

The Theological Faculty of the University of Jena during the Third Reich

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Official Nazi policies of Gleichschaltung were applied to most of the major institutions of German society, but not to the church, nor to the theological faculties at German universities. There was an optional, voluntary Gleichschaltung, carried out to a greater or lesser degree depending upon the political leanings of the faculty members and regional church officials. While no systematic survey by historians has been undertaken to evaluate the range of responses to National Socialism, some conclusions have been drawn that do not bear out the situation at Jena, which is known to have been particularly Nazified, nor of equally suspicious theological faculties, including those of Breslau, Göttingen, Heidelberg, Tübingen, and Vienna. For example, Trutz Rendtorff argues that "trotz aller zeitbedingten Arrangements eine relativ zur politischen Umwelt sich durchhaltende autonome Wissenschaftskultur gibt, die nicht zuletzt in der Theologie objektive Maßstäbe gegen weltanschauliche Einflussnahmen zu bewahren vermag... Generell kann man urteilen, dass der Nationalsozialismus aus sich heraus, keine originalere eigene und der Selbständigkeit fähige Wissenschaftskultur erzeugt hat." ¹

Similarly, Kurt Meier claims that "Es hat in der Universitätstheologie zwar vereinzelt problematische Anpassungsstrategien an das NS-Weltanschauungskonglomerat gegeben, die vorwiegend apologetischen Interessen dienen; im ganzen sind jedoch die konventionellen historisch-kritischen Methodenstandards beibehalten worden."² Finally,

Finally, Kurt Nowack writes that "in der Regel das historisch-kritischen Methodenniveau der protestantischen Theologie aufrecht erhalten worden" sei. Scholars need "zu differenzieren... zwischen politischem Missbrauch der akademischen Theologie und ihrer

methodischen Integrität im Sinne der Aufrechterhaltung der ihr eigentümlichen historisch-kritischen Standards.”³

None of these conclusions can apply to the situation at the University of Jena, where the small Protestant theological faculty became an example of the most extreme effort at Gleichschaltung, that is, of a revision of the theological curriculum in accord with perceived Nazi principles. While a variety of possible aspects of National Socialism might have attracted the theologians, from nationalism to militarism, it is striking to notice the focus, if not obsession, at least at Jena, on Nazi antisemitism and the ways Christian theology might be meshed with it. It might also be noted that antisemitism is not a factor taken into consideration by Rendtorff, Meier, and Nowack.

While never one of the large, important, celebrated theological faculties, the University of Jena maintained a respectable reputation since the mid-nineteenth century for encouraging liberal Protestant scholarship, particularly in the areas of New Testament and church history.⁴ The theological faculty at Jena was one of the smallest of the seventeen Protestant theological faculties in Germany, but its size was a factor in attracting students who wanted the opportunity to have informal exchange with faculty.⁵ Jena had only five full professorships in theology, out of a total in Germany of 126 (1931) and 109 (1938). Two distinguished theological periodicals were published by the faculty in the nineteenth century.⁶ Students arrived to study from all over Germany, until the mid-nineteenth century, when the demographic background of the majority tended to shift to Thüringen.⁷

From 1864 to 1890, theological studies at Jena were controlled and ruled by the presence of Karl von Hase (1800-1890), a biblical scholar who was one of the great

figures of liberal historical theology in his day.⁸ Von Hase's presence at Jena marked the shift of the theological faculty from Vermittlungstheologie to liberalism, and his career measures the course of liberal Protestantism as it developed during the nineteenth century: at the outset of his career, in the 1830s, he was perceived as a maverick, but by the end he was seen as an old-fashioned figure who had worked to hinder the careers of younger, avant-garde scholars. His treatment of Adolf Hilgenfeld (1823-1907) is a case in point. Hilgenfeld, one of the first to apply the methods of the new, radical Religionsgeschichtliche Schule to the study of Christian origins, was forced to remain a dozent until von Hase's death, when he was finally accorded a professorship, at age 67, 30 years after the publication of his first important book, Die jüdische Apokalypik.⁹

