

STOLPERSTEINE STAATSTHEATER

Documentary Theatre

Hans-Werner Kroesinger

TEXT Regine Dura



<https://tinyurl.com/Kroesinger-Stolpersteine>

ENGLISH TRANSLATION FROM THE GERMAN David Tushingham

WITH Veronika Bachfischer, Antonia Mohr, Jonathan Bruckmeier, Gunnar
Schmidt

DIRECTOR Hans-Werner Kroesinger

ARTISTIC ASSOCIATE Regine Dura

DRAMATURG Annalena Schott

STAGE, COSTUME & VIDEO DESIGN Rob Moonen

MUSIC Daniel Dorsch

PREMIERE June 21, 2015, at the STUDIO (Badisches Staatstheater Karlsruhe) to
mark the 300th anniversary of the city of Karlsruhe, Germany

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ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS Generallandesarchiv, Karlsruhe

The audience enters the theatre. The scene consists of a large table with seats arranged around it. The four actors keep the audience from sitting there. They start to sing the song, "Abschied."

ANTONIA: Culture is not the private passion of the supposedly "cultivated." Culture is not something to be kept shut up in bookcases or painted in oils and framed on walls.

GUNNAR: Instead it is the wealth of relationships which every single comrade of the Volk has with his earth and soil, with his new home, which connects to all the things and experiences that are dear to him, which bring him joy and refresh his soul.

JONATHAN: Culture therefore belongs to the entire Volk. It should not sit enthroned like a cuckoo on a cloud high above life as it is lived to provide literary aesthetes with a few hours of cleverness.

VERONIKA: The art of the stage must take its place at the centre of the Volk, to bring every comrade the sharpest interpretation of the work the poet has created which his soul demands in a time of celebration beyond his material everyday life. This is the work of bringing the entire Volk together in celebration, and is unique in its scale.

GUNNAR: You who are economically better off and have had access to works of German art for some time should declare that you regard art and culture as a great treasure belonging to the whole of the Volk and that those with higher incomes should therefore pay higher prices to enable those who are worse off financially to attend.

ANTONIA: Everyone should learn to appreciate the cultural values and works of our Volk as an art warm with life and close to the people and gain new strength from these hours of seriousness and jollity to apply to everyday work.
"Art is not international!"

GUNNAR: If it were, there would be Gothic cathedrals in India or Indian pagodas in Germany.

JONATHAN: If it were, Chinese theatre which is completely foreign to us would be entitled to a home in Germany and vice versa.

VERONIKA: If it were, we would be unable to talk about Viennese waltzes, Spanish dances or Russian ballet.

ANTONIA: Art is national!

JONATHAN: Only because the Nordic people can only feel in a Nordic way, does a Nordic face look out at us from all Nordic works of art

GUNNAR: and not a French one!

ANTONIA: And only because the German must draw in a German way do all his works of art reveal the soul of the German Volk.

VERONIKA: Art is national and the more national it is, the greater international recognition it receives!

ANTONIA: Now we stand at the beginning of a difficult struggle, a struggle for the soul of the German Volk and its culture.

All: Fight with us!

The scene is opened to the audience. Everyone goes to the long table, including the actors and sits down.

Lilli Jank

GUNNAR: Personal file LILLI JANK. Actress. A letter from Lilly Jankelowitz to the Director of the Baden Regional Theatre, Ludwigshafen, 2 April 1928:

VERONIKA: Esteemed General Director of the Karlsruhe Regional Theatre.

Permit me to take the liberty of asking whether your opera company will be casting the voluntary role of a soprano in the coming season. In which case, please allow me to apply.

I am the daughter of Adolf Jankelowitz from Gera, who fell in the Great War, and have studied since 1924 at the Regional Music Academy in Weimar, in the singing masterclass. During my studies I was awarded a scholarship by the state of Thüringen for outstanding musical ability.

I request confirmation whether the esteemed General Director is willing to consider my application and when it might be possible to present myself in person.

With deepest respect.

Yours faithfully,

Lilli Jankelowitz.

GUNNAR: On 4 April 1928, two days later, the reply from the Baden Regional Theatre arrives:

JONATHAN: To Miss Lilli Jankelowitz, Ludwigshafen.

Dear Fräulein!

All roles in the opera during the coming season have been cast. There is no voluntary position available which is in any way paid. For the purpose of further training it might be possible to consider you for entry to our theatre academy. However, we cannot offer any prospect of remuneration. If you should decide to enter the theatre academy as a pupil under these terms, we request further notification.

Respectfully yours,

Baden Regional Theatre

Signed Waag, General Director.

GUNNAR: One week later on 11 April, Lilli Jankelowitz writes back:

VERONIKA: Esteemed Director of the Baden Regional Theatre Karlsruhe.

Many thanks for your kind letter of 4th of this month. I am most willing to enter your theatre academy as a volunteer or pupil in accordance with the regulations. With deepest respect.

Yours faithfully,

Lilli Jankelowitz.

GUNNAR: On 28 August, 1928, she writes again;

VERONIKA: Esteemed General Director of the Baden Regional Theatre Karlsruhe.

I hereby respectfully request whether it might be possible to waive part of my tuition fee. As my father died in the war and my mother can only support the costs of my stay here with difficulty, I would be most grateful if you could heed my request.

With deepest respect.

Yours faithfully,

Lilli Jankelowitz

GUNNAR: She receives this answer on 1 September:

JONATHAN: Dear Fräulein!

In reply to your letter of 28 of the previous month we must reply that sadly it is not possible to waive a portion of your tuition fee for the theatre academy. However, we are willing to compromise by dividing tuition into monthly instalments and crediting fees you have earned against this so that you need only pay the balance at the end of the month.

Respectfully.

Waag, General Director.

ANTONIA: 1928. Adolf Hitler makes a two hour speech in Karlsruhe in the Festival Hall, on the site of the present day Schwarzwaldhalle in front of around 3,000 people, many of them party members from the wider region of Baden and the Palatinate, on “Ideology and the Daily Struggle.”

ANTONIA starts to hum “Das Wandern ist des Müllers Lust”

GUNNAR: Karlsruhe 1 September 1928

Humming ends

VERONIKA: Honoured General Director of the Karlsruhe Regional Theatre.

I hereby inform you that my name—Jankelowitz—has been shortened to Jank, and I intend to keep this from now on.

With deepest respect.

Yours faithfully,

Lilli Jank

GUNNAR: There is a hand-written note in the file:

JONATHAN: Thank you, Lilli Jank. So someone finds a place to sit by her wits.

ANTONIA: In the 1929/30 season Lilli plays 14 different small parts in theatre and opera productions including a fairy in ‘Faust 2’ and Eleonore in ‘Käthchen von Heilbronn’.

GUNNAR: Baden Regional Theatre Karlsruhe. Contract of service. Miss Lilli Jank is employed as a beginner by the theatre and opera of the Baden Regional Theatre in Karlsruhe. This contract starts on 16 August 1930 and ends on 15 August 1931. The member is entitled to:

1. A fee for each performance in which the member appears in one or several roles of: 4 Reichsmark guaranteed at least 25 times per year for the 1930/1931 season.
2. For a second or third performance taking place on the same day the member is entitled to remuneration of one half of the fee laid down in the guarantee for the relevant season.

ANTONIA: In the 30/31 season Lilli Jank sings roles including Pirate Jenny in Brecht’s ‘Threepenny Opera’ as a fully recognized company member.

GUNNAR: Small but prominent!

Baden Regional Theatre Karlsruhe. Contract of Service.

Miss Lilli Jank is employed as an actress and singer (soubrette for theatre and opera) by the Baden Regional Theatre in Karlsruhe. This contract begins on

16 August 1931 and ends on 15 August 1932. The member is entitled to:

1. An annual salary of 1,400 Reichsmark
2. A fee for each performance of 5 Reichsmark, guaranteed at least 200 times per year, or 2,400 Reichsmark annually.

ANTONIA: "As a lisping Klärchen in the Weißer Rössl, Lilli Jank is a suitable partner for audience favourite Hermann Brand," says one Karlsruhe newspaper on 21 September 1931.

VERONIKA: (*lisperg*) Why is it Sigismund is so divinely handsome?

GUNNAR: Are we doing Brand's file too?

ANTONIA: Later.

JONATHAN: Shortly before the end of her second season, the Artistic Director, that's this man Waag, to the Minister of Culture and Education:

GUNNAR: Miss Jank has developed into a reliable and useful company member with some excellent performances particularly in the operetta. Miss Jank is single and as a result of her engagement in the operetta has unusually high dressing-room expenses. (Make-up and costumes.) We therefore wish to offer a modest increase to her last agreed salary of some Reichsmark 300 net per year. We request approval.

Signed Waag. General Director.

ANTONIA: During this period there is a production of the operetta 'Zur goldenen Liebe' by the composer of the 'Weiße Rössl' Ralf Benatzky. "Among the soloists," writes one euphoric reviewer, "the production is carried chiefly by the singer Lilly Jank, for whom the libretto also offers a splendid acting role." And of her role in Schubert's 'Drei Mäderlhaus' they write: "Far beyond the requirements of the part, Lilly Jank as Grisi was supremely confident of the effects of her mocking satire even when clearly exaggerating."

JONATHAN: Two weeks later, the Minister of Culture and Education replies to the General Director of the Baden Regional Theatre's letter regarding his request concerning the singer and actress Lilli Jank, formerly Jankelowitz:

ANTONIA: Your request is refused.

"Das Wandern ist des Müllers Lust"—humming.

VERONIKA: On 14 September 1930 the NSDAP becomes the strongest party in Karlsruhe with 26 percent of the vote, almost eight percent above their national result of 18.3 percent.

GUNNAR: In 'Der Führer', Baden's militant paper promoting National Socialist politics and German culture, the following advertisement is published at the time:

The Führer as the helmsman. Even in a force 12 gale, our militant paper is the best helmsman for Adolf Hitler's movement. It won't give in to the moneybags of the Jewish department stores, it won't accept any fiddling by the so-called Federation of Jewish War Veterans like the "neutral" press, which is in thrall to the Jews.

The humming stops.

ANTONIA: Hermann Brand

Jonathan stands and walks around the table.

JONATHAN: 1932. Politics is becoming very diverse. There are fights in the streets, those with different opinions are abused, meetings become battles. Riots and trouble prepare the city for the Third Reich to come.

The gentlemen of the theatre orchestra whisper to each other: "It's almost time—the Doctor made an internal speech two days ago where he called on all party officials to make the necessary preparations to takeover power."

The Doctor is that grandee of lower life forms with a limping soul from Berlin. The party was the N.S.D.A.P.—The Nazis.

Most members of the theatre orchestra have secretly been party comrades for years. Now it is 1933. Suddenly they have the courage of their convictions.

