# Joshua Hagen

## Reflections on German Culture and *Leitkultur* in Rothenburg ob der Tauber

**Background:**
B.A. in Political Science and Geography, University of Northern Iowa (1997); M.S. in Geography, University of Wisconsin-Madison (1998)

**Project:**
Historical Preservation and Tourism in Rothenburg ob der Tauber

**Currently:**
Ph.D. Candidate in Geography, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Having only recently returned from living in Germany as a part of the Humboldt Foundation's Buka program, the task of writing down all of my 'reflections' from the last year seems a little premature. I am not even done unpacking yet. But deadlines are never pleasant. The very word 'DEADline' seems to express this rather well. I spent most of the last year living in Rothenburg ob der Tauber, the topic of my dissertation. Specifically, I was intrigued by how this particular town came to represent an idealized symbol of Germanness and how has this image was communicated to Germans and others. Rather than going into the theoretical details here which have more to do with 'thinking' than 'reflecting,' I thought I would just share a few of the more interesting tidbits about Rothenburg with you. I hope you find this essay engaging, if not totally coherent.

Given that Rothenburg is a rather small town, I was surprised by the number of references to the town that I found in German literature, etc. Many of Germany's (and the world's) most interesting or (in)famous personalities have visited Rothenburg. In his *Volksmärchen der Deutschen* written 1782-1787, Johann Karl August Musäus set part of the 'Schatzgräber' fairy tale in Rothenburg. During his return trip from Italy in 1826 Ludwig Richter wrote of his stay in Rothenburg:

„deren viele Thürme und Thürmchen ihr ein bedeutendes und alterthümliches Ansehen gaben … Jetzt besann ich mich, dass ich diesen Namen (Rothenburg) in Musäus Volksmärchen gelesen hatte, und zwar in der Schatzgräbergeschichte, wo die Schäfergilde ihr herkömmliches Fest in Rothenburg feiert … Der Abend dämmerte bereits, als ich in die engen, holperigen Strassen trat … Ich glaubte, plötzlich ins Mittelalter versetzt zu sein … Als ich zwanzig Jahre später den Musäus zu illustrieren hatte, tauchte die Erinnerung an das alte Rothenburg wieder auf."

Here, one finds a couple of the themes, which continue to surround Rothenburg today. The first is the idea of Rothenburg as a fairy-tale place or somehow magical. Musäus was not the only writer to set a fairy-tale in Rothenburg. Rothenburg provided the right setting for Eduard

Mörike's unfinished *Geschichte von der silbernen Kugel oder Der Kupferschmied von Rothenburg*. And when a German movie company searched for the suitable location for filming their version of the Pied Piper of Hameln story, they naturally chose Rothenburg rather than Hameln. Most of the Anglo-American film *Chitty Chitty Bang Bang* was also filmed in Rothenburg, to name just one more example. And when in February 2001 Südwest-Rundfunk Baden-Württemberg decided to feature Rothenburg in its *Fahr mal hin* series, the episode was entitled *Rothenburg: Beinahe ein Märchen*. And if providing the setting was not enough, the entire town of Rothenburg is itself often personified as a popular German fairy-tale character, Dornröschen. Although this fairy-tale aspect of Rothenburg has survived to this day, it has not always remained positive, especially in the last twenty years. Describing Rothenburg as the German Disney Land or McMedieval World serves as a critic on 'American' style tourism and commercial culture. I lived in Rothenburg for over a year and can confidently say that it is more than a theme park, at least for those who live, work, and raise children there, if not always for the tourists. Little of day-to-day life in Rothenburg bears any resemblance to a fairy-tale, but actually only a couple of years ago, in a Musäus-like event, a local amateur archaeologist did discover about 75 golden coins from the 14-16$^{th}$ centuries. So I guess there really is buried treasure in Rothenburg.

