



NUI MAYNOOTH

Ollscoil na hÉireann Má Nuad

**Selected Performances and Compositions of the
Theresienstadt Ghetto (1941-1945):
An Examination of Music, Memory and Survivance**

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	vi
Abbreviations	viii
List of Musical Examples	viii
List of Tables	xi
Glossary	xii-xiv
Introduction	1-18
0.1 Context	3
0.2 Perspectives on Memory	6
0.2.1 Issues related to Music and Memory	7
0.3 Collective Memory	8
0.3.1 Jewish Collective Memory	9
0.3.2 Anthroposophist Collective Memory	10
0.3.3 Nationalist Collective Memory	11
0.4 Survivance	12
0.5 Thesis Methodology and Structure	13
0.6 Conclusion	18
Chapter One: European Jewry (1750-1941): The Cultural, Sociological and Musical Context	19-58
1.1 European Jewry (1750-1941)	19
1.2 Eighteenth Century Europe: From Boundaries to Frontiers	20
1.2.1 The Edicts of Tolerance: The Path Towards Greater Assimilation	23
1.2.2 Cultural and Societal Integration	24
1.3 Nineteenth Century Europe: From Divisions to Identities	25
1.3.1 Czech-German Tensions	25
1.3.2 Emerging Identities	27
1.3.3 Demographics	30
1.3.4 Contribution of European Jews to Music in the 19 th Century	33
1.4 Twentieth Century Europe: From Freedom to Incarceration	36
1.4.1 Cultural Life of the Czech Lands	37
1.4.2 Contribution of European Jews to Music in the 20 th Century	39
1.5 Music in the Weimar Republic	42
1.6 Music in the Nazi Regime	44
1.6.1 Music in the Reich and Occupied Territories	44
1.6.2 Reichsmusikkammer	45
1.6.3 The Role of Music in the Nazi Regime	48
1.6.4 Entartete Musik	49
1.6.5 Antisemitic Musicological Developments	51
1.7 Nazi Occupation of Czechoslovakia	52
1.7.1 Clandestine Musical Activities for Jews	56

Chapter Two: Theresienstadt (1941-1945): The Context	59-99
2.1 Incarceration	59
2.1.1 The Crucible	60
2.2 A Dissonant Music	64
2.3 Kameradschaftsabende (Evenings of Fellowship)	66
2.4 Freizeitgestaltung (Free Time Activities)	70
2.4.1 Sacred Music in Theresienstadt	80
2.4.2 Giuseppe Verdi: <i>Requiem</i>	82
2.4.3 Joseph Haydn: <i>Die Schöpfung</i>	89
2.4.4 Felix Mendelssohn: <i>Elijah</i>	91
2.5 Studio für Neue Musik	95
2.6 Resistance and Defiance	96
2.7 Conclusion	98
Chapter Three: Jewish Collective Memory	100-152
3.1 Jewish Collective Memory	101
3.2 Jewish Religious Activities in Theresienstadt	104
3.3 Jewish Music Composed in Theresienstadt	107
3.3.1 James Simon (1880-1944)	110
3.3.2 Viktor Ullmann (1898-1944)	113
3.3.3 Pavel Haas (1899-1944)	121
3.3.4 Karel Reiner (1910-1979)	128
3.3.5 An Unknown Composer	130
3.4 Hugo Löwenthal (1879-1943)	133
3.4.1 <i>Traditionelle Weisen</i>	134
3.5 Zigmund Schul (1916-1944)	142
3.5.1 <i>Di Finale di Cantata Judaica</i>	144
3.5.2 Chassidic Dances 1 and 2	147
3.5.3 <i>Uv'tzeil K'nofecho</i>	149
3.6 Conclusion	151
Chapter Four: Viktor Ullmann and Anthroposophic Collective Memory	153-190
4.1 Viktor Ullmann: Background	154
4.2 Movements Towards Anthroposophy	156
4.3 Ullmann Theresienstadt Works	159
4.3.1 Anthroposophical Ideas	159
4.3.2 Anthroposophy and Collective Memory	161
4.3.3 Influence of Anthroposophy on Ullmann's Compositions	165
4.3.4 Steiner's Musical Theories Permeating Ullmann's Music	166
4.3.5 Form, Matter and Music	171
4.3.6 <i>Der Kaiser von Atlantis</i>	175
4.4 Conclusion	189
Chapter Five: Pavel Haas, Gideon Klein and Czech Collective Memory	191-235
5.1 Nationalism and Collective Memory: Convergences and Divergences	193
5.1.1 Nationalism in the Czech Lands	195
5.2 Pavel Haas (1899-1944)	198

5.2.1 Musical Background	200
5.2.2 Haas's Compositions (1937-1941)	202
5.3 <i>Ktož jsou Boží Bojovníci</i> (Hussite Chorale)	206
5.4 <i>Svatý Václav</i> (Saint Wenceslas Chorale)	207
5.5 Chorales in the Repertoire of Theresienstadt Composers	210
5.6 <i>Studie pro Smyčcový Orchester</i> (1943)	213
5.7 <i>Čtyři písně na slova Čínské poezie</i> (1944)	219
5.8 Gideon Klein (1919-1945)	224
5.8.1 Musical Background	224
5.8.2 Klein's Jewish and Moravian Musical Influences	225
5.9 Klein's Theresienstadt Compositions	227
5.9.1 Arrangements of Folk-Songs	227
5.9.2 <i>Fantasia a Fuga</i> for String Quartet (1942/1943)	228
5.9.3 Madrigals: <i>První Hřích</i> (1942)	229
5.9.4 Piano Sonata (1943)	231
5.9.5 <i>Trio pro Housle, Violu a Violoncello</i> (1944)	232
5.10 Conclusion	235
Conclusion	236-250
6.1 Explorations	239
6.2 Constructing a Methodology for Future Research	244
6.3 Further Possible Explorations	246
6.3.1 Armenian Genocide (1911-1917)	247
6.3.2 Soviet Union (1933-1968)	247
6.3.3 Pol Pot Regime and the Khmer Rouge (1975-1979)	248
6.3.4 Quechua people (1980s)	248
6.3.5 South Africa (1948-1994)	249
6.4 Conclusion	249
APPENDICES	251-280
Appendix 1: Short Biographies of Selected Composers and Performers	251-254
Appendix 2: Time-line of Events in the Protectorate, Theresienstadt and in World War II	255-257
Appendix 3: Chronology of the Theresienstadt Ghetto	258-262
Appendix 4: Summary of Intellectual and Educational Events with Topics occurring more than ten times	263

Appendix 5: Sample Programmes of Concerts in Theresienstadt	264-265
Appendix 6: Hebrew and Yiddish Instrumental and Vocal Works written in Theresienstadt	266
Appendix 7: <i>The Strange Passenger: A Diary in Verse</i> by Viktor Ullmann	267-280
BIBLIOGRAPHY	281-296
Musical Scores	281
Testimonies	281
Films and Documentaries	282
Select Discography	283
Printed Sources	283
Encyclopaedia and Dictionary Sources	293
Websites	294

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ABBREVIATIONS

RMK Reichsmusikkammer

RKK Reichskulturkammer

LIST OF MUSICAL EXAMPLES

Example 2.1: Karel Švenk, <i>Všechno jde!</i> (Terezín March) ¹	69
Example 3.1: Viktor Ullmann, Piano Sonata no. VII, 5, <i>Variationen und Fuge über ein hebräisches Volkslied</i> , bars 1-8	114
Example 3.2: Viktor Ullmann, Piano Sonata no. VII, 5, <i>Variationen und Fuge über ein hebräisches Volkslied</i> , bars 1-8	119
Example 3.3: Pavel Haas, <i>Al S'fod</i> (Title page of hand-written score)	122
Example 3.4: Lubomír Peduzzi, Milet and Haas Rhythms ²	123
Example 3.5: Pavel Haas, <i>Al S'fod</i> (First page of score)	126
Example 3.6: Unknown Composer, <i>Techezakna</i>	132
Example 3.7: Hugo Löwenthal, <i>Traditionelle Weisen</i> , 'Pesach'	136
Example 3.8: Hugo Löwenthal, <i>Traditionelle Weisen</i> , 'Ez Chajim'	138
Example 3.9: Hugo Löwenthal, <i>Traditionelle Weisen</i> , 'Simchat Torah'	139
Example 3.10: Hugo Löwenthal, <i>Traditionelle Weisen</i> , 'Sukkoth'	140
Example 3.11: Hugo Löwenthal, <i>Traditionelle Weisen</i> , 'Hatikvah'	141
Example 3.12: Zikmund Schul, <i>Di Finale di Cantata Judaica</i> , bars 1-46	145

¹ Karel Švenk, *Všechno jde!* (Terezín March), composed for the cabaret *The Lost Food Card* in 1942 and sung for all subsequent cabarets; scan of the original in the Jewish Museum, Prague, Sbíрка Terezín, inv. č. 319a. .

² Lubomír Peduzzi, 'Složeno v Terezínské', *Hudební Rozhledy*, xxi (1968), pp. 152–3.

Example 4.1: Viktor Ullmann, <i>Der Kaiser von Atlantis</i> , bars 1-4	179
Example 4.2: Josef Suk, <i>Symphony for Large Orchestra in C minor, V</i> , bars 1-4	180
Example 4.3: Joseph Haydn, <i>Deutschland über alles</i>	183
Example 4.4: Viktor Ullmann, <i>Der Kaiser von Atlantis</i> , distorted version of 'Deutschland über alles' (Letter I)	184
Example 4.5: J.S. Bach, <i>Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott</i> , BWV 80	185
Example 4.6: Viktor Ullmann, <i>Der Kaiser von Atlantis</i> , Finale, bars 1-20	187
Example 5.1: Hussite Chorale: 'Ktož jsú Boží Bojovníci'	207
Example 5.2: Czech Chorale in honour of St Wenceslas: 'Svatý Václave' ³	208
Example 5.3: Pavel Haas, <i>Studie pro Smyčcový Orchester</i> , bars 5-9 ⁴	215
Example 5.4: Pavel Haas, <i>Studie pro Smyčcový Orchester</i> , bars 15-19 ⁵	216
Example 5.5: Pavel Haas, <i>Studie pro Smyčcový Orchester</i> , bars 60-64 ⁶	216
Example 5.6: Pavel Haas, <i>Studie pro Smyčcový Orchester</i> , bars 142-144 ⁷	218
Example 5.7: Pavel Haas, <i>Čtyři písně na slova Čínské poezie</i> , 'Domov je tam' ⁸	222

³ *Svatý Václave*, Jaroslav Pohanka, *Dějiny České Hudby v Příkladech* (Prague: Státní Nakladatelství, Krásné Literatury, Hudby a Umění, 1958), p. 1.

⁴ Pavel Haas, *Studie pro Smyčcový Orchester*, Completed and Revised by Lubomír Peduzzi, Critical Edition (Berlin: Bote and Bock; Prague: Tempo, 1991).

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Pavel Haas, *Čtyři Písně na Slova Čínské Poezie*, 'Domov je tam', first song from the cycle, preserved scan of the original which is in the Jewish Museum, Prague, Sbírka Tereziín, inv. č. 319a.

Example 5.8:

Gideon Klein, *První Hřích pro Mužský Sbor na Slova Lidové Poezie*,
bars 1-4⁹

230

Example 5.9:

Gideon Klein, *Trio pro Housle, Violu a Violoncello, II, Variace na Moravskou
Lidovou Píseň*, bars 1-12¹⁰

233

⁹ Gideon Klein, *První Hřích pro Mužský Sbor na Slova Lidové*, English trans. by Richard Howard.
(Berlin: Bote and Bock, 1993).

¹⁰ Gideon Klein, *Trio pro Housle, Violu a Violoncello* (Berlin: Bote and Bock, 1993).

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1: Demographic Changes	31
Table 1.2: Czechs and Germans in Prague ¹¹	32
Table 1.3: Czech-related Music and Theatre ¹²	35
Table 1.4: Jewish Contribution to Music in the Czech Lands ¹³	40
Table 3.1: Proportion of Jews and non-Jews in Theresienstadt ¹⁴	105
Table 3.2: Comparison of Text of <i>Al S'Fod</i> and Psalm 22	125

¹¹ Wilma Abeles Iggers, *The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia: A Historical Reader*, p. 214.

¹² Table 1.3 summarises key developments outlined, primarily, in the following sources: Paul Nettl, 'Music' from *The Jews of Czechoslovakia: Historical Studies and Surveys*, ed. by Avigdor Dagan, Gertrude Hirschler, Lewis Weiner (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1984); John Clapham and Jan Smaczny, 'Czech Republic', Section 1.1 'Art Music: Bohemia and Moravia', Oldřich Pukl and Jan Smaczny, Section 2 'Czechoslovakia: 1918-1945' in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40479>> [accessed 20 January 2012].

¹³ Table 1.4 summarises key developments outlined, primarily, in the following sources: Paul Nettl, 'Music' from *The Jews of Czechoslovakia: Historical Studies and Surveys*, ed. by Avigdor Dagan, Gertrude Hirschler, Lewis Weiner (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1984); John Clapham and Jan Smaczny, 'Czech Republic', Section 1.1 'Art Music: Bohemia and Moravia', Oldřich Pukl and Jan Smaczny, Section 2 'Czechoslovakia: 1918-1945' in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40479>> [accessed 20 January 2012].

¹⁴ Nasch Erich, Yad Vashem Archives, File Number 064/105B

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Alenu: Last prayer in the daily liturgy beginning with the words 'It is incumbent upon us ...'

Aliyah: Immigration of Jews to the Land of Israel (Eretz Israel)

Ashkenazic: Jews with their origins in eastern Europe.

Chazzanut: Jewish cantors who lead their congregations in prayerful song.

Diaspora: Refers to Jews living outside Israel

Eretz Israel: The land of Israel

Galut: Exile

Hashkiveinu: The prayer of blessing at the end of the Shabbat:
'Lay us down to sleep, Hashem our G-d, in peace, raise us erect, our King, to life; and spread over us the shelter of Your peace. Set us aright with good counsel from before Your presence and save us for Your Name's sake. Shield us, remove from us the foe, plague, sword, famine, and woe; and remove spiritual impediment from before us and behind us and in the shadow of Your wings shelter us – for G-d who protects and rescues us are You; for G-d, the Gracious and Compassionate King, are You. Safeguard our going and coming – for life and for peace from now to eternity. And spread over us the shelter of Your peace. Blessed are You, Hashem, Who spreads the shelter of peace upon us, upon all of his people Yisrael and upon Yerushalayim. Amen.'

Hasidism/Chassidism: Mystical Jewish movement founded by Baal Shem Tov (Israel ben Eliezer or Besht) in the eighteenth century

Haskalah: (The Jewish Enlightenment) European Jews of the 18th and 19th centuries sought to adopt the values of the Enlightenment and begin a movement towards greater integration in the secular world.

Hatikvah: Jewish anthem of hope and the national anthem of Israel.

Kabbalah: Jewish mystical tradition; an esoteric method, discipline and school of thought.

Ketuvim: (Writings) This is the last section of the Hebrew Bible. It consists of eleven books which include I and II Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah.

Kiddush: Prayer of sanctification which is pronounced over a glass of wine before the evening meal for Sabbaths and festivals.

Kinnoth: Songs of Lamentation from the Jewish tradition.

Lag B'Omer: Minor festival in Judaism occurring between Pesach and Shavuot.

Maskilim: Followers of the *Haskalah* or Jewish Enlightenment

Mitzvot: Commandments

Musaf: Additional service included in the Shabbat and festivals.

Nevi'im: (Prophets) This section of the Hebrew Bible comprises eight books which, as a whole, cover the chronological era from the entrance of the Israelites into the Land until the Babylonian captivity of Judah (the "period of prophecy").

Niggun: Melody without words

Pesach/Passover: The term is derived from the account of the tenth plague in Egypt when first-born Egyptians were killed, whereas God passed over the houses of the Israelites whose doorposts and lintels were sprinkled with the blood of the Paschal Lamb. It is celebrated in March/April time.

Purim: Literally means 'Lots' and it is a Jewish holiday which commemorates the time when the Jews of Persia were saved from annihilation. The story is recounted in the biblical Book of Esther. It is celebrated on 14 Adar which is usually during the month of March.

Rosh Hashanah: Jewish new year usually takes place in September/October time.

Sephardic: Jews with their origins in the Iberian Peninsula.

Shabbat/Sabbath: Jewish feast from sundown Friday to sundown Saturday. There are nine *Shabbats* of special solemnity and festivals.

Shavuot: Festival of Weeks or Pentecost

This is a pilgrim festival which is celebrated fifty days after *Pesach*. Symbolically, the day commemorates the culmination of the process of emancipation which began with the Exodus at *Pesach*. Occurs usually in May/June.

Shekinah: Divine presence

Shema Israel: The profession of faith in a monotheistic God. The text is from Deuteronomy 6:4-9

'Hear, O Israel: Yahweh our God is the one Yahweh. You shall love Yahweh your God with all your heart, with all your soul, with all your strength. Let these words I urge on you today be written on your heart. You shall repeat them to your children and say them over to them whether at rest in your house or walking abroad, at your lying down or at your rising; you shall fasten them on your hand as a sign and on your forehead as a circlet; you shall write them on the doorposts of your house and on your gates.'

Shevarim: Associated with the shofar
Three tremulous notes sounded on the shofar at Rosh Hashanah.

Shofar: Traditionally a ram's horn
Shofar is a ritual musical instrument associated with the *Akedah*. It is translated sometimes as 'trumpet' or 'horn'. It was sounded when the Lord spoke to Moses on Mount Sinai (Exodus 19:16, 19); when Joshua circled the walls of Jericho (Joshua 6:1-21); it was blown by watchmen (Jer 6:17); it was used to proclaim the Jubilee Year (Lev 25:9-10) and to call people to repentance (Joel 2:1)

Sukkoth: The Feast of Tabernacles. During this festival a *sukkah* or booth is constructed and its roof is covered with branches of trees and plants. Meals are to be eaten inside the *sukkah* during the festival. It is a pilgrim festival. Occurs about ten days after Yom Kippur.

Tekiah: Associated with the shofar. This is the first long note sounded on the shofar at Rosh Hashanah.

Tanakh/Tenakh: The full Hebrew Bible also known as the Masoretic text or the *miqra*. It is an acronym for the three sub-divisions of the Masoretic text: T, Torah (First five books of the Bible); N, Nevi'im (Prophets); K, Ketuvim (Writings).

Teruot: Associated with the shofar
Nine short notes sounded on the shofar at Rosh Hashanah.

Torah: Pentateuch or Law
The first five books of the Bible comprising Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy.

Torah H-adam: The wisdom of humanity, including human reason, philosophy and science

Torah Hashem: The wisdom of God with its roots in divine revelation, the commandments; that which pertains, specifically, to Jews

Yehi Ratzon: Hebrew petition that asks God to be saved from the sources of evil and malice.

Yizkor: Memorial prayers

Yom Kippur (Day of Atonement): Holiest day in the Jewish calendar. Celebrated after the ten days of penitence following *Rosh Hashanah*. It is a twenty-five hour fast for those able to participate.

Zachor: Remembrance

ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the role of memory and Jewish self-definition in selected works which were both composed and performed in the Theresienstadt Ghetto of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, during the *Shoah*, between the years 1941 and 1945.¹ This research makes a radical contribution by ascribing the role of collective memory and Jewish self-definition to the investigation of selected compositions and performances in the context of the Shoah itself and not analysing them from a post-Shoah perspective. The manifestations of collective memory in the music of Theresienstadt illustrate and reflect the assimilation of Jews into their European environments. Associations with particular types of memory can be traced back to elements of the composers' pre-War repertoire, where that is available. Consequently, Jewish, Czech, and anthroposophist expressions of collective memory permeate both the performances and compositions of the ghetto. The primary aim of this thesis is to establish a connection between those expressions of memory and survivance for the internees of Theresienstadt.² The thesis supports existing thought insofar as it builds on current literature of music, memory and the Shoah, insights from sociology on the subject of memory, and the evolving historical nature of Jewish self-definition. It adds to this body of research by making the connection between music, collective memory and survivance as it is observed in the Theresienstadt compositions and performances. Particular attention will be

¹ 'Shoah' is a Hebrew word meaning 'Holocaust'. Its Yiddish equivalent is 'Khurbn'. A review of relevant literature of the time is persuasive in preferring Shoah to the more familiar term 'Holocaust' as more accurately and fully identifying the essence of what underlies the word and the event, the full horror of which is somehow diminished by the term 'Holocaust'.

² Survivance implies endurance beyond physical existence, transcendence, an attitude of hope, defiance and resistance, and suggests the preservation of tradition and culture.

devoted to the compositions of Zikmund Schul, and Hugo Löwenthal, Viktor Ullmann, Pavel Haas, and Gideon Klein. The criteria for the selection of these composers was determined by the fact that they were representative of certain musical and sociological groupings within the ghetto. While music is the primary focus of this work, the research is drawn from musicological, philosophical, sociological, historical and theological sources in support of the argument of the thesis. The inherent power of these inter-relating disciplines open up a dialectic appropriate to the richness of the area being investigated.

INTRODUCTION

The objectives of this thesis are threefold. First, to provide a historical, cultural, sociological, and musical context for the composers of the Theresienstadt ghetto. Secondly, to examine the context, the nature, and the expressions of collective memory in selected compositions and performances of Theresienstadt. Thirdly, to establish a connection between these compositions and performances as ‘wagers on survivance’¹ and collective memory.

This thesis focuses on the musical manifestations of collective memory, expressed through Jewish, German, Czech, and Anthroposophist elements, in the selected works of composers and performers of Theresienstadt. It encompasses composers including Hugo Löwenthal (1879-1943), Zigmund Schul (1916-1944), Viktor Ullmann (1898-1944), Gideon Klein (1919-c. 1945), and Pavel Haas (1899-1944) within the ghetto. In addition, it investigates how manifestations of collective memory contributed to their works becoming ‘wagers on survivance’.² The discussion is deepened and substantiated through an examination of the cultural backgrounds of the composers; a selection of their pre-War compositions; any non-musical writings penned by them either before the war or during their internment in Theresienstadt, and the musical works that they composed in the ghetto.

The composers included here, for the most part, represent the different facets of Eastern European Jewry at the time of the Second World War, and

¹ George Steiner, *Real Presences: Is there anything in what we say?* (London: Faber and Faber, 1989), p. 4.

² Ibid.

therefore reflect diverse elements of collective memory in their compositions. It was not possible to take all of the composers and performers listed on the many programmes and I had to delineate some boundaries on my research area.³ For those selected here materials are available in the German, Czech and English languages, offering evidence of their lives in advance of the Second World War. It was possible to conduct the surveys of their musical and non-musical literature in Theresienstadt, and to draw substantiated conclusions relating to collective memory and survivance.

I had considered investigating the music of Ilse Weber (1903-1944), the only known female composer in Theresienstadt. Her song compositions addressed the immediate realities of life in the camp: the misery, the transports, and lullabies for children who were in her care. However, collective memory in relation to women could constitute a thesis in itself and lies beyond the scope of this study.

Terezín/Theresienstadt (hereafter Theresienstadt) was a Jewish transit camp and ghetto, located near Litoměřice, sixty kilometres from Prague.⁴ It was a ghetto that was the subject of a Nazi propaganda campaign lauding Hitler for his provident care of the Jews by giving them their own town. In the Nazi ghettos and concentration camps, music was a tool for oppressed and oppressor alike. In the context of the Nazi regime, music often created a two-tiered system between the privileged or *prominenten* (with musical proficiency in performance and

³ See Appendix 1: Short Biographies of the Composers and Performers of Theresienstadt, p. 251.

⁴ The Germanized name 'Theresienstadt' will be used for the ghetto, where possible, in preference to its Czech name 'Terezín'. Theresienstadt was the name of the town during the Nazi occupation and since the research focuses on those years, it is apt for this context.

composition), and the others who lacked musical ability and were denied the associated privileges. This system created tensions within the camps and ghettos. Generally, those who were more musically proficient benefited from reduced labour hours. Consequently, music created polarisations.

0.1 Context

In the period 1933-1945, the National Socialist regime in Germany (with occupied territories elsewhere in Europe) initiated a reign of devastation and terror. Referred to as the Holocaust, this period of time contributed to the deaths of eleven million people of whom six million were Jews. The Holocaust was thus a violent assault on the Jewish race. Legislation discriminated against them and deprived them of their basic human rights. Jews were evicted from their homes, transferred, often brutally, to camps and ghettos, stripped of all possessions with the exception of a little bundle of personal belongings not exceeding fifty kilograms. For the purpose of this thesis, and based on a literature review, the term '*Shoah*' is used.⁵ This term is preferable to 'Holocaust' since it signifies, more accurately, the destruction and annihilation which was characteristic of this series of events. In the Hebrew Scriptures, *Shoah* is ascribed to critical periods when the people of Israel were under threat of annihilation.⁶ As Paul Overland has shown, in the biblical understanding of *Shoah* in Judaism, *Shoah* was characterized by three dimensions: speed (and often without warning), ferocity, and disempowerment of resistance.⁷ Overland's context describes decimation, affliction and distress in scripture, with particular reference to the Wisdom

⁵ *Shoah* is the Hebrew word for Holocaust.

⁶ Paul Overland, '*Shoah* in the world of the sages', in *Shofar*, 23 (2005), pp. 9-18.

⁷ Isaiah 47. 1; Psalm 35. 8; Zephaniah 1. 4-15; Psalm 35; Zephaniah 1. 15-18.

literature of the Hebrew Bible. Historian Martin Gilbert's extensive research on the *Shoah* testifies to these effects as experienced by the Jewish communities across the Nazi-occupied territories.⁸ The three dimensions clearly characterise the Jewish experience of *Shoah* in the Nazi regime. The decimation experienced by Jews reflects the effects of the biblical experience of *Shoah*. *Shoah* is now part of the vocabulary of the Holocaust.

Scholars who write on music, memory, and the *Shoah*, emphasise the legacy of memory left by the works of composers interned in the Nazi camps and ghettos. Guido Fackler's research, for example, focuses on the German ghettos and concentration camps before the outbreak of war (1933-1936).⁹ He emphasises the Nazis' use of music as an accompaniment to torture and its role in enforcing discipline in the camps. Fackler examines the performance of music under Nazi command and discusses the ghetto anthems which promoted Nazi propaganda. Shirli Gilbert's research investigates the song repertoire and the instrumental music performed by the internees in day-to-day ghetto and camp life. Gilbert addresses the performance of instrumental music for Nazi entertainment and for punishments.¹⁰ Her research surveys musical expression in Auschwitz-Birkenau, Sachsenhausen, Warsaw, and Vilna, but does not investigate the Theresienstadt ghetto. Erik Levi, Michael H. Kater and Michael Meyer study musical developments in the Nazi-occupied territories, examining the political functions of music and the consolidation of music performance and composition under the

⁸ Martin Gilbert, *The Holocaust: A Jewish Tragedy* (UK: Collins, 1986; 15th repr. 2006); *Kristallnacht: Prelude to Destruction* (London: Harper Collins, 2006).

⁹ Guido Fackler, *Des Lagers Stimme: Musik im KZ. Alltag und Häftlingskultur in den Konzentrationslagern 1933 bis 1936* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2000).

¹⁰ Shirli Gilbert, *Music in the Holocaust: Confronting Life in the Nazi Ghettos and Camps* (Oxford University Press, 2005).

regime.¹¹ They discuss, in detail, the implications for Jewish and non-Jewish composers who struggled for physical and professional survival under the regime. Milan Kuna and Joža Karas emphasise Czech Jewish musical activities, particularly in Theresienstadt, and elsewhere in the Nazi-occupied territories.¹² The analyses of the aforementioned scholars incorporate the political, cultural and sociological spheres of influence on music-making in the Reich and occupied territories. All of these scholars analyse and evaluate the vocal and instrumental music of the oppressed and the oppressor in the Nazi camps and ghettos. Primarily, they record the legacy of memory of these musical contexts to succeeding generations, contributing to the corpus of works that is now part of the collective memory of music and the *Shoah*. The works of the Theresienstadt composers, by the very fact that some of their compositions survived, are now part of that collective memory. Their works have been preserved in archives, museums, and publications. Their repertoire is now being performed regularly in public concert programmes.

This thesis departs from prior research in the area of music and the *Shoah*. The majority of scholars focus on the legacy of the composers to succeeding generations. Certainly, the contribution of the Theresienstadt composers to collective memory and the *Shoah* underpins this thesis. Evidence of this contribution is to be found in literature, music, film, and archival testimonies. Building on this foundation, this thesis uniquely addresses the legacies of the

¹¹ Erik Levi, *Music in the Third Reich* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 1994); Michael H. Kater, *The Twisted Muse: Musicians and Their Music in the Third Reich* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); Michael H. Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era: Eight Portraits* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Michael Meyer, *The Politics of Music in the Third Reich* (New York: Peter Lang, 1991).

¹² Milan Kuna, *Hudba vzdoru a naděje: Terezín, 1941–1945* (Prague: Bärenreiter, 2000); Joža Karas, *Music in Terezín: 1941-1945* (New York: Stuyvesant, 1985).

previous collective memory which informed the works of the Theresienstadt composers. Collective memory manifests itself in the subject matter, inspiration, ideology, expression of defiance, and in the assertion of their identity. Collective memory, expressed through different dimensions – Jewish, Czech, German, Anthroposophist – is a focus in the Theresienstadt compositions. It contributed to those works being ‘wagers on survivance’ in the context of a Nazi ghetto. The discourse of this thesis extends from 1750 through to the end of the war in 1945. This time-line includes the context for the formative elements of collective memory. Collective memory was part of the religious, sociological, and cultural background of the Theresienstadt composers.

0.2 Perspectives on Memory

In conversation, we speak of the singular, *Memory*, and plural, *Memories*. The Greek etymological basis for *Memory* comes from the terms *mnēmē* and *anamnēsis*. *Mnēmē* designates memory as something passive, the ‘what’ of memory; *anamnēsis* is more active and signifies recall and recollection, the ‘how’ of memory.¹³ In the literature of the *Shoah*, memory is fraught with difficulties and complexities pertaining to truth, representation and accuracy. Personal perspectives on events of the past are formed from memory that has been mediated, interpreted, and perhaps even abused, and suppressed.¹⁴ Perspectives on the subject of memory and the *Shoah* derive from approaches from the fields of psychology,

¹³ Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, trans. by Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2004; paperback edition, 2006), p. 4.

¹⁴ For example, some Holocaust memorial testimony may be subjective as those recalling what happened can embellish the details which surround the events which occurred.

psychoanalysis, sociology, history, psychiatry, literature and philosophy.¹⁵ Memory is multi-dimensional. It actively constitutes itself in the engagement between individual and collective memory, between living memory and historical memory, between public and private memory.

0.2.1 Issues relating to Music and Memory

Daniel Barenboim has said that 'Music moves in time – therefore forward – but parallel and simultaneously to this progression, the ear remembers what it has already perceived – thereby moving backward, or even being conscious in the present and the past at once.'¹⁶ Music of its essence is, fundamentally, 'the art of time *par excellence*';¹⁷ tempo, durations, time signatures, bar-lines, measured and unmeasured time. Music, therefore, evokes memory and makes it present. Memory is connected with both time and identity. Time is the continuum for memory's existence.

This thesis contends that memory in music is articulated by references to texts, musical motifs, rhythms, structures, and melodies, all of which have a

¹⁵ James Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993); Lawrence Langer, *Art from the Ashes: A Holocaust Anthology* (New York and Oxford: OUP, 1995) Dominique LaCapra, *Representing the Holocaust: History, Theory, Trauma* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994); Anne Whitehead, *Memory: The New Critical Idiom* (New York: Routledge, 2009); John Roth and Elizabeth Maxwell, eds., *Remembering for the Future: The Holocaust in an Age of Genocide* (Hampshire and New York: Palgrave, 2001); Pierre Nora, *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*, 3 vols, English language edition, ed. by Lawrence D. Kritzman, trans. by Arthur Goldhammer (New York and Chichester: Columbia University Press, 1998). History is defined by Nora as a discipline which is scientific, objective, empirical, representative, analytical, universal and relative; memory, on the other hand, is described as being organic, subjective, affective, selective, and absolute. On the surface, it seems that they are quite separate. Deeper analysis unveils a significant link between the memory and history however apparent the dichotomy might appear externally. History is not possible without memory, and memory becomes historical in its articulation.