I have to sing a couplet in the 'Weiße Rössl'. It is the revival. Dissonance comes from the pit. The gentlemen of the orchestra are deliberately playing the wrong notes. Their cold sabotage works. They have a little celebration instead of accompanying me, the Jew Hermann Brand, and think it's wonderfully amusing.

GUNNAR: The Jew Brand will soon have sung his last!

JONATHAN: Many of my fellow actors begin to align themselves on the side of the future rulers. They cautiously keep away from Jewish acquaintances and from me, their Jewish colleague. You never know!

ANTONIA: It is an injustice to the German Volk that those with no inner calling wish to perform theatre for our own Volk for money. It is also an injustice to

German actors deprived of means and opportunities to practice their profession and serve the good of the Volk.

JONATHAN: The city's policemen march in step in ordered rows down the main street—following a swastika flag—thus breaking the oath to the serving Republican government they were once so happy to swear as honourable soldiers. At the other end of the long main street they turn around and march back along the same route through a line of indifferent bystanders.

Gunnar, Veronika, Antonia stand up.

GUNNAR: THE GLORIOUS BREAKTHROUGH.

VERONIKA: HITLER.

ANTONIA: GERMANY'S CHANCELLOR.

ANTONIA: Torchlight parade in honour of our Führer in Karlsruhe.

JONATHAN: A nation awakes –

VERONIKA: Boundless enthusiasm of the populace –

GUNNAR: 2,500 Brownshirts march.

VERONIKA: All at once, like a storm, from somewhere, possibly from the poorest attic, the song grows of our comrade Horst Wessel (*Antonia hums the melody of the propaganda song "Die Fahnen hoch"*). On every pavement people stand with their arm raised and sing, and for a brief time the traffic is silent.

GUNNAR: Boundless enthusiasm overcomes the masses. Windows are thrown open, the masses cheer in a way Karlsruhe has not heard since August 1914. To celebrate that the Volk has been freed! Slowly the troops pass through Amalienstraße, past the Kaiser memorial, towards Kaiserstraße, accompanied by a vast crowd.

JONATHAN: And cheered on.

ANTONIA: The trams can't move, cars are stuck, traffic has come to a standstill. The shouts of 'Heil!' roar and thunder rolls through the endless rows of marchers far into the neighbouring streets. Karlsruhe shows that it is national socialist. Free of vermin, Karlsruhe shows its true face.

GUNNAR: At the junction of Kronenstraße and Kaiserstraße the red rabble from Dörfle, young lads, are back. Communists have no business being on the streets.

ANTONIA: We won't be talking much longer!

JONATHAN: To untold cheers from the populace, the troops march through Waldhornstraße to the Schlossplatz. Gauleiter Köhler speaks.

ANTONIA: Comrades, Germany lives through you and lives in you. Germany, Germany above all in the world.

All: GERMANY! (*Jonathan last*)

VERONIKA: Thousands sing the song with their arm raised. It is like an oath.

ANTONIA: Doubters be warned, death and destruction to our enemies.

All: HEIL! HOORAY! HEIL! HOORAY!

JONATHAN: Erm?

All: HAIL! HOORAY!

Gunnar, Veronika and Antonia sit down again one after another.

JONATHAN: The swastika flag is raised over the roof of the theatre. And has been hanging there—it seems—for two days in succession. Two days of the fourteen I think this nightmare will last. I make an appointment with the Artistic Director. He has always been kind to me and receives me straight away now.

“Sir, this is the second day that the swastika flag has been flying over the theatre, you will understand that as long as that flag is hanging there I have to refuse to appear in this building.”

GUNNAR: “It's good of you to come and tell me that. It makes things easier for me. Today I have been instructed by the Ministry of Culture to place you on temporary leave. I have to recast all the parts you are currently playing.”

JONATHAN: “That's fine by me, this spell won't last long.”

GUNNAR: “One can't know that. I have tried to make it clear to the gentlemen from the Ministry that I can't imagine this theatre without you. But the gentlemen won't budge.”

JONATHAN: The Artistic Director shrugs his shoulders and takes a concerned look out of the window at the dome above the stage where the swastika flag behaves like all flags: it is flapping busily in the wind. He shakes my hand. I stand up and leave thinking: two weeks' holiday will be very nice.

Antonia starts to hum "Das Wandern ist des Müllers Lust."

ANTONIA: One afternoon in April 33 a gang gathers, going from street to street to the shops which are owned by Jews.

JONATHAN: Kaiserstraße, Karlstraße, Herrenstraße.

ANTONIA: The rowdy mob, joined by adolescent posh boys, smashes windows, knocks over displays and forces the shops to close.

JONATHAN: Werderplatz, Steinstraße, Schützenstraße.

GUNNAR: Jewish businesses are boycotted and marked with a yellow sign on a black background. Party members are encouraged to photograph anyone breaking the boycott.

JONATHAN: Kriegsstraße, Erbprinzenstraße, Nebeniusstraße.

Veronika and Gunnar start to distribute leaflets.

ANTONIA: Among the German Jews there are a few audacious believers in the rule of law who protest to the authorities and demand compensation. They are usually treated like the lawyer in Munich whose shoes and trousers are removed and is then dragged through the streets barefoot in his underwear with a placard around his neck on which it says:

JONATHAN: "I am a Jew and will never complain about the Nazis again."

Jonathan repeats this line softly during the following text

ANTONIA: Outside Germany this photograph of the lawyer who is accompanied by a platoon of Nazis—the picture of this disgraceful procession appears in all the illustrated newspapers.

JONATHAN: Nobody intervenes. Every country can ultimately do whatever it likes with its Jews.

On another day, a hunt is declared on Social Democrats. Every country can also do whatever it likes with its Socialists.

Leaflet

For the first time the actors sing Das Wandern ist des Müllers Lust—with lyrics.

VERONIKA: The transportation of Dr. Adam Remmele, previously a miller by trade, former Regional President, Minister of Culture, Justice and the Interior; State Secretary Ludwig Marum; Government Secretary Stenz; Sally Grünbaum and Detective Sergeant Furrer from the State Prison in Riefstahlstraße to Kieslau, will be made via the following streets: Riefstahlstraße, Mühlburger Tor, Kaiserstraße as far as Police Headquarters on Tuesday, 16 May 1933, between 11 and 12 o'clock in the morning.

ANTONIA: It almost seems as if the entire capital of Baden has made a rendezvous to bid their red comrades a final farewell. The crowd in the square outside the prison assumes giant proportions. Police cars drive up and collect the convicts, flanked by SS men. When the gate opens and the cars drive into a wall of people, it flares up. A shrill, raging concert of whistles begins, booing thunders across the square. Thank God the hour has come when even the comrades of the Volk will finally open their eyes. Today they will see how rotten and foul everything is. The cars, which are surrounded by a thick SS cordon, can only get underway slowly. They pass at walking pace between a wall of people. Choirs have posted themselves on street corners, playing the miller's song non-stop and the masses join in.

GUNNAR: There is a minor incident outside the Marum's house where the Jew Marr has to the cheek to shout:

JONATHAN: "Goodbye Freedom!"

GUNNAR: It only takes a moment to shut his insolent Jewish mouth.

JONATHAN: Watch out, or you'll be sent to Kieslau.

GUNNAR: So the procession continues past the regional parliament, the Regional Ministry and the red building that used to belong to the metalworkers. Just before noon, they reach Police Headquarters, from which they drive at speed to their destination of Kieslau.

Singing breaks off.

JONATHAN: My brothers and I stand there dumbstruck. None of us says what he is thinking. I think: it's not nice being a coward. It's nice to be brave. But being battered to death by a mob for being brave, that's not nice at all. That evening I am sitting in a café with my colleague Nelly Rademacher. The place is very

busy. A giant comes in through the revolving doors with a much smaller companion. Both walk past my table. It's obvious which party they belong to from their haircuts. The big one says loudly:

ANTONIA: "There he sits, the dirty Jew!"

JONATHAN: Then he comes to my table and growls:

ANTONIA: "You dirty Jew, you've provoked me, you're coming outside!"

JONATHAN: I get up and leave. The two are coming after me. The short one lunges at me before the revolving door and slaps me in the face. My fist hits his nose. He slowly slides down the wall and onto the floor. I quickly spin through the revolving door. I'm in the street and now I really am in trouble. There are four SA men waiting outside who jump on me immediately. One of them knocks me to the ground. I stand up to avoid more blows from these thugs in a cowardly retreat when suddenly I am held firm by powerful arms from behind me. I turn round—two policemen have tight hold of me—like iron. I'm one against four. They arrest me and take me to the station. Here they start finishing me off "legally."

Jonathan turns away from the table.

GUNNAR: Get this Jew out of a German theatre!

So far we have waited in vain for a reply as to what the Baden Regional Theatre has undertaken in order to prevent incidents such as the one conjured up by the Jew Brand in Kaiserstraße last week from happening again. This is not the first time this Polish Jew has bothered passers-by in the street in the coarsest way. Proving provocation on the Jew Brand's part is hardly necessary. We thank God on bended knee that the time has finally come for an awakening to pass through the German Volk, and we hope the moment is not far off where those aliens and parasites harmful to the image of Germany can be deported to where they belong. We must sweep away the filth with a broom of iron!

Brutus writes in a reader's letter to the Führer:

ANTONIA: The Jew doesn't have the right fingers for work and what his mind offers is always rotten.

Jonathan turns back to the table.

JONATHAN: Torn from sleep I'm on the phone at four in the morning: "Is that the police station? Waldstraße 68 here, ground floor. Brand. Please can you send someone to check everything is in order. The door bell is being rung

continually and there is fighting at the front door. It's being going on for 10 minutes."

Antonia starts throwing paper and erasers at Jonathan.

ANTONIA: "Yes, that's perfectly in order, open the door—it's the police who are trying to reach you."

Gunnar stands up, walks towards Jonathan.

GUNNAR: "You are State Actor Brand,"

JONATHAN: "Yes?"

GUNNAR: "We have to search your house for weapons and forbidden literature."

JONATHAN: "Help yourselves." We go into my room. The armed escort remains in the hallway. He soon gives up looking for weapons.

GUNNAR: "What are you doing now, Sir?"

JONATHAN: "I'm waiting to see what happens."

GUNNAR: "If I were you, I wouldn't wait—do you understand me??—There are plans for you—get out of here!"

VERONIKA: "Aren't you taking any luggage?"

JONATHAN: "No, I don't want to be noticed at the station. Keep well. Nobody's going to bother you. You're Poles. I've got a German passport. We'll see each other again soon—Goodbye!"

Jonathan goes to the auditorium.

GUNNAR: From the Führer, 15 March 33. Karlsruhe.

Exterminating the demon Jew.

