



## Bernadette Mayrhofer

### Impending Expulsion of the "Closely Related" (*Versippte*), "Half-breeds" (*Mischlinge*), and Foreigners Lacking a "Certificate of Aryan Descent" (*Ariernachweis*)

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| 1. Hugo Burghauer (Fagott, Vorstand) | 9. Ernst Moravec (Solobratschist)                     |
| 2. Leopold Föderl (Violine II)       | 10. Ricardo Odnoposoff (Violine I,<br>Konzertmeister) |
| 3. Gottfried Freiberg (Horn I)       | 11. Otto Rieger (Solobratschist)                      |
| 4. Josef Hadraba (Posaune)           | 12. Arthur Schurig (Pauke)                            |
| 5. Theodor Hess (Violine I)          | 13. Erich Weis (Viola)                                |
| 6. Rudolf Jettel (Klarinette)        | 14. Otto Fieck (Trompete II und III) <sup>1</sup>     |
| 7. Richard Krotschak (Solocellist)   |   |
| 8. Karl Maurer (Cellist)             |   |

After those musicians who according to the racist Nazi elocution were classified as 'full Jews' ('*Volljude*') were expelled from the Vienna State Opera Orchestra and therefore also automatically from the Association of the Vienna Philharmonic (*Verein Wiener Philharmoniker*), there still remained a set of artists in the orchestra who now became the primary targets of political and anti-Semitic attacks. Those orchestral members who, according to Nazi terminology, were considered "half-breeds" (*Mischlinge*) and "closely Jewish related" (*jüdisch Versippte*) were now threatened by a harsh expulsion from the orchestra. The danger of removal was also highly acute for those who were politically unacceptable, foreigners without "proof of ancestry" (*Ahnenpass*) or those undesired for other reasons.

On June 21, 1938, a 22-page report was put together by Ernst Kosak, the Deputy Director (*stellvertretender Leiter*) of the State Theatre Administration (*Staatstheaterverwaltung*, SThV), which had attached several blacklists of the SThV<sup>2</sup> and included detailed recommendations on the further administrative procedure towards the practical implementation of the new and cruel provisions. This report reflects the (un)lawful zigzag policy that prevailed after the "Anschluss". The range of measures included decommissioning, leave of absence, retirement, dismissal and retroactive termination. This reflects, on one side, the utterly inconsistent

<sup>1</sup> The Philharmonic member Otto Fieck was, according to the racist Nazi terminology, considered as "fully Jewish related" (*volljüdisch versippt*). He had already been retired since September 1, 1937 and therefore does not appear on the lists of special permits. Fieck and his wife died in Vienna on July 14, 1945. Letter to the Office of the Reich Governor (Reichsstatthaltereie), composed on March 20, 1942, membership list with reference to the "racial origin" (*rassische Herkunft*) of the wives, Vienna Philharmonic Depot State Opera, folder 1; membership book of the WPh, I. k. k. Hofoper, HAdWPh; historical Viennese registration records concerning Otto Fieck, Vienna City and Land Archives (Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv).

<sup>2</sup> Kosak's report, June 21, 1938, including attachments (mostly "black lists"), AdR, SThV, 2312/1938.



juridical and bureaucratic strategies of action and argumentation on behalf of the SThV, on the other side it allowed for humane gestures. By pursuing immediate retirement instead of termination, Kosak made use of the legal chaos to at least financially provide for those displaced. However, his judicial efforts ultimately proved ineffective, and by the end of December 1938 those forced into retirement had to be subsequently dismissed by order of the Reich Governor (*Reichsstatthalter*).<sup>3</sup>

### 'Special Permission' to Remain in the Orchestra

A key section of Kosak's report of June 21 defined the procedures of the SThV in light of a third, acutely imminent round of dismissals which affected mainly those who according to Nazi elocution were considered 'closely Jewish related' (*jüdisch Versippte*) and 'half or quarter Jews' (*Halb- oder Vierteljuden*). The objective was to avert the disastrous artistic consequences of further expulsions through the use of so-called 'retention requests' (*Belassungsanträge*). The SThV spotted a legal possibility in § 3, section 3 of the Legal Ordinance of Officials (*Beamtenverordnung*) of May 31, 1938, in which employees and labourers "could in exceptional cases be allowed to remain in service with the approval of the deputy of the Führer or of an office designated by him."<sup>4</sup> Requests were especially considered of those who in Nazi elocution were classified as "closely Jewish related" – i.e. those musicians who were married to women of Jewish descent. A further group of orchestral members with 'merit for request' were the so-called "Jewish half-breeds" (*jüdische Mischlinge*) who had been employed since August 1, 1914 or who had fought in the first world war. Special exceptions could then only be made by the "Reich Minister of the Interior (*Reichsminister des Inneren*) in agreement with the Deputy of the Führer (*Stellvertreter des Führers*)." Divorce was recognized only as long as it had been carried out legally valid before June 1, 1938.<sup>5</sup>