¹⁶ Daniel Barenboim, *Music Quickens Time* (London and Brooklyn: Verso, 2008), p. 24.

¹⁷ Gisèle Brelet, cited in Carl Dahlhaus, trans. by William W. Austin, *Esthetics of Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 74.

significant connection to the past. The important premise of these references is their relationship to collective memory. The past is not located in that chronological place in time (*mnēmē*); it is brought into the present (*anamnēsis*), and becomes a hope for the future thereby creating a meaningful link with survivance. Survivance is more than physical survival; it is a term used in relation to the arts, by George Steiner, as ‘wagers on survivance’ and, by Gerald Vizenor, in connection with the preservation of the heritage of indigenous cultures. These inter-connections between music, memory and survivance, in the context of the Theresienstadt compositions, are significant in the discourse of this thesis.

0.3 Collective Memory

The term ‘collective memory’ was first used by the French philosopher Émile Durkheim (1858-1917) and later taken up by sociologist Maurice Halbwachs (1877-1945). Other sociologists including Eviatar Zerubavel (1948-) and Iwona Irwin-Zarecka¹⁸ have built on the work of Durkheim and Halbwachs. ‘Collective memory’ is a metaphor encapsulating the centrifugal and centripetal forces that create a dynamic tension between individual and collective memory. Halbwachs illustrates that our individual memories are part of the collective memory: ‘[A] person remembers only by situating himself within the viewpoint of one or several groups and one or several currents of collective thoughts.’¹⁹ The term ‘collective’ can be traced back to the individuals who share these traditions, beliefs or myths that make the collective expression; Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, says, ironically, that

¹⁸ Iwona Irwin-Zarecka’s date of birth is unknown.

¹⁹ Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 33.

'no symphony was ever written by a committee'.²⁰ Halbwachs states that 'there are no recollections which can be said to be purely interior [...] preserved only within individual memory.'²¹ Memory can only be perceived and verified externally within the social frameworks of which the collective is one.²² While these perspectives seem outwardly to contradict one another, there is a strong movement which validates the individual experience of memory which becomes part of the collective memory. Collective memory manifested itself in Theresienstadt in a variety of contexts, born out of the experience of individuals in the years before the war and from their internment in the ghetto. These contexts give rise to multiple manifestations of collective memory.

0.3.1 Jewish Collective Memory

Jewish memory, secular, religious, conscious, subconscious and unconscious was part of the shared identity of Jews in Theresienstadt. The collective memory of the Jewish people is central to the work of Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi. He refers to the Jewish people as 'the people of the memory' whose unconditional injunctions to remember are religious imperatives.²³ The positive injunctions are complemented by the equally emphatic negative injunctions not to forget. These positive and negative injunctions are fundamental to Judaic identity and the ritual surrounding it. The inclusion of Hebraic elements in music in the Theresienstadt ghetto is a significant expression of individual and collective memory. This thesis examines the works of Hugo Löwenthal (1879-1943) and Zigmund Schul (1916-1944) in the

²⁰ Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, *Zachor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1990), p. 95.

²¹ Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, pp. 167, 169.

²² Noa Gedi and Yigal Elam, 'Collective Memory - What is It?', *History and Memory*, 8 (1996), 30-50 (p. 35).

²³ Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, *Zachor*, p. 9.

context of Jewish collective memory, and also the performances of oratorios which have Jewish significance. Collective memory is manifested in the subject matter of Hebraic folk melodies, and their underlying ideology, and in the efforts to preserve a culture and tradition which was being systematically destroyed in the Europe of the Second World War.

0.3.2 Anthroposophist Collective Memory

The Anthroposophical Movement was founded by Rudolf Steiner (1861-1925) in 1913. Its focus is, primarily, on the human person, and the creation of a path of spiritual and inner development. Anthroposophy comprises education, cosmology, esotericism, and the occult. It draws on the insights of Christianity, Judaism, theosophy, Rosicrucianism, German idealist philosophy, and the myths of ancient civilisations. For Viktor Ullmann (1898-1944), anthroposophy was a source of memory evident in his personal writings and in the subject matter of his oeuvre. In the musical compositions and writings of Viktor Ullmann, manifestations of anthroposophist collective memory are evident: his understanding of music; music as form and matter; the subjects and the texts of some of his works, for example, *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*.

It is legitimate to look beyond the traditional frameworks of memory of Halbwachs, to invoke a collective concept which is based on cultural memory rather than the shared memory of a specific tradition, geographical or even topographical group. Sociologist Jan Assmann provides interesting insights that elucidate cultural memory as a valid form of collective memory. Cultural memory,

and, consequently, collective memory, is mediated through socialization into particular groups.

0.3.3 Nationalist Collective Memory

Shared collective memory was affiliated to nationalism in Theresienstadt. In 1939 the population of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia was divided into two main categories:

1. German inhabitants who were recognised as German nationals.
2. Nationals of the Protectorate, Czechoslovak citizens, who were legally residing there.²⁴

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw a movement towards nationalist identity for Jews. Some Jews were strongly assimilated into German culture; others were assimilated in the Czech culture. In the Theresienstadt ghetto these groupings were again in evidence, though not as tightly-knit, highly-defined communities which were mutually exclusive. German influence in the Czech lands was apparent since the middle ages and was particularly strong since the Battle of the White Mountain in 1620. In their movement towards assimilation and integration in the light of the *Haskalah*, some Jews adapted to their new identity with speed and enthusiasm.²⁵ The mid-nineteenth century saw the emergence of Czech nationalism which was again to have an effect on the Jewish population, with some becoming assimilated Czech nationalists. However, both secularised and observant Jews had arranged settings

²⁴ Moses Moskowitz, 'Three years of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia', *Political Science Quarterly*, 57 (1942), 17-44 (p. 35).

²⁵ See Glossary of Terms within the preliminary pages of this thesis.

of Yiddish and Hebrew songs in the concentration camps and ghettos. These arrangements sometimes served a purpose, for example, as a response to a request from specific choir directors. However, comparative evidence of pre-War compositions and works composed during the war suggests that composers with stronger nationalist tendencies – for example, Pavel Haas (1899-1944) and Gideon Klein (1919-1945) - tended to draw on aspects of music which reflected elements of nationalist collective memory rather than Jewish collective memory.

0.4 Survivance

Two specific interpretations of the concept of survivance are core to the arguments presented in this thesis: those of the philosopher, George Steiner, and those of the sociologist, Gerald Vizenor. George Steiner first articulated the concept of survivance in 1989 in *Real Presences: Is there anything in what we say?* where the arts were described as ‘wagers on survivance’.²⁶ The term ‘survivance’, in George Steiner’s usage, evokes a broader and more holistic concept than that of the more commonly-used term survival. Survival, in general usage, would seem to relate to the physical functions of the body, breathing, moving, and performing adequately. While the word ‘survivance’ encompasses physical survival, this survival constitutes the foundational building block of survivance but not its comprehensive state or potential. Survivance implies endurance beyond physical existence, transcendence, an attitude of hope, defiance and resistance, and suggests the preservation of tradition and culture. In Steiner’s philosophy, the arts are key to survivance.

²⁶ George Steiner, *Real Presences: Is there anything in what we say?*, p. 4.

In the work of Gerald Vizenor, survivance is associated with the preservation of the language, culture and traditions expressing the identities of specific indigenous groupings.²⁷ Vizenor's research examines survivance in relation to the Native American Indians and the Creole-French population of Louisiana. The preservation of the collective memory of these indigenous communities is no guarantee of their physical survival. There is a strong link between memory and survivance. Vizenor's understanding of the concept of survivance goes beyond the physical death of a person or group thus ensuring the preservation of what remains of the indigenous community's identity through memory. While the context for the understanding of survivance, as outlined from this sociological perspective, is particular to indigenous groupings, its significance is transferable to Theresienstadt, where an indigenous group struggled to assert and re-define its identity in an oppressive environment that sought to break and annihilate the Jewish population.

0.5 Thesis Methodology and Structure

This thesis begins by tracing the historical, sociological, and cultural backgrounds and context for European Jewry, particularly the Jewry of the Czech lands from 1750 to 1945. This background provides a key to understanding the evolution of Jewry as it moved from being localised in shtetls,²⁸ speaking their own Yiddish and Hebrew languages, to embracing the challenges of the Jewish enlightenment or *Haskalah*. The *Haskalah* movement had far-reaching implications for Jewry as it

²⁷ Gerald Vizenor, *Survivance: Narratives of Native Presence* (USA: University of Nebraska Press, 2008)

²⁸ Shtetls is the Yiddish name for the small Jewish villages and towns in Eastern Europe populated mainly by the Ashkenazic Jews.

sought to acculturate and assimilate into the dominant Czech or German cultures. As language, musical traditions, education, religion, economics, and business began to integrate with these cultures it led to a loss of their Jewishness as some, like the Zionists, perceived it. No longer were the Jews of Europe communities which spoke only Yiddish or Hebrew; no longer did they have to remain alienated in an otherwise pluralist and multi-cultural society. They now had the opportunity to participate in the wider Europe, embracing the ideals of Enlightenment, availing of the opportunities presented to them for greater inclusion in European life at all levels. These were formative times for Jewish identity. In this cultural and sociological movement, the foundations were being laid for a collective memory which was different from that which had sustained Jews for previous generations. In the quest for change, there were three groupings:

1. Those who still remained faithful to their Jewish religious tradition and their own languages.
2. Those who acculturated, taking on the language and customs of the prevailing dominant culture but not losing their religious identity.
3. Those who assimilated totally, rejecting any notion of their Jewishness – language, traditions, or culture.

The Jews who arrived in transports to Theresienstadt were born out of the history of the preceding generations. The three categories outlined above were constitutive of different groupings in Theresienstadt. Each of these groupings continued to find expression and identity in their Jewishness and/or the surrounding culture. At its core this thesis focuses on selected Jewish composers

of Theresienstadt and the manifestations of collective memory evident in their works, a memory which had been formed from preceding generations.

Chapter One also examines musical developments in the interwar period in the Weimar Republic and in the newly-established democracy of Czechoslovakia. Both showed signs of renewed growth, the encouragement of musical activities, and the promotion of greater tolerance towards difference. The rise of the Nazi regime in Germany is also considered, with particular emphasis on the impact of legislation on Jewish musicians in the Reich and occupied territories. Jewish musicians were driven to perform music in clandestine settings or else they were forced to emigrate. The establishment of the Jewish ghettos and camps soon became the only places within Nazi-governed states where, ironically, Jews could play music or indeed play the music of Jewish or 'Aryan' composers. Examination of this particular context is important because it is also part of the background and context to the Jews of Theresienstadt.

Chapter Two outlines the development of the Theresienstadt Ghetto. There were three initiatives which were significant in the musical life of the camp: *Kameradschaftsabende* or Evenings of Fellowship; *Freizeitgestaltung* or Administration of Free Time Activities; and *Studio für Neue Musik* or Studio for New Music. These three developments created spaces in which composers and performers could exercise their talents. The programmes which they selected have a bearing on collective memory. For the most part, this is more evident in the songs which they chose, or the performances of larger-scale works such as oratorios or operas. While the performance of these works may have been

determined by the experience of the directors, or the memorised programmes of performers, their content is still, nevertheless, significant and, therefore, subjected to further investigation.

Chapters Three, Four, and Five, each focus on composers representative of the different groupings which were mentioned above. These chapters investigate their compositions from the perspectives of collective memory. This analysis addresses not only the works that they composed in Theresienstadt but also, where possible, investigates their musical lives in advance of the Second World War, in particular in the years immediately prior to 1939. This is revealing. It provides pointers as to what was significant for these composers in terms of collective memory and what, therefore, they drew on when composing in the ghetto. This is a departure from previous research in the area of music and the *Shoah*.

Chapter Three focuses mainly on composers whose works reveal manifestations of Jewish collective memory from a traditional perspective. While reference is made to some composers (for example, Viktor Ullmann and Pavel Haas) whose works will be discussed in more detail in other chapters, their inclusion in this chapter is justified by the fact that their compositions are part of the corpus of Jewish collective memory evident in the Theresienstadt works. Other composers included in this chapter are James Simon, Karel Reiner, Hugo Löwenthal and Zigmund Schul. Schul is the only composer from this group who relied heavily on Jewish collective memory in his pre-War compositions.

Chapter Four focuses on the works of Viktor Ullmann. Ullmann combined an eclectic mixture of diverse influences in his background: anthroposophy, Judaism, and Czech collective memory. The ideology of anthroposophy is expressed in his understanding of music as form and matter. Judaism finds expression through the inclusion of significant Jewish elements in his music. Czech collective memory finds a home in Ullmann's musical quotations of Czech national significance. These diverse areas can be encompassed within definitions of collective memory by fulfilling the criteria of association with distinctive sociological and cultural groupings and identities. A selection of Ullmann's works in different genres will be investigated in order to examine the nature of collective memory evident in his vocal and instrumental works.

Chapter Five focuses on the composers Pavel Haas and Gideon Klein. These two are in a separate chapter from the other composers due to the very strong emphasis on Czech collective memory in this music. Czech nationalism was a characteristic very much in evidence before the outbreak of the Second World War. Nationalism found expression in the musical quotations of the Czech Chorale in honour of St Wenceslas and in the Hussite Chorale. It is interesting that these two composers embed these chorales in their Theresienstadt compositions using a contemporary harmonic and tonal language. In addition, their works draw on Moravian folk-song repertoire and therefore on the influence of Leoš Janáček. Their pre-War works and their Theresienstadt works alike show a consistency in terms of their expressions of collective memory shaped from a Czech perspective.

0.6 Conclusion

The collective memory of the composers and performers of Theresienstadt was shaped through the formative elements initiated from the eighteenth century with the emergence of the *Haskalah*²⁹ and its movements towards greater sociological assimilation for European Jewry. Political, cultural and sociological developments from the eighteenth century onwards were to radically change the nature of collective memory for Judaism. These shaping elements contributed to the eclectic mixture of influences both forming and informing the works of the composers and performers of the Theresienstadt ghetto.

²⁹ Haskalah is the Jewish Enlightenment.

CHAPTER ONE

European Jewry (1750-1941) The Cultural, Sociological and Musical Context

1.1 European Jewry (1750-1941)

For European Jewry the significance of memory was rooted in identity. This chapter examines the cultural, sociological, and musical contexts of that identity. It offers an overview of the situation for Jews in the Czech lands from the middle of the eighteenth century to the period of internment in Theresienstadt in 1941. It discusses, with particular reference to the role and significance of memory, the issues contributing to Jewish identity for the Jews of Theresienstadt. An examination of the contribution of Jews to the culture of the Czech lands further contextualises the cultural contribution of the musicians interned in Theresienstadt.

European history (1750-1945) was characterised by social, political, and cultural upheaval. In the German and Czech lands, this upheaval was felt in the fall of empires, the rise of nationalism, the geographical and political divisions of countries, and the changes in policies towards the Jewish communities. For the Jews of Europe, this period was one of acculturation and assimilation where they sought to be more integrated into the new Europe of the Enlightenment. *Haskalah* required this assimilation so that Jews would take an active part in the prevailing societies in which they lived. Jews took on the language, customs, education, and culture, of the dominant Czech or German group. Some acculturated and balanced their Jewish heritage and practice with

the requirements of *Haskalah*; others disengaged from the Jewish tradition through complete assimilation, perceiving this as the only way forward into the future for European Jewry.

Such developments, as outlined above, created a chequered landscape which had repercussions for the Jews in terms of the concept of collective memory. For the majority of the musicians of Theresienstadt, the music which they composed or performed had a history rooted in the Czech lands. Most were assimilated into the cultural and social life of Europe, and this was manifested in their musical lives before and during the Second World War. For these Jews, issues pertaining to their Jewish identity came to the fore only after their internment in Theresienstadt. Others were acculturated, showing evidence of immersion into the liturgical and religious life of the Jewish community but drawing some influences from the pervading secular culture.

1.2 Eighteenth-Century Europe: From Boundaries to Frontiers

Eighteenth-century Europe was characterised by unprecedented changes and questions. Rationalism, science, and philosophy contributed to these shifts by questioning assumptions relating to the perception of the world, existentialism, and hitherto accepted forms of authority. Europe witnessed major political upheavals in the partitions of Poland in 1772, 1793 and 1795; the complete emancipation of the Jewish people of France after the French Revolution in

1789; and the curtailment of Jewish movement instituted by Catherine II in the Russian Empire through the establishment of the Pale of Settlement in 1791.³⁰

Haskalah was a significant development for European Jewish life in the eighteenth century. While *Haskalah* was an extension of the European Enlightenment, it was concerned primarily with the political status of Jews and their relationship to European culture.³¹ *Haskalah* was an ideological and social movement which started in the latter half of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, later than the European Enlightenment.³²

The followers of *Haskalah*, collectively known as the *maskilim*, were conscious of being modern Jews.³³ They pushed for change in the cultural and practical life of Jewish society. They were part of a two-pronged cultural structure: a Torah-oriented culture promulgated through the traditional education and values of the Jewish community, and the European culture of Enlightenment which the *maskilim* usually acquired through individual study.³⁴ The *Haskalah* movement contributed toward assimilation in language, dress, and manners, by condemning Jewish feelings of alienation of the Diaspora and fostering loyalty

³⁰ Peter Demetz, *Prague in Black and Gold: Scenes from the Life of a European City* (New York: Will and Wang, 1998), pp. 250-251.

³¹ Immanuel Etkes, 'Haskalah', in *The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*, ed. in chief, Gershon David Hundert, 2 vols (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008) i, 1-2400 (p. 681).

³² Judith Baskin, 'Haskalah', Jewish Virtual Library, <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsourc/judaica/ejud_0002_0008_0_08507.html> [accessed 14 April 2008].

³³ This group of young Jewish intellectuals, most of whom were in their thirties, consisted of only about two hundred people who, though scattered geographically, remained in communication throughout Europe. Their main demographic concentration was in Königsberg, Breslau, Berlin and the Kingdom of Prussia. Immanuel Etkes, 'Haskalah', in *The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*, ed. in chief, Gershon David Hundert, 2 vols (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008) i, 1-2400 (p. 681).

³⁴ Schmuel Feiner, *Haskalah and History: The Emergence of a Modern Jewish Historical Consciousness*, trans. by Chaya Naor and Sondra Silverston, p. 9.

toward the modern centralized state.³⁵ *Haskalah* called for Jews to become active participants in their surrounding culture.³⁶ However, the movement regarded assimilation as a precondition for eventual emancipation.³⁷

The ideology of *Haskalah* found particular expression in two key thinkers: Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1786) and Naftali Herts Wessely (1725-1805). Mendelssohn emphasised the consistency between faith and reason in Jewish tradition. He was also anxious to initiate dialogue between Jewish tradition and surrounding culture. Wessely referred to this dialectic, central to the understanding of the Jew in the contemporary world, as the *Torah h'adam* (the wisdom of humanity, including human reason, philosophy and science) and the *Torah hashem* (the wisdom of God with its roots in divine revelation, the commandments; that which pertains, specifically, to Jews).³⁸ Wessely proposed a number of curricular changes which would affect the hitherto established practice of Jewish education.

³⁵ Azriel Shochat, Judith R. Baskin and Yehuda Slutsky, 'Haskalah', *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. ed. by Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik, 2nd edn, 22 vols (Michigan: Gale Publishers, 2006), viii, p. 434.

³⁶ It is important, however, to distinguish between processes of acculturation - the process of adapting to the norms of a dominant group while retaining the minority group's indigenous identity - and assimilation - where an ethnic group loses its cultural distinctiveness and becomes absorbed into a majority culture - and *Haskalah*. While *Haskalah* advocated a certain degree of assimilation, it favoured the existence of Jewish society as a distinct entity and sought to promote its spiritual and cultural renewal.

³⁷ Judith Baskin, 'Haskalah', Jewish Virtual Library, <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsourc/judaica/ejud_0002_0008_0_08507.html> [accessed 14 April 2008].

³⁸ It was Wessely's conviction that a Jew who ignored or denied the *Torah h'adam* was unfulfilled as a human being. Shmuel Feiner, *Haskalah and History: The Emergence of a Modern Jewish Historical Consciousness*, trans. by Chaya Naor and Sondra Silverston, p. 10.

1.2.1 The Edicts of Tolerance: The Path to Greater Assimilation

These plans for Jewish educational reform, instigated by the *Haskalah* movement, largely coincided with those proposed by Emperor Joseph II (1741-1790), who was initiating changes both to improve the quality of life for many in the empire to break down societal privileges and remove barriers to economic growth. The Edict for the Abolition of Serfdom (1781) and the Edicts of Tolerance (from 1781) were legislative vehicles that determined significant reforms in the state. The Edict for the Abolition of Serfdom came into effect only in 1848 when compulsory feudal labour was abolished. The Edicts of Tolerance issued in Bohemia (1781), Moravia (1782), Hungary (1783) and Galicia (1789), legalised the Lutheran, Calvinist and Orthodox faiths. The same Edicts had major and, for the most part, positive repercussions for the Jewish communities. This was in direct contrast to the antisemitic attitude displayed by the Emperor's mother, Maria Theresa, who had expelled the Jews from Prague in 1744. However, the stance taken by Joseph II was not intended to reflect a benevolent view that was to confer any special privileges or advantages on the Jewish community; his utilitarian aim was to create a more productive and homogenous society.³⁹

The Edicts of Tolerance paved the way for Jews towards greater assimilation and integration into society, officially endorsed and encouraged by the state. The ramifications of these Edicts were felt even in Theresienstadt itself.

³⁹ Joseph II stated in a memorandum in October 1781: 'It is by no means my intention to expand the Jewish nation in the hereditary lands or to reintroduce them to areas where they are not tolerated, but only – in those places where they already exist and to the extent that they already tolerated – to make them useful to the state.' Joseph II, quoted in Hillel J. Kieval 'The Lands Between: The Jews of Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia to 1918', from *Where Cultures Meet: The Story of Jews in Czechoslovakia*, ed. by Natalia Berger (Tel Aviv: Beit Hatefutsoth and Ministry of Defense Publishing House, 1990), p. 41.

All areas of Jewish life were to be affected by the Edicts including cultural, commercial, educational, industrial, and even in the non-liturgical parts of their religious services.⁴⁰ The introduction of schools with secular curricula represented a major departure for traditional Judaism. For Jews, interests in broad education became a focus so that education was not limited specifically to Torah or Talmudic scholarship.

1.2.2 Cultural and Societal Integration

Another decree issued in 1784 by Joseph II determined that German was to become the official language of the state. Thus, all commercial and legal documents had to be written in German. Jews were required to take German names. Joseph II's reforms gave greater incentive to many of the ideals of the proponents of *Haskalah*. The institution of German as the official state language forced a certain cultural integration where Judaeo-German and Yiddish were the conversant languages of the majority of Jews within the confines of their homes. Judaeo-German was a language originating in southern and western medieval Germany, with influences also from Latin, Hebrew and Czech languages.⁴¹ For the *maskilim* of the *Haskalah*, Yiddish was a remnant of a former era when Jews lived apart and had their own vernacular language. In the modern world, Jews were an integral part of society and therefore the continued use of Yiddish worked against their modernizing ideology.⁴² German represented the language of high-culture. Increases in the accessibility of the printed word facilitated the societal changes in

⁴⁰ Peter Demetz, *Prague in Black and Gold*, pp. 282-284.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 283.

⁴² David Shneer, *Yiddish and the Creation of Soviet Jewish Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 7.

language. The vernacular languages were consigned to the edges of society and Hebrew to the language of ritual. The *Haskalah* movement was convinced that these developments would precipitate eventual Emancipation.⁴³

1.3 Nineteenth-Century Europe: From Divisions to Identities

The early part of the nineteenth century was dominated by industrialisation. The 1830s heralded the first steam engines and the beginnings of an extensive rail network in the Czech lands. However, on 18 June 1844, riots broke out in Prague in the mill yard of the Jewish industrialists Porges and Sons.⁴⁴ Protests were launched in reaction to a cut in wages which happened without warning. Strikes were called and they spread elsewhere in Bohemia, contributing to antisemitism and leading to violent demonstrations. The consequences were felt forcibly in those factories and industries managed by Jewish employers.

1.3.1 Czech-German Tensions

As the nineteenth century progressed, the Czech-German national struggle gained greater importance in Bohemia and Moravia. Jews faced the problem of reconciling an essentially German acculturation with the reality of an ethnically divided society.⁴⁵ Many Jews found that the use of the German language was

⁴³ Azriel Shochat, Judith R. Baskin and Yehuda Slutsky, 'Haskalah' from *Encyclopedia Judaica*, ed. by Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik, 2nd ed, 22 vols (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2007), viii, pp. 434-444.

⁴⁴ Peter Demetz, *Prague in Black and Gold*, p. 285.

⁴⁵ Hillel J. Kieval, 'The Lands Between: The Jews of Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia to 1918', from *Where Cultures Meet: The Story of Jews in Czechoslovakia*, ed. by Natalia Berger, p. 44.

concomitant with the spirit of changing times. After all, it was the language used by Moses Mendelssohn and also in everyday life.⁴⁶

By the late 1840s Jewish students of second- and third-level education were graduates of a German curriculum. However, this did not necessarily create a sense of identity with the German-speaking community. It appeared that the state endowment of German-oriented initiatives, and the Jewish will to acquiesce to them, was contributing to a strong German-Jewish affiliation. In addition, the *Haskalah* movement required Jews to immerse themselves in the culture of the surrounding environment. Developments in Jewish education contributed to the promotion of Jews in the economic, financial, legal, and medical life of the Czech lands. Jewish acculturation, combined with increased education and economic superiority, led to the perceived notion, in the minds of the Czechs, that Jews were allied to the German enemies.⁴⁷ Later in the nineteenth century alternatives to the type of acculturation that had dominated the Czech lands began to emerge.

⁴⁶ Moses Mendelssohn himself had advised in *Jerusalem*: 'Adopt the customs and constitutions of the country in which you live, but be careful to follow the religion of your fathers. As well as you can you must carry both burdens. It is not easy because, on the one hand, people make it hard for you to carry the burden of civil life because of your faithfulness to your religion and, on the other hand, the climate of the times makes keeping religious law harder than it need be in some respects. Nevertheless you must try. Stand fast in the place you have been allocated by Providence and submit to everything that happens to you as you were commanded long ago by your law giver. Indeed, I do not understand how those who are part of the household of Jacob can with a good conscience not fully observe the Jewish law.' Moses Mendelssohn: Quotation from *Jerusalem*, from *Judaism: History, Belief and Practice*, ed. by Dan Cohn-Sherbok (London: Routledge, 2003; 2005), p. 130.

⁴⁷ Wilma Abeles Iggers, *The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia: A Historical Reader*, ed. by Wilma Abeles Iggers, trans. by Wilma Abeles Iggers, Kačá Polčková-Henley, Kathrine Talbot (Michigan, Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992; Munich, 1986), p. 131.

1.3.2 Emerging Identities

Two years after the riots and the antisemitic attitudes displayed in 1844, the Jewish writer, Siegfried Kapper (1821-1879), sought to emphasise his Czech identity by publishing a collection of poetry. It provoked a scornful reaction from an influential journalist, Karel Havlíček (1821-1856), who argued that Jews constituted more than a religious denomination and they were also a distinct nationality:

We hope that there is no need to prove the point that it is impossible to belong simultaneously to two fatherlands and two nations, or to serve two masters. Therefore anyone who wants to be a Czech must cease to be a Jew.⁴⁸

Progression towards Czech identity was not only a Jewish concern. In the Czech lands, the movement towards Czech national identity gained political strength and impetus. On 8 March 1848, unauthorised posters were circulated in the city of Prague 'admonishing the citizens to shake off their lethargy, to commit themselves to the cause "of a patriotism of intelligence and morality"' and to attend a meeting on 11 March.⁴⁹ As a result of this meeting, it was decided that a submission would be sent to the Emperor. The submission made political demands including municipal self-rule; the establishment of an assembly consisting of a representative body of citizens and peasants; and the addressing of issues pertaining to employment and wages.⁵⁰ However, it was not until after 1860 (when Emperor Franz Joseph I formally abandoned absolutism) that Czech political strivings gained momentum. A further impulse arose from the February

⁴⁸ Adapted from Guido Kisch, *In Search of Amercian Jews from Czechoslovakia* (London, 1949) pp. 36-38 and pp. 213-214; and Oscar Donath, *Siegfried Kappers Leben und Wirken* (Berlin, 1909, p.434), quoted in Hillel J. Kieval, 'The Lands Between: The Jews of Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia to 1918', from *Where Cultures Meet: The Story of Jews in Czechoslovakia*, ed. by Natalia Berger, p. 46.

⁴⁹ Peter Demetz, *Prague in Black and Gold*, p. 287.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 287-291.

Constitution of 26 February 1861, which was the basis of the first elections to land diets and the Imperial Council of Vienna, parliament of the whole Habsburg state. The imperial decisions of the 1860s granted Jews greater freedom of occupation, mobility, economic activity, and the ownership of most forms of real property.⁵¹

As the Habsburg state began to weaken, society was becoming more fragmented with greater tensions in evidence through multi-ethnic and multi-religious diversity. In 1867 the constitutional monarchic union between the Habsburgs and the Kingdom of Hungary led to the formation of a Dual Monarchy – the Austro-Hungarian Empire - and brought a division of the former Austrian Empire. The Habsburg state now shared power with the Hungarian government; each state was independent yet shared certain common ministries. From 1867, Jews in the Austrian half of the monarchy gained full legal equality.⁵² From the 1860s to the turn of the century, the Czech lands experienced political volatility; emerging national movements including the Czechs, Germans, and Hungarians, began to compete for state power; all had different visions of the future.⁵³

From the 1870s Czech assimilation was promoted by a number of Czech-Jewish organisations. The first of these was *Spolek Českých Akademiku-Židů* (Association of Czech Academic Jews), founded by Jewish university students in

⁵¹ Hillel J. Kieval, 'Bohemia and Moravia', YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe <http://www.yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Bohemia_and_Moravia> [accessed 14 March 2011].

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Hillel J. Kieval, 'The Lands Between: The Jews of Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia to 1918', from *Where Cultures Meet: The Story of Jews in Czechoslovakia*, ed. by Natalia Berger, p. 44.

Prague in 1876. *Or-Tomid* (Eternal Light) founded in 1883 campaigned to use Czech language as the medium for the delivery of religious ceremonies and public ritual. The last group, *Národní Jednota Českožidovská* (Czech-Jewish National Union), initiated a Czech-Jewish newspaper *Českožidovské Listy*. The main aims of the Czech-Jewish movement were to develop a religious-philosophical concept of assimilation as an internal process and to synthesise Czechness and Jewishness. These aims led to a vision of a future ideal: the fraternity of all people.⁵⁴ Despite these movements towards Czech assimilation, antisemitism was to drive the Jewish communities to confront the difficulties associated with that assimilation.

Antisemitism was not a new phenomenon in the Czech lands, the first instance being recorded in 1096.⁵⁵ Antisemitic sentiment continued to fester in the years leading up to the outbreak of the First and then the Second World Wars. The problems Jews faced in Czech or German assimilation, including the rise of antisemitism at the end of the century, contributed to the development of the Jewish national movement or Zionism. Zionists aimed to transform the idea of a return to the original homeland, to Zion, as a traditional symbol of redemption. They questioned the basis of assimilation by insisting that their ethnic affiliation was neither German nor Czech but Jewish. Zionism first emerged at the turn of the

⁵⁴ Anita Fanková and Vlastimila Hamáčková, *History of the Jews in Bohemia and Moravia from Emancipation to the Present* (Prague: Jewish Museum, 1999), pp. 31-32.

