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EDZARD SCHAPER: AN INTRODUCTION
TO HIS WORKS

by

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B. A. University of Montana, 1959

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree
of Master of Arts.

UNIVERSITY OF MONTANA

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PREFACE

This study evolved from my interest in writers who were related to the overlapping area of Germanic and Slavic cultures in eastern Europe. This region has long been contested for by Germany and Russia but belongs ethnically to neither. I searched for a contemporary writer whose work dealt with this area. My intention was to find a German language writer who represented that area of eastern Europe for itself and not simply as an extension of Germany. The two writers who seemed to best fit my requirements were Edzard Schaper and Werner Bergengruen.

These two writers draw largely from the Baltic area and from eastern Europe for the material of their work. These two men have much in common. Both belong to the group designated as Christian writers. Both are labeled as traditional writers in the sense that neither departs from a conventional prose form and from a conventional style such as was common in the late nineteenth century.¹ Both are outspoken

¹The terms "traditional" and "avant-garde" are frequently used in the discussion of literature. As a shorthand reference they can be useful. In this discussion of Schaper the term "traditional" is not intended to have a pejorative meaning, as it sometimes does in literary criticism. "Traditional" means non-innovative in the use of the tools of language. Schaper as a traditional writer and story-teller does not attempt to realistically recreate the thoughts in his characters' minds. He does not attempt to use time other than in the unfolding of events as in a story. "Avant-garde" means, in references made in this work, experimentalism in all the tools of writing, including prose style, the use of time, and the use of perspective.

opponents of Soviet political domination of the eastern Baltic area and eastern Europe. Likewise, both regret the loss of traditional values. Schaper and Bergengruen are both converts to the Roman Catholic Church. Edzard Schaper has, however, more persistently drawn upon the area of eastern Europe and the Baltic region for settings and even for characters in stories set elsewhere.

There is a major difference between the two writers, however, aside from their actual writing. Bergengruen, being the older man, has been subjected to extensive serious study both in and out of Germany. He is a known figure among students of contemporary German literature in the United States. Although Edzard Schaper has had one novel appear in an English translation, his work is not well known outside West Germany, Austria, and Switzerland. Since Edzard Schaper deals more consistently with the geographical area of special interest to me, and since there has, to date, been no serious study of this prolific contemporary writer in this country, I chose Schaper and his works as my subject for this thesis.

This study of Edzard Schaper was not inspired by a particular religious interest. Since Schaper utilizes a religious environment for much of his fictional material, it could be thought that my special interest in religion or specifically in Catholicism led to the choice of my topic. This was not the case. At the time I made the decision to undertake the study, Schaper's religion was unknown to me. Many of the stories studied are not set in a strictly Catholic environment, but rather, often in a Russian Orthodox or Lutheran background.

Although my own studies in Russian and German led me to a writer

like Schaper who deals with both cultures, this is not the sole reason to undertake the study. Schaper is a popular German writer. He writes prolifically and sells well. Many of his writings are already in fourth and fifth editions. A writer who enjoys this much success presents an interesting subject for examination. It will be the purpose of this thesis to introduce Schaper and his works and, on the basis of this survey, to attempt an evaluation.

CHAPTER I

THE MAN AND HIS BACKGROUND

An outline of Edzard Schaper's biography is useful to this study of his writing since there is a close relationship between his life and the settings used in his literary work. The fact that Schaper's life is similar to that of a large number of people in the northeast German language area may also explain part of the popularity of this prolific writer.

September 30, 1908, Edzard Schaper was born in Ostrowo in the Province of Posen. The region was at that time a German province but was ceded to Poland after World War I. Schaper's father was a minor German official originally from Limberg. His mother came from Friesland. The period of early youth in eastern Europe made a lasting impression on the writer. Schaper's original attachment to the Poland of his youth was later transferred to the Baltic lands and particularly to Estonia. Schaper expressed this feeling in recent autobiographical notes published under the heading, "Alte und neue Heimat."

Hannover, Herford, Stuttgart, die Städte, in denen ich später gelebt habe, waren Städte, deren es viele gibt und in denen Hunderttausende ohne mich wohnen mögen. Erst der Norden, das abseitigste Stück Dänemark . . . gaben wieder einen Klang auf der Saite meines Lebens, und in Estland fand ich alles wieder: Norden und Osten, eine meiner "Heimat" im herkömmlichen Sinne t'uschend ähnliche Welt . . . der Norden und der Osten in der Vielfalt der verschiedenen Völkerschaften, der Glaubensarten,

der Geschichte.¹

Schaper had and has yet today a deep and lasting kinship with the Baltic provinces. This feeling of kinship has greatly influenced his life and work.

In 1919, after the cession of the eastern marches to Poland by Germany, the Schaper family began its move west, first to Glogau and finally to Hannover. It was in Hannover that Schaper received the bulk of his formal education. This was capped by music studies and was followed by a brief term of service as an actor and assistant director. The family then moved to Stuttgart where Edzard worked briefly as a factory hand and then as a gardener.²

Schaper left Stuttgart and Germany in 1927 to go to Denmark. It was at this time that the nineteen-year-old, east-European-German, having set out on his own, began to do his first writing.

The next few years Schaper spent as a sailor in the Baltic region. During this period, when he called a small northern island in the Baltic Sea his home, a variety of roving carried him to England and to the Arctic.

After the years of youthful wandering, the twenty-two-year-old Schaper settled in Estonia. This was the area in the north and east

¹Edzard Schaper, "Alte und neue Heimat," Dank an Edzard Schaper (Cologne: Jakob Hegner Verlag, 1968), pp. 86-87. (This book appears without editorial name or comment. In addition to the section "Dank an Edzard Schaper" by Max Wehrli, it includes manuscripts and autobiographical notes by Edzard Schaper. It also contains the most complete bibliography available.)

²Franz Lennartz, Dichter und Schriftsteller unserer Zeit: Einzeldarstellungen zur schönen Literatur in deutscher Sprache (6th ed.), formerly Die Dichter unserer Zeit: (Stuttgart: Alfred Kröner Verlag, 1954), p. 500.

which most strongly attracted him and which he still recalls fondly as a self-chosen home. In 1939 Schaper declined to be resettled with other German-Balts after the Hitler-Stalin "settlement" of Poland and the Baltic lands. Schaper fled the Soviets in 1940 and took up residence in Finland where he became a citizen in 1944. During the period in Finland, Schaper was sentenced to death by both the Soviets and the Volksgerechtshof in Berlin because of his activity as a correspondent for the United Press.³

While in Finland Schaper took up the Finnish cause against the Soviet Union and served in the Finnish army. In 1944 the Soviet government pressured Finland for extradition and Schaper was forced to move to Sweden. There he worked in the woods at first and later became a secretary for a Catholic welfare organization. The flight from Finland is mirrored in the short tale, Der grosse offenbare Tag.

In 1947 Schaper moved to Switzerland and resumed his writing. He has since been regularly productive and has gained a wide audience as a Christian writer in West Germany, Switzerland, and Austria. Schaper has become a Swiss citizen and now resides in Zürich.

One element which is missing from Edzard Schaper's biographical account and to a large extent from his writing is any mention of women. There is no major biographical work available. But in the articles available and in the discussion of Edzard Schaper's old and new home, there is no mention of any woman other than the author's mother and an older sister of a boyhood friend in Ostrowo.

³Hermann Kunisch and Hans Hennecke give a brief biographical sketch in Handbuch der deutschen Gegenwartsliteratur (München: Nymphenburger Verlagshandlung, 1966), pp. 510-512.

Schaper is now a member of the West German organization, PEN Central. He is also a corresponding member of the Deutsche Akademie für Sprache und Dichtung (the German Academy for Language and Literature). In 1953, after six years of renewed activity as a writer, Schaper was awarded the Fontane Prize for excellence in literature by the City of Berlin. More recently (1966) the University of Freiburg awarded Schaper an honorary doctorate. In December 1967, the author received the Gottfried-Keller Prize.⁴

Because there is an overt interest in religion displayed in all of Schaper's writing, with much of the work being set in a clerical environment or having clerical people as main characters, Schaper's own religious background demands some consideration. Schaper's boyhood was spent in a Lutheran family living in Catholic east Europe. His adolescence was spent in the Lutheran area of northern Germany and northern Europe. When Schaper settled in Estonia, he was in a good position to observe the Russian Orthodox Church in exile.

Also while in Estonia, Schaper could observe and experience the involved power politics, spying, and propaganda of the Soviets, the western powers, and the Baltic governments. This period frequently provides material for later writing. While Schaper was in beleaguered Finland, he could observe first hand one of the most complex political problems in Europe. Schaper was part of a large influx into Finland of displaced anti-Soviet peoples. Many of these displaced persons were pious Orthodox Russians who had left their homeland along the western

⁴Max Wehrli, "Dank an Edzard Schaper," op. cit., p. 28.

borders of the Soviet Union to avoid religious persecution. Others were non-Russian natives of the Baltic basin.

With these people Schaper passed again to the Lutheran environment of Sweden in 1944. However, the change in his activities from a forest worker to a secretary for a Catholic welfare organization foreshadows a change in religious creed. Schaper moved from Sweden to Switzerland in 1947 and was officially converted to Roman Catholicism in 1951. This conversion has no apparent influence on his writings, although two novels, Die Freiheit des Gefangenen (1950) and Die Macht der Ohnmächtigen (1951), are set in Catholic France.

In his writings Schaper utilizes the experiences and the people met in his wanderings and during his residence in Estonia as well as the various religions encountered. His primary material is the land and the people of his chosen homeland. These people are in a mixing zone on a borderline between nationalities, religions, and governments. They are torn and searching people. It is not surprising to find many of the major characters in his writings to be involved in a search for belief or self-understanding. It is also not surprising to observe individuals in conflicting situations of divided loyalties.

CHAPTER II

EDZARD SCHAPER'S WORLD IN EARLIER WORKS

Edzard Schaper has been and is a productive writer. A chronological list of his writings is included in Appendix A. The scope of this study is limited to major stories and novels. The following listed works will be referred to primarily. These are handled in the three groups indicated.

Earlier Works:

Die Insel Tütersaar, 1934, novel.

Die sterbende Kirche, 1935, novel.

Der Henker, 1940, novel.

Reissued as Sie mähten gewappnet die Saaten, 1949.

Der letzte Advent, 1947, novel.

Die Macht der Ohnmächtigen, 1951, novel.

Hinter den Linien, 1952, Novelle.

Der Gouverneur oder der glückselige Schuldner, 1954, novel.

Attentat auf den Mächtigen, 1957, novel.

Contemporary Social Criticism:

Das Tier oder die Geschichte eines Bären, der Oskar hiess, 1958, novel.

Die Geisterbahn, 1959, Novelle.

Return to Old World:

Der vierte König, 1961, novel.

Der Aufruhr des Gerechten, 1963, chronicle.

The preceding chapter outlined the biography of Edzard Schaper. In this chapter I will look at representative earlier writings and illustrate the types of characters found in Schaper's writings, the settings in which they are found, and the kinds of conflicts in which they are involved. The correlation between the material of the fiction and the preceding biography demonstrates how much the author is utilizing his own background and experience in his work.

Edzard Schaper's first known novel, Der letzte Gast, appeared in 1927. In the words of Franz Lennartz, an "ekstatischer Entwicklungs- und Seelenroman" (an ecstatic developmental and soul novel), this first effort was not a success and is out of print and unavailable.¹ In 1928 Schaper's second known work was published. Die Bekenntnisse des Fbrsters Patrik Doyle concerns the life of an American millionaire's son who goes into the primeval Canadian forest to be able to live by himself. He succumbs in his fight with the world.² Die Bekenntnisse des Fbrsters Patrik Doyle fared no better than Der letzte Gast and is also unavailable.

Several bibliographies and biographical accounts ignore these two works, though these novels seem to indicate the direction Schaper's thoughts were taking and form the foundation for the later successful works. Available brief synopses of these two works tell of an individual placed in a remote northern setting. The heroes appear to be involved in the same search which a later hero describes as "sichfinden-wollen" (wanting to find himself). This setting, this type of hero, and this sort of search is the most frequently recurring feature

¹Lennartz, op. cit., p. 500. ²Ibid.

of Schaper's writing.

The experiences and the observations of his years on the Baltic Sea were put together in Die Insel Tütersaar, which first appeared in 1934. This work, like the two preceding novels, was an attempt to deal with "der einsame Mensch" or the "Einzelgänger," the lonely or isolated character who is a frequent and favorite type in German literature. Die Insel Tütersaar differs from the other two novels in that it was successful and has been reprinted. This first successful novel provides a good starting point for a survey of the first group of works listed, the Earlier Works.

The main character and narrator, who remains unnamed, opens the narrative as he reflects on an earlier summer when he set out sailing, evidently both fleeing from something and searching for something not entirely understood. He spent a summer in a rural northern Baltic region. Then he returned home.

In that earlier summer the narrator had taken off a wedding ring, which he had worn for years. Throughout the summer of his wandering he attempted to get rid of the remaining untanned white ring. No amount of sunshine would tarnish the untanned white reminder of his marriage. In the end the narrator returned and patiently replaced the golden ring. This information is provided by the narrator as a prelude to his story. The narrator also briefly outlines the entire earlier summer and wishes he could once again make the trip and be exposed to the simple faith demonstrated by two of his rustic associates of that previous summer.