The cleansing operation, begun in the Culture Ministry by removing the Jewess Fischel as Director of the Baden Art Gallery, is to be continued. A general ban on recruitment has been decreed covering all operations of the Ministry of Culture and Education with immediate effect. This ban includes the Baden Regional Theatre. In one area on which we have had to shine a critical light for some time, at the Baden Regional Theatre in Karlsruhe, Dr Wacker has already put things to rights. The acting Culture Minister has given the General Director of the Baden Regional Theatre the following decree:

ANTONIA: "In amendment to the agreements and mandates granted under decree No. A. 3407 of 28 February 1933 No. A. 3407, it is determined that

1. Any extension of the contracts expiring at the end of the current season with conductor Schwarz, solo repetiteur Stern, actress and operetta soubrette Jank, and head of stage design Thorsten Hecht is to be refused.

Gunnar stands up and takes Jonathan's seat at the end of the table.

2. With regard to negotiations over new contracts with the following members of the solo staff, distance will be provisionally taken from:
Chamber singer Schöpflin
Chamber singer Schuster
Chamber singer Strack
Chamber singer Fanz
Singer Haberkorn
3. The indefinite leave granted to State Actor Brand is hereby confirmed.
4. Notice is also given that on 15 March 33 the Commissioner for the Ministry of Culture and Education has ordered the placing the Artistic Director of the Baden Regional Theatre Dr. Hans Waag on immediate leave. All management duties are transferred to Ministerial Advisor Senior Government Secretary Dr. Asal until further notice.

VERONIKA: For months the brown shirt has dominated the image of Karlsruhe's streets and it is now loved and trusted among the populace as much as the uniform of the old 109ers, whose tradition will be carried on and faithfully upheld by our SS regiment 109.

GUNNAR: It's early, but thousands already line the Schlossplatz where the formations of the National Front to Celebrate the Awakening of the German Volk have assembled. A forest of flags gleams over the so-called Stresemannplatz. Platoon stands behind platoon, the army sport sections of the steel helmets fall in. The 20 war veterans from Karlsruhe enter, joined by countless numbers of workers from the NSBO (National Socialist Workplace Organization) with their special sections: tramways and postal service.

VERONIKA: Then, greeted by cheers from the ecstatic comrades of the Volk, the Karlsruhe police march into the square. Three police officials lead with swastika banners and flags of black-white-red, the colours of the new Germany. In deep ranks the twelve thousand men: SA,

GUNNAR: Police,

ANTONIA: Steel helmets,

VERONIKA: and SS.

ANTONIA: Orders echo. The standard bearer of regiment 109 holds his eagle higher.

GUNNAR: The wind grabs hold of the cloth. The formations line up behind each other to march into the city to the Schlossplatz. Comrades of the Volk stand in the streets and cheer.

VERONIKA: People wave out of windows to the men marching, the traffic has to be stopped, so that no lives are endangered amid the throng...

ANTONIA: Everywhere the brown fighters appear, they are greeted with boundless enthusiasm,

VERONIKA: and everywhere the dark uniforms of the police are seen, in advance of the banners of an awakening Germany, the enthusiasm erupts through the streets and surges across the rooftops.

ANTONIA: The route of the march to the Schlossplatz leads through Karl- and Friedrichstraße, Erbprinzen-Kaiser- and Waldhornstraße. Masses of people clog the streets, streaming through side streets to the faraway square.

VERONIKA: The steps of the columns reverberate powerfully and the sound of the choirs echo rousingly over the masses of people. The procession of these 12,000 people is like a metaphor of battle.

GUNNAR: Endless jubilation as the police choir joins in the sonorous game. Torches blaze in the background in the fists of the SA men.

ANTONIA: shining over blood-red swastika banners.

VERONIKA: shining over victorious standards,

GUNNAR: shining over the glorious flags of Bismarck's Reich. The flags of the Baden soldiers' associations are represented in large numbers.

VERONIKA: And in all the faces burns a joy, an enthusiasm appears to grow within itself as if it's never going to end. Then the Reich's appointee Gauleiter Robert Wagner speaks

Gunnar, Antonia and Veronika turn towards Jonathan.

JONATHAN: "We want to restore inner peace and inner order to the Volk of Baden. These are the foundations on which we shall build the state. What we have encountered in Baden is no easy legacy. Empty coffers and nothing but debts. Plus corruption, theft of files, wiping away the traces of years of mismanagement. We are willing to see our cleansing operation through to the bitter end. We want a spirit of joyful responsibility to move into every single office. Nothing rotten may remain to hinder reconstruction. Our Volk must be filled with one spirit, one belief, one will. With this new awareness we can then attack the task of reconstruction. Heil Hitler."

GUNNAR: On 20 April³³ it's the Führer's birthday! In honour of Adolf Hitler the "Hitler Lime" will be planted in the Schlossplatz.

Jonathan walks slowly to the table, passed Gunnar, whose original seat he takes.

VERONIKA: On 10 May the new city council names Adolf Hitler and Robert Wagner honorary citizens of Karlsruhe. The Marktplatz is renamed Adolf Hitler Platz, and Gottesauer Platz becomes Hermann Göring Platz.

ANTONIA: Strasbourg.

GUNNAR: "The Jews stick together."

Gunnar gives Jonathan a letter.

JONATHAN: That's a nice line, thought of by non-Jews. It's not true. The Jews in Strasbourg, whose support I am expecting behave like good Frenchmen when I ask them in German for help. They do not love anything German. To them I am a German. A German the Germans don't like. *Jonathan spreads business cards on the table.* What have I to do with them? I happen to be of the same religion as them. It obliges them to do no more than help me with some business cards. I've been living for a month now in a tiny room in a former nunnery in Strasbourg. At four o'clock one night there is a knock at the window. In the street next to a heavy suitcase, stands Nelly.

VERONIKA: "We can get to Basel in Switzerland in two hours. A character actor at the theatre there has died suddenly: it's a great opportunity for you."

During the next line Jonathan climbs over the table to Veronika.

JONATHAN: We travel together to Basel. Those were the days. Jews could travel across borders without any fuss.

Antonia goes to what was originally Gunnar's seat, collects the business cards and then returns to her seat.

JONATHAN: The director meets me. "I was a character actor at the State Theatre—your character actor has just died. About the vacancy –"

GUNNAR: "I'm sorry but you're too late. This vacancy was filled a year ago. How is your Artistic Director?"

JONATHAN: "He's been fired. He was too late deciding to fall into line."

GUNNAR: "So, so—these Nazis have no sense of humanity. Their dynamic is purely destructive. As a human being, homo sapiens has a mission to remain human. In one word, humanity! Tolerance! Ethics!—Sir, it has been a pleasure."

JONATHAN: He offers me his hand. I stand up and leave. A pity, I would have liked to stay with this humane man.

Gunnar returns to his original seat.

JONATHAN: Nelly tells me the news from Karlsruhe:

VERONIKA: "Our theatre's 'leading man', who used to be an almost daily guest in the house of our highly artistic Rabbi has declared:"

GUNNAR: "I thought the matter through properly last night, for a whole hour, and I must admit the National Socialists are right about everything. I'm absolutely for them."

VERONIKA: "And what about your friendship with the Rabbi?"

GUNNAR: "That's over, obviously! I can't afford it. I would lose my job. I'd advise you to stop visiting Brand's parents so often. You are an Aryan after all. If you go visiting Jews, it won't go down at all well. The National Socialists are in power now and, after due consideration, I can only say they want the best for us. I've also signed up as a party member. We have to think of the Volk."

VERONIKA: "Is that what you really think?"

GUNNAR: "It's absolutely what I think. Although, what happens—if things change—I don't know."

JONATHAN: The party has its eye on Nelly. Her post is being read. Not only her friendship with me is suspicious. Her whole behaviour is provocative. She uses

all kinds of tricks to avoid the new German salute. She will not raise her arm to those two idiotic words which everyone growls at each other everywhere. "Heil Hitler!" *Gunnar turns to Antonia and uses gestures to re-enact the following text.* She won't ever cross the street without carrying an umbrella in one hand and a little suitcase or muff in the other. How can she raise her arm in the herd's symbolic greeting weighed down like that? But Germany's new rulers have their eyes open. Even an actress like Nelly is important enough for them to spy on. Snotty young boys who can't be trusted to say any more than "We've saddled the horses!" now become important members of the company because they belong to the party. It is these lads who pounce on Nelly: "You're going to learn how we salute in Germany!" (*ANTONIA: Yes, sir*) She remains incorrigible. However, she is soon able to feel the omnipotence of the snitches. She is gradually phased out of the repertoire. She no longer gets any parts. This is paving the way for her sacking. But a suitable reason for dismissal needs to be found. The Artistic Director demands proof of her ancestry. She supplies it.

During the following text, Antonia goes to Veronika's seat and collects her files then returns to her own seat.

She cannot be fired for artistic reasons. From the Ministry of Culture—not the Artistic Director—she receives a notice that her contract will be dissolved at the end of the season for reasons of "cultural realignment." So now she has it in black and white that she is a hindrance to culture. In her place the theatre she is forced to leave will hire someone "culturally aligned." Culture has been saved.

For this text Veronika walks around the table next to where Johannes was originally sitting and kneels on the table.

VERONIKA: Death is great.

We are his,
Our mouths laughing.
When we think
We're in the midst of life,
He dares to cry
In the midst of us.

All climb onto the table, come together and sing the Song "Was kann der Sigismund dafür..."

GUNNAR (*turns around*): German men and German women!

Antonia, Veronika, and Jonathan turn around.

In the name of Baden State Theatre I would like to welcome you all most heartily. It is a particular pleasure for us to see that you have followed our summons today in such numbers. Allow us to give you a taste of what our theatre has to offer.

Our theatre follows two guiding principles:

The idea of a national theatre

And the idea of theatre for the Volk.

Our desire for culture and the programme to deliver it are there, forces are ready, everyone in their places. Preparations for work and the work itself are performed willingly and happily by every single one of our working community, loyal to the wishes of our Führer and Reich Chancellor. We offer our hand in trust, to lead you into purer territory, the land of what is true, good, and beautiful, the land of German poets and thinkers, the delights of German music—follow us and visit your theatre en masse.

ANTONIA: Your theatre, without which the spiritual life of the state capital and residency could not be imagined, and which is ideally suited to carry Karlsruhe's reputation far beyond the city boundaries. We are conscious of serving this city and serving this country, rooted in the same earth as its poets and composers. We shall therefore hold a Baden week to coincide with South-West German Homeland Day, whose highlight will be a visiting opera performance with singers born in Karlsruhe.

GUNNAR: Restructuring our literary department under Propaganda Leader Becker will ensure that we are more in touch with intellectual trends in literature and music in future than we were before.

VERONIKA: From the start of the new season the N.S. [National Socialist] Cultural Congregation, the Union of the German Stage, the League to Fight for German Culture and the N.S. Organization "Strength Through Joy," will also contribute.

