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PRIVATE RELIGION AS RESISTANCE IN ANNA SEGHERS' *DER PROZESS DER JEANNE D'ARC ZU ROUEN 1431* (1937) AND BERTOLT BRECHT'S 1952 STAGE ADAPTATION

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ABSTRACT

This article will examine the representation of religion in Anna Seghers' radio play *Der Prozess der Jeanne d'Arc zu Rouen 1431* (1937) and Bertolt Brecht's subsequent adaptation of this text for the stage (1952). While religiosity is central to the identity of the medieval heroine, Seghers chooses to communicate this feature to modern audiences in a 'lacunary' way that sees Jeanne refusing to elaborate on the details of her belief throughout the play. The protagonist's faith creates a distance from contemporary listeners and spectators as well as from characters within the text, but when absolute commitment to her private belief results in Jeanne's execution, this moves the people at large to rebel against their oppressors. Thus Seghers' Jeanne emerges as a figure of political resistance who draws on her private faith to bring about social change. In Brecht, the voices that move Jeanne to withstand oppressive forces are revealed to be those of the people rather than an expression of the divine. For Seghers and Brecht, the twentieth-century relevance of Jeanne's characteristic religiosity, depicted differently by each author, lies in the political transformation which it can inspire both within the text and outside it.

Dieser Artikel untersucht die Darstellung von Religion in Anna Seghers' Hörspiel *Der Prozess der Jeanne d'Arc zu Rouen 1431* (1937) sowie Bertolt Brechts Bühnenbearbeitung dieses Textes von 1952. Religiosität ist ein zentraler Bestandteil der Identität der mittelalterlichen Heldin; Seghers vermittelt dieses Charakteristikum an ein modernes Publikum auf eine Art und Weise, die von Leerstellen gekennzeichnet ist, da Jeanne ihren Vernehmern konkrete Details ihres Glaubens vorenthält. Der Glaube der Protagonistin schafft Distanz sowohl in Bezug auf zeitgenössische Hörer und Zuschauer als auch gegenüber den Figuren im Text. Als Jeannes bedingungsloses Festhalten an ihrem persönlichen Glauben jedoch in ihrer Hinrichtung resultiert, inspiriert dies das Volk zur Rebellion gegen die Unterdrücker. So konstruiert Seghers Jeanne als Figur des politischen Widerstandes, deren privater Glaube zu sozialer Veränderung führt. Brecht hingegen stellt die Stimmen, welche Jeanne zum Widerstand gegen die Machthabenden bewegen, als Stimmen des Volkes anstatt Ausdruck göttlicher Macht dar. Für Seghers und Brecht besteht die Relevanz der Jeanne eigenen Religiosität im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert darin, dass letztere sowohl im Text als auch darüber hinaus politische Transformation bewirken kann.

This article examines the representation of religion in Anna Seghers' radio play *Der Prozess der Jeanne d'Arc zu Rouen 1431* (1937) and Bertolt Brecht's adaptation of the play for the stage (1952). Set in the fifteenth

century, Seghers' text offers a peculiar example of what Daniel Weidner has called the 'cultural afterlife of religion'[1] that characterises German writing in the first half of the twentieth-century despite the ongoing process of secularisation since the Middle Ages.[2] The religiosity central to the identity of the medieval heroine, who was tried as a heretic and burnt at the stake when she refused to give up her personal belief, presents two issues: the representation of faith *per se*, that is, intradiegetically within the textual framework of the medieval setting, and the presentation of faith to a modern audience. Within the text, Seghers presents Jeanne as refusing to elaborate on the details of her belief, which creates distance both between Jeanne and the learned interrogators seeking to stamp out her challenge to conventional religion, and between her and the common people who are sceptical in the face of her extreme conviction. It is Jeanne's absolute commitment to her private belief, however, resulting in her execution, that moves the French people to rebel against their English oppressors. Thus, Seghers' Jeanne emerges as a figure of political resistance who draws on her private faith to bring about social change. To modern audiences, Seghers' communication of Jeanne's experience is likewise characterised by this 'lacunary' representation of her faith, to borrow a phrase from Charles Taylor, which, while it deprives audiences of the opportunity to witness the expansion of self so central to many modernist writers' engagement with religion, functions effectively as a strategy to preserve the possibility of faith as an option in an age when the belief in God is only one of many choices.[3] Brecht's later stage version is quite different in this respect: even the possibility of transcendence is denied when Brecht unequivocally presents the voices that move Jeanne as those of the people rather than as an expression of the divine, thus negating the veracity of her religious experience. For both Seghers and Brecht, however, the contemporary relevance of Jeanne's religiosity lies in the political transformation which her experience and her actions can inspire, as represented within the narrative. Such political significance had long been part of the tradition of depictions of Jeanne d'Arc; Seghers' and Brecht's focus on the trial, which was primarily concerned with matters of faith, constitutes a relatively new approach. Its fifteenth-century setting notwithstanding, the story of this famous religious figure echoes key themes in twentieth-century German-language literature dealing with religion,

[1] Daniel Weidner, 'Religion', in *Franz Kafka in Context*, ed. Carolin Duttlinger, Cambridge 2018, pp. 200–7 (p. 206).

[2] See, for example, Ian Cooper and John Walker, 'Introduction', in *Literature and Religion in the German-Speaking World: from 1200 to the Present Day*, ed. Ian Cooper and John Walker, Cambridge 2019, pp. 1–14 (p. 3).

[3] See Carolin Duttlinger, 'Religion in German Modernism 1900–1945', in *Literature and Religion in the German-Speaking World*, ed. Cooper and Walker (note 2), pp. 204–43 (p. 215); and Charles Taylor, *A Secular Age*, Cambridge, MA 2007, pp. 3–6.

which include challenging religious doctrine, showcasing social concerns and creating community.[4]

Anna Seghers hailed from an Orthodox Jewish family but grew up in a cultural environment steeped in Catholicism. Born Netty Reiling in Mainz in 1900, she officially left the Jewish community in 1932, believing 'that Communism was to continue and complete the social mission of Judaism and Christianity'.[5] As a writer, however, Seghers remained interested in Christianity as well as Judaism throughout her career.[6] Christian motifs and allusions play an important role in much of her work, for example, in the anti-fascist novel *Das siebte Kreuz*; in Seghers' view, the 'christliche Lehre mit ihrer Substanz von innerer Freiheit'[7] possessed general validity. Having joined the Communist party in 1928, Seghers left Germany for Paris in 1933; she subsequently escaped to Mexico and did not return to Germany until 1947. It was during her time in Paris, most likely between 1933 and 1936, that she wrote the play on the 1431 trial of Jeanne d'Arc for the relatively new mass medium of radio. *Der Prozess der Jeanne d'Arc zu Rouen 1431* was first broadcast by Flemish Radio in 1937; in July of the same year, it was published in the German edition of the Moscow-based journal *Internatsionalnaya Literatura* (*International Literature*).

