## **APPENDICES TO PART 2**

## A. THE WERTHEIMER HANUKKAH LAMP, BERNHARD PURIN



Figure 30: Hanukkah Lamp / Hanukkah Halberstadt, 1713; Silver, parcel gilt; Maker: Thomas Tübner H: 24; W: 30.7; D: 8 cm Courtesy of Dr. David and Jemima Jeselsohn, Switzerland

The history of ownership over several generations can be established for few Judaica objects. Undoubtedly, this lamp, which became the property of Austrian court factor Samson Wertheimer (1658-1724) in 1713 shortly after its creation, counts among them. Moreover, its history reveals much about Jewish family networks that stretch far beyond the era of the court factors. 690 At the same time, it is an example of Judaica that disappeared following looting during the Shoah but the history of which could be reconstructed decades later. This Hanukkah lamp is part of a small group of very similar lamps that were manufactured around 1710-1715 in the workshop of the Halberstadt silversmith Thomas Tubner. Apart from this example three others have been preserved in the Jewish Museum New York and in the Israel Museum. 691 In the center of its backplate, which is divided into three parts, is the depiction of a Hanukkah lamp based on the Temple menorah, flanked by two

mermaids bearing crossbows and two columns crowned with flowers. The lamp is topped by an Austrian double-headed eagle. This double-headed eagle was probably added only after the acquisition of the lamp by Samson Wertheimer. It is of lesser quality than the other parts of the lamp, and unlike other mounted elements, it is not assembled with screws but with rivets. Its later addition might be connected to the privilege that Emperor Charles VI granted Samson Wertheimer to use the imperial coat of arms. <sup>692</sup> The mermaids can be interpreted as the zodiac sign of Sagittarius, which can be frequently found on Judaica objects. <sup>693</sup> Wertheimer was not born under this sign, but in Jewish tradition Sagittarius stands for the month of Kislev, in which the Hanukkah celebration takes place. To the left, the Hanukkah song "Hanerot Halalu" (We light these lights), sung during the candle lighting ceremony, is engraved in Hebrew in an arc-shaped field crowned with shells. In front of the column on the far left is the sculpted figure of a Maccabean holding in his left hand the movable shamash, the extra light used to light the candles. Three of the four figures are probably recent recasts as there was only one figure on the lamp in a photograph published in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>690</sup> Subsequent information on ownership until 1929 is based on a letter from Michael Berolzheimer to Theodor Harburger of February 19, 1929 (Leo Baeck Institute, New York,

Michael Berolzheimer Collection [AR 4136], Series F sub dato) as well as on: Bernhard Purin, Samsons Leuchter. Ein Chanukka-Leuchter aus dem Besitz der Familie Wertheimer, Munich 2013.

<sup>691</sup> Susan L. Braunstein, Five Centuries of Hanukkah Lamps from the Jewish Museum: A Catalogue Raisonné, New Haven – London 2005, cat. nos. 14 and 163. As well as: The Jewish World: 365 Days – From the Collections of the Israel Museum, Jerusalem 2004, p. 670f, (erroneously described here as Leipzig 1799).

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>692</sup> Battenberg, J. Friedrich, "'... Gleich anderen dero Diener einen Degen zu tragen...': Reflexionen zum sozialen Rang der Hofjudenschaft in vormoderner Zeit," Aschkenas: Zeitschrift fur Geschichte und Kultur der Juden 13/1 (2003), p. 101.
 <sup>693</sup> Iris Fishof, Written in the Stars: Art and Symbolism of the Zodiac, Jerusalem 2001, pp. 130-131.

1931.<sup>694</sup> The structure of the left side is reflected in the right part of the backplate. In the field, the Hebrew blessing is engraved that is spoken when the candles are lighted. Four lions with a breast shield support the lamp's base. The eight bowl-shaped individual candlesticks are surrounded by a ribbon with floral ornamentation. Probably shortly after its creation in 1713, the lamp came into the ownership of Samson Wertheimer. The circumstances of the acquisition remain unclear; however, it might have been a gift from the Halberstadt court Jew Issachar Behrend Lehmann (1661-1730).<sup>695</sup> Wertheimer was chief rabbi of the Jews of Hungary and Moravia as well as rabbi of the then important Jewish Community Eisenstadt/Kismarton, at the time western Hungary, today capital of the Austrian federal state of Burgenland. He was active as a financier of various European courts and as shtadlan, intercessor, for the Central-European Jews at the imperial courts of Leopold I and Charles VI. 696

