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**Feigning Opposition to the Third Reich:
The Case of Singer Lotte Lehmann**

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Lotte Lehmann was the preeminent opera soprano of the 1920s and '30s. Born near Berlin in 1888, she came to fame at the Vienna Opera during World War I. After having starred in every European country, mostly in Richard Strauss and Wagnerian roles, she made more frequent operatic sojourns in the United States in the early 1930s. She had assumed residence in New York City by the time of the Anschluss of Austria in March 1938, and after that momentous event decided to stay in America, moving her husband out of Vienna later in the year. While her shift to the United States appears like the natural consequence of the Nazis' expansion within Central Europe, it had been anything but cogent and to the singer represented merely one of two alternatives with regard to her professional future. What follows is an account of why and how Lehmann opted for that choice, how she managed these circumstances and what consequences all of this has in a historiography of the Third Reich and the Holocaust.¹

In 1966, Lehmann published an article entitled "Göring, the Lioness and I," in a British opera yearbook. In it, she told of a meeting with Hermann Göring, the Nazi minister of education, his fiancée, Emmy Sonnemann, and the director of the Prussian State Opera, in approximately 1933. She had "never taken any interest in politics" and

knew "next to nothing about Hitler." The meeting with Göring had come about because she had received a telephone call in Vienna from the Opera director, saying that Göring personally was inviting her to Berlin for "a few guest appearances." Doubting any great material benefits, Lehmann wanted to dismiss the invitation right on the telephone. But the director assured her that "you will get whatever you ask." The singer then agreed to come to Berlin for an interview during a recital tour to Germany in four weeks' time. Sometime later, when she was giving a concert in a German town, an official tried to interrupt her in midsong to get her to answer a telephone call: it was the minister's adjutant. He was brief: "Madame Lehmann, we shall be expecting you here at the

Göring broached the subject of a contract with the Preussische Staatsoper. But she said to him, under the imploring looks of the director: "I am not in the habit of discussing contracts between a knife and a whip." (Later the director told Lehmann this remark could have gotten her into a lot of trouble, but it was probably a new experience for Göring to be so challenged, and her fearlessness obviously pleased him.) The singer was then offered a fee, "a fantastic amount. I think I could have asked double." She would also be given a villa, a life pension of a thousand marks per month, and a riding horse, so that she could have morning rides with Göring. When he asked for a special wish, the singer mentioned, laughingly, "Oh yes! I should like a castle on the Rhine." This later made the rounds in all of Germany. In concurring, Göring expected the prima donna never to sing outside of Germany again. Whe

Sonnemann frowned and averred that Hitler was too concerned over the "priceless life of His Excellency" to have it put at risk. Nonetheless, Göring delighted in telling Lehmann that the lioness had recently clawed at a workman's trousers, so that "the coward nearly died of fright." Then the lioness entered, came over to the singer, "and she, Göring and I looked out of the window." On the way back to the airport, the director expressed how frightful a day this had been for him, and that she did not have the slightest idea of what she was risking.

When Lehmann received the contract, "it contained no word about all that Göring had promised," and so she complained to the director, in a "very honest and frank letter." This letter, intended solely for himself, he showed to Göring and Hitler. But at the time of committing her reminiscences to paper, Lehmann had forgiven him, for he had had no choice. Because it was intercepted, the letter must have been read by many others before him. "Had he tried to keep the letter secret, it might well have meant his end."

For in it Lehmann had said that she refused to sing only in Germany and that the guarantee "for all the extravagant promises" was missing. "And what would happen if Göring were to lose his position?" And where were the opportunities for "guest appearances" in America and her "beloved Vienna"?

The result was that henceforth Lehmann was "forbidden to sing in Germany." Reportedly, when Hitler saw the letter, he had a fit and may well have chewed through yet another carpet. Göring dictated a reply, "a terrible letter, full of insults and low abuse. A real volcano of hate and revenge."