Seghers based her radio play on fifteenth-century trial transcripts which were available in Latin as well as in a re-translated French version.[8] In addition, she referred to Anatole France's not entirely historical biography *La Vie de Jeanne d'Arc* (1908),[9] and was significantly influenced by Carl Theodor Dreyer's important silent film, *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc* (1928). Carefully following the existing records, Seghers condensed several hundred transcript pages into fifty-five minutes, at the same time inserting additional dialogue into Jeanne's exchanges with the interrogators and

[4] Duttlinger, 'Religion' (note 3), p. 207.

[5] Christiane Zehl Romero, https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/seghers-anna (accessed 17 May 2022).

[6] 'Die religiösen Vorstellungen, die wir im Werk von Anna Seghers entdecken […] entstammen […] explizit dem christlich-jüdischen Glauben', see Simone Bischoff, *Gottes Reich hat begonnen. Der Einfluss chiliastischer Hoffnung auf die DDR-Romane von Anna Seghers*, Frankfurt a. M. 2009, p. 53. See also Margrid Bircken, 'Das Selbst im Text', *Argonautenschiff*, 14 (2005), 226–40 (233): 'Anna Seghers […] [beerbt] jene Seite des Christentums […], die auf eine produktive Heilserwartung setzt'. Wiebke von Bernstorff identifies 'messianische[…] Denkmuster' in Seghers' narrative work, see Wiebke von Bernstorff, 'Im Zeichen des Messianismus: jüdische Erzähltraditionen bei Walter Benjamin und Anna Seghers', in *Literatur und Religion*, ed. Toni Tholen, Burkhard Moenninghoff and Wiebke von Bernstorff, Hildesheim 2012, pp. 47–74 (p. 48, p. 67). See also Susan E. Cernyak, 'Between Judaism and Communism', in *Exile: The Writer's Experience*, ed. John M. Spalek and Robert F. Bell, Chapel Hill 1982, pp. 278–85.

[7] Anna Seghers, *Aufsätze, Ansprachen, Essays 1927–1953*, Berlin and Weimar 1984, pp. 246–7.

[8] See Ruth Schirmer-Imhoff, *Der Prozeß Jeanne d'Arc. Akten und Protokolle. 1431/1456*, Munich 1987 (1st edn 1961), p. 11.

[9] See Anthony Waine, 'Persecution and Faith in Anna Seghers's Radio Play *Der Prozeß der Jeanne d'Arc zu Rouen 1431*', *German Monitor*, 43: *Anna Seghers in Perspective*, ed. Ian Wallace, Amsterdam 1998, 75–91 (76).

adding the voices of commoners who witness Jeanne's entry into Rouen as well as her execution.[10]

The historical Jeanne was born into a peasant family at Domrémy in North-East France in *c.* 1412. She reported receiving visions of Archangel Michael and Saints Margaret and Catherine instructing her to support Charles VII, the dauphin of France, and to aid him in liberating France from English domination during the Hundred Years' War.[11] Charles VII sent her to Orleans as part of a relief mission; following military success and his coronation, Jeanne was captured by Burgundian soldiers, handed over to the English for a large sum of money and tried at Rouen, the seat of the English occupation government. She was found guilty of heresy because of her insistence on the veracity of her visions, regarded as a way of communing with God while bypassing church authorities, and also on account of her cross-dressing.[12] Jeanne was burnt at the stake at the age of nineteen, before being rehabilitated and declared a martyr by Pope Callixtus III twenty-five years later; 1909 saw her beatification, and her canonisation took place in 1920. Ever since Christine de Pisan's first literary testimony, *Le Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc*, composed during Jeanne's lifetime, she has been the subject of diverse representations in many languages and literatures. A medieval figure whose story is eminently suited to being reworked for modern audiences, Jeanne's adaptability is related not least to the nascent concept of the nation state inscribed in her person, which frequently supersedes her religious significance and makes her persona open to political appropriation. Friedrich Schiller's *Die Jungfrau von Orléans* (1801) marked her first notable appearance in German-language culture, popularising Jeanne as a symbol of a people's armed fight against its foreign oppressors, before her canonisation in 1920 encouraged new literary and filmic incarnations in the twentieth century.

The historical narrative of a figure who mobilised her people to drive an occupying force out of their own country resonates with political concerns at the time of Seghers' writing in an obvious way. Thus *Der Prozess* can be seen to reflect Seghers' support for armed resistance to fascist dictatorship in Spain,[13] mirroring her hope for the same kind of resistance in National Socialist Germany. As mentioned above, however, Seghers' focus is not on the fight, but on the trial, which reflects a different contemporary event, namely the infamous Stalinist show trials directed against 'Trotskyists' that took place in Moscow as part of the 'Great Purge' from 1936. Although Seghers, as a card-carrying Communist, did not speak out openly against

[10] Anatole France, *La Vie de Jeanne d'Arc*, Paris 1908; see also Anatole France, *The Life of Joan of Arc*, tr. Winifred Stephens, London 1909.

[11] See, for instance, Régine Pernoud, *Joan of Arc: Her Story*, London 2000.

[12] As stated in the trial transcripts, see *Les Procès de Jeanne d'Arc*, ed. Georges Duby and Andrée Duby, Paris 1973.