However, reflecting on the nature of a "treasure" which his summer acquaintances had guarded, the narrator decides: "Nun würde

aufhören, was damals begann . . . und der Schatz ist wohl heute nicht nur umzweifelt, sondern schon längst verlacht." (What began then would stop now . . . and today the treasure is probably not only doubted but long since ridiculed.)³

In his account of that eventful summer, the narrator in Die Insel Tütersaar sails about the Baltic Sea until attracted by the island Tütersaar (island in the way). The narrator lands and is chased and taken "captive" by Wilhelm, a half-mad cowherder who believes himself to be the guardian of a much sought-for treasure. This first contact with Wilhelm initiates a concern for belief in the narrator:

Was bin ich für ein Narr! Ohne Glauben an mich selbst, aber auch ohne ernste Mahnung; denjenigen die an mich glauben, misstraue ich und laufe ihnen davon. Ich hüte meine Torheit auf Halbpant mit dem Elend.⁴

The narrator learns to love the bucolic life and to respect his "captor." With this acceptance and appreciation of the life on Tütersaar, the narrator sees religion in everything about him: "Alles, was sie [die Kühe] tun und was wir tun, wird auf den kleinen Insel ein heimlicher Gottesdienst, alles hat Sinn und Verstand."⁵ The simple belief of Wilhelm, a pre-Christian belief in a treasure which exists in his limited mind, impresses the narrator. Though he desires it, he cannot attain it:

Ein wenig zur Ruhe gekommen, nehme ich mir vor, über den Schatz nachzudenken, aber ich kann nicht. Es ist nun mal so: ich habe ihn ganz nahe und deutlich gefühlt, ich wollte zugreifen, aber da tat ich etwas ganz Verkehrtes, und er versank vor mir, blitzschnell, klaftertief. Weiss Gott, wann er nun wieder zu sehen ist . . . Glauben--das ist ja alles!⁶

³Die Insel Tütersaar (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Bücherei KG., Licensed edition of the Jakob Hegner Verlag, Cologne, 1959), p. 9.

⁴Ibid., pp. 27-28. ⁵Ibid., p. 31. ⁶Ibid., p. 42.

After Wilhelm fully accepts him, the narrator begins to believe in the treasure which Wilhelm guards: "Ich glaube an den Schatz; der Glaube allein macht mich stark." (I believe in the treasure; belief alone makes me strong.)⁷ Full mutual trust brings about a period of tranquility. However, the mysterious appearance of a woman in a row-boat disturbs the routine. During two trips around Tütersaar, the woman arouses the animosity of Wilhelm and creates an ambivalent mixture of yearning and withdrawal in the narrator. Wilhelm fears that the woman is after the treasure which he is guarding. The narrator recognizes in the woman a call to his sensual desires.

The arrival of Pedder Veikesaar (small island) temporarily dispels the uneasiness created by the mysterious woman. Pedder proves to be an introspective and sensitive individual. He shares Wilhelm's belief in the treasure and looks forward to one day becoming its guardian.

Shortly after Pedder's arrival, the narrator is overcome by a feeling of restlessness which began earlier with the first island inspection by the mysterious woman. This restlessness leads to disillusionment which is intensified when he fails to witness the passage of a galley long under construction by Wilhelm's brother Lodvig. The ship seems to represent man's capability and achievements, but the narrator has not yet proved his own powers and is faltering. This uncertainty quickly becomes complete loss of faith and the narrator leaves the island:

Nichts, nichts, glaube ich mehr.

⁷Ibid., p. 48.

Und in der Nacht nahm ich mein Boot und fuhr an Land. Was ist das Leben für eine lange Unruhe, wenn ein bisschen Glaube vergeht.⁸

Once on the mainland, the narrator wanders about, living from the land and an occasional handout. He allows himself to go unkempt. After getting acquainted with Brigitta, the woman who had visited Tütersaar, the narrator does some work for a farmer in exchange for a few meals and the use of a razor. The carnal appetite of the narrator is satisfied by a brief relationship with Brigitta, but the narrator's search for belief is not satisfied:

Sie hat keinen Glauben. Ihre Gedanken sind das Salz der Nützlichkeit, der Gemeinnützlichkei, sie machen das Brot des Lebens zur Armesunderspeise vor dem Gang zum Schafott, das uns alle erwartet: dem Tod. Und man muss doch einen Traum haben und einen Glauben, sonst ist alles nur ein Wahn.⁹

The narrator feels that he must tear himself away from the empty, human frailties. Despite the fact that he cannot maintain a firm faith, he does attain strength sufficient to throw himself on the mercies of an anonymous grace:

Ich halte kein Zwiesgespräch mit einem mir gut Vertrauten, aber ich flüstere in die Gräser und in das trockene Nadelwerk: "Gnade, Gnade, erhöre mich! Erlöse mich von dem Übel!"¹⁰

The narrator is alternately torn between Brigitta and his search for belief. Finally, however, he decides that the two of them can never find a belief together. He breaks away and returns to Tütersaar in the midst of a storm which destroys his boat on the shore and leaves him feverish from hunger, exposure, and cold.

With the arrival of fall, the narrator, Wilhelm, and Pedder are taken to the mainland. One of the village onlookers at the arrival is

⁸Ibid., p. 82.

⁹Ibid., p. 99.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 100.

Naissa, a girl that Pedder admires. Naissa is one of the first and most persistent to mock Pedder, but she is a grasping and scheming individual and becomes interested in the "treasure," which Pedder proudly claims he is helping to guard. Although Pedder realizes that the treasure is a belief which does not have the monetary value Naissa attaches to the word "treasure," he is also aware that he cannot explain this fact to so shallow a person as Naissa. She in turn does not really believe there is a treasure but does not want to miss an opportunity to get all or part of it if it does exist. She ridicules the treasure just enough to persuade Pedder to provide her with at least part of it as proof of its existence and his affection, or at least his concern for her happiness. Pedder sells mittens he had knit during the summer and gives her the profit to prove the existence of the treasure. Naissa takes the meager sum, badgers Pedder for more, accuses Pedder of being stingy, and then leaves, without a word of thanks, to live with relatives in the city and to find her happiness and fortune.

Naissa is an extremely selfish, narrow, and disagreeable girl. Pedder, who understands all this, still loves her and sacrifices for her. Naissa appears to test Pedder's faith in much the same way that the mysterious Brigitta tested the narrator.

After Naissa is well on her way, Wilhelm has his belief tested by pranksters who tell him his treasure has been stolen. Wilhelm returns to Tütersaar to take up the watch. He finds an old rusted rifle and, in his frenzied condition, dies either from an accidental discharge of the weapon or by suicide. After Wilhelm's death, Pedder, his voluntary successor, raises the point:

"Das möchte ich wissen," sagt er leise. "Starb er, [Wilhelm] den Schatz verteidigend, weil er ihn sah--oder starb er, auf ein hohes, leeres Loch blickend, ein Nichts vor sich. Was glaubst du? . . ."

"Pedder--diese Frage habe ich mir auch schon gestellt . . . Ich glaube, sie hat keine Antwort . . . Wir sind es, die zu spät gekommen sind . . . Ich kann dir nicht antworten."¹¹

As the narrator prepares to take leave of the area, he has a long talk with Pedder. The youth advises him to return to the life he had abandoned. However, the search for faith remains inconclusive.

The narrator then attempts to explain to Pedder the fruitlessness of his gift to Naissa. However, Pedder acknowledges that he had known this all the time and still had made the sacrifice for Naissa's sake. Of the three chief characters, Pedder seems to be the one who demonstrates a Christian humility and is willing to sacrifice for the happiness of others. The narrator who was searching for faith was tested and found wanting. Nevertheless, he is returning to his duties in life.

Die Insel Tütersaar sheds much light on the tendencies which are to be found especially in the earlier works of Schaper. In Die Insel Tütersaar the dominant concern is an individual's quest for religious faith. Schaper's attitude toward religious faith as expressed in his writings changes only slightly in all the following years. He becomes more pessimistic about the attitude of society toward religious faith. The most apparent change in the works of a later period is the increased determination of the protagonist to believe and persevere and, in this manner, to convince the reader of the necessity for belief. Thus the

¹¹Ibid., p. 161.

statement, "Gnade ist alles, auch der Glaube ist Gnade" (Grace is everything, even belief is grace)¹², becomes more and more meaningful throughout Schaper's work. What Schaper would have his reader learn about religion is that there is nothing but God's grace and that even belief is dependent on God's grace.

The individual's search for self-understanding, usually in a situation of conflicting authorities, is a most important feature in Schaper's writings. The allusions to an Old Testament God, as in the character of Wilhelm, stern, but forsaken and lonely, are interesting. To some extent these allusions take shape and are repeated in later works. Minor characters are frequently referred to as Job-like sufferers in later works. The loneliness and isolation which make up Wilhelm's environment are the predominant features in the following works. This isolation becomes in later works a quality of the church and its representatives in their conflict with an unfriendly and suspicious state. Likewise, the small number of characters that appear in Die Insel Tütersaar is typical of a Schaper work. Only five characters play any real part in the story. Two of these, the woman Brigitta and the girl Naissa, appear only fleetingly.

Die sterbende Kirche, Schaper's second successful novel, appeared in 1935. This work uses a formal religious setting and has clerical people as major characters. In Die sterbende Kirche Schaper deals with the problems and fate of a Russian Orthodox church, together with its congregation, in a small Baltic port. Father Seraphim became the last priest of the once-proud Russian Orthodox Church in Port Juminda after

¹²Ibid., p. 111.

having served as chaplain during the First World War. Father Seraphim had three sons: Ilja and Gawril, who served in the Russian army and with whom he lost contact during the war, and the late-born Kolja, whom he managed to retrieve after the Bolsheviks had murdered his wife together with other priests and their families.

Father Seraphim's household in Port Juminda consists of himself, his son Kolja, an elderly housekeeper referred to only as Babuschka, and the deacon, Sabbas Preobrashenski. Sabbas is the son of Russian aristocrats and had served as an officer during the war. He turned to religion after the war. Both Father Seraphim and Deacon Sabbas are the first in a long line of soldier-priests and chaplains in Schaper's writings.

The congregation which the priest gathered together numbered scarcely more than ten at first. The church and the priest's rectory, which he took over, had fallen into disrepair. Slowly Father Seraphim begins rebuilding the shattered remnants. At the same time Deacon Sabbas undertakes repairs for the church structure, demonstrating a talent for carpentry. The other characters in the story are a matter-of-fact German doctor and his ward, Mischa; Captain Bindeballe, a widowed sailor and his niece, Ljusja; and Ilja, the priest's eldest son, who had disappeared during the war.

As the small congregation begins to become a reality, the state creates a problem for Father Seraphim. Since taxes are past due, the ornate sacramental vessels of the church are to be impounded. This greatly disturbs Father Seraphim and in turn determines Kolja to forestall the loss of the church property to the state by stealing it.

While lowering himself from the skylight grate into the church, Kolja is struck and fatally injured when the grate separates from the rotting roof. His friend, Mischa, completes the theft. Shortly after the theft, Mischa returns the sacramental objects to Father Seraphim and confesses that he stole them for the church's sake and in memory of his late friend Kolja.

As Father Seraphim and the doctor puzzle over the proper action to take, Ilja arrives in a high-powered, armored, smuggler's boat. His story is that he has to meet some business associates in Port Juminda. During his stay Ilja determines it is necessary to eliminate the snoopy, gregarious, harbor watchman, Jumorin. He drugs the man and drowns him the evening before his "associate," in reality another Soviet spy like himself, is due. The associate arrives, forces his driver to drive through a police roadblock and departs on Ilja's boat in a hail of bullets from police and border soldiers.

Father Seraphim and Deacon Sabbas are arrested immediately as accomplices. After more than two months in jail while an investigation is conducted, first Sabbas and then, much later, Father Seraphim are released. Father Seraphim is finally cleared with the assistance of Ilja. Clippings of an official renunciation of Father Seraphim by Ilja are intercepted by the officials investigating the case. The clippings, which were from three different newspapers, were addressed to Father Seraphim. The renunciation absolved Ilja from any connection with his father the "Kultusdiener" (religious servant) Seraphim because, according to Ilja's statement, Seraphim deceives the people through religion. These clippings convince the prosecutor of Seraphim's innocence in the

spy affair.

Sabbas sets about restoring the decaying old church building, a task which helps him forget the sad state of the Russian Orthodox Church in and out of Russia. The deteriorating building nearly kills Sabbas as a portion of it falls on him. He survives the accident and tries to ignore the dangerous condition of the building with its ice-logged, rotted beams.

Coinciding with Ilja's spy mission and the disintegration of the church is the salvation of the young Russian girl, Ljusja, who has been sent to live with her sailor grandfather, Captain Bindeballe. Ljusja arrives in Port Juminda with a solid Communist indoctrination. Gradually she comes to doubt the political ideas she has learned. Ljusja's re-education occurs primarily through the association with Mischa and through the paternal teachings of Father Seraphim.

The dying of the church and its possible rebirth are centered around the Easter celebration. The church edifice has continued to deteriorate, but it has been held up through the winter by an accumulation of ice. A thaw which coincides with the arrival of Easter weakens the center section of the church. During the ringing of the church bells at the height of the Easter celebration, the dome crashes down upon Father Seraphim and his parish. The priest and ten of his parishioners lose their lives. Sabbas escapes with minor injuries and believes he is to blame for the accident since he deceived himself into thinking the building was sufficiently sound.