Lehmann concluded her story with the remarks: "That was the end of Germany for me. Hitler's Germany!" Later the Nazis tried to get her back with promises; all

would be forgiven and forgotten. Her Viennese lawyer was commissioned to persuade her to return when she was concertizing on the Riviera. However, "my eyes had been opened to their crimes, and nothing would have induced me to return."²

Thus far Lehmann's chronicle. It was based on an actual meeting in Berlin with Göring and Heinz Tietjen, the director of the Prussian State Opera, whom she never mentioned by name, on April 20, 1934. But the course and consequences of this meeting were different from what Lehmann had written. Before she published her carefully constructed story, she had penned a few drafts to be used in building a personal legacy for Lotte Lehmann, the anti-Nazi and almost-resistance fighter against the Third Reich. In order to support this victim legend and add to her heroic image over time, she allowed bits and pieces of this tale to slip out, as soon as she thought it was both safe and expedient to do so. The legend grew, commensurate with her increasing conviction that as a professional alternative to Vienna her old haunts in Berlin were losing currency and America as a potential playing field was gaining profile. In America, the legend had to be accepted as nothing less than truth.

In the summer of 1934, as soon as Lehmann knew that a contract with Berlin

a choice "of accepting engagements in Germany only or finding the borders closed to her for ever."¹⁴ This was more loosely interpreted by others to mean that Lehmann had been "summoned to Berlin" and that the man who had intercepted her song in Dresden had been an SS officer.¹⁵ It was said that Lehmann had "renounced her native Germany" in 1933 and, being expressly forbidden, had not performed there after Hitler's ascension to power. Lehmann's friend Erika Mann, who simply loved her lion story, conductor Wilhelm Furtwängler's former secretary Berta Geissmar, fellow soprano Astrid Varnay, and Lehmann's first biographer, Beaumont Glass, all pandered to the last-mentioned myth.¹⁶ Lehmann, just as she had made it out to be, was credited with political acumen and courage for having stood up to Göring and Hitler (who, one source said, had personally been behind the summons) by protesting vigorously against the criminal regime.¹⁷ Thus, "trembling with rage, she walked out."¹⁸ And she of course would have been mercilessly persecuted, had she stayed, what with her prior massive protests in the name of humanity.¹⁹

What really happened can be explained on the basis of correspondence that Lehmann later thought was lost but that, having survived World War II, I discovered in an obscure archive in Vienna in 2003. The events that transpired did so as the result of a confluence of two themes: one the planned reformation of the Prussian Staatsoper, the other the professional ambitions of Lotte Lehmann. As far as the Opera was concerned, its fate after Hitler's Machtergreifung was in the hands of three men: Hermann Göring, Director Heinz Tietjen, and Richard Strauss. Göring was president of the German Reichstag in Berlin after the Nazis' landslide parliamentary victory in July 1932, and even before the Nazis' final triumph on January 30, 1933, he met with Tietjen to discuss

producer in Berlin, recommending a German friend for a job, whom she described as very qualified and "(very important!) in the National Socialist Party."³¹

Indeed, after January 30, 1933, Lehmann continued her German professional contacts as if

have pleased me if you, too, had joined that protest and intermittently had turned your back on Germany."³⁵

The contact between Lehmann and Göring was facilitated, over several months in 1933 and 1934, by Furtwängler, Tietjen, and Robert Heger. Heger had been at the Vienna Staatsoper as a deputy conductor since 1925 and was heard in competent performances during several German seasons under Bruno Walter at London's Covent Garden. He and Lehmann had become good friends. Strauss was dismissive of him, because of the uninspired way in which he handled his operas.³⁶ He had been born 1886 in Strasbourg when it was part of Bismarck's Reich, but now it was the capital of French Alsace, which Heger could not accept. Driven by nationalism, he was in the process of creating an opera, The Lost Son, which had as its main theme "the swarming of peoples back into their home-specific landscape spaces."³⁷ Embedded in such convoluted language was a völkisch theme in the manner of the Nazis, who were now constantly wallowing in blood-and-soil propaganda. Indeed, after the political sea change in Germany Heger had given notice to the Vienna Staatsoper, so that in September 1933 he could start in a new deputy conductor post under Tietjen in Berlin. (He formally joined the Nazi Party four years later.)³⁸ Since his relationship with Furtwängler was as excellent as his relations with Lehmann, he eagerly supported the maestro's attempt to engage the soprano for Arabella performances in Berlin.³⁹