During the first three decades of the twentieth century, the Jena theological faculty remained small, and the quality of its professors remained strong and oriented to liberal Protestantism.¹⁰ The transformation into a Nazi stronghold occurred early and forcefully, assisted at the outset by state government officials, and facilitated by the liberal theological leanings of the faculty. Thuringia was one of the first regions to fall under Nazi control with the appointment of Wilhelm Frick as minister of the interior, in 1930.¹¹ Changes began to occur shortly thereafter within the Thuringian church. Siegfried Leffler¹² and Julius Leutheuser, Protestant ministers and war veterans, who had worked actively with the Freikorps after WWI to organize groups of farmers in Bavaria, moved to Thuringia by 1930, after joining the NSDAP in June of 1929.¹³ Early members of the "Deutsche Christen" (DC) Movement, they helped organize the more radical, Thuringian branch of the DC, which succeeded in removing Confessing Church (BK) sympathizers from church positions. The Thuringian church was more receptive than the Bavarian to

their right-wing activities, and both were given important posts. Leutheuser became a leader of the Thuringian DC, while Leffler was appointed to the Volksbildungsministerium and placed in charge of theological affairs. He immediately set to work to change the composition of the Jena theological faculty. His first effort was to remove Waldemar Macholz from his position in Practical Theology and substitute his (Leffler's) old friend, Wolf Meyer-Erlach.¹⁴ Macholz was appointed Professor of Konfessionskunde until his early retirement (age 62) in the fall of 1938. Meyer-Erlach was also made University Preacher. His theological background was limited; after studies at Erlangen and Tübingen, he volunteered during WWI, and after the war became involved in a variety of right-wing activities in Bavaria, gaining popularity on the radio and as a propagandist, starting in 1922, for Hitler, as well as holding a leadership position in the Bavarian DC.¹⁵

Composition of the Faculty

At the time Hitler came to power, the composition of the Jena faculty consisted of 5 full professors, three of whom were close to retirement. These included Willy Staerk (AT), Erich Fascher (NT), Waldemar Macholz (PT), Karl Heussi (Church History), and Heinrich Weinel (Allgemeine Religionsgeschichte). There were, in addition, several Privatdozenten, and Paul Glaue served as ausserordentliche Professor, until 1938. Meyer-Erlach's appointment was the first of many changes.

The liberal theological commitments of the Jena faculty meant that no appointments would be made of scholars showing any influence of dialectical theology, or leanings toward the BK. Liberal theology meant a commitment to attaining a critical

edition of scriptural texts, even with emendations, bringing theology in accord with political situation, and encouraging political activism, all of which were positions that shaped the DC. The more conservative theological position, which dominated the BK, meant a caution of critical studies of scripture that might result in a manipulation of the text, and a separation of theological from political realms.

When Willy Staerk retired in 1934, he was replaced by Gerhard von Rad, a Privatdozent in Leipzig, who was mistakenly assumed by Leffler and Meyer-Erlach to hold membership in the NSDAP and be a sympathizer of the DC. Throughout the Third Reich, von Rad remained the only faculty member with sympathies for the Confessing Church, and therefore was placed in isolation by his colleagues until 1945, when he departed for a position at Göttingen. The positions in NT and in ST were vacated in 1936. Erich Fascher, a New Testament textual critic, was essentially thrown out of the university as a result of political pressures from the DC, especially Leutheuser; he moved to Halle.¹⁶ Heinrich Weinel died in September, 1936. Their replacements were Walter Grundmann and Heinz Eisenhuth, respectively, both of whom had the necessary Nazi political affiliations. Their appointments were the turning point in shaping the nature of the faculty.

Walter Grundmann, appointed professor of New Testament and Völkische Theologie, became the dominant figure at Jena from 1936 to 1945. Born in 1906 in Chemnitz, he received his doctorate in 1932 from Gerhard Kittel at the University of Tübingen, serving as Kittel's assistant from 1930 to 1932 in preparing the Theological Dictionary of the New Testament,¹⁷ to which he contributed over twenty articles. He joined the NSDAP on December 1, 1930,¹⁸ and became active in the DC, formulating the

its platform of Twenty-Eight Theses, adopted in 1933 by the Glaubensbewegung DC. In November, 1933, Bishop Friedrich Coch of Saxony, active in the DC, invited Grundmann to serve as his assistant. Grundmann became leader of the National Socialist Ministers League of Saxony and editor of the monthly church journal, Christenkreuz und Hakenkreuz (Cross and Swastika). On April 1, 1934, he became a supporting member of the SS.¹⁹

