The Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria, 1934-1938:
Art and Jewish Self-Representation under National Socialism

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Abstract

This thesis has two foci: the development of a National Socialist anti-Jewish cultural policy and the processes of internal Jewish community cultural self-representations. At the most basic level it is an organisational history of the Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria between 1934 and 1938. Ultimately, however, the thesis is about the people: the artists, how they employed certain mediums for specific uses and how these events were received.

The Kulturbund was the lone state approved Jewish cultural organisation in Nazi Germany; it was, in other words, the only public space for Jewish cultural performance and consumption. Activity began in Berlin in the summer of 1933 and expanded to cities, towns and villages throughout the country. Unlike the majority of these early branches, however, the Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria developed independently of Berlin's main offices. Bavarians maintained autonomous control of their cultural league until the autumn of 1935. Organised Bavarian Jewish cultural life was 'liquidated' upon official state orders after 9 November 1938.

This thesis analyses the Kulturbund programme as an internal projection of willed identity for Bavarian Jews. Kulturbund events – particularly in the early seasons when National Socialist censorship was ill-defined and haphazardly enforced – reflected the ways its membership chose to stage their own understandings of what it meant, to them, to be 'Jewish'. It was a process of dissimilation and internal community building that helped its membership navigate their experiences of political persecution and social flux. What developed in the Bavarian programme from February 1934 until November 1938 was a representation of 'Jewishness' that was self-described as both religious- and heritage-based with a regional bent.

Figures and Tables

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Introduction

On the evening of 4 March 1934 the Kulturbund Orchester Munich commenced the first season of the recently created Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria – a concert featuring pieces by Handel and Bach,[1] two composers entrenched in the Western European musical canon. At the same time, however, this concert was also symbolic of a break from the Western European and German cultural traditions many of those in the audience had come to know. Upon National Socialist orders, the orchestra was composed entirely of Jewish musicians; the audience was composed entirely of Jewish concertgoers; and the performance took place in a Jewish place of worship.

Kulturbund Chairman Dr. Fritz Ballin addressed the audience in Munich's Main Synagogue just prior to the concert, saying:

> Munich's reputation as the first German City of Art (Kunststadt) requires that the achievements of the Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria maintain the highest artistic and scholarly guidelines. ... It must be a point of honour for every Jew to support the activities of the Kulturbund, particularly in the difficult times, through their avid participation.[2]

The evening's concert, as well as the approximately 300 events that took place throughout Bavaria over the course of the next four years, functioned as an important source of community self-representation at a time when German Jews were being excluded from the 'German' cultural sphere. Ballin's speech encapsulated Jewish Kulturbund activity in Bavaria: its maintenance of local Bavarian traditions, its engagement with variously defined 'Jewish' art and its commitment to high artistic standards.

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[1] The programme began with Handel's *Concerto Grosso in G Minor*, followed by the Bach cantata *Non sa che sia dolore* and ending with Handel's *Concert in F Major for Organ and Orchestra*. For an analysis of this opening concert see Chapter Four.

[2] Dr. Fritz Ballin, 'Die Aufgaben des Jüdischen Kulturbunds in Bayern', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 March 1934, 109.

This thesis analyses the cultural programme of the Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria and the role of art in representing interpretations of what it meant to be 'Jewish' in pre-war 1930s Bavaria. The Bavarian Kulturbund served ten Bavarian cities.[3] These performances were one way Bavarian Jews negotiated their contemporary social situation, worked through their experiences of persecution and attempted to come to terms with the new socio-political landscape of National Socialist Germany. Such an analysis requires an 'integrated historical framework' – what Saul Friedländer has described as an integrative history of National Socialism that presents both the development of Nazi policies and the social impact of these policies on Nazism's victims.[4] Indeed, the influence of the political backdrop upon which these cultural events were performed must not be ignored. The Kulturbund programme played out during a period of political discrimination and amongst the wide-reaching anti-Jewish decrees of the time. These events, such as the passing of the Nuremberg Race Laws in the autumn of 1935, would undoubtedly have impacted the way the Kulturbund membership thought of themselves and their 'Jewishness', thus impacting what was performed on stage. There were also a number of National Socialist anti-Jewish policies that directly influenced Kulturbund production. It is necessary to trace the development and implementation of these anti-Jewish cultural decrees throughout the League's existence, as these policies were the boundaries within which all performances were required to exist.

The majority of my thesis, however, focuses on Jewish responses – in this specific case, on Jewish Kulturbund productivity in Bavaria. German Jews were not merely passive victims of Nazism. There were internal efforts at Jewish community redefinition; in this particular instance, through cultural production. On one level, this project is an organisational history of the Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria, situating the dynamics of local organised Jewish cultural life within the national landscape. The organisational aspect is crucial in setting important geographical and chronological boundaries: this thesis analyses the representations of 'Jewish' culture from March 1934 until November 1938 in ten

[3] Munich, Nuremberg, Würzburg, Fürth, Augsburg, Bamberg, Bad Kissingen, Aschaffenburg, Regensburg and Memmingen.
[4] Saul Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews Volume I: The Years of Persecution, 1933-1939* (New York: Harper Collins, 1997), 1-2.

specific Bavarian cities associated with a specific organisational framework. In other words, the thesis focuses on certain people at a certain time and in a certain place: who created the art, how certain mediums were employed for specific uses, who watched these events and how did the audience respond? In this way, the thesis is embedded in the traditions of social history and cultural history. An organisation is, ultimately, what its members make of it – the members and what they produced, then, should remain at the fore.

Further, I view the Kulturbund programme (particularly its early seasons, when National Socialist censorship was less defined) as an internal 'projection of willed identity'.[5] Kulturbund events reflected the ways its active membership chose to stage their own understandings of what it meant to be 'Jewish' at that time and in that location. In this way, the creation of a 'Jewish' cultural programme can be understood as the conscious construction of Kulturbund leaders and artists – of the ways these people represented their conceptualisation of what it meant to be 'Jewish'.[6] I argue that the Bavarian Kulturbund presented important new ideas concerning 'Jewishness' through the vehicle of familiar artistic mediums: a process of dissimilation and internal community building that developed out of what Sharon Gillerman has termed the 'raw materials of German culture'[7] – or, in this case, Bavarian culture.

Shifting the central focus of analysis to Jewish cultural life in the Bavarian Kulturbund illuminates issues of both regional (Bavarian) and national (German) importance. On the regional level, this thesis examines one form of local Jewish responses to National Socialist persecution. Bavarian Jews were Bavarians – they wore Tracht, they frequented beer gardens, they played key roles in the city's celebrated art collecting and antiquarian circles and they supported local

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[5] Lily E. Hirsch, *A Jewish Orchestra in Nazi Germany: Musical Politics and the Berlin Jewish Cultural League* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2012), 62.

[6] These representations were either embraced or rejected by the viewing audience. However, as will be addressed below, the role of performance reception is difficult to gauge. As a result, the majority of the thesis focuses much more extensively on the ideas represented in the performances themselves.

[7] Sharon Gillerman, *Germans into Jews: Remaking the Jewish Social Body in the Weimar Republic* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 4.

football clubs.[8] Further, as Bavarians, there was a certain element of tension between Bavarian Jews and Prussian (e.g. Berliner) Jews. As Donald Niewyk observed in his work on Weimar Jewry, 'regional particularism' was a 'potent issue' in Jewish life, especially for Bavarian Jews; Bavarian Jews were 'traditionally jealous of their local identity and suspicious of their north German coreligionists, whom they regarded as excessively disputatious and dogmatic.'[9]

In this instance, I believe the importance of the local reaches beyond its regional borders – it also adds greater depth of understanding to the broader national situation. The Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria programme reflected regional differences in self-understandings. Their cultural responses took on a different shape than what was being created in other locations (mainly Berlin): it engaged with finding definitions of 'Jewish' music already in 1934 and, in many ways, their performances of 'Jewish' art had a 'Bavarian' feel – as evidenced in the popular München Marionettentheater Jüdischer Künstler, a marionette theatre that performed a self-declared 'Jewish' programme.

Within Jewish life itself, Bavarian Jewish communities were, on the whole, more conservative and traditional, particularly in comparison to the Jewish community in Berlin.[10] Still, this varied from location to location. In 1933, Munich, the lone Kulturbund branch in predominately Catholic Upper Bavaria,

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[8] Michael Brenner has stated, 'So it is, a good part of Munich's culture was created or influenced by Jews, and in return a part of the stamp of Jewish culture was pressed into Munich'. The Wallach family owned the well-known 'Haus für Volkskunst und Tracht' in central Munich. Hermann Schülein was a former General Director of the Löwenbräu Brewery before being forced to flee to the United States during the 1930s. Bamberger Jews played an important role in the local hops trade, an important component of the Upper Franconian economy; one of the largest of these was the Firma Gustav Buxbaum.
Bernheimer, Thannhauser and Rosenthal, all Jewish families, were key members of Munich's art and antique collecting circles. Kurt Landauer was a former President of FC Bayern; in 1932 Richard 'Littl' Dombi (born Richard Cohen) coached the club to a championship. See: Michael Brenner, 'Einleitung' in Richard Bauer and Michael Brenner, *Jüdisches Munchen: Vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2006), 15-16; Herbert Loebl, *Juden in Bamberg: Die Jahrezehnte vor dem Holocaust* (Bamberg: Verlag Fränkischer Tag, 1999), 293-305.

[9] Donald Niewyk, *The Jews in Weimar Germany* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2001), 181.

[10] Jacob Borut, 'Struggles for Spaces: Where Could Jews Spend Free Time in Nazi Germany?', *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 56 (2011), 344.

was the home of the state's largest Jewish community; approximately 9,005 Jews lived in the Bavarian capital.[11] Munich was also home to the Bavarian Kulturbund's central office, which operated under the bureaucratic control of the Bavarian Jewish Community. The 'elites' – the lawyers, bankers and businessmen – of the capital's Jewish sphere were the '*haute volée*': individuals who had 'either been born in Munich before 1895, or had gone to school there, or else had come from other areas of Bavaria such as Nuremberg, Fürth, or Augsburg.' [12] Munich's Jewish elite mostly had a religious background in the liberal strand of Judaism.[13] There were, however, prominent examples that contradicted this general claim, such as the Fraenkel and Feuchtwanger families. Both of these families had members who were active in the Kulturbund leadership and artistic ranks.

However, the majority of Bavarian Jews, approximately 60%, lived in predominately Protestant Franconia.[14] The Franconian Jewish communities were, in general, more conservative than in Munich. Six active Bavarian Kulturbund branches were located in Franconia.[15] Nuremberg, which boasted the largest Jewish community in Franconia as well as the second largest in Bavaria, was home to 7,502 Jews. Würzburg had a Jewish community of 2,145 individuals, while Fürth, the neighbouring community in close proximity to Nuremberg, consisted of 1,990 members.[16] Of these six Franconian locales, three (Würzburg, Aschaffenburg and Bad Kissingen) were located in Lower Franconia

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[11] Werner J. Cahnman, 'The Decline of the Munich Jewish Community, 1933-1938' in *Jewish Social Studies* 3 (July 1941), 285.
[12] Anthony Kauders, *Democratization and the Jews: Munich, 1945-1965* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 39.
[13] Kauders, *Democratization and the Jews*, 39.
[14] Edith Raim, 'Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung der Fränkischen Juden in der NS-Zeit', in *Die Juden in Franken*, ed. Michael Brenner and Daniela F. Eisenstein (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2012), 199.
[15] The Franconian branches included: Nuremberg, Würzburg, Fürth, Bamberg, Aschaffenburg and Bad Kissingen. Kitzingen is also located in Franconia, although it seemingly never performed a single event after one of its proposed leaders was subjected to police investigation (Chapter Two).
[16] The above statistics are taken from: Falk Wiesemann, 'Judenverfolgung und nichtjüdische Bevölkerung 1933–1944', in *Bayern in der NS-Zeit, Bd. 1: Soziale Lage und politisches Verhalten der Bevölkerung im Spiegel vertraulicher Berichte*, ed. Martin Broszat, Elke Fröhlich and Falk Wiesemann (Munich: De Gruyter, 1977), 427–486, here: 428.

– the 'bastion' of Orthodox Judaism.[17] Economically, the majority of Franconian Jews were middle class or upper middle class.[18]

The political circumstances facing Bavarian Jews were also somewhat different than the situation in Berlin. Social stigmatisation and political discrimination against Jews in National Socialist Bavaria came about 'particularly early and took on extraordinarily large and disastrous proportions'.[19] As Edith Raim notes,

> Notorious anti-semites, such as Heinrich Himmler, Hermann Göring, Julius Streicher or the later General Governor Hans Frank, as well as the totality of the NSDAP, found in Bavaria an early field of activity. … In no other German state were there such dramatic undertakings against Jewish institutions as in Bavaria. After the consolidation (Zusammenfassung) of the Political Police under Himmler and Heydrich, Bavaria became a practice ground of Jewish policy (Judenpolitik) before it was carried out throughout the Reich.[20]

Further, both Munich and Nuremberg occupied important positions in the National Socialist mythos. Indeed, the Bavarian cities were two of the five German 'Führer Cities' ('Führerstädte'). Munich, the city where Hitler, the once failed artist, had first thrived was given the title of the 'Capital of the Movement' ('Hauptstadt der Bewegung'); it also became the 'Capital of German Art' ('Hauptstadt der Deutschen Kunst').[21] Nuremberg, with its stunning medieval architecture and Holy Roman Empire heritage, was named the 'City of the Reich

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[17] Steven M. Lowenstein, 'Alltag und Tradition: Eine Fränkisch-Jüdische Geographie', in *Die Juden in Franken*, ed. Michael Brenner and Daniela F. Eisenstein (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2012), 17.
[18] Robert Gellately, *The Gestapo and German Society: Enforcing Racial Policy, 1933-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 85-86; Lowenstein, 'Alltag und Tradition', 18.
[19] Michael Brenner, 'Einleitung', in *Die Juden in Franken*, ed. Michael Brenner and Daniela F. Eisenstein (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2012), 2.
[20] Raim, 'Die Verfolgung und Vernichtung', 199-200.
[21] Peter Weidisch has deemed Munich as the 'ego-political center' of Hitler's career. Peter Weidisch, 'München – Parteizentrale und Sitz der Reichsleitung der NSDAP', in *Hauptstadt der Bewegung': Bayerns Metropole und der Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Richard Bauer, Hans Günter Hockerts, Brigitte Schütz, Wolfgang Till and Walter Ziegler (Munich: Münchner Stadtmuseum, 2002), 272.

Party Conventions' ('Stadt der Reichsparteitage').[22] Not only this, but Nuremberg was also the domain of Franconian Gauleiter Julius Streicher, 'one of the most radical anti-semites in the whole Party.'[23]

Thus, there were important internal and external factors in Bavaria that influenced the ways regional Kulturbund membership conceptualised and then represented their experiences of being 'Jewish' through cultural creation. In general terms – although, as always, exceptions apply – the Jewish communities in Bavaria were more traditional than their north German counterparts; this more conservative and religious bent would certainly have played a key role in community self-representations. Additionally, National Socialism's anti-Jewish dictates were exerted earlier, and arguably more forcefully, in Bavaria than elsewhere in the Reich. This is not to suggest, however, a particular Bavarian Jewish experience of National Socialism that somehow sets it apart or implies the Bavarian experiences were unique. Instead, the thesis aims to highlight the specific conditions of civic and regional factors as they contributed to the variety of Jewish self-representations through art in the 1930s.

This thesis is comprised of two sections. The first half covers the period from 1933 through the summer of 1935; the second half covers the period from 1935 until 1938. Both sections begin with an organisational history that outlines the specific social and political factors impacting the backdrop of Kulturbund performances at that time. From there, each section contains an analysis of two departments of activity: music and the visual arts. Bavaria's Kulturbund did comprise a third area of activity: an adult education department organised lectures throughout the region. However, not enough sources have survived to fully analyse the impact of this department; in most instances, the only information available for these lectures are the name of the lecturer and the title of the talk. When possible, and if relevant, the contents of the lectures are included in the analysis of the music and visual arts department.

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[22] Centrum Industriekultur Nürnberg, ed., *Kulissen der Gewalt: Das Reichsparteitagsgelände in Nürnberg* (Nuremberg: Hugendubel, 1992).
[23] Additionally, in 1923 Streicher founded the newspaper *Der Stürmer*, a key mouthpiece for National Socialist anti-Jewish propaganda. Peter Longerich, *Holocaust: The Nazi Persecution of the Jews* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 36.

From its founding in early 1934 through the summer of 1935, the Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria was an autonomous Jewish cultural organisation. That is to say, it was a separate organisational entity not aligned with Dr. Kurt Singer's Kulturbund Deutscher Juden in Berlin. During this early period of activity the Bavarian programme was created by Bavarian Kulturbund officials and largely featured Bavarian artists. Further, this early programme dealt with issues of 'Jewish' art in all of its cultural departments – and at a notably earlier period than the Kulturbund in Berlin. In addition, this period of internal Bavarian control also aligned with a period of relatively lax National Socialist anti-Jewish cultural policy. It was during this period that the Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria was truly a Bavarian Jewish undertaking.

The second half of the thesis begins by examining the process of national Jewish cultural centralisation in the spring of 1935 and ends with the forced closure of Kulturbund regional activity after Kristallnacht in 1938. During this period control over the Bavarian Kulturbund programme shifted from the regional offices to a main office headed by Singer in Berlin. Local artists were replaced by travelling non-Bavarian artists (generally artists from Berlin) and the cultural programme scaled back on 'Jewish' themes. The shift away from local talent was particularly evident in the music department, although Munich's marionette theatre was removed from the regular Kulturbund programming and into a special (at extra cost) event series. This latter period also saw an increase in National Socialist censorship of Jewish cultural concerns. By 1937 the Kulturbund was facing economic instability and membership decline – the result of emigration and the increased poverty of those Jews who remained in Germany. These issues came to a head in the autumn of 1938. Events were canceled in the wake of the attacks against German Jews on 9/10 November 1938. All regional Kulturbund branches outside of Berlin were forced into closure on 31 December 1938.

Chapter One sets the introductory groundwork for the creation of the Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria by focusing on the initial impetus for a separate Jewish cultural organisation in 1933. National Socialist assaults against Jewish artists in Germany's art world began with the passing of the Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service in April 1933, whereby all

'politically unreliable' civil servants were dismissed from state-run institutions. A second process of exclusion was the creation of the Joseph Goebbels' Reichskulturkammer in September 1933; this, in effect, allowed for the legal dismissal of Jewish artists from private cultural institutions.[24] Berlin's Jewish artists were the first to organise an official response to these measures. In the summer of 1933 neurologist Dr. Kurt Singer and theatre director Kurt Baumann devised a plan for a Jewish cultural organisation, the future Kulturbund Deutscher Juden.[25] Nazi officials accepted Singer and Baumann's proposal and work began in Berlin later that summer. League expansion began in the late autumn of 1933. By the early spring of 1935 there were 61 Kulturbund branches throughout the Reich.[26]

However, a few Jewish cultural organisations operated outside of Berlin's administrative domain. The most extensive of these was the Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria. As previously mentioned, the Kulturbund in Bavaria originally served seven Bavarian cities: Munich, Nuremberg, Würzburg, Fürth, Augsburg, Bamberg and Kitzingen (Kitzingen closed shortly after its founding). Later expansions added Bad Kissingen (February 1934), Aschaffenburg (February 1934), Regensburg (May 1934) and Memmingen (February 1935).[27] Chapter One ends by examining the beginning stages of the Kulturbund in Bavaria – from musician Erich Erck's first proposal to Bavarian Minister of Education and Culture Hans Schemm in October 1933 to the approved guidelines for Kulturbund operation in Bavaria as set and approved by the Bavarian Jewish Community, the Bavarian

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[24] Rebecca Rovit, 'Jewish Theatre: Repertory and Censorship in the Jüdischer Kulturbund, Berlin', in *Theatre Under the Nazis*, ed. John London (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 187, 196; Alan E. Steinweis, *Art, Ideology and Economics in Nazi Germany: The Reich Chambers of Music, Theater and Visual Arts* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina University Press, 1996), 44-46.

[25] See: Adam Sacks, 'Kurt Singer's Shattered Hopes', *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 48 (2003), 191-203.

[26] Kulturbund Deutscher Juden, ed., *Almanach* (Berlin: Kulturbund Deutscher Juden, 1935).

[27] Bayerisches Staatsministerium für Unterricht und Kultus, 'Gesuch um Genehmigung eines Jüdischen Kulturbundes in Bayern, I. 6671', 9 February 1934. MK 15382, BHStAM; Bayerische Politische Polizei, 'Bad Kissingen, I8763', 17 February 1935. MK 15382, BHStAM; Bayerische Politische Polizei, 'Aschaffenberg, I9586', 21 February 1934. MK 15382, BHStAM; Bayerische Politische Polizei, 'Regensburg, I. 26801', 17 May 1934. MK 15382, BHStAM.

Ministry of Education and Culture and the Bavarian Political Police in January 1934.[28]

Chapter Two turns attention from the origins of organised Jewish cultural life in Nazi Germany and instead focuses on the development of a National Socialist anti-Jewish cultural policy. Such policy decisions were more than merely the opposite of what was playing out in the 'German' cultural world. I believe Nazi cultural policy regarding Jewish performance can be divided into three categories: conceptualisation (1933-1935), consolidation (1935-1937) and completion (1937-1938). It was a process of escalating severity. The first years of National Socialist cultural policy formation were chaotic, its aims and restrictions both ill defined and haphazardly enforced. Matters of censorship were in the hands of the Bavarian State Ministry of Education and Culture while surveillance was organised by the Bavarian Political Police and carried out by local police units.[29] Yet there is little evidence of direct involvement in local activities. After 1935, however, policy directives became more limiting. This second period saw a consolidation of political ideas, ushering in a time of increased bans and heightened censorship.[30] It was not until 1937, though, that the restrictive nature of a National Socialist anti-Jewish cultural policy was most clearly expressed. In 1937 and 1938 a number of bans were placed on Kulturbund activity: regime officials banned more and more works by so-called 'German' composers and playwrights, including artists who had previously been deemed acceptable for the Jewish stage. Further, state officials more strictly controlled performance dates, with events being cancelled as part of more general anti-Jewish measures.[31] This third and final phase of policy development

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[28] Bayerisches Staatsministerium für Unterricht und Kultus, 'Gesuch um Genehmigung eines Jüdischen Kulturbundes in Bayern, I. 6671', 16 January 1934. MK 15382, BHStAM.

[29] Bayerisches Staatsministerium für Unterricht und Kultus, 'Gesuch um Genehmigung eines Jüdischen Kulturbundes in Bayern, I. 6671', 26 October 1933. MK 15382, BHStAM.

[30] Bayerische Politische Polizei, 'Verbot des Auftretens des Pianisten Grünbaum und des Lehrers Julius Kaufmann, B. Nr. 19077/35 I 1 B', 12 July 1935. Landratsamt Aschaffenburg 1031, StAW; Letter, Reichsverband der Jüdischen Kulturbünde in Deutschland to Hans Hinkel, 11 May 1935. Doc 575 Reel 54/29/I, WL.

[31] Hirsch, *A Jewish Orchestra*, 30.

came to a close after Kristallnacht, when all regional Kulturbund branches were closed indefinitely.[32]

After establishing the guidelines of National Socialist oversight, Chapter Three shifts back to the internal frameworks of the Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria, as expressed by its leadership and membership. This chapter begins by situating Kulturbund activity against the broader backdrop of post-Emancipatory Jewish life in modern Germany. I argue that the basis for Kulturbund activity was the result of both inclusion and exclusion from 'German' society prior to 1933. Its cultural ideals and focus on high art (Kultur) drew from the middle-class bourgeois dedication to Bildung and a commitment to German cultural appreciation as a means of belonging to the national body. Yet the Kulturbund was also influenced by Jewish exclusion from this 'German' world, particularly during the Weimar era. Parallel social bodies developed within the Jewish community as a means to insulate against external anti-semitic pressure – including, as a prominent local example, the Jewish Chamber Orchestra in Munich.[33] The Bavarian Kulturbund leadership also addressed issues of purpose that were fit within broader contemporary discourses on cultural form in twentieth century Germany: most notably the issue of high art versus popular art.[34]

Finally, Chapter Three ends by examining the people who comprised the Kulturbund in Bavaria: the leadership, the active artists and the general membership. Kulturbund leadership in Bavaria was comprised of middle-aged, educated men who had come of age prior to 1914. Bavarian artists, unlike in Berlin, consisted of an equal number of men and women – with women far outnumbering men in Bavarian locales outside of Munich. Finally, in Würzburg during the 1935/1936 Season (the only example of a complete Kulturbund

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[32] Bayerische Politische Polizei, '30600/3811 Bb, 2474', 31 December 1938. MK 15382, BHStAM.
[33] Michael Brenner, *The Renaissance of Jewish Culture in Weimar Germany* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996); Gillermann, *Germans into Jews.*
[34] M., 'Bunterheiterer Abend im Kulturbund', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 May 1934, 208; Ba., 'Konzert P. Lindberg', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 1 November 1935, 470; Response to 'Bunterheiter Abend im Kulturbund', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 May 1934, 208.

membership profile in any locations at any time), two-thirds of local members were women.[35]

Chapter Four analyses the early musical programme in the Bavarian Kulturbund. The chapter begins by addressing issues of continuity between Munich's Jewish Chamber Orchestra (1927-1933/4) and the Bavarian Kulturbund Orchestra in Munich (1934-1938). By 1931 the Jewish Chamber Orchestra had gained widespread support from Munich's Jewish Community, suggesting that there was pre-existing support for internal 'Jewish' musical endeavours prior to the founding of the Kulturbund.[36] Next, the chapter shifts to an important early debate in the music department: the issue of defining 'Jewish' music. Debates between local Kulturbund critics and the local Kulturbund leadership were printed in Munich's Jewish newspaper, the *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, already in 1934.[37] What came from these discussions was a wide-ranging definition of 'Jewish' music that encompassed liturgy, folk music and orchestral music composed by Jewish musicians. Yet even a classification of 'Jewishness' based on an easily identifiable marker such as heritage was not always an 'easy' solution, as exemplified in the final section on Mendelssohn performances.

Chapter Five covers the early seasons of the visual arts department in Bavaria. Throughout its existence the Kulturbund in Bavaria, and particularly its visual arts department, invoked Munich's reputation as the German 'Kunststadt'. This served to place their current activity not only within a broader continuum of local importance and pride, but it also reinforced the Kulturbund's commitment to high artistic standard. The visual arts department had two foci: exhibits and a marionette theatre based out of Munich. During this early period the local Kulturbund struggled to arrange exhibitions, likely resulting from a lack

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[35] 'Mitgliedsanmeldungen zum Jüdischen Kulturbund in Bayern', 1935. D/Wu2/380, CAHJP.
[36] 'Konzert des verstärkten Jüdischen Kammerorchesters München am 27. Juni im Museumsaal', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 July 1932, 214; 'Symphonie-Konzert des verstärken Jüd. Kammerorchesters München', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 1 June 1932, 173.
[37] Ba., 'Synagogenkonzert', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 1 November 1934, 506.

of exhibition space.[38] Where the department did have early success, however, was with the München Marionettentheater Jüdischer Künstler. Munich's Jewish Marionette Theatre combined a 'German' folk medium with self-defined 'Jewish' themes and visual effects.[39] During this early period it showed traditional comedies, such as *Das Mädchen von Elizondo* (Jacques Offenbach), alongside non-traditional and experimental biblical themes, as evident in its performance of *Moses* (August Strindberg, adapted for the marionette stage by Berthold Wolff). Added to this were the theatre's experimental and Expressionist visual elements – elements adapted, at least in part, from the example of the Habima theatre.

The second half of the thesis begins with Chapter Six, analysing the process of Jewish cultural centralisation into a national Kulturbund structure and its concomitant impact on Bavarian Kulturbund activity. On the weekend of 26-27 April 1935 a national conference involving representatives from all Jewish cultural organisations in Germany took place in Berlin. By the weekend's end a Reich-wide Jewish Kulturbund in Germany was established; state oversight was vested in Hans Hinkel's Berlin office while Kurt Singer gained control over the internal functioning of the organisation.[40] This decision was not well received by the Bavarian Kulturbund leadership, who felt required to join the national structure or else it would be 'forced upon them by the state'.[41] Chief among the Bavarian apprehensions was the loss of local autonomous control over the shape of their own Kulturbund programme. Such a concern was, in hindsight, justified. After Berlin gained control over Kulturbund programming in Bavaria, the Bavarian Kulturbund programme was altered. As stated above, traveling artists who embarked on nation-wide tours replaced performances by local artists. Further, these new artists brought with them different cultural forms, as will be expanded upon in the chapters that follow.

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[38] Maria Luiko, 'Räume für Ausstellungzswecke des Kulturbunds', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung,* 15 February 1935, 74.
[39] Berthold Wolff, 'Zur Aufführung des Marionetten-Theaters', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 January 1935, 31.
[40] Reichsverband der Jüdischen Kulturbünde in Deutschland, Letter to Hans Hinkel, 11 May 1935. Doc 575 Reel 54/29/I, WL; 'Jüdische Kulturbewegung in Deutschland', *Kulturbund Deutscher Juden Monatsblätter* (November 1935), 11.
[41] 'Protokoll der Tagung der jüdschen Kulturbünde Deutschlands am Sonnabend, den 27. April und Sonntag, den 28 April 1935', 27-28 April 1935, 55. AR 166 MF 341, LBI.

Chapter Seven examines the Bavarian musical department from the beginning of the 1935/36 Season through 1938. The impact of cultural centralisation was most noticeable in the musical programme . During this second half of activity the musical department underwent a two-fold change. First, the local Bavarian musical groups – particularly the smaller ensembles and quartets – were forced out of the regular Bavarian Kulturbund programming. Second, the music being performed on Bavarian Kulturbund stages was different than before. Whereas the first half of activity saw a direct involvement with 'Jewish' music, the second half was markedly more 'German' and foreign in orientation; non-Jewish composers, generally of Western European heritage, were performed at a greater rate than Jewish composers while the performance of liturgy and folk music decreased. In addition to the programming, this chapter also examines two additional elements of the Bavarian musical department that distinguished it from its Kulturbund counterpart in Berlin. Women composed over half of all Bavarian Kulturbund musicians; further, outside of Munich the number of women increased to approximately 80 percent of musicians. In addition, Bavarian performances occurred in what Jacob Borut has termed 'Jewish places' – locations with a specific Jewish meaning, such as in the synagogue or a Gemeinde-owned building. By contrast, Berlin's performances generally occurred in 'Jewish spaces', such as a theatre hall – these were rented locations that were only temporarily used by Jews.[42]

While Bavarian musicians were negatively impacted by Kulturbund centralisation, the Reichsverband created more opportunities for Bavarian visual artists. Chapter Eight looks again at Bavarian exhibition opportunities and marionette performances. Three major Kulturbund exhibits featuring the works of Bavarian artists took place in 1936 and 1937 – the exhibits opened first in Berlin and then later embarked on a traveling tour of Bavarian Kulturbund locales. These exhibits also highlight the important role of gender in constructing cultural representations. Female Bavarian artists often showed works that touched on the social themes of poverty, social inequality and motherhood. Local male artists, on the other hand, were generally concerned with self-portraiture or landscapes of their immediate surroundings.

[42] Borut, 'Struggles for Spaces', 309.

In addition to greater exhibition opportunity, Bavaria's artists also continued their work on Munich's Jewish Marionette Theatre. Unlike earlier seasons, however, after centralisation the marionette theatre was excluded from the regular local Kulturbund programming. Instead, performances took place in a special event series that occurred outside the main schedule and was not included in the annual Kulturbund subscription price. Despite the additional costs associated with marionette performances, however, the theatre remained popular throughout the state. As before, the troupe performed a combination of comedies and dramas – although by the group's final season of performance in 1937 the repertoire consisted entirely of comedies.

Finally, Chapter Nine addresses the final stages of the Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria. By 1937 the Kulturbund was losing its artists and general membership – both to emigration and, in the case of audience members who remained in Bavaria, to the worsening financial crisis. The Kulturbund also faced its own financial issues as it lost subscription revenues and local businesses pulled their monetary support as their own businesses faltered. Local leadership condensed their programming, likely in an effort to save money. However, by the summer of 1938 the practicalities of sustaining Jewish cultural activity in Bavaria were staggering. Adding to the difficulties, key performance venues, such as the main synagogues in Munich and Nuremberg, were destroyed in the summer of 1938.[43] Less than a month after the start of the 1938/39 Season, external events forced the Bavarian Kulturbund to close. Jewish cultural performances throughout the Reich were called off in late October, aligning with the regime's scheduled expulsion of Polish Jews from Germany.[44] Shortly thereafter, on the night of 9/10 November, the Kulturbund was dealt its final blow. After Kristallnacht it was, for all intents and purposes, impossible for

[43] Wolfram Selig, 'Judenverfolgung in München 1933 bis 1941' in *Hauptstadt der Bewegung': Bayerns Metropole und der Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Richard Bauer, Hans Günter Hockerts, Brigitte Schütz, Wolfgang Till and Walter Ziegler (Munich: Münchner Stadtmuseum, 2002), 400; Christian Faludi, ed. *Die 'Juni-Aktion' 1938. Eine Dokumentation zur Radikalisierung der Judenverfolgung.* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2013); Susanne Heim, ed. *Die Verfolgung und Ermorderung der europäischen Juden durch das nationalsozialistische Deutschland 1933-1945: Deutsches Reich 1938 – August 1939. Band 2* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2009), 52.
[44] Rebecca Rovit, *The Jewish Kulturbund Theatre Company in Berlin* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2012), 147.

Jewish cultural life to continue outside of Berlin. The league's future remained in flux in the immediate aftermath of the violence.[45] It was not until December that Josef Goebbels declared the forced 'liquidation' of all Jewish Kulturbund locations outside of Berlin.[46]

Historiography

The main conceptual debates in the field do not involve Kulturbund activity but rather its complicated legacy. There are significant gaps in the scholarship related to the shape of Jewish cultural activity. My thesis addresses two hitherto understudied areas of the Kulturbund: the lack of attention given to Jewish Kulturbund activity outside of Berlin and the scarcity of studies on the role of regional identification in relation to Jewish experiences of (and reactions to) Nazism. The current scholarly focus, which is Berlin-centric, only presents a partial image of the Kulturbund activity in Germany – one that is based on a cosmopolitan and northern German urban experience. Berlin was, without question, an important centre of Jewish life in the first decades of the twentieth century. Nearly one-third of German Jews, or approximately 160,000 individuals, called Berlin home.[47]

Still, my research begins by questioning the general premise that the Kulturbund in Berlin can present an adequate representation of Jewish cultural activity throughout Germany. Jewish life in Berlin was different than Jewish life in other smaller cities, towns and villages. The metropolis offered a level of anonymity not available to Jews elsewhere. Further, the Berlin Kulturbund – located in the city with the largest Jewish population and the largest

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[45] Der Reichsminister für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda, 'Aufhebung des Verbots jüdischer Kulturveranstaltungen, II. A 20970', 14 November 1938. MK 15382, BHStaM.
[46] Bayerische Politische Polizei, '30600/3811 Bb, 2474', 31 December 1938. MK 15382, BHStaM.
[47] Statistic taken from: Avraham Barkai and Paul Mendes-Flohr, *Renewal and Destruction, 1918-1945* in Michael Meyer and Michael Brenner, ed. *German-Jewish History in Modern Times Volume 4* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 226.

concentration of Jewish artists – was itself an atypical cultural experience. Weimar Berlin's art scene established an exceptional time and place in modern German-Jewish cultural history; its impact did not immediately disappear in 1933. Nowhere else in Germany was there such a large congregation of professional and skilled amateur Jewish artists as in Berlin.

Yet Berlin has almost come to represent the entirety of Jewish cultural expression in Nazi Germany. By basing all Kulturbund activity on the example of Berlin, Jewish cultural life in the 1930s is uniformly described as aligning with traditional 'German' or Western European humanist traditions until it was forced by the National Socialist regime into a more 'Jewish' (e.g. Eastern European) repertoire in the late 1930s. This movement toward Eastern European 'Jewish' art was, current scholarship holds, generally interpreted as an unwelcome development. Lily Hirsch, in her recent study of the Jewish orchestra in Berlin, analyses their musical programme and claims that the whole of the League's impetus toward 'Jewish' art was 'in many ways forced' and emerged only after 1936. She also claims that there was an 'obvious gap in the repertoire: music by Jewish composers' and that 'Jewish' cultural expression was 'in fact merely a sideline activity or tangential experiment.'[48] Herbert Freeden, a former dramaturge for the Berlin Kulturbund and an early author on the Kulturbund, shared a similar sentiment when he wrote that the Kulturbund was a 'Jewish Cultural League without Jewish culture.' ('Jüdischer Kulturbund ohne jüdische Kultur.')[49]

Such a line of interpretation is problematic. First and foremost, there were early engagements on the themes of 'Jewish' art outside of Berlin. Extending scholarship beyond the capital can serve to broaden our understanding of Jewish experiences during National Socialism. Local Bavarian

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[48] Dr. Kurt Singer himself, with his ever-present flash for the dramatic, looked back on his early work and reflected, 'Without a constructive idea of Jewish art did we wake up from our depression and isolation, and grope our way like blind men towards Jewish spiritual values…'. Hirsch, *A Jewish Orchestra*, 44 and 62; Herbert Freeden, 'Jüdischer Kulturbund ohne "jüdische' Kultur"' in *Geschlossene Vorstellung: der Jüdische Kulturbund in Deutschland 1933-1941*, ed. Akademie der Künste (Berlin: Akademie der Künste, 1992), 55; Herbert Freeden, 'A Jewih Theatre Under the Swastika' *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 1 (1956) 147.
[49] Freeden, 'Jüdischer Kulturbund', 55.

Kulturbund leaders and artists published articles debating the possible forms of 'Jewish' music already in 1934 – and this 'Jewish' music comprised nearly half of the league's initial musical programme in Bavaria's first season (Chapter Four).[50] Bavaria's Kulturbund lecture series exclusively featured issues related to Jewish history, Jewish artists, Jewish authors or contemporary Jewish concerns. Finally, Bavaria's visual arts department featured the Munich Marionette Theater of Jewish Artists, a self-described 'specifically Jewish endeavour' that performed self-defined 'Jewish' art (Chapter Five).[51]

Secondly, pitting 'Western European' or 'German' art traditions against 'Jewish' art traditions sustains the notion of two cultural absolutes that did not, perhaps even could not, overlap – as if individuals were either 'German' or 'Jewish'. Maintaining such rigidity is not useful as an interpretative tool, at least in the Bavarian example. What Sharon Gillermann found regarding the impulses of Jewish social reformers in the Weimar years also holds for the Bavarian Kulturbund programme from 1934 until 1938: 'a new expression of Jewish particularism did not depend on the surrender of their Germanness.'[52] The belief that one could be both German and Jewish, that 'to be German did not negate the possibility of being Jewish', was, as Philip Bohlman has stated, 'a particularly twentieth-century realization' that gained credence during the Weimar years.[53] Indeed, as Benjamin Maria Baader has stated, 'Conceiving of Jews only as Germans leaves half of the conceptual framework of German-Jewish history in the dark.'[54] In Bavaria, the Kulturbund programme was constructed from multiple conceptual frameworks; it represented human experiences expressed during a span of political and social transition, and human experiences can rarely

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[50] The Bavarians defined 'Jewish' music as music by a composer of Jewish heritage (regardless of whether the composer self-identified as Jewish; the famous example being the complicated relationship between Mendelssohn and his Jewish heritage), liturgical music or folk music.
[51] Berthold Wolff, 'Zur Aufführung des Marionetten-Theaters', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 January 1935, 31.
[52] Gillerman, *Germans into Jews*, 4.
[53] Philip V. Bohlman, *'The Land Where Two Streams Flow': Music in the German-Jewish Community of Israel* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989), xii.
[54] Benjamin Maria Baader, 'Jews, Women, and Germans: Jewish and German Historiographies in a Transatlantic Perspective', in *Gendering Modern German History: Rewriting Historiography,* ed. Karen Hagemann and Jean H. Quataert (New York: Berghahn Publishers, 2007), 170.

be divided into neat ideological boxes. Perhaps the most poignant example of this was the München Marionettentheater Jüdischer Künstler (chapters 5 and 8). Munich's Jewish Marionette Theatre was a self-described 'Jewish' undertaking that utilised a self-described 'German' (particularly 'Bavarian') folk tradition to perform 'Jewish' art for adult Jewish audiences.[55] The Kulturbund programme in Bavaria was a multi-layered creation of German-, Bavarian- and Jewish traditions; it reflected varied, perhaps even conflicting, forms of local Jewish self-representations, social negotiations and coming to terms with their contemporary experiences.

The last four decades of Kulturbund research has stagnated around a single question: did the Kulturbund distract German Jews from the realities of National Socialism, placating the community and impeding an impetus toward emigration? Journalists Henryk Broder and Elke Geisel have the most provocative stance on the topic. Broder, in a book co-published with Geisel, claimed that the Kulturbund's leadership were mere 'pawns' of the Nazi state, that their actions verged on the realm of collaboration, and that their 'attempt to encourage normality under abnormal circumstances . . . could end no other way but tragically.'[56] Fellow journalist Jörg Gronious agrees with their overall negative interpretation of the Kulturbund, condemning it as a 'schizophrenic undertaking' while falling short of calling its activity collaboration.[57] However, the majority of scholarship – including works by Herbert Freeden,[58] Völker Dahm,[59] Lily Hirsch[60] and Rebecca Rovit[61] – takes a less polemic approach. These

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[55] Wolff, 'Zur Aufführung', 31.
[56] Henryk Broder, 'Business As Usual', in *Premiere und Pogrom: der Jüdische Kulturbund 1933-1941*, ed. Eike Geisel and Henryk Broder (Berlin: Siedler, 1992), 49.
[57] Gronius' essay was included in a collection of essays, personal recollections and documents that was published alongside an exhibit on the Kulturbund at the Akademie der Künste in Berlin. Jörg Gronius, 'Klarheit, Leichtigkeit und Melodie: Theater in Jüdischen Kulturbund Berlin*',* in *Geschlossene Vorstellung: der Jüdische Kulturbund in Deutschland 1933-1941,* ed. Akademie der Künste (Berlin: Akademie der Künste, Edition Henrich, 1992).
[58] Freeden, a former Kulturbund dramaturge living in Berlin, emigrated to Palestine in 1939. Herbert Freeden, *Jüdisches Theater in Nazideutschland* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1964).
[59] Völker Dahm, 'Kulturelles und geistiges Leben', in *Die Juden in Deutschland: 1933-1945,* ed. Wolfgang Benz (Munich: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1989), 104-112.

authors believe that the Kulturbund played a socially important role within the Jewish community, but also acknowledge that it likely clouded the ability to perceive the future dangers of life under National Socialism and thus hindered emigration.

However, my thesis argues that Kulturbund activity in Bavaria did not hinder or delay the impulse toward emigration. On the contrary, after 1935 the National Socialist state required the Kulturbund to pursue a programme that actively encouraged emigration; this directive was implemented throughout the Reich at the start of the 1935/36 Season.[62] Furthermore, in late 1936 the Bavarian Kulturbund began a comprehensive campaign for support due its flagging membership; emigration was cited as the main cause of decline.[63] Finally, key Bavarian leaders – those who presumably had the strongest psychological commitment to the Kulturbund – sought to leave Germany throughout the 1930s; many succeeded prior to the Kulturbund's closure. A similar pattern of membership decline occurred in Berlin, although, unlike in Bavaria, its leadership did not witness the same frequency of turnover.[64] However, this suggests that the Kulturbund did not in fact hinder Jewish emigration on any large scale.

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[60] Hirsch, *A Jewish Orchestra*.
[61] Rovit, *The Jewish Kulturbund Theater Company*.
[62] Bayerische Politische Polizei, 'Richtlinien für die Tätigkeit des Reichsverbandes der jüd. Kulturbünde in Deutschland, 18484/35 I 1 B', 29 August 1935. MK 15382, BHStaM.
[63] 'Aus den Gemeinden: Nürnberg', *Israelitisches Familienblatt,* 22 July 1937, 15.
[64] Emigration was the number one reason Berliners cancelled their Kulturbund membership. Between the end of the 1935/36 season and the beginning of the 1936/37 Season, a total of 1,467 Kulturbund memberships were cancelled due to emigration; this was the most often cited reason for leaving discontinuing membership. During the course of the 1936/37 season a further 811 memberships were cancelled as a result of member emigration. Furthermore, there was a strong concern within the Kulturbund leadership ranks regarding its inability to maintain a fully functioning musical program. According to a report from Kurt Singer in August 1937, "no fewer than 15 members of the Berlin Kutlurbund Orchestra, five members of the Berlin Kulturbund Choir, and 16 total musical ensembles have left Germany for abroad." Dr. Kurt Singer, 'Der Jüdische Kulturbund wirbt: Vorschläge', 6 April 1937. Fritz Wisten Archiv 74/86/5000-5095, AdK; Dr. Kurt Singer, 'Zum Subventionsantrag des Jüdischen Kulturbundes. Anmerkung', 25 August 1937. Fritz Wisten Archiv 74/86/5000-5095, AdK.

Another theme common to Kulturbund scholarship involves the notion of Jewish 'spiritual resistance' through art. This idea of art as a form of 'spiritual resistance' is not limited to works on the Kulturbund. Instead, it is pervasive to work on Jewish cultural activity under Nazi persecution more generally – particularly in regards to art in the ghettos, concentration camps and death camps. Within Kulturbund-related scholarship, however, it should be noted that the interpretation is most common in works by non-historians. Theatre historians Freeden, Rovit and Barbara Wesemann-Müller,[65] musicologist Hirsch and journalist/publicist Gabriele Fritsch-Vivié[66] all devote a significant amount of attention to the idea of 'spiritual resistance'. Under this rubric, the Kulturbund is often interpreted as a 'moral reservoir and elixir'[67] and 'refuge'[68] where artists and audiences alike engaged in 'spiritual resistance'. Wesemann-Müller goes so far as to include the term in the title of her book, suggesting that it is her main interpretative concern. Rovit argues that this notion of 'spiritual resistance' is rooted in the Kulturbund artists' desire to 'engage in their craft for the future of art's sake, as well as for their own sake – so as not to succumb to a personal crisis of spirit.'[69] She continues further to suggest that this is perhaps a 'uniquely Jewish trait that has existed for thousands of years.'[70]

Despite its prevalence in scholarship, the term 'spiritual resistance' is never concretely defined. Nor is its use in regards to Kulturbund activity convincing. The lack of clear definition is particularly troublesome for the term 'spiritual' (in German, geistig), given that the term itself can take multiple meanings with various connotations. Is 'spiritual' meant to invoke religious meaning or an internal psychological meaning? If art is considered 'spiritual', does art then only concern itself with elevated otherworldly means – and if this is true, how does one explain the politicized art performed in the Kulturbund

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[65] Barbara Wesemann-Müller, *Theater als geistiger Widerstand: Der Jüdische Kulturbund in Hamburg* (Stuttgart: M & P Verlag, 1997).
[66] Gabriele Fritsch-Vivié, *Gegen alle Widerstände: Der Jüdische Kulturbund 1933-1941* (Berlin: Hentrich & Hentrich, 2013).
[67] Freeden, *Jüdisches Theater*, 5.
[68] Rebecca Rovit, 'An Artistic Mission in Nazi Berlin: The Jewish Kulturbund Theatre as Sanctuary' *Theatre Studies* (November 1994), 36.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Rovit, *The Jewish Kulturbund Theater Company*, 209.

context? Further still, such works are clearly conceptualising Kulturbund activity as a form of resistance (in German, Widerstand), yet there is little effort to situate their argument for the Kulturbund within the pre-existing scholarship on Jewish resistance against National Socialism.

Shirli Gilbert, in her work on music in the Nazi ghetto and camp systems of Eastern Europe, assesses the proliferation of 'spiritual resistance' in works on Jewish art during the Third Reich as 'wide-spread and simplistic'; she argues further that the 'conception of music as spiritual resistance' is 'a conception based on unrealistic assumptions.'[71] Gilbert's work questions this idealised version of the role of cultural participation and, as she states, 'challenges conceptions of the Holocaust that rely on quasi-mythicized rhetoric of sacred martyrs and inhuman beasts – worryingly pervasive in both academic and popular writings on the subject.'[72] Instead, she analyses music as a social force, as a means through which 'people tried to interpret and understand what was happening to them in complicated, contradictory, and changing ways.'[73]

My thesis takes a stance similar to Gilbert's work. As an organisation, the Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria did not constitute resistance. There were no efforts made to overthrow the regime. Quite the contrary – its founding was predicated on National Socialist approval, its continued existence reliant upon adhering to state guidelines. Such an interpretation should not, however, belittle the social importance of cultural events. The Kulturbund was an important space for German Jewry – it not only provided a physical social space but it was also an important area in which German Jews could self-represent what it meant to them to be Jewish. Further, within the Bavarian Kulturbund structure I believe it is possible to view certain cultural performances, such as Munich Marionette Theatre of Jewish Artists' staging of Pocci plays (Chapter Eight), as dissent – as cultural representations that challenged the ideological frameworks upon which National Socialist policy was built. Such acts were, however, the result of individuals or groups and not the result of the League per se.

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[71] Shirli Gilbert, *Music in the Holocaust: Confronting Life in Nazi Ghettos and Camps* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 3.
[72] Gilbert, *Music in the Holocaust*, 5.
[73] Ibid.

My thesis intersects multiple areas of scholarship: German History, German Studies, Jewish History, Jewish Studies, German-Jewish History and Holocaust Studies. It is a socio-cultural history of Bavarian Kulturbund members. At its centre is an analysis of the ways these individuals worked through, conceptualised and then represented their often complicated and something contradictory understandings of what it meant for them to be 'Jewish' in pre-war National Socialist Bavaria.

Sources

The sources required for this thesis are varied and stem from Jewish newspapers and newsletters to largely incomplete archival collections. In general terms, the surviving sources related to Bavarian activity are Munich-centric. Munich was the seat of the regional offices as well as the central offices related to state oversight. Outside of happenstance, the bulk of surviving material referencing activity in Munich is likely the result of the majority of Kulturbund related paperwork making its way through Munich; in other words, more paperwork survived in Munich because there was more of it. Yet this also presents something of a skewed version of Bavarian Kulturbund events. Little remains concerning Kulturbund events in the smallest Bavarian locations, such as Memmingen, or even some of the middle-sized locales, such as Augsburg. Not only that, but there is relatively little surviving documentation on one of Bavaria's largest Jewish communities – and after 1937 its most active Kulturbund branch – Nuremberg (after 1934, Nuremberg-Fürth).

With this important caveat in mind, it is possible to separate the material in to two main categories: those from National Socialist officials and those from the Jewish community, Kulturbund officials and artists.[74] A third, although significantly smaller, collection of sources includes National Socialist

[74] A third category would be sources from international sources, including foreign press reports and foreign governmental reports, but this collection is extremely small and restricted to Berlin Kulturbund activity.

newspapers, foreign press and foreign governmental reports on Kulturbund activity; this aspect is, however, limited almost exclusively to Berlin.[75]

Contemporary Jewish community newspapers and newsletters constitute the largest source of information on the local Kulturbund programmes and artists. The two Jewish community newspapers of the two largest Bavarian Jewish communities, Munich's twice-monthly *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*[76] and Nuremberg-Fürth's monthly *Nürnberg-Fürther Israelitisches Gemeindeblatt*, are particularly rich sources. From these two newspapers it was possible to reconstruct the complete Kulturbund programmes for Munich, Nuremberg and Fürth, as well as partially reconstructed programmes for Bamberg, Regensburg and Würzburg. A third regional newspaper, *Die Laubhütte*, provides small amounts of information for 1934 performances in Regensburg and Würzburg; it ceased publication that year. Further programmatic details, although limited, are found in the local news sections of larger circulating Jewish newspapers: the *Central Verein Zeitung* and the *Israelitisches Familienblatt*.

The above-mentioned Jewish newspapers also provide Kulturbund event descriptions and, in some cases, performance reviews – making it possible, at least somewhat, to gauge audience responses and reception. These press reviews are the only indications of Kulturbund event reception.[77] Yet detailed, opinionated pieces on performances only exist for the first seasons. Early event reviewers wrote relatively openly about their positions regarding Kulturbund performances and the direction of the Kulturbund programme more generally. As just one example, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Four, in

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[75] The 'Stürmer-Kartei' collection at the Stadtarchiv Nürnberg includes articles on the Kulturbund, but these are related to activities in Berlin; the same articles are on file at the Akademie der Künste archive.

[76] In 1938 the newspaper's name was officially changed to the *Jüdisches Gemeindeblatt für den Verband der Kultusgemeinden in München, Augsburg, Bamberg, und des Verbandes Bayerischer Israelitische Gemeinden*. It remained in circulation (with twice-monthly publications) until the end of the year.

[77] Letters from Kulturbund artists to friends or family (including letters to other Kulturbund artists) do not mention performance reception. I found no mention of Bavarian Kulturbund events in any surviving diaries from Bavarian Jews in the 1930s. Nor did I find any reflections on specific event performances or on the general local Kulturbund programme in memoirs published by Bavarian Jews after the 1930s.

1934 there was a lively debate in the pages of Munich's Jewish community newspaper regarding the form of 'Jewish' music and its role in modern German Jewish cultural life.[78] In the latter half of the decade these critical reviews ended; the shift in tone and detailed analysis is particularly noticeable by the end of the 1935/36 season – likely influenced by the increased pressures facing Jewish life in the aftermath of the Nuremberg Race Laws in 1935, Goebbels's ban on negative art reviews on the same evening of the performance under review in May 1936 and his later ban on all art criticism in November 1936.[79] Cultural criticism was replaced by a rote summarisation of performances. However, Munich's *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung* was the only Bavarian Jewish newspaper to publish in-depth critical performance reviews.

There are important limits to what can be deduced from these reviews in the Jewish press. First and foremost, there was the issue of writing to avoid the interference of state censorship or political persecution; politically sensitive issues would have been avoided. Again, in Munich this appears to have been less of a concern during the first seasons when censorship guidelines were not clearly set and cultural policy enforcement was haphazard. Yet this could possibly explain the lack of reviews in Nuremberg. Julius Streicher's strict control over the Franconian city made Jewish life difficult; perhaps the spectre of Streicher and the fear of persecution resulted in the unwillingness of individuals to publically print any opinions related to German, Jewish or German-Jewish culture. Second, many of the reviews were signed with initials and the legal names of the reviewers are unknown. This makes it difficult to ascertain the reviewer's own biases, either personal or professional, and how these biases would have impacted their review.

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[78] For the first article of this debate, see: Ba., 'Synagogenkonzert des Kulturbundes,' *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung,* 1 December 1934, 506.
[79] Goebbels, upon issuing the ban, declared that the practice of art criticism was a direct result of 'Jewish' involvement in 'German' arts. He declared that all cultural reviews were, from then on, to focus on description. Although his decree did not mention Jewish reviews of Kulturbund events, I believe Kulturbund reviews would have been subjected to the same review guidelines. David Welch, 'Restructuring the Means of Communication in Nazi Germany', in *Readings in Propaganda and Persuasion: New and Classic Essays*, ed. Garth S. Jowett and Victoria O'Donnell (London: Sage, 2006), 126-128.

The archival sources related to the internal workings of the Jewish community in relation to Kulturbund activity are fractured. Berlin's Academy of the Arts Archive houses the largest Kulturbund collection, although its holdings are restricted to activity in Berlin and the Kulturbund branches initially created under Berlin's control. References to Bavarian Kulturbund activity are mostly limited to tour dates listed on national concert event schedules. The Wiener Library in London has a large collection of material on Kulturbund activity; again, however, the holdings are almost entirely limited to Berlin and Berlin-affiliated branches.

Because the Bavarian Kulturbund operated under the auspices of the Bavarian Jewish Gemeinde, its Kulturbund bureaucracy was likely included in the Gemeinde paperwork. Unfortunately, a great deal of Bavarian archival sources were lost in the chaotic shuffle of files first after Kristallnacht, then as boxes were transferred to Palestine, and once again during war in 1948. The Jewish Community sources that do exist are located at the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People in Jerusalem.[80] Relevant Bavarian Kulturbund files exist for the League office in Bamberg. These materials include: letters between local Kulturbund officials discussing upcoming scheduling issues, payment concerns and operating guidelines; and letters between Kulturbund officials and Kulturbund artists concerning their performance availability and costs. Further, the Central Archives have the 1935/36 Kulturbund Season membership applications for Würzburg. This is the lone surviving membership list of any Kulturbund branch, including Berlin. Würzburg's membership applications open a new branch of enquiry on one of the main gaps in Kulturbund literature – mainly, who was watching these performances (see Chapter Three). Finally, the archives at the National Library of Israel in Jerusalem have letters between Martin Buber and the Bavarian Kulturbund related to a lecture invitation, travel reimbursement and speaking fees.

[80] I was not granted access to the archives of the Israelitische Kultusgemeinde für München und Oberbayern in Munich. Archivists at the Staatsarchiv Nürnberg and the Stadtarchiv Nürnberg helped me find limited files from the city's Jewish community; unfortunately there was no information related to cultural life or the Kulturbund.

The remaining source-base of internal Kulturbund materials includes letters and the artwork itself (marionettes, paintings, sculptures). Munich's City Archive has letters between artist Maria Luiko and author Fritz Rosenthal (later Shalom Ben-Chorin). The archive also has a few individual artist files with collected information on their lives before, during and (in the case of survivors) after the Third Reich. Additionally, works of art created under Kulturbund patronage have survived. Munich's City Museum holds the marionettes and a few stage props used by the Munich Marionette Theatre of Jewish Artists. The city's Jewish Museum has possession of a portion of Maria Luiko's painting collection. Finally, I was kindly given access to personal letters and photographs by the family of Rudolf Ernst and corresponded with the family of Elisabeth Springer.

State oversight of the Bavarian Kulturbund was in the hands of the Bavarian State Ministry of Education and Culture and local police units. The majority of sources related to the role of the Nazi state in local Kulturbund activity are from the Ministry of Education and Cultural Affairs; Ministry files are located at the Bavarian Main State Archive in Munich. These include internal memos and reports on cultural events and artists from the Ministry, letters from Bavarian Kulturbund leaders to Ministry officials and correspondence between the Ministry and the Bavarian Political Police. While there is an abundance of surviving Ministry paperwork dating from the end of 1933 until the autumn of 1935, after September 1935 the sources dwindle significantly. This is likely a result of internal Ministry changes, whereby cultural oversight was handed over to a newly created 'Theaterbehörde' in early 1936; the vast majority of these files have been lost.[81]

Police reports also provide information regarding the process of state oversight of Kulturbund events, performance bans and limited information on artists. Many local files, however, have been destroyed or lost.[82] The State Archive in Würzburg has relevant reports for Kulturbund branches in Lower

[81] I was told these files were destroyed ('vernichtet') in the mid-1990s. One folder does remain in the Hauptstaatsarchiv, but the material is pre-1933 and post-1945.

[82] Some of these sources were amongst the files destroyed, without digitisation, in the 1990s. Other missing files were likely destroyed by the National Socialist regime prior to the end of the war.

Franconia – Aschaffenburg, Bad Kissingen, Kitzingen and Würzburg.[83] A majority of the police reports related to Kulturbund activity are found in Munich, including copies of local police reports from outside of Munich which were sent to the Bavarian Political Police headquarters in the state capital. Such reports can be found in the Bavarian Main State Archive, the Munich State Archive and the Munich City Archive. The Institute for Contemporary History, also in Munich, has microfilm copies of police reports on Kulturbund events.

Although the sources for this thesis are varied and sometimes incomplete in scope, in their totality they do provide a wide reaching documentation of the Jewish cultural sphere in National Socialist Bavaria prior to World War Two. The combination of Jewish press reviews and articles, internal Jewish community communications, letters between artists, the Kulturbund artwork itself, letters between the Kulturbund leadership and Nazi officials, as well as regime decrees, letters and memos touch upon both sides of Jewish cultural life in the 1930s – from the point of view of both the regime and the Jewish community. It is only through the use of both sets of sources that a complete interpretation of Jewish cultural life is possible.

[83] The Gestapostelle Würzburg files are the largest surviving collection of Gestapo files in Germany. The individual case files rarely discuss Kulturbund activity, but they do contain important biographical information (birthdates, address, family members, emigration records when relevant, etc.) on local artists and members. Aschaffenburg, Bad Kissingen and Kitzingen are covered in the files related to the Landratsamt Aschaffenburg.

Part One: 1933-1935

1. 'Jewish' Exclusion from the 'German' Cultural Sphere: Impact and Responses, 1933

National Socialist assaults on presumed 'Jewish' influences on 'German' culture began mere weeks after Adolf Hitler assumed power in 1933. Although cultural policy may, in hindsight, seem an obscure niche within the larger scope of anti-Jewish legislations enacted during the Third Reich, its importance to the regime should not be understated. As Saul Friedländer has noted, 'the cultural domain was the first from which Jews (and "leftists") were massively expelled.'[1] In a country that had fashioned itself as the 'Land of Poets and Thinkers', cultural production was a serious undertaking. In 1925 approximately one percent of Germans were employed in a cultural field (excluding technical and support positions). This percentage increased in important urban cultural centres; in Berlin 1.29 percent of the population was employed in the arts, while in Munich the total was even greater at 2.04 percent. Eight years later, a total of 169,463 Germans were employed in the arts during the first year of the National Socialist regime.[2]

Occupation	Total
Musicians	84,362
Architects	36,088
Visual Artists	14,750
Actors/Actresses	10,264
Singers	9,499
Variety Performers	8,301
Dancers	5,129
Theatre Directors	1,070
	Total: 169,463

Table 1: Chart showing the total number of artists active in Germany in 1933.

[1] Saul Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews Volume 1: The Years of Persecution, 1933-1939* (Harper Collins: New York, 1997), 12.
[2] Alan E. Steinweis, *Art, Ideology and Economics in Nazi Germany: The Reich Chambers of Music, Theater and Visual Arts* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina University Press, 1996), 7.

Further, in 1933 there were no fewer than 262 theatres in Germany. Most of these stages were found in Berlin, where there were a total of 43,000 theatre seats – or one seat for every 100th Berliner in the Reich capital. Although there were fewer total theatres in Munich, the Bavarian capital housed approximately 6,600 theatre seats – or one seat for every 116th Münchner.[3]

The political importance of art extended beyond this physical presence and into the ideological realm. Nazi cultural understandings built on pre-existing völkisch interpretations of a 'national' art that represented the 'health' of the national 'body' – all ideas that developed under Romanticism and re-emerged with the recent contemporary turn toward Neo-Romanticism.[4] Under National Socialism cultural life was politicised by the state, and as such it was a component of the regime's overall ideology and worldview: '…the struggles for racial, political, and cultural renewal would be identical. The politics of art would be integral to the creation of the "people's community".'[5] Nazi cultural plans did not include individuals of Jewish heritage within this new 'people's community'. A process of cultural exclusion began in April 1933 and continued throughout the existence of the Third Reich.

The Kulturbund developed as a response to this exclusion. Berlin was the first community to establish an official organisational response: the Kulturbund Deutscher Juden. Between 1933 and 1935 approximately 80 additional German cities maintained a Jewish cultural organisation.[6] A majority of these endeavours

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[3] Bogusław Drewniak, *Das Theater im NS-Staat: Szenarium deutscher Zeitgeschichte 1933-1945* (Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1983), 42-43.

[4] For more recent work on the topic of artistic trends during National Socialism see: Richard Etlin, ed. *Art, Culture, and Media under the Third Reich* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002); Peter Paret, *An Artist against the Third Reich: Ernst Barlach, 1933-1938* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Eric Michaud, *The Cult of Art in Nazi Germany* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004); Joan Clinefelter, *Artists for the Reich: Culture and Race from Weimar to Nazi Germany* (Oxford: Berg, 2006); Neil J. Levi, *Modernist Form and the Myth of Jewification* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2014).

[5] Steinweis, *Art, Ideology and Economics*, 21.

[6] Kurt Singer to Reichsminister Goebbels, 'Bericht der jüdischen Leitung des "Reichsverbades Jüdischen Kulturbünde" über die Entwicklung des Jüdischen Kulturbundes Berlin und den Reichsverband der Jüdischen Kulturbünde in Deutschland', 17 April 1935; Reichsverband der Jüdischen Kulturbünde in Deutschland to Staatskommissar Hans Hinkel, 11 May 1935. Doc 575 Reel 54/29/I, Wiener Library.

were, from their inception, affiliated with the Berlin Kulturbund – yet not all. The Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria was one such autonomous Jewish cultural league. It acted outside of Berlin's administrative control for two seasons (1934 and 1934/35). Bavaria's autonomy allowed the Bavarians to create their own administrative centres and procedures; this also allowed its local leadership internal control over its own programme scheduling. As a result, the Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria developed a 'Jewish' programme that differed from what developed in Berlin. What developed in Bavaria was a tri-fold representation of a German-Bavarian-Jewish self-understanding that mixed national, regional (and, to an extent, civic) and religious traditions.

Early National Socialist Legislative Attacks

On 7 April 1933, barely nine weeks after coming to power, the National Socialist regime passed the Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service (Civil Service Law). This law stipulated the dismissal of 'politically unreliable' employees; the flexibility of the term 'politically unreliable' encompassed not only members of dissenting political parties but also 'non-Aryan' workers – including artists, actors and musicians employed at state cultural institutions. In Munich alone this resulted in the dismissal of 369 civil servants.[7] Further, not only were these individuals stripped of their jobs, but former employees were deprived of their welfare and retirement benefits.

The number of Jewish artists in Bavaria who were forced into unemployment in April 1933 is unclear. Existing statistics on Jewish cultural figures only include limited fields. In 1932 a total of 71 Jewish community members living in the 'larger Bavarian cities' (these cities are not named) worked as visual artists, private tutors and authors. Men accounted for the overwhelming majority of this total, with 52 men citing employment in these

[7] Baruch Z. Ophir and Falk Wiesemann, *Die Jüdischen Gemeinden in Bayern 1918-1945: Geschichte und Zerstörung* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 1979), 45.

areas as compared to 19 women.[8] This number does not account for musicians or actors/actresses. Further, it only includes those who were registered as members of the Jewish community in 1932, thus excluding any artists who were only externally identified as 'Jewish' by the National Socialist regime after 1933 (or later).

While the total number of Bavarian Jewish artists is unknown, it is possible to suggest potential limits to Jewish cultural employment in Bavaria by examining the occupational statistics found in two other German cities: Frankfurt am Main and Berlin. In 1932 in Frankfurt am Main (home to a Jewish population of 26,000), 124 Jewish individuals reported their occupation as being in theatre or opera.[9] Not surprisingly, a larger number of Jewish artists were at home in Weimar Berlin. In 1932 the Reich's capital was home to no fewer than 559 musicians, 298 actors, 291 singers and 241 visual artists of Jewish heritage (a total of 1,389 self-declared artists).[10] Herbert Freeden, a former Kulturbund dramaturge and author of *Jüdisches Theater in Nazideutschland*, suggested a much higher total of 2,364 Jewish artists in the whole of Prussia, although the majority of artists in the state would have been employed in Berlin. A breakdown of Freeden's statistics are provided in the following table:[11]

[8] 'Die Juden in den größeren bayerischen Städten', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 February 1932, 51-52.
[9] Dr. Ph. Schwarz, 'Die Frankfurter Juden', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung,* 15 January 1932, 22.
[10] It is unclear how many of these artists were actively employed versus how many were aspiring artists. Dr. Ph. Schwarz, 'Die Berliner Juden', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung,* 15 January 1932, 20-21.
[11] Herbert Freeden, *Jüdisches Theater in Nazideutschland* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1964).

Occupation (Jewish Artists in Prussia, 1933)	**Total**
Actors and Actresses	399
Cabaret Artists	175
Dancers	66
Musicians, Music Teachers and Music Directors	899
Singers and Voice Teachers	443
Stage and Theatre Directors	65
Visual Artists (Painters, Sculptors, etc.)	317
	Total: 2,364

Table 2: Herbert Freeden's statistical analysis of Jewish artists employed in Prussia (1933).

According to these statistics, approximately .5% of Jews in Frankfurt am Main were artists, whereas the percentage of Jewish artists in Berlin was higher at either approximately .9% (1932 statistics) or 1.5% (Freeden's 1933 statistics).

It is unlikely that the total number of Jewish artists in Bavaria approached the total number of artists in Berlin, even if one takes into consideration the entirety of the state and compares it to the single city of Berlin. Since the turn of the century Berlin had been the most culturally active German city in terms of total numbers; as a result, the capital employed more artists – both Jewish and non-Jewish – than any other city.[12] Further, Berlin's Jewish community was also the largest in the country. In 1933 over one-third of German Jews called Berlin home.[13] The combination of greater opportunity and larger population led many Jewish artists to move to the German capital in hopes of starting a career and striking it big on the stage.

Again, it is unclear how many Jewish artists were professionally employed in Bavaria prior to 1933. However, if the percentage of Jewish artists

[12] See: Peter Jelavich, 'How "Jewish" was Theatre in Imperial Berlin?' in *Jews and the Making of Modern German Theatre*, ed. Jeanette R. Malkin and Freddie Rokem (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2010), 39-58; Michael Brenner, *The Renaissance of Jewish Culture in Weimar Germany* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 195-207; Allison Schachter, *Diasporic Modernisms: Hebrew and Yiddish Literature in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 85-87.