After Wertheimer's death in 1724, the lamp went to his son Wolf Simon Wertheimer (1681-1765), who besides his residence in Vienna also owned a residence in Munich as he was the, albeit unlucky, financier of the Bavarian court.<sup>697</sup> After his death, his grandson Josef Wertheimer, who had settled in Bayreuth, inherited the lamp and in turn bequeathed it to his son Philipp (around 1747-1810) who also lived in Bayreuth. The latter's wife, Ella Esther Fränkel (1751-1817), was a direct descendant of the same Bermann Fränkel (around 1645-1708) who, in the wake of the expulsion of the Viennese Jews in 1670, had brought the Viennese Memorbuch to the Klaus-Synagogue in Fürth. 698

After the death of Philipp Wertheimer, the lamp reached Regensburg together with his daughter Reha (around 1776-1834) who was married there to Löb Gleisdorfer (1770-1835). These court Jews' family networks continued also throughout the 19th century through the couple's daughters: Mathilde (1801-1877) was married to Wolf Raphael Kaulla (1800-1860) in Munich, a grandson of the legendary Chaile "Madame" Kaulla (1739-1809) from Hechingen. The latter's sister, Nanette Kaula (1812-1876), was portrayed for the Gallery of Beauties of the Bayarian King Ludwig I and married the banker Salomon Heine (1803-1863). With Sophie (1810 -1862), the second daughter of Reha and Samuel Löb Gleisdorfer, who married Dr. Hermann Cohen (d. 1869), the lamp arrived in Hanover around 1835. Their daughter Ella (1843-1912) was married there to the architect Edwin Oppler (1831-1880), who designed, among other things, the synagogues of Hanover and Hamelin. In the following generation, the lamp passed to the lawyer and notary Sigmund Oppler (1873-1942) in Hanover.

When in the late 1920s, Dr. Michael Berolzheimer (1866-1942), a lawyer and researcher of family history born in Furth and living in Untergrainau near Garmisch, investigated his own family history, which is closely linked to that of the Wertheimers, he got in touch with his distant relative Sigmund Oppler, who mentioned the lamp in his possession, which according to family lore went back to Samson Wertheimer. In a 1929 letter to the Munich art historian Theodor Harburger (1887-1949), Berolzheimer called his attention to this Hanukkah lamp and reported that he had received from the family a photograph of it and the permission to publish the photograph; he inquired whether Harburger would be interested in publishing an article about the object. <sup>699</sup> By then, Berolzheimer had already compiled a genealogy of the Oppler family that confirmed

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>694</sup> Elisabeth Moses, Judische Kunstund Kulturdenkmäler in den Rheinlanden, Dusseldorf 1931, p. 161.

<sup>695</sup> Cf.: Notes on this group of lamps and on the gift-giving practice among Jewish court factors in Vivian B. Mann, "A Court Jew's Silver Cup," Metropolitan Museum Journal, vol. 43 (2008), p. 31-140, p. 137-138. The assumption already held by Berolzheimer and adopted by Mann that this could be a gift from Lehmann to Wertheimer on the occasion of the coronation of Emperor Charles VI in December 1711 can, however, not be sustained by the date letter for 1713 (cf. fn. 1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>696</sup> Vivian B. Mann, Richard I. Cohen, From Court Jews to the Rothschilds, New York 1997, cat. no. 129.

<sup>697</sup> Bernhard Purin, "Juden als geduldete Geldgeber im 18. Jahrhundert," idem (ed), Stadt ohne Juden. Die Nachtseite der Münchner Stadtgeschichte, Munich 2008, p. 30f.

<sup>698</sup> Bernhard Purin, "Wiener Memorbuch der Früher Klaus-Synagoge," Bernhard Purin (ed.), Buch der Erinnerung. Das Wiener Memorbuch der Früher Klaus-Synagoge, Fürth 1999, pp. 47-54.

<sup>699</sup> Letter from Michael Berolzheimer to Theodor Harburger, January 23, 1929, Leo Baeck Institute, New York, Michael Berolzheimer Collection (AR 4136), Series F sub dato.