[13] Jan Knopf, *Brecht-Handbuch: Theater*, Stuttgart 1980, p. 316.

the trials, they are a clear point of reference for her text, as are the illegitimate trials of anti-fascist socialists in National Socialist Germany.[14]

But while Jeanne's resistance to authoritarian regimes makes her an apt figure for expressing Seghers' anti-fascist activism, Jeanne's Christianity remains a crucial part of her persona in Seghers' text. Her political mission is transmitted to her by the 'Stimmen'[15] which constitute her religious experience, and these inner voices are in conflict with the established church authorities. Johanna, as she is referred to by Seghers,[16] is condemned because of her direct relationship with God, which dispenses with the mediation of established powers, in other words, with the Church as represented by the pope, cardinals, bishops and priests. The interrogation aims at forcing her to renounce her 'aberrant' beliefs; unless she reveals the precise nature of the voices, she will be excommunicated. Johanna's vision, her personal access to the divine, poses a challenge to the Catholic Church which was not prepared to tolerate heterodoxy. Seghers is interested in religion as a category of interiority, evidence of something 'unangreifbar […] und unverletzbar' 'im Innersten' of a person which external powers cannot touch, as articulated later in *Das siebte Kreuz*.[17] From the beginning, Seghers' emphasis is on Johanna's captivity and physical restraint in contrast with her ability to assert her mental and spiritual freedom, the latter culminating eventually in her facing death in a bid to determine her own fate, which may be seen as a feature of modernity.[18] Thus, while Seghers deploys religious motifs such as Johanna's voices and their conflict with religious authority to represent political resistance, she deliberately retains and emphasises the religious experience as a key feature of her text.

Seghers' interest in the religious dimension is underscored by the extent to which her play was inspired by Dreyer's silent film *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc* (1928). Looking back in 1968 at the origins of *Der Prozess*, Seghers stated: 'Ich war damals sehr beeindruckt von dem Stummfilm, den Dreyer über den Prozeß der Jeanne d'Arc gemacht hat, mit der Falconetti. Dieser

[14] According to Waine, 'Persecution' (note 9), p. 82, Seghers travelled to Austria in 1934 to observe trials of anti-fascist socialists. Stefan Bodo Würfel suggests that Seghers wanted to demonstrate a 'Parallelaktion zur nationalsozialistischen Machtpolitik', see Stefan Bodo Würfel, *Frühe sozialistische Hörspiele*, Frankfurt a. M. 1982, p. 32.

[15] Anna Seghers, *Der Prozess der Jeanne d'Arc zu Rouen 1431*, Leipzig 1985 (1st edn 1965), p. 11. Further references appear in the text (subsequently marked as S).

[16] Subsequently, I refer to Seghers' and Brecht's literary character as 'Johanna' (as opposed to the historical figure, who is referred to as 'Jeanne', as is the protagonist of Dreyer's film).

[17] Anna Seghers, *Das siebte Kreuz*, Berlin 1953, p. 386. Seghers started work on *Das siebte Kreuz* in 1938; the first chapter was published in 1939. Helen Fehervary identifies the aspect of interiority in Seghers' representation of Jeanne: 'Im Film wie im Hörspiel wird der Prozess der Jeanne d'Arc zugleich als politischer und seelischer Prozeß dargestellt' (Helen Fehervary, 'Die Seelenlandschaft der Netty Reiling, die Stimmen der Jeanne d'Arc, und der Chiliasmus des Kommunarden László Radványi', *Argonautenschiff*, 5 (1996), 118–36 (124)).

[18] See Waine, 'Persecution' (note 9), p. 84.

Film war sicher einer der besten Filme der damaligen Zeit'.[19] 1965 had seen the publication of her 'Hörspiel' by the publishing house Reclam Leipzig in an edition that, collated in consultation with the author herself, included a large number of still images from Dreyer's film.[20] Dreyer derived the majority of his intertitles from the trial transcript. He explained that he found his material 'in the questioning [Jeanne] went through during her trial'.[21] The director himself called the film 'a hymn to the triumph of the soul over life',[22] as well as an example of 'realised mysticism',[23] and in it, Jeanne's genuine, personal faith is pitted against institutionalised Christianity. As in Seghers' text, details of the historical situation – the Hundred Years' War – are hardly mentioned. Far removed from the image of the shining warrior heroine, Dreyer presents Jeanne (Renée Falconetti) in extreme suffering, privileging lingering shots of her pained expressions over explanations of her faith. Rather than aid spectators in comprehending her, the film suggests the impossibility of understanding anyone 'at the last extremities of faith and suffering',[24] while also awakening its audience to the *homo religiosus*.[25] Yet by depicting Jeanne's ultimately unwavering commitment in the face of death, Dreyer 'turns the audience into witnesses or congregants at an extraordinary event',[26] and it can be argued that Seghers is seeking to do just that with her listeners.

Seghers' text starts with a folk scene, in which members of the 'Volk' discuss the appearance of Johanna, 'das Mädel' (S, p. 7), echoing the traditional attribute of the 'pucelle', who is being led to trial. Spectators comment on how 'klein und dünn' (S, p. 10) she is, a 'Zwirnsfädchen' (*ibid.*) struggling with the heavy chains that bind her, and a speaker is astonished that the English ran away from this little thread of a girl (*ibid.*). This introduction sets up Johanna as a diminutive other who appears to possess a strength that is at odds with her physical appearance. This is followed immediately by mention of the voices and apparitions *allegedly* experienced by her ('Sie *soll* Stimmen und Erscheinungen haben', *ibid.*; my

[19] Seghers in a letter written on 1 February 1968, just as the defendants in the Slánský trial had been rehabilitated, quoted after Helen Fehervary, 'Brecht, Seghers, and The Trial of Jeanne d'Arc – With a Previously Unpublished Letter of 1952 from Seghers to Brecht', *The Brecht Yearbook 21: Intersections* (1996), 20–47 (30–1).

[20] See Helen Fehervary, *Anna Seghers. The Mythic Dimension*, Ann Arbor 2001, p. 202.

[21] Dreyer quoted after Jean D. Drum and Dale Drum, *My Only Great Passion: The Life and Films of Carl Th. Dreyer*, Lanham 2000, p. 126.

[22] Carl Theodor Dreyer, https://www.criterion.com/current/posts/69-realized-mysticism-in-the-passion-of-joan-of-arc (accessed 5 June 2022).

[23] Thomas Beltzer, 'Realised Mysticism: *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc*', *Senses of Cinema* (May 2006), https://www.sensesofcinema.com/2006/cteq/passion_jeanne_arc/ (accessed 17 May 2022).

[24] Matthew Dessem, http://criterioncollection.blogspot.com/2006/11/62-passion-of-joan-of-arc.html (accessed 5 June 2022).

[25] Bill Scalia, 'Contrasting Visions of a Saint: Carl Dreyer's *The Passion of Joan of Arc* and Luc Besson's *The Messenger*', *Literature/Film Quarterly*, 32/3 (2004), 181–5 (183).

