secretary-general of the World Jewish Congress, Léon Kubowitzki, met with Pope Pius XII to make two requests. With the first, Kubowitzki had asked the pope to issue a public declaration denouncing anti-Semitism. "We will consider it," the pope replied, although he never made any such declaration and didn't seriously consider it

(Kertzer 2020, 16). This request came directly to the attention of Pius XII in September 1945. The death of Hitler was nearly five months earlier. VE Day – Victory in Europe – was just about a week after Hitler’s death. If Pius XII had previously not spoken out on behalf of the Jews and others persecuted throughout Europe *during* the war because, as his defenders have long argued, “he could not speak out more clearly for fear of a Nazi backlash” (Heneghan 2020); what was his excuse *now* that Hitler was dead and the war was over? This appears to bear out the fact that Pius XII was *never* going to speak up for the Jewish people or to speak out in defense of their lives.

Theatre Critics

Referring to the initial worldwide productions of *The Deputy* in the 1960s, Alfred D. White points out in his 1992 biographical article of Hochhuth (for the *Dictionary of Literary Biography*) that literary critics paid much attention to the accuracy of Hochhuth’s treatment of the material about Pope Pius “but had no criteria other than Hochhuth’s own historical notes for judging it; such discussions tended to increase the respect paid to his qualities as a self-taught historian. In fact, Hochhuth had worked largely with second- or third-hand sources and works of popularization” (White 1992, 219). I find this a stretch on two accounts. The first is that I find it hard to believe that these critics had no access to any historical information other than Hochhuth’s; and the second is the fact that simply because Hochhuth said that he had found certain information about Pius, this makes him respected as a self-taught historian? I don’t grasp the rationale here at all.

Robert Brustein wrote of Hochhuth and *The Deputy*: “If Hochhuth has not entirely proven himself yet as either a historian or a dramatist, he has certainly proven himself as a man of discriminating moral intelligence and outstanding courage, and this alone makes him a rare

and valuable figure in the modern world.” This is a strong but accurate statement about the man who, almost single handedly, started the documentary genre in the theatre of the 1960s (Wakeman 1975, 649).

Some critics didn’t allow the lapse of decades to positively influence their taste for *The Deputy* with at least one critic saying, of the Munich production in the 1980s, it “turned out to have lost all its drama and become a historical debating piece” (White 1992, 218).

Sociologist, philosopher, and literary critic Theodor W. Adorno suggested of Hochhuth, his research and writing methods, “any drama that tries to deal with reality by portraying it by means of characters and actions is a disgrace and sadly distorts that reality” (Ward 1977, 18). Forever championing the individual, Hochhuth responded directly to Adorno in a written statement, “every human being, even if he suffers an anonymous death in a gas chamber or as a victim of an atomic bomb, dies as an individual, and that there remain certain prominent individuals who do face tragic conflicts, do make significant choices, do shape history, and are therefore appropriate subjects for the drama” (Ward 1977, 18).

In 1967 producer, director and author Martin Esslin sat down for an interview with Hochhuth in Hochhuth’s home in Riehen, a suburb of Basel, Switzerland. One of the points made by Esslin in an article based on this interview in *The New York Times Magazine* is that Hochhuth’s aim in all of his dramatic writing “is to explore the human condition on the basis of verifiable human reality and to penetrate to the tragic core of man’s plight on earth” (Esslin 1967, 159). I find this to be fair and, in fact, the simplest and most plausible critique of Hochhuth as a writer and a single being among the entire race of humankind. To critique Hochhuth as a historian and playwright, however, I will leave that to the previously mentioned and more qualified critics. In the chapters to come I will explore two different specific

adaptations of *The Deputy* and Hochhuth's writing in my attempt to present an effective "playable" version of the characters and events that he puts forth in *The Deputy*.

In concluding this summation of some of the regional and world events that both influenced; and were influenced by *The Deputy*, I realize that this is a simple overview of some of those facts and events. The following chapters will take a more in-depth view of both the 1963 New York production and the 1994 Kansas City production of *The Deputy*. My final chapter will conclude with comparing and contrasting the dramaturgical similarities and differences between those two adaptations of this play.

CHAPTER 2: History of Shumlin – Rothenberg production (Broadway, New York 1964)

The Broadway production of *The Deputy* as adapted by Jerome Rothenberg and produced and directed by Herman Shumlin opened at the Brooks Atkinson Theatre on February 26, 1964. Shumlin won the Tony Award as the year's best producer, primarily due to his insistence in bringing *The Deputy* to Broadway in spite of threats for doing so. The production closed on October 28, 1964, after 316 performances.

Herman Shumlin – Jerome Rothenberg (purpose, intent and manner of adaptation)

Jerome Rothenberg was hired by Herman Shumlin to adapt, cut and rewrite *The Deputy* to achieve a producible script for Broadway. I've found no evidence that either of these men saw Erwin Piscator's original production of *The Deputy* in West Berlin or any of the dozens of other European productions.

It seems that Shumlin was so dead set on being the first to get any form of *The Deputy* on stage in New York, and thus the first production in the United States, that he was willing to make many compromises and, from my vantage point decades later, he indeed did just that. Of course, one has to consider the fact that he must have been under a great time constraint. Shumlin's New York production opened (first preview February 26, 1964) almost exactly one year after Piscator's production had opened in West Berlin (February 20, 1963). In hindsight these seem to be simplistic, even immature or juvenile reasons for "rushing" the play to production on the New York stage. Nonetheless, whatever the reasons, Shumlin did what he did and presumably used all of the resources available to him at the time to mount the production on a timeline that suited him.

Public Outcries

One of the most visible and vocal public displays of discontent occurred on opening night of the Broadway production in February 1964, nearly a year after the Berlin premiere. That night there were about 150 demonstrators outside the Brooks Atkinson Theater, including members of the American Legion and “the American Nazi Party who carried placards reading ‘Ban the Hate Show’; the doors of the theater were locked during intermission as a protective measure” (Harte and Riley 1969, 5-8:549) and the audience was not allowed to leave the building during the intermission. Some of the same demonstrators called Hochhuth the “Antichrist,” while mounted police tried to keep order (Ward 1977, 43).

Shumlin claimed that efforts were made to prevent *The Deputy* from being produced in the United States. In fact, Billy Rose, a popular owner/operator of the Billy Rose Theater, withdrew his cooperation from the Broadway production as a precipitating preventative effort. Additionally, it appears very clear, decades on now, that whatever Shumlin may have lacked as an *artistic* producer, he certainly made up for in his ability as a savvy promoter. Shumlin absolutely would not have been the first, nor the last, producer to make public mention of the *controversies* to which his upcoming show might contribute, so as to try to drum up some attention and business for his upcoming production. Henry Hewes, writing about Shumlin’s Broadway production for the *Saturday Review*, acknowledged that Shumlin had certainly complained about efforts “made to suppress and sabotage” his show. Hewes fully recognized the potential value in this for Shumlin and his production, as he went on to write:

But perhaps the most truly shocking and therefore most truly valuable part of the opening-night experience was the sight of pickets dressed in Nazi storm trooper uniforms. They and other small-minded organizations who protest against *The Deputy* only help Mr. Shumlin by proving that the play’s substance is far more penetrating and

effective than the esthetics of its writing, construction, and performance entitle it to be (Hewes 1964, 16).

Further, Tom Prideaux in an article for *Life*, wrote that “At the New York opening, while five sets of picketers chanted outside, audiences were quiet and attentive. But they were locked inside during intermission lest some picketer start trouble” and that law enforcement detectives “search the house daily for bombs.” Prideaux’s most insightful observation however may have been that “since then every performance has sold out” (Prideaux 1964, 28D).

Hochhuth himself was “shocked to see the American Nazis demonstrating at the New York opening” (Harte and Riley 1969, 5-8:549). Exposing some of the inner thoughts from a man who grew up in Nazi Germany and who had, nonetheless, grown and healed as a thinking adult in the wider world, Hochhuth asked and answered, “Why is this permitted in a city that has so many survivors? However, I do understand that democracy permits such things” (Harte and Riley 1969, 5-8:549).

Church Response

Hochhuth wrote the original text of *Der Stellvertreter* in German. There have been two English translations, *The Representative* published in England and *The Deputy* published in the United States. There were a variety of adaptations made from each of these three, especially within the first year or two of the initial German publication. Along the way there were some obvious misunderstandings among the public about who wrote which version of the play and/or which adaptation thereof. Some of this sort of confusion is most obvious in the writings of the religious, particularly the American religious in the dawn of the Broadway production in 1964. This practical error, however, is not limited to those of a religious leaning,

as the following underscores an odd understanding from Howard Taubman writing for *The New York Times*:

The Deputy... ...In the version condensed by Rolf Hochhuth, the young German author, with the advice of Herman Shumlin, the director and co-producer, and adapted into English by Jerome Rothenberg (Taubman 1964, 26).

Possibly the harshest and most direct public statement from an official of the Catholic Church was by Cardinal Francis Spellman, Archbishop of New York (1939-1967) whose archdiocese included Broadway. Spellman called the play “a slanderous... ...outrageous desecration of the honor of a great and good man.” (Prideaux 1964, 28D).

Others, likely speaking less officially for the Church but far more measured in their tone, included Edward Keating, editor of *Ramparts*, a quarterly literary forum for Roman Catholic intellectuals, and the leader of an interfaith group. Keating had far more tempered perspectives about *The Deputy* being performed on Broadway and had asked the public to regard the play with an open mind. By some accounts Catholic reaction at the time was generally “more restrained than might have been expected, and, in some cases, contrite” (Harte and Riley 1969, 5-8:549). Cardinal Richard Cushing, Archbishop of Boston (1944 – 1970) said of *The Deputy* opening on Broadway, “I don’t think it would do any harm for any intelligent person to see the play.” (Prideaux 1964, 28D).

Showing that he may have more fully understood the perspective and intention of Hochhuth in his attempt to use Pius as a symbol for all of humanity, Reinhold Niebuhr, a Protestant theologian, spoke out directly to “the shocking inadequacy of all Protestants and Catholics in their reaction to the Nazi terror in general.” Niebuhr defended Hochhuth for using Pius as a Christian symbol. “I wasn’t very struck by Pope Pius XII,” he added, speaking of the Pope himself, “although I wouldn’t make him a scoundrel...” (Prideaux 1964, 28D).

Theatre critics

In her 1977 book titled *Rolf Hochhuth* Margaret E. Ward refers to the Rothenberg script and Shumlin Broadway production of *The Deputy* as a particularly anti-Catholic polemic and a sensationalized adaptation of Hochhuth's play. Whatever attributes Riccardo may have had as a "tragic" figure in Hochhuth's full text of the play were virtually lost in Shumlin's Broadway production (Ward 1977, 41-2). Albert Bermel also refers to such hollowing out of characters in his article in *The New Leader* in which he points out that some of the central characters, including Riccardo, "have been so levelled off by gross editing that they are now mere silhouettes." (Bermel 1964, 20).

Ward, however, does not allow Hochhuth himself to escape criticism, stating that "even in the original five act version, Hochhuth contributed to the transformation of his play by many directors from a Christian tragedy, as first conceived, into an anti-Catholic polemic" (Ward 1977, 41-2). I find Ward's view to be a valid criticism. Hochhuth, as a first-time playwright and having his play produced around the world was no doubt, excited to see it succeed in every venue it played. Success is a fair temptation for anyone, but at what cost? Is it possible that Hochhuth himself saw the length of his play such a monumental task to stage that he was willing to allow it to go in any direction whatsoever with each different director or producer, just to see it open, and play, in yet another theatre? This researcher has found no evidence of that. However, imagining such a situation, it is easy to understand how Hochhuth may have found it in his greater interest to participate in such cutting of the script; or even rewriting specific scenes of his play, rather than to simply allow someone else to run away with their own idea of it.

Alfred D. White states in his 1992 biographical essay of Hochhuth for the *Dictionary of Literary Biography's Twentieth-Century German Dramatists, 1919-1992* that “The 1964 New York production was criticized for excessive cutting, ineptitude, flat characterization, and patchy acting.” (White 1992, 217).

The American theater critics of 1964 who commented on the Shumlin-Rothenberg Broadway production of *The Deputy* had little good to say about it. Most cited a positive attribute or two but many also had overwhelming complaints and negative criticisms of the production and particularly of the cutting of the script. Robert Brustein in *The New Republic* said of The New York production, that it, “preserves no integrity at all” and that “the Broadway performance is beneath discussion.” He goes on to say that, “The adaptor”—apparently not even wanting to acknowledge Jerome Rothenberg by name—“has confused the need to cut this six-hour work with the license to butcher it, for he has hacked away” its intellectual heart (Brustein 1964, 24).

Other critics heaped blame on the Shumlin production directly. Harold Clurman, in his critique for *The Nation*, wrote “Shumlin’s production is unfortunately not nearly as gripping as it should be. It lacks impetus and bite.” Clurman also suggested that most of the cast “struck me as insecure, either from insufficient rehearsal or lack of aptitude” (Clurman 1964, 277).

In a February 1964 interview with *Newsweek* in Frankfurt while overseeing a production of *The Deputy*, Hochhuth told the interviewer about his intent in presenting Pius XII. The point was not exclusively an attack on the Pope. Hochhuth said, “I used Pius XII as a symbol for that part of humanity which did nothing to oppose Hitler’s bestial policies. One shouldn’t stick to the idea that the play is fundamentally about Pius. It is a requiem for 6 million Jews who died during the war and for the 3,000 Catholic priests who were killed by

Hitler. Pius is the supreme example of everybody's guilt" (Newsweek 1964, 79). Some critics may have seen and believed these remarks. Others were far more skeptical, even disbelievers in the fact that Hochhuth had written the full play as anything other than a polemic screed simply trying to smear Pius. There were—certainly still are—those who believe that Hochhuth was searching for someone else to blame for the Holocaust so as to assuage the guilt of Germany as a whole, and of himself specifically. However, Albert Bermel in *The New Leader* praised Hochhuth's full original script as "an example of classical theater":

The Deputy is concerned with its subject matter, not with its author. It has richness of literary and political reference, but it rises to a fervor of which most dramatists today seem incapable. It is a cry from the mind as well as the heart, for it is not, in fact, dominated by its content. On the contrary, Hochhuth has imposed a severe discipline on himself, and the dramatic progression controls the flow of information at all points. In other words, this is a play by design and craftsmanship, not by accident. Its ambition is deeper, its scope wider, its ferocity more sustained than those of any other play written since the War (Bermel 1964, 18).

In fact, Bermel addressed the suggestion that Hochhuth was working to assuage his guilt—or that of Germany—directly as he stated unequivocally, "*The Deputy* is not choked up by guilt but propelled by indignation." On the other hand, he expressed a very pointed opinion about the Broadway script and production, leaving no question about his personal thoughts on some significant differences between the Rothenberg adaptation and the full text of the Winstons' American translation of *The Deputy*, from which the former was derived:

Herman Shumlin has co-produced and directed a condensation, adapted by Jerome Rothenberg and placed on show at the Brooks Atkinson Theatre. The Shumlin production represents about one-third of the total playing time, and it has been suggested that bringing the script into line with Broadway dictates has strengthened its impact by deleting the undramatic frippery. As it happens, the exact opposite is true. The production, a heap of disconnected fragments, a reduction in every sense of what Hochhuth has written (Bermel 1964, 18).

Bermel continued in the same article to describe the Broadway script and production as “a disgrace.” He noted further: “The staging offers no help to the ineptitudes of the script. The Shumlin-Rothenberg version is, to use a heavy word, a disgrace. Three entire scenes have been lopped off, and the remaining ones have been cut down to Broadway measurements” (Bermel 1964, 20). Obviously, Bermel did not think highly of “Broadway measurements” in this specific context. Another intensely strong but brief comment concluded the *Time* review of the Broadway production, “With its crude, inept dramaturgy, *The Deputy* is no service to playwriting...” (Time 1964, 50).

In the end, some of the story Hochhuth intended to bring forth did come through in Shumlin’s Broadway production but little else of merit stood. Norman Nadel noted this as the significant point in his *New York World Telegram* review, stating that, “...it is a major play, measured by its message. No drama in many years has addressed itself so directly to the individual and universal problem of guilt—guilt, in this example, for failure to act or speak out sufficiently in protest against the Nazis’ massacre of six million Jews...” (Nadel 1964, 12).

Similarly, Richard Watts, Jr. in the *New York Post* recognized it “is an absorbing though uneven play” and saw the story, and much of Hochhuth’s point, through faults of the adapted script and Broadway production. Watts clearly carried away with him some of the subtleties of the story, “Despite the author’s disapproval, he concedes that Pius XII had a worldly, practical case in his belief that the Vatican should maintain official neutrality, in the hope of bringing about peace without unconditional surrender, while working in secret to save individual Jews.” (Watts 1964, 12).

Finally, Bermel put a fair and measured point on his own review in *The New Leader*, as well as for the majority of the writing on this Broadway production of *The Deputy*, as it is

difficult to know and be aware of Hochhuth's original text and not draw some contrasts and comparisons throughout. Recognizing the possibility of this tendency in himself, Bermel stated, "If I have dwelt on the play rather than on the New York production, it is because I hope that Hochhuth's work will survive for what it is, rather than what has emerged from it." (Bermel 1964, 20). Bermel further emphasized and clarified his direct opinion: "I think that Hochhuth has achieved an authentic, artistic tragedy by the sheer disposition of his facts and eloquence and the crushing logic of his story." (Bermel 1964, 19).

Most critics of the Shumlin-Rothenberg Broadway production saw the merits of Hochhuth's play as a whole but had little use for the particular script that was presented to them on Broadway in New York production. One such critic was Louis Cook in his review for *The Detroit Free Press* five weeks after the opening of *The Deputy* on Broadway. He recognized the furor caused by the play and clearly saw Hochhuth's point of the story:

Hochhuth is talking about Everyman's comfortable, acceptance of religions which have lost their meanings to their practitioners (sic). He bites deepest into people who talk brotherhood but can't stand the idea of having a Negro move in next door. He takes people who melt at hearing The Beatitudes but regard Russian peasants with deep suspicion. In effect Hochhuth is preaching that if everybody who gives lip service to being a son of God were to start acting like one, daring all the pain that might ensue in order to live in Glory, it would transform the world. More could not be attempted in theater or anywhere else (Cook 1964, 6-C).

For whatever their reasons, there were still plenty of audience members to fill the theatre for 316 performances from the late winter, through spring and summer, and into the autumn of 1964. There were also plenty of protesters—many of whom presumably never actually saw the production—but they did taper off long before the close of the show in October 1964 (Cook 1964, 6-C).

CHAPTER 3: History of Keathley production (Missouri Repertory Theatre, Kansas City 1994)

The Deputy was brought to Kansas City in 1994 on the stage of The Missouri Repertory Theatre (MRT) under the direction of MRT Artistic Director George Keathley. Keathley first saw *The Deputy* in New York on Broadway opening night (February 26, 1964). His recounting of the opening night event during a September 23, 1994 discussion (Keathley 1994) included; “*The Deputy* opened in New York under the threat of riots, as were seen throughout Europe during the productions there a year earlier.” Recollections of the Broadway production were fleeting for Keathley thirty years after the fact, but they did include specifics like, “I remember The Doctor sending people to the crematorium. And The Pope; only because Emlyn Williams played him and when he said, ‘I will not, cannot speak out!’ there was a collective gasp from the audience. I remember that on the heels of expectations of riots, there were police patrolling backstage” (Keathley 1994).

George Keathley, MRT (purpose, intent and manner of adaptation)

Keathley told me that what had held his interest for thirty years about *The Deputy* was the whole aura of it, the atmosphere of it. The environment of it was all very compelling to him, even as a child. “How disciplined and yet horrible it was on the Germans’ part. Not to mention how unjust and monumentally wrong it was for the Jews. It’s always been there. Early 1940s news reels of people gathering in Madison Square Garden, flags, goose-stepping, the American Nazi Party. Then, very quickly after that it was all outlawed. This was always very, sort of, strange to me. I thought that something had to be done about this. Then I didn’t think of it anymore until I was watching TV and I saw these German skinheads burning the apartment building where these poor immigrants were living. Just trying to come into Germany. And I thought ‘My God, Nazism – Neo-Nazism is coming up all over again.’ And

I said it can't be. It's got to be stopped. So, I thought, 'I think I'm going to do *The Deputy*.' Then shortly after that I read this, now questionable, poll about the fact that 25% of teenagers did not believe that the Holocaust ever happened; and 20% of adults. I said, 'Listen here' to myself; I'm going to do *The Deputy*. The Holocaust happened and it was the blackest mark in human history and we have to not forget that!" Ultimately, Keathley wanted to bring awareness of the Holocaust to those who never knew, so they would know; and to those who knew, so they would never forget (Keathley 1994).

Precutting and Rehearsals: how and why the MRT adapted, with significant actor input

Once it was scheduled that *The Deputy* was, indeed, to be produced in the MRT's 1994-95 season and once it was cast; Keathley made significant cuts to the original script. The full text of the American translation by Richard and Clara Winston is about 350 pages long, with about 260 pages of actual dialogue. A fully produced play of the entire translation would likely be nearly eight hours in length. Keathley started his adaptation and cutting process with the full text of the Winstons' translation. He simply crossed out lines with a single stroke of a pen through each one, rather than completely blacking out the lines or having the script retyped with his cuts in place. This is an important distinction because this process invited every actor to examine his or her entire character as each was originally, and completely, written. There was never any indication that producing the entire eight-hour show was considered for the MRT production. This researcher has found no evidence that *The Deputy* has ever been produced for the stage in any uncut or un-adapted version.

Each actor in the MRT production came to the first readthrough with his or her script fully intact but with Keathley's suggested cuts noted. This made for very lengthy, but often productive, discussions about what might be brought back or what might be cut further. This

was usually done for clarity and continuity within any given scene. As an example of working in this manner, during the first week of rehearsal, the cast and Keathley were working on Act I, Scene ii, the “bowling” scene. Some of the questions discussed included: “What happens in this scene?”; “Why is it important to the story?” and eventually, “What happens in this scene that pays off later in the story?” When such questions were raised and discussed openly it seemed to give everyone a sense of direction to move forward within each scene and for the flow of the entire play. Some things didn’t need to be presented at all, while others needed some stressing and clarity. The discussion of how and why Fritsche, Hirt and Eichmann like to bowl is an example of an unnecessary triviality that never comes up again. On the other hand, establishing the character of Helga and her relationship with The Doctor is of great import for parts of the story yet to be told.

This method and manner of working became the primary direction for Keathley and the MRT cast. They attempted to establish the story as it was intended, by enhancing the *significant* to point out an even greater payoff later in the story. They also worked to nullify the *trivial*, especially when presented in long diatribes that led nowhere. As everyone became acquainted with this process and with the ultimate goal in mind, the play, and the story within it, began to take on a life of its own.

MRT actors’ personal responses, input and revelations

Many of the actors in the MRT’s 1994 production of *The Deputy* found the production to be an unusual, but very rewarding, way of working with a director on a script. Although the MRT did not have an actual repertory company at the time, many of the cast members of *The Deputy* had worked at the MRT previously. Some had even worked on several productions

with Keathley over the years. This showed in their willingness to trust each other and to collaborate on such a grand scale.

During preview week of *The Deputy* at the MRT in Kansas City I interviewed director George Keathley. Several parts of that conversation are detailed earlier in this chapter. On a number of occasions over the following couple of weeks I interviewed several of the MRT cast members. Twenty-six and a half years later as I finished this study, I interviewed several additional MRT cast members. In all of these conversations there were three main areas of discussion: the content of the story of *The Deputy* and individual character development; the work of the director and the cast including dramaturgy and this production's play structure; and personal insights, public input and backlash they may have experienced by participating in this production.