While these appearances did not materialize, on October 30 Lehmann concertized with the Berlin Philharmonic under Furtwängler, and in preparing for this event, the two artists' mutual respect deepened.⁴⁰ The concert itself, in which Lehmann sang three Strauss songs, was a huge success.⁴¹ Meanwhile Heger had learned, whether from

Tietjen or Furtwängler, about the Strauss-backed reformation scheme involving the Berlin Staatsoper. Sometime in November, after he had set some of the singer's own poems to music, he got together with her to discuss this matter, and since Lehmann did not wish to appear too eager by approaching anyone in Berlin directly, they decided that Heger should speak with Furtwängler about her possible relocation to Berlin.

Furtwängler immediately approached Göring, who was totally in favor. An opera lover himself, Göring naturally knew who Lehmann was; but the fact that the actress Käthe Dorsch, a former intimate, was the singer's friend may also have helped. Heger had suggested a Berlin engagement on a trial basis ó twenty guest performances at the Berlin Staatsoper for at least 1,500 marks each, which was Lehmann's current German rate, and she agreed that this was a good starting point.⁴²

The matter then took its course. In early February of 1934 Tietjen telegraphed Lehmann in New York, asking her if she could return to Vienna via Berlin to discuss these prospects. In two subsequent letters he explained that the Staatsoper was seeking an exclusive contract with her (to eclipse Goebbels's municipal Opera), and that she should try to reserve as many non-Vienna vacation days for Berlin as possible. The Prussian minister president was enchanted, and her honorarium would be generous. Back in Vienna in late March, Lehmann talked to Tietjen on the telephone and, extremely pleased, in principle agreed to a forthcoming contract.⁴³ On April 2, Göring personally sent her a telegram, expressing his delight and offering to fly her to Berlin in his private airplane, to meet with her in person and calibrate the contract.⁴⁴ Lehmann cabled him thanks with all her heart and asked him for his plane on April 20, in the morning at the Leipzig airport, if she could be back that night in nearby Dresden.⁴⁵ Ironically, on the

very day of her telegram, her former Vienna agent Rudolf Bing, who as a Jew had also been forced out of Berlin, wrote her that he had just accepted a posting in Glyndebourne, England, where he had been asked by the millionaire John Christie to organize a new, permanent music festival; would Lehmann not be interested? This represented the

After the conference, which must have taken place around noon and most certainly included lunch, Lehmann sent her Vienna-based husband Otto Krause an "urgent" telegram saying: "meeting astonishingly positive. Fritz will tell all. A thousand kisses."⁴⁹ She had communicated with her brother Fritz Lehmann, a voice teacher, before her husband, because his situation had been an integral part of the conversation.

Lehmann must have read much into her talk with Göring, for after her recital in Leipzig the following day, as she was proceeding to take part in the regular German season in London, she and Krause remained jubilantly expectant.⁵⁰ Toward the end of April and into May, as she was waiting for something final in writing from Tietjen and Krause was holding out in Vienna, she acted toward others as if the whole thing was a done deal. In particular, she gave the exiled Berlin agent Simon, who now could use the money badly, the impression that he would soon collect commission on the first twenty Berlin performances. (The poor refugee thereupon felt impelled to commend her on having secured such a wonderful arrangement with the Nazis.)⁵¹ As the days were passing, Lehmann and her husband were becoming nervous to the point that Krause considered traveling to Berlin to speak with Tietjen. But the director, in control as always, let them know that such a visit was unnecessary.⁵²

After Tietjen finally sent what he took to be a first contractual draft to London for Lehmann's consideration, she was sorely disappointed. As far as she could discern, there was a discrepancy between what had been mentioned in Berlin and what she now was reading on paper. Her negative reaction may have been due to three factors. In Berlin, she could have taken some of Göring's jocular remarks too seriously, as when he was promising her a castle on the Rhine. Second, by now this diva had such an elevated

opinion of herself that she imagined the highest emoluments as being due her as a matter of course, both during the Berlin discussions and thereafter, hence considering them granted when they had barely been mentioned. Not least, this process was abetted by the bane of her professional existence, which by now was greed. And third, while Göring had done all the wooing and charming at the table, Tietjen the realist had been standing silently in a corner taking notes and, after the chatting, had calculated what was doable.