GUNNAR: Make sure you get good seats in plenty of time. You definitely won't regret it.

ANTONIA: And remember:

JONATHAN: It also creates jobs. The health and well-being of around 400 families depends on a flourishing State Theatre, and you in turn depend on your beloved Karlsruhe artists,

ANTONIA: who for their part consider it an honour to be able to perform for their beloved Karlsruhers.

So let's go to the State Theatre!

GUNNAR: Let the play begin.

VERONIKA: Signed Himmighoffen, new General Director, Baden State Theatre Karlsruhe.

Everyone climbs down off the table, Veronika at the end of the table (originally Jonathan's seat), Jonathan in Veronika's seat, Gunnar in his original seat. Music becomes louder!

VERONIKA: EMMA GRANDEIT

GUNNAR: Personal file Emma Grandeit 57a 896.

The Minister of Culture and Education to the General Director.
25 April 33.

Re: Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service

Jonathan selects a folder of laws.

JONATHAN: Civil servants who are not of Aryan descent are to be retired.

Everyone looks at Gunnar, who takes a couple of steps back.

JONATHAN: Paragraph 1 does not apply to civil servants (*Gunnar stands still*), who served at the Front during the First World War for the German Reich or its allies or whose fathers or sons fell in the World War. (*Gunnar returns to the table*)

GUNNAR: In accordance with sections 3, 7, and 15 of the law of 7 April 1933 "the contracts of employment with General Music Director Krips, State Actor Brand, and prompter Grandeit are dissolved, and they are dismissed from their duties at the Baden Regional Theatre.

Signed. Dr. Wacker."

Have we got the Wacker file?

VERONIKA: No.

JONATHAN: It was lost in a fire.

On 4 May 1933, the prompter Emma Grandeit writes:

Gunnar and Jonathan decide Antonia is Emma Grandeit.

ANTONIA: Esteemed Mr. Senior Government Secretary!

From various sources it has been drawn to my attention that a rule exists whereby 1 1/2 percent of the staff may consist of Jews. As I want to leave no stone unturned in attempting to retain my position, may I politely request that you bear me in mind while in applying this rule if at all possible, especially in view of the fact that my contract runs until 1 September 1934. Thanking you in advance.

With deepest respect,
Emma Grandeit.

GUNNAR: Dear Mrs. Grandeit!

This questionable rule applies only to Jews attending schools and universities. As you have already been informed, your dismissal in accordance with sections 3, 7, and 15 of the Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service was made on 7 April 1933. Amendments to this order which has already been made are not possible.

Respectfully,
Asal, Senior Government Secretary, Professor.

VERONIKA: On 27 April 1933 the Baden Regional Theatre becomes the Baden State Theatre Karlsruhe and on the noticeboard to the left of the entrance to the canteen, the following notice can be found:

On Thursday, 11 May 33 from 2120–2130 hours an air raid drill will take place during which a blackout will be carried out across the city of Karlsruhe. For this purpose, it is also necessary for the theatre building to be blacked out. External lighting is forbidden for the duration of the exercise. Before the performance begins, Director Pruscha will step in front of the curtain and explain to the audience the measures which will have to be taken in the theatre building as a result of the exercise. The curtain will be brought down at around 2115 hours. The house lights will immediately be switched on. When the exercise begins, the State Power Station will switch the house lights off, so that only the emergency lights remain on. The audience will be requested to remain in the auditorium. The conductor and orchestra should also remain in their seats and the performers on stage. The end of the exercise will be indicated by the house lights coming on. The performance may then continue. If emergency lights are switched on in dressing rooms and other spaces it must be checked immediately whether the windows are covered. If this is not the case, the lights must be extinguished immediately. The purpose of the exercise can only be achieved if every member willingly supports it.

While Jonathan is reading, Antonia writes. When he has finished, Jonathan walks over to Antonia to give her her reference, then returns to his seat.

JONATHAN: Reference for Emma Grandeit: June 1933. Karlsruhe, State Theatre.

Mrs. Emma Grandeit has worked at the Baden State Theatre in Karlsruhe for many years and proved herself to be a quite excellent prompter. This view is shared by all the company members, especially those who are busiest and under most stress, but also by the directors, because she genuinely understands the art of prompting: of being reliable, sympathetic, and at the same time unobtrusive, tireless, and supportive in rehearsals, alert and calm during performances. She has been an equally reliable worker in both theatre and operetta. We regret that she leaves against her will and wish her the very best.

Felix Baumbach.

Resident director, Baden State Theatre.

ANTONIA: Karlsruhe, 25 June 1933.

Dear Mr. Artistic Director,

Permit me to trouble you with regard to the following matter: I have worked at the State Theatre as a prompter for seven years and now because of my non-Aryan descent I was dismissed on 30 June. The enclosed copy of my reference supplied by resident director Baumbach says everything about my good qualities as a prompter and a person, and the other company members tell me every day that they would be delighted if I could stay.

I have recently heard from many sources that there will soon be changes regarding the Jewish question. I would very much regret losing my job unless it is really necessary.

As I understand it, no steps have yet been taken in decisive positions because your support has been anticipated with regard to this question.

I have been married since the beginning of 1914, my husband is an actor, Aryan, here, has not had a regular job for six years, he served in the war for 3 ½ years, 1 ½ years at the front. My brother was severely wounded in the war, my brother-in-law was killed, another brother-in-law was shot by the Poles in Upper Silesia on suspicion of being a German spy.

I come from a family which has sacrificed a great deal for the Fatherland and has been resident in Germany for many generations. I myself have never felt anything other than entirely German.

And I therefore cannot understand that I would not be worthy of practicing my profession at a German theatre.

I therefore ask you, dear Mr. Artistic Director, if you should see any chance of my being able to stay, assuming of course that you would be so kind as to support my case, and to urge the General Directorate here to wait before filling my position. This position is now free once again because the lady viewed as my potential successor turned out to be inadequate during her trial period.

The theatre would also save around 2,000 Marks if I were to remain because my contract runs until September 1934 and I should receive 75 percent of my pay during this time.

I would be most grateful if you were able to do anything for me and would also request that you inform me of the same.

With deepest respect,
Emma Grandeit.

JONATHAN: To which the Minister of Culture, Education and Justice—Culture and Education Department—replies:
Karlsruhe, 13 July 1933 to Mrs. Emma Grandeit.

Jonathan throws the file at Antonia.

GUNNAR: The Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service only permits very specific exceptions for the retention of persons of non-Aryan descent in state employment. These exceptions cannot be extended. In particular it is not legally feasible to interpret the rule about service at the front any wider than that the official or employee concerned must have personally served at the front. I am therefore unable to act on your request despite your professional performance, which I am happy to confirm here was fully recognized at all times at the Baden State Theatre. Asal.

VERONIKA: From the Baden Press: State Theatre Day

Veronika walks around the table to Antonia.

Among the many events which took place in the course of Saturday, one of those which took pride of place was the Baden State Theatre's promotional day entitled: "The Theatre for the German Volk."

JONATHAN AND GUNNAR: Hooray!

VERONIKA: From half past three to half past four there was a concert on the balcony of the City Hall by the band of regiment 109 conducted by Kapellmeister Dankwart, while at the same time the police band under Music Director Heisig let their cheerful tunes be heard outside the State Theatre.

Jonathan and Gunnar walk up and down on their side of the table.

JONATHAN: The centrepiece of the promotional event is the early afternoon rally at Adolf-Hitler-Platz, where the topic is the theatre's duties in the new state.

VERONIKA: In his address, resident director Felix Baumbach begins by explaining that no theatre can survive without the living echo of a congregation, without a deep connection between the community of performers and the community

of the audience. Especially now, in this new state, these communities have to come together more easily.

GUNNAR: Evenings on which the great works of a Kleist, a Schiller, a Goethe, or a Hebbel are performed on stage must be holidays. But the repertoire of the Baden State Theatre will also do justice to world literature, as far as it possesses essential cultural values. Clearly the poets of this new time must also find their way to the stage open. Cramps, kitsch and unclean experiments are banned, but the State Theatre will find room in its programme for plays which bring daylight, which provide the audience with relaxation. Karlsruhe loves its theatre and it will find its community of visitors who provide the foundation which make it possible for the theatre to fulfill its great and joyful task.

JONATHAN: Propaganda director Fritz Becker emphasises that it is not the Baden State Theatre's intention on this promotional day to address individual comrades among the Volk and to go begging. The day is guided by an artistic conscience. This propaganda is in the service of the Volk. The State Theatre must leave its reservations behind in order to give its achievements the recognition they need. In addition to this, the promotion also has the intention of fostering the community of the Volk because the life-affirming works of our great writers give them the tools to do so.

GUNNAR: The target which the Directorate of the State Theatre aims to achieve is a serious one and especially in this period it requires the assistance of the audience.

JONATHAN: The theatre turns particularly to youth, to awaken the flame of enthusiasm in their hearts. In this way our State Theatre can achieve its lofty task of reaching the Volk through youth.

GUNNAR: The young must come and be enthused by the greatness of German art. No-one should be ashamed of this enthusiasm, because these are our best who are capable of being enthused.

JONATHAN+GUNNAR: Hooray!

Gunnar, Veronika, and Jonathan are now at the end of the table opposite Antonia.

JONATHAN: From the personal file of Emma Grandeit.

During the following Antonia moves away from the table.

ANTONIA: Karlsruhe, 19 July 1933. To the General Directorate of the Baden State Theatre.

Dear Sirs,

I intend to move to Breslau, my husband's native city. As I no longer have any prospect of employment, my husband hopes to secure a livelihood through old acquaintances in his home town, which is impossible here. As things stand, once my contract has run out, we would become a burden on public welfare.

My wages, however, are hardly enough to support three adults, especially after 30th September when the cut of 25 percent comes into force. We therefore do not know how we can pay for the move and our additional expenses in another city until we have found accommodation, etc.

I am therefore taking the liberty of turning to you with the request to approve a payment to cover the removal expenses which I estimate to be between four and five hundred marks.

I hope that you will understand that we wish to try to establish a modest livelihood elsewhere and that you will be able to help me by granting my request. I would be most grateful if you were able to come to a decision as soon as possible so that I can give notice to leave my apartment.

With sincere thanks for your kind response in advance, I sign this with the greatest respect,

Emma Grandeit

JONATHAN: 20 July 33:

GUNNAR: Dear Mrs. Grandeit,

I regret that I am not in a position to comply with your request, much as I would like to help. The rules for implementation of the Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service make no provision for assistance with removal costs. Consequently I am unable to fulfil our request.

Respectfully,

Asal, Senior Government Secretary.

ANTONIA: Dear Mr. Director,

If you don't want me to commit suicide, then I am asking you to inform me as soon as possible what sum I shall receive from the pension fund and when I shall receive this money. I want to move away from here at the beginning of September.