Ward Asquith played the Apostolic Nuncio in Berlin in Act I; Vittorio, a servant in Count Fontana's house in Act II; and Luccani Sr., a converted Jew in Acts III and V. I remember Asquith as a very kind elderly gentleman who was soft-spoken but I never doubted his strength of character or personal conviction on any issue about which he cared deeply. Asquith saw the context of this story very clearly, "Denial runs through the play and it never ends. The connections between *The Deputy* and society are significant. It saddens me to see threads of denial run through society and we never lose them" (Asquith 1994).

The rehearsal process and diving into these characters was even more strongly impacting on some actors. Mark Robbins played a single character, The Doctor, throughout the play. Robbins said, "It was important for me to keep the horror in front of me. In rehearsal we felt an obligation to the story and to remembering the Holocaust and remembering the story. I have definite strong images in my mind—but I'm incapable of it ultimately. I may have felt

revulsion early on but I lost—or repressed it.” Robbins suggested that the collaborative effort between the director and the cast worked so well because, “George (Keathley) was so focused on putting in or taking out anything that a scene needed – any telling moment throughout the play. He’s making this dramatically interesting as well as telling the story. The story comes first but it should also be told in an interesting manner. That’s what we’re doing here” (Robbins 1994).

Peggy Friesen played Julia Luccani, a Roman Jewish wife and mother, throughout the MRT production. As we conversed many years after the production, she remembered the experience fondly. “I recall that we all felt a sense of collaboration and ownership in the finished product, and we didn’t mind being unbalanced during the rehearsal process,” Friesen told me (Friesen 2021). Referring specifically to working with Keathley, Friesen expressed herself positively even through the recognition of the hard work it sometimes took to get there as she shared, “I have many pleasurable memories of working with George Keathley, having worked with him numerous times during his tenure. He was the most collaborative director I have ever worked with. This was true with *The Deputy* as well. It seemed as if he didn’t know what he wanted, but he always knew! He just had a way (mostly through asking you questions) that made you feel that you made the discovery yourself. Of course, this often made the rehearsal process slower than it could be, but the end result was stronger” (Friesen 2021).

James Shelby, Baron Rutta in Act I and Pope Pius XII in Act IV, presented himself as an actor who took his work seriously and personally. At the same time, he always pressed to endow his work in a very professional manner. Shelby admitted initially struggling to see the direction in which Keathley was headed, “When I read the script early on it was hard to see the forest for the trees. The forest came into view when we started cutting. Then the forward

action and playability of it; I saw what was suggested by George—a very playable story came out with historical—as well as individual human stories—within the larger historical story” (Shelby 1994).

Early in the rehearsal process Keathley spoke about the predicament in which Pope Pius found himself. Pius was the political leader of a sovereign state (Vatican City), without a military or any other means to defend his *country*. His country was in the middle of a continent, in the middle of a world war. As a political leader Pius made some choices that helped keep The Vatican intact as a sovereign nation throughout the war. However, as the religious and spiritual leader of all Roman Catholics and many Christians around the world, he made some very poor moral decisions. I heard Keathley repeat this several times throughout the weeks of rehearsal. This train of thought certainly caught the attention of Shelby playing Pius who said, “George had concern that The Pope was set up as a complete boob. George steered away from that. We made a choice. You may not agree, but you can begin to understand how the institution can get bigger than the people that make it up” (Shelby 1994). Here Shelby drew out a significant feature of the MRT production of *The Deputy*, of which I have found no evidence of any other productions having possessed. This feature being that the character of Pope Pius XII was depicted as a thoughtful but careful, real live thinking and feeling person. He still made the decisions he made. He still didn’t take the actions that he didn’t take. But this version of The Pope was more believable as a struggling human being, than as a caricature to be made fun of.

Patrick Page played Kurt Gerstein; the Christian turned SS officer so he could work to defeat Hitler from within. Page was quite familiar with the New York production of *The Deputy* and was certain that the MRT had a more thoughtful and thorough production. Page

said of this particular plotline involving the character of Pius XII, “In the New York production it seems to me they thought the play was about The Pope not making a protest. The larger issues of the play—we need to raise it to a metaphysical level—how, why or if God has any say in this? We historically know Pius XII didn’t protest. We can’t make that very exciting” (Page 1994).

Some of the actors shared with me how the story worked in the context of their individual character and how that played out for them through the rehearsals and production. Michael Linsley Rapport played Colonel Adolf Eichmann in Act I and a Manufacturer taken prisoner by the Gestapo in Act III. I asked Rapport what might have surprised him through the rehearsal process. He said, “Getting caught up in the history of Eichmann and not paying attention to the character ‘in the play’. I don’t think it happened to all of the historical characters in this play but it caught me in a rut at some point in rehearsal” (Rapport 1994). Page had a different perspective of his character and the historical Gerstein. “The historical character of Gerstein was helpful,” Page said. “A great deal of the biographical work is done for me,” he continued. “In the only biography that I know of, Gerstein is depicted as distraught and high strung. If I reached too far for that I could lose everything else” (Page 1994).

I posed the question of any surprises to Asquith. He emphatically responded, “I was stunned when I found out that George Keathley wanted to do the eight-hour script” (Asquith 1994). Robbins, too, discovered some surprising insights to his character and how he felt about The Doctor, “I feel guilty because others in this show work ten times harder. Patrick Page, David Fritts, Peggy Friesen, Melinda McCrary—they all experience the horror. The Doctor only inflicts it. The Doctor is above it all (the horror). It’s not that it doesn’t affect him but it heightens his sense of self” (Robbins 1994). I found it interesting and very telling how Robbins

felt this so personally that he spoke about it as an actor not as a character. Certainly, many actors work that way, making it very real for themselves. But Robbins also talked about the other actors who his character affected—he didn't talk about their characters but the *actors* themselves “experiencing the horror” of his *character*. I think this speaks very strongly to the deep commitment that this cast had to each other and that they had with Keathley as their director.

Page talked about the play as a five-act tragedy and said, “That is not common in the twentieth century but Shakespeare is the obvious place to look. However, in contrast to Shakespeare, Hochhuth expresses himself through the characters.” Page also shared some of his acting insights on Naturalism with me. He said, “I am familiar with the New York script—quite familiar. I need to know what a scene is there for and what my point is in it—what I need to fulfill. As an example, Act I, Scene iii is difficult to figure out. If it's only exposition it's a bit bland. My super-objective is—to save Jews? To—find a partner in saving the Jews? Only after opening did I see this. As a super-objective, I need something to play through; and a reason to go to Auschwitz in the end of the play.” Page returned to the story of the play and how all roads led to Pius as a central character. He continued, “George Keathley was cutting text theatrically not dramaturgically or for the structure of the play. In a scene-by-scene synopsis, look at what happens in the scene—the end of Act III, Scene ii lowers the expectation of the characters while raising the expectations of the audience. The phone call is the only thing that happens in Act III, Scene iii. Well, we meet Carlotta as a minor point. Going into Act IV, we have to think that The Pope *may* protest. If we know he's not going to, there is no scene” (Page 1994).

Melinda McCrary played Carlotta throughout the MRT production in 1994. McCrary shared with me that she was a bit of a bookworm about the subject matter of *The Deputy*. “I read a lot. I liked to read about this. I’m kind of an amateur dramaturg and I would sometimes bring something I found into George” McCrary told me (McCrary 2021). She also recalled that, “Patrick Page was into the research as well. We would spend time talking about it backstage” (McCrary 2021). McCrary enjoyed working with Keathley and was very insightful to his directing and teaching abilities, “I think he could give away some of that control and he could still control the room. He trusted the actors and he made that work. He seemed to know the scene well but he was generous that way, without giving control away. He was always teaching. That is much more preferable than a director who had complete control of everything” (McCrary 2021).

Asquith expressed his sentiment supporting a main point of the story when he said, “This is the play that can instruct our future. We should be instructing the people who, in years to come, will deal with similar issues in society” (Asquith 1994). Page left no doubt about his perspective on this version of the story as well. He told me, “I really think that this is the first American production of *The Deputy*. To say that Rothenberg’s adaptation is *The Deputy* is like saying *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are Dead* is *Hamlet*” (Page 1994).

In my search for greater insight about the individual actors working with George Keathley and with each other, as well as the dramaturgy and structure of the play; I asked many of the same cast members additional questions. When I spoke to David Fritts, who played Father Riccardo Fontana, he wanted to talk about the script itself. Fritts was particularly interested in ‘why it worked’. He said, “The strengths of George Keathley, like trusting actors, creating ensemble and encouraging actor input are the reasons that this works. Some directors

don't have the self-confidence to do this. To let it go its course. This is not a good script in places but this process makes it work" (Fritts 1994).

Kim Martin-Cotton played Helga throughout the show. Martin-Cotton was recently out of school so she recognized that, "professionally, it was very good for me. Kansas City had become a sometimes home for me so I was comfortable there" (Martin-Cotton 2021). Martin-Cotton shared that she had not previously been familiar with *The Deputy* but she, nonetheless, saw the historical gravity of it, "The story was illuminating a moment in history that I certainly knew about. It was important and it needed more conversation. It was exciting for me to be a part of it" (Martin-Cotton 2021).

Rapport said that the cooperation and ensemble work appealed to him, "Being part of such a large cast moving in the same direction together at the same time is a unique experience. Timing is important. This is the right time. Taking this approach to the play, at this time, with these people, on the heels of *Schindler's List* and all of these neo-Nazis (in the news of the day) makes it even more interesting, because it's current" (Rapport 1994).

Robbins spoke about the process of cutting the play in the context of what it did for the audience, "Cuts had to be made to be palatable, but it's that important of a play to make them sit for four hours." He went on to describe some of the details of the work in cutting a specific scene with Keathley and Fritts, "George Keathley is certainly amenable to cutting or adding—anything that a scene needed at any telling moment. One scene particularly—it was between The Doctor and Riccardo. It was out of sequence and we were piecing things together. It's dramatically interesting as well as telling the story. Telling the story is number one. In an interesting manner, is number two. When you cut open a play it could seem longer if not done

properly. Because it was a translation, he (Keathley) gave us extra license to rearrange things in the dialogue” (Robbins 1994).

Martin-Cotton as Helga, indicated that she had not previously had the opportunity to work on a script in this manner but expressed enjoying it, “I hadn’t done a play that was that up for grabs before, but I was just emerging from school. I remember that I had a couple of scenes with Mark Robbins. We did work outside of rehearsals so we could understand the characters and the relationships more. We would bring it back and present it to George. That was a lovely collaboration.” She went on to say that, “That process deepened the story for me. It deepened the character” (Martin-Cotton 2021).

Asquith said that such open and welcome input to the script by actors is something that, “I’ve never run into in my life. When you workshop a play for weeks and weeks the cast is often encouraged to input, to get the piece to grow and change. But conventionally, I’ve never seen it done before. It’s remarkable to me!” Asquith continued with a discussion about how and why he believed that the structure of the play was truly well thought out, “Act I, Scene ii, sets up much more that is yet to come in the play and tells us about these characters— ‘Nazis!’ That bowling scene, its usefulness and placement is crucial to the structure of the play.” He also admitted to me that he had an even greater interest in the future of *The Deputy*, “I’ve discussed with some of the other actors about how we might take an even deeper, different look at this play. What if the counter-part characters were one character, not two? This would keep the monologues (Act V, Scene i) but as the *original* characters. The monologues don’t have to be talked about as separate things” (Asquith 1994). Asquith brought up an interesting point about the script here. Act V, Scene i, was cut completely from the Broadway production. It was kept intact in the MRT production but the characters had no other tie to anyone or

anything else in the script. They were just anonymous people. Maybe that was the point. Nonetheless, Asquith's point was that these characters could be clearly connected and even portrayed as Signoria Simonetta; Luccani Sr; and The Girl as Carlotta perhaps, or Julia; all characters we see and get to know earlier in the play.

In admiring several aspects of the work and talent of George Keathley, Page said, "This is the most open cutting I've ever been involved with. I think it was really wise of him to let go so much and let the actors do the work and also, he never got nervous about the lack of time" (Page 1994).

Shelby unequivocally told me that it is no surprise to him that "Keathley gets high quality results using these techniques" on such a project. According to Shelby, "George Keathley is a very unusual man. What a wonderful experience. It is vital to work with a company and work with a guy like George Keathley. There is no black magic and politics that I can see. When the job is done, I feel good. He prepares meticulously. He has meticulous organization, meticulous preparation, he gives direction, and he trusts the individuals involved. Do the work and get results" (Shelby 1994)!

Even decades later, Martin-Cotton also remembered the hard work Keathley may have put himself and the cast through, but she remembered it fondly, "George was a very actors' director. He was a very collaborative director in a good way. I got to work with him a bunch and it was really lovely. George was unique in the way that he collaborated. He was insightful and thoughtful; trusting and warm. He had guideposts but was not controlling. He had a desire to find meaning. It had a weight to it" (Martin-Cotton 2021).

As I continued to ask questions of the cast of *The Deputy*, I sought to get more personal feelings and input from some of the individual actors and I had some success. The subject

matter of the play having been the Holocaust, there were multiple educational and discussion opportunities presented in conjunction with *The Deputy* at the MRT. On several occasions there were talkback discussions with the audience after the show. Some of those discussions also included a panel of local subject matter experts and clergy. Asquith expressed some appreciation for these talkbacks and said, “Discussion periods after the show have become a great personal catharsis for some of us actors. That’s good. We need that.” Asquith also told me about a particular review of the Kansas City production that caught his attention. “The *Variety* review from last Sunday (October 10, 1994) was long and detailed but raved about the show. There was a comment about the monologue scene and how it could be lost (cut), he said. Without missing a beat, Asquith continued, “I happen to agree with him. In spite of my role (in that scene); it’s such an obvious device that slows the show. It is embarrassing or awkward to an audience because we are making sure that they understand the individual pain. Are we accusing them of missing something here? Earlier? I think the scene with the Luccani family accomplishes a lot that the monologues were intended to” (Asquith 1994).

Scott Cordes played Salzer in Act I and Act III; Brother Irenaus in Act III. Cordes told me of the immersive nature of listening back stage during the performances of *The Deputy*, “Listening to the show is very influencing, very significant. Sitting in the greenroom is like sitting in a movie house” (Cordes 1994).

Shelby said he had grown to look forward to some of the public input in local newspapers that may have otherwise been looked upon as negative toward the Catholic Church. “The editorials became a driving force in my character,” he told me (Shelby 1994).

Robbins talked about absolutely immersing himself in the role of The Doctor to such a degree that, after weeks of rehearsal, he only realized how much progress the cast had made in

developing the story and the characters within it after sitting back and observing. Robbins said that, “A real pleasant surprise was watching the first run-through and being moved and shaken as much as I was. And previously not knowing what was there. I haven’t been grabbed like that in a long time” (Robbins 1994). Some months after closing *The Deputy* Robbins was interviewed for an article in *The Kansas City Star* and recalled how work on the production had a somewhat negative impact upon him personally. In the article, Robbins:

...recalled performing in *The Deputy* as a character modeled after the infamous Nazi war criminal Dr. Josef Mengele. ‘I was playing a truly despicable character—and not only just despicable but despicable on a massive scale, horrific—and I thought that I was leaving it at the theater,’ Mark recalled. ‘But about the last week of the run, when the realization came to me that we were going to close the show soon, I felt something lift off my shoulders. And I realized that over the course of the last four weeks, I’d just been getting a little bit more depressed every week. I’m sure that it was affecting my home life, but in some way that was too subtle for me to notice’ (Kansas City Star 1996, H4).

Church response

There was little published official response from the Catholic Church in regard to the MRT production of *The Deputy*. The closest item this researcher found was an editorial in *The Kansas City Star* published as a “viewpoint” written by Albert de Zutter, editor of *The Catholic Key*, the newspaper of the Catholic Diocese of Kansas City-St. Joseph. De Zutter simply repeated several items that have been cited and discussed on the subject over many decades including, “Some observers wryly observed when the play first appeared in the 1960s that its author was a German Protestant projecting collective guilt for the Holocaust onto an Italian Catholic instead of grappling with its implications for the German people.” In fact, this researcher has found no evidence that de Zutter saw the MRT production and no evidence that he read *The Deputy*, as one of his closing remarks included, “It remains an immature polemic and, in its one-dimensional characterizations of Pius XII and other churchmen, betrays an

ignorant and bigoted view of the Catholic church” (de Zutter 1994, L2). Again, this statement sounds like one of the several rote answers cited in this discussion over and over through the decades.

Geri Pizzi wrote an article for *American Theatre* in the December 1994 issue. Her writing is partly review and partly reportage. Pizzi attended one of the public discussions, *The Consequence of Silence*, moderated by Keathley. Several religious leaders participated in the discussion from both the Jewish and Catholic faiths including Father Patrick Rush, Vicar General of the Diocese of Kansas City-St. Joseph. In defending his choice to produce *The Deputy*, Keathley said, “There is historical truth in the fact that Pope Pius XII did not speak out in any kind of a strong voice whatsoever against the decimation of the Jews. That is a fact. I am not pope-bashing. I am not Catholic-bashing” (Pizzi 1994, 65). The discussion at the event continued and the article concluded as follows:

Father Rush wonders if Keathley would be as quick to present a play that criticized Martin Luther King or David Ben Gurion. Keathley responds that both King and Ben Gurion were predominantly *political* leaders. ‘You can cut the slice of bologna any way you want to as far as politics is concerned,’ Keathley contends, ‘but you can’t as far as morality is concerned. And the reason the fingers point to the pope in the particular instance is because his voice is the voice of morality—not of politics.’ The impact of Keathley’s production of *The Deputy* on local theatregoers is epitomized by the final comment from the audience at *The Consequence of Silence* session. A Catholic woman, too young to have lived during World War II, declared her belief that the pope was wrong—and that she felt it was important for a Catholic person in 1994 to stand up and openly criticize Pius XII. The group applauded as she quickly left the auditorium (Pizzi 1994, 65).

Theatre critics and other public response

In a movie theater we often depend on the lights and sound to hold our attention and keep us engaged. When attending a live theatre presentation, however, we expect certainly that the actors will engage us and will hold our attention. From time to time a set design can

overwhelm our sense of place and time. The MRT's staging of *The Deputy* depicted the sights and sounds of those years in the early to mid-1940s in a very clear and apparent manner. I credit this, in large part, to the successful integration of all elements of the theatre – creating a “cinematic effect”. Some of the MRT's audience members and critics expressed similar views. In a letter to *The Kansas City Star* in September 1994, shortly after opening night, Mike and Carolyn Gulley of Olathe, Kansas, wrote, “If your definition of good theater is a production that makes you think, stimulates conversation and helps you visualize events you cannot witness in person, see Missouri Rep's production of *The Deputy*. It is well staged and timely. Bravo, Mo. Rep.” (Gulley 1994, C6).

The Kansas City area critics in 1994 were generally very positive about the MRT production of *The Deputy*. First, and foremost among them is Robert Trussell. For many years Trussell was the key staff theatre critic for *The Kansas City Star*. To get Trussell's attention was often a difficult task. To keep his attention was sometimes even more fleeting. On October 3, 1994, Trussell wrote a stunning review of the MRT production of *The Deputy* that included the following:

An exceptional cast, committed direction and a volatile play can only add up to one thing: powerful, unforgettable theater. The Missouri Repertory Theatre production of Rolf Hochhuth's *The Deputy* may not be flawless, but it comes close. Very close. George Keathley has shaped and directed Hochhuth's stark play of the Holocaust with passion and intelligence creating an impressive drama that is consistently engrossing despite its length and complexity. The end result is at once chilling and terribly moving (Trussell 1994, D6).

Terry Erbe had some similarly positive comments for *The Deputy* in *PitchWeekly*, “George Keathley, artistic director of the Rep, does an incredible job coordinating all the elements in directing this production.” But Erbe stops there with his compliments (Erbe 1994, 36).

There were a couple of reviews of the MRT production of *The Deputy* that appeared in national publications. The most significant was in *Variety* magazine. John Quinn gave as strong a compliment to the company, the director and the production as any of the local critics had. Quinn said, “A company that presents uniformly good productions, Missouri Repertory Theater has outdone itself with an excellent and compelling version of “The Deputy,” the Rolf Hochhuth indictment of Nazi mass murders during World War II and of Pope Pius XII’s hands-off policy toward the atrocities.” (Quinn 1994, 109). The social points that Hochhuth had as part of the intent in his original script came through very boldly in Keathley’s adaptation and production. Quinn recognized and spoke very strongly to this when he wrote, “...the play encompasses a larger orbit of human behavior, portraying such personal attributes as thoughtless compliance, courage, devotion, hypocrisy, cruelty, hopelessness and religious faith. If not by direct questioning, Hochhuth asks by inference: What would you do in the face of such evil? Speak out? Keep quiet? Run? Fight?” (Quinn 1994, 109).

Quinn continued on to specifically put as fine a point on complimenting Keathley’s direction and adaptation as my research has discovered anywhere, “Adaptor/director George Keathley has sharply focused these many aspects with tight direction and good performances from a large cast of established, capable actors. The production is at once riveting, chilling and frightening, and the audience sits hushed and engrossed throughout.” (Quinn 1994, 109).

Some critics were less enthusiastic and more tempered in their compliments about *The Deputy*. One such reviewer was James Loutzenhiser who wrote in *The Squire*, “Missouri Rep has mounted a polished production of a difficult play, one that overcomes its frequent slow sections.” (Loutzenhiser 1994, 17). The “slow sections” comment by Loutzenhiser was a reasonable assertion that was noticed by others in print as well. Erbe, again in *PitchWeekly*

also pointed out an issue with the pace but ended with an ultimate compliment as he wrote, “While the first act runs a bit long and suffers from long set changes which slows the pace the second act gathers momentum and moves to a tragic, but inevitable, conclusion. The final scene is one of the most powerful and moving of recent memory.” (Erbe 1994, 36). Several of these items of critique may be considered small or picky by some but one item that this researcher found very reasonable to consider is the suggestion that Act V, Scene iii be shortened or even removed from the script. This suggestion was put forth by Quinn in his *Variety* review as he stated, “while the production is impressive, it could benefit from judicious snipping to bring the length to a more manageable 2 1/2 hours. A scene of victims on the train to the crematorium, for example, overemphasizes a point already made and could be cut.” (Quinn 1994, 109).

To address the entire package of the MRT production; the coordination, compilation, ensemble work orchestrated by Keathley throughout; one would definitely be amiss to ignore the technical aspects of the production. Each demanding and powerful in their own right, but proving to be all the more powerful as they are directed and orchestrated by Keathley as they were woven into the entire production. These aspects were also pointed out by several of the critics who wrote reviews in 1994. Quinn wrote in *Variety*: “Technical credits are first-rate, from Robert Fletcher’s massive set stage rear, bracketing the action and setting the scenes with changing hangings, to sound by Tom Mardikes and background music by Greg Mackender. Fletcher draws a second round of kudos for authentic re-creation of the many World War II uniforms.” (Quinn 1994, 109). Trussell was even more complimentary than some others as he wrote for the *Kansas City Star*, citing the technical quality as “first rate” specifically highlighting “Fletcher’s costumes and nonrealistic sets” and praising particularly “Tom

Mardikes' haunting sound design. Greg Mackender composed the dark music.” (Trussell 1994, D6). Trussell closed on *The Deputy* with the all-encompassing comment, “This is a fine example of what theater should be and so rarely is—eloquent dramatic writing that grapples with the fundamental moral issues facing all people. Is *The Deputy* long and challenging? Yes. Controversial? You bet. Is it superior theater? No question.” (Trussell 1994, D6).

Finally, as an additional compliment to the MRT production of *The Deputy* and its profound impression upon Kansas City, it was recognized in many categories at the Kansas City Drama Desk Awards on March 13, 1995. Some of those recognized with Drama Desk Awards included: George Keathley, Best Director, Play; David Fritts, Best Actor, Play; Mark Robbins, Best Supporting Actor, Play; Robert Fletcher, Best Costume Design; Victor En Yu Tan, Best Lighting Design; and the play itself—Best Play, *The Deputy*, MO Rep. (Erbe 1995, 50).