It further proceeds from the report that the individual directorates were prompted to issue retention requests.<sup>6</sup> Two weeks later, on July 5, 1938, the State Opera Directorate (*Staatsoperndirektion*) forwarded the SThV a list of those members designated for continued retention at the opera house. On this first list of requests for continued retention in the orchestra the name of Leopold Föderl, whose second wife in Nazi elocution was a 'full Jew' (*Volljüdin*), and who therefore was considered 'fully Jewish related' (*volljüdisch versippt*), was missing. Hugo Burghauser was included on the list.<sup>7</sup> By order of the Ministry of Information

<sup>3</sup> "Holiday correspondence" (*Urlaubskorrespondenz*), Kosak to director Kerber, July 30, 1938, AdR, SThV 2980/38; *ibid.*, director Kerber to Kosak, August 4, 1938; *ibid.*, Kosak to Eckmann, August 19, 1938; Report of Eckmann, December 12, 1938, AdR, SThV 4219/38.

<sup>4</sup> "Ausnahmsweise mit Zustimmung des Stellvertreters des Führers oder der von ihm bestimmten Stelle im Dienste belassen werden können." Kosak's report, June 21, 1938, p. 11, AdR, SThV 2312/1938.

<sup>5</sup> June 21, 1938, AdR, SThV 2367//38.

<sup>6</sup> Kosak's report, June 21, 1938, p. 12f, AdR, SThV 2312/1938.

<sup>7</sup> July 5, 1938, AdR, State Opera Directorate (*Staatsoperndirektion*), 844-45/38.



(*Propagandaministerium*) on July 13, 1938, Burghauser along with the other 'retention candidates' was requested by the State Opera Directorate (*Staatsoperndirektion*) to "immediately (...) provide a birth certificate, birth certificates of your parents and four grandparents, the same documents on your wife's side, and furthermore a résumé and photograph."<sup>8</sup> On July 23, State Opera Director Erwin Kerber settled verbally and in writing with Robert Valberg, the Provisional Leader (*kommisarische Leiter*) of the Ring of Austrian Stage Artists (*Ring der österreichischen Bühnenkünstler*), for an extension of the submission deadline for the documents necessary for the retention to the beginning of September.<sup>9</sup> Valberg had distinguished himself as an exemplary Nazi and Aryaniser (*Ariseur*) in his close collaboration with the Ministry of Information concerning the inspection of 'closely related' Philharmonic musicians and the examination of their 'political soundness' (*politische Zuverlässigkeit*).

In the meantime, Kerber had received a communication from the Reich Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda (*Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda*), which had been drafted by Dr. Heinz Drewes<sup>10</sup> in Salzburg: "The minister has decided that the assembly of the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra will remain unchanged in its present form and that the final assembly will be arranged in accordance with Dr. Furtwängler und Dr. Kerber after the festivals."<sup>11</sup>

The result of this discussion was a written request addressed to director Kerber and signed by Dr. Wilhelm Furtwängler in the name of the Vienna Philharmonic – dated August 20, 1938 – "to request and enforce at the appropriate authority the special permit for the nine members of our orchestra recorded in the attached list."<sup>12</sup> The request for an exception regulation was justified by a pragmatic argument: The continued retention of the listed musicians in the orchestra should serve to " (...) maintain the artistic performance capability and therefore of

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<sup>8</sup> "Umgehend (...) [die] eigene Geburtsurkunde, die Geburtsurkunden Ihrer Eltern und Ihrer 4 Grosseltern [sic!], die selben Dokumente von Ihrer Gattin, ferner ein[en] Lebenslauf und [ein] Lichtbild."

<sup>9</sup> July 13, 1938, AdR, State Opera Directorate, 844-45/38; Director Kerber to Robert Valberg, Vienna on July 23, 1938, AdR, State Opera Directorate 2664/38. Robert Valberg was a member of the NSDAP since 1932 and in 1938 was appointed provisional leader of the Josefstadt. He was the provisional leader of the Ring of Austrian Stagecraft Artist and the Association of Directors (*kommisarischer Leiter des Ringes österreichischer Bühnenkünstler und des Direktorenverbandes*) and distinguished himself especially in his role of investigator of 'Proofs of Aryan Descent' (*Ariernachweise*) and political soundness (*politischen Zuverlässigkeit*). Oliver Rathkolb, *Führertreu und gottbegnadet. Künstlereliten im Dritten Reich*, Wien 1991, 55, 58, 60.

<sup>10</sup> Dr. Heinz Drewes, Music Referent (*Musikreferent*) of the Reich Ministry of Information (*Reichsministerium für Propaganda*), acted as an important contact person for the Reich Ministry of Information in Berlin for the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra.