Grundmann started teaching in Jena in 1936 as a Dozent, and received his professorship two years later, as the result of political as well as university efforts. He had not written a habilitation thesis, and his academic publications were limited to his doctoral dissertation and the articles in the Theological Dictionary. Still, through his political connections, as well as support from Kittel, his appointment to the professorship was signed by Hitler.²⁰ Meyer-Erlach urged the Reich Ministry of Education to support his appointment, and Leffler supported Grundmann at the state level. The two other candidates, Gunther Bornkamm and Carl Schneider, presented better academic credentials, but Bornkamm was disqualified because of his known sympathies for the Confessing Church, while Schneider was suspect because he had spent several years teaching at a seminary in the United States.²¹ The theological faculty at Jena "wants to become a stronghold of National Socialism," wrote Meyer-Erlach in recommending Grundmann's appointment.²² Meyer-Erlach supported Grundmann's appointment because of his early membership in the NSDAP, his activities within the DC, and his commitment to combining scholarship with National Socialism. "Dr. Grundmann fulfills this challenge politically as well as academically in full measure."²³ His scholarship "will be path-breaking for a National Socialist perspective in the realm of theology."²⁴ Grundmann

delivered his inaugural address, "Die Frage der ältesten Gestalt und des ursprünglichen Sinnes der Bergrede Jesu" on Saturday, February 11, 1939, in the main auditorium of the university.

A similar decision was made regarding the appointment of Heinz Eisehuth to the professorship in systematic theology. Eisehuth, who was born in 1903 in Frankfurt am Main, studied Theology in Rostock, Tübingen, and Berlin, and received his doctorate in 1929 in philosophy at the University of Frankfurt, then taught from 1931 to 36 as a Privatdozent at the University of Leipzig.²⁵ He joined the NSDAP on May 1, 1933, and the SA in July of 1933.²⁶ His publications, however, were more extensive than those of Grundmann, although they did not arise as factors in the recorded minutes of faculty discussion regarding his appointment.²⁷ In a letter from Meyer-Erlach, Rektor of the university, dated 6 March, 1937, he explained the choice of Eisehuth to the Thuringian Ministry for Volksbildung:

"...Vor allem aber bestimmt mich für Eisehuth einzutreten die Tatsache, dass er unbedingt zuverlässiger Parteigenosse ist, der aus innerster Überzeugung treu zum Führer und zur Bewegung steht und mit grossem Ernst daran arbeitet, die entscheidenden Erkenntnisse des Nationalsozialismus in seiner Disziplin zur Geltung zu bringen. Gerade weil die Universität Jena bewusst eine Hochburg des Nationalsozialismus werden will, lege ich allergrössten Wert darauf, dass bei Neuberufungen neben der wissenschaftlichen Tüchtigkeit die nationalsozialistische Zuverlässigkeit in 1. Linie berücksichtigt wird. Bei dem traurigen Zustand der meisten theologischen Fakultäten in Deutschland, die zum grossen Teil noch nicht den Weg zu einer inneren Beziehung zum Nationalsozialismus gefunden haben, muss in Jena eine Theologische Fakultät aufgebaut werden, die im Gegensatz zu den meisten Fakultäten ganz bewusst den Nationalsozialismus bejaht."

Eisehuth was elevated to ordentlicher Professor on 17 December 1937.

Curricular Changes

At Jena, Grundmann, Meyer-Erlach and Heinz Eisehuth formed a voting block within the faculty of theology. In January of 1937 the Volksbildungsministerium ordered

an end to Hebrew instruction in the Hochschulen of Thuringia, to which von Rad and Macholz objected, arguing that eliminating Hebrew was an attack on Christianity (von Rad) and that Jesus could not be understood without the Old Testament (Macholz).²⁸ In 1938 Grundmann urged eliminating the study of Hebrew from Jena's curriculum because, he argued, the early Christians had read the Greek Bible and because the Greek text of the Old Testament is older than the extant Hebrew manuscripts. Grundmann's faction prevailed and the decision to make Hebrew study optional was announced by the Dean, Eisenhuth, on April 1, 1939.²⁹