Tietjen's April 26 communication to Lehmann in London consisted of a contract proposal offering her twenty guest performances per Opera season from the beginning of September, 1934, to the end of August, 1937, and more, after agreement with Vienna. Lehmann was to sing exclusively at the Staatsoper and show up regularly for rehearsals. All performance dates were to be set by mutual agreement, and she was to receive RM 550 plus a complement of 450 per event (1,000 marks combined).

What bothered Lehmann was that in order for her minimal honorarium of 1,500 to be met, an extra RM 500 was to be paid from a special minister president's fund contingent on Göring's person. "For example, he could die," she wondered in her answer, and in that case, would the Staatsoper revert to the meager basic contract? Also, her brother Fritz's appointment at the Berlin Conservatory, which she had stipulated during negotiations, was not expressly mentioned. And what about a six-room flat, should she decide to move to the German capital, and why was there no word of her being anointed a Preussische Kammersängerin? On the other hand, she had no problem certifying instantly that her pedigree was fully "Aryan."

On May 16, Tietjen's reply to this, her letter of the eleventh, was devastating. He indicated that many of the clauses in question had been inferred and not put in black and

vocation. She pleaded with Göring to believe her and to consider the letter she had, simultaneously, sent to Tietjen.⁵⁴ To him she admitted having erred. By confusing the guest proposal with a subsequent permanent one, she might have given the impression of a purely business-minded woman, which, however, did not describe her true nature in the slightest. Business was a "necessary evil," rather than something to live for. It would be painful to condemn her error, for "every error is excusable."⁵⁵ Notwithstanding these apologies, Tietjen curtly advised her on June 5 that Göring had decided to decline her "offer."⁵⁶

What had happened was that, because of Lehmann's behavior and Göring's change of heart, a contract had never materialized, as Tietjen drily observed after World War II.⁵⁷ When that reality had sunk in during June and July 1934, the singer had to take stock of her situation and decide what to do, vis-à-vis not only her business contacts in the Third Reich but also her new partners in America. For at the very time her recordings were being advertised in German trade magazines, she had a number of German concert dates in her appointment book, including one for Berlin in September.⁵⁸ Would it be politic to return? While she was pondering this dilemma, telling her Atlanta friend that the Berlin guest performances had been voided by "a great clash," she received a letter from a Zurich-based emergency association representing anti-Nazi refugees, asking her to join. None other than Bruno Walter had added in his handwriting that "it would be very nice if you could lend your name." It is highly doubtful that Lehmann replied as Walter had wished, for then a carbon copy or draft of that letter would have survived in her records. Although

stream from the Odeon recording firm.⁵⁹ After Lehmann had told Erich Simon what was safe for him to hear, already in the mold of her legend-in-the-making, he advised her from Paris that for now it might be wiser not to concertize in Berlin.⁶⁰ But in order not to burn all her bridges at once, she accepted a recital date in Reichenhall, Bavaria, for August, which she actually kept on the twenty-fourth, and she also sang in Munich on October 17. These turned out to be her last appearances on German soil.⁶¹

At the end of August, Heinz Friedlaender informed the singer that Wolff und Sachs, Simon's and Lehmann's old agency in Berlin, had been instructed by Nazi authorities in a circular dated August 16, 1934, that henceforth, "a performance by Frau Lotte Lehmann in Germany was not desirable."⁶² That was the official death knell for her planned recital in Berlin, and it signaled that the Prussian government had briefed the Reich propaganda ministry under Goebbels, which oversaw the rest of Third Reich culture. Late in October, when Lehmann sang again in London, she mentioned in a newspaper interview that although she had been born in Germany, she could not perform in that country as it was today. This was picked up by the Nazi leader Alfred Rosenberg's spies and carefully stored in Goebbels's Reich Music Chamber files.⁶³ By now it was obvious that to the extent that the Nazi rulers came to resent Lotte Lehmann, she herself wanted to be seen by the world as an enemy of the Third Reich.