<sup>11</sup> "Der Herr Minister hat entschieden, dass die Zusammenstellung des Wiener Philharmonischen Orchesters in der augenblicklichen Form unverändert bleibt, und dass die endgültige Zusammensetzung nach den Festspielen im Einvernehmen mit Dr. Furtwängler und Dr. Kerber geregelt wird." Writing of the Reich Ministry of Information in Berlin to Opera Director Kerber, July 20, 1938, AdR, Karton "Judenakte 1939-1940", Administrative files of the State Theater (*Bundestheater Administrationsakten*) 958/38.

<sup>12</sup> "Die Sonderbewilligung für die in beiliegender Liste verzeichneten neun Mitglieder unseres Orchesters an zuständiger Stelle beantragen und durchsetzen zu wollen."



*the distinction of the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra (...)*<sup>13</sup> Explicitly excluded from the privilege of this 'special permission' were **Leopold Förderl** and Arthur Schurig, who according to Nazi racial ideology were 'closely related' (*versippt*) musicians<sup>14</sup> A total of nine musicians were on Furtwängler's list: The musicians Theodor Hess (1. violin), Otto Rieger (solo viola player), Ernst Moravec (solo viola player), Richard Krotschak (solo cellist), Karl Maurer (cellist), Rudolf Jettel (clarinet), **Hugo Burghauser** (bassoon), Gottfried Freiberg (horn) and Josef Hadraba (trombone). The 'retention procedure' obviously was deferred considerably, because it was only on December 27, 1939, more than a year later, that the Reich Governor's Office (*Reichsstatthaltereî*) "*finally also on its part grants approval of these retentions.*"<sup>15</sup> The State Opera Directorate forwarded the 'retention requests' (*Belassungsgesuche*) to the Reich Chamber of Music (*Reichsmusikkammer*), Berlin SW 11., Bernburgerstrasse 19, with the plead to "*officially issue a respective order.*"<sup>16</sup> The list had been reduced by one person, because **Hugo Burghauser** had at that time already made his escape. About a month later, on January 30, 1940, the requested set of musicians again had changed. Rudolf Jettel was missing on this new list, and instead he was replaced by Erich Weis ("*viola, presumably half-breed of 1. grade*").<sup>17</sup>

There are few sources regarding the procedure of the Reich Chamber of Music in Berlin in respect to these requests for special permits. The principal violist Otto Rieger was considered, in racist Nazi terminology, a "*half-Jew*", nevertheless he was allowed to become a member of the Reich Chamber of Culture (*Reichskulturkammer*). In the summer of 1942 the Reich Chamber of Music in Berlin suddenly denied his request for a special permit – despite his membership in the Reich Chamber of Culture. In a written response of November 19, 1942, to the Reich Chamber of Music in Berlin, the SThV notes that the denial was not "*connected to a professional prohibition.*"<sup>18</sup>

The SThV additionally appealed to the Reich Chamber of Music: The "*State Theatre Administration supports the request for Rieger's continued retention, because his withdraw would lead to a serious gap which would cause great damage to the orchestra.*"<sup>19</sup> The special

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<sup>13</sup> "*(...) zur Aufrechterhaltung der künstlerischen Leistungsfähigkeit und damit des Ranges und Namens der Wiener Philharmoniker (...)*" Director Kerber to the SThV, October 21, 1938, AdR, Karton "Judenakte" 3399/38; Oliver Rathkolb. Dokumentensammlung "Wiener Philharmoniker", 1938 – 1947, unpublished, 7; Kerber's report to the SThV, October 21, 1938, AdR, Karton "Judenakte 1939-1940."

<sup>14</sup> Kerber's report to the SThV, October 21, 1938, AdR, Karton "Judenakte 1939-1940."

<sup>15</sup> "*Nun endlich auch ihrerseits die Zustimmung zu diesen Belassungen erteilt[e].*"

<sup>16</sup> "*Eine bezügliche Verfügung offiziell (...) erlassen.*" Writing of the directorate to the Reich Music Chamber (*Reichsmusikkammer*) in Berlin, December 27, 1939, AdR, State Opera Directorate 1263/39.

<sup>17</sup> "*Viola, vermutlich Mischling 1. Grades.*" Letter of the directorate to the Reich Music Chamber in Berlin, Vienna on January 30, 1940, AdR, State Opera Directorate, 1263/1939.