Samson Wertheimer as a direct ancestor. This genealogical research made it not only possible to reconstruct in 1929 an unbroken ownership history of the lamp: More than eighty years later, this work would become critical for the resolution of a case of looted art. During the Nazi period, part of the family managed to emigrate to the USA; Sigmund Oppler and his wife Lily failed to continue their journey from Amsterdam, their place of exile, to the USA. Ahead of their imminent deportation, they committed suicide in Amsterdam in September 1942. The committed suicide in Amsterdam in September 1942.

There is no trace of the lamp in the wake of 1938. Whether it was confiscated as "Jews' silver" or taken from the family in any other way can no longer be determined.

Yet, in the 1950s, it arrived together with 37 other Judaica objects at the New York Central Synagogue as a gift from Morris Troper (1892-1963). Morris Troper, a lawyer in New York, had been involved with the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) since the 1920s and became its European representative. It remains unclear how the Wertheimer-Oppler Hanukkah lamp came into his possession. When in 2006, the Central Synagogue took the lamp to a Judaica auction in New York, to could be identified as belonging to the Oppler family thanks to the documents in the estate of Michael Berolzheimer. The lamp was withdrawn from the auction and restituted in 2007 to the Oppler heirs in Washington DC. They in turn again brought it to a Sotheby's Judaica auction in 2010; from there it entered the Dr. David and Jemima Jeselsohn Collection, Switzerland.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>700</sup> The ancestral line can be found in a letter from Michael Berolzheimer to Theodor Harburger, February 19, 1929, Leo Baeck Institute, New York, Michael Berolzheimer Collection (AR 4136), Series F sub dato.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>701</sup> Cf. http://www.joodsmonument. nl/page/559930 (retrieved February 18, 2014).

<sup>702 &</sup>quot;War and Remembrance," The New York Times, 7 February 1997.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>703</sup> American Jewish Year Book, vol. 65 (1964), p. 438.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>704</sup> Sotheby's New York, *Important Judaica*, December 13, 2006, Lot 53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>705</sup> Sotheby's New York, *Important Judaica*, December 15, 2010, Lot 26. S. See also Bernhard Purin, "Im Zeichen des Schutzen. Ein Chanukka-Leuchter aus Halberstadt bei Sotheby's, New York," *Kunst und Auktionen*, 38/23 (3 December 010), pp. 5-6.

## B. THE GRUNWALD PAROCHET, FELICITAS HEIMAN-JELLINEK

How many characteristics or dimensions can an object contain? In how many different ways can we define an object? How many of its contexts past and present are we able and prepared to discover? Are we able to recognize a historical object in all its momentousness?

The relevance of these questions will be demonstrated with an object purchased by the Jewish Museum Vienna. This is about a Parokhet, a Torah curtain of Viennese provenance. The dimensions immanent in this curtain are of the most varied as well as complex nature.

First of all, there is the material dimension: this is a well-preserved textile of remarkable dimensions. Velvet is the chosen material; the restrained decoration is executed in couching and laid work. For a Judaica object, the curtain is rather modern, after all, the appliquéd golden embroidery cautiously, yet perceptibly reflects the Art Deco style. The rear lining material is made from cotton. Metal rings sewn on top make it possible to hang it on a round rod.

As already the name implies, a Torah curtain's place is in front of the Torah ark, meaning that its functional place is in the synagogue or in the private prayer house. However, the symbolic content of a Torah curtain points far beyond the individual synagogue, since its use in the Ashkenazi realm is derived from the curtain in front of the Holy of Holies in the Temple in Jerusalem. After the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem, the most important destroyed or looted symbols were transposed to the developing synagogues to highlight that the loss of the central sanctuary would not mean the loss of its most essential content – i.e., God's word - and that religious services were not bound to any single place. Now, in one and the same synagogue, various curtains are used in the course of a year since individual pieces are hung only on very specific occasions.

The Torah curtain described here is deliberately made from light cream-colored velvet and displays two embroidered Shofar horns in the upper center, which points to its specific religious application: This is a curtain that is used on one of the highest Jewish holidays, namely, on Rosh Hashanah, the New Year. Thanks to the Hebrew endowment inscription, we know that this curtain was dedicated on the occasion of a specific New Year holiday, namely, of the year 5682, which corresponds to October 3, 1921 according to the civil calendar.