⁵⁵ There were a number of antisemitic attacks that took place in the years from 1096. One which was highly publicised was the Hilsner case. On 1 April 1899, the body of a seamstress, Anežka Hružová, was found near the town of Polna in Bohemia. An antisemitic rumour was circulated determining that ritual murder was the cause of her death. This assumption was made because a deep wound was inflicted in the area of the throat and very little blood was found near the body. Leopold Hilsner was charged with her murder. However, it was reported in a Czech newspaper of 1968 that Anežka Hružová's brother, on his deathbed in 1961, had confessed to killing his sister. Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, later the first president of the Czechoslovakian Republic, was a lawyer in this case. Wilma Iggers, from a newspaper report found by the historian Wilma Iggers to which reference is made in Peter Demetz, *Prague in Black and Gold*, p. 337.

century with Theodor Herzl (1860-1904). His vision developed out of the changes occurring in Jewish self-understanding, leading to 'a new collective reassertion of Judaism, in parallel with the triumphant ideology of emancipation and the individualisation of Judaism to which it was to give birth [...]'.⁵⁶

In the period before the First World War, the most important Zionist groupings included the *Bar Kochba* and the *Theodor Herzl* organisations. The youth movements attached to the Zionists were *Makkabi* and *Hagibor*; both of these movements were active in Theresienstadt. While mostly German-speaking, the Zionists sought to create a modern Jewish culture that would be inserted into the multi-ethnic life of central Europe but that would also move eventually towards their emigration to Palestine.

1.3.3 Demographics

Changes in Jewish demography directly contributed to the new Jewish configurations emerging in the Czech lands. Alterations to the political map and the growth of populations throughout Europe, coupled with the rapid growth of the Jewish population itself, brought a rich cultural cross-fertilisation. In addition, the granting of civil rights to Jews in different countries, restrictions in the employment of Jews, and the Jewish tax burden, created a system of inequity; some, but not all European states, allowed greater freedom to the Jewish communities. From the latter part of the nineteenth century, primarily due to economic problems, many Jews began to migrate from eastern to western Europe.

⁵⁶ Alain Dieckhoff, *The Invention of a Nation: Zionist Thought and the Making of Modern Israel* (London: Hurst and Co. Publishers, 2003), p.13.

Comparisons in the Jewish populations of Europe and in the Czech lands from the beginning and end of the nineteenth century display a significant increase (See Table 1.1).

Table 1.1: Demographic Changes⁵⁷

Dates	Jewish Population	Distribution of population		
Early 19th Century	3.3 million in Jewish world population	2.73 million in Europe	Largest concentration was in Poland prior to partitioning in 1795.	
End of the 19th Century	8.5 million in Europe alone	5.1 million in Russian Empire	1.95 million in Austro-Hungarian Empire – half of the Jews lived in Galicia, quarter in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia and a quarter in Hungarian land.	587,000 in Germany
	267,000 in Romania	200,000 in England	104,000 in France 43,000 in Italy	104,000 in Holland

The figures are eloquent: the world’s Jewish population more than doubled between the early and late nineteenth century. Of the 8.5 million Jews in Europe at the end of the nineteenth century, 1.95 million were located in the Austro-Hungarian Empire with a quarter of that population again located in Bohemia and Moravia. These are statistics which typify, externally at least, significant sociological changes which were occurring in the Czech lands. In addition, the

⁵⁷ Table compiled on the basis of information from the following sources: Hillel J. Kieval, ‘The Lands Between: The Jews of Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia to 1918’, from *Where Cultures Meet: The Story of Jews in Czechoslovakia*, ed. by Natalia Berger (Tel Aviv: Beit Hatefutsoth and Ministry of Defense Publishing House, 1990); Anita Fanková and Vlastimila Hamáčková, *History of the Jews in Bohemia and Moravia from Emancipation to the Present* (Prague: Jewish Museum, 1999); Wilma Abeles Iggers, *The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia: A Historical Reader*, ed. by Wilma Abeles Iggers, trans. by Wilma Abeles Iggers, Káča Poláčková-Henley, Kathrine Talbot (Michigan, Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992; Munich, 1986).

migration of Jews, conversant in Czech language and culture, brought significant changes to Prague and the bigger cities of Bohemia and Moravia, so that in 1900, the Czech Jewish population in Prague alone constituted 27,000 people, 7.9% of the city's total population.⁵⁸ In 1890, 4,498 Prague Jews cited Czech and 12,588 cited German as their everyday languages.⁵⁹ Ten years later, the figures show a marked change: 9,880 Prague Jews gave Czech as their everyday language and 8,230 gave German as their everyday language. Within that ten-year period, it is clear that the national movement towards a collective Czech identity was slowly beginning to gain a foothold in the Czech lands. It is also evident in the next table (See Table 1.2) that from 1880-1900 there was a significant difference in the population of Czechs compared to the population of Germans living in Prague alone. The following table provides a clear indication of this:

Table 1.2: Czechs and Germans in Prague⁶⁰

1880
230,000 Czechs in Prague
42,000 Germans in Prague
1900
415,000 Czechs in Prague
34,000 Germans in Prague

In the space of only twenty years, the population of Czechs in Prague almost doubled. Migrations, combined with cultural and political changes, were beginning to change life for the Jews of the Czech lands. Some migrants came from traditional Jewish communities, and a significant number made a conscious decision to send

⁵⁸ Richard I. Cohen, 'Urban Visibility and Biblical Visions: Jewish Culture in Western and Central Europe in the Modern Age', from *Cultures of the Jews: A New History*, ed. by David Biale (New York: Schocken Books, 2002), p. 757.

⁵⁹ Prague citizens were technically classified as Austrian subjects; therefore, German relates to German-speaking in this context.

⁶⁰ Wilma Abeles Iggers, *The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia: A Historical Reader*, p. 214.

their children to Czech-medium schools especially those located in the heartland of nationalism. As these people progressed through the educational system or pursued different career paths, they began to rebel against the prevailing political and cultural allegiances of the Jewish community. These changes, occurring in the self-understanding of European Jews, were fundamental to how they saw themselves in relation to society.

1.3.4 Contribution of European Jews to Music in the Nineteenth Century

The German, Czech, and Zionist typologies emerging for the Jewish communities of Europe in the nineteenth century, underlined the context for Jewish musical developments of this period. The increased contribution of composers of Jewish descent to western art music coincided with the spread of *Haskalah* from one of the first centres, Berlin.⁶¹ It was only in the middle of the nineteenth century that music was becoming more accessible to the general public through performances of opera, symphonic music, and chamber music. Participation in musical performance and general music-making was encouraged by the development of musical societies, conservatories and publishing firms. From the early nineteenth century, Jews were beginning to have more contact with the emerging European urban concert-music culture of the day.

The factors mentioned above, combined with the movements of the Jewish communities towards greater assimilation, enhanced the musical

⁶¹ Lewis Stevens, *Composers of Classical Music of Jewish Descent*, (Portland, OR: Mitchell Vallentine, 2003), p. 36.

contribution of Jews to European culture.⁶² It was interesting and significant that a grandson of Moses Mendelssohn, one of the German proponents of *Haskalah*, should be one of the first internationally renowned Jewish composers of the nineteenth-century European Romantic tradition.⁶³ While many Jewish Romantic composers came from wealthy backgrounds, poverty did not preclude others from making contributions to western art music: David Popper (1843-1913), and Louis Lewandowski (1821-1894), each of Czech origin, were known to be of limited means. An overview of the origins of other contemporary composers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reveals a correlation between geographical location and the movement of *Haskalah* throughout Europe.⁶⁴

In the late nineteenth century, an optimistic attitude prevailed regarding the future of Czech music. National revival in the Czech lands, nationalistic elements of Romantic composition, and movements towards modernism in music, contributed significantly to this attitude. These developments and influences shaped the music compositions and performances of

⁶² One example is Yekhiel Mikhl Guzikov (also known as Michal Jozef; 1806-1837), a klezmer musician from the town of Shklov, in present-day Belarus, who achieved fame playing the cimbalom in concerts across Western Europe. James Loeffler, 'Music: Concert Music', from *The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*, ed. in chief, Gershon David Hundert, 2 vols (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008) i, p. 1228.

⁶³ Five of the greatest Jewish-born composers of the Romantic era came from culturally Jewish backgrounds and clearly identified themselves as Jews: Giacomo Meyerbeer (1791-1864), Jacques-François-Fromental-Élie Halévy (1799-1862), Felix Mendelssohn (1809-47), Jacques Offenbach (1819-80) and Gustav Mahler (1860-1911). Alexander Knap, 'Emancipation to World War II' from 'Jewish Music: Art and Popular Music in Surrounding Cultures', in *Oxford Music Online* <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com>> [accessed 4 August 2008].

⁶⁴ Joseph Joachim (1831-1907; violinist) and Karl Goldmark (1830-1915; composer, violinist) from Hungary; Karl Davidov (1838-1889; cellist) from Kurland in Latvia; Ignaz Friedman (1882-1948; composer, pianist) from Krakow; Anton Rubinstein (1829-1894; pianist) and Nikolay Rubinstein (1835-1881; pianist) from Moscow; Henryk Wieniawski (1835-1880; violinist) and Józef Wieniawski (1837-1912; pianist) from Lublin, Poland. James Loeffler, 'Music: Concert Music', from *The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*, ed. in chief, Gershon David Hundert, 2 vols (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008) i, p. 1228.

the composers of Theresienstadt. In Table 1.3 (below), these musical and artistic developments are outlined. These initiatives paralleled the sociological changes occurring in Czech society, reflecting the predominant German and Czech cultural emphases. The establishment of the Prague Conservatory (1811) addressed the needs of both Czech and German communities. After 1811, there was a greater push towards more Czech nationalist influence which is evident, for example, in the publication of the first collection of Czech folksongs and the increased production and performance of Czech-related music and theatre (See Table 1.3).

Table 1.3: Czech-related Music and Theatre⁶⁵

Significant Musical Developments in the Czech Lands	Year	Key Figures Associated with these Musical Developments
<i>Prague Conservatory</i> ; Bilingual instruction in Czech and German	1811 (Founded)	Alois Hába's composition class, established in 1923, was attended by Gideon Klein, Viktor Ullmann, Karel Reiner, all of whom were later interned in Theresienstadt
First collection of Czech folksongs	1820s	Jaromir Erben; published under the title <i>Kytice</i>
First Czech opera <i>Dráteník</i>	1826	František Škroup, composer
<i>Provisional Theatre</i> ; focus on Czech opera and drama	1862 (Founded)	
First performance of <i>The Brandenburgers of Bohemia</i>	1866	Bedřich Smetana, composer; Smetana's operas were regularly performed in Theresienstadt
<i>Národní Divadlo</i> ; Czech-language performances	1881 (Founded)	
<i>Neues Deutsches Theatre</i>	1883 (Founded)	Angelo Neumann (1830-1910), director, had guest conductors Gustav Mahler and Otto Klemperer; Alexander Zemlinsky (1871-1942), director, pioneered the works of Leoš Janáček, Arnold Schoenberg, Dmitri Shostakovich, Darius Milhaud and Krenek; Viktor Ullmann worked here for a period as choral director.

⁶⁵ Table 1.3 summarises key developments outlined, primarily, in the following sources: Paul Nettl, 'Music' from *The Jews of Czechoslovakia: Historical Studies and Surveys*, ed. by Avigdor Dagan, Gertrude Hirschler, Lewis Weiner (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1984); John Clapham and Jan Smaczny, 'Czech Republic', Section 1.1 'Art Music: Bohemia and Moravia', Oldřich Pukl and Jan Smaczny, Section 2 'Czechoslovakia: 1918-1945' in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40479>> [accessed 20 January 2012].

Table 1.3 also lists some of the Theresienstadt composers and musicians – Gideon Klein (1919-1945), Viktor Ullmann (1898-1944), Karel Reiner (1910-1979) - who were part of these developments and contributed to changes in musical, ideological and sociological perceptions. Musical developments were paralleled by demographic movements which again changed the sociological landscape of the Czech lands.

1.4 Twentieth-Century Europe: From Freedom to Incarceration

From the early twentieth century onwards, in the political sphere, the multi-ethnic society of the Czech lands was given representation in the various parties that corresponded to a social hierarchy. The 1907 elections were the first to be held on the basis of universal suffrage. This marked a significant change in the political life of the country. In the inter-war period there were only 360,000 Jews living in Czechoslovakia and yet they were very involved in the economic and cultural life of the country. By 1914, an array of social, political and cultural factors changed the face of Bohemian and Moravian Jewry. These factors included the rise of universal education, Czech nationalism's challenge to German cultural and political dominance, and the general radicalisation of national politics, all of which produced a new entity: modern Czech Jewry.⁶⁶

When the Czechoslovak Republic was proclaimed in 1918 and established in 1920, Jews had an opportunity to declare themselves as of German, Czechoslovak, Hungarian or Jewish national identity; nearly 48% of Moravian

⁶⁶ Hillel J. Kieval, 'The Lands Between: The Jews of Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia to 1918', from *Where Cultures Meet: The Story of Jews in Czechoslovakia*, p. 48.

Jewry registered as Jews while most were German-speaking. The largest group of Jews, the Bohemian Jews, preferred to be identified as Czechoslovak. Such statistics signified a change in Jewish self-definition when seen in comparison with statistics from previous years.⁶⁷ In fact, Czechoslovak Jews could claim to be Jewish by nationality even if they lacked knowledge of a Jewish language or membership in the Jewish religious community, a status which was guaranteed by the official interpretation of Article 28 of the Czechoslovak constitution in 1920.⁶⁸ However, while the majority adopted Czech language, the organised Czech-Jewish movement which had been established earlier was now in decline.

From 1925 Jews were represented in the government of the newly constituted Czechoslovakian Republic. In the 1925 and 1935 general elections, the Jewish party acquired two parliamentary seats, and four Jews became government ministers. The newly inaugurated president, Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk (1850-1937), was known for his support of the Jewish community, from the time of the Hilsner case, and he initiated diplomatic contacts with Palestine in 1927.

1.4.1 Cultural Life of the Czech Lands

Along with the social and political changes in Europe which were to affect the Jewish population, there were significant developments in European cultural life, and in particular in the Czech lands. In the area of literature, *Der Prager Kreis* or the *Prague Circle* was a group of mainly Jewish individuals, of similar age, all of

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Kateřina Čapková, Michal Frankl and Peter Brod, 'Czechoslovakia' from *The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*, Gershon David Hundert, 2 vols (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008) i, p. 376.

whom were German speaking and sought new forms of cultural expression. They were aware of the different religious traditions, languages, nationalities and loyalties that existed within Czech society.⁶⁹ One member of this group, Franz Kafka (1883-1924), appears to have been dissociated from the environment of which he was objectively a part. This is evident in his writings in which he articulates the precarious situation of Jews in Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Max Brod (1884-1968) articulated this dilemma similarly: Czechs, within Austrian Prague, constituted the majority, the Germans a minority, and the Jews a minority within this minority.⁷⁰

Most of Prague's German writers were Jews but only some of them felt any affiliation to the Jewish nation. The fact that their language was German was more important in their historical consciousness than their Jewish origin. Their writing was enriched by the different perspectives integral to their culture. Johannes Urzidil (1896-1970), historian and writer, wrote that the German-speaking poets and writers had access to four ethnic sources simultaneously: German, Czech, Jewish, Austrian.⁷¹

⁶⁹ The group was comprised of composer and writer, Max Brod (1884-1968), journalist and publicist, Robert Weltsch (1891-1984), the philosopher and writer, Hugo Bermann (1883-1975) and the Jewish philosopher, Martin Buber (1878-1965), who was a prominent writer in both Polish and German.

⁷⁰ Max Brod, *Streitbares Leben: Autobiographie*: 'Das alter österreichische Prag war eine Stadt, in der nicht nur die einzelnen gegeneinander polemisierten, sondern drei Nationen standen in Kampf gegeneinander: die Tschechen als Majorität, die Deutschen als Minorität und die Juden als Minorität innerhalb dieser Minorität.' p. 7.

⁷¹ 'The German nationality, of course, to which they belonged culturally and linguistically, the Czech nationality which surrounded them as part of life, Judaism, even if they were not Jews themselves since it formed a historical and generally tangible factor in the city, and Austrian nationality, in which they were all born and reared and which determined their fate, whether they approved of it... or found fault with this or that.' Johannes Urzidil, from Vilém Fuchs on J. Urzidil, 'Die Prager Juden,' Radio Bremen, 15 September 1976, quoted in *The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia: A Historical Reader*, ed. by Wilma Abeles Iggers, p. 216.

While the Jews may have been a minority within a minority, they were, nevertheless, culturally enriched as a result. The context, expressed eloquently in the works of these aforementioned writers, was also manifest in the lives and works of musicians and composers of Prague and the major cities of the Czech lands. Assimilation changed the focus of Jewish memory from an exclusively Judaic orientation, to one that embraced the diversity of the new multi-ethnic society of which they were part.

1.4.2 Contribution of European Jews to Music in the Twentieth Century

This cultural enrichment was part of the backdrop to the contribution of Jews to music in Europe in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In Jewish music-making, there seems to have been a greater tradition of performance rather than of composition through the generations. The context of this music performance and composition was normally focused on religious settings: liturgical, paraliturgical and non-liturgical; the latter is the area of musical intersection with the communities into which Jewish people assimilated.⁷² One theory, put forward by Paul Nettl, asserts that Jewish music has its origins in Middle Eastern music and that the Middle Eastern musician is both a creative and performing artist; creation and performance are inextricably linked to his art.⁷³ Nettl posits that the Hindu or Arab musician is confined in his compositions to set patterns e.g. *maqams* and

⁷² Edwin Seroussi, et al, 'Jewish music', *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/41322pg1>> [accessed 16 March 2011].

⁷³ Paul Nettl, 'Music' in *The Jews of Czechoslovakia: Historical Studies and Surveys*, 2 vols, i, (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1971 (1968)), p. 540. (See Glossary of Terms in the preliminary section of this thesis.)

vagas which are similar to the Hebrew *neginoth*, something which limits the composers' freedom of creation in the strict western sense.⁷⁴

Jewish contribution to music in the twentieth century is evident in significant developments of the time. Table 1.4 below illustrates some of these developments which, in fact, paralleled the contemporaneous sociological changes in Czech society:

Table 1.4: Jewish Contribution to Music in the Czech Lands⁷⁵

<i>German Academy for Music and Performing Arts</i>	1920 (Founded)	Edith Kraus and Alice Herz-Sommer, pianists, were graduates of the German Academy, and were interned in Theresienstadt
<i>Verein für Musikalischen Privataufführungen</i> ; influenced by Second Viennese School, Expressionism, micro-tonality, atonality	1930s	Alois Hába, Karel Reiner, Viktor Ullmann. Reiner and Ullmann were interned in Theresienstadt
German section of Czechoslovak Radio	1930s	Karel Ančerl conductor of the Prague Radio Symphony Orchestra from 1933-1938; Robert Brock was guest conductor. Both were interned in Theresienstadt.

The information in Table 1.4 focuses on the Czech lands because of the involvement of some of the more renowned internees of Theresienstadt in the musical life of Europe in advance of the Second World War. It is evident from the information presented that some of the major composers (Gideon Klein, Viktor Ullmann, Hans Krása) and, to a lesser extent, the performers of Theresienstadt

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Table 1.4 summarises key developments outlined, primarily, in the following sources: Paul Nettl, 'Music' from *The Jews of Czechoslovakia: Historical Studies and Surveys*, ed. by Avigdor Dagan, Gertrude Hirschler, Lewis Weiner (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1984); John Clapham and Jan Smaczny, 'Czech Republic', Section 1.1 'Art Music: Bohemia and Moravia', Oldřich Pukl and Jan Smaczny, Section 2 'Czechoslovakia: 1918-1945' in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40479>> [accessed 20 January 2012].

were strongly influenced by developments that occurred in pre-War Europe. Many of the musicians interned in Theresienstadt had been part of an active musical life in Prague, Brno, and elsewhere in Europe in their pre-War lives. The eclectic nature of the involvement of these notable performers, conductors, and composers, some of whom were later incarcerated in the Theresienstadt Ghetto, illustrates the richness and diversity of their backgrounds. Gathered in Theresienstadt were professional musicians schooled in the rubrics of Classicism, Romanticism, Nationalism and Expressionism. They found resonance in the Romantic styles of Suk, the incorporation of nationalistic elements of Czech folk melodies, and the microtonal works of Alois Hába. The Theresienstadt composers were exposed to the musical influences of the Czech nationalist tradition: Antonín Dvořák (1841-1904), Leoš Janáček (1854-1928), Vítězslav Novák (1870-1949), and Josef Suk (1874-1935). Similarly, they were influenced by the works of some of the Jewish composers of France - Darius Milhaud (1892-1974) - and Austria - Gustav Mahler (1860-1911) - and by the more Eastern influences of Russia - Dmitri Shostakovich (1906-1975) - which they heard in concert performances in Prague and Brno. As performers and composers, they contributed to the German *Neues Deutsches Theater* and the Czech *Národní Divadlo*. Such exposure would have widened the musical and conceptual horizons of the composers of Theresienstadt in their pre-War lives. Their identities were being formed, not just musically, in their own self-definition as Jews in the contemporary world of that time. The influences exerted on their lives through the music which they experienced would later become part of their collective memory which would sustain them through their oppressed lives as prisoners in Theresienstadt. These eclectic influences, representative of the evolving multi-ethnic society of the Czech lands, found

expression in the music which they both composed and performed; music which was intrinsically part of their collective memory.

1.5 Music in the Weimar Republic

Meanwhile, important musical developments were taking place in the Weimar Republic. In the inter-War period (1918-1933), musical life was deemed to be part of the rehabilitation of Germany after the humiliation of defeat in World War I. In the words of the musicologist, Hans Joachim Moser (1899-1967), 'if Germany possesses one area and one profession that wields absolute influence, despite all of the enmity and distance we face in the world, these are German music and the composer [...]; one must not allow this noble, truly peaceful weapon to rust from lack of use.'⁷⁶ Music was allied to identity and solidarity. The initial post-World War I period brought rapid growth to the performance, composition and dissemination of music, without censorship. Under the leadership of the Republic's foreign minister, Gustav Stresemann (1878-1929), between the years 1923 and 1929, economic and cultural growth accelerated.⁷⁷ In the latter years of the Weimar Republic, movements were instigated to bring about greater accessibility of music to the general public. Individuals with significant influence on the musical life of the Republic were employed and they gave impetus to what was initiated by Stresemann and Ebert. Leo Kestenberg (1882-1962), music advisor to the Prussian Ministry of Science, Culture and Education, helped to 'reshape the musical life of the German capital and the far-flung Prussian

⁷⁶ Hans Joachim Moser, from *Geschichte der deutschen Musik*, quoted in Pamela M. Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, p. 4.

⁷⁷ Michael Meyer, *The Politics of Music in the Third Reich* (New York: Peter Lang, 1991; repr. 1993), pp. 10-11. Stresemann and Friedrich Ebert (1871-1925), Chancellor and President of Germany, assumed responsibility for driving a resurgence in the musical life of the Republic. Bryan Randolph Gilliam, *Music and Performance during the Weimar Republic*, p. 15.

provinces'.⁷⁸ Kestenberg was a pianist and music educator whose policies foresaw the benefits of social and political reform which were possible through music. After Kaiser Wilhelm II's abdication in 1918, Kestenberg used his influence to get Germany's music reputation re-established on the international scene. To this end, he employed critics, Adolf Weisemann (1873-1929) and Paul Bekker (1882-1937), who promoted new music in their reviews and books.⁷⁹ Kestenberg welcomed high-profile composers, performers, and conductors such as Ferruccio Busoni (1866-1924), Arnold Schoenberg, and Otto Klemperer (1885-1973). Kestenberg also nominated certain influential individuals to significant positions. Franz Schreker (1878-1934), composer, was appointed as principal to the Berlin Hochschule für Musik.⁸⁰ These appointments were to restore Germany's international reputation, and music was the means by which to achieve this in a time of economic and financial difficulty.

In 1929, the *Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur* (Fighting League for German Culture) was founded by Alfred Rosenberg (1893-1946). The purpose of the *Kampfbund* was to attack artistic modernism and to preserve purely German values. Rosenberg stated that this organisation would 'inform the German people about the interconnection between art, race, knowledge and moral values, and 'give whole hearted support for genuine expressions of German culture'.⁸¹ The

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Bryan Randolph Gilliam, *Music and Performance during the Weimar Republic*, p. 15.

⁸⁰ Richard A. Etlin, *Art, Culture and Media under the Third Reich* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2002), p. 45.

⁸¹ Alfred Rosenberg, 'Die Kulturkrise der Gegenwart' from *Völkischer Beobachter*, 27 February 1929, quoted in Erik Levi, *Music in the Third Reich* (Hampshire and London: The MacMillan Press Ltd., 1994), p. 9.

Kampfbund facilitated the promotion of German music with the strong political backing of the Nazi party.

1.6 Music in the Nazi Regime

When the Nazi regime eventually acceded to power in 1933, the foundations were laid to a politico-socio-musical system which Nazis recognised to be a vehicle for 'strengthening the nation and the race, recognizing its ceremonial, educational, and disciplinary value.'⁸² There were many professional and amateur music-making groups already in existence at that time, and they were further encouraged in order to achieve, promote, and consolidate a sense of national identity. Such was the movement towards music as part of national identity that it led to a burgeoning number of amateur music-making groups, particularly choirs, because choral music provided greater accessibility for the general populace.

1.6.1 Music in the Reich and Occupied Territories

The Reich Ministry for Popular Enlightenment and Propaganda was formed (12 March 1933) under the leadership of Josef Goebbels (1897-1945) within six weeks of Hitler becoming Chancellor. Initially, the administration of this government ministry was structured into seven departments.⁸³ The departments were subsequently organised into separate chambers of which the *Reichskulturkammer* (RKK, Reich Chamber of Culture, instituted on 15 November 1933) was one. The *Reichsmusikkammer* (RMK, Reich Music Chamber), under the administration of the

⁸² Pamela M. Potter, *Most German of the Arts: Musicology and Society from the Weimar Republic to the End of Hitler's Reich* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), p. 17.

⁸³ These departments governed such diverse areas as legislation, finance, propaganda, broadcasting, press and journalism, films, theatre, music, and fine arts.

RKK, was responsible for many expressions of music in all the geographical areas of the Reich. The RMK controlled and governed areas such as musical performance, composition, education, production, and publication.

1.6.2 Reichsmusikkammer (RMK)

The RMK was a corporate body of public law which promoted and administered German music, offered guidance, and regulated the economic and social affairs of, and for, professional musicians.⁸⁴ It also provided the means to control its membership more systematically than before via a notorious questionnaire about ancestry and political reliability.⁸⁵

Its two-fold goal was to purge Jewish musicians, foreigners and political opponents of the regime, and to improve the situation of 'Aryan' composers. At its establishment in 1933, Goebbels appointed Richard Strauss (1864-1949) as President and Wilhelm Furtwängler (1886-1954) as Vice-President. The positive contribution of the RMK was in the training of young musicians, creating music education programmes, lobbying for fairer wages for performers, and publishing works composed by less well-known 'Aryan' composers. The negative repercussions of the RMK included the denunciation and expulsion of Jewish musicians and academics, and the virtual elimination of Jewish-derived repertoire from the musical life of the Reich. Some composers, for example Werner Egk (1901-1983), chose to live within the regime because they were supported by it; others, like Hans Pfitzner (1869-1949) were initially favoured by the regime but

⁸⁴ Michael Meyer, *The Politics of Music in the Third Reich*, p. 98.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

later, because of their support of Jewish musicians, were relegated to poverty; others again, were completely decimated by the effects of the regime and had to emigrate in order to maintain a livelihood, for example, Arnold Schoenberg (1874-1951); and still others were consigned to concentration camps or murdered.⁸⁶

Of the 'Aryan' composers of the Reich, Hans Pfitzner, Richard Strauss, Paul Hindemith (1895-1963) and Carl Orff (1895-1982), deserve particular mention. Pfitzner and Strauss each had ambivalent relationships with the Nazi regime but chose to remain in Germany. Pfitzner sought the approval of the higher echelons of the Nazi regime for his musical works but was constantly sidelined. Strauss was the first President of the RMK but was later censured by the regime for being sympathetic towards Jews. Paul Hindemith was considered to be 'among the leaders of German music and also in the new Germany, because of his ability, and in spite of his ideological baggage'.⁸⁷ He had been very outspoken in his criticism of the Nazi regime and he felt the effects of this stance in a total ban on the performance of his works in Germany from 1936 until May 1945. During those years, after brief sojourns in Turkey and Switzerland, he emigrated to the United States in 1940. Musicologists differ in their portrayal of the composer Carl Orff with some suggesting that he complied with the Nazi regime (Harvey Sachs, Eleanor Büning) and others contending that he was barely tolerated by it (Hans Heinz Stuckenschmidt, Ernst Krause, Carl Dalhaus).⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Michael H. Kater, *Composers of the Nazi Era: Eight Portraits* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 111-143.

The years 1933 to 1944 were characterised by numerous decrees pertaining to musical performance and music-related activities. These decrees were to determine the repertoire to be played, the aryanisation of non-Aryan texts (e.g. Handel's oratorios *Judas Maccabaeus* and *Israel in Egypt*), Jewish and foreign performers, music education, the publication of music, and the expulsion of opponents of the regime or of perceived Jewish sympathisers. The most important pieces of legislation which pertained to music and its performance in the Reich, and elsewhere in the occupied territories, are captured in certain key developments.⁸⁹ Such decrees were to govern all aspects of music and had repercussions for German and non-German, Jew and non-Jew. Jewish composers felt the wrath of the Nazi regime's legislation most tangibly. Their professional careers became exceedingly difficult in the prevailing antisemitic climate. Some

⁸⁹ 7 April 1933: Civil service laws were promulgated which removed non-Aryans and political dissidents from employment in opera houses, state orchestras and music conservatories; 20 June 1933: the Nazi regime banned Jewish concert agencies from further participation in German musical life. Campaigns of intimidation and vilification were initiated by the *Sturmabteilung*, a militant wing of the Nazi regime; 23 June 1933: *Kulturbund Deutscher Juden* (Jewish Cultural Organisation) was officially registered; 17 August 1933: Jews were expelled from the German Singing Association; 2 December 1933: Goering banned German Jews from teaching music; 23 February 1934: RMK agreed to help finance the production, performance, and publication of new compositions; 30 August 1935: RMK issued a decree forbidding Jews and any other non-Aryans from playing in German orchestras; 7 October 1935: RMK decreed that henceforth all concerts in the Reich should be registered in advance with the local music counsellor; 18 December 1937: RMK issued a directive banning the distribution of records featuring Jewish and 'Negro' musicians; 9 March 1938: RMK prohibited Aryans from teaching music to Jews; 24 May 1938: Exhibition *Entartete Musik* opened in Düsseldorf in conjunction with the *Reichsmusiktage*, the first music festival in the Reich to be organised by the Ministry of Propaganda; 3 January 1939: Goebbels issued guidelines on the question of half- and quarter-Jews retaining membership of the RMK; 15 February 1942: RMK issued a decree banning the playing and selling of commercial records from enemy countries and a wholesale proscription of American music; 10 June 1943: The Ministry of Propaganda issued an order banning the performance of early French music; 24 August 1944: Goebbels declared 'Total War'. All theatres, concert halls, orchestras, and opera houses are closed down, with the exception of the Berlin Philharmonic. Erik Levi, *Music in the Third Reich*, pp. 267-280.

composers such as Kurt Weill (1900-1950) emigrated while there was still time to do so.⁹⁰

1.6.3 The Role of Music in the Nazi Regime

Music had a key role in the life of the Nazi government and therefore in the ghettos and concentration camps. The fabric of life in Germany and the occupied territories was such that music had a role for both the oppressors and the oppressed. For some, music gave a moment of reprieve in the most despicable of situations; for others, it was an invidious instrument of torture and deception. Music was a multi-faceted phenomenon. It created a tiered system within the camps between the privileged few who performed (and were therefore protected), and the rest of humanity who were subject to the real ravages of camp life. Existence in the ghettos was a precarious and delicate balance of life and death. Literature investigating this topic focuses, usually, on the practical uses and abuses of music in that context. A study of the relevant scholarly literature identifies the following components of the role of music within the Nazi regime, for the oppressors, as a means of education and propaganda, a vehicle of deception, an accompaniment for punishments, and as an instrument of personal humiliation and degradation. It provided entertainment for the Nazis and their families; the cultural tastes of the Nazi government in art, music and literature, are well documented.⁹¹ For those who were oppressed in the camps and ghettos, songs

⁹⁰ Schoenberg was dismissed from the *Preussische Akademie der Künste* in Berlin in 1933. He spent a brief sojourn in Paris and then emigrated to the United States in 1933. Kurt Weill emigrated to France in 1933 and then to the United States in 1935.