<sup>18</sup> "*Verbot der Berufsausübung (...) verbunden (war).*"

<sup>19</sup> "*Staatstheaterverwaltung befürwortet das Ansuchen um weiterverbleiben (sic!) Riegers, da sein Ausscheiden eine empfindliche Lücke hervorbringen würde, die dem Orchester grossen Schaden bringen würde.*" Letter of the SThV to the Reich Music Chamber Berlin, composed November 19, 1942, Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra Depot State Opera.

permit of Rieger's colleague, the cellist Richard Krotschak, who according to the Nazi jargon was considered "closely Jewish related" was "revoked" in 1942.<sup>20</sup>

There is also the possibility that up to 1942 his request was never authorized and that his continued retention in the orchestra – as with other colleagues – was simply silently accepted. Allegedly only an intervention of Karl Böhm, Wilhelm Furtwängler and Wilhelm Jerger could avert the renewed danger of Krotschak's exclusion from the Vienna Philharmonic and the Vienna State Opera Orchestra. This danger could be sustainably contained only after Krotschak and his wife could supply evidence that Mr. Krotschak was "Half-breed in the first degree" (*Mischling 1. Grades*). Now, Richard Krotschak could even apply for membership in the Reich Chamber of Culture as a precondition for 'free' exercise of his artistic profession.<sup>21</sup> In this context, questions arise about the 'Jewish' wives and the remaining family members of the retention candidates. To this day, outstanding questions concern their exemption of persecution and murder by the Nazis in the case of a special permit, or if, for example, they needed to wear Jewish badges<sup>22</sup> or were allowed to take up a profession. From April 1942 "Non-Jews" (*Nichtjuden*) married to "Jews" (*Juden*) were forced to move to Jewish residential areas. Except for the case of the cellist Richard Krotschak – his wife was classified as "First degree half-breed" and managed to survive the Nazi era<sup>23</sup> – it remains unclear in how far a special permit would have had an effect on the protection of the (private) life of the families or the Jewish wives.

### **Excluded from the Saving List for Continued Retention in the Orchestra – Arthur Schurig and Leopold Förderl**

The anti-Semitic motivated expulsion also served as an instrument to cast off undesired members. *"This number was further reduced to nine [candidates for continued retention in the*

<sup>20</sup> "Wieder entzogen". Wolfram Ziegler, Richard Krotschak (1904 – 1989) – Cellist und Pädagoge, in: Verein für Geschichte der Stadt Wien, Wiener Geschichtsblätter, 63. issue 2008, number 3, 14.

<sup>21</sup> Letter of Dr. Vollguth from the Department of Racial Policies (*Rassepolitiches Amt*) to the Reich Governor in Vienna from April 30, 1942, AdR, GA 97.704, Krotschak Richard, cit. *ibid.*, 18.

<sup>22</sup> On September 1, 1941 the police released an order concerning the "identification" of 'Jewish' people by means of a "Star of David" (*Judenstern*), and this order attained validity with October 19, 1941. Only very few exceptions to the duty of "wearing the star" (*Sterntragen*) were declared: "Those 'privileged' by marriage are not subject to the duty of identification (...). Exceptions are made for, a) Jewish husbands living in an mixed marriage, insofar as there are descendants from the marriage and these are not considered Jews, and also if the marriage no longer persists or the only son has died in the current war; b) for the Jewish wife in childless mixed marriage for the period of the marriage." ["*Der Kennzeichnungspflicht unterlagen nicht die über die Ehe ‚Privilegierten‘ (...). Ausgenommen seien ,a) in einer Mischehe lebende jüdische Ehegatten, sofern Abkömmlinge aus der Ehe vorhanden sind und diese nicht als Juden gelten, und zwar auch dann, wenn die Ehe nicht mehr besteht oder der einzige Sohn im gegenwärtigen Krieg gefallen ist; b) auf die jüdische Ehefrau bei kinderloser Mischehe während der Dauer der Ehe.*"] Cornelia Essner, Die „Nürnberger Gesetze“ oder die Verwaltung des Rassenwahns 1933–1945, Paderborn 2002, 270–274.

<sup>23</sup> Mrs. Krotschak managed to be saved by the classification as "First degree half-breed", which was effected in April 1942 by the "Department of Racial Policies" at the District Leader (*Gauleiter*). Richard Krotschak was able to remain professionally active. Writing of Dr. Vollguth of the Department of Racial Policies to the Reich Governor in Vienna from April 30, 1942, AdR, GA 97.704, Krotschak Richard, cit. based on Wolfram Ziegler, Richard Krotschak (1904 – 1989), (as in note 16), 18.



orchestra, author's note], because the directorate adhered to its request to retire Arthur SCHURIG. SCHURIG is not on Furtwängler's list."<sup>24</sup> The question why the musicians Arthur Schurig and Leopold Föderl, who both were classified as "fully Jewish related,"<sup>25</sup> were consequently factored out of the retention lists is not be fully clarified by the documents available to the author. It proceeds from the correspondence that in Föderl's case the initiative lay on the side of the State Opera Directorate<sup>26</sup>, in Schurig's case it was the resistance of the Reich Chamber of Music. It also becomes clear that both musicians struggled against this discrimination with great effort.