[13] Statistic from: Avraham Barkai and Paul Mendes-Flohr, *Renewal and Destruction, 1918-1945* in *German-Jewish History in Modern Times Volume 4*, ed. Michael Meyer and Michael Brenner (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 226.

in Munich reflected the percentage in Berlin, an estimated 81 and 135 Jewish individuals (using the .09 percent quoted in the Gemeindezeitung and the 1.5 percent cited by Freeden respectively) were professional employed in the arts – an average of the two results suggests a total of 108 Jewish artists who were professionally active in Munich before 1933. The total numbers of professional Jewish artists were likely even smaller for Bavarian Kulturbund cities outside of Munich, given that there were fewer cultural venues and generally smaller communities. Regardless of the total numbers, however, the situation in Bavaria was reflective of the general situation facing state-employed Jewish artists outside of Berlin.

Among the professional local artists who had been stripped of their livelihoods by the National Socialist regime were Erich Erck (Erich Eisner; Bayerisches Staatstheater), Irma Stern (Münchner Staatsoper), Walter Reis (Nationaltheater München), Lily Marschütz (Münchner Kammerspiele),[14] Herbert Langhofer (Herbert Löwenberg; Gärtnerplatztheater) and Dr. Ruth Schweisheimer. These individuals had long been at home in Munich – either having been born in Munich or moved to the Bavarian capital in their early childhoods.

Some, such as Schweisheimer, were immediately released from their jobs in April 1933. Schweisheimer, a native of Munich, was born in 1908 to Frieda Schoenthal and Julius Schweisheimer. She attended university in Munich, where she studied archeology, romantic philology and art history; her studies often took her to Berlin, Paris and Italy. In 1932 Schweisheimer received her PhD in art history at Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, under the supervision of Wilhelm Pinder. She then moved to Berlin where she began work at the Art Library of the Berlin State Museums (Staatlichen Kunstbibliothek). She was later released from her position as a result of the Civil Service Laws. Schweisheimer reflected on the spring of 1933, writing:

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[14] Regarding Munich's Kammerspiele during the Third Reich see: Friederike Euler, 'Theater zwischen Anpassung und Widerstand: Die Münchner Kammerspiele im Dritten Reich' in *Bayern in der NS-Zeit, Herrschaft und Gesellschaft in Konflikt, Band II*, ed. Martin Broszat (Oldenbourg Verlag: Munich, 1979), 91-173.

> Everything changed, of course, when Hitler became German Chancellor on January 30 1933. … Since our future looked so bleak, we, the younger generation, knew we had to leave Germany as soon as possible. … In order to prepare myself for the possibility that I might not be able to find a job in my profession, I signed up for a course in photography.[15]

Schweisheimer moved back to her hometown after completing the photography course and set up her own studio; she often photographed Kulturbund events and reviewed performances in Munich's local Jewish press.[16]

Others, such Walter Reis, were able to regain their former positions after initially being dismissed in April. Reis was a former Frontsoldat during World War I and opera singer at Munich's Nationaltheater. Like Schweisheimer, Reis was forced into unemployment as a result of the Civil Service Laws. In the following weeks he wrote to the Bavarian State Ministry for Education and Culture asking to be re-employed due to his former military service.[17] The request was granted. However, on 31 August 1933 he was dismissed from his position a second, and final, time.[18]

The passing of the Civil Service Law not only impacted active Jewish artists, but also retired Jewish artists. On 23 May 1933 former opera singer Dr. Paul Kuhn (of the Staatsoper München, Nationaltheater München and Richard-Wagner-Festspiele-Prinzregententheater München) wrote to the Bavarian State Ministry for Education and Culture requesting the resumption of state retirement benefits. Kuhn was a former Deputy Judge and professional singer (his last known performance was in August 1926).[19] He described himself as

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[15] Lisa Kolb, 'Biografien: Dr. Ruth Kraemer (geborene Schweisheimer)' in *Einblicke - Ausblicke. Jüdische Kunsthistoriker in München (2010/11)*. Accessed: 24 March 2015: <http://www.kunstgeschichte.uni-muenchen.de/forschung/ausstellungsprojekte/archiv/einblicke_ausblicke/biografien/kraemer/index.html>.

[16] See: *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 March 1934, 108.

[17] Walter Reis to Bayerisches Staatsministerium für Unterricht und Kultus, VII. 33377, July 14, 1933. MK 45294, BHStAM.

[18] Bayerische Versicherungskammer, 'Wiedergutmachung nat. soz. Unrechts: XIII 21901', 6 March 1961. MK 45294, BHStAM.

[19] It is unclear what sparked Kuhn to write his letter over a month after the law came in to effect. Of course it is possible he was traveling or otherwise busy, and as such simply did not have the time to write his request at an earlier period. It is

possessing a 'National-German-Disposition', exemplified by his voluntary military duty in 1895.[20] At the outbreak of the war in 1914, Kuhn, then at the age of 40, was working as a chamber singer at the Staatsoper in Munich. During the war Kuhn performed for soldiers at various locations on the Western front, including Lille, Dousi, Tourany, Brusssels, Metz and Mühlhausen.

Despite the steady stream of employment Kuhn had lost nearly 25,000 RM during the inflationary period at the turn of the decade.[21] The Kuhn family's financial concerns were made worse when Kuhn's wife, Charlotte Kuhn-Brunner, was also briefly denied state retirement benefits in 1933. Like Kuhn, Kuhn-Brunner worked at the Staatstheater in Munich; she performed as an opera and chamber singer. Unlike her husband, however, Kuhn-Brunner was categorised as a 'pure Aryan' due to her Catholic Bavarian heritage, resulting in a reversal of the state's initial decision to deny her benefits.[22]

After 7 April 1933 Kuhn's non-'Aryan' ancestry jeopardized his ability to receive the retirement benefits due to him as a former employee of the Staatstheater.[23] The amount received by the former singer had already been dramatically reduced throughout the course of the last year, likely a result of the worldwide financial crisis. On 23 April 1932 Kuhn received 50 RM per month in

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also possible, however, that the increasingly threatening anti-Jewish atmosphere in Munich spurred Kuhn's letter in late May 1933. Although there is no evidence linking the two, a recent local attack against Jewish organisations and the ensuing uncertainty and chaos may have spurred Kuhn's writing. On 21 May 1933, two days before Kuhn wrote his request, Heinrich Himmler (then the head of the Bavarian Political Police) ordered that all Jewish organisations in Bavaria be searched for 'subversive material'. Himmler's order resulted in the search of nearly 50 Jewish institutions throughout the state. Alfred Neumeyer, the head of the Bavarian Jewish Community, protested the searches, bringing the matter to the attention of the Reich's Interior Ministry in Berlin. Berlin demanded that the confiscated materials be returned to the Jewish Community and all closed offices resume operation. Ophir and Wiesemann, *Die Jüdischen Gemeinden in Bayern*, 45.

[20] Paul Kuhn to Bayerisches Staatsministerium für Unterricht und Kultus, 'Lebenslauf: I 24477', 12 April 1933, 1. MK 45204, BHStAM.

[21] Ibid., 1-3.

[22] Paul Kuhn to Bayerisches Staatsministerium für Unterricht und Kultus, VII. 24477, 23 May 1933, 1-3; Bayerisches Staatsministerium für Unterricht und Kultus, 'VII 9690', 23 February 1934, 1. MK 45204, BHStAM.

[23] Kuhn was baptised as a Catholic prior to his 1908 marriage to his wife. The couple was then married in the Catholic Church by a Father Vogel in Darmstadt. Kuhn, 'Lebenslauf', 2.

retirement benefits. Five months later, on 1 September 1932, the monthly sum was cut by more than half, decreasing to 20 RM.[24] On 28 June 1933, the State Ministry for Education and Culture denied Paul Kuhn further financial assistance altogether.[25] As a result, Kuhn wrote that he and his wife were resigned to live in poverty and debt. The Ministry's initial decision was eventually reversed. Paul Kuhn was permitted a modest yearly allowance of 600 RM.[26] This amounted to 50 RM per month, or a return to the Kuhn's April 1932 retirement allowance.

Still, the Civil Service Laws only impacted state employed Jewish artists or academics. Privately employed Jewish artists remained beyond the reach of the legislative manoeuvrings in the spring of 1933. National Socialist efforts to remove Jewish artists from the private cultural sphere began in the autumn of 1933. On 22 September 1933 the Reich Chamber of Culture (Reichskulturkammer) was established under the command of Joseph Goebbels and the Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda.

Goebbels' Chamber of Culture was the lone professional organisation of artists in National Socialist Germany. It aimed to preside over Germany's cultural scene, to oversee the individual artists working in Germany and – to a lesser extent and with much less success – to control the art being produced.[27] The Chamber was, according to Paragraph 3 of its founding document, created 'to promote German culture on behalf of the German Volk and Reich, to regulate the economic and social affairs of the cultural professions, and to bring about a compromise between [the groups] belonging to it.'[28] Oversight of the country's cultural endeavours was divided into seven departments: radio, film, music, visual arts, theatre, literature and press. 'Compulsory' membership was required of all artists seeking professional work in the German cultural sphere. Proof of

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[24] Generaldirektion der Bayerischen Staatstheater to Bayerisches Staatsministerium für Unterricht und Kultus, 'Nr. 6502/33 – VII 11813', 22 March 1933, 1-2. MK 45204, BHStAM.
[25] Bayerisches Staatsministerium für Unterricht und Kultus to Generaldirektion der Bayerischen Staatstheater, 'VII 24477 – VII 11813', 28 June 1933, 1. MK 45204, BHStAM.
[26] Bayerisches Staatsministerium für Unterricht und Kultus, 'VII 9690', 23 February 1934, 1-2. MK 45204, BHStAM.
[27] Pamela Potter, 'The Arts in Nazi Germany: A Silent Debate', *Contemporary European History* (November 2006), 585-599.
[28] Steinweis, *Art, Ideology, and Economics*, 44; Drewniak, *Theater im NS-Staat*, 19.

Aryan lineage was required, although a thorough dismissal of members with Jewish heritage was not strictly adhered to during its early years.[29]

The initial membership process for the Chamber of Culture did not specifically adhere to 'racial' categorisations, although Goebbels did make it clear, from the beginning, that Jews were generally not welcome. Instead of outright banning Jewish membership from the beginning, however, the Chamber employed a vaguely worded Paragraph 10. Paragraph 10 stipulated that artists seeking membership hold the required prerequisites of 'reliability' and 'aptitude' for an appropriate artistic standard – wholesale vague wording that covered racially, politically and artistically 'unacceptable' artists.[30] Artists whose membership applications were denied on grounds of race resulted in a performance ban throughout the 'German' cultural sphere for the artist in question. Membership applications denied due to 'race' – i.e. the applicant was of Jewish heritage – were unemployable by 'German' cultural institutions. Such

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[29] Nazi racial ideology was overlooked in certain individual cases within the cultural sphere. Jewish artists of international renown or artists who maintained the favour (or personal friendship) of Nazi officials were able to continue their professional activities until late in the decade. Important Jewish art dealers, art collectors and publishers were among those permitted membership in the Chamber of Culture until the latter half of the decade. These exceptions were largely a result of President of the Reichsbank and Minister of Economics Hjalmar Schacht. Schacht feared economic repercussions, both domestic and from foreign responses, would accompany an immediate expulsion of Jews from the entire cultural sphere. Jewish members who were initially granted Chamber membership were gradually 'eliminated' beginning in 1935 – likely a result of both the passing of the Nuremberg Laws and the beginning of Schacht's political decline. Between 1935 and 1936, the first year of purposeful Jewish expulsion from the chambers, approximately 6,000 Jews were dismissed from the Chamber of Culture. An official 'Aryan' clause did not enter the Chamber of Culture bylaws until 1937 – the year Schacht resigned as Minister of Economics. Steinweis, *Art, Ideology, and Economics*, 44-46, 112-113; Alan E. Steinweis, 'Anti-semitism in the Arts', in *The Arts in Nazi Germany: Continuity, Conformity, Change*, ed. Jonathan Huener and Francis R. Nicosia (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006), 24: Rebecca Rovit, 'Jewish Theater: Repertory and Censorship in the Jüdischer Kulturbund, Berlin', in *Theatre Under the Nazis,* ed. John London (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 187, 196; Rebecca Rovit and Alvin Goldfarb, *Theatrical Performance During the Holocaust: Texts, Documents, Memoirs* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 21-22; Jonathan Petropoulos, *The Faustian Bargain: The Art World in Nazi Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 63-110; Meike Hopp, *Kunsthandel im Nationalsozialismus: Adolf Weinmüller in München und Wien* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2012).

[30] Steinweis, *Art, Ideology, and Economics*, 45.

individuals could only continue their work in Germany within the organisational structure of the Jewish Kulturbund.

The Creation of the Kulturbund Deutscher Juden in Berlin

Given the large number of Jewish artists employed in Berlin – as well as the fact that the capital's Jewish community was home to one-third of all German Jews – it is not surprising that Berlin was the location of the first official Jewish response to state-sanctioned cultural exclusion. In the spring of 1933, shortly after the passing of the Civil Service Laws, Jewish leaders in Berlin began to plan an organised Jewish response.[31] Neurologist Dr. Kurt Singer and stage director Kurt Baumann developed the idea of a Jewish cultural organisation consisting of Jewish artists for Jewish audiences. Singer was born in Koblenz in 1885. He settled in Berlin after initially moving to the German capital for university. In addition to his medical career, Singer was an established member of Berlin's musical circles. He founded the Berlin Doctor's Choir (Berliner Ärtzechor) in 1912, did musicology research for various publications and was named a director (Intendant) at Berlin's Municipal Opera House in 1927.[32] Baumann, by contrast, was a theatre director 22 younger than Singer; at 26 years of age in 1933, Baumann had relatively less experience than Singer.[33]

According to its founders, the proposed Kulturbund would remedy unemployment, create a sense of community and enrich Jewish cultural and theatrical life in Berlin.[34] Importantly, the proposed Kulturbund had wide-reaching support from important members of Berlin's Jewish community. Included among its first 'Ehrenpräsidium' were local luminaries Leo Baeck,

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[31] Gabriele Fritsch-Vivié, *Gegen alle Widerstände: Der Jüdische Kulturbund 1933-1941* (Berlin: Hentrich & Hentrich, 2013), 29-33.
[32] Adam Sacks, 'Kurt Singer's Shattered Hopes', *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* (2003), 191-203.
[33] Less is known about Baumann's early life than is known about Singer. Baumann was born in 1907.
[34] Rovit, 'Jewish Theater', 188.

Martin Buber, Ismar Elbogen, Arthur Eloesser, Georg Hermann, Leonid Kreutzer, Max Liebermann, Max Obsorn, Franz Oppenheimer and Jacob Wasserman.[35]

In mid-May Singer and Baumann's initial proposal was finalised and submitted to Nazi officials Hans Hinkel, an underlying of Goebbels in the Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, and Hermann Göring, the Minister of the Interior. A period of political struggle over state control of the Jewish cultural organisation ensued between Göring and Goebbels.[36] By the end of the summer the Kulturbund Deutscher Juden in Berlin was approved and placed under the political control of Goebbels' Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda – the majority of the everyday concerns of Kulturbund oversight was in the hands of Hinkel. The ministry enacted a number of stipulations meant to regulate Kulturbund activity (although, as will be shown in the following chapter, the initial implementation of these guidelines was haphazard): theatre performances were limited to 'Jewish' scripts and themes; concerts were to feature 'Jewish' music; lectures were to focus on 'Jewish' topics and concerns. Only the Jewish press could advertise these Jewish cultural events. Furthermore, all event proposals were to be pre-submitted to Hinkel, the then head of the Prussian Theatre Commission, prior to performance.[37]

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[35] 'Ehrenpräsidum', 6 September 1933. Fritz Wisten Archiv 74/86/128, AdK.

[36] Cultural policy in the Third Reich resembled a multi-headed Hydra during its early years. Party in-fighting over control of Jewish cultural life was symbolic of the Gleichschaltung taking place in the political arena more generally. At the time of the initial Kulturbund Deutscher Juden proposal Hermann Göring and Joseph Goebbels were in the midst of an on-going power struggle over control of Berlin's cultural affairs. Göring, as Minister of the Interior in Prussia and a self-declared art critic of the highest merit, believed all of Prussia's artistic activities, particularly the cultural scene in Berlin, should be encompassed under his domain. Goebbels, as Minister of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda and Gauleiter of Berlin, believed the capital's art-life should fall under his jurisdiction. Goebbels was simultaneously attempting to consolidate his control over cultural activities throughout the Reich by eliminating competition from Alfred Rosenberg and his Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur. In mid-1935 Goebbels more or less succeeded in edging out his competitors and gained control over German cultural life, although Göring retained control over the Prussian State Theatre. Glenn Cuomo's collected essays on Nazi cultural policy remains a good overview collection on the topic: Glenn R. Cuomo, ed., *National Socialist Cultural Policy* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 1995).

[37] Rovit, *The Jewish Kulturbund Theatre Company,* 26; Alan E. Steinweis, 'Hans Hinkel and German Jewry, 1933-1941', *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* (1993), 212.

Hans Hinkel was an 'old fighter' who first joined the National Socialist movement in 1921 as a university student in Munich; by 1925 he was a key party organiser in southern Germany.[38] Two years later he helped in the founding of the Kampfverlag, the leading National Socialist publishing house, with the brothers Gregor and Otto Strasser. He was appointed to the position of Press Chief of Berlin after Hitler closed the Kampfverlag. In 1930, Hinkel established the Berlin branch of the Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur, an organisation first founded by Alfred Rosenberg in 1928. The Kampfbund's intended aim was to 'defend the value of the German ethos from supposed cultural decay by promoting 'authentically' German art and culture.[39] So-called 'enemies' of 'German' culture included, among other imagined villains, Jews. Hinkel's position in the Kampfbund effectively established him as an enemy of 'decadent' and 'Jewish' culture and as a cultural spokesman for the Party.[40] The next year, 1931, Hinkel became a member of the SS.[41]

Hinkel's position in National Socialist cultural politics expanded rapidly. On 30 January 1933, Hinkel was appointed the State Commissioner for the 'Entjudung' of German cultural life in Prussia, and in April 1933 he was named the head of the Prussian Theatre Commission. In addition to retaining his leadership role with the Berlin Kampfbund, Hinkel now oversaw the monitoring of artistic personnel in all Prussian theatres, opera companies and orchestras. This meant that Hinkel oversaw the dismissal of all 'politically unreliable' artists from all state-operated cultural institutions in Prussia.[42] Hinkel's position was further solidified in mid-1935, occurring alongside Goebbels' consolidation of control over German cultural politics: Hinkel was made a Reichskulturwalter of the Reich Chamber of Culture; he assumed official control over the newly

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[38] Hinkel joined the NSDAP in 1921; he held membership number 287. Fritsch-Vivié, *Gegen alle Widerstände*, 95.
[39] Reinhard Bollmus, *Das Amt Rosenberg und seine Gegner: Studien zum Machtkampft im nationalsozialistischen Herrschaftssystem* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2009), here: 27.
[40] Völker Dahm, 'Kulturelles und geistiges Leben', in *Die Juden in Deutschland: 1933-1945,* ed. Wolfgang Benz (Munich: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1989), 80; Steinweis, 'Hans Hinkel', 210-211.
[41] Ernst Klee, *Das Kulturlexikon zum Dritten Reich: Wer war was vor und nach 1945* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 2007), 249-250.
[42] Steinweis, 'Hans Hinkel', 212.

centralised National Association of Jewish Cultural Leagues in Germany (see Chapter Six); and finally, he was bestowed with yet another title, 'Special Commissioner for the Supervision and Monitoring of the Cultural and Intellectual Activity of all non-Aryans Living in the Territory of the German Reich'.[43] His high-ranking position within the National Socialist cultural echelons supplemented his ascent within the ranks of the SS; in mid-1935 he had attained the rank of SS-Sturmbahnführer, in the late 1930s he was promoted again to SS-Oberführer, and in September 1940 to SS-Brigadeführer.[44]

Yet in the autumn of 1933 Hinkel's control over the newly founded Jewish cultural organisation was still not clearly defined. This allowed for a certain measure of internal manoeuvring within the Kulturbund ranks that allowed the leadership to construct a programme that appealed to the largest audience possible. Indeed, successes came quickly for Berlin's newly founded Kulturbund. On 1 October 1933 the Berlin Kulturbund staged its inaugural performance: Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's humanist classic *Nathan the Wise*. The choice to stage *Nathan the Wise* was a decision fraught with contemporary importance. Lessing's script was more than just a play; as Jeanette R. Malkin has written, *Nathan the Wise* was a 'cultural object which for 150 years symbolized both Enlightenment gravitas and the ideal of a German/Jewish "symbiosis." … Indeed, for many German Jews, *Nathan* was far more than a play; it became a credo and platform of Jewish aspirations for inclusion and acceptance in Germany.'[45]

Importantly, the Kulturbund altered Lessing's final scene, traditionally an embrace between the Nathan, the Sultan and the Templar. This closing scene is meant to symbolise religious co-existence between the three mosaic faiths: Judaism, Christianity and Islam. In the Berlin Kulturbund version, however, Nathan was left alone on the stage, his home acting as the backdrop. Inside the merchant's home the audience could see a prayer stand and a menorah.[46] The

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[43] Ibid., 217.
[44] For further information on Hinkel's role in National Socialist Judenpolitik after the Kulturbund, see: Dan Michman, *The Emergence of Jewish Ghettos during the Holocaust* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 63-64.
[45] Jeanette R. Malkin, 'Introduction: Break a Leg!' in *Jews and the Making of Modern German Theatre*, ed. Jeanette R. Malkin and Freddie Rokem (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2010), 7.
[46] Rovit, *Kulturbund Theatre Company*, 1-3.

Kulturbund's Nathan was no longer a post-Emancipatory representation of an assimilated Jew who was at best accepted, or at worst merely tolerated, by society. Instead, Nathan was seen as a solitary figure surrounded by obvious religious markers. As Rebecca Rovit concluded, the Kulturbund Nathan was defined by his Jewishness: 'By underscoring the character's Jewish faith, the director inverted the illusory idea that Jews in 1933 were accepted in German society.'[47] Thus, the fictional Nathan's solitude mirrored the reality of the audience's newly enforced social exclusion: a solitary Jewish figure portrayed by a Jewish actor before a Jewish audience.

The Kulturbund and its inaugural Lessing performance proved both popular and controversial in Berlin's Jewish press. Opponents of the Kulturbund lamented the League's apparent willingness to work with Nazi officials in separating 'Jewish' culture from 'German' culture – in effect creating a cultural ghetto.[48] Supporters, on the other hand, praised the employment opportunities afforded recently blacklisted Jewish artists, as well as the cultural entertainment possibilities now extended to Jewish audience members.

Stark divides existed even within the ranks of Kulturbund supporters, however. At stake in these early debates was not merely a review of the new Kulturbund and its first performance. Rather, these early reactions to the Lessing performance touched upon a question that confronted German Jews since Emancipation: what was the place of Jews within general 'German' society, both in the past and in the present? The key debate amongst League supporters in Berlin revolved around the idea of a 'Jewish' cultural programme: what made a 'Jewish' repertoire? Some favoured a Kulturbund programme that would continue in the tradition of Western European Humanist classics. Such an interpretation was the original view held by the Kulturbund founders in Berlin, particularly Singer. For others, particularly Zionists, Kulturbund activity presented an opportunity to create and popularise a separate 'Jewish' cultural form in Germany separate from the traditional 'German' cultural sphere. Yet for

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[47] Rovit, *Kulturbund Theatre Company*, 2.
[48] Michael Brenner, 'Jewish Culture in a Modern Ghetto: Theater and Scholarship Among the Jews of Nazi Germany' in *Jewish Life in Nazi Germany: Dilemmas and Responses*, ed. Francis R. Nicosia and David Scrase (New York: Berghahn Books, 2010), 173.

the next few seasons the Kulturbund programme in Berlin adhered to a path generally dedicated to Western European classics; performances with specific 'Jewish' themes were only sporadically interspersed in the German capital's early programme.[49]

Berlin's Kulturbund gained considerable support during its first season. The *Nürnberg-Fürther Israelitisches Gemeindeblatt*, the main Jewish newspaper for Franconia, concluded, 'within its two weeks of activities [the Kulturbund Deutscher Juden] has far exceeded expectations'.[50] Membership in Berlin increased throughout the autumn of 1933. In November 1933 its membership list registered 19,744 individuals (approximately 12 percent of the city's Jewish population).[51] Berlin's successes encouraged the creation of similar organisations throughout the Reich. Numerous local Kulturbund branches developed between late-1933 and mid-1934, including the regional Kulturbund Rhein-Ruhr[52] and the Kulturbund Rhein-Main in Frankfurt. By the early spring of 1935 Singer oversaw Jewish cultural life in 61 German cities.[53] A smaller number of Jewish cultural organisations, such as Karl Adler's Jewish Art Community in Stuttgart (Stuttgarter Jüdische Kunstgemeinschaft), were created and maintained their own programmes outside of Berlin's administrative authority. The largest of these autonomous organisations, the Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria, was founded in early 1934.

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[49] Hirsch, *A Jewish Orchestra*, 43-44;
[50] E.D. 'Ein Abend im Theater des jüdischen Kulturbundes in Berlin', *Nürnberg-Fürhter Israelitisches Gemeindeblatt*, 1 November 1933, 127.
[51] Kurt Singer, 'Vertraulich: Orientierungs-Bericht II', November 1933, 5. Fritz Wisten Archiv 74/86/5000, AdK.
[52] The Jüdischer Kulturbund Rhein-Ruhr eventually included a total of 11 local cities and towns: Aachen, Bonn, Dortmund, Duisburg, Düren, Essen, Gelsenkirchen, Köln, Krefeld, Recklinghausen and Wuppertal. The Kulturbund Rhein-Ruhr was, along with Bavaria, one of the largest regional Kulturbund groupings in Germany.
[53] *Almanach Kulturbund Deutscher Juden* (Berlin: Verlag Kulturbund Deutscher Juden, 1935).

A Separate League for Jews in Bavaria: The Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria

On 10 October 1933 Jewish musician and conductor Erich Erck (legal name Erich Eisner) submitted the initial proposal for an autonomous Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria (Jüdischer Kulturbund in Bayern) to Bavarian State Minister of Education and Culture Hans Schemm. Erck began his professional musical career after serving in World War I. In 1930 he returned to Munich after nearly a decade's absence and emerged as an active figure in the city's musical scene.[54] In 1931 Erck took over leadership of Munich's Jewish Chamber Orchestra. Erck, like many others, was forced into unemployment in April 1933. Following his dismissal, Erck traveled between Munich and Berlin to aid Kurt Singer in the establishment of Berlin's Kulturbund.[55] In the autumn of 1933 he returned to Munich with plans of founding a cultural organisation for the Jews of Bavaria. Still, Erck's proposal for a Bavarian Kulturbund was not the first Jewish cultural organisation to emerge in Bavaria.

As occurred in Berlin, Bavarian Jewish responses to cultural exclusion developed in early 1933. The first of these took the form of informal gatherings. A group of newly unemployed Jewish artists met for casual meetings in a small studio on Luisenstrasse in Munich's Maxvorstadt. The studio belonged to the painter Maria Luiko (Marie Luise Kohn).[56] At the time Luiko was a 29-year-old artist who recently spent eight semesters at the Academy of Fine Arts in Munich; while in school she studied painting under Karl Caspar, graphic arts under Adolf Schinnerer and stage design under the prominent designer Emil Preetorius.[57]

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[54] Andreas Heusler, 'Verfolgung und Vernichtung (1933-1945)' in *Jüdisches München: Von Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwalt*, ed. Richard Bauer and Michael Brenner (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2006), 173.
[55] Waldemar Bonard, *Die gefesselte Muse: das Marionettentheater im Jüdischen Kulturbund 1935-1937* (Munich: Buchendorfer Verlag, 1994), 46.
[56] Schalom Ben-Chorin, *Jugend an der Isar* (Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 1988), 159.
[57] Luiko lived all of her life, until 1941, in Munich. After her father's death in 1933, she lived with her mother and older sister (Dr. Elisabeth Kohn, one of the first female lawyers in Bavaria) in Munich's Neuhausen district. Bonard, *Die*

She was also an active member in Munich's bohemian circles and progressive artist associations, particularly the pro-modernist group Die Juryfreien.[58] Among her artist-friends who joined these gatherings were fellow visual artists Rudolf Ernst and Alfons Rosenberg, author Fritz Rosenthal (Rosenthal later changed his name to Schalom Ben-Chorin) and actress and sculptor Elisabeth Springer.[59] According to Ben-Chorin, in an essay written decades later, the group intended to provide a system of social support for discriminated artists and establish an 'apolitical Jewish opposition group' against recent decrees enacted by the newly established National Socialist government.[60] All of these individuals were later active members of the Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria.

Elsewhere, various Bavarian cities organised a pre-cursor to the Kulturbund – the five-member 'Kulturausschuss', or Cultural Committee. The need for an internal Jewish community solution to the public exclusion of Jews from 'German' cultural life was addressed in Nuremberg's local Jewish newspaper, the *Nürnberg-Fürther Israelitisches Gemeindeblatt*, in the fall of 1933:

> It should go without saying, that one can find in our Gemeinde membership a highly interested audience, and the desires of the artists, as well as the interest of the listening friends of art (Kunstfreunde), is stronger than ever before.[61]

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gefesselte Muse, 53. See also Luiko's police file at the Staatsarchiv München: Polizeidirektion München 'Marie Luise Kohn 14698', StAM.

[58] Die Juryfreien was an artistic group originally founded as an opposition movement to the anti-modernist style being championed by the Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur in the late 1920s. It modeled itself on the example of the New Secession, which had in turn modeled itself on the example of the well-known Secessionists (which included among its ranks no less modern artistic luminaries than Max Liebermann, Franz von Stuck and Hugo von Habermann). Ines Schlenker, *Hitler's Salon: The* Große Deutsche Kunstausstellung *at the Haus der Deutschen Kunst in Munich 1937-1944* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2007), 100-101, Bonard, *Die gefesselte Muse: das Marionettentheater im Jüdischen Kulturbund 1935-1937* (Munich: Buchendorfer Verlag, 1994), 54.

[59] Schalom Ben-Chorin, 'Ein Münchner Künstlerkreis' in Bonard, *Die gefesselte Muse*, 8.

[60] Ben-Chorin, 'Ein Münchner Künstlerkreis', 8.

[61] 'Lokales. Kultur- und Bildungspläne', *Nürnberg-Fürther Israelitisches Gemeindeblatt*, 1 November 1933, 128.

A Cultural Committee to serve Bavarian Jews was established in late October 1933 under the 'protectorate' of the involved individual Jewish communities. Its main purpose was to oversee all 'Kultur- und Bildungspläne' for its member cities.[62] Five Bavarian cities were included in this organisation: Nuremberg, Fürth, Bamberg, Augsburg and Würzburg. Its board members included: Gustav Löwensohn, Fürth; Martin Cramer, Augsburg; Elsa Dormitzer, Nuremberg; Dr. Karl Rosenthal, Würzburg; Dr. Martin Morgenroth, Bamberg.[63] Local leadership in Nuremberg consisted of seven additional members, including six men and a single woman: Ludwig Rosenzweig, Dr. Freudenthal, Elsa Dormitzer, Dr. Hermann Geßner, RU Jung, Mosbacher and Dr. Spitzer.[64] A majority of these individuals were later involved in the operation of their city's Kulturbund branch.

In addition, there is evidence to suggest that these Bavarian cities never intended to join the Berlin Kulturbund, but instead favoured a local cultural initiative – be it the above-mentioned Cultural Committee or a local Bavarian Kulturbund organisation. Dr. Martin Morgenroth, a 54-year-old lawyer from Bamberg, discussed this topic in a November 1933 letter to his counterpart in Fürth, the 51-year-old publisher and book-printer Gustav Löwensohn. Morgenroth noted that the local Bamberg Cultural Committee office felt 'no need for the founding of a special Kulturbund, as the question of theatrical undertaking (traveling theatre) is not yet urgent.' Yet in the same letter Morgenroth also acknowledged that, after three months of remaining outside of Berlin's Kulturbund organisation, Fürth was considering joining Erck's newly proposed Bavarian Kulturbund structure based out of Munich.[65]

According to Erck's October 1933 proposal to the Bavarian Ministry of Education and Culture, the main purpose of the Kulturbund in Bavaria was to provide employment for out of work Jewish artists and academics. The musician explained:

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[62] Ibid.
[63] 'Kulturausschuß: Bamberg', November 1933. D/Ba/378, 'Jüdischer Kulturbund, 1933-1938 (Bamberg)', CAHJP.
[64] Lokales. Kultur- und Bildungspläne', 128.
[65] Martin Morgenroth to Gustav Löwenstein, 6 November 1933. D/Ba/378, 'Jüdischer Kulturbund, 1933-1938 (Bamberg)', CAHJP.

> As a result of the provisions of the Restoration Law of the Civil Service in all areas of public life, a large number of Jewish artists and academics find any practice of their career impossible. In the vast majority of cases, finding an alternative occupation is not feasible given the long-term economic situation and because of advanced age. The emergency within these Jewish circles is extraordinarily large.[66]

Erck suggested that these social and financial burdens facing the Jewish community be assuaged through the creation of a Jewish cultural organisation for Bavaria. Such a proposed organisation would, above all, 'secure bread through work' for Jewish artists.[67]

Although modelled on the Berlin example, Erck pointed to important differences between the two. First and foremost, the Bavarian Kulturbund operation was undertaken by the Bayerische Israelitische Kultusgemeinde and not, as in Berlin, a separate institutional organisation. As such, there was no separate Kulturbund membership structure; rather, all members of the Bavarian Jewish Community could purchase an event ticket from the community's administrative offices or from certain Jewish-owned stores. Erck defended this decision to operate the Kulturbund within the Gemeinde structure, and thus without a separate annual membership requirement, due to the 'oppressive financial situation' facing Bavarian Jews. Further, the Bavarian Jewish community itself was responsible for maintaining the Kulturbund's daily operations. In the first season it provided an initial financial backing of 1,000 RM.[68] Events were to be decided upon by a Governing Board, an Advisory Board, and a board in charge of activity concerning each individual artistic department.[69]

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[66] Erich Erck to Minister Hans Schemm, 'Gesuch um Genehmigung eines Jüdischen Kulturbunds in Bayern als vordringliche Aktion der sozialen Winterhilfe', 10 October 1933. MK 15382, BHStAM.
[67] Ibid., 2.
[68] Ibid.
[69] The following nominated individuals, all based out of Munich, oversaw Kulturbund activity on the regional level: Dr. Fritz Ballin (1. Vorsitzender), Dr. Hans Taub (Stellv. Vorsitzender), Dr. Alfred Fraenkel (Kassenwert) and Erich Erck (Geschäftsführer). Bavaria's music department was headed by Ballin, its

Erck's initial application also included a 10-point statute meant to clarify the league's purpose and operating guidelines in Bavaria. These points remained the guiding directives of League activity for two seasons, informing what would be performed, who would do the performing and the role of the state. First and foremost was the Bavarian Kulturbund's mission:

> To provide help for all Jewish individuals affiliated with artistic creation through the generation of religious, artistic and scientific events available only to closed Jewish circles.[70]

Events were divided into three categories of operation: Lectures and Study Groups (Arbeitsgemeinschaft), Music and Theatre, and Visual Arts. In practice these three areas of activity became Adult Education, Music and Visual Arts.[71]

Erck's proposal also outlined the role of state control over the organisation. Requests for cultural events were submitted to the Bavarian Ministry for Education and Culture and the Bavarian Political Police two weeks prior to performance. This allowed the Ministry enough time to censor the script or exhibit, thus ensuring it was acceptable to the regime's political views.[72] All events were subject to police surveillance, a threat meant to dissuade political discussions at events. Further, any matters deemed to be a 'disturbance' to the public were not to be tolerated.[73]

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adult education department by Taub and the visual arts department by Munich architect Hellmut Maison. All of these men survived Nazi persecution.

[70] Erck to Schemm, 'Gesuch und Genehmigung'. MK 15382, BHStAM.

[71] The area of 'Adult Education' covered lectures as well as recitals and literary readings. Bavaria's 'Visual Arts' department encompassed exhibits as well as the München Marionettentheater Jüdischer Künstler. Bayerisches Staatsministerium für Unterricht und Kultus, 'Satzungen für den Jüdischen Kulturbund in Bayern: I. 6671'; Bayerische Politische Polizei, 'Bad Kissingen: I8763', 17 February 1935; Bayerische Politische Polizei, 'Aschaffenberg: I9586', 21 February 1934; Bayerische Politische Polizei, 'Regensburg: I. 26801', 17 May 1934. MK 15382, BHStAM.

[72] Bayerisches Staatsministerium für Unterricht und Kultus, 'Gesuch um Genehmigung eines Jüdischen Kulturbundes in Bayern: II. 51475', February 16 1934; Bayerische Politische Polizei, 'Vorstand: 23913 I 1B', January 9 1934. MK 15382, BHStAM.

[73] The relationship between the Kulturbund and the National Socialist state – including measures of censorship and surveillance – is covered in detail in the following chapter.

Before concluding the application, Erck asked that Schemm not consider the Kulturbund a political statement against recent anti-Jewish measures. Certainly, Erck was aware that any perceived insolence or dismissal of the state's supposed racial ideology would result in the immediate dismissal of the application. Thus, Erck assured the Minister that the Kulturbund was 'entirely non-political' and an 'exclusively cultural and social endeavour'. Erck then reminded Schemm that a similar organisation had already been approved by Prussian state officials in Berlin, perhaps hoping to subtly antagonise any tensions between the ministries in the two cities. Erck may have succeeded in this regard, as this sentence was underlined twice in the Minister's red pencil.[74] In closing Erck deferred to the Minister, writing that the 'control of the request lies in the jurisdiction of the Bavarian State Ministry for Education and Culture.'[75] The future of Jewish cultural activity in Bavaria was now in the hands of Bavarian State Minister of Education and Culture Hans Schemm.

[74] Erck to Schemm, 'Gesuch um Genehmigung'. MK 15382, BHStAM.
[75] Ibid., 4.

2. The Apparatus of Control: Cultural Policy, Censorship and Surveillance, 1933-1938

National Socialist Kulturpolitik was rooted in an interpretation of culture that politicised art to educational and political means. As described in Chapter One, the first step in creating a supposedly 'German' cultural sphere was to eliminate supposedly 'alien' influences. This step was established through the Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service and the creation of the Reich Chamber of Culture. Yet these two acts only fulfilled one element of the regime's cultural policy: the physical removal of Jewish artists and audiences from the 'German' cultural sphere. Nazi cultural policy also required a second step in the process of so-called cultural 'purification': the creation of a (quasi) new race-based art tradition that they believed would sustain Germany for a thousand years to come. In short, according to National Socialist cultural ideals the national art-world had first to be 'de-Jewified' in order to become 'Germanised'.

Conceptually, this new Nazi art was meant to present a heroic 'German' past to a collective 'German' audience.[1] This 'German' audience, now presented with a specific National Socialist understanding of the past, would, regime ideologues believed, be inspired to fulfil the supposedly great potential of their blood.[2] Yet in the cultural realm – as happened in various other political corners of the Third Reich – ideological musings only rarely aligned with physical practice. While various regime ideologues espoused the importance of a national art to the 'health' of the national 'body', the specific contours of this new National Socialist state-approved art remained vague.[3] As Pamela Potter has argued,

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[1] Hans Schemm, *Hans Schemm: Seine Reden und sein Werk* (Bayreuth: Gauverlag Bayerische Ostmark GMBH, 1936), 80.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Pamela Potter, 'What is "Nazi Music"?', *Musical Quarterly* (Fall 2005); Eric Michaud, *The Cult of Art in Nazi Germany* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004); Jonathan Petropoulos, *Art as Politics in the Third Reich* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolia Press, 1999); Jonathan Huener and Francis R. Nicosia, ed. *The Arts in Nazi Germany: Continuity, Conformity, Change* (New York:

cultural policy during the Third Reich was marked by 'administrative chaos and aesthetic inconsistencies between purported ideals and actual artistic endeavours.'[4]

The evolution of a pre-war Jewish cultural policy has received little attention, even in scholarly works focused on National Socialist art policy. The forced creation of a new 'Jewish' art tradition created under the gaze of the Nazi state and performed before an entirely 'Jewish' audience would, according to Nazi logic, shape a specifically 'Jewish' (and thus non-'German') worldview.[5] Such a process of community re-definition was far from unimportant to a state that sought to expedite the removal of Jews from the mental and physical borders of Germany. At its core, National Socialist anti-Jewish cultural policy was the fusing of Judenpolitik and Kulturpolitik. I argue that Nazism's anti-Jewish cultural policy crystallised through a process of increasingly restrictive phases: conceptualisation (1933-1935), consolidation (1935-1937) and completion (1937-1938).

In this way, National Socialist approval of the Kulturbund was neither 'paradoxical' nor 'almost inconceivable'.[6] Instead, approval of the Kulturbund

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Berghahn Books, 2006); Pamela Potter, *The Most German of the Arts: Musicology and Society from the Weimar Republic to the End of Hitler's Reich* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Alan E. Steinweis, *Art, Ideology and Economics in Nazi Germany: The Reich Chambers of Music, Theater, and the Visual Arts* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); Erik Levi, *Music in the Third Reich* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996).

[4] Pamela Potter, 'The Arts in Nazi Germany: A Silent Debate', *Contemporary European History* (2006): 587.

[5] Hans Schemm, 'Gesuch um Genehmigung eines Jüdischen Kulturbundes in Bayern, Anhang', 16 January 1934, 7. MK 15382 BHStAM.

[6] Lily Hirsch described the start of the Kulturbund Deutscher Juden in Berlin as such: 'In this way, the League received the Nazi government's "blessing," and one of the most paradoxical partnerships in German history began.' Pamela Potter agreed with this interpretation, reviewing Hirsch's book with the opening statement of: 'The Jewish Culture League (Jüdischer Kulturbund) stands out as one of the most perplexing paradoxes of the early years of the Third Reich.' Rebecca Rovit discussed the beginning of Kulturbund activity in similar terms, writing of '[t]he almost inconceivable phenomenon of a legitimate theatre organized and managed by unemployed Jewish artists for Jews, yet approved and supervised by the Nazis….' Lily Hirsch, *A Jewish Orchestra in Nazi Germany: Musical Politics and the Berlin Jewish Culture League* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010), 13; Rebecca Rovit, 'Collaboration or Survival, 1933-1938: Reassessing the Role of the *Jüdischer Kulturbund*' in *Theatre in the Third Reich,*

was a result of domestic racial-cultural politics. It was, from the regime's point of view, an important tool in maintaining the divides of separation between 'Germans' and 'Jews' – at least in the abstract. Bavarian Minister of Education and Culture Hans Schemm wrote that 'Jewish cultural segregation meets the aspirations of a system based on the principle of a race state.'[7] Early National Socialist anti-Jewish policies hinged upon the physical and psychological isolation of German Jews, a process Marion Kaplan has termed the 'social death' of German Jewry.[8] According to the National Socialists, the Kulturbund did seemingly succeed in fulfilling their exclusionary aims. According to a 1935 police report in Nuremberg, the Kulturbund presented the 'possibility for Jews to completely separate from the culture of the German host nation.'[9] The closed nature of the Jewish Kulturbund physically separated Jewish artists and Jewish audiences from the physical 'German' cultural sphere. In addition, the regime also sought to steer the development of a separate 'Jewish' art-tradition in order to hasten a mental separation from 'German' cultural traditions. Further, the regime felt it could, at least in principle, control the shape of this new 'Jewishness' through strict censorship and extensive surveillance.[10]

However, both the genesis and actual practice of implementing anti-Jewish cultural aims was consistently inconsistent. Nazi anti-Jewish cultural policy was directed by the same three core guidelines throughout the pre-war years. Kulturbund events were required to be non-'German', non-political and 'Jewish'. The definitions of these terms were open to interpretation and their meanings evolved over the course of the decade. Therefore, the same composer or play considered appropriate for Jewish performance in 1933 or 1934 may have suddenly been considered 'German' and subsequently banned from

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the Prewar Years: Essays on Theatre and Nazi Germany, ed. Glen W. Gadberry (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1995), 141; Pamela Potter, Review of *A Jewish Orchestra in Nazi Germany: Musical Politics and the Berlin Jewish Cultural League* by Lily Hirsch, *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 28 (Spring 2014), 113-115.

[7] Schemm, Addendum in 'Gesuch um Genehmigung', 7. MK 15382, BHStAM.

[8] Marion A. Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 5.

[9] Bayerische Politische Polizei, 'Monatsbericht der BPP für die Zeit vom 1. bis 30.X.35', 1 November 1935, 32. Akten der Polizeidirektion Nürnberg-Fürth 647, StAN.

[10] Schemm, Addendum, 7. MK 15382, BHStAM.

Kulturbund performance in 1937. Additionally, there is evidence to suggest those in charge of censorship were not always well versed in cultural matters. To provide a single concrete example: an individual censor with a particularly poor working knowledge of music once banned Mahler from Kulturbund performance; the censor was quite self-assured that the composer of *The Wayfarer's Song* could only be of a purely German heritage. Mahler was, in fact, of Jewish heritage.[11]

Conceptualisation: Bayerisches Staatsministerium für Unterricht und Kultus and Bavarian anti-Jewish Cultural Policy, 1933-1935

During its first two seasons, the Bavarian State Ministry for Education and Culture (Bayerisches Staatsministerium für Unterricht und Kultus) carried out state oversight of the Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria. The Bavarian Ministry for Education and Culture was headed by Hans Schemm. Schemm was born in Bayreuth in 1891 to shoemakers; the Schemm family counted the Wagners amongst their customers.[12] The future Minister opted out of the family business, however, and trained in education and biology. He spent the war years out of military service, instead working in a laboratory and researching the effects of tuberculosis. After a brief post-war stint in Munich – a period that overlapped with Hans Hinkel's time in Munich, although it is not clear if the two were acquaintances – he returned home to teach science in Bayreuth. In 1925 Schemm was introduced to the local chess master, Karl Rothballer. The future Minister of Education and Culture later credited this meeting with introducing him to the so-

[11] Bernd Sponheuer, 'Musik auf einer "kulturellen und physischn Insel": Musik als Überlebensmittel im Jüdichen Kulturbund 1933-1941,' in *Musik in der Emigration 1933-1945: Verfolgung, Vertreibung, Rückwirkung: Symposium Essen, 10. bis 13. Juni 1992*, ed. Horst Weber (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1994), 108-135.
[12] Franz Kühnel, *Hans Schemm: Gauleiter und Kultusminister (1891-1935)* (Nuremberg: Nürnberger Werkstücke zur Stadt- und Landesgeschichte, 1985), 105.

called 'Race Question'. Within the year Schemm was lecturing to the local NSDAP branch on heredity, 'Race Theory', and health.[13]

Schemm's political strength grew at the close of the 1920s. He was well liked throughout the region, largely due to his involvement with his constituents. When he was not singing with various SA and SS choir groups he was often traveling the countryside on his motorcycle to talk to farmers and women.[14] Following the Landtag vote of 20 May 1928 he became a member of the Bavarian State Parliament. He was then placed in charge of the Franconian district branch of Alfred Rosenberg's Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur. In 1929 Schemm founded the National Socialist Teachers Association and began printing his own newspapers, the *Nationalsozialistische Lehrerzeitung* and the *Kampf für deutsche Freiheit und Kultur*. A year later, in 1930 Schemm was voted into the Reichstag. His position in the government was further consolidated when Hitler came to power; following the Nazi victory in 1933, Hans Schemm was appointed the Bavarian Minister for Education and Culture[15] and Gauleiter of the newly formed Bayerische Ostmark.[16]

From 1933 until April 1935 Schemm presided over all areas of Bavarian educational development, including cultural concerns. According to Schemm, 'A Volk that has no Kultur also has no future.'[17] Culture was seen not merely as a matter of artistic expression, but rather as a vital component of the national wellbeing, a 'language' that 'linked the past to eternity'.[18] Schemm compared

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[13] Ibid., 20-46.

[14] According to Kühnel, Schemm was often described as one of the regime's more popular politicians – both before and after his death. A female Bavarian journalist described Schemm as 'the most elegent, best looking man in all of politics I have ever known'. The regime continued to exploit Schemm's popularity after his death, often portraying him as an ideal National Socialist figure. Many streets, schools and community halls were named for the Minister and Gauleiter after his death in the spring of 1935. Ibid.,108.

[15] Ibid., 8-110; *Hauptstadt der Bewegung': Bayerns Metropole und der Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Richard Bauer, Hans Günter Hockerts, Brigitte Schütz, Wolfgang Till and Walter Ziegler (Munich: Münchner Stadtmuseum, 2002), 214.

[16] Schemm was named the National Socialist Gauleiter of Upper Franconia in 1926. In 1933 Schemm merged Upper Franconia with Upper Palatinate and Lower Bavaria (Oberpfalz and Niederbayern), creating the Bavarian Eastern March (Gau Ostmark).

[17] Schemm, *Seine Reden und sein Werk*, 80.

[18] Ibid., 83-84 and 101.

Hitler to cultural icons Bach and Beethoven, claiming that all three men educated the Germans about the 'divine and heroic potential of their blood.'[19] It was this perceived educational potential that anchored his decisions concerning cultural politics in Bavaria.

Schemm's motivations to approve a Jewish cultural organisation in Bavaria were varied. As briefly touched upon at the end of Chapter One, there were likely personal incentives involved in the decision. Although his ascension within party ranks was relatively quick, Schemm was aware that he was not acknowledged as Bavaria's foremost 'expert' on issues of 'race'. Instead, Schemm felt this dubious 'honour' belonged to Julius Streicher, the infamous Gauleiter of Franconia and founder of the party's official propaganda newspaper *Der Stürmer*. According to Franz Kühnel's doctoral thesis on Schemm, a notable decline in references to 'race' and 'Judaism' occurred in Schemm's speeches between 1928 and 1933; Kühnel explains this decline as the result of Schemm feeling overshadowed by Streicher's growth in popularity and the Franconian Gauleiter's strong presence on the national scene.[20] Therefore, it is possible that maintaining control over Jewish cultural lives would appeal to a trained 'hereditary disease' scientist whose knowledge on 'race' and 'Judentum' had previously been overlooked – thus positioning himself as a figure of comparable importance. Moreover, a certain amount of political competition or tension between Munich and Berlin may have also played a role in Schemm's approval of an autonomous Kulturbund for Bavaria. After stating his support of the Bavarian Kulturbund, Schemm wrote the following explanation to the Bavarian Political Police: 'In assessing the application, one must take a conciliatory attitude. There is no reason to place the Jews of Bavaria in a less favourable position than those in Berlin.'[21]

More tangibly, however, Schemm understood that the Kulturbund offered jobs for out of work artists, musicians and academics. The Minister was aware of the need for job creation, noting the necessity to 'provide new earning

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[19] Ibid.
[20] Kühnel, *Hans Schemm*, 110-111.
[21] Staatsministerium für Unterricht und Kultus, 'Gesuch um Genehmigung', 26 October 1933; Bayerische Politische Polizei, 'Gesuch um Genehmigung', 13 November 1933, 6. MK 15382, BHStAM.

opportunities for the unemployed Jewish artists and professionals who were impacted by the Aryan paragraph.'[22] Yet this awareness was unlikely to be the result of altruistic feelings on behalf of the Minister toward Bavaria's Jews. Perhaps Schemm, who had earlier made note of the social unease amongst Berlin's Jews,[23] thought that creating jobs would appease a newly unemployed professional class, lessening the possibility of social unease and organised dissent (either domestic or foreign) against the regime.

Perhaps most important, however, was the fact that the Kulturbund was viewed as yet another means to extend control over Jewish life. The option of a separate Jewish cultural sphere furthered the physical removal of Jews from the 'German' cultural arena. As previously mentioned, the majority of Jewish artists were dismissed from state-run cultural venues in April 1933 and many were denied membership with the Reich Chamber of Culture beginning in September 1933. Although Jews were not legally excluded from attending 'German' concerts, plays or other events until 1936 in select Bavarian venues and in 1938 nationally, the general atmosphere was less than welcoming.[24] In comparison, Kulturbund performances were 'closed' events, taking place, whenever possible, in locations owned by Jews (Jewish ownership of the venue became a requirement in 1935).[25] Thus, the Kulturbund – a social space designated solely for Jews – was physically removing Jews from 'German' venues and audiences.

Once a separate physical space for Jewish performance was established, the regime believed it would be easier to facilitate the distribution of a specific, technically state-approved, 'Jewish' culture to Jewish audiences throughout Germany. Such control was to be established through programme censorship

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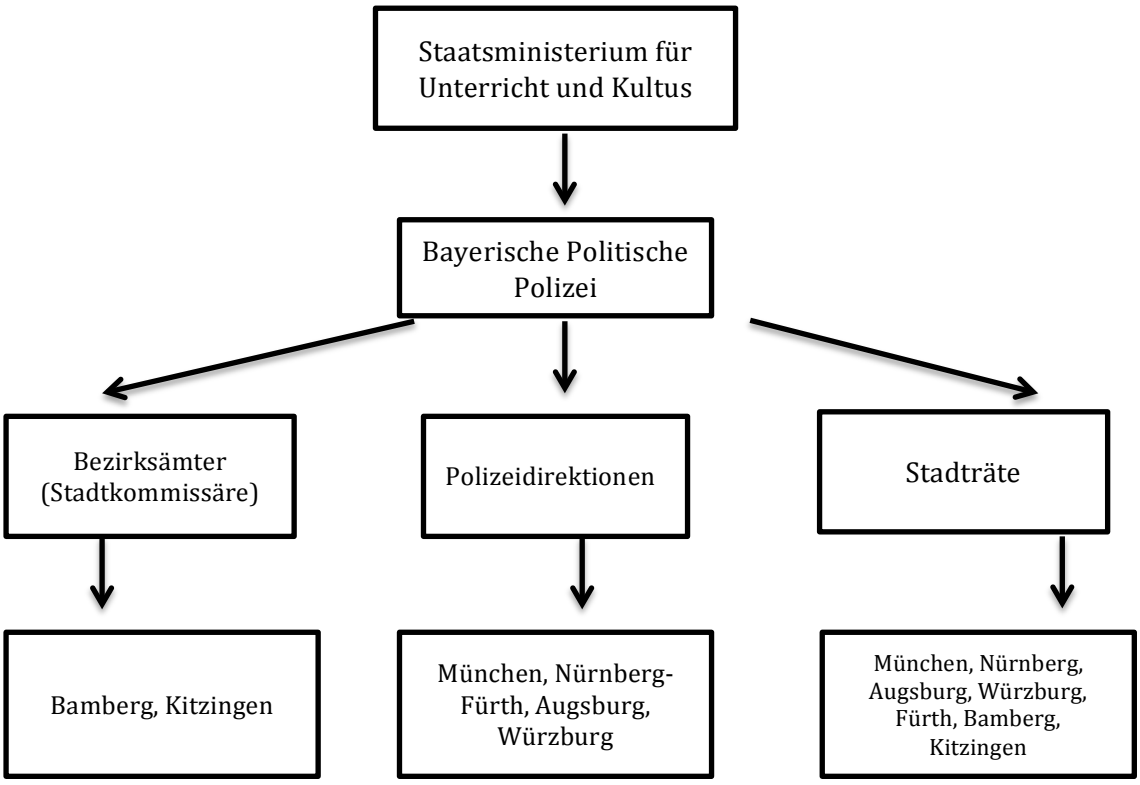
[22] Here Schemm is likely referring to the Civil Service Law. Schemm, 'Gesuch um Genehmigung', 3. MK 15382, BHStAM

[23] Ibid.

[24] The events that led to the 1936 decree banning Jewish attendance at Munich's Prinzregententheater will be explained in detail in Chapter 7.

[25] The synagogue was a main performance venue in each of the following Bavarian cities: Munich, Nuremberg, Fürth, Würzburg, Bamberg and Aschaffenburg. It is possible events took place in the remaining Bavarian Kulturbund cities (Regensburg, Bad Kissingen and Memmingen), although there is no record. Chapter 7 examines the role of 'Jewish' performances space and performance places in more detail. Gestapo, 'Richtlinien für die Tätigkeit des Reichverbandes der jüdischen Kulturbünde in Deutschland, B. Nr. 18484/35 I 1 B', 29 August 1935. Gestapo 65, StAM.

and event surveillance. Schemm's Bavarian Ministry of Education and Culture played the dominant role in the process of Kulturbund oversight. The Ministry worked hand-in-hand with the Bavarian Political Police, with the Bavarian Political Police in turn working closely with local police units and city councils.[26]



[26] The Bavarian police played an active role in censorship concerns since the Prinzregentenzeit (1886-1912), lauding themselves as the city's keepers of cultural morality. At the turn of the century, however, cultural censorship through police directive become a much more pressing concern. At the time Bavaria was undergoing something of a political-cultural-religious identity crisis after the falling of the Wittelsbach monarchy and the flailing influence of the Catholic church; this aligned with a rise in modernist literary trends and growing liberal concerns with cultural freedom of expression. In 1908 the München Zensurbeirat (Munich Censorship Council) was created. The council consisted of 24 'expert' committee members (cultural figures and academics) who would handle matters of censorship in the city. Munich's Cultural Council faded away with the outbreak of war in 1914. Peter Jelavich, *Munich and Theatrical Modernism: Politics, Writing, and Performance, 1890-1914* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1996), 247-259; Peter Jelavich, 'The Censorship of Literary Naturalism, 1890-1895: Bavaria' *Central European History* 18 (Sept. 1985): 344-359.

Table 3: The process of political cultural censorship and surveillance regarding the Kulturbund in Bavaria, as described by the Bavarian State Ministry of Education and Culture in early 1934.[27]

The department responsible for the Jewish community, rather than the department responsible for cultural affairs, undertook ministerial oversight of the Bavarian Kulturbund.[28] Dr. Ernst Boepple, Schemm's chief deputy and confidant, oversaw a significant amount of the Kulturbund's day-to-day functioning.[29] Boepple was originally aided, although minimally, by Siegfried von Jan and Richard Mezger.[30] On 10 February 1934 Mezger was placed in command of all theatre concerns in Bavaria.[31] Yet Mezger was only sporadically involved with the Kulturbund, and there are no examples of him alone signing off on any related matters. The decision to separate Kulturbund oversight from the more general issues of 'German' cultural censorship suggests that the Ministry likely did not conceptualise the Kulturbund simply as a cultural concern, but rather as a facet of the regime's Judenpolitik.

Prior to his role in overseeing the Kulturbund, Boepple, who earned his doctorate in history and studied at the University of London, had no practical experience in cultural affairs. He was, however, an 'Old Fighter' with a long history in the sphere of anti-semitic politics.[32] In 1919 he was amongst the co-

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[27] Bayerisches Staatsministerium für Unterricht und Kultus, 'Beilagen: Gesuch um Genehmigung eines Jüdischen Kulturbund in Bayern', 9 February 1934. MK 15382, BHStAM.

[28] The Kultusministerium was traditionally responsible for oversight of theatrical- and artistic-life in Bavaria (including censorship) – a continuity with pre-1933 aspects of the ministry's official functions. Winfried Müller, 'Gauleiter als Minister: Die Gauleiter Hans Schemm, Adolf Wagner, Paul Giesler und das Bayerische Staatsministerium für Unterricht und Kultus 1933-1945', *Zeitschrift für bayer. Landesgeschichte* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1997), 1008.

[29] Boepple was also, it should be noted, involved in the oversight of Bavaria's other religious minority group: the Protestant community.

[30] Hans Schemm to Ludwig Siebert, 4 May 1934. MK 54119, BHStAM.

[31] See the personal file on Richard Mezger: MK 43095, BHStAM.

[32] Boepple served as an infantry officer during the First World War, sustaining a non-serious injury. In 1919 he joined the *Alldeutscher-Verband*, shortly thereafter co-founded the monthly journal *Der Weltkampf* with Alfred Rosenberg, and then took over control of the anti-semitic publishing company the *Deutscher-Volksverlag* in Munich. Early National Socialist literature published by the *Volksverlag* included Alfred Rosenburg's *Unmoral im Talmud* (1920), *Wesen, Grundsätze und Ziele der Nationalsozialistischen Deutschen Arbeiterpartei* (1922), *Pest in Russland. Der Bolschewismus, seine Häupter, Handlanger und Opfer*

founders of the German Workers Party (membership number 15) and joined the re-structured National Socialist German Workers Party in 1925 (membership number 3600).[33] Boepple joined the staff at the Ministry for Education and Culture after the Nazis took control of the Bavarian government in 1933. Boepple's political position in Bavaria peaked in late-March 1935 when he was appointed Interim Minister, holding the position for a year and a half after Schemm's unexpected death in an aviation accident.[34]

In principle, state oversight of Jewish cultural life concerned itself with all facets of the Kulturbund – from the administrative staff and performers to audience members and event programming. All aspects of the League were required to be 'politically acceptable'.[35] Yet the most thorough investigation into Kulturbund activity during this first period involved the appointment of League officials. The Bavarian Political Police and local police units subjected all potential Jewish Kulturbund officials to investigation.[36] Police investigation generally revolved around the usual early National Socialist concerns: the applicant's career history and political affiliations.

However, the process of Jewish cultural regulation in Bavaria included an additional stipulation not in place in Berlin: the Bavarian Political Police recommended that all local Kulturbund leaders be German Jews. In April 1934 the newly formed local Kulturbund office in Kitzingen elected Jewish wine-merchant Moritz Lustig as its Chairman. The election results were presented to the city government for approval. However, on 9 April 1934 the Kitzingen police reported to the Bavarian Political Police offices in Munich that Lustig was not

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(1922) and *Bolschewismus, Hunger, Tod* (1922), as well as Boepple and Rosenburg's co-published edition of *Die Protokolle der Weisen von Zion und die jüdische Weltpolitik* (1933) and *Adolf Hitlers Reden* (1933 and 1934).

[33] Bogdan Musial, *Deutsche Zivilverwaltung und Judenverfolgung im Generalgouvernement: Eine Fallstudie zum Distrikt Lublin 1939-1944* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1999), 381.

[34] See Boepple's personal file: MK 54119, BHStAM.

[35] 'Beilagen: Gesuch um Genehmigung'. MK 15382, BHStAM.

[36] Police headquarters (Polizeidirektion) were responsible for additional surveillance requirements in Munich, Nürnberg-Fürth, Augsburg, and Würzberg while district offices (Bezirksämter) were responsible for Bamberg and Kitzingen.

proficient in the German language.[37] After a week and a half long investigation the Bavarian Political Police found that Lustig's 'mental ability may correspond to that of average' and he could, indeed, speak proper German. However, they still recommended that the Ministry for Education and Culture deny Lustig's appointment. Lustig, who was born in Hungary but moved to Germany as a child in 1907,[38] was to be replaced by a 'suitable replacement' of 'rich German descent [that] can be easily identified.'[39] From the point of view of the Bavarian Political Police, at least during this early period, there were still important distinctions between German Jews and foreign Jews (e.g. individuals born in Eastern Europe): a German Jew was viewed as more 'politically acceptable' and reliable than a foreign-born Jew.

Thus, while Bavarian officials favoured appointing German Jews to Kulturbund leadership positions, the events themselves were to avoid any hint of being 'German'. All event proposals were required to be submitted to the Bavarian Ministry of Education and Culture and the Bavarian Political Police at least ten days prior to performance – allowing time to conduct censorship and organise surveillance. Additionally, events could not take place on national holidays or (after December 1935) on Sundays. This avoided the possibility of performances being held without a police presence.[40] In principle, this meant that state officials could monitor all League activity, thereby ensuring that Kulturbund events corresponded with the regime's political aims.

However, from the League's founding until April 1935 there was relatively minimal state interference with the actual cultural programme in Bavaria. The only cultural bans to develop at this time were put into effect in

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[37] Bayerische Politische Polizei, '11547/34 I. 1 B', 9 April 1934. MK 15382, BHStAM.

[38] Bayerisches Staatsministerium für Unterricht und Kultus, 'I. 21863', 3 March 1934. MK 15382, BHStAM.

[39] The Kitzingen branch of the Bavarian Kulturbund was seemingly abandoned after this incident. No events were ever performed, and no election was held to appoint a replacement for Lustig. Additionally, by the start of the 1934/1935 season official Bavarian Kulturbund correspondence with the Ministry for Education and Culture did not list Kitzingen among the Bavarian cities with Kulturbund branches. Bayerische Politische Polizei, '13394/34 I. 1 B', 20 April 1934. MK 15382, BHStAM.

[40] Bayerische Politische Polizei, 'Jüdische Veranstaltungen: B. Nr. 37221/35 II 1 B', 19 December 1935. LRA 1031, StAW.

early 1933. During its first year in power the regime declared that Jews could not perform the most 'German' of German artists. German authors and playwrights such as Schiller, Goethe, Kleist, and Wedekind were banned from the Jewish stage. Foreigner authors August Strindberg and Henrik Ibsen were, according to Rebecca Rovit, also banned due to their supposed portrayals of 'Nordic ideals'.[41] Still, the München Marionettentheater Jüdischer Künstler featured an adaptation of the Swedish Strindberg's *Moses* as its premiere performance in January 1935. Although no official explanation exists for the Strindberg performance, the thought process that allowed a supposedly ideal 'Nordic' author to be performed by Jews in a thoroughly 'German' folk-medium was likely similar to the thought process that allowed for Jewish performances of Handel. In essence, the clear religious themes of individual pieces trumped any supposed 'racial' concerns at this time.[42]

Similar bans on 'German' composers were enforced in the musical department. Anton Bruckner, Richard Wagner, Carl Maria von Weber and Richard Strauss were all off limits for Kulturbund performance beginning in 1933.[43] There are no examples of any Bavarian Kulturbund branch performing these three composers at this time (although it is unclear if the absence is due to censorship or due to more practical concerns regarding orchestra size, skill level or community taste). Yet so-called 'German' composers were performed on the Bavarian Kulturbund stage in the first two seasons. Schubert (5) and Brahms (3) were the two most frequently performed 'German' composers during the

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[41] Rebecca Rovit, *The Jewish Theatre Company in Nazi Berlin* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2012), 33.

[42] For more information on Handel, National Socialist revisions of Handel, and Handel reception in the Third Reich more generally, see: Pamela Potter, 'The Twentieth Century and Beyond: The Politicization of Handel and His Oratorios in the Weimar Republic, the Third Reich, and the Early Years of the German Democratic Republic,' *The Musical Quarterly*, (2001): 311-341; Isabelle Müntzenberger, 'Händel Renaissance(n): Aspekte der Händel Rezeption der 1920er Jahre und der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus' in *Händel unter Deutschen,* ed. Ulrich Tadday (Munich: Edition Text and Kritik, 2006), 67-86; Ruth HaCohen, *The Music Libel Against the Jews* (New York: Yale University Press, 2011), 80-81, 113-123.

[43] Pamela Potter, 'Music in the Third Reich,' in *The Arts in Nazi Germany: Continuity, Conformity, Change*, ed. Jonathan Huener and Francis R. Nicosia (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006), 98.

inaugural season (1934), while Beethoven (13) and Schubert (10) were the two most-often performed 'German' composers of the second season (1934/35). Furthermore, there was only a single example of the Bavarian Ministry for Education and Culture altering a Kulturbund event. The League's inaugural performance was delayed a week because the originally proposed date coincided with a National Socialist holiday.[44]

Possible explanations for this early laxity in implementing National Socialist anti-Jewish cultural policy in Bavaria are varied. First and foremost, early National Socialist cultural policy was chaotic and ill defined on all levels, both nationally and locally. Thus, the lack of a cohesive cultural policy in Bavaria was emblematic of the more general national situation. Perhaps this early confusion was simply part of the regime's learning curve. Cultural policy was decentralised, it was 'amorphous at best' and Nazi officials had to take the time to figure out what made a performance 'Jewish', as such classifications had previously been of little concern.[45]

Further, the regime's cultural policy was in the hands of individuals who lacked artistic training or cultural expertise. Neither Schemm nor Boepple were educated in any of the fine- or performance arts. Therefore, it is possible that officials were simply unable to adequately oversee the performance aspects of the Kulturbund during this period. It may also have been presumed that approving only 'acceptable' Jews in leadership positions would result in 'acceptable' events,[46] and thus more attention was focused instead on consolidating other areas of political control.

Finally, Nazi officials in Bavaria may have been satisfied with the amount of 'Jewish' performances taking place on local Kulturbund stages and thus saw little reason to interfere. The Bavarian Kulturbund programme developed

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[44] The concert was originally scheduled for 28 February 1934, a Nazi holiday designed for the national celebration and honouring of fallen Germans (Gefallenen-Gedenktags). 'Aus der Gemeinde München', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 1 March 1934, 92.
[45] Potter, 'What is "Nazi Music"?', 439; Pamela Potter, 'Jewish Music and German Science' in *Jewish Musical Modernism, Old and New*, ed. Philip V. Bohlman (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 83.
[46] Bayerische Politische Polizei, '13394/34 A. 1 B', 20 April 1934. MK 15382, BHStAM.

differently from the Kulturbund programmes in Berlin and its affiliated branches (as will be examined in more detail beginning in Chapter Four). Unlike in the Reich capital, the Kulturbund in Bavaria performed a proportionally more 'Jewish' programme in its first and second seasons than it did in later seasons. While 'German' composers were still performed in Bavaria, as a whole 'German' composers were performed less frequently than 'Jewish' composers. Indeed, during these first two seasons only 17 pieces written by 'German' composers were performed in Bavaria, compared to a total of 28 pieces by 'Jewish' composers – with Mendelssohn being the League's much-preferred 'Jewish' composer. There were, of course, considerable internal Kulturbund differences (in performance and in reception) between a Yiddish folk song originating in Poland and a concerto by Mendelssohn. However, both of these examples were considered equally 'Jewish' according to National Socialist ideology, and the censor would have interpreted both as such.