Richter's return trip from Italy can also be seen as a sort metaphor for a broader movement within the art community during the 19$^{th}$ century. Many 18$^{th}$ and 19$^{th}$ century German artists, including Richter, had spent years in Italy painting various Italian landscapes and cities. Italy was the fashionable destination for a self-conceived cosmopolitan art community. During the 19$^{th}$ century German artists gradually developed a greater interest for painting in Germany, reflecting an increase in national feeling. In fact, a recent work in art history that dealt with this conceptual movement was entitled, not surprisingly, *Von Rom nach Rothenburg*. Here, Rothenburg stands for a move toward a more nationalist preference in art. Indeed, Rothenburg was possibly the most painted town per capita in Germany before the First World War. Around the turn of the century, it was said that one could not walk through the Marktplatz without tripping over an easel. Theodor Alt, Carl Spitzweg, Hans Thoma, and Eugen Bracht, to name a few, all spent time in Rothenburg painting. Bracht expressed his impression of Rothenburg in a letter to his wife in 1877:

„Lieber Schatz – Trotz sehr gespannter Erwartungen finden wir Rothenburg wundervoll – herrlich überraschend – mittelalterlich – famos – farbig – originell – entzückend unglaublich erstaunlich – magnifik – superb – einzig – reizend – delicious – stupend wunderbar – begeisternd – märchenhaft – unwahrscheinlich –verblüffend – himmlisch – zum Küssen – bewundernswert – göttlich – schön mit einem Worte - über alle Begriffe!!!"

I think enthusiastic would be an understatement. Rothenburg became a popular subject of national landscape paintings during this time. The town was viewed as a place that through its rich collection of medieval architecture and fortifications had become or remained somehow 'Germaner' than large industrial cities. The writing hall of the old Reichstag building, decorated with the theme of „Das deutsche Land vom Fels zum Meer," contained two paintings by Gustav Schönleber. The first was of the recently annexed Strasbourg, a recurring image in propaganda celebrating the victory of archenemy France. The other painting, destroyed in the later Reichstag fire, depicted Rothenburg as a type of national symbol. While most Rothenburger art tended to delight in the town's quaint, anti-modern Biedermeier character in a more nationally orientated tradition, it was by no means universal. Wassily Kandinsky's abstract paintings of Rothenburg shed much of these nationalistic overtones. Kandinsky was not struck by Rothenburg's particular Germanness, but rather its vibrant colors. As he recalled years later: „und das Meer der grellroten Dächer, die ich aus dem

Fenster sehe … Nur ein Bild blieb von dieser Reise zurück. Das ist 'die alte Stadt'… Sie ist sonnig, und die Dächer machte ich so grellrot, wie ich damals konnte."

Rothenburg was also used in countless Heimat novels, the latest appearing in 2000. After having read twenty or so I can say that most are absolutely horrid, but nonetheless interesting for my topic. One of the better novels comes from the well known author Paul Heyse entitled *Das Glück von Rothenburg*. This novel is particularly relevant since it is about an artist who is leading a quiet family-orientated life in Rothenburg ca. 1880 until he meets a cosmopolitan, exotic Russian countess who is visiting Rothenburg on her way to Italy. His infatuation with her grows quickly. He is severely tempted by her invitation to accompany her to Italy, although it would mean being separated from his family. In the end and after considerable self-doubt, he decides to remain with his simple, modest, but very happy family life in Rothenburg. While earlier artists, like Richter, had moved from 'Rom nach Rothenburg', this artist resisted the temptations of this cosmopolitanism and remained firmly rooted in Rothenburg.

The idea of Rothenburg as an idyllic home surfaces again from two unexpected sources. „Eigentlich habe ich das Leben, wie ich früher ersehnte, als ich von Rothenburg ob der Tauber träumte! Ja, ich habe es gründlicher und tüchtiger, als ich es damals mir ausdachte," wrote Friedrich Nietzsche in a 1869 letter to his mother. Nietzsche had just settled in Basel as a new professor a few months earlier and appeared quite content. Although it is doubtful that Nietzsche had ever visited Rothenburg, it is extremely interesting to find out that he had apparently been dreaming or fantasizing about life there. It is likely that he read one of several articles about Rothenburg, which appeared in the *Leipziger Illustrierte Zeitung* and *Die Gartenlaube* in 1866-68. Although the start of life in Basel was promising, Nietzsche became disillusioned with academic life and returned to his Rothenburg dream. In 1874 he wrote a friend:

„übrigens bin ich wieder stark im Pläne machen, um mich ganz und gar zu verselbstständigen und von aller offiziellen Beziehung zu Staat und Universität mich in die unverschämteste Singulär-existenz zurückzuziehen, miserabel und einfach, aber würdig. – Einstweilen habe ich Rothenburg ob der Tauber als meine Privatburg und Einsiedelei ausgesucht … Dort geht es wirklich noch ganz altdeutsche zu; und ich hasse die charakterlos gemischten Städte, die nichts mehr ganz sind."