The answer to the question of possible political reasons for Schurig's exclusion from the orchestra increases the mystery. The two political assessments requested by the Gestapo on August 1, 1939, and January 23, 1940, establish Schurig's 'political soundness' (*politische Zuverlässigkeit*).<sup>27</sup> Just as little clarification of facts and circumstances is offered by the request for a special permit written personally by the disgraced Schurig to the "laudable Reich Chamber of Theatre in Berlin,"<sup>28</sup> dated November 13, 1939. The content of this letter concerns mainly biographic information, his career in the "old Reich" (*Altreich*), and his "impeccable" (*tadellos*) service at the State Opera. Schurig's request proved ineffective, and a corresponding note on Schurig's letter leaves no doubt that his retirement (December 31, 1939) was adhered to because of a telephone consultation with Valberg.<sup>29</sup> Another communication of the Reich Music Chamber in Berlin from October 2, 1942, addressed to the State Opera in Vienna, illustrates that Schurig was definitely not admitted to the Reich Music Chamber: "The request for admission into the Reich Music Chamber of this Jewish related, previous member of your orchestra had already been declined by binding ruling on July 8, 1940. (...) On the occasion of an inspection in the Vienna State Opera on September 29, 1942, it was ascertained that in spite of that he was employed in your orchestra."<sup>30</sup> Although he was banned from his profession, Schurig continued to be called on by the WPh for substitution services in accord with the SThV and the Reich Governor's Office of Vienna. In his appeal against the subsequently imposed fine of 500 *Reichsmark*, Schurig was supported by the

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<sup>24</sup> "Diese Zahl reduziert sich weiter auf 9 [Kandidaten für die 'Weiterbelassung' im Orchester, Anm. d. Verf.], da die Direktion an ihrem Antrag, den Philharmoniker Arthur SCHURIG zu pensionieren festhält. SCHURIG ist nicht auf der Liste Furtwänglers." October 21, 1938, emphasis in the original, AdR, Karton "Judenakte," 3.399/38.

<sup>25</sup> Report of Eckmann on June 21, 1938, attachment, AdR, SThV 2312/38.

<sup>26</sup> February 13, 1939, AdR, State Opera Directorate, 278/39, July 4, 1939, AdR, State Opera Directorate 881/39, February 8, 1940, AdR, State Opera Directorate 254/40.

<sup>27</sup> Artur Schurig, AdR, GA 97.520.

<sup>28</sup> "Löbliche[n] Reichstheaterkammer in Berlin."

<sup>29</sup> Request of Artur Schurig for a special permit, November 13, 1939, AdR, State Opera Directorate 1263/39.

<sup>30</sup> "Der Aufnahmeantrag in die Reichsmusikkammer dieses jüdisch versippten früheren Mitgliedes Ihres Orchesters ist durch rechtskräftige Entscheidung bereits am 8. Juli 1940 abgelehnt worden. (...) Anlässlich einer Kontrolle in der Wiener Staatsoper am 29. September 1942 wurde festgestellt, daß er trotzdem in Ihrem Orchester beschäftigt worden ist." The President of the Reich Music Chamber (substitute) to the General Manager (*Generalintendanten*) of the Vienna State Opera, Berlin, October 2, 1942, Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra Depot State Opera, personnel file Schurig.

SThV. It does not proceed from the sources whether he eventually paid the fine. What is clear though is that the WPh – especially in the person of Leopold Kainz, player's representative (*Betriebsobmann*) of the orchestra and member of the NSDAP since 1931 – supported Schurig's further involvement as timpanist and argued for this with artistic shortages, amongst others. As the pressure from Berlin became too strong, the State Opera gave in. On October 19, 1942 the State Opera Director, Ernst August Schneider, confirmed towards the Reich Music Chamber in Berlin, "*that Mr. Schurog (sic!) is no longer employed in the State Opera Orchestra.*"<sup>31</sup>

On June 21, 1938, **Leopold Förderl** was still treated as a possible candidate for "continued retention" on the level of the SThV, but on July 5, 1938, he was missing from the list of the Opera Directorate addressed to the SThV, which for the first time definitely determined the candidates for "special permits."<sup>32</sup> Förderl likewise does not appear on Furtwängler's list of August 20, 1938. It proceeds from a document of August 17, 1938, that Förderl "*currently carries out his duty in Salzburg.*"<sup>33</sup> He may therefore have performed regularly in the orchestra up to his "retirement" – i.e. up to his expulsion.