⁹¹ In regard to music as a tool of education in the Nazi regime, this is illustrated best in the work of Pamela Potter, *Most German of the Arts: Musicology and Society from the Weimar Republic to the end of Hitler's Reich* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998). She charts the musical education of the *volk*, along with that of the Hitler Youth, *Sturmabteilung (SA)* and *Schutzstaffel (SS)*.

were among the most accessible forms of music and were composed/arranged by the internees which reflected life as they experienced it. The categories of songs were usually divided into four headings: documentation of ghetto life, diversion from reality, upholding of tradition, partisan and resistance songs.⁹² This documentation of life in the song repertoire was a historical memory of what had occurred: the deportations, the disappearances, the food situation, humour, tragedy, satire, optimism, and defiance.

1.6.4 Entartete Musik

A significant development in the music of the Reich, and occupied territories, took place in May 1938 in Düsseldorf. It was part of an eight-day national music festival, the Reich Music Days, a joint project of the RMK and *Kraft durch Freude* (National Socialist Community 'Strength through Joy'). This exhibition of 'degenerate' music was organised by Hans Severus Ziegler (1893-1978), a Nazi official and a director of the German National Theatre in Weimar. The aim of this exhibition was to 'foster communication between the creators of music and the public, providing a forum for composers, performers, bureaucrats, educators, and

She examines the musical life of the Reich investigating its key figures and developments, the performance, repertoires, those who chose to stay within the regime and those who chose to emigrate. Michael Meyer, *The Politics of Music in the Third Reich* (New York: Lang, 1991), also examines the political implications of music in the Reich and occupied territories. Guido Fackler in his in-depth study, *Des Lagers Stimmer: Musik im KZ, Alltag und Häftlingskultur in den Konzentrationslagern, 1933 bis 1936* (Bremen: Edition Temmen, 2000), has investigated the song repertoire of the camps from the pre-War period. His survey of music in the camps includes the song repertoire composed/arranged by the SS which specifically intended to diminish and ridicule the internees of the camps. Shoshana Kalisch, *Yes, We Sang! Songs of the Ghettos and Concentration Camps* (New York: Smithmark Publishers, 1985); Fania Fenelon, *Musicians in Auschwitz* (London: Sphere, 1979); Shirli Gilbert, *Music and the Holocaust: Confronting Life in the Nazi Ghettos and Camps* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Milan Kuna, *Hudba na hranici Života* (Prague: Naše Vojsko, 1990), and others, document the abuse of music in the context of the camps and ghettos.

⁹² Shoshana Kalisch, Ruth Rabbin, Gila Flam (*Singing for Survival: Songs of the Lodz Ghetto: 1940-1945* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1992).

scholars to present their achievements to the “people’s community,” for “there [was] no musical culture that [was] not the people’s culture.”⁹³ The festival consisted of music camps for the Reich Youth Leadership and the Nazi Student League, the first musicological conference of the new Reich, and state-sponsored concerts at factories.⁹⁴

In Ziegler’s own decree *Wider die Negerkultur für deutsches Volkstum* (Against Negro Culture, for the German Heritage), he claimed that ‘in nearly all areas of culture, the influence of alien races has been prevailing and threatening to undermine the moral strength of the German people’.⁹⁵ An exhibition was set up which had photographs, scores, and newspaper reviews, often accompanied by scathing and crude slogans, which caricatured the racial origins of particular musicians. Listening booths were provided in order to create an educated public, capable of discerning what was racially and culturally acceptable music. The public had to be ‘protected’ from cultural pollution.⁹⁶ Music that contained jazz, Afro-American influences, atonality, or objectionable political content was deemed ‘degenerate’. Ziegler was particularly opposed to ‘Negro’ influences in music and

⁹³ Heinz Drewes of the RMK, quoted in Pamela Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, p. 17.

⁹⁴ Highlights of the festival included the performance of Beethoven’s Symphony No. 9, Richard Strauss’s opera *Arabella*, and Hans Pfitzner’s cantata *Von deutscher Seele*.

⁹⁵ Hans Severus Ziegler quoted in Richard A. Etlin, *Art, Culture and Media under the Third Reich*, p. 51. Igor Stravinsky (1882-1971), Ernst Toch (1887-1964), Franz Schreker (1878-1934), Anton Webern (1883-1945), and Ernst Krenek (1900-1991) were some of the composers whose works were designated ‘Degenerate’. Theoretical works such as Paul Hindemith’s *Unterweisung im Tontatz*, Arnold Schoenberg’s *Harmonielehre* and Hermann Erpf’s *Studien zur Harmonie und Klangtechnik der neuen Musik* were classified similarly.

⁹⁶ Mark Ludwig, ‘Silenced Voices: Music in the Third Reich’, *Religion and the Arts*, 4 (2000), 102-117.

stated that jazz bands, 'Negro' plays and excessive use of percussion were a 'slap in the face of German cultural sensibilities'.⁹⁷

During the period of the *Entartete Musik* Exhibition, Josef Goebbels delivered an address comprised of approximately ten key, yet nebulous, points on the constitutive elements of German music.⁹⁸ Goebbels contended that music required empathy rather than reason in order to be part of the ordinary lives of people. He lauded the effect of music on the spirit of humanity. Music, in his estimation, was the most glorious aspect of the German heritage and German musicians who left such a legacy deserve respect. In spite of Goebbels' comments pertaining to music as the most German of the arts, and the efforts of the *Entartete Musik* Exhibition to define what was acceptable music to the Nazi regime, ambiguities remained.

1.6.5 Antisemitic Musicological Developments

Nazi musicology built on antisemitic sentiments and ideologies already formed and articulated in writings such as Richard Wagner's *Jewry in Music* (1850), Houston Stewart Chamberlains's *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century* (1899), the musical-scientific expression in Richard Eichenauer's *Music and Race* (1932), and Karl Blessinger's *Judentum und Musik* (1938).⁹⁹ A debate on 'the artistic taste of Hebrews' in *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, in 1850, led to Wagner's article *Das Judentum in der Musik*. The deeper issue in Wagner's much discussed critique is

⁹⁷ Hans Severus Ziegler quoted in Richard A. Etlin, *Art, Culture and Media under the Third Reich*, p. 52.

⁹⁸ Josef Goebbels's Ten Commandments Pertaining to German Music are paraphrased by Pamela A. Potter in *Most German of the Arts*, pp. 17-18.

⁹⁹ Michael Meyer, *The Politics of Music in the Third Reich*, p. 261.

antisemitic in nature, epitomised in a scathing attack which he launched on the tradition of Jewish synagogue music.¹⁰⁰

Various catalogues of Jews and of their relationship to German music were formulated from 1934 onwards: Theodor Fritsch's *Handbuch der Judenfrage* (1934), Christa Maria Rock and Hans Brückner's *Judentum und Musik: Mit dem ABC Jüdischer und Nichtarischer Musikbeflissener* (1935, 1936, 1938). One of the more comprehensive of these was the official publication of the *Lexicon of Jews in Music* (1940), commissioned by the Reich Leadership, on the basis of official documents, edited by Dr Theo Stengel of the RMK and Dr Herbert Gerigk of Rosenberg's bureau. This bureau had responsibility for the ideological education of the Nazi party. The Music Bureau, under the direction of Gerigk, exerted its influence through its publications. As a consequence, Jewish musicians across Europe who were experiencing oppression inherent in such adverse developments were forced to perform in clandestine settings.

1.7 Nazi Occupation of Czechoslovakia

From 1938, the Sudetenland, in the border regions of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, though under Czechoslovakian government, was put into Nazi military administration under General Wilhelm Keitel (1882-1946).¹⁰¹ The Nazi armies moved into the remainder of Czechoslovakia on 16 March 1939. Emíl Hácha, then

¹⁰⁰ 'Who has not had occasion to convince himself of the travesty of a divine service of song, presented in a real folk synagogue? Who has not been seized with a feeling of the greatest revulsion, of horror mingled with the absurd, at hearing that sense-and-sound-confounding gurgle, yodel, and cackle, which no intentional caricature can make more repugnant than as offered here in full, in naïve seriousness.' Richard Wagner, 'Das Judentum in der Musik' trans. by William Ashton Ellis <<http://users.belgacom.net/wagnerlibrary/prose/wagjuda.htm>> [accessed 14 Feb. 2011].

¹⁰¹ See Appendix 2: Timeline of Events in the Protectorate, Theresienstadt and World War II, p. 255.

president of the Republic of Czechoslovakia (Bohemia, Moravia, Slovakia and Ruthenia), had, two days before, been granted assurances of 'the fullest autonomy', emphasising that the state's independence would be 'greater than that had existed under Austrian rule'.¹⁰² In fact, the Republic was anything but autonomous; it was dissolved and the government went into exile. Slovakia was separated into a nominally independent state and other former parts of Czech territory were annexed by Hungary. Consequently, the country was vulnerable and unprotected. Konstantin von Neurath (1873-1956) was appointed the first Reich Protector in the newly-established Reich Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. The Reich Protectorate and its office of administration, ultimately, took control of governance of the region; the Bohemian representative body was eventually dissolved and the Moravian representative body became a puppet of the Reich Protectorate office.¹⁰³ German *Oberlandrate* oversaw the everyday affairs of the Protectorate.

The response of the Czech nationalist population to the early months of occupation was notable. 'Our culture mobilized its strengths', one journalist reported after the war. Bryant cites the fact that the concert halls were packed with people attending performances of works with strong nationalistic symbolism such as Bedřich Smetana's symphonic-poem cycle *Má Vlast*, or his opera *Libuše*, and that the national anthem was sung at regular intervals by the concert-going

¹⁰² Adolf Hitler, quoted in Chad Carl Bryant, *Prague in Black: Nazi Rule and Czech Nationalism* (USA: Harvard University Press, 2007), p. 30.

¹⁰³ Chad Carl Bryant, *Prague in Black: Nazi Rule and Czech Nationalism*, p. 31.

public.¹⁰⁴ Czech nationalist sentiment was such that, in June 1939, the Nazis promulgated a decree forbidding the singing of national songs in public places.

From the time of occupation in the Protectorate, legislation commenced, separating Jews from Germans and Germans from Czechs. The Nazi regime soon discovered that this was not a clear-cut process given the demographic and sociological composition of the country. In the last days of the Second Republic of Czechoslovakia, before Nazi occupation, Hácha made provision for anyone to declare his or her citizenship: Czech, German, Hungarian, and Jewish. Non-Jewish Germans were categorised as either Protectorate German or Reich German. This was a source of simmering tension since the regime, initially, favoured Reich Germans in significant and influential political appointments.¹⁰⁵ There were also German Jews living in the Protectorate who had registered themselves as having Reich German citizenship in the hope of greater protection for themselves for the future.

Inter-marriage between Germans and Czechs had not been considered in the Reich citizenship laws. In the estimation of the Nazis, this loophole inhibited the possibility of the promotion of Nazi ideology in the Protectorate by weakening the domination of the Reich.¹⁰⁶ After the first year in power, the Nazis instigated the means to intensify their grip by actively supporting German publications, the construction of new German schools, German language and culture, and by the

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 36.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 48.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 55.

suppression and rigorous censorship of Czech equivalents.¹⁰⁷ Protectorate Germans, from that time, gained greater financial support and impetus in this process, and their patriotism was rewarded through the recognition and affirmation of their German allegiance.

Anti-Jewish measures endeavouring to separate Jews from the rest of the Jewish population were initiated only two days after Nazi occupation. The Nuremberg Laws, constituted elsewhere in the Reich territories from 1935, were being instituted in the Protectorate from March 1939. Jews were forbidden to continue or take up professions such as teaching, medical posts, legal affairs, and insurance. Socially, denunciations, segregations, and prohibitions, alienated Jews from the rest of society. Adolf Eichmann (1906-1962), and the Office for Central Jewish Emigration, now controlled the movements of the Jewish population within and beyond the Reich Protectorate. In March 1940, under the auspices of this Office, the Jewish communities of the Protectorate were governed by the Jewish Religious Council of Prague under the leadership of Emíl Kafka and Jacob Edelstein.

The political and legal landscape of the Protectorate was now configured according to the desires of the Nazi regime. For the musical life of Jews, this configuration had particular consequences, driving an underground movement of cultural activity which continued in spite of Nazi curfews and the threat of internment and death.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 69.

1.7.1 Clandestine Musical Activities for Jews

Although the performance, publication, or recording of music by Jews was forbidden, it was still performed in various contexts during the war: clandestine activities in music and the arts were ongoing. It is known that some of the Theresienstadt musicians performed under pseudonyms in the years prior to their internment: the pianist and composer, Carlo S. Taube (1897-1944), performed with salon orchestras in Prague cafés under the name Holubovský (a near translation with a Slavonic slant of the surname Taube); the pianist, Gideon Klein (1919-1945) regularly performed under the pseudonym Karel Vránek; the bass, conductor and composer, Karel Berman (1919-1995), assumed the name of František Havlas to conduct the 'Smetana' Chorus in Jindřichův Hradec.¹⁰⁸ Musical soirées took place in apartments and private dwelling places. Repertoires were planned in some locations and audiences could number between forty and eighty people, all of whom put their lives in considerable danger, because of curfews, to attend or participate. In order to avoid drawing attention to themselves, they each arrived and departed at different times. Some were apprehended and later incarcerated in the ghettos and camps established by the Nazi regime.

In one of the greatest acts of deception, Jews were initially lured to Theresienstadt under the false pretence that it was a pleasurable settlement where they could benefit from the therapeutic properties of spas in the vicinity and where they could even decide their preference in accommodation.¹⁰⁹ Elderly Jews, decorated war veterans, those who had formerly held high offices in government,

¹⁰⁸ Joža Karas, *Music in Terezín: 1941-1945* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1985), p. 4.

¹⁰⁹ This is documented in detail with consistent convergences in the diaries and testimonies of survivors of Theresienstadt.

and prominent musicians, artists and academics, were given notification of their assembly-points for deportation from their local areas. Specific instructions were given to them about their luggage limit and the transfer of their assets to Reich banks. Thus, the forced deportations began.

When the transports of Jews to ghettos and camps commenced, Jewish musical life continued, despite the very dangerous circumstances. One of the internment centres for musicians, primarily of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, was the Theresienstadt Ghetto.¹¹⁰ From 1941 to 1945, the ghetto became a prison for approximately 140,000 Jews over the duration of the war and, for many, a transit camp to extermination.¹¹¹ Theresienstadt, essentially a prison camp, was to become a crucible. For the occupants of Theresienstadt, whose lives were already shaped from the cultural upheavals of the preceding generations, collective memory was manifest in and through the works composed and performed. Theresienstadt was to push these composers and performers to the limits of their mental and physical endurance as they created beauty in the midst of atrocity. They had to find the resources within them to bring life and meaning to

¹¹⁰ Statistics of transports to Theresienstadt, taken directly from the US Holocaust Memorial Museum website: <<http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10007466>> [accessed 15 March 2011]. Before 1942, Protectorate Jews were the only 'residents' of the Theresienstadt camp-ghetto. Beginning with a transport of 50 Berlin Jews arriving on June 2, 1942, the German authorities deported German, Austrian, Danziger, Luxembourger, and Sudeten Jews to Theresienstadt. In 1942, 47,478 Jews arrived in Theresienstadt from the Greater German Reich (from Germany, 32,878; Austria, 13,922; Luxembourg, 213; Danzig, 110; and the Sudetenland, 355). In 1943, 5,398 Jews arrived in the camp-ghetto from the Reich (from Germany, 5,281; Luxembourg, 96; Sudetenland, 17; and Danzig, 4). In 1944, the camp-ghetto received 1,983 Jews from the Reich (from Germany, 1,671; Austria, 227; Sudetenland 81, Danzig: 3; and Luxembourg, 1). Finally, up to April 20, 1945, in 1945, 2,134 Jews from the Greater German Reich were deported to Theresienstadt (from Germany, 1,954; Sudetenland, 158; Austria, 22). In all, between June 2, 1942, and April 20, 1945, 58,087 Jews from the Greater German Reich arrived in Theresienstadt (from Germany, 41, 783; Austria 15,266; Sudetenland, 611; Luxembourg, 310; and Danzig, 117). Of these 58,087 Jews from the Greater German Reich, the Germans deported 23,670 (16,098 from Germany, Danzig, the Sudetenland, and Luxembourg; and 7,572 from Austria), nearly 41%, to killing centers or sites in the East.

¹¹¹ See Appendix 3: The Chronology of the Theresienstadt Ghetto, p. 258.

themselves and to their co-prisoners. This extraordinary testament to humanity, defiance and resilience underscores, as we shall see, the role of music as a 'wager on survivance' in this process.

CHAPTER TWO

Theresienstadt (1941-1945): The Context

2.1 Incarceration

The concentration camp and ghetto system, as instigated by the Nazi regime, was to metamorphose from a 'locus of terror' to a 'universe of horror' between the years 1933 to 1945.¹¹² The establishment of Jewish ghettos was neither unique to the Nazi regime, nor without precedent in European history. Compulsory ghettos had been set up after the Synod of Breslau in 1267; the creation of ghettos in the Reich and occupied territories, under the command of Richard Heydrich on 21 September 1939, is in a line of descent from this development.¹¹³ The terms 'ghettos' and 'camps' were often used interchangeably in the Nazi regime and in historical commentary. Government of the ghettos was carried out under the auspices of the Nazi Reich SS commandants and was administered by the *Ältestenrat*, the Jewish Council of Elders. The primary duties of the *Ältestenrat* consisted of accounting for people arriving and leaving on transports, and attending to general logistical requirements. In addition, they organised accommodation, labour, food allocation, and the distribution of identification papers.

The ghettos existed to break down the internal societal barriers of the Jewish community itself, not merely to separate the Jewish population from their 'Aryan' neighbours. The camp system mixed the elite (*Prominenten*) and the

¹¹² Wolfgang Sofsky, *The Order of Terror: The Concentration Camp*, trans. by William Templer (New Jersey: Princeton University, 1993), p. 5.

¹¹³ Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, rev. and def. edn, 3 vols (London and New York: Holmes and Meier, 1961; rev. 1985), i, p. 12.

masses, the secular and the religious.¹¹⁴ Norbert Stern described the reality of the Theresienstadt ghetto as it manifested characteristics which could have been found in any ghetto of the Nazi-occupied territories but using the analogy of a university.¹¹⁵ This analogy was apposite only in terms of the ghetto's demographic of Jewish professors, doctors, experts in various academic disciplines, and the cultural activities and programmes which took place.

2.1.1 The Crucible

Theresienstadt was a crucible containing Jews with diverse Czech, German, Zionist societal identities and sociological divisions. These are important factors in the cultural composition of the ghetto. The cultural, and indeed often national, backgrounds and identities for the composers of the camp, were the places from which they drew their collective memory. It was not in their individual memories alone but in their affiliation to, and expression of, collective memory where they found the greatest resonance and which they articulated in their compositions. For this reason, the exploration of the differences and similarities between the different groupings gives particular sociological insights. Individuals and groups appeared not to mix and, in actual fact, were often quite antagonistic towards one another. The following section gives some of these diverse sociological perspectives and reflects the attitudes individuals felt strongly, within their particular affiliation, often to the exclusion or the alienation of other cultural

¹¹⁴ David G. Roskies, *Against the Apocalypse: Responses to Catastrophe in Modern Jewish Culture* (Cambridge MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1984), p. 198.

¹¹⁵ Norbert Stern, quoted in Elena Makarova, Sergei Makarov, and Victor Kuperman, *University Over the Abyss: The story behind 520 Lecturers and 2,430 lectures in KZ Theresienstadt, 1942-1944* (Jerusalem: Verba Publishers, 2004), p. 15: 'Theresienstadt is a university of a kind, and namely, a University of Compassion, Suffering and Passion, then a University of human types and human fates, a University of Gloom and Hell, a University of the Evil and its Black-Handed Deeds, a University of Death, Insanity, Lies, Servility, Tyranny – its slaves.'

groupings. What becomes apparent in this part of the discourse is the strength of identification with collective memory as it is expressed in, and through, the selection of situations presented below.

In the following extract taken from an interview between David Bloch and survivor George Hartman, a dichotomy is obvious between the Czech Jews, who were generally assimilated, and the observant Jews who were, for the most part, Zionist.¹¹⁶ Hartman was an assimilated Jew who was born in Prague:

David Bloch: Were there any young people from Prague, which you knew, who were in your group?

George Hartman: There was one. Ivan (?) Brod, who was a relative of the Brod who was a friend of Kafka.¹¹⁷ And he was in the camp but then I think he stayed there until the end. No, he was in concentration camps, sorry. He was liberated by the Russians. And I think that's the only one that I knew. But I made the acquaintance of other people there. It was an education to me because, you know, horror, horror and all of this. And for the first time that I saw it. And you had this kind of schism of the people who were pro-Israel, and the Czech Jews, who really were completely on the opposite side.

David Bloch: Because of being totally assimilated.

George Hartman: Jah. They were totally assimilated and were thrown into this thing. And then we had a lot of other people who felt very strongly Jewish and danced and sang and spoke Yiddish, Hebrew or whatever.

David Bloch: And did you have such a variety of people even in your immediate quarters?

George Hartman: They were all mixed up. There were all kinds.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ David Bloch was Professor of Music in Tel Aviv University and died in August 2010. He gave me transcripts of several interviews which he had conducted with survivors in the 1990s. I have permission from him to use these texts in the context of my research presented here.

¹¹⁷ The question-mark in the text was used in David Bloch's original transcript.

¹¹⁸ George Hartman in conversation with David Bloch, transcript of an interview which was in the possession of David Bloch, Seattle, Washington, 14 June 1990.

The cultural and sociological diversity exemplified by Hartman illustrates the divides between the religious and Czech Jews. Polarities between the two groupings are pointed out quite graphically. The word Hartman uses in this interview is 'schism' indicating a cultural and religious divide between these two groups.

Assimilated German Jews who were technically classified by the Nazis as 'Jews', found themselves in a very precarious position. In advance of their arrival in the camps, they were socialized and assimilated into German life, having German citizenship, and often vehemently rejected their Jewish heritage. Some belonged to the *prominenten*, the higher classes of German society, and were accustomed to socialising with influential people who were part of those social classes, many of whom were artists, musicians, medical practitioners, and politicians. Assimilated German Jews saw themselves as Germans, not Jews, and they often looked with contempt at observant Jews and their Eastern European Jewish neighbours.¹¹⁹ Their identity was even more precarious now during their internment in the camps because they were neither recognised as Jews, apart from Nazi racial characteristics, nor Germans, and this constituted a very painful reality for those in this category. Charlotte Opfermann, a German internee of Theresienstadt, found her experience among other internees very difficult:

So where did I belong? There was no solidarity here, at least none that included me. Even though we were all prisoners, I remained an outsider. What was I supposed to do? Look for German in-

¹¹⁹ Dagmar C.G. Lorenz, 'Writing for Survival', *From Fin-de-siècle to Theresienstadt: The Works and Life of the Writer Elsa Porges-Bernstein*, ed. by Helga W. Kraft and Dagmar C.G. Lorenz (New York: Peter Lang, 2007), p. 188.

mates and connect with them? To me everyone looked and acted alike. I was thoroughly confused, totally disconcerted.¹²⁰

Philipp Manes, an internee of the camp from Berlin, underscored the dichotomy which was articulated in the experience of some German Jews in Theresienstadt, as he perceived it: 'The Jewish Czech does not love us. He sees us only as Germans.'¹²¹ Divisions were apparent even among the diverse Jewish groupings themselves in Theresienstadt.

In the performance of music, where music became a common language of communication, the invisible and visible societal boundaries were transcended to a certain extent. This transcendence was achieved through the expression of elements of common identity or through the conscious or unconscious identification with the fundamental humanity manifested in the characters or texts of songs and operas. In the composition of music, elements of collective memory as expressed specifically through German, Czech, or Zionist lenses are more apparently focused in the crucible of Theresienstadt.

¹²⁰ Charlotte G Opfermann, 'Charlotte: A Holocaust Memoir Remembering Theresienstadt' as shared with Robert A. Warren (Santa Fe, USA: Robert Warren, 2006), online version, pp. 44-45 <<http://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/Charlotte/CharlotteforWeb.pdf>> [accessed 3 February 2011].

¹²¹ Philipp Manes, *As If It Were Life: A WWII Diary from the Theresienstadt Ghetto*, ed. by Ben Barkow and Klaus Leist, trans. by Janet Foster, Ben Barkow and Klaus Leist (Germany: Ullstein Buchverlage GmbH, 2005, published as *Als ob's ein Leben wär*; New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005), pp. 70-71. Manes had been the director of the Orientation Service of the Ghetto, but he was renowned as the person who initiated a lecture series, in conjunction with others, which ran approximately 500 events in the ghetto, including lectures by the most eminent scholars interned there, choir performances, musical entertainment, and providing spiritual nourishment to their audiences.

2.2 A Dissonant Music

As the transports to the ghettos and concentration camps commenced, the musical life of the Jews was now dislocated from concert halls, salons, cafés and private residences. The first transport, called the *Aufbaukommando* (building detail), arrived in Theresienstadt on 24 November 1941. Informal evenings of song were organised for the men from this transport by both Karel Švenk (1917-1944) and Rafael Schächter (1905-1945). Švenk led an active career as a composer, director, writer and actor in Prague and in other Czech towns. Schächter was a prodigious conductor, vocal coach and a pianist. This was the beginning of the cultural life of Theresienstadt.

This cultural life was the object of criticism and adulation from the internees of Theresienstadt. The camp population was divided with regard to its merits. This division is expressed in the testimonies of survivors and falls into two groupings: those who saw the cultural activities as defiant and an expression of resistance against the Nazi oppressors, and those who felt that the cultural activities were making the internees pawns in Nazi propaganda. The cultural activities were the object of criticism from H. G. Adler, musicologist and internee in Theresienstadt. Adler disapproved of the activities because he felt that they made the participants into 'pawns of propaganda'; he thought that, in such pursuits, the internees 'became excessive and undignified, blinded performers and spectators and [that the activities] often degenerated into an almost dangerous quest for pleasure'.¹²² Adler was vehement in his condemnation of what he considered the self-deluded objects of such cultural activities in the midst of atrocity. These

¹²² H. G. Adler, quoted in Lawrence Langer, 'The Art of Atrocity', *Tikkun*, July/August 2002, p. 3.

ambivalences, and often polarities, with regard to the cultural life of Theresienstadt are also evident in the literature written by others at the time. For many, like Charlotte Opfermann, bread and responding to the human, physical, and emotional needs of vulnerable internees of the camp were seen as much more important than the pursuit of cultural activities. Opfermann claimed that none of her personal experiences in the camp provided a source of hope for her.¹²³ Such polarities were to be expected in an oppressive context such as Theresienstadt, where the dark reality was disease, death, illness; it was the 'antechamber of hell'.¹²⁴

There were those who valued the cultural life of the ghetto and for whom it was an expression of life and humanity. Zdenka Fantlová expressed an appreciation of cultural expression in Theresienstadt which she felt contributed to hope and faith in humanity:

Many people had a deep yearning to express themselves artistically, both in words and music, and the rest welcomed the results with gratitude as a compensation for their confinement. Every cultural event buoyed up their hopes and morale and reinforced their faith in human values.¹²⁵

This was further emphasised when she said that 'For many, culture experience became more important than a ration of bread.'¹²⁶

Primarily, the activities were structured in the programmes of *Kameradschaftsabende* (Evenings of Fellowship), *Freizeitgestaltung*

¹²³ Charlotte G. Opfermann, *The Art of Darkness* (Houston: University Trace Press, 2002), p. 82.

¹²⁴ This quotation is from Vera Schiff, survivor of Theresienstadt.

¹²⁵ Zdenka Fantlová, *My Lucky Star*, trans. by Deryck Viney (New York and London: Herodias, 2001), p. 95.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

(Administration of Free Time Activities), and *Studio für Neue Musik* (The Studio for New Music). Some internees of Theresienstadt - though not all - were part of these activities either as participants or attendees.

2.3 Kameradschaftsabende (Evenings of Fellowship)

Kameradschaftsabende were initiated, in secret, after the arrival of the second transport to Theresienstadt on 30 November 1941. The confiscation of instruments was enshrined in the laws enforced on 26 December 1941.¹²⁷ Some of these instruments were later made available by the Nazis to the performers in Theresienstadt. However, some instruments were smuggled into the camp as the various transports arrived: violins, violas, accordions, flutes, mouth organs, and even a cello that had been dismantled and reconstructed with glue. Ruth Elias testifies that occasionally the Czech gendarmes brought musical instruments to the ghetto gate and the inmates then smuggled them inside.¹²⁸

The first documented concert under the auspices of the *Kameradschaftsabende* took place on 6 December 1941 in the 'Sudeten' Barracks in Theresienstadt.¹²⁹ Other concerts and cultural activities took place in the

¹²⁷ Arnošt Weiss, 'Musikleben in Theresienstadt', *Theresienstadt* (Wien: Europa-Verlag, 1968), p. 247. Portable instruments had to be delivered to the Jewish community main offices; non-portable instruments were to be collected from Jewish residences. Jews who were in possession of valuable instruments usually gave them to non-Jewish friends in advance of their transports to various camps and ghettos. Instruments confiscated from Jews before their transports to Theresienstadt were kept in the *Josefsviertel* in Prague.

¹²⁸ Ruth Elias, 'Triumph of Hope', *Theresienstadt and Auschwitz to Israel*, trans. by Margot Bettauer Demo, New York, Weinheim (Toronto: Johan Wiley and Sons Inc., Publishers, in association with the US Holocaust Memorial Museum, 1998), p. 79.

¹²⁹ Joža Karas, *Music in Terezín: 1941-1945* (Stuyvesant: Pendragon Press, 1985), p. 13. Karas lists the participants as follows: Karel Frölich (1917-1994) and Heinrich Taussig (1923-1944) – violin; Viktor Kohn – flute; Wolfi Lederer and Kurt Meyer – accordion; Fritz Weiss, Hans Selig, Pavel Kohn, Fredy Maugner, Franta Goldschmidt, Tedy Berger, Wolfi Lederer – jazz orchestra; Dr J. Běhal and Franta Kraus – recitation; and Lewin – magician.

council room of the Jewish council of Elders, in the potato-peeling room and in the uninhabited rooms in various barracks.¹³⁰

Although aware of these activities, the Nazi leadership in Theresienstadt did not prohibit them. In fact, within weeks they officially permitted the *Kameradschaftsabende* which were then organised by the internees of Theresienstadt in the 'Kaserne' Barracks of the Greater Fortress. The first of these officially organised evenings took place on 28 December 1941. Early 1942 signalled the commencement of the Cabaret performances of Karel Švenk and Rafael Schächter. Švenk was known as the Charlie Chaplain of Theresienstadt¹³¹ and was described by Karas as 'A sad clown with extremely expressive eyes'.¹³² He was renowned for his contribution to cabarets and to lighter musical events characterised by good humour, improvisation, and satire. Cabarets were relatively easy to produce and demanded few resources to stage. There were three cabarets in Theresienstadt which he composed and directed between early 1942 and mid-1944: *The Lost Food Card*, *Long Live Life*, and *The Last Cyclist*.¹³³ Of these three cabarets, only six of his songs remain extant. Material for his cabarets was generally drawn from songs which he had composed in advance of the war and newly-composed material. *The Lost Food Card*, the first all-male cabaret staged in 1942, resonated with those who attended because the title was also an event, a part of life in Theresienstadt, the consequences of which were disastrous for those to whom it occurred. It was declared an instant success. The final song, *Všechno*

¹³⁰ H. G. Adler, *Theresienstadt, 1941-1945, das Antlitz einer Zwangsgemeinschaft* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1960; repr. Göttingen: Wallstein, 2005), p. 587.