Ljusja had been taking individual confirmation lessons from Father Seraphim and was to be baptized on Easter Sunday. The growth

of religious understanding in Ljusja takes place as the material image of the church disintegrates. Mischa and Ljusja, who were becoming constant companions, were ringing the church bells and accelerated the physical collapse of the church. In their shock and grief after the accident, the two youths turn to each other for solace. These two Russian youths present the possibility for a rebirth of the Russian Orthodox Church. The novel closes with the statement that the two frequently remember Father Seraphim's comment that they carry the future of the Church with them. There is also an indication of spiritual rebirth in Ilja. His dispatch of clippings was clearly intended to lighten his father's burden. This spark of spiritual rebirth is kindled in the later novel, Der letzte Advent.

Die sterbende Kirche provides a more complete picture of setting, character, and theme that are to be found in the Schaper world. The novel is set in Port Juminda, a dying Estonian port. In a small, predominantly male cast, Ljusja is the sole female character portrayed. The men are either widowers or have never been married. Deacon Sabbas represents the individual who is searching for self-understanding similar to the narrator in Die Insel Tütersaar. Kolja's sacrifices for his father and the church and Mischa's sacrifice for Kolja are representative of individual sacrifices made by Schaper's characters. The humility demonstrated by Father Seraphim is also a quality of Pedder. Father Seraphim's quiet acceptance of life as it is and his determination to uphold religious faith are qualities which are frequently found in Schaper's writing.

Schaper's next published work, Der Henker, repeats and expands

the tendencies found in the two preceding published works. Der Henker first appeared in 1940 and was reissued in 1949 under the new title Sie mähnten gewappnet die Saaten. This long novel is set in the territory of Estonia when it was under czarist control in the early 1900s.

Captain Ovelacker, the central character, is a German-Balt who first appears in the novel when the czar's elite forces make a punitive sweep through the Baltic provinces to quell peasant uprisings in December, 1905. Ovelacker's cavalry squadron attempts to prevent marauding peasants from assaulting two Baltic estates, Drostenholm and Tidenküll. The squadron arrives at Drostenholm too late to save its owner but in time to catch the bulk of the peasants who had arrived to plunder the house. The murdered owner was Ovelacker's uncle. The neighboring estate, Tidenküll, which was also owned by relatives of Ovelacker, had been overrun and destroyed.

Ovelacker has specific orders to try apprehended people and carry out the harsh penalties within a forty-eight hour period. He would like to carry out the letter of the law and keep his personal feelings separated from his duties. Since the murdered people were his relatives, this separation of emotion and duty develops internal conflict. Finally, Ovelacker knows that as the heir to the estate he may soon live among the people where he must now serve as judge and executioner.

During the squadron's assault on the marauders at Drostenholm, three brothers, Nikolai, Jaak, and Mart Koiri, are arrested with other peasants on the fringe of the activities. During the field court-martial over which Ovelacker presides, the three brothers are found guilty. The oldest two, Nikolai and Jaak, are sentenced to death. The

youngest, Mart, is sentenced to twenty years in Siberia. The young men and their father, Jaan Koiri, declare their innocence. Lieutenant Möller, who arrested them, is convinced during the trial of their innocence. According to the letter of the law, the brothers are guilty since they were armed. They are further incriminated by the possession of jewelry which had been taken from the Tidenküll estate. Shortly after the court-martial and the executions, Ovelacker resigns his commission to take over the estate, and returns to St. Petersburg to attend to his resignation from the army.

On the evening of the verdict and executions, Koiri's wife has a premonition of the departing spirits of her three sons as she hears three geese flying over and calling out as they disappear into the dark. She supposes these are the spirits of her three sons. Late that same evening her husband returns and tells her the fate of the boys. The wife goes into shock and never recovers. The old man is wrapped up in his emotion also and for many days just lies in bed. Finally, Koiri begins to assuage his grief with long walks into the forest. He sometimes spends entire days wandering aimlessly.

Book One opened with the embarkation of Captain Ovelacker to protect and defend the estates with his cavalry squadron. Book Two opens with the arrival of Ovelacker as the new land owner, now discharged from the Russian Army, to take over the duties of running the estate. As Ovelacker arrives, he is greeted by a large group of people. In the pushing and jostling that take place on the railroad platform, someone pours blood at Ovelacker's feet. The natives of the area have begun talk about the execution of their sons, particularly about the two Koiri

brothers. They refer to Ovelacker as "der Henker," the executioner. This development takes place only because the Russian captain in charge of the punitive expedition turns out to be a Baltic German. This adds fuel to the beginning outcries for independence and outcries against the overlordship of the Germans. Furthermore, Ovelacker presents a tangible symbol for Baltic revolutionaries to attack.

After Ovelacker establishes residence on his newly acquired estate, he settles into the life of a Baltic land baron. He involves himself with the problems of running the estate. However, his background continues to present problems. The parish was supported by the Drostenholm estate in the past. The pastor has been threatened, and when Ovelacker offers his assistance and his continued support of the parish, the pastor feels that he cannot accept it. Any support from Ovelacker could be more damaging and dangerous than helpful. It also becomes difficult to retain the people on the estate who had worked for Ovelacker's uncle. They are now asking for higher wages and for better conditions of employment. One of their arguments, which the estate manager realizes is a valid one and which Ovelacker had not thought of, is that they feel that by remaining in service for Ovelacker, the executioner, they are placing themselves in danger in their relationship with their fellow Balts.

Throughout the course of Book Two, the activities of the native Estonians and Latvians become more and more predominant. First, the forester feels that certain areas of the forest are unsafe but hesitates to use the necessary force to make them safe. He feels that he and Ovelacker both would do well to look the other way in a certain number

of cases. With the withdrawal of the Russian troops, the original insurgents, the leaders and agitators, return. Reports filter in of threats and actual retaliations against informers. Many tenants and small farmers are forced to feed the transient revolutionaries. This sort of activity accelerates and reports grow to a crescendo. Observations of Jaan Koiri's shadowy, trance-like appearances intersperse such reports. Koiri is obsessed with the idea that Ovelacker is the assassin of his sons and, whenever overcome by depression, he wanders about the Drostenholm estate. Ovelacker, however, continues to see himself as merely the head of a five-member court-martial which examined the facts and acted upon them according to orders.

The neighboring estate, Tidenküll, has been inherited by a brother and sister, Andreas and Angelika Reuter. Like Ovelacker, they feel a responsibility to live on the land which they own, and play an active role in the country's destiny. There is, however, a distinction between the feelings of Reuter and those of Ovelacker. Ovelacker feels that the Germans in Estonia and Latvia have become as much a part of the land as the native Estonians and Latvians and should act accordingly. Reuter, on the other hand, has the very strong feeling that what the country really needs is the return of German dominance. The political fact is that, although the German-Balts are still present on many of the estates, the effective control of all of these provinces has been yielded to Russia.

When the brother and sister arrive to take up residence on their estate, they have a rebuilding project to undertake. During this rebuilding, Ovelacker invites them to reside with him. In a very short

time, practically instantaneously, Ovelacker and Angelika recognize and express a mutual love. Ovelacker feels he must tell Angelika of his past history, that is, of his part in the Russian punitive action and of the fact that he has become a symbol of persecution and an object of hatred for the Balts. Ovelacker feels that Angelika is, in fact, his angel and is going to save him. The mere fact that he feels that she will be his salvation implies something that Ovelacker does not admit in the course of the novel, namely, that he is guilty of something. Angelika does prove to be his savior. One evening as the two are strolling in the garden shortly after they have expressed their mutual love, there is an assassination attempt upon Ovelacker. He is shot down from ambush, but the final shot that would have killed him is intercepted by the body of Angelika. She dies for him, as it were. For weeks he lies in bed in critical condition with a lung shot.

During this period, the activities at the Koiri farm contrast with the activities on the Ovelacker estate. The farmer has on occasion been present and been doing his work, but the farm is steadily falling into disrepair.

At this point the Koiri maid, Olli, emerges as Schaper's most extensively portrayed woman. Olli has had a lover, another young peasant, whom she no doubt would have married. He was drafted, shipped to the Siberian frontier, involved in the Russo-Japanese War, and killed. Olli had a child by this young soldier and has given him up for care with foster parents in town. In the absence of management or direction from her two employers, Olli gradually assumes the responsibility of running the farm. She does much of the work herself. She also manages

to drive off the greedy neighbors.

In her new independence, Olli decides to keep her son on the farm. With the arrival of the son, the old farmer revives somewhat. Koiri is extremely fond of the boy, much to the surprise of the maid. The farmer suspects and hopes that the boy is his grandson. Olli relinquishes any claim to the farm when she tells Koiri that the father is not Mart. This last blow sends the farmer into his wandering isolation again. On the night that Ovelacker is shot down from ambush, he sees the unarmed old farmer, who has been in the vicinity of the house. After the shooting and before he lapses into unconsciousness, Ovelacker sees the old man run toward him and then pass harmlessly by. Ovelacker wonders at the time and continues to wonder why the Koiri farmer would pass the opportunity to finish off the presumed executioner of his two sons.

As Ovelacker begins to recover from his wound, he thinks more and more about the Koiri farm. He is visited by people who remind him of the old farmer's deteriorating circumstances. One student visitor suggests that Ovelacker should provide financial assistance to the old man. This particular visit infuriates Ovelacker because he still feels that he had acted honorably in the conduct of duty and owes Koiri nothing. However, Ovelacker does eventually bring himself to visit the old man. The regional doctor acts as a two-fold healer when he subtly encourages such a visit. But meantime Koiri has died, and Ovelacker arrives at the farm as prayers are being said for the dead farmer. In a closing conversation with Olli, Ovelacker changes his attitude about the trial and judgment. He will put in a personal appeal for the release of the son from his twenty-year Siberian imprisonment.

Sie mahnten gewappnet die Saaten is Schaper's longest, most complex and probably best novel. Schaper gives an account of the complex feelings existing on common meeting ground for German-Balts, Russified Germans, Russians, and native Latvians and Estonians.

In this novel more of the female world is presented than in Die sterbende Kirche. Both Angelika Reuter and Olli have major parts in the novel. Basically, however, this story is set in a man's world. There is the military life. There is the doctor who was formerly in the military and is a bachelor. There is a pastor who is a descendant of the old Teutonic nobility. Finally, the old farmer, Jaan Koiri, is presented as the patriarchal type who suffers Job-like tribulations.

This novel is also like previous novels in that we find a person or persons in conflict with themselves and searching for meaning. The major instance is Count Ovelacker. Here is a man who is acutely aware of his Baltic-German heritage. However, Ovelacker first appears in the service of Russia. He conducts himself as a czarist officer. In the course of the novel he suffers much conflict between honor and conscience. In the original court-martial, Lieutenant Moller, another Russified German, decides as a matter of conscience that the three Koiri boys are innocent. He cannot resolve this conflict either with himself or with the other four officers on the court-martial; he finally flees. His understanding of honor and duty take him back to Germany, where he becomes an officer in the German army.

The new element of this story is the role of the woman as a savior. Angelika is thought by Ovelacker to be the one who can save him from his vague sense of foreboding and guilt. She does save him, but not by

a conscious act. Angelika's death introduces in Ovelacker a feeling of commiseration for others. Olli plays a similar, but conscious, role on the Koiri farm as she works to save the old farmer and to bring Mart back from Siberia.

The next stories which Schaper published are similar to Die sterbende Kirche and Sie mähnten gewappnet die Saaten. The novels are peopled essentially by male protagonists in predominantly male situations. In each novel there is a search on the part of the chief character for himself; sometimes this search takes place in a religious context. The next of these novels is Der letzte Advent (1947). It is a sequel to Die sterbende Kirche and picks up the story of Deacon Sabbas Preobrashenski and Ilja Seraphimowitsch.

In Der letzte Advent the conflict involves Sabbas, the former deacon, and Ilja, the Soviet spy. The connection between these two men is first indicated in the preceding related work, Die sterbende Kirche. In that novel, the link in the two destinies is at first superficial, but it is not easily possible to overlook the author's intention. It is Sabbas that first sees Ilja for the reader. It is Sabbas that first meets him at the rectory. Sabbas and Ilja individually note the resemblance of the port watchman, Jumorin, to the presidium president of the Soviet Union, Kalinin. Both react to their impression of Jumorin's appearance in identical ways; that is, they both determine the resemblance from partially conscious awareness of something familiar. Both Ilja and Sabbas have premonitions about each other and are uneasily conscious of some bond or special awareness.

With the foreground established in the earlier novel, it is not

surprising to see the two come together again when Sabbas penetrates into the Soviet Union. After the collapse of the church in Port Juminda, Sabbas took a position in a monastery. He used this withdrawn position to allow his tuberculosis-weakened body to gain strength. While at the monastery, Sabbas was elevated to priesthood.