This obviously deliberate exclusion of Förderl on the part of the directorate and presumably also on the part of the orchestra might well have been a case of intrigue and mobbing. Förderl's directness in not being afraid to speak his mind and his liberal attitude obviously provoked great aversion towards him as a person. In Fall/Winter 1937 a massive conflict occurred between Förderl and the chairman (*Vorstand*) of the Vienna Philharmonic, Hugo Burghauser, in which were involved also the orchestra and even the conductor, Wilhelm Furtwängler. The quarrel escalated in the beginning of December 1937 and as a result Förderl was expelled from the Vienna Philharmonic for four months.<sup>34</sup>

Little information on the issue is gained from Förderl's official letters to the State Theatre Administration, in which he takes a stand on the inconsistencies involved in his dismissal and in which he opposes his compulsory retirement or later subsequent dismissal: "(...) *According to the letter of the State Theatre Administration from September 16, 1938 Zl.2782, I was*

<sup>31</sup> "*Dass Herr Schurog (sic!) nicht mehr im Verbands des Staatsopernorchesters beschäftigt wird.*" Letter Dr. Jarosch, Head Dramaturg (*Chefdramaturg*) of the State Opera to State Opera Director Ernst August Schneider, Vienna, October 9, 1942; Letter Dr. Jarosch to the Chief Advisor (*Generalreferent*) Walter Thomas, Vienna, November 30, 1942; Reich Music Chamber Berlin to Arthur Schurig, Berlin, October 2, 1942; Arthur Schurig to the Reich Music Chamber Berlin, Vienna, October 9, 1942, all mentioned sources in: Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra Depot State Opera, personnel file Schurig.

<sup>32</sup> "Regarding the assignment of those Jewish related" (*betr. Verwendung der jüdischen Versippten*), July 5, 1938, AdR, State Opera Directorate, 844-45/38.

<sup>33</sup> "*Zur Zeit in Salzburg seinen Dienst versieht.*" Report of August 17, 1938, AdR, SThV 2782/38.

<sup>34</sup> Letter of Leopold Förderl to Burghauser, dated December 14, 1937, (no.13), HAdWPh, correspondence Burghauser, B/40. In response to Förderl's threat, "*to put forward, as a supplement to the fine Philharmonic book [by Heinrich Kralik], a small chronique scandaleuse*", the plenum and the committee reacted by excluding Förderl from the association for a period of five months. WPh. *ibid.*; Clemens Hellsberg, *Demokratie der Könige, Die Geschichte der Wiener Philharmoniker*, Zürich 1992, 458.

transferred to lasting retirement with September 1, 1938. Since at that time and even today a significant number of Jewish half-breeds and Jewish related are active as members of the orchestra, it likely follows that artistic reasons were decisive in my transfer to lasting retirement. Now: as warrantor for my artistic qualification, I am able to name none other than University Professor Dr. Victor Junk, Vienna III., Hainburgerstrasse [sic!] 19, who is the responsible referent in public position of the NSDAP. (...)"<sup>35</sup> In his official, written statement, Förderl makes no mention, not even a word, of the previous conflict with Burghauser and the other people in the orchestra, but presumably it is exactly here where the motives for Förderl's final expulsion from the orchestra are to be found. Thus, a deeply inhuman legal order is made use of for the ability to dispose of a (politically) inconvenient colleague.<sup>36</sup>

### "Politically Unacceptable" – the Christian Social (*christsozial*) Hugo Burghauser

With respect to **Hugo Burghauser**, there were concrete political reasons that – beside his immediate removal from his office as chairman (*Vorstand*) – also endangered his stay in the orchestra. Burghauser, who was married to the – according to Nazi elocution – 'fully Jewish' ballet mistress of the opera, Margarethe Wallmann, stood on the often-quoted list of continued retention for the time being and – as he himself notes in his memoirs in 1979 – could for a limited time count on the protection by the opera director (*Operndirektor*) Kerber. His disapproval of National Socialism, his political affinity to Austrofacism, and his associated career in the Fatherland's Front (*Vaterländische Front*)<sup>37</sup> are indicative of the fact that political reasons had brought Burghauser into a serious situation. Burghauser's assessment that his situation became increasingly threatening, that the atmosphere in the orchestra towards him was (subliminally) aggressive, and that his "immunity" (*Immunität*) in the orchestra was of limited duration is confirmed by another document. In mid-July 1938 director Kerber received a written complaint composed by Dr. Albert Reitter, the Deputy State Governor (*Landesstatthalter*) of Salzburg, which leaves no doubt about the fact that Burghauser stood

<sup>35</sup> "(...) Ich wurde laut Schreiben der Staatstheaterverwaltung vom 16. September 1938, Zl.2782 mit 1. September 1938 in den dauernden Ruhestand versetzt. Nachdem sowohl zu diesem Zeitpunkt als auch heute noch eine bedeutende Anzahl jüdischer Mischlinge und jüdisch Versippter als Orchestermitglieder aktiv im Dienst sind, ergibt sich der logische Schluß, dass für meine Versetzung in den dauernden Ruhestand wohl künstlerische Gründe maßgebend waren. Nun: als Bürgen für meine künstlerischen Befähigungen kann ich Ihnen keinen Geringeren als den in öffentlicher Stellung der NSDAP verantwortlichen Referenten, Herrn Universitätsprofessor Dr. Victor Junk, Wien III., Hainburgerstrasse [sic!] 19, namhaft machen. (...)" Letter of Förderl to the SThV, Vienna, December 2, 1938, AdR, SThV 4093/38.