¹³¹ Jana Šedová, 'Theater und Kabarett im Ghetto Theresienstadt' from *Theresienstadt*, p. 242.

¹³² Joža Karas, *Music in Terezín*, p. 143.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 143-145.

jde! or *The Terezín March*, became an unofficial anthem for those interned and was sung at all subsequent cabaret productions in Theresienstadt. It brought hope of a liberated future. Jana Šedová has written that the cabarets improved the atmosphere in the camp and contributed to the morale of those interned which was a difficult feat in the circumstances.¹³⁴ Similar to *Die Moorsoldaten*, or *The Peat Bog Soldiers*, which was composed and sung by internees of the Börgermoor concentration camp in northwestern Germany, there was a similar expression of resistance to the oppressive regime and it provided some with the motivation to survive.¹³⁵ It was one of the newly-emerging song genres of the concentration camps and ghettos: the *lager-lieder*, songs and anthems of the camps. There are references in the text of *Všechno jde!* to defiance against the cruelty of the regime. Reference is made, also, to the thirty words which internees were permitted to write on Nazi-censored postcards which were permitted to be sent, on a monthly basis, to their relatives and friends. The text of the refrain anticipated the destruction of the ghetto and the triumph of life over death.¹³⁶ The music for this march was vibrant, with a striding rhythm and a memorable melody which was simple in its construction and hopeful in its content (See Example 2.1 below). The accompaniment was for piano and accordion.

¹³⁴ Jana Šedová, 'Theater und Kabarett im Ghetto Theresienstadt' from *Theresienstadt*, p. 237.

¹³⁵ *Die Moorsoldaten* was composed for a cabaret taking place in the Börgermoor concentration camp located at the German frontier to the Netherlands. The music was composed by Rudi Goguel and the lyrics by Johann Esser and Wolfgang Langhoff in 1933. Two days after its performance, it was banned. However, it was smuggled out of the camp and it found its way to other camps and ghettos and it was published in newspapers abroad.

¹³⁶ Text and translations are from the CD sleeve of *Terezín/Theresienstadt* by Anne Sofie von Otter English translation by Paul Wingfield from Boosey and Hawkes/Bote and Bock, Berlin, 2007.

Example 2.1: Karel Švenk, *Všechno jde!* (Terezín March)¹³⁷



Of the other two cabarets staged by Švenk, the third cabaret, *The Last Cyclist*, was perceived to be the most subversive in content since it was an allegory for the annihilation of the Jews at the hands of the regime. As a consequence it was not permitted to be performed by the Jewish Council of Elders following the first rehearsal. Švenk was designated '[their] Terezín Aristophanes' by Viktor

¹³⁷ Karel Švenk, *Všechno jde!* (Terezín March), composed for the cabaret *The Lost Food Card* in 1942 and sung for all subsequent cabarets; scan of the original in the Jewish Museum, Prague, Sbírká Terezín, inv. č. 319a.

Ullmann, paralleling his skills with that of the great Greek comic dramatist, due to his remarkable creativity and wit. The staging of such productions and creative expression of defiance, was in itself a wager on survivance both for those participating and those who attended. Theatrical historian Lisa Peschel echoes this in her research on the recently-found plays and cabarets of Theresienstadt. In interviews conducted in the last decade, people were able to laugh heartily as they recalled their memories of the material and as they sang the music which had given them such life.

From mid-1942, Philipp Manes, a fur dealer from Berlin and a director of the Theresienstadt Ghetto Orientation Service, had initiated a series of lectures on 21 September 1942. These were not part of the later development, *Freizeitgestaltung*. His initiative consisted of a series of over five hundred lectures, poetry readings, musical recitals, and dramatic works produced and directed by what was known in the Ghetto as the Manes Group.¹³⁸

2.4 Freizeitgestaltung (Administration of Free Time Activities)

While the Manes Group continued to deliver an impressive cultural and intellectual programme, a further progression in cultural activities came in 1942, under the title of *Freizeitgestaltung*, within the framework of *Abteilung für innere Verwaltung* (Department of Inner Administration).¹³⁹ At its peak, there were 276 workers

¹³⁸ Philipp Manes, *As if it were Life: A WWII Diary from the Ghetto Theresienstadt*, p. 55. Manes's desire, initially, was to record, as much as possible, the narratives of members of the Jewish community living in Theresienstadt who were scholars and pioneers in the areas of science, medicine, the arts, industry, and subjects related to Judaism. These were evenings of entertainment but, more importantly, they contributed life and intellectual nourishment in an otherwise appalling situation.

¹³⁹ H. G. Adler, *Theresienstadt*, p. 588.

involved in the organisation of these activities.¹⁴⁰ This was a small number in comparison to the multitudes who passed through the ghetto.¹⁴¹ Between the years 1942 and 1944, a total of 520 lectures were delivered on 58 different topics.¹⁴² Of these lectures, life and its semantic fields occurred 107 times and death only 7 times, indicating the vigorous striving for survival.¹⁴³ Rabbi Erich Weiner, assistant to Jacob Edelstein of the *Ältestenrat*, was its first director. Contralto, Hedda Grab-Kernmayr (Grab-Evans), was one of the most active organisers and participants in these cultural programmes that consisted of lectures and entertainment even though she was never acknowledged as part of the administrative personnel.¹⁴⁴

From the relatively informal beginnings, *Freizeitgestaltung* became a highly-organised part of camp life. As the amount of people wanting to participate increased, Rafael Schächter and Gideon Klein took over its administration. Under *Freizeitgestaltung*, the array of activities, and the high standard of excellence with which they were executed, was quite extraordinary, considering the circumstances. Many of the programmes were repeated and this gave the casts, choirs and musicians the opportunity to practise their skills and also to become

¹⁴⁰ Leo Baeck cited in Elena Makarova, Sergei Makarov, and Victor Kuperman, *University Over the Abyss*, p. 52.

¹⁴¹ Joža Karas, *Music in Terezín*, p. 18. Sub-sections and divisions of the administration into departments facilitated Czech and German theatre; cabaret; a music section comprised of vocal, instrumental and popular music; lectures; scheduling of performances and practices; technical departments; library; chess; sports. In addition, there were areas which specifically addressed Jewish life, language and culture: lectures on aspects of the Torah, Jewish feasts, Hebrew language, Jewish communities, and theatrical productions based on Jewish and Yiddish folklore. Scientists and artists were excluded from manual work to devote time to these activities.

¹⁴² See Appendix 4: Table of Lectures occurring more than Ten Times, p. 263.

¹⁴³ Elena Makarova, Sergei Makarov, and Victor Kuperman, *University Over the Abyss*, p.13.

¹⁴⁴ Joža Karas, *Music in Terezín*, p. 15.

familiar with the repertoire. A number of plays and literary works were staged; incidental music was often provided by Karel Švenk.

An impressive list of musical works by the following composers and covering a range of genres was performed in Theresienstadt under *Freizeitgestaltung*: Bach, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Mendelssohn, Chopin, Verdi, Smetana, Borodin, Brahms, Bizet, Mussorgsky, Dvořák, Mahler, and Suk. The musical life of the camp was extraordinarily vibrant. Some instrumentalists had memorised vast repertoires of music from their former lives as professional performers with the most prodigious orchestras in Europe.¹⁴⁵ Instrumental soloists devoted time to practising, performing, arranging music, and tutoring young people in the camp. The consequence of having such a wealth of talent in Theresienstadt created concerts with an eclectic mix of solo instrumental and vocal performers, instrumental and vocal ensembles, playing and singing jazz, classical, avant-garde, and folk music. Detailed programmes, some of which are preserved, were compiled for the concerts.¹⁴⁶

Classical instrumental ensembles comprised trios, quartets, quintets and larger chamber orchestras of both professional and amateur players. A number of quartets performed regularly in *Freizeitgestaltung*.¹⁴⁷ The first small

¹⁴⁵ The oldest Holocaust survivor in the world, Alice Herz-Sommer, who was 108 years of age in November 2011, played all the Chopin *Études* from memory many times in Theresienstadt.

¹⁴⁶ See Appendix 5: Sample Programmes of Concerts in Theresienstadt, p. 264.

¹⁴⁷ Arnošt Weiss, 'Musikleben in Theresienstadt' from *Theresienstadt*, pp. 248-250. A first quartet was known as the Doctors' Quartet since all its members were doctors: Egon Ledeč, the first violinist of the Czech Philharmonic Orchestra; Viktor Kohn, violin; Illona Kral, viola; Erich Klapp, violoncello. A second quartet was known as the Ledeč Quartet: Egon Ledeč; Schneider, violin; Viktor Kohn, viola; and Walter Kohn, violoncello. A transport from Vienna brought another quartet, the Rosé Quartet. Cellist Lucian Horowitz, from Vienna, took upon himself to mentor younger

orchestral group of the ghetto was set up by pianist, composer and conductor, Carlo Taube (1897-1944). Taube had studied composition with Busoni. He composed the *Theresienstadt Symphony* for his ensemble. It was a string ensemble behind which stood four men playing accordions substituting for the brass and woodwind parts.¹⁴⁸ This work is no longer extant. Weiss's reminiscences of its performance are limited: his recollections are restricted to the first and second movements which had characteristic Jewish and Slavic themes. Carlo Taube's wife, Erika, also recited a lullaby of a Jewish mother which she herself had written, to the accompaniment of music written by him. Again, this is no longer in existence. However, Weiss said that the work became more agitated towards the end when the words declaimed 'Deutschland, Deutschland über alles', repeatedly, bringing it to a furious climax, and eventually dying away in a dreadful dissonance.¹⁴⁹ There is something significant in this defiant expression in the context of a Nazi ghetto. The spirit was not going to be crushed even if Taube, his wife Erika, and their son all perished in Auschwitz in October 1944.

The Czech conductor, Karel Ančerl (1908-1973), was also influential in the setting up of instrumental groups. By the time of his arrival in Theresienstadt in 1942, *Freizeitgestaltung* was functioning very efficiently. Realising the potential for performance that existed in the ghetto, Ančerl formed a string orchestra which comprised sixteen first violins, twelve second violins, eight violas, six cellos, and

musicians of the ghetto and set up a quartet comprised of talented youths: Karl Frölich, violin; Bubi Taussig, violin; Romuald Süssmann, viola; Friedrich Mark, cello.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 250.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 250-251: 'Dem folgte ein turbulentes Finale, in dem die ersten vier Takte von "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles" immer und immer wieder wiederholt wurden und immer wütender aufbrandeten, bis ein letzter Aufschrei "Deutschland, Deutschland" sich nicht mehr bis zu "über alles" fortsetzte, sondern in einer grauenvollen Dissonanz erstarb.'

one double bass.¹⁵⁰ Ančerl realised the value of performing music in the context of Theresienstadt. He said that the hunger for intellectual food was harder to bear than the hunger for physical food, but that in Theresienstadt there were no rations on intellectual stimulation.¹⁵¹ Ančerl had also asserted that the power of music was such that it got them through the most difficult times of life and was able to influence both heart and mind.¹⁵² It maintained their humanity as internees in the oppressive regime. Ančerl's attitude encapsulates the important context of music performance and, by association, composition, where music was a wager on survivance. Music which resonated with the audience could influence the hearts and minds of those gathered. Collective memory, as articulated in the music, was one way of doing this.

Choral ensembles consisted of the following groupings: men, women, girls, boys, mixed, choral groups *Subak* and *Tempel Chor*, specifically for Jewish sacred repertoire, and the *Durra* chorus which specialised in folk music from different countries. A total of approximately sixteen operas were performed incorporating such diverse composers as Pergolesi (*La Serva Padrona*), Mozart (*Bastien and Bastienne*, *The Magic Flute*, *Don Giovanni*), Bizet (*Carmen*), Puccini (*Tosca*), Mascagni (*Cavalleria Rusticana*), Smetana (*Prodaná nevěsta*, *Hubička*), Verdi (*Rigoletto*, *Aida*), Strauss (*Die Fledermaus*), Blodek (*V studni*), and Viktor Ullmann (*Der Kaiser von Atlantis* – never actually performed). The children's opera

¹⁵⁰ Their repertoires included Handel's *Concerto Gross in F major*, Mozart's *Eine Kleine Nachtmusik*, and Bach's *Violin Concerto in E Major*, Suk's *Meditation on an Ancient Czech Chorale*, Dvořák's *Serenade for Strings* and Pavel Haas's *Study for Strings*. Joža Karas, *Music in Terezín*, p. 65.

¹⁵¹ Karel Ančerl, 'Musik in Theresienstadt' from *Theresienstadt*, p. 261.

¹⁵² 'Eines aber wurde mir klar, nämlich daß die Macht der Musik so groß ist, daß sie jeden Menschen, der Herz und offenen Sinn besitzt, in ihren Bann zieht und ihn auch die schwersten Stunden seines Lebens durchstehen läßt.' From Karel Ančerl, 'Musik in Theresienstadt' from *Theresienstadt*, p. 262.

Brundibár, by the Czech composer Han Krása, was performed at least fifty-five times. Oratorios and sacred works included Verdi's *Requiem*, Haydn's *Die Schöpfung*, and Mendelssohn's *Elijah*. Gideon Klein, pianist and composer, said of the musical life in Theresienstadt that in the early days 'for barely thirty thousand inhabitants, there [were] every week seven concerts – recitals, concerts of instrumental and chamber music, at least three operas in concert versions (i.e. without any staging) and outstanding vocal works [...].¹⁵³ In one week alone in November 1943, there were eighteen theatrical performances, recitals, and lectures, catering for serious academics, children, and those who wanted light entertainment.¹⁵⁴

Helen Lewis, who lived in Belfast from 1947 until her death in 2009, was a survivor of Theresienstadt, Auschwitz and Stutthof. In her memoir *A Time to Speak*, she recounts her experience of the cultural activities of the Theresienstadt ghetto after her arrival there in August 1942. As a professional dancer she had the surreal experience, on her first morning in Theresienstadt, of dancing on the rampart walls in the company of other young women. A former student of Lewis came to ask her participation in the cultural activities. A new play *The Big Shadow* (*Velký stín*) had been written by Egon (Gonda) Redlich, an internee in Theresienstadt. This monodrama required an actress, a pianist and a dancer. The plot was 'unusual and controversial' reflecting 'Jewish attitudes to life and society in the past, and examining them, often critically, in the light of the present'.¹⁵⁵ The main protagonist of the play was *The Woman* which was shared by both actress

¹⁵³ Gideon Klein cited in Milan Slavický, *Gideon Klein: A Fragment of Life and Work*, trans. by Dagmar Steinová (Prague: Helvetica-Tempora Publishers, 1995), p. 85.

¹⁵⁴ H. G. Adler, *Theresienstadt, 1941-1945*, p. 597.

¹⁵⁵ Helen Lewis, *A Time to Speak* (Belfast: Blackstaff Press, 1992; repr. 2010), p. 40.

and dancer. According to Karas, the Woman, a widow, 'found herself suddenly in a concentration camp, unable to ask the burning question: WHY?'¹⁵⁶ Music, too, had a role in the drama. The accompaniment, and the musical commentary on the action, was composed by Gideon Klein.¹⁵⁷ Neither the text nor the music is extant. Helen Lewis acknowledged that: 'The occasional performance of *The Big Shadow*, and the distant promise of *The Bartered Bride* held up [her] morale, and helped [her] live through each day as if there were a tomorrow.'¹⁵⁸

In the vocal works of *Freizeitgestaltung*, the programmes are extensive. Of the regular performers, two – Karel Berman and Hedda Grab-Kernmayr - deserve consideration because of their high profile within the organisation and, also, since their vocal works exemplify the representative genres also sung by other soloists. It is known that Karel Berman, bass, composer, and conductor from Jindřichův Hradec, performed the following works in lieder recitals: Beethoven's *An die ferne Geliebte*, Op. 98 (1816), a selection of Schubert lieder, Dvořák's *Sieben Zigeunermelodien*, Op. 55 (1880), Hugo Wolf's *Michelangelo Lieder*, no. 103 (1897), and Pavel Haas's *Four Songs to Chinese Poetry* (1944).¹⁵⁹ A cursory glance at this repertoire is revealing in terms of memory and survivance. According to the testimony given in an interview between David Bloch and the violinist, Pavel Kling, Wolf's *Michelangelo* lieder were sung by Karl Berman in Theresienstadt in April 1944. They were the last songs to have been composed by Hugo Wolf in March

¹⁵⁶ Joža Karas, *Music in Terezín*, p. 75.

¹⁵⁷ Helen Lewis, *A Time to Speak*, p. 40.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

¹⁵⁹ Seven Gypsy Songs: *Zigeunermelodien* (Heyduk): (1) Mein Lied ertönt, ein Liebespsalm, (2) Ei, wie mein Triangel wunderherrlich läutet, (3) Rings ist der Wald so stumm und still, (4) Als die alte Mutter, (5) Reingestimmt die Saiten, (6) In dem weiten, breiten, luft'gen Leinenkleide, (7) Horstet hoch der Habicht auf den Felsenhöhen.

1897.¹⁶⁰ In a letter written to Oskar Grohe on 24 March 1897, Wolf makes reference to a quotation from Michelangelo to a friend:

I often think of my past life as it was before my love for you. Then no one paid heed to me, each day was lost for me. I thought that I would live wholly for song, and also escape from the throng of humankind... Today men speak my name, whether in praise or reproof; and everyone knows that I am here.¹⁶¹

The first song *Wohl denk' ich oft* was described in detail by Wolf:

[It] begins with a melancholy introduction, and holds fast to this tone until the line before the last [then] takes on an unexpectedly vigorous character and closes festively with triumphal fanfares, like a flourish of trumpets sounded for him [Michelangelo] by his contemporaries in homage.¹⁶²

The memories being recalled of love and life are reflected in the soulful meditative melody and the sad melancholic accompaniment in lower registers. Reiterations in the text of the words 'verloren' (lost), are played in the right hand while the voice is focused on the word 'ganz' (wholly), contributing to great intensity of emotion. Then there is a transfiguration of the text and in the accompaniment which moves into the realms of the major key, with a strong chord on the words 'da bin' (I am). This is a powerful proclamation of existence and of being, an archetypal expression of survival. Those words alone must have conjured a mixture of hope combined with sadness, as those in attendance were acutely aware of absent friends and loved ones. Those who were sent to other transit camps or extermination camps, or those who had died, would have come to the memory of those present. Affirmation of life, in the statement 'da bin', was also

¹⁶⁰ They are musical settings of the poetic texts translated from Italian into German in 1876 by Robert Tornow.

¹⁶¹ Michelangelo Buonarroti, quoted in Eric Sams, *The Songs of Hugo Wolf* (London: Faber, 1983; repr. 1992), p. 378.

¹⁶² Hugo Wolf, quoted in Eric Sams, *The Songs of Hugo Wolf*, p. 378.

confronted with its antithesis: the negation of life. This was the awful paradox of life in Theresienstadt. The first song ends in glory and triumph, leading to an affirmation of hope. Its final climactic ringing note is on the words 'Alle Leute!' (All People).

Contralto, Hedda Grab-Kernmayr, presented her first cultural programme of the *Freizeitgestaltung* on 21 March 1941. The programme comprised of readings, recitation, dance, and two of Dvořák's *Biblical Songs*, Op. 99 (1894), which she brought with her to Theresienstadt. There are no reasons given by the soloist regarding her choice of these songs over others which she also had in her repertoire. What is significant is the context in which these songs were composed in Dvořák's own life. The song-cycle which consists of ten songs was originally scored for voice and piano and was written over a period of twenty-one days when the composer was in New York. This was a time of profound personal crisis culminating in the deaths of his close friends, Tchaikovsky and Hans von Bülow, and the death of his father. From 1894 to the time he left New York, finally, in 1895, Dvořák was also very homesick. The Biblical songs were based on selected psalm settings of the Czech Bible of Kralice. Grab-Kernmayr did not give any rationale in her interview with David Bloch for her inclusion of these songs in her first programme in Theresienstadt. It could be suggested that the programme was functional; she had the music in her personal belongings. Alternatively, it is possible to speculate that these songs were included because of where she was, physically and existentially, at this point in her life, facing the possibility of death, and that they were a deliberate affirmation of life, survivance. After all, Dvořák 'did not come to these texts by chance nor was his choice of the respective poems

accidental'.¹⁶³ It was part of Grab-Kernmayr's pre-War repertoire which she now relied on for her sustenance. This was a significant expression of collective memory, one drawn from biblically-based Czech music repertoire. The texts resonate deeply with Grab-Kernmayr's new context. The cycle begins with Psalm 97: 'Clouds and thick darkness surround him...;' Psalm 119 expresses the sentiments 'strengthen me... terrified with fear ... I am afraid...;' Psalm 55 'Hear my cry... fear of death... I dwell in the wilderness...sharp wind and storm...;' Psalm 23 'Even though I walk in the valley of death, no evil will I fear...;' Psalm 144 'I will sing a song to the Lord ...;' Psalm 61 'Be my refuge ... a strong tower against the enemy...;' Psalm 137 'By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat and wept, remembering Zion...;' Psalm 25 'I am desolate and afflicted... see my affliction and misery... my hope is in you...;' Psalm 121 'I lift up my eyes to the mountains from where comes my help...;' Psalm 98 'Sing to the Lord a new song...'. In the singing of these magnificent songs, she was articulating the collective memory of Judaism, and of the Czech composer Dvořák. Such texts, I suggest, were not merely sung as a form of entertainment to the gathered audience, but were an articulation of collective memory, and a means to provide hope and strength for the future. It is reiterated in the texts of the songs.

Comprehensive reviews and critiques of *Freizeitgestaltung* concerts were written by Gideon Klein and Viktor Ullmann. In Theresienstadt, performers often played their programmes eight to twelve times, and Klein adds 'not infrequently twice in a single week'.¹⁶⁴ The proportion of professional musicians

¹⁶³ Otakar Šourek, *Antonín Dvořák, Biblické Písňe*, Op. 99, critical edition based on the composer's manuscript (Prague: Editio Supraphon, 1989), p. viii.

¹⁶⁴ Gideon Klein quoted in Milan Slavický, *Gideon Klein: A Fragment of Life and Work*, p. 86.

was estimated to be about 25% in one of the string orchestras conducted by Karl Ančerl. Professional singers appear to have been a scarce commodity in Theresienstadt, leading to Klein's appraisal of vocal works as more amateur in their performances despite the best efforts of the professionals. As time moved on, and as life became more removed from the reality of existence outside the camp, Ullmann admitted that their critiques were becoming less incisive because the objective gauge of standards was receding.

All of these works, in some way, are expressive of collective memory from their particular cultures. A significant part of *Freizeitgestaltung* programmes was the performances of Verdi's *Requiem*, Haydn's *Die Schöpfung*, and Mendelssohn's *Elijah*. In the repertoire of the concert halls of the time, these were challenging and demanding works. The selection of these works over operatic works in the context of the discourse of this thesis is due to the fact that in these works, memory is central. It is possible to see these three works as a triptych of collective memory which is a substantial part of *Freizeitgestaltung*.

2.4.1 Sacred Music in Theresienstadt

Memory was evident in the three major choral works performed in the following chronological order within the camp: Verdi's *Requiem*, Haydn's *Die Schöpfung* and Mendelssohn's *Elijah*. In biblical narrative, music is allied to expression of faith; however, the performance of religious works does not demand allegiance to or practice of a particular faith. George Steiner refers to the innate sense of the power of music which: 'puts our being as men and women in touch with that which

transcends the sayable, which outstrips the analysable[...].¹⁶⁵ In the referentialist mode of interpretation, music has the capacity to refer to something beyond itself. In this case, Steiner is referring to all music, not just music of religious significance. He continues: '[Music] has long been, it continues to be, the unwritten theology of those who lack or reject any formal creed.'¹⁶⁶ Music is regarded by Steiner as an unwritten theology. Theology is usually defined as faith which seeks understanding and meaning; therefore, while music may not have any formal religious or sacred association, it still has the capacity to be a vehicle of meaning. The staging of works of religious significance, such as Verdi's *Requiem*, Haydn's *Die Schöpfung*, or Mendelssohn's *Elijah*, from the European repertoire of existing sacred music, would, therefore, seem to be more than coincidental. These are works from the Western art music repertoire which are firmly grounded in the collective memory of Jewish and Christian traditions. These texts are a means of seeking understanding, a vehicle of finding meaning, irrespective of whether one is theist or atheist, agnostic or humanist.

Beginning in September 1943, Rafael Schächter conducted several performances of Verdi's *Requiem* with the Czech-speaking choir.¹⁶⁷ The chorus consisted of approximately 150 singers. Accompaniment was provided by pianists, Gideon Klein and Tella Polak. Most of the Theresienstadt performers

¹⁶⁵ George Steiner, *Real Presences: Is there anything in what we say?* (London: Faber and Faber, 1989), p. 218.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

¹⁶⁷ Joža Karas, *Music in Terezin*, p. 140. Most of the choir was taken to Auschwitz following the first performance (this transport may have been the transport of 6 September 1943). Schächter formed a new choir and gave one performance before that ensemble was also transported to Auschwitz. He formed a third choir and with this ensemble performed the work at least fifteen times, well into 1944. One performance was given in the summer of 1944, with the International Red Cross committee and Adolf Eichmann in the audience. Apparently, the soloists remained the same for most of the performances. Soloists included soprano, Marion Podolier; soprano, Gertrude Borger; alto, Hilde Aronson-Lindt; tenor, David Grünfeld; and bass, Karel Berman.

would have encountered this work in a secular context in their pre-War lives. When examining the performances of the *Requiem* it is difficult to understand why, given the nature of the work, Schächter felt a certain compulsion to perform this work by teaching it from memory to three separate choirs, knowing that each time the rehearsals and performances could be stopped by calls to transports to extermination camps. It was the most performed large-scale sacred work for choir in the camp. Why would this have been the case? It is only possible to speculate and to attend to the incumbent elements of the infrastructure of memory evident in such a work. The engagement in the texts and music of the work itself was part of the shared resources of collective memory which contributed to providing a meaningful framework for the internees of the camp. To elucidate this, I will now investigate the elements of the work itself and draw some conclusions about its significance for collective memory.

2.4.2 Giuseppe Verdi: *Requiem*

The *Requiem* has its roots in the most fundamental questions of human existence, mortality, and the great mysteries of faith surrounding the passion, death and resurrection of Christ. It confronts the deepest mysteries of suffering and death, meaning and loss, memory and future. Memory is central to *Requiem*: the memory of the person who has died, and the memory recalled in anamnesis of Christ's death and resurrection, the *cantus firmus* of Christian belief.

Verdi's *Requiem* was never intended for liturgical use. His setting of the *Requiem* is more concerned with the theatrical and dramatic nature of the texts than its attendant theological content. Hans von Bülow's famous comment in

Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung sums up this dramatic element by saying ‘Oper in Kirchengewande’.¹⁶⁸ Verdi’s operatic background provided the tools to forge a powerful work which portrayed wide contrasts, most obviously illustrated in the annihilating wrath and devastating doom of the *Dies Irae*, juxtaposed against the deeply moving and sensitive balm of the *Agnus Dei*.

There is a poignancy around the staging of Verdi’s *Requiem* in a concentration camp. Death pervaded the atmosphere of camp life. Regular transports, inexplicable absences of people, and death through starvation and disease, were constant reminders of the transitory nature of existence and human mortality. At first glance, it would appear to be incongruous to even conceive a production of this musical work where the choir, soloists, and most of those attending, were Jews who were facing the prospect of their own death. One does not normally sing at one’s own Requiem. Yet, there is something unique and powerful about a work of art emerging in that context, as Jean-Jacques van Vlasselaer cogently puts it: ‘The artistic gesture is born when one realises that death is inevitable. A work of art tries to tame death, facing it, braving it, in order to better possess it. Culture affirms our mortal humanity. It is an artificial source of life.’¹⁶⁹ The Roman Catholic *Requiem* and the understanding of the Jewish *Kaddish* have similarities and differences. It appears that the former articulates memory of the one who has died and the entrusting of them to God; in the latter, the role of memory is not so much associated with the person as with the memory

¹⁶⁸ Hans von Bülow (Opera in ecclesiastical dress) quoted in Michael P. Steinberg, *Listening to Reason: Culture, Subjectivity and Nineteenth-century Music* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), p. 186.

¹⁶⁹ Jean-Jacques van Vlasselaer, ‘Camp, Culture, Death and Memory’, *Tracks to Viktor Ullmann* (p. 14), ed. by Herbert Gantschacher quoted in Elena Makarova, Sergei Makarov, Victor Kuperman, *University Over The Abyss*, p. 228.

of God.¹⁷⁰ This serves to underpin the concept of memory as understood in Jewish tradition, and as memory is connected in artistic and cultural expression. Josef Bor, a survivor of the *Shoah* and former inmate of Theresienstadt, wrote a very moving account of the performances of Verdi's *Requiem* based on his own observations. While it does chronicle a factual event that took place, it is embellished for dramatic effect. Verdi's *Requiem* encapsulated symbolic meaning for the participants. As Bor put it, 'Here everyone hungered and thirsted after art, longed feverishly for every tremor of deep human feeling [...].'¹⁷¹ This was a requiem of profound meaning, a requiem of life as well as death, a living memorial calling forth a response from those who participated and engaged in the musical performance, and calling forth another response from those who were attentive listeners. What happens, in such circumstances, situates all these human elements in the middle of the two defining moments of existential presence: 'that of coming into being where nothing was, where nothing could have continued to be, and that of the enormity of death. (But... the latter is attenuated by the potential of survivance in art.)'¹⁷² This *creatio ex nihilo* produced a work of art from a formless void of camp life, yet an art that was founded on memory itself.

¹⁷⁰ Howard Wettstein, *Diasporas and Exiles: Varieties of Jewish Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), p. 55. Orthodox Union, 'Kaddish' <<http://www.ou.org/news/article/kaddish>> [accessed 2 November 2008]. It is interesting to note that, in the Jewish rites for commemoration of the faithful departed, the traditional prayer of the *Kaddish* which is sung or recited, does not actually mention death at all. The *Kaddish* has different forms and is included in every public service of Judaism. What is evident in the *Kaddish* is the theme of the sovereignty of God over the universe, and in particular in the creation of human beings. The prayer focuses on peace – peace between nations and individuals. Paradoxically, this is, in fact, the only true comfort in the case of the loss of a loved one: 'to be able to view the passing of the beloved individual from the perspective that that person's soul was gathered in, so to speak, by the One Who had provided it in the first place'. God is honoured, but God also feels a sense of loss. The Mourners' *Kaddish* represents the community's coming together to comfort God for His loss.

¹⁷¹ Josef Bor, *The Terezín Requiem* (New York: Knopf, 1963), p. 25.

¹⁷² George Steiner, *Real Presences: Is there Anything in What We Say?*, p. 209.

A review of the concert was written by Otto Brod. Brod was one of the organisers of the *Freizeitgestaltung* who reviewed dramatic and musical performances in Theresienstadt. Marianne, his daughter, sang in the choir. The words Brod used in his review were quite deliberate: 'inspiration', 'effort', 'experience', 'substantial cultural achievement'. Brod's comments highlighting the Jewish elements of the work are significant:

Religious Music: Many hundreds of musical pieces with biblical content have been written by talented composers.

This masterpiece invokes Jewish allusions, it talks about Jewish images and characters. <...> It was a genuinely Jewish experience. Did the authorities perceive that? There is no other land and town where Israel or Judas Maccabeus could have been staged. If not now, then when, if not here, then where?¹⁷³

Which Requiem? This musical genre should heavily rely on texts, thoughts and attitudes of the Old Testament.[...]¹⁷⁴

Brod extricates the Jewish elements from the work and derives meaning from them. In his review, he makes brief reference to Jewish images and characters in the *Requiem* but does not elaborate on the details. He also refers to the lacuna that now existed because, under the Nazi regime, Jews were no longer afforded the privilege of being able to sing Jewish works. These Jewish works were significant because they were an articulation of aspects of Jewish memory; the prohibition imposed on singing such works in ordinary life was effectively trying to diminish Jewish identity and its cultural expression.