CHAPTER 4: Dramaturgical comparison (New York script 1964 – Kansas City script 1994)

In 1964 Richard and Clara Winston published an English language translation of Rolf Hochhuth's play *Der Stellvertreter*. That translation, known as *The Deputy*, has been consistently recognized since its publication as the preeminent American text of Hochhuth's original German language play. The 1964 New York Broadway production of *The Deputy* was adapted from the Winstons' full text translation. The 1994 Kansas City Missouri Repertory Theatre (MRT) production of *The Deputy* was also adapted from the same full text translation. The 1964 Broadway script was adapted by Jerome Rothenberg and directed by Herman Shumlin. The 1994 MRT script was adapted by George Keathley and the MRT cast and it was directed by Keathley. In the previous chapters I have presented details of each script and each production. In this chapter I will set out to outline a direct comparison of the 1964 Broadway script and the 1994 MRT script scene by scene, noting major differences and using those previously cited details as the foundation for the conclusions drawn here.

Before one even reads the first word of either the New York Broadway script or the Kansas City MRT script; one significant and obvious clue about the structural differences between the two scripts is that the Broadway script is made up of seven scenes in its entirety. The MRT script holds tight to the scene structure of Hochhuth's original text as published in the Winstons' American translation. That is, it contains five acts; the first, third and fifth act having three scenes each. The second act and the fourth act are not divided by scenes. This is a total of eleven scenes over five acts in the MRT script.

Another significant difference that one notices between the two scripts before one reads any further than the character list is the number of female characters. The MRT script has three significant adult female characters (Helga, Julia and Carlotta) who appear in at least two

scenes each. There are additional adult female characters and at least one little girl in the MRT script. The Broadway script has a total of three female characters, none of them being named nor fully developed. In fact, the three are in the cast list as Woman, Girl and Little Girl. These three characters combined have a total of about a dozen lines of dialogue in a total of three scenes shared among them in the Broadway script.

Following is an accounting of each scene as it is named and numbered (Act and Scene) in the Winstons' translation and some of the general differences between the 1964 Broadway script of *The Deputy* and the 1994 MRT script of *The Deputy*. I have also tried to specify how each scene exists, or not, in their respective script and production. As part of the scene summaries below I have added pieces of the storyline as well as outlining the structure.

Prologue: There was a brief prologue in the Broadway show that depicted a mother comforting her daughter as they and others were pushed through lines headed into a gas chamber in Auschwitz. The MRT show had no such prologue.

Act I, Scene i: The Papal Nuncio's residence in Berlin. This was virtually the same in each show but the Broadway script did put more emphasis on the details of the gas chamber exterminations as Gerstein describes them.

Act I, Scene ii: The SS recreation center bowling party. This scene was completely cut from the Broadway script and show. In the MRT script this scene gave a great deal of background to the German characters and thus allowed the audience to view them (to some degree) as typical human beings. Even more impacting on the play was the introduction of Helga in this scene. As a young German woman, Helga's relationship with The Doctor and her personal struggle to keep intact the few things in her life that she found to be important

started in this scene. This arc helped to show the torment that the war had inflicted in the lives of even relatively ordinary German people by the end of the MRT production.

Act I, Scene iii: Gerstein's apartment in Berlin. This scene was in both scripts. The character of Jacobson was depicted differently, however, in the two scripts. The Broadway production presented Jacobson as a Jew who was petty and complained about things like his navel being raw from fleas. His isolation had turned him into a man who cursed all Germans, even Gerstein who was trying to help him, in fact, trying to save his life. Jacobson was not grateful to Gerstein, nor to Riccardo who had given him his passport in exchange for the star of David. In the Broadway script Jacobson taunted Riccardo, to a much greater degree, about then being recognized as a Jew in Nazi Germany. After this scene (Act I, scene iii) Gerstein and Jacobson were no longer part of the Broadway script. From this point Riccardo is the focal point as he attempted to convince The Vatican to take a louder and more active stance about the exterminations occurring in the concentration camps. Riccardo's tone and actions were more pronounced and more direct than they were in the MRT script. As with Helga, mentioned in the previous scene, Jacobson too, had his own personal story to tell later in the MRT script and production. Retaining these characters throughout the entire show in the MRT script helped to put a human face on the pain and anguish for an audience to see and feel.

Act II: Count Fontana's home in Rome. This act was similar in both scripts. One noticeable difference, as in the previous scene, was Riccardo's intensified demeanor. He ramped up his anger at the Vatican's failure to act earlier in a more antagonistic manner. It is clear that, structurally, Riccardo had to carry more of the peoples' story in the Broadway script because Jacobson and Gerstein were not present throughout the story to pressure the institutions as they had been in the MRT script. The Cardinal too, appeared to have a more

accelerated tone as he expounded about how “God wanted Pacelli” (Pius XII) to be in charge and called the previous Pope (Pius XI) to Heaven (Hochhuth 1964b, 51). Pius XI was more of a fighter than Pius XII and would have raised “protests against Hitler” according to Count Fontana (Hochhuth 1964b, 51). In the MRT script both Riccardo and the Cardinal were more temperate characters in Act II, each taking more time to get to these ultimate conclusions about what Pius XII was, and was not, doing to act on behalf of all suffering souls.

Act III, Scene i: The Luccani family apartment in Rome. The Luccani family was arrested by the Nazis. This scene was cut completely from the Broadway script and production. In the MRT production, however, we, yet again, had the opportunity to see firsthand the pain and personal struggle of the individual(s). This time it was directly at the hands of their Nazi sanctioned tormentors and it was considerably more graphic than anything else we’d witnessed up to this point in the play.

Act III, Scene ii: The office of the Father General in Rome. The Broadway script eliminated Gerstein from this scene completely. Instead of Riccardo having brought Gerstein as “our liaison man in the SS leadership” (Hochhuth 1964a, 145) to meet the Father General (Abbot), he brought a Roman Jewish family that he wanted the Father General to hide. Both productions hit the pivotal point in the scene in which Riccardo told the Father General that he planned go to Auschwitz with Roman Jews who would be rounded up by the Nazis the following day. Unless the Pope was to take action and speak out, Riccardo insisted that he would disobey the Pope’s orders (and even God’s orders). He would become the Pope’s deputy. Riccardo believed that this sacrifice would assuage the guilt of Pius so that the Church could outlive Auschwitz.

Act III, Scene iii: The Gestapo headquarters in Rome. This is included in both scripts but the Broadway production portrayed Salzer as a more inhuman anti-Semitic person than did the MRT production. The MRT production put a human face on a character who could be any one of us under similar circumstances. Salzer's demeanor was escalated in this scene in a similar manner that other characters were throughout the Broadway script, structurally this was needed due to a loss of scene balance by the lack of other characters. In this case, the exchange between Salzer and Gerstein was cut entirely from the Broadway script and show. Brief though it may be, it was in the MRT script and production and gave the viewer some sense of the growing intent of Gerstein. It showed his willingness to take more and greater risks seeking the possibility of getting the Pope (or any significant member of the Church hierarchy) to make a public protest about the deportation of Jews to concentration camps and their eventual extermination.

Act IV: The Vatican throne room. This scene was basically the same in both scripts and productions. In this scene Riccardo took the opportunity to directly ask, then to implore Pope Pius to speak out to the world against Hitler and in support of those being deported, especially the Jews. Riccardo's father, Count Fontana, also pressed Pius on this issue. The Pope eventually did dictate a letter of protest but it was far too general and lukewarm for Riccardo's liking. After realizing that he had done all that he could and that Pius would not speak out strongly enough, Riccardo defiantly put the yellow star of David on his cassock in the presence of Pope Pius XII and then he walked out.

Act V, Scene i: The Monologues on the train to Auschwitz. This scene was entirely omitted from the Broadway text and production. The MRT production retained these three monologues but in slightly abbreviated versions from the Winstons' translation. The character

of Luccani Sr. spoke to God and asked not to die in front of his grandchildren. The Woman spoke to her husband who was carried away from their home just days before she was. She also spoke of their child whom she continued to carry in her womb. The Girl spoke to her betrothed whom she supposed would likely live on without her.

Act V, Scene ii: Auschwitz. This scene was part of the MRT script largely intact from the Winstons' translation. This was not really a part of the Broadway script except that the final scene of the Broadway script was a combination of this scene and the final scene of the original text that follows immediately hereafter. In the MRT script we saw the relationship between The Doctor and Helga play out considerably; particularly we saw Helga's struggle with it on multiple levels. This version of the script also initiated the contact between The Doctor and Riccardo at Auschwitz. By the end of the scene The Doctor had assigned Riccardo to work in the crematorium for two weeks. At the end of the two weeks The Doctor planned to take Riccardo into his laboratory as his assistant.

Act V, Scene iii: Auschwitz, about a week later. This scene was part of the MRT script and, again, largely intact from the Winstons' translation. This scene was part of the Broadway script but only in a very stripped-down version and by way of being combined with the previous scene. It included primarily only The Doctor and Riccardo. As mentioned previously, Gerstein, Jacobson, Carlotta, Julia and Helga were not retained or depicted in any manner in the Broadway script of this final scene. They were all significant in the text of the Winstons' translation, as well as in the MRT script and production. Gerstein came to Auschwitz with the "orders" to take Father Riccardo back to The Vatican but there were no orders as it was truly of his own accord and entirely made up. That issue becomes considerably complicated when Jacobson showed up to report *as Father Riccardo*, continuing to live out his

ruse as had been established much earlier in the script. Shortly thereafter, the actual Father Riccardo shows up. As the three conspirators, Gerstein, Jacobson and Riccardo negotiated to get their stories aligned, The Doctor entered the scene and the three were found out. In the MRT script Riccardo and Carlotta died before the scene ended. Gerstein was taken into custody. Jacobson was found out and returned to his prisoner duties in the camp.

The Broadway script and production of *The Deputy* appeared to have dealt more directly with the politics of the Vatican. It addressed so much less the personal struggles of the individuals involved – the characters, if you will. The MRT script and production addressed the issue of ‘Vatican politics’ but, in contrast to the Broadway script, it accented the individual suffering of the characters in a more obvious manner throughout the entire story. Some have suggested that the MRT production overplayed this, possibly even to the its detriment. The MRT’s production dealt with the personal struggles of Father Riccardo Fontana and Kurt Gerstein, an SS officer of the Third Reich, throughout the story and as significant threads of the story.

Other individual characters who displayed significant personal struggles included Carlotta, a young Jewish Roman whose fiancé fought for the Germans and lost his life in their cause. Nonetheless, she was shipped off to a concentration camp without a second thought.

The Luccani family was first introduced in Act III, Scene i, when the local Italian soldiers working on behalf of the Nazis burst into their apartment to take them away. The crux of the scene can be described no less severely than a full-on assault of the entire family.

We first saw Helga in Act I, Scene ii, as a flirty barmaid catering to the Nazi elites at the “bowling” party. By the final scene of the play (Act V, Scene iii), we came to understand that Helga was an ordinary young German woman as she longed for time to spend with her

fiancé who is also working at Auschwitz. He, however, was often made unavailable to her as she was regularly engaged in a sexual affair with The Doctor. She appeared to have little choice in the matter and, as we came to understand The Doctor, he had little time for people except for what he did to meet his own pleasures or to expand his personal grotesque curiosities about the limits to which he was able to increase torture upon them, whether physical, psychological or metaphysical. Helga was German and may even have been a willing member of the Nazi Party but she was clearly a victim of the Nazis, nonetheless.

Jacobson was an ordinary Jewish German man whom we first encountered in Act I, Scene iii, as Riccardo and Gerstein did their level best to help him escape and to save his life with such purpose and zeal that one might have thought that this one man was the only one in the whole of Germany who needed saving. Jacobson was a clear and obvious example of a character who carried significant personal struggles in his current circumstances. In fact, Jacobson may have been the quintessential example of an individual who displayed personal struggles throughout the story of *The Deputy*.

The characters in the script of MRT are generally more balanced; both the characters of The Church and those of the Nazis. They generally appear to be real human beings who struggle greatly with their own personal sense of right and wrong. They all broadly appear to be people who are multi-dimensional and fight within themselves to come to terms with decisions; those decisions they've just made as well as those they are about to make.

The characters in the Broadway script come across as more one-dimensional and even caricatures to some degree. Because the characters of the MRT script each struggle in different ways, audience members may relate to them in very different ways. They each have their own

reality and we can see that clearly, whether we agree or disagree; fully understand or little—they are real.

The story of the MRT script stands true to form to the Winstons' translation more than the Broadway script, even though there are places within the MRT script that the director and cast took considerable liberties with paraphrasing and even rewriting. There is no question that the MRT script still stands as a stronger, more thoughtful and more balanced story than the Broadway script. I agree with several critics who suggested that the MRT script could tolerate even more cutting but I suggest that it be done very sparingly and very specifically so as not to dismantle the balance that is already firmly established.

APPENDIX A

THE DEPUTY

AS PERFORMED BY THE MISSOURI REPERTORY THEATRE

26 SEPTEMBER – 16 OCTOBER 1994

MISSOURI REPERTORY THEATRE

THE DEPUTY

written by
Rolf Hochhuth

| | |
|------------------------|------------------|
| DIRECTOR | George Keathley |
| SET DESIGN | Robert Fletcher |
| COSTUME DESIGN | Robert Fletcher |
| LIGHTING DESIGN | Victor En Yu Tan |
| SOUND DESIGN | Tom Mardikes |
| COMPOSER | Greg Mackender |
| STAGE MANAGER | J. F. Mitchell* |

CAST

| | |
|---|--------------------------|
| Pope Pius XII Baron Rutta, Reichs Armaments Cartel | JAMES SHELBY* |
| Father Riccardo Fontana S.J. | DAVID FRITTS* |
| Kurt Gerstein, Obersturmführer SS | PATRICK PAGE* |
| The Cardinal Professor Hirt, Reichs University of Strassburg | GARY NEAL JOHNSON* |
| The Apostolic Nuncio in Berlin Luccani Sr., a converted Jew Servant, in Count Fontana's house | WARD ASQUITH* |
| Count Fontana, counsel to the Holy See Colonel Serge, of the Army High Command | GARY HOLCOME* |
| The Abbot, Father General of a religious order A Photographer | RICHARD JAMES-GREENE* |
| Eichmann, Obersturmbannführer A Manufacturer, a prisoner of the Gestapo | MICHAEL LINSLEY RAPPORT* |
| Dr. Lothar Luccani Dr. Fritsche, Sturmbannführer | R. D. MANGELS* |

| | |
|---|---|
| Salzer, Chief of the German Police in Rome Officer of the Swiss Guard Brother Irenaus, a Monk | SCOTT CORDES* |
| Julia Luccani | PEGGY FRIESEN* |
| A Boy of nine | BRENDAN MCCURDY |
| Girl of five, Julia Luccani's children | SAMANTHA GILCHRIST |
| Helga | KIM MARTIN-COTTEN |
| Carlotta | MELINDA MCCRARY* |
| Signoria Simonetta | MARLENE MUJICA |
| A Father in the Papal Legation Witzel, SS sergeant Jewish Kapo | MARK MCCARTHY* |
| Jacobson Second Militiaman The Officer of the Day in Auschwitz | RICHARD AUGUSTINE MAHER* |
| Lieutenant von Rutta, German Air Force Katitzky, SS soldier A Scribe | MATTHEW VOGEL* |
| First Militiaman, the "correct" Italian Swiss Guard | GEORGE YE |
| The Doctor | MARK ROBBINS* |
| Old man on the train | WARD ASQUITH* |
| The pregnant woman | MARLENE MUJICA |
| The girl | KELLY MCDONNELL |
| Soldiers & Prisoners | NICOLAS GRAY, MICHAEL ANGELO MASTROCESARE, GEORGE YE, DAVID REES SNELL |

*Members of Actors' Equity Association

The Deputy

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| Act I, scene i: | Berlin, August 20, 1942 The Papal Legation |
| Act I, scene ii: | The Jagerkeller Hotel near Berlin 9:00 p.m. that evening |
| Act I, scene iii: | Berlin, the following morning Gerstein's Apartment |
| Act II: | Rome, February 2, 1943 The Palazzo Fontana on the Monte Gianicolo |
| Act III, scene i: | Rome, October 16, 1943 Dr. Luccani's Apartment |
| Act III, scene ii: | Rome, 10:00 p.m. that evening Office of the Father General |
| Act III, scene iii: | Rome, October 17, 1943 Gestapo Headquarters |
| Act IV: | Rome, October 25, 1943 The Papal Palace |
| Act V, scene i: | Auschwitz, November 6, 1943 |
| Act V, scene ii: | Auschwitz, November 16, 1943 |
| Act V, scene iii: | Auschwitz, November 25, 1943 |

ACT ONE: THE MISSION, SCENE ONE

Berlin, a late afternoon in August 1942. The reception room of the Papal Legation on Rauchstrasse.

The Nuncio has a map of Berlin in his hands. He speaks to Riccardo.

NUNCIO

You see? Over here - St. Hedwig's Church. Ten years ago, we had no more than forty-four churches in Berlin. The Jews had just as many synagogues. In spite of everything, the number of our churches has increased, but not a single synagogue is left.

RICCARDO

Could not your Excellency intervene?

NUNCIO

It is not my place, as Nuncio, to speak of that. I try to remonstrate about conditions in Poland, confining my protests to the mistreatment of priests. But, Here von Weizsacker politely shows me the door. Outside of my domain, he says. Jews, he says, would fall within my scope only if they were baptized. But Herr Hitler is careful not to deport the baptized Jews. Ah, the Father himself is bringing us our tea, how nice, thank you. Might there be a bit of cake to go with it?

(A FATIHER HAS ENTERED AND ARRANGES THE TEA TABLE)

FATHER

In a second, Your Excellency. I've brought you a kettle of water in case you should find it too strong again.

NUNCIO

Thank you, that's very thoughtful... There, the map's for you. I always like to give my aides who don't know Berlin a map of the city so that you'll not get lost here.

RICCARDO

Thank you, Your Excellency, very kind of you.

NUNCIO

You weren't a bit nervous about coming to Berlin? In Rome you were safe from bombs. We have a raid every night.

RICCARDO

For someone of my age, Your Excellency, a priest's life is much too safe. My cousin was killed fighting in Africa. I'm happy to have gotten out of Rome.

NUNCIO

The Pope should decide what he prefers: peace with Hitler at any price, or else let me be authorized to take a stand the way my brother Nuncio in Slovakia did two weeks ago when he spoke up against the wholesale killing of Jews from Bratislava. My dear friend, what does Rome expect? I would have resigned long ago if I were not afraid my post would fall into the hands of some nonentity!

RICCARDO

Does that mean Your Excellency favors breaking off the Concordat with Hitler?

NUNCIO

Oh no, on the contrary. His late Holiness Pius XI might well have done that. But since the death Herr Hitler has put a stop to certain measures some of his more stupid underlings wanted to take against us.

RICCARDO

Surely the Church can issue demands, Your Excellency! Especially now when bishops in half of Europe are drumming up support for Hitler's crusade against Moscow.

NUNCIO

You see, Father, that is precisely what I oppose. We should not be drumming up support for Hitler as long as this wholesale killing of civilians continues. London speaks of seven hundred thousand Jews in Poland alone! Of course, we've seen that sort of thing before. Crusades begin with killing of the Jews. But in such numbers - horrible.

FATHER

Here you are, Excellency, some nice cake.

NUNCIO

So - we have something to nibble on. Thank you, my friend, thank you.

(FATHER EXITS)

RICCARDO

Does Your Excellency think Herr Hitler will respect the Church only for the duration of the war?

NUNCIO

It did seem so a little while ago, my dear Father. But ever since Herr Hitler, was pushed into declaring war on America - the Church of Christ is safe. He will not force England *and* America to their knees. Not even if he moves into the Kremlin.

RICCARDO

Once he has beaten Russia, Your Excellency, he will be invulnerable. His tanks are almost to Stalingrad.

NUNCIO

Gently, young friend, not quite so fast. Baron von Weizsacker tells me in confidence that Russia is far from beaten yet.

RICCARDO

You think then, Your Excellency, that Herr Hitler will have to listen to reason?

NUNCIO

Oh yes! He will even prefer to. He saw that at Dunkirk, after all. Please do have some more cake... With half of Europe Catholic, even Hitler cannot risk a schism. He will discover that Fascism is invincible only with us, when it stands with the Church and not against it.

(NOISE)

What's that, what's the commotion? What's going on out there?

FATHER & GERSTEIN (Backstage)

You're in uniform! You must announce me! Be off with you or I'll send for the police. Just five minutes. The Nuncio has a visitor. He *must* hear me. Anything you may want to say is no affair of ours.

(GERSTEIN & THE FATHER ENTER)

GERSTEIN & FATHER (simultaneously)

Your Excellency, isn't this the limit? I must speak with Your Excellency, just for two minutes - please - I beg you! Shall I call the police? Pushing his way in like this... who ever heard...?

NUNCIO

What's going on? Whatever are you thinking of?

GERSTEIN

Gerstein is my name, Your Excellency - please hear me out. I have a message for the Vatican that...

NUNCIO

How dare you! Call his headquarters!

GERSTEIN

Please, no phone calls. If the SS were to hear of this visit...

FATHER

Go now, just get out of here.

GERSTEIN

Your Excellency, a message for the Vatican. It will not bear a single day's delay, not one single hour. I have just come from Poland - from Belzec and Treblinka. Your Excellency,

daily, every single day in those places, ten thousand Jews, *more than ten thousand* are being murdered, put to death with gas...

NUNCIO

For God's sake, hold your tongue! Tell that to Hitler, not to me. Are you at least Catholic? In any case you must leave at once. Go, go.

FATHER

Well now, will you be off at last?

GERSTEIN

Every hour I see trains pull in bringing fresh loads from all of Europe to death factories... No, I am not Catholic. But, at this point, only the Vatican can intervene. You must help, sir!

NUNCIO

Why do you come to *me*? I have no authority to interfere.

GERSTEIN

Authority! Here in Berlin, you represent the - the Deputy of Christ, and you can close your eyes to the worst horror that man has inflicted upon man. You hold your peace while every hour...

NUNCIO

Control yourself. keep your voice down... we don't shout here. I am terminating this conversation now...

GERSTEIN

No, please - I beg your pardon. I know you can't do anything. But the Holy Father must take action, please, listen to me; I can't bear it any more - I saw it -I can see it now - even in this room. So far, they've been running the gas chambers on carbon monoxide, common exhaust gas. But many times, the motors will not start. In Belzec recently I had to watch - this was on August 20 - while the victims waited two hours and forty-nine minutes until the gas came on. Seven hundred and fifty people in each of four chambers - three thousand human beings. Some pray, some weep, some shriek. The majority keep silent, the gassing itself takes twenty-five minutes. Now they want to speed it up, and so they've brought me in for consultation. I am an engineer and a medical man. Afterwards, the doors are opened. The corpses are still standing, they have no place to fall. You can tell the families, even after death convulsed in locked embrace - with hooks they're pulled apart. And bodies of dead children. A young girl ahead of the procession, naked like the rest. Mothers, all stripped, babies at their breasts.

NUNCIO

Enough! My dear man, my heart is with the prisoners.

GERSTEIN

Your Excellency, the Vatican has made a pact with Hitler! For more than a year you have seen, every priest has seen how they're rounding up the Jews. The Allied radio reports that thousands upon thousands are being exterminated. Those are factories for killing. Factories, won't you understand? When, Your Excellency, when, will you tear up the Concordant?

RICCARDO

Your Excellency, all this agrees completely with the reports my Order has received, but no one could quite credit them.

NUNCIO

I intervened, in private, as far back as nineteen thirty-nine. But I am charged by my position not to intercede between Rome and your authorities. I should not even have this talk with you -please, you must go. Go now, please. God bless you; God help you. I shall pray for the victims. Father, please go - I must insist.