Consolidation: The Transition Toward a Centralised Anti-Jewish Cultural Policy, 1935-1937

The second phase of Jewish cultural policy was a transitory phase between mid-1935 and late-1936/early-1937, loosely corresponding to the time between the April 1935 creation of a national Kulturbund organisation (see Chapter Six) and the completion of the winter and summer Olympics. With the creation of a centralised Jewish Kulturbund structure in April 1935, official control over Jewish cultural policy was now concentrated in Hans Hinkel's Berlin office.[47] In effect this meant Hinkel dictated the shape and course of Jewish cultural life throughout the Reich, with local ministry and police units in charge

[47] As explained in Chapter One, Hans Hinkel worked within Goebbels' Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda in Berlin; Hinkel oversaw Kulturbund activity in Berlin and in its affiliated branches from the league's original conception in 1933.

of overseeing its implementation.[48] According to Hinkel, this reorganisation was meant to clarify 'ambiguous issues'[49] regarding censorship and state oversight of the Kulturbund.

A new phase of Jewish cultural life – and in state oversight of Jewish cultural life – was ushered in on the weekend of 27/28 April 1935. The creation of the Reichsverband marked a renewal in the regime's interest in Kulturbund affairs. Hinkel received a copy of the 'Minutes of the Conference of the National Association of Jewish Cultural Leagues in Germany' two weeks after the conference's end.[50] He then forwarded a copy of the minutes to the Gestapo and the Ministry for Propaganda, asking for review and comment.

The Gestapo sent Hinkel their official response to the meeting's minutes on 11 May 1935; the Gestapo questioned the inclusion of Karl Adler (Stuttgart), former director at the Stuttgart Conservatorium, as a member of the new Kulturbund national board. Adler had been quite vocal in his concerns about a national Kulturbund structure and the possible loss of regional autonomy throughout the conference – a point that surfaced multiple times in the meeting's minutes. His repeated pronouncements on this concern likely drew the Gestapo's attention. A background report on Adler's political past was conducted within the four days the Gestapo had been in possession of the conference minutes. The investigation found that Adler had supposedly

> acted as a bridge between the antagonistic expressions of Zionist and Assimilatory thought with the aim of creating a united front in order to strengthen the Jewish position in Germany. In view of Adler's own assimilatory activity, I would like to appeal against his inclusion in the new board. Due to the

[48] Bayerische Politische Polizei, 'Richtlinien für die Tätigkeit des Reichsverbandes der jüd. Kulturbünde in Deutschland: 18484/35 I 1 B'. MK 15382, BHStAM.

[49] These ambiguous issues seem to stem mostly from uncertainty about Nazi cultural policy and censorship in relationship to Jewish performance. How centralisation was to solve these issues, when the Nazi state itself was remarkably uncertain of its own cultural policy at the time, remains unclear. Kulturbund Deutscher Juden, 'Protokoll der Tagung der jüdschen Kulturbünde Deutschlands am Sonnabend, den 27. April und Sonntag, den 28 April 1935, Anwesenheitsliste', April 1935, 10. AR 166 MF 341, LBINY.

[50] Reichsverband der Jüdischen Kulturbünde in Deutschland to Hans Hinkel, 11 May 1935. Doc 575 Reel 54/29/I, WL.

> large importance and national interest in supporting the efforts of the Zionist, I intend not to approve of Adler's position.[51]

Adler was denied the position due to his perceived 'assimilationist' proclivities.[52]

Weeks later, a 'special representative' of Joseph Goebbels sent a letter to the Kulturbund offices in Berlin asking for the immediate answer to a list of six questions. Points of enquiry covered the nature of Kulturbund work and how many members and artists were involved in the organisation. The enquiry was sent directly from Goebbels's office to the Kulturbund offices, bypassing Hinkel.[53] Goebbels' direct involvement with the Kulturbund at this stage in time aligned with a period of tension between himself and Hinkel. On 4 September 1935 Goebbels complained that 'Hinkel is not always loyal. Old song!'[54] Four days later he again wrote poorly of his sycophant, noting that he works well 'but is personally not always reliable.'[55] In mid-September Goebbels was still upset, declaring Hinkel as 'intolerable. Scheming like an Italian!' ('Intrigiert wie ein Italiener!')[56] Despite these personal tensions, however, Hinkel's position remained secure.

The creation of a German-wide Jewish Kulturbund structure with the majority of political power localised in Hinkel's office resulted in the Bavarian Ministry of Education and Culture losing its influence over Bavarian Jewish cultural life; after April 1935 the main role of the Ministry was in facilitating the implementation of Hinkel's legislative restrictions.[57] Any potential tensions that could have resulted from the handover of control were likely overshadowed by the political chaos within the Bavarian Ministry of Education and Culture from the spring of 1935 until the autumn of 1936. On 5 March 1935 Schemm

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[51] Gestapo to Hans Hinkel, 'Den Reichsverband der Jüdischen Kulturbünde in Deutschland', 15 May 1935. Doc 575 Reel 54/29/I, WL.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Joseph Goebbels to Kurt Singer, 29 July 1935. Doc 575 Reel 54/29/I, WL.
[54] See entry for 4 September 1935. *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels, Online Datenbank* (De Gruyter). < http://www.degruyter.com/view/db/tjgo>.
[55] Ibid., see entry for 8 September 1935.
[56] The tense relationship must have cooled down after 21 September, as Hinkel is not mentioned in Goebbels' diary again until late January 1936. Ibid., see entries for 19 and 21 September 1935.
[57] Bayerische Politische Polizei, 'Richtlinien'. MK 15382, BHStAM.

unexpectedly died in an aviation accident near Bayreuth.[58] Boepple acted as Interim Bavarian Minister of Education and Culture for the next year and a half as political infighting between Adolf Wagner (Minister of the Interior and Gauleiter of Munich and Upper Bavaria) and Ludwig Siebert (Bavarian Prime Minister and Bavarian Finance Minister) delayed the appointment of a new permanent minister.[59] Wagner was not appointed Bavarian Minister of Education and Culture until November 1936.[60]

In early August 1935, just prior to the start of the 1935/36 Season, Reinhard Heydrich issued an order to all local Gestapo offices for more strict regulation of Jewish cultural activities. On 29 August 1935 the order trickled down to Dr. Walter Stepp, an SS-Standartenführer and, after January 1935, the Director (later Chief) of the Gestapoleitstelle (Gestapo Command) Munich.[61] Stepp informed the Bavarian Political Police that it had a 'special duty' to suppress all 'assimilationist aspirations' put forth by local Kulturbund branches in Bavaria.[62] Furthermore, Stepp declared that local leaders were to be drawn from known Zionist circles whenever possible. According to the directive,

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[58] Kühnel, *Hans Schemm*, 5.

[59] Bayerisches Staatsministerium für Unterricht und Kultus, ed., *Tradition und Perspektive: 150 Jahre Bayerisches Kultusministerium* (Bamberg: St. Otto Verlag, 1997), 88, 263; Müller: 'Gauleiter als Minister, 973-1021; Winfried Müller, *Schulpolitik in Bayern im Spannungsfeld von Kultusbürokratie und Besatzungsfeld 1945-1949* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1995), 11-12.

[60] Bayerische Staatskanzlei, 'Ministerwechsel: Bem. d. Bayer. Staatskanzlei von 1.12.36 Nr. I 21572 über die Wiederbesetzung der bayerischen Ministerien für Wirtschaft und für Unterricht und Kultus', 1 December 1936. MK 65599, BHStAM.

[61] Bayerische Politische Polizei, 'Richtlinien'. MK15382, BHStAM.

[62] It is unclear what, if any, role the 'Oberste Theaterbehörde in Bayern' (OTbB) played in regards to Kulturbund censorship in Bavaria. Adolf Wagner created the OTbB in December 1935, with the political backing of Adolf Hitler; the department operated as a section of the Ministry of the Interior. This move was meant to strengthen political oversight of Bavarian cultural events (particularly theatrical life) by removing censorship away from its traditional location in the Bavarian Ministry of Education and Culture and into the Ministry of the Interior (although the OTbB did maintain a relationship with the Ministry, in no small part aided by the fact that Wagner headed both agencies). See: Winfried Müller, ‚Gauleiter als Minister', 1008; Friederike Euler, 'Theater zwischen Anpasung und Widerstand: Die Münchner Kammerspiele im Dritten Reich' in *Bayern in der NS-Zeit Band II: Herschaft und Gesellschaft im Konflikt, Teil A*., ed. Martin Broszat and Elke Fröhlich (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 1979), 106.

Zionists, who had been at odds with the Kulturbund leaders in Berlin, were more likely to present a separate 'Jewish' cultural identity that was distinct from 'German' cultural traditions.[63] Further, the national League was officially re-named the Jewish Kulturbund in Germany (Jüdischer Kulturbund in Deutschland), reflecting not only the new institutional structure, but also a key shift in the relationship between German Jewish culture and National Socialist Jewish policy: the shift from 'German Jews' to 'Jews in Germany'. Therefore, from August 1935 forward National Socialist ideologues preferred that Kulturbund performances be strongly steered into a pro-Zionist position that stressed an 'Eastern' identification with Judaism and actively encouraged emigration – the then preferred 'solution' to the so-called 'Jewish Question'.[64] Such a directive had little impact in Bavaria, however. As will be discussed in the following chapter, Dr. Alfred Perlmutter, a Zionist, was Bavarian Kulturbund Chairman since the autumn of 1934. In addition, other local Zionists, such as Maria Luiko of the visual arts department, were regional participants from its inception.

Kulturbund leaders who did not meet the regime's guidelines regarding suitably 'Jewish' political-cultural leanings were dismissed from their positions. One such example was the previously mentioned case of Karl Adler, the former director of the Stuttgart Conservatorium and Chairman of the Stuttgart branch of the Kulturbund. Munich's Fritz Rosenthal, a Zionist author and poet who emigrated to Palestine in 1935, was also relieved of his position in the Kulturbund. The author wrote to his friend Maria Luiko on the eve of the 1935/36 season: 'Today I received a letter from the Kulturbund office in Berlin that I can no longer act as a journalist.'[65] He did not give an explanation as to why he was relieved of his position. The reason for his dismissal remains perplexing, especially given Rosenthal's known Zionist leanings.

Further, in October 1935 an internal 'Political Outline of the Jews in Germany' was disseminated to all police units. The police chart depicted the Kulturbund as an independent entity unconnected to any other Jewish organisation in Germany. Additionally, the Kulturbund was already, in the

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[63] Bayerische Politische Polizei, 'Richtlinien'. MK15382, BHStAM.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Schalom Ben-Chorin to Maria Luise Kohn, 6 September 1935, 2. 2 Judaica Varia, StadtAM.

autumn of 1935, located among organisations the regime considered 'Zionist' in nature.[66] An expanded chart was released in 1936. The Kulturbund remained a self-standing organisation without links to other groups, but a year later it was positioned as a 'religious-orthodox group'.[67] National Socialist conceptualisations of the Kulturbund were changing during this period.

However, few performance bans accompanied this re-structuring of the Kulturbund. For example, only one composer, Beethoven, was banned during this period. The ban occurred in 1936.[68] Instead, the focus was on apprehending individual artists and academics whose performances did not align with state dictates. In July 1935 two local musicians from Nuremberg, the Cantor Julius Kaufmann and his student Ludwig Grünbaum, were banned for performing texts that supposedly featured a 'Marxist-Communist worldview'.[69] What was considered 'Marxist-Communist' about their performance is not clear, although the content was likely interpreted as oppositional to the Nazi regime – unless, of course, all so-called 'Marxist-Communist' worldviews were compatible with 'Jewishness'. The overall theme of the performance, advertised in the local Jewish press as an 'Evening of Jewish Composers', was based on the approaching Jewish holiday Tisch B'Av. Tisch B'Av commemorates the destruction of the first and second Temples and the resultant profound sadness for Jews around the world. Such a melancholic theme was full of potential resonance for a persecuted Jewish audience in 1935. Their performance began with Kaufmann and Grünbaum setting the text of various contemporary Jewish poets to music: including 'Uralter Ahnen Schwermut' by Yiddish poet David Einhorn. The poetry was followed by a rendition of Psalm 137 sung in a 'traditional melody'. Finally, their segment of the performance ended with two Jewish folk songs: 'Hamawdil' and 'Heimweh' (alternatively titled 'Ich hab' kein Heimatland' and 'Jüdischer

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[66] Otto Dov Kulka and Eberhard Jäckel, ed., *The Jews in the Secret Nazi Reports on Popular Opinion in Germany* (New York: Yale University Press), book, Fig. 4 from BArch, R 58/995, 32.
[67] Ibid., book, Fig. 5 from BArch, R 58/995, 34.
[68] Lily Hirsch, *A Jewish Orchestra in Nazi Germany: Musical Politics and the Berlin Jewish Cultural League* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010), 30.
[69] Bayerische Politische Polizei, 'Verbot des Auftretens des Pianisten Grünbaum und des Lehrers Julius Kaufmann: B. Nr. 19077/35 I 1 B', 12 July 1935. Landratsamt Aschaffenburg 1031, StAW.

Tango').[70] Grünbaum's performance ban lasted for six months, while Kaufmann was given an eleven-month ban.[71]

Event surveillance and censorship during this second phase was particularly critical of lectures and literary readings or recitals. According to a Gestapo report of a poetry reading,

> The purpose of the event was to make Jews more familiar with Jewish culture, while at the same time promoting greater cohesion of the Jewish people. By presenting Jewish literature, which in the main is oriented to persecution and oppression as themes, an effort is made to bolster the Jewish people in its present situation, and to provide signposts for the current period.[72]

Both the bolstering of spirits and the allusions to contemporary political problems were considered unacceptably dangerous to the state. Such effects were likely considered precursors to organised dissent, although the specifics of this danger were never clarified. Dr. Leo Plauth, an active member on the Kulturbund lecture circuit, was banned throughout Germany after a lecture was deemed to have encouraged Jews to maintain their 'German' identity and discourage emigration.[73] Dr. Kurt Pinthus, another academic on the national lecture circuit series, was banned due to his allegedly 'incorrect critical description of contemporary politics' during a lecture.[74] The ban did not make note of the title or theme of the lecture, but his talk planned for the Munich Kulturbund at the time of the ban was entitled 'Jewish Poets in Our Times'.[75]

At the same time, the regime also sought to strip Jewish performers of their professional identities and to mark them as Jews – perhaps as the first step

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[70] 'Kompositionsabend – Julius Kaufmann', *Nürnberg-Fürther Israelitisches Gemeindeblatt*, 1 June 1935, 57.
[71] Bayerische Politische Polizei, 'Verbot des Auftretens des jüdischen Lehrers Julius Kaufmann: B. Nr. 38782/36 II 1 B b', 25 June 1936. Landratsamt Aschaffenburg 1031, StAW.
[72] Kulka and Jäckel, ed. *The Jews in the Secret Nazi Reports*, book, Doc. No. 96, 107-108.
[73] Gestapo, 'Redeverbot über Dr. Leo Plauth' 24 April 1936. MA172, IfZ.
[74] Gestapo, 'Redeverbot für Dr Kurt Pinthus' 7 July 1936. MA172, IfZ.
[75] Pinthus was scheduled to speak in Munich on 20 January 1937. An event with the same title occurred as scheduled, with Dr. Erich Lichtenstein delivering the lecture instead of Pinthus.

toward imposing even greater control over their performances. In January 1936 Hinkel's office prohibited Jewish artists from using pseudonyms. This new policy impacted five Bavarian Kulturbund artists, all of whom were living in Munich (their legal name is given first, with their professional pseudonym enclosed in the following parentheses): Erich Eisner (Erich Erck), Marie Luise Kohn (Maria Luiko), Ida Kraft (Isa Gordon), Hugo Magnus (Hugo Magnus-Groß), and Bernhard Renkaxischok (Bernard Renka).[76] Any Jewish artist who continued to use their professional pseudonym faced expulsion from the Reichsverband and immediate disqualification from artistic employment.[77] This law effectively deprived Jews of a key facet of their professional lives: their professional names, and by extension, their professional identity. These artists had used the same professional pseudonym their entire careers, all of which began prior to 1933. Thus, denying the use of these names represented yet another step in the forced break with the pre-1933 German cultural world. This break would reach its point of rupture within the next two years.

Completion: The Legislative Strangling of Jewish Cultural Life, 1937-1938

The political situation that evolved during the final phase of Kulturbund activity (1937 – 1938) was vastly different than that of the previous two phases. By 1937 the National Socialist regime was aggressively enforcing a pro-Zionist and Eastern European-oriented Jewish cultural policy on the national level. Notably, this last phase of development saw a dramatic increase in the frequency of cultural bans prohibiting formerly approved composers and authors from Jewish performance. Starting in earnest in 1937, the national Kulturbund programme shifted from a general orientation toward Western European

[76] 'Verbot jüdischer Künstlernamen', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 1 January 1936, 11.
[77] 'Keine Pseudonyme für jüdische Künstler,' *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 March 1936, 131.

classics to a programme marked by Eastern European 'Jewish' forms.[78] This cultural shift sought to break Jewish-born Germans from any notions of, or attachment to, a German or German-Jewish cultural heritage, thus hastening the process of emigration.[79] One of the Kulturbund departments most heavily influenced by Nazi censorship was the musical department. Six popular Western European composers were prohibited from Jewish performance during this period: Bach, Brahms and Schumann were banned in 1937, and Handel, Mozart and Schubert in late 1938.[80] In the spring of 1938 Hinkel approved the creation of a Kulturbund film department – the first time a new department had been added to the Kulturbund structure. All films were required to be of a 'pure Jewish character' and present a positive portrayal of Jewish life in Palestine.[81] The film department was not only the first, but also the final, state-approved addition to the Kulturbund.

Still, the Kulturbund bans enacted during this final phase were not consistently enforced in Bavaria. Beethoven, whose music was banned from Jewish performance in 1936, was performed three times in Bavaria in 1937: twice in Munich and once in Würzburg. Both Brahms and Schubert were each played twice after Jewish musicians were prohibited from performing their music; these performances all took place in Nuremberg. Thus, even when anti-Jewish cultural policy was at its strictest, there was a lag regarding policy enforcement – at least outside of Berlin. This breakdown speaks to larger issues regarding the transmission of political decrees from the centre to the peripheries, in this case from Hinkel's office in the Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda in Berlin to the Ministry of Culture and police units in Bavaria.

In the autumn of 1938 the Kulturbund faced an onslaught of legislative restrictions that marked the beginning of the end for Jewish cultural life

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[78] Rovit, *Kulturbund Theatre Company*, 79-144; Hirsch, *A Jewish Orchestra*, 37-58.
[79] Bayerische Politische Polizei, 'Richtlinien'. MK15382, BHStAM.
[80] Hirsch, *A Jewish Orchestra*, 30.
[81] 'Jüdische Filmarbeit in Deutschland', *Jüdischer Kulturbund Hamburg, Monatsblätter*, May 1938, 16.

throughout Nazi Germany.[82] On 27 October a ban was placed on Jewish cultural productions (with the exception of theatre events) – a ban that aligned with the planned forced expulsion of Polish Jews from Germany on 28 October.[83] A few days later, on 7 November 1938, Herschel Grynzpan, whose family was among the Polish Jews facing deportation in October, entered the German embassy in Paris and shot Ernst vom Rath; vom Rath succumbed to the wounds on 9 November. A day after the shooting, Hinkel informed the Kulturbund leadership that all events were to be canceled.[84] Yet the biggest impact came the next night during the wide-scale violence and destruction on 9-10 November. On 14 November 1938 Goebbels suspended all Jewish cultural events outside of Berlin until further notice.[85] A month later, on 16 December 1938, Hinkel's office announced the forthcoming closure of the approximately 80 remaining local Jewish Kulturbund offices of the Reichsverband. The directive announced the 'liquidation' of all regional Kulturbund branches by the 31 December 1938.[86]

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[82] The final year of Kulturbund production is analysed in greater detail in Chapter Nine.

[83] Susanne Heim, ed. *Die Verfolgung und Ermorderung der europäischen Juden durch das nationalsozialistische Deutschland 1933-1945: Deutsches Reich 1938 – August 1939, Band 2* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2009), 52; Rovit, *The Kulturbund Theatre Company*, 147.

[84] Hans Hinkel to Jüdischer Kulturbund in Deutschland, Berlin, 8 November 1938. Fritz Wisen Archiv 74/86/5000, AdK.

[85] Der Reichsminister für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda, 'Aufhebung des Verbots jüdischer Kulturveranstaltungen: II. A 20970', 14 November 1938. Fritz Wisen Archiv 74/86/5000, AdK. Also reprinted in Freeden, *Jüdisches Theater*, 146.

[86] Bayerische Politische Polizei, '30600/3811 Bb, 2474', 31 December 1938. MK 15382, BHStAM.

3. Kultur and Bund: The Frameworks of 'Jewish' Culture in Bavaria

The Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria was a product of modern post-Emancipatory German-Jewry. Its membership was comprised of Bavarian Jews, it presented a cultural programme of 'Jewish' themes and it operated under the auspices of the Bayerische Israelitische Kultusgemeinde. Yet this 'Jewish' endeavour was also conceptualised in 'German' terms; its leaders used terms and traditions from the general German societal context in order to add an element of established cultural currency to its activities. These ideas were presented through the vehicle of familiar artistic means – a process of internal community building that grew from the 'raw materials of German culture'[1] and developed as an 'idiom always acquired from their environment.'[2] What resulted from this combination were cultural representations of 'Jewishness' that developed from various traditions present in contemporary German (as well as specific Bavarian and Munich-based) discourses.

During his inaugural speech prior to the first Kulturbund concert in Munich, Dr. Alfred Neumeyer, President of the Bavarian Jewish Community, presented those gathered in Munich's Main Synagogue with the following three questions: 'What is it with this Kulturbund. How was it created, what are its goals and objectives?'[3] The specific terms of conceptualisation used to describe the goals and purpose of the Kulturbund offer important insights into the concerns of those associated with the organisation. As Benedict Anderson has stated, 'Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined.'[4] Within the Kulturbund structure, these

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[1] Sharon Gillermann, *Germans into Jews: Remaking the Jewish Social Body in the Weimar Republic* (Standford: Stanford University Press 2009), 4.
[2] Amos Funkenstein, 'The Dialectics of Jewish Assimilation' *Jewish Social Studies* 1 (1995): 9.
[3] Dr. Alfred Neumeyer, 'Ansprache, gehalten bei der Einweihungsfeier des Jüdischen Kulturbundes in Bayern in der Synagogue zu München am 4. März 1934', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 March 1934, 109.
[4] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, Revised Edition* (New York: Verso Books, 2006), 6.

imaginings were conveyed in two manners: how the organisation was thought about and conceptualised (mostly through the act of writing) and the actual performances on local stages. This chapter focuses on the former: the ways in which the league was conceptualised and the individuals who were involved in the development of these conceptualisations.

The act of writing about cultural life was itself an important process of community conceptualisation in modern German history. Anderson has argued that print media (what he referred to as 'print capitalism') 'made it possible for rapidly growing numbers of people to think about themselves, and to relate themselves to others, in profoundly new ways.'[5] The act of reading, although a largely private individual activity, was replicated multiple times by multiple individuals – thus impacting the worldview of a varied readership. Taking from this approach, Pamela Potter and Celia Applegate have argued that the now well-known notion of Germans as the 'People of Music' or of music as the 'most German of the arts' was 'conveyed through the process of writing about music, not through musical composition' itself.[6] Accordingly, it was the process of writing about music – an act intricately connected to the academic field of musicology, itself a German creation – that came to fuse music and a modern 'German' national identity. By 1934 the Kulturbund existed within a cultural-social tradition that shaped notions of culture-based group-identity through terms set forth in print-discourse. Thus it is important to note the terms used in the Jewish press and how the traditions associated with these terms reflected internal conceptualisations of the League's activities.

Ideologically, the League utilised 'German' traditions and 'Jewish' themes in a rather fluid manner. So-called 'German' or Western European forms of high art granted a measure of established cultural leverage through which new 'Jewish' themes were presented. These 'German' forms were part and parcel of the ideological and cultural tradition within which German Jews – who were, after all, Germans – lived. Local Kulturbund leadership used the Jewish press to describe their endeavour in ways that would have resonated with their

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[5] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 37.
[6] Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter, 'Germans as the "People of Music": Geneology of an Identity' in Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter, ed., *Music and German National Identity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 3.

contemporary audience, including the traditions associated with various forms of group identification, Kultur and Munich's reputation as the German Kunststadt. The press was also a platform for internal Kulturbund debate, including the role of welfare motives, the divide between dilettantism and professionalism and the role of high art standards. These concepts and debates all had their roots in the modern post-Emancipatory era and were entrenched in mainstream public discourses of the time.

Yet, the Kulturbund in Bavaria was also informed by more specific German-Jewish developments from the Weimar Era – particularly efforts at establishing parallel internal community building in order to combat the growth of external discrimination. As will be explained in the following chapters, the Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria was more open to experimentation with so-called 'Jewish' cultural themes than its counterpart in Berlin (and those branches affiliated with Berlin and whose programme was heavily influenced by Kurt Singer's office). This aspect of the Bavarian Kulturbund was likely the result of its membership, including the presence of important Zionists within the leadership ranks from 1934 onward. Whereas scholarship has held that the Kulturbund of German Jews (Kulturbund Deutscher Juden) in Berlin was the cultural realm of 'assimilated' Jews,[7] the Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria was in many ways the cultural realm of individuals Michael Brenner has labelled 'post-assimilated' Jews. According to Brenner,

> What we witness in the Weimar period was a return of those fallen Jews, who came from rather assimilated houses, where the removal from Jewish traditions had started three or four generations earlier. Their fathers and grandfathers had already integrated – or acculturated – as individuals, as adherents of the German Social Democratic Party or as Liberals, as part of the urban middle class, as members of sports and cultural associations. Their children and grandchildren now founded

[7] See particularly the introduction sections in: Volker Dahm, 'Kulturelles und geistiges Leben' in *Die Juden in Deutschland 1933-1945: Leben unter nationalsozialistischer Herrschaft*, ed. Wolfgang Benz (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1993), 75-267; Lily Hirsch, *A Jewish Orchestra in Nazi Germany: Musical Politics and the Berlin Jewish Cultural League* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010); Rebecca Rovit, *The Jewish Kulturbund Theatre Company in Berlin* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2012); Gabriele Fritsch-Vivié, *Gegen alle Widerstände: Der Jüdische Kulturbund 1933-1941* (Berlin: Hentrich & Hentrich, 2013).

> specific Jewish sports and literary associations and a Jewish youth movement.[8]

The Bavarian Kulturbund programme reflects Brenner's notion of a 'post-assimilated' German Jewry in that it took inspiration from both 'German' and 'Jewish' traditions. There were two clear traditions at play in the Bavarian Kulturbund that neither eliminated nor even negated the presence of the other. Indeed, the Kulturbund in Bavaria was a wide-serving social structure that seemingly united, rather than divided, factions within the local Jewish communities. Its leadership, artists and general membership represented a wide swath of the Jewish community – extending from Liberal, Orthodox, Zionist, young, old, female and male members.

Emancipation and Exclusion: The Backdrop of Bavarian Terms of Conceptualisation

In February 1934, Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria Chairman Dr. Fritz Ballin introduced the Bavarian Jewish community to its new cultural organisation. Ballin began by discussing the difficult legal and social situation facing Jews in the new National Socialist Germany. He continued, stating:

> German Jews had been fused into German cultural life for 150 years, particularly since the Emancipation. Even in contemporary times, this symbiosis within German society was very strong…. Our entire political and cultural lives are being excluded from the specifically German Volksgemeinschaft. Jews must now create public spaces and working possibilities for our artists, authors and intellectuals.[9]

[8] Michael Brenner, 'Jewish Culture: Parallels and Differences between Weimar Germany and Contemporary America', *Jewish Studies Yearbook at the Central European University* 2 (1999-2001): 3.
[9] Dr. Fritz Ballin, 'Der Jüdische Kulturbund in Bayern gegründet', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 February 1934, 68.

Ballin's overall assessment of Jewish participation in Germany's cultural past was a sentiment likely shared by many of its original leaders. These leaders, the majority of whom were middle-class, middle-aged men, were of a socio-economic class that was educated in the German tradition of Bildung and the related maintainance of an idealistic commitment to the notion of Kultur. Indeed, in the aftermath of Jewish Emancipation, German Jews sought a more active presence in such German cultural participation as a means of entering middle-class society.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, portions of the German Jewish community, those whom Steven Aschheim refers to as the 'Kulturjude' and Shulamit Volkov as the 'Bildungsjude', strove to acculturate into the educated middle-class German society (Bildungsbürgertum) through their dedication to German educational- and cultural traditions.[10] Accordingly, it was through the tradition of Bildung (cultural self-edification) that one developed the supposedly correct set of morals and self-comportment. These morals were indicative of a properly educated and enlightened man who was committed to the ideals of German Kultur. The term Kultur, meaning both 'civilisation' and 'culture' (as in the English notion of high art), connotes a connection to classical Western European traditions and forms.[11] Great works by German artists were seen as monuments testifying to the strength of German culture and civilisation.[12] For

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[10] For an analysis of the role of popular literature and the German Jewish middle class, see: Jonathan Hess, *Middlebrow Literature and the Making of German Jewish Identity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010). For interpretations of highbrow German Jewish cultural participation, see: Steven E. Aschheim, *Brothers and Strangers: The East European Jew in Germany and German Consciousness, 1800-1923* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982); Steven E. Aschheim, *Culture and Catastrophe: German and Jewish Confrontation with the National Socialism and Other Crises* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1996); Shulamit Volkov, *Germans, Jews and Antisemites: Trials in Emancipation* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Michael Brenner, Vicki Caron and Uri R. Kaufmann, ed., *Jewish Emancipation Reconsidered* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 2003).

[11] Maggie Sargeant, *Kitsch & Kunst* (Bern, Switzerland: Peter Lang, 2005), 11-12; Anthony Waine, *Changing Cultural Tastes* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2007), 9-10.

[12] Mark Clark, *Beyond Catastrophe: German Intellectuals and Cultural Renewal after World War II, 1945-1955* (New York: Lexington Books, 2006), 1-2; Waine, *Changing Cultural Tastes*, 19.

Jews, cultural appreciation established a connection to Germany that rose above discriminatory politics and prejudices.[13]

This form of cultural self-edification resulted in a focus on Humanism and an 'unswerving support of individual freedoms, consistent opposition to nationalism and social optimism'.[14] Such focus conveniently overlooked any anti-Jewish sentiments held by the great German thinkers and writers of the time. This was particularly true of Goethe, the paradigm of German culture who was widely embraced by the educated middle class. Any negative descriptions of Jews, particularly in his portrayals of the Frankfurt ghetto he encountered during his youth, were glossed over. Similarly, little to no attention was paid to the fact that Goethe did not offer support to Jewish Emancipation.[15]

Further, this society into which German Jews sought to enter was, from the late 19th century onward, a society increasingly conceptualised in neo-Romantic terms. The concept of a Volksgemeinschaft (a community of the people), as referenced by Ballin in his inaugural Kulturbund address, stemmed from the writings of German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies. Tönnies coined the phrases 'Gemeinschaft' and 'Gesellschaft' in 1887 as two ways to conceptualise social groupings in an increasingly secularised and urban society. His original use of the term Gemeinschaft was noted for its organic existence and the precedence of the group over the individual – one was, according to Tönnies, born into a Gemeinschaft, resulting in a proliferation of shared morals, values and sense of responsibility toward the group. Such morals, values, traditions,

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[13] Shulamit Volkov, 'The *Verbürgerlichung* of the Jews as a Paradigm' in *Bourgeoisie Society in Nineteenth Century Europe*, Jürgen Kocka and Allan Mitchell, ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 367-391. See also: Marian Kaplan, *The Making of the Jewish Middle Class: Women, Family and Identity in Imperial Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

[14] Avraham Barkai and Paul Mendes-Flohr, *Renewal and Destruction, 1918-1945* in Michael Meyer and Michael Brenner, ed. *German-Jewish History in Modern Times Volume 4* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 158.

[15] For an overview of the scholarship on Goethe, Jews and Judaism, see the following collection of essays: Klaus Berghahn, ed. *Goethe in German-Jewish Culture* (Rochester: Camden House, 2001).

customs and responsibilities, Tönnies held, linked people together, acting as a unifying force for the 'in' group while excluding all others.[16]

By the early half of the twentieth century Tönnies' social categorisations had become a common language in German society. The terms were co-opted by the political right and, in the 1930s, by the National Socialist regime. As Michael Wildt has argued, 'The Volksgemeinschaft was a fundamental political goal of the National Socialists' – and this goal was predicated on the exclusion of Jews, an exclusionary process that Wildt argues had its roots in the societal chaos of post-World War One Germany.[17] Yet German Jews did not solely confront the concept in an exclusionary manner. Rather, segments of the Jewish community in Germany also sought to revitalise an internal Jewish sense of Gemeinschaft and communal cohesion.

During the Weimar Republic the issue of a Jewish Gemeinde versus a Jewish Gemeinschaft had become a hotly debated topic, particularly amongst Berlin's fragmented Jewish community.[18] Societal boundaries were increasingly drawn according to ethnic lines, and portions of German Jewry also sought to widen the scope of their community beyond traditional religious borders. It was at this time, Michael Meyer argues, that German Jewry attempted to 'create a Gemeinschaft within the Gemeinde by focusing more on the worshippers than the liturgy'[19] and, as Michael Brenner writes, include all Jews 'regardless of what

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[16] Tönnies used the second term, Gesellschaft, as the opposite of Gemeinschaft. Accordingly, it sustained a more mechanical connotation, and was used to describe large associations, businesses and corporations marked by the importance of individual self-interest. Niall Bond, *Understanding Ferdinand Tönnies' Community and Society: Social Theory and Political Philosophy Between Enlightened Liberal Individualism and Transfigured Community* (Vienna: Lit Verlag, 2013), 15-38.

[17] Michael Wildt, *Hitler's Volksgemeinschaft and the Dynamics of Racial Exclusion: Violence against Jews in Provincial Germany, 1919-1939* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011), 3.

[18] Tobias Metzler, 'Collecting Community: The Berlin Jewish Museum as Narrator between Past and Present, 1906-1939' in *Visualizing and Exhibiting Jewish Space and History*, ed. Richard I. Cohen, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 61.

[19] Michael A. Meyer, 'Gemeinschaft within Gemeinde: Religious Ferment in Weimar Liberal Judaism' in *In Search of Jewish Community: Jewish Identities in Germany and Austria 1918-1933*, ed. Michael Brenner and Derek J. Penslar (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), 26.

they believed or how they acted.'[20] During the Weimar years, the religious worship aspect of Jewish life was combined with more secular aspects of Jewish community involvement – a process Michael Brenner describes as a 'renaissance of Jewish culture'.[21]

Added to these internal attempts at Jewish community building, the idea of Jewish post-Emancipatory acculturation into wider German society through participation in high culture was tested during the aftermath of World War One. As anti-semitism surged in the wake of military defeat some once again began seeking a supposed 'source' upon which to blame the changes in society.[22] These changes were particularly salient in the reactionary corners of the art-world. Modernist forms were seen as a threat to the existing structure of classical culture. It was Jews, the reactionary right believed, who were bringing these modernist, international forms to Germany.[23] The very terms, traditions and codes that once promised social inclusion to German Jews were increasingly being used as a means of exclusion. As a result, some Jews responded to the increased attacks by withdrawing into the Jewish community itself at precisely the same time the community was undergoing a shift in social orientation.

During the Weimar period a number of Jewish clubs, fraternities and organisations developed for specifically Jewish participation. Included in these organisations were a number of musical and cultural groups. Erich Erck, founder of the Bavarian Kulturbund, the head of its musical department and the director of Munich's Kulturbundorchester, was also the last director of Munich's Jewish Chamber Orchestra (1927-1933; Erck headed the orchestra from 1931 – see

[20] Brenner, *The Renaissance of Jewish Culture*, 37.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Barkai and Mendes-Flohr, *Renewal and Destruction*.
[23] Neil Levi, *Modernist Form and the Myth of Jewification* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2014); Charles Dellheim, 'Framing Nazi Art Loot' in *The Art of Being Jewish in Modern Times*, ed. Barbara Kirschenblatt-Gimblett and Jonathan Karp (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 322; Catherine A. Epstein, *Nazi Germany: Confronting the Myths* (Malden: Wiley and Blackwell, 2015), 86; Jonathan Petropoulus, *The Faustian Bargain: The Art World in Nazi Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 112-113.

Chapter Four).[24] By taking place within a specifically Jewish setting, the threat of anti-semitic discrimination and violence was lessened. According to some estimates, at the end of the 1920s more than half of all Jews living in Germany were members of a Jewish society or organisation.[25] Therefore, despite Ballin's insistence that German Jews had been 'fused' into German cultural life for 150 years, the reality of this 'fusion' is indeed debatable. German Jews could, and did, embrace German cultural traditions, as evident in the examples above. However, their participation was increasingly taking place within a separate Jewish sphere.[26] As Sharon Gillermann has shown, during the Weimer era Germans became Jews.[27]

Kultur: Internal Debates Concerning High Art, Popular Art and Welfare Initiatives

From its inception, the Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria sought to present cultural and academic performances by Jewish artists to Jewish audiences at the highest level of quality possible. But certain questions arose regarding the overall form of these performances – and, by extension, the Kulturbund in general: What was the role of welfare initiatives within the Kulturbund structure? Should the quality of performance be sacrificed in order to provide opportunity for all artists, as well as to give younger artists the possibility for artistic growth and development?

In Munich, the debate surrounding the Kulturbund's artistic standards took on an additional dimension: a local civic cultural identification. This local idiom was expressed in print through the Bavarian Kulturbund's commitment to the ideals of Munich as the Kunststadt (City of Art). Situating Kulturbund activity within this framework established a local commitment to community pride, high artistic standards and a century-old cultural tradition.

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[24] See concert reviews: 'Aus der Gemeinde München: Das Konzert des jüdischen Kammerorchesters', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 1 January 1932, 10.
[25] Barkai and Mendes-Flohr, *Renewal and Destruction*, 99.
[26] Brenner, *The Renaissance of Jewish Culture*.
[27] Gillerman, *Germans into Jews*.

During the reign of Ludwig I of Bavaria (1825-1848), a member of the Wittelsbach dynasty, Munich had developed into a key cultural centre in the German-speaking lands. Ludwig I patronised the construction of large-scale neo-classical buildings throughout Bavaria, temples commemorating the achievements of famous Bavarians and the construction of Munich's Ludwigstraße.[28] Ludwig I was also an avid art collector who commissioned the Glyptothek, the Old Pinakothek and the New Pinakothek to house his collections of Greek and Roman sculpture, Early Dutch paintings, Early German paintings and works from the Italian renaissance. As a result of his efforts Munich was at various times throughout the 19th century referred to as 'Rom des Nordens', 'Isar-Athen', and 'Hauptstadt des Dekorativen'.[29] The city's reputation expanded as the century continued. Munich's visual artists thrived – a result of royal Wittelsbach patronage and the city's innovative success in the utilitarian business of art marketing through large-scale exhibition halls. Just prior to the turn of the century Munich was one of the top – if not *the* top – cities for art in the world,[30] its atmosphere one of 'convivial bohéme'.[31] As author Thomas Mann famously noted in his 1902 novella *Gladius Dei*, 'Munich glowed.'[32]

Half a decade after the fin de siècle, however, Munich's cultural life stagnated while Berlin – the 'Spree-Athen' – was on the rise. As Berlin's population exploded and its prestige in finance, military and politics increased, so too did its cultural life. A competition emerged between the two cities, with each laying claim to the title of Germany's cultural capital: 'Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, Berlin was the foil against which Munich

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[28] Ludwigstraße is one of four royal avenues in Munich; it stretches from Odeonsplatz and the Feldherrnhalle to the Siegestor.
[29] See: Hans-Joachim Hecker, 'Die Kunststadt München im Nationalsozialismus' in *München – 'Hauptstadt der Bewegung': Bayerns Metropole und der Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Richard Bauer, Hans Günter Hockerts, Brigitte Schütz, Wolfgang Till and Walter Ziegler (Munich: Münchner Stadtmuseum, 2002), 310-330; Winfried Nerdinger, 'Die "Kunststadt" München' in *Die Zwanziger Jahre in München*, ed. Christoph Stoelzl (Munich: Münchner Stadtmuseum, 1979), 93-119.
[30] Ilse Macek, *Schwabing und Schwabinger Schicksale 1933 bis 1945: ausgegrenzt – entrechtet – deportiert* (Munich: Volk Verlag, 2008), 19-28, 471.
[31] Paul Mendes-Flohr, *Divided Passions: Jewish Intellectuals and the Experience of Modernity* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1991), 77.
[32] 'München leuchtete'. Thomas Mann, *Gladius Dei; Schwere Stunde* (Berlin: Fischer Verlag, 1903), 1.

identified itself, and without this tension, any examination of Munich's identity during the period in question falls flat.'[33] Cultural conservatism (influenced in no small part by the influence of the Roman Catholic Church) spread over Munich as it continued to fall from its former prestige. Internal fractures within the artistic community itself led many to flee the increasingly repressive atmosphere.[34] Censorship increased and funding decreased.[35] Outside of Munich the competition for the title of German 'Kunststadt' was over, with Berlin clearly winning. The German capital had grown to the status of a World City with a population of 3,700,000 in 1910; Munich, by comparison, remained a relative village of 600,000 residents.[36] Germany had entered a period of Prussian predominance. In Munich, however, the debate continued throughout the early quarter of the next century.

Munich's cultural leaders attempted to rehabilitate its image as late as the 1920s. Attempts to revitalise the city to its former cultural glory were ultimately stymied by the increasingly hostile political atmosphere of the late 1920s and early 1930s.[37] And yet the mythos of the Kunststadt remained. During the Third Reich this myth took on another dimension, with Munich being bestowed the title of 'Capital of German Art' ('Hauptstadt der deutschen Kunst').

The notion of Munich as the German Kunststadt continued to hold sway within the Bavarian Kulturbund structure in the early- to mid-1930s. Ballin, the then Chairman from Munich, wrote in the local Jewish press in March 1934:

> Munich's reputation as the first German Kunststadt requires that the achievements of the Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria maintain the highest artistic and scholarly guidelines. ... It must be a point of honour for every Jew to support the activities of the

[33] Douglas Klahr, 'Munich as Kunststadt, 1900-1937: Art, Architecture, and Civic Identity,' *Oxford Art Journal* 34 (2011): 179-201, here 181.
[34] Maria Makela, *The Munich Secession: Art and Artists in Turn of the Century Munich* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 110.
[35] Peter Jelavich, *Munich and Theatrical Modernism: Politics, Playwrighting, and Performance, 1890-1914* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1985) – for specifics regarding censorship issues in Munich, see particularly: 247-259.
[36] Statistics taken from: Elisabeth Angermair, 'München um 1900: Struktur einer Stadt' in Bauer, et al., *München – 'Hauptstadt der Bewegung',* 15.
[37] Nerdinger, 'Die "Kunststadt" München', 93-108.

> Kulturbund, particularly in the difficult times, through their avid participation.[38]

The issue was still at play in December 1935 when author and Kulturbund critic Georg Hirschfield again linked the need for high cultural achievement in the Kulturbund with Munich's tradition as the Kunststadt.[39] Indeed, the loss of cultural status remained painful within the Bavarian capital's city limits.[40]

Further, the Munich embodiment of Aschheim's 'Kulturjude' and Volkov's 'Bildungsjude' would have sought entry to an educated local middle class that prided itself on the city's strong artistic heritage. Therefore, the Kulturbund adoption of the 'Kunststadt' debate was, on a certain level, a case of Bavarians being Bavarians – or perhaps more precisely, Münchners being Münchners. As mentioned above, talk of Munich's decline continued in Munich's cultural circles even after the debate had, for all intents and purposes, ended. That this debate continued even in the programme and rhetoric of closed 'Jewish' performances in the Bavarian Kulturbund speaks to the strength of local pride – an issue that took centre stage in 1935 when the Bavarians were required to join a national Kulturbund structure (see Chapter 6).

Invoking the Kunststadt reputation required the Kulturbund to uphold a certain level of quality and artistic standard. During its first season the Bavarian Kulturbund entered into a tri-figured debate between high art, popular art and welfare-impulses. This discussion came to the fore in the latter half of the first season in Munich. On 2 May 1934 the Kulturbund staged a variety evening at the Museumsaal on Promenadestrasse in central Munich. Local 12-year-old pianist Ruth Weinschel opened the programme, followed by music and dancing from Erich Rosenthal, Inge Teutsch, Irene Velisch, Dr. Josef Waldner and a recital by Herbert Langhofer. Nathaniel Bernstein's one-act play, *Das Akzept* – featuring Ada Erka, Langhoger and Nicolette Rosenthal – followed after a short intermission.

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[38] Dr. Fritz Ballin, 'Die Aufgaben des Jüdischen Kulturbunds in Bayern' *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 March 1934, 109.
[39] Georg Hirschfield, 'Sonkind und der Haupttreffer', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 December 1935, 552.
[40] There are no similar debates for Bavarian Kulturbund locales outside of Munich.

Critical reception of the event was harsh. A post-performance review published in Munich's Jewish newspaper bluntly stated: 'To put it immediately to the point: this evening can not and will not be seen as symptomatic, or considered the new trend, for the work of the Kulturbund'.[41] According to the review, the event was not 'serious' art, but rather too much oriented toward the 'lighter muse'. Although the review acknowledged that the turn toward less-serious, more-light-hearted art could have been a coping mechanism employed to deal with the sudden onslaught of restrictions and exclusion brought about by the National Socialist regime, the evening was still regarded as unacceptable for the Kulturbund stage. The review continued, echoing a view said to have been expressed in numerous unpublished letters to the editor:

> This 'Variety Evening' was a bit too empty of content. Lighter Kunst? Oh yes, why not? Only they must not be taken so lightly….
>
> We have every reason to believe that the men of the Kulturbund have recognised the shortcomings of this evening. We understand the difficulties involved in organising performances – but keep in mind that the Kulturbund's serious sense of purpose should not err in this way again.[42]

For some, the 'sense of purpose' was increasingly understood as a dedication to 'serious art' with a 'serious' message - even at the expense of providing opportunity for developing less-talented or younger artists.

Concerns about maintaining a high artistic standard remained a feature of Kulturbund reviews in Munich. Local critic Ba. raised the issue once more, this time taking aim at the topic after a concert by singer Paula Salomon-Lindberg of Berlin. Ba. maintained that it was not acceptable to compromise the artistic level of the Kulturbund for any reasons. Illusions of a 'moral obligation' to promote or nurture young talents were to be rejected. Instead, the critic's interpretation of the Kulturbund was rooted in immediacy. Ba continued,

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[41] M., 'Bunterheiterer Abend im Kulturbund', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 May 1934, 208.
[42] Ibid.

> Only the best Jewish thinkers and artists are to be put before the public. All mediocrity or unfinished art, all dilettantism is to be rejected. There are certainly bitter consequences to this. But only the best fighters must be enlisted in the struggle for the ideal.[43]

The dualism between high art and the performance of 'lighter' arts created an existential problem for the Kulturbund. As one critic wrote in the *Gemeindezeitung* after a performance in Munich: 'Is turning to lighter arts the proper way to pursue a remedy for the plight of Jewish artists?'[44] At the crux of the debate was the question of the intended role of the Kulturbund itself. Was it, as Erck originally proposed, a Jewish self-help organisation that would provide bread for the unemployed? Or did it represent something else?

The Kulturbund debate surrounding high art versus popular art stemmed from a larger cultural debate occurring in modern Germany at the time. A surge in modern art and the proliferation of a popular mass culture emerged as a counter-point to the traditional elite- and bourgeois (cultural) sphere. By the 1920s the supposed 'Americanisation of German culture' – or the rise of a popular entertainment culture – was seemingly gaining speed, particularly in urban areas and most famously in Berlin.[45] The rise of popular culture in Germany created two competing ideologies. On the one hand there was the elevated high-artistic Kultur standard of elite bourgeois self-edification. On the other hand there was the mass popular culture that strove toward amusement and escapism from everyday concerns.[46]

Yet the Kulturbund version of this wider German discussion took on an additional layer of complexity. According to the reactionary voices of the time, it was none other than 'the Jew' – the omnipresent yet indeterminate cultural villain – who was responsible for this supposed decline of 'German' Kultur and

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[43] Ba., 'Konzert P. Lindberg', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 1 November 1935, 470.
[44] M., 'Bunterheiterer Abend', 208.
[45] Thomas Saunders, 'How American was it? Popular Culture from Weimar to Hitler' in *German Popular Culture: How 'American' is it?*, ed. Agnes C. Mueller, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 52-65.
[46] Peter Hoeres, *Die Kultur von Weimar: Durchbruch der Moderne* (Berlin: be.bra Verlag, 2008), 105.

the rise of a consumerised and internationalised culture.[47] Nothing about this was particularly new. Blaming supposed cultural inferiority on Jews was something of an old European tradition at this point. Rhetoric debasing Jews as a culturally devoid people extended from the early modern era and into the 1930s. What the Shakespearian character Lorenzo said of the Jewish moneylender Shylock in 1598 was in many ways a belief still held centuries later:

> The man that hath no music in himself,
> Nor is not moved with concord of sweet sounds,
> Is fit for treasons, stratagems and spoils;
> The motions of his spirit are dull as night
> And his affections dark as Erebus:
> Let no such man be trusted. Mark the music.[48]

By the rise of National Socialism 'the Jew' was no longer merely void of the ability to appreciate the 'sweet sounds' of music, but polemicists held that Jews were actively corrupting 'German' music. Richard Wagner argued in his now infamous essay 'Das Judentum in der Musik' (1850, 1869) that Jews were unable to produce authentic art. Instead, Wagner held that Jews could only mimic the art traditions of other people – and thus debase the so-called 'national' music with inadequate imitations.[49] Not only did such a view believe that Jews supposedly lacked the passion required to create high music, but Wagner also claimed that Jews were responsible for turning music into a business that elevated profit over artistic expression.[50] Similar accusations against Jewish participation in the arts

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[47] Michael H. Kater, 'The Impact of American Popular Culture on German Youth' in *The Arts in Nazi Germany: Continuity, Conformity, Change*, ed. Jonathan Huener and Francis R. Nicosia, (New York: Berghahn Books, 2006), 31-62.
[48] William Shakespeare, *Merchant of Venice*, Act 5 Scene 1 – See also Sander Gilman, 'Are Jews Musical?: Historical Notes on the Question of Jewish Musical Modernism' in *Jewish Musical Modernism, Old and New*, ed. Philip V. Bohlman (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).
[49] The essay was originally published, to little critical fanfare, under a pseudonym in 1850. Nearly two decades later, in 1869, the essay was republished with an expanded addendum under Wagner's own name. Richard Wagner, *Das Judenthum in der Musik* (Leipzig: J. J. Weber, 1869).
[50] For more information regarding Wagner, Jews and anti-semitism see: David Conway, *Jewry in Music: Entry to the Profession from the Enlightenment to Richard Wagner* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); John Deathridge, *Wagner Beyond Good and Evil* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008);

arose again during the tumultuous period of social change after 1918. Cultural and political reactionaries once again turned toward German Jews as the main instigators of supposed cultural decay. Conservatives during the Weimar years pointed to the works of modern artists, such Max Reinhardt or Arnold Schönberg, and claimed an international Jewish conspiracy to monopolise 'German' cultural undertakings – and thus destroy 'German' culture.[51]

Kulturbund concerns over maintaining only the highest quality of art addressed both of these broader contemporary discussions. The League not only had to consider their own internal desires concerning cultural performance and community support, but they also had to confront external prejudices which were very much present in the members' day to day lives. In this way, the Kulturbund programme was not only an internal concern. By maintaining high standards of performance the League rebuked these negative interpretations of Jewish cultural participation that had, after 1933, become entrenched in National Socialist policy.

Disappointing critical responses caused the 'men of the Kulturbund' to release an official statement in the local Jewish press. League officials announced a dedication to 'sophisticated artistic and scientific achievement – or at least serious and forward looking cultural efforts.'[52] Further, 'any kind of amateurism' was to be 'eliminated' from future programmes. No further 'Variety Show' events were rescheduled in Bavaria (although they did continue to take place in other Kulturbund branches, such as the Kulturbund Rhein-Ruhr).[53] Bavarian Kulturbund leaders continued, writing, 'Events that are not of serious merit, or undertakings with the goal of social relief/public welfare, are not to be fulfilled

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Paul Lawrence Rose, *Wagner: Race and Revolution* (New York: Yale University Press, 1996); Nicholas Vaszonyi, *Richard Wagner: Self-Promotion and the Making of a Brand* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Marc A. Weiner, *Richard Wagner and the Anti-Semitic Imagination* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997).

[51] Peter Gay, *Weimar Culture: The Outside as Insider, Second Edition* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2001), 3, 30, 96, 138.

[52] Response to 'Bunterheiter Abend im Kulturbund', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 May 1934, 208.

[53] See: 'Wir brachten in der Spielzeit 1934-1935' and 'Wir planen für die Spielzeit 1935-1936', *Jüdischer Kulturbund Rhein-Ruhr Oktoberprogramm 1935* (Cologne: Dischhaus, 1935), 8.

by the Kulturbund.'[54] Instead, it was stated that providing social welfare to impoverished artists who did not meet a minimum level of artistic talent 'belongs in another department'.[55] What this other department was, however, remained unclear. Showcasing 'artistic accomplishment alone' was now, leaders claimed, the League's 'pivotal' function.[56]

Bund: Bavarian Leaders, Artists and Audience Members

Who were these individuals involved in the above-mentioned discussions and debates? The Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria comprised three ranks of membership: leadership, artists and general members (audience). Bavarian Kulturbund leadership consisted mostly of men and its active artists and academics noted an equal number of men and women, while its general membership comprised more women than men. Two areas differentiated the composition of Bavaria's Kulturbund from that of Berlin: the prominence of Zionists in the league's early leadership and the amount of women in the ranks of Bavarian Kulturbund artists and audiences.

Administratively, the Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria consisted of four branches: an Executive Committee that served the whole of the Bavarian organisation; three Department Heads who directly oversaw developments in the three areas of activity; an Advisory Board that consisted of a representative from all Bavarian Kulturbund branches; and a local Executive Committee that oversaw activity in each location.

Bavaria's Executive Committee was led by a group of men from Munich. Lawyers held the top two positions in the original 1934 committee: Dr. Fritz Ballin was Chairman while Dr. Hans Taub was the Deputy Chairman. Dr. Alfred Fraenkel served as Treasurer. Erich Erck also filled the position of Secretary. Ballin and Taub took on two additional roles: Ballin as the head of the Music

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[54] Ibid., 213.
[55] M., 'Kulturbund-Konzerte', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 June 1934, 249.
[56] Response to 'Bunterheiter Abend', 208.

Department and Taub as head of Lectures and Adult Education. Hellmut Maison, an architect from Munich, initially headed the Department of Visual Arts. Maison, at 62, was the eldest of the group, while Erck was the youngest at 37. The average age of the five original Kulturbund leaders in Bavaria was 48; all these men were born before 1900. They either experienced German unification and Jewish emancipation or were born in its wake; they were all educated prior to the outbreak of World War I. These men came of age during the Imperial era at a time when Munich was still vying for cultural recognition on the national (and international) stage. In addition, they were all members of the '*haute volée*', the elites of Munich's Jewish community.[57]

The initial Bavarian Advisory Board (Beirat) had a similar composition. Of the known members of the Advisory Board, all 14 were men. All but one – Rabbi Dr. Fritz Bloch of Aschaffenburg (b. 1902) – were born in the 19th century; in 1934 the group had an average age of 50 years. Educationally, half of these men held 'Doctor' titles.

Name	City
Rab. Dr. Fritz Bloch	Aschaffenburg
Rab. Dr. Ernst Jacob	Augsburg
Ludwig Steinberger	Bad Kissingen
Dr. Martin Morgenroth	Bamberg
Ernest Albert Rosenfelder	Fürth
Mortiz Lustig	Kitzingen
Dr. Carl Oestreich	Munich
Dr. Hermann Gessner	Nuremberg
Sigmund Seligsberger	Würzburg

Table 4: Table of the original members of the Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria Advisory Board in 1934.

Sigmund Seligsberger (Würzburg) resigned due to ill health in late February 1934, just prior to the start of the season; he was replaced by Jacques Mayer. Bavarian Kulturbund additions Regensburg (May 1934) and Memmingen (February 1935) added representatives as they joined the league; Regensburg

[57] Anthony Kauders, *Democratization and the Jews: Munich, 1945-1965* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 39.

appointed Dr. Eisemann while Memmingen elected local religion teacher Emil Liffgens.[58]

League leadership, not immune to personnel concerns and emigration, faced administrative turnover throughout its existence. Erck was the only member of the original Executive Committee who remained until 1938. Ballin withdrew from his Kulturbund positions after the completion of the first season, citing health concerns. Taub also stepped down from his position in July 1934, citing interference with work issues.[59] Fraenkel picked up the heavy load of serving as the interim Chairman, Deputy Chairman and his original position as League Treasurer.[60] In mid-September 1934, at the beginning of the Kulturbund's second season in Bavaria, Dr. Alfred Perlmutter (yet another lawyer) was appointed the new Kulturbund Chairman; he remained in this position until 1938.[61]

Perlmutter's autumn 1934 appointment as Chairman represents an important ideological position regarding the future shape of 'Jewish' culture in the Bavarian Kulturbund. Not only was he a board member of the Bavarian Kultusgemeinde but he was also 'counted among the most committed Zionists in Munich'[62] and a leader of Munich's local Zionist group.[63] The selection of a well-known and active Zionist to the leading position in the Bavarian Kulturbund leadership was an important point of departure from the situation in Berlin. As stated in Chapter One, one line of separation between Kulturbund supporters occurred along Zionist and non-Zionist lines. Berlin leadership, who were

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[58] Bayerische Staatsministerium für Unterricht und Kultus, 'Würzburg' 21 February 1935; Israelitische Kultus-Gemeinde Regensburg to Staatsministerium für Unterricht und Kultus, 'I 26333 Abt. I', 16 May 1934; Polizeidirektion Regensburg, '26333', 16 May 1934; Staatsministerium für Unterricht und Kultus, 'Memmingen', 7 February 1935. MK15382, BHStAM.
[59] Jüdischer Kulturbund in Bayern to Bayerische Staatsministerium für Unterricht und Kultus, 29 July 1934. MK15382, BHStAM.
[60] Ibid. Fraenkel himself later resigned from Kulturbund leadership and emigrated to Palestine in 1937.
[61] Jüdischer Kulturbund in Bayern to Bayerische Staatsministerium für Unterricht und Kultus, 'Vorstandschaft: I 52451 Abt. I', 19 October 1934. MK15382, BHStAM.
[62] Reinhard Weber, *Das Schicksal der jüdischen Rechtsanwälte in Bayern nach 1933* (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2006), 144.
[63] Weber, *Das Schicksal*, 144; Cahnman, 'The Jews of Munich', 137.

decidedly not Zionists, strove to maintain a Western European and 'German' oriented cultural programme. The German capital's Zionist ranks, however, urged the Kulturbund to steer the league toward a 'Jewish' programme.[64] In Berlin, the Zionist minority were a disruptive force in the Jewish cultural sphere; they initially withheld their full support of the Berlin Kulturbund after it became clear the Berlin offices were not going to willingly engage with 'Jewish' art on the Jewish stage.[65]

Yet, it should be stated, being an active Zionist did not necessarily preclude an individual from embracing forms of German cultural traditions. As Francis Nicosia writes, 'Most German Zionists, like most Jews in Germany, were culturally and spiritually German. Many were urban, secular, and educated, and shared a common culture with non-Jewish Germans of similar backgrounds. … But unlike the majority of their fellow German Jews at the time, they strove to revive a separate Jewish identity and life.'[66] Indeed, this Zionist versus non-Zionist fracture did not occur in Bavaria – a result of Munich-specific shifts within the Gemeinde framework that first developed during the latter years of the Weimar Republic. Michael Brenner goes as far as to suggest that the situation in Munich was a prime example whereby Zionism entered into the mainstream of Jewish community life.[67]

In 1930 the Munich Jewish Community appointed 28 year-old Zionist Werner Cahnman as the local Bavarian legal representative (Syndikus) of the Central Verein. The Central Verein (CV) emerged as the key Jewish defence movement in interwar Germany. It stressed the position of German Jews, noting its commitment to German history, culture and traditions. However, this focus began to shift, if only slightly, during the late 1920s. Cahnman himself recalled his appointment as an important turning point for Munich's Jewish community – and for the CV.[68] Not only was the young Zionist appointed as Bavaria's Syndikus,

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[64] Lily Hirsch, *A Jewish Orchestra,* 43-44.
[65] Rovit, *A Jewish Theatre*, 10, 39, 41-42, 46.
[66] Francis R. Nicosia, *Zionism and Anti-Semitism in Nazi Germany* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 3.
[67] Brenner, 'Turning Inward', 70.
[68] Werner J. Cahnman, 'The Jews in Munich, 1918-1943' in *German Jewry: Its History and Sociology, Selected Essays by Werner J. Cahnman*, ed. Joseph B. Maier,

but the 'long-term' president and vice-president of the Munich branch resigned; the two positions were replaced by a single individual: Dr. Alfred Werner, a Social Democrat with pro-Zionist leanings.[69] These internal community leadership shifts were indicative of a more general trend toward community cohesion and social support in Munich – otherwise the community would not have tolerated the appointments. This was an important turning point: Zionism was no longer so disruptive to the social order of the local Jewish community. Further, it is unlikely Perlmutter, a Zionist, would have been appointed the Bavarian Kulturbund Chairman in 1934 if not for this narrowing of the ideological gap between Zionism and non-Zionism and the concomitant community shifts toward cohesion.[70]

A total of 100 active Jewish artists performed in the Bavarian Kulturbund: 50 male artists and 50 female artists.[71] This equal ratio was unusual. According to Gabriele Fritsch-Vivié, between 1933 and 1937 there were 1,326 men performing in the Kulturbund as compared to only 717 women – or approximately half the number of women were employed as men.[72] The gender equality apparent in the Bavarian Kulturbund ranks was an important point of distinction. As will be examined more fully in the following chapters, gender did influence the forms and foci of artistic representation.

In 1934, at the time of the Kulturbund's inaugural season, the average age of all identifiable Bavarian Kulturbund artists was 38 years. Male artists were, on average, six years older than the female artists – 40 compared to 34. Bavaria's

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Judith Marcus, Zoltán Tarr (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1989), 103-105.

[69] Cahnman, 'The Jews in Munich', 124.

[70] Gillerman, *Germans into Jews*, 3-4.

[71] This number was derived from previews, reviews and advertisements printed in the various Jewish newspapers, as well as from event proposals submitted to the Bavarian Ministry of Education and Culture. This list is likely not comprehensive due to the lack of surviving sources (such as active membership lists or annual Kulturbund meeting minutes). That said, the list is fairly extensive. The one glaring absence includes the supporting musicians active in the Munich and Nuremberg orchestras (ie. those who were not singled out in the Jewish press for their performance, and those who did not perform solos).

[72] Gabriele Fritsch-Vivié, "Der Bund – Soziales, Solidarität, Verbundenheit. Der Jüdische Kulturbund 1933-1941 in seiner Entwicklung Aufgabenstellung und Wirking," in *Die Vertreibung des Sozialen*, ed. Adriane Feustel, Inge Hansen-Schaberg, Gabriele Knapp (Munich: Richard Boorberg, 2009), 178-199, here 187.

eldest active member was Dr. Moses Höflein of Bamberg; in 1934, Höflein's only season of activity, the academic was 68 years-of-age. In 1934 Munich's Fritz Rosenthal was the youngest active male Kulturbund artist in Bavaria at 21 years-of-age. As mentioned, the average age of male artists were slightly older than the average of female artists. The average age of a female Bavarian Kulturbund artist in 1934 was 34 years. Singer Emmi Schwed of Nuremberg was the eldest active female member in Bavaria at 67 years old in 1934. The youngest female Kulturbund artists in Bavaria were 16-year-old dancer Inge Teutsch and 12-year-old pianist Ruth Weinschel, both of Munich.

Between 1934 and 1938 female Jewish artists in Bavaria outnumbered their male counterparts in every area of activity except adult education. In this one area of male dominance there were 15 Bavarian men and only four women.[73] Adult education was initially divided into three areas: lectures, readings and education courses. Five courses were advertised in early 1934, ranging from philosophy to art history lectures and guided tours of local museums. The Kulturbund lectures and courses merged with the Lehrhaus courses after the inaugural season. Bavarian Kulturbund-run courses were not advertised for cities outside of Munich. Lectures and literary readings, on the other hand, were a frequent (and cheap) feature of Kulturbund activity throughout Bavaria. The final aspect of the adult education department included recitals and readings from local authors.

Male control over the adult education department was a product of its time. A great many of the local lecturers were rabbis or academics with doctorates – and opportunities for advanced formal higher education still eluded many women at the time. German universities were late to open their doors to female students; women could not enrol in German universities until the first decade of the twentieth century.[74] Even after women were granted entrance to German universities in 1908, however, Jewish women still faced a double discriminatory standard: anti-Jewish and anti-female sentiments. And yet,

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[73] The four women were art historian and secretary Helene Strauß, the young Zionist Rose Heller (later Rose Harburger), Jenny Bärwald and Bertha Fränkel (both local leaders in Munich's Frauenbund).

[74] Marion Kaplan, *The Making of the Jewish Middle Class: Women, Family, and Identity in Imperial Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 137.

women played a significant role in Bavarian Kulturbund activities as musicians, visual artists and audience members.

The remaining two areas of activity – visual arts and music – favoured the presence of more women than men. Women comprised 67% of the visual artists in the Bavarian Kulturbund, including Maria Luiko, the Zionist co-founder of Munich's successful Marionettentheater Jüdischer Künstler. Luiko (Marie Luise Kohn) was born in Munich on 25 January 1904 to the businessman Heinrich Kohn and his wife Olga.[75] As will be discussed in Chapter Five, Luiko's Kulturbund marionette theatre had its roots in a Hebrew-language, 'biblical experimental' marionette theatre, Bimath-Buboth. Luiko co-founded Bimath-Buboth with her friend, fellow well-known Munich Zionist and future fellow Kulturbund member Fritz Rosenthal.[76] Elisabeth (Liesl) Springer was also a well-known and respected visual artist based out of the Munich branch of the Bavarian Kulturbund. Springer too was born in Munich in 1904. Her father, David Springer, owned a business and had some real estate holdings. Liesl Springer began her career as a bohemian traveling actress in the 1920s. Although mostly known for her sculptures, she was also active in Munich's Kulturbund Marionette Theatre.[77]

Women also accounted for 62% of Bavarian Kulturbund musicians. Munich's Sonja Ziegler (born Sura Fleischer) was the most active female musician in the Bavarian Kulturbund. She performed a minimum of 16 events throughout her four-year career in the Kulturbund (she was the fourth most active artist in general, behind Ludwig Grünbaum of Nuremberg, Walter Reis of

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[75] Bundesrechtsanwaltskammer (ed.), *Anwalt ohne Recht: Schicksale jüdischer Anwälte in Deutschland nach 1933* (Berlin: be.bra verlag, 2007), 108-109; Marion Röwekamp, *Juristinnen: Lexikon zu Leben und Werk* (Baden Baden: Nomos, 2005), 193-195.

[76] Andreas Heusler, et al., 'Maria Luise Kohn' in *Biographisches Gedenkbuch der Münchner Juden 1933-1945* (Munich: Stadtarchiv München, 2003), 732; 'Elisabeth Kohn', 727; Olga Kohn, 734. Accessible online [24 March 2015]: <http://www.muenchen.de/rathaus/Stadtverwaltung/Direktorium/Stadtarchiv/Juedisches-Muenchen/Gedenkbuch/Biographisches-Gedenkbuch.html>.

[77] Heusler, et al., 'Elisabeth Weiß' in *Biographisches Gedenkbuch*, 742; 'Dorlina Springer', 549. Accessible online [24 March 2015]: <http://www.muenchen.de/rathaus/Stadtverwaltung/Direktorium/Stadtarchiv/Juedisches-Muenchen/Gedenkbuch/Biographisches-Gedenkbuch.html>.

Munich, and Luiko).[78] Ziegler was born in 1898 to a large family in Odessa. Her family moved to Munich when she was a young child, where she soon began taking voice lessons. During the 1920s Ziegler became active in a number of amateur cultural groups that existed within Munich's Jewish community structure, including the Main Synagogue's choir and a Hebrew theatre.[79]

Further, women dominated the music scene outside of Munich. Of the 33 Jewish musicians who performed for local branches outside of the Bavarian capital, all but seven were women. In other words, approximately 80 percent of all Bavarian Kulturbund musicians active outside of Munich were women, with a particularly large number of these female artists residing in Nuremberg-Fürth. The most active was Nuremberg's Irma Held (Irma Held-Landecker). Held performed in Nuremberg-Fürth's musical department throughout the Kulturbund's entire existence in Bavaria (1934-1938).