The most significant event at Jena was the establishment in Eisenach, in May of 1939, of the Institute for the Study and Eradication of Jewish Influence on German Religious Life, with Grundmann as its academic director. The Institute, financed by a consortium of regional Protestant churches and receiving additional funds from church headquarters in Berlin, claimed to be a "research" institute, but functioned as an antisemitic propaganda institute. Its membership consisted of over 40 university professors, students of theology, bishops, ministers, and religion teachers, and its activities included frequent conferences as well as publications. In 1940 the Institute published a de-Judaized version of the New Testament and hymnal, and in 1941 its own version of the catechism, which declared Jesus an Aryan. Learned publications of conference proceedings attempted to bring racial theory to bear on Christian theology, and ranged from a comparison of the Germanic, Jewish, and Christian ideas of God (Eisenhuth) to claims that Hebrew could not have been Jesus' mother tongue (Hugo Odeberg) to methods of eliminating Judaizing influences from Christian religious education (Hermann Werdermann).³⁰

Grundmann had hoped to establish the Institute at the University of Jena, but the rektor, Karl Astel, professor of medicine, refused. Still, he was able to use the Institute as a vehicle for publishing his students' articles and dissertations, and he frequently invited them to deliver papers at Institute conferences. Several Institute members, in turn, were able to receive their doctorates at Jena under Grundmann. Herbert von Hitzenstern, for example, wrote his doctorate on "Chamberlains Darstellung des Urchristentums,"³¹ while Max Wagenführer wrote on "Die Bedeutung Christ für Welt und Kirche: Studien zum Kolosser- und Epheserbrief," and Fritz Schmidt-Clausing wrote on "Die Wandlung der katholischen Kirche in ihrer Stellung zur Judenfrage."³²

Students

During the Third Reich, the church of Thuringia began to require its candidates for the ministry to study at Jena, where the faculty were known to be dominated by DC sympathizers and students attended classes dressed in their SA uniforms.³³ As the total number of students of theology in Germany fell during the war years, from over 3000 in 1936 to 400 in 1940, the number at Jena also shrank. In 1938/39 there were thirty, but by the winter term of 1941/42, there were only four students, two of whom had been sent to Jena by the Confessing Church in order to make certain that von Rad had an audience at his lectures.³⁴

On the other hand, the presence of Grundmann and the theology he taught was the reason a group of theology students from Scandinavia arrived in Jena in 1942. A close working relationship had developed between Grundmann and Hugo Odeberg, professor in Lund, and an expert on rabbinic Judaism who had worked with Kittel in producing critical editions of rabbinic texts. In 1941 Grundmann and Meyer-Erlach formed a

working group, Germanentum und Christentum, which brought Scandinavian theologians and writers to participate in two annual conferences in Germany.³⁵ Odeberg took the initiative among the Scandinavians, inviting thirty academics, students, and writers from Sweden, Norway, and Denmark to lecture at the conferences, which were held in Weissenfels and in Eisenach. Impressed by the high quality of scholarship practiced by Institute members, Odeberg sent seven Swedish students to Jena to write doctoral dissertations under Grundmann.

Faculty reports of doctoral dissertations submitted to the faculty of theology at Jena invariably evaluated them by reference to antisemitism and racial ideology. Opposition to those policies within the theological faculty was sometimes expressed by von Rad and Heussi, but Heussi at times sided with the Grundmann faction. Of the thirty-six doctoral dissertations submitted to the theological faculty during the years 1933-1945, twelve were written under Grundmann's direction, and several students were Institute members. Hintzenstern, an active Institute member who had written on Chamberlain's theories of the Aryan origins of Christianity, was praised by Grundmann and Heussi, who urged that the dissertation be awarded a prize.³⁶ A different student, who argued in his dissertation that Jesus' ideas must be understood within an Old Testament context, was failed. Meyer-Erlach explained, "The theologian lacks the understanding of National Socialism, that the racial question is the foundational question for everything."³⁷ In one striking case, Grundmann praised the dissertation of Karl-Erich Wilken, on "Die Parabel von reichen Mann und armen Lazarus im Zusammenhang mit den Anschauungen des Spätjudentums und Jesu über Sünde und Strafe" for showing clear distinctions between Jewish and New Testament materials, and recommended honors. A few months later,

Wilken, in a letter to Eisenhuth, admitted that he had erred in identifying certain literature in his dissertation as representing “spätjudentum,” when it was actually published in 1800. The degree was not rescinded.³⁸