Nietzsche continued to feel increasingly isolated and troubled (it probably had something to do with deadlines). Eventually he suffered something of a break down and was unable to recover. His plans to move to Rothenburg never worked out, but the idea of Rothenburg clearly seemed to offer a possible refuge for Nietzsche from a society that he was feeling increasingly at odds with. Whether Nietzsche would have actually enjoyed living in a town often crowded with tourists is certainly an interesting question, but misses a more basic point. Nearly all of us have wished at times to have some place to escape the rigors and pressures of our everyday lives, to have a sort of 'time-out.' Places where, as the tourist advertising says, we can get away from it all. An oasis of peace and calm isolated from the turbulent world sounds enticing but unfortunately, I doubt such places exist. But we still dream about them, like Nietzsche dreamed of Rothenburg. Nearly 100 years later, after two world wars, a Holocaust, and unprecedented death, destruction and dislocation, this image of Rothenburg surfaces again. In 1963 Erich Maria Remarque, author of *All Quiet on the Western Front*, returned from his exile to Germany and visited Rothenburg. He wrote a friend:

„Und hier war plötzlich der Friede. Die Stadt stand da wie früher mit ihren Winkeln und Mauern und Gassen und Träumen, unberührt von all dem Furchtbaren, wie eine Bastion der Hoffnung, des Trostes und eine zweite Heimat für die verstörte Seele."

Perhaps we should not be surprised that Rothenburg, a town described as the Dornröschen des Mittelalter or the town that time forgot, could represent such a perfectly peaceful place.

Unfortunately, the image of Rothenburg has not always led to such pleasant conclusions. I noted earlier how nationalistic overtones permeated the art and literature about Rothenburg. One of the earliest examples was the description of Rothenburg during the 1860s in Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl's *Die Naturgeschichte des Volkes als Grundlage einer deutschen Sozialpolitik*. Riehl, sometimes credited as the father of Volkskunde, found Rothenburg's lack of industrialization/urbanization and traditional pace of life suited to his philosophy of agrarian conservativism. Here, the purity of the town's medieval buildings and fortifications suggested for Riehl a natural social order, in contrast to the unnatural and socially detrimental trends in Germany's larger urban areas. Riehl, like Nietzsche later, felt Rothenburg had remained 'wirklich noch ganz altdeutsche.' Although espousing a rather different vision for German society, Friedrich Naumann, leader of Germany's national liberal movement up to the First World War, also felt Rothenburg offered authentic connections to the German past and national character. One finds the idea of Rothenburg as a symbol of the German nation and its past repeated in liberal publications such as *Die Gartenlaube* as well as their conservative counterparts such as *Daheim*, although the tone and emphasis may differ.

Rothenburg's experience with Nazism is undoubtedly the saddest chapter in this story. By the 1930s, Rothenburg's 'Germanness' was a well-established theme in the international and national travel industry and it was relatively easy to adapt this belief to support NS policies. Indeed, the Rothenburgers themselves strongly supported the NSDAP. In the August 1932 Reichstag elections the Nazi party received 60% of the vote in Rothenburg (the national average was 37.2%) and 82% in the Rothenburg Kreis which included the town and surrounding rural areas, giving the NSDAP their strongest election victory ever. After the Nazis seized power, Rothenburg was soon designated as one of the official destinations for the NS worker tourism program *Kraft durch Freude*. KdF brought thousands of middle and lower class Germans to Rothenburg for extended vacations at reduced group prices. With each tourist group's stay in Rothenburg including official arrival and departure ceremonies and various KdF sponsored programs during the stay, the propaganda value for the NSDAP was clear and gave the party a chance to prove its idea of 'Sozialismus der Tat'. Here, tourism as organized by KdF also served to promote a stronger sense of national belonging between Reich Germans and those living abroad and played a supporting role in the Nazi foreign policy of expansion and aggression. One can almost trace the foreign policy objectives of the NS regime through the KdF groups that visited Rothenburg: in 1935 groups from the demilitarized Rhineland appear and the first Saarlanders arrive about one month after a plebiscite returns the Saar to Germany; about 1000 Austrians arrive less than two weeks after unification with Germany in 1938; in late 1938 the first groups of Sudeten-Germans arrive, followed shortly thereafter by groups of ethnic Germans from Danzig and the Memel border region of Eastern Prussia and Lithuania; and finally beginning in late 1939 wounded soldiers and discharged veterans are cared for in hotels converted to army hospitals. The town's proximity to the Nuremberg party rallies also helped make Rothenburg into something of a showpiece for the NS-regime. Various high NS officials, party organizations (Rothenburg was a favorite Hitler Youth camping destination, for example), military units, representatives from Italy and Japan, as well as the foreign press and diplomatic corps were given opportunities before, during, and after the Nuremberg rallies to stop by Rothenburg.