[26] Peter Bradshaw, https://www.theguardian.com/culture/2003/jul/18/artsfeatures3 (accessed 5 June 2022).

emphasis). The speakers question whether Johanna's claim is in fact true ('ob das wahr ist?', *ibid.*); thus, from the beginning, the people's perspective is one of scepticism vis-à-vis Johanna's belief, although Seghers stops short of having her characters refer to Johanna as a witch, a term contained in the accusation and later picked up by Brecht (see below).[27] When they explain that the 'gelehrte[…] Herren dort oben' (*ibid.*) are in the process of examining the issue, this establishes a further contrast between Johanna and the people on the one hand, and the learned men 'dort oben' on the other. One observer wonders why she has placed herself in this situation since it would seem that Johanna does not stand a chance on account of her gender, class, education and the fact that she is outnumbered ('*so viele* gelehrte Herren', *ibid.*; my emphasis). When his interlocutor comments on the need to act in view of the English occupation, he does not think that this justifies Johanna's 'verrückte[…] Einfälle' (S, p. 11), which include '[i]n Männerkleidern vor Soldaten herzurennen' (*ibid.*), casting the protagonist as abnormal due to her transgression of gender conventions. Finally, it emerges that Johanna claims to have been ordered by the voices to lead the French army for her 'Heimatland' (*ibid.*), a term that must have carried special relevance for the exiled Seghers. At this point, the presence of an alienating manifestation of religion is moderated by the notion of patriotism, establishing the link between religion and politics characteristic of Seghers' representation throughout.

Subsequently, Johanna is interrogated by the Bishop of Cauchon and '43 Beisitzer, edle Herren und Doktoren' (S, p. 14). Her request that she be allowed to attend Mass before the start of the trial is denied on the grounds of the severity of the accusation, as well as the fact that she refuses to take off her masculine clothing. Jeanne's understanding of religion is very different from that of the 'gatekeepers' and the fact that the learned men are able to bar Johanna from Mass suggests that access to the rituals of organised religion is granted only on condition of conformity. The bishop states that Johanna's heretical actions are described as 'glaubensverletzend' (S, p. 15), and have become known in all of Christendom (*ibid.*), which is why she has been brought before the court to be held accountable. The fact that the eyes of the ecclesiastical world are on the trial ('Aller Augen sind auf uns gerichtet. […] Vom Konzil zu Basel, von Rom, von allen Kanzleien Europas', S, p. 39) means that an example will need to be made of her to reaffirm the authority of the institution.

From the beginning, it is clear that judge and jury on the one hand and the defendant on the other are at cross purposes. Johanna insists that she does not want to talk '[ü]ber [ihre] Stimmen […] und […] Offenbarungen' (S, p. 15). She announces her intention to keep these revelations to herself, whatever the consequences: 'da könnt ihr mir ruhig den Kopf abhauen, erfahren werdet ihr doch nichts' (*ibid.*). This

[27] Schirmer-Imhoff, *Prozess* (note 8), p. 71.

insistence on the privacy of her faith is in contrast to the inquisitors' suggestion that she should reveal the truth 'zur Erleichterung deines Gewissens' (*ibid.*), presuming to know her mind better than she does herself. Although she eventually swears to tell the truth 'in Glaubenssachen' (S, p. 18), this is paying mere lip service to the interrogators. Johanna insists that she will tell *her* truth, or whatever part of it she is prepared to disclose ('Antworten werde ich, was *ich* will', S, p. 22; my emphasis). She testifies that the 'Stimme' first came to her when she was thirteen: its first manifestation coincided with the English presence in France (S, p. 26), emphasising yet again the connection between religious experience and political circumstances. When Beaupère, the interrogator, attempts to find out whether the voices have a face and eyes (S, p. 34), Johanna refuses to address the question and to be silenced as a consequence ('Damit zieht ihr mir nicht die Zunge', *ibid.*). She also keeps the details of her conversation with Saint Michael to herself ('sonst verrate ich nichts', S, p. 35), suppressing any concrete details that would make her faith appear childish or ridiculous. Thus Johanna exerts control over the exchange and guards the privacy of her faith (S, pp. 59–60).

La Fontaine informs Johanna that '[u]nter uns Beisitzern sind manche Männer, die dein Bestes wollen, verstehst du?' (S, p. 50), implying that she herself does not know what is best for her. At this point, it becomes apparent that Seghers' representation of Johanna is characterised by a tension between modern and pre-modern religious ideas of self. On the one hand, her acting in response to voices that are the expression of God's will while refusing or unable to reflect on the details of her faith suggests a pre-modern self. The voices experienced by Johanna might be regarded as an example of what Taylor has called the 'porous' self of the pre-modern age, that is, the fact that the religious world and its manifestations in the shape of angels, spirits, etc. are simultaneously outwardly experienced and completely internalised in the self, unlike in the 'buffered' self of modernity.[28] This stance is coupled with a 'naïve' lack of analysis vis-à-vis the conditions of one's belief. On the other hand, in acting against the structures of the established Church, Johanna can be seen to embody the idea of the modern self with its rejection of authority and desire to attain agency and autonomy.

The voices have told Johanna that her answers should be 'furchtlos' (S, p. 35) and 'kühn' (S, p. 54), and she declares that the bishop ultimately does not have the authority to judge her (S, pp. 55–6), once again bypassing religious authority by invoking an unmediated relationship with God. By contrast, the bishop exhorts her to subordinate herself to the Church ('wir ermahnen dich streng und mitleidig: was du auch gegen *unseren* Glauben getan hast, unterwirf dich endlich der Kirche', S, p. 62; my emphasis). The first-person plural pronoun 'unseren' is one that he shares not with

[28] Taylor, *A Secular Age* (note 3), p. 539.

Johanna, but with his learned brethren, and thus it serves to exclude her from the official religion of the others. Johanna states that she has already subordinated herself to God, whom she regards as distinct from the Church (S, p. 63). La Fontaine explains that the Church is infallible (*ibid.*), to which Johanna merely replies 'Ich will jetzt überhaupt nichts mehr antworten' (*ibid.*), refusing to divulge any further information. She declares her intention to 'heimgehen' 'zu meiner Mutter zurück' (*ibid.*), referring to her biological mother, while to the men, the 'mother' is the Church (*ibid.*). The different usages of 'Mutter', taking on different meanings when used by different speakers, foreground once more an incommunicability of religion, even between those ostensibly of the same confession.