Yet she still had to tread lightly for two reasons. One, her brother Fritz still resided on the German island of Sylt, although he later moved to Vienna; but Austria was annexed by the Nazis on March 13, 1938. Second, she had unfinished business in Vienna. Even after the Anschluss, Lehmann wished to rescue the pension that had accrued for her at the Vienna Staatsoper and to which she was legally entitled. So she

decided to risk a double game. Although persona non grata with central authorities in Berlin and in the process of reestablishing herself in New York, she correctly surmised that far away in Vienna at the Opera, she would still be remembered fondly. Hence in April 1938 she asked the Opera administration to be officially pensioned, indicating that she was currently living in the United States.⁶⁴ The Nazi chief (Gauleiter) of Vienna himself granted her this request, although Opera officials held that she, because of frequent absences, could hardly be said to have fulfilled her contractual obligation since her last contract (still under Chancellor Schuschnigg) of December 1934. The other qualms aired at that time touched on her failed negotiations with Göring. Local Vienna politicians had heard that she had wanted to move to Berlin but that this had been prevented, "because the material conditions, which the artist established, were supposed to have been unacceptable."⁶⁵ Nonetheless, because everybody in Vienna lovingly remembered "Our Lotte," she was scheduled to receive a pension of 588.40 marks a month, later of varying amounts, beginning September 1, 1938, which was placed for her

denaturalized the singer, confiscating her property in her two Vienna residences (although in the basement of her villa near Vienna and in Fritz's rented apartment some of her possessions had remained, including the Göring correspondence).⁷⁰ Owing to the Nazis, Lehmann was technically stateless from 1942 until June 1945, when she acquired American citizenship.

While in early 1934 the prima donna was hoping for a meeting with Göring even from New York, she had to be careful how she broke any of this news to her newly acquired American friends, especially since the United States was also poised to offer her professional opportunities. At this time, and until she received the disappointing tidings from Tietjen early in June, she ideally would have wanted to stay based in Vienna for security reasons, with the freedom to work as much in Nazi Germany and the United States as feasible. It became obvious to her that she would want to move from Vienna to Berlin only if the German conditions were far superior and, this was important, if she could continue her sojourns in America. The latter possibility was indeed guaranteed to her by Göring. Alternatively, in the first half of 1934 a complete move to the United States could become viable only if she were to be overwhelmingly welcomed there (which had not exactly happened from 1930 to 1933) and if eventually she received an offer from the Metropolitan Opera in New York, which was nothing short of spectacular. As it turned out, she decided to stay in the United States permanently only in 1938, once she knew she was not wanted in the Third Reich and Vienna had become part of Hitler's empire, where her four "non-Aryan" stepchildren, from Otto Krause's first marriage to a Jew, were endangered.

Even before she sailed for America in January 1934 and then met with Göring back in Germany in April, Lehmann was perfectly aware of the disposition especially of her New York audience and of her sympathetic collaborators there. Already in 1930 it could not have escaped her that of the city's close to seven million inhabitants, up to two million were Jewish, and that New York's musical public had grown from a predominantly German-American to a German-Jewish-American one. The New York Times, which was hugely influential as a base of expert music critics, was published by the Jewish Adolph S. Ochs.⁷¹ Toward the end of 1933, when the extent of Hitler's first acts of anti-Jewish discrimination had become sufficiently known, the

meant it.⁷⁴ Lehmann's personal charisma, on and off the stage, which had already captivated thousands of Europeans, had not failed to work on them. Apart from what might happen at the Metropolitan, which for the time being chose to keep silent, they

mind, spelling out to her that a no-show on the West Coast would cost her at least \$9,600. Of course the agent, like manager Coppicus, stood to lose much money in that case herself, but Hope got to the heart of the matter when she asked what would happen if Americans learned Lehmann's reasons for the cancellation. "I am very much afraid that there will be some unpleasant publicity about your singing there. As you know, there is a somewhat strong feeling about the matter in this country. I do not believe it will affect your concerts so much out of New York, but I am afraid that it will affect your appearances here." Hope sounded a more than cautious note when she warned her friend: "I do wish you would consider this matter very seriously, as your career in this country is at such a critical point." There were enormous opportunities right now but they nt." nt

fallen through, the Metropolitan finally came around but with less-than-perfect conditions, even though the cross-country tour looked attractive, save for the Rethberg factor. Still unreservedly on the plus side, however, Lehmann's acolyte Hope finally wrote in June that she was "frankly, very glad that your other plan has not gone through."⁸² With that, the Göring episode

today, German historians choose to ignore this.⁸⁴

audience. Some time ago Raul Hilberg became involved in the case of one Benjamin Wilkomirski, who also published a book, in which he claimed to be a Polish-Jewish child survivor of the Holocaust ó again Wilkomirski turned out to be a fraud, something that the real child survivor Hilberg had suspected all along.⁸⁸