The action in Der letzte Advent begins when Sabbas leaves the monastery. He is plagued by a sense of responsibility for the fatal accident in Port Juminda. It is a sense of partial guilt which sends him into the Soviet Union, as he explains to Ilja:

Mir schien, mein Leben sei gerade noch gut genug, um es zu verlieren. So war es wohl. Ich mag nichts Besseres glauben. Letzten Endes letzten Endes. Es zu verlieren in dieser Sache, die nicht meine Sache ist und doch ganz meine Sache. Gottes Sache Ich weiss nicht, wie ich Ihnen das erklären soll. Aber glauben Sie nur nicht zu gut und zu hoch von meinen Gründen. Es war alles eitel, alles nur Versuchung, nur Ausflucht, und doch immer eine richtige Spur dabei. Wie soll ich Ihnen das erklären! Habe ich eine Schuld, dass die Kuppel damals einstürzte? Habe ich es gewusst, habe ich ein Versäumnis begangen? Ja und nein. Gott weiss das. Ich weiss schon nicht mehr, wo meine Verantwortung anfängt und wo sie aufhört.¹³

Ilja has met and fallen in love with Duschka, a young school teacher, who participates secretly in religious gatherings with a small group of people. Ilja is drawn into this group by Duschka and Sabbas. Before Sabbas' arrival, Ilja had become aware that he was under suspicion and is stolidly awaiting a secretive arrest in the night. After meeting Sabbas, Ilja confesses his past to Duschka and asks her forgiveness. Ilja becomes an accepted member of the group and then attempts to shield these new comrades from an investigation of

¹³Der letzte Advent (2d ed., Fischer Bücherei: Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Bücherei KG. Licensed edition of the Jakob Hegner Verlag, Cologne), 1958. p. 84.

rumors created by Sabbas' pilgrimage. The three, together with the rest of the group, are finally apprehended during a secret celebration of mass.

The novel draws to a conclusion as Advent approaches. In the final section of the novel, Schaper portrays the relentless questioning conducted by the secret police. The perseverance of the prisoners, especially of Ilja and Sabbas, seems meaningless. Sabbas had acquired false papers that identify him as Anatolij Bestuchin, a carpenter. In the lengthy ordeal of the interrogation, it is of extreme importance that this alias be upheld. Yet there is no reason offered for such martyr-like perseverance. Sabbas and all the rest are doomed and know it. Disclosure of the alias will not harm anyone.

The reader is left to draw two possible conclusions from all this. Since Sabbas is a man with firm beliefs, his will cannot be broken by mere tormentors, even in regard to a meaningless point of false identity. Another possibility is that Schaper places a great deal of importance on the fact that Sabbas should die as a carpenter in order to underscore still further the similarity between this kind of modern persecution and Christ's martyrdom.

The remaining stories in this section follow patterns very similar to those in the preceding works discussed. Therefore they will only be briefly summarized. The next novel is Die Macht der Ohnmächtigen (1951). The story unfolds in Catholic France during the reign of Napoleon. In the context of this novel, that time is portrayed to be as rigidly controlled and as perilous for freedom of conscience as the worst Soviet regime. In this sense, the novel is much like Der letzte Advent, except that it is set in a different time and place.

The chief characters include the Bishop of St. Sulpice and Chaplain de Chavannes. The other male characters are Lieutenant du Molart and Julien Sabre, the regional commissar and representative of the government. H el ene, the half-sister of the commissar, plays a minor role.

Napoleon's government is portrayed as a non-religious, hostile world. The characters, with the exception of the chaplain, see Napoleon as an Antichrist. Chaplain de Chavannes does not regard Napoleon's religious stance as important. When Lieutenant du Molart asks whether Bonaparte is the devil's servant, the chaplain answers that all of Europe calls Napoleon an Antichrist but that he is being tried by God to see if he will remain God's tool or whether he will become a fallen angel.

The bishop sees Napoleon's government as a greater evil. He is engaged in Loyalist Bourbon spy activities without the knowledge of the chaplain. The chaplain spends much of his time visiting du Molart in prison where he is being held and tortured on suspicion of spy activities. Du Molart's arrest resulted from his infatuation with and courtship of a woman member of the spy ring. The lieutenant is like the chaplain in that he is naively innocent of the spy activities. Du Molart is eventually freed and, after receiving a wound in battle, decides to trade sword and pistol for a novice's habit.

While Chaplain de Chavannes is working to comfort and aid the tormented, each one a casualty of an encounter with the state, Sabre is working efficiently to ensnare others who may be in opposition to the state. The commissar gradually closes his net around the bishop just

before the latter passes beyond mortal judgments. The commissar's half-sister, who has been living in sin with him, turns from her godless ways at the conclusion of the novel and seeks out the dying bishop to express this change that he has brought about. H el ene will apparently resist further temptation and go into a convent.

In Hinter den Linien (1952) Schaper describes a Finnish captain who is overcome with a strange, never-explained uneasiness which leads him to volunteer for a spy mission in the Soviet Union. Captain Mitterhusen assumes the identity of a Russian engineer and successfully completes his mission to learn the details of a railroad the Russians are building with slave labor. However, as the able-bodied prisoners are loaded up for box-car shipment to another job, Mitterhusen joins the ranks of the faceless mass of prisoners rather than make his way to the Finnish lines. Mitterhusen's decision to share the fate of prisoners he was forced to choose completes the conversion that began when he destroyed his identification papers and artifacts and began his mission as the engineer Woskanow. The conversion is strengthened by the Christian example of a carpenter whom he met at the construction site.

In Der Gouverneur (1954) Schaper has extended his world back into the historical period of Charles XII of Sweden and the declining years of Swedish control of the Baltic lands. Elements of this novel parallel preceding works. The overall mood is sombre and is overshadowed by the decline and withdrawal of the Swedes in Reval and the approaching death of the Swedish governor, Patkul.

This story, like Die Macht der Ohnm achtigen, involves a young

prisoner, Captain Cronstedt, and a chaplain, Akerhjelm, who is his confessor. Patkul's secretary, Bexelius, is similar to the Ilja of Die sterbende Kirche and Sabre in Die Macht der Ohnmächtigen. He is an efficient functionary for the politically dominant force. Patkul's adjutant, Horn, is comparable to the male companions that accompany Schaper's protagonists in many of the earlier novels. He has an apprentice relationship to Patkul much like Sabbas to Father Seraphim, and Chaplain de Chavannes to the Bishop of St. Sulpice. The Baroness Maria Barbara is a female extension to Patkul's growing human understanding.

Captain Cronstedt and three other survivors of the Battle of Poltava were attempting to work their way back to Swedish territory when they asked for food at the Drostenholm estate in Estonia. The three companions went berserk and killed Maria Barbara's family. She was saved by the intervention of Cronstedt who was in turn attacked by his companions. The three companions were later killed by marauding peasants.

Cronstedt was arrested as a participant in the killings, and the German nobles expect him to be tried and executed for his role. Maria Barbara and Patkul, however, do not consider him guilty. Their feelings are confirmed by the military chaplain, Akerhjelm, who counters Cronstedt's own feelings of guilt and despair and then works for his release. The combined efforts of Akerhjelm, Patkul, and Maria Barbara do save Cronstedt and develop a spiritual renewal in him. He is saved both physically and spiritually. The development of love between Maria Barbara and Cronstedt make the act of salvation more complete. As Patkul outmaneuvers the intrigues of the German nobles and their

accomplice, Bexelius, Maria Barbara and Cronstedt are sent safely on their way to Sweden. At the same time the Russian siege of Reval breaks the resistance of the Swedes and the Swedish governor, Patkul, dies of a stroke.

In the background of this novel is the political intrigue of the Baltic lords. They are anxious to see the Swedes repelled since they believe they can achieve more independence under the Russians. Bexelius makes the same switch of allegiance as the nobles when he works against Patkul.

There is a marked change in mood in Schaper's next novel, but otherwise his world remains much the same. In Attentat auf den Mächtigen (1958) Schaper encloses his basic story in a bureaucratic German environment and brings a lighter mood to his usually sombre world by directing light sarcasm at German bureaucracy through the overly self-conscious, self-important clerk, Diebitsch.

The story takes place in a Taunus valley resort town in the vicinity of Frankfurt. The chief characters are again typical for Schaper. There is the elderly Prokurator of the Russian Orthodox Church, Pobjedonoszew. He is accompanied by the quiet and protective Father Jakim. Pobjedonoszew comes to the resort to recuperate from spiritual and physical malaise caused by conditions in Russia. To complete the basic cast there is a young couple, a Polish revolutionary and a Russian girl. These two have traveled to the resort town in the guise of honeymooners in order to assassinate Pobjedonoszew.

The assassination attempt fails when the girl, Sofia Iwanowna, restrains her Polish friend from shooting as the elderly Russian sur-

prises the couple in the park. For Sofia the guise has become the real thing, and she does not wish to have her love soiled by a murder. At the same time that she is restraining the Pole, Father Jakim places himself in front of the diminutive Pobjedonoszew.

After the assassination attempt, Pobjedonoszew takes Sofia under his protection. He shields her from the German officials, and he and Father Jakim become respectively her instructor and confessor. Throughout the novel there is a growth of paternal love in Pobjedonoszew and corresponding filial affection in Sofia. Pobjedonoszew recovers as a result of his companionship with Sofia. At the same time he exercises a beneficial effect on Sofia and turns her from her revolutionary development back to the Orthodox Church.

The preceding discussion illustrates the kind of "world" which Schaper created in his earlier writings. Eight works were surveyed rather than two or three to emphasize the narrowness of that world. The following major features of that world serve as a summary.

Schaper's women, with the exception of those in Die Insel Tütersaar, make up one major type. Although woman and girl characters are rarely well-portrayed, after Brigitta and Naissa in Die Insel Tütersaar, all the women who appear typify the humility which Schaper's fiction seems to extol. The women are pure, devout, and humble. The few sketchy references to love of woman for man emphasize the force of that love as a spiritual benefaction to the man rather than any real physical attraction.

Schaper's fiction involves a predominantly male world. The men in

Schaper's world are widowed or unmarried individuals who are shown in their public duties and actions. There are five major types. Two of the most frequently recurring types are usually paired off. An older person of authority is paired with a faithful and naive younger apprentice of his profession. The older person represents a dying or disappearing element of society. Such pairs appear in six of eight works discussed, although not all of them have been mentioned. In Attentat auf den Mächtigen there are two such pairs, the Pobjedonoszew-Jakim pair and the unmentioned Dubrow-Diebitsch pair in the sub-plot. To some extent, such a relationship also exists among the male characters in Die Insel Tütersaar. Some other pairs are: Seraphim and Sabbas in Die sterbende Kirche, and Patkul and Horn in Der Gouverneur.

A pastor who is in some way related to the military frequently appears. He is either a military chaplain or a soldier turned clergyman. This character is usually a sub-type within the above pair groups. He appears as the older master, the young apprentice or sometimes as both. The Seraphim-Sabbas pair consists of Seraphim, the former military chaplain, and Sabbas, the former soldier. The pastor figure also appears as a separate male character. There is usually a gruff German doctor who is a skeptic. The final major character type is a dominant and efficient representative of the forces of the temporal world which oppose the church or find it in their way. Representatives of the latter type are Ilja in Die sterbende Kirche, Sabre in Die Macht der Ohnmächtigen, and Kurassov as a minor character in Der letzte Advent.

The settings in which Schaper's characters act are as restricted as the cast of characters. The nearly total concern with the Baltic

geographic region is not a restriction. However, the repeated use of situations in which one receding or dying power is being replaced by another does not offer great variety in subject matter. Indeed, Schaper's protagonists invariably look back on earlier times and regimes as more desirable. Father Seraphim and Deacon Sabbas represent the dying remnants of Russian Orthodoxy and look back to a Russia before the revolution. Ovelacker represents the German-Balt and looks back on a time when the Teutonic order provided service and earned respect in the Baltic lands, a time before Russian control. Patkul looks back on the days of Sweden's power and prestige.

Schaper's protagonists are representatives of an old order and cannot accommodate themselves with the new order. The conflicts which occur develop from this situation. Again, Die Insel Tütersaar provides the single exception. The protagonists in other novels are either threatened by the contemporary world or find themselves in conflict with it.

The characters, settings, and conflicts portrayed in the above works are extremely repetitious. Schaper retells the same story with new characters and provides no major growth or added insight throughout.

CHAPTER III

THE THEMATIC CONSTANT

Throughout Schaper's early writing there is a constant concern with a religious ethic. The most consistent and unifying statement in all of Schaper's work is the reiteration of a belief in salvation through personal sacrifice and devotion to principle. This is the overt message of the major novels and longer writings up to Das Tier (1958). In Das Tier Schaper presents a more pessimistic view of the present-day world in which the possibility of salvation as a reward for his humble protagonists is questioned.

The repeated concern with Christian salvation in the writings treated in the category "Earlier Works" can be viewed as a consistent thematic statement. In Die Insel Tütersaar the argument is that a person must search for belief to achieve grace. However, belief only comes through grace. The narrator says, "Gnade ist alles, auch der Glaube ist Gnade." (Grace is everything, even belief is grace.) A search for religious faith to attain grace really only becomes successful if one believes in the bestowal of grace. This is the old paradoxical argument of religion, the ultimo ratio in confrontation with the sincere, rationalistic investigator.

Die Insel Tütersaar is didactic to the extent that the old religious arguments are repeated. However, the novel is introduced by a still skeptical narrator who does not have a faith despite the events of an

earlier summer which he proceeds to narrate. Although he states the religious formula in which God's grace is the key to faith, the narrator is unable to achieve this faith. Grace is not bestowed upon the narrator, and he resigns himself to patiently continue the routine of his life without the strong faith he had hoped for.