This is not to say that male artists did not play an important role in the local Kulturbund. Ludwig Grünbaum, a pianist from Nuremberg and personal friend of Held, was Bavaria's most active artist – in spite of a 6-month performance ban issued by the state. Over the course of six seasons he performed in at least 21 concerts throughout Bavaria, although mostly in Nuremberg or nearby Franconian Kulturbund branches. However, the active and prominent role played by female artists in Bavaria contradicts the image of women in limited roles not only within the Kulturbund, but also within their contemporary public cultural world more generally.

Additionally, the women of the Bavarian Kulturbund extended beyond the stage and into the audience. Most Kulturbund-related membership lists are missing from the archival records. A (seemingly) lone membership list has survived, however: the 1935/36 application forms for the 'Jüdischer Kulturbund in Bayern, Ortsgruppe Würzburg'. The average and median age of a Kulturbund member in Würzburg was 38 years old. Women comprised the majority of the

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[78] This total does not include repeat performances within a single city.
[79] More bibliographical information on Sonja Ziegler can be found in Chapter Seven. Heusler, et al., 'Sonja Ziegler' in *Biographisches Gedenkbuch,* 811. Accessible online [24 March 2015]: <http://www.muenchen.de/rathaus/Stadtverwaltung/Direktorium/Stadtarchiv/Juedisches-Muenchen/Gedenkbuch/Biographisches-Gedenkbuch.html>.

Kulturbund's general membership in Würzburg (61% of the total). Many applications were submitted as a family unit (generally as a couple). Yet women, not men, were more likely to apply for individual membership outside of the family structure. Women were, on average, two years younger than their male counterparts (40 years of age for men versus 38 years for women). While most were German citizens, a significant number of Kulturbund members in Würzburg were not born in Würzburg. Many came from smaller nearby Bavarian towns or villages, such as Burghaslach, Buttenwiesen, Butthärt/Ochsenfurt, Giebelstadt, Maroldsweisach, Reckendorf and Veitshöchheim. Of its small number of foreign Jewish members, most came from Western Europe: Bolzano (Italy), Cardiff (Wales), Colmar (France) and Paris (France) and Holland. There were also a total of 54 'school-age children' who applied for Kulturbund membership independently of their family unit.[80] These youths ranged in age from 23 to 13 with an average age of 20. As was the situation with the adults, the majority of the registered students were born outside of Würzburg.

Generally, the average Kulturbund audience member in Würzburg was female, in her late 30s and relatively well off economically. She was likely to hold German citizenship and was born in a smaller Bavarian village or town before moving to Würzburg. Statistically, she was likely to live in a relatively central apartment near the Altstadt. She was someone like Dr. Stephanie Dessauer, a 36-year-old general practitioner who studied medicine in Würzburg and stayed in the city to open her practice.[81] Or Dr. Bertha Wechsler, a 42 years old medical doctor at the time of the 1935/36 Kulturbund Season. Like Dessauer, Wechsler studied medicine in Würzburg. She began her professional career in Munich and in 1925 returned to Würzburg to work in children's medicine.[82] She emigrated to

[80] This total does not include every child who registered for Kulturbund membership. Some, such as 11-year-old Frieda Stern, were registered with their family.
[81] Dessauer emigrated to Brooklyn, New York in 1939, shortly before the outbreak of war. She later retired to Boynton Beach, Florida, where she died in 1982. Reiner Strätz, *Biographisches Handbuch Würzburger Juden 1900-1945* (Würzburg: Schöningh, 1989), 122.
[82] Strätz, *Biographisches Handbuch*, 651.

Columbus, Ohio in the United States during the 1935/36 Season.[83] Not all female members were professionals. Sara Eschwege, a 41-year-old housewife, held a family Kulturbund membership with her husband Rubere Moses (45 years old), the local chief cantor.[84]

Thus, unlike the situation in Berlin, Bavarian women had a strong presence in the region's Jewish Kulturbund – as musicians, artists and audience members. Indeed, it was women who, since the Imperial era, 'saw no conflict between affirming their German heritage and retaining their religious and cultural legacy.'[85] Such an ability to move relatively easily between varying traditions may have led women to be more inclined to participation in Jewish community organisations than it did men, particularly at the beginning of the Third Reich. After 1933 the daily realities of anti-Jewish threats and public intimidation resulted in the re-alignment of social spheres. More and more Jewish individuals turned inward toward community organised events and associations – particularly in smaller cities, towns or villages that lacked the anonymity of the life in large cities. Unlike the Kulturbund in Berlin, which had the financial means to operate as a separate entity, the Kulturbund in Bavaria operated under the auspices of the Bavarian Jewish Community itself. During National Socialism the Jewish community became increasingly important as a social space; it was the space within which the Bavarian Kulturbund operated; and it was the space in which Jewish women were arguably more familiar.[86]

In addition to the gendered aspect of its membership, the Kulturbund in Bavaria reached a wider segment of the local Jewish population than did its counterpart in Berlin. Lily Hirsch states that Kulturbund membership in Berlin hovered around 10% of the city's total Jewish population.[87] Although the percentage of members in Bavarian locations varied according to each city or town, the percentages were much higher than that of Berlin.

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[83] Eduard Seidler, *Jüdische Kinderärzte 1933-1945: Entrechtet/Geflohen/Ermordet* (Freiburg: S. Karger Verlag, 2007), 374.
[84] The family emigrated to London in 1939, shortly after Rubere Moses Eschwege was released from Buchenwald. A year later (1940) they left London for the United States. Strätz, *Biographisches Handbuch*, 138.
[85] Kaplan, *The Making of the Jewish Middle Class*, 4.
[86] Ibid., 4.
[87] Hirsch, *A Jewish Orchestra*, 19.

Exact statistics regarding community participation are difficult to ascertain, however. During Bavaria's first two seasons there was no membership structure in place. Instead, any registered member of the Bavarian Gemeinde was able to purchase a ticket and attend an event. After the founding of a national Kulturbund in the summer of 1935, however, annual Kulturbund membership became a requirement for all Bavarian locations. As such, total Bavarian membership statistics are not available until the 1936/37 Season, when 4,710 Bavarian Jews held Kulturbund membership.[88]

Likewise, only fragmentary membership statistics exist for various regional Kulturbund locations. Yet these numbers offer a glimpse at the organisation's wide-ranging popularity in Bavaria throughout its existence. The initial membership-drive in Würzburg for the 1935/1936 Kulturbund season resulted in 545 membership applications (approximately a quarter of the city's Jewish population).[89] Estimates for Bamberg placed Kulturbund membership in early November 1935 at 287 (35% of Bamberg's Jewish community) – this number was released in an article by the local Gemeinde leadership in conjunction with a call for support, so it is possible membership later increased.[90] Approximately 200 of Regensburg's 310 Jewish individuals were Kulturbund members in the 1936/37 Season (approximately 66%).[91] In Nuremberg and Fürth, home to a Jewish community nearly equal the size of Munich's, there were 1,300 Kulturbund members (approximately 33% of the Jewish community) for both the 1937/38 and 1938/39 Kulturbund seasons – during a time of alarming membership decline due to emigration and poverty.[92] Traveling academics and artists even made note of the strong local support for

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[88] 'Aus den Gemeinden: Nürnberg', *Israelitisches Familienblatt*, 22 July 1937, 15.
[89] The Kulturbund membership application files for Würzburg, located at the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People in Jerusalem, is the only known surviving membership list for any Kulturbund location. Mitgliedsanmeldungen zum Jüdischen Kulturbund in Bayern, 1935. D/Wu2/380, CAHJP.
[90] Isr. Kultusgemeinde Bamberg, 'Jüdischer Kulturbund in Bayern', November 1935. D/Ba/378, CAHJP.
[91] Ltz., 'Regensburg', 32.
[92] 'Aus den Gemeinden: Nürnberg,' *Israelitisches Familienblatt*, 23 December 1937, 4; 'Konzerte und Vorträge: Nürnberg-Fürth', *Central Verein Zeitung*, 30 December 1937; 'Jüdisches Leben in Nürnberg: Kulturbund', *Israelitisches Familienblatt*, 20 October 1938, 10.

Kulturbund events in southern Germany. Otto Bernstein, a Kulturbund lecturer and dramaturgical assistant from Berlin, wrote, 'In a south German city with approximately 4,000 Jews, there are approximately 1,000 members at every event.'[93] Lecturer Willy Cohn also noted the strong showing for his Kulturbund lectures in Bavaria; he described his January 1935 lecture in Würzburg as 'well attended' and described his April 1936 lecture in Bamberg as 'a great success'.[94]

Thus, in Bavaria the percentage of Jewish community members who maintained Kulturbund membership was relatively high, ranging from 33% to 67% of the local Jewish community. Such high participation suggests that Kulturbund events had an important social impact on Bavarian Jewry. Further, the social importance of the Kulturbund extended beyond the activities on the stage – at least in the smaller communities. Performances in Bamberg were sometimes followed by a small coffee and cake reception for the artist(s).[95]

[93] Otto Bernstein, 'Das Publikum. Drei Beiträge über die Jüdischen Kulturbund-Besucher' *Mitteilungen des Reichsverbandes der Jüdischen Kulturbünde in Deutschland* (August 1937). Fritz-Wisten-Archiv 74/86/5093, AdK.
[94] Willy Cohn, *Kein Recht, nirgends. Tagebuch vom Untergang des Breslauer Judentums, 1933-1941* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2006), 197 and 318.
[95] Cohn, *Kein Recht*, 318.

4. Music and Community Representation: The Early Musical Programme in Bavaria

The creation of a local Kulturbund programme (as described in the following chapters) must be viewed as a 'projection of willed identity'[1] stemming from a combination of leadership desires, artistic capabilities and audience demands – particularly during its early years. Repertoire choices are always deliberate decisions; writing about the Kulturbund's purpose or the drafting of a programme, especially under the harsh social circumstances of Jewish life in Nazi Germany, were endeavours undertaken with care and caution. As such, Kulturbund events reflected the ways its active membership chose to stage their own understandings of what it meant to be 'Jewish'. In this way, these cultural activities can be understood as the conscious construction of Kulturbund leaders and artists.

Although League decisions were required to take shape within externally determined boundaries, the Kulturbund programme was a way for Jews to self-represent the parameters of their understandings of 'Jewishness'. Such self-representation balanced personal conceptualisations from the leadership and the artists and a more general notion of what would be accepted within the broader audience membership. It utilised elements from both the traditional 'German' canon as well as various interpretations of 'Jewish' music. During its first two seasons the Bavarian programme was developed by local leaders and carried out by local musicians.

Kulturbund efforts at utilising music as a tool in community building fell within the broader spectrum of 19th and 20th century musicological pre-occupations with 'national' music and in defining a community of 'Germans'.[2] Jewish communities in Germany utilised this same method of community

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[1] Lily E. Hirsch, *A Jewish Orchestra in Nazi Germany: Musical Politics and the Berlin Jewish Cultural League* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2012), 63.

[2] Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter, *Music and German National Identity* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 2002).

building through shared musical experiences. Indeed, as Sander Gilman writes, 'The link between musical high culture and Jewish identity … had by the 1930s become an intrinsic part of the self-definition of Central European Jewry.'[3] In 1927 the Jewish Chamber Orchestra was founded in Munich with the aim of strengthening the social bonds of the local Jewish community.[4] In 1934 the Munich Kulturbund Orchestra replaced the Jewish Chamber Orchestra as the city's only Jewish orchestra; the new Kulturbund orchestra was led by Erck and consisted of the same key group of musicians.[5]

Additionally, the Bavarian Kulturbund programmed 'Jewish' music at an earlier period than its Kulturbund counterpart in Berlin. Whereas 'Jewish' music was not widely embraced in Berlin until the latter half of the decade, it was an important component of the early Bavarian repertoire. Still, the definition of 'Jewish' music took various forms. Three interpretations anchored the Bavarian Kulturbund musical programme beginning in 1934: folk music, liturgy and music by composers of Jewish heritage.[6] In general terms, the early Bavarian musical programme reflected understandings of 'Jewishness' that were rooted in both heritage and religion.

However, there existed an additional layer that separated the programmes of larger and smaller cities. In larger cities – e.g. in Munich and, to a certain extent in Nuremberg-Fürth – there existed a more secular involvement with Judaism than in the smaller cities and towns. Taking the example of Munich, the local Kulturbund programme was more likely to perform a concert that was created by a composer of Jewish heritage but lacked identifiable 'Jewish' musical

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[3] Sander Gilman, 'Are Jews Musical?: Historical Notes on the Question of Jewish Musical Modernism' in *Jewish Musical Modernism, Old and New*, ed. Philip V. Bohlman (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), xiii.
[4] 'Aufruf zur Gründung eines 'Jüdisches Kammerorchesters', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 9 February 1927, 48; 'Das Jüdische Kammerorchesters', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 23 May 1927, 163; 'Das Jüdische Kammerorchester München', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung,* 13 Dezember 1927, 377.
[5] Andreas Heusler, 'Verfolgung und Vernichtung (1933-1945)' in *Jüdisches München: Vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwalt*, ed. Richard Bauer and Michael Brenner, (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2006), 173-174.
[6] The term 'composers of Jewish heritage', rather than the similar term 'Jewish composers', is used to encompass composers who may not have self-conceived of themselves as Jews – such as Mendelssohn.

elements (be that the influence of Eastern European folk- or liturgical melodies). The same cannot be said of the smaller communities, however. In smaller cities such Würzburg and Regensburg, which were generally home to more traditional Jewish communities with a more Orthodox bent, folk songs and liturgical music were important elements of the musical programme. Folk music combined notions of a shared heritage and religious belief while liturgy had a clear connection to religious practice. Such programmatic distinctions show that these more traditional Bavarian communities sought to musically represent their understandings of 'Jewishness' in ways that were more religious and more rooted in Eastern European Jewish life.

Still, as the example of Felix Mendelssohn shows, such programmatic decisions were complicated. Mendelssohn was the most often performed composer in the Bavarian Kulturbund. He also had a fraught legacy and complex relationship to Judaism, perhaps more than any other modern German composer. Indeed, by the 1930s there were two strands of Mendelssohn reception within the Kulturbund: the Mendelssohn who was celebrated for being a renowned German composer and the Mendelssohn who created an oratorio embraced by German Jews in the 1930s as a piece promising redemption and celebrating the strength of Judaism. As the Mendelssohn example shows, even a categorisation of 'Jewishness' based on heritage was a complex issue in 1930s Germany.

Continuities with Weimar Jewish Culture in Munich: a 'collegium musicum'

As discussed in the previous chapter, the ideological foundations upon which the Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria was created were a result of German and German-Jewish cultural discourses. Therefore, it is hardly surprising that debates concerning the scope of the Kulturbund musical programme were also intertwined with broader contemporary terms of socio-cultural conceptualisation. Chief among these debates was the search for an 'authentic'

'national' musical traditional. The idea of a 'German' music – i.e. the idea of a national tradition that incorporated the works of composers from pre-1871 German-speaking territories and kingdoms – played an important role on discussions of 'German' identity after unification. By the late 19th century, Pamela Potter writes, 'Music had come to be regarded as Germany's great cultural achievement over the previous few centuries, and the purest means for expressing the essence of the German soul.'[7] Creating the notion of musical (or cultural) unity, if not political unity, gave the newly created Germans what they considered a shared past and a sense of pride.[8] Yet the belief that music was the 'most German of the arts' was not a notion necessarily forged by composers. Instead, 'the consolidation of a German national culture' was, according to Potter and Celia Applegate, the work of 'writers, conductors, bureaucrats, organizers, and musical amateurs.' Musical appreciation – the communal acts of conducting, performing and listening – became viewed as an increasingly national act for the citizens of the newly established Germany.[9]

Thus, for some of Germany's Jewish population, particularly the middle class, the importance of music in the modern era was two-fold. Most generally, music was an important contributing factor to the rise of a national 'German' consciousness. Within the specifically Jewish context, music also represented a means of asserting a commitment to, and place within, this new 'German' society. Further, this all unfolded upon the backdrop of emancipation. Musical appreciation, then, was likely interpreted amongst the Jewish middle class, whether rightly or wrongly, as a national communal action that offered Jews a place within the newly 'imagined community'[10] of a unified Germany.

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[7] Pamela Potter, 'Jewish Music and German Science' in ed. Philip Bohlman *Jewish Musical Modernism, Old and New* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 83.

[8] Elizabeth Janik addresses the issue of the 19th century's 'invention' of a German musical tradition in her book: *Recomposing German Music: Politics and Musical Tradition in Cold War Berlin* (Boston: Brill, 2005), 1-3.

[9] Pamela Potter, 'Jewish Music and German Science' in *Jewish Musical Modernism, Old and New*, ed. Philip V. Bohlman (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 85.

[10] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, Revised Edition* (New York: Verso Books, 2006).

A similar process of Jewish community building and collective representation through music began in Munich during the latter half of the 1920s – and, in many ways, continued until 1938 through the Bavarian Kulturbund structure. In 1927, Franz Kleinbauer and Heinrich Lamm, two local youths, founded the Jewish Chamber Orchestra in Munich (Jüdisches Kammerorchester München). This was the first 'Jewish' orchestra in the Bavarian capital. The two young men described their newly created orchestra as a 'serious' musical undertaking meant to please even the most refined musical critics.[11] According to its founders, the Jewish Chamber Orchestra was to facilitate a process of community building through cultural participation. Early articles published in the local Jewish press stressed the leaders' desire to utilise music and the Jewish Chamber Orchestra as a means to 'bring together a Jewish circle'[12] and foster a 'collegium musicum'.[13]

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Jewish organisations –particularly Jewish youth organisations – first appeared as a response to the increasingly antisemitic overtures of German groups at the turn of the century. By the Weimar Era many of these youth movements had expanded and gained significantly in membership. Michael Brenner claims that by the end of the 1920s most Jewish youth movements were characterised by notions of 'pragmatism, attempts at unity and increasing integration into the institutions of the Jewish

[11] 'Aufruf zur Gründung eines 'Jüdisches Kammerorchesters', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 9 February 1927, 48.
[12] 'Das Jüdische Kammerorchesters', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 23 May 1927, 163.
[13] The term 'collegium musicum' hints at an important social factor regarding Munich's Jewish Chamber Orchestra that was never outright expressed by its founders. Most obviously, it is Latin – the founders were young men who had attended Gymnasium; they were well educated, presumably from economically well-off families. The 'Jewish circle' to which these young men spoke, then, was likely a circle of similarly middle-class individuals. 'Das Jüdische Kammerorchester München', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung,* 13 Dezember 1927, 377.

community at large'[14] and had successfully sought a commitment to a 'Jewish consciousness' as well as spiritual and community renewal.[15]

Further, Heike Specht has made clear that these internal Jewish community changes taking place at the end of the 1920s and early years of the 1930s did indeed extend beyond youth circles and into the community more generally. According to Specht, after Ludwig Feuchtwanger assumed editorial control of Munich's Jewish newspaper (the *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*) there was more direct coverage of 'everyday political themes, such as, for example, the rise of anti-semitism and the social and demographic situation of Jews throughout the world, and it contributed essays on internal-Jewish discussions, such as coverage of the Jewish Volksschule or the revival of the Hebrew language.'[16] Further, as discussed in the previous chapter, the end of the 1920s and beginning of the 1930s saw a period of community consolidation in Munich, whereby various ideological fractures – most notably proponents of Zionism and non-Zionists – had seemingly overcome, or at least assuaged, their differences.[17] This period of change aligned with the changing reception of the Jewish chamber orchestra. Indeed, Munich's Jewish Chamber Orchestra did not receive widespread community support until 1931 – the year that saw both an internal change in the coverage of Jewish community social activities and a change in the orchestra's leadership.

Kapellmeister Erich Erck took over the Jewish Chamber Orchestra in October 1931.[18] Erck's accession occurred at a time of social transformation and

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[14] Michael Brenner, 'Turning Inward: Jewish Youth in Weimar Germany' in *In Search of Jewish Community*, ed. Michael Brenner and Derek Penslar (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), 64.
[15] Ibid., 59.
[16] Heike Specht, 'Zerbrechlicher Erfolg (1918-1933)' in *Jüdisches München: vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwalt*, ed. Richard Bauer and Michael Brenner, (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2006), 155.
[17] Brenner, 'Turning Inward', 70; Werner J. Cahnman, 'The Jews in Munich, 1918-1943' in *German Jewry: Its History and Sociology, Selected Essays by Werner J. Cahnman*, ed. Joseph B. Maier, Judith Marcus, Zoltán Tarr (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1989), 103-105; Sharon Gillerman, *Germans into Jews: Remaking the Jewish Social Body in the Weimar Republic* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 3-4.
[18] In January 1929 orchestra co-founder Franz Kleinbauer took his own life. Kleinbauer was 24 years old. After Kleinbauer's death orchestra performances

tension in Munich (as well as nationally). Most notable was the onslaught of the worldwide economic crisis. In Germany, inflation drove down monetary purchasing power. The impact of inflation on the German musical scene was widespread: production costs were scaled back and salaries and pensions were reduced.[19]

Added to the financial insecurity experienced throughout Germany was the increased pressure of early National Socialist political success in Bavaria, and the subsequent fear of discrimination.[20] These fears were not unwarranted. In the autumn of 1931 an attempted boycott of Jewish businesses occurred in Munich.[21] Perhaps more pertinent to a discussion on cultural life, however, was the 1930 attack against Würzburg's Jews during a theatre performance by the traveling Habima theatre group.

On 19 November 1930, the Jewish Hebrew-speaking theatre company Habima – at the time a traveling theatre from Moscow, later the national state

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stalled. Over the course of 1929 and 1930 the Chamber Orchestra's performances were limited to providing the musical accompaniment for various local Jewish organisations. In comparison, the orchestra appears to have only put on three independent concerts in these two years, one of which occurred in Augsburg. Ten months elapsed without any mention of the Jewish Chamber Orchestra in the local newspapers; it was not until October 1931 that the orchestra was again in the news. This time, however, it was to announce a new orchestra director and a renewed call for auditions. 'Sterbfälle', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 1 February 1929, 45; 'Franz Kleinbauer', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 February 1929, 54; 'Jüdisches Kammerorchester Münchens', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 1 May 1930, 140; 'Das Jüdische Kammerorchester Münchens', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 28 June 1929, 215; 'Jüdisches Kammerorchesters', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 1 December 1929, 391; 'Aus der Gemeinde Augsburg', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 1 Dezember 1930, 364.

[19] For an overview of one Munich theatre's experiences prior to National Socialism, with particular emphasis on the Weimar era, see: Lisbeth Exner, *Die Münchner Kammerspiele, 1912-1933: eine Geschichte der Dramaturgie* (Munich: Bayerischer Rundfunk: 2012).

[20] 'Klärung über den Nationalsozialismus', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung,* 14 April 1931, 115-116.

[21] Wilhelm Levinger, 'Boykott jüdischer Geschäftsleute: eine juristische Betrachtung', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 November 1931, 342-344.

theatre of Israel – performed in Würzburg while touring Bavaria.[22] Habima had already performed in Würzburg once in 1930, putting on the play *Der Golem* in January to much success. The performance was even lauded in the city press as a 'sensation'; its popularity resulted in the scheduling of a second performance, this time of the play *Der Dybuk*. Habima's return became a point of concern for local National Socialist members, particularly local leader Otto Hellmuth. In the days leading to the November performance, the local NSDAP group littered the town – concentrating around the University – with leaflets condemning the upcoming performance. These leaflets included titles such as 'Cultural Bolshevism in Würzburg' and 'Kulturschande'.[23]

On the night of the performance a large group (mostly young people, including many students) congregated at the Stadttheater; the horde gathered around the door, attempting to block audience members from entering the building. The crowd remained outside the building as the play began, banging on the doors, beating on the walls with fists and sticks, and screaming, among other slurs, 'Down with the Jews, out with the Hebrews! Knock them dead!' Local police had arrived at the theatre hours before the 20:00 evening performance, but officers were only stationed inside the building itself. There was, effectively, no police enforcement outside of the theatre where the crowd continued to swell. Reinforcements did not arrive until half an hour after the performance was scheduled to commence. By this time the crowd had grown to approximately 1,000 individuals and was growing increasingly violent. Moving the group was difficult; the crowd eventually dispered to side streets near the theatre. Only then, after the crowd had been removed, could the play begin. Following the performance audience members were accosted on the street or stalked through the town and physically attacked; some later said they feared for their lives. School-age children were tripped and hit in the face and businessmen were repeatedly attacked. In the end only a few individuals of the group responsible

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[22] Steven M. Lowenstein, 'Alltag und Tradition: Eine Fränkisch-Jüdische Geographie', in *Die Juden in Franken*, ed. Michael Brenner and Daniela F. Eisenstein (Munich: Oldenbourg: 2012), 20.
[23] Michael Wildt, *Hitler's Volksgemeinschaft and the Dynamics of Racial Exclusion: Violence against Jews in Provincial Germany, 1919-1939* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011), 65-66.

for the harassment or attacks were apprehended. Their trial, which did not take place until February 1931, was a farce.[24]

In addition to the above-mentioned internal and external social and political shifts, the beginning of the Erck-era ushered in qualitative changes. Erck effectively transformed Munich's Jewish Chamber Orchestra from an amateur organisation that targeted Munich's Jewish youth to a serious orchestra that included the talents of professional and highly skilled amateur musicians. The Bavarian Jewish press declared that the orchestra was, under Erck's leadership, being led by the right man,[25] a 'competent director'[26] full of energy and talent.[27] Within his first year Erck expanded the orchestra from its original set of 22 members to a total of 40 men and women.[28] These individuals included Irma Stern,[29] Alma Weiss[30] and Dr. Benno Flehinger, [31] all of whom would later be active Kulturbund members.

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[24] Roland Flade, *Juden in Würzburg 1918-1933* (Würzburg: Freunde Mainfränkischer Kunst und Geschichte, 1985), 341-349; Robert Gellately, *The Gestapo and German Society: Enforcing Racial Policy, 1933-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 92-93.
[25] 'Konzert des verstärkten Jüdischen Kammerorchesters München am 27. Juni im Museumsaal', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 July 1932, 214.
[26] I. Z., 'Das Konzert des jüdischen Kammerorchesters', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 1 December 1932, 360.
[27] 'Konzert des verstärkten Jüdischen Kammerorchesters', 214.
[28] 'Symphonie-Konzert des verstärken Jüd. Kammerorchesters München', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 1 June 1932, 173.
[29] Irma Stern (1901-1993) was born in Munich; she later emigrated to the United States via England. Collection Irma Stern-Midas': AR 100200 MF 811, LBI NY.
[30] Alma Weiss (1907-2001) was also born and raised in Munich. She studied piano at the Akademie für Tonkunst; after surviving Auschwitz she later emigrated to the United States, where she continued her professional career as a pianist. Roy Hoffmann, *Back Home: Journeys through Mobile Alabama* (Mobile: Fire Ant Books, 2007), 268-280; Roy Hoffmann, 'Alma Weiss Fischer: Holocaust Survivor. Out of Auschwitz' *Mobile Register*, 19 July 1998.
[31] Dr. Benno Flehinger (1896-1956) was a native of Bruchsal who came to Munich to study medicine in 1916. He stayed in the Bavarian capital after finishing his degree with a speciality in otorhinolaryngology. He opened his practice in Maxvorstadt's Zieblandstrasse 22. Although not a professional musician, Flehinger's talents were well regarded in the community. Upon his death in New York on 6 December 1956, his friends (George and Hildegart Lewin, Walter Liebling, Otto Selby, Lawrence Goldman, Grete Lewin, Hans and Erika Grossmann and Milan and Elise Stoeser) published a death notice in memory of their 'chamber music friend' in *Aufbau*. *Personenstand der Ludwig-Maximillians-Universität München, Winter Halb-Jahr 1916* (Munich: Universitäts-

The processes of musical professionalisation were also accompanied by institutional reorganisation. Erck introduced a yearly membership scheme open to all members of the Jewish community. A donation of 5 RM allowed supporters free entrance at most (if not all) orchestra performances; in effect a rudimentary membership structure. By comparison, individual tickets were priced between 2.50 RM (for reserved seating) and 1.10 RM (non reserved or standing), with youth-concession prices varying by performance.[32] All performances, unless undertaken in collaboration with a separate Jewish organisation, took place in the community centre at Munich's Main Synagogue.

Critical reception of Erck's Jewish Chamber Orchestra was overwhelmingly positive. A review at the close of the orchestra's 1932 season praised the orchestra's ability to present itself, 'in such short time' and during the 'dangers of the current economic crisis', as an 'essential feature of the cultural life of Munich's Jewish community.'[33] Widespread support for the orchestra continued into the next season's December 1932 premiere. Munich's Jewish Chamber Orchestra's successes suggest there was a social need for a self-designed 'Jewish' cultural space during the last years of the Weimar Republic.

The last Jewish Chamber Orchestra performance to take place in Weimar Munich was held in December 1932. A two-year gap followed, likely influenced by the social insecurities brought about by National Socialism's political victory in late January 1933.[34] The next, and final, performance of the Jewish Chamber Orchestra did not occur until 4 January 1934: a joint collaboration with Munich's

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Buchdruckerei Dr. C. Wolf & Sohn, 1916), 23, 51, 101; Barbara Ellermeier, *Hans Scholl: Biographie* (Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 2012); 'Walter Liebling Family Collection': AR 10791, LBINY.

[32] Tickets to Munich's Jewish Chamber Orchestra performances were the same prices as the average Kulturbund Orchestra ticket in Munich. 'Symphoniekonzert des Jüdischen Kammerorchesters München', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 1 December 1931, 361; I. Z., 'Das Konzert des jüdischen Kammerorchesters', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 1 December 1932, 360.

[33] 'Symphonie-Konzert des Jüdischen Kammerorchester München', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 June 1932, 183.

[34] 'Symphoniekonzert des Jüdischen Kammerorchesters München', *Bayrische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 1 December 1932, 360; O. Sch., 'Jüdisches Kammerorchester', *Bayrische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 1 January 1933, 7.

Jewish Chamber Orchestra and Berlin's Hebräikon-Quartett.[35] Approximately two months following this performance, in the early spring of 1934, the musicians of Munich's Jewish Chamber Orchestra performed under a new name, as Munich's Kulturbund Orchestra – a leading endeavour of the Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria.[36]

Creating An Early 'Jewish' Musical Programme in Bavaria: Liturgy, Folk Songs and Heritage

Music and musical appreciation played an important role within the Kulturbund structure as Jews were forced to re-imagine themselves within new community boundaries. Indeed, of the three cultural departments in Bavaria, the largest and most active was the musical department. Concerts outnumbered any other type of cultural event throughout the entirety of the League's existence in Bavaria. In 1934/35, the first full season of activity, a total of 38 different Kulturbund musical performances occurred in Bavaria. In comparison, there were only 26 lectures (the easiest event to arrange and the cheapest to fund), ten recitals or readings and four marionette performances. Additionally, nearly three-fourth (71%) of all Jewish artists active in the Bavarian Kulturbund were musicians. Local musical groups included Munich's 30-member Kulturbund Orchestra, Nuremberg's 25-member Orchestra-Gemeinschaft, Munich's Synagogue Choir, Nuremberg's Choir-Gemeinschaft, Munich's Jewish Vocal Quartet and Munich's Chamber Music Trio.

Generally, the cost of attending a Kulturbund concerts was on par with the cost of tickets to 'German' concerts in Munich[37] – although ticket prices in Bavaria varied according to the type of performance and location. Prices for concerts were generally more expensive than other Kulturbund events.

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[35] 'Zum Konzert Münchener jüdischer Künstler am Donnerstag, 4. Januar 8 Uhr, im Museumssaal', *Bayrische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 1 January 1934, 10-11.

[36] Heusler, 'Verfolgung und Vernichtung', 173-174.

[37] See the 'Akten Staatsministeriums für Unterricht und Kultus' files: 'Nationaltheater in München: Drucksachen, Theaterzettel, Eintrittskarten, 1919-1938'. MK 40998, BHStAM; 'Nationaltheater München'. MK 50132, BHStAM.

Orchestra performances in Munich were the most expensive. Tickets for a typical orchestral or choral concert in the Bavarian capital were 2.20 RM and 1.10 RM for regular adult seating, with a concession price of .60 Pfg. for youths. There were, however, some exceptions. A late May 1934 concert by Munich's Kulturbund Orchestra, with a solo performance by Frankfurt am Main's Annie Steiger-Betzak, and an early June performance by Munich Jewish Vocal Quartet advertised with ticket prices of 1.25 RM for adults and .60 Pfg for youth. Prices in Nuremberg were cheaper than in Munich, with adult tickets selling for 1.20 RM and .80 Pfg. and youth concessions at .50 Pfg for all concert performances.[38]

What was being played at these concerts? Existing scholarship concerning Kulturbund musical activity has held that the League's early musical programme catered to an audience with 'no interest in the question of Jewish culture.'[39] In Berlin, music by non-Jewish composers constituted the majority of the League's early repertoire. Herbert Freeden went so far as to describe the league as the 'Jewish Kulturbund without "Jewish" Kultur.'[40] In her study on the Berlin Kulturbund Orchestra, Lily Hirsch claims that the League's musical impetus toward 'Jewish' music (however defined) was 'in many ways forced' – presumably by external National Socialist pressure. Hirsch then suggests that Berlin's leaders only 'professed a strong desire for authentic Jewish music' in the autumn of 1936, that is to say only under increased state pressure. Further, during the early seasons Hirsch found 'an obvious gap in the repertoire: music by Jewish composers.' She then later claims that 'Jewish music was in fact merely a sideline activity or tangential experiment.'[41]

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[38] Adam Tooze states that .31 Pfenning was the equivalent to working 30 minutes of a low-wage earning job in 1936. As a means of quantifying the prices of tickets in terms of purchasable goods, Tooze provided the following prices for mid-1930s items: 1 kilogram of brown bread (.31 Pfenning); 5 kilos of potatoes (.50 Pfenning); 1 kilogram of butter (3.10 RM); 1 litre of milk (.23 Pfenning); 1 dozen eggs (1.44 RM); 1 litre beer (.88 Pfenning); 1 pair of men's shoes (10 RM). See: Adam Tooze, *The Wages of Destruction: The Making and Breaking of the Nazi Economy* (London: Allen Lane, Penguin, 2006).

[39] Hirsch, *A Jewish Orchestra*, 42.

[40] Herbert Freeden, 'Jüdischer Kulturbund ohne "Jüdische" Kultur"', in *Geschlossene Vorstellung: Der Jüdische Kulturbund in Deutschland 1933-1941*, ed. Akademie der Künstle, (Berlin: Akademie der Künste, 1992), 55.

[41] Hirsch, *A Jewish Orchestra*, 44 and 62.

Yet the performance of (or resistance to the performance of) 'Jewish' music during the Third Reich was a multi-faceted process that took different forms in different locales. As a whole, the early Kulturbund music programme in Bavaria sustained two general trends. First, it was, from the start, more oriented toward the parameters of 'Jewish' music than its counterpart in Berlin. In 'the more traditional south', [42] there was an immediate engagement with what was categorised at the time as 'Jewish' music (and indeed with 'Jewish' art more generally, as the following chapters will show). Bavarian self-definitions of 'Jewish' music encompassed composers of Jewish heritage (both German- and foreign-born), biblically inspired themes, liturgical music and Jewish folk music (i.e. Yiddish or Hebrew language folk music originating from Eastern Europe). Second, the programme mostly consisted of performances by local musicians. In short, local Jewish musicians from Bavaria were performing a repertoire generally oriented toward 'Jewish' music. These two trends were seemingly related. As will be expanded upon in Chapter Six, there was a positive correlation between the performance of 'Jewish' music and performances by Bavarian artists.

Before examining the forms of 'Jewish' music in Bavaria, however, it should first be reiterated that this early focus on 'Jewish' music did not necessarily preclude, or even diminish, any simultaneous connections to 'Germanness'. Further, there were, of course, still elements of the musical programme that would have been considered 'German' at the time. Popular 'German' elements of the early Bavarian Kulturbund musical programme included the usual suspects. Beethoven and Brahms were the most frequently performed non-Jewish composers. Austrian composers from the German canon, such as Schubert and Mozart, were also popular inclusions in the Kulturbund programme.

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[42] Borut also points to the need for a more regionally diverse study of Kulturbund activitity, writing, 'It should be added that the discussions on the Jewish content of the Kulturbund activities refer almost exclusively to Berlin. The activities of the other *Kulturbünde*, especially in the more traditional south, are still open to research.' Jacob Borut, 'Struggles for Spaces: Where Could Jews Spend Free Time in Nazi Germany?' *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* (2011): 344.

Yet as the Bavarian example shows, there were serious internal efforts to engage in the creation of a new 'Jewish' musical cultural tradition within the local Kulturbund structure. These efforts even took place in the early years of the league's existence and in many ways grew out of community musical activity established in the Weimar era. Further, I believe castigating the 'Jewish' elements of the Kulturbund programme as being no more than a 'catastrophic misunderstanding, in which Jews had been abused for the Nazi cause'[43] severely curtails an important aspect of Jewish life under National Socialism: there were important internal efforts at community re-definition during this period.

Disentangling the competing representations of 'Jewish' music in the first two seasons of the Bavarian Kulturbund offers important insights into the ways local communities sought to self-represent in the first years of the Third Reich. As stated above, understandings of 'Jewish' music encompassed one of three (or a combination of) definitions: liturgical music, folk songs or music written by a composer of Jewish heritage. These modes of classification were part and parcel of the wider musicological discussion on 'national' music. By the 1930s the role of liturgy and folk music in establishing what was then viewed as 'authentic' musical expression was a common component of contemporary musical scholarship. Further, as has been well documented, the Romantic and later neo-Romantic movement fostered research on folk art in its search for a supposedly 'authentic' and 'true' culture. The parallel search for an 'authentic' Jewish liturgy or folk music only emerged within the confines of the Jewish communities in Germany.[44] Jewish contemporaries grappling with the potential forms of 'Jewish' music had to look eastward, particularly to St. Petersburg Russia, in their search for an 'authentic' Jewish musical repertoire.

The St. Petersburg Society for Jewish Folk Music was the first large-scale project to collect and preserve Jewish folk songs; the society was influential in maintaining the growing interest of Yiddish folk culture and calls for a Jewish

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[43] Henryk M. Broder, 'Selbstbehauptung in der Sackgasse,' *Berliner Zeitung*, 27 January 1992, 25. Broder maintains a similar stance in his introductory essay in the following work: Henryk Broder, 'Business As Usual', in *Premiere und Pogrom: der Jüdische Kulturbund 1933-1941*, ed. Eike Geisel and Henryk Broder (Berlin: Siedler, 1992).

[44] Potter, 'Jewish Music and German Science', 88.

nationalism amongst Russia's young intelligentsia.[45] In 1908 the Society, taking up the process begun by composer and art critic and composer Joel Engel, spearheaded an effort to collect, record, transcribe and perform Jewish folk songs and synagogue music from the Pale of Settlement. The collected Yiddish folk songs, klezmer and Hasidic nigunim[46] inspired a number of modern concert pieces by Jewish-Russian composers. The Russian Revolution brought about the Society's formal end in 1918.[47] In 1922, Engel began a brief stay in Berlin in order to bolster a new 'Jewish' musical movement in Germany. He organised concerts, lectures and a musical publishing house in the German capital, but left in 1923 for Palestine.[48] This eastern gaze was a common feature of the search for 'Jewish' 'authenticity' during the Weimar years. Michael Brenner writes:

> Jewish music and visual arts in Germany changed fundamentally during the first three decades of the twentieth century. … Jewish artists, influenced by the Zionist program, the establishment of Jewish ethnography, and the general search for an ethnically defined art, recovered the cultural expressions of the Jews of Eastern Europe and the Middle East.[49]

Such 'authenticity', it was believed, stemmed from Eastern European Jewry's religiosity and more traditional way of life – at least when compared to the acculturated lifestyle of German Jewry.[50]

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[45] Joshua Walden, *Sounding Authentic: Rural Miniature and Musical Modernism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 151.
[46] Nigunim are religious vocal music often composed of repetitive text from Biblical passages or other Jewish texts.
[47] Klára Móricz, *Jewish Identities: Nationalism, Racism, and Utopianism in Twentieth-Century Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 13-16.
[48] Paula Eisenstein Baker, 'Who Was "L. Zeitlin" of the Society for Jewish Folk Music?' *YIVO Annual* (1996): 233–257.
[49] Michael Brenner, *The Renaissance of Jewish Culture in Weimar Germany* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 155.
[50] Steven E. Aschheim, *Brothers and Strangers: The East European Jew in Germany and German Consciousness, 1800-1923* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1982)Baker, 'Who Was "L. Zeitlin"'; Brenner, *The Renaissance of Jewish Culture*; Gillerman, *Germans into Jews*; Paul R. Mendes-Flohr, *Divided Passions: Jewish Intellectuals and the Experience of Modernity* (Detroit: Wayne State University, 1991), 77-132.

During the 1934/35 Season, the first full season of Kulturbund activity in Bavaria, the musical programme was mostly composed of music by Jewish or foreign composers. Thirty-eight concerts took place during this season. Bavarian artists performed all but eight of these events. When these performances are considered as percentages, 43% of the Bavarian programme was classified as 'Jewish' music whereas 40% of the programme was music created by a non-Jewish composer of non-German origin (Figure 1). Only 17%, then, was music that would have been classified as 'German' in origin. Statistics regarding the number of individual composers performed during this season are similar. A total of 20 composers of Jewish heritage were performed in the 1934/35 Season, 18 foreign-born non-Jewish composers and 8 non-Jewish German composers.[51]

[51] In general terms, most music classified as 'Jewish' music would have been created by a composer of Jewish heritage. However, there were exceptions. The most notable deviation from this was Handel and his Israelite oratorios. Although Handel was a non-Jewish German composer, these oratorios were originally permitted within the Kulturbund structure due to their religious nature. See: Potter, Pamela. 'The Twentieth Century and Beyond: The Politicization of Handel and His Oratorios in the Weimar Republic, the Third Reich, and the Early Years of the German Democratic Republic', *The Musical Quarterly* (2001): 311-341.

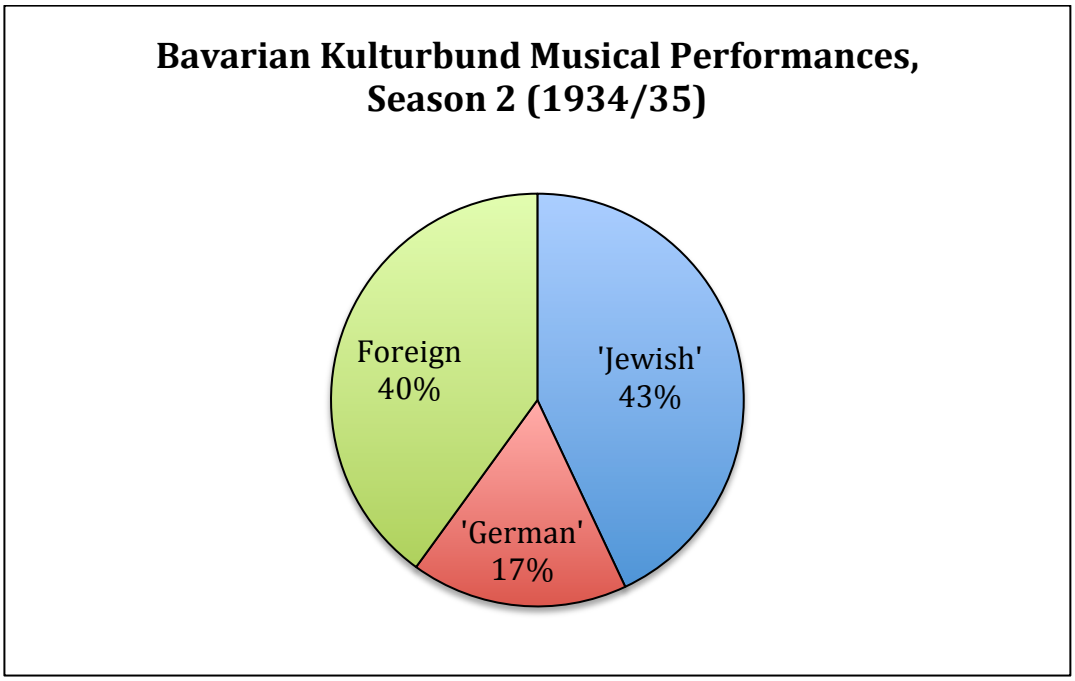

Figure 1: The Bavarian three-tiered categorisation of the musical programme for the 1934/35 Season – the first full season of Kulturbund activity in Bavaria.

Yet this orientation toward 'Jewish' music did not develop without community discussion. Nor did the various Bavarian communities always align in their representations of 'Jewish' music. What developed in Munich was a 'Jewish' musical programme more focused on composers of Jewish heritage whose music was entrenched largely within 19th century Western European traditions. In smaller communities, such as Würzburg, however, the Kulturbund presented a programme with a much greater presence of liturgical- and folk music.

On 21 November 1934 Munich's Synagogue Choir performed its first concert in front of the Bavarian Kulturbund audience. The Synagogue Choir, under the direction of Josef Ziegler,[52] performed a liturgical programme on the

[52] Kapellmeister Josef Ziegler was born the second of seven children to Wilhelm and Anna Ziegler in Vienna in 1880. The Ziegler family moved from Vienna to Munich in 1885, when Josef was five years old. As a young man he studied at the Akademie der Tonkunst, focusing on composition and piano. His first professional position came a year after leaving the Academy; in 1903/04 he was the Kapellmeister at the Stadttheater Schleswig. The next year (1904) he moved to Paris to study. In 1911 he returned once again to Munich, working as a private music instructor; in 1923 he replaced Heinrich Frei as chief cantor and head of

theme of Kol Nidre. The evening featured music by a mixture of German and Eastern European composers: Salomon Sulzer, Yossele Rosenblatt, Israel Alter, Emanuel Kirschner, Heinrich Schalit, Josef Ziegler, Israel Brandmann, Mosche Milner and Samuel Alman, as well as a piece by Mendelssohn. Advertisements in the local Jewish press described the concert as an 'evening of Jewish music'.[53] Particular emphasis was placed upon Oberkantor Israel Alter's (Hannover) solos performed in Hebrew and Yiddish. Besides Alter, three local musicians from Munich performed solos: Sonja Ziegler, Walter Reis and Ernst Mosbacher. Although critical reviews of the event praised the individual artists, the performance opened a discussion in the local Jewish press: 'What is Jewish music?'[54]

Bavarian critic Ba. publicly addressed the issue of 'Jewish' music in his review of the evening performance, writing, 'The event was presented as Jewish music. What is Jewish music?'[55] Given the theme of the evening under review, the article focused on the role of Jewish liturgical music. Ba. wrote that specifically 'Jewish' religious melodies had been preserved, at least partially, within Jewish liturgical music. At the same time, however, the review also acknowledged that it was 'undeniable' that older Jewish liturgical music and contemporary liturgical music were not the same. Accordingly, centuries of Western European musical influence had made itself felt even within the walls of the synagogue: 'Concessions were granted [within the tradition of Jewish liturgical music] as Western European culture became more dominant', Ba. claimed. If even liturgical music was influenced by Western European traditions, then, the critic argued, there was little reason to favour liturgical music over other forms of 'Jewish' music, particularly that of secular music by a composer of Jewish heritage.[56] Kulturbund leadership in Munich may have agreed with this point of view – for the remainder of the season no concerts in Munich were advertised as being

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the synagogue choir. It was in this position that he met, and later married, singer Sonja (Sura) Fleischer-Ziegler.

[53] Kulturbund advertisements placed in the *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung* on 1 November 1934 and 15 November 1934.

[54] Ba., 'Synagogenkonzert des Kulturbundes', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung,* 1 December 1934, 506.

[55] Ibid., 506.

[56] Ibid.

specifically devoted to Jewish liturgical music. Munich's Synagogue Choir did not perform again until 1936.

A similar pattern developed in Munich regarding the performance of Jewish folk songs. In March 1935 Munich's Jewish Vocal Quartet devoted an entire second half of performance to Jewish folk music. Sonja Ziegler[57] 'surprised' the critic with 'an excellent presentation of Yiddish folksongs, not only vocally but also in her character, which famously came out with fully graceful humour.'[58] What exactly surprised the reviewer about the performance is unclear – whether it was the quality of Ziegler's performance or that the reviewer enjoyed Yiddish folk music. Yet the Ziegler performance was only one of the very few stagings of Yiddish folk music in Munich.

Not all Bavarian Kulturbund branches generally steered clear of liturgical- and folk music; both genres were frequent components of the Kulturbund programme in smaller communities. The Regensburg Kulturbund premiered at the local music hall of the Augustiner Brewery in the spring of 1934 with two Hebrew songs and a lecture on 'The Bible – A Book of Life' ('Die Bibel – ein Lebensbuch').[59] Although formerly a centre of Jewish scholarly activity, by 1933 the Jewish community in the Upper Palatinate city had shrunk to 427 individuals; a year later it decreased to only 315.[60]

Another notable counter to Munich's stance was the programme in Würzburg. The Lower Franconian city is located approximately 120 kilometres (75 miles) northwest of Nuremberg; it was home to the largest Jewish community in Lower Franconia, the third largest Jewish community in Bavaria

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[57] According to local Jewish press reviews, Ziegler's performed Yiddish folksongs in Munich for a 'Hebräischen Theaterabend' in 1929; Munich's 'Hebrew Theatre' presumably arranged this evening performance, but further details surrounding the theatre are unknown. See Chapter Seven for more biographical information on Ziegler. Samuel Taubes, 'Hebräischen Theaterabend', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, March 15 1929, 87; 'Das hebräische Theater in München', *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten*, 1928, 41A.

[58] Ba., 'Konzert des Münchner jud. Vokalquartetts', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung,* 1 April 1935, 158.

[59] 'Kulturbundabend', *Die Laubhütte,* 30 May 1934; 'Nachrichten für die bayerischen Gemeinden', *Die Laubhütte*, 25 June 1934, 4; 'Vermischtes. Regensburg', *Der Israelit*, 28 June 1934, 10.

[60] Baruch Z. Ophir and Falk Wiesemann, *Die jüdischen Gemeinden in Bayern 1918-1945: Geschichte und Zerstörung* (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 1979), 86.

and was 'a bastion of religious Orthodoxy';[61] liturgical music was a consistent component of Würzburg's Kulturbund programme. The 1934/35 Season premiered with a concert featuring Hebrew-, liturgical-, and Jewish folk songs.[62] The event was well received in Würzburg and according to a review 'every seat in the Gotteshaus was filled.'[63] As with liturgical music, Jewish folk songs were also more common in the Würzburg programme. Würzburg staged four separate performances (of a total of nine concerts) featuring Jewish-Yiddish folk songs in the 1934 and 1934/35 seasons. This orientation toward folk- and liturgical music represented understandings of Jewishness based on heritage and religious practice.

The other response to the question of 'Jewish' music – and the response generally employed by the larger Bavarian cities – was to focus on music composed by a musician of Jewish heritage. Such a programme also resulted in a more Western European focused musical repertoire – a repertoire arguably more aurally familiar to concert-going audiences. It also suggested a more secular understanding of being Jewish that was not reliant upon religion. Indeed, during the Kulturbund in Bavaria's first two seasons the bulk of its 'Jewish' music was deemed 'Jewish' due to the composer's heritage, regardless of his self-identification with Judaism. Yet even issues of heritage were not so clear, as is best exemplified by the Bavarian Kulturbund programming and reception of Felix Mendelssohn.[64]

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[61] In 1933 Würzburg had 2,145 registered members in the Jewish community, accounting for 2,1% of the city's total populace. Flade, *Juden in Würzburg*, 29; Lowenstein, 'Alltag und Tradition', 15.

[62] 'Nachrichten für die bayerischen Gemeinden', *Die Laubhütte*, 18 October 1934, 3.

[63] 'Süddeutschland: Würzburg', *Israelitisches Familienblatt*, 18 October 1934, 14.

[64] The following section is not an attempt to wade into the still volatile debates on Mendelssohn's perceived self-identification with Christianity or Judaism. Instead, attention is placed upon how the Bavarian Kulturbund members of the early 1930s interpreted Mendelssohn's music for their own needs. For more information on the on-going debate about Mendelssohn and his Jewish heritage, see Jeffrey S. Sposato, *The Price of Assimilation: Felix Mendelssohn and the Nineteenth Century Anti-Semitic Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), particularly 114-162.

Complicated Heritage: The Example of Felix Mendelssohn and the Bavarian Kulturbund Programme

Felix Mendelssohn was the most frequently performed composer during the first two seasons of activity in Bavaria. Mendelssohn was born in Hamburg in 1809. He was the son of a banker and the grandson of Jewish philosopher Moses Mendelssohn, whom David Sorkin has referred to as 'the first modern German Jew.'[65] Yet Mendelssohn's father, Abraham, renounced Judaism, and in 1816 Felix Mendelssohn was baptised as a Lutheran at the age of seven. Young Felix was deemed a child prodigy and, as is well known, became a renowned composer. However, in 1933 Mendelssohn was forced from the 'German' musical cannon due to a family's Jewish heritage – the same heritage from which his father attempted to distance his family.[66] A 1940 re-edition of the *Lexikon der Juden in der Musik*, published by the NSDAP and edited by Dr. Theo Stengel (from the Reich Chamber of Music) and Dr. Herbert Gerigk (Head of the Hauptstelle Musik), referenced the musicologist and Nazi party member Karl Blessinger's lambasting of Mendelssohn, writing: 'Recently, Karl Bessinger, in his most meritorious study, suggests that even Mendelssohn – as the type (Typus) of the so-called Assimilated Jew (Assimilationsjuden) – is one in a long line of representatives of this race.'[67] The implication of this statement was that Mendelssohn supposedly cultivated a 'false' identity as a 'German' and thereby, according to Nazi ideology, corrupted what the regime viewed as 'German' culture.[68] National Socialist politics required Mendelssohn's exclusion from the

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[65] David Sorkin, *Moses Mendelssohn and the Religious Enlightenment* (Berkeley: Halban Publishers, 1996), xvii.
[66] For more biographical information on Felix Mendelssohn, including his father and grandfather, see: R. Larry Todd, *Mendelssohn: A Life in Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); Clive Brown, *A Portrait of Mendelssohn* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).
[67] Theo Stengel and Herbert Gerigk, ed., *Lexikon der Juden in der Musik: mit einem Titelverzeichnis jüdischer Werke* (Berlin: Bernhard Hahnefeld Verlag, 1940), 183-184, reproduced in Eva Weissweiler, *Ausgemerzt! Das Lexikon der Juden in der Musik und seine mörderischen Folgen* (Cologne: Dittrich-Verlag, 1999), 277.
[68] Ibid.

'German' stage, and thus the Kulturbund held a monopoly on Mendelssohn performance.[69]

In the 1934 and 1934/35 Kulturbund seasons Mendelssohn's music was played 20 times in front of Bavarian Jewish audiences – more than any other composer. He was most often performed in Munich (13 times) and Würzburg (3 times), with a single performance in Augsburg, Bamberg, Nuremberg and Regensburg during these initial two seasons. Mendelssohn's popularity in Bavaria mirrored the composer's popularity in Kulturbund locations throughout the country. It also marked a continuity within the broader spectrum of musical performance in early 20th century Germany. Although Mendelssohn's popularity had slightly diminished in the first decades of the century as taste turned toward newer, and less conservative, musical trends, elements of his repertoire remained at the fore – including his *Violin Concerto*, the *Midsummer Night's Dream* overture and, to a lesser extent, the *Hebrides Overture* and the *Italian Symphony*. [70] Yet there were two Mendelssohn traditions at play by 1934. There was the Mendelssohn of the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, the revival of Bach's *St. Matthew Passion* and the Christian-themed oratorio *St. Paul* – the Mendelssohn who fell within a fully 'German' heritage.[71] Yet there was also the Mendelssohn of the oratorio *Elijah* – the Mendelssohn whose music was embraced and adapted for worship in the liberal synagogue and who came to represent 'Jewish' music.[72]

On 20 December 1934 the Kulturbund Orchestra in Munich performed a much-publicised 'Mendelssohn Evening'; the programme included three pieces – *Hebrides Overture* (also known as *Fingal's Cave*), *Violin Concerto in E-minor* (Op. 64), and *Symphony Number 4* (also known as the *Italian Symphony*). The music itself would have lasted approximately an hour and ten minutes and likely included an intermission between the second and third pieces. Munich's

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[69] Hirsch, *A Jewish Orchestra*, 131-134.
[70] Peter Mercer-Taylor, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Mendelssohn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); see particularly the following sections: Peter Mercer-Taylor, "Mendelssohn and the institution(s) of German art music" 11-25; Michael P. Steinberg, "Mendelssohn and Judaism" 26-41.
[71] See: Celia Applegate, *Bach in Berlin: Nation and Culture in Mendelssohn's Revival of the* St Matthew Passion (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005).
[72] R. Larry Todd, 'On Mendelssohn's sacred music, real and imagined' in Mercer-Taylor, *The Cambridge Companion*, 167-168.

'Mendelssohn Evening' was the most widely advertised local Kulturbund event since its inaugural concert.

Prior to the concert, Munich's local Jewish press ran an article from the Kulturbund Executive Committee explaining their choice of Mendelssohn. The article began by stating that Mendelssohn was one of the great composers of the 19th century. They continued, explaining that he was beloved not because of his relation to one of German Jewry's greatest minds but due to his own musical genius. Instead, he was admired because he was a leading composer of his era. He was, the Committee wrote, a versatile 'genius' whose popularity continued into their contemporary times.[73]

Along this theme, the programme for Munich's much anticipated 'Mendelssohn Evening' was not thematically 'Jewish'. It did, however, present a notion of melancholy and isolation that reflected the situation facing those gathered in the city's Main Synagogue that evening. Erck's orchestra began the performance with *Hebrides Overture*. *Hebrides Overture* was inspired by Mendelssohn's journey to Scotland and his fascination with the scenery around Fingal's Cave, a cave located on the uninhabitable island of Staffa off the coast of Scotland. As with other overtures written during the Romantic era, it is not technically an overture at all but rather programme music. Programme music tells an extra-musical story while creating a certain mood and setting the scene for the evening. In effect, it is meant to set the mood for the remainder of the concert while standing on its own as a complete work.[74] The mood, or theme, set forth in this piece is simultaneously one of awe at the power and beauty of the cave as well as solitude.

According to Scottish and Irish mythology, Fingal's Cave was originally part of a bridge-structure built by an Irish giant (Fingal) in an effort to battle a neighboring Scottish giant. A similarly composed geological structure in Ireland (known as the Giant's Causeway) shares the same composition and was once connected to the Scottish cave. However, the lava flow that created the connecting bridge-way had long since eroded and disappeared into the sea by

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[73] 'Warum wir Mendelssohn aufführen', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 December 1934, 532.
[74] R. Larry Todd, *Mendelssohn: The Hebrides and other Overtures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

the time of Mendelssohn's visit. As such, the cave itself is completely isolated from civilisation; only a small section of the cave can be explored on foot.[75] The aural effect of the orchestra in Mendelsson's *Hebrides Overture* is meant to transport the listener into Fingal's Cave. Rising and falling crescendos replicate crashing waves and storms raging against the outside of the cave, suggesting feelings of loneliness.[76]

Such an opening to one of Munich Kulturbund Orchestra's most highly publicised concerts was, undoubtedly, a veiled commentary on the contemporary situation facing German Jews. All three of these pieces were fairly popular components of Mendelssohn's oeuvre and had been in the modern-German musical repertoire prior to 1933. Yet the specific selection of these three pieces was a conscious decision. The choice of *Hebrides Overture* itself acknowledged themes of isolation and unease, echoing the social erosion and isolation felt by Jews in Nazi Germany. Thus, the opening to an evening celebrating one of Western Europe's most beloved German composers begins on a solemn, lonely note. Metaphorically, the bridge between both Mendelssohn and the Kulturbund audience to Germany's rich musical past was now eroded. It was only within the Kulturbund's closed, isolated performances that Jewish musicians could perform Mendelssohn's music. Further, the following two pieces performed that evening, *Violin Concerto* and *Italian Symphony*, were both formerly considered basic requirements for any German musician's professional repertoire.[77] Now, however, these once popular pieces could only be played in closed 'Jewish' performances.

Despite the League's strong efforts at advertisement, increasing anti-Jewish political tensions in the city had a significant impact on the highly anticipated concert. Near the end of 1934 Munich saw an increase of National Socialist assaults on Jewish-owned businesses. Threats were also aimed at 'Aryan' customers who continued to patronise Jewish owned shops. The Ministry of the Interior ordered party members to stand watch outside the doors of

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[75] R. Larry Todd, *Mendelssohn Essays* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 54-59.
[76] Mendelssohn's first version of the overture was entitled *Overture to the Lonely Island*.
[77] Christopher John Murray, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Romantic Era, 1760-1850* (New York: Routledge, 2004): Violin Concerto, 1189; Italian Symphony, 729.

Jewish owned businsses, an act of intimiation meant to keep non-Jewish customers from entering the building.[78] Political tensions in Munich during December 1934 were on the rise, perhaps a reason for the poor attendance of the Mendelssohn concert. According to press reports the audience was noticeably smaller than normal. Local music critic Ba. even noted the small size at the end of the evening's (overwhelmingly) positive review. Moreover, Ba ended the review not with a final analysis of the event itself, but with a point of concern over the reactions of the city's Jewish community: 'It is indeed shameful, that during the difficulty of these times certain circles still do not recognise that the support of artistic and cultural endeavours is now a bounden duty.'[79] The Munich Kulturbund Orchestra's 'Mendelssohn Evening', despite its lack of clear 'Jewish' theme, was in many ways the aural representation of the membership's increasingly isolated social situation.

On the opposite end of the spectrum regarding Mendelssohn-reception was his oratorio *Elijah*. Unlike the examples above, Mendelsohn's oratorio on the biblical prophet had never entered into the classical German Mendelssohn repertoire. It did, however, enter the synagogue. According to Lily Hirsch, 'As with Handel's *Judas Maccabeus*, the music of *Elijah* was also claimed by the synagogue. The music was recast to accompany Hebrew texts and served to inspire new compositions for the liberal synagogues in Germany.'[80] *Elijah* was first written in 1846 and revised into its final form in 1847 (the year of Mendelssohn's death); its text was first performed in England and modelled after the Baroque style popularised by Bach and Handel.[81] As with Handel's Israelite oratorios, Mendelssohn's *Elijah* was based on a biblical narrative: the 9th century prophet Elijah (1 and 2 Kings). Mendelssohn set elements of Elijah's life into dramatic and musical scenes.[82]

Segments from *Elijah* were performed six times in Bavaria in the 1934 and 1934/35 seasons, with performances taking place in Augsburg, Bamberg,

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[78] Ophir and Wiesemann, *Die jüdische Gemeinden in Bayern*, 45.
[79] Ba., 'Mendelssohn-Abend des Münchener Kulturbund-Orchesters', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 1 January 1935, 12.
[80] Hirsch, *A Jewish Orchestra*, 135.
[81] *Elijah* was never as popular in Germany as it was in England.
[82] Meirion Hughes, *The English Musical Renaissance, Second Edition* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 14.

Munich, Nuremberg and Regensburg. As such, *Elijah* was the single most-often performed Mendelssohn composition in the Bavarian Kulturbund's early musical programme. This was an important point of comparison between the Mendelssohn performed in Bavaria and the Mendelssohn performed in Berlin. Bavarian Kulturbund branches performed *Elijah* more often and at an earlier period than their counterparts in Berlin.[83]

Elijah is a bipartite oratorio that tells the story of the biblical prophet as he guides the wayward Israelites back to the belief of their ancestors – a tale of desertion and, ultimately, redemption. The plot begins with Elijah cursing the Israelites with drought as punishment for their lack of faith. Elijah is then forced into the desert to face life in exile. However, Elijah is not long away from the action. The first part ends with the dramatic battle of the gods after Elijah has returned from the desert. Elijah challenges the Israelites to invoke the presence of their new deity, Baal, in a divine battle of strength. A bull is placed upon an altar, and the winning deity is the one who consumes the bull in a burst of flames. In the chorus that follows the Israelites attempt to summon Baal, but to no avail. After some taunting of 'Call him [Baal] louder!', Elijah calls upon 'the Lord God of Abraham'. A fire immediately rains down upon the altar and the offering is burned. Moved by the scene, the Israelites turn away from Baal and return to the faith of their ancestors. Part I ends with the chorus of 'Thanks be to God' and the curse of drought is revoked. Part II begins with a movement for soprano entitled 'Hear ye, Israel' and then transitions into a chorus. In this second part Elijah is once again viewed by the masses with suspicion: while Elijah did indeed end the drought, was it not he who first caused the drought? The prophet flees again (this time into the wilderness), where fire, earthquake and wind precede the prophet's eventual vision of the Lord. Recharged, Elijah returns to confront the fallen people once again, fulfilling his divine calling. In the final movement Elijah is carried to heaven in a fiery chariot.[84]

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[83] Hirsch, *A Jewish Orchestra*, 134-136.
[84] Felix Mendelssohn, *Elijah in Full Score: New Edition* (New York: Dover Publications, 1995).

Unlike other elements of Mendelssohn's oeuvre, *Elijah* was 'embraced enthusiastically as a Jewish work' within the Kulturbund structure.[85] Not only had a well-known composer of Jewish heritage written the piece, but it also had a clear biblical theme and presented a strong Jewish main character. Further, as Hirsch claims, over time the image of Elijah as a critic and reformer had become something of an example for exiled Jewish communities as they sought ideas of how to rebuild their communities.[86] Mendelssohn built upon this historical and social interpretation of the Elijah story and its emphasis on both religiosity and community through the use of the chorus. It is the chorus, rather than the soloist, that takes the centre stage during *Elijah* – inviting the audience into the group and thus into a more direct involvement with the proceedings.[87] Indeed, the chorus was performed in both Bavarian Kulturbund locations with a choir: Munich and Nuremberg.

However, it was the aria 'Hear ye, Israel' which was most often performed in the Bavarian Kulturbund programme. This solo is one of introspection that promises solace for those who 'heed my commandments':

> Hear ye, Israel, hear what the Lord speaketh: 'Oh, hadst thou heeded my commandments Who hath believed our report! To whom is the arm of the Lord revealed!
>
> Thus saith the Lord, the Redeemer of Israel, and His Holy One to him oppressed by tyrants, thus saith the Lord:
>
> 'I am He that comforteth. Be not afraid, for I am thy God! I will strengthen thee! Say, who art thou, that thou art afraid of a man that shall die; and forgettest the Lord thy Maker, who hath stretched forth the heavens, and laid the earth's foundations? Say, who art thou!'
>
> 'Be not afraid,' saith God the Lord, 'be not afraid, thy help is near!' God, the Lord, thy God, saith unto thee: 'Be not afraid!' Though

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[85] Hirsch, *A Jewish Orchestra*, 135.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Karen Ahlquist, 'Men and Women of the Chorus: Music, Governance, and Social Models in Nineteenth-Century German-Speaking Europe' in *Chorus and Community Volume 2*, ed. Karen Ahlquist (Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 272-274.

> thousands languish and fall beside thee, and tens of thousands
> around thee perish, yet still it shall not come nigh thee.[88]

In practical terms, the aria was comparatively easy to organise. It required only one singer and could be performed with minimal instrumental accompaniment; a performance of 'Hear ye, Israel' in Bamberg was accompanied with only local musician Stefan Fried on piano.[89] Further, it also had a strong message that spoke of community bonds, comfort through religious faith and the promise that 'thy help is near'. Mendelssohn's oratorio of Jewish strength and ultimate redemption found a popular reception in the Kulturbund audience. It remained a popular element of the repertoire in Bavaria (and in the second half of activity in Berlin) throughout the League's existence.

[88] The 'Hear Ye, Israel' aria begins on page 179 of the above-mentioned *Elijah* edition re-published by Dover in 1995.
[89] 'Aus der Gemeinde Bamberg', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 1 December 1934, 520.

5. The Kulturbund and the 'Kunststadt': The Visual Arts Department

The Bavarian Kulturbund visual arts department pointed to a local source of identification and pride. This was likely influenced by the previously mentioned Kulturbund commitment to Munich's reputation as the German Kunststadt – a reputation based on the visual arts. As described in Chapter Three, by the end of the 19th century Munich had emerged as a world-leader in the art world. Its contributions to exhibitions and art trade were at the time incomparable.[1] For a number of years Munich was, undeniably, the German 'Kunststadt'. The southern city's claim to the appellation was later transferred to Berlin, although segments of the educated and culturally inclined general population strove to regain their city's former glory.[2] These efforts, in no small part nurtured by the local feelings of inferiority that came after the consolidation of political power in Prussian Berlin, persisted from the turn of the century, through the Weimar period and into the Third Reich. Munich was eventually named the Nazi 'Capital of German Art' ('Hauptstadt der deutschen Kunst'). The Kulturbund in Bavaria continued in a conceptually similar, although quite parallel, manner. Its leadership sought to combine a sense of regional tradition and pride by invoking the Kunststadt tradition alongside self-declared 'Jewish' visual themes. This was, I believe, meant to represent a particularly Bavarian notion of being 'Jewish' – although it should also be noted that in this context 'Bavarian' was conflated with a Munich civic identification.