I am at the end of my strength. If this last chance to move away from here after all the failures is also taken away from me, then I shall commit a desperate act.

Respectfully,

Emma Grandeit

GUNNAR: Dear Mrs. Grandeit!

There is no reason at all for you to upset yourself because of this questionable matter. You will receive the money due to you in any event. You must however bear in mind that I can only process one thing at a time. I shall resolve the matter in the course of the week. You will then be notified immediately.

Respectfully,
Asal, Senior Government Secretary.

The actors sing the song "Salzkammergut."

ANTONIA: Gentlemen, now that is degenerate.

GUNNAR: Today the Baden State Theatre has become the theatre of the Volk and nothing else ever guides it other than the thought of serving the Volk.

JONATHAN: The new era brings new powers to the fore, valued German individuals give the Volk a new artistic sense following years of stagnation and decline, youthful enthusiasm which has been strengthened in the struggle has thrown tired decadence and antiquated formal discipline overboard, and the German artist can now create freely for his kind and according to his artistic conscience.

VERONIKA: With the national awakening of 1933, today's theatre has become a cultural power of unprecedented importance, as at no time has the stage's value in creating a Volk been more clearly recognized and commended to the hearts of the Volk more urgently than in these days by our Führer. Now what is sick and problematic is no longer of interest, only what is healthy is of interest now, irrespective of victory or defeat.

GUNNAR: Dear Mrs. Grandeit,

We remind you of our letter of 27 September 1933 and request that in determining whether a payment is due to you from the Baden State Theatre for the month of October you provide us directly with an official certificate of your income in the said month.

General Directorate of the Baden State Theatre

ANTONIA: Breslau, 11 November 1933

Re: Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service

In reply to your letter of 9 November I regret to inform you that I have not received any letter of 27 September from you. I therefore do not know what it concerns. However, I assume that you have placed me under the obligation of constantly presenting you with official certificates that I have not earned anything. I am now asking you to tell me precisely who is supposed to issue me with these certificates, because I have no idea how I should obtain such a

certificate. In the meantime I am therefore sending you a sworn affidavit that I have not earned a single penny to this day. I assume that this will suffice temporarily as I hope you do not believe me capable of perjuring myself for the sake of a few marks.

At the beginning of October I directed an enquiry to the cashier as to what sums I might withdraw here. As I received no reply I have withdrawn what I have calculated to be my salary regularly at the bank here, convinced that these sums have been transferred to the official bank. I therefore request that you transfer these sums to the bank as soon as possible, including the first instalment for November. I should add that you know very well that it is impossible for me to find any kind of employment in Germany because of the Civil Service Law. It is therefore quite impossible for me to ever be in a position to earn even a penny. And if this were nevertheless the case by some accident then I would declare it and not leave myself liable to prosecution.

I stress once more that I have not received a letter from you dated 27 September I can, however, explain the way in which this letter may have been mislaid. It will have been addressed to Karlsruhe and then left with the porter until it was mislaid.

I assume this as your letter dated 9 November was initially also addressed to Karlsruhe, even though I specially informed you of my new address on 25 September and had also sent my address to the cashier's office. I enclose the envelope as proof.

Perhaps it will be sufficient if I constantly send you affidavits that I have had no earnings. That will give you greater security as you can immediately have me charged with perjury if I should turn out to have lied.

Emma Grandeit.

Breslau I. Junkernstr. 28 II

Antonia slams the file on the table.

Appendix: Affidavit.

I hereby affirm on oath that following my dismissal from the Baden State Theatre until this day I have not earned a single penny and I hereby declare that I shall give notice to the Baden State Theatre of any sum which, contrary to expectations, I may earn in future.

Breslau, 11 November.

Emma Grandeit.

Veronika and Jonathan direct the following lines to Antonia.

JONATHAN: "The improvement which was clearly visible at the Baden State Theatre in its first season will be continued in the coming winter: that is the unconditional wish of the General Directorate. The first year in Adolf Hitler's

Germany, the start-up year as it has significantly been called, has been a year of discovery—of seeking and finding. A wealth of experiences and a renunciation of everything un-German has been the rich reward of this period.”

VERONIKA: Himmighoffen, the new General Director, Karlsruhe. Season opening at the Baden State Theatre 1934

ANTONIA: STATE ACTOR PAUL GEMMECKE

VERONIKA: Name?

GUNNAR: Gemmecke

VERONIKA: First names?

GUNNAR: Georg August Friedrich, but they call me Paul

VERONIKA: Job description?

GUNNAR: Actor

VERONIKA: Place of residence?

GUNNAR: Karlsruhe, Yorkstr. 41, Flat 5

VERONIKA: Place and date of birth?

GUNNAR: Kassel, 13 December 1880

VERONIKA: Have you been a member of the Communist Party or Communist Aid or support organizations (including the so-called National Communist movement—the “Black Front”)—and if so, when?

GUNNAR: No.

VERONIKA: Have you been a member of the Social Democratic Party, the Iron Front, or other social democratic or republican support and satellite organizations, particularly the Federation of Republican Teachers, the Union of Socialist Teachers, the Liberal Teachers’ Union, the International Socialist League, the Free School Union of Germany, the Young Socialist Workers, the Red Falcon, the Federation of Socialist Students, the Federation of Republican Students, the German Association for Peace, the League for Human Rights, the Peace League and other international or pacifist societies, associations or consortia, and if so, when?

GUNNAR: None.

VERONIKA: Were you part of a trade union?

GUNNAR: The Co-operative of German stage employees, No. 31378.

VERONIKA: Of which political parties have you ever been a member?

GUNNAR: None.

VERONIKA: Are you or were you a member of the NSDAP, the NS, the SS, the steel helmets, the Technical Emergency Service or other bodies in support of the elevation of the nation, and, if so, when? (to be confirmed by presenting the relevant certificates)

GUNNAR: No.

VERONIKA: To which political societies or lodges, orders etc. have you belonged or do you belong and, if so, when?

GUNNAR: None.

VERONIKA: Are you descended from non-Aryan or specifically from Jewish parents or grand-parents?

GUNNAR: No.

VERONIKA: Closer details of your ancestry. Your father's name?

GUNNAR: Gemmecke.

VERONIKA: First names?

GUNNAR: Heinrich Ludwig Friedrich

VERONIKA: Status and profession?

GUNNAR: Train driver

VERONIKA: Place and date of birth?

GUNNAR: Gronau near Göttingen, 30 April 1850

VERONIKA: Place and date of death?

GUNNAR: Kassel, 27 November 1934

VERONIKA: Religion?

GUNNAR: Protestant

VERONIKA: Married at?

GUNNAR: Mörshausen, Melsungen district

VERONIKA: Married on?

GUNNAR: 6 October 1877

VERONIKA: Mother's maiden name?

GUNNAR: Kurzrock

VERONIKA: First names?

GUNNAR: Rosine

VERONIKA: Place and date of birth?

GUNNAR: Mörshausen, 5 February 1856

VERONIKA: Place and date of death?

GUNNAR: Kassel, 11 September 1905

VERONIKA: Religion (and any previous religion)?

GUNNAR: Protestant

VERONIKA: Grandfather's name?

GUNNAR: Gemmecke

VERONIKA: First names?

GUNNAR: Georg Heinrich

VERONIKA: Status and profession?

GUNNAR: Master blacksmith and estate manager

VERONIKA: Place and date of birth?

GUNNAR: Gronau near Göttingen, 2 December 1811

VERONIKA: Place and date of death?

GUNNAR: Gronau near Göttingen, 16 December 1884

VERONIKA: Religion?

GUNNAR: Protestant

VERONIKA: Grandmother's name?

GUNNAR: Gemmecke, born Friedes

VERONIKA: First names?

GUNNAR: Friederike Louise Charlotte

VERONIKA: Place and date of birth?

GUNNAR: Gronau near Göttingen, 24 January 1814

VERONIKA: Place and date of death?

GUNNAR: Gronau near Göttingen, 30 May 1842

VERONIKA: Religion?

GUNNAR: Protestant

VERONIKA: Grandfather's name?

GUNNAR: Kurzrock

VERONIKA: First names?

GUNNAR: Johann Heinrich

VERONIKA: Status and profession?

GUNNAR: Master blacksmith and estate manager

VERONIKA: Place and date of birth?

GUNNAR: Hefelür, 13 December 1822

VERONIKA: Place and date of death?

GUNNAR: Mörshausen, 4 February 1860

VERONIKA: Religion?

GUNNAR: Protestant

VERONIKA: Grandmother's name?

GUNNAR: Kurzrock, born Horn

VERONIKA: First names?

GUNNAR: Anna Gertrud Micabeth

VERONIKA: Place and date of birth?

GUNNAR: Mörshausen, 31 October 1823

VERONIKA: Place and date of death?

GUNNAR: Mörshausen, 1 November 1887

VERONIKA: Religion?

GUNNAR: Protestant

VERONIKA: Are you married?

GUNNAR: Yes.

I affirm that the information above is to the best of my knowledge correct. I am aware that by knowingly providing false information I might expect summary dismissal, the withdrawal of employment or a disciplinary hearing for the purposes of my dismissal. Georg August Friedrich, known as Paul Gemmeke.

Gunnar goes to the others to hand out questionnaires.

VERONIKA: The information provided and the three certificates attached give no reason to doubt the Aryan descent of the State Actor Paul Gemmeke. Heil!

JONATHAN: Heil!

ANTONIA: Heil!

GUNNAR: Heil!

Jonathan comes around the corner of the table.

JONATHAN: Because my home at Yorkstraße 41 is on the garden level and has no window onto the street, today I asked Mr. Paul Gemmeke, State Actor at the State Theatre here, who lives in my building, if I might be allowed to fly my new swastika flag on his balcony.

Herr Gemmeke refused with the remark that his wife is a Jew and that raising the swastika flag on her balcony would represent a slap in the face to her fellow believers.

G. did emphasise that he supports the government and that he would be willing to fly a black, white and red or yellow, red and yellow flag.

Heil Hitler!

Signed H. Griesshaber

VERONIKA: Hugo Griesshaber, Karlsruhe, Yorkstraße 41, to the district leader of the NSDAP in Karlsruhe. Karlsruhe, 30 April 1933.

ANTONIA: “Fly the flag to proclaim Hitler’s victory! All the necessary equipment at the cheapest prices, including flagpoles are available from Party Comrade S. Auppinger, Specialist supplies. Buchenweg 3b, Kühler Krug.
Sold in the east of the city by Party Comrade Grafinger, Bellchenstraße.”

ANTONIA: Germans buy from Germans! Advertise in the FÜHRER!

VERONIKA: SA-equipment—SS-equipment—Badges for office holders etc. Top quality—from Party Comrade K. Schopfer, LAHR, Kaiserstr. 137 upstairs

JONATHAN: Permit me to ask politely whether the Culture Ministry is aware that the State Actor Mr. Paul Gemmeke, of Yorkstraße 41, is married to a Jew.