In Die sterbende Kirche the limited theme is that all things earthly pass on, even the church and its structure. But religion within this ever-decaying environment is born anew out of each catastrophe. In this case the continued faith and perseverance of Father Seraphim are rewarded by the conversion of Ljusja and rebirth of Russian Orthodoxy in the younger generation represented by Mischa and Ljusja. There is also a suggestion that Father Seraphim's son, Ilja, may be redeemed at some later time. Nonetheless, one of the chief characters, Sabbas, is continually troubled by his knowledge of the decaying material world, the church structure, and he draws little consolation from a spiritual reparation. Again the human problem is projected: How does one believe in view of the calamities and inequities of this world? The answer in this work is again didactic. One believes because of the grace of God and perseveres because it is the road to salvation.

The next novel, Sie mhten gewappnet die Saaten, departs somewhat from the overt religious statement of the two preceding novels. Nikolai von Ovelacker attains a personal salvation at great individual cost. He loses his loved Angelika in the conflict between his own world and beliefs and the world and beliefs of the native Baltic people. His sense of justification through honor and duty conflict with the peasant sense of justification on the basis of a conscience. After the loss of Angelika,

Ovelacker gradually outgrows his reliance upon his military code of honor and brings himself to exercise human sympathy for Jaan Koiri, whose sons he had sentenced to death or imprisoned. It is this renunciation of old, isolating values which brings the salvation of the human Nikolai von Ovelacker. His perseverance against the adverse elements of his self-chosen environment represents the same determination demonstrated by Seraphim.

In Der letzte Advent the theme states that to endure the suffering which Christian theology sees as a normal part of this earthly existence is to attain salvation. Consequently the role of man in this life, according to Der letzte Advent, is to suffer stoically all possible humiliation and never to forsake a belief in God or to bow before the will of representatives of repression.

Again, it is not difficult to see behind this theme the greater theme of complete reliance upon faith for Christian salvation on earth. In many ways Der letzte Advent portrays the Christian in the given totalitarian environment of the Soviet Union as an individual who suffers the privations of a harsh master in mute acceptance but with dogged determination not to bend or yield. The Christian suffers this abuse in the firm belief that his determination and suffering may well be the tools of his salvation. He is doing God's will.

The conduct which saves Schaper's heroes from the fate of being mere protoplasm is their persistence in maintaining moral or religious stands that they have assumed and do assume to be right. Sabbas adheres determinedly to his alias as Anatolij Bestuchin while being questioned after his arrest. In this way, by remaining firmly behind

their commitment to God or to their role in God's universe, these people at least assume an individuality and self-respect in their role as mute sufferers of whatever may be dealt to them. At the same time they create for themselves an individuality in relation to the herd that does follow material power.

In Die Macht der Ohnmächtigen Schaper introduces in the person of Chaplain de Chavannes another stoic sufferer who continues in the footsteps of Seraphim, Sabbas, and Ovelacker. The chaplain is the naive individual who attempts to be a good, humble servant of God. He has no knowledge of what is taking place outside the church. In this way he is ignorant. Yet when confronted with the representatives of an outside political force, he manages to cope with that power, or withstand it, as a true servant of God. In so doing the chaplain visibly sways the chief representative of the evil, worldly forces, Julien Sabre.

However, in this novel Schaper goes beyond the simple representation of the naive but sincere individual that believes and maintains his faith despite any oppression to which he is subjected. Schaper introduces a counter-revolutionary sub-plot. The chaplain represents the unadorned theme in its earlier normal progression. The Bishop of St. Sulpice represents the underground Bourbon plotting against Napoleon.

The conservative element represented by the bishop is not content to limit itself to church affairs and abide by or tolerate the laws of this life. The bishop is a proponent of the monarchy and is willing to work for its return. However, the bishop rationalizes his secular and illegal activity by arguing that he is carrying on a fight against the Antichrist as represented by Napoleon. This is quite an addition

to the role of the humble church official of earlier works, who followed a philosophy of nonresistance toward evil.

In Die Macht der Ohnmächtigen the bishop is not vindicated for his political activity. He gains nothing but the reader's respect for his devotion to his particular political beliefs. It is obvious that he is too old to adjust to the new situation, but he can at least be firm in his convictions and thus maintain his self-respect. There is much in this conflict that parallels the original problem of faith. In this case the bishop's faith in the Bourbon monarchy is a faith which he works actively to support. The Bishop of St. Sulpice is more of a political activist than any other Schaper character.

Otherwise, the bishop resembles Father Seraphim in Die sterbende Kirche. Both persevere in the face of insurmountable odds and therefore in the face of certain defeat. There is in this type of action a demonstration of the moral conviction which is required to maintain belief without re-enforcement from success in worldly efforts. Thus, this role of the bishop is an extension of the basic theme.

A similar extension of the basic theme occurs in the later novel, Der Gouverneur. Again in this work, Schaper introduces several variations in order to enhance a repetition of this basic theme.

Cronstedt, who is indirectly involved in a mass murder by Swedish soldiers, is saved from execution by love, the standard Christian solution to wrongdoings. Patkul and Maria Barbara combine their efforts of love and understanding. In this process Patkul demonstrates a capability to interpret and make judgments from the heart rather than from the letter of the law, a capability which Ovelacker in Sie mühten gewappnet

die Saaten had to learn. The force of love, personified by Maria Barbara, enables Patkul to interpret the spirit of the law and to limit the possibility for others to misuse the letter of the law. The basic theme of faith and salvation through perseverance and Christian love, sometimes intermingled with earthly love, is fundamental to the novel. Thus the didactic function of the novel is established.

Appropriately, the setting of the novel also amplifies the basic theme. Thus the historical defeat of the Swedes parallels the defeat of the church in modern times by various political entities. Yet the Swedish attitude in this process, represented by Patkul, is to hold out stoically despite the lack of any rational justification for that action. Finally the Swedes do capitulate, much as the church is overcome in other novels, with honor.

The defeat of the Swedes and Patkul represents the general defeat meted out in this material life to the different protagonists in Schaper's world. The fact that Patkul faces so many insurmountable problems places him in the same category with the bulk of the religious representatives in Schaper's works.

The defeat of the Swedes in Der Gouverneur is similar to the collapse of the church edifice in Die sterbende Kirche. Patkul manages a personal victory by arranging the safe removal of Cronstedt and Maria Barbara. He then dies of a heart attack once his small victory is assured and before he falls under the control of the conquering Russians and their hangers-on. The heart attack serves to underscore the strong resemblance between Patkul and the Bishop of St. Sulpice in Die Macht der OhmHchtigen. Both achieve their final victory over their worldly

foe by dying.

The theme of Attentat auf den Mächtigen is that love conquers all. Yet underlying this theme is the more fundamental theme of faith as the ultimate answer. Pobjedonoszew relies on faith in his reaction to the assassination attempt. He also relies on forgiveness to solve all problems. He explains to Sofia, "Wir werden einmal alles verstehen--wenn wir es mit der Barmherzigkeit Überstanden haben." (We will at some time understand everything--when we have comprehended mercy.)¹

All these novels, including Die Insel Tütersaar and Attentat auf den Mächtigen involve maintaining the tradition. They restate themes that have been primary to Christian writers for centuries: upholding religion through faith and maintaining religion through the exercise of Christian love. Schaper's limited number of women characters usually appear as symbols of this Christian love. The few sketchy references to love of woman for man emphasize the force of that love as a spiritual benefaction to the man rather than as the result of any real physical attraction. Except in Die Insel Tütersaar, Schaper's women in the novels discussed above are linked positively to the basic theme of salvation. Even the narrator in Die Insel Tütersaar sought faith in his relationship with Brigitta, only to be disillusioned.

The limit of development within this narrow thematic scope is noteworthy. Die Insel Tütersaar presented the story of a person searching for faith. The remainder of the stories represent the necessity for faith and the salvation of men of faith in the conflict with the material

¹Attentat auf den Mächtigen (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Verlag GmbH., 1957), p. 198.

powers of this world.

As shall be seen in the next chapter, Schaper begins in the later novels to focus more narrowly on some of the worldly problems to be encountered. This can be seen as a shift away from a general statement and argument and toward a more specific observation.

CHAPTER IV

CHANGES IN THEMATIC DEVELOPMENT

Following Attentat auf den Mächtigen, which is already indicative of a desire to expand the general theme and world of his writings, Schaper makes a radical variation of his work. Das Tier oder die Geschichte eines Bären, der Oskar hiess (1958) takes the reader through the development that has taken place in post-war West Germany. In this novel Schaper looks at the modern German society through the eyes of an outsider. His novel is a harsh criticism of the materialism which has been dominant in West Germany. In this criticism there is limited opportunity to see hints of the existence of any religious faith which works for the salvation of any of the characters. While many of Schaper's works are Priesterromane and all prior to this novel have had a clerical representative among the characters, this is not the case in Das Tier.

In this novel the youthful Oskar Stepunat reviews the events and experiences the changes in environment. He takes up the narration in the peaceful surroundings of his boyhood Baltic home. However, there is a hint at the pessimistic social criticism to come. Antanas Stepunat, Oskar's father, is a worker on the railroad and is known officially only as a number which represents the railroad segment he watches over. It is not even a definite number, since it changes with the changing polit-

ical scene. The Second World War rolls over the Stepunats and they recede westward with the receding tide of the German eastern front.

The family is set adrift in the shambles of West Germany and is unable to adjust to the change. The father, after losing his sense of personal dignity and self-respect, dies of a heart attack. The mother lingers on only to die a painful death from leukemia. This leaves Oskar, who has neither schooling nor trade, to face his fate. The welfare nurse who had taken care of his mother locates for Oskar a busboy job in a sedate hotel. However, the enticement of better opportunities in the south soon lures Oskar away from his sheltered niche.

In his travels Oskar is caught up in the schemes of the coarse, materialistic photographer, Lacis. During the summer months Lacis makes a living by photographing tourists in poses with a fake polar bear that is really a man dressed in a white costume made from lambskin. Lacis encounters Oskar at a railroad station just after the assistant from the previous summer has refused to serve as the bear for a second summer. Lacis plies Oskar with drinks and fills him with stories of his chances to get rich as a photographer, after he learns the trade as Lacis' apprentice. Once Lacis has duped Oskar into accompanying him to his stand on the Grimsel-Pass, he keeps him there by taking advantage of his ignorance.

Oskar is a victim of his background and his new environment. Because he has such limited experience and still observes things without the harsh practicality of a denizen of the modern western world, he feels himself hemmed in by the role of the bear. He also feels that the role is false and therefore becomes both reticent and fearful.

Oskar analyzes his position:

Es war eine quälende Probe auf das eigene Dasein, in dem das Tier angefangen hatte, beinahe so etwas wie ein Stück des eigenen Lebens zu sein. Bei der Fremdheit in der Welt eine Art Zuflucht--und zugleich eine entwürdigende Verbannung des Ichs, die noch tiefer unter der "Knechtgestalt" stand.¹

Lacis keeps Oskar in service in the Knechtgestalt (form of servitude) by retaining his passport, a subterfuge which is successful only because of Oskar's ignorance. Lacis also repeatedly promises that the regular assistant will be coming up any day. To mock Oskar's ignorance a bit more, Lacis has named his fictitious regular Auxilius.

This implausible polar bear is placed in a Switzerland that has no bears. It serves to make Lacis money by titilating the nerves of a western society which is represented by shallow tourists who flock through the Alps and refuse to see nature's magnificence but allow themselves to be taken in by the enterprising photographer with his false bear. The bear and Lacis' value system represent attitudes and values that Schaper is opposing in this novel. Lacis sees the bear as a substitute appropriate for people who have no spiritual values:

Das ist ein Ersatz fürs Wunderbare. Wunderbares gibt es nicht mehr, nur Kreesi. Wunderbares hat den Verstand gesprengt, denn es war voll Wunder. Kreesi ist: der eigene Verstand um sieben Ecken herum gejagt,--wie ein Hund, den man mit Steinen schmeisst und loswerden will, aber der einem trotzdem immer wieder nachgelaufen kommt, eine Art neumodisches Gruseln statt eines anständigen Grauens nach alter Art. Arm in Arm mit dem grossen, weissen Bären, sozusagen auf dem Mond, mit der Bestie auf du und du,--im mutwilligen Wohlgefühl der verdünnten Luft auf mehr als zweitausend Metern den Kopf im Rachen eines weissen Bären--ha! Davon haben sie alle geträumt, wenn sie's mal im Zirkus vom Dompteur gesehen hatten. Jetzt können sie es um drei Franken fünfzig für die Kinder und Kindeskinde haben und hoffen,

¹Das Tier oder die Geschichte eines Bären, der Oskar hiess (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlag GmbH., 1958), p. 260.

keins werde den Reissverschluss entdecken und die ganze Mogelei ihres Heldentums für's Familienalbum. Aber nur Jux ist das auch nicht. Dahinter liegt Ernst. Fürchterlicher Ernst! Guck dir ihre Gesichter an, wenn sie mit dem Bären intim tun. Wie gespannt die sind! Der Schlotter sitzt ihnen trotzdem irgendwo, die Zähne im Rachen des Bären meinen Ernst. Es ist ein Spiel, aber sie haben Angst, dass sie die Grenze plötzlich nicht mehr wissen könnten. Viele. Die meisten.²

Oskar sees the falseness of the bear as a symbol of the atrocity of modern man for whom his fellow man has become too stale or dull to satisfy his needs:

Der Bär hatte ja keine Welt. Er war eine Verrücktheit, ein Kreesi,--für die Verrücktheiten derer, die sich mit ihm photographieren liessen, und diese Verrücktheiten hatten auch im Leben jener nur in Wunschträumen Platz. Der Bär war also nirgends--und war nicht einmal ein Bär. Ein Tier, weil den Menschen die Menschen fade geworden waren,--oder nur eine verhunzte Tiergestalt.³

Both Lacis and Oskar sense that the false bear satisfies a need for the people, but the need is not a healthy one. The need that is satisfied is one which develops from the emptiness of modern, materialistic man. Oskar, in the form of the bear, is sacrificed to the modern man's needs, vapid as they may be, so long as he participates in the falseness of the role.