That said, a focus on regional based Jewish self-representations is more than a regional history. A focus on regionalism can, and indeed should, be expanded to include Germany's Jewish communities – particularly those outside of Berlin. Despite a number of recent studies, particularly in German, on the

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[1] Winfried Nerdinger, 'Die "Kunststadt" München' in *Die Zwanziger Jahre in München*, ed. Cristoph Stoelzl (Munich: Münchner Stadtmuseum, 1979), 93-119; Maria Makela, *The Munich Secession: Art and Artists in Turn of the Century Munich* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).
[2] Douglas Klahr, 'Munich as Kunststadt, 1900-1937: Art, Architecture, and Civic Identity' *Oxford Art Journal* 34 (2011): 179-201.

theme of *Die Juden in Schwaben, Die Juden in Franken* or *Die Juden in Oberpfalz*,[3] little has been done to explore the theme of 'Schwabian Jews' or 'Franconian Jews'. In other words: the influence of strong regional ties in the creation of local conceptualisations of 'Jewishness' is largely under researched.

Bavaria's visual arts department had two central foci: exhibits and the marionette theatre. From the early spring of 1934 until the late spring of 1935 the Bavarian Kulturbund organised three exhibits. All three exhibits were created during the first season of activity, and all three exhibits travelled throughout various Bavarian Kulturbund branches. Only one of these exhibits, however, featured local artists.[4] Further, an apparent lack of interest left the department facing financial constraints.

While the visual arts department initially struggled to arrange suitable studio space and to organise exhibition opportunities, the München Marionettentheater Jüdischer Kunstler thrived. Munich's Kulturbund marionette theatre combined a long-standing Bavarian folk medium with a self-described 'Jewish' purpose.[5] The marionette theatre drew inspiration from Bavaria's marionette history and was praised in the local Jewish press for its commitment to this regional tradition. Yet the theatre also drew inspiration from 'Jewish' theatrical traditions: its leaders stated that they would only perform plays with a 'Jewish' theme or by an author of Jewish heritage while the visual effects were heavily influenced by the costume and stage designs of the Habima theatre.[6]

Thus, the München Marionettentheater Jüdischer Kunstler was a combination of old and new, of familiar and foreign, of 'Bavarian' and 'Jewish'. Further, throughout the entirety of its history the München Marionettentheater

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[3] These titles are part of the series *Studien zur Jüdischen Geschichte und Kultur* edited by Michael Brenner and Andreas Heusler. Michael Brenner and Sabine Ullmann, ed. *Die Juden in Schwaben* (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2013); Michael Brenner and Daniela F. Eisenstein, ed. *Die Juden in Franken* (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2012); Michael Brenner and Renate Höpfinger, ed. *Die Juden in Oberpfalz* (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2009).
[4] Dr. S., 'Graphische Ausstellung', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 April 1934, 164-165.
[5] Berthold Wolff, 'Zur Aufführung des Marionetten-Theaters', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 January 1935, 31.
[6] Benjamin Harshav, *The Moscow Yiddish Theater: Art on Stage in the Time of the Revolution* (New York: Yale, 2006), 31-32.

Jüdischer Kunstler never performed outside of Bavaria. This regional exclusivity was not, however, due to a lack of offers. Kulturbund Deutscher Juden leadership in Berlin sought to bring the troupe to the German capital to perform.[7] Yet the Bavarian theatre declined. It was a truly Bavarian-Jewish endeavour.

Exhibits and Competitions in Bavaria

Local Munich architect Hellmut Maison was initially appointed the head of the regional visual arts department. Maison's department supported three traveling art exhibits during the period from 1934 until mid-1935: an exhibit of religious and ritual objects, an exhibit featuring works by regional artists and an exhibit devoted entirely to Jewish photography. A number of factors contributed to the department's slow start. By 1934 the German art world was in the midst of a crisis. The collapse of the American stock market in 1929 resulted in a global financial meltdown that had grave repercussions in the visual art world. The impact was particularly strong in Munich, a city that had largely built its reputation as a cultural centre on the business side of the art world. Stresses caused from economic turmoil were compounded by the loss of the city's premiere exhibition space, the Glaspalast, in 1931.[8]

The Glaspalast, built under the reign of Bavaria's King Maximillian II, was an exhibition space of international renown. Built in the industrial style of glass and iron, the Glaspalast first opened its doors in 1854. Its large-scale exhibitions featured works from the world's top artists and attracted an international crowd; as a result, Munich became 'a destination for an international buying public'.[9] On the night of 6 June 1931 the building was destroyed by fire (likely arson).[10] A contest was held to select a design for a new exhibition space shortly thereafter, and a pair of architects from Augsburg won the competition.

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[7] Kulturbund Deutscher Juden 'Orientierung-Bericht Dezember 1934'. FWA 5105, AdK.
[8] See: Klahr, 'Munich as Kunststadt, 1900-1937', 179-201.
[9] Klahr, 'Munich as Kunststadt', 186.
[10] Christoph Stözl, 'Der Glaspalast,' in *Die Zwanziger Jahre in München*, ed. Christoph Stoelzl (Munich: Münchner Stadtmuseum, 1979), 492.

However, these new construction plans were halted in March 1933. The Augsburg architects were released from their contract. One of Hitler's favoured architects, Paul Ludwig Troost, was given control of the project. What emerged in 1937 was the 'House of German Art' - an imposingly solid neo-classical building designed as a limestone temple to what was then deemed by the Nazi regime as the 'true, eternal art of the German people.'[11] Losing the Glaspalast in 1931 was a blow to the city's already tottering art scene.[12] The fire greatly limited the availability of exhibition space - particularly for the younger generation of local progressive and relatively un-established artists who were looking for an entry into the art world.

Further, Munich's increasingly conservative political climate estranged some artists, causing them to feel emotionally unattached and ill at ease in the Bavarian capital of the 1930s. Rudolf Ernst was one of these young artists. In early letters to friends, Ernst expressed his frustration in Munich and his admiration of the opportunities afforded artists in Berlin. He wrote to a friend,

> I am doing much better now than the last time I wrote. I have more work again…. I have also spent time painting the Berliner Luft and I hope to return to Berlin in the first week of March if I can come by more work in the meantime. When I have more money, I will once again return to your wonderful city.[13]

A second letter from Ernst portrayed a similar feeling of exasperation with the situation in Munich and his longing for Berlin: 'I find that Berlin… is not a city, but rather the city - it is without tradition and without a so-called cathedral, but it is alive and its people are alive.'[14] Ernst remained in Munich despite his misgivings and by 1934 he was playing an active role in the city's Kulturbund.

Initial Kulturbund efforts to lessen the burden of Bavaria's visual artists proved difficult. The League's first exhibit, a touring exhibit entitled 'Pesach und Purim', was co-organised by the Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria and the Jewish Museum Verein for Bavaria and Munich. It began its travels around Bavaria in

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[11] Volker Hütsch, *Der Münchner Glaspalast 1854-1931: Geschichte und Bedeutung* (Berlin: Ernst & Sohn, 1985), 126.
[12] Stözl, 'Der Glaspalast', 492.
[13] Original in possession of author, Rudolf Ernst to Hanni, 1.
[14] Original in possession of author, Rudolf Ernst, undated.

the early spring of 1934, first in Augsburg before moving on to Bamberg and ending in Munich. The collection on display included over 100 pieces depicting 'culturally valuable' ritual objects.[15] Dr. Ruth Schweisheimer's photographs of the exhibit were published in the 15 April 1934 edition of Bavaria's Jewish Gemeinde newspaper.[16] The exhibit only featured older ritual objects of note; that is to say, there were no contemporary artists on display.

The lack of contemporary artistic representation was soon remedied. A second Kulturbund-sponsored exhibit launched shortly after the closure of 'Pesach und Purim'. This display consisted of contemporary art produced by Bavarian artists.[17] The event opened in the Main Synagogue on Herzog-Rudolf-Strasse in central Munich. Included among the works were a wide array of graphic art, linoleum carvings, a number of black and white pencil drawings, numerous watercolour portraits and paintings of the Munich cityscape and the rural Bavarian countryside. No photographs of the artworks were published in the local Jewish newspapers.

Five local artists and friends, all living in Munich, were praised in the local Jewish press for their contributions to this exhibit: Alfons Rosenberg, Elisabeth (Liesl) Springer, Maria Luiko, Rudolf Ernst and Charlotte Schönberg Ernst. With the exception of Rosenberg, all of these artists remained active throughout the existence of the Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria. Rosenberg and Springer both contributed book covers to this second exhibit, and both artists were recognised for their talents. Rosenberg was born in Munich in 1902; in 1925 he relocated to the nearby Insel Wörth, where he sought to commune with nature and pursue mysticism.[18] Despite his seclusion he remained active in his hometown's local art circles, where he met Luiko, Ernst, Springer and the other artists who informally met in Luiko's Luisenstrasse studio in 1933. This was Rosenberg's first and final

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[15] Dr. Fritz Ballin, 'Die Aufgaben des Jüdischen Kulturbunds in Bayern', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 March 1934, 109.
[16] Although it likely had little impact on the situation, the early tour date suggests that the traveling exhibit was initially planned prior to the Kulturbund's existence. Dr. R. Schweisheimer, 'Sedertisch', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 April 1934, 155.
[17] The title of the exhibit remains unknown.
[18] Waldemar Bonard, *Die gefesselte Muse: das Marionettentheater im Jüdischen Kulturbund 1935-1937* (Munich: Buchendorf Verlag, 1994), 48.

Kulturbund exhibit; he left Munich and settled in Switzerland in 1935.[19] In addition, Ernst received considerable critical praise for his woodcarvings of the devastated countryside leftover in the wake of World War I.[20] The exhibit ended in Augsburg on 8 July 1934, just as a third Kulturbund traveling exhibit opened its doors to visitors.[21]

The third and final Kulturbund exhibit to take place during the first two seasons of Kulturbund activity in Bavaria was a traveling photography display. This event was organised by Luiko, who was one of the first females taking on an active leadership role within the Bavarian Kulturbund. By the summer of 1934 she increased her administrative role within the League. Although the details of the exhibit remain scarce, it is clear that a section of the exhibit was dedicated to displaying photographs taken of Kulturbund events, including photographs taken from the Kulturbund stage performances in Berlin.[22]

While the above-mentioned traveling exhibits enjoyed 'lively interest', financial concerns plagued the events. [23] Operating expenses were to be covered by an entrance fee of 30 Pfenning at one exhibit, or by free-will donations at the other two exhibitions.[24] Additionally, advertisements in the local Jewish press reminded potential buyers that all pieces were for sale and would make ideal gifts for friends or collectors.[25] However, economic constraints made it difficult to find adequate space for exhibits or studios, which would obviously make creating, displaying and selling artwork more difficult. At times, the visual arts department was so stretched for funds that it was necessary to ask for a potential discount in newspaper advertisements. Luiko placed one such advertisement in a February 1935 issue of Munich's Jewish press. She wrote that

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[19] Schalom Ben-Chorin, 'Ein Münchner Künstlerkreis' in *Die gefesselte Muse*, ed. Waldemar Bonard (Munich: Buchendorfer Verlag, 1994), 8.
[20] Dr. S., 'Graphische Ausstellung', 164-165.
[21] 'Ausstellung', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 June 1934, 249.
[22] 'Ausstellung jüdischer Photographie', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 May 1934, 208; 'Ausstellung', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 1 July 1934, 270.
[23] 'Graphische Ausstellung', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 1 April 1934, 138; Advertisement, *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 June 1934, 249.
[24] Ibid.
[25] 'Graphische Ausstellung – jüd. Künstler', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 April 1934, 161.

she was looking for an exhibition space on either the ground floor or first floor of a building, ideally near the centre of the city. The location required good lighting and a minimum of 80 square meters. Luiko's note ended with the admission that 'Funds are low, and therefore we hope to find a friend of the Kulturbund to aid in our efforts at realising the exhibit through special concessions.'[26]

A number of additional measures were designed in an attempt to ease the financial burden on local visual artists. On the national level, a calendar was published in Berlin that sought to encourage the popularity of all contemporary Jewish artists in Germany. The calendar was put together by the Künstlerhifle der Jüdischen Gemeinde (Berlin) and printed by Dr. Herbert Löwesenstein's Kunstverlag (also in Berlin). Forty works from German Jewish painters and sculptors were displayed in the first calendar, along with explanatory texts by art historians Dr. Max Osborn, Professor Franz Landsberger and Erna Stein.[27] The calendar was meant not only to provide financial aid to artists, but also to strengthen the connection between artists and community. In its second year of printing (1935) the editors stated that the goal of the calendar was to 'provide for the visual artists what the actors and musicians have found in the Kulturbund: an audience, a resonance for their work, and a dialogue with the artists in the observer – all of which provide the artist with life and virtue'.[28] In this way, the calendar aimed to reaffirm a sense of pride and awareness in both the Jewish artist and the Jewish audience.

Locally, in 1934 Bavarian Kulturbund officials created a contest to create an official logo for the Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria. Entries were open to all Bavarian Jews, with restrictions only limiting the submissions to being a black and white illustration that could function as a letterhead. A prize of 30 RM was awarded to Alfons Rosenberg, the first place winner. Rosenberg's design was

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[26] Maria Luiko, 'Räume für Ausstellungzswecke des Kulturbunds', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung,* 15 February 1935, 74.
[27] Calendars were available for purchase in Jewish bookstores, by writing to the Künstlerhilfe, at the Jewish Museum in Berlin, or by the publisher. 'Lernen Sie jüdische Maler und Bildhauer konnen!', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 1 August 1934, 317-318.
[28] 'Künstlerhilfe,' *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 1 April 1935, 153.

entitled 'Verbundheit' (below).[29] The second place contestant, Dr. Goldberg, was presented with 20 RM.[30]

Figure 2: Alfons Rosenberg's winning submission, 'Verbundheit', included in a front-page *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung* advertisement for the Kulturbund.

Lectures were also scheduled with the hope of strengthening a sense of commitment between the community and the visual artists. Professor Franz Landsberger, a professor of art history at the University of Breslau before being stripped of his position in April 1933, gave a lecture entitled 'Jews and the Visual Arts' ('Judentum und bildende Kunst') in Munich on 4 October 1934. Landsberger began his lecture by briefly describing the influence of Jewish artists from the Middle Ages until Emancipation before focusing the majority of his talk on Jewish art after Emancipation. Of particular concern to Landsberger were the works of the 'three largest Jewish masters of Naturalism: [Daniel] Israel, [Camille] Pissaro, [Max] Liebermann'[31] and the role of Jewish artists in the modern art movements (Impressionism, Expressionism, and Bauhaus). As his conclusion, Landsberger noted that this 'epoche' of great Jewish artists was being followed by an important generation of young Jewish artists who were taking

[29] A committee comprised of Dr. Fritz Ballin, Dr. Hans Taub, Dr. Alfred Fraenkel, Kappellmeister Erich Erck, architect Hellmut Maison, Dr. Ludwig Feuchtwanger, and Marie Luise Kohn chose the first and second place winners of the contest. 'Preisausschreiben', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 April 1934, 162.
[30] 'Erbegnis des Preisausschreibens', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 1 June 1934, 228.
[31] Max Lieberman (1847-1935) was one of the most influential German Impressionist painters of the modern era. In 1920 he became the President of the German Academy of the Arts. Lieberman resigned in 1933. Camille Pisaro (1830-1903) was a French-Dutch painter; he work closely, and maintained a friendship, with a number of influential French Impressionists, including Claude Monet and Paul Cézanne. Daniel Israel (1859-1901), the least well known of the three listed artists, was an Austrian painter who specialised in Orientalist scenes.

their artistic inspiration from the artistic themes of Jewish communities in the East. Landsberger maintained that these young artists depicted a striking 'Jewish experience: their struggle with religious emotion, with the experiences of their own traditions of Eastern Judaism, and with the new foreignness of Palestine' at the fore of their work.[32] Although the lecture was well attended in Berlin, the same did not hold true in Munich; the reasons for the poor attendance are unclear.[33]

One such young local Jewish artist in Munich whose inspiration seemed to be derived from the 'Jewish experience' described by Landsberger was Maria Luiko. Luiko (Maria Luise Kohn) was born in 1904 in Munich. In the mid-1920s she studied under Moritz Heymann at Munich's Mal- und Zeichenschule, and in the Winter Semester of 1923/1924 she enrolled at Munich's Akademie der Bildenden Künste. Luiko spent seven semesters enrolled in the school, studying under the notable Karl Caspar (painting), Adolf Schinnerer (graphic art), and Emil Preetorius (theatre design). In 1927, Luiko joined the artistic group Die Juryfreien.[34] The group, which had experienced a rebirth in popularity by the time Luiko became a member, began showing in Munich's Glaspalast the same year Luiko joined the group.[35]

In 1929 and 1930, as Nazism gained strength in her hometown, the focus of Luiko's work focused more and more on social and religious motifs – as can be seen in various works from this period, such as *Arbeitspause*, *Arbeiterfamilie*, and *Bauarbeit*.[36] These pieces were largely representative of the manual labour that employed Munich's poverty stricken East European Jewish population in the city's Gärtnerplatzviertel. According to Diana Oesterle's study of Luiko's career,

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[32] Dr. R. F., '"Judentum und bildende Kunst" zum Vortrag von Prof. Landsberger', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 1 November 1934, 450.
[33] '"Judentum und bildende Kunst"' von Prof. Franz Landsberger (Berlin)', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 1 October 1934, 400; Dr. R. F., 'Judentum und bildende Kunst', 450.
[34] Diane Oesterle, *"So süßlichen Kitsch, das kann ich nicht": die Münchener Künstlerin Maria Luiko (1904-1941)* (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2009).
[35] 'Der deutsche Künstlerverband "Die Juryfreien",' *Münchener Kunstausstellung 1927 im Glaspalast: Amtlicher Katalog* (Munich: Knorr & Hirth, 1927), 52-54.
[36] 'Die Juryfreien E.V.', *Münchener Kunstausstellung 1929 im Glaspalast: Amtlicher Katalog* (Munich: Knorr & Hirth, 1929), 2; *Münchener Kunstausstellung 1930 im Glaspalast: Amtlicher Katalog* (Munich: Knorr & Hirch, 1930), 48.

the subjects often represented a 'dissolution of individuality' that was not meant to be seen as dehumanising, but rather as an effort to draw focus away from the self and into the community.[37] These figures often featured large, disproportionate hands and dark eyes, aiding in the visual conceptualisation of a community group identity, as will be discussed in the following pages.[38] Such physical motifs became hallmarks of Luiko's most successful Kulturbund undertaking, the München Marionettentheater Jüdischer Künstler.

'A play about Moses at the Puppet Theatre?': München Marionettentheater Jüdischer Künstler

The München Marionettentheater Jüdischer Künstler was the lone traveling high-art Jewish marionette theater in National Socialist Germany. Its first performance took place in Munich on 30 January 1935 – which means the plans for the theatre and its artistic development began in 1934 (or earlier). During its tenure the local Jewish press described it as one of the Bavarian Kulturbund's most popular ventures. It described itself as a 'specifically Jewish endeavor' that performed 'Jewish' art. The theatre's founders explained: 'all works either have to be written by a Jewish author or have to contain an easily identifiable Jewish theme, and all acting and technical work is to be exclusively in Jewish hands.'[39] 'Jewish' visual art, at least for Munich's Marionette Theater, had one of two (or both) characteristics: the artist had Jewish heritage or the plot had a religious theme.

Two trends collided in Munich's Jewish Marionette Theatre. On the one hand, it was a medium imbued with centuries-old folk-traditions; the Jewish press praised the theatre for its maintenance of 'German' and 'Bavarian' traditions. The marionette stage was a particularly popular folk medium in Munich, which was known as the 'centre of puppetry' ('klassischen Boden der

[37] Diana Oesterle, *"So süßlichen Kitsch"*, 61-66.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Wolff, 'Zur Aufführung', 31.

Puppenspielpflege').[40] Still, the medium had no traditional connection to Judaism (particularly when performed outside of Purim). Instead, it originated in the crib plays of medieval Christianity, particularly within Roman Catholic Mariology.[41] Yet the theatre's marionettes were generally not oriented toward a traditional 'German' visual, but were instead influenced by the experimental style of the Habima theatrical productions in the 1920s. In short, Munich's Jewish marionette theatre was a self-described specifically 'Jewish' undertaking that utilised a 'German' and 'Bavarian' folk tradition to perform 'Jewish' art for a Jewish audience. While its seven-play repertoire predominately featured 'Jewish' works it also featured two traditional puppet-plays from Count Franz Graf von Pocci – the well-known official of King Ludwig I of Bavaria's court and co-founding director of Munich's beloved Münchner Marionettentheater.

In the early 20th century, the marionette stage in Bavaria had recently turned from the primitive pastime of the provincial backwaters to a serious art form performed in the city. The cultural turn toward neo-Romanticism established at the end of the previous century had ushered in a revival of folk traditions; this resulted in a widespread rebirth of popularity for the marionette theatre, particularly in southern Germany. Henryk Jurokowski, writes that 'Germany was the only country in which a respected writer [here he is referring to Pocci] gave a strong creative impulse to the popular puppet theatre.'[42] Pocci's creative impulse continued to evolve even after his death. In the late 1920s German art historian Max von Boehn declared in his book *Puppen und Puppenspiele* (1929) that there had been a 'renaissance of the puppet theatre in Germany', a renaissance that was time and again linked to Pocci's influence.[43] By the 20th century the marionette stage was no longer considered a means of cheap

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[40] 'Megillath Ruth auf der Marionettenbühne', *Israelitisches Familienblatt,* 1 November 1934.
[41] John McCormick and Bernie Pratasik, ed. *Popular Puppet Theater in Europe, 1800-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
[42] Henryk Jurkowski, *A History of European Puppetry: From its Origins to the End of the 19th Century* (Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellew Press, 1996), 268.
[43] Max von Boehn, *Puppen und Puppenspiele* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1929); Reinhard Valenta, *Franz von Poccis Münchener Kulturrebellion: Alternatives Theater in der Zeit des bürgerlichen Realismus* (Munich: Ludwig, 1991), 157.

popular entertainment for the village but rather a medium for serious artistic expression.[44]

Paul Brann's Marionettentheater Münchener Künstler exemplified this creative shift within the medium. Brann's theatre increased the aesthetic effects and production values of his stage significantly in the early 1900s. His demand for higher artistic merit, combined with the more general resurgence of interest in folklore, brought many literary figures and artistic elite to his marionette stage.[45] Important cultural figures such as Ignatius Taschnert, Joseph Wackerle and Olaf Gulbransson were among Brann's 'Mitarbeiter' – and none other than Paul Ludwig Troost, the future architect of the 'House of German Art', built Brann's theatre in 1909/1910.[46]

In 1933 Brann was denounced to the Bavarian Ministry of Education and Culture as being of Jewish heritage (it was claimed that his mother was a 'half Jew').[47] This initial denunciation was most likely orchestrated by Georg Deininger, a competing puppeteer at Stuttgart's Künstler Marionetten Theater who seemed to hold both personal and professional grudges against Brann.[48] Deininger later authored two further denunciations against Brann, claiming that 'Paul Brann's whole life and business is typically Jewish' and his enthusiastic assessment that 'he [Brann] is and remains a disguised cultural pest!!!'[49] Deininger continued his denunciations again three months later, writing personally to Minister Hans Schemm with the opinion that 'Munich, the oldest Marionettenstadt' should not allow the continued professional success of Jewish artists when 'old fighters' remained out of work.[50]

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[44] Jurkowski, *A History of European Puppetry*, 4-5.
[45] McCormick and Pratasik, *Popular Puppet Theater*, 206-208.
[46] *Paul Brann Marionetten-Theater Münchner Künstler: Ausstellung der Puppentheatersammlung im Münchner Stadtmuseum* (Munich: Verlag Karl M. Lipp, 1973).
[47] Bayerische Staatsministerium für Unterricht und Kultus, 'Das Marionettentheater Münchener Künstler von Paul Brann: VII 15658 A. III', 7 April 1933. MK 41101, BHStAM.
[48] Georg Deininger to the Bayerische Staatsministerium für Unterricht und Kultus, '25669 Z Beil. 2', 10 May 1933. MK 41101, BHStAM.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Georg Deininger to Hans Schemm, 'VII 40423 II', 24 August 1933, 4. . MK 41101, BHStAM.

Despite its history as a satirical theatre that often targeted political figures, the marionette stage was, in many ways, ripe for National Socialist cultural-political appropriation. The medium was embraced in Germany, and particularly in southern Germany, as an 'authentic' element of folk culture; its roots were in the rural villages and its characters spoke in local dialect (at least in Munich). Indeed, the regime published a book on the history and purpose of puppetry in Germany that hailed the medium as the 'Theatre of the People' (Theater des Volkes).[51] The publication included sections on 'Puppet plays in the service of the ideological-political education'[52] with instructions on how to make the Kasperl character exude a 'National Socialist countenance' beyond hanging a swastika over the stage and having the traditionally fun-loving, anti-authoritarian 'fool' meet the audience with a greeting of 'Heil, Hitler' (see Chapter Eight for more analysis on the role of Kasperl).[53]

Brann's wife replied to Deiniger's attacks, writing 'We are not Jews.' She explained further, stating that the family had been practicing Protestants for decades.[54] Her efforts were to no avail. Brann and his wife, Gabriele, emigrated to Oxford, England in 1934. However, the local legacy of Brann's marionette theatre, and the tradition of high experimental art associated with it, was a likely inspiration for Luiko's Jewish marionette theatres. Indeed, the similarity between Kulturbund theatre's name (München Marionettentheater Jüdischer Künstler) and Brann's Marionettentheater Münchener Künstler could hardly have been a coincidence. Nor did reviews in the Jewish press refrain from making comparisons between the two theatres. By linking their theatre with that of Brann's earlier theatre, Munich's Jewish Marionette Theatre's founders were drawing a connection between the two marionette stages; the association made clear that Munich's Jewish Marionette Theatre conceived of itself within a certain local cultural tradition of high artistic standard.

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[51] *Das deutsche Puppenspiel: Einsatz, Erfolge und Zielsetzung* (Berlin: Verlag der Deutschen Arbeitsfront, 1937), 50-51.
[52] Original title in German: 'Puppenspiel im Dienst der weltanschaulich-politischen Erziehung'.
[53] *Das deutsche Puppenspiel*, 23.
[54] Gabriele Brann to the Bayerische Staatsministerium für Unterricht und Kultus, 'Bericht und Antrag wegen Paul Brann's Marionettentheater Münchner Künstler: 17182, 224379, 4023i/65', 15 April 1933, 2. MK 41101, BHStAM.

Yet the Kulturbund marionette theatre also had much more direct roots in two pre-existing Jewish cultural ventures in Munich: Alfons Rosenberg's short-lived single-person puppet stage and the Hebrew-language Bimath-Buboth.[55] Relatively little is known about these earlier Jewish marionette theatres in Munich. Rosenberg put on a showing of *Golem* in the autumn and winter of 1934 in Frankfurt am Main and Munich. Unlike Bimath-Buboth, however, Rosenberg acted alone and appeared to have much simpler props.[56] Like the Kulturbund theatre, Bimath-Buboth ('Puppet Theatre' in Hebrew) was under the artistic direction of Luiko with the assistance of Ernst. Author Fritz Rosenthal prepared all the theatre's texts. From 1933 until 1935 the 'biblical- experimental stage' ('Biblische Expermentalbühne')[57] performed three original biblically-based or Jewish folk-based texts: *Das Buch Esther*, *Megillath Ruth* and *Hersch Ostropoler wird Kalendermacher*.[58] Bimath-Buboth played for Jewish audiences – often for the Zionist youth group and on Jewish holidays – until Rosenthal's emigration to Jerusalem in 1935.

The founders of the München Marionettentheater Jüdischer Kunstler were a 'handful of ideal collaborating artists'[59] led by the Zionist artist Luiko and the businessman Berthold Wolff. The combination of Luiko and Wolff was, on the surface, a surprising pairing. Wolff was a middle-aged, middle-class Jewish businessman who served in the German armed forces.[60] Luiko was a 30-year-old Expressionist artist who was under Gestapo surveillance due to her (supposed,

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[55] Jewish visual artist Alfons Rosenberg also had some-form of a marionette theatre, although there is only evidence of one performance.
[56] Photographs of Rosenberg's *Golem* puppets and props were included in the *Israelitisches Familienblatt* insert on Luiko's Bimath-Buboth performance of the Ruth story. See: 'Megillath Ruth auf der Marionettenbühne', *Israelitisches Familienblatt,* 1 November 1934.
[57] 'Das Buch Esther auf der Marionettenbühne,' *Israelitisches Familienblatt,* 1 March 1934, 22.
[58] Ibid.; 'Megillath Ruth'; 'Heiterer Purimabend am 23. März,' *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 March 1935, 135; 'Purimfeier der Zionistischen Ortsgruppe', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 1 April 1935, 152.
[59] Berthold Wolff, 'Zur Aufführung des Marionetten-Theaters', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung,* 15 January 1935, 31.
[60] Berthold Wolff (1876-1945) came from a well-known local business family. His business, Firma Gebrüder Wolff GmBH, operated in Munich and Regensburg for 35 years – until it was 'Aryanised' in 1936. He and his family emigrated to Brasil. Bonar, *Die gefesselte Muse*, 51.

although later refuted) Socialist and (known) Zionist activities.[61] Yet their pairing was also a microcosm of an important facet to the Bavarian Kulturbund's existence: unlike in Berlin, the Bavarian Kulturbund never witnessed a strong ideological fracture in support along Zionist and non-Zionist lines. Indeed, from the autumn of 1934 until 1938 an active Zionist leader, Dr. Alfred Perlmutter, headed the Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria (see Chapter Three).

As stated above, the marionette theatre was envisioned as a specifically 'Jewish' undertaking, from its artists and audience members to its plots.[62] Its founders stressed that it was not a Kasperl-theater but rather an experimental theatre of high artistic value.[63] Given its frequently scheduled evening start times, performances were likely oriented toward an adult audience.[64] The artwork was created by two highly regarded Jewish artists in Munich (Luiko and Ernst), and the voices/singing was undertaken by professionals such as Dr. Paul Kuhn, Walter Reis (both formerly of the Munich's Nationaltheater), Elisabeth Springer and skilled amateurs such as Sonja Ziegler.[65] Munich's Jewish Marionette Theatre was also imbued with a serious sense of purpose: an article published in Munich's *Gemeindezeitung* stated that the theatre was 'bringing something new to Munich, namely a drama of a purely Jewish milieu.'[66] Indeed, the München Marionettentheater Jüdischer Künstler succeeded in bringing 'something new' and something of a 'purely Jewish milieu' to Munich. Yet it accomplished this desire through the use of a predominately 'German' (or 'Bavarian') form.

Wolff stressed the serious nature of the troupe's new marionette theatre by placing the Munich Jewish Marionette Theatre within the broader traditions of European art. The theatre's co-founder took to the local Jewish press, stating that the best marionette stages in the world were to be found in three places: the

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[61] Polizeidirketion München. 7015, StAM.
[62] Wolff, 'Zur Aufführung', 31.
[63] The recent late 19th century turn toward neo-Romanticism ushered in a revival of folk traditions; this resulted in a rebirth of popularity for the marionette theatre, particularly in the south of Germany. Jurkowski, *A History of European Puppetry*.
[64] Wolff, 'Zur Aufführung', 31, 34.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Berthold Wolff, 'Marionetten-Aufführung', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 December 1935, 549.

Czech lands, Holland and finally, above the others, southern Germany. He continued, stating that without the marionette theatre the world would have been robbed of many literary figures; figures no less than Shakespeare and Goethe drew their inspiration from the puppet performances of their youth. Furthermore, Wolff noted that Kleist and Schiller both championed the importance of the marionette stage in their writings.[67] Such examples were likely utilised as a legitimising strategy meant to elevate the history and form of the medium. In essence, Wolff was telling the audience: if the medium was well received by the great writers and thinkers of modern Europe, then you too should give it a chance. Yet nowhere did Wolff mention the work of his co-founder Luiko's other marionette theatre, Bimath-Buboth – an interesting omission, given the fact that the two theatres shared not only a creator but many artists and the actual puppet figures themselves.

On 30 January 1935 the München Marionettentheater Jüdischer Kunstler premiered with a two-play performance: an adaptation of August Strindberg's *Moses* followed by Jacques Offenbach's *Das Mädchen von Elizondo*. The event debuted in the Gemeinde-owned Museumsaal on Promenadestrasse 12 (now Kardinal-Faulhaber-Strasse in central Munich) at 20.00. Although the marionette theatre would later perform in other Bavarian cities, during this first season the troupe only performed in Munich.

Set in Egypt, Strindberg's *Moses* play begins with a dream sequence whereby a high priest orders the Pharaoh to kill all the male Jewish children. The plot continues quickly apace along the biblical narrative, from the baby Moses being rescued by the Pharaoh's daughter to the exodus from Egypt and finally to Mount Sinai where Moses receives the Ten Commandments.[68] Reviews of the January 1935 *Moses* performance were critical. Critics deemed the play problematic. The character of Moses was described as both monotonous and un-heroic.[69] According to critic Ba., the complex story of Moses is meant to be underscored by great heroism: 'He must, against all odds, prepare his Volk for

[67] Wolff, 'Zur Aufführung', 34.
[68] Ba., 'Marionettenvorstellung in Jüd. Kulturbund: "Moses" von Stringberg-Wolff – "Das Mädchen von Elizondo von Offenbach."', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 February 1935, 79, 82.
[69] Ibid.

their mission.'[70] Unfortunately, the review continued, the marionette Moses did not fulfil the heroic mission of the biblical Moses:

> Moses as a marionette must present to the viewer all the psychological developments [of the biblical figure]. When attached to a rigid mask, we cannot see the flashing of his triumphant soul; the immutability of the puppet condemned him to monotony.[71]

True to his misgivings about the limits of the Moses figure – which had been previously used as the King Ahasverus character in Bimath-Buboth's production of *Das Buch Esther* – the reviewer did suggest that subtle changes could improve the overall performance, mostly by creating a Moses puppet with a more 'supernatural' facial expression.[72]

Despite these negative aspects, the review did praise the overall artistic work of the *Moses* drama. Luiko's stage design was noted as 'tasteful' and 'exemplary'. The puppets themselves were described as having a strong personal impression (the Moses example withstanding), although the Egyptian characters were seen as better developed than the Jewish characters.[73]

By comparison, Ba.'s review of Offenbach's light-hearted and satirical operetta *Das Mädchen von Elizondo* was overwhelmingly positive, if brief. *Das Mädchen von Elizondo* (also titled *Pepito*) is a short one-act *opéra comique* featuring music by Jacques Offenbach (a German-born French composer of Jewish descent). The play is set in a Basque village as two local men, Veritgo and Miguel, attempt to win the attraction of a hostess at the local inn, Manuelita.[74] A loyal Manuelita rejects their advances and maintains her commitment to Pépito (a soldier). Pépito, unbeknownst to Manuelita, however, has married a French *Cantiniére*. The love drama is resolved in the end of the play as news of Pépito's

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[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid, 82.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid.
[74] The same stage background (an exotic backdrop with palm trees) was used in both *Moses* and *Das Mädchen von Elizondo*.

marriage reaches Manuelita. Manuelita marries Miguel, and Veritgo plays the music at their wedding.[75]

There was a clear distinction in the reception of *Moses* and *Das Mädchen von Elizondo*. It is, of course, possible that the *Moses* drama was, as Ba., claimed, 'problematic'. But what about it was problematic? Despite the review's claim that the figure of Moses presented on stage did not represent the heroic nature of the biblical Moses, the same review praised the visual aspects of the performance. And despite the earlier complaint that the 'monotony' of Moses was also apparent in the character's voice, the review ended with a favourable description of the 'strength of the vocal performers in the Moses-Drama'.[76] Thus, the technical aspects of the performance were, by the reviewer's own admission, sound.

The general 'problem' with the *Moses* play was likely in the reviewer's inability to reconcile the traditions of the marionette stage with an overtly biblical story. An element of dissonance existed between the biblical theme of the Moses drama and the traditionally comedic and satirical nature of the marionette stage. The presentation of serious 'Jewish' religious themes in a traditionally 'German' satirical form challenged pre-existing expectations about the medium. Indeed, Ba.'s review began with the questions: 'A play about Moses at the Puppet Theatre? Can, however, a fundamental question be raised, that a Puppet Theatre can be concerned with religious motifs?'[77] For Ba., the general problem with the *Moses* play was likely a conceptual issue. Marionettes were, according to the critic, the realm of the 'heimisch' Volk- drama, comedies and political satire.[78] Offenbach's satirical piece fit this mould. *Moses* did not. Indeed, the *Moses* performance was a stark departure from this purview of 'German' marionette traditions. Ba. ended the review of the premiere by stating, 'We have all confidence that Mr. Wolff and his colleagues will find the ways and the means to create a distinctive *Heimstätte*-styled *Kleinkunst.*'[79] The implication of this

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[75] Jacques Offenbach, *Text der Gesänge aus: Das Mädchen von Elizondo* (Berlin: Ed. Bote & G. Bock, 1855).
[76] Ba., 'Marionettenvorstellung', 82.
[77] Ibid., 79.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid., 82.

sentence is that *Moses*, the so-called 'problematic' piece, did not fall within these '*Heimstätte'* boundaries.

While the critical reception of the inaugural performance suggested general success, albeit with room for improvement, the popular reception of the Jewish marionette theatre was strong. The event sold out more than two weeks prior to its performance. Additionally, two separate articles noted the strong applause at the end of the evening.[80] An encore performance was scheduled in Munich for late February due to its great success with the local audience.[81]

Still, Ba.'s critical review of *Moses* had an impact. Although the February encore performance in Munich featured the same programme, this was the last time a specifically biblical adaptation was presented on the Kulturbund marionette stage. The *Moses* play was never repeated after February 1935, although *Das Mädchen von Elizondo* was staged four more times: twice more in Munich and twice in Nuremberg. The only other play with a specifically 'Jewish' theme performed on the marionette stage was Perez Hirschbein's *Das Gelöbnis*. Hirschbein's 'Jewish drama' was staged once in January 1936 in Munich; the second performance, scheduled for February in Munich, replaced *Das Gelöbnis* with another showing of Offenbach's *Das Mädchen von Elizondo* (see Chapter 8).

The Form of Jewish Marionettes in Bavaria

Local artist Maria Luiko oversaw all artistic development within Munich's Jewish Marionette Theatre. The marionettes themselves, which were shared between the Bimath-Buboth theatre and the Kulturbund theatre, were made from easy to find materials. Their clothing and accessories were made from fabric remnants, glass beads, paper leftovers; bodies were made from wooden frames shaped with paper and painted; legs from wood and wire; and heads made of paper mâché casts. Their heights ranged from 40-50 cm, depending on the importance of the character.

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[80] Ibid.; 'Wiederholdung der Marionetten-Vorstellung am 25. Februar im Museum', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 February 1935, 82.
[81] 'Ibid.

Luiko seems to have conceptualised the marionettes within group frameworks – particularly in regards to the biblically based stories. Indeed, the figures for *Moses* represented a specific visual and theatrical 'type' of physical appearance. The Jewish figures from *Moses* resembled each other and used a similar visual language, alluding to her visual notion of a collective community that first appeared in her paintings of Munich's Eastern European Jewish community – a 'type' Luiko herself described as being representative of 'the biblical Hebrews'.[82] Likewise, her Egyptian figures from *Moses* also share a collective visual language that situates the individual figures into the group dynamic.

The male Jewish characters from *Moses* are a good example of Luiko's presentation of collective imagery (see image below). These Jewish men are dressed in simple, plain dark costumes (dark earth tones). Moses himself wears a dark under-layer with only a red cloak on top to distinguish himself from the group. Such similarities in clothing made the figures easily identifiable. In contrast, the story's Egyptian characters (see image below) were dressed alike in white with colourful adornment (golden embroidery and blue beads). Additionally, the group of Jewish men and the Moses figure are uniform in basic shape (head, torso, legs). The importance of Moses is denoted by his height – he is a full ten centimetres taller than the others – although the rest of his physical appearance reflects that of the group. Luiko's Jewish figures have large, dark eyes and angular facial features that appear evocative and highly emotional. Finally, the puppets have large, sharply angled hands – a feature Osterle classifies as a motif found throughout the span of Luiko's work.[83] While the exaggeration of features is a common visual technique used in puppetry, the continuity of such features in Luiko's oeuvre throughout a variety of mediums suggests it was an important component of her personal style.

[82] Maria Luise Kohn to Schalom Ben-Chorin, 6 September 1935. 2 Judaica Varia, StadtAM.
[83] Oesterle, *"So süßlichen Kitsch".*

Figure 3: Male Jewish figures from *Moses* (1935). The Moses character is second from left; the other three male characters are noted as 'die Israeliten'. Photo courtesy of the Münchner Stadtmuseum, Sammlung Puppentheater/Schaustellerei.

Figure 4: The Egyptian figures from *Moses* (1935). Pharao is positioned in the middle of the photograph; his daughter is on the left and the man on the right is the High Priest. Photo courtesy of the Münchner Stadtmuseum, Sammlung Puppentheater/Schaustellerei.

Further, Munich's Jewish Marionette Theatre's *Moses* performance was rooted in contemporary discourses that presented the image of an idealised Eastern Jewry, what would today be termed Jewish Orientalism. In this particular instance, the marionette's *Moses* performance combined a portrayal of the ancient biblical Jewish community with a visual technique oriented toward contemporary Palestinian motifs and Luiko's own representations of Munich's Eastern European Jewish community. Luiko's decision to create what she considered a clearly stated 'Jewish' visual was not surprising;[84] Luiko was an active member of Munich's Zionist organisation and often performed biblically inspired marionette plays for the city's Zionist youth groups with the same collection of marionettes.

The visual language evident in the *Moses* play was evocative of the theatrical techniques popularised in the 1920s by the Habima Theatre. The Habima Theatre is a Hebrew-language theatre first established in Bialystok in 1912 and then re-established in Moscow after the Revolution (1918); it later relocated to Tel Aviv in 1928, even later becoming national theatre of Israel.[85] It was the first professional Hebrew dramatic art theatre.[86] During the late 1920s the theatre embarked on multiple tours that took it to Bavaria, performing in Munich in 1928, 1929 and 1930 and, as previously mentioned, in Würzburg in 1930.[87] According to Oesterle, Habima stage elements were the clear inspiration for the colour combinations and facial expressions evident in Luiko's marionettes.[88]

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[84] Wolff, 'Zur Aufführung', 31.
[85] Vladislav Ivanov, 'Habima and "Biblical Theater"' in *Chagall and the Artists of the Russian Jewish Theater* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 27.
[86] 'Habima and Goset: An Illustrated Chronicle' in *Chagall and the Artists of the Russian Jewish Theater* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 90.
[87] Steven M. Lowenstein, 'Alltag und Tradition: Eine Fränkisch-Jüdische Geographie', in *Die Juden in Franken*, ed. Michael Brenner and Daniela F. Eisenstein (Munich: Oldenbourg: 2012), 20; Michael Wildt, *Hitler's Volksgemeinschaft and the Dynamics of Racial Exclusion: Violence against Jews in Provincial Germany, 1919-1939* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011), 65-66; Roland Flade, *Juden in Würzburg 1918-1933* (Würzburg: Freunde Mainfränkischer Kunst und Geschichte, 1985), 341-349; Robert Gellately, *The Gestapo and German Society: Enforcing Racial Policy, 1933-1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 92-93.
[88] Oesterle, *'So süßlichen Kitsch'*, 125.

The concept of the 'East' held a dual point of interest for some German Jews in the early 20th century, particularly those, like Luiko, of Zionist leanings. It was both the location of a shared ancient history and a land to which political Zionists strove to return.[89] And yet, in 1930s Germany, the Palestinian mandate was still a land largely removed from the daily living experiences of German Jews. Although advertisements, classes and booklets were educating the Jewish community about the area, for some it remained a rural foreign environment markedly different from the environment many German Jews called home.[90] As such, a more local shift in thought occurred; the ideal of the 'Oriental' Jew of the Far East became synonymous with Eastern European Jewry. The Jews of Eastern Europe – a group that, on the whole, was less acculturated and more traditional than German Jews – became an 'authentic' vision of a seemingly more 'pure' Judaism. It was, as Michael Brenner writes, the 'apparently authentic Jewish world of Eastern Europe and the Orient' – a world, it was believed, untouched by the 'malaise of modern European civilization'.[91] Such a view was highly romanticised, idealised, and at times, utopian in nature. It looked both backward and forward, combining the idealised times of the ancient Israelites with a contemporary vision of the generally more religious and traditional Jewish communities of Eastern Europe.

And yet, Luiko made the conscious decision to cast her Jewish figures (figures that were, to an extent, meant to exemplify a foreign and idealised Jewry) in an entirely familiar, specifically Central European, German and Bavarian, folk medium. In addition, the above-mentioned physical attributes apparent in her puppets – the large hands, angular faces, dark eyes – were the same physical markers found in her work on Munich's Eastern European Jewish community.[92] This shared visual effect spanned vast amounts of time and geographical locations – suggesting that, at least to Luiko, there was the

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[89] Dalia Manor, 'Orientalism and Jewish National Art: The Case of Bezalel', in *Orientalism and the Jews,* ed. Ivan Davidson Kalmar and Derek J. Penslar (Lebanon: Brandeis University Press, 2005), 142.
[90] Francis R. Nicosia, *Zionism and Anti-Semitism in Nazi Germany* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 3-4.
[91] Brenner, *Renaissance of Jewish Culture*, 130-131.
[92] Oesterle, *'So süßlichen Kunst',* 41-109.

possibility of an 'authentic' Jewishness in the local context. Munich's *Moses* production was a textual and visual combination of the 'Other' and the local.

Luiko's attempt to link her contemporary community and the community of the biblical past was strengthened by a certain anachronistic figure included among the biblical 'Israelite' figures in the *Moses* play (see Figure 3 above). Included with Moses and the two men in traditional biblical garb is a man wearing striped pants and a striped shirt– a concentration camp uniform (this figure was never photographed in the contemporary Jewish press reviews). His presence bridges the two time periods, situating contemporary issues within the context of the Moses story and linking the two eras through a common experience of oppression and persecution.

The München Marionettentheater Jüdischer Kunstler was a Bavarian-Jewish undertaking. Its activities presented a sense of pride in both its dual roots. Kulturbund leaders exulted their programme for its high artistic merit. In the visual arts this lead to numerous adulations based on the preservation of 'Heimat' traditions and the 'Kunststadt' reputation. Yet the strength of this regional pride also lead to a larger concern that arose only two months after the marionette theatre's February 1935 encore performance: the issue of internal regional autonomous control over the Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria.

Part Two: 1935-1938

6. From Munich to Berlin: The Loss of Regional Autonomy and a National Kulturbund

The cultural activity of the Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria can be divided into two eras with a dividing point at the April 1935 creation of the National Association of Jewish Cultural Leagues in Germany ('Reichsverband der Jüdischen Kulturbünde in Deutschland'). On the weekend of 27-28 April 1935 the leadership of the Kulturbund Deutscher Juden in Berlin, with the backing of Hans Hinkel and thus the National Socialist regime, oversaw the consolidation of all Jewish cultural life in Germany into a national Kulturbund structure. The April 1935 conference marked the end of a year and a half long effort led by Dr. Kurt Singer in Berlin. Although the conference had only a minimal impact on those regional Kulturbund locations that had originated under Berlin's control, this was a turning point for Kulturbund activity in Bavaria.

As discussed in the previous chapters, the role of regionalism within the broader spectrum of Jewish cultural participation remains an understudied aspect of the Kulturbund experience – largely due to the myopic academic focus on the Berlin Kulturbund. Nowhere is this lack of regional consideration more evident than in the treatment of the April 1935 Conference of Jewish Cultural Leagues in Germany (Tagung der jüdischen Kulturbünde Deutschlands). What was a decisive moment for the Kulturbund in Bavaria is largely written out of Berlin-focused studies. Lily Hirsch summarises her view of the situation, writing: 'By 1935, the Jewish Cultural League had forty-six local chapters in other towns and cities, which the Nazi regime put under the umbrella union, Reich Association of Jewish Cultural Leagues (Reichsverband der jüdischen Kulturbünde) in Berlin.'[1] Hirsch briefly returns to her point later in the book, writing, 'This reorganization was no doubt accepted by League representatives under Nazi pressure.'[2] Hirsch's understanding of the process reflects the position of the field: Hinkel initiated the move toward a national Kulturbund

[1] Lily Hirsch, *A Jewish Orchestra in Nazi Germany: Musical Politics and the Berlin Jewish Culture League* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010), 24.
[2] Ibid., 45.

organisation, and Singer was, in the words of Saul Friedländer, 'strongly in favor of such unification and seemingly at one with State Secretary Hinkel.'[3]

These interpretations are not reflective of the whole situation. Singer himself played a much more active role in consolidating Jewish cultural life into one single organisation – an organisation that existed under his control in Berlin. Indeed, Singer first proposed the formation of a 'Gesamtorganisation der Kulturbünde im Reich' in January 1934. Over the course of the next months, Singer repeatedly wrote to Staatskommissar Hinkel asking for his approval on the matter.[4] This behaviour hardly supports the stance that Singer played a passive role that only accepted the April 1935 creation of the Reichsverband 'under Nazi pressure.'[5] Instead, early letters show that Singer himself pursued the topic, even going as far as inviting regional cultural organisations to join his envisioned national organisation prior to receiving official approval from Hinkel. Hinkel delayed granting Singer the authority to establish an umbrella organisation of Jewish cultural activity for a number of months. The issue of expanding the domain of the Kulturbund Deutscher Juden was not approved until the summer of 1934; rapid Kulturbund expansion occurred over the course of the next year. Thus the forty-six local chapters that Hirsch claims joined the Reichsverband as a result of the April 1935 Conference were actually already members of the pre-existing Kulturbund 'Dachorganisation' under Singer's overall administrative control; a proto-type of the later Reichsverband.

By the time of the 27-28 April 1935 Conference a Kulturbund umbrella organisation had already been in existence for almost a full year. In the beginning of April 1935 Singer's cultural empire covered 61 German cities (not 46).[6] After the conference, the renamed 'Reichsverband der Jüdischen

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[3] Saul Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews: The Years of Persecution, 1933-1939* (New York: Harper Collins, 1997), 66.
[4] Kurt Singer to Hans Hinkel, 22 January 1934; Kurt Singer to Hans Hinkel, 18 March 1934; Kurt Singer to Hans Hinkel 23 April 1934. Doc 575 Reel 54/30/IV, WL.
[5] Hirsch, *A Jewish Orchestra*, 45.
[6] The difference in numbers is likely explained by different interpretations of regional organisations – i.e. if one counts the Kulturbund Rhein-Ruhr as a single entity or if one counts the individual cities and towns represented by the Kulturbund Rhein-Ruhr as separate entities. I have counted the individual cities and towns of all regional organisations.

Kulturbünde in Deutschland' (the name is often shortened to the Jüdischer Kulturbund in Deutschland) expanded to include 82 cities.[7] Rather than being the first mode of centralisation, then, the April Conference brought the process of centralisation to a close.

Previous interpretations of the conference are correct in that Jewish representatives did join the Reichsverband under Nazi pressure. Yet one important facet remains unclear: who, exactly, was only persuaded to join the national Kulturbund organisation by the regime and why did it take external state pressure for them to join? Of these newly incorporated Kulturbund locales, ten were from the Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria and four were affiliated with Stuttgart's Jewish Art Community (Jüdische Kunstgemeinschaft). Representatives for the Bavarian and Württemberg regions were vocal in their dissatisfaction regarding their membership in the Reichsverband, repeatedly stating that they were joining the Reichsverband for no other reason than National Socialist pressure.[8] Additionally, southern German delegates expressed concerns over their abilities to retain regional-local control over the cultural programme.[9]

Southern apprehension about a cultural programme stemming from Berlin's offices proved correct. In the aftermath of centralisation the Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria was forced to enact administrative and programmatic changes. Musicians from larger cities who often embarked on season-long national Kulturbund tours increasingly replaced local musicians. These local

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[7] Sonderbeauftragter des Reichsministers Dr. Goebbels to the Jüdischer Kulturbund in Deutschland, 29 July 1935, 8. Doc 575 Reel 54/29/I, WL.

[8] Bavarian Jews not joining nation-wide Jewish organisations due to their own sense of being Bavarians was not something limited to the 1930s. Michael Brenner pointed to the issue of regionalism within Germany's Jewish population during the Weimar Republic, writing: 'Like the non-Jewish population, Jews from Munich felt like Bavarians, and Jews from Berlin identified themselves as Prussians. Liberal Bavarian Jews successfully opposed the establishment of a Jewish umbrella organisation representing all Jews of the Reich because they feared Prussian domination, and Prussian Zionists accused their Bavarian colleagues of "having breathed too much Bavarian air for years".' Michael Brenner, *The Renaissance of Jewish Culture in Weimar Germany* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 91.

[9] Jüdischer Kulturbund in Deutschland, 'Protokoll der Tagung der jüdschen Kulturbünde Deutschlands am Sonnabend, den 27. April und Sonntag, den 28 April 1935', April 1935. AR 166 MF 341, LBINY.

musicians or troupes were often forced into a 'special event' series outside the regular Kulturbund season schedule – meaning that attendance for these events was only possible at an additional cost. Further, not only were regional artists displaced, but the general shape of the cultural programmes also changed in the latter half of the decade. The open cultural experimentations with various interpretations of 'Jewishness' that had marked the first two seasons of Kulturbund activity in Bavaria stalled. Berlin's assurances that regional offices would retain a significant amount of control over their cultural production proved inaccurate.

Initial Efforts Toward A National Jewish Kulturbund Structure

In late January 1934 Dr. Kurt Singer initiated a series of letters addressed to Hans Hinkel that sought the centralisation of all Jewish cultural organisations into a 'Gesamtorganisation der Kulturbünde im Reich'. According to the 22 January 1934 letter, Singer brought up the topic of cultural consolidation at a recent meeting but was waiting to proceed until the topic had been 'fixed in writing'.[10] According to Singer's proposal, all Jewish cultural events would fall under the domain of a main Kulturbund office in Berlin. Further, all censorship measures would pass through Hinkel's office. By mid-March, nearly two months after his initial letter, Singer was still awaiting positive confirmation from Hinkel.

A series of letters, increasingly urgent in tone, were composed in the course of the next month. On 18 March 1934 Singer wrote another letter, this time more detailed, asking for authorisation to consolidate all Jewish cultural organisations throughout Germany into a single structure operating with main offices in Berlin. This time, however, Singer asked for permission to create a head office for the 'Prussian Kulturbünde'[11] instead of a 'Reichsorganisation'.[12] Singer's next letter was sent a mere week later. Singer informed Hinkel that the

[10] Singer to Hinkel, 22 January 1933, 1.
[11] Singer to Hinkel, 18 March 1934.
[12] Singer to Hinkel, 22 January 1934, 2.

Gestapo was already aware of his intentions regarding cultural consolidation, and all that remained before the process was finalised was Hinkel's permission. Singer ended the message by asking Hinkel to respond with any questions or concerns within a week; if he had any questions, Singer suggested the two men arrange a meeting in Hinkel's office as soon as possible.[13] Singer's inclusion of a timeframe for response, which was absent from the first letter, contributed an added sense of urgency and potential frustration regarding Hinkel's lack of timely reply. Singer's final letter was sent shortly after the second letter was posted. Yet again, Singer requested Hinkel's approval on the matter of Jewish cultural consolidation. As before, Singer informed Hinkel that a copy of the same correspondence had been sent to the Gestapo, but that full power in sanctioning the creation of the new national League could only come from Hinkel himself.[14]

Unlike his earlier letters, Singer's final letter now included a list of city and regional cultural branches that were to join his proposed 'Prussian' Kulturbund. Essentially, Singer had, without receiving official approval from Hinkel, sought to expand the domain of the new organisation. The new members included branches in Frankfurt, Königsburg, Breslau, and Hamburg. In addition, Singer stated he was extending an official invitation to the Kulturbund Rhein-Ruhr (a regional organisation with its seat in Cologne);[15] the Rhein-Ruhr leadership accepted Singer's invitation shortly after receiving the invitation. Despite Singer's additional details, as well as the official acceptance of membership by various regional cultural organisations, Hinkel appeared hesitant to approve the consolidation of regional cultural associations. A month later, in April, the issue remained unresolved. Singer again asked Hinkel to grant official approval of what he freshly coined the 'Dachorganisation der preußischen Kulturbünde'.[16]

Hinkel's hesitation to approve Singer's desire for Kulturbund expansion was likely due to concerns of maintaining state control over a large organisation. Indeed, Hinkel initially denied Singer and Baumann's original Kulturbund proposal in the summer of 1933, claiming that the demands of oversight were

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[13] Ibid.
[14] Kurt Singer to Hans Hinkel, 23 March 1934. Doc 575 Reel 54/30/IV, WL.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Singer to Hinkel, 23 April 1934.

too great. According to Rebecca Rovit, it was only after Singer drew upon favours from his well-connected friends, including Baron von Holthoff of the Prussian Theatre Commission and well-known composer Wilhelm Furtwängler, that Hinkel granted Singer a face-to-face meeting. This July 1933 meeting eventually led to the official approval of Berlin's Kulturbund.[17] Hinkel's apparent reservations concerning the vast expansion of the Kulturbund were likely linked to his lingering concerns over maintaining state oversight.

Singer's initiative paid off. Official approval for the partial consolidation of Jewish cultural leagues into a larger Kulturbund organisation occurred during the summer, between the 23 April 1934 correspondence and the publication of Berlin's August 1934 newsletter; the exact date of approval is unknown.[18] This was quite a coup for Singer, who now controlled a vast cultural empire covering 33 German cities – a number which would nearly double over the course of the next year.[19] In the first season of Berlin's existence (1933/1934) Singer oversaw the production of 538 events, which amounted to more than 50 events per month.[20] Throughout the next season (the first season of the 'Prussian Kulturbund') he oversaw 1070 performances – a total almost double that of the first season.[21]

The relative strength of the capital's finances provided an important incentive for Jewish cultural endeavours operating outside of Berlin to join ranks with the capital. During its inaugural season, Singer's Berlin Kulturbund boasted an annual pay allowance of 250,000 RM for all its artists.[22] Berlin expected further financial growth in the coming seasons, an enticing forecast of economic

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[17] Rebecca Rovit, *The Jewish Kulturbund Theatre Company in Nazi Berlin* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2012), 25.
[18] 'Aus Deutsch-Jüdischer Kulturbewegung', *Kulturbund Deutscher Juden Monatsblätter* (August 1934): 22.
[19] 'Aus Deutsch-Jüdischer Kulturbewegung', *Kulturbund Deutscher Juden Monatsblätter* (October 1934): 30.
[20] Kurt Singer, 'Unser Arbeits-Programm', *Kulturbund Deutscher Juden Monatsblätter* (December 1933): 1; 'Ein Jahr Kulturbund Deutscher Juden: Den Mitgliedern des Kulturbundes Überreicht von der Leitung des Kulturbundes', *Kulturbund Deutscher Juden Monatsblätter* (September 1934): 2.
[21] 'Kulturelle Arbeit der Juden in Deutschland von 1933 bis Ende 1938: Anlage 1', 1. LBILondon.
[22] Goebbels to the Kulturbund, 29 July 1935, 10.

aid to those cultural branches struggling to stay afloat.[23] Take, for example, the Kulturbund Rhine-Ruhr; its membership statistics hovered around 5,000 members, and the regional branch offered employment to at least 200 individuals during its first season.[24] Jewish artists from Cologne were key regional exporters of cultural events, performing in smaller towns and cities that lacked the population and resources to put together performances of their own.[25] Yet the Kulturbund Rhein-Ruhr faced a deficit of 6,000 RM at the end of its second season; this season, 1934/35, was the first season in the consolidated Kulturbund structure under Berlin. The 6,000 RM deficit was an apparent improvement over the debt incurred during the previous season, however – thus exemplifying that there were tangible benefits for the regional branches that joined the newly Kulturbund structure.[26]

However, not all regional organisations were willing to give up their autonomous control over cultural life. A notable exemption from the new membership list was the Kulturbund in Bavaria. As previously outlined, Singer's first written account of efforts toward centralisation occurred on 22 January 1934; in this initial letter Singer called for the creation of a Kulturbund 'im Reich'. Yet nearly six weeks later, in March 1934, Singer scaled his plans from a Kulturbund 'im Reich' to a 'Dachorganisation der preußischen Kulturbünde' –

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[23] Dr. Werner Levie, 'Kulturbund-Arbeit und Kulturbund-Ferien', *Kulturbund Deutscher Juden Monatsblätter* (Juli 1934): 20.

[24] The number of employees included not only artists, but also technicians, ticket salesmen and other officials who worked behind the scenes. The number of Rhein-Ruhr employees also varies between publications; the June 1935 monthly newsletter noted that the branch employed more than 300 individuals, whereas the Almanach, published by Berlin, put the number at 200 workers. 'Zusammenschluß der jüdischen Kulturbünde Deutschands', *Jüdischer Kulturbund Rhein-Ruhr, Gemeinschaft der Freunde des Theaters und der Musik e.V. Mitteilung* (June 1935): 4 and Dr. Heinrich Levinger, 'Arbeitsberichte: Der Kulturbünde im Reich, Kulturbund Rhein-Ruhr', *Almanach Kulturbund Deutscher Juden* (1934): 93.

[25] For example, the town of Gleiwitz saw its largest crowd of 85 viewers at a performance of *Hoffmans Erzählungen* put on by Berlin's travelling theatre troupe. 'Jüdische Kulturarbeit in Oberschlesien', *Almanach Kulturbund Deutscher Juden* (1934): 99.

[26] Levinger did not give a precise figure for the previous season's deficit. Dr. Heinrich Levinger, 'Billanz und Voranschlag', *Jüdischer Kulturbund Rhein-Ruhr, Gemeinschaft der Freunde des Theaters und der Musik e.V. Mitteilung* (October 1935): 3.

spanning from Breslau in the northeast to the Rhineland in the southwest. Singer's correspondences do not explain the linguistic shift, but its timing corresponds with the official recognition of the Kulturbund in Bavaria. The Kulturbund in Bavaria was conspicuously absent not only from the 'Umbrella Organisation of Prussian Cultural Leagues', but also from any correspondence between Singer and Hinkel until the spring of 1935.

Although no written record exists to fully clarify the position, Bavarian Kulturbund leaders were themselves likely responsible for not joining Singer's expanding Kulturbund network. That is to say: if they were asked, the Bavarians likely turned Singer's invitation down. During its first two seasons of activity the Kulturbund in Bavaria was a regional undertaking. Bavarian artists performed the vast majority of Bavarian Kulturbund events. Bavarian locales even preferred to employ artists from their own city before considering artists from other Bavarian towns. Well-known Nuremberg pianist Ludwig Grünbaum contacted the Kulturbund leadership in Bamberg offering his professional services for an upcoming concert; Grünbaum was told that he could perform, but only if local Bamberger pianist Stefan Fried was unavailable.[27] As previously discussed, Kulturbund leadership in Munich had expressed the League's cultural activity in terms of local importance. These events suggest a conceptualisation of a specific form of Bavarian Jewish culture. Yet it was not until a national convention of all Jewish cultural organisations in April 1935 that this idea of Bavarian-Jewish regional cultural expression – particularly one that based itself against Berlin – came to the fore of debate.

The April 1935 'Conference of Jewish Cultural Leagues' and National Centralisation

On Saturday afternoon, 27 April 1935, the first 'Conference of Jewish Cultural Leagues in Germany' convened at the Berliner Theatre – the rented Charlottenburg home of the Berlin Kulturbund theatre company from 1933 until

[27] Ludwig Grünbaum to the Jüdischer Kulturbund in Bayern, Ortsgruppe Bamberg, 7 March 1938. D/Ba/380, CAHJP.

September 1935.[28] The conference, scheduled to span the entire weekend, covered a single topic: the creation of a Reich-wide Jewish cultural league.[29] Those present at the conference included delegates from the Reichsvertretung der Deutschen Juden, the Gemeinde in Berlin, the Künstlerhilfe (also based in Berlin) and representatives from Jewish cultural organisations throughout Germany. Staatskommissar Hinkel and two administrative staff members from the Gestapo (Kublacke, Hinkel's administrative assistant, and Kuchmann, Hinkel's personal secretary) were also in attendance.[30] Of the 44 Jewish representatives, 12 individuals were from Berlin. Most other cities and towns sent two high-ranking committee members to the conference; Dr. Alfred Perlmutter and Erich Erck represented Bavarian Kulturbund interests.[31]

Singer opened the conference with a speech entitled 'The Necessity of a Central Organisation' ('Die Notwendigkeit einer Zentralorganisation').[32] He offered three reasons to support a national Kulturbund structure. First, it would provide a main office to handle communication with the state authorities, easing the burden on local offices. Second, it would produce a common cultural programme throughout Germany; this would, according to Singer, provide artists with more work and a greater opportunity to travel throughout the country.

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[28] The Berlin Kulturbund was unable to renew its lease for the Berliner Theater after the completion of the 1934/35 season. In September 1935 the new season opened at the much smaller Herrnfeld Theater on 57 Kommandantenstrasse (commonly known as the Kommandantenstrasse Theater). Rovit notes that the Berliner Theater had 1,400 seats, whereas the Herrnfeld Theater had only 800. Moves physically separating Kulturbund venues from 'German' cultural venues, as well as pushing Jewish venues outside city centres, were occurring throughout the Reich at this time. Not only did the change in venue result in physical separation, but it also made it more difficult for Kulturbund members to arrive at the performance. This became a point of increasing concern as Jews were barred from public transportation and curfews became earlier. The issue of performance venues will be dealt with in more detail later in Chapter Seven. See: Rebecca Rovit, *The Jewish Kulturbund Theatre Company in Nazi Berlin* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2012), 80-83.

[29] The first mention of altering the name occurred in March 1935. Hans Hinkel to the Kulturbund Deutscher Juden, 12 March 1935. Doc 575 Reel 54/29/I, WL.

[30] Note: the first names of Kublacke and Kuchmann are unknown.

[31] 'Protokoll der Tagung: Anwesenheitsliste', 2.

[32] 'Zusammenschluß der jüdischen Kulturbünde Deutschland', *Jüdischer Kulturbund Rhein-Ruhr, Gemeinschaft der Freunde des Theaters und der Musik e.V. Mitteilung* (June 1935): 4.

Finally, he claimed it would facilitate cultural participation in smaller communities that lacked the means necessary to sustain ensembles of their own.[33]

Hans Hinkel followed Singer's opening remarks. He began his address by emphasising the recent work he and Singer had untaken in preparation for this conference, telling the audience, 'I believe that it is in your best interest'[34] to join into a national Kulturbund.[35] Hinkel ended his address at an attempt to garner goodwill, assuring the representatives of his supposed 'humour' and good nature. The Staatskommissar then opened the floor to questions and debate.[36] Yet any debate would largely be without consequence. Hinkel's position was already established in his speech. By late April 1935 the regime's political control was consolidated and its anti-Jewish policies were growing increasingly restrictive. Any earlier apprehensions about maintaining control over a large Jewish cultural organisation had seemingly dissipated. The regime now supported the creation of a national Jewish cultural organisation; individual delegates themselves had little say in the matter if they wanted to continue their activities. All that remained to debate was the internal communal politics that would shape Jewish cultural life after April 1935.

The regional delegates' fear over the loss of regional autonomy inherent in the creation of a single unified organisation was the most contentious issue discussed over the course of the conference. Singer clearly anticipated conflict prior to the start of the weekend. He addressed the issue of regional loyalty four separate times in the course of his opening speech, including his own admission of the distrust with which some viewed his Berlin office. Singer stated,

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[33] Ibid., 46.
[34] 'Protokoll der Tagung', 9.
[35] These ambiguous issues seem to stem mostly from uncertainty concerning Nazi cultural policy and censorship in relationship to Jewish performance. How centralisation was to solve these issues remained unclear.
[36] Hans Hinkel would later be exonerated from the role he played in the Nazi regime. Decades later, Hinkel's obituary went so far as to praise his 'humane' treatment of the Jews during the Third Reich, using the Kulturbund as a prime example—his role in arranging deportations and approval of looting cultural artifacts from Poland were conveniently disregarded. Alan E. Steinweis, 'Hans Hinkel and German Jewry, 1933-1941', *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* (1993); 'Protokoll der Tagung', 11.

> I know that when you think about Berlin it does not always happen in the tone of goodwill, but this does not matter; we are all here and we will communicate, for it is only then that a real clarification of events is possible.[37]

Indeed, Singer's concern over regional opposition was not unwarranted. As mentioned, Singer first began the process of centralising Jewish cultural activity more than a year and a half prior to the conference. Those who had avoided joining Singer's Kulturbund structure prior to the conference were unlikely to have joined by their own accord. It took a regime-backed conference to create a truly Reich-wide Kulturbund.