Denazification

The Jena faculty after 1945 did not change radically. Von Rad left for Göttingen, but he was replaced by a member of Grundmann’s institute, Rudolf Meyer. Grundmann himself lost his position by virtue of having joined the NSDAP so early, but his replacement was another institute member, Herbert Preisker, formerly at the University of Breslau, another theological stronghold of National Socialism. Meyer-Erlach returned to church work in Bavaria, and in 1963 he was honored with the West German Bundesverdienstkreuz for sending food packages to East Germany. Waldemar Macholz returned from retirement in 1945 to take Meyer-Erlach’s position in practical theology, and Karl Heussi remained in Church History. In systematic theology, Eisenhuth was replaced by Gerhard Gloege, who had studied at Tübingen. The church of Thuringia conducted its own inquiry into Grundmann and Eisenhuth, questioning them in several meetings with church officials, who, in the post-war era, were former members of the BK. At those minutes, acceptance of the Barmen Declaration’s insistence on the supremacy of divine authority was the litmus test for remaining within the church.

Grundmann and Eisenhuth remained active in Thuringian theological circles, teaching, lecturing, and writing, and were considered, during the DDR period, Thuringia’s most distinguished theological scholars. Those attitudes were confirmed by Grundmann’s continued involvement after the war in the distinguished international Society for New Testament Studies (SNTS), to which he had been elected a member in

1938. Grundmann's willingness to work actively for the Stasi permitted him extensive travel abroad to scholarly meetings,³⁹ and the church employed him as advisor to the Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, the most important Christian publishing house in the DDR. Grundmann's success with the DDR church is all the more remarkable, since it was governed by former members of the BK, with whom he shared a mutual resentment, and whose demise he attempted to arrange via his Stasi connections.⁴⁰ Nonetheless, Grundmann's commentaries on the gospels, published in the 1960s, were widely distributed and became theological best-sellers, replacing Adolf Schlatter's commentaries as the standard works consulted by pastors in East and West Germany. Eisenhuth's post-war career was limited to pastoral work and he did not continue publishing. Throughout his post-war publications, Grundmann, like so many others, continue the general thrust of his Nazi-era arguments concerning the nature of Judaism as a violent and dangerous religion that was repudiated by Jesus, but eliminated the use of the word "Aryan."

Grundmann and his fellow institute members saw themselves after the war as victims of National Socialism. In a statement of defense produced during the denazification efforts, Meyer-Erlach complained of having been unable to reach the highest pinnacle of his career due to the unmitigated hatred of Nazi officials for Christian theology. Similar complaints were voiced much earlier, as members of the DC discovered that theirs was an unrequited love: Nazi officials had no place for them in the highest echelons of the Party and Reich. These theologians were in constant struggle against the claims of Nazi ideologues, such as Alfred Rosenberg, who argued that Christianity is, in its essence, Judaism, and cannot be deJudaized or nothing would be left of it, and that Germans were better off with a Germanic religion based on medieval teutonic myths and rituals. In

insisting that Jesus was not a Jew, but an Aryan, and that his struggle had been the eradication of Judaism, Grundmann and others members of the DC were claiming that the Christian goals were essentially those of the Nazis. The dilemma was finding a continued purpose for Christianity in a state which had no need for that particular theological insight. By 1941, some factions within the DC turned to neo-pagan motifs as a source of positive affirmation of Germanic identity. On this point, it should be noted that the sharp distinction that is so often drawn between the BK and the DC as a result of their struggle for control of church institutional structures disappears on the question of Judaism. Theological discussions of the relationship between Christianity and Judaism are expressed in very similar language by members of the two groups.

In conclusion, the case of the University of Jena theological faculty should serve as a starting-point for questioning some of the conclusions that have been drawn by some scholars concerning the theological faculties under National Socialism. While it may be an extreme case, Jena nonetheless should render unacceptable some of the generalizations concerning the inviolability of theology under National Socialism that have been drawn by Rendtorff, Meier, and Nowack, among others.

¹ Trutz Rendtorff, "Das Wissenschaftsverständnis der protestantischen Universitätstheologie im Dritten Reich," Theologische Fakultäten im Nationalsozialismus, ed. Leonore Siegele-Wenschkewitz and Carsten Nicolaisen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), page 30.

² Kurt Meier, "Anpassung und Resistenz der Universitätstheologie: Ein Beitrag zur institutionengeschichtlichen Debatte," *Ibid.*, page 87.

³ Kurt Nowak, "Protestantische Universitätstheologie und "nationale Revolution": Ein Beitrag zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte des "Dritten Reiches," *Ibid.*, page 98.