GERSTEIN

Your Excellency please wait! Wait! Their blood is on our hands if we keep silent.

ACT ONE, SCENE TWO

Nine o'clock in the evening of the same day. The Jagerkeller in Falkensee: a small hotel which has been requisitioned as a recreation center by Himmler's office.

(LOUD LAUGHTER)

HIRT

There you are - didn't I tell you - with a woman's garter - it's a fact.

EICHMANN

The Knight's Cross on a garter - unbelievable!

LIEUTENANT RUTTA

Everybody uses them, they've come to be standard because they're more practical.

HIRT

Now, my boy, a couple of questions for you. First: did you win just the Cross under enemy fire, or the garter too?

(LAUGHTER. SHOUTS OF: SHAME! AT CLOSE QUARTERS! DON'T ANSWER!)

LIEUTENANT RUTTA

Both, Professor. And both in night skirmishes.

(SHOUTS: CHEERS! GOOD HUNTING!)

HIRT

And now the second question, the real ticklish one. Which took more guts - to win the medal or the garter?

LT. RUTTA

I was scared stiff both times. Though I must say, in the fight for the garter -it was one of those cases where blood couldn't possibly flow any more.

EICHMANN

Well then, let's give our guest of honor Lieutenant von Rutta - and his distinguished father, Baron Rutta - three cheers. Hip Hip Hur -

ALL

Rah!

EICHMANN

Hip Hip Hur -

ALL

Rah!

EICHMANN

Hip Hip Hur –

ALL

Rah!

LIEUTENANT RUTTA

Thank you, gentlemen.

EICHMANN

Helga, would you hand the cards around. Each gentleman draw one. Whoever draws the ace goes first.

DOCTOR

The German, if he is a man, must bowl or shoot!

(HELGA OFFERS THE DOCTOR A CARD)

I'll telephone Auschwitz later. You can ask Gunter right away.

HELGA

Please, don't start that again...

EICHMANN

Please hold the cards up! Helga - didn't you draw one for yourself? You're supposed to bowl with us.

HELGA

Do you think I can?

DOCTOR

You'll be amazed at all the things you can do.

EICHMANN

Who has the ace? Ace begins...

LIEUTENANT RUTTA

Here, colonel, I have the ace.

EICHMANN

Aha, the lieutenant - Rutta Junior. Come over here with your cards, all of you.

DOCTOR

Come on now, kitten, are you really afraid to be too close to your boyfriend? Let me get you transferred to Auschwitz.

HELGA

Please stop. You must leave me alone. You're a devil - how did you get me to do it this afternoon? He'd never cheat on me! But why me - there are so many girls.

DOCTOR

Because you are such a darling little prude. The way you put your hands over your face when I pushed you into the saddle - very attractive.

HELGA

I'll never go where you are. Never.

EICHMANN

There, all the names are down. Except yours, Doctor. Don't you have a card?

DOCTOR

I have to make a phone call - be right back...

EICHMANN

Come, Helga, you go first.

FRITSCHKE

All right, let 'em roll.

(Bowling Ad Libs Such As:

"Go ahead, Fritsche, take your stance."

"You'll be boxed in a moment."

"It's your turn. No, it isn't mine, yours. 11

"Two more strokes and I'll be dead."

"Come on fellows, keep it moving."

"Damn it all, missed again."

"You've dropped one - here it goes."

"Nothing but splits tonight. 11

"Penalty."

"Dead apple.)

SALZER

Colonel Eichmann!

EICHMANN

Gentlemen, excuse me for a few minutes. Heil Hitler, Salzer.

SALZER

Heil Hitler, Colonel. Bad news.

EICHMANN

Well, what's wrong in Pressburg? Aren't things moving?

SALZER

No, they're not moving, sir. The Church is kicking up a fuss. The Papal Nuncio, forbids the Church to support the deportations...

HIRT

Come on, cut out the shoptalk, Eichmann. Bowling's a patriotic act, too.

EICHMANN

One second, Professor - I'll be right there.

SALZER

The Nuncio went to Bishop Tiso with the news that we are incinerating the Jews. Now Tiso calls for an investigation. That's why he sent me here to talk to you. What do we do?

EICHMANN

Investigation! What's there to investigate? Ashes? Damn it to hell - The bishops in these countries don't much bother me. But a Nuncio as representative of the Vatican... There's nothing we can do; we'll have to take it easy in Slovakia for a while. Shit. All we need now is for our own bishops to raise a stink about the Jews - it's a bleak prospect. Well, Salzer, get yourself something to eat.

SALZER

No Thank you, sir. Heil Hitler.

(SALZER EXITS)

SERGE

I'm here tonight because I have something to say to you. The way Krupps treats the prisoners of war, it's outrageous, sir.

BARON RUTTA

But, Colonel, why tell that to me? That's an affair for the Krupp management.

SERGE

Must General von Schulenburg himself tell Herr Krupp once and for all to stop whipping the prisoners - and give them the food they need... Baron - I - I've heard it from a reliable source: For the past six weeks the prisoners at Krupp's haven't been issued their potatoes.

BARON RUITA

Whipping is administered only to kitchen thieves caught stealing food.

SERGE

No sense beating around the bush, Baron. W-W-When my horses had nothing to eat it can't pull the cart.

BARON RUITA

Colonel, do you suggest the workers from the East be treated even better than they are? There is a war on!

EICHMANN

Gentlemen, no arguments - let's bowl. We're here to enjoy ourselves.

FRITSCH

Please, gentlemen, take your turns. Come along, Colonel Serge.

SERGE

Yes, I'm coming, I'm coming.

BARON RUITA

My boy, bowl for me this time.

EICHMANN

And you for me, Helga, will you, please?

HELGA

I won't be responsible for the result, Herr Eichmann.

EICHMANN

You'll bring me luck, I'm sure. Don't let him rile you, Baron, with all that humanitarian nonsense. If I may say so, his type is gradually dying out in the Army too...

HIRT

Slant it, Colonel - don't take your shots so straight.

BARON RUTTA

I've been meaning to ask you, Colonel Eichmann, how our generals in Russia are reacting to your new program?

EICHMANN

Of course, there are generals here and there with what I'd call an ostrich complex. But others pitch right in. After all, last year alone, in barely four months we are able to process three hundred and fifty thousand Russian Jews. And it was the Army made that possible - we must give credit where credit is due.

BARON RUTTA

Don't be in too great a hurry, Herr Eichmann, for otherwise there won't be any labor when Krupp goes into production in Auschwitz. Professor, is it safe for us to talk when this doctor is around? Doesn't he strike you as - possibly... an *agent provocateur*?

HIRT

Now, Baron, how's anyone to figure out what goes on in a man's mind? You have to tell by his actions. The Doctor does the sorting in Auschwitz, on the railroad platform. I mean, he sorts out the Jews for the ovens... Satisfied?

BARON RUTTA

The man's an enigma, Professor, an enigma...

HIRT

Aha, here comes my dear colleague. What do you know, you scoundrel?

DOCTOR

Don't know a thing - only that all my work has been in vain, like every kind of heroism.

HIRT

What's that you say? Science is never, never, never, never in vain!

FRITSCH

Baron Rutta - please, it's your turn.

HIRT

Go along with you - I'm out of it. Blessed are the dead - good luck, Baron.

BARON RUTTA

Hasn't anyone bowled a single strike yet? What a pack of heroes we are tonight!

DOCTOR

That crapper! I'd like to dissect him alive someday with his own coupon clippers...

HIRT

You're sure in a mood tonight. All the same he produced a fine, upstanding son. I'm still waiting to hear about some progeny from you, my friend.

DOCTOR

Idealist that I am, I recently sterilized myself. Wanted to see what it was like.

HIRT

Seriously, though, how far have you come with that?

DOCTOR

As far as I'm concerned, we're ready to go. Painless for women, takes no time at all. It was meant for Jewesses married to Aryans. I could sterilize them on the assembly line.

HIRT

Really - well, my congratulations.

DOCTOR

Congratulate the ladies - but for the present nobody dares to start on them because they're afraid of a protest from the Vatican.

HIRT

Goebbels scared of the Vatican?

DOCTOR

An old Jesuit never forgets the power of Rome...

(SIRENS)

EICHMANN

One moment, quiet, gentlemen - please be quiet for a moment. Air raid! Air Raid!

SERGE

Colonel, I'll thank you for your hospitality. But... my family is in town. I'd like to say good night now...

EICHMANN

It was a pleasure.

SERGE

Good night, all...

LIEUTENANT RUTTA

Those planes arrived right on schedule tonight. Papa - the air's stale with smoke in here. I'm going outside with Herr Fritsche for a few minutes. Want to see how they approached Berlin. Would you care to come?

BARON RUTTA

Yes, I'll just fetch my coat.

HIRT

Keep your eyes peeled for where the Doctor and Helga have gone off to. Wouldn't want the two to be catching' the sniffles. I'll have another turn at bowling - we can't shoot any of the bombers down. No sense getting excited - I'm bowling.

EICHMANN

Yes, go ahead, Professor, I'll join you.

GERSTEIN

Heil Hitler, Colonel - back from special assignment, Treblinka, Belzec, Maidanek. I was told you wanted to see me immediately...

EICHMANN

Why, Gerstein - at last, at last! I'm on pins and needles to hear. Did it work all right? Lieutenant Gerstein - Professor Hirt of the University of Strassburg. Herr Gerstein's background is both in medicine and engineering, he's head of the technical disinfection service. Last year he stopped the epidemics of spotted fever in our barracks.

HIRT

Heard about it, heard about it, my friend. A technical genius, that's what you are. Glad to meet you - Heil, Herr Gerstein!

GERSTEIN

Heil Hitler, Herr Professor - when will you get around to publishing a paper – for professionals only, of course - on your collection of skulls?

HIRT

What an idea - it would be nice, though - my lifelong dream! But for the present, unfortunately, it has to be kept secret.

GERSTEIN

Oh, people exaggerate. There wouldn't be any harm in having a pamphlet printed for use in the medical schools.

HIRT

Delighted to hear your interest. I'll try...

EICHMANN

Let's get down to business, gentlemen. Gerstein was in Belzec to find out whether we can't handle the final solution more efficiently, with Cyclon B.

HIRT

I thought you were working with carbon monoxide?

GERSTEIN

Yes, so far. But exhaust gas is useless; the generators are always breaking down. Colonel Eichmann, I myself have seen the people waiting in the chambers for almost three full hours before the diesel motors got started. And then - it took another half hour for them to die!

HIRT

That's grisly. Do it humanely! Why don't you simply shoot 'em down the way they do in Russia?

EICHMANN

Easier said than done, Professor. You try shooting at forty railroad cars full of a naked, screaming horde! The grandmother, her grandson, the teenage girl and then the pregnant ones! The toughest rifleman can't stand that sort of thing for long. No - shooting is impossible. It would give the men insomnia and leave them impotent. Just bear in mind, we have a good eight million to process and we must finish it before the war is over. Which is exactly why Gerstein has just made this experiment with Prussic acid. How did that work, Gerstein?

GERSTEIN

It didn't, sir; I couldn't get the testing off the ground. I was opposed at every turn by Captain Wirth of Belzec. He didn't want any changes. Why that's ridiculous! six hundred Russians. through the door.

EICHMANN

As far back as a year ago - I proposed that we try Cyclon B on We sealed the windows with mud, and tossed the crystals

GERSTEIN

But then... on that occasion, sir, some of the Russians were still very much alive the following afternoon.

EICHMANN

But, after all, Gerstein, that was a first experiment! You don't get speed by magic. After all, the room was jammed as full as a pail of herrings.

LOUDSPEAKER

Attention, attention: The heavy bomber formation has reached the belt of anti-aircraft defenses surrounding Berlin.

HIRT

Going to be some nasty fireworks!

EICHMANN

Then your whole trip was for nothing?

GERSTEIN

I couldn't have carried out the experiment anyhow. The Prussic acid was already beginning to disintegrate. I made sure it was buried carefully.

EICHMANN

Prussic acid received fresh from the factory just the week before - disintegrates so fast, you say? Strange, Gerstein!

GERSTEIN

You see, sir, once the acid starts - with all the heat and all that jogging - to ride over those dreadful Polish roads...

EICHMANN

Oh yes, I don't doubt it happened. *You 're* the chemist, not me. But it didn't exactly make you *mad*, did it, Gerstein, old jailbird.

GERSTEIN

Sir, if your allusion to my spell in concentration camp is meant as a new expression of distrust, then I request a formal disciplinary hearing. I thought that on the basis of my achievements in the disinfection service, my probation...

EICHMANN

Why Gerstein, can't you take a joke! I trust you one hundred percent... Helga! Come, enough shoptalk! Have something to eat, Gerstein.

HELGA

Were you looking for me? I telephoned my fiancé in Auschwitz. He says I ought to come there as operator of the Signal Corps. He says I should get out of Berlin, on account of the raids...

EICHMANN

What! - Oh well, a fiancé's wish is a command. But we'll be sorry to lose you here.

GERSTEIN

Stay in Berlin! Auschwitz is... not a place for you.

EICHMANN

Where are the Ruttas and all the others? They'd do better... Good Lord, there must be several *wings* of them. Hundreds...

(AN AERIAL MINE DESCENDS)

Look out!

(AS IT STRIKES, THE LIGHT GOES OUT COMPLETELY)

ACT ONE, SCENE THREE

The following morning: Gerstein's apartment in Berlin:

GERSTEIN

Can we close the window now?

JACOBSON

The air is still so dusty; a minute more. Herr Gerstein, why don't you let me do that, there's nothing else to keep me busy. With the window covered over nobody can see me on the ladder.

GERSTEIN

All right - if you would like to, by all means. I'll take the pails down to the yard. I must say, Jacobson, I felt concern for you last night, a raid as bad as that, and you can't even go down to the cellar.

JACOBSON

But I'd sooner catch it here than in Auschwitz. Lucky my parents can still go to the cellar in their house. Can you drive by a little later and see whether their house came through the raid?

GERSTEIN

Gladly Herr Jacobson.

(HITLER YOUTH MARCHING MUSIC)

They have to have their music all the time. Even in Auschwitz while the victims for the gas are picked.

JACOBSON

But how much longer can I stay with you?

GERSTEIN

I'll have a passport for you soon.

JACOBSON

You'd better have a passport issued for yourself. Go off to Sweden. Only your wife would know you've gotten out.

GERSTEIN

Go into exile just like that? My God, I see men dying in the chambers every hour. As long as there is still the slightest hope that I can save a single one of you I have to face the chance that later on I may seem the spit and image of the murderers.

JACOBSON

Your visit to the Nuncio was the last risk you should take. Here, by now, it's very likely they found out about you.

GERSTEIN

No one has found out about me yet. It may be that they have their eye on me – that worries me, sometimes, especially for my family's sake.

(BELL RINGS, JACOBSON HIDES, GERSTEIN TO DOOR)

Heil Hitler - oh, it's you, Doctor.

DOCTOR

How are you, Gerstein? Have you heard? It's frightful...

GERSTEIN

What's happened?

DOCTOR

I suppose the bombs knocked out your radio. Then you don't know...

GERSTEIN

Speak up, Doctor, I have no idea.

DOCTOR

Assassination of Hitler? - Goring and Himmler were also on board - a plane crash.

GERSTEIN

Good God - all three of them? That can't be true, Doctor! No one was saved?

DOCTOR

Yes!

GERSTEIN

Who...?

DOCTOR

Germany!

GERSTEIN

Not very funny, Doctor, I fail to see the joke.

DOCTOR

Maybe you think it funny your apartment has undergone such stylish renovations? My girlfriend's house is wiped down to the cellar. I tried to call you but your telephone it seems, has also been knocked out. I'm driving down to Tubingen tomorrow morning, so I can offer

you a ride to see your family. Also, we'll have a chance for a good talk. I plan to leave at seven - does that suit you?

GERSTEIN

Fine, I'll be waiting by the front door, if it's still standing, the front door, I mean.

DOCTOR

Incidentally, might I leave this with you for a while? Brain tissue from a pair of Jewish twins, two kids from Calais. Rather interesting comparative sections. I brought the specimen with me for a girl who's taking her first course in histology. But her house has been bombed out and I've no idea where my little student has moved to.

GERSTEIN

Nice little gift... Twin's brains...

DOCTOR

Instead of flowers. As soon as I find out she's alive she can come here to pick it up, all right?

GERSTEIN

Easier had in Auschwitz than flowers, eh?

DOCTOR

For you, as Christ's disciple, this must be upsetting.

GERSTEIN

I know what kind of work you're doing at the camp... horrible;

DOCTOR

Tell me this, it interests me. How do you reconcile in our day and age: To have a good mind - and still remain a Christian?

GERSTEIN

You may recall how Bismarck answered that, he said: I have, with full awareness, stopped at a specific stage in my development.

DOCTOR

And you suppose that helped him plot three wars without compunction? Come, now - he knew he was pretending to himself. And so do you - today - you know it too: the man who says what he thinks is finished and the man who thinks what he says is an idiot.

GERSTEIN

Then so am I. I thought what I just said to you, and always say what I think.

DOCTOR

Sometimes, Gerstein, sometimes... you're a sly dog! You don't fool me. Whom are you swindling anyway the church and yourself, or the SS and me?

GERSTEIN

What do you mean, swindling! I do say what I think.

DOCTOR

You think I am the principle of evil in the flesh.

GERSTEIN

The principle of evil! Whose phrase is that?

DOCTOR

Otto Weininger's. "The principle of evil is despair at giving life some meaning."

GERSTEIN

I shall have to report that to Eichmann. You read Viennese Jews.

DOCTOR

Oh well, I roast them too. On Tuesday I piped the sister of Sigmund Freud up the chimney. Seven in the morning, then. Looking forward to our trip...

GERSTEIN

It will be nice to have a chance to spend some time together. See you, Doctor.

(DOCTOR EXITS)

Instead of flowers.

(DOORBELL RINGS)

What does he want *now*?

(DOORBELL RINGS AGAIN, GERSTEIN ANSWERS DOOR)

Heil Hitler - what can I do for you?

RICCARDO

Good morning, Herr Gerstein... Oh, the raid certainly hit you hard.

GERSTEIN

What brings you here? Who are you?

RICCARDO

We met yesterday at the Papal Legation, Herr Gerstein.

GERSTEIN

Where? Where did you say! I don't know you; I've never seen you. What do you want?

RICCARDO

My name is Father Fontana, I am attached to the Secretariat of State of the Holy See.

GERSTEIN

What do you have to say to me?

RICCARDO

That the Vatican will help you. You and Hitler's victims. Believe me, I was ashamed to watch the conduct of the Nuncio. But I suppose his situation forced him to speak in such a neutral tone.

GERSTEIN

Whom did you just meet on the stairs? Did you see an army officer in a cape?

RICCARDO

Oh yes, I noticed him. But in front of the house. He was getting into his car.

GERSTEIN

That man was the Auschwitz' angel of death. He comes here to sound me out and hopes to hand me over to the hangman. But let's not talk of that. Please, I must ask you, if the doorbell rings, hide quickly in the other room. And don't say anything. There's someone else in there. Let's come right to the point, Father Fontana. The Father General of the Jesuits in Rome has now for many years received exhaustive and precise reports from Polish agents - as I said, *for many years*.

RICCARDO

Before the day is out a courier will take a letter to my father. My father is a highly placed layman at the Holy See. I give my *guarantee*, Herr Gerstein, His Holiness will make a protest. I have the honor to know the Pope well, personally.

GERSTEIN

Be careful with your guarantees! They may come back to haunt you.

RICCARDO

Believe me, the Pope will help. The commandment "Love Thy Neighbor"...

GERSTEIN

I've come to be so terribly despairing of hope, as far as all the churches are concerned. I am a member of the Confessing Church; I am a friend of Pastor Niemoller who's been in a concentration camp for nearly five years. Now I suppose he understands why I sneaked my way into the SS...

RICCARDO

You voluntarily put on this uniform?

GERSTEIN

Yes - I had to - Dictatorships can be demolished only from within. I'd been locked up twice before because of Christian leaflets I distributed. I drew a prison sentence first, and then the camp. You can't fight the Nazi's with pamphlets, as I used to.

RICCARDO

You swore an oath to Hitler, did you not?

GERSTEIN

I understand, in the eyes of the Vatican a traitor is too questionable to...

RICCARDO

I'm sorry, I...

GERSTEIN

I don't mind. The traitors alone are saving Germany's honor. The verdict of history will acquit us. I will not survive the work that I must do. A Christian in these days cannot survive if he is truly Christian. I don't mean Sunday Christians - beware the steady churchgoers - I am thinking of the Christians Kierkegaard had in mind: The spies of God. I am a spy in the SS. And spies are executed - I am aware of that. Let's not get off on this. Remember, every hour costs a thousand - please, just think of what this means - every hour costs a thousand victims, whole families pushed into the ovens, after a ghastly death. *Act...* Go to Rome. Those who keep silent are accessories to murder, and they imperil their immortal souls.

RICCARDO

How could the German people, the nation of Goethe, Mozart, how the Germans could become so barbarous.

GERSTEIN

We Germans are no worse than other Europeans. Anyone willing to help - what can he do? Are we to castigate a man who does not want to die for others? Not long ago the Jews employed in Berlin factories were to be sent to Auschwitz. And the result was the police did not descend at once but first informed the factories. And the result was four thousand Jews managed to disappear. They were hidden by Berliners, fed by them - four thousand - and every Berliner involved is risking his own life! You see, not every German has forgotten the debt he owes to Germany's name. And there are scoundrels everywhere. In Holland the Dutch police are working hard to round up every Jew; in France they don't cooperate with so much zeal, but still, they do their part. In Hungary too, but worst of all in the Ukraine... The Ukrainians shoot their Jews themselves. But the Germans bear the greatest guilt. Their leader has conceived the program. As for the *people* - the other people hardly are much better.

RICCARDO

I have to disagree. At home in Rome such things would be impossible. From the Holy Father down to the chestnut seller in the piazza, the entire nation would rise up against such cruelties.

GERSTEIN

It's touching, Father, it is enviable, to be so sure of one's own countrymen. There is a question preying on my mind, it's one I'd like to place before a priest. The facts are these: by the end of the coming month, I am ordered to purchase more than two tons of poison gas - Cyclon B, the very gas with which the Jews are being killed. This Father, is the question I must face: should I instruct the firms to send the bills to this address, and in my name?

RICCARDO

Of course not. What would be the point of that?

GERSTEIN

Because only that way am I in a position to keep my eye on the poison after delivery. Then, sometime in the near future, I might get rid of it.

RICCARDO

Bills for such materials in your name! Is there no other way?

GERSTEIN

I could easily get out to Sweden. Only - who would get my job, and what could a fanatic do with it?

RICCARDO

What does your conscience say?

GERSTEIN

Conscience? Who could trust that! Conscience or God: Men have never wreaked such havoc as when invoking God - or an idea. I am convinced that Hitler acts according to his conscience. No, I need an answer from outside myself. What must I do?

RICCARDO

To lend your name to something monstrous...

GERSTEIN

My name! What is a name? Is it my name that matters? Only the lukewarm, who are scarcely better than the murderers - only they find it easy to survive in times like these with a good name and a reputation as immaculate as - forgive me, Father - the Pope's white vestments.

RICCARDO

You have another choice: to flee to England. Broadcast from London. You Sturmführer Gerstein of the SS Public Health Department, speaking ex officio and offering as your affidavit, figures, dates, bills for poison, reporting all the details of what is happening here. Make a full confession, of what you have done, what you have managed to prevent... and what you could not prevent.

GERSTEIN

Good Lord, are you aware of what you are asking? One speech by me on Radio London and my entire family in Germany would be wiped out.

RICCARDO

Oh, I'm sorry, I didn't realize!

GERSTEIN

They would not only kill my wife, my children - they would also torture my brothers to death in a camp.

RICCARDO

Forgive me...