Singer was not alone in his efforts to persuade any doubtful cultural leaders. Dr. Heinrich Levinger (Cologne), Chairman of the Kulturbund Rhein-Ruhr, dedicated an entire speech to the issue of regionalism within the national Kulturbund structure. Levinger noted,

> The variety of landscapes [in Germany] means that Jews are also different in their demands and their approaches [to art]. What is felt and cherished in the North does not find the same acceptance in the South. And what is loved in the South is not seen as worthy of the same merit in the North.[38]

Further, according to Levinger there was little reason that concerns over regional artistic expression should trump the positive effects of joining the Reichsverband. He stated that, in his opinion, the positives gained through the Rhein-Ruhr's alignment with Berlin far outweighed any negative aspects. Levinger explained that the Kulturbund Rhein-Ruhr's decision to join the Berlin-based 'Central Offices of Prussian Cultural Leagues' in the spring of 1934 resulted in increased cultural opportunity for Kulturbund members in his area. He continued, claiming that in the last year Cologne's Kulturbund artists held guest roles in various Berlin theatrical performances. Additionally, an increasing number of actors based in Berlin began performing in Cologne and more visual

[37] Ibid., 7.
[38] 'Protokoll der Tagung', 25.

artists were now given the opportunity to showcase works in exhibits throughout Germany.[39]

Those outside the pre-existing Berlin-based structure, however, were wary of the amount of control that would be vested in the capital. Regional branches of the Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria had embraced a means of self-representation that blended local Bavarian and Jewish traditions. Indeed, it was only in Bavaria that a self-described high-art 'Jewish' marionette theatre aimed at adult audiences took popular hold. For the Bavarians, these discussions were not merely about issues of internal administrative control. There was an issue of local pride. As previously stated, Bavarian Kulturbund leadership – all of whom were located in Munich – often conceptualised their activity within the context of the Kunststadt debate, the long-held cultural antagonism felt between Munich and Berlin. And here, in April 1935, was Berlin once again threatening to take away from the city's cultural claims. Yet there was also a more practical concern. The creation of a national Kulturbund programme, as espoused by Singer, would streamline cultural activity and improve performance opportunities. What Singer fell short of mentioning, however, was that this improvement in performance opportunities would largely benefit Berlin-based artists – at the expense of local artists.

Bavarian leadership was not alone in its distrust of a Berlin-centred Kulturbund. As the conference continued the battle lines were often drawn between the familiar divide of northern and southern Germany. Stuttgart's Karl Adler, Chairman of Stuttgart's Jewish Art Community and former director of the Stuttgart Conservatorium, was the first representative to address the issue of regional control. For Adler, the question was not just a matter of maintaining control over the process of political representation, but was more so an issue of maintaining regional cultural identity. In his case, Adler was concerned with maintaining a southern German identity within Jewish artistic work. He explained his position, stating:

> I speak not only in the name of the Württemberg Organisation, but rather as a representative for the interests of all South German Leagues that will be impacted by the principle of cultural

[39] Ibid.

> centralization, when I state that the creation of a Dachorganisation is necessary (notwendig). A prerequisite must be stated – that the founding organisational and cultural conditions under which South German Jewish cultural work is carried out must not come from Berlin as dictatorial decrees due to Berlin's inability to survey the specific situations of South German branches in detail.[40]

Adler continued to directly counter points made in Levinger's speech, again reiterating his position on the topic: 'It is with urgency that we must address the desires of the people in the provinces and bring them to the front of our culture.'[41]

Bavarian Kulturbund Chairman and Münchner Dr. Alfred Perlmutter backed Adler, claiming that the autonomy and 'independence' of the individual Kulturbünde must be maintained after the creation of the Reichsverband – a point seemingly in response to Singer's positive portrayal of Jewish artists from larger cities (mostly Berlin) traveling throughout Germany for performance opportunities.[42] Perlmutter also expressed his dissatisfaction with the entire process in general. He expanded on the importance of maintaining regional self-control over Jewish cultural expression and his own apprehensions regarding what Adler had earlier deemed as 'dictatorial decrees' stemming from Berlin. Despite his misgivings, however, Perlmutter believed the Bavarian Kulturbund had no alternative but to join the Reichsverband, as he informed his fellow delegates multiple times throughout the conference. The Bavarian Chairman maintained his contrary position even after a supposedly unanimous vote for approval had been cast, stating:

> We in South Germany would have been happy if we had been spared from the creation of the Reichsorganisation. We are of the opinion, however, that we must [emphasis in original] join the organization, or it will be forced upon us by the state.[43]

[40] Ibid., 17-18.
[41] Ibid., 45.
[42] Ibid., 46.
[43] Ibid., 55.

Perlmutter's intuition regarding the lack of options was correct. By the end of the weekend it had been decided that the newly named Jewish Cultural League in Germany, with its seat in Berlin, would be the sole organisational representation of Jewish cultural life in Nazi Germany. The decision was declared unanimous, although the conference's minutes make no note of a motion to vote or an official vote count.[44]

Prior to the conference, the Kulturbund Deutscher Juden served 61 German cities. National membership totals included nearly 60,000 individuals.[45] At the conclusion of the April 1935 conference this number grew significantly. By the start of the 1935/36 Season, the Jüdischer Kulturbund in Deutschland was active in 82 German cities.[46] Nineteen additional cities, towns or villages were corralled into the national Kulturbund structure; at least ten of these were pre-existing Kulturbund branches in Bavaria, and Adler's cultural organisation in Stuttgart added four more locations. A few additional branches, such as the Kulturbund Hamburg, were brought into existence over the course of the summer in 1935. Such large numbers made it a significant undertaking. The scope of cultural activity now under his command was not lost on Singer. According to Singer's closing remarks, 'We may, in the years to come, look back upon today as an historical event equal to the founding of great organisations such as the Central Verein, the Zionist movement, and the Reichsvertretung.'[47] With these grandiose words the conference was adjourned.

The Impact of National Consolidation in Bavaria: Administrative and Artistic.

[44] Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews*, 66.
[45] Kurt Singer to Joseph Goebbels, 'Bericht der jüdischen Leitung des "Reichsverbandes Jüdischen Kulturbünde" über die Entwicklung des Jüdischen Kulturbundes Berlin und den Reichsverband der Jüdischen Kulturbünde in Deutschland', 17 April 1935, 8-9. Doc 575 Reel 54/29/I, WL.
[46] 'Jüdische Kulturbewegung in Deutschland', *Kulturbund Deutscher Juden Monatsblätter* (November 1935): 11.
[47] 'Protokoll der Tagung', 92.

The April 1935 creation of the Jewish Kulturbund in Germany ushered in a new phase of Jewish cultural life in Bavaria. Hinkel, who had only attended the first half of the first day of proceedings, received a copy of the 'Minutes of the Conference of the National Association of Jewish Cultural Leagues in Germany' two weeks after the conference's end.[48] Hinkel forwarded a copy of the minutes to the Gestapo and the Reich Ministry for Propaganda for review and comment. As described in Chapter Two, a number of legislative changes concerning the relationship between the National Socialist state and the Kulturbund were enacted in the weeks that followed.

The new Reichsverband's further existence was called into question only months after its founding, however. On 4 February 1936, David Frankfurter, a Jewish student, killed Nazi leader Wilhelm Gustloff in Davos, Switzerland. Hinkel's office responded to the event by immediately suspending all Kulturbund activity until further notice. The Jewish Cultural League in Bavaria offered full-price ticket refunds for all canceled events, such as the Marionette Theater performance scheduled for 17 February.[49] However, the organisation's financial weaknesses made it very difficult to continue its required daily functioning without the revenue generated by events.

On 1 March 1936, the League placed an appeal in the *Gemeindezeitung* asking for donations. These free-will donations were to cover operating expenses during the length of the ban. The article asked community members to 'pay rates voluntarily, so that the tasks required to continue the Kulturbund's operations can be maintained and to ensure the organization's future survival.'[50] However, fewer community members than ever before possessed the financial strength necessary to provide donations. Leadership admitted that poverty was a problem throughout the community, and that not every individual or family could afford the relatively high price of tickets without significant sacrifice.[51]

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[48] Kurt Singer to Hans Hinkel, 11 May 1935. Doc 575 Reel 54/29/I, WL.
[49] 'An unsere Mitglieder!', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 February 1936, 85.
[50] 'An unsere Mitglieder!', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 1 March 1936, 108-109.
[51] Artur Holde, 'Volkskunstabende', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 February 1936, 86.

Yet Bavarian artists continued to meet during the ban on Kulturbund activity. According to a police report filed by Maria Luiko's two elderly neighbours, '8-12 Jews' often gathered in the painter's studio at Blutenburgstrasse 12/II, arriving in the evening and staying until the 'late hours'. Their denunciation stated that one night, nearly two weeks prior to their statement, a meeting had grown louder than usual. Upon investigating, the women admitted that the group was gathered for a theatre rehearsal. However, in a joint statement, the women claimed that these gatherings were 'undeniably political in nature', although they had no evidence to back their assertion. The Bavarian Political Police report also noted that Luiko was a member of the Zionist Youth Group in Munich. An inquiry was sent to Luiko's home address at Loristrasse.[52] A day after the report was filed, Luiko was cleared of holding 'communist meetings' in her studio; instead, the meetings were categorised as 'special Jewish gatherings'.[53] A month later, in late April 1936, Luiko wrote to the Political Police in response to the report. She stated that the meetings in her apartment were indeed meetings of Kulturbund artists, and on the particular night in question they were rehearsing for a future performance.[54]

The Propaganda Ministry lifted the ban on Kulturbund performance in early March. Events in Bavaria resumed after 15 March 1936.[55] Yet the aftermath of the Reichsverband conference also resulted in a number of internal administrative and repertoire changes in Bavaria that proved difficult for the regional branches' daily functioning. After April 1935 overall internal control of the Jewish Kulturbund in Bayern was transferred from the Bavarian Gemeinde to the Reichsverband offices in Berlin. This shift required the Bavarian Kulturbund to implement a membership structure. As previously stated, during the first two seasons in Bavaria any member of the Bavarian Jewish community could purchase tickets and attend events. Now, to purchase a ticket one was required

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[52] Bayerische Politische Polizei, 'II 1 A.F.Tbg.Nr. 427/36', 26 March 1936. Polizeidirektionen München 14698, StAM.
[53] Bayerische Politische Polizei, 'B.Nr.25114/36 II 1 A', 27 March 1936. Polizeidirektionen München 14698, StAM.
[54] Bayerische Politische Polizei, 'Abt. V. DSt. 511', 22 April 1936. Polizeidirektionen München 14698, StAM.
[55] 'Mitteilung an unsere Mitglieder!', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung,* 15 March 1936, 131.

to maintain an annual membership with the national Kulturbund structure and to pay monthly fees during the season. An additional administrative fee of .03 RM per Kulturbund member per month was charged to the local Kulturbund branch to be used by the Reichsverband main offices in Berlin.[56]

In Munich and Nuremberg-Fürth, the two largest Jewish communities in Bavaria, there was a single option for membership. Membership required an 'unbroken' monthly fee of 2.00 RM (amounting to a total annual fee of 16.00 RM) to be paid prior to the first performance of every month during the season; any payments not received by the 15th of the month were subjected to a 30 Pfg. surcharge that was collected at the home of the individual. Ticket prices, not included in the membership costs, varied according to event and seat location. Additionally, the new membership structure required the full submission of an application form and recent passport photo (to be used for identification purposes). This Kulturbund bureaucracy was to be completed and returned in person – along with a 1 RM collection fee – to the local Gemeinde offices.[57]

In Bamberg, where the annual Kulturbund programme scheduled only eight regular season performances in comparison to Munich and Nuremberg-Fürth's 16-event regular season programme, the pricing was slightly lower. Bamberg based its membership structure on a two-tier structure likely meant to ease the financial burdens of membership. A main family membership card, the 'Hauptkarte', was purchased for each household at 4 RM; each additional member of the household was able to purchase a 'Nebenkarte' for the reduced price of 2 RM. Each membership card also provided eight vouchers, ranging in value from .50 RM for the 'Hauptkarte' to .25 RM for the 'Nebenkarte', to be used to reduce the cost of individual event tickets.[58]

These new membership requirements were not always fully embraced by the Bavarian Kulturbund community. As had been pointed out to Singer during the April 1935 conference, the issue of providing a photograph for membership

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[56] See the Kulturbund announcement section: *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung,* 15 September 1935, 23-26.
[57] 'Mitgliedschaftsbestimmungen', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung,* 15 September 1935, 391 and 394.
[58] 'Richtlinien: Jüdischer Kulturbund in Bayern, Ortsgruppe Bamberg'. Da/B/378, CAHJP.

cards 'would encounter exceptional technical and moral difficulties' from some of the more religiously traditional factions of the southern German Kulturbund audiences.[59] However, this statement was likely a pretext or an excuse for not wanting to follow the identification protocol; even the most traditionally orthodox of Jews had passports with photographic identification. The newly enforced membership structure had a particularly slow rate of acceptance in Nuremberg-Fürth. In January 1937 the exasperated Nuremberg-Fürth Kulturbund leadership took to the local Jewish press to air their aggravation over their general memberships' disregard for the new membership rules. They wrote:

> For a year and a half we strove monthly to hammer it into our readers' heads, that according to official orders no entrance to our events is permitted without photographic identification and that anyone who comes to events without such identification will inevitably be rejected.[60]

The issue of individuals attempting to gain entrance to events with a valid ticket but lacking photographic identification was a common enough occurrence that it was a common complaint of local Kulturbund leadership in Nuremberg-Fürth.

The start of Bavaria's 1935/36 Season, the first under the new Reichsverband, was delayed until October 1935 in order to accommodate the new membership requirements and operating conditions. This extra time allowed the local Kulturbund offices to gather the 'limited available financial resources' needed to expand its advertisement efforts throughout the region.[61] A rapid process of membership recruitment was undertaken. Local leaders were concerned that the new membership scheme (and the additional cost of annual Kulturbund membership) might deter audiences. Thus, the membership drive was necessary to ensure that Kulturbund performances 'will not take place in

[59] 'Protokoll der Tagung', 18.
[60] Vorstand des Jüdischen Kulturbundes in Bayern, Ortsgruppe Nürnberg-Fürth, 'Liebe Leser des Gemeindeblattes!', *Nürnberg-Fürther Israelitisches Gemeindeblatt*, 1 January 1937, 180.
[61] Erich Erck to the Bayerische Politische Polizei, '40535'. MK 15382, BHStAM.

front of empty rooms, since only members of the local chapters will be allowed to attend the events'.[62]

More drastic changes, and the themes of the following two chapters, occurred in regards to the Bavarian programme. In the second half of the decade the number of local artists who were scheduled to perform on Bavarian Kulturbund stages fell precipitously. As a general rule, the Bavarian Kulturbund programmes were finalised during the summer preceding the next season's premiere; in Bamberg the programming deadline was set for July.[63] Thus, the first season after Kulturbund centralisation was relatively untouched by the process of a national Jewish cultural re-alignment. Regional-based artists and academics performed the majority of Bavarian Kulturbund events in the 1934, 1934/35 and the first half of the 1935/36 seasons. From 1936 until the first weeks of the 1938/39 seasons, however, performances by regional artists were replaced by performances from traveling artists based outside Bavaria. During the 1936/37 Season a new low of only 40% of performances featured Bavarian artists; this percentage dropped to a mere 20% in 1937/38.

Instead, the majority of local performers were pushed into a so-called 'Sonderveranstaltungen' series – a special event series not included in the Kulturbund's regular season programming. As such, these special events were not included in the regular Kulturbund membership fees; attendance costs for these performances ranged from 1.00 RM to 1.60 RM. Yet these 'special events' often included the most popular local cultural undertakings – including Munich's Marionette Theatre of Jewish Artists, the Synagogue Choir and other locally based performing groups.

The rapid decline of local artists is more striking when examined within the boundaries of the three Bavarian artistic departments: adult education, the visual arts and music. Neither the visual arts nor the adult education department noted much alteration to their previous trends – although, as will be discussed in Chapter Eight, the exhibition possibilities available to Bavaria's visual artists improved after the creation of the Reichsverband. Whereas the visual arts

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[62] Ibid.
[63] Kultusgemeinde Bamberg to Frau Helene Poritzky, 10 December 1937. D/Ba/379, CAHJP.

department more or less maintained its former status quo as a regional endeavour, adult education department maintained its connection to the national circuit of lecturers who travelled throughout the country. There was little quantitative difference between the proportion of Bavarian and non-Bavarian lecturers, reciters or authors who gave readings of their own work from the first seasons and the final seasons.[64] The greatest change in regional cultural production and participation, however, was evident in the musical department. After the Reichsverband, non-Bavarian based musicians (mostly those living in Berlin) replaced Bavarian musicians on Bavarian Kulturbund stages. This not only impacted who was performing, but also what was being performed on stage. After April 1935 the Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria's programme became less 'Jewish' and less Bavarian.

[64] The Kulturbund lecture series that constituted Bavaria's adult education department grew from a Munich-based adult education system established in 1919 and then re-organised in 1925 to resemble Franz Rosenzweig's Lehrhaus movement; Rosenzweig opened the Frankfurt Lehrhaus in August 1920 with the intent of 'reorganizing and revitalizing Jewish life' through adult education – a 'reclaiming of Jewish knowledge within the diaspora'. After 1926 Ludwig Feuchtwanger took over control of the Munich Lehrhaus. In this Weimar context, Munich's Jewish community's adult education series consisted of seminars and lectures from invited academics and speakers throughout Germany. After 1934 the Kulturbund's adult education department was based on this pre-existing example from the 1920s. Brenner, *The Renaissance of Jewish*, 71-72, 90, 97.

7. A Bavarian Musical Department without Bavarian Musicians: Repertoire, Artists and Venues.

In the autumn of 1936, a year and a half after the successful consolidation of all Jewish cultural life into a single national Kulturbund organisation, Kulturbund leader Dr. Kurt Singer organised a two-day Kulturbund conference at Berlin's Josef-Lehmann School from 5-7 September 1936.[1] Representatives from all regional Kulturbund branches were present, as were Hans Hinkel, Gestapo officials and representatives from Berlin's police. The purpose of the conference was to decide on a single definition of 'Jewish' cultural activity. The majority of these discussions revolved around a definition of 'Jewish' music.[2]

Singer's plan for the conference mostly revolved around easing the divide between Berlin's Zionist and non-Zionist factions within the Kulturbund structure.[3] According to Singer's opening remarks, from September 1936 onward there would be 'no difference between Zionist and non-Zionist wishes' in regards to the contents of Kulturbund programmes; this newly envisioned unified Kulturbund programme would, according to Singer, transcend these two divides and offer a 'new' 'Jewish' cultural programme.[4] Singer offered three guiding principles for establishing a 'Jewish' programme: canonical works of 'world literature',[5] works by Jewish authors/composers and works composed in

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[1] Lily E. Hirsch, *A Jewish Orchestra in Nazi Germany: Musical Politics and the Berlin Jewish Cultural League* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010), 47.

[2] Dr. Kurt Singer, 'Die Kulturtagung – Ergebnis und Ausblick', *Jüdischer Kulturbund Berlin Monatsblätter, September* (Berlin: Verlag Schmoller & Gordon, 1936), 1.

[3] For more information on the topic of Zionist and non-Zionist views on art, see Hirsch, *A Jewish Orchestra*, 46-57; Herbert Freeden, *Jüdisches Theater in Nazideutschland* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1964); Völker Dahm, 'Kulturelles und geistiges Leben', in *Die Juden in Deutschland: 1933-1945,* ed. Wolfgang Benz (Munich: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1989), 104-112.

[4] Freeden, *Jüdisches Theater*, 81-83; Hirsch, *A Jewish Orchestra*, 47-48.

[5] Singer's examples of 'world literature' included authors such as Shakespeare, Goethe, Lessing, Shaw, Moliére, Wedekind, Hauptmann, Tolstoy, and Ibsen.

Hebrew or Yiddish (which could be performed in their original language or translated into German).[6]

Regarding the national Kulturbund musical department, the conference officially defined 'Jewish' music as music by a Jewish composer or songs with texts in Yiddish or Hebrew. In all, this was perhaps the easiest solution to the 'question' of 'Jewish' music. Making ancestry an important criterion eased the selection process for the Kulturbund Board in Berlin: they did not need to consider complex interpretations of theme or rhythm, but rather could simply point to a composer's heritage as proof of his or her (but mostly his) 'Jewishness'. Such a focus also allowed for a greater room to manoeuvre within the classical Western European orchestral repertory – an area that was, as shown in previous chapters, preferred by the Berlin leadership. This was an important moment of transition for the Berlin office, as well as for those Kulturbund branches that had been under Berlin's direction since their inception. On the national level, the overall Reichsverband musical repertoire did begin to shift toward to a more self-described 'Jewish' focus in the latter half of the decade. Again, on the national level, the number of musical pieces by Jewish composers increased, as did the performance of Yiddish and Hebrew songs.

However, this notion of a noticeable post-1935/36 'Jewish' musical turn does not hold true in the Bavarian Kulturbund musical programme. As shown in Chapter Four, the Bavarian musical programme engaged in defining and performing 'Jewish' music already in 1934. Although various cities embraced different aspects of 'Jewish' music – from Munich's focus on heritage to Würzburg's more religious association – overall the Bavarian Kulturbund maintained a fairly consistent conceptualisation of 'Jewish music' from its inception until its final season.

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[6] The speeches from this September 1936 conference have been reprinted under the heading: 'Kulturtagung des Reichsverbandes der jüdischen Kulturbünde in Deutschland, 5.-7. September 1936' in Akademie der Künste, Berlin, ed., *Geschlossene Vorstellung: Der Jüdische Kulturbund in Deutschland, 1933-1941* (Berlin: Edition Hentrich, 1992), 266-297. See also: Hirsch, *A Jewish Orchestra*, 47-56; Rebbeca Rovit, *The Jewish Kulturbund Theatre Company in Nazi Berlin* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2012), 101-103; Freeden, *Jüdisches Theather*, 79-87; Dahm, 'Kulturelles und geistiges Leben', 165-169.

When Bavarian musicians did perform on the Bavarian Kulturbund stage after centralisation, their programme was generally similar to the selections made in the first half of the decade. Mendelssohn remained a Kulturbund favourite, and the composer was performed at least 21 times between 1935 and 1938. As before, *Elijah* remained a popular piece in the south. Excerpts from *Elijah* were played at least six times during this period; once in Bamberg and Munich each and four times in Nuremberg. Nuremberg-Fürth's Orchestra and Choir even performed *Elijah* in its entirety during the summer of 1938. Reviews in the Jewish press noted that both groups were performing at less than their usual full strength. Emigration had depleted the ranks of local Kulturbund musicians; the orchestra was described as 'small' and the choir as 'not large'.[7] Kantor Benjamin Freund of Fürth performed the title role of the prophet Elijah, while the tenor Ceslanski (Obadjah), Irma Held-Landecker (Witwe), Irma Frank (Königin) and the alto G. Herzberg (Arioso solo) were all singled out for their strong performance.[8] The local Nuremberg-Fürth Jewish press lauded the oratorio itself as a 'great masterpiece' of 'dramatic scenes'.[9] Max Bernheimer's review in the Nuremberg-Fürth Jewish press made note of 'all the internal and external difficulties' facing the *Elijah* performance, but declared the event itself a success. The evening was said to have ended with 'strong applause and lively recognition' for the 'love and work' all the local musicians put into the performance.[10] This was the last orchestra concert performed in the Bavarian Kulturbund. Yet the programming differences were markedly noticeable when comparing the music performed by Berlin-based musicians with that being performed by Bavarians.

In short, the differences between the Bavarian and Berlin musical departments were three-fold. First, most notably, there were differences in the musical programme. Bavaria's programme tended more toward self-described 'Jewish' music throughout its existence – as described in Chapter Four. Bavarians

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[7] 'Aus den Gemeinden. Nürnberg', *Israelitisches Familienblatt*, 18 August 1938, 10.
[8] 'Das Oratorium "Elias"', *Israelitisches Familienblatt*, 18 August 1938, 10.
[9] 'Elias-Aufführung', *Jüdisches Gemeindeblatt für die israelitischen Gemeinden in Nürnberg und Fürth*, 1 June 1938, 53.
[10] Max Bernheimer, 'Mendelssohns Oratorium "Elias"', *Jüdisches Gemeindeblatt für die israelitischen Gemeinden in Nürnberg und Fürth*, 1 August 1938, 86.

maintained this commitment to 'Jewish' music in the latter half of the decade, even as Berlin-based musicians altered the orientation of the music being performed. Indeed, the influx of non-Bavarian musicians and musical groups into the Bavarian Kulturbund programme brought with it a less 'Jewish' musical programme than had existed prior to centralisation.

Second, there were important differences in the gendered composition of the musicians themselves. Nearly two-thirds of Bavarian Kulturbund musicians were women. This is a significant number.[11] However, the role of women in the Kulturbund structure remains a significant gap in the existing literature. There has not been an analysis of how gender impacted Kulturbund performances. Jewish women have generally been visible only in their absence from public cultural participation. Yet in the Bavarian Kulturbund, Jewish women were at the centre of this public cultural sphere.

Thirdly, this public cultural sphere occurred in Bavarian locations imbued with a specific 'Jewish' meaning. Jacob Borut has deemed these locations 'Jewish' places: synagogues, Gemeinde owned meeting halls and museum rooms.[12] By comparison, Berlin concerts occurred in rented theatre halls. In light of these differences in physical settings, I believe it is beneficial to extend an analysis of the musical programme beyond the actual music. The Kulturbund musical department should be considered in the whole of its physical social context: there was the music being performed, but there was also the act of someone performing that music in a specific location.

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[11] Gabriele Fritsch-Vivié's study of the Berlin Kulturbund notes that between the years 1933 and 1937 there was a total of 1,326 men and only 717 women employed as artists by the Kulturbund. She did not break this number down into various categories – such as visual artists, musicians, actors, etc. – but the large discrepancy in this statistic suggests that the women were likely the minority in all the fields of performance. Fritsch-Vivié then goes on to discuss the role of the 'Kulturbundfrauen', but focuses not on artists but on the support and office staff. That said, the roles of these 'behind the scenes' women are important and should also not be pushed to the margins. Yet there remains important work to be done on the role of female artists. Gabriele Fritsch-Vivié, 'Der Bund – Soziales, Solidarität, Verbundenheit: Der Jüdische Kulturbund 1933-1941 in seiner Entwicklung Aufgabenstellung und Wirking', in *Die Vertreibung des Sozialen*, ed. Adriane Feustel, Inge Hansen-Schaberg, Gabriele Knapp (Munich: Richard Boorberg, 2009), 187.

[12] Jacob Borut, 'Struggles for Spaces: Where Could Jews Spend Free Time in Nazi Germany?', *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 56 (2011).

'Unser Münchner Kulturbundorchester':[13] The Loss of Regional Musical Representation

As previously noted, music was the most active Kulturbund department in Bavaria. A minimum of 137 concerts were performed in the Bavarian Kulturbund structure between its first and final performances. It also employed more local artists than the other two departments combined. During the first two seasons of Bavarian Kulturbund autonomy (1934, 1934/35) local Bavarian artists performed 67% and 59% of all concerts respectively.

Starting with the 1935/36 Season, however, the percentage of local musical performance dropped dramatically. Local musicians performed one-third (34%) of concerts in the first season after centralisation. While local musicians had performed a total of 22 concerts the previous season, in 1935/36 they performed only 11 – slashing the number of concerts in half. The downward trend continued throughout the remainder of the Kulturbund in Bavaria's existence. During the 1936/37 Season only 33% of concerts were performed by local musicians, and by the 1937/38 Season this number declined to a mere 27% of Kulturbund concerts being performed by locals.

More often than not local artists were replaced by traveling artists who embarked on national Kulturbund tours. Most of these artists were based in Berlin or other large cities (mainly Hamburg or Frankfurt am Main). Paula Lindberg (later Paula Lindberg-Salomon) made her first tour of Bavarian Kulturbund branches in October 1935. She stopped first in Munich, and from Munich continued on to Nuremberg and Bamberg before returning to Munich at the end of the week. The Kulturbund Rhein-Main's String Quartet made its first Bavarian appearance in Nuremberg in late November 1935. A few days later the group performed again, this time in Munich (seemingly replacing Munich's own quartet in the local programme). Frankfurt am Main's other musical endeavour, the Kulturbund Orchestra Rhein-Main, took a similar tour through Würzburg,

[13] 'Symponiekonzert des Kulturbundorchesters München' *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 June 1936, 273.

Nuremberg and Munich in late February and early March 1938 (Season Five). Berlin's Mendelssohn-Trio began a tour in Nuremberg on 10 October 1937 and continued to Munich, Bamberg and Würzburg over the course of the next month.

That said, certain aspects of the Bavarian programme continued as mainstays. Erich Erck's Kulturbund Orchestra in Munich performed regularly throughout its six seasons of existence. However, the local aspect of Munich's own orchestra seems to have increased in importance during the latter half of the decade. A review in Munich's Jewish newspaper noted:

> Our contemporary Munich Kulturbund Orchestra, when one excludes the Jewish professional orchestras in the Reich, has developed into an artistic organism created, as can be found in no other Jewish community in Germany, and it may be pronounced at this point, that the community is to a great extent conscious of the valuable cultural factors which have happened so far. … Let us not forget, that this orchestra is, from the first to the last conductor's stand, created by Jews who have placed their whole selves at the service of the Jewish Community. What Jews can achieve in unity of volition and closeness can hardly be expressed more strikingly than in the playing of our Munich Jewish orchstra.[14]

Notably, it was not 'the' Munich Kulturbund orchestra, but rather (and repeatedly) 'our' orchestra. Additionally, both Julius Kaufmann's orchestra and Sebald Müller's choir in Nuremberg remained important facets of the Nuremberg-Fürth programme.

However, it was the smaller local ensembles and individual musicians who suffered the most. During the second half of the 1930s only two events in Bamberg featured local artists: Munich musicians Irma Stern, Lieselotte Weiß and Dr. Benno Flehinger performed at the 'Gasthaus Weiße Taube' in March 1936, and Hede Kaufmann (Bayreuth), Kantor Scheuerman and Klothel Levy (both of Nuremberg) performed in February 1937. Munich's Chamber Music Trio – Lola Kronheimer, Alfred Blum and Dr. Benno Flehinger – never performed together again after the creation of the Reichsverband. Würzburg – which inaugurated its Kulturbund in March 1934 with a concert by local artists Ilse

[14] 'Symponiekonzert des Kulturbundorchesters München', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 June 1936, 273.

Frank, Herte Gotthilf, Else Rypinski-Buchbinder and Marie Schlamme-Sprinz – did not feature a single concert by local artists after the creation of the Reichsverband in the 1935/36 Season.

There were no economic incentives or personnel crises that necessitated the shift from local performers to touring performers. Costs for a traveling ensemble were high, as troupes were required to transport not only individuals but also their instruments. Lodging was also an issue. In December 1937 the Kulturbund Orchestra Rhein-Main advertised its need of accommodation for 40 musicians for two nights during their upcoming February concert in Nuremberg.[15] The orchestra was able to find rooms in homestays and the concert commenced as planned – yet if they had not found homestays the concert would have been canceled.[16] Further, such a shift away from local musical performance cannot be explained by emigration. Of the above-mentioned musicians, all but three were still residing in Bavaria in 1935. [17] Instead, the surge in traveling musicians and groups was likely the result of Singer's stated aim of creating a common Jewish Kulturbund programme throughout Germany. It was the local artists in the smaller Jewish communities, those Singer claimed to be helping through the creation of the Reichsverband, who were the most negatively impacted by Kulturbund centralisation.

Not only were local musicians increasingly displaced from the local Kulturbund programme, but the programme itself underwent a change in orientation. As previously stated, in 1934/35, the first full season of Kulturbund activity in Bavaria, local musicians performed nearly three-quarters of all concerts. Of the total concerts during this early season, 43% of performances consisted of 'Jewish' music, 40% of 'foreign' music; only 17% of the programme consisted of 'German' music (Chapter Four).[18] This implies that Bavarian

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[15] 'Lokales. Mitteilungen des Jüd. Kulturbundes in Bayern. Ortsgruppe Nürnberg-Fürth', *Nürnberg-Fürther Israelitisches Gemeindezeitung*, 1 December 1937, 161.
[16] 'Aus den Gemeinden. Nürnberg', *Israelitisches Familienblatt*, 17 March 1938, 17.
[17] I have been unable to trace any personal data on Lieselotte Weiß, Lola Kronheimer or Ilse Frank, so it is possible that they were still living in their Bavarian hometowns as well.
[18] See Chapter Four for a more in-depth examination of how the Kulturbund in Bavaria defined these terms.

musicians were engaged in performing 'Jewish' music at high rates. Such an orientation toward 'Jewish' music was the opposite of the performance trends in Berlin. After the April 1935 conference, however, the orientation of the Bavarian musical programme changed course – an unexpected change given the political atmosphere within which the Kulturbund operated after the summer of 1935.

As previously written, over the summer of 1935 the National Socialist regime sought to actively steer the Kulturbund programme away from what they deemed 'assimilationist' trends.[19] From the regime's point of view this meant limiting the performance of 'German' composers who were still allowed on Jewish stages. It is surprising, then, that the performance of 'German' music actually increased on the Bavarian Kulturbund stage after the creation of the Reichsverband. In the 1934/35 Season only 17% of musical performances in Bavaria would have been classified as 'German' in nature; the next season (1935/36), this percentage increased to 30% of the total musical programme. The percentage continued to increase over the course of the next seasons: in 1936/37 'German' music comprised 47% of the programme and in 1937/38 (the final full season) 'German' music comprised 52% of the Bavarian programme.

While 'German' music was being performed in Bavaria at rates greater than ever before, the performance of 'Jewish' music decreased. The inclusion of 'Jewish' music in the Bavarian programme fell from 43% of the programme in 1934/35 to merely 20% of the programme in 1935/36. Further, from the 1935/36 Season until the final full Kulturbund season in 1937/38 the percentage of 'Jewish' music performed in Bavaria stalled at around 20% of the programme.

In short: after centralisation in April 1935 the musical programme in Bavaria became increasingly 'German' and less 'Jewish'. Paradoxically, this occurred alongside increased National Socialist restrictions against 'German' music on 'Jewish' stages. This programmatic shift was accompanied by a simultaneous increase in non-Bavarian musicians performing in Bavarian Kulturbund locales. And it was the non-Bavarian troupes that performed the

[19] Bayerische Politische Polizei, 'Richtlinien für die Tätigkeit des Reichsverbandes der jüd. Kulturbünde in Deutschland, 18484/35 I 1 B', 29 August 1935. MK 15382, BHStaM.

majority of the 'German' oriented programme. Indeed, the performance of 'German' music increased at a rate parallel to the increase of non-Bavarian musical performers. Likewise, the decrease in 'Jewish' musical pieces paralleled the decrease of performances by Bavarian musicians.

For the Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria the April 1935 Conference was a major turning point. The establishment of the 'Reichsverband der Jüdischen Kulturbünde in Deutschland' with its main offices in Berlin greatly reduced internal local control over Jewish cultural life. A number of required administrative modifications altered its very structure, changing it from a cultural endeavour open to all members of the Bavarian Jewish communities to an independent entity that required an annual membership and photographic proof to gain entry. Further, the consolidation of a 'Jewish' Kulturbund cultural programme impacted who was performing and what was being performed. The regular Bavarian Kulturbund programme became, after April 1935, decidedly less 'Jewish' and less 'Bavarian'. It was only through the so-called 'Sonderveranstaltungen' – the special events staged outside the regular Kulturbund schedule – that previous engagements with Bavarian-Jewish themes continued.

Female Bavarian Musicians and the Kulturbund

The majority of Bavarian Kulturbund artists were musicians, approximately 70 percent. These individuals were a mixture of professionals and skilled amateurs. On average, in 1936 a Bavarian Kulturbund musician was 40 years old – ranging from the 18-year-old Inge Teusch to the 69-year-old Emmi Schwed. Further, women comprised a majority of Bavaria's Kulturbund musicians: 62%, slightly less than two-thirds, of Bavarian musicians were women. The percentage of female musicians increased to 80% of those performing outside of Munich. By comparison, there were only half as many women as men performing in Berlin.[20]

[20] Fritsch-Vivié, 'Der Bund', 187.

Female Bavarian musicians performing in the Kulturbund structure worked within two spheres that traditionally relegated women to subordinate positions: the secular German cultural-intellectual sphere and the religious sphere. By the years of the Weimar Republic public careers and higher levels of education came to mark the male Jewish sphere of participation in secular German public life. Indeed, the bourgeois sphere of high culture has been viewed as the domain of the bourgeois (in this case Jewish) man. These aspects of male lives fostered an experience rooted in both a physical 'Germany' and an abstract 'Germany' built upon certain Enlightenment traditions. As Marion Kaplan stated,

> Men, on the other hand, felt more at home with culture and politics. Generally more educated than their wives, they cherished what they regarded as German culture – the culture of the German Enlightenment.[21]

Further, women were also traditionally cut off from active public involvement within the religious world – particularly within the walls of the Synagogue. Indeed, it was men, rather than women, who were required by religious texts to actively participate in religious worship.

Thus, in the pre-1933 society in which these future female Kulturbund musicians lived, their traditional experiences of a secular 'Germanness' and a religious 'Jewishness' existed almost entirely in the private sphere of the home. As Harriet Pass Freidenreich has stated, 'For women, who were largely excluded from the public domain of synagogue and community and whose documented Jewish life-cycle events were most likely to be marriage and burial, Jewish identity was expressed mainly in the private sphere of the home and was often hidden from general view.'[22] When she did enter the public sphere, it was mostly through efforts at social relief or specific women's events created within the Gemeinde structure.[23]

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[21] Marion A. Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 65.
[22] Harriet Pass Freidenreich, *Female, Jewish, and Educated: The Lives of Central European University Women* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 134.
[23] For a complete overview of women in German-Jewish historiography: Benjamin Maria Baader, 'Jews, Women, and Germans: Jewish and German Historiographies in a Transatlantic Perspective' in *Gendering Modern German*

However, after 1933 Jewish daily life was altered. National Socialist persecution during this early phase of the regime largely targeted the public lives of men. As Dalia Ofer has stated, 'Nazi policies had an important, gendered impact on internal Jewish life' and, as a result, 'the victims also crossed gender boundaries.'[24] Accordingly, 'Gender roles in Jewish families shifted because of devastating economic, social, and emotional realities – forcing families to embrace strategies that they would never have entertained in ordinary times.'[25] Among these 'strategies' were women taking employment outside the home. The high number of female Kulturbund musicians in Bavaria may be a result of women taking the initiative to provide their families with an additional – although likely quite limited – source of money.

Further, these women possibly found it easier to navigate between various 'German' and 'Jewish' spheres due to their previous experiences. Anti-semitism and patriarchal misogyny both impacted the daily lives of Jewish women and shaped their perceptions. As Judith Szapor has argued, Jewish women's double emancipation (as Jews and as women) resulted in a complexity of experiences that allowed many to fluidly exist within multiple mental frameworks.[26] Or, in other words, women adopted multi-faceted identities as a direct result of their 'multiply coded' (e.g. their gendered confrontations with

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History: Rewriting Historiography, ed. Karen Haemann and Jean H. Quataert (New York: Berghahn, 2007), 169-189. Sharon Gillerman discusses the increasingly visible role of Jewish women in Jewish social bodies (e.g. welfare, social relief) during the Weimar years: Sharon Gillerman, *Germans into Jews: Remaking the Jewish Social Body in the Weimar Republic* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009). See also: Marion Kaplan, *The Making of the Jewish Middle Class: Women, Family, and Identity in Imperial Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 4.

[24] Dalia Ofer, 'The Contribution of Gender to the Study of the Holocaust', in *Gender and Jewish History*, ed. Marion Kaplan and Deborah Dash Moore (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011), 124 and 132.

[25] Marion A. Kaplan, 'The Jewish Response to the Third Reich: Gender at the Grassroots', in *Jews and Gender: The Challenge to Hierarchy*, ed. Jonathan Frankel (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 71-72.

[26] Judith Szapor, Andrea Petö, Maura Hametz, Marina Calloni, ed. *Jewish Intellectual Women in Central Europe, 1860-2000* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellon Press, 2012), ix and 1.

anti-semitism, anti-feminism, nationalism, etc.) experiences.[27] Bavarian women, who would have been influenced by both cultural and religious public spheres yet fully included in neither, may then have felt less of an ideological commitment to maintaining the rigid structures of the 'culture of the German Enlightenment'[28] than their male counterparts. Jewish men could attempt to find solace in a strict adherence to that ideological realm as their former worlds contracted around them.[29] For Jewish women, however, that ideological realm never provided a comparable level of opportunity – and this was perhaps reflected in the fluid nature of female manoeuvring between 'German' and 'Jewish' cultural forms in ways that did not occur in the male-dominated, professional atmosphere of Berlin.

As such, the question remains as to why this occurred in Bavaria and did not occur in Berlin. A potential answer may be found in the composition of the communities themselves. In these smaller communities particularly, such as Aschaffenburg or Bamberg, there simply were not as many professional Jewish musicians as there were in Berlin. Less competition with professionals perhaps translated in to more opportunity for those amateurs willing to participate, which Bavarian Jewish women did at rate higher than Bavarian Jewish men, perhaps because the men were still employed. In addition, fewer professionals may have resulted in less of an environment rooted in the traditionally male-dominated bourgeois sphere of Kultur, opening cultural performance to amateurs (and female amateurs) – and thus resulting in more varied internal self-representations of being 'German' and 'Jewish'. As Marion Kaplan has noted, it was women who, since the Imperial era, 'saw no conflict between affirming their German heritage and retaining their religious and cultural legacy.'[30]

Bavaria's female musicians came from a number of backgrounds with various musical upbringings. A few, including Munich's Irma Stern, Alma Weiss

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[27] See: Michael Herzfeld, *Cultural Intimacy: Social Poetics in the Nation-State, Second Edition* (New York: Routledge, 2005).
[28] Kaplan, *Dignity and Despair*, 65.
[29] Herbert Freeden has likened the German-Jewish (by this he means the male German Jewish experience) in the Kulturbund (in Berlin) to individuals clinging to a lifeboat at sea in a raging storm. Freeden, *Jüdisches Theater*, 3.
[30] Marion Kaplan, *The Making of the Jewish Middle Class: Women, Family, and Identity in Imperial Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 4.

and Emma Färber-Strasser, were formerly professional musicians – yet many were not. Prior to 1933, Stern was employed at the Munich Staatsoper while Weiss was well known in the city for her connection to the Meisterklasse der Akademie der Tonkunst. Both of these women were also members of Munich's Jewish Chamber Orchestra after 1931.[31] Färber-Strasser was a former Staatsopersängerin, but there is nothing to suggest she was involved in Jewish community musical life prior to the founding of the Bavarian Kulturbund.[32] Still others, such as Sonja Ziegler, had a performance background that existed almost entirely within the Jewish community.

Ziegler, who was 38 years old in 1936, was the most active female musician in the Bavarian Kulturbund. Her performance repertoire was overwhelmingly, although not exclusively, composed of Jewish liturgical music or Yiddish folk songs. Further, her pre-Kulturbund musical career appears to have been limited to 'Jewish' musical spheres: to Munich's Synagogue Choir and Munich's 'Hebrew Theatre'. Ziegler (neé Fleischer) was born in 1898 as the third of eight children to Max and Ida Fleischer in Odessa. Ziegler's family moved to Munich when she was a young child. She undertook private vocal training, and by 1924 was a frequent soloist for Munich Main Synagogue's Synagogue Choir. In April 1925 she married Josef Ziegler, the director of the Synagogue Choir. The couple had two children: Manfred (Fred) Kurt (1928) and Hannelore (1929). In 1929 Ziegler performed Yiddish folk songs in Munich for a 'Hebräischen Theaterabend'.[33] During her tenure with the Kulturbund she was noted in the local Jewish press for her performances in Hebrew and Yiddish – including

[31] 'Chanukka-Konzert des Jüdischen Kammerorchesters München', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 1 December 1931, 361; 'Konzert des verstärkten Jüdischen Kammerorchesters München am 27. Juni im Museumsaal', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 July 1932, 214.
[32] 'Konzert des Münchner Jüdischen Vokalquartetts', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 1 June 1934, 228.
[33] Samuel Taubes, 'Hebräischen Theaterabend', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 March 1929, 87; 'Das hebräische Theater in München', *Münchener N.N.*, 1928, 41A.

liturgical solos in the 21 November 1934 Munich Kulturbund Synagogue Concert and folk music solos in a March 1935 quartet concert.[34]

The lives of many of these female Kulturbund musicians outside of Munich, however, remains unknown. It is possible to ascertain that some grew up in musical households, likely influencing their own interest in music even if there is no direct evidence. Else Rypinski (neé Buchbinder) was an alto and performed with Würzburg's Kulturbund. Else Rypinski's sister, Rose Buchbinder, was a professional harpist who was also employed by city theatres in Würzburg, Memel and Nuremberg before her dismissal in 1933.[35] Her husband, Philip Rypinski, was also a musician in Würzburg's Kulturbund.[36] For others, all that is known are their birth dates and instruments. Aschaffenburg's Hilde Freund, born in 1915, was a Kulturbund pianist.[37] Still less is known about others – Bamberg's Hilde Marx and Regensburg's Suse Lehemann were both Kulturbund musicians yet even which instrument they played remains unknown.

Locations of Jewish Music in Bavaria

[34] Ba., 'Synagogenkonzert', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 1 November 1934, 506; Ba., 'Konzert des Münchner jud. Vokalquartetts,' *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung,* 1 April 1935, 158.
[35] Matthias Pasdzierny, 'Der Ozean, der mich seit jener Zeit von dem Geburtslande trennt, hat wieder zwei Ufer…': Der Künstlerfonds des Süddeutschen Rundfunk und das deutsch-jüdische Musikerexil' in *Kulturelle Räume und ästhetische Universalität: Musik und Musiker im Exil*, ed. Dörte Schmidt (Munich: text & kritik, 2008), 195-231.
[36] Philip Rypinski was born in 1884 to Russian parents living in Bamberg; after World War I he was employed as the musical director of the Stadttheater Heilbronn. Later, in 1930, Rypinski applied for naturalisation. The local Heilbronn police department initially approved his application. However, a year later, in 1931, the process was halted. Interior Minister Wilhelm Frick (NSDAP) opposed the naturalisation, claiming that Rypinski was a 'foreign race' (Fremdrassigen) who 'endangered the whole Reich'. Roland Flade, *Die Juden in Würzburg: Ihre Geschichte vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart* (Würzburg: H. Stürtz, 1991), 123-124.
[37] 'Hilde Freund', in *Lexikon verfolgter Musiker und Musikerinnen der NS-Zeit*, ed. Claudia Maurer and Peter Petersen, 19 January 2012, http://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00004509, Accessed: 14 February 2015.

In September 1936 Jews were not yet legally banned from 'German' cultural events – that is to say, from events that took place outside the Kulturbund structure. Still, many Jews likely chose not to attend these so-called 'German' events for multiple reasons, the most obvious being the unwelcoming political and social atmosphere and the fear of physical violence. On Friday evening of 10 January 1936 the two young sons of local businessman Sigmund Feuchtwanger[38] purchased two tickets (seats 457 and 459) at the Prinzregententheater in Munich.[39] The two Feuchtwanger boys claimed the tickets at the evening ticket office approximately 20 minutes before the 20:00 start-time and deposited their coats at the coat check. Immediately thereafter, however, the two were approached by a large grey-haired man in a light grey suit – later identified as an SA-man who was accompanying a group of over 30 League of German Girls members to the play. The out-of-uniform SA-man began speaking to the boys. A civilian reportedly joined in the conversation, and both began admonishing the pair: 'You may not come in, the play (*Jungfrau von Orleans*) is anyway not for you, your parents know full well that you may not be

[38] Little is known about Sigmund Feuchtwanger, but he does not appear to have been related to the more well-known, and also local, Feuchtwanger family. A Sigmund Feuchtwanger (born in 1878) moved to Munich with his younger brother Max in 1893/94 from Sulzburg bei Neumark in the Oberpfalz region. In November 1911 the brothers opened a small business at Humboldtstrasse 23 in Giesing, which they lost through 'Aryanisation' in 1939. The family was included in the first deportation out of Munich to Kowno on 20 November 1941. However, there is no mention of this Sigmund Feuchtwanger having any children. Nicole Kramer, 'Kein Sonderfall – Dir Firma Sigmund Feuchtwanger' in *München arisiert: Entrechtung und Enteignung der Juden in der NS-Zeit*, ed. Angelika Baumann and Andreas Heusler (C.H. Beck: Munich, 2004), 87-104.

[39] The Prinzregententheater was designed by Jewish architects Max Littmann and Jakob Heilmann and completed in 1901. In 1935 the theatre had places for 1187 individuals, making it the fifth largest theatre in the city. Seats 457 and 459 were located on the left-hand side of the theatre (facing the stage) in the first row of Section D; they were next to each other, with the aisle two seats to the left of seat 457. For the theatre layout see the 1935 edition of the Münchner Stadtadreßbuch, page 13. For information on the theatre's background and its architects, see: Karl Schwarz, 'Jüdische Kunsthändler, Sammler und Künstler in München' in *Von Juden in München: Ein Gedenkbuch*, ed. Hans Lamm (Munich: Ner-Tamid-Verlag, 1959), 234.

here.'[40] According to a later report, the SA-man then escorted the two boys out of the theatre. Ten days later it was also reported that a second pair of Jewish individuals had attended the Prinzregententheatre showing of *Jungfrau von Orleans*: A. Raff, a part-owner of the A. Raff Haus für Wäscheausstattungen at Dienerstrasse 22, and his 11 year old son. Internal investigations revealed that Raff's secretary had ordered the tickets and left them at the ticket counter for him to pick up; the secretary was not named.[41]

These January 1936 'incidents' at Munich's Prinzregententheatre resulted in a multi-faceted investigation conducted by the Ministry for Education and Culture, the General Director of the Bayerische Staatstheater, the local Strength through Joy and NS-Kulturgemeinde leadership, and the Reich Chamber of Culture (with direct correspondence from Hans Hinkel). In early April 1936 the Bavarian State Ministry for Education and Culture, along with the approval of Goebbels' Ministry of Propaganda and the Reich Chamber of Culture, issued a ban on Jewish attendance at the Prinzregententheater. This ban specifically mentioned all Strength through Joy and NS-Kulturgemeinde events. Additionally, the text 'For performances at the Prinzregententheater, which have been organised by the Kraft durch Freude and the NS Kulturgemeinde, Jews have no access' was printed at the bottom of all tickets.[42] The so-called 'Juden-Verbot' was originally worded to exclude 'non-Aryans' from attending performances, but the wording was later changed to 'Jews' upon the request of Dr. Ernst Boepple (and approved by Mezger and Lincke of the Bavarian Political Police).[43]

This Munich-specific ban occurred prior to a national ban on Jewish attendance at 'German' cultural events, hinting at the increasing difficulties Jews

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[40] Generalintendanz des Bayerischen Staatstheater to the Staatsministerium für Unterricht und Kultus, 'Besuch des Prinzregententheaters durch Nichtarier. Bericht 1, Nr. 1180', 11 January 1936. MK 50132, BHStAM.
[41] NS Gemeinschaft Kraft durch Freude Gau München-Oberbayern to die Generalintendanz der Bayer. Staatstheater z. Hd. d. Herrn Generalintendanten Walleck, 'Juden im Theater des Volkes', 20 January 1936. MK 50132, BHStAM.
[42] 'Zu Schauspielvorführungen im Prinzregententheater, die von der Organisation Kraft durch Freude und der NS Kulturgemeinde beschickt werden, haben Juden keine Zutritt'.
[43] Staatsministerium für Unterricht und Kultus to die Generalintendanz der Bay. Staatstheater, 'Besuch des Prinzregententheaters durch Nichtarier', 1 April 1936. MK 50132, BHStAM.

faced in the Bavarian public sphere; Jews were officially banned from 'German' theatres throughout the Reich in November 1938.[44] During these periods of intensified social ostracism, even if it was not yet legally enforced, the maintenance of separate Jewish cultural spheres through Kulturbund performances became increasingly important.

A minimum of 70 concerts took place during the second half of the Bavarian Kulturbund's existence (from the 1935/1936 Season through the 1938/1939 Season). The majority of these concerts took place in Munich (26) or Nuremberg-Fürth (29). Unlike in Berlin, most concerts continued to take place in buildings owned by the Jewish community or in the synagogue itself. During the previously discussed September 1936 Kulturbund conference, Singer sought to physically separate the spatial realm of Jewish folk and liturgical music from that of ensemble or orchestral performances. Singer declared that 'The Jewish folk song and liturgical music must not be performed in the concert halls, but rather in the synagogue.'[45] The unspoken second half of Singer's statement is that orchestral music must not be performed in the synagogues, but rather in the concert halls. Singer's sentiment links the performance of supposedly 'authentic' 'Jewish' music – as expressed in the terms of the September 1936 conference – with a specific Jewish place. Such musicological and spatial musings were largely out of touch with the reality of Jewish cultural performance beyond Berlin. Few locales had the luxury of multiple performance venues.

Yet the settings where concerts were held may have had an effect on how the audience experienced the musical performance. This physical aspect of Kulturbund concerts has not been adequately explored in contemporary research. Instead, the focus remains on the more intellectual, or cerebral, connection between the music, the musical tradition it represents and the audience. Still, music was physically experienced. As Alicia Peñalba-Acitores suggests, the act of experiencing music relies on 'the role and consciousness of [the listeners' own] bodies', of both 'primary consciousness' ('being aware of the world') and 'primary musical consciousness' ('being aware of music's ongoing

[44] Rebecca Rovit, 'Jewish Theatre: Repertory and Censorship in the Jüdischer Kulturbund, Berlin', in *Theatre Under the Nazis*, ed. John London (Manchester 2000), 187.
[45] Hirsch, *A Jewish Orchestra*, 53.

elements').[46] Listening to a Kulturbund concert happened in a specific environment, at a specific time and in a specific place. Audience members sat a certain way – perhaps in the cushioned seat of a concert hall or the stiff wooden bench of a 1930s synagogue pew. Further, they sat in certain buildings – buildings that had, whether conscious or unconscious, certain connotations and associations. All of these physical variables inevitably impacted the listening experience.

In the wider fields of social theory and cultural geography, 'space' and 'place' have come to represent two distinguishable physical locations: 'space' is viewed as a more abstract concept wherein human activity occurs, whereas 'place' is given more emotional attachment as a 'center of felt value'.[47] Jacob Borut takes these concepts of 'space' and 'places' and applies them, with some modifications, to the specific context of Jewish social life during the Third Reich. According to Borut, the term 'Jewish place' connotes a location with 'at least some tangible Jewish contents'. This use of the term 'place' is compared to the term 'Jewish space', defined as a location that lacks 'Jewish contents'. The Synagogue and affiliated administrative buildings are Jewish places, places 'needed to fill the religious and official activities of the Jewish community and population.'[48] A rented hall to host a monthly meeting of a Jewish women's group, however, represents a (temporary) Jewish space. Borut has found that an expansion of Jewish places – the physical expansion of which occurred parallel to the expansion of community social, educational and cultural activities – developed, indeed flourished, at the end of the Weimar Republic.[49]

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[46] Alicia Peñalba-Acitores, 'Towards a Theory of Proprioception as a Bodily Basis for Consciousness in Music' in *Music and Consciousness: Philosophical, Psychological, and Cultural Perspectives*, David Clarke and Eric Clarke, ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 225, 216.

[47] Alberto Giordano, Anne Kelly Knowles and Tim Cole, ed., 'Geographies of the Holocaust' in *Geographies of the Holocaust*, Anne Kelly Knowles, Time Cole, Alberto Giordano, ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014), 4. See also: Edward S. Casey, *Getting Back into Place: Toward a Renewed Understanding of the Place-World, Second Edition* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009); Jeff E. Malpas, *Place and Experience: A Philosophical Topography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

[48] Borut, 'Struggles for Spaces', 309.

[49] Michael Brenner, *The Renaissance of Jewish Culture in Weimar Germany* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996); Jacob Borut, '"Verjudung des Judentums":

To what extent did Kulturbund concerts performed in Gemeinde-owned venues constitute the use of a Jewish place? And what relation does the location of performance play in Kulturbund representations of 'Jewishness'? Kulturbund decisions were at least partially guided by mundane concerns: issues of availability and adequate size. All but a few Bavarian Kulturbund locations – such as Aschaffenburg and Augsburg – initially maintained more than one performance venue. Unlike in Berlin, however, there was no specific Kulturbund concert hall or theatre at any Bavarian location.[50] Musical events featuring a small group or ensemble were held outside the city's synagogue, but in every case the alternative site was also owned and operated by the Gemeinde. In Munich, smaller events, such as the June 1936 concert by local Munich artists Irma Stern, Liselott Weiß, Dr. Benno Flehinger, Walter Ries and Erich Erck, were held in the so-called 'Museumsaal' on Promenadestrasse (through 1936);[51] in Bamberg an October 1937 Chopin concert by Lisbet Dührenheimer (Mannheim) and Ludwig Grünbaum (Nuremberg) was held at the Jewish community owned

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Was there a Zionist Subculture in Weimar Germany?' in *In Search of Jewish Community: Collective Jewish Identities in Germany and Austria 1918-1932*, ed. Derek Penslar (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), 92-114.

[50] Berlin maintained a large number of event venues during its years of operation. Theatre performances occurred in the following locations: the Berliner Theater (Charlottenstrasse), the so-called Kommandantenstrasse Theater (located at Kommendantenstrasse 57 in Kreuzburg), and the Armin-Festsäle, colloquially known as the Kulturbundsaal (nearby the larger theatre, situated at Kommendantenstrasse 58/59). Kulturbund concerts took place in a variety of locations. A small number of concerts took place in synagogues at the following locations, although synagogue performances were not frequent (at least during the years between 1933 and 1938) and the musical themes performed there were usually religious in nature: Prinzregentenstrasse, Oranienburger Strasse, Johannisstrasse, Rykestrasse, Levetzowstrasse and Fasanenstrasse. The majority of concerts took place in the following concert halls: Beethoven-Saal (Köthener Strasse), Bechstein-Saal (Linkestrasse), Singakademie (Festungsgraben), Schumann-Saal (Lützowstrasse), Bach-Saal (Lützowstrasse), Kulturbund-Saal (in the Joseph-Lehmann-Schule at Joachimsthaler Strasse), Café Léon (Kurfürstendamm), Hotel König von Portugual and Berolina (also known as the Concordia-Festsäle). See: Gabriele Fritsch-Vivié, *Gegen alle Widerstände: Der Jüdische Kulturbund 1933-1941* (Berlin: Hentrich & Hentrich, 2013), 84-87.

[51] Advertisement in: *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 May 1936, 219.

guesthouse 'Weiße Taube';[52] in Nuremberg, smaller musical groups, such as the January 1937 'Evening of Music and Entertainment by Nürnberger Artists', were scheduled for the gymnasium of the Jewish Volksschule.[53]

As mentioned above, the majority of large musical events in Bavaria were performed in the synagogue. This included Kulturbund Orchestra concerts, Kulturbund Choir concerts and Synagogue Choir concerts. Concert programmes in the synagogue spanned from Beethoven and Schubert to Mendelssohn, Offenbach and Handel's biblical oratorios to contemporary Jewish folk songs and contemporary liturgical music composed by Munich's own Josef Ziegler. In February 1936 a concert by local Nuremberg artists Ilse Scheffler (violin) and Ludwig Grünbaum (piano) took place in Fürth's Main Synagogue; the evening featured a varied programme, with 'German' composers Beethoven and Brahms being performed alongside Handel as well as contemporary 'Jewish' composers such as Bloch and Dobrowen.[54] Likewise, in January 1937 Chemja Winawer 'and his 30 singers' performed an evening of liturgical- and folk songs in Munich's Main Synagogue.[55]

As Borut has noted, there is no doubt that, in the Berlin example, 'The Jewish spaces provided by the *Kulturbünde* were Jewish in the geographical sense, in that they hosted only Jews as performers and as spectators.'[56] In the Reich's capital, the Kulturbund occupied a physical Jewish space, not place. Berlin's performances took place in rented buildings, theatres or concert halls, generally not in Gemeinde-owned buildings and, more often than not, not in the synagogue. The same was not true of Bavaria. Kulturbund events in Bavaria (and likely in other locations with smaller Jewish communities) occurred in a Jewish place; or, in locations with 'at least some tangible Jewish contents'.[57] The physical setting of the performances likely influenced the ways Kulturbund events were

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[52] Advertisement in: *Nürnberg-Fürther Israelitisches Gemeindeblatt*, 1 September 1937, 2.
[53] Advertisement in: *Nürnberg-Fürther Israelitisches Gemeindeblatt*, 1 December 1936, 1.
[54] 'Konzert', *Nürnberg-Fürther Israelitisches Gemeindeblatt*, 1 January 1936, 3.
[55] 'Chemja Winawer', *Nürnberg-Fürther Israelitisches Gemeindeblatt*, 1 January 1937, 1.
[56] Borut, 'Struggles for Spaces', 343.
[57] Borut, 'Struggles for Spaces', 309.

interpreted by audiences. Yet, even if it occurred at a subconscious level, the combination of Jewish artists performing for Jewish audiences in a Jewish place of worship (or a Jewish social hall) could have bolstered the audiences' notion of experiencing a 'Jewish' event.

8. Bavarian Visual Artists within the National and Regional Context: Exhibitions and Marionettes

Unlike the musical programme in Bavaria, which witnessed local contraction and decline as a result of national centralisation, the Bavarian visual arts department saw a period of initial expansion. Kulturbund centralisation during the summer of 1935 ushered in a period of increased nation-wide art exhibits – exhibits in which Bavarian artists participated. This period of regional and national growth was likely due to the appointment of a new national secretary for the visual arts in either late 1935 or early 1936; the secretary was commissioned to oversee the development of all Jewish visual artists throughout the whole of Germany.[1]

The new secretary's main responsibility was to create more opportunities for exhibitions featuring contemporary artists, both in the capital and throughout the Reich.[2] Munich-based Jewish art critic Dr. Richard Eisen reiterated the importance of publicly exhibiting art work during the autumn of 1936, writing in Munich's Jewish press:

> This is the time to support our artists, a group that has been hardest hit during contemporary events. But it is not only a matter of [their] material existence. The creations of Jewish artists during this time is cut off from the events of their artistic environment – their work is fully a sacrificial work. Artists depend on, need, feedback, he needs an audience and a community from which and for which he creates.[3]

A boom in Kulturbund exhibits began in 1936. These exhibits featured both established and relatively unknown artists, of both contemporary and previous

[1] The exact date of the appointment is unknown. Further, the new secretary is never named. In 1937 a total of 217 individuals were registered with the Kulturbund as practicing visual artists. Herbert Freeden, *Jüdisches Theater in Nazideutschland* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1964), 128.
[2] 'Jüdische Künstlerhilfe für Maler, Bildhauer und Graphiker', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 1 January 1936, 11.
[3] Dr. Richard Eisen, 'Jüdische Künstler in München', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 August 1936, 348.

generations. An aim of the visual arts, as alluded to by Eisen's above-quoted article, was to create and sustain a sense of collective Jewish community established between the artist and the audience.

The Bavarian Kulturbund's situation regarding exhibition possibilities on Bavarian soil, although improved, remained fairly limited. All major exhibits featuring Bavarian Kulturbund artists took place in the span of thirteen months: from April 1936 until May 1937. These exhibits took on a similar form; they opened in Berlin and then, upon their completion in the capital, were displayed in various Bavarian locations as a traveling exhibit. At least seven Bavarian artists were featured in Berlin during these months: Maria Luiko, Rudolf Ernst, Elisabeth Springer, Dr. Robert Saenger, Ludwig Bloch, Agnes Ullman-Speyer and Alice Goldstern.[4] Various combinations of these artists showed their works in three exhibitions: an exhibition at the Jewish Museum in Berlin (1936), a joint event between the Kulturbund and the Jewish Frauenbund (1937) and a temporary exhibit in the foyer of Berlin's Kulturbund Theatre (1937).

The artwork itself and the reviews of these Kulturbund exhibitions in the Jewish press presented varying representations of 'Jewish' experiences: familial concerns, social unease, specifically female experiences, evocative self-portraiture and landscapes. Luiko and Springer were both influenced by the Expressionist movement, and as such both were deeply engaged in art that addressed contemporary social conflict. Their works were specific not only to general Jewish experiences, but, in many instances, to the emotional experiences of Jewish women: issues of financial insecurity and mental distress were presented alongside concerns of friendship, motherhood and family life. Such a direct emotional representation of contemporary feminine issues – particularly motherhood – was a theme common in the oeuvres of female Expressionist

[4] There may have been other practicing Bavarian visual artists, but they were not reviewed in the Jewish press. Further, it is possible that more local exhibits were organised in Bavarian locations, but if so these potential exhibits were also not reviewed in the Jewish press. In addition, no full exhibition catalogues seem to exist. The following chapter focuses on the works of only four of these artists – Luiko, Springer, Ernst and Saenger – as they are the individuals whose work was either reviewed in detail, whose work was photographed, or whose work survived.

artists more generally.[5] These were the issues of everyday life as confronted by Jewish women in the 1930s – the issues at the forefront of women's lives. Luiko and Singer exhibited paintings, sculptures and woodcarvings within the Kulturbund framework that presented an image of social unease and disharmony, mirroring their own experiences not only as Jews but, again, also as Jewish women.

The pieces publically exhibited by the male Kulturbund artists from Munich generally featured less direct social engagement. This is not to say, however, that there was no social engagement. Ernst and Saenger were also Expressionists, with Saenger also influenced by the New Objectivity. Unlike Luiko and Springer, however, Ernst and Saenger were more inward looking in their works. The two men were noted for their use of two specific genres: self-portraits and landscapes. Both of these genres focus on the relationship between the artist and his environment – ideal mediums for self-reflections and self-appraisals as well as representations of the society in which the artist lived and worked.

Self-portraiture, as a genre, is an artistic representation of a specific moment in time. While the subject of the self-portrait is the artist himself (or herself, although in what follows all the artists are male), the subject is, in most cases, situated within a backdrop of certain societal meaning.[6] This backdrop could be quite literal, such as direct cues being portrayed in the actual background of the painting pointing toward a specific time-period or place; or, it could be more abstract and suggestive, as in a background that jarringly contrasts with the portrayal of artist and as such hints at discord or disharmony. As Ludmilla Jordanova has suggested, 'It seems to me to be quite untrue that "self-portraiture is a singular, in-turned art".'[7] The following chapter interprets

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[5] Ute Seiderer, 'Between Minor Sculpture and Promethean Creativity: Käthe Kollwitz and Berlin's Women Sculptures in the Discourse on Intellectual Motherhood and the Myth of Masculinity' in *Practicing Modernity: Female Creativity in the Weimar Republic*, ed. Christiane Schönfeld (Würzburg: Könighausen & Neumann, 2006), 103.
[6] Ludmilla Jordanova, 'The Body of the Artist' in *Self Portrait: Renaissance to Contemporary*, ed. Anthony Bond and Hoanna Woodall (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2005), 41-43.
[7] Jordanova, 'The Body of the Artist', 43.

the self-portraits publicly exhibited by Bavarian Kulturbund artists (and of these only the paintings reviewed in the Jewish press) as a reflection of the artist's place within the changing society of their time. These self-portraits were reflections of how the artist interpreted his life and place in society and then opted to represent this interpretation to a more general audience[8] – importantly, in the particular instance of the Kulturbund in the late 1930s, an audience experiencing similar social and political persecution.

As W. J. T. Mitchell has suggested, landscape portraiture can also be interpreted as a visual tool used in the process of internal identity formation. Mitchell writes, 'Thus, landscape (whether urban or rural, artificial or natural) always greets us as space, as environment, as that within which 'we' (figured as 'the figures' in the landscape) find – or lose – ourselves.'[9] Landscape paintings also confront the relationship between a self and their surroundings; or, as Mitchell again writes:

> What we have done and are doing to our environment, what the environment in turn does to us, how we naturalize what we do to each other, and how these 'doings' are enacted in the media of representation we call 'landscape'.[10]

Indeed, drawing from the arguments of Denis Cosgrove, landscape paintings are simultaneously a representation of the world around the artist, a representation of the artist's relationship to the world, and the physical embodiment of how the artist wishes to represent their interpretation of the world to others.[11] Thus, in their landscapes Ernst and Saenger are visually depicting their relationship to the Bavarian countryside and/or Munich cityscape. Through the act of painting, as will be described in this chapter, they are representing their interpretations as individual observers of the scene. These portrayals then become emblematic of

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[8] Anthony Bond, 'Performing the Self' in *Self-Portrait: Renaissance to Contemporary*, ed. Anthony Bond and Joanna Woodall (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2005), 36.
[9] William John Thomas Mitchell, ed., *Landscape and Power* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 2.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Denis E. Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 1.

the relationship between the artist himself and his home (either nation, region, city or neighbourhood).

At the same time, Munich's visual artists remained committed to the Munich's Marionette Theatre of Jewish Artists. The bulk of the theatre's events took place in the second half of the decade. Performances occurred in at least four Bavarian cities: Munich, Nuremberg, Würzburg and Regensburg. Over the course of two seasons (1935/36 and 1936/37) the Marionette Theatre staged at least 11 separate events and added five new plays to their official repertoire. Comedies continued to receive widespread critical praise. In contrast, the theatre's performance of their new 'Jewish drama', Perez Hirschbein's *Das Gelöbnis*, was not well received by local critics; although the theatre was applauded for its continued commitment to 'Jewish' themes, critics maintained that the Hirschbein drama was not a good fit for the marionette stage.[12] Further, there was an uncharacteristic development in the later marionette programme: the inclusion of two traditional Kasperl plays by the (non-Jewish) author Graf Franz von Pocci performed during Chanukah. The inclusion of Pocci in the marionette schedule was, on the surface, a curious departure from the group's earlier programming choices. Yet it was also a subversive cultural-political maneuver. Munich's Jewish artists transformed the plays of one of Munich's most beloved puppeteers into a 'Jewish' cultural event.