When the formal accusation is announced, the bishop claims that the members of the court are only concerned with Johanna's 'Heil' (S, p. 71), the preservation of her body and soul, as well as her 'Belehrung' (S, p. 70). This announcement, which implies that her faith is naïve and ill-informed and therefore not valid, is met with mockery by Johanna. Holding on to her faith is construed as 'Hochmut' (S, p. 71), since it implies the conviction that she knows more about '*unsere*[n] Glauben' than 'wir Doktoren und Gelehrte' (*ibid.*; my emphasis), suggesting that in the eyes of the theologians, learning, not personal experience, is a prerequisite for determining the truthfulness of one's faith. Conversely, Johanna expresses distrust towards the written word, indicative of her opponents' erudition, in the shape of the court recordings ('Ich weiß ja nicht, was ihr in die Protokolle hineinflickt', S, p. 74; 'Günstiges laßt ihr nicht aufschreiben', S, p. 75). Châtillon then goes so far as to accuse Johanna of fabricating the voices ('erlogen', S, p. 78): the learned men deem to be pure lies what *she* has reported about *her* voices, claiming superior knowledge that extends even to her first-person viewpoint. Yet Johanna calmly insists that her voices are neither vanity nor lies (*ibid.*), and refuses to explain why she will not subordinate herself to the Church ('Ich antworte euch nichts mehr', *ibid.*), thus insisting on the authority of her subjective experience.

Various assessors declare that, in contrast with the religious reformer and theologian Jan Hus, '[d]as Mädel ist ahnungslos' (S, p. 83), which suggests a refusal to take Johanna seriously on account of her age, gender and lack of education; this echoes the attribute 'Einfalt', mentioned in the historical witness reports (see S, p. 139). Despite her simplicity of mind, the Paris Faculty declares that Johanna is guilty on twelve counts as a heretic and schismatic.[29] When she is facing the stake, La Fontaine once more implores Johanna to recant: 'Wenn dir auch Stimmen *wirklich* erschienen sind, teure Schwester, füge dich der Meinung der Universität Paris, die alle deine Stimmen als Einbildung und Unsinn erklärt hat', S, p. 86; my emphasis). This again questions the reality of her experiences and declares them invalid in the face of learning and dogma.

[29] Here, Seghers' text follows the twelve articles of accusation in the trial transcripts.

Johanna is initially resistant, yet, faced with the stake and the threat of excommunication (S, p. 91), she recants and is made to sign a 'Widerruf' (*ibid.*). On account of her illiteracy, the men, as per Seghers' stage directions, move her hand across the paper in order to create her signature. This scene captures in one poignant image the contrast between the theologians and the illiterate whose faith manifests itself in a realm separate from learned discourse. Johanna is condemned to life-long imprisonment and ordered to wear women's clothes. But when she is accused of having transgressed these stipulations (S, p. 99), she regains her earlier resolve; the stage directions describe her as: '*plötzlich ganz verändert, kühn und ruhig wie anfangs*' (*ibid.*). She explains that she recanted only because she did not know what a 'Widerruf' was (S, p. 102), suggesting once again the gap in understanding between learned clergy and 'naïve' layperson when it comes to expressing matters of faith. Johanna has found her way back to her original belief, announcing her intention that she prefers to 'jetzt […] auf einmal sterben als langsam in [ihren, i.e. in her opponents'] Händen' (*ibid.*). When, in view of her impending execution, Jean Massieu questions the truthfulness of the voices who promised Johanna that she would be liberated from prison (S, p. 103), she explains that this is in fact what will happen, as she is now free from her fear both of death and of those in power (*ibid.*). Seghers inserts into the court protocols the crucial words: 'Bin ich nicht befreit von der Todesangst? Bin ich nicht befreit von der Angst vor den Machthabern?' (*ibid.*), thus proposing that, as Anthony Waine puts it, 'the metaphysics of faith can effectively be harnessed to confront and vanquish all forms of persecution'.[30] While much anti-religious Marxist/Leninist thought centres its critique of religious belief on the fact that it hinders political change in the here and now, for Seghers, religion not only allows Johanna to defy her captors through her faith in the afterlife, it also compels her to fight against the English: Seghers presents Johanna as a messianic figure bringing about change in this life.[31]

Johanna's last words are 'Heiliger Michael!' (S, p. 107), which leaves open the possibility of her encountering the saint in the moment of death in a transcendent realm inaccessible to intra- and extradiegetic audiences alike. Seghers' text ends with the remorse of the executioner, who declares 'Ich, ich, ich hätte es wissen müssen!' (S, p. 110), implying that he suddenly recognises the power structures that made him complicit in the killing of an innocent person, even of a saint.[32] The remaining sentences suggest that rebellion against the English might follow (*ibid.*), echoing the ending

[30] Waine, 'Persecution' (note 9), p. 89.

[31] Fehervary, connecting Johanna with the characters in Seghers' novel *Die Rettung* but also with the author's earlier dissertation on Jewish characters in the paintings of Rembrandt, identifies her as one of Seghers' '"chiliastische Menschen", die auf die Herbeiführung des Gottesreichs auf Erden warten oder auch an dieser Herbeiführung aktiv teilnehmen'; see Fehervary, 'Seelenlandschaft' (note 17), 29.

[32] Compare France, *Joan* (note 10), p. 343.

of Dreyer's film, which, after Jeanne's demise, depicts the people rising up (and being struck down by the occupiers). Nevertheless, the last film stills included in the Reclam Leipzig edition do not show images from the final sequence of the film, but conclude with a close-up of Jeanne at the stake in the moment of her death, pointing to the fact that for Seghers, the emphasis is on the figure of Jeanne as much as it is on the people. The focus is on Johanna's refusal, the idea of refusal being a very potent one that places Seghers' heroine within the tradition of the lives of saints as well as relating her to key figures in twentieth-century modernist literature, such as Kafka's 'Hungerkünstler'.