On 30 April this year Mr. P. Gemmeke refused to allow me as owner of the house to place a swastika flag on one of the two balconies to his flat to mark 1 May 1933. I gave written notice of these facts to the NSDAP district leadership in 1 May 1933, a copy of which is enclosed.

Heil Hitler!

Signed H. Griesshaber,

Block warden Mühlburg district and Sergeant in Reserve Motor Brigade 1/109.

VERONIKA: In response to your submission of 10 October 1933, on behalf of the Ministry I must inform you that the fact that a state employee is married to a

Jew is not in itself legal grounds for premature termination of his employment. For the engagement of new officials or employees this fact would be a definite hindrance. A copy of your submission has been sent to the General Director of the Baden State Theatre in Karlsruhe to check whether State Actor Gemmeke's political attitude might be appropriate grounds for the termination of his contract of service at the next available opportunity. Gemmeke's behaviour in this regard will be watched.

Signed on behalf of.

Antonia passes a laurel wreath to Veronika, who slowly gives it to Gunnar.

ANTONIA: Dear Mr. Gemmeke!

Today 25 years have flowed by since you became a member of our artistic institution. With an unflinching delight in your work and an unstinting sense of duty, you have consistently placed your valued abilities in the service of our theatre and made a not insignificant contribution to the reputation which the Baden State Theatre enjoys. We urgently desire to express our thanks. We combine these with the wish that you will be able to pursue your profession in mental and physical health for many years to come.

Heil Hitler! Himmighoffen

Veronika passes Gunnar the laurels.

GUNNAR: But come, you brave sons of Teutons,
in this grove of silent oaks
and let us thank Wodan for the gift of victory!

Dear Mr. Artistic Director!

Your affectionate lines on my 25 years of work at our institution gave me great pleasure. I thank you most warmly.

Heil Hitler,

Yours faithfully,

Paul Gemmeke.

Gunnar climbs onto the table, keeping one foot on the chair.

It remains for us to hasten to the Rhine
So that none of the Romans may slip away
From Germania's holy ground:
And then—let us courageously depart for Rome itself!

Raises wreath.

JONATHAN: In Kleist's 'Hermannsschlacht' we have in Paul Gemmeke a genuine actor who never loses a word at any volume.

VERONIKA: The basic notion of Kleist's great drama, the gathering strength of the German Volk to defend itself against the damage of foreign influence is as current today as it was in Hermann's time and in the time of the writer Heinrich von Kleist. With brief intervals, greedy hands have always tried to grasp Germanic, German property and duped comrades of our own Volk were internal enemies and welcome tools of those from outside. The image of a Volk divided was always the same—the Volk's greatest need, however, gave rise to a Cheruscan prince, who emerged as its saviour. Are we not witnessing the same events today? The great agitator has come. In its hour of greatest need the German Volk has once again been sent a saviour, whom it cheers in thanks!

JONATHAN: Why Kleist?

VERONIKA: In Heinrich von Kleist a poet has been revived who became the creator of new and eternally meaningful dramas of popular and state consciousness for Germany. And it is precisely that which now brings us so close to the poet and warrior Kleist, and above all so close to the warrior.

In 'Prince Friedrich of Homburg' he addresses a problem which often affected Kleist himself, the relationship between the individual and the state. That is the essence of this work, the deepest meaning of the drama which unfolds between the Prince and the Elector. The state, which manifests itself through the laws derived from its nature and its existence, is in this case the Elector. And it is to his authority that the Prince must bow if he as an individual wishes to live in this state. And this state is not a welfare institution, not a "nanny state" whose task is fulfilled by providing its citizens with all their daily requirements. Instead it is a state of demanding, binding laws, a state of urgent necessities.

While the Prince may have been victorious in battle, this was by chance rather than a victory derived from the clear necessity of sober consideration. And as a consequence he is of no use to the state.

GUNNAR: "This victory I like not, a child of chance,
which falls into my hands, I wish to uphold
the law, mother of my crown,
which will bear me a race of victories."

VERONIKA: says the Elector.

Only when the lost dreamer, who overhears the battle plan, who wins the battle and Natalie's affections intoxicated by his own self-possession, only when this person becomes a man who bows to the law with earnestness and

awareness, only then is the Prince a worthy member of the collective of the Volk. Because now this collective will no longer be exposed to the chance derived from his wilfulness, but it shall thrive on the laws derived from it. Hermann the Cheruscan embodies the state to come, as the Great Elector embodies the existing state and the law.

A worthy person will, however, always see the necessity of the state and its laws as a result of his own responsibility and thought and will then bow to that law also. Only those of no use at all to the state will fail to gain this path. The Prince, however, finds his way through the dreams of his youth to a responsible leader in support of the laws of state.

ANTONIA: And this is why the State Theatre is right to launch its season with Kleist's 'Prince Friedrich of Homburg'.

GUNNAR: Into the dust with all the enemies of Brandenburg.

JONATHAN: Theatre Section of the Reich Theatre Council Berlin to the General Director of the Baden State Theatre in Karlsruhe. 4 April 1936.

I request a confidential report on the artistic abilities and other personal characteristics of State Actor Paul Gemmeke.

Heil Hitler!

On behalf of the Leader of the Theatre Section.

ANTONIA: Baden State Theatre to the Theatre Section of the Reich Theatre Council Berlin 8th April 1936.

State Actor Paul Gemmeke, who has been in the company of the Baden State Theatre since 1 September 1909, is employed in the category of principal supporting actor (and for character parts at the discretion of the General Director). His artistic achievements cannot be described as above average. He does, however, discharge his duties with skill and artistic sensitivity. On a personal level we know of nothing negative. His wife is apparently, according to rumours, non-Aryan. The contract of the above may be terminated each year on 1 January with effect from the end of the season.

Heil Hitler! Himmighoffen

JONATHAN: Notice of marriage.

Gunnar on the table. During the following Jonathan pushes him out.

GUNNAR: On 15 July 1912 I married Martha Kern, religion Jewish.

Karlsruhe, 25 December 1936,

Paul Georg Gemmeke

ANTONIA: To the President of the Reich Theatre Chamber Berlin.

State Actor Paul Gemmeke visited me in my office and explained that he had received a letter from the Reich Theatre Chamber to the effect that he had to cease his employment immediately due to non-reliability and non-suitability according to the Theatre Law. Permit me to ask whether Mr. State Actor Gemmeke, who has dutifully reported the matter to me, is entitled under the law of appeal to continue to perform his duties until a final decision has been made on the appeal which he has since entered.

Heil Hitler! Himmighoffen

GUNNAR: Now, Oh immortality, you are all mine!

You shine through the bandage on my eyes.

JONATHAN: Employment of N.S.D.A.P. members.

We draw particular attention to the President of the Reich Theatre Chamber's instruction that all German theatre directors should voluntarily and without delay integrate at least one veteran comrade of the National Socialist movement in an appropriate function within the organization of their theatre. The theatre directors should regard it as a matter of honour that no deserving and qualified party comrade should be left on the streets unemployed.

Signed. Leers, Chair of German Theatre Union.

GUNNAR: Now, Oh immortality, you are all mine!

You shine through the bandage on my eyes

With the brightness of a thousand suns!

VERONIKA: To the President of the Reich Chamber of Culture, Reich Minister Joseph Goebbels.

As State Actor Paul Gemmeke of the Baden State Theatre in Karlsruhe informs me, he has been forbidden from practicing his profession on German stages by an order of the Reich Theatre Chamber as he is married to a Jew. If, as is beyond my powers of judgement, good artistic performances, 27 years of loyal service at the former Court and now Baden State Theatre and the fact that neither he nor his wife maintain relations with Jewish circles, might be considered when making the relevant decision, I would support State Actor Gemmeke being able to remain in the company of the Baden State Theatre until further notice.

On behalf of the Minister of Culture and Education

GUNNAR: Now, O immortality, you are all mine!

You shine through the bandage on my eyes

With the brightness of a thousand suns!

Wings grow on both my shoulders –

JONATHAN: In reply to your letter of 31 December, I hereby inform you that, having checked your information and all the relevant steps, I regret that for fundamental reasons I do not see myself in a position to amend or lift the order made against you by the Theatre Section and therefore the Reich Theatre Chamber.

On behalf of the President, Reich Propaganda Minister Goebbels.
Signed Hinkel.

GUNNAR: Now, O immortality, you are all mine!
You shine through the bandage on my eyes
With the brightness of a thousand suns!
Wings grow on both my shoulders
Through the silent ether my mind soars –

ANTONIA: To the President of the Reich Chamber of Culture.

I most respectfully inform you that Mr. Gemmeke has already stopped performing as he is ill with flu and that of course no further appearances will be made by the person named.

Heil Hitler! Himmighoffen

GUNNAR: Now, O immortality, you are all mine!
You shine through the bandage on my eyes
With the brightness of a thousand suns!
Wings grow on both my shoulders
Through the silent ether my mind soars,
and like a ship seized by a breath of wind –

ANTONIA: Following the decision by the President of the Reich Chamber of Culture on 14 January 1937 there is no question of any further artistic employment of the State Actor Paul Gemmeke. As the person named has not applied for retirement we request a decision as to how we should proceed in this regard.

Himmighoffen. General Director.

JONATHAN: As his practising the profession of actor on a German stage is now legally forbidden, payments to State Actor Gemmeke should be ceased with immediate effect.

On behalf of the Minister of Culture and Education.

GUNNAR: Now, O immortality, you are all mine!
You shine through the bandage on my eyes
With the brightness of a thousand suns!
Wings grow on both my shoulders
Through the silent ether my mind soars,

and like a ship seized by a breath of wind
which sees the brave harbour town sink
all life seems to expire in the twilight:
Now I can still make out colours and shapes –

ANTONIA: Dear Mr. Gemmecke!

We enclose a copy of the order made by the Minister of Culture and Education on 26 February 1937 for your attention. Accordingly we have strong grounds to terminate your terms of service under section 626 with effect from 8 March 1937.

From 8 March 1937 you will be paid an advance of the pension to which you are legally entitled.

Heil Hitler! Himmighoffen.

GUNNAR: And like a ship seized by a breath of wind
which sees the brave harbour town sink
all life seems to expire in the twilight:
Now I can still make out colours and shapes
And now all that lies below me is fog.

VERONIKA: Residence:

GUNNAR: Karlsruhe

VERONIKA: Family status (married, widower, single, separated, widow):

GUNNAR: Married

VERONIKA: First and surname of spouse (maiden name):

GUNNAR: Martha Kern

VERONIKA: Pension for 27 years of service Reichsmark 4,020

Per month Reichsmark 335

Emergency tax deducted Reichsmark 64.50

Net 270.50

ANTONIA: Announcement

State Actor Gemmeke died suddenly last night as a result of angina pectoris. The General Directorate thanks him for his many years of distinguished service at the Baden State Theatre.