In all this world of false fronts, the bear's fangs are the only authentic part of the pose. It is fitting that these become the instrument which destroys Lacis. Finally, Oskar sees through the duplicity and takes action. Oskar has become ill in his guise and becomes more the animal with each day. When he finally grapples with Lacis to retrieve his passport, he unwittingly slashes the photographer's

²Ibid., p. 178. ³Ibid., p. 214.

throat with the fangs, which are opened and closed by arm movements.

Oskar has saved nothing and has gained nothing through his ordeal. The materialism which Lacis represents is also doomed, struck down by its own creation, the false bear made of lambskin. There appears to be nothing in this world of questionable values to save. There is faith, but its representative is a naive misfit in this world. There is, indeed, nothing to have faith in, no one to transfer faith to. The innocent may retain his faith but is in a complete vacuum with it. He can hope to save no one, since he cannot communicate with the society.

In previous novels the central character has been at the mercy of his environment. However, in that position, those various earlier characters have sacrificed themselves in support of their ideals. Oskar Stepunat is, in a sense, sacrificed. His innocence becomes the victim of modern materialism. Oskar does not sacrifice himself for an ideal as earlier protagonists have done. The real victim in the end is the materialist, Lacis, who is felled by his own machination. The symbol of non-human, non-feeling, money-hungry society is killed, "als hätte Lacis mit seinem Blut ein Opfer für uns alle gebracht."⁴ Lacis falls victim to his own mechanism. Oskar seems to be speaking for Schaper when he evaluates Lacis' death:

Ohne mein Zutun hat das Tier ihn getötet. . . . Er ist durch das Tier umgekommen, das er, der Menschenverächter, in den Dienst seines Geschäfts gestellt und mit so seltsamer Liebe gehegt und gepflegt hatte.⁵

The conclusion of the novel leaves the possibility that Oskar

⁴Ibid., p. 325.

⁵Ibid., pp. 327-328.

may be cleared of responsibility for the death. But the story has not been presented to allow the reader to speculate on the fate of Oskar. Oskar has been a picarro. He has changed very little throughout the story, but he has observed the ethics of Germany and western Europe in its reconstruction period. The story stretches from Poland to Switzerland and centers upon the western world and western values as Schaper sees them.

The primary statement of the novel is that the western world is an empty form. The loss of the individual's self-respect in this western world is shown in the degradation of both the father and the son. The absence of religious and ethical feelings in the people whom Oskar encounters indicates further the emptiness of the modern, western world as Schaper sees it. There is no instance of a demonstration of love which works salvation as in previous novels. When Oskar does encounter a young girl in the restaurant at Grimsel-Pass, the waitress is not inclined to get involved. She restrains her initial impulse to befriend Oskar. The waitress and the other minor characters live in a shell and never are really known. Oskar's bearskin is a shell also, but he cannot tolerate this false situation. He is liberated from this role when he strikes out as a bear and kills his seducer, Lacis, the representative of the modern western world's materialistic interests and values.

The negative evaluation of western society which Schaper makes in this novel is not a complete departure from earlier works. The basic difference is the increased attention devoted to society. The environment of previous writings is hostile to the protagonist, but

the emphasis in earlier works is placed on protagonists who ignore the antagonistic environment and seem to overcome its ill effects through a demonstration of faith or humility. In Das Tier the environmental society in which the protagonist moves is portrayed more fully and criticized much more than in earlier works. Oskar observes that world and finally strikes out against it. This aggressiveness by a Schaper protagonist, however accidental it is, is a new quality.

In Das Tier Schaper is portraying the world with faith removed. The individual that does not appreciate the higher qualities of man, that dehumanizes man for the benefit of the machine, is doomed. He meets his end by way of the machine he created. There is no longer any saving faith.

The same negative evaluation is continued in the next work, the tale Die Geisterbahn (1959). This story is placed in contemporary West Germany and is once again a criticism of what the author sees there. As in Das Tier Schaper draws his major character from eastern Europe. Die Geisterbahn is the story of Witold Adameit, a German-Balt who has been cast about by the trials of two world wars and has accepted life's blows with the humility typical of Schaper's characters. In this modern society he is "einem Einzelgänger unter Wölfen gleich" (like a solitary individual among wolves).⁶ When not required to serve in the army, Adameit has, since early youth, devoted himself to the renowned Salomonski circus. In the early years this circus was a gathering of skilled individual performers proud of their competence.

⁶Die Geisterbahn (2d ed.: Cologne: Jakob Hegner Verlag, 1959), p. 15.

Adameit himself developed into an accomplished animal trainer. During the course of his life, which spans the time from before World War I until after World War II, Adameit witnessed the alteration of the once proud circus into a collection of mechanical attractions for shallow, modern people who want a quick thrill and no more. This change began when the businesslike new owner, Au. Backe, sold the trained horses for meat during the war. There is a progression from public taste for rides, as opposed to specialty performances, to a demand for more and more excitement in which the circus-goers can participate.

It is in this barren atmosphere that Adameit begins drinking moderately in his free and lonely time. One night as he starts after a bottle, he meets a Roman Catholic priest who turns out to be a compatriot and former soldier. Several long talks with the "pastor," a chaplain at a nearby prison, bring new meaning into Adameit's life.

The pastor points out to him the necessity to have the society and the world firmly anchored at the axis of faith around which it turns. However, the pastor falls victim to the machine in a car accident and is "hinausgeschleudert" (thrown out). The world is spinning too fast. Then there is the danger that the axis will not sustain the old values. The pastor is cast out by the speed of the modern world. Adameit is to be struck down by disregard for the value system upon which this new world is anchored.

With the increased demand for more startling attractions, the circus acquires a Geisterbahn or "spook ride." Adameit is strongly attracted to this and is finally responsible for its successful assembly, function, and effectiveness. The Geisterbahn has a meaning

similar to the bear in Das Tier. It is a substitute for faith in the modern world. Au. Backe evaluates his new ride in terms of the new business ethic:

Und wenn du dir die Kassenausweise ansiehst und alle miteinander vergleichst, siehst du den Erfolg noch ganz anders. So etwas wie die Geisterbahn wollen die Leute jetzt auf dem Platz. Genau wie Okkultismus und Spiritismus und Yoga und wie alle diese Sachen heissen mögen in den Vortragssälen. Der Trend geht nach dem Metaphysischen.⁷

The modern world in this case is represented by the carousing youths who eventually cause Adameit's death, and by Au. Backe who represents the shallow, uncultivated, modern businessman. Backe's impersonal business outlook is underscored by the continued use of the form "Au. Backe," which resembles the impersonal signature of a German business letter. Backe is more interested in money than he is in quality. However, he grudgingly retains Adameit for sentimental rather than practical reasons. This feature distinguishes Backe from Lacis in Das Tier.

Within the Geisterbahn Adameit fills the role of death, reaping the human life at the end of its course with his scythe. Finally Adameit is killed by a representative of modern society, a society which no longer has any respect even for death. As the narrator postulates:

Vielleicht galt der weit ausholende Schlag mit der Flasche, den Adameit etwas zu spät sah, als dass er ihm noch hätte ausweichen können, gar nicht ihm, sondern dem Tod überhaupt, der es gewagt hatte, sich in den Weg zu stellen.⁸

These people who seek thrills on a mechanical ride no longer fear or

⁷Ibid., p. 110.

⁸Ibid., p. 136.

respect death. They scorn it. Adameit dies the victim, not of an individual, but of a type representative of the modern, materialistic West.

This story is similar to many of Schaper's works in that it is set in a period of change. There is a change from old values to new and a change from old beliefs to new. Invariably Schaper views this change as a loss. In this case there is the loss of people with a capacity to understand and appreciate the skillful performance of individuals. Adameit represents the old and is forced to live and finally to die in the new.

There is no act of salvation through faith in Die Geisterbahn. As in Das Tier there is nothing to be saved. Adameit is an isolated individual who is out of contact with these people around him. Their two worlds are mutually exclusive. The surrounding world cannot understand Adameit. This new world is separated from Adameit's old world by time and it no longer has any respect or understanding for the previously accepted order. On the other hand Adameit cannot feel at ease in this new environment and finally cannot exist in it. Shortly before the fatal accident, the uselessness of what he represents for these people oppresses him. "Adameit befiel eine l hmende Traurigkeit bei dem Vergeblichen seines Tuns. Diese Leute waren, wie man so sagte, 'nicht umzubringen'" ("not to be brought around").⁹

In both Das Tier and Die Geisterbahn Schaper has departed from his earlier theme of salvation through faith and sacrifice. The modern

⁹Ibid., p. 135.

world in which Schaper sets these two works reflects no understanding or sympathy for anything based on faith. The people in Schaper's modern world want something more immediate, and have no patience with a non-rewarding demonstration of faith. These two works represent Schaper's social criticism. Yet they can be associated with the author's earlier presentations of problems involving faith. The representatives of good are gone or are so few as not to be apparent or effective in Schaper's description of post-war West Germany. The protagonists, though still determined and unswerving in their humble course in life, do not seem to sense a redeeming grace or salvation as their reward.

CHAPTER V

A RETURN OR A NEW BEGINNING

In the two works which are to be considered in this chapter, contemporary social criticism is not the primary concern. For that reason they mark a break with the previous two works. Since these two stories share features of setting and story-telling, they can be considered together. The first of these is the novel, Der vierte König (1961). Here Schaper returns to the northeastern European setting which is most frequently the location for the works discussed in Chapters Two and Three. The events of this novel take place along the Russo-German front during the German offensive of 1942.

The frame of this story is the chance meeting many years after the war of five individuals who had been acquainted during the above-mentioned winter offensive. These former acquaintances gather in the "Piqueurhof" in the East-Friesian city, Groningen, in the Netherlands. Two of the group of five former war comrades are noteworthy. The narrator of the outer frame, that is, the narrator of the contemporary events as they occur at the "Piqueurhof," is the former Lieutenant Treyden. The chief event of this reunion is the narration of a war experience by a second member of the group, Baron Fredericks.

Within Fredericks' story the main figures are typical Schaper characters. There is first of all Fredericks himself, who was a German

intelligence officer. Other main characters included Armjaninow, a czarist Russian prince attached to the German intelligence group; Father Ilarion, a Russian Orthodox monk who had been a soldier in the White Russian army during the revolution; Wolodjenka, the dried-up old man referred to as the fourth king; and a German major of the old school who represented the form and the sentiment of pre-World War I times.

In Fredericks' inner story the reader is taken back in time to the wintry northeastern German front in the region around Swjatogorsk in eastern Estonia. Strikes by Russian partisans behind the lines represent a threat from the east. The influx of Nazi officialdom behind advancing front-line troops represents a threat from the west. The Nazis are intent on cleaning up anything which strikes them as non-Nazi. Father Ilarion's Russian Orthodox monastery is the most conspicuous non-Nazi object in the area. In addition to harboring the elderly monks, the monastery provides shelter for many refugees from Russia.

As part of his story out of the past, Fredericks retells the legend of the Russian fourth king as he originally heard it from Father Ilarion. This inner story, which Schaper has since published separately, concerns a Russian king who is comparable to the three wise men or kings of the Bible. The Russian fourth king set out to follow the Christmas star and pay homage to the baby Christ. However, various deeds of pride and mercy delay him so that he arrives, not in time to pay homage at the Savior's birth, but rather in time to witness His Crucifixion with other beggars:

Der vierte König, der kleine aus Russland, hob aufwärtssteigend

den Kopf und blickte zu den drei Kreuzen hin, an denen der Schwächer inmitten schon von weither seinen Blick auf sich zog. . . . Mit einemmal aber blieb er stehen, und seine Rechte griff rasch zur Brust nach dem Herzen hin, das einen grausamen Stich empfangen zu haben schien. . . . Er hielt den Kopf jetzt aufgehoben, das sein Blick das Kreuz in der Mitte nicht mehr verlieren konnte. Und je häufiger er, langsam näher kommend, stehenblieb, desto deutlicher und inniger sah er den Herrn, seinen gekrönten Herrn, seinen König, den grössten aller Zeiten und Zonen, dem als Kind zur huldigen er vor mehr als dreissig Jahren aus Russland ausgezogen war.¹

In that final moment the Russian king, now a beggar, offers the only things still at his disposal, his heart and that of a female beggar he had earlier befriended. Like earlier Schaper heroes, the fourth king is more conscious of his supposed failings than of his good deeds:

Ich habe nichts, ich habe nichts mehr von allem, was ich dir hatte mitbringen wollen. . . . alles ist hin und vertan.

Verzeih, Herr!

Russland aber. . . .