In sum, Johanna refuses to be drawn out on her experiential vision, withholding any elaboration. Seghers notably omits the details of specific apparitions which are contained in the original 'Schuldartikel' (for example, as listed in the appendix in S, p. 119). Johanna, insisting on the veracity of her vision as well as on her right to commune with God directly, guards the details of her faith as a private experience, which is thus concealed from intradiegetic and extradiegetic audiences alike. This stems from her conviction of the privacy of her faith as well as from a decision to suppress details out of strategic necessity, so as not to transgress the boundaries of what dogma decrees to be permissible. Further, Johanna's unwillingness to reflect on the voices can be understood in the context of a world where belief is the default option and where the investigation of the relationship between human subjectivity and the 'reality' of experience characteristic of modernity does not yet occur.[33] To this extent, Seghers presents a pre-modern character, the details of whose faith, characterised by an authenticity that refuses objective analysis, are a mystery which can only be described *ex negativo*. In this, the author remains within a broad tradition of representing faith through the ages, according to which transcendence ultimately remains incommunicable as it can at best be expressed through a negation of the immanent world.[34] However, her lacunary representation of Johanna's experiences goes beyond this by refusing any kind of elaboration. This foregrounds the protagonist's uncomplicated, 'naïve' relationship with God which is untroubled by dogma and so ties in with a medieval framework, though the rejection of dogma can also be regarded as a modern characteristic.[35] In addition, the representation *ex negativo* might have been intended by Seghers to resonate with modern audiences by enabling them to fill in the blank with content relating to personal religious experiences of their own, or, failing that, to prevent them from rejecting the heroine's stance based on an evaluation of the 'implausible' details of her faith while at the same time challenging them to recognise that there are things that will always remain beyond their knowledge and understanding.

[33] Taylor, *A Secular Age* (note 3), p. 539.
[34] See Daniel Weidner, *Handbuch Literatur und Religion*, Stuttgart 2016, pp. 6–7.
[35] Duttlinger, 'Religion' (note 3), p. 212.

Seghers' radio play is meant to provide for audiences the same still, silent centre of conviction that forces others to reflect on their own willingness to act, as Johanna's example does to the French people in the play.

While Johanna's refusal to elaborate establishes the character's otherness vis-à-vis her interrogators, it ultimately does not prevent sympathy with her on the part of the common people of France, who, after her violent death, are able to 'see' not so much her visions as the injustice perpetrated against her. In this, Johanna can be compared to a character like Georg Heisler in *Das siebte Kreuz*, who provokes solidarity and communal action on the part of others. Seghers hopes to create the same impulse in her listeners, whom she wants to move to fight dogmatic systems of belief and oppressive regimes, inspired both by Johanna and by the French characters who are propelled into action by her uncompromising yet ultimately mysterious stance. The transformation brought about by the protagonist's religious experience is therefore primarily social and political, rather than spiritual. Yet it is important to note that Seghers refuses to disentangle Johanna's personal religious experience from her anti-authoritarian activism, giving room to both realities. In other words, the divine nature of the encounter is neither proven nor disproven. While Johanna's sparse account of her belief lacks the confessional quality that can be found in many modernist texts,[36] it is precisely its minimal nature that creates the sense of otherness often regarded as a characteristic of belief.[37] This sense of otherness disallows complete identification on the part of listeners, who have the option to 'believe' Johanna's lacunary account or not.

In 1952, Seghers' radio play was adapted for the stage by Bertolt Brecht. Brecht, a confirmed atheist who had been raised as a Lutheran Protestant, had a life-long interest in religion and acknowledged the Bible as the book that most influenced him.[38] His religious nihilism homed in on the impotence of organised religion, while the diagnosis of Christianity as having failed to create more favourable, that is, more equitable, conditions for all of humanity was a factor in his turn to Marxism. As Robert Potter writes: 'Brecht the Marxist construed Christianity as the enemy of social progress'.[39] Brecht's position was that the only significant religious questions had to do not with: '"das innere Wesen der Religion", die Existenz Gottes, der Glaube'; but with: 'das Verhalten des religiösen Menschen (soweit es von außen wahrnehmbar ist), das Reden von Gott, die Bemühungen von Menschen, Glauben zu erzeugen'.[40] Brecht was already familiar with the figure of Jeanne d'Arc, having authored the satirical *Die*

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 215.
[37] See Taylor, *A Secular Age* (note 3), p. 8.
[38] See Martin Esslin, *Brecht: The Man and His Work*, New York 1961, p. 106.
[39] Robert Potter, 'The Brechtian Dimensions of Medieval Drama', in Véronique Dominguez (ed.), *Renaissance du théâtre médiéval*, Louvain 2009, pp. 203–18. Quoted after https://books.openedition.org/pucl/674?lang=en (accessed 5 June 2022).
[40] Bertolt Brecht, *Schriften zum Theater*, II, Frankfurt a. M. 1963, pp. 143–4.

heilige Johanna der Schlachthöfe (1931), a play set in the stockyards of Chicago and featuring Johanna Dark as a lieutenant of the 'Schwarze Strohhüte', a group resembling the Salvation Army. This was followed by a second depiction of Jeanne, the play *Die Gesichte der Simone Machard*, written in exile in Los Angeles in collaboration with Lion Feuchtwanger between 1941 and 1943, which portrays Jeanne as the saint of the French resistance movement during German occupation.

Brecht's version of *Der Prozess* was first performed by his Berliner Ensemble at the Deutsches Theater in Berlin on 23 November 1952, directed by Benno Besson and with Käthe Reichel in the role of Johanna. The play was initially staged together with Brecht's *Die Gewehre der Frau Carrar*, a play depicting events of the Spanish Civil War, which advocates the use of violence in the fight against evil. Brecht added approximately twenty-five percent of his own material to Seghers' text[41] and published the full text of his adaptation in 1954, 'nach dem Hörspiel von Anna Seghers'.[42] Dividing the text into fourteen scenes, each introduced by historical commentary for stage projections, Brecht expanded the dialogue in the folk scenes and added additional scenes set, for example, at a 'Weinschenke'[43] and in the bishop's house (B, pp. 72–3), aiming to elaborate on the struggle of the working classes and the hypocrisy of the Church, as well as adding characters like 'der elegante Herr' (B, p. 14) and a 'lockeres Mädchen' (B, p. 15). He planned to expand the original text into a full-length production and, in a radical departure from the character and intention of Seghers' original play, he included elements of slapstick and farce in the *commedia dell'arte* tradition.[44]

Once again, the play, now set against the background of the aggressively secularised state that was the newly founded German Democratic Republic (GDR), resonated with specific historical events. The premiere on 23 November 1952 coincided with the Stalinist show trial in Prague of Rudolf Slánský (1901–52) and his co-defendants, whose forced confessions occurred a day or two before the premiere. Notably, the play's authors took care to prevent it from being read as a comment on the trial, with Seghers going so far as to list, in the programme notes, the date of her play's original publication as '*c.* 1935'[45] when it had in fact been 1937, presumably to

[41] Waine, 'Persecution' (note 9), p. 78.