<sup>36</sup> For details on the conflicts between Förderl and Burghauser in Fall/Winter 1937, see the available portrait of Leopold Förderl, homepage WPh.

<sup>37</sup> Burghauser was "appointed Chairman of the 'Musicians Ring' within the Corporate Union" ("*Vorsitzenden des 'Musiker-Rings' innerhalb der ständischen Gewerkschaft ernannt*") by the Ministry of Education (*Unterrichtsministerium*) from 1934-1938. In 1935 he was additionally appointed Expert Witness (*Sachverständiger*) for Music at the Vienna State Court (*Wiener Landesgericht*). Hugo Burghauser, *Philharmonische Begegnungen. Erinnerungen eines Wiener Philharmonikers*, Zürich 1997, 101, 121; Otto Strasser, *Und dafür wird man noch bezahlt. Mein Leben mit den Wiener Philharmonikern*, Wien 1974, 154; See also Burghauser's résumé, attachment to Burghauser's letter to the State Opera on June 20, 1938, AdR, State Opera Directorate 498/39.



on the Nazi's 'hit list' and had to be seriously concerned about his safety. *"To my surprise I see Mr. Burghauser performing with the Philharmonic Orchestra as part of the festival. This person is politically unacceptable and thus I request to arrange the necessary [steps]. Heil Hitler!"*<sup>38</sup>

Burghauser struggled against this threat and from April 1938 onward tried to fight a case for divorce of his 'Jewish' spouse who had already escaped to Buenos Aires by resorting to anti-Semitic 'reasoning'. He accused his wife and her family of deception concerning her "ancestral relations" (*Abstammungsverhältnis*).<sup>39</sup> In this respect, it has to be added that adapting to the 'language' of the Nazis was an essential survival strategy for victims of the regime, be it as a diversion – which might have been the case with Burghauser, namely Burghauser as 'political person' – be it to render more bearable the discriminations and prevent a deterioration of the situation, or be it not to jeopardize the already precarious escape plans by risking an arrest.

#### **"Concerns: Proof of Aryan Ancestry" – Ricardo Odnoposoff**

*"Consider it as a developmental step to assist those in your organization to acquire the necessary 'Proof of Aryan Descent.' Make sure that the attention of every compatriot (Volksgenosse) who turns to you for advice is directed towards our office, because not everyone is aware of the fact that there has been an office for Foreign Genealogy Research (Auslandssippenforschung) ever since the upheaval (Umbruch)."*<sup>40</sup>

Starting with early summer 1938, foreign artists also were affected by "racial-biological cleansings" (*rasenbiologischen Säuberungen*), as was the case with the concertmaster and violin virtuoso Ricardo Odnoposoff. Odnoposoff, a descendant of Argentina, was a member of the Vienna State Opera Orchestra and Vienna Philharmonic from 1934 to 1938. His father's family originally stemmed from Russia, which meant additional harassment for Odnoposoff in the already tedious and degrading procedure of the acquisition of the "Proof of Aryan Descent." Odnoposoff's status as foreigner is only a peripheral issue in the extensive correspondence of the SThV and the Opera Directorate. Intense pressure was primarily put on him for providing "Proof of Aryan Descent." In an interview in 1996, Odnoposoff recounts that he was summoned by the Gestapo who made it clear to him that his security was of

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<sup>38</sup> *"Zu meinem Erstaunen sehe ich, dass Herr Burghauser im Rahmen der Festspiele bei den Philharmonikern mitwirkt. Der Genannte ist politisch untragbar, ich bitte daher, das Erforderliche zu veranlassen. Heil Hitler!"* The Deputy State Governor (*Landesstatthalter*) in Salzburg to Salzburg Festspielhausgemeinde, z.H. Herrn Dr. Erwin Kerber, Salzburg, July 14, 1938, AdR, Karton "Judenakte 1939 – 1940," Bundestheater Administrationsakten.

<sup>39</sup> Vienna, August 9, 1938, AdR, State Opera Directorate 498/39; September 22, 1938, ÖBThV, 3322/38.