In contrast to Lehmann, it is instructive to see how Hilberg, who singlehandedly created the new academic discipline of Holocaust Studies starting in the early 1960s, has made use of memory.⁸⁹ He abided by stern procedural rules, for instance when he chided fellow authors Lucy Dawidowicz and Hannah Arendt for ignoring historical evidence.⁹⁰ His rules would have been most damning to the likes of Wilkomirski and Kosinsky, but also to Fritz Busch, Carl Orff and, especially, Lotte Lehmann, who was making her way to world fame in the Austrian capital at the very time that young Raul was growing up there. He observed: "Among the practices that give me discomfort is the creation of a story in which historical facts are altered deliberately for the sake of plot and adventure."⁹¹ Hilberg employed memory impressively, morally soundly, and, always, verifiably. Here is how he remembers the entry of Hitler in Vienna in March 1938, when demonstration of historical presence: Adolf Hitler. The impact of his appearance was unmistakable. In the hallway a Christian neighbor was crying because her thousand-year-old Austria had ceased to exist. The next day giant swastika flags were draped from

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- ¹⁰ Example: LL to Mann, Nov. 28, 1968, Erika-Mann-Archiv in der Handschriftenabteilung der Stadtbibliothek München (EMA hereafter)/914/78. See Christa Ludwig, Und ich wäre so gern Primadonna gewesen: Erinnerungen (Berlin: Henschel, 1994), 79.
- ¹¹ LL to Hansing, Apr. 10, 1935, and to Hecht, Febr. 14, Nov. 23, 1938, GC.
- ¹² LL to Bundestheaterverwaltung, Jan. 18, 1955, LLFA (quote); LL to Klee, Febr. 28, 1955; LL to Shawe-Taylor, Nov. 22, 1974, GC; Kurier, Jan. 22, 1955.
- ¹³ LL to Marboe, Dec. 29, 1955, GC.
- ¹⁴ Friedelind Wagner, The Royal Family of Bayreuth (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1948), 121.
- ¹⁵ Vincent Sheean, First and Last Love (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1979), 238 (quote); Shirlee Emmons, Tristanissimo: The Authorized Biography of Heroic Tenor Lauritz Melchior (New York: Schirmer, 1990), 160.
- ¹⁶ David Ewen, Men and Women Who Make Music (New York: The Reader's Press, 1946, 1st pr. 1939), 148 (quote); Berta Geissmar, Musik im Schatten der Politik (Zurich: Atlantis, 1985), 244; Erika Mann in Thomas Mann, Briefe, 1937-1947, ed. E. Mann (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 1963), 622; Astrid Varnay, Fifty-Five Years in Five Acts: My Life in Opera (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2000), 6; Beaumont Glass, Lotte Lehmann: A Life in Opera and Song (Santa Barbara: Capra, 1988), xvi. See Mann to LL, Jan. 11, 1967, EMA/722/96.
- ¹⁷ Münchener Merkur, Febr. 27/28, 1988; Susan Miles Gulbransen, "Lotte Lehmann on the Wings of Emotion," Santa Barbara Magazine (July/Aug. 1989): 22; Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Aug. 30, 1996.