GERSTEIN

Nor is there any need for it, no need at all! Reports on Radio London long ago told all about what's going on in Poland. People already know! They must at least suspect. Why is there not a single word heard from the only man in Europe still free today from any taint of propaganda: The Pope.

RICCARDO

The Vatican will act - God knows, it will be done, I promise you.

GERSTEIN

How can I believe you? Would you, right now, put in my hands your cassock and your passport?

RICCARDO

I vowed when I was consecrated never again to lay aside the cassock. What are you asking of me?

GERSTEIN

Your passport and your clothing can help a Jew to cross the Brenner Pass. You, as a diplomat, should have no trouble getting a new passport from Rome.

RICCARDO

Oh, I see.

GERSTEIN

Jacobson?

JACOBSON

Yes, Herr Gerstein? Good day.

RICCARDO

Good Day.

GERSTEIN

Jacobson, I have a chance to offer you a cassock and a diplomatic passport from the Holy See. Are you prepared to try to cross the Brenner Pass with them?

JACOBSON

Do I hear right - is there a chance...? You are offering me escape?

RICCARDO

Oh yes, of course - When would you want them.

GERSTEIN

I propose tonight.

JACOBSON

How can I ever thank you - and you...? (To Riccardo.) Now you are the one I am endangering. Do you know that?

RICCARDO

I thank God for the opportunity to help. It's little enough. I live at the Papal Legation. Not even Hitler personally could harm me there. Be sure to send a card from Rome, won't you?

GERSTEIN

You must brief Jacobson about your father, your own and his position in the Vatican... You have to know enough to answer any questions from the German border guards. The rest remains a gamble. Change your clothes.

JACOBSON

Of course, I cannot leave before tomorrow night, Herr Gerstein. When it gets dark tonight, I'm going home to see my parents and to say goodbye.

GERSTEIN

Don't put your parents into danger. No visits home.

JACOBSON

You mean I am not to say goodbye? Herr Gerstein, it's not like you to be so nervous... Or - tell me - have they - please, the truth! Have they already shipped my parents off? Please - now you must...

GERSTEIN

Yes. I couldn't deliver your letter on Tuesday. But I could not tell you either. The door is sealed. I almost didn't notice, almost dropped the letter in their box. If I had left it there, they would be looking for you now.

RICCARDO

The Nuncio surely could find out where they were taken.

JACOBSON

Don't bother. They're sure to get to Auschwitz now. The old - are - gassed immediately.

GERSTEIN

N-not always, no.

JACOBSON

There's no need for you to lie to me. It will not kill me - I won't do the murderers that favor. Gerstein, reconsider whether you want to help me cross the Brenner. For now - after this news - I am no longer German. This is no longer flight - I want to leave in order to come back, as an avenger. No one shall say we Jews let ourselves be driven to the slaughterhouse like cattle. Gerstein, I warn you. I tell you honestly, the man you're helping to escape is now your enemy. Drive me out on the street as I stand here. For I shall never - never forgive the Germans for this murder of my parents.

RICCARDO

Do not harden your heart. Hatred can never- be the final word.

GERSTEIN

Each to his post. Neither of us is going to survive this war. Change your clothes - it's getting late.

JACOBSON

You give me your cassock, and I - here - this - this is all I have to offer.

RICCARDO

Here?

ACT TWO: THE BELLS OF ST. PETER'S

(BELLS ARE HEARD)

SERVANT

Don't keep His Honor the Count long or he'll send you packing. He doesn't even know that the young master is finally back from Germany. I can tell you right now, he'll have no time for you.

PHOTOGRAPHER

Who could forbid me to congratulate His Honor the Count, on his receiving the Order of Christ! Moreover - his portrait is supposed to go on the front page! Moreover...

SERVANT

All right, all right, but shut the door. I'm not heating the garden, and the noise...

(BELLS MUTED)
(FONTANA ENTERS)

FONTANA

Wonderful, what a surprise! When did he arrive, Vittorio?

SERVANT

Barely an hour ago, sir.

FONTANA

Let him sleep.

SERVANT

But he said I was to wake him as soon as you returned. Ah yes, well, tell him that I'm here.

(EXIT SERVANT, TO PHOTOGRAPHER)

FONTANA

Good morning. Don't you have enough pictures of me?

PHOTOGRAPHER

But not a single portrait yet that shows Your Honor Wearing the Order of Christ. Congratulations.

FONTANA

Well, all right. Where? Here?

PHOTOGRAPHER

There on the threshold, so that besides the costume Your Honor will have St. Peter's dome at your back.

FONTANA

You've already set the camera, haven't you? What are you waiting for?

PHOTOGRAPHER

Permit me, Your Honor, if you don't mind... Do you think the cigarette is appropriate with the court costume...?

FONTANA

What's that - you want my hands to show as well? The whole paraphernalia? I thought only a bust...? Very well, very well get it over with.

PHOTOGRAPHER

Perhaps your hand on the sword and head a little higher - a little more to the right. Many, many thanks. Perhaps one more shot in your office, preserving for posterity Your Honor in full exercise of business...

FONTANA

Ah yes, posterity might even fancy that I opened letters with my sword. Here, take a picture of our Signore Luigi. He will be seventy soon. The picture will make a nice birthday gift to his wife. Go on, over there!

SERVANT

But Your Honor...

FONTANA

Go on Vittorio, she will be pleased. Over there! Don't make such a face...

(RICCARDO ENTERS)

My boy, what a surprise!

RICCARDO

Congratulations, Father! My how grand! Why do the bells keep going on and on?

FONTANA

Are you ill? You look so worn.

RICCARDO

I could not sleep on the train. I'm just tired from the trip, Father. There's really nothing wrong with me... Why do they go on ringing that way?

FONTANA

Because this morning the Pope consecrated the world to the Immaculate Heart of the Blessed Virgin. Right after came my decoration - I had no idea.

RICCARDO

Mama would have been happy.

PHOTOGRAPHER

Much obliged, Your Honor.

(TO RICCARDO)

Your Honor! Good day - good day!

FONTANA

Thank you. Goodbye.

RICCARDO

Goodbye.

(PHOTOGRAPHER LEAVES)

SERVANT

God reward you, Your Honor.

FONTANA

Keep it a secret from your wife.

(SERVANT LEAVES)

Ah yes, my boy - the dogma of Mary's Assumption may now, quite seriously, await us when the war is over.

RICCARDO

The things they think about in Rome! We debate how frequently a married couple may cohabit or if a widow may remarry. And now, to top it off, the dogma of the Virgin. Does he have nothing else to do?

FONTANA

Don't be too hard on him, my boy! An hour ago, the Pope, who almost always asks about you, told me that nowhere in the world today can you acquire the experiences available at the Legation in Berlin... Have you brought more bad news from the Nuncio?

RICCARDO

None at all. I left without assignment. I could not stand it any longer. You must know that for months now, the Jews all over Europe are being systematically wiped out. Each day - Father, just think of it: each day, six thousand!

FONTANA

I read that too, but it - must be exaggerated.

RICCARDO

Suppose it is exaggerated! I gave my word the Pope would protest, would stir the world to outrage, to action.

FONTANA

You had no right to do that, Riccardo. Temerity - to dare to speak for him!

RICCARDO

Temerity? Does not the Pope share responsibility for the moral climate of this world? How can he have the audacity...?

FONTANA

Riccardo, I will not have you use such language!

RICCARDO

Men are being sacrificed on every front, slain in the fire, on the gallows, in the gas - and God's ambassador thinks he can win, yet venture nothing? Who will ever respect us as moral arbiters if, in this time we fail so miserably?

FONTANA

Let's look at this realistically. I ask you how can the Pope, without surrendering his policy of neutrality, force Hitler not to deport the Jews.

RICCARDO

Let him exploit the fact that Hitler fears his influence. There is no one Hitler fears now but the Pope, Father.

FONTANA

My boy, your arrogance disturbs me. The Pope, daily contending with the world, with God, knows what he is doing. He knows why he must be silent. He will not always be. Once reasons of state permit the Pope to rise up against Hitler without imperiling the Church, then...

RICCARDO

Then not a single Jew will be alive in Poland, Germany, or France, or Holland! It's time you understood - every day counts! I gave my word. I guaranteed this officer...

FONTANA

Whatever made you do that?

RICCARDO

Because - because I lacked the cynicism to recite reasons of state when I hear these things.

FONTANA

Good God, do you believe the Pope could suffer to see a single man hungry and in pain? His heart is with the victims.

RICCARDO

But his voice? Where is his voice? His heart is of no interest. Do you believe the Pope - is tormented by the killing of the Jews?

FONTANA

How do you mean that Riccardo?

RICCARDO

I mean - For forty years he's done nothing but cannon law, diplomacy. Where is the priest who work with people, cares of their souls? Is he able to regard a single one of Hitler's victims as his brother, a being in his image?

FONTANA

Riccardo, that's hardly fair.

RICCARDO

Do you think he is there, that he has ever watched with his mind's eye - the way they are deported from Paris: three hundred suicides - before the journey even starts? Children under five snatched from their parents.

FONTANA

Riccardo, please - I know you tear at your own heart.

RICCARDO

Father, please, answer my question. Does the Pope bring *such* scenes to his mind?

FONTANA

Of course. But what of that? You know he cannot act according to his feelings!

RICCARDO

Father! That cannot be - how can you say it! Does nobody here realize- you, Father, surely you must realize...? A deputy of Christ who wastes even one day in thought, who hesitates even for one hour, who sees these things and nonetheless permits reasons of state to seal his lips - that Pope is... a criminal.

FONTANA

You see what talk like this can lead to. My boy, how can you...

(SERVANT ENTERS)

SERVANT

At last, Your Honor, here is...

FONTANA

Let us be! Excuse me, Vittorio, I can see no one just now...

SERVANT

But Your Honor, His Eminence, the Most Reverend Cardinal...

FONTANA

Oh - yes, please show him in. Is it all right for him to see you here?

RICCARDO

He is bound to find out that I came here without official orders. Ask him to lunch.

(THE CARDINAL ENTERS)

CARDINAL

My dear Count - well, well, God bless you! We should, *indeed*, don't you think? Yes, this time it's gone to the right man! Well, well, - the Cross of Christ - indeed. I had no idea, really not, you know. Yes, straight from the heart. Here - this, my *Bletia verecunda*, you know.

FONTANA

Why, thank you, Eminence - how thoughtful. What an amazing flower!

RICCARDO

Your Eminence.

CARDINAL

Riccardo! Why, what a joy! Well, well, such a surprise. Punctually in Rome to congratulate your Papa, aren't you?

RICCARDO

I intended to call upon your Eminence and ask for an audience.

FONTANA

You will stay for lunch, Eminence?

CARDINAL

What's that? Yes, oh yes, gladly. Look Count, the boy has his high blood pressure again-well, well, Riccardo, such a flushed face. Aren't there any doctors left in Berlin? Well, well, how splendid, what a surprise. And today of all days - any time, for that matter, now that your father is so much alone. The Nuncio has not advised us of your arrival? -Ah yes, the orchid interests you, Count. -Oh, don't place it in the draft. Plenty of light you know, but no wind!

FONTANA

So very thoughtful, and kind of you, Eminence. But please - let us sit down - please, Eminence - here.

CARDINAL

Riccardo looks very worn, you know! Yet Berlin has such marvelously clear air. Here, in September, when no one can step outside, why then, you know, I always wish I were the Nuncio in Berlin. What does your blood pressure read?

RICCARDO

I'm as sound as a bell, Your Eminence.

CARDINAL

Then it must simply be the change of climate, the difference in altitude.

FONTANA

Your Eminence, lunch will be a while yet, let us sit down.

CARDINAL

Yes, let us sit - that reminds me of a soiree in Paris - I was then as young as Riccardo, and no one looked at me. I stood in a corner. Have you nothing to sit on, the hostess called at last. Indeed, Madame, I have something to sit on, something to sit on, yes, but not a chair - well, well... Your restlessness, Riccardo, also indicates high blood pressure, you know. Sit down over here besides us... Ah, yes, a glass of *this* will go down well even before noon, indeed. Well, then, Count, once again: may you wear the Order for a long, long time!

FONTANA

It is really so kind of you to have come at once, Your Eminence...

RICCARDO

Your Eminence! Your health, Father!

FONTANA

Thank you, my boy.

CARDINAL

To you, Riccardo! London has just confirmed the claim that Moscow made last night, you know. In *Stalingrad* the fighting is over. A German field marshal now Stalin's prisoner! The Volga will not be crossed... Well, that is...

RICCARDO

Capitulated? It's true! That's wonderful!

CARDINAL

Riccardo, you are very frivolous, indeed. This victory at Stalingrad may be the very thing to pose a threat to us as Christians!

RICCARDO

But Your Eminence, you must also wish to see Hitler humbled.

CARDINAL

But hardly by the Russians, dear Riccardo. Let England beat him, and the USA, indeed, until he gets it through his head that he can't rule the whole world by himself, you know. Humbled- why by all means! Let him stop oppressing and killing Poles, Jews, Czechs, priests. Oh yes, indeed... Otherwise, peace is not conceivable, you know.

RICCARDO

Peace with Hitler, can never be conceivable.

CARDINAL

Never? - Never say never in politics! Count, just listen to your son - such a bright boy, but he too, now, has caught this Casablanca nonsense. Holy Madonna, who will ever persuade Hitler to surrender unconditionally! But, you know, must we go over all this today - here, on this beautiful morning! I wanted to congratulate your father, Riccardo!

FONTANA

Yes, Your Eminence, let us have one more toast - let's say, that Stalingrad will be a lesson to Hitler.

CARDINAL

Well, well, yes. Cheers and good health.

RICCARDO

Your health.

CARDINAL

The Chief - the Chief let Mr. Roosevelt know in no uncertain terms that he regards America's demand for Hitler's unconditional surrender, as absolutely un-Christian, you know.

FONTANA

May we hope that His Holiness will take advantage of Hitler's predicament and threaten him to break off the Concordat?

CARDINAL

Has Riccardo been besieging you as well, dear Count? Lo and behold: Fontana *pere et fils* forming a single front!

FONTANA

Not quite, Your Eminence. Only Hitler's fiasco on the Volga gives me the courage to request that we denounce him.

CARDINAL

Well... You know, Riccardo, I told you once before, six months ago, when you reported, the dreadful things occurring there: I told you the Concordat is intended to protect our fellow Catholics - the Chief will not expose himself to danger for the Jews.

FONTANA

Not even now, Your Eminence, when Hitler would have to be amenable?

RICCARDO

But Your Eminence, the Holy Father really must protest that hundreds of thousands of persons are being slaughtered - killings which have no bearing on the outcome of the war.

CARDINAL

The Chief would be risking a great deal if he took up cudgels for the Jews, you know. Minorities are always unpopular, in every country.

RICCARDO

In times gone by we Christians were also in the minority, and perhaps will be soon again. I believe that God has forever linked us Christians to the Jews.

CARDINAL

But, but - my dear Fontanas, to whom are you saying all this? Count, do you think me an enemy of the Jews?

FONTANA

Certainly not, Your Eminence. The late Pope, told me the Concordat would be a platform from which to make protests if necessary... Now it *is* necessary.

CARDINAL

As long as Hitler is winning and has the people behind him -Stalingrad alone will not topple his throne - the Chief would only make himself unpopular if he openly made an issue of the Jews.

RICCARDO

Among the Germans - perhaps. But what about the United States, Your Eminence?

CARDINAL

Not only among the Germans you know! Among the Poles, the Dutch, the French, the Ukrainians as well - among all those who are actively participating in the manhunt, you know. In the United States as well there are extremely militant foes of the Jews, you know. Men love butchery, alas, God knows. And once they start, reason will not sway them. No, Riccardo, I cannot advise the Chief to challenge Herr Hitler at this juncture. The defeat at Stalingrad is troublesome enough for him you know. How would it be if our Nuncio in Berlin were to speak to Herr von Weizsacker about the matter?

RICCARDO

All that would come of that, would be a courteous exchange of words. In the streets of the Berlin, Weizsacker manages to completely ignore the fact that Jews are being sent away like criminals. And since nobody dares to suggest that he might be lying and since he so readily assures everyone that threats will only aggravate the situation...

CARDINAL

Can *you* guarantee that threats will *really not* aggravate the situation?

RICCARDO

Your Eminence, a hundred thousand Jewish families in Europe face certain murder! It could not, could not, possible be *worse!* No, no, it must be: The Pope to Hitler - directly and at once!

FONTANA

Please, my boy - are you attempting to give orders here? I beg you to stop.

CARDINAL

He's tired from lack of sleep, you know... Riccardo - I do not care to hear such deprecating talk of Weizsacker, you know. He is a man of honor, the tried-and-true familiar link between the Nuncio and the Nazis. In '39; he was the only one you could go on talking to. Though even he could not save the peace.

FONTANA

Yes, Your Eminence, that remains to his credit. But many a virtue, when employed by Hitler, is easily converted into vice.

CARDINAL

It is always a virtue to speak of peace, Count.

FONTANA

While the freight cars crammed with deportees roll on toward the crematoria? I'm no cynic...

CARDINAL

Yes, the problem is a difficult, an insoluble...

(SERVANT ENTERS)

SERVANT

His Eminence is urgently wanted. An officer...

CARDINAL

Please! (TO FONTANA)

Permit me? Naturally I want to go over the whole thing with the Chief once more.

(A SWISS GUARD OFFICER ENTERS)

SWISS

Your Eminence, His Holiness urgently requests Your Eminence's presence in the Papal Palace. I have orders to drive Your Eminence at once...

CARDINAL

Now - before lunch? Very well, Vittorio... What a pity. I fail to see how anything we may discuss will change the course of things in Stalingrad... Well.

FONTANA

A fearful pity - can't we wait with lunch?

CARDINAL

Out of the question, Count. Too bad. Riccardo! Take lemons to keep down that blood pressure. And if that doesn't work, foot baths, as hot as you can stand.

RICCARDO

Yes, Your Eminence, many thanks. When shall it be?

CARDINAL

Let's say, five. I think you'd better go to Lisbon for six months. My dear Count, enough politics for today. This is your day to celebrate. God bless you. Arrivederla.

RICCARDO

Arrivederla, Your Eminence.

FONTANA

It was so good of you to come, Your Eminence. May I say, above all...

(ALL EXIT EXCEPT RICCARDO)

RICCARDO

Lisbon!

(FONTANA RETURNS)

FONTANA

He's getting rid of you! He did not even ask why you returned from Berlin! Lisbon: that's your payment for having gone too far.

RICCARDO

But, Father, I kept back the very worst.

FONTANA

What?

RICCARDO

Weizsacker is coming to *Rome*.

FONTANA

Hitler is making him ambassador to the Vatican?

RICCARDO

No doubt entrusted with a special mission! He is now supposed to keep the Pope carefully soothed. For Hitler knows what it would mean if the Pope should condemn this slaughter. It would ruin his last hope of a separate peace with the West and deny him a free hand in the East... I'm so grateful that you're backing me.

FONTANA

Stalingrad marks the turning point permitting us to act. You are right, my boy – but you have no say!

ACT THREE: THE VISITATION, SCENE ONE

Early evening in Rome, October 16, 1943. The apartment of Dr. Lothar Luccani.

(BABY CRIES)

LOTHAR

I have nothing more to do. Half past four and still broad daylight. My patience is beginning to give out.

JULIA

The priest expressly asked us not to get there until after dark. Be glad that they will hide us at all.

LOTHAR

Once we're safe, Signora Simonetta can bring the suitcases. She can get a cab at St. Peter's square.

JULIA

But Lothar, that was all arranged long ago. I've given her money; she has the keys too.

LUCCANI SR.

You don't need the Signora. I can wait for the cab here and give the driver the baggage.

LOTHAR

We should have left yesterday, when the priest came to see us.

THE GIRL

Daddy, can I take them all?

LOTHAR

You may take two dolls. And the bear or the dog. Not both.

JULIA

The Germans have been in Rome for weeks. No Jew has been arrested yet. Why should it be today?

LOTHAR

Why! Why! Because the orders have just now been given.

JULIA

We're not in Poland here. The Pope is right beside us; no one is going to come and take us away. The Holy Father is not afraid of Hitler. And the Americans are already in Naples.

LOTHAR

My dear, we are not Catholic.

LUCCANI

But I am Catholic - I've been a Catholic for decades. That's enough.

LOTHAR

How naive you both are.

THE BOY

Papa, can I take the stamps with me?

LOTHAR

I suppose so. Sit down and take them out of the album. It takes up too much room. You can put them in the box.

THE BOY

Then they'll all be mixed up.

(TO HIS SISTER)

Don't touch my stamps.

THE GIRL

They're mine, too.

JULIA

You two be good, hush up. Do you want to wake up Pippa?

(TO LOTHAR)

Would you please take these things up to Signora Simonetta? Shouldn't we take Pippa with us after all?

LOTHAR

A baby's crying doesn't belong in a monastery. You wouldn't even be able to bathe her there.

JULIA

You're right Lothar - only it's hard for me to leave her behind.

LOTHAR

It's hard for me too, Julia. Anything else? I'll be right back.

JULIA

I'll put her in the nursery now.

(JULIA PUTS THE BABY OFF LEFT)

(BELL RINGS)

WITZEL

Heil Hitler.

FIRST MILITIAMAN

(WITH LIST) Doctor Lothar Luccani? Wife Julia, children, two: one boy, one girl. You are going to a labor camp. Pack up, quick!

WITZEL

Pack up! Here's the whole bunch all together in one room.

LOTHAR

Too late.

WITZEL

Get busy - pack up your stuff.

LUCCANI SR.

What charge have you against my son?

WITZEL

You've got ten minutes, or at least five. Pack, get moving, avanti!

LUCCANI SR.

We are Catholics, are all baptized. You have no right to arrest us. Where is your order?

WITZEL

Where is your Jewish star? Catholic, eh! I used to be Catholic too. You'll get over it. All ready to leave. The whole family all together here.

JULIA

Yes.

WITZEL

How did you know that we were coming for you?

JULIA

We didn't know. We were going on a trip.

WITZEL

I see - on a trip - to some monastery, eh? Do you think I got a whole moving van for you? Fifty pounds of baggage per Yid - and nothing but clothes and food. And hurry up - get moving - avanti!

JULIA

Where are you taking us?

WITZEL

You get to build roads up in the Apennines.

LOTHAR

Are the two children also on the list?

LUCCANI SR.

Both of the children? Couldn't you please leave the children here. They will only be in your way.

WITZEL

We don't like to break up families. The two kids are coming along. And you – you aren't even on the list. But you'll come too.

LUCCANI SR.

But I'm only on a visit here. In the second place I am a Catholic.

JULIA

Please leave my father-in-law and my two children here...

WITZEL

Get on with your packing. We don't give a damn about religion. Finish the damn packing. We've got to get going.

(TO THE SECOND MILITIAMAN)

Hey, you, make yourself useful. You'd better take a look around. Maybe another rabbit like this Grandpa here will fall into our net.

(WITZEL PUSHES JULIA TO THE FLOOR)

You don't have to worry about your countrymen getting at your silver spoons. Get on with it...

LUCCANI SR.

May the boy take his box of stamps along? This...

WITZEL

Of course, he can, for all I care.

LUCCANI SR.

Claudia, now you ask whether you may take your bear and the dolls...

WITZEL

For God's sake, yes. But come on.

(SECOND MILITIAMAN HAS BEEN IN THE NURSERY AND RETURNS)

Anyone in the other rooms?

SECOND MILITIAMAN

Nobody there, not a soul.

LOTHAR

We're ready.

WITZEL

Stop - one more little thing. Let's see your hands - take your rings off. Jewelry is to be confiscated. Take them off!

LOTHAR

Do you happen to have a warrant to rob us?

WITZEL

Rob? Don't get smart.

(TO JULIA) No earrings, eh. Good. Ready. Come on.

THE GIRL

I want to go with Grandpa.

LUCCANI

Yes, you'll stay with me. You too.