⁴ Among its most distinguished faculty were Otto Pfeleiderer, Richard Adalbert Lipsius, Ludwig Diestel, Karl von Hase, Adolf Hilgenfeld, Hans Lietzmann, and Andreas Gottlieb Hoffmann.

⁵ Private interview with Hans Joachim Thilo in Lübeck, Thursday, 20 July 1995.

⁶ Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie, 1875-92; Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie, 1858-1914.

⁷ Karl Heussi, Geschichte der theologischen Fakultät zu Jena (Weimar: Hermann Boehlaus, 1954), p. 278

⁸ Von Hase was involved in founding the Protestantische Kirchenzeitung für das evangelische Deutschland, 1854-1896, the major organ of theological liberalism.

⁹ Heussi, Geschichte, 294, footnote 558: "Es war innerhalb der Fakultät vor allem Hase, der Hilgenfelds Aufrücken zum Ordinarius bis zu seinem Eigenen Tode 1890 verhindert hat. Der Grund für diese Haltung war - nach einer mir zu Gebote stehenden, sehr glaubwürdigen mündlichen Überlieferung - wesentlich aesthetisch: Hase wollte verhüten, dass Hilgenfeld bei seiner äusseren Erscheinung Rektor würde. So ist er wirklich erst mit 67 Jahren Ordinarius und dann natürlich nicht mehr Rektor geworden."

¹⁰ In the decade prior to 1933, professors were: Old Testament: Willy Staerk; New Testament: Karl Ludwig Schmidt and Erich Fascher; Church History: Hans Lietzmann and Karl Heussi; Systematic Theology: Heinrich Weinel.

¹¹ Der Kampf um Thüringen; ein Bericht über die Tätigkeit des ersten nationalsozialistischen Staatsministers und der thüringischen nationalsozialistischen Landtagsfraktion. Hrs. von der Gauleitung Thüringen der NSDAP. (Weimar 1931).

¹² Rinnen, Anja, Kirchenmann und Nationalsozialist: Siegfried Lefflers ideelle Verschmelzung von Kirche und Drittem Reich. (Forum zur Paedagogik und Didaktik der Religion, Bd.9) (Weinheim, Dt.Studien Verlag, 1995).

¹³ Leffler, Siegfried 21.11.1900 Azendorf (Oberfranken); NSDAP 1.6.29; 13884; Leutheuser, Julius 9.12.1900 Bayreuth; NSDAP 1.6.29; 138.836. Berlin Document Center, NSDAP membership files.

¹⁴ Tobias Schüfer, "Die Theologische Fakultät Jena und die Landeskirche im Nationalsozialismus," in: Thüringer Gratwanderungen, p. 95. Schüfer describes Macholz' rejection of Leffler's ministerial examination several years earlier.

¹⁵ Joined NSDAP May 15, 1933; Membership number 3135571; University of Jena archives, Akten: Meyer-Erlach, Wolf. Bestand D No 2031.

¹⁶ UJ Akten: Die Anstellung ordentl. Professoren, 1936-38 Vol VII; 910.

¹⁷ Kittel's notorious Dictionary was published between 1932 and 42. Its notoriety is derived from its particularly denigrating descriptions of early Judaism, which are all the more striking given that Kittel, as well as some of the other contributors, was one of the first German Protestant theologians trained in rabbinic literature. On Kittel, see Robert Ericksen, Theologians Under Hitler (New Haven, 1987), and Leonore Siegele-Wenschkewitz, Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft vor der Judenfrage: Gerhard Kittels theologische Arbeit im Wandel deutscher Geschichte (München: Kaiser, 1980).

¹⁸ NSDAP membership 382 544; BDC, Grundmann materials; Meier, Die Deutschen Christen: Das Bild einer Bewegung im Kirchenkampf des Dritten Reiches, (Halle an der Saale: M. Niemeyer, 1964), p. 484.