[42] Bertolt Brecht, *Stücke 12, Bearbeitungen*, Zweiter Band, Frankfurt a. M. 1964, p. 7. Seghers was involved in writing some of the additional dialogue, though it is unlikely she contributed to the prologue and the new scenes that were written for the final 1954 version; see Fehervary, 'Brecht, Seghers' (note 19), 29. Seghers insisted that she did not want to be listed as the editor of her own text.

[43] Bertolt Brecht, *Der Prozess der Jeanne d'Arc zu Rouen 1431 nach dem Hörspiel von Anna Seghers. Stücke 12*, Frankfurt a. M. 1964, p. 68. Further references appear in the text (subsequently marked as B). The title page contains a note by Anna Seghers: 'Bert Brecht hat das Hörspiel zur Dramatisierung für das Berliner Ensemble benützt. A.S.'.

[44] See Fehervary, 'Brecht, Seghers' (note 19), 29.

[45] See Fehervary, *The Mythic Dimension* (note 20), p. 197.

ensure that the original text could not be construed as a commentary on the earlier Stalinist show trials, which had begun in 1936. In addition to the conspicuous reference to Slánský's trial, the issue of Johanna's patriotism had a new significance this time around. On the eve of the Berliner Ensemble premiere, impending remilitarisation in Europe threatened to make the German division permanent. Brecht and Seghers backed the Soviet Union's proposal for a neutral unified Germany to counter NATO.[46] As Seghers explains in the programme notes: 'Die Liebe zum Heimatland und der Haß gegen die fremde Besatzung drücken sich in diesem Prozeß, wie es seiner Epoche entspricht, in religiösen Glaubensbegriffen aus'.[47] This suggests an explicit distancing from religious subject matter and a move towards political significance on the part of Seghers. Further evidence of this can be found in her remarks in a letter to Brecht following the premiere. Citing the slogan 'Ami go home', she echoes the statement in the notes that the Americans, with their Cold War politics, were intent on making France their new colony, which would in turn cement the German–German division. Moreover, Seghers states: 'das Wichtigste ist […] das Verstaendnis des Volkes fuer die Johanna'.[48] Since the people's understanding relates to Johanna's mission to drive out the occupiers rather than to her divine inspiration, this grounds her relevance firmly in the political, as is also evident from the following passage identifying resistance as the most important topic of the play: 'Das Wichtigste bleibt: Alles herausstellen, was den Widerstand mehr zum Ausdruck bringt als den Terror der Invasion. Die Konsequenzen des Prozesses und der Hinrichtung mehr als das Mitleid mit Jeanne [*sic*].'[49]

Brecht's text opens in a similar way to Seghers', introducing Johanna's religious visions as the object of the common people's scepticism and of the learned experts' adjudication: 'Lockeres Mädchen: Sie soll Stimmen und Erscheinungen haben. Ob das wahr ist? Bäuerin: Hörst du? Sie hat Erscheinungen. Bauer: Pscht! Weinhändler: Das werden die gelehrten Herren schon prüfen. Eleganter Herr: Der päpstliche Gesandte' (B, p. 15). By having the wine merchant refer to Johanna as 'unruhiger Geist' (B, p. 16) and 'Hexe' (*ibid.*), a term contained in the original accusation, but not, in fact, in Seghers' radio play, Brecht increases the distance between Johanna, now seen as a witch, and the ordinary people and introduces an additional note of judgment on their part. As in the earlier text, observers point out the impossibility of the situation in which Johanna finds herself: the '[l]ockeres Mädchen' does not understand why she did not just stay at home (B, p. 17). Seghers' 'Zwirnsfädchen' has become an 'Äpfelchen' ('Ist die aber klein! […] Ein Äpfelchen!'; B, p. 18),

[46] Fehervary, 'Brecht, Seghers' (note 19), 27.
[47] Seghers, quoted after Fehervary, 'Brecht, Seghers' (note 19), 28.
[48] Christiane Zehl Romero, *Anna Seghers. Briefe. 1924–1952*, Berlin 2008, p. 422.
[49] *Ibid.*, p. 425.

suggesting the same bemusement at Johanna's diminutive stature, albeit slightly differently shaped, and at her as an individual challenging an entire Faculty of Theology. But, in a departure from Seghers, Johanna is portrayed as more calculating than in the original. For instance, the stage directions for scene 3 state that 'Jeanne [entzieht sich] *geschickt* den Fangfragen der Kleriker, die sie zur Ketzerin stempeln wollen' (B, p. 19; my emphasis). When subsequently asked to swear an oath on the Bible, she replies: 'Ich weiß ja nicht, was Ihr mich fragen werdet. Kann sein, daß Ihr von mir etwas haben wollt, was ich Euch nicht sagen will' (B, pp. 21–2), demonstrating a level of cunning that is less evident in Seghers' play.

The key difference between Brecht and Seghers consists in the nature of the voices, which is first hinted at in scene 10. After Johanna has recanted, a young boy remarks: 'Sie kann doch gar nicht widerrufen, was wahr ist. Sie kann doch nicht einen solchen Verrat begehen' (B, p. 67). This implies that the people have knowledge of the truth, and that this knowledge is possibly superior to Johanna's. Scene 12 reports on civil unrest that breaks out following the recantation; subsequently, the stage directions for scene 13 state that 'Jeanne hat die Stimme des Volkes vernommen und setzt ihren Kampf fort' (B, p. 73). Johanna explains that she only recanted because of the fear she experienced without the people by her side, but that this fear has abated now that she has been reassured of the presence of the 'Volk' (B, p. 74). In scene 16, the nature of the voices is finally explained: '*Breuil*: Ich dachte, Stimmen haben sie geführt? *Legrain*: Ja, die unsern.' (B, p. 81). That is, the voices moving her to withstand the oppressors are ultimately those of the people, rather than an expression of the divine. When Johanna learns of the people's anger at her recantation, she regains her courage and resumes her opposition (B, p. 82). Brecht's strategy of interpreting the voices in this way mitigates the alterity of Johanna's radical piety, reconfiguring her spiritual struggle as more distinctly secular by giving a profane explanation for an allegedly sacred phenomenon and thus explaining transcendence as immanence. Rather than being guided by divine forces, Johanna is now shown as depending on the voices of the people, presenting her experience also as less private, more communal.