Honour his memory.

Karlsruhe, 25 May 1937.
General Director of the Baden State Theatre.
Himmighoffen

VERONIKA: Later research conducted in the 70s by the Office for Restitution among surviving former members of the Baden State Theatre revealed that it can be assumed that the person named took his own life as a result of the measures which had previously been taken against him.

GUNNAR: Paul Gemmeke, born 1881, dismissed 1937.
"Mixed marriage"
Humiliated/Deprived of his rights
Died 25 May 1937.

Veronika and Antonia enter the gap between the two tables during the following.

JONATHAN: To his honour, the Mayor of the Regional Capital of Karlsruhe.
From NSDAP local command, West II. Kriegsstr. 151.
Karlsruhe, 7 October 1940

Antonia joins Veronika between the tables.

ANTONIA: As we have seen, in the coming days the city administration intends to hang posters in the trams which forbid Jews to use seats inside the cars. In future they must use the forward platform. This change is welcomed. However, the rule ignores one thing: Where are German mothers supposed to go with their prams?

VERONIKA: According to the existing regulations, prams and luggage may only be placed on the forward platforms of the carriages. German women with their children are now obliged to associate with Jews. For years German women have been warned to beware of contact with Jews and now it is demanded that they occupy the same platform as the Jews.

ANTONIA: A general ruling is required here. In future Jews should not be allowed to use the tram.

VERONIKA: If the city has been instructed to allow Jews to use the trams for financial reasons, in an emergency another rule can be found here.

ANTONIA: The people of Karlsruhe are called upon to make a one-off donation of ten pfennigs per person per year if the city cannot bear the financial consequences of the Jews not being allowed to use the tram.

VERONIKA: The city really cannot make a better deal, and German women and their children would be prevented from coming into contact with this dirty race.

VERONIKA and ANTONIA: Heil Hitler!
Local Commander.

The actors bring out suitcases:

GUNNAR: Karlsruhe, 20 September 1942.

Registered mail.

Re: Emigration.

By order of the Karlsruhe State Police Control Centre we inform you that you have been selected to take part in an evacuation transport on one of the last days of September. You are required to wait in your home on 28 and 29 September for collection by the Gestapo.

We request that you read and follow the instructions below carefully and prepare for your departure calmly.

Appeals to be exempted from the transport are futile, as each case has already been checked thoroughly by the authorities.

All transportees will be visited in good time by trusted persons who will provide information about any queries and help to fill out the declaration of assets (see II).

I. Confiscation of assets.

Irrespective of the rules in the next paragraph you may not dispose of any assets, i.e., you may not sell, donate, pass to others for safekeeping, or destroy anything of any kind.

II. Declaration of assets.

All securities, savings books, insurance policies, and other documents relating to assets left behind in possession of the transportee are to be attached to the declaration of assets.

III. Taking means of payment, documentation, and luggage with you.

Every passenger must hold the sum for the ticket from his place of residence to his destination readily available to buy a ticket on the day of travel. You are most urgently warned not to take forbidden objects or more than the permitted sum of money with you. Passengers should expect thorough searches to be made of their persons and luggage. Each passenger may take either one suitcase or one rucksack with them. Trunks are not permitted. All items of luggage must be permanently marked with the name and previous address of the owner. Experience has shown that many emigres do not choose the correct items to pack for travel. Essential objects are often forgotten and instead things are taken which are of no use at their destination and represent an unnecessary burden. It is not necessary to take as much as possible but rather those

objects which are genuinely needed in the appropriate quantities. Bear in mind that you must carry your own luggage and that no designated luggage car is available.

VERONIKA: Theresienstadt, 7 June 43. Martha Sara Gemmecke to Goldine Zweifel, Bahnhofstr. 26, Karlsruhe

GUNNAR: My darlings,

I'm glad to be able to send you a sign of life. Cards and parcels from outside do reach here and are handed to the recipient promptly. I hope all my darlings are healthy and cheerful. Mother has left me all alone; I regret that she closed her eyes for the last time on 30 August. I am working very hard in a law office. Now you know my address I hope to hear good news from you regularly so I need not worry. Do not forget me, even if you don't hear from me for a long time. I am thinking of you and our friends in common.

Dearest wishes,
Martha.

VERONIKA: Theresienstadt. 3 March 44. Martha Sara Gemmecke to Goldine Zweifel, Karlsruhe.

GUNNAR: My darlings,

The cute little munchkins really raised my spirits. Rosy, my namesakes, need not worry about following in your footsteps. I would be pleased to hear news of you more often. Thanks for visiting the grave—couldn't find your cousin without a first name. I was especially pleased with the fat and jam. Please note latest address for swiftest delivery.—Now I will drink a glass of Hag-Kola to your health and thank you for everything—including the warm cap which fits me well. Warmly.

Stay healthy.
Yours, Martha

VERONIKA: Theresienstadt 21 April 1944. Martha Sara Gemmecke to Goldine Zweifel in Karlsruhe.

GUNNAR: My darlings,

Many thanks for the latest food. The apples from the garden were extremely refreshing. At preserving time do you think of my help as often as I do of yours? I did not get the reply promised from Herrenstraße to the card I sent two months ago, why? Show my cards around to friends, I can't write to everyone but they can write to me. I often think of Mrs. Schrot. I was happy to volunteer on the farm on ten free afternoons last autumn. Her memorial day is 26 August. Except for Mrs. Müller, there's nobody you know from Karlsruhe here.

Stay healthy all of you and a thousand warmest greetings.
Yours, Martha

JONATHAN: Letter from Goldine Zweifel, Karlsruhe, to Martha Sara Gemmecke, Theresienstadt, from 16 May 1944. Returned: addressee deported to Auschwitz on 16 May 1944.

VERONIKA: In the book of remembrance for Jewish citizens of Karlsruhe the following can be found about Lilly Jank: (*narrative voice*) Even after her dismissal was brought about by the Nazis, Lilly Jank remained in Karlsruhe. From the beginning of 1934 she lives in a girls' home in Strasbourg. According to the compensation files Lilly Jank is unemployed in 1935/36.

In January 1936 Lilly is staying in Zurich. She claims to be preparing to emigrate to Palestine. At around the same time her friend Emmy Seiberlich, who has already emigrated to Canada, is trying to secure an entry permit for her there. Possibly because of her plans to marry Dr. Viktor Wahl, Lilly drops her plans to emigrate. On 19 March 1936, the couple marry in Basel. They move into a home together in Strasbourg. There their son Silvio is born on 31 December 1936. The outbreak of the Second World War causes her to flee to the south of France, to Vichy.

Two weeks after the Allied landings in Normandy on 6 June 1944, the Wahl family is deported to Germany on 22 June 1944. Viktor Wahl dies in Ohrdruf.

Lilly, Silvio and his grandmother, Lilly's mother-in-law, are taken to Bergen-Belsen concentration camp, and shortly afterwards, in July 1944, to Ravensbrück, where both women die in October 1944. Lilly Jank is 37 years old. Her son Silvio survives.

What remains are two Stolpersteine at Stephaniensstraße 59 (outside the theatre—*where she never worked, at least not on this site*):

HERE LIVED (or. HERE WORKED)
LILLY JANKELOWITZ
KNOWN AS JANK
BORN 1907
ESCAPED TO FRANCE 1936
DEPORTED 1944
BERGEN-BELSEN
RAVENSBRÜCK
DIED OCT. 1944

Gunnar and Antonia move to the rear of the table for their interview.

VERONIKA: Emma Grandeit to the new Artistic Director of the Baden State Theatre

ANTONIA: Hamburg, 10 September 1946.

Dear Doctor!

I congratulate you on your appointment as Theatre Director in Karlsruhe. I believe that the job will make you very happy and that you will manage to return the theatre back to the high artistic level to which Karlsruhe has been accustomed for generations.

I myself am back in the theatre after an involuntary break of twelve years, at the Hamburger Kammerspiele, which our current director Ida Ehre continues to run now in the spirit of Erich Ziegel.

I feel very happy here and because there are two prompters I have a very pleasant life. We do not perform many productions as they run for a very long time.

My husband still does one-man shows like he used to but is also acting at the theatre so he is very busy at the moment. As he is acting almost every day, he has had to miss or postpone a lot of shows. My son is a stage designer for Dr. Sattler, who employed him during the last 12 years, even in senior positions, although he was not allowed to at the time. All three of us are working in the arts, we have also been bombed out, and I was in a concentration camp too, but I got over that a long time ago.

And now I come to the request I have of you: I have registered my compensation claim for these 12 years and need supporting information from the theatre itself or someone who knew me from that time. After repeated requests the theatre has finally replied to the compensation commission that all the papers were burnt and nobody knows anything about me. However, I am sure that you will still remember me. In any event I enclose copies of two references by Baumbach and Trenck to jog your memory. I would ask you to confirm the following for me:

1. That my salary during the war would have been no less and indeed possibly higher than it was when I left Karlsruhe.
2. That I was employed there from 1926 until 1933 and would probably never have been dismissed as there was no criticism of me personally or professionally.

I would be most grateful if you could provide me with this information that the authorities have requested along with the documents I have and that you send them to me using the theatre's letterhead. I would also be very pleased to hear about you personally, what happened to you in the past years and what your current plans are.

Perhaps you would be able to contact Mrs. Ervig about the information. I have written to her to this effect, and she is bound to remember me from before.

Thank you in advance for your efforts and please let me know as soon as possible.

With best regards, also from my husband,
Yours,
Emma Grandeit

GUNNAR: Today is the 3 of December 1986. I am together with Mrs. Lola Kloeble-Ervig in her home. I would like to know from you, Mrs. Ervig, how you experienced the start of the persecution of the Jews, using the Regional Theatre as an example. There were a number of Jewish company members at the time.

ANTONIA: There was Lilly Jank. She was a soubrette, who danced very nicely. And I was very sorry about her as I was sitting on the bench in the theatre when Lilly got the letter.

GUNNAR: You were there?

ANTONIA: I was there. And then she had a tragic fate.

GUNNAR: May I ask what was written in the letter? For what reason was she sacked?

ANTONIA: Yes, I can't say it word for word but it would have been that she was not tenable. That would have been said.

GUNNAR: Was her contract simply not renewed?

ANTONIA: Yes: they could stay until the end of the season. And then Lilli Jank ran away to Belgium.

GUNNAR: At the end of the 33 season? How old would she have been?

ANTONIA: On, I should think—not yet 30. Mid-20s. And she married a doctor there, I heard, but then when the Germans marched in she was caught and died apparently, which made me very sad as she was a very nice young and talented colleague ... she had a tragic end ... only her son Silvio survived.

Antonia clears up.