Family, Community and Self: Bavarian Artists and National Exhibits

As mentioned above, Bavarian artist took part in three exhibits within the span of thirteen months. These exhibitions first opened in Berlin before traveling throughout Bavaria. The works displayed in these exhibits were open to purchase – a welcomed source of potential income, although it is unclear if many purchases occurred. Despite these slight gains in the department, the

[12] Ca. 'Marionettentheater in München', *Central Verein Zeitung*, 9 January 1936, 7; Georg Hirschfeld, 'Marionetten', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 January 1936, 38.

professional realities facing Jewish visual artists, difficult for most artists even in the best of times, were demanding. In a January 1936 letter to her friend Fritz Rosenthal, Luiko noted that she had just finished a portrait of the husband of a fellow Kulturbund member. The portrait consumed a considerable amount of her time and energy; the finished product received considerable praise from its patron, but it was, according to Luiko, 'poorly paid'.[13]

The first national exhibit organised under the direction of the new Kulturbund departmental secretary was held in late April 1936 at the Jewish Museum in Berlin. Bavarians Maria Luiko, Elisabeth Springer, Ludwig Bloch, Agnes Ullmann-Speyer, Alice Goldstern and Rudolf Ernst joined other Kulturbund artists in a 150-piece collection; it was advertised in the Jewish press as a 'sample of the best Jewish artwork being created today in Germany.'[14] Following its successful run in Berlin, the works were then displayed in Nuremberg,[15] followed by a two-week display in Munich. Both exhibits were free to Kulturbund members.[16] The second exhibit, also held in Berlin, occurred in the spring of 1937. This exhibit, which was planned by the Kulturbund in coordination with the Jewish Frauenbund, was devoted entirely to the work of Luiko, Springer, and Ernst.[17] The third, and final, exhibit featuring a Bavarian Kulturbund artist highlighted the work of a lesser-known Munich artist, Dr. Robert Saenger. Saenger's pieces were displayed in the lobby of Berlin's Kulturbund Theatre in May 1937.[18]

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[13] Maria Luise Kohn to Schalom Ben-Chorin, 12 January 1936. 2 Judaica Varia, StadtAM.
[14] Displayed artwork came from artists living in Breslau, Dresden, Düsseldorf, Frankfurt am Main, Hamburg, Hanover, Cologne, Mannheim, Munich, and Stuttgart. 'Reichsausstellung jüdischer Künstler', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 1 May 1937, 181.
[15] 'Ausstellung Münchener jüd. Künstler in Nürnbrg', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 1 July 1936, 294.
[16] 'Ausstellung Münchener jüd. Künstler', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 July 1936, 313.
[17] Dr. Lotte Pulvermacher, 'Ausstellung Münchener jüdischer Künstler in Berlin', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 1 May 1937, 186.
[18] Dr. Lotte Pulvermacher, 'Arbeiten von Robert Saenger (München) im Berliner Kulturbund Theatre', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 May 1937, 210.

As a whole, these three exhibits were arranged to 'display the problem facing Jewish artistic creation, and the serious and large task of creating during this difficult time.'[19] Yet there was an additional aim beyond providing opportunities for struggling Jewish artists: 'to illuminate – in this area – the mental and spiritual countenance of Jewish people in Germany.'[20] Three social and political themes concerning the daily realities of Jewish life emerged in these exhibits: family, poverty and self. Bavaria's two female artists (Luiko and Springer) were actively engaged with the themes of family and poverty, whereas the work of the two male artists (Ernst and Saenger) were more engaged with the issue of self-representation through the genres of landscape, cityscape and self portraiture.

The role of the family – particularly the relationship between mother and child – was a key theme in the works of the female Bavarian Kulturbund artists. Family life was far from an unexplored subject matter for female artists in early 20th century Germany. Rather, the theme situated Luiko and Springer within the frameworks of a larger artistic movement, particularly in regards to female sculptors; Ute Seiderer has found that nearly one-third of all female sculptors active during the Weimar Republic were concerned with the depiction of motherhood.[21] Further, these themes of motherhood were often described as representations of 'intellectual motherhood' – that is, in representing the emotions involved in motherhood.[22] This was a period that represented the realities, rather than the ideals, of motherhood. Included among these realities of the post-World War One maternal experience was the portrayal of 'mothers oppressed by violence and war';[23] during the 1920s the social, emotional and private concerns confronting the experiences of motherhood were at the fore of female artistic representation.

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[19] Dr. Richard Eisen, 'Jüdische Künstler in München', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 August 1936, 348.
[20] Dr. Lotte Pulvermacher, 'Reichsausstellung Jüdischer Künstler im Berliner Jüdischen Museum', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 1 June 1936, 251.
[21] Ute Seiderer, 'Between Minor Sculpture', 94.
[22] Ibid., 97, 106, 109.
[23] Danielle Knafo, *In Her Own Image: Women's Self-Representation in Twentieth Century Art* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2009), 25.

Luiko and Springer worked within this trend, presenting a multifaceted portrayal of motherhood in their modern era. Yet they also worked within a second parallel world – they presented the theme of motherhood and maternal emotions within the frameworks of a specific Jewish maternal suffering. Female Jewish experiences of National Socialist Germany, particularly the experiences of the mother, were complex. The strains between the joys of family life and the stress of growing social uncertainty and legal persecution were ever present. This contradiction between private fulfilment and public discrimination was an everyday reality for Jewish mothers. Contemporary Jewish reviews of the exhibits made note of the emotionally fraught experience of motherhood for contemporary Jewish women, describing these visual representations of the theme as a 'specific Jewish' motif for the late 1930s.[24]

Both female Bavarian Kulturbund artists incorporated elements of motherly love and melancholy into their pieces for the April 1936 Jewish Museum exhibit. Springer contributed a sculpture entitled *Mutter und Kind* – a depiction of a mother and a child formed from terra cotta clay. The mother figure sits on the floor with her arms wrapped protectively around the child. She faces the viewer, her gaze nondescript. The child's face is turned away from the public and hidden from view, with only the child's back, shoulder and head visible. Reviews praised Singer's work as 'striking';[25] the sculpture *Mutter und Kind* was purchased by the Jewish Museum in Berlin.[26]

Luiko's most celebrated contribution to the same exhibit was an oil painting entitled *Mutter und Sohn*. According to Oesterle, this painting was Luiko's last professional representation of the Jewish family after nearly a decade of artistic exploration on the familial theme.[27] Whereas her earlier works on the theme juxtaposed the calm of family life and the hectic pace of modern

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[24] Dr. Lotte Pulvermacher, 'Ausstellung Münchener jüdischer Künstler in Berlin', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 1 May 1937, 187.
[25] Ibid., 186.
[26] The fate of the sculpture after the war is unknown. Eisen, 'Jüdische Künstler in München', 348.
[27] According to Oesterle, Luiko's earliest known professional exhibit, which took place in 1926 at Munich's Glaspalast, was a collection revolving around the family motif. Diana Oesterle, *'So süßlichen Kitsch, das kann ich nicht': die Münchener Künstlerin Maria Luiko (1904-1941)* (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2009), 44-54.

urban life, Luiko's 1936 contribution to the Jewish Museum exhibit featured a new source of familial tension: a seemingly internal burden and isolation.

The mother figure is the central focus of Luiko's *Mutter und Sohn*. She sits on a stool in front of a neutral, nondescript background. All attention is placed on the two figures; there are no background distractions. Her son sits at her feet with his head on her lap, her hands on his back. The mother has prominent dark, half closed, unfocused eyes.[28] According to a contemporary review in the Jewish press, the mother's eyes evoke a strong sense of internal tension.[29] Indeed, the eyes are the central point of the painting.

A second theme emerged in the female visual artists' late Kulturbund oeuvres: suffering. Closely linked to the theme of suffering was economic poverty. Like the familial theme, Luiko had been experimenting with the subject of poverty, particularly in Munich's Eastern European Jewish population, since she was in school.[30] Although the majority of Bavaria's Jews had been born in Germany (85 percent), the largest percentage of foreign-born Jews came from Eastern Europe. Most foreign-born Jews in Munich came from Poland (or were of Polish heritage), followed by Austrians and Czechoslovakians.[31] Munich's Eastern European Jewish neighbourhood was situated around the Gärtnerplatz quarter of Munich's Isarvorstadt, near the orthodox Reichenbachstrasse Synagogue.[32]

In 1937 Luiko showed three pieces on the theme of economic and social suffering at the joint Kulturbund-Frauenbund exhibit in Berlin: *Rast*, *Anrufung*, and *Schlafende*. *Rast*, an oil painting, portrays a thin, barefoot beggar sitting with her body beside a grave and her arms outstretched.[33] The second, a woodcarving

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[28] Dr. Lotte Pulvermacher, 'Reichsausstellung Jüdischer Künstler im Berliner Jüdischen Museum', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 1 June 1936, 251.
[29] Eisen, 'Jüdische Künstler in München', 348.
[30] Oesterle, *"So süßlichen Kitsch…"*, 65-68.
[31] Werner Cahnman, 'The Jews in Munich: 1918-43' in *German Jewry: Its History and Sociology*, ed. Joseph B. Maier, Judith Marcus, Zoltán Tarr (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1989), 86.
[32] The Reichenbachstrasse Synagogue was damaged but survived both Kristallnacht and World War II. It fell into disuse after the 2003 opening of the main Ohel Jakob Synagogue; however, it is currently undergoing a serious renovation effort.
[33] Pulvermacher, 'Ausstellung Münchener', 187.

entitled *Schlafende*, portrays a man, dressed in trousers and a jacket, sleeping on a wooden floor. A sense of social poverty emerges in these pieces alongside the obvious economic poverty; both the woman and the man sleep alone on the floor, isolated from any larger group or community. The physical isolation also hints at social isolation and social impoverishment.

A third piece, *Anrufung*, continued the theme of suffering, yet shifted away from the effects of financial poverty and instead focused on social concerns. Indeed, a contemporary Jewish art critic described the work as a direct assessment of contemporary 'social themes'.[34] *Anrufung* portrays five pairs of thin, bony arms and hands against a plain background. One pair of hands appears before a face – its fingers tightly intertwined. Four additional pairs of hands are raised in the air: perhaps in prayer, perhaps in lamentation, perhaps both. The contrast between the open and clenched hands depicted a level of tension, anxiety, and despair.[35] Luiko presents hands as the primary point of visual reference; the hands then lead the viewer's eye to the faces in the painting, although the faces are generally hidden from view, either blocked by the placement of the hands or turned away.

Hands, rather than faces, are the focus – a technique used by various Expressionists at the time, particularly Käthe Kollwitz, to express specific emotions or tensions through gesture.[36] The centrality of the hands serves a universalising function; hands are identified with a human subject, yet unlike a face, hands are not traditionally seen as a common mode of individual identification.[37] Situating the expression of emotions through the hands, then, presents the emotion as a transferable or universal experience. Further, Luiko often utilised hands to express serious and grave themes throughout her oeuvre.[38]

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[34] Ibid.
[35] Oesterle, *'So süßlichen Kitsch…'*, 82-83.
[36] Gudrun Fritsch, 'Die Bedeutung der Hände im Werk der Künstler Ernst Barlach und Käthe Kollwitz – Symbol und Gestaltung' in *Ernst Barlach und Käthe Kollwitz im Zwiegespräch*, ed. Martin Fritsch (Berlin: Käthe Kollwitz Museum, 2006), 30; 35-36.
[37] Oesterle, *'So süßlichen Kunst…'*, 83.
[38] Ibid.

The lack of a specifically identifiable subject, when taken in conjunction with the painting's title, can be interpreted as a general commentary on the act of invocation or prayer during times of emotional distress. Yet Luiko's tendency to address localised social themes through art also situates *Anrufung* within her own contemporary context: the context of a persecuted Jewish community.[39] Luiko herself described the piece as being of a 'Jewish motif, all very dark indeed.'[40] Thus, these pieces were, as Diana Oesterle writes, a way for Luiko to work through her own angst and uncertainties.[41] Importantly, however, the lack of identifiable subjects or chronological markers in the painting also suggests a timelessness – a portrayal of Jewish suffering that invokes her contemporary experiences but was not bound to specific individuals or times.

Springer, who was critically appraised as the 'the strongest personality of the three artists [the three being Springer, Luiko and Ernst]',[42] submitted four sculptures to the 1937 Kulturbund-Frauenbund exhibit: *Sitzende*, *Mädchen aus Bali*, *Zwei Frauen im Gespräch*, and *Zwei liegende Mädchen*. All four pieces were created with a cement casting, resulting in a heavy, although free-flowing, physical form. All four pieces were noted for their warped unnatural anatomies and their 'single acting and ugly forms' that, despite their appearance, or rather perhaps as a result of their appearance, drew much attention.[43] Springer also sculpted loosely fitted clothing over the bodies of her figures (this was also a motif used in *Mutter und Kind* from the previous year) – all of which were female figures.

As stated in Pulvermacher's review of the event in Munich's Jewish press, Springer's sculptural work drew from the example of German Expressionist artist Ernst Barlach.[44] The abnormal, bulky appearances in her work hinted at the subject's sense of despair – it was the same blocky, cubed forms that Barlach

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[39] Another example of Luiko situating contemporary concerns within the more general context of Jewish history and Jewish suffering would be her inclusion of a concentration camp inmate within the 'Jewish men' marionette grouping in the play *Moses* (Chapter 5).
[40] Maria Luise Kohn to Schalom Ben-Chorin, undated. 2 Judaica Varia, StadtAM.
[41] Oesterle, *'So süßlichen Kunst…'*, 140.
[42] Pulvermacher, 'Ausstellung Münchener,' 186.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid.

utilised to portray human suffering, particularly that of the poor and/or persecuted segments of society.[45] By highlighting Barlach's influence, Pulvermacher drew attention to Springer's use of sculpture as a medium of social critique; the comparison also linked both artists' shared impetus to portray individuals existing on the edges of bourgeois society. While Barlach's sculptures were noted for their portrayals of the rural (often Russian) poor, Springer's focus was on women. Each of Springer's sculptures featured women in an everyday activity: sitting, talking and holding a child.

Springer's visual language can be read on two levels. There is the superficial notion of physical 'otherness' – conveyed through what Pulvermacher's review described as the figures' 'ugly forms'.[46] As stated above, the use of these heavy and abnormal forms served to highlight hardship and the subject's marginalisation from society. Yet there is an additional layer dependent upon the context within which Springer worked. Unlike Barlach, Springer was not merely observing and then representing other marginalised figures. Springer herself, as a Jew in 1930s Germany, was herself a persecuted figure – and she was exhibiting these figures to other persecuted individuals. Thus, the abnormal figures and their bulkiness (both physical and the result emotional bulkiness conveyed through the physical form) could represent the stigmatisation of German Jews that resulted from their legal persecution and social ostracism.

Further still, Springer was not only Jewish. She was a Jewish woman. She was a minority within a minority. She was also a lesbian.[47] Her emphasis on the presentation of women's activities – from the privately monumental experience of motherhood to the privately mundane activity of talking to friends – draws attention to a distinctly female sphere. This centre of attention, when combined with the clear visual connection she creates between her own work and that of Barlach, can also be read as a statement against patriarchal bourgeois society. In her work, women are the focal point of her social commentaries. For Springer

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[45] Peter Paret, *An Artist against the Third Reich: Ernst Barlach, 1933-1938* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 26; Andrea Fromm, *Barlach und die Avantgarde* (Hamburg: Peter Lang, 2002), 15-21.
[46] Pulvermacher, 'Ausstellung Münchener,' 186.
[47] Private correspondence with Springer's family; Rosenthal, 'Memories of my aunt'; Hillman, 'Memories of Dorlina and Elisabeth Springer'.

the female figure is the central focus, forcing women's experiences and women's issues from the periphery and into the forefront.

The centrality of the woman as an artistic subject in Springer's pieces worked within multiple trends, both artistic and social, occurring in German Jewish life more generally. As mentioned previously in connection to the theme of artistic representations of motherhood and Jewish motherhood, female artists were preoccupied with portraying the female figure throughout the beginning of the 20th century.[48] Yet the portrayal of Jewish womanhood in the 1930s was complicated by the harsh realities of daily life under National Socialism. Using 'ugly forms'[49] to show women engaged in everyday activities was a potentially provocative statement in Springer's contemporary context: that the atomisation of Jewish life in Germany had extended so far as to disrupt the private sphere of the home.

Additionally, the public exhibition of Springer's pieces in 1937 occurred at a time when Jewish women were increasingly forced to enter the public sphere as a result of male Jewish persecution (see the previous chapter).[50] Thus, by drawing attention to female subjects Springer may also have been commenting upon the shifting gendered structure of Jewish daily life more generally. Women were increasingly active in public life – a reality she may have wanted to portray through the public exhibition of her female-centric sculptures.[51] The impact of her work, then, may have been two-fold: her warped forms addressed the general 'othering' of German Jewry that resulted from

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[48] Ute Seiderer, 'Between Minor Sculpture', 94-97.
[49] Pulvermacher, 'Ausstellung Münchener,' 186.
[50] See: Dalia Ofer, 'The Contribution of Gender to the Study of the Holocaust', in *Gender and Jewish History*, ed. Marion Kaplan and Deborah Dash Moore (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011); Marion A. Kaplan, 'The Jewish Response to the Third Reich: Gender at the Grassroots', in *Jews and Gender: The Challenge to Hierarchy*, ed. Jonathan Frankel (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001); Marion Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).
[51] See: Marion A. Kaplan, *Between Dignity and Despair: Jewish Life in Nazi Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); Marion A. Kaplan, 'The Jewish Response to the Third Reich: Gender at the Grassroots', in *Jews and Gender: The Challenge to Hierarchy*, ed. Jonathan Frankel (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Dalia Ofer, 'The Contribution of Gender to the Study of the Holocaust', in *Gender and Jewish History*, ed. Marion Kaplan and Deborah Dash Moore (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011).

political persecution; yet her female subjects, as well as the timing of their exhibiting, also addressed the changing social impact of persecution within the Jewish community itself, particularly regarding gender roles.

Bavarian female Jewish artists were lauded in the Jewish press for their direct artistic representations of 'social themes' and the diversity of their subjects: women, mothers, children, beggars and social outcasts.[52] Male Bavarian Kulturbund artists, on the other hand, were generally active in two genres: self-portraits and landscapes. Although both of these genres can at first appear egocentric and inward – and certainly less overt in their social commentary than the pieces by Luiko and Springer – they should still be read with an eye toward deeper social meaning. Both self-portraits and landscapes were praised by local Jewish art critics for the ability to 'capture the psychological moment of today's Jewish artists.'[53] As will be shown below, expressing such 'psychological moments' involves an engagement with contemporary social concerns more generally.

Rudolf Ernst's contribution to the 1936 Jewish Museum and the 1937 Kulturbund-Frauenbund exhibits included both self-portraits and landscapes. Self-portraits are not merely mirror self-representations of the artists – they are conscious reproductions of how that artist wishes to portray their own self. This reproduction of self is not only concerned with the physical; emotions and the impact of outside societal pressures can all be incorporated in a self-portrait.[54] Further, it is possible to read self-portraits as 'how the artist hoped to be seen and known, how he wished to represent (and see) himself.'[55] Such a reading necessitates situating the self-portrait into its appropriate historical context. In other words, 'Interpreting self-portraits requires an elaborate historical sense' due to the fact that these worlds are 'generally fully integrated into the fabric of social and cultural life [of the artist].'[56]

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[52] Pulvermacher, 'Ausstellung Münchener,' 186.
[53] Pulvermacher, 'Reichsausstellung Jüdischer Künstler', 251-252.
[54] Jordanova, 'The Body of the Artist', 43.
[55] Laura Cumming, *A Face to the World: On Self-Portraits* (London: Harper Collins, 2009), 4-5.
[56] Jordanova, 'The Body of the Artist', 45, 50.

Ernst was celebrated in the Jewish press for two self-portraits exhibited through the Kulturbund. The first was a full-length self-portrait first shown at the 1936 Jewish Museum exhibition.[57] Ernst's 1936 work portrays the artist alone; it is coloured in pink and blue pastels. However, the soft tones of the portrait were described as a stark contrast to the presentation of the artist. Pulvermacher described a tension between the medium and the subject; she wrote of 'a contrast between the delicacy of the colours that brings more awareness of the form's physiological expression of tension.'[58] Fellow Kulturbund critic Eisner also noted Ernst's use of tension and disharmony, drawing attention to his technique of 'powerful and focused forms' juxtaposed with the gentle colours.[59] A similarly composed self-portrait was shown in the 1937 Kulturbund-Frauenbund exhibit, again drawing on the tension between form and colour. This second self-portrait, painted a year later, was also completed in pastels; it depicted Ernst at work.[60]

The above-mentioned self-portraits present two dimensions: the personal (the 1936 self-portrait of Ernst standing alone) and the professional (the 1937 self-portrait of Ernst at work). Interestingly, both paintings were noted for the use of tension, suggesting that Ernst sought to convey a lack of harmony in both facets of life. These 'expressions of tension' in Ernst's self-portraits were conscious decisions undertaken by the artist;[61] they should be read as statements from the artist about not only himself, but also his place in the contemporary world.[62] The contemporary world represented by Ernst was a world in which Jews were being persecuted by the state. It was a social fabric marked by discord and it impacted German Jews on both the personal and the professional level.

Landscapes were also an important component of Ernst's artistic portfolio. His contributions to the 1936 Jewish Museum and the 1937 Kulturbund-Frauenbund exhibits included nature paintings of the Bavarian

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[57] Eisen, 'Jüdische Künstler in München', 348.
[58] Pulvermacher, 'Reichsausstellung Jüdischer Künstler', 251-252.
[59] Eisen, 'Jüdische Künstler in München', 348.
[60] Pulvermacher, 'Ausstellung Münchener', 187.
[61] Pulvermacher, 'Reichsausstellung Jüdischer Künstler', 252.
[62] Jordanova, 'The Body of the Artist', 50.

countryside. Landscapes represent a specific way of seeing the world. It is, as Cosgrove argues, a 'social and cultural product, a way of seeing projected on to land.'[63] Further, as Harrison has argued, the artist also creates landscapes with a specific viewer (or specific viewers) in mind. Harrison writes the perceived audience is a crucial element in interpreting landscape paintings, and that certain elements within the piece are created with the assumption that the presumed audience will understand the representations. Harrison then asks that landscape reception expand to include a certain set of questions:

> Who is the painting made for? and not (or not only). For whom is the effect an effect? but, more significantly, Who – what kind of viewing person, equipped with what kind of disposition – is presupposed by the painting's composition?[64]

In other words, in landscapes an artist depicts a certain personal representation of the world imbued with deeper meaning and created with the use of techniques the artist believes a presumed audience will recognise.

For Ernst, who publicly exhibited his work before only Jewish audiences, his most frequently employed technique of representation in landscapes (as well as self-portraiture) was his contrasting use of colours.[65] Unlike his self-portraits, however, Ernst's landscapes were not directly interpreted as depictions of tension. Instead, critics wrote that these paintings evoked a 'deep, peaceful existence' whereby 'all loud, violent and problematic representations' were removed.[66] The slower pace of life in Munich and the beauty of the Bavarian countryside represented an ideal – particularly in comparison to the bustle of modern urban life in large cities, an oft-employed point of comparison in post-industrial landscape paintings. There was likely a personal element also at play. Ernst once wrote to a friend, 'Here it is spring, and the zoo resembles a park from a fairy tale. The English Garden is mysterious, making the air more whimsical

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[63] Cosgrove, *Social Formation and the Symbolic Landscape*, 269.
[64] Charles Harrison, 'The Effects of Landscape' in *Landscape and Power*, ed. W. J. T. Mitchell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 212.
[65] Pulvermacher, 'Reichsausstellung Jüdischer Künstler', 251-252.
[66] Dr. Richard Eisen, 'Der Maler Rudolf Ernst – München', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 November 1936, 489.

and the breath of the city more pure.'[67] Such peaceful and serene interpretations also reflected a more general sense of ease in Ernst's private life. In the mid-1930s he married Charlotte Schoenberg, herself a fellow Bavarian Kulturbund artist. The couple had one son, Michael. The artist explained his shift in attitude toward Munich in a letter to a friend, writing

> Everything here is beautiful, and I remain happy in my work and in the many people I love. I find myself becoming more rooted, but avoid being seized by the fortitude of longing for Munich that is evident in the characteristics of so many of my local counterparts.[68]

On the personal level, Munich had become Ernst's home. He was happy with his family life in the Bavarian capital. This personal comfort was perhaps one component of the landscapes. Yet, there was likely more.

The critical reception of Ernst's landscapes in the Jewish press not only noted what was in the paintings but, crucially, it noted what was not in the paintings. What was missing from Ernst's landscapes was, as quoted above, everything 'loud, violent and problematic'.[69] Such descriptions cast the viewing experience in terms that connote tension – although not a tension within the work itself, but rather between the ideal portrayed in the painting and the context within which the individual viewed the painting. It was, perhaps, a coded statement on the contemporary political situation. In late 1936, when the work was exhibited, Jewish life in Germany was not a 'deep, peaceful existence'.[70] The serene surroundings portrayed in Ernst's painting were the antithesis of the viewing public's daily life. Such a statement was likely meant as a veiled political statement on the political situation of Jewish life in Nazi Germany at the time.

Whether Ernst intended to present this juxtaposition between the serene of the painting and the chaotic context of the viewer's experiences is unclear. However, Ernst had previously utilised landscape paintings as means of political commentary. In a 1934 Bavarian Kulturbund exhibit Ernst showed paintings and

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[67] Rudolf Ernst to Hugo, 2. Original in possession of author.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Eisen, 'Der Maler Rudolf Ernst', 489.
[70] Ibid.

woodcarvings of the devastated European countryside after World War One[71] – a direct and obvious statement on the harmful impact of war. Such previous engagement in politicising the genre does suggest a potential proclivity to do so again. Yet by the time of this later exhibit any political statements were required to be much more subtle. If Ernst did indeed intend a politicised reading of the painting, such a reading was reliant upon a mutual understanding of visual cues (and thus a shared contextual experience) between the artist and the audience.[72] The language of the critical reviews does suggest that such a mutual understanding between artists and audience was achieved, however.

Dr. Robert Saenger, a less-established Munich artist, was also noted in the local Jewish press for his landscapes. Saenger's first (and only) Kulturbund exhibit was in the foyer of the Berliner Kulturbund-Theater in May 1937. According to Pulvermacher's review of the event, the most notable aspect of Saenger's work was his use of colour – a choice that the review described as undoubtedly influenced by New Objectivity (Neue Sachlichkeit).[73]

New Objectivity developed in Weimar Germany as something of a reactionary outgrowth of Expressionism, but it never constituted a similarly formal movement or style. Although difficult to define, New Objectivity was more sober, stylistically severe and static in form when compared to Expressionism; it focused, as Franz Roh wrote as a vague means of explaining the categorisation, on the 'autonomy of the object world around us.'[74] The movement had two wings: a left (the 'verists') and a right (the 'classicists', also known as the 'Magical Realists').[75] Verists (whose ranks included Otto Dix) were noted for their

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[71] Dr. S., 'Graphische Ausstellung', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 April 1934, 164-165.
[72] Harrison, 'The Effects of Landscape', 212.
[73] Dr. Lotte Pulvermacher, 'Arbeiten von Robert Saenger (München) im Berliner Kulturbund-Theatre', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 May 1937, 210.
[74] German art critic Franz Roh was the first to coin the phrase 'magic realism' in his 1925 publication *Nach Expressionismus: Magischer Realismus: Probleme der neuesten europäischen Malerei* – the first critical study of the movement which later became known as the New Objectivity. Franz Roh, *German Art in the Twentieth Century* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1968), 112.
[75] Marsha Meskimmon, 'Politics, the Neue Sachlichkeit and Women Artists' in *Visions of the 'Neue Frau': Women and the Visual Arts in Weimar Germany*, ed.

satirical and provocative portrayals of contemporary experiences and politics, often distorting reality to hyper-fantastical (or caricature), hyper-cynical proportions.[76] The Verists were, above all, socially critical. Classicists, on the other hand, were described as somewhat idyllic and, at times, verging toward a style of Neo-Classicism. Such representations drew inspiration from the contemporary turn toward Italian realism in southern Europe (and its concomitant synthesis with classicism, as the name would suggest).[77] Classicists were, in all, more conservative and 'without political tendency.'[78]

The classicist wing of the New Objectivity movement was based in Munich – perhaps not altogether surprising considering the city's conservative art scene and the influential role Italian art trends have traditionally played in Munich.[79] Although Saenger's paintings were not reproduced in the Jewish press, the tendency of the movement's left and right wings to remain within geographical boundaries suggests that he likely worked within the classicist frameworks. Additionally, the description of Saenger's work does suggest he was more realistic (rather than fantastical) in his representations. Pulvermacher's review of Saenger's Kulturbund exhibit focused on one painting: a small town landscape. Houses were drawn with dark black lines and coloured in shades of white and grey. The sky was also depicted in shades of white and grey. The lone figure was painted in white and grey – a minimalistic individual wearing bright red ice-skates and a single dark stroke of a dot for a head.[80]

Marsha Meskimmon and Shearer West (Brookfield: Ashgate Publishing, 1995), 11.

[76] Steve Plumb, *Neue Sachlichkeit 1918-1933: Unity and Diversity of an Art Movement* (Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi, 2006), 49, 51-52.

[77] Irene Guenter, 'Magic Realism, New Objectivity, and the Arts during the Weimar Republic' in *Magical Realism: Theory, History, Community*, ed. Lois Parkinson Zamora and Wendy B. Faris (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 33.

[78] Meskimmon, 'Politics, the Neue Sachlichkeit', 11.

[79] Verists were active in Berlin, Dresden and Karlsruhe. For a good visual overview of the stylistic differences apparent in these various centres of New Objectivity, see: Sergiusz Michalski, *Neue Sachlichkeit: Malerei, Graphik und Photographie in Deutschland 1919-1933* (Cologne: Taschen, 2003).

[80] Pulvermacher, 'Arbeiten von Robert Saenger', 210.

Overall, Saenger's work was applauded for his use of strong and contrasting colours.[81] Unlike Ernst's landscapes, however, there was no hint at more or less veiled political commentary. There was no juxtaposition of the idealised countryside with, for example, anything 'loud, violent and problematic'.[82]Nor did the review suggest that the contrasting colours evoked a sense of tension, as Pulvermacher had previously assessed Ernst's use of contrasting colour.[83] Saenger's work was, then, likely in tune with the classicist wing of New Objectivity's non-political tendencies. Such non-politicised art may even have been what attracted Saenger's pieces to the Kulturbund's selection committee; it was a 'safe' choice during a time of increased censorship and persecution.

In hindsight, Saenger's May 1937 showing in the Berlin Kulturbund-Theater foyer was the final public exhibition for Bavaria's Kulturbund visual artists. The initial post-centralisation boom in Bavarian exhibition opportunity was short lived. None of the artists discussed above showed in public exhibits after 1937. Munich's Kulturbund artists did, however, maintain their commitment to the marionette theatre.

'Enviable Theatre!': München Marionettentheater Jüdischer Künstler

Marionette performances were pushed out of the regular programme and into the 'Sonderveranstaltung' series after national Kulturbund centralisation. Despite this, however, the troupe expanded performances beyond their hometown of Munich. Munich's Marionette Theatre also retained its original statement of purpose: to perform 'Jewish' plays – meaning a play written by an author of Jewish heritage or a play with a 'Jewish' theme.[84] During this latter half of the decade the theatre introduced five new plays into its repertoire: *Das*

[81] Ibid.
[82] Eisen, 'Der Maler Rudolf Ernst', 489.
[83] Pulvermacher, 'Reichsausstellung Jüdischer Künstler', 251-252.
[84] Berthold Wolff, 'Zur Aufführung des Marionetten-Theaters', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 January 1935, 31.

Ochsenmenuett (a musical inspired by Haydn), *Das Gelöbnis* (Perez Hirschbein), *Die Insel Tulipatan* (alternatively titled *Die glückliche Insel* by Offenbach) and *Wünsche* (also titled *Drei Wünsche*) and *Die verzauberte Pastete* (or alternatively *Die geheimnisvolle Pastete*), both by the Münchner and local marionette icon Graf Franz von Pocci. An additional crowd favourite from the previous season joined these new pieces in the marionette programme: Offenbach's *Das Mädchen von Elizondo*.

Munich's Marionette Theatre of Jewish Artists opened the 1935/36 Kulturbund Season on Saturday 30 November 1935 in the gymnasium of Nuremberg's Jewish Volksschule. The evening performance in the Franconian capital premiered a new piece as well as an older piece from the previous season: *Das Ochsenmenuett* and *Das Mädchen von Elizondo*. Event previews in Nuremberg's Jewish press praised the endeavour as 'high art' suitable for adults as well as children.[85] Both pieces were well received and both the Saturday and Sunday performances were 'strongly attended' – so well attended that reviews claimed it would have been possible to perform for a third straight night.[86] Luiko's marionette figures were praised in Nuremberg as 'charming', 'life-like' and 'miniature-menschlein'.[87]

A month later, after a successful run in Franconia, the marionette troupe was back in their hometown. Prior to the 4 January 1936 season premiere in Munich, theatre co-founder and financial backer Bertold Wolff again took to the local Jewish press to advertise the event. He wrote that the marionette theatre was introducing a 'new programme': *Das Ochsenmenuett*, which had already been performed in Nuremberg, and *Das Gelöbnis*, a self-described 'Jewish drama' by author Perez Hirschbein.

Hirschbein's *Das Gelöbnis* was, according to Wolff, a 'Jewish drama' that possessed the 'ethos of the Jewish soul and spirituality'.[88] Its author, Perez

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[85] 'Mitteilungen des jüdischen Kulturbundes Ortsgruppe Nürnberg-Fürth', *Nürnberg-Fürther Israelitisches Gemeindeblatt*, 1 November 1935, 137.
[86] M.B., 'Gastspiel des Marionetten-Theaters des Jüd. Kulturbundes in München', *Nürnberg-Fürther Israelitisches Gemeindeblatt*, 1 January 1936, 175.
[87] E.D., 'Größer Erfolg des Münchener Jüdischen Marionetten-Theaters in Nürnberg', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 December 1935, 539.
[88] Berthold Wolff, 'Marionetten Aufführung', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 December 1935, 549.

Hirschbein, was a well-known Jewish dramatist and poet; he was born in present-day Belarus and emigrated to the United States in 1911 at the age of 31. *Das Gelöbnis* originated from the Yiddish cultural circles of Lithuania. The play revolves around two central figures: Dowidl and his fiancée Chanele. As Dowidl is on his deathbed Chanele's parents try to persuade her to call off the engagement, thus allowing her to marry the son of an acquaintance, Paje. Dowidl dies, and the wrath of God is released as a storm that then kills Paje – a form of punishment for the family's attempts to turn Chanele away from Dowidl. The following night Chanele also dies, bringing the drama to a close.[89] According to Wolff's preview of the performance, Chanele's death is meant to be the climax of the tense drama; he wrote:

> a visionary, invisible force bands the person [viewer] in a spell that remains upon the audience until the last candle of the Shabbat glows and the young girl, who is at the centre of the play, looks into the eyes of death and the Saviour.[90]

Wolff's description of the play stressed the religious elements of the storyline, measuring the advancement of the plot through religious markers.

Critical reception of the Yiddish drama, however, was not so glowing; critics described the play as 'primitive'[91], 'un-dramatic' and 'naïve'.[92] Munich's correspondent for the *Central Verein Zeitung*, who went by the acronym Ca., found that the piece was not a good fit for the marionette stage. Ca. wrote:

> The choice of the most un-dramatic, naïve-mystical piece by Hirschbein was apparently prompted by the need to bring Jewish subject matter to the stage. Such a desire is understandable, but it should only be realised if it can be accomplished within the limits prescribed by the peculiar character of the art of the marionette theatre (Kunstcharakter des Marionettentheaters).[93]

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[89] Oesterle, '*So süßlichen Kitsch…',* 127.
[90] Wolff, 'Marionetten Aufführung', 549.
[91] Georg Hirschfeld, 'Marionetten', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 January 1936, 38.
[92] Ca. 'Marionettentheater in München' *Central Verein Zeitung*, 9 January 1936, 7.
[93] Ibid.

Georg Hirschfeld's review in Munich's Jewish press was equally dubious about Hirschbein's play. Hirschfield, like Ca., applauded the theatre's desire to introduce Jewish authors and Jewish themes. However, he claimed that Hirschbein's drama fell short on the marionette stage. Hirschfield added that the plot failed to develop its characters, thus failing to garner any sort of feelings of sympathy from the audience. The audience was left, he claimed, 'only with lyrical portraits, pretty (schön) but primitive.'[94]

Hirschbein's *Das Gelöbnis* received similar criticisms as Strindberg's *Moses* from the previous season: the drama was not seen as suitable for the marionette stage. Despite their substantially different plotlines, the critical receptions of both 'Jewish' dramas took on similar forms. Both sets of reviews for *Moses* and *Das Gelöbnis* maintained that it was not the 'Jewish' elements of the plays that caused the negative critical reception. Instead, the earlier *Moses* drama was dismissed as being monotonous and un-heroic and the later *Das Gelöbnis* drama was dismissed as naïve and un-dramatic.

As with the earlier *Moses* production, *Das Gelöbnis* was never again performed on the Kulturbund Marionette stage after its January 1936 Munich premiere. The troupe's second Munich performance of the 1935/36 Season replaced *Das Gelöbnis* with a repeat of their previous season's successful comedy *Das Mädchen von Elizondo.* Indeed, the January 1936 premiere of *Das Gelöbnis* was the final drama performed by Munich's Marionette Theatre of Jewish Artists. As stated in Chapter Four, the critical rejection of the dramas was likely two-fold. A general atmosphere that favoured cultural distraction or escapism may have influenced the negative reviews. Yet the fact that the negative critical reception was expressed in similar terms across the span of two seasons and through three different critics suggests that there was a greater issue at play. The Bavarian Kulturbund audience – or perhaps better stated, those who reviewed local performances in the Jewish press, given the theatre's widespread attendance – could not reconcile dramatic portrayals with the marionette medium. Traditionally, the marionette stage was satirical and comedic; it was not dramatic.

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[94] Hirschfeld, 'Marionetten', 38.

Munich's marionette troupe returned to the medium's traditional comedic purview when they premiered *Das Ochsenmenuett* on 30 November 1935 in Nuremberg. The newest comedy for the 1935/36 Season was a 45-minute one-act play with text by Georg Hoffmann and musical selections from the work of Josef Haydn. The music, presented as Haydn's own although the authenticity of this claim is debatable, was originally organised and set by his former student Ignaz Xaver von Seyfried.[95] *Das Ochsenmenuett* was performed at least three other times in Bavaria. The Munich Kulturbund showing of the play featured four speaking roles - Josef Haydn, a Kapellmeister, Barbara (Haydn's Wirtschafterin), and Katicza (the daughter of a Hungarian Ochsenhändler) – and four singing roles – Therese (the niece of the Kapellmeisters), Jantsi (secretary), Haydn's student, and Istok (the Hungarian Ochsenhändler). Charlotte Schönberg-Ernst, Reta Loeb, Lilly Marschütz, Nicoletta Rosenthal, Sonja Ziegler, Dr. Paul Kuhn, Walter Ries and Berthold Wolff undertook the vocal performances in Munich while Dr. Josef Waldner oversaw the musical aspects.[96] In Regensburg and Nuremberg Rudolf Offenbacher (Fürth) and Walter Capell joined the cast.[97]

Much like Offenbach's *Das Mädchen von Elizondo*, *Das Ochsenmenuett* was a short musical comedy set in a small village. The theme of the plot focuses on a short anecdote attributed to Hadyn's life; the minuet that gives the comedy its name, 'Das Ochsenmenuett', is likely not by Haydn himself despite often being attributed to the composer.[98] In the play a Hungarian Ochsenhändler (in some renditions of the story the character is a butcher), Istok, approaches Josef Haydn about writing music for his daughter, Katicza's, wedding. Istok is so pleased with Haydn's resultant minuet that he offers the famed composer an ox in return.[99]

As with its preceding village-based comedy, *Das Ochsenmenuett* was well received. Ca., writing for the *Central Verein Zeitung*, full-heartedly praised the piece, writing, 'The "Ochsenmenuett" was so invigorating and enjoyed by the

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[95] *Die Ochsenmenuett: Singspiel in einem Akt. Nach Haydns Compositionen, arrangiert von Seyfried.* (Berlin: T. Trautwein, c. 1825).
[96] 'Sonderveranstaltung', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 December 1935, 551.
[97] 'Marionettentheater Münchener Jüdischer Künstler', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 1 January 1937, 11.
[98] Oesterle, *'So süßlichen Kitsch...'*, 134.
[99] *Die Ochsenmenuett: Singspiel in einem Akt.*

audience. Here was shown the best of the Munich tradition (münchnerische Tradition). … This was a showpiece of the art of the marionette.'[100] Local Munich Jewish critic Hirschfeld agreed with Ca.'s positive interpretation of *Das Ochsenmenuett*, again situating the contemporary Jewish marionette theatre within the beloved general local tradition of marionette performance. Hirschfeld stated, '*Das Ochsenmenuett* belongs as one of the happiest pieces for the artistic marionette stage, a stage that has established itself as a good tradition upon the work of Paul Brann.'[101] Indeed, Hirschfeld later went on to declare the endeavour as 'enviable theatre!'[102]

Critical praise for comedies continued into the next season. However, this is not to say that the impulse toward comedies should necessarily be in terms of entertainment or escapism. Comedies can be hard hitting social critiques. Traditionally, adult-oriented marionette performances are imbued with satirical political jabs. Its position as a medium of political subversion was aided in that it was largely an oral medium. Prior to the turn of the 19th century marionette plays did not necessarily hold to a set plotline, a tradition that likely grew from many puppeteers being illiterate.[103] The setting of marionette performances to texts was due to increased cultural censorship that, according to official reasons, was meant to improve artistic standards. In reality, state-based censorship actually took aim at improvisation, indecent language and 'unwelcome comments on cultural problems' (e.g. politics).[104] Yet the tradition of subversion continued. After all, although puppets can physically represent humans on stage, they are not humans and their actions can test the boundaries of censorship in

[100] Ca., 'Marionettentheater in München', 7.
[101] Hirschfeld, 'Marionetten', 38.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Henryk Jurkowski, *A History of European Puppetry: From its origins to the end of the 19th century* (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1996), 161, 229; Henryk Jurkowski, *A History of European Puppetry: The Twentieth Century* (Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1996), 74; Ryan Howard, *Punch and Judy in 19th Century America: A History and Biographical Dictionary* (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, 2013), 15-17.
[104] Jurkowski, *A History of European Puppetry*, 161.

ways not possible with human performance.[105] Further, it is unlikely the tradition of improvisation fully died out of the traditionally oral-based satirical medium.

Unfortunately, it is impossible to know if Munich's marionette theatre utilised any of these extra-scriptural satirical methods without having been in the audience. Certainly any of these elements would not have made it in to event reviews in the local Jewish press due to state censorship. Yet there are hints that there was room for contemporary commentary on the marionette stage that would have never received direct mention in the Jewish press. A review from Regensburg stated that Munich's marionette theatre was not only a 'Kasperle-Theater' but rather an 'amiable satire of our human quirks and weaknesses.'[106] Further, one of Luiko's figures included among the 'Israeliten' from the *Moses* drama (1935) was clothed in the striped trousers and shirt uniform of a concentration camp; this figure was never photographed for the Jewish press. Additionally, there are certain elements within the original texts that provide an opportunity for veiled satirical political commentary cloaked in humour. One such opportunity existed in *Die Insel Tulipatan*.

Munich's Marionette Theatre of Jewish Artists began its third (and ultimately final) season on 13 December 1936 – again to a sold out audience in Nuremberg.[107] This new season debuted a new play, returning to the marionette repertoire of Jacques Offenbach with his *Die Insel Tulipatan* (alternatively titled *Die glückliche Insel*). Additional performances took place in Munich and Regensburg. Each staging took place at 20.00, a performance time suggestive of a desired adult audience. Five local artists contributed the vocals for the piece:

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[105] Reinhard Valenta, *Franz von Poccis Münchener Kulturebellion: Alternatives Theater in der Zeit des bürgerlichen Realismus* (Munich: Ludwig, 1991), 159-160; Jurkowski, *A History of European Puppetry*, 178.
[106] 'Marionettentheater Münchener Jüdischer Künstler', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 1 January 1937, 11.
[107] Maria Luise Kohn to Schalom Ben-Chorin, 15 December 1936. 2 Judaica Varia, StadtAM; Max Bernheimer, 'Mitteilungen des jüdischen Kulturbundes in Bayern. Gastspiel des Marionetten-Theaters Münchner Jüdischer Künstler', *Nürnberg-Fürther Israelitisches Gemeindeblatt*, 1 January 1937, 183.

Sonja Ziegler (soprano), Renate Loeb (alto), Rudolf Offenbacher (tenor), Walter Capell (bass), and Water Riess (bass).[108]

Offenbach's *Die Insel Tulipatan* is an operetta set on the fictional island of Tulipatan under the reign of the equally fictional Duke Cacatois XII. The play begins in the home of Romboïdal, a chief advisor to the King; Romboïdal's daughter, Hermosa, enters the stage while firing a rifle as her mother and father argue over her tomboy behaviour. Romboïdal's wife, Théodorine, defends Hermosa's behaviour while pointing out that the Duke has a son, Alexis, who is tender and kind. Théodorine continues, claiming Hermosa is romantically interested in Alexis, and that the two personalities would mesh quite well.

Indeed, Hermosa and Alexis do declare their love for each other. This act causes the comedic turn of the plot. Théodorine admits to Hermosa that she was born as a boy during a time of war and she was raised as a daughter so as to avoid future military service. At the same time, Romboïdal, along with the Duke's unnamed wife, was keeping a similar secret. Romboïdal shortly thereafter admits to Hermosa that Alexis was born as the Duke's fourth daughter, but that he and the Duke's wife telegraphed the Duke on the battlefield to inform him that he had finally received his long-awaited son. The false-news of a son was meant to assuage the Duke, who waged a new war every time his wife birthed a daughter rather than a son. Hermosa hears the news and leaves the scene dancing – an action that surprised Romboïdal since he does not yet know Hermosa was born male. Alexis, who has overheard portions of the confession, enters the scene in a dress. Hermosa then re-enters the scene in a military uniform. Cacatois later learns of the deceptions, the marriage is arranged between Alexis and Hermosa, and Cacatois decides to re-marry and continue his own quest for a son.

At its core, the plot of *Die Insel Tulipatan* is based on deception. The story's two most powerful men – the supreme ruler, Duke Cacatois, and his chief advisor, Romboïdal – were deceived by people who would have been viewed as beneath their stature. Duke Cacatois was deceived by both his wife and by Romboïdal, while Romboïdal was also deceived by his wife. Given Offenbach's general impulse toward political satire and commentary through his operettas, it

[108] 'Puppentheater Münchener jüdischer Künstler', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 1 May 1937, 191.

is likely that the Duke was not to be performed in the best light. A negative portrayal of a political ruler would have clearly reverberated with Kulturbund audiences. As Rebecca Rovit has noted from her study of the Kulturbund theatre in Berlin, 'Hinkel and his censors would interpret any voiced threat to the city-state and leader as disloyal'; as such, negative representations of political leaders were generally avoided on the Berlin stage.[109] Further, Rovit maintains that Kulturbund theatre audience members would have been adept at drawing parallels between a situation on stage and their own daily social or political situation.[110] As such, part of the widespread popular appeal of *Die Insel Tulipatan* may have been its unflattering portrayal of a supreme ruler and his lackey. A central component to the plot involves poking fun at the Duke, with a subplot that also derides the Duke's chief advisor. This could have been understood at the time as a veiled, perhaps even subversive, political commentary applicable to the audience's contemporary situation.

Critical reception for Offenbach's comedy was positive. Nuremberg's Jewish press described the performance as being of a 'remarkably high' artistic standard.[111] An anonymous review for the Munich performance of the play noted a particularly strong connection to the Hermosa and Alexis characters. The review found a source of joy in story's positive outcome:

> In such sorrowfully burdened [sorgenbeschwerten] times like the present there is a refreshing connection with the operetta, as in any case inherent with comedy, especially through the role of the son who awoke as a daughter and the daughter who awoke as a son, with the high point of boisterous yodelling and hopping, where the expression of deep pain was expected.[112]

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[109] Rebecca Rovit, *The Jewish Kulturbund Theatre Company in Nazi Berlin* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2012), 91.
[110] Ibid.
[111] Max Bernheimer, 'Mitteilungen des jüdischen Kulturbundes in Bayern. Gastspiel des Marionetten-Theaters Münchner Jüdischer Künstler', *Nürnberg-Fürther Israelitisches Gemeindeblatt*, 1 January 1937,183.
[112] 'Puppentheater Münchener jüdischer Künstler', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 5 May 1937, 191.

Yet the review also alluded to a deeper political meaning. By referring to the 'troubling times like the present' the anonymous reviewer was making a direct statement on contemporary Jewish life – a statement that could be read as a negative political commentary pointing out the difficulties of Jewish life in mid-1937. The placement of this statement also linked their contemporary 'troubling times' with the plot of *Die Insel Tulipatan*, particularly the ending. Placing the audience on a parallel path with the characters and the plot had a two-fold effect. First, it acknowledged that the audience, like the son and daughter in the story, were forced in to a 'troubling' situation by the actions of those around them. Second, the importance placed on the pair's ultimately happy ending suggested that the audience themselves could also enjoy an ultimately happy ending to their own difficult situation. The review ended on an entirely positive note, reiterating the importance of the marionette theatre in Jewish artistic circles: 'All in all: a successful evening, sparked by cheerfulness and the successes of the marionette stage, it has been decided that the theatre is an important addition to Munich's Jewish cultural life.'[113]

In the final season of performance, 1936/37, two additional comedies made their way into the programme that did not, at first glance, fit with the general 'Jewish' marionette programme. In December 1936 the München Marionettentheater Jüdischer Künstler performed two marionette skits for Chanukah celebrations in Nuremberg and Regensburg: *Wünsche* (also titled *Drei Wünsche*) and *Die verzauberte Pastete* (alternatively called *Die geheimnisvolle Pastete*), both by Graf Franz von Pocci.[114] Both Pocci pieces parodied romantic literature, a trait common to the author's repertoire.[115]

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[113] Ibid.

[114] 'Mitteilungen des jüdischen Kulturbundes in Bayern: Ortsgruppe Nürnbeg-Fürth', *Nürnberg-Fürther Israelitsches Gemeindeblatt*, 1 December 1936, 162-163; Max Bernheimer, 'Mitteilungen des jüdischen Kulturbundes in Bayern. Gastspiel des Marionetten-Theaters Münchner Jüdischer Künstler', *Nürnberg-Fürther Israelitsches Gemeindeblatt*, 1 January 1937, 183.

[115] Franz von Pocci, whose full name was Franz Ludwig Evarist Alexander Graf Pocci, was born in Munich in 1807. He was a court official for three Bavarian Kings: Ludwig I, Maximilian II and Ludwig II. He co-founded the München Marionettentheater with Josef Leonhard Schmid and is one of the most well known puppeteers in Munich's marionette tradition. See: Sigrid von Moisy, *Franz Graf Pocci (1807-1876): Schriftsteller, Zeichner, Komponist under drei Königen*

The main figures in *Wünsche* are Martin (a poor woodcutter), Zimberibimba (a fairy), Margreth (Martin's wife) and Kasperl ('their friend and neighbour'). One day while out in the forest working Martin comes across Zimberibimba, who has been cursed to captivity in a tree for the past 500 years. Martin frees Zimberibimba. In thanks, she presents Martin with a golden ring endowed with three wishes. Martin then, in turn, entrusts the ring (and its secret magical powers) to his wife as he goes in to the town to think of good deeds for the wishes. Margreth eventually tells Kasperl of the ring. The two erupt in song, Kasperl saying he would wish for beer and wine (and they both agree a sack of gold would not be bad either). Kasperl finishes singing and tells Margreth he is thirsty, whereby she offers him a glass of beer. Their conversation then turns to Bratwurst; Kasperl expresses a desire for a 'bowl full of "Bratwürstl"' and Margreth casually agrees, wishing for a 'proper Bratwurst'. Thunder roars. Margreth only then realises she made this 'wish' while wearing the magical ring. Bratwurst rain down from the sky. Martin returns and, upon learning of the fate of the first wish, is irate. He asks Margreth to hand over the ring; in his anger Martin takes the ring and says he would hang all the sausages on his wife's nose. Thunder again fills the sky, and this second 'wish' is granted. The two men attempt to pull, twist and hack the Bratwurst off Margreth's nose. After many failed attempts the third and final wish is spent on freeing Margreth's nose of the sausages.[116]

Pocci's *Die verzauberte Pastete* featured a four-puppet ensemble: Anselmus Katzenberger (a professor and magician), Jakob (a day labourer), Margareth (Jakob's wife) and Kasperl (this time as a Privatier). The play begins with Katzenberger taking his morning stroll through a nearby forest. Katzenberger becomes hungry and thirsty and decides to stop for breakfast; he magically creates a breakfast feast in the middle of the woods. While finishing his meal the magician hears two people approached. Jakob and Margareth then enter the scene, searching for wood. The couple begins to discuss the Adam and Eve story of Genesis, focusing on who was to blame for eating the forbidden fruit.

(Munich: Allitera Verlag, 2007), particularly 11-20 and 105-124; Valenta, *Franz von Poccis Münchener Kulturrebellion*, particularly 157-178.

[116] Franz von Pocci, *Lustiges Komödienbüchlein: Erstes Bändchen nach der Erstausgabe von 1859* (Munich: Buch & Media, edition monacensia, 2007).

Katzenberger approaches the two, joining in on their conversation. After more back and forth Katzenberger suggests that the two partake in an experiment, although the details of the experiment remain unknown. Jakob and Margareth give Katzenberger directions to their village and the three part ways.

The next scene begins with Kasperl entering Jakob and Margareth's home. He immediately encounters a table of freshly prepared food: Schmalznudeln, Kalbsbraten, potatoes, potato salad, beans, Bratwurst, three bottles of wine and, in the middle of it all, a large pasty (savoury pie) with an accompanying note reading:

> From everything eat and drink, to your taste,
> But the pasty must remain covered!
> (Von allem eßt und trinket, wie's Euch schmeckt,
> Doch die Pastete bleibe stets bedeckt!)

Jakob and Margareth then enter the scene and see the feast on their table. After reading the note they realise this is the proposed test from the stranger in the forest. The three agree to eat all the food on the table except the pasty – beginning with the wine and quickly making their way through the rest of the table. Yet Kasperl is soon enticed by the one dish he cannot eat; he says he wants, nothing more or nothing less, than to merely cut the top off the pie in order to see what is inside. Jakob initially stays strong in the face of Kasperl's attempts at persuasion, telling him 'Forbidden is forbidden.' Margareth, however, is not as convinced there is any harm in Kasperl only cutting off the top to see what is inside.

All three eventually agree to look inside the pasty. Kasperl eases the top off the pie; he tells Jakob and Margareth it smells of sulphur, likely from the sauce. He then lifts the rest of the top off. The pie explodes, knocking everyone to the ground. A small devil springs from the exploded pie and attacks Kasperl. Thunder fills the air. Katzenberger appears on the scene. He scolds the three and asks them to explain their actions. Jakob and Margareth attempt to explain themselves, placing the entire blame on Kasperl. Katzenberger grows exasperated by their excuses. He scolds the pair, saying that placing the blame on someone else was exactly Eve's response when she and Adam were expeled from

Paradise. Jakob admits that it is a shame they failed Katzenberger's test; Margareth agrees and adds that they are but weak humans. The magician tells the pair to be quiet and that he knows everything that has happened. Katzenberger then ends his role in the scene, saying Kasperl will always be the 'Hanswurst' and that he holds no ill will against Jakob and Margareth; instead, he will do his best to support the couple because they are the descendants of Adam and Eve and 'Man is and will always be man. Live well!' With those words Katzenberger exits the stage, leaving Jakob, Magareth and Kasperl for the ending. It is Kasperl who has the final word. He tells Jakob and Margareth that the two should be thankful he lifted the top off the pasty, because without him one of them would surely have done the deed themselves. He embraces the two as the play ends.[117]

These Chanukah performances were somewhat reminiscent of Luiko and Ernst's former Bimath Buboth performances, in so far as the performances were scheduled as religious holiday events, and as events for both children and adults.[118] Yet unlike the earlier performances, there was no discernable theme relevant to the religious holiday being observed – the Adam and Eve story is not commonly told during a holiday commemorating the re-dedication of the Temple. Nor was Pocci a Jewish author.

That said, however, there were similarities in the Pocci-programme and the rest of the München Marionettentheater Jüdischer Künstler programme. The evening performances followed the pattern of having a light-hearted comedic play followed by a play with a more serious theme. Although both Pocci pieces are comedies, the biblical parallels and themes of temptation, guilt and shame evident in *Die verzauberte Pastete* can take on a more serious dimension for adult audience members. And the play is ultimately one that ends in happiness. Jakob and Margareth are forgiven; the final embrace between Jakob, Margareth and Kasperl signifies a resolution of any potential conflict between the three.

Yet the significance of this Chanukah programme extended beyond the plotline. Pocci's *Die verzauberte Pastete* was a play from the traditional Munich

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[117] Franz von Pocci, *Lustiges Komödienbüchlein: Viertes Bändchen nach der Erstausgabe von 1871* (Munich: Buch & Media, edition monacensia, 2008).
[118] 'Mitteilungen des jüdischen Kulturbundes in Bayern. Ortsgruppe Nürnbeg-Fürth', *Nürnberg-Fürther Israelitisches Gemeindeblatt*, 1 December 1936, 162.

marionette repertoire. Pocci, The city's beloved 19th century master debuted the play in the Bavarian capital and it featured one of the most beloved local marionette characters, Kasperl. Yet within the National Socialist approved guidelines established by Munich's Jewish Marionette Theater, this was an acceptable 'Jewish' play due to the biblical nature of its theme. The play not only directly referenced the biblical Adam and Eve creation story, its modern-based plot featuring Jakob and Margareth paraleled the Adam and Eve storyline. Staging *Die verzauberte Pastete* was a cunning subversion of the regime's own cultural policy restrictions. It was also a political statement. As described in Chapter Five, the Nazis attempted to portray the marionette theatre as an example of a purely 'German' folk tradition and medium.[119] The Munich Jewish marionette theatre's Pocci performances directly challenged this very premise. They not only utilised a medium the regime was attempting to claim as their own, but they staged two plays by one of the – if not the – most influential German puppeteers. It was also a play with themes taken from a shared religious tradition. Both Christianity and Judaism recognise the Adam and Eve story, although the two faiths present the story somewhat differently. Incorporating a Pocci play with a religious theme into the repertoire of 'Jewish' marionette theatre blurred the artificial lines of separation within which National Socialist cultural policy was dictated.

At the heart of each of both these Pocci pieces was the Kasperl character, the dialect-speaking archetype of the bumbling, comedic but good-natured peasant. His character, as developed by Pocci and his contemporary marionette master Papa Schmid (Josef Leonhard Schmid), represented the 'comical figure from the old Volkstheater tradition of the 17th and 18th centuries.'[120] Yet the Kasperl character was not merely a fool. The character also served, as Oesterle claims, 'as an autonomous and anti-authoritarian figure' who gives voice to injustice, abuse and lies.[121] Further, Kasperl is considered a character who 'determined his own life, often in opposition to the interests of the master he

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[119] Gerd Bohlmeier, *Puppenspiel 1933-1945 in Deutschland: Das Puppenspiel im Dienste der nationalsozialistischen Ideologie in Deutschland* (Bochum: Deutsches Institut für Puppenspiel, 1985), 31, 39-43.
[120] Oesterle, *"So süßlichen Kunst…"*, 130.
[121] Ibid, 131.

served.'[122] His character is traditionally one of subversion, irony and contemporary criticisms.

It is not possible to know if, or how, Munich's marionette theatre dealt with this subversive aspect of the character's tradition. Luiko did, however, engage with the local visual tradition of Kasperl. Luiko's Kasperl puppet was created as the traditional type. He was dressed in a red jacket, a white scarf around his neck, yellow trousers and green hat; he has a protruding stomach and an amused expression on his face. Luiko's Kasperl was physically within the local Munich Kasperl-figure tradition. Yet there is no evidence in the local Munich Jewish press that the group ever performed these plays in Munich despite their successes in Nuremberg and Regensburg. Nor were there any substantial reviews of the plays printed in the Jewish press – not even plot summaries.[123] Whether it was a conscious internal decision not to perform the Kasperl pieces in their hometown or whether there were external pressures from the state that prohibited the performance is unknown.

Munich's Marionette Theatre of Jewish Artists performed what became its final event in mid-March 1937 at 20:00 in Munich, the fourth straight performance of Offenbach's *Die Insel Tulipatan*. Neither Maria Luiko nor Rudolf Ernst were involved in later public exhibits. Although Springer continued her acting career on the Hamburg Kulturbund stage until 1938, this was her final foray into the visual arts. It is unclear as to whether the marionette theatre shut down of its own accord or whether it was forced to close under National Socialist decree. Internal complications impacted the day-to-day functioning of the theatre, including concerns over artists emigrating, financial instability and transportation restrictions – particularly regarding the transport of heavy theatre equipment (the marionettes themselves, the props, the stage decorations, etc.) to cities outside of Munich.[124]

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[122] Jurkowski, *A History of European Puppetry*, 227.
[123] The above-cited articles from the *Nürnberg-Fürther Israelitisches Gemeindeblatt* only note that the events happened and were successful; there are no plot summaries or more in-depth analysis of the performance.
[124] Maria Luise Kohn to Schalom Ben-Chorin, 8 March 1936. 2 Judaica Varia, StadtAM.

It is also possible that the regime's efforts to co-opt the medium for its own political use resulted in the closing of Munich's Jewish theatre. Efforts to organise a 'central organisation' for the Reich's puppet stages emerged in early 1934, but it was not until 1937 that concrete plans for the future Reichsinstitut für Puppenspiel began to take shape. The Institute's guiding principles were finalised in the autumn of 1937 – thus overlapping with the time when Munich's Kulturbund artists would be preparing for a new season. Nazi Germany's Reich Institut für Puppenspiel sought to standardise the education and repertoire of the country's numerous puppet-, figure-, and marionette stages, as well as to coordinate performances in towns and villages.[125] Such efforts were meant to streamline the medium's performance (as mentioned, traditionally an oral and non-written endeavour unacceptable to a regime dependent on artistic censorship) to conform to a national-political message.[126] As the NS Arbeitsfront itself wrote in 1939:

> The puppet play stands at the front of the ideological-political education; its meaning is so true to the ideological-political education, that it shapes the nature of the Gemeinschaft and the form of the Volk.[127]

The marionette stage was presented by the National Socialist regime as 'no more and no less than the Theatre of the Volk.'[128] The Kasperl character became increasingly important as 'the passionate fighter against stupidity and weakness', 'the great educator (Erzieher)' and 'the great investigator (Prüfer)'.[129] Accordingly, a flourishing marionette stage, as representative of the Volkskultur, supposedly reflected a 'regeneration' of the Volk.[130] Jews were not included in this community of people, and as such it is likely that the so-called regenerating medium may have now been deemed off limits for Jewish performance. Although

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[125] Astrid Fülbier, *Handpuppen- und Marionettentheater in Schleswig-Holstein 1920-1960* (Kiel: Ludwig, 2002), 90-91.
[126] Bohlmeier, *Puppenspiel 1933-1945 in Deutschland*, 43-44.
[127] *Das deutsche Puppenspiel: Einsatz, Erfolge und Zielsetzung* (Berlin: Verlag der Deutschen Arbeitsfront, 1939), 8.
[128] Ibid., 51.
[129] Ibid., 11.
[130] Ibid., 33.

there is no direct evidence of its influence, it is worth noting that Munich's Marionette Theatre of Jewish Artists, despite its consistent popularity, never performed after the founding of the Reichsinstitut für Puppenspiel.

9. The Final Curtain: Emigration, Poverty and 'Liquidation', 1937-1938

The start of the 1937/38 Kulturbund Season marked the beginning of the end for organised Jewish cultural life in Germany – not only in Bavaria but in many cities, towns and villages throughout the Reich. Bavarian Kulturbund membership peaked in the middle of the decade, giving way to a period of steady decline throughout the latter half of the 1930s. Likewise, Bavarian leadership constricted the annual programme, perhaps limiting the number of events performances in an effort to maintain financial feasibility.

A key contribution to the Bavarian Kulturbund's administrative difficulties was the loss of leadership, artists and members through emigration or internal migration. This relationship between the Kulturbund and Jewish emigration remains a key interpretative question regarding the legacy of organised Jewish cultural activity under Nazism. Some, such as Henryk Broder and Elke Geisel, maintain that members of the Kulturbund leadership were mere 'pawns' of the Nazi state, that their actions verge on the realm of collaboration, and that their 'attempt to encourage normality under abnormal circumstances … could end no other way but tragically.'[1] Jörg Gronious agrees with their overall negative interpretation of the Kulturbund, condemning it as a 'schizophrenic undertaking' while falling short of comparing its activity with collaboration.[2] In essence, such interpretations maintain that continued Jewish cultural participation in Germany was a fatal decision that ultimately obstructed the impulse toward emigration. Herbert Freeden even erroneously claimed that Kulturbund activity 'facilitated the German plan to hinder emigration' by keeping

[1] Henryk Broder, 'Business As Usual', in *Premiere und Pogrom: der Jüdische Kulturbund 1933-1941*, ed. Eike Geisel and Henryk Broder, (Berlin: Siedler, 1992), 49.

[2] Gronius' essay was included in a collection of essays, personal recollections and documents that was published alongside an exhibit on the Kulturbund at the Akademie der Künste in Berlin. Jörg Gronius, 'Klarheit, Leichtigkeit und Melodie: Theater in Jüdischen Kulturbund Berlin', in *Geschlossene Vorstellung: der Jüdische Kulturbund in Deutschland 1933-1941,* ed. Akademie der Künste, (Berlin: Akademie der Künste, Edition Henrich, 1992).

Jewish artists in Germany longer than they would have otherwise stayed if they were without employment opportunity.[3]

However, there is no qualitative evidence to support the claim that Kulturbund membership was responsible for hindering or delaying emigration – at either a national or a local level. Instead, there was a negative correlation between Kulturbund membership and emigration levels. Bavarian Kulturbund membership totals fell at a rate comparable to the pace of increased Jewish emigration in the local communities with a Kulturbund branch. In Berlin, Kulturbund leadership even noted that emigration was the number one reason members in the capital discontinued their annual subscriptions.[4]

Rapid membership decline contributed to Bavaria's financial insecurity. As membership revenue dropped the need for external economic backing became more pressing. Additional revenue was to come from two areas that were also in decline: the Gemeinde and local business support. Between 1937 and 1938 the Bavarian Gemeinde's Kulturbund revenue fell by more than 5,000 RM.[5] Additionally, the ability of Jewish-owned businesses to provide additional financial support – such as purchasing advertising space in the 'Freunde und Förderer des jüdischen Kulturbundes' section of the *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung* – grew increasingly precarious in the final two years of activity.

Kulturbund officials attempted to temper membership decline and the loss of business support in 1937/38 through a number of measures. They called for wider community support in local Jewish newspapers, restricted the scope of the programme and decreased ticket prices. Yet these regenerative efforts were ultimately unsuccessful. In early June Adolf Hitler ordered the destruction of

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[3] Herbert Freeden, 'Jüdischer Kulturbund ohne "jüdische' Kultur"' in *Geschlossene Vorstellung: der Jüdische Kulturbund in Deutschland 1933-1941*, ed. Akademie der Künste (Berlin: Akademie der Künste, 1992), 182.

[4] Dr. Kurt Singer, 'Der Jüdische Kulturbund Wirbt. Vorschlage von Intendent Dr. Kurt Singer' 6 April 1937, 1-2. FWA, AdK; Dr. Kurt Singer, 'Zum Subventionsantrag des Jüdischen Kulturbundes, Anmerkung von Dr. Kurt Singer', 25 August 1937, 5-6. FWA, AdK; Dr. Werner Levie, 'Arbeitsbericht des Jüdischen Kulturbundes in Deutschland e.V. vom 1. Oktober 1938 – 30. Juni 1939', 12 July 1939, 14. FWA, AdK.

[5] Otto Dov Kulka and Eberhard Jäckel, ed., *The Jews in the Secret Nazi Reports on Popular Opinion in Germany, 1933-1945* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), CD-ROM, Doc. No. 2774.