<sup>40</sup> *"Betrachten Sie es als ein Stück Aufbauarbeit, wenn Sie Ihrer Gefolgschaft dazu verhelfen, daß jeder in den Besitze des so notwendigen ‚Ariernachweise‘ gelangt. Tragen Sie dazu bei, daß jeder Volksgenosse auf unsere Stelle aufmerksam gemacht wird, der sich um Rat an Sie wendet, denn nicht jeder weiss, daß es schon seit dem Umbruch eine Stelle für Auslandssippenforschung gibt."* AdR, ÖSThV 3141/38, Foreign Genealogy Research (*Auslandssippenforschung*) (Leader Pg. Ludwig Adamus) to the *Betriebsführer*, received by the SThV September 14, 1938.

limited duration. In this interview, Odnoposoff does not comment on his efforts to procure the documents necessary for "Proof of Ancestry" (*Ahnenpass*) from Russia, which could have practically been viewed as a strategic attempt at diversion in order to gain time and self-protection.<sup>41</sup>

### **Intimidation and Hostility towards Those with "Continued Retention" in the Orchestra**

The 'privilege' of "continued retention" in the orchestra neither granted the declassified members an existence in the orchestra with equal rights, nor did it guarantee security and stability. The threatening pattern of everyday life in the professional surroundings of these ostracized musicians is expressed by the grandson of the expelled musician Berthold Salander in an interview with the author: His orchestral colleague Rudolf Jettel, who was in possession of a special permit, "*did not speak much about this time,*" but "*what he had to say was very negative, what he said about his colleagues should not be put in print. (...) Jettel himself told me that it was suggested to him to divorce the 'Jewish pig' (Saujüdin), otherwise he would be sent to the concentration camp with her.*"<sup>42</sup>

The Nazi monitoring bodies had in their sights those orchestral musicians placed on the list of "special permits." Thus, the "overall assessment of the district leader" (*Gesamturteil des Kreisleiter*) from July 1, 1939, concerning Josef Hadraba, states: "*The person inquired about is married to a Jew and currently rated indifferent. The very same person therefore seems sustainable only with greatest caution.*"<sup>43</sup> There are different "assessments" also in the case of the principal cellist Richard Krotschak<sup>44</sup>, Particularly in connection with his 'Jewish' wife, Krotschak was under political surveillance again and again; a remark of his wife critical of the regime uttered in a grocery store, for example, was cited word for word in the regional files (*Gauakten*), and again and again great mistrust was expressed toward the married couple Krotschak. Their files were requested by various agencies (*Sicherheitsdienst des Reichsführers-SS, NSDAP-Gauleitung Wien, Rassenpolitisches Amt, Gauamt für Sippenforschung*). The regional files ascribed "political unreliability" (*politische Unzuverlässigkeit*) as well as a lack of political interest to the musician Gottfried von Freiberg.<sup>45</sup> A similar case was the political assessment of the violin player Theodor Hess. According to the Leader of the District Office

<sup>41</sup> R. Odnoposoff, because of his Jewish roots, had good reasons to flee from "Austria". Gdal Saleski, *Famous Musicians of Jewish Origin*, NY 1949, 384-385; Stengel/Gerigk, *Lexikon der Juden in der Musik. 1940/1941*; Burhard Laugwitz, *Ein sehr starker Geiger in Wien*. Ricardo Odnoposoff, interview, in: *Das Orchester. Zeitschrift für Orchesterkultur und Rundfunk-Chorwesen* 9 (1996), 21; ÖBThV, 3322/38, September 27, 1938.

<sup>42</sup> "*Nicht viel über diese Zeit gesprochen*", allerdings „*was er gesagt hat, war sehr negativ, was er von seinen Kollegen gesagt hat, kann man nicht drucken. (...) Jettel hat mir selber gesagt, man hat ihm (...) nahegelegt, er soll sich von der 'Saujüdin' scheiden lassen, sonst würde man ihn mit ihr zusammen in KZ schicken.*" Interview of Bernadette Mayrhofer with Roger Salander, May 30, 2005.

<sup>43</sup> "*Der Angefragte ist mit einer Jüdin verheiratet und dzt. indifferent eingestellt. Derselbe erscheint daher nur mit allergrösster [sic!] Vorsicht tragbar.*" AdR, Regional Personal Department of the district Vienna, GA 97.564, Hadraba, Josef.

<sup>44</sup> AdR, GA 97.704, Krotschak, Richard.

<sup>45</sup> AdR, GA 97.620, Von Freiberg, Gottfried.



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(Kreisamtsleiter), Alois Barnet, Freiberg was "*Indifferent towards political issues. Politically and in terms of character not free from faults.*"<sup>46</sup> The leader of the Regional Group (Ortsgruppenleiter) Laimgrube attested him disinterest "*for the movement,*" "*no dedication and sacrifice*" and political unreliability.<sup>47</sup> These above cited political assessments of those musicians designated for special permits illustrate how real the threat and how intense the political pressure was under which they permanently stood.

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Translation: Dennis Johnson

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<sup>46</sup> AdR, GA 97.603, Hess, Theodor.

<sup>47</sup> "*An der Bewegung*," "*keinen Opferwillen*" AdR, GA 97.603, Hess, Theodor.