Brecht omits Seghers' final scene depicting the executioner's remorse. Notably, he also cuts Johanna's final words – 'Heiliger Michael!' – in Seghers' play (S, p. 107). Where Seghers leaves open the possibility of Johanna's genuine communication with the saint in the moment of death, thereby at least potentially affirming her belief that death represents divinely effected liberation, the last utterance of Brecht's Johanna are her screams of pain (B, p. 79). The heroine's beliefs are thus undermined by a representation of the unresponsive nature of the heavens, something that can frequently be observed in Brecht's work, complementing the Marxist view of (organised) religion as preventing social change through being an organ 'of bourgeois reaction that serve[s] to defend exploitation and to

befuddle the working class'.[50] Brecht adds the stage direction 'Nonnen sprechen den Englischen Gruß' (*ibid.*), which describes nuns saying the Hail Mary, pointing up the complacency of the established Church and its members in the face of the extreme cruelty of Johanna's burning.

In lieu of the executioner's reflection, Brecht adds an additional scene set five years later. According to the stage directions, the final liberation and unification of France are under way, beginning with a revolutionary movement in Paris: 'Voran schreitet der Volksbewegung die legendäre Gestalt der kleinen Jeanne d'Arc' (B, p. 80). The actual scene is set in a remote village introduced in scene 1, where girls harvesting grapes summarise Johanna's legacy as follows: 'Als ihr Mund verstummte, wurde ihre Stimme gehört' (B, p. 82) – after her execution, her mission was taken over by the people. The scene and thus the play conclude with a song based on a ballad by Christine de Pisan, the first to immortalise Jeanne d'Arc in literature. Christine de Pisan emphasised Jeanne's role in the context of nation-building as well as her exceptional stature as a woman who led an army, and linked the latter to Jeanne's divine mission.[51] However, there is no reference to the religious aspect of Jeanne's campaign in Brecht's concluding passage: 'Sprach die Tochter Frankreichs lauter: Kämpft, Franzosen/ Um die Erde Frankreichs, ihr, die sie bebaut!' (B, p. 83). That is, the fight for the soil by those who tend it is emphasised above everything else. While the previous inability of others to understand Johanna is mentioned ('es hörten sie, zu denen sie sprach, nicht', B, p. 82), this is not interpreted in terms of the religious dimension, but simply in terms of the political implications of her mission, which transcend the national, in the sense of France, to encompass universal liberation of the oppressed.

Seghers and Brecht engage with Johanna's religiosity in different ways. Seghers' text, inspired by Dreyer's film with its emphasis on subjective close-ups and long takes dwelling on Jeanne's facial expressions, is character-oriented, focusing on the figure of Johanna and her inner strength to withstand mentally and spiritually and to break free from her tormentors. Seghers is interested both in how charismatic figures with inner strength act as instigators and, more broadly, in the psychology of resistance and political action. The notion of private conviction and inner resources, particularly in situations of interrogation, comes up in several other texts by Seghers from the 1930s (see, for example, *Die Gefährten* and *Das siebte Kreuz*). Brecht's adaptation, by contrast, transforms the text in the direction of an ostensible history play, giving the common people a greater role and creating a distancing effect through historical perspective. In Seghers' play, it is not the reality of faith as such that is under discussion, but

[50] V. I. Lenin, 'The Attitude of the Workers' Party to Religion', in *Collected Works*, vol. 15, ed. and tr. Andrew Rothstein and Bernard Isaacs, Moscow 1963 (originally 1908), pp. 402–13 (p. 403).
[51] Christine de Pisan, *Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc*, ed. Angus J. Kennedy and Kenneth Varty, Oxford 1977.

rather the issue of which of the competing faiths (that of the established Church represented by the interrogators versus that of Johanna, the alleged heretic) is real. In this sense, the depiction of faith in fifteenth-century society, 'where belief in God is unchallenged and indeed, unproblematic', presents an anachronism in the crisis-ridden 1930s, where belief in God is very much 'understood to be one option amongst others'.[52] At the same time, Seghers, through presenting an alternative to institutional faith, encourages the exploration of political alternatives (as in, again, *Das siebte Kreuz*). Religious belief stands in for communism as an alternative to political options of the time, although it is worth noting, given the background of Stalin's show trials, that Seghers' text cautions against any ideology that penalises dissent. Brecht's version, written and first performed during the early years of the avowedly secular GDR, corrects this anachronism in so far as it challenges not only the Church as an institution but also faith *per se*. Since at this point communism was no longer an alternative, but the default option, the focus of his text is on the work that remains to be done, i.e. fully empowering the working classes and freeing Germany/Europe from American imperialism.

Far from being a relic from the past in these texts, religion emerges as a 'prism which casts wider social concerns into sharp focus',[53] whether it be the silencing of dissidents, the enslaving of other nations, or the oppression of the working classes. At the same time, both renditions are marked by continuity with a multitude of Christian themes: Johanna is a messianic, Christ-like figure who fits the typology of the martyr.[54] Seghers' Johanna might even be deemed a mystic when measured against the characteristics of (modern) mysticism articulated by Carolin Duttlinger, which take the shape of 'a new immediacy in the relationship to God' and 'a deeply felt *personal* relationship unshackled from religious institutions, doctrine and ritual'.[55] While both Seghers and Brecht critique and condemn institutionalised religion, Seghers portrays individual religiosity as generating change. For her, political action is twofold: on the one hand, a kind of inner conviction, which means asserting one's individuality and spirit even in the face of death; and on the other, a spark which the martyr's moral fortitude transmits to the people at large, inspiring them to rise up against their oppressors. Where Seghers has religious transfiguration sitting alongside political transformation, Brecht replaces the former with the latter; meanwhile, the scope for political action shifts from anti-fascist resistance to class struggle and anti-Americanism. Thus the belief in social idealism still reigns supreme even at a time when, in the aftermath of

[52] Taylor, *A Secular Age* (note 3), p. 3.
[53] Duttlinger, 'Religion' (note 3), p. 207.
[54] See Friedrich Albrecht, 'Anna Seghers' Hörspiel *Der Prozess der Jeanne d'Arc zu Rouen 1431* (1937)', in *Bemühungen. Arbeiten zum Werk von Anna Seghers. 1965–2004*, Bern 2005, pp. 287–94 (p. 287).
[55] See Duttlinger, 'Religion' (note 3), p. 212.

the murderous excesses wrought by National Socialism, 'das Märchen der westeuropäischen Christenheit' 'war plötzlich vergangen',[56] as Seghers writes in 'Glauben an Irdisches' (1948).

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[56] Anna Seghers, 'Glauben an Irdisches', in Anna Seghers, *Woher sie kommen, wohin sie gehen. Essays aus vier Jahrzehnten*, Darmstadt and Neuwied 1980, pp. 110–17 (pp. 110–11).