Given the high profile accorded to the town, it was naturally important that the 'correct' German atmosphere was created for the guests. A November 1936 exhibit entitled *Kitsch und Kunst im Fremdenverkehr*, sponsored by several local and region NS organizations, displayed examples of both in an attempt to illustrate what was and what was not appropriate to sell to tourists as souvenirs In December 1936 an extensive town cleansing program (Säuberungsaktion) was begun in Rothenburg. The program targeted 'tasteless' advertising, such as neon signs or other modern styles, as well as 'tasteless' architecture, such as neo-classical elements from the late 19th century, for removal. Anything that did not quite fit in with the town's medieval image was removed or concealed. The city, being pleased with the results, compiled albums of before and after photos to be sent to various government officials. The reactions were exceedingly positive Interior Minister Frick described the program as „vorbildlich für alle deutsche Städte," and predicted good results if others followed the example of Rothenburg. These portions from Frick's letter were reprinted along with some pre/post photos in the main German journal for historical preservation, *Deutsche Kunst und Denkmalpflege*, in 1938, raising Rothenburg's efforts to national prominence. But what should take the place of these modern elements? Instead of metal or neon advertisements, businesses should use wooden, handcrafted signs which describe the establishment as Gaststätte, Gasthaus, or Gasthof, instead of restaurant, café, or hotel. Inside one should find a German atmosphere, for example, music should be traditional and German, whereas 'Niggerjazz' was singled out as especially inappropriate. Anything that was or at least appeared handcrafted or typically German rather than mass-produced or possibly American/international was promoted. Two ideas in particular came to become something of an obsession for the Rothenburg mayor, namely flower boxes in windows and cleanliness. The frequency and urgency of newspaper notices declaring residents 'responsibility to the nation and the world' to put pretty flowers in their windows, give their house a fresh coat of paint, or clean-up litter in the streets gives one the impression that the town faced some type of apocalyptic fate unless these shortcomings are immediately addressed. Finally, an extensive restoration program was launched focusing on the town's increasingly dilapidated medieval fortifications and public buildings in 1937-41. Financing for the project was arranged at the highest levels of the NS administration, with Ludwig Siebert, the Bavarian Minister President and Finance Minister from 1933-42 and who was incidentally Rothenburg's mayor from 1908-1919, directly coordinating the project. Siebert provided about one third of the funds from the state of Bavaria, another third came directly from the Reich Chancellery budget with Hitler's approval, and the final third from city and regional sources.

While great emphasis was placed on 'cleansing' Rothenburg's architecture or city image (*Stadtbild* was the German word most often used), a second type of purification, racial in nature, was also taking place. We should not be surprised that anti-Semitism in Rothenburg was largely framed and propagated through medieval imagery. In August 1937 local officials placed four warning plaques (Mahntafeln) on four of the town's medieval gates. Each of these four plaques featured a hideously stereotypical painting of a Jew in medieval dress above an historical anti-Semitic text printed in old German script. For example, one recounted a city council edict from 1577 barring citizens from any business dealings with Jews, while another recited a short anti-Semitic song from around 1520 when the town's Jewish community was expelled (a Jewish community did not return until after 1871). A fifth town gate received a plaque commemorating an anti-Semitic saying by Julius Streicher from 1936. Together these five plaques were featured prominently on the town's gates and it would have been difficult for anybody, including tourists, to enter the old town without passing by one of them. Given that Rothenburg's medieval past had already been successfully marketed for decades, you

may not be surprised to learn that the town's medieval anti-Semitism was also blended into a sickening type of Nazi-commercial culture. At least four of the five plaques were sold as postcards.