This brings us to the historical dimension of the curtain. The endowment inscription attributes it to the Leopoldstädter Tempel. The notion to build—after the Stadttempel (City Temple) on Seitenstettengasse, inaugurated in 1928—a second prayer house for the Viennese community had become compelling as a result of the altered demographic situation in the wake of the Revolution of 1848. Already in late 1849, there was consensus among the community's functionaries—then still "representatives"—that new synagogue space had to be created. Yet, they were divided over the choice of location. It was the later ennobled Heinrich Sichrowsky who through his purchase of the plot on former Wällischgasse 569 destined the Leopoldstadt to become the seat of a new prayer house. The location was an unfortunate choice not just in the eyes of several community representatives: The imperial-royal police authority, too, who in 1852 had been asked for permission to build a second prayer house, openly expressed its fear of an increasing "Judaization" of Vienna and of the Leopoldstadt district in particular. In its report of October 31 of that year, the request was commented on as follows: "...naturally, it must be feared that the establishment of a new large prayer house will have a special pull for new immigrants to the imperial city; and more particularly, the Leopoldstadt district, where baptisms and other Christian rites are significantly decreasing as

it is, will attract the old name 'Jew town'." With unconcealed regret, however, the letter further stated that one could hardly decline the request any longer in view of the meanwhile effected official recognition of Viennese Jewry: "... yet, if unrestricted toleration of the Israelites is to continue in this place, it is consequently impossible to deny them the requisite opportunity to exercise their religion. "707 The ministry for religious affairs, as represented by Count Thun, was much more favorably inclined in this matter than the police, yet it had to leave the decision to the emperor himself. This was because the chief of the Supreme Police Authority was able to demand "to adjourn all further decisions until the question of the Israelites' property and domicile capacity has been resolved."<sup>708</sup> In October 1853, the property capacity of Jews had been restored to the status of January 1848. However, the emperor was gracious and permitted as of May 2, 1854 construction of the temple in Leopoldstadt. The house of God, designed by the renowned architect Ludwig Förster, was inaugurated on May 18, 1858.<sup>709</sup> The designated preacher, Adolf Jellinek, eventually second chief rabbi of Vienna and founder of the Viennese Bet Hamidrash, took up his office that day. Viennese Jewry was proud of its Leopoldstädter Tempel and demonstrated its pride openly. In contrast to the Stadttempel, which still had to hide behind an inconspicuous row of houses as a result of the restrictive regulations, the Leopoldstädter Tempel was an evident sign of Jewish existence in Vienna. All the harder thus were Viennese Jews hit by what the dedication inscription on the Torah curtain further reveals. The Parokhet had been endowed by the "committee for the restoration of the Leopoldstädter Tempel." By "restoration" was meant the reconstruction of the left wing of the synagogue, where on August 17, 1917 a fire had erupted after a morning service for Jewish soldiers on the occasion of the birthday of Emperor Charles I. "Like a bird whose nest was robbed, our soul is mourning," moaned then rabbi of the Leopoldstädter Tempel, Dr. Max Grunwald. "The feast for our eyes is a smoking heap of rubble! Our pride, a tangle of charred wood, molten metal, bent iron rods!" Only after the war ended did it become possible to start raising funds for reconstruction, which was only completed as late as in summer 1921. When as of October 1921—in time for the Jewish New Year 5682—the operating permit for the renovated temple was issued by the authorities, the Parokhet was donated as well.

Naturally, the curtain was dedicated, first and foremost, to "the honor of the Torah," but beyond this also, as it says, "to our teacher and rabbi, Meir, son of Rav Abraham Grunwald," which brings the personal dimension of this textile object to the fore.

The already mentioned Max Meir Grunwald had been called from Hamburg to Vienna in 1903 as rabbi, initially to the synagogue in Vienna-Fünfhaus (15th district), then to the Leopoldstädter Tempel. Grunwald was married to the daughter of the combative Floridsdorf Rabbi Joseph Samuel Bloch, <sup>711</sup> who publicly exposed as preposterous the antisemitic concoctions both of the Prague theologian August Rohling as well as those of the Viennese priest Deckert. Margarete Grunwald née Bloch significantly supported her husband in his tireless and sweeping charitable efforts that grew beyond all measure especially in the wake of World War I. Their daughter Hilde, in turn, married Leon Kolb, art collector and chronicler of the Viennese Jewish

<sup>706</sup> Quoted from: "Aus der Geschichte des Leopoldstädter Tempels," Dr. Bloch's Oesterreichische Wochenschrift, vol. XXXIV, no. 33 (August 14, 1917), p. 535.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>707</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>708</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>709</sup> For details see: Ruth Burstyn, "Die Geschichte des Leopoldstädter Tempels in Wien – 1858-1938," *Kairos* 28 (3-4), 1986, pp. 228-249

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>710</sup> Max Grunwald, Unserem Tempel!, in: note 429,p. 533.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>711</sup> Christoph Daxelmüller, "Dr. Max Meir Grunwald, Rabbiner, Volkskundler, Vergessener," Bernhard Purin (ed.), Wiener Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte, Kultur und Museumswesen, vol. 1, (Vienna 1994/95), p. 94.