¹⁷³ Otto Brod, 'Verdiho Rekvie'm', quoted in Elena Makarova, Sergei Makarov, and Victor Kuperman, *University Over The Abyss*, pp. 215-216.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 215-216.

Brod's reference to the Jewish elements of the work highlights aspects of Irwin-Zarecka's texts which contribute to collective memory. The 'different spaces, objects, 'texts' that make an engagement with the past possible,' are evident in this work.¹⁷⁵ The space encompasses the familiarity of elements echoed from Jewish memory. Elements of the past and the present are juxtaposed in the texts and music of the work itself. In Verdi's *Requiem*, the Jewish reference to David is obvious from the text 'teste David cum Sybila' contained in the *Dies Irae*. Drawing on the symbolism of David was, effectively, resonating with something deep in the Jewish collective memory. David was the anointed one selected from relative obscurity, one of the main protagonists of the Old Testament. He was vested with wisdom and power exercised through his leadership of Israel. David was the symbol of triumph of the weak over the strong even in the midst of his own fragile humanity. In the context of Theresienstadt, he could have been perceived as the icon of strength, of power, and of life itself.

The *Sibyl* mentioned in the text was reputed to have prophesied the destruction of the world by fire and water, which St Augustine makes reference to also in *De Civitate Dei*.¹⁷⁶ Sibyl's prophecy has an uncanny truth given the annihilation of the Jews in the gas chambers, and their bodies cremated after the dastardly acts were carried out. The textual basis of the *Dies Irae* is derived from the prophet Zephaniah (1. 14-15) which describes a day of trouble, distress, desolation, darkness, gloominess, clouds, alarm. The author of the *Dies Irae* hymn was said to have been Thomas of Celano, a Franciscan monk from the 13th century.

¹⁷⁵ Iwona Irwin-Zarcecka, *Frames of Remembrance: The Dynamics of Collective Memory* (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1994; repr. 2009).

¹⁷⁶ Alec Robertson, *Requiem, Music of Mourning and Consolation* (Santa Barbara, CA: Greenwood Press, 1976), p. 17.

Dies Irae has parallels with the *Unetanneh Tokef*, a *piyut* or prayer which epitomizes the significance of the High Holy Days of Judaism as the ‘day of judgement’ in which all creatures pass before the throne of God. The prayer originated with Kalonymus ben Meshullam Kalonymus, the French poet of Mayence, who lived in the 11th century.¹⁷⁷ The location of the prayer in the liturgy of *Rosh Hashanah* and *Yom Kippur* fills the parallel text of *Dies Irae* with added significance. *Unetanneh Tokef* emphasises the fragility and pain of humanity’s existence here on earth. A list of possible fates of the Jewish people for the coming year is read out after the prayer, but there is also the assertion that prayer, repentance, charity and justice can avert the severity of what might be destined for them.¹⁷⁸ The question asked in the *Unettaneh Tokef* is a fundamental and existential question: ‘to be or not to be?’ The final part of the *piyut* lyrically praises God as exalted above all existence; this links it with the Jewish *Kaddish*, where the name of God is praised. There is a plea to God to sanctify his name by redeeming Israel. The imagery of the *Dies Irae* of the *Requiem* was quite in accordance with what was happening to those in the camps and, particularly, the extermination camps. *Dies Irae* in counterpoint with the *Unettaneh Tokef*, both of which link into memory, contributed to a *quodlibet* of existence and survival in the midst of atrocity.

¹⁷⁷ Rabbi Michael Beals, ‘Unetanneh Tokef’, B’nai Tikvah Congregation in <http://www.bnaitikvahcongregation.org/dvar_rmm.asp?sub-HHD&dald=11> [accessed 15 February 2008].

¹⁷⁸ ‘On Rosh Hashanah will be inscribed and on Yom Kippur will be sealed how many will pass from the earth and how many will be created; who will live and who will die; who will die at his predestined time and who before his time; who by water and who by fire; who by sword, who by beast, who by famine, who by thirst, who by storm, who by plague, who by strangulation and who by stoning. Who will rest and who will wander, who will live in harmony and who will be harried, who will enjoy tranquillity and who will suffer, who will be impoverished and who will be enriched, who will be degraded and who will be exalted.’ John McKenna and Leonard Cohen, *Who by Fire: A Story of Hope and Survival in Auschwitz*, p. 8 of the programme for this play interspersed with Cohen’s songs. (Note from John MacKenna on this citation: ‘The play has never been published as such. The first version was staged in 1999 but the revised version was completed, rehearsed and staged in 2007. The premiere was in February 2007 at White’s Castle in Athy, Co. Kildare.’)

Brod's critique of the performance of Verdi's *Requiem* makes reference to the *Dies Irae* and, more generally, to the performance aspects of the work. Brod tells us that it was not a perfect performance: the piano was out of tune; it was difficult to create the instrumental colour from the one substituting instrument; the choir did not sing perfectly.¹⁷⁹ However, he is eloquent in his praise for the dynamism, rhythm, energy, articulation and general passion of the performance. His final comment is, perhaps, the most telling: 'a great achievement and a gigantic boost for the oppressed soul.'¹⁸⁰

I contend that a deeper significance may be attached to the circumstances surrounding the performance of the work. It is known that there were approximately twenty or more performances of Verdi's *Requiem* in Theresienstadt with three entire changes of choir. What would motivate a conductor to perform such a challenging work in such difficult circumstances with transports affecting the rehearsals? Why would anyone bother, knowing the adverse conditions surrounding the rehearsals and performances? My assertion is that there was every reason to perform this work because it articulated a profound insight from collective memory: when we draw from the storehouse of collective memory, our sense of the past becomes activated and memory becomes remembrance.¹⁸¹ Memory and remembrance are the concepts which are fundamental to the Requiem as a liturgical or artistic genre. Remembering expresses identity, encapsulates it, and contributes to meaning in an oppressive situation. It is the past and present in meaningful and active engagement. The

¹⁷⁹ Otto Brod, 'Verdiho Rekviem', quoted in Elena Makarova, Sergei Makarov, and Victor Kuperman, *University Over The Abyss*, pp. 215-216.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 215-216.

¹⁸¹ Iwona Irwin-Zarecka, *Frames of Remembrance*, p. 14.

participation of the internees of Theresienstadt in Verdi's *Requiem* drew from that dimension of collective memory. It was more than musical performance: it was an expression of collective memory. It is an interesting and significant fact that there is no other large-scale sacred work which received so many performances in Theresienstadt.

2.4.3 Joseph Haydn: *Die Schöpfung*

Haydn's *Die Schöpfung* was performed by the German-speaking choir at least twice in close succession (with different soloists each time), under the direction of Karl Fischer, after the first performances of Verdi's *Requiem*. It is thought that rehearsals commenced in winter of 1943-44.¹⁸²

Gunther Plaut, editor of the Torah and Commentary reminds us that Jews 'cannot know their past or themselves without this book [the Torah], for in it they will discover the framework of their own existence'.¹⁸³ The framework of existence is intimately linked with the frameworks of memory to which Halbwachs refers. In the Book of Genesis (*Bereshit*), we read the story of Creation which is also part of the framework of memory for the Jewish people. Creation emerges from chaos, and order and light proceed forth from the chaotic, formless void. Many times throughout the history of the Jewish people, this dialectic between darkness and light, chaos and order, is in evidence. As part of the Jewish collective

¹⁸² Joža Karas, *Music in Terezín*, p. 137.

¹⁸³ W. Gunther Plaut, 'General Introduction to the Torah' from *The Torah: A Modern Commentary*, ed. by W. Gunther Plaut and David E. S. Stein (New York: Union for Reform Judaism, 2006), p. xxxviii.

memory, the Theresienstadt composers are placed in a similar milieu where creativity takes place: chaos, darkness, void.

The act of creation in the face of what was happening in the camps and the ghettos throughout Europe was in some sense integrated into the literary, theatrical, musical and artistic repertoire which emanated from those very locations. Roskies considers that the most remarkable thing about those who were in the camps was:

[...] their ability, in the midst and in the wake of the apocalypse, to know the apocalypse, express it, mourn it, transcend it; for if catastrophe is the presumption of man acting as destroyer, then the fashioning of catastrophe into a new set of tablets is the primal act of creation carried out in the image of God.¹⁸⁴

It could be suggested that composers, artists and writers, of the Shoah, in their engagement with the catastrophe through the medium of art, configured a new set of tablets: a new mitzvah to create and to sustain life in the circumstances of liminal experience. In so doing, they created the condition and potential for survivance.

One performance of Haydn's *Die Schöpfung* took place on 15 February 1944. A review of the concert was written by Viktor Ullmann. It was directed by Karl Fischer and accompanied on piano by Renee Gärtner-Geiringer. There was a double cast of performers to facilitate multiple performances in Theresienstadt, sometimes at simultaneous locations within the camp.¹⁸⁵ The idea of Creation in Jewish thought is linked into the Book of Genesis, the Psalms, and in their

¹⁸⁴ David G. Roskies, *Against the Apocalypse: Responses to Catastrophe in Modern Jewish Culture*, p. 310.

¹⁸⁵ Joža Karas, *Music in Terezín*, p. 138.

statement of belief *Ani Maamin* where they state ‘blessed be His name as the Author and Guide of everything that has been created, and that He alone has made, does make, and will make all things.’¹⁸⁶ Haydn’s portrayal of the days of creation is infused with mystery, light, beauty, and life. In the context of Theresienstadt, its libretto, its music and its life make it a ‘wager on survivance’.

2.4.4 Felix Mendelssohn: *Elijah*

Other choral works of religious importance were also performed in Theresienstadt. Rehearsals for Mendelssohn’s *Elijah* commenced for the German-speaking choir immediately after *Die Schöpfung*. In Mendelssohn’s oeuvre, *Elijah* represented a new stage in his relationship to his Jewish roots evident in the way in which he emphasised Jewish elements within the work despite a Christological programme.¹⁸⁷ It cannot be said to be a Jewish work albeit that it was written by a composer who was Protestant with Jewish ancestry. It was quite an achievement to have the work of a Jewish composer performed in a concentration camp considering the direct prohibition concerning Jewish composers, performers or music critics, enforced elsewhere in the Reich and occupied territories.

The choice of *Elijah* for performance is quite significant given the context of *Elijah* in Jewish memory. *Elijah* was a prophet in Israel during the reign of Ahab in c. 870 BCE. His role in Jewish religious tradition is linked to Messianic expectation. In the Prophet Malachi, God ‘will send his prophet *Elijah* before the

¹⁸⁶ Dan Cohn-Sherbok, *Judaism: History, Belief and Practices* (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 371.

¹⁸⁷ Jeffrey S. Sposata, *The Price of Assimilation: Felix Mendelssohn and the 19th Century Anti-Semitic tradition* (USA: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 114.

day of the Lord.’¹⁸⁸ In the Talmud, Elijah is expected to sort out legal problems prior to the coming of the Messiah.¹⁸⁹ His role is also one of unification, turning ‘the hearts of children to their fathers’. Many events associated with Elijah are chronicled in the Books of the Kings. Both the oratorio and the scriptural texts portray Elijah as the ultimate symbol of immortality. Elijah returned among his fellow men throughout the centuries, so as ‘to remind them of their rights to hope and memory – and to offer men not fascination with death but a taste of immortality’.¹⁹⁰

In the myriad of events surrounding Elijah, he is the epitome of personal strength, the embodiment of vigorous antipathy towards enemies, the apogee of identification with the suffering of his people, and the personification of memory itself. Wiesel recounts a legend where it is said that at the end of time, Elijah’s book of memories will become the new Torah ‘which the Messiah will study and teach so that forever afterwards mankind will remember Jewish suffering, Jewish waiting and Jewish longing.’¹⁹¹ For all of these reasons, the performance of the oratorio *Elijah*, would have rekindled that which was part of the Jewish tradition; a tradition from where some of those who were formerly estranged, were now beginning to find a home.

¹⁸⁸ Malachi 4. 5-6.

¹⁸⁹ Dan Cohn-Sherbok, *Judaism: History, Belief and Practice*, p. 454.

¹⁹⁰ Elie Wiesel, *Five Biblical Portraits: Saul, Jonah, Jeremiah, Elijah, Joshua* (Indiana: University of Notre Dame, 1990), p. 35.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

Mendelssohn's *Elijah* featured in the opening scene in what now remains of the propaganda film *Der Führer schenkt den Juden eine Stadt*.¹⁹² *Freizeitgestaltung* had received an order from the Nazi authorities to record cultural work on film. The final chorus was sung enthusiastically in the extract, conducted by Karel Fischer and accompanied on piano by Gideon Klein.

The first performances of *Elijah* took place in summer of 1944. Manes refers to this as: 'The largest artistic event, which left all the preceding musical performances in the dust [...].'¹⁹³ Rehearsals had been taking place over five months. Philipp Manes testified what he witnessed at one of the performances of *Elijah* which took place on 15 August 1944.¹⁹⁴ Karas estimates the last

¹⁹² *Der Führer schenkt den Juden eine Stadt* (*The Führer gives the Jews a Town*) or as it was also called *Theresienstadt: Ein Dokumentarfilm aus dem jüdischen Siedlungsgebiet* (*Theresienstadt: A Documentary Film of the Jewish Resettlement*), propaganda film directed by Kurt Geron, written by Kurt Geron, release date was 1944 but it was never released. It is currently available in the United States Holocaust Memorial and Museum, Washington, under the Steven Spielberg Film and Video Archive at the following URL:

<http://resources.ushmm.org/film/display/main.php?search=simple&query=Theresienstadt&cache_file=uia_nTOnYz&total_recs=32&page_len=25&page=1&rec=4&file_num=2703> [accessed 14 January 2010]. It is filed under 'Nazi propaganda film about Theresienstadt/Terezin; Story RG-60.2615, Tape 2310.' The archive information on the film gives some detail regarding its content, some extracts from which I include here: 'Excerpts of the well-known propaganda film made by the Nazis to show the International Red Cross and others that they were not mistreating Jews in the "ghettos." Documentary footage depicts the life of Jews in the ghetto of Theresienstadt in Czechoslovakia as harmonious and joyful. They wear yellow stars on their civilian clothing but are euphemistically called residents ["Bewohner"] instead of inmates. They look well-dressed and well-fed and smiling. No SS guards or other armed Germans are shown. With English subtitles. Titles explaining the history of Terezín which include the number of people brought to the ghetto, how many died, and how many were sent to death camps. Film title "Theresienstadt" superimposed over orchestra scene. Audience, orchestra. Animation of the fortress city [...] Narrator describes building the city of Theresienstadt. Several CUs of inmates playing chess, reading, and at leisure outside. Teens sitting together. Young women exercising. Man painting the landscape. Others outside – narration alludes that people happily relax on the fortress grounds in the sunshine. People sitting on benches [...].' etc.

¹⁹³ Philipp Manes, *As if it were life: A WWII Diary from the Theresienstadt Ghetto*, p. 207.

¹⁹⁴ 'Approximately 80 ladies and gentlemen, who all worked during the day, some doing hard labour, rehearsed for about five months because the conductor could hardly ever assemble the whole choir for rehearsal. With unbelievable tenacity and energy, this musically obsessed man [Karl Fischer] dedicated himself to rehearsing. Being a tenor himself, he had developed a phenomenal musical ear. He heard every dissonance, and even the smallest deviation was not allowed. He knew each voice and the ability of every individual, and he held the whole together with an iron hand.' Philipp Manes, *As if it were life: A WWII Diary from the Theresienstadt Ghetto*, pp. 206-207.

performance to have taken place some time around 28 September 1944 before the bigger transports out of Theresienstadt to extermination camps in Poland took place.¹⁹⁵

Repeat performances were scheduled up to 1 October 1944. However, according to Henry Oertelt, a member of the choir at that time, the repeat performances never occurred. Karel Reiner and Mrs Bach-Fischer accompanied on two upright pianos. The soloists were soprano, Gertrude Borger; alto, Hilde Aronson-Lindt; tenor, Machiel Gobets; and bass, Walter Windholz. Bedřich (Wolfgang) Borges substituted for Windholz in the last performance. Henry Oertelt commented on his experience:

Just try to imagine the anxiety of these performers as... the huge choir of inmates cried out in a strong fortissimo "Help, Lord – Help, Lord! Wilt thou quite destroy us?" We knew it was the most beautiful and most meaningful performance that ever took place anywhere.¹⁹⁶

The chorus consisted of eighty people, half the forces needed for Verdi's *Requiem*. Sadly, the reason for the reduced number of personnel required for this work in comparison to the *Requiem* is probably the fact that these rehearsals and performances were taking place late into 1944 when the rate of transports to extermination camps was accelerating and, consequently, the demography of Theresienstadt had been affected.

¹⁹⁵ Joža Karas, *Music in Terezín*, p. 138.

¹⁹⁶ Nick Strimple, *Choral Music in the Twentieth Century* (New Jersey: Amadeus Press, 2005), p. 110.

2.5 Studio für Neue Musik

In addition to *Freizeitgestaltung*, another musical development, *Studio für Neue Musik*, was initiated by Viktor Ullmann. Its purpose was to give a platform for the performance of evolving styles of new modernist music and to offer young composers of Theresienstadt an opportunity to gain exposure for their work in this genre. Very few programmes remain of the works performed in this initiative. However, we know that works by Gustav Mahler (1860-1911), Alexander Zemlinsky (1871-1942), Arnold Schoenberg (1874-1951), Bruno Walter (1876-1962), and Alois Hába (1893-1973) were performed. Of the Theresienstadt composers, *Poupata*, a song cycle on Czech poetry was written and performed by Karel Berman; Chassidic Dances for two violins, and an Hebraic Rhapsody of Zigmund Schul; poetry of Petr Kien, another internee of Theresienstadt, was set as a song cycle entitled *Die Pest* by Gideon Klein.¹⁹⁷ Composers such as Viktor Ullmann, Pavel Haas, Hans Krása, Gideon Klein, Zigmund Schul, and Karel Berman, already had a number of pre-War works in the style of the new music of the Second Viennese School and incorporating microtonality. Ullmann's establishment of the *Studio für Neue Musik* addressed the lacuna which existed in the performance and critique of such works in Theresienstadt. It provided an opportunity for these emerging composers to experiment and to receive the critical and constructive support of others with experience of such styles.

¹⁹⁷ David Bloch in an interview with survivor Pavel Kling on 12 October 1989 in Victoria, British Columbia, Canada.

2.6 Resistance and Defiance

Musical expression for the Jewish population was, for some, an act of defiance resisting the oppressive will of the Nazi regime. Distinguished scholars of history and the arts have engaged in extensive discourse concerning the arts as forms of spiritual and moral resistance.¹⁹⁸ Spiritual resistance is the energy deriving from the strength of mind and spirit to resist annihilation; not 'spiritual' necessarily as defined in the context of religious or pious practice. Spiritual resistance might seem to emasculate the normal, human, response to danger and even sanitise or justify the brutality of life in the camps and ghettos. It is conceivable that this spiritual resistance or defiance could be interpreted as a presumption that there was a disengagement from that dreadful reality; that the internees of the camps or ghettos were fantasists or illusionists living in an unreal, make-believe world. It would be facile to suggest that defiance or spiritual resistance was in some sense ethereal, ecstatic or totally transcendent, even to the point of justification of the role evil plays in the cause of 'sense-making' of a particularly brutal period of human history. Joan Ringelheim, a survivor of Theresienstadt and a Jewish researcher on the fate of women in the *Shoah*, has asked uncomfortable questions about resistance:

Is courage resistance? Is singing on the way to the gas chamber resistance? [...] Is killing the enemy resistance? See how the term becomes neutralised – worse, destroyed. Such slippage in language suggests that all Jews became heroes or martyrs[...] Can that possibly make sense of what happened?¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁸ For further information consult Yad Vashem First International Conference on Manifestations of Jewish Resistance, 1968 which consists of scholarly contributions from Yehuda Bauer, Lucy Dawidowicz, Raul Hilberg, Joan Ringelheim, and Roger Gottlieb.

¹⁹⁹ Joan Ringelheim, 'Women in the Holocaust: A Reconsideration of Research', *Signs*, 4, 10, (1985), 741-761 (p. 760).

Resistance happens in the context of oppression; that reality must never recede from the horizons of consciousness. Lawrence Langer speaks of a resistance to cultural genocide instead of cultural resistance to genocide: ‘The impulse to set meaningless death into some form of meaningful context is both natural and understandable, since the alternative is almost too painful to bear’.²⁰⁰ Langer is keen to further stress this natural desire lest one seeks to inflate the redemptive power of the arts in oppressive situations:

If an actor or composer or concert pianist were given a choice between doing nothing but brooding about one’s impending doom and sinking slowly into oblivion or using one’s talents [...] to give others temporary relief from oppression or gain a little acclaim for oneself – who would choose the former over the latter? Is this resistance, escapism or merely a normal and spontaneous decision to employ one’s natural abilities where possible especially when they might offer a brief respite to their dreary lives and those of their audiences?²⁰¹

His point merits some consideration. It is undeniable that the arts were expressions of resistance and defiance for some of the performers and those who participated in the cultural activities of the camp. This attitude of defiance and resistance is often juxtaposed with the raw reality of camp life.

This thesis contends that the human instinct is to preserve oneself, to express one’s humanity, when confronted with oppression and atrocity. In the collective memory of Judaism, such an instinct is obvious in the actions of the biblical character Miriam, the prophet, sister of Moses and Aaron, from the Book of Exodus. She exemplifies, analogically, the defiant spirit of the collective memory of Judaism expressed through the dangerous acts of music-making for the Jewish

²⁰⁰ Lawrence Langer, ‘The Art of Atrocity’, *Tikkun*, July/August 2002, p. 1.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

population in the grip of the Nazi regime. Miriam took her timbrel in her hand and began to dance and sing as she and the Hebrews fled from their pursuers, the Egyptians, across the Red Sea.²⁰² Playing instruments at a time of possible annihilation was a demonstration of defiance and there is something tantalisingly dangerous about her action. This defiance was a profound symbol of self-assertion and an affirmation of life when her enemies wanted to suppress and oppress her. Her action was a 'wager on survivance'.²⁰³

2.7 Conclusion

Art history, indeed, human history, provides much evidence that artistic expression, a creative response, is often a meaningful vehicle, perhaps the only vehicle or mechanism for survivance, in the face of desolation and oppression. Survivance is linked with the preservation of hope, the expression of freedom, the creativity of self, the articulation of meaning. The *mitzvah*²⁰⁴ is survivance. 'Art, music and performance transferred fear into freedom... It helped to sustain hope, a sense of self and the will to live.'²⁰⁵

Finding meaning in an oppressive situation contributes to survivance; finding one's own human expression in the midst of atrocity, also contributes to survivance: 'We are human beings and we remain human beings, they are saying in this way, despite everything. And if we must perish, the sacrifice must not have

²⁰² Exodus 15. 20-21.

²⁰³ George Steiner, *Real Presences: Is there anything in what we say?*, p. 4.

²⁰⁴ A *Mitzvah* is a commandment.

²⁰⁵ Anne D. Dutlinger, *Art, Music and Education as Strategies for Survival: Theresienstadt 1941-1945* (Canada: Herodias, 2000), p. 7.

been in vain. We must give it some meaning.'²⁰⁶ Meaning and survivance are interwoven concepts, and artistic expression within that dialectic is fundamental. The musical accomplishments of the internees of Theresienstadt were impressive. Archives are replete with details surrounding their performances. The important question to focus on now is not so much the 'what' of their repertoires, but the 'why'. It is presumed that the musicians who were interned had vast repertoires of music memorised. It is also documented that there was a mix of musical abilities ranging from those who had none to those who were exceedingly proficient. However, it is the argument of this thesis that the repertoires were significant for them, not only for the reasons outlined or for practical considerations of performance, but also because they incorporated aspects of collective memory which contributed to their survivance.

²⁰⁶ Norbert Fryd, 'Culture in the Anteroom to Hell', *Terezín*, ed. by František Ehrmann, Otta Heitlinger, Rudolph Litis (Prague: Council of the Jewish Communities in the Czech Lands, 1965), p. 217.

CHAPTER THREE

Jewish Collective Memory

The crucible of the Theresienstadt ghetto consisted of an eclectic group of Jews: Czech, German, Zionist, religious, assimilated, agnostic and atheistic. In the discourse of this thesis, the focus is, primarily, on the music which was composed in Theresienstadt, from the particular perspective of the evidence of collective memory in those works. The first composers to be examined within this chapter are those whose collective memory of Judaism is expressed through music. While some of the composers mentioned will be examined in more detail in other chapters, their inclusion here is justified by their allusion to significant references to Jewish collective memory in their Theresienstadt compositions. Composers investigated here include James Simon, Viktor Ullmann, Pavel Haas, Karel Reiner, Hugo Löwenthal and Zigmund Schul. This chapter explores the meaning of Jewish collective memory. As well as its expression in music, Jewish collective memory is also expressed in the religious activities of the communities in the ghetto. A survey of religious activities is included since this is a manifestation of Jewish collective memory and the religious observances are relevant to the discourse. Only one composer, Zigmund Schul, clearly shows evidence of pre-War immersion and composition in Hebraic modes and Jewish-themed work. In the case of Löwenthal, of the ten pieces in his collection entitled *Traditionelle Weisen*, there is but one piece which is entirely his own; the others are arrangements of songs used for different Judaic feasts. The style of these pieces is folk-like. Schul was schooled in Western art music and his three extant works from Theresienstadt have been heavily influenced by Jewish collective memory.

3.1 Jewish Collective Memory

Religious collective memory finds its emphasis in the ancient narratives, myths, symbols, and rituals that shaped the identity of a people. The French philosopher and sociologist Maurice Halbwachs refers to the evidence of ancient civilizations where divinized leaders created a particular religious thrust within the societies in which they lived. While a series of rites and practices may have developed in the lifetimes of these leaders, the practices did not remain static throughout the ensuing generations. Societies evolved and contexts changed, all of which produced particular frames of reference in relation to these practices. As a result memory was preserved but its expression continued to change over time. In the Jewish tradition, these memories were encapsulated strongly in the *Torah*, *Hagaddah*, the structure of the calendar and through the rituals, the concrete expression of the historical narrative. The Hebrew verb *zakhar* – ‘to remember’ – ‘appears in its various declensions in the Hebrew Bible no less than one hundred and sixty-nine times, usually with either Israel or God as the subject, for memory is incumbent upon both’.²⁰⁷ For Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, Jewish collective memory is always expressed in ritual and recital more so than in historical narrative.²⁰⁸ His conclusions are based on the examinations of practices which survived over generations and which were associated with significant events in the life of Jews. Rituals developed in Jewish communities commemorating the first European incident recorded of the accusation of ritual child murder which occurred in France (Blois) in 1171. Cossack pogroms, which systematically devastated Jewish communities of Poland and Ukraine in 1648, were commemorated by local communities long after the historical details of the event had been lost. The

²⁰⁷ Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, *Zachor*, p. 5.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

relevance of these events to the discourse of this thesis lies in the fact that the memory which is being recalled, reflects significant events in Jewish collective memory. A comparable situation becomes evident in the music written in Theresienstadt where references to significant Jewish events or protagonists have profound symbolism in the context of Jewish collective memory. The referentialist expressions of Jewish ideological, commemorative and musical motifs become an intrinsic part of the articulation of collective memory. Theresienstadt compositions which have reference to these evolve from engrained Jewish collective memory.

Iwona Irwin-Zarecka considers that the infrastructure of collective memory is the 'set of ideas, images and feelings about the past – [and] is best located not in the minds of individuals, but in the resources they share.'²⁰⁹ Her understanding of collective memory refers to all 'the different spaces, objects, 'texts' that make an engagement with the past possible.'²¹⁰ These two premises, the infrastructure of collective memory and the understanding of collective memory, are significant concepts, particularly, in the context of music composed and performed in Theresienstadt and its relationship to collective memory. The spaces, objects and texts, are not qualified or prescribed by Irwin-Zarecka. Spaces refer to both present and past. Memory is always held in that tension or dialectic within that space. The past is not abstracted from the present since we are products of our past. In the context of this thesis, the spatial context refers to the present space of the concentration camps and the past space of the pre-War lives

²⁰⁹ Iwona Irwin-Zarecka, *Frames of Remembrance: The Dynamics of Collective Memory* (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1994; repr. 2009), p. 4.

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

of those who lived in these camps. The objects or the texts, to which Irwin-Zarecka refers, could quite conceivably be transferable to the performances and compositions of the internees in Theresienstadt. These objects or texts comprise some of the shared resources which, Irwin-Zarecka asserts, are constitutive of the infrastructure of memory. Irwin-Zarecka's definition of collective memory is understood 'not as a collection of individual memories or a magically constructed reservoir of ideas and images, but rather as a socially articulated and socially maintained "reality of the past"[...].'²¹¹ Something socially articulated and maintained suggests communication of it as a living entity. She continues: 'then it also makes sense to look at the most basic and accessible means for memory articulation and maintenance – talk.'²¹² Talk presumes communication and language. Music is a means of communication and language and, while Irwin-Zarecka does not look at music as an expression of collective memory, the melodies and the texts are constitutive of collective memory. Consequently, the context and content of these works deserve examination in the light of such insight. Those who participated in the specifically religious performances, and the compositions based on Jewish collective memory in Theresienstadt, were engaging with the memory of something that gave meaning to their present existence.

In the Nazi concentration camps the expression of religious faith and adherence to its tradition was, for some, a powerful instrument of resistance and, paradoxically, of survivance. In terms of collective memory as it pertains to Jewish/religious collective memory, Halbwachs states that religions, of whatever tradition, 'offer us a depiction of the life, activities, and figure of divine or sacred

²¹¹ Iwona Irwin-Zarecka, *Frames of Remembrance*, pp. 54-55.

²¹² *Ibid.*

entities.²¹³ Judaism is no different to any of the major world religions in this regard. By articulating significant events in the religious memory of the Jewish people, a life-giving resonance with past generations was created.

3.2 Jewish Religious Activities in Theresienstadt

While statistics are difficult to establish surrounding religious practice and faith in Theresienstadt, the fact remains that all those incarcerated in Theresienstadt were of Jewish origin. Some statistics are included in the testimony of Jacob Jacobson, dating from March 1946; this is one of a series of personal reports received by the Jewish Central Information Office from eye-witnesses of the persecution of Jews under Nazi rule. Jacobson's assertion was that in May 1944, 15% of those incarcerated in Theresienstadt were not Jews by religion and, further, that shortly before the liberation, this percentage had risen to 36%.²¹⁴ Those who converted to Christianity may have done so out of reasons of authentic religious belief, or in the belief that, in their conversion, their lives might be spared. We cannot presume or assume that the remaining proportion of Jews interned were necessarily observant religious Jews. Figures quoted in Erich's testimony bear witness to the trends in Theresienstadt as the war progressed (See Table 3.1):

²¹³ Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, ed. and trans. by Lewis A. Coser (USA: University of Chicago, 1992), p. 87.

²¹⁴ Jacob Jacobsen, *Terezín: The Daily Life: 1943-1945*, Jewish Survivors Report, Documents of Nazi Guilt, No. 6 Jewish Central Information Office, March 1946, from Yad Vashem Archives, File Number 2-57-3347a.

Table 3.1: Proportion of Jews and non-Jews in Theresienstadt²¹⁵

Month and Year	Jews	Non-Jews
December 1943	87.9%	12.1%
December 1944	72.1%	27.9%
April 1945	63.4%	36.6%

Erich confirms that among the non-Jewish population, Catholics and those affiliated to no religion represented the largest segment; slightly fewer were registered as Protestants of various denominations; 8% comprised various other groupings. In total, Erich calculated the presence of seventeen different denominations. However, it should be borne in mind that this fluctuated, depending on the frequency and composition of transports.