(HE PUSHES THEM OUT. SIGNORA SIMONETTA ENTERS)

SIGNORA SIMONETTA

Oh God!

JULIA

Signora Simonetta - will you please look into the nursery to see whether I closed the window there.

WITZEL

Out of here!

(SIGNORA SIMONETA GOES TO THE BABY)

SIGNORA SIMONETTA

Ah, poor thing - they've taken your mamma away from you. Poor baby. Those devils!

(SECOND MILITIAMAN RE-ENTERS)

SECOND MILITIAMAN

Me - I saved it.

(HE EXITS)

SIGNORA SIMONETTA

Pigs!

ACT THREE, SCENE TWO

Office of the Father General.

CARDINAL

Jonah, you know - Jonah in the belly of the whale. Thank you, my friend, thank you. A truly wonderful hiding place, you know! And right beside this wardrobe, my dear Father General, you negotiate with Hitler's henchmen? Priceless, you know. But just suppose one of your flock - up there should become deranged... as prisoners do... Suppose he could no longer stand captivity and ran off, you know -screaming and carrying on, you know, and came banging through the wardrobe and here, into your room, perhaps when you are sitting with the Gestapo chief, drinking Frascati. Might be somewhat ticklish, you know.

ABBOT

No fear of that. Besides, the Germans know quite well that I have the place full of Jews and royalists. They respect the peace of the cloister.

(TO THE MONK, WHO IS BRUSHING HIM OFF.)

Thank you, Brother, thank you.

MONK

Your Eminence!

CARDINAL

Bless you, my friend...

ABBOT

Bring us a drop of wine. Red, Your Eminence? New wine?

CARDINAL

No thank you - I have the coachman and horse waiting in the piazza. I mustn't linger, you know. Oh well, a drop, red, you know. But please, my friend, not new wine.

(MONK BOWS, EXITS)

CARDINAL

But up there - the storeroom is very dusty. Where do *they* get fresh air, the poor fugitives? This dust - ah.

ABBOT

Very Simple, at night they can go out on the roof, all night long if they feel inclined.

(THE MONK RETURNS WITH THE WINE, EXITS)

ABBOT

Thank you, Brother.

CARDINAL

Well then, Father General, to your protege's.

ABBOT

Many thanks! May God protect them.

CARDINAL

I suppose, that a good many of the Jews will be converted to the faith, you know.

ABBOT

A happy outcome, Your Eminence.

CARDINAL

And you know - you needn't tremble for your guests. Herr Hitler will no more dare to touch the monasteries of Rome than touch our Chief. He is much too shrewd to offer the world any such spectacle. Although the Germans know that many a monastery harbors a secret radio station, they understand what lines thy may not cross.

(TELEPHONE RINGS)

ABBOT

Yes, speaking - who? Hm, one moment. Your Eminence, Father Riccardo asks to be received at once, accompanied by an officer of the SS.

CARDINAL

Riccardo Fontana?

ABBOT

May I...

CARDINAL

Oh, certainly, by all means. Don't let me be in your way.

ABBOT

Bring them up, Brother.

(HANGS UP PHONE)

Your Eminence, Father Riccardo has urged me several times to speak to His Holiness concerning...

CARDINAL

Yes, yes, you know, that is Riccardo's everlasting subject. That seems clear by now. Nine months ago, at the fall of Stalingrad, I had to remove him from Berlin because he was taking too much into his own hands. What is he doing back here in Rome?

(RICCARDO & GERSTEIN ENTER)

RICCARDO

This is how far we've let things go. Right now, Jews are being arrested here in Rome! It's a disgrace...

ABBOT

What's that you say? Frightful!

CARDINAL

Well, well, Riccardo. And who is this?

RICCARDO

This, Your Eminence, is... our... liaison man in the SS. It was he who first alerted the Holy See to the gassings in Belzec and Treblinka. That was more than a year ago...

CARDINAL

Oh, indeed, we thank you, sir. We were terribly shocked to hear it. But, Riccardo, arrests in Rome, did you say? Why, you know, we thought - we felt certain they would not arrest the Jews right here in Rome!

RICCARDO

Your Eminence, we now have come to this! Citizens of Rome - outlaws! A manhunt beneath the windows of the Vatican! Will no action be taken even now?

CARDINAL

Action *has been* taken, Riccardo. We have given asylum to unbaptized Jews as well. Father General, show your storeroom to Riccardo, please. You Germans! Yes, you frightful Germans. I'm so fond of you, you know, the Chief is too - but why won't you stop this business with the Jews! Now you've carried things so far that even the Pope must condemn you before the whole world! Here, under his very window, you drag away women and children, and everyone knows that none of them ever comes back! You're absolutely forcing us, you know, you're forcing the Pope publicly to take note of those crimes, you know.

RICCARDO

Thank God! At last...

CARDINAL

I will not have that, Father Fontana! Can't you see that any protest against Hitler by the Vatican will become a victory for the Bolsheviks?

(TO GERSTEIN)

Whatever are you doing, you Germans!

ABBOT

I'll take you upstairs to my protege's. I'd like you to see that we are taking measures...

RICCARDO

I am aware that you are, Father General.

CARDINAL

Nevertheless, go upstairs.

(TO GERSTEIN)

Tell me, sir - how could the Germans have forgotten the mission God assigned them as the buffer of the West?

GERSTEIN

Your Eminence, forgive me but, God would not be God if he made use of a Hitler...

CARDINAL

Oh yes, oh yes, most certainly, my friend! Was not even Cain, who killed his brother, the instrument of God? Cain had his mission in the world, as does Hitler. What can we know of the terrible detours of the Lord! But one thing we know, don't we - surely God has no wish to let Christian civilization perish!

GERSTEIN

Why not? If God did not desire us to perish, why would He strike us Christians with such blindness? For more than a year, Rome has known of Hitler's savage butcheries in Poland. Why not a word about it from the Pope? Now, only Stalin's tanks can liberate Auschwitz.

CARDINAL

Do you really want the Red Army to come? Can't you imagine what will happen: churches pillaged, priests murdered, women raped?

GERSTEIN

Yes, I'll probably be killed myself. But - the wildest band of Russian soldiers cannot wreak more atrocities than Hitler's lawyers, doctors, and SS men have been practicing - wearing this uniform for years against the Jews, the Poles, and Russian prisoners.

CARDINAL

Sir, the smoke of the crematoria has blinded you to the fact that there must be an alternative to conquest by the Red Army - *must* be. Stalin's entry into Berlin is a price that Europe *cannot*, that Europe *dare not* pay!

(RICCARDO & ABBOT RETURN THROUGH THE WARDROBE. RICCARDO CLOSES THE DOORS.)

Riccardo, I understand your deep distress, you know. But now you've seen, up there, that the Holy See is doing what it can.

RICCARDO

Your Eminence, those are the lucky few, a handful among millions. And if the Pope grants them a hiding place, he only does what many people all of Europe are doing. But the private citizen who gives asylum to a Jew risks beheading. What does the Pope risk?

CARDINAL

Riccardo - here today, you know, arrests in *Rome*, that changes everything. The Chief will now speak as the bishop of Rome, as other bishops did, you know. But we are losing time. Would you not prefer, for your protection to stay here in this house - don't you agree, Father General?

ABBOT

Yes, Your Eminence.

GERSTEIN

Your Eminence - Monsignor - I'm deeply touched. But I have a family I can't leave alone in Germany.

CARDINAL

God protect you, and your family as well! I thank you. Let us pray for the persecuted, you know... My dear friend, I'll find my way out. Please stay here with your guests... Till we meet again!

ABBOT, RICCARDO, GERSTEIN

Your Eminence.

ABBOT

Now Hitler will discover what it costs to provoke the Holy Father.

GERSTEIN

Are you sure he will intervene now?

ABBOT

Absolutely. Aren't you, Riccardo?

RICCARDO

I am not so certain. Suppose the Pope does what he always does - nothing. What will we do then?

ABBOT

Obey. As we must. You know that.

RICCARDO

That would be only too easy! Look at him - a German officer. If he were not disobedient, breaking his oath, he would be a murderer. And what about us? You have saved so many lives, Father General.

ABBOT

The Pope gave me the means to do so. Don't forget that, Riccardo!

RICCARDO

I do not forget it. But how can we stand idly by when tomorrow - right here – they load the victims into cattle cars...

ABBOT

But what else can one do?

RICCARDO

He can go along. He can go with them.

GERSTEIN

That would be totally useless.

ABBOT

And would not save a single Jew.

GERSTEIN

Besides, the SS would never permit an Italian priest to accompany the Jews.

RICCARDO

What if the priest himself is Jewish? I still have the star of David that Jacobson gave me. I'd need only to be seen with this, and I would be arrested.

GERSTEIN

Riccardo - you would not be treated as a priest. You would be gassed like any Jew!

ABBOT

Burn the star. You are simply courting disaster!

RICCARDO

What are we to do if the Pope does not protest? Nothing? Nothing at all?

ABBOT

God in Heaven - what remains for us to do!

RICCARDO

Doing nothing is as bad as taking part. It is even less forgivable. We are *priests!* God can forgive a hangman for such work, but not a priest, not the Pope! The silence of the Pope imposes a guilt upon the Church for which we must atone. And since the Pope can represent God on earth, I... if need be, can also represent the Pope – there where the Pope should be standing today.

ABBOT

Riccardo, I shall keep - your monstrous words like a secret of the confessional.

RICCARDO

You have already fulfilled your duty Father General.

ABBOT

And the *Pope* has not?

RICCARDO

Not to the limit of his power! Perhaps now that this evil has fallen on Rome he will, at last fulfill the obligation he has as the Deputy of Christ. If not, one of our number must go along from Rome. And if in doing so he dies...

GERSTEIN

He will die!

RICCARDO

Then perhaps his death will also annihilate the guilt of our superior. The concept of the Papacy must be preserved pure for all eternity, even if temporarily it is currently embodied by a...

ABBOT

Not another syllable. Why this is - Why do you think so little of the Pope?

RICCARDO

Father General, the portrait of Cardinal Pacelli has hung above my bed since I was twelve years old. On his account I entered the priesthood, much as my... my mother begged me not to. I will spend the rest of the night praying that I misjudged the Pope, that he will have the arrested families released - I am afraid - I have such horror of the camp.

GERSTEIN

Forget the salvation of the Church. You would no longer have it in your power to aid a single human being Riccardo.

RICCARDO

I would only be keeping my word. Here I cannot do a thing. I have been trying – for more than a year. It's all been empty talk. No there must be some other way.

GERSTEIN

Monsignor, let me thank you and take my leave.

ABBOT

Live with more caution... I will pray for you although I cannot follow you. God be with you.

RICCARDO

Come to my house early, before my father goes to see the Pope at nine. Riccardo - good night.

(GERSTEIN EXITS)

GERSTEIN

I'll come around eight...

ABBOT

You do not know; you do not *know* what you are saying... Come to the chapel. You must confess.

RICCARDO

I cannot. I cannot confess now. You would have to refuse me absolution, for I cannot repent.

ABBOT

Is there no limit to the sin you have assumed?

ACT THREE, SCENE THREE

Dawn, October 17. The headquarters of the Gestapo in Rome. People are unloaded backstage and shouted commands are heard:

Get down! Out of there! Come on, move! Get Out! Shut your trap!

WITZEL

Forty-six, forty-nine, fifty, fifty-two - all right, with them there and the two snotnoses we've got sixty head in the lot. Throw them in with the others. Lieutenant - I can report the operation Completed, eleven hundred and twenty-seven arrests.

SALZER

Thank you. Pretty scanty. Rome used to have eight thousand Jews. All skipped South, to join the Yanks - well, let them feed them.

WITZEL

And hundreds more are hiding in monasteries . We grabbed thirty of them just as they tried to slip away.

SALZER

Witzel, you idiot. Why not liquidate the Pope while you're at it? Can't you get it through your head: We're in Rome now. No Catholics are to be arrested, get it?

WITZEL

Sure, I know that, but we have to...

SALZER

Did you or didn't you hear what I just said?

WITZEL

Yes sir, very well, sir.

SALZER

All right. What else did you want to say?

WITZEL

That we've stuck straight to the lists, the lists from Mussolini, I mean. Only some of them threatened us with the church because they claim to be Catholic.

SALZER

You should've told me that *last* night. Then I would have called off the whole stupid mess. Arresting Catholics in Rome - maybe some of them really aren't Jews!

WITZEL

But Lieutenant, if the Pope does make a fuss, we can blame it on the Italians.

SALZER

All right, Witzel, it's my mistake. I should've trusted your intelligence. Get out of here. Bring up all who claim to be Catholics. Get it?

WITZEL

Yes sir.

(WITZEL EXITS. SALZER BECKONS TO TWO ITALIAN SOLDIERS)

SALZER

At ease. You two are good Catholics, right?

FIRST MILITIAMAN

No, I am no longer Catholic.

SECOND MILITIAMAN

Not good, just ordinary Catholic.

SALZER

No matter, you're to examine the prisoners who claim to be Catholics. We'll see what they know about your Church. Can you handle that?

FIRST MILITIAMAN

We'll make them pray.

SECOND MILITIAMAN

Singing is more fun! Or else we'll baptize them in the Tiber.

SALZER

You are not to torture anybody, understand?

FIRST MILITIAMAN

Suppose they won't pray?

SALZER

They'll be glad to if they can. Get some coffee in here. Go. And some rolls.

FIRST MILITIAMAN

Yes, Commander, yes sir.

(HE EXITS)

SECOND MILITIAMAN

Can we examine the Jewish girls Commander?

SALZER

Don't you dare touch any of them!

(WITZEL ENTERS WITH CARLOTTA, THE MANUFACTURER & OLD LUCCANI)

WITZEL

Faces to the wall! About-face! These are the three who claim to be Catholic.

SALZER

I don't want to see them before breakfast!

(SECOND MILITIAMAN ENTERS)

Damn it to hell, I want to have my coffee.

WITZEL

(TO THE MILITIAMEN) You swine, don't you have a sense of honor! So, you'd fuck a Jew - Get out! A nickel's worth of honor.

SALZER

They don't understand that, Witzel. The Italians look like Jews themselves.

WITZEL

The bastard - I'll teach him a lesson.

(HE EXITS)

SALZER

(TO CARLOTTA) Well I'll be damned! Are you always so standoffish when a man comes near you? You don't look the kind. I'll bet you have a boyfriend!

CARLOTTA

My fiancé was killed in Africa.

SALZER

What's that? When?' Killed? Where? On the British side? Or what?

CARLOTTA

On the German side, of course. He was a Catholic, from Rome. If he had not fought and died for Germany, we would have been married long ago and I would have been half Aryan by law. Please let me go.

SALZER

I see. Your case is complicated.

CARLOTTA

On November first I am to enter the convent as a novice. Please...

SALZER

I can't decide that right now.... Here...

(HE BECKONS TO THE MILITIAMAN)

Take her back to the cell.

CARLOTTA

No please. No please.

SALZER

Don't touch her, understand?

CARLOTTA

Oh no - please not!

SALZER

By November first it will all be straightened out.

(CARLOTTA & FIRST MILITIAMAN EXIT)

(WITZEL EXITS)

You baptized Hebrews there - about face! Come on, about-face. Now show me that you're Catholics. Hand me your passport.

(MANUFACTURER SHOWS HIS PASSPORT)

You aren't a Catholic at all!

MANUFACTURER

I work for your war industry. Since '41 I've been working for the German Army. My family is Catholic, Catholic nobility. I was in town just by chance, picked up in this round-up by sheer chance. They pulled me right out of my car. My arrest is a mistake that will lead to the gravest consequences.

SALZER

Oh, I'm scared stiff... of your consequences. Witzel!

(WITZEL ENTERS)

WITZEL

Sir!

SALZER

Witzel, watch this. If you work with the German Army then I suppose you sympathize with our solution to the Jewish problem.

MANUFACTURER

Sympathize, yes. But I'm just saying that both in my heart and in my actions, I have long been alienated from the Jews.

SALZER

I want to hear a clear declaration.

MANUFACTURER

My conduct in this war has all along been a clear declaration.

SALZER

Stop stalling. Do you favor our solution to the Jewish problem, yes or no?

MANUFACTURER

The Fuhrer must know what he is doing.

SALZER

Yes or no, damn it - don't waste my time.

MANUFACTURER

Yes.

SALZER

That sounded pretty feeble. Here - spit in this Jew's face.

MANUFACTURER

Really now, the old man is Catholic. And he's done me personally no harm. No!

SALZER

Come on, spit at him.

MANUFACTURER

No, I won't do it.

SALZER

Oh, you'll do it, if you want to get out of this fix. Spit at the old man, and then you won't have to return to the cellar - on my word of honor. Come on, spit - that will be a declaration!

(MANUFACTURER SPITS AT OLD LUCCANI, MILITIAMAN ENTERS)

SALZER

Too bad, that would have been a snapshot for the paper. All right, take him away. Not to the cellar, to the dog kennel - we keep our word.

MANUFACTURER

You Swine!

(TO LUCCANI)

Forgive me - please. Please don't despise me. I am ashamed.

LUCCANI

It no longer touches me. Pray.

(WITZEL DRAGS THE MANUFACTURER OUT OF THE ROOM)

SALZER

Pray yourself, go on, pray, pray, prove that you're Catholic. Sing, sing an Ave Maria!

LUCCANI

No, I will not take God's name in vain.

SALZER

In vain? If you don't sing now, you soon will in heaven with the angels. One of your brothers will see whether you can sing an Ave Maria. Test him.

LUCCANI

I will not have dealings with this traitor.

FIRST MILITIAMAN

Traitor, you say?

(HE HITS LUCCANI)

SALZER

You're not to hit him.

FIRST MILITIAMAN

Commander he insulted me. Traitor! I won't stand for that!

SALZER

(TO LUCCANI) Traitor? What exactly did you mean by that?

LUCCANI

That an Italian who betrays a fellow officer is a traitor to his country. I may have stood beside his father on the Isonzo...

(HE PULLS OUT TWO MEDALS)

SALZER

Why didn't you say right off that you're an officer?

LUCCANI

As a soldier in the First World War, I learned to respect the Germans - please, a request... You see, I am seventy-two. Don't give preferential treatment to me – you must have children of your own - my grandchildren, a boy of nine, a girl of six, let them go. I know some nuns who could raise them as Catholics. Please... I... I have never in all my life begged for anything, but now I beg you - think of your own children - I, I...

SALZER

Not a hair of the children's heads will be touched. What do you think of us Germans! If those stories the propagandists tell were true, why would the Pope give so many audiences to us Germans? Go along now.

LUCCANI

As an officer you should be a man of honor. How could you ever again look your wife in the face, your children! Your mother...

SALZER

What are you gaping like an idiot for! Get him out of here!

(WITZEL ENTERS)

WITZEL

Lieutenant?

SALZER

If any more of the bunch claims to be Catholic, pull off their pants and see whether they're circumcised. Catholic or not - no matter. Are they circumcised - that's what-I want to know?

WITZEL

Yes sir. But what about the women?

SALZER

Don't drive me out of my mind - idiot! Get the hell out of here - I don't want to see you!

WITZEL

Yes sir!

(AFTER WITZEL'S EXIT)

GERSTEIN

Heil, Salzer!

SALZER

Why Gerstein, you startled me. Where were you all night?

GERSTEIN

What was the matter with you just now?

SALZER

This idiot, my sergeant, picked-up a whole sackful of Catholics during the round-up out of sheer stupidity.

GERSTEIN

What? You've arrested Catholics as well! If there's one thing the Fuhrer doesn't need right now it's trouble with the Pope. Take my warning as a friend: don't do anything that might cause an outcry against us. A handful of Roman Hebrews aren't worth it.

SALZER

Then why does Berlin send me orders to ship the goddam lot of them?

GERSTEIN

Put off the deportations until the day after tomorrow. The Pope is certain to protest and then you'll be in trouble.

SALZER

If he keeps his mouth shut 'til this evening - I've got to load the trains during the night.

(TELEPHONE RINGS)

Jawohl, Salzer. Yes, put him on.

(TO GERSTEIN) The city commandant!

Heil Hitler, Herr General. Gerstein and I were just discussing that. Really? BY GOD A PROTEST AFTER ALL! Have you received the full text, sir? Well, that's not as drastic as it might be. So, it's not the Pope himself who issued it. From Bishop Hudal you say? Of course, this letter from the Bishop does not relieve us of the duty to deport... very well, sir. We'll have to wait and see, yes sir. Most grateful to you sir, Heil Hitler.

(HANGS UP)

GERSTEIN

I'd better report that to Berlin at once.

SALZER

You were right. This letter from the bishop seems to prove that Pius is getting ready to protest. And of course, the Fuhrer will back down. Who cares about a thousand Roman Jews? If only this damn Pope would tell us where he stands!

ACT FOUR: IL GRAN RIFIUTO

CARDINAL

Do you think Herr Hitler has any idea how that rabble of his are behaving here? We shall also be discussing that today. I have prayed for the Jews...

FONTANA

Praise God! The Pope has protested at last.

CARDINAL

Protested? Out of the question, Count. The Chief most certainly did not protest.

FONTANA

I heard about it from the confidant my son has in the SS.

CARDINAL

Here he comes. No, I know nothing about it.

FONTANA

But he...

(POPE ENTERS)

POPE

Dear Fontana! We are pleased to receive you, to hear your advice and that of Our venerable brother as well - for We are filled with burning concern for Italy's factories. Indeed, every enterprise stands in imperative need of protection. Naturally We assess the chances of Our pleas being heard most realistically, where factories and mines are concerned. How different the situation of Our Eternal City: no one will dare to sin against Rome once more! Herr Weizsacker has been so obliging, indeed, the Germans, have shown far more friendliness than the destroyers of San Lorenzo. But even the White House will now be chary of provoking Us once more. Yet the bombing of armaments plants is legitimate by the laws of war! You have recommended to Us, Count Fontana, that we invite the men around Roosevelt, industrialists and generals in the U.S. to purchase securities.

FONTANA

And also in London, Your Holiness.

POPE

Yes, very well - But how will you persuade influential financiers, Count, to take shares in Italy's industries which are in such peril?

FONTANA

Good securities, the best we have, are desirable as ever, Your Holiness. I am thinking principally of securities held by the Society of Jesus. In fact, one of these two checks I have the pleasure of presenting to your Holiness comes from the Order of Jesus.

CARDINAL

Oh yes! Why, that comes to... really, you know! I shall thank brother Spellman.

POPE

Dear Count, Eminence, will you both give the donors in Our name Our thanks for this Peter's pence.

FONTANA

Your Holiness. It is a veritable salvation that you are now about to take a public stand. May I ask whether the Germans have in any way reacted yet?

CARDINAL

The Germans? Reacted to what?

POPE

Reacted? But to what Count?

FONTANA

Why, I heard from my son, you see, that early this morning Bishop Hudal warned the German commandant that Your Holiness would make a *protest*.

POPE

The Bishop warned? In Our name! Your Eminence, did you empower Hudal to speak in the name of the Holy See or even in Our name?

CARDINAL

God is my witness, Your Holiness! I have just this moment heard about the protest I will not, cannot believe, you know...

FONTANA

I do not know the wording! Perhaps the Bishop did not make a protest *in the name* of His Holiness, but only announced that a statement from the Holy Father was to be expected. My son says...

POPE

Your son, Count Fontana - where is your son? Does he not belong in Lisbon?

CARDINAL

He is expecting me downstairs, in the Secretariat of State, Your Holiness.

POPE

Have him come up! We wish to be informed how it is he ventures, constantly to interfere in these affairs. The Jews and the Germans are matters for the two Jesuit fathers whom We have specifically appointed for that purpose.

(THE CARDINAL SENDS A SWISS GUARD FOR RICCARDO)

Whoever wants to help must not provoke Hitler. Secretly, as our two Jesuit fathers, silently, cunning as serpents - that is how the SS must be met. We have hidden hundreds of Jews in Rome. Have issued thousands of passports! Remember Our last Christmas message: one single plea for brotherly love. What was the end result? The murderers ignored it.