Museum.<sup>712</sup> Thus, the cultural-historical relevance of the curtain becomes now comprehensible in another dimension as well.

Max Grunwald's connections to the Viennese Jewish Museum were longstanding and close; after all, he was founder of the "Society for Jewish Folklore" whose organ, Newsletter for Jewish Folklore, he published from its establishment in 1897 until 1922 and also largely penned himself. Until 1925, the Newsletter was followed by the Yearbooks for Jewish Folklore for another three years. Apart from that, he published numerous studies in the field of Jewish history and folklore. Special significance in connection with the Viennese Jewish Museum can be attributed to his Hygiene of the Jews, which appeared in 1912. Grunwald had drafted for the 1911 Internal Hygiene Exhibition in Dresden the—not undisputed—concept for the Jewish section. Realization of the project had only been possible in cooperation with the Viennese Museum that extended considerable support conceptually and financially, as well as the objects to be exhibited. The exhibition's success turned out to be unexpectedly great: Overnight Grunwald became internationally renowned and recognized in professional circles—and with him the Viennese Jewish Museum. Several exhibits from this hygiene exhibition, including specially prepared models, have survived National Socialist confiscation in 1938 and are today at the Jewish Museum Vienna. Thus, we have reached the contemporary historical dimension of the curtain.

On the morning of November 10, 1938, the Leopoldstädter Tempel burned down completely. As with all other synagogues (with the exception of the Stadttempel on Seitenstettengasse), a raiding squad of the Verfügungstruppe (SS Special Purpose Troops) had thrown hand grenades. Twenty-one years earlier, Grunwald had expressed his satisfaction that city and government representatives had visited him in the wake of the fire of 1917 to demonstrate their sympathy. Deeply moved, he reminded that the cornerstones of both the Leopoldstädter Tempel and the Votive Church had been brought from Jerusalem by the first "secretary" of the Jewish Community, Ludwig August Frankl: "Adversity builds many a bridge. Does anybody remember that this temple of the Jews is standing on Viennese soil as an appeal to reconciliation? That the cornerstone of this emblem of a golden age long vanished since is hewn off one and the same piece as the stone placed into the ground beneath the Votive Church? That both originate from the Mount of Olives, both were shaped then and there by the same Jewish artist and were brought by the same Jewish envoy from the Holy City to Vienna?<sup>714</sup> Vienna, too, mourns with our soul!"<sup>715</sup> In 1938, Max Grunwald had to escape to Jerusalem where he lived until his death in 1953. Of the Leopoldstädter Tempel remained only the northern wing of the building. Cult objects also survived partially; today they are at the Jewish Museum Vienna. They were transferred to the Museum on permanent loan by the Jewish Community Vienna (IKG), which had been able to save a major part of the synagogal objects ahead of the pogrom of November 9 and (mostly) 10. No satisfactory explanation has been found to date for the fact that individual objects such as this Parokhet were not in the holdings when transferred but appeared bit by bit on the market. Here the issue of provenance research arises in the sense of questioning the ways the object went from the Leopoldstädter Temple to the market.

Finally, with the acquisition of such an item, the issue of its economic dimension arises as well. It should be pointed out, though, that with the acquisition of an object, its economic aspect is by no means exhausted: It must be insured, inventoried, restored, exhibited, stored, and preserved. Therefore it entails follow-up costs

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>712</sup> Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>713</sup> Ibid, 102.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>714</sup> For a revised view on this account see: *Gerhard Milchram*, "Jerusalem 1856. Ludwig August Frankl und die Gründung der Lämel-Schule," Hanno Loewy, Hannes Sulzenbacher (ed.), *Endstation Sehnsucht. Eine Reise durch Jeruschalajim – Jerusalem – Al Quds*, Berlin 2015, p. 127.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>715</sup> Max Grunwald, Unserem Tempel!, in: note 429, p. 534.

that are more or less calculable depending on its properties and condition. Yet the primary question always is what one buys for what reason and for what price. Moralizing about the dynamics of the market system in which we have to operate would be, in this context, out of touch with reality. All one can do is asking oneself rather pragmatically how much is history "worth?". And if one determines that it is worth the price demanded, then one has not only "brought home" a piece of history but also removed the object from the market and from speculation.