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- ³⁰ The New York Times, Apr. 2, 1933; Harvey Sachs, Toscanini (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1978), 222-26.
- ³¹ Bruno Walter to LL, Sept. 5, 1933, ATW/15; Balogh to LL, Aug. 13, 1933, ATW/14; Ziegler to Lauterstein, May 16, 1933, Metropolitan Opera Archives, New York; LL to Wysocki, July 13, 1933, ATW/12 (quote).
- ³² On Furtwängler, see LL, Anfang und Aufstieg: Lebenserinnerungen (Vienna: Herbert Reichner, 1937), 210.
- ³³ Hickling; LL to Krause, June 21, 1933, ATW/7.
- ³⁴ Fragment, Völkischer Beobachter, [Nov. 1933], NC (quote); Hickling.
- ³⁵ Else Walter to LL, Nov. 29, 1933, ATW/15.
- ³⁶ Günter Brosche, ed., Richard Strauss ó Clemens Krauss Briefwechsel: Gesamtausgabe (Tutzing: Schneider, 1997), 102.
- ³⁷ Heger to LL, July 9, 1933, ATW/15.
- ³⁸ Bundesarchiv Berlin (BAB hereafter), Reichskulturkammer (RKK hereafter) Heger.
- ³⁹ Heger to LL, June 6, July 7, 29, 1933, ATW/15.
- ⁴⁰ Furtwängler to LL, Sept. 13, 22, 1933, ATW/15.
- ⁴¹ Tgxkg y. "\$Nqwg í . \$"Qev"3;55_."PE.
- ⁴² Heger to LL, Nov. 11, 1933, ATW/15; LL to Heger, Sept. 15, ATW/15, and Dec. 7, 1933, ATW/12.
- ⁴³ Tietjen to LL, Febr. 2, 5, March 31, 1934, ATW/17.
- ⁴⁴ Göring to LL, Apr. 2, 1934, ATW/17.
- ⁴⁵ LL to Göring, Apr. 2, 1934, ATW/17.
- ⁴⁶ Bing to LL, Apr. 2, 1934, ATW/17.

⁴⁷ LL to Tietjen, Apr. 17, 1934; unsign. photographs, [Apr. 20, 1934], ATW/17; Hickling.

⁴⁸ LL to Tietjen, Nov. 11, 1955, Archiv, Akademie der Künste Berlin (AAKB hereafter),
Nachlass Tietjen/corr. LL, 80/70/258-260.

⁴⁹ LL to Krause, Apr. 20, 1934, ATW/15.

⁵⁰ LL to Krause, Apr. 22, 1934; Krause to LL, Apr. 22, 27, 1934, ATW/15; Hickling.

⁵¹ LL to Hope, May 4, 1934, Constance Hope Papers, Columbia University, New York,
Rare Books and Manuscripts, Butler Library (CU hereafter)/1; Simon to LL, May 5,
1934, ATW/18.

⁵² LL to Krause, Apr. 23, 30, 1934, ATW/15; Tietjen to Krause, May 4, 1934, ATW/17.

⁵³ Tietjen to LL, Apr. 26, 1934 (2nd quote), and attachments: contract [draft], Aryan
certification (sign. LL May 1); LL to Tietjen, [May 11, 1934] (1st quote) [draft]; Tietjen
to LL, May 16, 1934, ATW/17.

⁵⁴ LL to Göring, [May 20, 1934], ATW/17.

⁵⁵ LL to Tietjen, [May 20, 1934] [draft], ATW/17.

⁵⁶ Tietjen to LL, June 5, 1934, ATW/17.

⁵⁷ Tietjen to LL, Dec. 12, 1955, AAKB, Nachlass Tietjen/corr. LL, 80/70/258-260.

⁵⁸ Skizzen (June/July 1934): 15; Friedlaender to LL, June 6, 1934, ATW/18.

⁵⁹ LL to Hecht, June 23, 1934, GC; Demuth to LL, June 18, 1934; Carl Lindström AG to
LL, May 5, 1934, ATW/18.

⁶⁰ Simon to LL, July 4, 1934, ATW/8.

⁶¹ Brentano to LL, June 25, Aug. 25, 1934, ATW/18; Hickling.

⁶² Quoted in Friedlaender to LL, Aug. 29, 1934, ATW/ 18.

⁶³ NS-Kulturgemeinde memo, Nov. 19, 1934, BAB, NS/15.

⁹⁰ Idem, The Politics of Memory: The Journey of a Holocaust Historian (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1996), 153-57.

⁹¹ Ibid., 139.

⁹² Ibid., 42.