FONTANA

Your Holiness, I too was sadly disappointed that it remained without effect. However, in that message Your Holiness did not, unfortunately, mention the Jews specifically or the British terror bombing of open cities. It seems to me that anything addressed to Hitler or to Churchill requires words so blunt as not to be misunderstood.

(RICCARDO ENTERS)

POPE

Your son! Here he is, the hothead.

RICCARDO

Holy Father...

POPE

We are delighted with you, Riccardo, and contemplate your zeal with affection. He who defends the persecuted, always speaks as We would wish. But - We have just heard with dismay that either you or Bishop Hudal in Our name has protested the arrest of the Jews. Is that so? Eminence - please send for the Father General.

(CARDINAL GIVES A COMMAND TO A SWISS GUARD)

RICCARDO

I? No, Your Holiness, I heard from my liaison man in the SS that Your Holiness has threatened to protest.

POPE

What have you arrogated to yourself - to conspire with the SS?

CARDINAL

His Holiness has just heard of this.

POPE

I am speaking to him Eminence!

RICCARDO

So - after all - nothing whatsoever has been done! I do not understand... Your Holiness, the Jews are being shipped out, murdered.

CARDINAL

Be still!

POPE

Why, no Your Eminence... God bless you, Riccardo. Speak, your heart is good. Only you must not negotiate with the SS.

(ABBOT ENTERS)

The father General will tell us what has happened. Hold yourself back! At your age modesty alone honors one.

RICCARDO

I am not concerned about my honor, Your Holiness. I am concerned for the honor of the Holy See, for that is dear to me...

FONTANA

Riccardo!

RICCARDO

In Poland alone one million eight hundred thousand Jews have already been slaughtered! God cannot wish Your Holiness to ignore it!

CARDINAL

Leave at once! Count, say something to your son...

POPE

"Ignore!" We do not intend to account for Our actions to Riccardo Fontana - does his father make no comment? Nevertheless, We would be pleased if We might also be permitted to speak a word on the matter. Do you know, for example, my young man, that weeks ago we were prepared to help the Jews. Hitler's bandits offered the Jews freedom for a ransom. They attempted to extort from Us a sum that was no longer realistic. *Nevertheless*, We would have paid it!

RICCARDO

Then Your Holiness has known - for weeks now that the SS in Rome intended to arrest the Jews?

POPE

What are you saying! Father General can bear witness to all that has been accomplished. Father General, please inform Us what Bishop Hudal has done in Our name. Did he conceive this praiseworthy notion himself?

ABBOT

Herr von Kessel called on me and asked that Bishop Hudal, write a letter to the German commandant threatening a protest.

POPE

Well, well! A German does that - how gratifying. What times these are, when high treason is the last weapon of the righteous! A German is ashamed of the SS! Well - Kessel is the man's name. We will remember it. Now, then, this letter from Hudal will do its work.

RICCARDO

Your Holiness, A letter from the Bishop will do nothing. Only you yourself...

FONTANA

May I speak in my son's stead, Your Holiness?

POPE

What is it, Count?

FONTANA

Your Holiness, may I ask in all humility: Warn Hitler that you will compel five hundred million Catholics to make Christian protest if he goes on with these mass killings!

POPE

Fontana! An advisor of your insight! Do you not realize that disaster looms for Christian Europe unless God makes Us, the mediator? Since the conference at Casablanca reason no longer wields the scepter in the White House and Mr. Churchill is too weak. Hitler alone, dear Count, is now defending Europe. And he will fight until he dies because this Casablanca nonsense grants him no pardon... Nevertheless, the West should grant him pardon as long as he is useful in the East.

RICCARDO

But, how do we so much as consider using Hitler as a tool.

POPE

A tool that we will drop as soon as possible...

CARDINAL

God be praised, Riccardo, that you have no authority at all.

RICCARDO

The Holy Father was addressing me, Your Eminence! May I reply, Your Holiness.

POPE

To the point, yes, to the point.

RICCARDO

Your Holiness, if now Russia threatens Europe the Vatican must also share the guilt. Russia was after all attacked.

POPE

Count Fontana, it seems to Us your son is badly in need of a vacation.

(POPE SPEAKS TO RICCARDO)

Riccardo, go to Castelgandolfo for three months, and catalogue our library - if your nerves are up to such a task. The cool clarity of October days and the broad prospect out to sea provide many an insight into one's soul... Go right out there this very day. We'll gladly give you leave.

CARDINAL

Yes, you know, and very little reading, so that you spare your nerves.

POPE

Certainly, the terror against the Jews is loathsome, but we must not allow it to incense Us so that we forget that the Germans are the present protectors and rulers of Rome. We must now end this audience. Our beloved congregation is awaiting Us. We wish to further the canonization of Innocent the Eleventh. It is indeed a matter of great concern to Us to bring that noble predecessor once more within the range of vision of thinking Europeans. And pray, all of you dear ones in the Lord, pray for the Jews also, of whom so many will soon be standing before the face of God.

FONTANA

Your Holiness, with all due respect for the considerations that impose this silence on you, I beg you in all humility, implore you...

POPE

Why, did you indeed believe, Fontana, We would permit this sacrilege beneath Our very windows to pass completely without comment? Of course not! It goes without saying, a proclamation shall attest it - the Pope, in deepest sympathy, stands on the victim's side... Eminence - we have time for *that*. Let us do it at once. Send for the scribe, please. No one shall say We sacrificed the law of Christian love for political calculations - no! Today, as always, Our spirit dwells upon the unfortunates.

(THE SCRIBE ENTERS. THE POPE DICTATES)

Ever more insistently... and awakening even greater compassion, there has come to the Holy Father's ears the echo of those misfortunes which protraction of the present conflict... constantly increases.

CARDINAL

That will certainly be a blow to the Germans, you know.

POPE

The Pope, as is well known, in vain attempted to prevent the outbreak of the war by... by warning the heads of all nations against resorting to arms, which today are so frightful in

their power. Ever since he has not ceased to use all means within his power to alleviate the sufferings which... which... in any form whatsoever are consequences of the worldwide conflagration. With the augmentation of so much suffering, the Pope's universal and fatherly work of mercy has still more increased. Increased; it knows - this is to be printed in italics -

SCRIBE

Very good, Your Holiness: to be printed in italics.

POPE

...knows no limits, neither of nationality, nor of religion nor of race.

(TO THE FONTANAS)

Content, you beloved in the Lord?

CARDINAL

Race, too, Holy Father - ah yes. That is burningly relevant. But ought we not also to add, you know: This varied and unresting activity of Pius XII has become still further intensified as a result of the arrests of Jews in Rome.

POPE

Absolutely not! Not so direct and not so detailed. That would amount to taking a position on military events. The Holy See must continue to shelter the spirit of *neutrality*. Not so direct... now then, Scribe: what came before Rome and the Jews were spoken of so directly?

SCRIBE

This varied and unresting activity of Pius XII has become still further intensified as a result of... of was the last word, Your Holiness.

POPE

Then let us say: of the aggravated... yes: of the *aggravated* sufferings of... so many unfortunates. Eminence, We think that is more comprehensive than if We mention *only* the Jews.

CARDINAL

No doubt about that, Your Holiness. More comprehensive, certainly.

POPE

Now, then, Scribe: May this beneficent activity supported above all else by the prayers of believers throughout the world...

SCRIBE

Your Holiness, I thought, if I might humbly suggest a phrase to Your Holiness...

(POPE GESTURES ASSENT)

...believers throughout the world who with hearts in one accord and with burning fervor unceasingly raise their voices to Heaven.

POPE

Yes, very much what We wish to say. Good. How did you put it: raise their voices to Heaven - yes? Compish still *greater* results in the future, and soon bring about the day when the *light of peace* will once more shine over the earth, when men will lay down their arms, all discords and resentments shall fade away and men shall meet as brothers once again to work righteously together at long last for the common welfare. Period. Well, Riccardo, still not satisfied with Us?

FONTANA

Your Holiness, this message, in which not one word mentions the arrests, cannot be construed as a reference to the Jewish problem.

POPE

Have we not spoken specifically of men of *all races*, Count Fontana?

CARDINAL

The proclamation will go down in history.

ABBOT

We do what we can.

FONTANA

Father General, as you well know, the Holy See has other means to command a hearing. Your Holiness, send Hitler an ultimatum, or even just a letter that Weiszacker can deliver.

(THE POPE SIGNALS FOR THE SCRIBE TO LEAVE)

SCRIBE

If I may humbly remind Your Holiness, Your Holiness has not yet signed.

(RICCARDO PINS THE STAR OF DAVID ON HIMSELF)

CARDINAL

Father Fontana, now you forget yourself!

FONTANA

Riccardo - please don't...

CARDINAL

Remove - this - this thing. How dare you, in the presence of the Holy Father. Blasphemy - on a priest's robe - blasphemy!

RICCARDO

Your Holiness, what you have set your name to grants Hitler unrestricted license to go on treating the Jews as he has always done...

POPE

In the name of the victims... this... this arrogance as well! And this impertinence – the Star of David on the habit of Christ's servants!

RICCARDO

This star which every Jew must wear as soon as he is six years old, to show he is an outlaw - I shall wear it too until...

POPE

He will not! We forbid him - forbid - on a cassock - this...

RICCARDO

I shall wear this star until Your Holiness proclaims before the world a curse upon the man who slaughters Europe's Jews like cattle.

POPE

Rebellion in these rooms! Disobedience and arrogance - Ugh! This is our recompense for all the benefits we have conferred upon the Minutante!

FONTANA

I ask permission to take my leave, Your Holiness.

POPE

Remain, Count. This Son of yours is trial enough for you. You need not pay for his folly.

FONTANA

Please Your Holiness, permit me to go.

POPE

You stay, and that is that. You Father General will be responsible to Us: make sure that this - this scandalous behavior stops. Accompany the Minutante to his home. God watch over him, he knows not what he speaks. We have forgiven him. Of course, he cannot return to his post, nor to Lisbon...

FONTANA

Your Holiness, please... I beg you, Holy Father...

POPE

Fontana, do stand up, you're not to blame. Your son's behavior cannot make a breach between the two of us. Non possumus. We cannot - will not - write to Hitler. He would only be antagonized and outraged. But we desire him, and also Roosevelt, to see in us an impartial go-between. Now, that is enough.

RICCARDO

God shall not destroy His Church only because a Pope shrinks from His Summons.

(RICCARDO & ABBOT EXIT, SCRIBE ENTERS WITH BASIN)

CARDINAL

Holy Father, you must not be... so offended by such stupidities. It is simply outright rudeness, you know!

POPE

Summa iniuna. As though We did not wish to give succor to all, *all!* Whatever *has been granted Us to do was done*. We are - God knows it - blameless of the blood now being spilled. As the flowers in the countryside wait beneath winter's mantle of snow for the warm breezes of spring, so the Jews must wait, praying and trusting that the hour of heavenly comfort will come. We who are here assembled in Christ's Name will pray in conclusion.... Fontana, please, you too come into our circle... Fontana - who should know it better than We, to be a father is to wear a crown of thorns. Exsurge, Domine, adiuva nos, et libera nos propter nomen tuum—sit super nos semper benedictio tua—

ACT FIVE: AUSCHWITZ, OR WHERE ARE YOU, GOD?
SCENE ONE: THE MONOLOGUES

OLD LUCCANI

Do not let me die in the car, with my grandchildren watching. Fear has long since blurred their faces, smothered their questions. They sense what I know: this journey's end will be our end as well. Flaunt not your power by throwing children to the flames before their mother's eyes so that in their terrible screams you may hear your name invoked. How can we heed your call to renounce sin while we strangle on the smoke from the ovens? I beseech you, oh God, if you are listening: Do not let me die here, not where my grandchildren can see.

THE WOMAN

They smirked when they found your little shirts and diapers in my suitcase, and they asked me questions about your father as though they had not, two days earlier, dragged him from his workshop and down the stairs. And how they mocked him when he called to me that he would be coming back. We had grown so close to each other. We would bask in the sun on our kitchen balcony and take long walks through the park. Once a week, we would go to see a movie and – and now our family is broken, never to be three. Never to sit round our table, eating and talking, never to laugh late into the night and finally sing you to sleep, never to dream without terror. I feel your hands, your heart. Please God, please. Let me have my child. We chose names for you.

THE GIRL

No hope, beloved, that you will ever find me. God is cold. It's nothing to him that this woman next to me will never bear her child, that I will never be yours. You'll never find me, however long you look. Don't waste time looking. Take a girl who'll give you more than I could. Forget things. Be happy with each other. And don't put off love! Lovers are always hunted and in danger. Don't miss your day, as we missed ours in the Campagna. Why didn't we take the night that was given us? Why - did I resist your hands? If only you were beside me now, I am so terrible alone. Once more take the sand of Ostia into your hands and throw a handful to the waves, as though it were my ashes, and call my name, as you did, that time, in Ostia.

KAPO & OFFSTAGE VOICES

Get out, on the double! Faster! Faster! The sick stay behind. Get out, move, man!

THE WOMAN

Rachele - Rachele - where are you!

ACT FIVE, SCENE TWO

OFFICER

Lieutenant Colonel - report!

(HE TIES THE DOG TO THE BENCH)

FRITSCHÉ

So early in the morning? What's up?

OFFICER

Little surprise at the outer platform, sir. The Pope in person has sent us a priest...

FRITSCHÉ

What's this about the Pope?

OFFICER

The Pope has sent a priest along to keep the baptized Jews company. These Jews are from Rome. He was sent with them. And...

FRITSCHÉ

And what?

OFFICER

And some moron in Rome put the man aboard with the Jews, right in the middle of a freight car, even though he's wearing a cassock, as an Italian and not a Jew.

FRITSCHÉ

Goddam! Goddamed idiocy!

OFFICER

He spoke to me. It was still dark. Lucky, I didn't set the dog on him right off.

FRITSCHÉ

Where is he now? Has he seen anything of the camp?

OFFICER

No, not yet. He's still out there on Platform One. I turned him over to the military police. They're to take him back.

FRITSCHÉ

What a mess! Don't guard him too closely. He must be allowed to move around fairly freely on the outer platform, so that he doesn't get too nosy and make trouble for us, like the Red Cross people.

OFFICER

I'm afraid he's seen too much on the train already.

FRITSCHÉ

Come on. We need a drink after this shock.

HELGA

You! Go away, leave me alone you devil. I hate you; I hate you-stop! People can see us-don't! The window-you beast-go back to your Jewess!

DOCTOR

Jealous of that poor woman? Do I make a fuss because at night you do your duty as a bride-to-be with Gunter, and only have time for me at noon? I'm looking forward to this afternoon. Look here...

(HE TAKES OUT PEARLS)

HELGA

He'll report you! He'll kill us.

DOCTOR

Nonsense! Your Gunter has quite enough of killing, in the normal course of things. He's on duty at the crematorium this afternoon while we'll be keeping warm in our bed. Why not? You'll be so timid and so small, my little naked puss-and then all at once wild, so wild that you'll be able to forget whom you're being wild with. Look here.

HELGA

You're horrible.

DOCTOR

Doesn't the necklace excite you? I found the pearls yesterday morning when we scooped out a fat Jewish oyster. I'll give them to you for your wedding.

HELGA

I don't want any of those things. What would I tell Gunter?

DOCTOR

Just say you inherited them. We'll consecrate the necklace this afternoon.

HELGA

I don't want to, I don't want to any more, I don't want to!

DOCTOR

It's good for you- I see that by the way you look: like a dirty mirror after it's been polished.

HELGA

You're a devil! I really don't know whether I love you at all. Sometimes I'm crazy about you, but then-then the hate comes back, then I hate you with all my heart, I really do... Please, let's be honest-I'll break the engagement. I must be with you. Please, let's get married...

DOCTOR

Marriage, propagating children-good God! That's one sin I won't commit, never, I swear that. Stick to your Gunter, sweetheart. Present the Fuhrer with soldiers and joyfully fecund girls. And I'll prescribe for our blond beasts; our master race, the recipe for twins, so you can multiply like rats. Isn't that enough for you, my pet? Do I myself have to plow, harrow and sow in marriage? I'm already doing enough to perpetuate racially pure humanity. I will not knock you up.

HELGA

Please stop, you make me feel so strange. Oh... Tell me, why did you pick on this particular Jewess? Does she know that you're the one who sent her children...?

DOCTOR

I don't care to talk shop with you. Enough of your infantile jealousy...

HELGA

I won't be jealous if you'll tell me why you chose this woman of all people...

DOCTOR

It stimulates me, that's all, it stimulates me.

HELGA

I suppose I don't stimulate you enough?

DOCTOR

Little fool-my little sugar bun, I mean. Can't you understand? I want to find out whether this woman will go on sleeping with me after I've told her where her children went-and that I am the lord of life and death in this place.

HELGA

How cruel you are. Let her live. The least you can do is let her live...

DOCTOR

What good would it do her, with her family dead?

HELGA

But that's what she hopes for. That's why she comes. That's the only reason.

DOCTOR

Half past one, as usual. We'll play pretty pussycat, all right?

HELGA

Never again, I said, never again.

DOCTOR

Don't bother to knock. Look around. If anyone is following you, just walk right on-once round the house and in at the door.

HELGA

I'll have to think it over.

DOCTOR

We'll think it over together. So long.

HELGA

Look-over there-look! Back there-the priest.

DOCTOR

Well, what about it?

HELGA

No listen-I overheard, Fritsche gave orders that the priest wasn't to set foot inside the camp. he was deported by mistake.

DOCTOR

They all were. What's the difference?

HELGA

It seems he's not a Jew.

DOCTOR

I decide who's a Jew-as Goring says. I know all about it. So long.

HELGA

See you soon.

DOCTOR

(THE DOCTOR SPEAKS TO RICCARDO)

You there! Your Holiness. The one in black over there-come here. Get a move on, come here!

HELGA

How strong the smell is today.

DOCTOR

The smoke can't rise on account of the fog.

(THE DOCTOR SPEAKS AGAIN TO RICCARDO)

Get a move on, come here!

(TO HELGA)

See you soon, sugar bun.

JULIA

Don't go away. Stay here, stay with us!

DOCTOR

I said come here. That pretty brat yours?

RICCARDO

The Germans beat her father to death. They thought it funny because he wore glasses.

DOCTOR

Such brutes, these Germans. Where is your yellow star?

RICCARDO

I threw it away because I wanted to escape.

DOCTOR

What's this about you're not being a Jew? On the railroad platform, I am told, you claimed The Pope assigned you to care for the Jews.

RICCARDO

I said that only to escape. They believed me and let me go. I am a Jew like the others.

DOCTOR

How is it they caught up with you again?

RICCARDO

Nobody caught me. I joined my companions of my own accord.

DOCTOR

My, how noble! We've needed volunteers. Priests, too. Just in case someone should die here. The climate can be nasty in Auschwitz. Of course, you're not a Jew... A martyr, then. Very well. I understand your ambition to be crucified, but in the name of God the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, I intend to have a little sport deflating your self-importance. I have something quite different in mind for you. Uncle Doctor has some candy for you. Come here!

THE GIRL

Thank you.

DOCTOR

So affectionate! What's your name? A pity the little girl has no twin brother. Research on twins is my special hobby. Other children here never live more than six hours, even when we're backed up. Nor their mothers, either-we have enough workhorses and we're sufficiently accommodating to gas children under fifteen together with their mothers. It saves a lot of screaming. What's wrong?

RICCARDO

Get it over with.

DOCTOR

Don't tell me you want to die right now! You'd like that, wouldn't you: inhaling for fifteen minutes, and then sitting at God's right hand as saint! No! I cannot give you such preferential treatment while so many others go up in smoke without that consolation. As long as you can believe, my dear priest, dying is just a joke.

JULIA

Let us stay together. I won't-my child.

LUCCANI

Don't! Don't hurt the women. Don't hurt their children. Julia-Julia-I'm waiting-do come.

DOCTOR

Let her go! What's this weeping over a brief separation?

JULIA

Let us stay with the priest! You can see how attached the child is to him. He calmed us so on the train. Please, let us die together, the priest and us-

DOCTOR

Now, now, nobody's dying here. Tell the woman the truth! That those are factory chimneys over there. You'll have to work here, work hard. But nobody will do you any harm.

(HE STROKES THE BOYS HAIR)

Come along, my boy. It's time for lunch, and there's pudding for dessert.

JULIA

Do you know where my husband is? Where my husband was taken to?

DOCTOR

Run along now. Still in Rome, I think. Or perhaps in another camp. I don't know everybody here.

(TO RICCARDO)
Give the woman her child!

(TO JULIA)
Here, take your little girl. The priest and I have some things to discuss.

JULIA
Stay with us, please stay! You disappeared so suddenly this morning, were gone so long. I was relieved when you returned.

RICCARDO
I'll come afterwards -- I'll come, as surely as God is with us.

DOCTOR
Please, now-in fifteen minutes your friend will be with you again. Those who don't keep up get nothing more to eat. Hurry-move on! You're very tired, I see. Do sit down.

RICCARDO
What a devil you are!

DOCTOR
Devil-wonderful! I am the devil, and you will be my private chaplain. It's a deal: save my soul. But first I must see to those scratches. I have great plans for you, Chaplain.

RICCARDO
What do you want of me?

DOCTOR
I mean my offer seriously. Do you really know what awaits you otherwise? If you insist on it, you'll die here like a snail crushed under an auto tire-namelessly, meaninglessly.

RICCARDO
Do you think God would overlook a sacrifice merely because the killing is done without pomp and circumstance? Your ideas can't be as primitive as that!

DOCTOR
Aha, you think God does not overlook the sacrifice! Really? You know, at bottom all my works concerned entirely with this one question. Really now, I'm doing all I can. Since July of '42, for fifteen months, weekdays and Sabbath, I've been sending people to God. Do you think He's made the slightest acknowledgment? He has not even directed a bolt of lightning against me. Nine thousand in one day a while back.

RICCARDO
That isn't true, it can't be...

DOCTOR

Nine thousand in one day. Pretty little vermin, like that child you were holding. All the same, in an hour they're unconscious or dead. At any rate ready for the furnace. Young children often go into the furnaces still alive, though unconscious. An interesting phenomenon. Infants, especially. A remarkable fact: the gas doesn't always kill them. You cannot always run away. My word of honor, I'll let you live.

RICCARDO

Live-to be your prisoner!

DOCTOR

Not my prisoner. My partner.

RICCARDO

Believe me, leaving a world in which you and Auschwitz are possible is scarcely harder than to live in it.

DOCTOR

The martyr always prefers dying to thinking. I shall expose you to the task of thinking like a swimmer to the ocean. If your cassock keeps you above water then I promise I'll let you fetch me back home into the bosom of Christ's Church. Who knows, who knows. Your Church was the first to show that you can burn men just like coal. In Spain alone, without the benefit of crematoria, you turned to ashes three hundred and fifty thousand human beings, most of them while alive, mind you. Such an achievement surely needs the help of Christ.

RICCARDO

I know as well as you-or I would not be here-how many times the Church has been guilty, as it is again today. I have nothing more to say if you make God responsible for the crimes of His Church. God does not stand above history. In Him all man's anguish is contained.

DOCTOR

Oh yes, I also learned that drivel once. His suffering in the world fetters the evil principle. Prove it. Where-when have I ever been fettered? Not a peep came from Heaven, not a peep for fifteen months, not once since I've been giving tourists tickets to Paradise.

RICCARDO

So much sheer cruelty simply to prove that the Incomprehensible doesn't exist.

DOCTOR

You'll make a good partner. I saw that right off.

RICCARDO

I will not act as your court jester, to cheer the hours when you are face to face with yourself. I have never seen a man so wretched... for you know what you do...