¹⁹ He received membership number 1032691. Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Weimar. Personalakte Walter Grundmann. For further information about SS supporting membership, see Robert Lewis Koehl, The Black Corps: The Structure and Power Struggles of the SS (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983)

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- ²⁰ Universitätsarchiv Jena (UJ) D, 986; the order, dated 5 October 1938, was issued by Zschintzsch as representative of the Reich Ministry for Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung.
- ²¹ UJ, vol. 910: Die Anstellung ordentlicher Professoren, 1936-38, vol. 7.
- ²² UJ, 910. Meyer-Erlach to the Thüringen Ministerium für Volksbildung (TMV) March 6, 1937, regarding Eisenhuth's appointment to the position in systematic theology.
- ²³ UJ, vol. 910. Meyer-Erlach to TMV dated 23 October 1937.
- ²⁴ UJ, fol. D, No. 986, Personalakten des Thüringischen Volksbildungsministeriums in Weimar über Grundmann, vol. I, 1936; Meyer-Erlach to TMV, dated 23 October 1937.
- ²⁵ His dissertation was entitled, "Das Problem der Gewissensfreiheit bei Karl Heim"
- ²⁶ NSDAP Membership number: 2933000. BDC, Nazi membership files.
- ²⁷ His publications included: Die Entwicklung des Problems der Glaubensgewissheit bei Karl Heim (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1928); Der Begriff des Irrationalen als philosophisches Problem; ein Beitrag zur existenzialen Religions-Begründung (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1931); Ontologie und Theologie (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1933).
- ²⁸ Sitzung der Theologischen Fakultät am 9.1.1937. University of Jena Archives. Akten: Theologische Fakultät. Sitzungs-Protokolle, 1925-1943. Bestand J, No 280
- ²⁹ Landeskirchenarchiv Eisenach (Thüringen) (LKA), Akten betreff. DC: Hochschulangelegenheiten, 1937-1940. Memorandum dated May, 1938 to Reichsministerium für die kirchliche Angelegenheiten.
- ³⁰ Germanentum, Christentum und Judentum: Studien zur Erforschung ihres gegenseitigen Verhältnisses. volume 2. Sitzungsberichte der zweiten Arbeitstagung des Instituts zur Erforschung des juedischen Einflusses auf das deutsche kirchliche Leben vom 3. bis 5. Maerz 1941 in Eisenach. Hrsg. Walter Grundmann. Leipzig: Verlag Georg Wigand, 1942; Walter Grundmann, Germanentum, Christentum und Judentum. Studien zur Erforschung ihres gegenseitigen Verhältnisses. Dritter Band. Sitzungsberichte der dritten Arbeitstagung des Instituts zur Erforschung des juedischen Einflusses auf das deutsche kirchliche Leben vom 9. bis 11. Juni 1942 in Nuernberg. Hrsg. Walter Grundmann. Leipzig: Georg Wigand, 1943.
- ³¹ Hintzenstern delivered a paper based on his thesis at an Institute conference in March, 1940. It was published as "Das religiöse Problem im Bayreuther Kreis," in Walter Grundmann, ed., Christentum und Judentum; studien zur erforschung ihres gegenseitigen verhältnisses, Sitzungsberichte der ersten Arbeitstagung des Institutes zur Erforschung des jüdischen Einflusses auf das deutsche Kirchliche Leben vom 1. bis 3. März 1940 in Wittenberg (Leipzig, 1940), pp. 167-192.
- ³² Promotionsakten der Theologischen Fakultät, 1939-1941; Bestand J No. 90
- ³³ Herbert von Hinzenstern, quoted by Tobias Schüfer, page 102.
- ³⁴ Gerhard Besier, "Zur Geschichte der Kirchlichen Hochschulen: oder, der Kampf um den theologischen Nachwuchs," in: Theologische Fakultäten im Nationalsozialismus, ed. Siegele-Wenschkewitz and Nicolaisen, Anhang IV, page 275; on von Rad, see Tobias Schüfer, page 104
- ³⁵ Archiv des Auswärtiges Amt Bestand Inland I-D 3/4, Signatur R98796: Überwachung von Arbeitstagen der Arbeitsgemeinschaft 'Germanentum und Christentum' und ihrer

Leiter Professor Wolf Meyer-Erlach und Professor Grundmann, Verweigerung von Reisesichtvermerken, 1942-1944.

³⁶ UJ, fol. J, no. 90: Promotionsakten der Theologischen Fakultät, 1939-1941.

³⁷ UJ, fol. J, no. 90.

³⁸ Promotionsakten der Theologischen Fakultät, 1939-1941; Bestand J No. 90

³⁹ Zentral Archiv der Regierung der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik: Ministerium für Staatssicherheit, File 2455/69.

⁴⁰ This is delineated in several Stasi reports about Grundmann; see, for example, 11 May 1960.