GUNNAR: (...) Mrs. Ervig, there were some other Jewish members of the company then.

ANTONIA: Yes, there was the prompter, Mrs. Emma Grandeit, who was a pure Jew but very conscientious and above all a very intelligent prompter. I was very sorry about that because I liked her a lot as a person.

Veronika pushes the table away.

GUNNAR: Can you tell me, do you remember how that happened? Did it happen very quickly after the coup or only in the course of the spring or summer of 1933 that the Jewish members simply weren't there any more?

ANTONIA: Hermann Brand, who was the best-known of the actors, went straight away. And I even think he went voluntarily and didn't feel the growing threat, he was a pious, orthodox Jewish man. His mother lived in the east of the city and he only ate kosher meat. He had the disadvantage that he was a little hostile to people who were Aryan or blond, though for no reason. Because we always thought it was terrible the way these notorious blue letters were handed out to our colleagues. What could we say to console them?

GUNNAR: Now you yourself, if I remember correctly, were very blonde?

ANTONIA: Yes.

GUNNAR: Didn't he like blondes?

ANTONIA: No, he didn't. He thought all blondes were anti-Semites. Well I certainly wasn't, I will tell you later that I had very, very dear, close friends, bank director Stern, who were Jews and I was so sorry when I met Mr. Stern in the Kaiserstraße and spoke to him and he said: "Miss Ervig, you'd better walk on the other side, it will harm you if you walk along with me."

Jonathan and Gunnar clear away the files while Antonia listens.

VERONIKA: My apartment in the south of the city is dark, cold and damp, I always say, but simply beautiful. High ceilings, wooden floors, a shower in the kitchen. All the charm of bygone days in which I would rather have lived than now. Earlier it was a house for craftsmen, I was told, with workshops on the ground floor around the courtyard and then private apartments on the upper floors. I never wondered about all the different people who had lived here, because it is my apartment, and the idea that it was once someone else's home is rather spooky. My sister has six Stolpersteine outside her front door. She's never looked at them properly. The idea of everything that might have happened in her peaceful family home is too much for her to bear. Of course I've always been able to understand that attitude to a certain extent but I've criticized it far more. And then I'm sitting in my living room one evening after three years, hear the birds singing, look out into the gorgeous inner courtyard and ask myself for the first time, whether it also happened here. And I imagine that here -

GUNNAR: Let's come back to Hermann Brand.

ANTONIA: Older people from Karlsruhe will definitely remember Hermann Brand because he was a brilliant comedian and a man who really supported Karlsruhe.

GUNNAR: He emigrated to Switzerland?

ANTONIA: Yes. And he worked his way up to become Artistic Director of the Lucerne Theatre. But then he seemed homesick for Germany.

VERONIKA (JONATHAN and GUNNAR): Hello Karlsruhe!!! Hello Baden-Württemberg!!! Hello Germany!!! I can see a lot of flags! Where are the patriots? (Here) Where are the defenders of the German fatherland? (Here) Where are the friends of freedom? (Here) Of democracy? (Here) Where are the opponents of Islamification? (Here) Of jihad? (Here) Of the Salafists? (Here) Of beheadings? (Here) Of honour killings (Here) Of oppressing women? (Here) And of abusing the asylum system? (Here)

ANTONIA: Anyone who doesn't love Germany.

ANTONIA, JONATHAN and GUNNAR: Should leave Germany! Anyone who doesn't love Germany, should leave Germany! Anyone who doesn't love Germany, should leave Germany!

JONATHAN: Send them to Siberia!

ANTONIA, JONATHAN and GUNNAR: Out! Out! Out!

JONATHAN: We know that we're right! Right is a good word. Be right. Enforce our rights. Yes.
1, 2, 3—

ALL: Thank you, Police. 1, 2, 3—Thank you, Police. 1, 2, 3—Thank you, Police. 1, 2, 3—Thank you, Police.

VERONIKA: There's a street party against Kargida I tell the sweet old man who I've been talking to about the best ground temperature to grow cucumbers or how deep to sow nasturtiums. He smiles gently. It would be nice if you could come, we've been demonstrating for weeks but there are so few of us. I can see why (*Antonia, Jonathan, and Gunnar freeze*), he says and keeps on smiling. What can you see? Well, he says, all anyone ever speaks round here is Turkish. And in the supermarket over there, he points in the direction of the Russian

supermarket, they only speak Russian. But we're speaking German, I say, get on my bike and ride away. (*Freeze dissolves*).

All the files must have disappeared off the table.

GUNNAR: Mrs. Ervig, do you have any personal memories of the Reichskristallnacht or the boycott of 1933 when SA members would stand outside Jewish businesses?

ANTONIA: No, all I saw was their "success" that the good carpet shops, Veit or Goldfahrt, who actually had the best fashions, had their windows smashed.

GUNNAR: After Reichskristallnacht?

ANTONIA: Yes. At the time I lived in Waldstraße, directly behind the synagogue. We could see the synagogue from the roof terrace.

GUNNAR: Did you see it burning?

ANTONIA: Yes.

GUNNAR: No one put out the fire.

ANTONIA: No, no. They said it was the anger of the Volk. But I have to say colleagues weren't aggressive to anybody or only acted passively. We were all very sorry, because they were all good artists and there was nothing they could do about it.

JONATHAN: I stumble on something in Karlsruhe. In the south of the city, where I live, it's usually dogshit. There are little junk shops. There's the Werderplatz with its dubious characters and sun-seekers. And there's the Indian fountain as a legacy of the ethnological exhibitions. That's how Buffalo Bill came to Karlsruhe. Human beings were put on show. In the zoo.

The Indian fountain was designed in 1924 and was an instant hit. "We're not Red Indians" I can hear from a long way off. There are no more signs of the Wild West in Karlsruhe. But from time to time I come across people in the south of the city who I need to take a closer look at. Could it really be that Native Americans once lived here? That they fell in love here? Becoming Baden Indians? Genuine south city Indians?

GUNNAR: Every morning when I stumble out of the house, to take the kids to school, I also stumble over Leopold, Alice, and Gertrud.

When I saw a group of people on the pavement outside out house 18 months ago and joined them, I saw that they had just finished laying a Stolper-

stein for the Kullmanns, who had lived in the house next door before they were deported.

I had always thought: in such an old building, in the middle of the city, there were bound to be Jewish families living there before '33. Leo the Jew (as he was called) and his family—I looked them up—were not religious.

Like us. He was a lawyer and later a judge at the Regional Higher Court in Karlsruhe and was active in the SPD. Like my father. That's why some of the people laying the Stolperstein had red carnations. The local branch of the SPD had donated the Stolpersteine.

"Why are you so secretive?" I ask the group as they break up, "I would have liked to join in."

"No, we've had some unpleasant experiences with that—letting the residents know—there have been some unpleasant incidents. Not everyone wants one of these Stolpersteine outside their front door."

Perhaps some people have the feeling that they had dispossessed the earlier Jewish tenants?

The judges and lawyers were the first to lose their jobs in 1933 and who then had to see how they were going to live. The Kullmanns sold their furniture and I can see them carrying their—in my imagination beautiful—furniture through our door and onto the street.

Leo steps onto the street, and stretches out, not noticing that on the spot where he's standing there are three little Stolpersteine in the pavement with their names on them.

ANTONIA: First stop Herrenstr. 22. Here are the Stolpersteine for Sophie and Helene Ettlinger and Rosalie Lonnestädter. I kneel down and clean and polish the Stolpersteine.

I carry on. At Ständehausstr. 2 there are Stolpersteine for a total of eleven members of the Baden regional parliament including Dr. Ludwig Marum. They are all quite clean already. But I give them another go anyway. An elderly woman, I think mid-70s, stops and thanks me.

Kaiserstraße 103, Esther and Leopold Schwarz. A woman looks at me uncertainly, laughs, asks why I am cleaning the street and asks if I have to do that—when I put a flower down at the end, she thinks it's sweet. Lina Hirsch, Kaiserstr. 166. When was the last time "memories were polished" here? Even scrubbing repeatedly, I can't get the chewing gum off.

I look for, find and clean: Kaiserstr. 145, Kaiserstr. 201, Kaiserstr. 34a, Kaiserstr. 49, Lammstr. 15. At Yorckstr. 41 I look in vain for a Stolperstein for Martha Gemmeke.

Veronika, Gunnar, and Jonathan freeze.

I wonder who is going to "polish up" the Stolpersteine at Nokkstr. 2, which are almost black already and only make pedestrians stumble if they know they are

there. They commemorate the married couple Otto Josef and Lilly Charlotte Löwenthal and their son Heinz Hans, who were deported first to Gurs on 22 October 1940 and then on 4 September 1942 to Auschwitz, where they died.

Freeze dissolves.

I notice that the edges of the Stolpersteine gradually begin to take on the colour of the street. Brass oxidizes and loses its shine over time. Eventually they will disappear into the road surface. Will anyone then remember that people remembered?

GUNNAR: Now I am standing over the dark, oxidized Stolpersteine: "Come on guys! Get a move on, we're running late!"

Through Kriegsstraße into Hirschstraße, then up Waldstraße. And just past Aldi on the left-hand side, I really do stumble. Every morning. Inside.

In a clothing shop there are cool clothes with the word 'LONSDALE' written on them. A way for Neo-Nazis to recognize each other. If you wear an unzipped jacket over the writing, all that can be seen of 'LONSDALE' is NSDA. You can imagine the rest.

The Stolpersteine are a good size.

Ought to fit in your hand nicely.

A shop window like that won't be any problem for them.

A good image: the Kullmanns' Stolperstein surrounded by LONSDALE shirts and broken glass.

—I didn't think of that.

GUNNAR: Mrs. Ervig, the rumours went around that contracts were not being renewed—and it was clear that the reason was that they were Jews. Did other people just ignore this?

ANTONIA: The people at the theatre I spoke to were all shocked and horrified. But there was nothing one could say to console them or anything. But they carried on acting with us just as they had before.

GUNNAR: Until the end of the season.

GUNNAR: Mrs. Ervig, you mentioned in our preliminary interview that the Jewish General Music Director Josef Krips was not allowed to conduct on 1 May, I believe?

ANTONIA: Yes, he wasn't allowed to conduct at all. And I have to tell you the funny situation arose that all three of the conductors were Jews and it was the Führer's birthday on 20 April and we were supposed to perform 'Meistersinger'.

And as there was no other way, they got Josef Keilberth to do it, who was a repetiteur then, and very young, a beginner. He jumped straight onto the conductor's podium.

GUNNAR: For that reason. And then became a conductor and soon afterwards General Music Director?

ANTONIA: Yes, of course. Until he then...

GUNNAR: So he was practically—without intending to be so—a beneficiary of the persecution of the Jews.

ANTONIA: Yes, that's right. Though you can't blame him. I mean, sometimes in life you're just lucky.

The End