Doch da, als es schon vor seinem Blick dunkelte, fiel ihm das Herz der Bettlerin ein, das sie ihm als Königreich geschenkt hatte, und er dachte an sein eigenes Herz: das einzige, was er noch zu verschenken hatte. Und in das Polster eines wilden Thymians hinein, das sich Zwischen moderndem Gebein ausbreitete und seinen Duft in den nahen Abend verströmte, flüsterten seine Lippen, ohne dass er es da noch wusste: "Aber mein Herz, Herr, mein Herz. . . . und ihr Herz. . . . Unsere Herzen, nimmst du sie an?"²

Since that time, according to the story, the Russian fourth king has wandered across the face of the earth tortured by the question of whether his gift has been accepted. He is experiencing "den Hunger nach Seligkeit im Gekreuzigten" (the hunger for bliss or salvation in the Crucified) as the Russian prince Armjaninow expressed it.³

¹Der vierte König (Cologne: Jakob Hegner Verlag, 1961), pp. 125-126.

²Ibid., p. 126. ³Ibid., p. 127.

At the time of the winter offensive, the aged Russian assumed to be the fourth king was in the monastery operated by Father Ilarion. When the Nazis took over the monastery, the fourth king was smuggled away to a nearby hermit. Meanwhile Russian partisans found the hermitage and, after killing the hermit, were using it as their headquarters. When Armjaninow, the prince, took the fourth king to this refuge, he was killed. Later Father Ilarion was killed as he led Fredericks in search of the missing Armjaninow. But the fourth king or Wolodjenka was not among the corpses.

This technically complicated novel, reminiscent in its complex framing device of Lermontov's Hero of Our Times, is a return to the earlier quest for faith which Schaper's first works exhibited. In this novel Fredericks is the chief figure. Treyden's description of Fredericks presents a composite picture of many of Schaper's protagonists:

Seine eigentümlich grauen Augen--meergrau, war mir immer als Vergleich gekommen--schiene für mich eine unheilbare Schwermut auszustrahlen, und zusammen mit dem weltmännischen Gehaben in aller unbewussten Lässigkeit, das ihm anhing, erschien er mir als der letzte eines untergegangenen Zeitalters von Kavalieren, wie ich sonst nur in Vertretern der vorangegangenen preussischen Standes-Generation oder im baltischen Adel erlebte--oder als ein Mann, der irgendwann einmal in seinem Schicksal an seinem eigentlichen Leben vorbeigegangen war.⁴

In Der vierte König the legend and the war experience hold a peculiar fascination for the narrators and in particular for Fredericks. He is the individual that holds the narrating group together and therefore is responsible for recreating the inner story of the Russian fourth king. In so doing Fredericks appears to be meeting a personal need in

⁴Ibid., pp. 15-16.

his individual search for faith. He is searching and wants to believe. Fredericks mockingly questions his belief at times, as when narrating his discovery of the murdered monk:

"Es ist grauenhaft, grauenhaft, grauenhaft!" soll ich gesagt haben, und immer wieder gestöhnt. "Mein Gott! Mein Gott!" Also . . . hatte ich vielleicht doch einen, dass ich ihn anrief in dieser Stunde der Not. . . ?⁵

Fredericks resembles the unnamed searcher-narrator of the first novel, Die Insel Tütersaar. He is deeply rooted in the Christian world and in Christian faith, yet he must feel himself akin to the Russian fourth king who is forced to wander the earth without knowing if his proffered heart has been accepted by Christ.

The next work, Der Aufruhr des Gerechten (1963), parallels Der vierte König in every aspect. The presentation of this chronicle utilizes a framing device even more complex than in Der vierte König. The frame for Der Aufruhr des Gerechten consists of a chance gathering of six men who were associated only in their knowledge of or connection with the life and fate of two cousins who served as missionaries in the Baltic area. The six men gather, as did the narrative group in Der vierte König, in a city in the Netherlands, many years after the events of the story. The unnamed narrator of that meeting is similar to Treyden in Der vierte König. He is not a participant in the inner story. His description of the meeting and the fascination it held for him and for his companion narrator of the inner story parallels the enigmatic fascination exercised by the foregoing story on its two narrators. The peculiar fascination created by the content of the

⁵Ibid., p. 243.

story is expressed by the narrator:

Ebenso erstaunlich aber mutet es an, dass ein Abend und ein Tisch etliche Menschen vereint, die aus den verschiedensten Bereichen des Lebens und der Welt gekommen, über ein und dasselbe Schicksal sprechen können, weil sie alle seinen Lauf einmal gekreuzt oder, wenn auch nur flüchtig, gestreift haben, oder weil irgend etwas in diesem Schicksal: eine Kraft, eine Spannung, eine Forderung oder ein Widerspruch, stark genug gewesen war, sie alle in das magnetische Feld zu ziehen, das eine--für die grosse Welt im Übrigen völlig bedeutungslose--Existenz zu erzeugen vermocht hatte.⁶

The narrator's judgment that the story which fascinates the six men is meaningless to the outside world seems to be an evaluation of the outside world rather than evaluation of the story.

The other five men, like the narrator, are familiar figures in Schaper's world. They include Kruls, an officer in the Netherlands army with former duty as a military attaché in the east; Van der Bosch, an elderly lay instructor at a religious college and an esteemed Slavist; Danielssen, a florist from Friesland who is a "besonders guter Kenner von Osteuropa" (a knowledgeable connoisseur of east Europe); Peter S'Heerenberg, an elderly cleric of unspecified denomination who had spent his life overseas and in the east; and Monsignor Tavanasa, "einen undurchsichtigen Menschen" (an impenetrable person) of Lithuanian origin who is living in exile. Tavanasa was formerly in the diplomatic corps and took the religious vows only late in life.

Through the course of the evening these men listen to and contribute to the story which Tavanasa eventually dominates much as Fredericks had in Der vierte König. In this process, the story of the Roman Catholic missionaries Gaston and Pierre-Marie de Cyran unfolds.

⁶Der Aufruhr des Gerechten (Cologne: Jakob Hegner Verlag, (1963), p. 9.

These two cousins first travel to the Baltic area in 1931 or 1932. Their missionary zeal leads them to wish to communicate with the natives more than to merely propagate a religious program dictated by Rome, which is not received by the people. In their desire to understand the people, both cousins learn the language and take on Estonian citizenship. They also become oriented to the Russian Orthodox Church, their tenet being that Christian ministry preceded sectarian distinctions.

This understanding for and sympathy with the culture and primary religion of the native Estonians leads the cousins into conflict with the Catholic Church hierarchy. The hard physical work and the devotion to Christian understanding which Gaston and Pierre-Marie exhibit make no impression on the church hierarchy. The cousins fail to gain sanction for their activities and the Church suspends their power to celebrate masses.

"Der Gerechte" (the righteous one) referred to in the title of this work is Pierre-Marie de Cyran. During the audience with his bishop in which he is suspended, Pierre-Marie states his belief:

Es geht mir nicht um Entscheidungen im christlichen Lehramt, die mir nicht zukommen. Es geht mir um christliches Leben. Und wenn ich von den Mitbrüdern in der Kongregation christliches Leben so missbraucht sehe, und Rom gibt noch seinen Segen dazu und schützt den missgünstigsten Ehrgeiz um einer Konversions-Statistik willen, dann widersetze ich mich dem mit dem Recht eines lebendigen Menschen, der die Gnade anflehen darf, die nicht nur in einer Institution wirkt!⁷

After his suspension Pierre-Marie returns to the outlying district where he and his cousin Gaston had been active. He resides in the

⁷Ibid., p. 105.

rectory and tends the church which the two cousins had built. A constant companion is a mystical old man reminiscent of Wolodjenka in Der vierte König.

This religious conflict develops during the thirties when Soviet borders were tightly closed and the newly formed Baltic countries were struggling to exist. The climax of Pierre-Marie's chronicle occurs in 1940 as the Soviets move into the Baltic countries.

With the approach of the occupying troops the bishop arranges for the safe exit of his rebellious former priest. Pierre-Marie rejects the opportunity. He elects instead to stay with the people he has attempted to help. Pierre-Marie's opposition to church hierarchy and his eventual decision to remain and face the hardships of Soviet control, together with his people, are motivated by the same forces that moved earlier Schaper protagonists. He has an enduring faith and is willing to sacrifice as his conscience dictates. He expresses his feeling as he refuses to flee:

Wenn alle weglaufen wollten wie sollte dann der Herr hierbleiben? Hierbleiben können . . .? Wenn sie mich für einen abtrünnigen Priester halten--und ich bin ein Aufrührer und muss es sein--, das Sakrament der römisch-katholischen Kirche, für welche die Umtriebe holländischer Kongregationisten im vatikanischen Hofstaat entscheidend zu sein scheinen und nicht das Wort eines Bischofs--das Sakrament ist auch durch mich noch gültig und wird es bleiben, wenn die Schriftenstünde der Apologeten schon in alle vier Winde verweht worden sind. Ich bin hier frei geworden, frei in vieler Hinsicht, verstehen Sie? Und ich gehe lieber in das Gefängnis des Teufels als in den Käfig derer, die sich für Sachwalter Christi ausgeben!⁸

Pierre-Marie differs from earlier protagonists in that he speaks out strongly and also in that he quarrels with the church. However, in

⁸Ibid., pp. 162-163.

his appeal to a universal grace, a grace which does not work in only one institution ("die Gnade, . . . die nicht nur in einer Institution wirkt"), Pierre-Marie exhibits a kinship to the unnamed narrator in Die Insel Tütersaar. He also resembles the humble suffering protagonists appearing in other of the earlier works. Pierre-Marie sees his eventual salvation at the end of a path of suffering and willingly chooses to take that path.

In this work Schaper completes his return to his earlier works and statements. As if to illustrate this return, Kruls, the military attaché, concludes the account of Pierre-Marie with a report that the former Catholic priest is in an Arctic work camp together with a Finnish Captain Mitterhusen and other religious figures of different denominations. There a universal form of Christian service is secretly conducted. Monsignor Tavanasa, who narrates the basic story, resembles Fredericks in Der vierte König. However, Pierre-Marie's zeal has caused him to switch from his early military career to the ministry while Fredericks is still searching. Both Tavanasa and Fredericks resemble protagonists in Schaper's earlier novels. They fit readily into the company of Seraphim, Sabbas, Ilja, Cronstedt, du Molart, and Mitterhusen, to say nothing of the minor soldier-cleric figures in these and other stories.

However, Fredericks and Tavanasa are deeply moved by the earlier personal experiences which they narrate. In these inner stories, the characters are also like characters from Schaper's earlier stories. Schaper has returned to his earlier world, but he has done so with a stylistic change that makes his old story more involved. He continues

to present the old characters, settings, conflicts, and themes.

Throughout nearly all of Schaper's work is the underlying theme that belief in God is in itself sufficient for salvation. This belief, however, seems only to grow and thrive where there is hardship. Further, adherence to this basic belief continuously leads Schaper's heroes to a self-sacrifice and self-denial which makes their hard life more difficult and consequently strengthens their belief. Only in Das Tier and Die Geisterbahn does Schaper go outside the above theme in a condemnation of the modern German world.

CHAPTER VI

SCHAPER'S PLACE IN TODAY'S GERMAN LITERATURE

To attempt to evaluate Schaper's contribution to contemporary German fiction, it is first necessary to look briefly at the situation that did and does exist in the area of prose fiction and particularly in the field of the novel in Germany.

German literary development was disrupted by the vast social changes brought about by World War I. The post-war inflation led to the unstable political period and eventually to National Socialism. This interim period permitted no firm basis for an organized development. Beginning in 1932 the environment became even more hostile. The Nazi totalitarian control ending in the Second World War consumed much of the spiritual and artistic bridge to the past.

In 1945 German writers had many tasks. They had a war and an altered world to examine; they had a recent Hitlerian past to either repudiate or explain; they had a more distant past to either ignore or link with the modern world. Among authors of contemporary German prose fiction there are representatives of several schools of writing. In their written work are explications of widely variant philosophies.

There is, however, a general, if somewhat vague, delineation of writers into traditional and avant-garde. The traditional writers are those whose predominant utilization of theme, plot, time, setting, structure, and language can be considered non-innovative. The tradi-

tional writers are to be aligned with Henry James rather than with James Joyce, with Thomas Mann rather than with Robert Musil or the Alfred Döblin of Berlin Alexanderplatz. Avant-garde as used here applies to those writers who are innovative. The question remains open as to which group has made and will make the greatest contributions to literature as a whole.

Because of the near literary vacuum created in Germany during the National-Socialist period, there was and is a search for literary standards and, on the part of some, for direction. This search is apparent in the great interest shown by literary critics and experimental writers in new forms and innovations to express new insight into today's world and to explore today's moral and spiritual values.

There are many voices speaking out on the status of the post-war German novel. Yet it is extreme understatement to note that these critics and commentators do not speak in unison. They are resolved only on one point, that a clearly discernible and generally accepted course is not to be found.

Roy Pascal states from the historical viewpoint that the German novel was never written for the general reading public. In reference to many of the major German-language novelists, a group including Hermann Hesse, Hermann Broch, Robert Musil, Wilhelm Raabe, Theodor Fontane, Franz Kafka and Thomas Mann, Pascal writes:

There is too little freshness of perception in their writing, and a lack of liveliness in incident and plot . . . The action of the novels suffers likewise from a lack of vividness . . . All these writers seem to believe with Schopenhauer, that the less external incident, the better the novel . . . It is not only that nearly all foreign critics find the German novels ponderous; the Germans find this too . . . Even for Germans,

to read the great German novels is mostly a 'cultural task'-- infinitely rewarding, I believe, but never likely to become a dangerous passion to the reader!¹

Pascal believes that critically well-received German novels are not widely read, but he goes on to explain that such has always been the case. This situation must be a concern for the writer in Germany as elsewhere.