The seventy-year young Parokhet has told a long story that shows that a ceremonial object must not be just "another object" in a museum's or collection's holdings. The story is meant to make clear that an historical object does not necessarily have to be a mere illustration of an event or a situation. History provides the object with a "character" of its own. The latter becomes apparent only after closer examination of its material, functional, spiritual, historical, personal, and economic essence. Only after capturing these individual dimensions does this object become nearly whole and thus a museum piece in the sense of an object that should be preserved for the future also because it is meaningful. An object is meaningful that does not get neutralized716 in the museum but positioned - an object for which clear positions are assumed precisely through the deliberate disclosure of as many of its inherent dimensions as possible. To be sure, complete access to an object will be hardly possible because its "seat in life" is in history, in a specific situation of the past that was determined by specific people of the past. Hence, its context cannot be reconstructed to the last detail. Nonetheless, an object need not simply be a messenger from the past that transmits the message to the recipient, only to then retire back into the past. And the message should not be reduced to its ostensible content - rather it wants to be read also in-between the lines and wants its codes deciphered. And finally, the recipient, i.e. today's viewer, must render himself account whether he wishes to accept the messenger's message altogether or whether it is to be sent back into oblivion—with the comment "recipient unknown", because today's owner and/or viewer is not interested in the message anymore.

Uncovering the different layers of the curtain and reconstructing a complex history by its inscription are not enough to establish the concrete provenance of an object. Further questions are not answered and should be examined during next steps:

As this object stems from a Viennese synagogue, it has to be clarified if the curtain was part of the amassed holdings of Viennese synagogues and prayer houses extant after the pogrom of November 1938 and stored away by the Israelitische Kultusgemeinde, the Jewish community (IKG). Verification of this is nearly impossible as no lists of the rescued objects were made.

A possible step is to turn to the Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People (CAHJP),<sup>717</sup> in Jerusalem, established in 1939. They hold the archives of hundreds of Jewish communities, of Jewish organizations and of the private collections of many individuals. You may search their holdings choosing a "Collection Type", a "Country" and a "Search Term". As for the "Collection Type" there are the options "Communities", "Private Collections" and "Organizations". As in the present case we are dealing with Austria, we are choosing this country, the collection type "communities", and "Vienna" as search item because the Parokhet was dedicated – as we have reconstructed above - there. You will come up with two hits and choose "Inventories of the Jewish Community of Vienna, Part I (1626-1938)". In these files you will find under "VI. D. 4" (Kultus und rituelle Angelegenheiten/Bethausverwaltung/Verzeichnisse der

717 http://cahjp.nli.org.il

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>716</sup> Already in 1953, Adorno deplored that museums pursued "the neutralization of culture." Comp. Theodor W. Adorno, *Gesammelte Schriften*, Rolf Tiedemann (ed.), vol. 10/1, Frankfurt/Main 1997, p. 188.

Bethäuser; Inventare) a list of Viennese synagogues and inventories.<sup>718</sup> It is likely that the inventories are very cursory but one might find a lead.

Another search option is to use our knowledge about the history of Max Grunwald and the parokhet dedicated to him. Choose as a collection type the private ones and for the search term his name. You will see that an estate of Max Grunwald forms part of the holdings: "Nachlass Rabbiner Max Grunwald - P 97". From the material listed it would sound promising to go through his autobiography, which exists only as a manuscript: "Achtzig Jahre meines Lebens". 720 It might well be here that a hint to the curtain and its destiny may be found.<sup>721</sup>

<sup>718</sup> http://cahip.nli.org.il/webfm\_send/589: Nos.: 933-936, p. 102.

<sup>719</sup> http://cahip.nli.org.il/webfm\_send/675
720 http://cahip.nli.org.il/content/grunwald-max: record number: P 97, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>721</sup> To explore the community files as well as the individual files you must visit the archive.