Unfortunately the plaques were not the end, but rather the beginning of a campaign to recast Rothenburg's history of anti-Semitism during the Middle Ages to justify and guide a current racial agenda. The extensive newspaper article that reported on these new plaques, entitled *Rothenburg ob der Tauber Vorbild in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, suggests the obvious connection being formed between past anti-Semitism and the present NS actions. The article concluded by affirming that it was certain that the town would one day be able to report to higher party officials that „wir haben in Rothenburg die Judenfrage gelöst." Less than one year later in 1938, a local history entitled *Eine Reichsstadt wehrt sich: Rothenburg ob der Tauber und sein Kampf gegen die Juden* by Martin Schütz was published. Featuring illustrations of the above-mentioned plaques, the book recounts medieval Rothenburg's history as one of continuous conflict with Jews and how this was 'resolved' in 1520 by expelling them. While not dealing directly with contemporary NS policies, the overall message is unmistakable. The book became something of a local best seller and was required reading in school.

On the night of October 23, 1938 events reached their climax as the town's small Jewish community of approximately 20 people was driven from town and their property vandalized. The newspaper article, entitled *Unser Rothenburg ist judenfrei: Ein jahrhundertelanger Abwehrkampf unserer Vorfahren hat seine Erfüllung gefunden*, quoted the top local Nazi's announcement; „Rothenburg ist wieder das Symbol einer deutschen Stadt geworden," and „Rothenburg ist von Juden frei! Franken und Deutschland werden von den Juden frei werden!". Local celebrations followed and Schütz's book was specifically credited with raising local awareness. Mimicking earlier efforts with photo albums to document and publicize the city cleansing program, local leaders telegrammed their good news to various higher party officials. The newspaper reported that over the next couple of days the town received a steady stream of congratulatory telegrams and letters from across Germany. As reported by city officials, these messages expressed the view that „dass nun Rothenburg wahrhaftig wieder *die* deutsche Stadt geworden sei. So hat, wie nicht anders zu erwarten, das denkwürdige Ereignis vom 23. Oktober 1938 ein Echo gefunden, über das wir Rothenburger uns nur freuen können." During the Kristallnacht of November 9, 1938, a nation-wide wave of anti-Semitic violence gripped Germany in an eerie repetition of events in Rothenburg only a few weeks earlier.

Was there a connection between these two Kristallnächte? Was the Kristallnacht some type of 'echo' from the Rothenburger Kristallnacht? Unfortunately, I found no documentary evidence that might suggest any answer. All that can be proven is that the Rothenburger Kristallnacht occurred, was reported by the city to NS officialdom, and a national Kristallnacht occurred shortly thereafter. While temporality may be clear, causality is not. While reflecting on this sequence, two possibilities strike me as most plausible. First, events in Rothenburg could have occurred spontaneously and higher Nazi officials, upon learning of it, could have tried to copy it on a national level. Second, it is possible that Rothenburg was used as some type of a trial run for the larger national Kristallnacht. A small rural town, with a very small Jewish population, that had already demonstrated overwhelming support for the Nazi party (the town did give the NSDAP their strongest electoral result ever), would seem to be an ideal place to conduct such a test. The suggestion that there is no connection between the two appears to me unlikely given that the Rothenburger Nazis had proudly reported to their Nazi superiors what they had done. Equally unlikely seems the idea that both Kristallnächte occurred totally

spontaneously and in complete isolation from one another. It is doubtful that a definitive answer will ever be found, but it seems fitting that a town that continually strove to be recognized as a role model or *Vorbild* for a Nazi civic spirit, as seen in both its town cleansing program and the anti-Semitic plaques displayed on the town's gates, could have played a similar function in relation to Kristallnacht.