Another major concern is expressed by other critics. Bernhard Rang agrees with Pascal's observations:

So muss man diese Bücher--ich denke etwa an StifTERS Nachsommer oder den Witiko, an Fontanes Stechlin . . . wie an Musils oder Herman Brochs Romane--so muss man sich diese Lebens-und Weisheitsbücher gleichsam erobern und gründlich aneignen.²

The difference is that Rang considers this a desirable trait, while Pascal sees it as a development peculiar to the German novel and as a liability in comparison to the European novel. Rang, however, ranks several writers down because they do not make a strong philosophical statement. In commenting on the novels of Thomas Mann (Buddenbrooks and Zauberberg), Cooper, Conrad, Bergengruen, Schaper and others, Rang writes that they are: "fast nur Romane . . . die ich als unterhaltsam, aber doch mehr als unterhaltend bezeichnen möchte, denen das Prädikat des Künstlerischen wenigstens cum grano salis zuerteilt werden kann."³ Rang qualifies the already limited favor shown to these writers by

¹Roy Pascal, The German Novel: Studies, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1956, pp. 302-304. (Pascal's criticisms are not at all so harsh in actual context, and he points out that he holds them only in comparing the German novel with Europe's best.)

²Bernhard Rang, Der Roman: Kleines Lesehandbuch (2d ed. rev.; Freiburg: Verlag Herder, 1954), pp. 18-19.

³Ibid., pp. 22-23.

criticism of a representative work for too much story. He recognizes the same qualities that Pascal points out, but Rang prefers the "cultural task" and believes it desirable in the good novel as opposed to the artistic (künstlerischen) novel. H. M. Waidson gives qualified praise to the German novel development after the war. His praise, however, is not based on the qualities which Rang would have in a good novel:

German fiction since 1945 may have certain unevennesses in quality, but it is lively and interesting both in its themes and formal tendencies. We find here a direct encountering of the issues of the times, an openness to stimuli from all directions, yet a continuity with earlier narrative traditions.⁴

Another critic, Hermann Pongs, opposes the aspect of the diversity which Waidson observes and appreciates:

Alle diese Dichter, auch Bergengruen, Morgan, wie Schaper, Klepper, Friedrich Georg Jünger u. a. bleiben in der Tradition. Sind sie darum verdammt, nie Weltliteratur zu werden, weil die Avantgarde nur Masstäbe des Joyce-Kafka-Musil-Formexperiments anerkennt? Jedenfalls helfen sie Leitbilder aufstellen, die der neurotischen Zerrüttung des ambivalenten Zeitalters entgegenwirken. So bereiten sie dem neuen Menschenbild den Boden.⁵

Pongs believes that writers grouped with Schaper stabilize the same situation which Waidson appreciates, "an openness to stimuli from all directions." In Pongs' view these writers "provide models to counter the 'neurotic confusion' (neurotische Zerrüttung) of an ambivalent time."

⁴Waidson, H. M., The Modern German Novel, (London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 118-119.

⁵Herman Pongs, Im Umbruch der Zeit: Das Romanschaffen der Gegenwart (3d ed. rev.; Göttingen: Erick Goltze KG., 1958), p. 373.

The intent of the foregoing survey is not to draw conclusions, but rather to point out the diversity of opinion which, in itself, reflects the great interest in this area. With this background it is possible to see how Schaper fits into the contemporary world of German prose fiction and to evaluate the significance of his work and thought.

Schaper's writings which have been discussed have illustrated a basic thematic statement that runs through all of Schaper's works. The narrowness of thematic interest and any merit or lack of merit in the theme cannot be used as sole criteria in an evaluation. However, this limitation in the total writings must be considered together with other aspects. The fact that the theme is old and that Schaper says nothing new about it, does indicate a limitation which should be considered. Further, Schaper does not explore the values which his writings support; he restates them.

Schaper's stories, as a complement to their thematic religious statement, invariably support or look back longingly on the old institutions and regimes. The patriarchs and representatives of those older institutions and regimes are idealized to create a leitmotiv in support of the old. Sometimes this idealization occurs with extensive liberty and creative license. The most notable case is the figure of Pobjedonoszew in Attentat auf den Mächtigen. Historically Konstantin Pobjedonoszew was one of the most anti-popular figures among the government's advisors under Alexander III and during the early reign of Nicholas II. Frequently referred to as a nihilist, Pobjedonoszew was a chief advisor to the czars during a period of repression and is considered to be a prime cause for the refusal of czarism to bend to the will of the people.

rather than be broken by the revolution. Yet in Schaper's world Pobjedonoszew is a gentle, paternal character who exudes forgiveness and understanding, even to would-be revolutionary assassins.

Schaper's settings, just as his characters, are repetitive. Schaper's choice of the Baltic region as a preferred setting does make him a member of a limited group of writers in West Germany who have that interest. The general atmosphere of Schaper's settings remains much the same in most of his writings. With the exception of Die Insel Tütersaar and Attentat auf den Mächtigen, all of Schaper's writings are set in drab, wintry, dying surroundings. People, institutions and countries are passing from the scene. Even the rare use of humor as in Attentat auf den Mächtigen is set in the dying times for both the elderly Czarist Russian Church prelate and for the German bureaucracy in the era of Kaiser Wilhelm the Second.

If Schaper is evaluated according to the terms used by Waidson, he must be ranked low. His stories are not "lively and interesting" in theme and formal tendencies. Schaper's works rank low according to Bernard Rang's criteria also. These stories cannot be classified as "Lebens--und Weisheitsbücher" (books of life and wisdom). The philosophical statement does not present an obstacle to be "erobert" (conquered).

Pongs asks the question whether Schaper and others are to be damned never to become world literature because the avant-garde only recognizes the formal experiments of Joyce, Kafka, and Musil. The question confuses the issue. Schaper's works are probably doomed never to become world literature. However, the reasons are lack of origin-

ality and lack of new perception in regard to either old or new problems.

However, Schaper is popular today. He is mentioned in anthologies and book reviews. Usually treatment is superficial and friendly. Examples of the polished form which he gives to some of his sentences and shorter works have been used in German writing texts. There have been three European dissertations dealing with aspects of Schaper's writings. These were not readily available, but the titles indicate interest in the priest figures and the tales.⁶

Schaper's setting and values, his nearly total silence on German war atrocities and Nazi activities must appeal to the generation of Germans who were adults at the beginning of Hitler's activities. This generation remembers the environments which Schaper portrays. They wish to be sanctified by the message of salvation-through-suffering, and they wish to forget the worst aspects of a bloody, dirty war. Therefore Edzard Schaper sells well in West Germany today.

Schaper will most likely not enjoy the same popularity for a coming generation of readers who did not serve on the eastern front. It is not likely that he will be included in literary anthologies. Probably he will be retained somewhat longer on the reading lists as a Christian writer because of his nearly exclusive interest in religion. However, many contemporary Christian writers investigate the same theme in more challenging and stimulating ways. Schaper will occasionally be called to mind by the individual who wishes to look nostalgically at the Baltic world of a previous time, before it was altered by the incursion of the Russians and more particularly the Soviets.

⁶Dank an Edzard Schaper, op. cit., p. 95.

Much of Schaper's popularity is due to the unusual situation of a divided Europe. The good and the bad which Schaper juxtaposes are too easily seen as the good western democracies and the bad Soviet-dominated eastern countries. Schaper's writings gain favor from those people who automatically view the Soviet Union and its influence as bad. Among such people, the most fervent support would come from Germans who were forced by the present political system to leave their homes in eastern Europe. For this reason, Schaper will likely satisfy a desire for a form of escape literature for the German reading public so long as the present political situation continues.

APPENDIX A

The following chronological listing of Edzard Schaper's fiction is presented as a supplement to those works discussed in the body of the paper. Where publishing figures are available, they are presented.¹

- 1934 Die Insel Tütersaar. A novel. Reprinted 1953.
Also issued as a Fischer pocketbook 1959.
- 1935 Die Arche, die Schiffbruch erlitt. A tale.
Third edition published in 1957.
- 1936 Die sterbende Kirche. A novel. Reprinted in 1968
in the double volume Sterbende Kirche/Letzter Advent.
Also printed as a Fischer pocketbook with 100 thousand
volumes in the second printing in 1958.
- 1936 Das Leben Jesu. A novel. Insel-Verlag in Leipzig.
Reprinted by Fischer as a pocketbook.
- 1938 Das Lied der Väter. A tale. Reprinted in 1949.
Third edition published in 1957.
- 1940/49 Sie mähten gewappnet die Saaten. A re-edition of
Der Henker (1940). Third edition printed in 1956.
- 1947 Der letzte Advent. A novel. A sequel to Die sterbende
Kirche. Also printed by S. Fischer Verlag as a pocketbook
with 100 thousand volumes in second printing in 1958.
- 1950 Der grosse offenbare Tag. A tale. Fourth edition
printed in 1957.
- 1950 Stern über der Grenze. A tale. Twelfth edition printed
in 1966.
- 1950 Die Freiheit des Gefangenen. A novel. Fourth edition
printed in 1957. Now out of print and included in the
double volume Macht und Freiheit.

¹The primary source is Dank an Edzard Schaper, op. cit.,
pp. 91-95.

- 1951 Die Macht der Ohnmächtigen. A novel. Fifth edition printed in 1959. Now out of print and included in the double volume Macht und Freiheit.
- 1952 Hinter den Linien. Three tales. Third edition printed in 1959.
- 1953 Um die neunte Stunde oder Nekodemus und Simon. Second edition printed in 1957.
- 1953 Der Mantel der Barmherzigkeit. A tale. Third edition printed in 1957.
- 1954 Der Gouverneur oder der glückselige Schuldner. A novel. Third edition printed in 1957. Also printed as a Fischer pocketbook with 75 thousand volumes in second printing in 1957.
- 1954 Das Christkind aus den grossen Wäldern. A tale. Ninth edition printed in 1966.
- 1956 Die letzte Welt. A novel. Second edition in 1957. Also printed by S. Fischer Verlag. Sixteen thousand volumes in 1956.
- 1957 Das Wiedersehen/Der gekreuzigte Diakon. Two tales. Second edition printed in 1958.
- 1957 Unschuld der Sünde. A tale. Second edition printed in 1957.
- 1957 Attentat auf den Mächtigen. A novel. Second edition printed in 1958. Also printed by Fischer Verlag 1957.
- 1958 Die Eidgenossen des Sommers/Die Nachfahren Petri. Two tales.
- 1958 Das Tier oder die Geschichte eines Bären, der Oskar hiess. A novel. Also printed by S. Fischer Verlag, 1958.
- 1959 Die Geisterbahn. A tale. Third edition printed in 1963.
- 1961 Der vierte König. A novel. Sixth edition printed in 1966.
- 1961 Macht und Freiheit. Printed as a double novel in 1961. Third edition printed in 1965.
- 1962 Die Söhne Hiobs/Unser Vater Malchus. Two tales. Second edition printed in 1962.
- 1963 Dragonergeschichte. A Novelle. Second edition printed in 1963.
- 1963 Der Aufruhr des Gerechten. A chronicle. Second edition printed in 1963.

- 1964 Die Legende vom vierten König. Third edition printed in 1966.
- 1964 Der Gefangene der Botschaft. Three plays: "Strenger Abschied," "Der Gefangene der Botschaft," and "Die Kosaken oder Wo ist dein Bruder Abel?"
- 1965 Das Feuer Christi. Leben und Sterben des Johannes Hus in siebzehn dramatischen Szenen.
- 1967 Schattengericht. Four tales:
Schattengericht, Der Nachfolger, Hinter Dem Ende, Casjan, der Mörder.
- 1968 Schicksale und Abenteuer. Collection of ten new stories.
- 1968 Sterbende Kirche/Letzter Advent. Printed as a double novel in 1968.
- 1968 Die Heimat der Verbannten. A tale.
- n.d. Die Heiligen Drei Könige. Three tales.

APPENDIX B

Significant Radio Programs:

- 1950 "Russische Kirche und abendländische Christenheit."
- 1954 "Schweden im geistigen Bild Europas."
- 1955 "Die Gnadenfrist, über die Kraft der Hoffnung."
- 1957 "Welt und Überwelt der Mystik, Bilder mittelalterlicher Frömmigkeit."
- 1959 "Attentat auf den Mächtigen" als Hörspiel bearbeitet von Lutz Besch.
- 1961 "Stern über der Grenze," als Hörspiel bearbeitet.
- 1962 "Die Söhne Hiobs," als Hörspiel bearbeitet.
- 1962 "Unser Vater Malchus," als Hörspiel bearbeitet.
- 1964 "Das Feuer Christi," dramatische Szenen um Leben und Sterben des Jan Hus.

Significant Television Programs:

- 1954 "Simon - Um die neunte Stunde," ein Fernsehspiel.
- 1955 "Nikodemus," ein Fernsehspiel.
- 1964 "Der Gefangene der Botschaft," ein Fernsehspiel.
- 1966 Edzard Schaper, Schriftsteller deutscher Sprache, eine Dokumentation.
- 1967 "Die verlorene Mhr," ein Fernsehspiel um den Altar von Münster im Wallis.

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