Nasch Erich's testimony in the archives of Yad Vashem asserted that agnostics and atheists came to Theresienstadt. As he described them, they were people who felt a 'faint sense of belonging to the extended Jewish family, not necessarily on ethnic ground, but rather a variety of reasons: sentiment, loyalty to an always endangered group, or proverbial Jewish stiff-neckedness.'²¹⁶

The Jewish identity of the ghetto population at Theresienstadt was evident at times of formal religious practice and ritual, and in the subject matter of the lectures that took place. A spiritual orientation was evident in a selection of

²¹⁵ Nasch Erich, Yad Vashem Archives, File Number 064/105B

²¹⁶ Ibid.

lectures that the inmates of Theresienstadt were permitted to attend as part of *Freizeitgestaltung*.²¹⁷

The list reveals an emphasis on the more interior aspects of Judaism, to equip one with some life in the midst of oppression, and to provide sustenance for difficult times. Chief Rabbi Neuhaus listed forty-three lectures, given in Theresienstadt, incorporating Biblical, Mishnaic, Talmudic literature, Jewish history and music in the Bible. None of the texts of these lectures is extant. The authors of *University over the Abyss* speculate that it was quite extraordinary that so many of those interned were part of a diverse mix of non-religious, rational and often atheistic people, and yet they attended lectures on the topic of soul - or spirituality-related content.

Sam Berger, a survivor of Theresienstadt and an observant Jew, recounts some of the activities of the Zionist movement in the ghetto: *Makkabi* (Zionist Youth Movement) which combined Zionist ideology and sport; *Techlet-Lavan* (Blue-White) movement which was another Zionist organisation for young people; *Hechalutz* (Pioneers) a Zionist movement with a strong social concern for more vulnerable people in Theresienstadt; *Bne Akiva*, a fervently religious Zionist group. A specific action instigated by the Zionist youth movements was *Yad Tomechat*, literally meaning 'the supporting hand,' and they carried out practical activities to make the lives of the elderly and infirm more tolerable, as well as

²¹⁷ Elena Makarova, Sergei Makarov, and Victor Kuperman, *University over the Abyss*, p. 187. Examples include the following: Dr L. A. Wald: *Spiritual Perseverance of the Jewish People*; Dr W. Unger: *Salvation Ideas of the Great Poets*; Dr Baeck: *Life Integrity in Body and Soul*; Rabbi Dr L. Neuhaus: *The Problem of Suffering in the Book of Job*; I. Seeligman: *God and the Testing of Humans in the Bible*; Dr V. E. Frankl: *Body and Soul*; Prof. Dr E. Utitz: *Body and Soul*; Prof. H. Bamberger: *Guiding the Soul*.

bringing them joy, entertainment, and kindness.²¹⁸ These various Zionist movements strengthened fellowship among the members of the Jewish community and gave them a sense of identity, and the accompanying hope that one day they would go to *Eretz* (the land) Israel.

Religious festivals were celebrated in the ghetto even though some of the traditional Jewish observances of rest could not be fulfilled. Manes describes these festivals as important milestones in the life of the Jewish community: 'These days are important in the ghetto because they lead people of all orientations to one goal: knowledge of Judaism, homecoming, and turning to God.'²¹⁹ Manes describes the conditions for Jewish religious practice in the ghetto at the end of December 1942.²²⁰ It was a cramped situation giving little leeway for the contemplative space required but it demonstrated the reality of religious practice in the ghetto.

3.3 Jewish Music Composed in Theresienstadt

In his opening lecture to the First International Congress of Jewish Music in Paris in 1957, Curt Sachs defined Jewish music as 'that music which is made by Jews, for Jews, as Jews.'²²¹ Jewish ethnomusicologist Edwin Seroussi articulates concerns about the parameters of such definitions.²²²

²¹⁸ Sam Berger, *The Face of Hell* (New York: Carlton Press, 1992), p. 52.

²¹⁹ Philipp Manes, *As if it were Life*, p. 231.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 63. 'Religious practice is not easy in the ghetto. There is not even one room that is dignified enough to be a synagogue. Why not even a hut was built and made available for prayer is incomprehensible to me: There were enough cut pieces of wood on the woodpile. Synagogues in the attics were impossible to heat, ugly, inappropriate for worship, and did not accommodate all the devout, especially not when one of the speakers was there.'

²²¹ Curt Sachs quoted in 'Jewish Music' Alexander Knapp, *Encyclopaedia of Modern Jewish Culture*, ed. by Glenda Abramson (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 611.

²²² Edwin Seroussi, 'Jewish music: Introductions: Definition and Scope', in *Grove Music Online/Oxford Music Online*.

This issue is integral to the discourse of this thesis. The compositions by the composers under scrutiny in this chapter, were written by Jews. Some were also written quite specifically, for a Jewish audience, and others with a wider and more assimilated audience in mind. Seroussi suggests that in the variety of Jewish writings about music there appears to be no unified ideology of music within Judaism.²²³ Theresienstadt yields examples of Jewish instrumental and vocal, religious and secular music, written by Jews.

In Theresienstadt documentation, there are no enumerated classifications of the different communities of Jews inhabiting the camp. Common Jewish traits would be indicated by the use of Hebrew and Yiddish languages and motifs which would be characteristic of Jewish secular or liturgical usage.²²⁴ The latter is the category provided by David Bloch in his analysis of the Jewish music. The output of newly-composed and specifically religious music was quite limited in Theresienstadt; however, there were references in some of the art music which included quotations from Jewish agaddic literature and music. Many of the instrumental and vocal works which had Hebrew and Yiddish themes were arrangements facilitating the diverse abilities of those with whom Viktor Ullmann, Hugo Lowenthal, Zigmund Schul, Gideon Klein, Pavel Haas, and others, had to work.²²⁵ While the composers may not have been strongly aligned to their own religious affiliation, or were experiencing difficulties coming to terms with their

<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/41322pg4>> [accessed 6 July 2011].

²²³ Edwin Seroussi, 'Jewish music', in *Grove Music Online/Oxford Music Online*.

<<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/41322pg4>> [accessed 12 July 2010].

²²⁴ David Bloch, 'Jewish Music in Terezín – A Brief Survey', *Verfemte Musik: Komponisten in den Diktaturen unseres Jahrhunderts: Dokumentation des Kolloquiums vom 9-12 January 1993 in Dresden* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1995), pp. 105-120.

²²⁵ Appendix 6: Hebrew and Yiddish Instrumental and Vocal Works, p. 266.

Judaic background, there is evidence to suggest that in Theresienstadt there was a discovery of the importance of their Judaic heritage.

Hebrew influences are evident in some instrumental and vocal music composed in Theresienstadt. Texts were often suggested in the melodies without the actual wording ever being used. The melodies in turn evoked a contemplative and profound spirit, akin to the Jewish *niggun*, which sought to articulate something beyond any words.²²⁶

Those who composed or arranged music in the camps showed evidence of a western art music training. Examples include Viktor Ullmann, Karel Reiner, James Simon, Hugo Löwenthal and Zigmund Schul. From the time of the *Haskalah* or the Jewish Enlightenment, there were influences in Jewish music from sources other than traditional Hebraic modes or synagogal music. However, some of the musicians chose to write music that reflected their Jewish heritage. The choice of such music has been rarely explained but it is possible to explore this music in the context in which it was either written or arranged and make some possible conclusions. Returning to Irwin-Zarecka, the different spaces, objects and texts make engagement with the past possible. In the music of these composers outlined above, they have articulated and socially maintained the reality of the past which, in these cases, were expressions of Jewish collective memory. In reference to the Theresienstadt composers, Kuna concludes that:

Their impulse was never to succumb to the brutal occupation forces which were out to strangle all those unhappy people singled out for physical liquidation. To espouse one's Jewishness,

²²⁶ See Glossary at the preliminary part of this thesis.

that ancient blood link with one's forefathers, not to cower before Nazi despotism, to prove that even Jews are cultured beings equal to other peoples – those were the tasks facing the heroic upsurge of the will, of reawakened Jewishness, updated under such cruel circumstances.²²⁷

Jewish collective memory was tangibly expressed in the works of some of the Theresienstadt composers whether or not they were affiliated to the religious or secular groupings of the camp's Jewish population.

3.3.1 James Simon (1880-1944)

James Simon (Berlin) was active as a composer, musicologist and a pianist in Theresienstadt. He studied composition under Max Bruch and piano with Conrad Ansoerge. He was interned in Westerbork, was transferred to Theresienstadt in 1944 and died in Auschwitz in September of that year. He delivered a number of lecture-recitals in Theresienstadt and illustrated the texts of his lectures quoting musical examples on the piano: 'The Bible as the Basis for Handel's Oratorios', 'The Influence of the Bible on Music', and an 'Introduction to Mendelssohn's *Elijah*'. On 9 July 1944, Simon composed a setting of Psalm 126 which was performed seven times between then and 14 October 1944. The psalm has a subtitle 'Song of the returning exiles' and speaks of the period of Jewish history when God brought back the exiles from their captivity:

When Yahweh brought back Zion's captives
we lived in a dream;
then our mouths filled with laughter,
and our lips with song [...]

Bring back, Yahweh, our people from captivity
like torrents in the Negeb!

²²⁷ Milan Kuna, 'Music in the Terezín Ghetto' from *Art Against Death: Permanent Exhibitions of the Terezín Memorial in the former Madgeburg Barracks*, by Vojtěch Blodig et al, p. 22.

Those who sow in tears
sing as they reap.

He went off, went off weeping,
carrying the seed.
He comes back, comes back singing,
bringing in his sheaves.²²⁸

Unfortunately, the music of Simon's arrangement of this psalm was not preserved. Simon's chosen text with its references to reaping, weeping and singing is again reminiscent of (and in harmony with) the Exodus text following liberation. Psalm 126 is not fatalistic. It is a statement of hope. We will never know the musical rendition of this psalm setting; that a composer should have chosen this particular psalm out of the entire psalter is perhaps significant. It was composed at a time when Simon was surrounded by seemingly interminable transports, accompanied by weeping, volatility, fear and quite possibly despair. His choice of text must have been of great significance in the circumstances.

One documented performance of Psalm 137 was by the Durra Chorus under the direction of Karel Fischer.²²⁹ Simon set this psalm to music in 1934 when it received its premiere at a Jewish Culture Union Concert at the *Berliner Theater*. Similar to the Psalm 126, this psalm is the text, par excellence, of a people in captivity, yearning for their homeland.

By the rivers of Babylon
we sat and wept
at the memory of Zion.
On the poplars that grew there
we had hung up our harps.

For there our jailers had asked us
to sing them a song,

²²⁸ Psalm 126. 1-2; 4-6

²²⁹ Elena Makarova, Sergei Makarov, and Victor Kuperman, *University Over the Abyss*, p. 191.

our captors to make merry
'Sing us one of the songs of Zion.'

How could we sing a song of Yahweh
on alien soil?
If I forget you, Jerusalem,
may my right hand wither!²³⁰

To sing in captivity is the ultimate gesture of defiance and freedom, and yet one where the heart is grieving for loss. This psalm has resonance, not just in the words of Simon's setting but also in poetry written in the camps and ghettos. 'Sing!' said Yitzhak Katzenelson. 'Take your light, hollow harp in hand. Strike hard with heavy fingers, like pain-filled hearts on its thin chords. Sing the last song. Sing of the last Jews on Europe's soil.'²³¹ The 'University of the Abyss' was the tangible encounter with that sense of pain and loss. Simon's song, then, could have been an expression of defiance, a cry to be heard, an assertion of existence and a will to survive. It is also possible that Simon may have been influenced by the sentiments which were evident in the German poet Heinrich Heine's *Hebräische Melodien*. It is conceivable because of his love for the Romantics in music, that he could possibly have had an interest in Romantic poetry also. Shoshana Heyd, James Simon's niece, says of him that, 'I think his whole musical mind was more the Romantics and - the new Romantics, let's say.'²³² If he were drawn to the music of the Romantics, then it is highly probable that he would be drawn to the poetry of the Romantics also. Simon's proficiency in the composition of over one hundred lieder would also concur with this theory, so that familiarity with the poetry of Heine, in his Germanic background, might have been part of his cultural backdrop to the musical setting of

²³⁰ Psalm 137. 1-4.

²³¹ Yitzhak Katzenelson, 'The Song of the Murdered Jewish People' from David Roskies, *The Literature of Destruction: Jewish Responses to Catastrophe* (Philadelphia, NY, Jerusalem: The Jewish Publication Society, 1989), p. 531.

²³² Transcript of an interview between Shoshana Heyd and David Bloch, 24 July 1995 in Jerusalem.

Psalm 137 in Theresienstadt. Allusions to specifically Jewish references permeate Heine's three poems and recall memories of the Hebrew *kinoth* or songs of Lamentation.²³³ Contextually, these poems were part of a collection entitled *Romancero* written during the period of Western European Jewry's struggle for emancipation.

The text used by James Simon is rich in symbolism and significance for the context of the camp. Exile in Babylon was preceded by other moments of exile in the history of the Jewish people, even from the first documented exile of their predecessors, Adam and Eve, from the Garden of Eden. The human toll of that exile is vividly recounted exploring related themes of alienation, transition, uprooting, suffering, loss of the past, loss of identity. Exile is a familiar concept for Jews which is enunciated in biblical stories of, for example, Abraham and Sarah, the sojourn under Pharaoh's reign in Egypt. In this experience, Judaism was said to have become the religion of the communities scattered among the nations of the world, 'yet all were linked by historical and spiritual ties to an understanding of Israel as the covenant People of God.'²³⁴

3.3.2 Viktor Ullmann (1898-1944)

Viktor Ullmann's Piano Sonata no. VII was one of the last to be written before his deportation to Auschwitz on that fateful day in October 1944. The date written on the short-score of the manuscript was 22 August 1944, and it was dedicated to his

²³³ S. S. Praver, *Heine: The Tragic Satirist: A Study of the Later Poetry 1827-1856* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1961), p. 193.

²³⁴ Ronald Ernest Clements, *Jeremiah: Interpretation: A Bible Commentary For Teaching and Preaching* (Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1988), p. 25.

three children Max, Jean and Felice. It is understood that this sonata was to have been a symphonic work, signified in the details etched on the manuscript and the rich texture of the music itself. It was not until 27 October 1989 in Stuttgart, following the full orchestration of the preliminary etchings of Ullmann by Bernhard Wulff, that the sonata was first performed as a symphonic work.²³⁵ The sonata is like a programmatic work, an autobiographical sketch of Ullmann himself. It was part of a *Theresienstädter Skizzenbuch*.²³⁶ The fifth movement of Ullmann's Piano Sonata no. VII incorporates a series of variations and a fugue derived from a Hebrew folk-song entitled *Rachel*. According to the editorial notes to the sonata, this movement may have originally been the third movement. Its original numbering is no longer legible as it was corrected a number of times and overscored in indelible and lead pencil.²³⁷ The poetic text was written in 1926 by a Jewish woman, Rachel Bluwstein (1890-1931), who was born in Vyatka, Russia.²³⁸ Yehuda Sharret set the text to music.²³⁹

Example 3.1: Viktor Ullmann, Piano Sonata no. VII, 5, *Variationen und Fuge über ein hebräisches Volkslied*, bars 1-8²⁴⁰

Sieh, ihr Blut, fließt in mei-nem Blut, ih-re Stimme singt in mei-ner.

Rachel die La-bans Her-de hü-tet, Rachel. Müt-ter der Müt-ter.

²³⁵ James Reid Baxter, 'Viktor Ullmann's Opus Ultimum', *Tempo*, December 1989, p. 48.

²³⁶ Editorial notes to the score Viktor Ullmann's Piano Sonata No. 7, trans. by Richard Deveson.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*

²³⁸ Yael Zerubavel, 'Antiquity and the Renewed Paradigm', *On Memory: An Interdisciplinary Approach* (Germany: Peter Lang, 2007) ed. by Doron Mendels, p. 344.

²³⁹ Jascha Nemtsov and Beate Schröder-Nauenburg, 'Jewish Composers in the "Third Reich"', *Shofar* Summer 2000, Vol. XVIII, No. 4, p. 88.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

The very fact that the poet's name is Rachel and that the song itself is entitled 'Rachel', would, to the Jewish population, observant and secular, immediately denote the richness of the significance of the biblical character Rachel. The poet identifies with the biblical character Rachel, who is one of the matriarchs of Judaism, a strong representative of Jewish collective memory. Rachel of the Bible, one of Jacob's wives, is first mentioned in the Book of Genesis, Chapter 27. Her life was afflicted by tragedy, accentuated by the fecundity of Leah in contrast to her own lengthy fruitlessness, the birth of one child, Joseph, and finally culminating with her death at the birth of her second child, Benjamin. Rachel, in the Book of Genesis, would appear to be an epitome of tragedy. She is again mentioned in the Book of Jeremiah, Chapter 31. The Book of Jeremiah, the prophet, was written at the time of the exile in Babylon. In context, Jeremiah states:

A voice is heard in Ramah,
lamenting and weeping bitterly:
it is Rachel weeping for her children,
refusing to be comforted for her children,
because they are no more.²⁴¹

In rabbinic literature Rachel is given the title, 'Mother of Exiles'. In the Book of Jeremiah, she is characterised as the matriarch whose tears over the exiles to Babylon were too much for even God to bear. She is the ever-loving mother, who intercedes before God for her children. It is possible, that through her own personal experience of exile, she empathised with the plight of the Jewish people. Rachel is traditionally depicted as the mother, the nurturer, the consoler, the healer, the restorer, the one whose arms are opened wide to embrace the afflicted, the separated, and the far-flung multitudes of the Diaspora. The introduction of this woman, with all her significance in Jewish collective memory, into the music of

²⁴¹ Jeremiah 31. 15.

Ullmann, is an engagement with the past. Rachel is an intrinsic part of the shared memory of Judaism.

The text of Jeremiah is also cited in the Gospel of Matthew in the context of the aftermath of the birth of Jesus. Herod wanted to kill all the newborn Jewish males lest the baby Jesus would potentially usurp his position of power and influence. The words of scripture from Matthew's setting do not explore the anguish of the mothers in this scene, but one can only imagine their unspeakable outrage and loss. Jeremiah's text gains new significance in its New Testament context. Rachel is identified with the mothers, the women of tears and anguish, of sorrow and pain, of lament and tragedy. Rachel is situated firmly in this perspective.

However, Rachel is not just a symbol of tragedy and despair, she is also a harbinger of hope. Hers was the initiation of a new hope and the possibility of the restoration of what was lost hitherto in the near-annihilation wrought by Nebuchadnezzar and his armies. The hope is intimated even in the verses from Jeremiah which state:

Yahweh says this:
stop your weeping,
dry your eyes,
your hardships will be redressed:
they shall come back from the enemy country.
There is hope for your descendants:
your sons will come home to their own lands.²⁴²

²⁴² Jeremiah 31. 16-17.

Restoration signified hope for the future. Eventually, Israel would be saved. This word of hope 'contains an implied assumption that salvation would consist of Israel's becoming a nation once again, free from all the restraints and impositions of foreign rule.'²⁴³ Salvation history is written into the books of Judaism as something which is active and which transcends the passages of time since it becomes present in the present. It is not a conceptual framework relegated to the past. The rebirth of the nation would in the future incorporate not only the exiles from Babylon but also those earlier exiles expelled by Assyria. The reference to Rachel in Ullmann is replete with references and links to memory that are significant in the circumstances. Rachel was the personification of the torment of exile and also of hope for a new future. In a sense, Rachel incorporates past, present and future, symbolised in the memory of the exile, her hope, the unity of fragmented masses, and ultimately the redemptive meaning of suffering itself.

Ullmann's setting of this song by Rachel from Odessa and its inclusion in the last section of his Piano Sonata no. VII, may have been important. Ullmann identifies himself with Rachel and thus identifies himself also with the plight of the Jewish people in Theresienstadt and in all the other concentration camps and ghettos of all time in all places. The text of the song translated means: 'Look, her blood flows in my blood, her voice sings in that of mine, Rachel, who tends Laban's flock, Rachel, mother of the mothers.' Her voice sings in that of Ullmann, most tangibly in Ullmann's setting of this Hebrew melody. The plaintive melody is metamorphosed in the eight variations and fugue which are integral to the fifth

²⁴³ Ronald Ernest Clements, *Jeremiah: Interpretation: A Bible Commentary for Teaching and Preaching*, p. 175.

movement of his sonata, yet Rachel's theme is evident throughout the entire section.

Ullmann's choice of these forms as structural and compositional tools was, in effect, intentionally or otherwise, reiterating the profound symbolism of Rachel. It is as if, in the adoption of variation and fugue for this particular melody, there was a reinforcement of Rachel, the symbol of sorrow and grief, and of hope and of restoration. Wulff, the orchestrator of the symphonic version of the sonata has described these variations and fugue as 'final reckoning with European culture which allowed things like Terezín to happen.'²⁴⁴ James Reid Baxter describes the orchestral performance referring to the composer's determination and will to write in the circumstances of Theresienstadt: 'The sheer strength required to write, in those circumstances, silences all criticism. Never has the idea of 'music as music' seemed so small: as Wulff wrote, this is no 'engaged' composition, this is music as the will to survive.'²⁴⁵

The initial statement of the theme is sparse in its texture, with the melody simply stated in the right hand (See Example 3.2).

²⁴⁴ James Reid Baxter, *Viktor Ullmann's Opus Ultimum*, p. 148.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

Example 3.2: Viktor Ullmann, Piano Sonata no. VII, 5, *Variationen und Fuge über ein Hebräisches Volkslied*, bars 1-8

Progression through the variations is marked by greater harmonic and rhythmic interest with an increase in intensity and density of texture. In the vigorous, accented, and highly energetic fugue, while *Rachel* is the constitutive theme, Ullmann also makes reference to the chorale *Nun danket alle Gott*, the Czech Hussite song *Ktož jsú Boží Bojovníci* and the motif B-A-C-H.²⁴⁶

The use of fugue, one of the master-forms of Johann Sebastian Bach, expresses a musical as well as a vehement ideological counterpoint. For Bach, fugue signified ‘freedom of melody, beauty of curve in sound... free from metrical impositions as plainsong.’ The inclusion of fugue and the acrostic BACH may have added significance where the symbolism is freedom and the melody on which the music is based is the Hebrew folk melody *Rachel*. In Bach’s counterpoint ‘the clashings, the momentary jarrings, are the feature, the gift, the *price* if you will, of melodic freedom truly pursued.’²⁴⁷ *Rachel* continues in the struggle to assert

²⁴⁶ Jascha Nemtsov and Beate Schröder-Nauenburg, ‘Jewish Composers in the “Third Reich”’, p. 91.

²⁴⁷ George Oldroyd, *The Technique and the Spirit of Fugue* (London: Oxford University Press, 1948), p. 7.

herself through *stretto*, where amidst the general cacophony, her identity is still clear and prevails even to the end. Unlike Paul Celan's poem, *Todesfuge*, where the recurring motifs are *Schwarze Milch der Frühe* and *Tod ist ein Meister aus Deutschland* and signify death, Ullmann's musical motifs in the fugue speak of life and resilience.²⁴⁸

The inclusion of B-A-C-H in musical compositions is usually a musical homage to the great master himself. Its inclusion in the fugal section of this final movement of the sonata may be Ullmann's own homage to one of his compositional influences. It could also have the numerical significance, as Bach was accustomed to calculating on occasion. This theory of notational and numerical significance was developed by Smend but was extended by Tatlow.²⁴⁹ In the Latin natural order alphabet, the word BACH corresponds to the number 14 calculated by adding the numerical value of each letter:

B	A	C	H
2	1	3	8

In Hebrew script, each letter corresponds to a specific number. Translated into Hebrew it would appear as *Yad*:

ד	י
4	10

Yad in Hebrew means hand. *Yad* is the word often associated with Memorial e.g. *Yad Vashem*. Could this memorial have been to himself, Viktor Ullmann? Or could

²⁴⁸ Paul Celan, Quotations from 'Todesfuge' from *Poems of Paul Celan* trans. by Michael Hamburger (London: Anvil Press Poetry, 2007), p. 62.

²⁴⁹ Ruth Tatlow, *Bach and the Riddle of the Number Alphabet* (NY: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

it have been to the Jewish people? It is possible that the significance of this association was not lost on Ullmann. The treatment of the particular theme *Rachel* and its emphasis musically was something of an ideological reiteration and a statement that the Jewish people would survive and would be remembered.

Viktor Ullmann's Hebrew Music Arrangements

Ullmann's musical settings of Hebrew and Yiddish texts were largely requested by *Freizeitgestaltung*, as indicated in his article on *Goethe und Ghetto*.²⁵⁰ Ullmann's arrangements facilitated conductors of choirs like the *Subak* Choir which specialised in Jewish liturgical music repertoire, or the *Durra* Choir which sang folk music primarily. *Freizeitgestaltung* leadership gave Ullmann a copy of *Jüdisches (Makkabi) Liederbuch*, published in 1930, and it was from this that Ullmann arranged specifically Hebrew music to be sung by the women's choir, men's choir, mixed choirs and children's choir.

3.3.3 Pavel Haas (1899-1944)

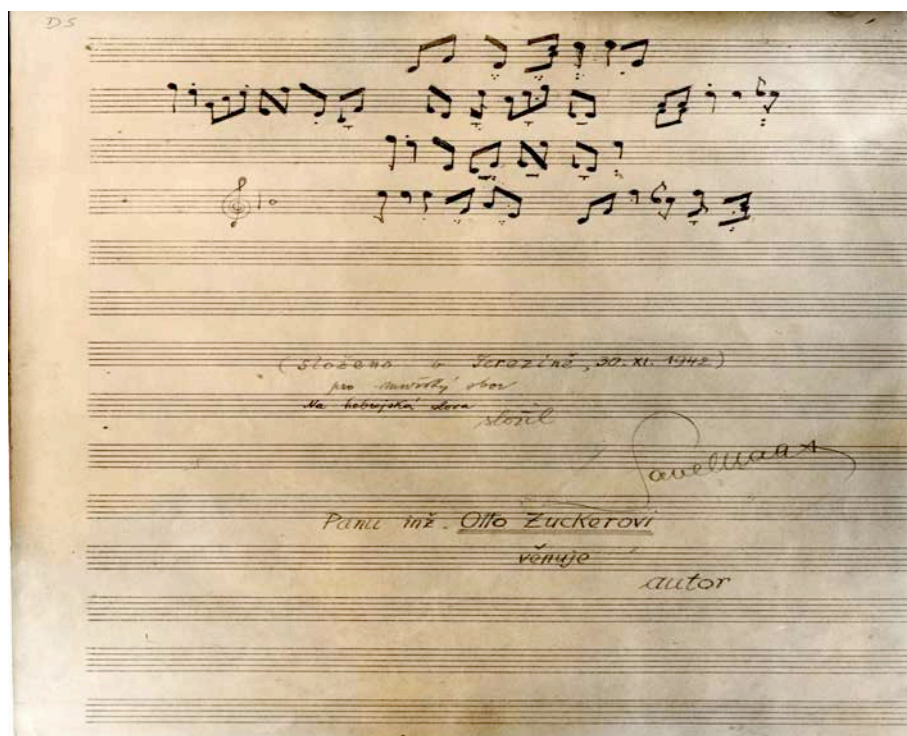
Al S'Fod

While the first work composed by Pavel Haas had a Hebrew title, and while it is known that he used Jewish melodies in his compositions, he had no knowledge of Hebrew. A period of several months had elapsed from the time he came to Theresienstadt on 2 December 1941, and the time that he wrote this first composition *Al S'Fod* in 30 November 1942. According to Truda Solarová and Joža

²⁵⁰ Viktor Ullmann, 'Goethe und Ghetto' from *26 Kritiken über musikalische Veranstaltungen in Theresienstadt*, ed. by Ingo Schultz (Hamburg: von Bockel Verlag, 1993), pp. 92-93.

Karas, Haas was in deep depression and was a broken man in those first months.²⁵¹ Lubomír Peduzzi disagrees with these perspectives because he considers that if Haas was in such a depressed state, he would be unable to compose at all and, particularly, a song like *Al S'Fod*, which is, essentially, a work of hope, courage and strength.²⁵² It could be assumed, merely because of the Hebrew title, that the melody is based on Hebrew modes or influence. It is surprising and important to note that this is not the case. Its inclusion in this section is because *Al S'Fod* has a significant link, nonetheless, to Jewish collective memory. This is manifested in the echoes of the text with the Jewish psalms of petition, those which request God for freedom from oppression.

Example 3.3: Pavel Haas, *Al S'Fod* (Title page of hand-written score)²⁵³



A dedication is inscribed in the title page to Otto Zucker, Deputy Chairperson of the

²⁵¹ These are the views of Joža Karas from *Music in Terezín*, and Truda Solarová in 'Gideon Klein' from *Theresienstadt*.

²⁵² Lubomír Peduzzi, 'Terezínské Legendy a Skutečnosti', *Hudební Věda* XXXIV, 2/97 (Praha: Academia, 1997), p. 175.

²⁵³ Preserved in the Jewish Museum in Prague, *Sbírka Terezín*, inv. č. 319a.

Jewish Council of Elders (See Example 3.3 above). The notes on the title page are written with cryptic Hebrew script. When these words are decoded, the text reveals the following words: *Makzeret lejom hashana harishon vehu acharon begalut Terezín*.²⁵⁴ This translates as: 'In memory of the first and last anniversary of the exile to Terezín.' The text for the composition was written by David Shimoni at a time of Arab uprisings between 1936 and 1939 and was intended to encourage the Jewish population.²⁵⁵ An earlier setting of the same text had been composed by J. Milet as a two-part song; a march for two voices. Haas was not familiar with Hebrew and the dotted rhythms used for the musical setting of the same Hebrew text by Milet, were adopted by Haas to suit the Hebrew pronunciation (See Example 3.4 below).

Example 3.4: Lubomír Peduzzi, Milet and Haas Rhythms²⁵⁶

The musical score for Example 3.4 consists of six systems, each comparing the rhythmic setting of a Hebrew phrase by Milet (M) and Haas (H). The lyrics are: 'Al s' fad', 'Ha-choreš choreš', 'Kifla-jim a mol, kifla-jim j' - cor!', 'U - n' - la va - a' - dor v' - sakkel - u - g' - dor', 'm' - sillat d'ror - l' - jom - haor', and 'Hit-naer u-fal! Hig-gael ug' al!'.

²⁵⁴ Lubomír Peduzzi, *Pavel Haas: Život a Dílo Skladatele* (Brno: 1993), pp. 109-110.

²⁵⁵ David Bloch, 'Jewish Music in Terezín: A Brief Survey', from *Verfemte Musik: Komponisten in den Diktaturen unseres Jahrhunderts*, Dokumentation des Kolloquiums vom 9-12 January 1993, Dresden, pp. 105-120; 113.

²⁵⁶ Lubomír Peduzzi, 'Složeno v Terezínské', *Hudební Rozhledy*, xxi (1968), pp. 152-3.

Haas did not maintain this rhythm identically through the choral work and added dramatic effects such as repetition of significant sections of the text. As in many of Haas's compositions *Čtyři písně na slova Čínské poezie* and *Suite for Oboe and Piano*, for example, *Al S'Fod* makes reference to the St Wenceslas Chorale, a reference back to an expression of faith, trust, encouragement, as well as recalling national significance. This musical memory would have been recognised by its hearers and its significance understood in the context. Not only that, but it would have given them courage, hope and new optimism.

Shimoni's text is an affirmation of life and encourages its listeners to work, plough, hoe, to aim for freedom and for light. The final section of the text states:

In the path of affliction
goes deliverance,
and the blood screams
for the people's soul:
awake and labour,
redeem and be redeemed.²⁵⁷

Pavel Eckstein considers that it is surprising in its militant and revolutionary nature and yet it is a testimony against oppression and for liberation.²⁵⁸ The text here has resonances with the psalm settings of the psalms of petition and lament. There are some parallels linking it to Psalm 22, part of the *Ketuvim*, the writings of the *Tenakh* (See Table 3.2).²⁵⁹

²⁵⁷ David Bloch, 'Jewish Music in Terezín: A Brief Survey', p. 113.

²⁵⁸ Überraschende für Haas ist der militante, fast revolutionär zu nennende Tonfall des Stücks, das sich gegen jegliche Unterdrückung wendet und Befreiung verkündet.' Pavel Eckstein, 'Pavel Haas' from *Komponisten in Theresienstadt*, ed. by Initiative Hans Krása (Hamburg: Initiative Hans Krása, 1999), p. 16.