In the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, two exiled German authors looked to Rothenburg for the raw materials for their critics of German nationalism and the failed war they felt it had instigated. Thomas Mann wrote his last important novel *Doktor Faustus* between 1945-47 while living in America. Although a work of fiction, Mann used this novel to critically examine German history and identity. The story is set in Kaisersaschern, an imaged town representing the epitome of a medieval German Heimat. Mann combined details from many different places, including Rothenburg, in creating this imaged setting. One notable example centers on the character named Deutschlin, who is described as following a fascist-nationalist ideology in Mann's novel. The character bears striking similarities to a reformation preacher, Johannes Teuschlin, whose fiery sermons in Rothenburg instigated the expulsion of the town's Jewish community in 1520 and led at least indirectly to a widespread peasant revolt a few years later. Changing the name from TEUSCHlin to DEUTSCHlin can be seen as a not-so-subtle critic of German nationalism. The names of several other prominent Rothenburgers from the 16th century appear unaltered in Mann's novel and the Rathaus of Kaisersaschern sounds suspiciously like Rothenburg. It is not known if Mann was ever in Rothenburg, but during the writing of *Doktor Faustus*, he was in frequent contact with another exiled writer, Leonhard Frank. Frank's *Deutsche Novelle*, written during the same period as Mann's novel, was set explicitly in Rothenburg and it is likely that Mann's information about Rothenburg could have come from Frank.

With Rothenburg's association with conservative nationalism culminating with Nazism still fresh in memory, some began seeing Rothenburg as a symbol of democracy and freedom. This was especially evident in the reconstruction of the town (about 40% of the town was destroyed in 1945, a fact overlooked or unknown to Remarque and millions of other visitors). In 1948 the chief architect for the reconstruction described it as representing „die Gesinnung des freien Bürgertums" while the Bavarian President Schregle spoke of it as expressing „Eine Fülle individueller Rechte des Einzelbürgers". Now, according to Schregle, the Rothenburger city image „erweist in ihrem äusseren Bild, dass auch in der deutschen Vergangenheit demokratische Gesinnung und Lebensform durchaus lebendig waren". One of those who saw this most clearly was an American, John J. McCloy. McCloy served for several years as the US High Commissioner for Germany and later as the president of the World Bank, but the Rothenburgers had more cause for knowing his name. In the final week of the March 1945, Rothenburg was severely bombed. Yet the town did not immediately surrender when American forces approached the town a few weeks later. The US army had prepared an artillery barrage, which would have probably destroyed all that had not been destroyed by earlier bombings. McCloy, then serving as a State Department attaché to the US army heard about the impending attack. McCloy recognized the name of Rothenburg as a town his mother had visited in the 1920s. She had spoken highly of the town's medieval charms, so McCloy interceded and prevented the town from total destruction. After the war, McCloy had numerous occasions to visit Rothenburg and was made an honorary citizen. In a 1949 letter to the Rothenburger mayor, McCloy thanked the city for its hospitality during a recent visit, noting that Rothenburg not only had a wonderful medieval atmosphere, „sondern seine Bürger haben auch von jeher den Ruhm der Unabhängigkeit und des freiheitlichen Denkens".

Yet Rothenburg as a symbol of freedom was short-lived. Indeed, it is difficult to find much symbolism in Rothenburg after the 1950s. Except, of course, for commercialism and consumerism. The commercial nature of modern tourism has come to dominate Rothenburg's old town in a more complete way than any of the previous *–isms*: nationalism, liberalism, nazism, etc. As designers looked for inspiration for their planned International Street to be built at Disneyland during the 1950s, they looked naturally to Rothenburg. A model of one especially picturesque streetscape in Rothenburg was sent to California to help build a life-size reconstruction of it that was to represent Germany on the International Street. There are other similar examples (Legoland and a theme park in Japan), but perhaps more than its medieval architecture, Rothenburg is now known for having the largest year round Christmas market in the world. It may be too cynical to say that Rothenburg's historical buildings and monuments, once the main attractions of the town, have now become little more than scenery to enhance your shopping pleasure, but then again, after living in Rothenburg for the past year, I cannot say that the criticism is without justification.

During my year in Germany, the idea of a German *Leitkultur* was bantered about quite a bit by politicians and other public figures. The central problem seemed to be that nobody knew what German *Leitkultur* was exactly. After living in Rothenburg for a few months, the answer seemed rather clear to me. Wandering through the tourist shops that comprise this symbol of romantic old Germany, one could find those things that have traditional been identified as typically German: wine from the Rhine valley, medieval half-timbered houses (some of which were only built in the last fifty years), handcrafted wooden Nutcrackers and other Christmas gifts from the Erzgebirge, beer steins from Munich, Lederhosen from the Bavaria Alps, sausages from Nuremberg. Rothenburg is perhaps the perfect example of German *Leitkultur* and its commercial possibilities.