DOCTOR

Then I must disappoint you. Just as your whole faith is self-deception and desperation, so is your hope that I feel wretched. Of course, boredom has always plagued me. That is why I find our debate so refreshing, and why you are to stay alive. But wretched? This afternoon when those people there, the ones you came with, burn up in smoke, I shall be burning up myself between the legs of a nineteen-year-old girl. That's one amenity that beats your faith because it's something a fellow really has, with heart, mouth and hands. And has it here on earth, where we need such things.

RICCARDO

Oh yes, a fine amenity... only it doesn't last too long.

DOCTOR

We understand each other splendidly. You're trembling. So scared you can't stand on your feet.

RICCARDO

I never said that I was not afraid. Courage or not-in the end that is only a question of vanity.

DOCTOR

I gave my word that nothing would be done to you. I need you for a purpose of my own... The war is lost; the Allies will hang me. You find me a refuge in Rome, a monastery. The Commandant will even thank me if I personally return to Rome the Holy Father's guest, whom we did not exactly invite to come here. Agreed?

RICCARDO

To Rome? I am-to go back to Rome?

DOCTOR

We'll be there in a week. Then you find me a place to stay until I can escape to south America, and you'll be back with Pius. Agreed?

RICCARDO

No!

DOCTOR

Kapo!

(KAPO ENTERS, STANDS AT ATTENTION)

KAPO

Major?

DOCTOR

This fellow goes along to the crematorium. No jokes with him, understand. He is my personal patient. He's to work there. I will not forget you, Father. You'll have plenty to eat, and a normal workday of about nine hours. You can engage in studies there, theological studies. find out about God. In two weeks, I'll take you into the laboratory, as my assistant, if you wish. I'm sure you will. On your ashes: not a hair, not a hair of his head is to be touched. I'll talk to your superior later. Now beat it.

ACT FIVE, SCENE THREE

LOUD SPEAKER

"Attention, an announcement: Inmate Riccardo Fontana No. 16670 is to report at once to the guardroom at Inside Platform One. End of Announcement."

FRITSCHÉ

(ON THE TELEPHONE)

Get me the Commandant. What the hell is going on? Gerstein? Oh, he is to fetch him? But I have visitors from Essen-I have no time for the priest. He's on his way here now. Gerstein himself can take charge of him. Yes, of course. The whole thing was totally unnecessary. Just what I said right off. Thank you.

(HE HANGS UP)

What a mess. That priest from Rome, now he's being released.

OFFICER

Just like that? Isn't that pretty risky?

(FRITSCHÉ MAKES A TELEPHONE CALL)

This is Sturmbannführer Fritsche. Bring the bundle for 16670 to the guardroom Inside Platform One-a cassock. You know, the thing a priest wears. 16670 was delivered last week. I made a special point that piece was to be put aside. Kindly look around. Good. At once.

(SIREN)

(GERSTEIN ENTERS)

GERSTEIN

Major - the Commandant has sent me to see you. I have orders to fetch a certain Father Fontana from here.

FRITSCHÉ

Heil Hitler, Gerstein... I know all about it.

GERSTEIN

Heil Hitler.

FRITSCHÉ

The black crow will be along soon. Our Doctor amused himself putting the priest to work in the crematorium - just for a joke! It's his fault that the man is still here. I wanted to send him straight back home. See that he signs a statement that he's seen nothing in the camp but flower beds.

GERSTEIN

He'll sign anything to get out of here.

FRITSCHÉ

Nobody's ever been released before.

GERSTEIN

I've wondered about that myself. Oh well, I suppose they know what they are doing.

FRITSCHÉ

Terribly reckless of the Doctor to let that black crow come in here at all. He really goes too far, I think.

(A KAPO ENTERS WITH THE BUNDLE)

KAPO

Yes sir.

FRITSCHÉ

The cassock! Just drop it by the door.

(TO GERSTEIN)

Well then, Gerstein, the black crow... will be along in due course. After all, we're a good two kilometers from the crematorium.

GERSTEIN

And still the smell of flesh is so sharp? What do the local people say?

FRITSCHÉ

They know what's up, of course. What you smell now doesn't come from the furnaces. That's from the open burning pits. We can no longer manage with furnaces alone. I must go now; I really don't want to have *anything* to do with this affair. It can only lead to trouble.

(CARLOTTA ENTERS WITH PAIL)

Please tell them in Berlin that I had nothing to do with it. Heil.

GERSTEIN

Thanks, Heil Hitler Major, many thanks.

(GERSTEIN OFFERS BREAD TO CARLOTTA)

Where have you come from?

From Rome. CARLOTTA

Here, eat this. GERSTEIN

No, thank you. CARLOTTA

Have you been here long? GERSTEIN

For a week. CARLOTTA

From Rome? Then you know the priest, Father Fontana? GERSTEIN

We all know him. CARLOTTA

Go on, take the bread. GERSTEIN

Why do you give me bread? CARLOTTA

Why? You're hungry, aren't you? Would you like me to send a letter out for you? GERSTEIN

No, thank you. CARLOTTA

You don't trust me. But give a message to the Father. He's being released to go back to Rome. GERSTEIN

Released? He, too. But of course, he doesn't really belong - to us. CARLOTTA

Write in here so that no one will see. The Father will take the letter to Rome. GERSTEIN

I have no one to write to! My fiancé died in Africa, fighting for Germany, at the capture of Tobruk. To prove your gratitude, you Germans have deported me, my parents, my sister and CARLOTTA

her children. Don't offer me bread. Tell me, are they... dead? Tell me that. We arrived on October 22nd. We were separated on the platform. Only a hundred or so entered the camp here. The others were taken away in trucks. Where? Trucks with Red Cross markings. You must know where they were taken!

GERSTEIN

I'm not one of the camp guards, really not. I don't know. I never go inside. Your fiancé wasn't Jewish. Then write to his parents. Ask them to try, through the Vatican...

CARLOTTA

No. It's because of my in-laws that I became a Catholic.

GERSTEIN

You regret that - why?

CARLOTTA

Catholics, Catholic Fascists were the ones who handed me over to the Germans, who took away my last picture of Marcello and my engagement ring. Perhaps that was my punishment for deserting my own people and going over to the Catholic Church.

GERSTEIN

You must not say that! Catholics are being persecuted too. Many priests in Poland and in Germany have been murdered. And Father Riccardo, coming here voluntarily...

CARLOTTA

There are just a few like him. Exceptions.

GERSTEIN

Of course. And yet - the majority of Italians, the great majority, are against this.

CARLOTTA

Against this, like you. I suppose. But do nothing, like you Christians! You're all Christians. Marcello - he was a Christian. He respected my religion, and let me keep it. But his parents were after me to become a Catholic. As a Catholic I felt safe in Rome. That's the only reason I did not hide. Can't you please find out if my family is still alive?

GERSTEIN

Really, I have no way to. At least write down your name for Father Riccardo.

CARLOTTA

I will write a letter after all. Thank you. And forgive me.

(JACOBSON APPROACHES)

GUARD

Here's your priest, Lt. Gerstein.

GERSTEIN

Thank you, Captain. Heil Hitler. Good God, Jacobson!

JACOBSON

Gerstein!

GERSTEIN

I thought you were in England. Where were you caught?

JACOBSON

At the Brenner.

GERSTEIN

Why, you had Riccardo's passport.

JACOBSON

They looked too carefully at the passport photo. But I stuck to the story. I kept insisting I was the priest. Becoming Father Fontana has kept me alive for a whole year. That and my belief that I would someday get out. And now you've come for me!

GERSTEIN

Not you, Jacobson! Don't you see: Riccardo Fontana's in the camp. I've come on his account.

JACOBSON

But he's no Jew. How could he...

GERSTEIN

They deported the Jews from Rome, and he went with them, of his own volition. He's been in Auschwitz for a week. Now they're releasing him.

JACOBSON

Released - from Auschwitz? Incredible! But... a priest is worth an ultimatum.

GERSTEIN

Ultimatum? From Rome? Believe me, this order for Riccardo's release is only something I've invented.

JACOBSON

Then invent another - to get me or her out of here.

GERSTEIN

You know I can't, Jacobson. I'm only a lieutenant, nothing more. At this moment I stand closer to the brink of death than you, Jacobson!

JACOBSON

God knows, Gerstein, I don't mean to accuse you; it's only thanks to you that I'm alive... It's only that - I was numbed enough to forget. Seeing you has made me realize there's still a world outside the camp. Gerstein, you can do something for me, after all.

GERSTEIN

If there's anything...

JACOBSON

Just say I claimed to be the priest and then attacked you when - the real priest came. Shoot me.

GERSTEIN

Jacobson!

JACOBSON

Shoot me, Gerstein. Say I attacked you - they'll believe that. I no longer have the courage to run into the fence. Please Gerstein, shoot me.

GERSTEIN

You've survived for a whole year - surely you'll make it to the end. Jacobson - just one more year - at most one year. Then the Russians will be here to free you.

JACOBSON

A year!

GERSTEIN

They've already retaken the Ukraine.

JACOBSON

Gerstein, why won't you do it? Why not? Then I'd better leave so that I don't put you and Father Fontana in greater danger.

GERSTEIN

Not this way, Jacobson, don't leave this way.

(RICCARDO ENTERS)

RICCARDO

Gerstein! You should not have tried to find me. Jacobson - you!

JACOBSON

How could you come to Auschwitz, Father? I'm living under your name you know.

RICCARDO

Jacobson - forgive me, I thought you were safe in England.

JACOBSON

To come here voluntarily, unarmed -Whom did you think you could help?

GERSTEIN

Riccardo, you are being released!

RICCARDO

Released?

GERSTEIN

The Nuncio sent me to take you back.

RICCARDO

I've already told myself a hundred times that it was sheer presumption of me to come. For the past week I have been burning the dead ten hours a day. And with every human body that I burn a portion of my faith burns also. God burns. If I knew that He looks on -I would have to - hate him.

GERSTEIN

None of us understands Him any longer, but now he wants to save you, Riccardo.

RICCARDO

I came here with a mission. Whether its meaningful, I'm no longer sure. I do not know. But, if it's not, my life, too, is no longer meaningful. Let me be.

JACOBSON

Father if you do not go along, you will endanger Gerstein. He invented the order for your release.

RICCARDO

Why this insanity, to come for me here?

GERSTEIN

Because I have you on my conscience. I turned you first onto this path.

RICCARDO

What would I have on my conscience, if I were not here? And shall I shrink from it now that I am? God knows it's not your fault that I am here. Please understand, I have no right to go. Please Gerstein, take Jacobson with you.

JACOBSON

Me?

GERSTEIN

And suppose he is killed?

JACOBSON

Father, I can't accept that from you.

RICCARDO

Jacobson, I'm not staying in your place. It's not a question of me or of you. I am here to represent the Church. I could not go even if I wanted to. You will owe me nothing, Jacobson. If you don't go, then no one will at all. Put on my cassock one more time – if Gerstein agrees...

GERSTEIN

I say nothing. Decide it for yourselves.

RICCARDO

You can do all the things that I cannot. You can use a gun, can sabotage. It's not a case of simply saving your life. Gerstein is not going to set you free so that you can hide out till the end of the war.

GERSTEIN

Make up your mind: Either back to your work - or else we go straight to the gate, to the Commandant - a course that may lead us straight to the Doctor's arms. You know what that would mean.

JACOBSON

But what would happen to you?

GERSTEIN

I'll talk myself out of it. Perhaps. Probably. Decide for yourself alone.

JACOBSON

Then I will try it.

GERSTEIN

Good. Change your clothes.

(CARLOTTA ENTERS)

RICCARDO

Is my rosary there? Let me have that. Then I'll go.

CARLOTTA

Father you're going free!

RICCARDO

Carlotta! Your father is still living. I saw him last night at roll call...

GERSTEIN

Change your clothes, man, change your clothes!

CARLOTTA

How did he look? and my mother, my sister, the children...

RICCARDO

No, Carlotta, I don't see the women. Your father is holding out bravely.

GERSTEIN

I'll take your letter with me - is it ready?

CARLOTTA

Thank you, I... could not write the letter. Take these, please - so that they aren't found on me.

GERSTEIN

The Father is staying with you.

(RICCARDO OFFERS CARLOTTA THE ROSARY)

CARLOTTA

You're staying? No, Father, no - keep it for yourself.

GERSTEIN

If we run into the Doctor, Riccardo, you'll see us both again - there - tomorrow.

JACOBSON

Thank you. Hold out. We'll come. We will avenge you.

RICCARDO

Then you'd better hurry... Goodbye Gerstein. Don't let my father know where I am. Tell him my life has been fulfilled.

(RICCARDO EXITS)

GERSTEIN

Don't let yourself fall sick. Keep fit for work. Above all keep fit for work. They cannot finish off all of you. Now, talk as little as possible. You've been here a week, is that clear, one week. Remember, you were working at the crematorium. Let's try it.

JACOBSON

He was here a week? I have an altogether different number...

(THE DOCTOR AND THE GUARD ENTER)

GERSTEIN

No one will ask your number. Ready! Over there - the Doctor! Hurry.

JACOBSON

He's coming here.

GERSTEIN

Pull yourself together. Walk ahead of me, Father.

(CARLOTTA EXITS)

DOCTOR

What's the hurry? How are things, Gerstein?

GERSTEIN

Heil Hitler, Major - I'm here to pick up Inmate Fontana, the priest. Incidentally, Doctor, you've got a girl here... She comes from Rome. Where is she? Oh, she's gone for more water. Her fiancé was killed fighting for Germany.

DOCTOR

Then he won't have to cry over her.

GERSTEIN

Keep the girl on ice, Doctor.

DOCTOR

I don't mind, if she's attractive, I'll take her into my private lab. But the reason I left my bed, Gerstein, was to say goodbye to our priest. Since when do Hebrews belong to the One True Church?

GERSTEIN

Hebrews? What do you mean by that? I have orders from Eichmann...

DOCTOR

Really!

GERSTEIN

To take this Jesuit, a diplomat from the Holy See who was sent here by mistake...

DOCTOR

By mistake -

GERSTEIN

...to the Nuncio in Berlin. Well, here he is.

DOCTOR

Who? The Nuncio? Is he the Nuncio? Your Excellency - is it true that God is sick? You've stuck your hand right in the shit this time, Gerstein, old fox - I've seen through you ever since our drive to Tubingen. But Christians as ingenious as you are a delight to me.

GERSTEIN

Major, I will not stand for that. I demand an explanation.

DOCTOR

So, you demand! You demand that I make a fool of myself. I'll make you pay for thinking me a fool, Gerstein.

GERSTEIN

I don't understand you at all.

DOCTOR

You understand perfectly well; I know the priest. I know the real priest, the real one. When he arrived here a week ago, he wanted to convert me, then and there.

GERSTEIN

How am I supposed to know if he is not the man they're looking for?

DOCTOR

How? How are you supposed to know? You'll get your chance to explain how...

(CARLOTTA RETURNS WITH A PAIL AND BEGINS WORKING)

(RICCARDO ENTERS WITH SALZER)

Well, well, hello, my dear Father. Have you now reconciled reality with the ideal there at the furnaces?

RICCARDO

What have I been brought here for?

JACOBSON

Wish to report that I tricked the Lieutenant. I pretended to be the priest. Since he didn't answer, I came in his place. He wasn't here... didn't come, so...

DOCTOR

One more word and you'll go into the furnace alive. About face - about face, I say! Kneel - on your knees. And now your face in the filth.

(JACOBSON LIES ON THE GROUND, FACE DOWN)

I suppose he did not want to go? Or didn't you want to take him?

GERSTEIN

This is the first time I have ever seen him. How should I know which is the real priest? It isn't my affair to check on that.

DOCTOR

Oh well, let's see what the bit of skirt here has to say. Come over here, you! Come here!

RICCARDO

Carlotta - you Remember me? We were deported together...

CARLOTTA

Father, it's good to see you're still alive.

DOCTOR

You've been working here since seven o'clock? Were you on time today?

CARLOTTA

Yes, right on time.

DOCTOR

Your fiancé was killed?

CARLOTTA

Yes, at Tobruk.

DOCTOR

I see - what is - what was his name?

CARLOTTA

Marcello.

DOCTOR

So, you were here on time! But still you came later than the priest?

CARLOTTA

I - don't know - I was...

RICCARDO

He's asking whether the priest was here when you came, Carlotta.

DOCTOR

Father, don't stoop so low! Well, then, when did your soulmate get here?

CARLOTTA

The Father - I don't know - I couldn't...

DOCTOR

Well - do you know or don't you?

CARLOTTA

I didn't look up, I was just - I was working.

DOCTOR

Shall I send... Look at the fires over there. And there - the fence - do you want me to chase you over there or over there? Shall I send you where I sent your family?

CARLOTTA

Dead - all dead - dead - all dead - dead...

DOCTOR

Was he here first - or was it this one?

CARLOTTA

I don't know, I don't know, I don't know. No - no - let me alone - no - don't...

DOCTOR

Gone off her rocker.

CARLOTTA

Marcello! Marcello! I was afraid you would never come home. It's been so long, Marcello - you've been gone so long.

DOCTOR

Come along - come now - not here.

CARLOTTA

Marcello - Marcello!

(THE DOCTOR SHOOTS HER IN THE BACK OF THE NECK. RICCARDO PICKS UP GERSTEIN'S PISTOL AND AIMS AT THE DOCTOR)

RICCARDO

Destroy him!

(HE IS GUNNED DOWN BY A SUBMACHINE GUN OF AN SS MAN)

DOCTOR

Aimed at me? I guess he really meant it. Thank you, sergeant. Too bad, I was looking forward to debating with you for a few weeks more... Any nearer to God now?

RICCARDO

In hora mortis meae voca me.

DOCTOR

Amen. Did you really hear him calling - in the crematorium?

(KICKS JACOBSON)

Get up - on your way, to the campfire

(POINTS TO RICCARDO)

and take that with you - go on, take it along.

(JACOBSON TRIES TO LIFT RICCARDO)

GERSTEIN

He isn't dead. You are a doctor - help him. He's still alive!

DOCTOR

The fire is a good doctor. It will burn out the Jew and the Christian in him.

(BECKONS TO THE GUARD)

CURTAIN

APPENDIX B

THE DEPUTY

BY JEPH SCANLON

AN ARTICLE FOR INFOZINE
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By Jeph Scanlon

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I've been an audience member many times at a variety of shows and events. Most of us have been. There are movies, live theatre events including drama, dance, musicals, art shows, concerts, museum exhibits, and even sporting events. Each of these has its own specific conflict, competitive perspective, or some other aspect of drama that intrigues us and captures our attention as audience members. However, if one were invited to a rehearsal of a show or to a practice of a sporting event, most of us would decline on the presumed premise of too much boredom being involved. Watching an actor repeatedly going over the same lines again and again, trying different blocking each time or vice versa until she/he (and/or the director) feels comfortable with the product, would appeal to most of us as an exciting event about as much as watching ten or twelve guys line up on a basketball court and take turns doing lay ups.

I would like to share with you a very different experience, however. Since the end of August, I have had the opportunity and privilege to observe the rehearsal process of *The Deputy* by the Missouri Repertory Theatre (MRT), a journey that has taken me from typical audience member to that of a voyeur. I do not use this term lightly; I am very aware of the intimacy of the process that has occurred before me. I'm not referring to the care and concern that the actors and director had for each other (although that was certainly present) but rather the care and concern that they had for their own and each other's characters while discussing and developing them. As I'm about to embark on a career in theatre, and being a student of both acting and writing, I have long been fascinated with watching people. People doing whatever it is that they do: shopping, working, playing, crying, or simply living. But never have I watched people with such an interest and depth as I have throughout this particular experience.

The Deputy is a play that presents the people and events of the Holocaust during World War II. *The Deputy* was written by Rolf Hochhuth, a German journalist, in 1963 and translated into English by Richard and Clara Winston in 1964. It's a story most of us are little or not at all familiar with, telling a story about the highest-ranking member and the spiritual and political leader of the oldest existing Christian Church in the world. The Pope.

The playwright had set out to show how Pope Pius XII could not keep his politics (as the leader and protector of a sovereign city state, The Vatican) separate from his moral and spiritual obligations to all Catholics, Christians, and the whole of mankind. As a politician, Pius XII made decisions that were clearly effective and done to protect the sovereignty of The Vatican as an independent state. As the moral influence and spiritual leader of millions of people, he fell far short of setting anything that even vaguely resembled a good example.

George Keathley, artistic director of MRT and director of *The Deputy*, had set some large tasks before himself with the desire and plan to present this play. The most obvious one was to take a play of such great length (6 to 8 hours running time in the original translation) and reduce it to a reasonable length while still keeping all scenes, characters, and the plot of the story well intact. This was done with the co-operation and participation of the entire cast, and one of the things that made MRT's production of *The Deputy* clearly the work of a close-knit professional ensemble. Each rehearsal started with the reading and rereading of a particular scene. The attention given to every line of dialogue (every word even) was of great importance to each actor. Much to their credit, in an attempt to get everything that they possibly could from this play some actors would pour over a word as if the entire play was pivotal on that word. If you were one of the fortunate people to have seen the show during its three-week run, you would understand that it was. Every single word.

My perception of the director's vision included a desire to present a story that many of us can't remember and many more of us are too willing to forget. There was a deep commitment by director and actors alike to present the characters of *The Deputy* as real people and to establish their relationships with other characters. These included the central characters Riccardo Fontana, a Jesuit priest, and Kurt Gerstein, a Christian SS Lieutenant and their superiors, Pope Pius XII, Colonel Eichmann, and the SS Doctor, based on the real-life Dr. Mengele. The temptation to create great caricatures may have existed (especially for those playing Nazis and in this play; The Pope as well) had there not been such a conscious effort to work toward making them real people in unusual circumstances and surroundings. Again, the final product showed this much more vividly than I could possibly attempt to tell here.

Through this process I have been able to observe the director and actors contributing to the whole of this work in a way that I have never experienced before as an actor, assistant to directors, or even as the author of a work. This particular group of people came together for a few weeks in the autumn of 1994 to give of themselves to a single cause. That cause has been to pass on the story of a few successes and some very catastrophic failures of mankind. The story is of a time that many survivors cannot forget and it is of a time that many more of us cannot remember, yet we must. To ever again allow ourselves; so many to remain so silent for so long is to write the first chapter of the destruction of our race. The human race. We must not forget. For myself, I wish to gratefully thank a group of theatre professionals who have left a vision engraved on my soul that I will never forget.

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VITA

Jeph BurroughsScanlon was born in LaCrosse, Wisconsin, in the 1960s to teenaged parents. He was educated, generally, in public schools of Houston County, Minnesota; graduating from LaCrescent Jr-Sr High School. He attended the University of Wisconsin-LaCrosse, graduating with a Bachelor of Arts degree in Theatre Arts and a minor in English in 1992. As part of his undergraduate studies BurroughsScanlon completed an acting internship at the Guthrie Theatre during the summer of 1990 working with directors Garland Wright & Charles Newell in Shakespeare's *The Histories*.

In 1992 he moved to Kansas City and attended the University of Missouri-Kansas City to pursue a Master of Arts degree in Theatre. BurroughsScanlon has worked as an actor, writer and filmmaker during his time in Kansas City. From 1997 to 2002 he served as a board member for Kansas City's Independent Filmmakers Coalition (IFC-KC), serving as Vice-President and as President (twice). He was the programmer of the Kansas City Filmmakers Jubilee's Indy Film Showcase, a monthly feature film series, from 2002 to 2005 before becoming the lead programmer for the Jubilee's annual film festival (*The Jubilee* 2005-2008 & *KC FilmFest* 2009-2012). He was the Vice-President of the Board of Directors of the Kansas City Filmmakers Jubilee from 2007 to 2011 at which time he became the Executive Director of the Jubilee, serving in that position until leaving the organization in 2013. BurroughsScanlon was a member of Toronto International Film Festival's selection committee for Canada's Top Ten Shorts 2007. He served as a panelist as part of SXSW Film Mentor Sessions-Programming in 2011 and 2012. He was a board member of the Kansas

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