Munich's Main Synagogue – home of the regional Bavarian Kulturbund offices and a frequent performance space in the Bavarian Hauptstadt.[6] Nearly two months later, in early August, Franconian Gauleiter Julius Streicher ordered the demolition of Nuremberg's Main Synagogue[7]. As in Munich, the Main Synagogue in Nuremberg had served as the local Kulturbund office and had often been used as a performance space. Both cities – the two largest Kulturbund locations in Bavaria – had to re-locate their offices and re-arrange performance venues shortly before the beginning of a new season.

That following season, the 1938/39 Season, was cut short. Jewish cultural events throughout the Reich were put on hold in late October, aligning with the attempted expulsion of Polish Jews from Germany. The tense social and political situation came to a head with the death of Ernst vom Rath on 9 November 1938. On the following night, as violence and destruction spread throughout Germany, the Bavarian Kulturbund was dealt an irreversible blow. Local leaders and artists were incarcerated. The properties of business supporters were ransacked. Munich's newly relocated Gemeinde offices, now housing the main regional office of Bavarian Kulturbund activity, were plundered. Performance venues throughout the state were destroyed or requisitioned for 'Aryan' purposes.[8]

Five days later, Josef Goebbels issued a ban on all regional Kulturbund performances. Even without the performance ban, however, local Kulturbund activity could not have continued. After 9/10 November 1938 Bavarian

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[6] Andreas Heusler, 'Vernichtung und Verfolgung (1933-1945)' in *Jüdisches München: Vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Richard Bauer and Michael Brenner, (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2006), 174-175.

[7] Yaakov Borut, 'Jüdisches Leben Während des Nationalsozialismus', in *Die Juden in Franken*, ed. Michael Brenner and Daniela F. Eisenstein (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2012), 226.

[8] For studies on the violence and destruction in Jewish communities throughout Bavaria see: Andreas Heusler, *Kristallnacht: Gewalt gegen die Münchner Juden im November 1938* (Munich: Munichverlag, 1998); Yaakov Borut, 'Jüdisches Leben', 219-250; Andreas Angerstorfer, 'Chronik der Verfolgung: Regensburger Juden während des Nationalsozialismu', in *Die Juden in der Oberpfalz*, ed. Michael Brenner and Renate Höpfinger, (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2009), 183-196; Beninga Schönhagen, 'Die zweite jüdische Gemeinde von Augsburg 1861-1943' in *Die Juden in Schwaben*, ed. Michael Brenner and Sabine Ullmann, (Munich: Oldebourg, 2013), 225-250; Andreas Wirsching, 'Jüdische Friedhöfe in Schwaben 1933-1945' in *Die Juden in Schwaben*, ed. Michael Brenner and Sabine Ullmann, (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2013), 251-262.

Kulturbund performance was unthinkable. The majority of its male leaders, male artists and male audience members remained imprisoned. Further, even if the necessary men were later freed, there were no performance spaces. The Jewish Kulturbund in Germany was officially 'liquidated' on 31 December 1938.[9]

Membership Decline and Financial Insecurity

On the eve of the 1937/38 Kulturbund Season membership was at an all-time low, both nationally and locally. By mid-1938, Kulturbund membership for all regional branches totaled approximately 45,000 individuals,[10] nearly 12.5 percent of the Jewish population living in the borders of the Old Reich.[11] Approximately 16,500 individuals were members of the Berlin Kulturbund, the largest branch in the Reichsverband. Yet Berlin's membership constituted 1,741 members less than the previous season, an eleven percent decrease.[12] Emigration accounted for 811 of Berlin's lost membership subscriptions (47%). A further 692 Berliners cancelled their membership due to financial hardship. Finally, 238 memberships were cancelled due to death.[13] These losses were not limited to the general membership. By the beginning of the 1937/1938 season there were only 1,763 active artists registered nationally – a decrease of more than 700 artists from the previous season.[14] Of these artists, a majority were orchestra members who departed for Palestine or the United States.[15]

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[9] Bayerische Politische Polizei, '30600/3811 Bb, 2474', 31 December 1938. MK15382, BHStAM.
[10] i., 'Kulturarbeit für Kleingemeinden', *Israelitisches Familienblatt*, 30 June 1938, 11.
[11] Saul Friedländer, *The Years of Persecution, 1933-1939* (New York: Harper Collins, 1997), 257.
[12] Dr. Kurt Singer, 'Zum Subventionsantrag des Jüdischen Kulturbundes, Anmerkung', 25 August 1937, 6. FWA, AdK.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Dr. Werner Levie, 'Arbeitsbericht', *Mitteilungen des Reichsverbandes der Jüdischen Kulturbünde in Deutschland – Januar 1938* (January 1938): 13. FWA, AdK.
[15] Ibid., 14.

As with the Jewish population more generally, the most pertinent issues influencing a Bavarian Kulturbund member's individual decision to emigrate hinged upon a number of personal and social factors, including gender, money, health and age. The majority of the highest-ranking members of the Bavarian Kulturbund leadership left Germany in the course of the decade. All four of the Bavarian Kulturbund's original Executive Committee in Munich successfully emigrated. In Aschaffenburg, 70 percent of its local board fled Franconia (with all but one eventually settling in the United States).

The struggles of Munich-based artist Maria Luiko provide just one example of the difficulties Jewish artists faced in their efforts to flee Nazi Germany. Luiko sought to emigrate as early as 1936.[16] As previously noted, Luiko was one of the most active members on the Munich Kulturbund scene. Despite her dedication to the local Kulturbund, however, she stated her desire to leave behind her hometown in multiple letters to her friend and a former Bavarian Kulturbund artist Fritz Rosenthal, who himself had already moved from Munich to Palestine in 1935. At various times she even sought to establish a marionette theatre in Palestine and England.[17] Her efforts were ultimately unsuccessful.[18]

Of the 100 total active Kulturbund artists in Bavaria, at least 52 artists – or half of all Bavarian Kulturbund artists – were able to emigrate prior to the start of the war; this number comprised 31 male artists and 21 female artists.[19] In Munich, home to 57 Kulturbund artists, a total of 39 successfully fled Nazi Germany.[20] Their destinations were varied. Dr. Heinrich Feuchtwanger, a

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[16] See the collection: 2 Judaica Varia, Stadtarchiv München.
[17] Ibid.
[18] See epilogue for information on Luiko's life after 1938.
[19] This number only takes into account the initial emigration out of Germany. Some, unfortunately, left Germany for other European countries that were later swept into the regime's net and faced persecution once again.
[20] Of the 39 artists in Munich who emigrated, 16 were women and 23 were men. Five men and five women comprised the artists who were later deported. The fates of six artists, three men and three women, remain unknown. As mentioned previously, one woman survived due to a so-called 'privileged mix marriage', two died of causes seemingly unrelated to Nazi persecution.

Kulturbund lecturer, settled in Jerusalem in 1935.[21] Concert singer Ernst Mosbacher also left Munich in 1935. From 1935 until 1937 Mosbacher was employed as a Heldentenor at the Stadttheater Bern.[22] In September 1936 Kulturbund photographer and art historian Dr. Ruth Schweisheimer left Munich for the United States.[23]

By 1937, however, the impact of emigration within the artistic ranks was becoming even more pressing of an issue. In the early spring of 1937 a review in Munich's Jewish press declared, 'As the number of Jewish artists in Germany is rapidly declining, attracting young artists to the Kulturbund is a task of increasing importance'.[24] Herthe (Herta) Gotthilf Levy, a pianist from Würzburg, fled Nazi Germany in 1937 with her husband Alfed Levy and their infant son Heinz Michael. They eventually settled in Edam, a declining fishing town in the Netherlands.[25] Nuremberg Rabbi and frequent Kulturbund lecturer Dr. Hans Andorn, his wife Charlotte and their four-year-old daughter Susanne fled the Franconian capital in September 1938. The family took up residence in the Netherlands, where Andorn served as Rabbi of a liberal Jewish community.[26] Hilde Eichenberg, a musician from Aschaffenburg, emigrated to St. Louis (USA)

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[21] Heike Specht, *Die Feuchtwangers: Familie, Tradition und jüdisches Selbstverständnis* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2006), see particularly pages 311-366.
[22] Paul Suter, 'Ernst Mosbacher', in *Theaterlexikon der Schweiz: Band 2*, ed. Kotte, Andreas (Zürich: Chronos Verlag, 2005), 1278; Donna Ryan, *The Holocaust and the Jews of Marseilles* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 96.
[23] Lisa Kolb, 'Biografie: Ruth Kraemer, geborene Schweisheimer' in *Einblick – Ausblicke. Jüdische Kunsthistoriker in München (2010/2011).* Accessed: 24 March 2015: <http://www.kunstgeschichte.uni-muenchen.de/forschung/ausstellungsprojekte/einblicke_ausblicke/biografien/kraemer/index.html>.
[24] a., 'Klavierabend Grete Sultan', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 1 March 1937, 107.
[25] Ron Grossman, 'Holocaust Mystery is Solved in Chicago,' *Chicago Tribune*, 30 May 2006. Available online (last accessed 14 February 2015): http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2006-05-30/news/0605300211_1_edam-dutch-town-parents.
[26] Bibliographical information regarding the Dr. Hans Andorn Stolperstein in Hattingen by Thomas Weiß, archivist, Stadtarchiv Hattingen 2006. Accessed 24 March 2015: <http://www.archiv.hattingen.de/pdf/stadtgeschichte/stolperst_andorn-h.pdf>.

with her husband Karl in 1938.[27] In early October 1938 Sigmund Strauß, a Kulturbund leader from Aschaffenburg, and his wife Anna left Lower Franconia for New Jersey.[28] Musicians Leo and Marie Schlamme (Marie Schlamme-Sprinz) left Würzburg with their son Otto on the first day of November 1938. The Schlamme family eventually settled in Houston, Texas.[29]

The Bavarian Kulturbund not only had to deal with emigration, but also internal migration within Germany as artists and members moved from smaller locales to larger metropolises. Chamber Singer Dr. Paul Kuhn left Munich for Berlin in either late 1937 or early 1938.[30] Actress and sculptor Elisabeth Springer left Munich for Hamburg in 1937, where she continued performing on their Kulturbund stage until she returned to Munich sometime after November 1938.[31] Nuremberg pianist Ludwig Grünbaum left for Berlin in 1938, and eventually settled in San Diego, California.[32]

General membership withnessed a similar decline, although statistics regarding the Bavarian branch survive only in fragments. In July 1937 Bavarian Kulturbund membership was down 20% from the previous year (from 4,710 to 3,925).[33] Declines in Kulturbund membership reflected a similar pattern of decline within the general Bavarian Jewish population. In 1937 the number of

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[27] Förderkreis Haus Wolfsthalplatz e.V., 'Hilde Eichenberg' in *Datenbank – Juden in Franken*. Accessible online [24 March 2015]: <http://www.historisches-unterfranken.uni-wuerzburg.de/friedhoefe/HausWolfsthalplatz/index.html>.
[28] Förderkreis Haus Wolfsthalplatz e.V., 'Sigmund Strauß' in *Datenbank*. Accessible online [24 March 2015]: <http://www.historisches-unterfranken.uni-wuerzburg.de/friedhoefe/HausWolfsthalplatz/index.html>.
[29] Geheime Staatspolizei, Staatspolizeistelle Würzburg, 'B. Nr. II B', 19 August 1940. Gestapostelle Würzburg 12404, StAW; Der Oberfinanzpräsident, 'Nr. Dev. 37332, Akte: Leo Israel Schlamme', 22 August 1940. Gestapostelle Würzburg 12404, StAW; Geheime Staatspolizei Würzburg, 'Otto Schlamme', 18 November 1938. Gestapostelle Würzburg 12404, StAW.
[30] Dr. Kuhn's wife, Charlotte Kuhn-Brunner, an 'Aryan', remained in Munich. Intendanz der Bayerischen Staatsoper, '76.55 Beil. 6 / III 2665', 11 November 1938. MK 45204, BHstAM.
[31] Maria Luise Kohn to Schalom Ben-Chorin, 15 August 1937. 2 Judaica Varia, StadtAM.
[32] Gernot Römer, ed. *'An meine Gemeinde in der Zerstreuung': Die Rundbriefe des Augsburger Rabbiners Ernst Jacob 1941-1949* (Augsburg: Wißner, 2007), 83.
[33] 'Aus den Gemeinden: Nürnberg', *Israelitisches Familienblatt*, 22 July 1937, 15.

Jews living in Bavarian locations with a Kulturbund office totaled 14,182.[34] This was a 24% decrease from the total Jewish population from the previous year. Bavarian Jewish community rates of decline occurred at a rate only 4% greater than the decrease in Bavarian Kulturbund membership. Without a specific membership list is it is not possible to know the exact rates of general membership emigration in Bavaria. However, calls for greater community support of Kulturbund events, which were printed in the local Jewish newspapers, did occur at times of increased community emigration – suggesting that emigration was a factor in the reduced Kulturbund membership.

Kulturbund officials sought to reverse the flailing membership levels by asking other Jewish organisations in Germany to foster greater support for the Kulturbund amongst its members. Calling upon the other Jewish organisations for support was not a new tactic, nor was it an entirely new method for the Kulturbund. Yet the frequency of these placements increased in the League's later seasons. In September 1937 the Kulturbund presented itself as an important social endeavour that offered a positive association with being 'Jewish'; the league provided, according to its leadership, more than mere cultural distraction. One such advertisement, placed in the mid-September 1937 issue of the *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, addressed all the major Jewish organisations in Germany, reading:

> The Jewish Kulturbund, which was founded four years ago in Berlin, has long been an established and a vital necessity for large and small Jewish communities throughout Germany. It has been found that the value of the Kulturbund goes much further than providing Jewish artists and audience members with a distraction. Here was an opportunity for establishing a organisation with the aim of collecting and combining the vibrant intellectual interests of Jewish people, and to direct these interests in a decisively purer Jewish direction. The existence of the Kulturbund is for all Jews of inner significance.[35]

[34] Statistics gathered from Baruch Z. Ophir and Falk Wiesemann, *Die jüdischen Gemeinden in Bayern 1918-1945* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 1979).
[35] 'Aufruf', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 September 1937, 321.

Indeed, there were high rates of membership attendance in late-1930s Bavaria – even when accounting for the decreases. That is to say, even though the total number of memberships decreased, the percentage of Jews who maintained a Kulturbund membership remained high. Indeed, the percentage of Jewish community members who maintained Bavarian Kulturbund membership in the late 1930s remained higher than the national average. In Nuremberg-Fürth, home to one of the largest Jewish communities in Bavaria, 33% of Jews were still Kulturbund members in October 1938; the national average, as previously mentioned, was less than 12%.[36] Kulturbund popularity was even stronger in smaller locales. In 1937 Regensburg noted a Kulturbund membership of nearly 200 individuals (of approximately 300 total persons) – or 65% of the Jewish community.[37] These high percentages of membership suggest that the Kulturbund played an important social function for those Bavarian Jews who did remain in Germany – and of these, those who could afford membership.

Yet this is not to suggest the Kulturbund was flourishing by the end of the decade. The financial uncertainty facing Bavarian (and German) Jewry in the latter half of the decade not only impacted individuals and families, but also Jewish owned businesses. As mentioned above, the loss of membership resulted in a loss of revenue as annual membership subscriptions, the costs of individual event tickets and any incidental costs patrons may have incurred during performances (such as coat check tips) were lost. In addition, the deteriorating economic situation facing Jewish owned businesses impacted the Bavarian Kulturbund's financial position. As individual membership (and the fees associated with membership) declined, the Kulturbund was increasingly reliant upon financial backing from business supporters. Yet, as with the situation regarding individuals, fewer Jewish-owned businesses were able to afford Kulturbund-supporting advertising space in the 'Freunde und Förderer des jüdischen Kulturbundes' section of the *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*.

Between 1934 and 1938 the Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria occupied a two to four page editorial- and advertisement spread in Munich's local Jewish

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[36] 'Jüdisches Leben in Nürnberg, Kulturbund', *Israelitisches Familienblatt*, 20 October 1938, 10.
[37] M. Ltz., 'Regensburg', *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 15 January 1937, 32.

newspaper. Until mid-1938 the 'Friends and Supporters of the Jewish Kulturbund' section featured 25 smaller square advertisement spaces and four larger rectangle spaces. A number of local Jewish businesses and professionals had regularly taken out advertising space in support of the League since its early days. Among these early regular supporters were prominent local Jewish owned businesses, such as Isidor Bach, Ballin Furniture House, S. Eichengrün & Co., Wallach, Uhlfelder and L. Bernheimer.

As economic conditions for Jewish-owned businesses worsened many ended their support of the Kulturbund. One such business was S. Eichengrün & Co. on Karmelitengasse in Munich. Sally Eichengrün's store was one of the more popular textile companies in Munich, for both Jewish and non-Jewish customers alike.[38] According to Sociologist (and Munich native) Werner Cahnman, shopping at Eichengrün's was, for non-Jews, 'a symbol of opposition against Nazi propaganda'.[39] Whether or not such actions by non-Jews was a 'symbol of opposition' or merely shoppers taking advantage of Eichengrün's inventory sales is debatable; what is clear from this, however, is that Eichengrün's store remained popular, thus ensuring a relatively stable economic grounding in the early 1930s. Indeed, Eichengrün's finances allowed him to run regular twice a month advertisements in the Kulturbund-sponsorship section of the *Gemeindezeitung* until 15 March 1938. However at some point between March and the beginning of the next Kulturbund season Eichengrün was forced to give up his store. According to Cahnman,

> Finally, one day, five or six party functionaries in civilian clothing stormed into the store and accused Sally Eichengrün of violating

[38] Historians Richard J. Evans and Saul Friedländer made note of the Eichengrün store's popularity with Jews and non-Jews, even in the latter half of the decade, in their general histories of Nazism. Former Münchner and Sociologist Werner Cahnman also made note of the store's popularity in his autobiographical writings on Jewish life in Munich in the 1930s. Saul Friedländer, *Das Dritte Reich und die Juden 1933-1945* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2013), 105; Richard J. Evans, *The Third Reich in Power: How the Nazis Won the Hearts and Minds of a Nation* (Penguin UK: London, 2012); Werner Cahnman, 'The Jews of Munich: 1918-43', *German Jewry: Its History and Sociology, Selected Essays by Werner J. Cahnman*, ed. Joseph B. Maier, Judith Marcus, Zoltán Tarr (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1989)

[39] Cahnman, 'The Jews of Munich', 129.

> one or other regulation; when the old man denied the charge, he was hit in the face and would have fallen had not one of his employees supported him. Eichengrün lived for his business only, to the extent that he could not even imagine of voluntarily giving up his store.[40]

Eichengrün was forced to sell his business – doubtlessly at a rate much reduced from its proper market value – to the Director of Loden-Frey.[41] Within the year Eichengrün fled Germany, through Switzerland, and finally settled in Argentina.[42]

By the start of the 1938/39 Season, the business 'Friends and Supporters' of the Kulturbund had dwindled dramatically. A number of prominent Jewish-owned firms – including distinguished local department stores such as Uhlfelder and Wallach – stopped taking out print ads in the Kulturbund section after the close of the 1937/38 Season. Between the two seasons the advertising section fell from 29 advertisement spots to ten (eight small and two large). The loss of membership revenue combined with the loss of business support meant the Kulturbund in Bavaria was becoming increasingly economically unsustainable.

A combination of these factors likely contributed to a financial loss of 5,467.65 RM in the Kulturbund's annual revenue in 1938: from 8,967.65 RM 1937 to a mere 3,500 RM the next year.[43] League officials drastically reduced the size of the annual programmes in both the 1937/1938 Season and the 1938/39 Season in an effort to save money. The Bavarian Kulturbund's fifth season (1937/38) was comprised of only 46 events throughout the state, 18 fewer than the previous season. Further, only five performances took place in the first two

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[40] Ibid.

[41] Loden-Frey is a department store in Munich's city centre. Gerd Modert, 'Motor der Verfolgung – Zur Rolle der NSDAP bei der Entrechnung und Ausplünderung der Münchner Juden,' in *München 'arisiert': Entrechnung und Enteignung der Juden in der NS-Zeit* ed. Angelika Baumann and Andreas Heusler (CH Beck: Munich, 2004), 149.

[42] Sally Eichengrün, Claims Resolution Tribunal, Holocaust Victim Assets Litigation Case Number CV96-4849, Claim Number 203957/AX.

[43] Such a loss was symptomatic of Jewish community finances as a whole. For a point of comparison, the revenue for the Synagogue was 25,7000 RM in 1937; the next year it fell to 9,509.73 RM. It is interesting to note, however, that the Synagogue Choir itself maintained a higher revenue than the whole of the Kulturbund: 10,919.82 RM in 1937 (compared to the Kulturbund's 8,967.65 RM) and 5,000 RM in 1938 (compared to the Kulturbund's 3,500 RM). Kulka and Jäckel, ed., *The Jews in the Secret Nazi Reports*, CD-ROM, Doc. No. 2774.

months of the sixth and final season (1938/39), all of which took place in Munich and Nuremberg. Despite these restrictive measures meant to prolong the Kulturbund's existence, however, the events of the summer and autumn of 1938 rendered these internal efforts futile.

Increased Legislation and 'Liquidation'

Political tensions ran high in the spring and summer of 1938. Unease spread in May as the Nazi regime set its sights on Czech lands, ending with the Munich Agreement and German annexation of what became known as the Sudetenland. In early June 1938 Munich's Main Synagogue was demolished upon personal orders of Adolf Hitler.[44] On 8 June 1938 Munich's Jewish community was forced to sell the entire property (the Synagogegrundstück and the nearby administrative offices) to the city of Munich at a considerably undervalued price.[45] Demolition began the following day. The Jewish community offices, including the main offices of the Bavarian Kulturbund, re-located to a former cigarette factory (Zigaretten- und Tabakfabrik Abeles) on Lindwurmstrasse 125. All planned events for the upcoming season in Munich were scheduled for the gymnasium of the Jewish Gymnastic and Sport Club on Plinganserstraße 76. Only days later, between 13 and 18 June 1938, the so-called 'June-Action' began. Police units throughout Germany assembled approximately 10,000 individuals throughout the Reich who were deemed 'asocial' and 'averse to work'; these individuals, including 1,500 Jews, were imprisoned in concentration camps.[46] Two months later, on 10 August, Nuremberg's main synagogue and the adjacent community buildings were destroyed upon the orders of Gauleiter Julius

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[44] Cahnman, 'The Jews in Munich', 137.
[45] Wolfram Selig, 'Judenverfolgung in München 1933 bis 1941' in *Hauptstadt der Bewegung': Bayerns Metropole und der Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Richard Bauer, Hans Günter Hockerts, Brigitte Schütz, Wolfgang Till and Walter Ziegler (Munich: Münchner Stadtmuseum, 2002), 400.
[46] This 'June Action' was the first large-scale round up of Jews to be taken to concentration camps. See: Christian Faludi, ed. *Die 'Juni-Aktion' 1938. Eine Dokumentation zur Radikalisierung der Judenverfolgung* (Frankfurt am Main: Campus, 2013).

Streicher. There is no evidence to suggest that the Kulturbund in Nuremberg was able to re-locate or continue with plans for the forthcoming season.

On 27 October Hinkel placed a ban on all Jewish cultural performances with the exception of theatre events; it was scheduled to last through 26 November 1938, although later events altered this initial plan.[47] This ban occurred one day before the upcoming 'Polenaktion' – the forced expulsion of approximately 18,000 Jews of Polish heritage from the German Reich scheduled for 28 October. The planned expulsion eventually failed and the transports of Jews were turned away at the Polish border, forcing individuals to live between the two countries with little food or protection.[48] Among those who faced being stranded between Germany and Poland was the family of seventeen-year-old Herschel Grynzpan, who himself was living in hiding to avoid his own deportation from Paris. On 7 November 1938 Grynzpan entered the German embassy in Paris and shot junior diplomat Ernst vom Rath. A day after the shooting, on 8 November, Hans Hinkel informed the Kulturbund leadership that all events were to be cancelled.[49] On the night of 9/10 November 1938 vom Rath succumbed to his wounds; the violence and destruction that occurred in the wake of vom Rath's death brought organised Jewish cultural life in Bavaria to an end.

The events of 9/10 November 1938 marked, in hindsight, the apogee of pre-war National Socialist assaults on German Jewry. The threats, intimidation and personal physical attacks that had been hurled against German Jews since January 1933 culminated in a savage attack on the German Jewish community as a whole – an attack approved on the national level yet it was carried out in a variety of local renditions.[50] The two remaining synagogues in Munich – the orthodox synagogue on Herzog-Rudolf-Straße and the Eastern European synagogue on Reichenbachstraße – were desecrated, as were synagogues

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[47] It is unclear why theatre events were excluded from this ban. Rovit, *The Kulturbund Theatre Company*, 147.
[48] Susanne Heim, ed. *Die Verfolgung und Ermorderung der europäischen Juden durch das nationalsozialistische Deutschland 1933-1945: Deutsches Reich 1938 – August 1939. Band 2* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2009), 52.
[49] Hans Hinkel to Kulturbund Deutscher Juden, 8 November 1938. FWA, AdK.
[50] Michael Wildt, *Volksgemeinschaft als Selbstermächtigung: Gewalt gegen Juden in der deutschen Provinz 1919 bis 1939* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2007).

throughout Germany and Bavaria. Many local Kulturbund performance venues were severely damaged. The Gemeinde-owned guesthouse Weiße Taube in Bamberg, where the majority of Bamberg's Kulturbund events had taken place, was requisitioned and used for grain storage.[51] In Munich, the newly re-located Gemeinde offices at Lindwurmstrasse 125 were ransacked and its typewriters, money, furniture and entire library stolen.[52]

A number of the remaining 'Friends and Supporters of the Bavarian Kulturbund' businesses were plundered during the night. Andreas Heusler found that just over 50 Jewish-owned businesses in Munich officially filed damage reports from the night. However, the real amount of damage far exceeded official documentation.[53] Eleven of the claimed damage reports were from businesses that had previously supported the Bavarian Kulturbund.[54]

An unknown number of male local Kulturbund officials, artists and members were incarcerated during the day on 10 November 1938. Further Kulturbund activity in Bavaria, even if it had not been canceled two days prior, would have been impossible. Many of the leading local cultural and academic figures in Bavaria were taken to Dachau. According to Werner Cahnman, 'Intellectuals and persons from the business elite were more numerous' than the working class inmates.[55] Members Erich Erck, Hellmut Maison, Josef Ziegler, Cahnman and Hugo Magnus were among the approximately 1,000 Jewish men from Munich imprisoned in Dachau. Magnus died in Dachau on 29 November 1938 as a result of mistreatment; the actor was 58 years old.[56]

In Würzburg an approximate total of 290 Jewish men were assaulted and imprisoned.[57] Würzburg Kulturbund member Arnold Reinstein, a wine merchant

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[51] In the 1940s the Weiße Taube would be used as a 'Sammlungsort' for deportation. Borut, 'Jüdisches Leben in Franken', 242.
[52] Andreas Heusler and Tobias Weger, ed., '*Kristallnacht': Gewalt gegen die Münchner Juden im November 1938* (Munich: Buchendorf Verlag, 1998), 75.
[53] Heusler and Weger, *Kristallnacht*, 113.
[54] Heusler and Weger, *Kristallnacht,* 52-54.
[55] Werner J. Cahnman, 'In the Dachau Concentration Camp' *The Chicago Jewish Forum*, (23), 21.
[56] Heusler and Weger, *Kristallnacht,* 132.
[57] For more details on the events of 9/10 November 1938 in Würzburg see: Roland Flade, 'Der Novemberpogrom von 1938 in Unterfranken: Vorgeschichte –

and amateur photographer, was arrested on 10 November. Reinstein, initially held in custody at a local prison, was among the 160 Jewish men from Würzburg transferred to Dachau on 16 November. On 10 December 1938 Reinstein was released from Dachau after the consulate for the Dominican Republic approved his travel visa; Reinstein never emigrated, and a few years later he was hanged in Dachau.[58] Kulturbund member and rabbi Dr. Sigmund Hanover was among the 130 Würzburg men who were held in Buchenwald; Hanover was imprisoned until 4 December 1938.[59] Kulturbund member Ernst Lebermann, a 63-year-old wine merchant from Würzburg, was so badly mistreated in the early hours of the morning on 10 November 1938 that he died the following day.[60] Before 7.00 in the morning on 10 November a group from the local NSDAP Würzburg-Sanderau entered Lebermann's home. Lebermann was forcibly shoved from his apartment. He was then pushed down a flight of stairs leading to the outside of the apartment building, where he was then made to march through the streets of Würzburg with other Jewish victims. Two or three hours later Lebermann was registered in a local police office. He died later that day at the Israelitisches Krankenhaus of wounds incurred through harsh physical treatment.[61]

The following weeks unfolded with uncertainty. On 14 November 1938 Goebbels officially suspended all Jewish cultural events outside of Berlin until further notice.[62] Approximately a month later, on 16 December 1938, Hinkel's office announced the closure of the Reichsverband. Hinkel's directive required the 'liquidation' of all regional Kulturbund branches by 31 December 1938.[63] This final ban was largely superfluous. The decline in membership and the

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Verlauf – Augenzeugenberichte', in *Veröffentlichungen des Stadtarchivs Würburg* (Würzburg: Stadtarchiv Würzburg, 1988).

[58] Consulado de la Republica Dominicana, 'Bescheinigung für Herrn Arnold Reinstein; C. 865/38', 5 December 1938. Gestapostelle 10207, StAW.

[59] Geheime Staatspolizeistelle Würzburg, 12 December 1938. Gestapostelle 396, StAW.

[60] Gestapoakte 5753, 10 November 1938. Gestapostelle 16213, StAW.

[61] Roland Flade, *Die Würzburger Juden: Ihre Geschichte vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart* (Würzburg: H. Stürz, 1999), 319-322.

[62] Der Reichsminister für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda, 'Aufhebung des Verbots jüdischer Kulturveranstaltungen, II. A 20970', 14 November 1938. FWA, AdK.

[63] Bayerische Politische Polizei, '30600/3811 Bb, 2474', 31 December 1938. MK15382, BHStAM.

financial crises that had plagued the Kulturbund for the last two seasons were irreversible after 9/10 November. A great many League leaders, male artists and male members who remained in Bavaria were being held in state custody at Dachau, Buchenwald or other locations. Local Kulturbund offices and performance venues were destroyed or requisitioned for 'Aryan' use. Even without Hinkel's final Kulturbund ban the continuation of Jewish cultural life in Bavaria was not possible. On 9/10 November, and in the weeks that followed, the Bavarian Kulturbund lost its venues, financial capabilities, artistic personnel and large amounts of its membership.

Yet Jewish cultural activity in the Reich's capital was required to continue. The Berlin Kulturbund theatre and offices had remained untouched by the brutality. In stark contrast to what was occurring throughout the country, armed SS men were said to have stood outside the Kulturbund theatre on Berlin's Kommandantenstrasse, protecting the building from vandalism or destruction.[64] Fritz Wisten, at the time the temporary head of the Reichsverband while Dr. Kurt Singer was undertaking a tour of the US in the autumn of 1938, was released from Sachsenhausen on 15 November 1938 upon personal orders from Hinkel.[65] Additional Kulturbund leaders and actors in Berlin were given special release orders and letters of protection from the Ministry of Propaganda with the caveat that they return to the Kulturbund stage.[66] Wisten was ordered to restart Kulturbund work immediately. A month later Berlin staged Mendele Moykher Sforim's *Benjamin…wohin?*.[67] This 'new' Kulturbund replaced the former Reichsverband and existed under a new name: the Jewish Kulturbund in

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[64] Stephan Stompor, *Jüdisches Musik- und Theaterleben unter dem NS-Staat: Schriftenreihe des Europäischen Zentrums für Jüdische Musik, Volume 4*, ed. Andor Izsák, Susanne Borchers (Hannover: Europäisches Zentrum für Jüdische Musik, 2001), 142.
[65] Rovit, *Kulturbund Theatre Company*, 148.
[66] Ibid., 148-149.
[67] The play, originally written in Yiddish, follows a book salesman and his friend as they re-enact the story of the Third Benjamin. According to theatre historian Rebecca Rovit, the plot features a play within a play as the pair travels the Russian countryside seeking the lost ten tribes of Israel. Ibid., 150.

Germany e.V. (Jüdischer Kulturbund in Deutschland e.V.). It remained in operation until the eve of deportations in 1941.[68]

Similar to the earlier Kulturbund structure, the league's last iteration as the Kulturbund was based with its main offices in Berlin; it had four departments of operation: theatre and music, lectures, film and publications.[69] By mid-January 1939 expanded Jewish cultural activity was planned for seven additional cities: Hamburg, Breslau, Königsberg (today Kaliningrad), Düsseldorf, Ulm, Bachau and Frankfurt (Oder).[70] A month later Frankfurt (Main) and Hannover opened operations, followed a few days later by Cologne, Gleiwitz and Stettin.[71] By the summer of 1939 activity ceased in both Ulm and Bachau, while one final expansion brought Leipzig once again into the Kulturbund fold.[72] These regional branches were served by Berlin-based traveling troupes (these troupes also included artists from Cologne and Hamburg).[73] After the summer of 1939 regional Kulturbund activity once again contracted; outside of Berlin, the Kulturbund mostly put on film showings (and even here, film showing were mostly limited to Breslau and Hamburg).

As of the 19 March 1940 edition of the *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*, the lone Jewish newspaper still published in Nazi Germany, there was no regional Kulturbund office in Bavaria. Yet, in a June 1940 Gemeinde 'Mitteilungen' from the Israelitische Kultusgemeinde München, there was a scheduled Kulturbund event meant to take place in Munich over the summer. According to the report, however, this event was cancelled.[74] Thus, the memo suggests that this canceled

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[68] Reichsminister für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda, 'Auslösung der Jüdischen Kulturbünde und anderen dem Reichsverband der Jüdischen Kulturbünde angeschlossenen Organisationen und Neu-Organisation ab 1. Januar 1939, II A 20700'. FWA, AdK.
[69] 'Konzentrierte Kulturbund-Arbeit', *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*, 30 December 1938, 1.
[70] 'Kulturbund-Arbeit im Reich', *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*, 17 January 1939, 5.
[71] See issues of the *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt* from 17 February 1939, 21 February 1939, 7 March 1939.
[72] Werner Israel Hinzelmann, 'Kulturbundarbeit im Reich', *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*, 21 July 1939, 11.
[73] Rovit, *Kulturbund Theatre Company*, 152.
[74] Israelitische Kultusgemeinde München e.V., 'Mitteilungen' 24 June 1940. See also: Wolfram Selig, *Richard Seligmann: ein jüdisches Schicksal* (Munich: Stadtarchiv München, 1983).

event was meant to be Munich's first Kulturbund event under the new structure. Instead, however, Munich's 1940 Kulturbund season likely never began.

Conclusion

Between March 1934 and November 1938 at least 300 cultural events took place under the auspices of the Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria; approximately 100 Jewish artists were employed and during the 1935/1936 Season a total of 4,710 Bavarian Jews held Kulturbund membership.[1] Although its total numbers were smaller than that of Berlin, its significance should not be overlooked. Proportionately more Jews in Bavarian Kulturbund branches were League members than in Berlin.[2] Of the surviving membership statistics, late-Kulturbund membership in Bavarian cities ranged from two-thirds of the Jewish population of Regensburg in January 1937 to one-third of the Jewish population in Nuremberg in October 1938.[3] Men and women were involved in its activity, both as artists and as audience members. Further, prior to April 1935 – when all national Kulturbund locations were consolidated into one single structure with its main offices in Berlin – the majority of Jewish artists performing for the Bavarian Kulturbund were Bavarians. This is to say: the Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria was a wide-reaching social structure for its regional membership. Its importance was not merely a matter of cultural concerns but also of community concerns more generally.

Bavaria's Kulturbund represented a public sphere for Jews that served multiple purposes depending on the individual taking part. For some it may have

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[1] 'Aus den Gemeinden: Nürnberg', 22 July 1937, *Israelitsiches Familienblatt*, 15

[2] Lily E. Hirsch cites 10 percent as the average approximate proportion of Berliner Jews who held Kulturbund membership throughout the League's existence. Gabriele Fritch-Vivié looks at Kulturbund membership in the capital in her monograph on Berlin's Kulturbund. Lily E. Hirsch *A Jewish Orchestra in Nazi Germany: Musical Politics and the Berlin Jewish Cultural League* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2012), 19; Gabriele Fritch-Vivié, *Gegen alle Widerstände: Der Jüdische Kulturbund 1933-1941* (Berlin: Hentrich & Hentrich, 2013), 76-79.

[3] 'Aus den Gemeinden: Nürnberg', 22 July 1937, *Israelitsiches Familienblatt*, 15; 'Aus den Gemeinden: Nürnberg', 23 December 1937, *Israelitisches Familienblatt*, 4; 'Konzerte und Vorträge, Nürnberg-Fürth', 30 December 1937, *Central Verein Zeitung*; 'Jüdisches Leben in Nürnberg: Kulturbund' 20 October 1938, *Israelitisches Familienblatt*, 10; M. Ltz., 'Regensburg' 15 January 1937, *Bayerische Israelitsiche Gemeindezeitung*, 32.

served as a distraction, for others it may have provided a comforting link between their pre-1933 and post-1933 lives. For some it may have reaffirmed their sense of being 'Jewish', for others it may have introduced them to 'Jewish' cultural and scientific themes for the first time. For some professionals it meant being able to continue working in their chosen careers while for some amateurs it provided the opportunity to sustain their private interests.

It was also, as Werner Cahnman states, a vehicle of 'self-knowledge' and 'self-consciousness'. Cahnman reflected on the Jewish social institutions active in National Socialist Munich and concluded, based on his own experiences, that:

> I admit to serious disagreement with those who saw in the creation of the Bünde-Lehrhaus-Volksschule-Kulturbund an attempt at euphoric self-deception, providing a false feeling of security and normalness, that was wholly at variance with the perceived need for emigration.[4]

My interpretation of Kulturbund activity in Bavaria takes a stance similar to Cahnman. The Kulturbund created a social sphere that nurtured local interpretations and self-representations of its membership's own understandings of 'Jewishness'. It served this role as its membership negotiated their new surroundings during a period of political, social and personal flux. I argue that the creation of Kulturbund programme was a conscious process of community self-representations, or as Cahnman wrote, of community 'self-knowledge' and 'self-consciousness'.

Further, Herbert Freeden's assertion that the organisation was a 'Jewish Cultural League without "Jewish" culture' does not hold outside of Berlin.[5] There was no simple 'German' or 'Jewish' interpretation of cultural forms during this period – a misleading dichotomy that has been perpetuated in recent scholarship.[6] When Bavarians were in charge of their own programme there

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[4] Werner Cahnman, 'The Jews in Munich: 1918-1943' in *German Jewry: Its History and Sociology* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1989), 137.
[5] Herbert Freeden, 'Jüdischer Kulturbund ohne "Jüdische Kultur"', in *Geschlossene Vorstellung: Der Jüdische Kulturbund in Deutschland 1933-1941*, Akademie der Künste, ed. (Berlin: Akademie der Künste, 1992), 55-66.
[6] This supposed dualism between 'German' and 'Jewish' art within the Kulturbund structure is a main point of focus for both Gabriele Fritsch-Vivié

were direct efforts at engaging in the creation of self-described 'Jewish' art – and often these aims were achieved by the use of so-called 'German' (or even 'Bavarian') forms. Munich's Jewish Marionette Theatre, one of the regional organisation's more popular cultural endeavours, utilised a medium imbued with a strong local tradition to showcase self-described 'Jewish' themes. The Kulturbund adult educational offerings and lecture series focused entirely on 'Jewish' themes – from biblical scholarship to Jewish artists, Jewish history and Jewish authors. Finally, the musical department performed a wide array of music during all four years of activity, including Jewish composers from the classical Western European canon, Yiddish folk music and liturgical music.

Still, to be clear, the self-expressions of 'Jewishness' in the Bavarian Kulturbund programme did not necessarily hinder or diminish its membership's concomitant commitment to being 'German' (or 'Bavarian'). The membership was, after all, overwhelmingly German.[7] Yet the membership was also Jewish. Such a German-Jewish cultural understanding was a 20th century idea that began to find wider community resonance during the Weimar Republic.[8] As Sharon

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(2013) and Lily E. Hirsch (2010) in their recent works on Berlin's activity. Marianne Kröger, in a recent (2014) review of Fritsch-Vivié and Rebecca Rovit's study of the Berlin theatre programme (2013), wrote of Rovit's attempt to highlight the dual nature of German-Jewish theatrical stagings in the late Kulturbund programme as something of a misguided 'American self-understanding of ethnic diversity' – as if cultural Zionism never found a footing in Germany or as if the Weimar period never experienced a flourishing of internal Jewish community building efforts. Hirsch, *A Jewish Orchestra;* Fritsch-Vivié, *Gegen alle Widerstände*, Marianne Kröger, 'Doppelrezension: Das Zwangskonstrukt "Jüdischer Kulturbund" (1933-1941) aus kulturwissenschaftliche Perspektive', *Medaon* (2014), 6; Rebecca Rovit, *The Jewish Kulturbund Theatre Company in Berlin* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2012).

[7] Of the Kulturbund members in Würzburg during the 1935/36 Season, only ten were born outside of Germany. Most of these individuals came from Western Europe: Basel (Switzerland) Bolzano (Italy), Cardiff (Wales), Colmar (France), Paris (France) and Vienna (Austria-Hungary). Eastern European born members came from Krakow (Poland) and Woloschin (Russia). Three members were born in Strasbourg (France), which was part of the German Empire when they were born but, at the time of their Kulturbund membership, was once again part of France. 'Mitgliedsanmeldungen zum Jüdischen Kulturbund in Bayern', 1935. D/Wu2/380, CAHJP.

[8] Michael Brenner, *The Renaissance of Jewish Culture in Weimar Germany* (New York: Yale University Press, 1998); Philip V. Bohlman, 'The Land Where Two

Gillerman has found in her work on Weimar Jewry, the 'impulse for a new expression of Jewish particularism did not depend on the surrender of their Germanness.'[9]

The Jewish Kulturbund in Bavaria illuminates the wide-ranging nature of Jewish self-representations under National Socialism. The Berlin branch, although important, does not – and should not – be used as representative of the entirety of Jewish cultural life in 1930s Germany. Nor should the Bavarian Kulturbund be used as representative of all Jewish cultural life outside of Berlin. Yet, shifting focus away from the capital and to the south begins to bring the variety of cultural experiences and representations of 'Jewishness' to the fore.

Such a focus also brings forth a related question: it is possible to speak of a specific Bavarian Jewish cultural programme? Yes, but with a caveat. As stated above, in general terms, the Kulturbund programme in Bavaria did explore themes of 'Jewish' cultural production earlier and more frequently than occurred in Berlin. This is an important distinction. Yet the specific shapes of these 'Jewish' cultural productions varied from city to city – and indeed from Kulturbund department to department. These differences were most distinguishable in the musical department. 'Jewish' music in Bavaria was defined as: music by a Jewish composer (or in other words, by a composer of Jewish heritage regardless of his own self-identification), liturgical music or Jewish folk music.

In the Bavarian cities with the largest Jewish communities – Munich and Nuremberg, later Nuremberg-Fürth – the majority of 'Jewish' music was music created by a Jewish composer. Overall, it was a programme that sounded, more or less, like any other musical programme in Western Europe. There were exceptions to this, such as the proliferation of Mendelssohn's *Elijah* performances or the Munich Synagogue Choir's 1934 'Kol Nidre' performance (the self-advertised 'evening of Jewish music' concert).[10] Yet in the larger cities,

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Streams Flow': Music in the German-Jewish Community of Israel (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989); Sharon Gillerman, *Germans into Jews: Remaking the Jewish Social Body in the Weimar Republic* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009).

[9] Gillerman, *Germans into Jews*, 4.

[10] Kulturbund advertisements placed in the *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung* on 1 November 1934 and 15 November 1934; Ba.,

the connection to 'Jewishness' in music was mostly limited to the composer's heritage – a significant distinction in 1930s Germany, even if such a distinction was not always readily aurally apparent.

Smaller Bavarian locations, however, had a different programmatic orientation geared toward liturgical music as well as Jewish (which generally meant Yiddish or Hebrew texts) folk music from Eastern Europe or Palestine. In Würzburg, the third largest Jewish community in Bavaria, the musical programme frequently featured both these elements. The city's inaugural Kulturbund event in the autumn of 1934, a concert, featured Hebrew liturgical songs and Hebrew and Yiddish folk songs.[11] Aschaffenburg's opening concert in 1937 featured 'Jewish songs (Lieder) and Jewish folk songs'.[12] And Regensburg's 1934 premier featured two songs performed in Hebrew by local singer Mendel Lewkowitz.[13]

Thus, the larger Bavarian cities performed a musical programme with a more secular understanding of 'Jewishness' based upon the heritage of a composer. This required no religious connection or themes within the music, nor was the composer required to have even self-identified as Jewish. On the other hand, the programmes in smaller communities were more aurally representative of 'Jewish' musical themes. Liturgical music represented a clear connection to Jewish religious practice. Eastern European Yiddish or Hebrew folk music was endowed with a certain religious bent while also invoking notions of heritage. Indeed, folk music originating in 'the East' (be that Eastern Europe or Palestine) was viewed as an 'authentic' 'Jewish' musical experience (as was liturgical music). Such claims of an Eastern-based authenticity were an early 20th century German Jewish phenomenum. As Michael Brenner notes, 'Jewish composers in Weimar Germany used both oriental and Eastern European Jewish models in

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'Synagogenkonzert des Kulturbundes,' *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung,* 1 December 1934, 506.

[11] 'Nachrichten für die bayerischen Gemeinden', 18 October 1934, *Die Laubhütte,* 3; 'Süddeutschland: Würzburg,' 18 October 1934, *Israelitisches Familienblatt*, 14.

[12] 'Konzerte und Vorträge', 1 April 1934, *Central Verein Zeitung*; 'Aschaffenburg', 8 April 1934, *Israelitisches Familienblatt*.

[13] 'Kulturbundabend', 30 May 1934, *Die Laubhütte*; 'Nachrichten für die bayerischen Gemeinden', 25 June 1934, *Die Laubhütte*, 4; 'Vermischtes. Regensburg', 28 June 1934, *Der Israelit*, 10.

their search for authenticity.'[14] Eastern Jews were viewed as the idealised antithesis to Western – in this context, German – Jews: religion was still seen as an active component of daily life and communities were seen as seemingly unaffected by 'the malaise of modern European civilization.'[15]

The Bavarian visual arts department was more cohesive in its representations of 'Jewish' themes from location to location. This was in no small part due to the fact that the department was dominated by one key undertaking: Munich's Marionette Theatre of Jewish Artists. As its name suggests, the theatre was founded in, and based out of, Munich. It was a 'specifically Jewish endeavour' whereby 'all works either have to be written by a Jewish author or have to contain an easily identifiable Jewish theme, and all acting and technical work is to be exclusively in Jewish hands.'[16] The group performed throughout the state between 1935 and 1937, and it achieved success with every performance. It was described in the Jewish press as 'bringing something new to Munich, namely a drama of a purely Jewish milieu.'[17] Yet there was an additional dimension to its success: it was also lauded as being of 'the best *münchnerische* tradition.'[18] This tradition had no ties to Judaism, though it did have important ties to local cultural traditions. Munich's Jewish marionette theatre was a multi-layered endeavour. It combined 'Jewish' themes with a strong sense of localised civic pride – and it did this to great popular success.

As the Bavarian Kulturbund example highlights, the distinctions between 'German' and 'Jewish' art in 1930s National Socialist Bavaria were never quite clear. The relationship was fluid – the League's existence predicated upon both 'German' and 'Jewish' contexts. It was a German-Jewish endeavour. Such it was that Mendel Lewkowitz performed an evening of Hebrew songs in Regensburg's

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[14] Michael Brenner, *The Renaissance of Jewish Culture in Weimar Germany* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 158.
[15] Brenner, *The Renaissance*, 131.
[16] Berthold Wolff "Zur Aufführung des Marionetten-Theaters," 15 January 1935, *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 31.
[17] Berthold Wolff, 'Marionetten-Aufführung', 15 December 1935, *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*, 549.
[18] Ca., 'Marionettentheater in München', *Central Verein Zeitung*, 9 January 1936, 7.

local Augustiner beer hall.[19] Or that Munich's Jewish Marionette Theater was a self-described 'Jewish' cultural undertaking, yet its leadership drew their inspiration, as well as their efforts at establishing cultural legitimacy, by referencing their theatre's place within entirely non-Jewish local Munich cultural traditions.[20] Schalom Ben-Chorin – former Kulturbund critic and Bimath-Buboth author Fritz Rosenthal – later encapsulated this sense of Bavarian-Jewish self-identification in the poem 'Traumgeographie', writing:

> Es scheint nun, daß ich ungehindert
> Von Jerusalem nach Schwabing geh...
> Tausen Meilen sind zum Sprung vermindert:
> Tel-Aviv liegt nah am Tegernsee.[21]

The art created within the Bavarian Kulturbund structure was, to reference Amos Funkenstein, always created within the local idiom.[22] In Bavaria, as shown above, this was an idiom of German, Bavarian and Jewish origins: 'Tel-Aviv liegt nah am Tegernsee'.

Epilogue

Bavarian Kulturbund activity officially ceased operations on 31 December 1938. Yet the individuals who comprised the Bavarian Kulturbund leadership-, artistic- and audience-ranks continued on with their daily lives. Some emigrated to other European countries or abroad while others remained in Bavaria or Germany; some continued their involvement in cultural performance while others ended their artistic careers on the last day of 1938. The post-Kulturbund fates of Bavarian Jewish artists were varied – each individual had, after all, a life beyond the Kulturbund stage.

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[19] 'Nachrichten für die bayerischen Gemeinden', 25 June 1934, *Die Laubhütte*, 4.
[20] Wolff, 'Zur Aufführung des Marionetten-Theaters', 31, 34.
[21] Schalom Ben-Chorin, 'Traumgeographie' in *Von Juden in München: Ein Gedenkbuch*, ed. Hans Lamm (Munich: Ner-Tamid, 1959), 192.
[22] Amos Funkenstein, 'The Dialectics of Jewish Assimilation' in *Jewish Social Studies* 1 (1995), 9.

As stated in the previous chapter, a number of the local Bavarian Kulturbund members were able to escape Nazi Germany prior to the onset of deportations. Palestine, the United States and various countries in South America were the most common destinations for Bavarian artists who emigrated overseas. Munich residents Rabbi Dr. Robert Raphael Geis and Renate Loeb joined their fellow Bavarians and active Kulturbund members Dr. Heinrich Feuchtwanger, Fritz Rosenthal, Abraham Schainermann, Mannfred Sturmann and Rose Harburger (born Rose Heller; she later changed her first name to Shoshana) in Palestine.[23] Geis returned to Europe in 1946, and moved back to Germany in 1952.[24]

Marie Schlamme-Sprinz, born in the small Franconian village of Burghaslach and former resident of Würzburg, emigrated to Houston, Texas with her husband, Leo, and their young son Otto.[25] She played violin for many years with the Houston Symphony.[26] Aschaffenburg's chamber pianist Hilde Freund settled in Chicago, Illinois in 1939. Freund remained an active musician in Chicago, performing and teaching.[27] Beginning in the late 1940s Freund accompanied the cantor Hans Alten on piano, including a January 1948 concert featuring pieces by Schumann, a March 1949 concert of works by Schubert and an undated concert entitled 'Palestinian Nights'.[28] In 1953 she performed an evening of pieces by Corelli, Bach and Beethoven at the Art Institute of Chicago's Fullerton Hall.[29] Nuremberg's popular pianist, Ludwig Grünbaum, first left

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[23] Wolfgang Benz, „Vasano: Bericht über eine Edition" in Barbara Duden, ed. *Geschichte in Geschichten: ein historisches Lesebuch* (Frankfurt: Campus Fachbuch, 2003), 168.
[24] See: Geis, Robert Raphael: *Leiden an der Unerlöstheit der Welt: Robert Raphael Geis, 1906-1972 : Briefe, Reden, Aufsätze*. Dietrich Goldschmidt and Ingrid Ueberschär (eds.) (Munich: Chr. Keiser, 1984).
[25] Staatsarchiv Würzburg, Gestapostelle Würzburg 12404: Leo Schlamme; Der Oberfinanzpräsident, 22.8.1940, Nr. Dev. 37332 Akte: Leo Israel Schlamme.
[26] Gestapostelle Würzburg 12404, StAW; Audiovisual Records, AV/016, HSA.
[27] Lawrence B. Johnson, 'Hyphenated Careers Link Young Pianists', *The Milwaukee Sentinel*, 28 March 1975, 15.
[28] In 1965 Alten was praised for his 25 years of service as cantor and the director of music for the Chicago Sinai, a liberal/reform congregation in Chicago. 'Notes on the News in Religion', *Chicago Tribune*, 20 March 1965, 8.
[29] Claudia Cassidy, 'One the Aisle: St. Olaf Choir Rears Some Triumphant Towers in Blocks of Tone', *Chicago Tribune*, 21 February 1951, 1.

Bavaria for Berlin in 1938; a year later left he left Germany for the United States. Grünbaum eventually settled in San Diego, California, where he opened an electronics store. Details regarding his later musical life remain unknown.[30]

Other artists relocated from Bavaria to South America. In 1940 Berthold Wolff, the financial backer of Munich's marionette theatre, emigrated to Sao Paulo, Brazil with his wife, Wally, and their four sons.[31] Opera singer and cantor Matthäus Urwand left for Buenos Aires, Argentina; little is known regarding Urwand's later life.[32] Erich Erck, his wife Elsa and their son Manfred left Munich in 1940 and eventually made their home in Bolivia – initially in Sucre and then later setting roots in La Paz. Erck resumed his musical career almost immediately upon his arrival in Bolivia. He founded a choir in Sucre that performed its inaugural concert in 1941; the same year he composed the cantata *Cantata Bolivia*. His choir often performed with the Sociedad Filarmónica Sucre and travelled to various locations throughout the region to perform. Three years later, in 1944, Erck made La Paz his home. Shortly thereafter he founded the Orquesta Sinfònica Nacional – a symphony orchestra composed in large part of European immigrants.[33]

Still other artists who successfully left the borders of a pre-war Nazi Germany, however, were soon swept into the net of wartime Nazi territorial expansion in both western and eastern Europe. Nuremberg's Rabbi Dr. Hans Andorn left his Franconian home in the spring of 1938 for Holland. From June

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[30] Grünbaum changed his name to Louis Gruenbaum after he relocated to the United States. He lived until the age of 94, passing away in California in 1996. Gernot Römer, ed. *'An meine Gemeinde in der Zerstreuung': Die Rundbriefe des Augsburger Rabbiners Ernst Jacob 1941-1949* (Augsburg: Wißner, 2007), 83 and 235.

[31] Wolff passed away on 20 September 1945 in Sao Paulo. Waldemar Bonard, *Die gefesselte Muse: Das Marionettentheater im Jüdischen Kulturbund München 1935-1937* (Munich: Stadtmuseum München, 1994), 50; Polizei Direktionen 15439, StadtAM.

[32] Urwand changed his name to Mateo after his emigration. He lived in Buenos Aires until his death in 1982. 'Matheus Urwand' in *NS-Opfer/Personen Datenbank*. 12533, StadtAM.

[33] Erck died in La Paz in March 1956, two months after receiving the Bundesverdienstkreuz from then-German President Theodor Heuss. Jüdisches Museum Berlin, 'Nachlass Erich Eisner und Notenmaterial der "Cantata Bolivia"'. 2002/38; 2004/236; R-2003/118-120, 128-131; R-2004/25; BIB/287-288, JMB; P 10243, BHStAM; 'Gestapo 65', StAM.

1943 until February 1944 Andorn was interned in the Westerbork transit camp; in early February 1944 he was transferred to Bergen-Belsen, and a year later, in February 1945, he was declared dead.[34] Würzburg pianist Herthe Gotthilf faced a similar fate. Gotthilf, her husband Alfred Levy and their son Heinz Michael Levy left Würzburg for Edam, a declining fishing town in the Netherlands. Alfred Levy started a brassworks factory in an abandoned building; the business eventually employed approximately 40 workers. In 1942 the family was forced out of their home in Edam to Amsterdam; two years later, in February 1944, the family was deported from Amsterdam to Bergen-Belsen via Westerbork. In their final correspondence with a friend and former employee still living in Edam, the Levy family wrote in 1944 that they 'Are in health. Hope to get to Palestine.' Herta (Gotthilf) Levy was declared dead on 18 December 1944. Her cause of death was listed as typhus. Alfred Levy also died in the camp, presumably of disease. Their son survived. After the war Heinz Michael Levy lived for a short time in Amsterdam, and then went to live with his grandmother in Switzerland. In 1946 Alfred Levy's sister and her husband adopted the then 9-year-old Michael, who left Europe for Chicago.[35]

After his release from Dachau in November 1938, Munich's Rudolf Ernst, his wife, the actress Charlotte Schönberg-Ernst, and their son Michael, left for Zagreb, Croatia to stay with relatives. In 1942 Ustascha agents stopped Ernst and his brother Hugo for questioning. Arrangements were made for the brothers to meet with the police the next day. Overcome with fear and despair, Ernst took his life with gas on 7 August 1942.[36] A year later Charlotte Schönberg-Ernst was

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[34] Bundesarchiv, 'Hans Andorn' in *Gedenkbuch – Opfer der Verfolgung der Juden unter der nationalsozialistischen Gewaltherrschaft in Deutschland 1933-1945*. Accessible online [24 March 2015]: <http://www.bundesarchiv.de/gedenkbuch/directory.html.de>.

[35] Ron Grossman, 'Holocaust Mystery is Solved in Chicago', *Chicago Tribune*, 30 May 2006. Accessible online [24 March 2015]: <http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2006-05-30/news/0605300211_1_edam-dutch-town-parents>.

[36] According to Schalom Ben-Chorin, works by Rudolf Ernst were discovered at the Academy of Art in Zagreb after the war; these pieces are now located in Israel. In 2001, Professor Robert Lippl, a former professor of architecture at the Technical University of Munich, published a small collection of Ernst's paintings, drawings, and prints of woodcarving. According to correspondence between the author and Ernst's son, Michel, a number of Ernst's paintings survive today with

deported, presumably to Germany. The actress was never heard from again, although the family later received news that she was killed in the Jasenovac camp in Croatia.[37] The couple's young son, Michel, survived the war in Zagreb with his aunt, Vera Ernst. After the war the boy was in one of the first transports to Paris. He was then adopted by his mother's sister, who herself had spent the war years in Gurs.[38]

Munich-based actress and singer Lily Marschütz and her husband initially aimed to move to the United States, but ultimately landed in France. Marschütz later recalled, 'We wanted to come to the United States, but the affidavit of support didn't come in time. After we resettled in France, war broke out, and in 1940 France fell.'[39] The two lived in fear during the occupation and were eventually evacuated to Limoges. Marschütz continued to participate in cultural organisations in wartime France. She joined l'Union Intellectuelle Française, a group founded by Pierre Poughon and Jean-Paul Vereda Joussaume; the l'Union Intellectuelle Française was, according to its statement of purpose, created to: 'Serve the French thought; Disseminate literature and the arts; Help young writers; Support young artists; Aid in the needs of older intellectuals.' [40] On April 25, 1941 Marschütz held a poetry reading of her own work at the Théâtre Français.[41] The two spent the remainder of the war years in a 'forced residence' in France. Both Dr. and Lily Marschütz survived the war.[42]

However, only a small number of artists who remained in Bavaria by the turn of the 1940s survived the end of the war. Ida Kraft (also called Ida Gordon and Isa Gordon) was never deported and survived the National Socialist years in a so-called 'privileged mixed marriage'; Kraft was married to theatre director Hans Kraft.[43] Alma Weiss (later Alma Fischer), also of Munich, was deported

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the family in Paris, France. Ben-Chorin, *Jugend an der Isar*, 159 and a letter from Michael Schoenberg-Ernst to Robert Lippl, 7 November 2000.
[37] Email corresponce with Annette Schoenberg-Ernst, 26 April 2011.
[38] Lippl, *Rudolf Ernst*.
[39] Pat Nation, 'French Writer's Own Life Reads Like a War Novel', *Los Angeles Evening and Sunday Herald Examiner*, 26 August 1964. Familie Nr. 523, StadtAM.
[40] Lily Marschütz, l'Union Intellectuelle Francaise membership card for 1941. Familie Nr. 523, StadtAM.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Nation, "French Writer's Own Life."
[43] 'Ida Kraft' in NS-Opfer/Personen Datenbank. 6548, StadtAM.

from her hometown to Auschwitz in March 1943. Weiss worked as forced labour at the camp, first cutting grass and working in the fields. She was later used to do office work for the camp bureaucracy until 1945, when the remaining camp prisoners were forced on a death march. Weiss and her fellow prisoners were marched to Ravensbrück, where they were eventually liberated. In the immediate aftermath of the war Weiss found herself again in Munich, this time as a 'Displaced Person' working a government job. She soon left Germany for good, eventually marrying and settling in Mobile, Alabama.[44]

Death was the more common fate of those Kulturbund members for whom emigration was not possible. Arnold Reinstein was a Kulturbund member from Würzburg. He was among the Jewish men from Würzburg transferred to Dachau in November 1938; as stated in the previous chapter, his December 1938 release from Dachau was predicated upon his completed emigration paperwork to the Dominican Republic. Reinstein never emigrated. The Würzburg native worked for a local auto repair shop and, according to a late-November 1938 Gestapo report, was also an amateur photographer.[45] In January 1940 Reinstein was accused of espionage – an accusation based on the high technological quality of his camera and a recent eight-day absence from work due to illness.[46] The Gestapo searched his house and confiscated his photography. No charges were brought against Reinstein and he was cleared of the espionage charge, although he was banned from taking photographs outside of his residence.[47] A year later, in May 1941, Reinstein was again in trouble with the Gestapo due to his photography. On 27 May 1941 Reinstein's apartment was searched and his camera and related equipment seized; he was imprisoned in Würzburg the same day.[48] Reinstein had recently been seen photographing various scenes while on a

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[44] Roy Hoffman, 'Out of Auschwitz', *Mobile Register*, 19 July 1998. 4A, 18A.
[45] Geheime Staatspolizeistelle Staatspolizeistelle Würzburg, 'Erhebungsbericht: Betreff: Reinstein Arnold, Jude', 23 November 1938. Gestapostelle 10207, StAW.
[46] Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei Gauleitung Mainfranken/Kreisleitung Würzburg to Geheime Staatspolizeistelle Staatspolizeistelle Würzburg, 'Beschäftigung eines Juden im Betrieb Müller, Münzgasse 14', 17 January 1940. Gestapostelle 10207, StAW.
[47] Geheim Staatspolizeistelle Würzburg, 'Stapo B Nr. 40-II-B-Im.' 19 January 1940. Gestapostelle 10207, StAW.
[48] Geheime Staatspolizeistelle Würzburg, 'B Nr 5185/41 II B Gu.', 27 May 1941. Gestapostelle 10207, StAW.

bike-tour with his non-Jewish (and Catholic 'Aryan') friend, Karl Holzapfel (a local dentist).[49] A Gestapo report filed on 27 July 1941 declared Reinstein and Holzapfel 'homosexual suspects'. Both were transported to Dachau.[50] On 20 October 1941 Reinstein was hanged in Dachau at 2:00 in the morning.[51]

After the Kulturbund was shut down Luiko turned away from her own work as a professional artist. She took a job as a librarian in the Gemeinde's library and taught art classes at a local Jewish Volksschule in hopes of gathering enough money to emigrate. The financial and social situations facing Jews in Munich was bleak. Luiko wrote,

> All of our real friends are gone. Also gone are the good acquaintances to which someone had something to say, or those who had something to say to you…and what one talks about [now] – hopelessness.[52]

By the end of 1939 she was unemployed[53] and admitted that the possibility of emigration to Palestine was no longer realistic.[54] She also stopped painting, telling Ben-Chorin in 1939 that 'I have not painted in a year', although she was developing skills in the applied arts (specifically metal work).[55]

Luiko, her sister Elisabeth Kohn, and their mother Olga Kohn were on the first deportation from Munich to Eastern Europe. Their train left from Bahnhof Milbertshofen on 20 November 1941. Five days later Luiko, her sister, their

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[49] Geheime Staatspolizeistelle Würzburg, z.Zt. Gerichtsgefängnis, 's der Haft vorgeführt erscheint der Zahndentist Holzapfel, Vorn. Karl', 4 June 1941. Gestapostelle 10207, StAW.
[50] Geheim Staatspolizeistelle Würzburg, 'Reinstein und Karl Holzapfel (3.11.1895 in Würzburg, katholic, Sohn des Gerichtsobersekr aD Josef Holzapfel). B Nr 5185/41 – II B – Gu.', 27 July 1941. Gestapostelle 10207, StAW.
[51] Holzapfel was not killed. Geheime Staatspolizeistelle Nürnberg-Fürth to Reichssicherheitshauptamt, Amt IV, 'Schutzhaft Reinstein Arnold Israel, geb. am 16.3.1902 in Würzburg. Vorgang: Dort. Haft-Nr. IV C 2 R. 8534', 20 October 1941. Gestapostelle 10207, StAW.
[52] Letter from Maria Luise Kohn to Schalom Ben-Chorin, 13 June 1939. 2 Judaica Varia, StadtAM.
[53] Diane Oesterle, *'So süßlichen Kitsch, das kann ich nicht': die Münchener Künstlerin Maria Luiko (1904-1941)* (Munich: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2009), 14.
[54] Letter from Maria Luise Kohn to Schalom Ben-Chorin, 13 June 1939. 2 Judaica Varia, StadtAM.
[55] Ibid.

mother, actress and musician Elisabeth Springer, Springer's mother Dorlina and singer Sonja Ziegler were among the 1,000 men, women, and children from Munich who were murdered by Einsatzkommando 3 in the forest around Kaunas, Lithuania.[56]

While Luiko, Springer and Ziegler were victims of the first phase of Holocaust – the chaotic scenes of mass shootings on the eastern front – others were victims of the death camp system. Elisabeth Rosenfelder and Emmi Schwed, two artists from Nuremberg, were both among the 1,000 Jews who were deported from Nuremberg to Theresienstadt in September 1942.[57] Schwed died in Theresienstadt on 20 December 1942.[58] Rosenfelder was killed in Auschwitz on 4 October 1944.[59] Munich's Herbert Langhofer (Herbert Löwenberg) was first transported to Theresienstadt on 12 September 1942; from Theresienstadt he was moved to Auschwitz, where he was killed on 28 October 1944.[60] Nuremberg's Sebald Müller was deported to Riga-Jungfernhof on 29 November 1942. Munich Kulturbund musician Dr. Josef Walder was deported to the east, the specific location unknown although it is presumed to be either Auschwitz or Warsaw, on 13 July 1942; he was later declared dead.[61] Former Munich State

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[56] See the individual entries for Luiko, Springer and Ziegler in *Bibliographies Gedenkbuch der Münchner Juden, 1933-1945*, ed. Stadtarchiv München. Accessible online [24 March 2015]: <http://www.muenchen.de/rathaus/Stadtverwaltung/Direktorium/Stadtarchiv/Juedisches-Muenchen/Gedenkbuch/Biographisches-Gedenkbuch.html>.

[57] Statistik und Deportation der jüdischen Bevölkerung aus dem Deutschen Reich: Nürnberg und Würzburg nach Theresienstadt (II/25, 1000). Deportation list accessible online [24 March 2015]: <http://www.statistik-des-holocaust.de/list_ger_bay_420910.html>.

[58] Bundesarchiv, 'Emmi Schwed' in *Gedenkbuch – Opfer der Verfolgung der Juden unter der nationalsozialistischen Gewaltherrschaft in Deutschland 1933-1945*. Accessible online [24 March 2015]: <http://www.bundesarchiv.de/gedenkbuch/directory.html.de>.

[59] Yad Vashem, 'Else Rosenfelder' in *The Central Database of Shoah Victims' Names*. Accessible online [24 March 2015]: < http://db.yadvashem.org/names>.

[60] 'Herbert Langhofer (Löwenberg)' in *NS-Opfer/Personen Datenbank.* 7290, StadtAM.

[61] Bundesarchiv, 'Josef Walder' in *Gedenkbuch – Opfer der Verfolgung der Juden unter der nationalsozialistischen Gewaltherrschaft in Deutschland 1933-1945*. Accessible online [24 March 2015]: <http://www.bundesarchiv.de/gedenkbuch/directory.html.de>.

Opera singer Walter Ries was deported from Berlin to Auschwitz, where he lost his life on 10 March 1943.[62]

[62] Finanzmittelstelle München des Landes Bayern, 'Wiedergutmachung nach em BWGöD für die Witwe des verstorbenen Kammersängers Walter Ries, XIII. 93497', 11 November 1960. MK45294, BHStAM.

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Der Israelit
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Münchner Neueste Nachrichten
Nürnberg-Fürther Israelitisches Gemeindeblatt
Die Laubhütte

Archives

AdK	Akademie der Künste Archiv, Berlin
BHStAM	Bayerische Hauptstaatsarchiv München
CAHJP	Central Archive for the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem
IfZ	Institut für Zeitgeschichte, München
LBINY	Leo Baeck Institute, New York
NLI	National Library of Israel Archives, Jerusalem
StadtAM	Stadtarchiv München
StadtAN	Stadtarchiv Nürnberg
StAM	Staatsarchiv München
StAN	Staatsarchiv Nürnberg
StAW	Staatsarchiv Würzburg
WL	Wiener Library, London

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