²⁵⁹ Explanation of these Hebrew terms are contained in the Glossary within the preliminary pages of this thesis.

Table 3.2: Comparison of Text of *Al S'Fod* and Psalm 22

Text of <i>Al S'Fod</i>	Text of Psalm 22
In the path of affliction	My God, my God, why have you forsaken me (v.2)
goes deliverance	In You trusted our fathers, trusted, and You delivered them, to You they cried and were rescued, in You they trusted and were not 'ashamed' (v. 5-6.)
and the blood screams for the people's soul	Many bulls surround me, strong bulls of Bashan encircle me. They open wide their mouths at me like a devouring and roaring lion. (v. 13-14)
awake and labour, redeem and be redeemed.	But You, O Eternal, be not far, my strength, hurry to my aid. Save my life from the sword, my very self from the power of the dog. Rescue me from the mouth of the lion. (v. 20-22)

Rashi (Rabbi Shlomo Yitzhaki, 11th century CE) suggests that the psalms include prophecies which are not to do with Jesus' death but which concern Israel's suffering in the Exile.²⁶⁰ In Rabbinic tradition, a reading of Psalm 22 links it with a reflection on the experience of the biblical Queen Esther. Jewish midrash is rich in its exploration of this association.²⁶¹ The beginning of the psalm refers to the 'hind of the dawn' or 'doe of the dawn' (v. 1). Esther is compared to the dawn; she awakens. The text of Haas's song asks for its hearers to awaken and to be

²⁶⁰ Jonathan Magonet, *A Rabbi reads the Psalms* (London: SCM Press, 1984), p. 110.

²⁶¹ Rabbi William G. Braude, *The Midrash of Psalms*, Yale Judaica Series, Vol. xiii (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), cited in Jonathan Magonet, *A Rabbi reads the Psalms* (London: SCM Press, 1984), pp. 111-113.

redeemed. The significance of Esther will be explored in the context of this chapter. Close examination of the parallel texts above is convincing in revealing the link between the song text and Jewish collective memory. That memory, again, is the impetus towards survivance; the music and the text combine as a wager on survivance.

Example 3.5: Pavel Haas, *Al S'Fod* (First page of score)²⁶²



The tripartite structure of *Al S'Fod* is indicated by clear cadences in remotely connected keys and by internal changes in rhythm, harmony, and dynamics. The over-arching key is E minor and, while modulating through different keys, it ends in a major key, a motif indicative of a shift in consciousness

²⁶² Preserved at the Jewish Museum, Prague, Sbírka Terezín, inv. č. 319a.

from negative to positive. The marching tempo is indicated as *tempo di marcia, ma poco maestoso*.

The first section (bars 1-13) moves from the key of E minor at the very first bar, through various chromaticisms to resolve in an E major chord. Melodic movement is rather limited in range extending no more than a sixth for the Tenor I part. Harmonies are moving in parallel thirds and fourths (See Example 3.5 above).

The second section (bars 14-27), beginning at bar 14 has a *mezzoforte* to *piano* dynamic. It is polyphonic in texture with imitation both in similar and contrary motion between the Tenor I and II, and Bass I and II. Frequent changes in time signatures occur in this section over fourteen bars from the steady 4/4 time established in section one: 3/2, 5/4, 2/4, 4/4, 3/4, 2/4, 3/4. The clarity of key becomes very obscured with chromatic movement bringing us to the conclusion of that section at bar 27 in the key of F minor.

The final mini-fugato call-response section (bars 28-47) consists of a short motif which is treated antiphonally. This motif is stated solo in bar 28 (Tenor II), bars 29-30 (Bass II), bar 37 (Bass II). In between the statements of this motif are four-part homophonic textures derived both from the motif and the opening rhythms and melodies of the song. Chromatic movement is in all parts leading to modulations from F minor to D major, B minor and eventually concluding in E major with two strong chords reiterating that tonality at the penultimate and ultimate cadences.

While Ullmann and Haas have written music which has strong evidence of Jewish collective memory, their main reliance is on other expressions of collective memory. These composers did not manifest a predominance of Jewish collective memory in the composition of their works either in advance of the war or during their internment in Theresienstadt.

3.3.4 Karel Reiner (1910-1979)

Both the artistic director Norbert Frýd and the Czech composer Karel Reiner arrived in Theresienstadt in 1943. Frýd brought the biblical folk play *Esther* in his luggage. Before his departure to Theresienstadt the play had been rehearsed with E. F. Burian, at the German Theatre, but was never staged.²⁶³ Frýd decided to produce the play in Theresienstadt and enlisted the help of Karel Reiner to provide incidental music for it. According to Zdenka Fantlová, 'He would sit at his little piano in front of the stage extemporizing half-tone melodies as the play proceeded.'²⁶⁴ František Zelenka undertook the staging and costume design. The story was of particular significance to the Jewish people in Theresienstadt. Esther was married to Xerxes, King of Persia. His closest aid, Haman, plotted to kill the Jews of Persia. Haman was willing to pay in silver, casting lots to determine 'how to destroy all the Jews that were throughout the whole kingdom'.²⁶⁵ A decree was sent throughout the kingdom 'to destroy, to kill, and to cause to perish, all Jews, both young and old, little children and women, in one day.' Esther was approached by a cousin, Mordecai, who obtained a copy of the decree, and pleaded with her to

²⁶³ Zdenka Fantlová, *My Lucky Star*, trans. by Deryck Viney (NY and London: Herodias, 2001), p. 115.

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

²⁶⁵ Martin Gilbert, *Letters to Auntie Fori: The 5,000-year History of the Jewish People and their Faith* (London: Phoenix, 2003), p. 311.

do what she could in her power to save her people from destruction. Meanwhile, Haman prepared gallows for the execution of Mordecai because of his non-compliance with his wishes. A banquet was held in the royal palace to which Haman was invited. Esther informed the king of the planned annihilation of the Jewish people. The King ordered Haman to be hanged on the very gallows which he had prepared for Mordecai, and Esther requested that the King reverse the decree which had been issued. The new decree was read in all the towns and villages from India to Ethiopia.²⁶⁶ On the feast of *Purim* each year the designated scroll, the *Megillat Esther* is read in the synagogues.²⁶⁷ During the reading, it is customary to curse Haman, stamp the feet, and generally to create raucous noise.

There were reception issues concerning the staging of *Esther* in Theresienstadt. Karas writes:

The story had a special significance for Jews imprisoned in the concentration camp, and it is therefore rather surprising that the presentation met with all kinds of objections from various factions in Terezín, which tried to ascribe to the work some hidden ideological, religious, or political (communist) meaning, and at the same time to question its originality and artistic content.²⁶⁸

Remembering this event in Jewish history within Theresienstadt said much about Jewish identity, defiance and survivance. The fact that Frýd included the copy of the play in his luggage may have been coincidental. However, its relevance the connection to the collective memory of Judaism.

²⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 312.

²⁶⁷ See Glossary for explanation of the Hebrew terms which is in the preliminary section of this thesis.

²⁶⁸ Joža Karas, *Music in Terezín*, p. 132.

3.3.5 An Unknown Composer: *Techezakna*

The following piece of music is written by an unknown composer in Theresienstadt. There was very little information available on this particular arrangement. However, consultation with Yanky Fachler of the Progressive Jewish Community in Dublin, has yielded interesting information on its origins. *Techezakna* was the anthem of the *Histadrut* (pre-Israel Jewish labour union). Chayim Nachman Bialik (1873-1934) wrote this poem in 1894.²⁶⁹ Its opening phrase 'Let your hands be strong' is the same as was used in the story of Gideon when he was divinely commanded to attack the Midianites: 'And you will hear what they say and afterward will your hands be strengthened.'²⁷⁰ Then, too, it was the struggle of the few against the many. This phrase, 'Let your hands be strong', is used again by Zechariah when addressing the 'remnant of Israel'.²⁷¹

This poem, although known as *Techezakna*, is really entitled 'The Blessing of the People'. Its message was directed both to those who intended to go to *Eretz* Israel, or were already there, and to those who, though still in exile, were, according to Ahad Ha'am (1826-1927), true 'Lovers of Zion'.²⁷² Its message was for those whose sweat mingled with the dust of *Eretz* Israel. The first verse of the song is translated by Yanky Fachler as follows:

O Strengthen the hands of our brethren,
who, though scattered far and wide,
cherish the soil of our homeland,

²⁶⁹ Chaim Nahman Bialik was born in the village of Radi, in the Ukrainian part of the Russian Empire. He is renowned for his long nationalistic poetry, reawakening the Jewish people. He is Israel's national poet.

²⁷⁰ Judges 7. 11.

²⁷¹ Zechariah 8. 9.

²⁷² Asher Zvi Hirsch Ginsberg was primarily known by his Hebrew and pen name, Ahad Ha'am. He was a Hebrew essayist and one of the foremost pre-State Zionist thinkers.

let not thy spirits fall, but with joy and song,
come shoulder to shoulder to the aid of our nation.

There are three events that give the significance behind *Techezakna* in different contexts during the Second World War:

1. There is a story, from 1943, which tells of twenty women fighters who were captured by the Nazis being taken from their cell, bound for death, singing Bialik's words: 'Afrot artzeinu basher hem sham.'²⁷³

2. In the *Yizkor* Book of Sopotskin, a Belarussian town, it is recorded that a Zionist youth group sang *Techezakna* in the forest and around the bonfires of *Lag b'Omer*: 'Al ipol ruchachem, alizim, mitronenim, bo'u shehem echad, leezrat h'am.'²⁷⁴

3. In Yad Vashem archives, the testimony of Esther Dublin, from the Łodz Ghetto, recounts the singing of the *Techezakna*:

In the most difficult times of 1941, Feivel came to our house, and told us that they were secretly organizing all the youth groups in the ghetto, including my group from the 4th grade – Hashomer Hazair. My mother volunteered our apartment for meetings. From that time on, I held my head up high. We would meet twice a week (after work hours), sing songs in Hebrew, prepare for aliya²⁷⁵ to Israel, learn about the land, communications and first aid. The older members taught us about Chaim Nahman Bialik. We sang , shouted 'We will build the Galil!' organized evenings "*techezakna*" dedicated to authors and holidays, and arranged as well mutual

²⁷³ Jonathan Mark, "The Six Wonders of Zion, from *The Jewish Week*, New York, <http://www.thejewishweek.com/features/six_wonders_zion> [accessed 5 April 2012]. Translated, these are the first two lines of the song above.

²⁷⁴ Ibid. (See Glossary in the preliminary section of this thesis for explanations of some Hebrew terms used here.)

²⁷⁵ Aliya is the pilgrimage to Israel undertaken by Jews throughout the world and can refer to their settlement in the land of Israel.

aid organizations. We felt that this was our resistance against the Germans.²⁷⁶

The three events, recounting the inclusion of *Techezakna* which are outlined above, show its context of resistance based firmly in the Hebraic biblical tradition and linked to the Zionist movements within Judaism. There is nothing to suggest anything contrary for its use in Theresienstadt. Its link to survival is very important given the understanding of its context already outlined.

Example 3.6: An Unknown Composer, *Techezakna*²⁷⁷

The image shows a handwritten musical score on aged paper. At the top, the title "תְּחֵזְקֵנָה" (Techezakna) is written in large, bold Hebrew letters. Below the title, the tempo marking "Maestoso. poco con moto" is written. The score consists of three staves of musical notation in G major (one sharp) and 2/4 time. The lyrics are written in Hebrew below each staff. The first staff has lyrics: "Tche' sak-nah j' dej chol a- chej-nu hamithu-n'im af-rot ar-se-nu. Im lo et hat-pachot rah mas-sad je-sadtem raw lachem achaj-a. Mi was ljom k'tanoth ha-bus la-mit-lozzim maltu et amchem na'". The second staff has lyrics: "ba-a'sher hem s'ham Al jip-pal ru-cha'chem al-li-sim mit-ra-n'im mal-tem lo schaw ha-ba-im uw-ni-tem w'tarh-tem w'ssadtem it-tim asu. Ad nishma me-rosche ha-ho-rim mit-pozim". The third staff has lyrics: "bo-u s'chem e-chad l'-es- rat ha-am. Al -es- rat ha-am. ata raw le-nu in ba-tui ha-haw. Ha-na-tui no-haw Koloth a-do-maj ha-ho-rim a-lu. Ad kor'im a-lu". Below the musical notation, there are three numbered paragraphs of Hebrew text. Paragraph 1: "1. תְּחֵזְקֵנָה יְדִי כָּל אֲחֵינוּ הַמְּחַוְּנִים עֲצוּת אֲרָצֵנוּ. בְּאֶשֶׁר הָם שָׂם-אֵל יִצְחָק רִמְקָם, עֲלֵינוּ, מִתְרוֹנְנִים. בּוֹאֵי שָׂכֵם אֶחָד לְעִזְרַת הָעָם:". Paragraph 2: "2. אִם לֹא אֵת הַמְּצֻחֹת, רַק מִסָּד יְסֻדָּתְם רַב לָכֵם אֲחֵי! עַמְלֵכֶם לֹא שָׂוֵא! הַבָּאִים-יִבְנִיתֶם וְטַחְתֶּם, וְשִׁדְתֶם עֲמָה רַב לָנוּ. אִם נְטוּי הָקוּ-". Paragraph 3: "3. מִי בָד לְיוֹם הַטְּנוּת? הַבּוֹא לְמַתְלוּצְצִים! מִלְטוּ אֵת עַמְכֶם וְאֲתֵם עֲשׂוּ- עַד נִשְׁמַע מִרְאֵשֵׁי הַהָרִים מִתְצֻצִים קוֹלוֹת אֲדֹנֵי הַקּוֹרְאִים: עֲלוּ!". At the bottom right, there is a handwritten signature "Auf Aufall 10" and a date "1944".

²⁷⁶ Esther Dublin, Testimony from Yad Vashem Archives: Testimony number: 0.3/5492, <<http://www1.yadvashem.org/exhibitions/lodz/eduiot.html>> [accessed 5 April 2011].

²⁷⁷ Preserved in the Jewish Museum in Prague, Sbírka Terezin, inv. č. 319a.

In the Theresienstadt manuscript, the music is heavily reliant on Jewish folk melody. The text is written in transliterated Hebrew underneath the music with the equivalent Hebrew script written separately below. The melody itself has ascending and descending movements in step with some triadic shifts. Its simple binary structure suggests that it was for a group which did not have a high musical proficiency. The repetitive patterns of the music meant it would have been easily memorised. Tempo, notation, and dynamic indications show that the composer was musically literate.

3.4 Hugo Löwenthal (1879-1943)

In contrast to the aforementioned composers, Hugo Löwenthal and Zigmund Schul emanated from a confessional Jewish background and were immersed in the religious and social lives of their respective Jewish communities in advance of the war. Of all the composers of Theresienstadt, Schul revealed the greatest evidence of Jewish collective memory in his pre-War works. He used Jewish collective memory as the basis for his Theresienstadt compositions. As there is little evidence of Löwenthal's compositions in pre-War times, it is possible to deduce that Jewish collective memory was a strong basis for his work given the nature of his *Traditionelle Weisen*. Schul's and Löwenthal's choice would seem to be quite deliberate and consistent with their own commitment to Judaism.

Details about Hugo Löwenthal are very scarce. They are revealed only in his transport card indicating his birth, arrival in Theresienstadt and, later again, in Auschwitz. There is only one extant work, *Traditionelle Weisen*, and there is no record of other compositions while he was an internee in Theresienstadt. It is

quite conceivable that, given the nature of the surviving work which he both composed and arranged, it would have been used in a liturgical context in the camp.

While there were restrictions on religious practice in the concentration camps and ghettos throughout Europe, there was an extraordinary amount of religious activity within Theresienstadt itself. It is highly probable that Löwenthal's work would have been performed in some contexts in the religious life of the camp. There is no documentation which records the occasions on which it may have been performed.

3.4.1 *Traditionelle Weisen*

Löwenthal made a significant contribution specifically to Jewish music for liturgical usage in his *Traditionelle Weisen*. This work is for violin and accordion. It is assumed that he was a proficient violinist himself with a great love of Jewish ritual, feasts and music. *Traditionelle Weisen* is a medley of ten songs, based on German Jewish synagogue music, which were written for the festivals of *Sukkot*, *Pesach* and *Shavuot*.²⁷⁸ His choice of musical settings for these specific feasts is not entirely clear, but there may be a reason in the significance of the feasts themselves. In their original form, according to David Bloch, the melodies were scored for cantor and male chorus. Some of the composers of the original songs have been identified: Gershon Sirota (1874-1943), Louis Lewandowski (1821-1894), David Rubin, Jacques Fromental Halévy (1799-1862), Salomon Sulzer

²⁷⁸ David Bloch, *Terezín Music Anthology*, p. 14. (See Glossary of Terms at the preliminary pages of this thesis)

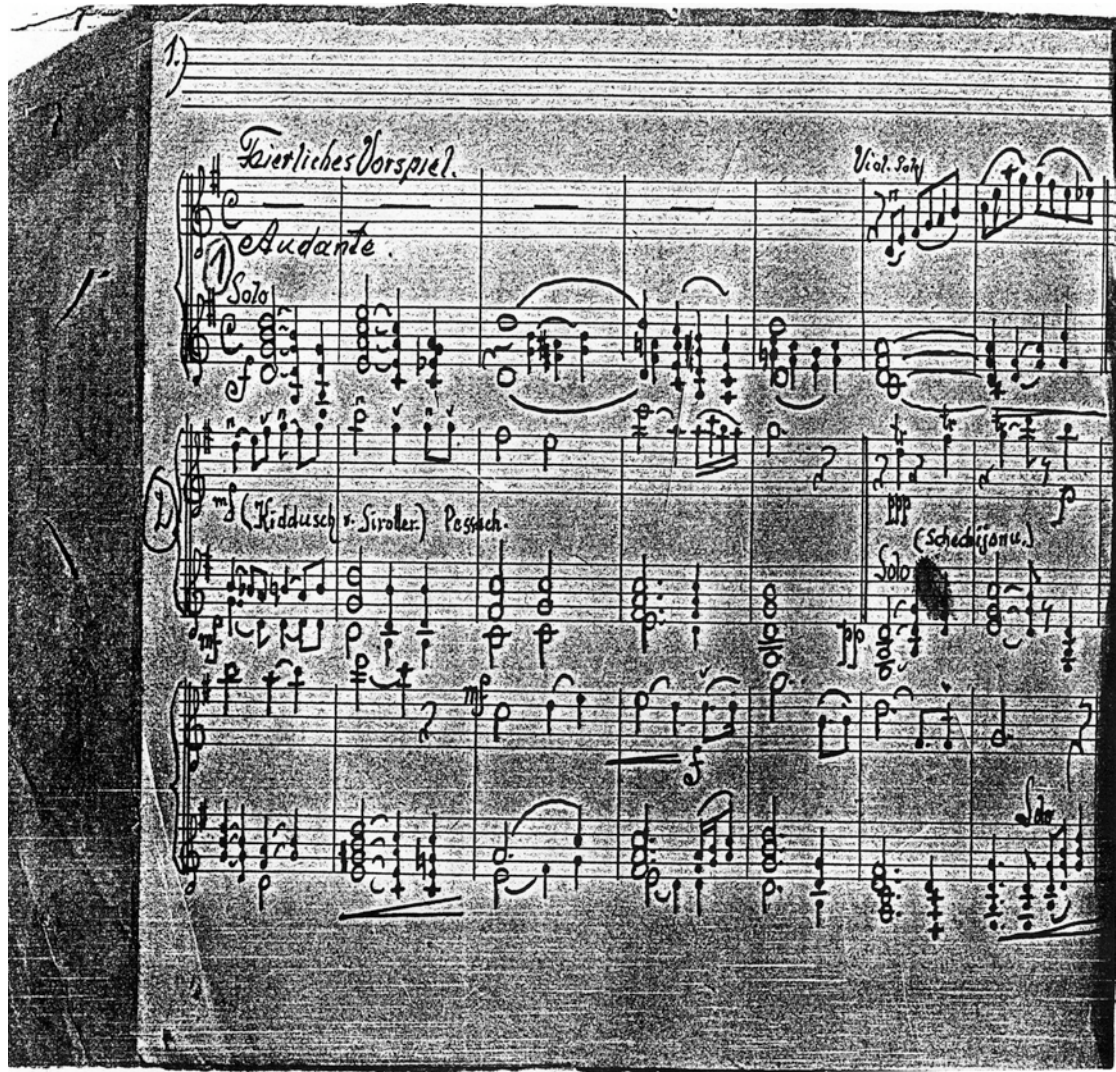
(1804-1890). These composers have all come from a strong Jewish background. Sirota lived in the Golden Age of the *Chazzanut* and he was known as the Jewish Caruso. There was one unknown composer of Polish origin.²⁷⁹

Löwenthal's arrangement of the songs for violin and accordion enhance the melodic lines and this is achieved with 'obligato melodic phrases, especially when the accordion carries the principal part, playing cadenza-like passages, tremolos and double-stops.'²⁸⁰ The melody itself is simple. First inversion block chords accompany the melody on the accordion. The opening bars appear to be in a major tonality but, as the music progresses, it attains the modal character so much a feature of Jewish synagogal music. For the German population of Theresienstadt, these songs would have been familiar, and may have been played in a liturgical context. The medley of melodies begins with a Festive Prelude which was composed by Löwenthal himself (See Example 3.7 below). A series of religious themes, rites and rituals from the Jewish tradition are interwoven into the medley. The first two melodies call to mind the passing of the cups of wine and recitation of the *Kiddush at Pesach*; the *Schecheyanu* blessing immediately follows the blessing intoned over the wine. Throughout these sections the music, played on violin and accordion, moves in counterpoint to the themes they are addressing.

²⁷⁹ See Glossary of terms in the preliminary pages of this thesis.

²⁸⁰ David Bloch, *Terezín Music Anthology*, p. 14.

Example 3.7: Hugo Löwenthal, *Traditionelle Weisen*, 'Pesach'²⁸¹



The ancient story, recalling their ancestors' journey from captivity to freedom, must surely have reverberated in the psyches of the internees in Theresienstadt. Could Löwenthal have identified with any of the four sons of the *Haggadah* during *Pesach*? It is possible that the symmetrical four-bar phrases could be representing the memory of these four sons of the *Haggadah*. The youngest person always asks the question: 'Why is this night different from all other nights?' In the context of concentration camp life, night signified darkness, fear, silence and memories. *Pesach* is a night to remember the ancient story. Of *Pesach*, Yerushalmi writes:

²⁸¹ Hugo Löwenthal, *Traditionelle Weisen*, from the original copy preserved in the Jewish Museum in Prague, Sbirka Terezín, inv. č. 319a.

For whatever memories were unleashed by the commemorative rituals and liturgies were surely not a matter of intellection, but of evocation and identification. There are sufficient clues to indicate that what was suddenly drawn up from the past was not a series of facts to be contemplated at a distance, but a series of situations into which one could somehow be existentially drawn.²⁸²

To remember is to make present rather than to wistfully look back on what happened in a particular time and place. As Göran Larsson so aptly puts it: 'It means to be united with both the people that then were saved and coming generations to whom the call for liberation and renewal will always be directed.'²⁸³ It is important to recall the past, be ready in the present, and be prepared for the future. The transforming element of the *Hagaddah* is that there is no night without dawn, and therefore the central focus is the memory of the liberation of the Hebrews from that dark Egyptian night of oppression and slavery. The whole seder (order) is a symbolic enactment of the historical scenario recounting slavery, deliverance and redemption.²⁸⁴ The anticipation of liberation at that time in Jewish history is recalled at every celebration of *Pesach*. Yerushalmi states that the language and gesture 'are geared to spur, not so much a leap of memory as a fusion of past and present'.²⁸⁵ Accordingly, the inclusion of musical arrangements based on the theme of *Pesach*, by Löwenthal, would appear to be significant in their intention. The allusion to *Pesach* would have been implied in the hope expressed in the narrative itself and suggested in the evocation of the related musical idea. For those interned in Theresienstadt, the recollection, through the music and narrative of *Pesach*, could have contributed to their achievement of strength and hope drawn

²⁸² Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, *Zakhor*, p. 44.

²⁸³ Göran Larsson, *Bound for Freedom: The Book of Exodus in Jewish and Christian traditions* (Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 1999), p. 86.

²⁸⁴ Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, *Zakhor*, p. 44.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

from the memory of the historical event, and giving them the ability to cope with the contemporary darkness of their situation.

The third, fourth and sixth melodies are associated with the *Torah*; the first two are linked with the returning of the *Torah* scroll to the ark after the weekly portions are read. The title written on the score reads *Ez chajim*, meaning 'the tree of life' and is sometimes used in the context of a *Shabbat* service (See Example 3.8 below). It refers figuratively to the *Torah*. It is also the term used for the poles which are used for the *Torah* scrolls. In the *Kabbalah*, the tree is a mystical symbol used to explain the nature of God and the manner in which he created the world.

Example 3.8: Hugo Löwenthal, *Traditionelle Weisen*, 'Ez Chajim'²⁸⁶



²⁸⁶ Hugo Löwenthal, *Traditionelle Weisen*, from the original copy preserved in the Jewish Museum in Prague, Sbírka Terežín, inv. č. 319a.

Throughout the Jewish year, Jews read the *Torah* and recall the events of their history and memory. This is ritualised in synagogue events where the scrolls are joyously carried around the synagogue, where they are venerated, and then gently re-installed with great solemnity to the Ark. The procession with the *Torah* is a solemn, yet joyous, event because in this procession is a symbolic journey, through time, through history, recalling and making present the events which occurred in times past. Consequently, it is not an event located just in the present, but in the eternal time of God with an orientation to the future. The sixth melodic quotation *Ha'metzar*, 'Out of distress', is taken from liturgy for *Simchat Torah* (*Rejoicing in the Law*), a feast celebrated on the eighth day of *Sukkot* or the Feast of Tabernacles (See Example 3.9).²⁸⁷

Example 3.9: Hugo Löwenthal, *Traditionelle Weisen*, 'Simchat Torah'²⁸⁸



²⁸⁷ Leviticus 23. 36 and Numbers 29. 35.

²⁸⁸ Hugo Löwenthal, *Traditionelle Weisen*, from the original copy preserved in the Jewish Museum in Prague, Sbírka Terežín, inv. č. 319a.

This marks the completion of the annual cycle of daily *Torah* readings and is integrated into the festival that commemorates the wanderings and displacement of the Hebrews through the wilderness. Löwenthal's arrangement is played on the accordion with the violin providing a countermelody with tremoli, melodic intervals and phrases.²⁸⁹ The dance-like rhythm of the seventh song is also associated with *Simchat Torah*.

The ninth melody is connected with *Sukkoth* and again alludes to the Exodus experience.²⁹⁰ It is a melodic formula written to accompany the part of the ceremony where the four species – citron, palm, myrtle and willow branches – are waved signifying a ritual held in the Second Temple in Jerusalem.²⁹¹ It is played first by accordion solo, monodically, and then repeated together with the violin at an octave apart (See Example 3.10).

Example 3.10: Hugo Löwenthal, *Traditionelle Weisen*, 'Sukkoth'²⁹²



²⁸⁹ David Bloch, *Terezín Music Anthology*, p. 15.

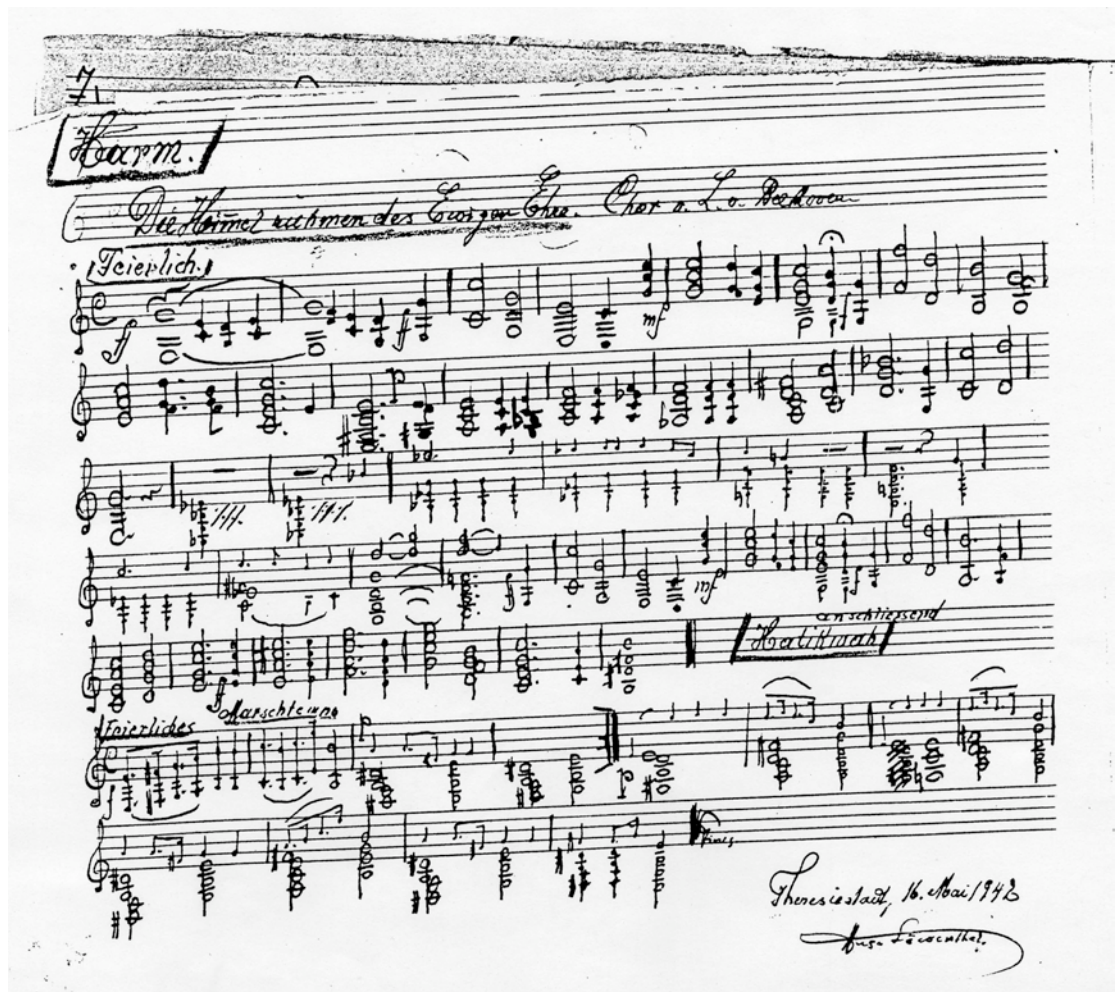
²⁹⁰ See the Glossary of Terms in the preliminary pages of this thesis.

²⁹¹ David Bloch, *Terezín Music Anthology*, p. 16.

²⁹² Hugo Löwenthal, *Traditionelle Weisen*, from the original copy preserved in the Jewish Museum in Prague, Sbírka Terezín, inv. č. 319a.

The final song is of Polish origin and begins with a direct quotation from the *Hatikvah*, the Jewish song of hope and the Israeli national anthem. The *Hatikvah* is virtually indistinguishable, both melodically and harmonically, from Smetana's *Vltava* from *Má Vlast* (See Example 3.11).

Example 3.11: Hugo Löwenthal, *Traditionelle Weisen*, 'Hatikvah'²⁹³



The *Hatikvah* has associations with mass murders chronicled during the *Shoah*. Documentary evidence of mass exterminations, collected by Martin Gilbert, testify to Jews singing the *Hatikvah* during deportations and on the way to their deaths in

²⁹³ Hugo Löwenthal, *Traditionelle Weisen*, from the original copy preserved in the Jewish Museum in Prague, Sbírka Terezín, inv. č. 319a.

Chelmno.²⁹⁴ Occupants of the Terezín family camp sang the *Hatikvah* before their annihilation in Auschwitz.²⁹⁵ It is difficult to understand how one could articulate hope when on the threshold of one's own extinction. Yet, this expression of hope was sung with tenacity, conviction and defiance on all occasions. The inclusion of a reference to the *Hatikvah* in the last song of Löwenthal's medley is no mere coincidence. Instilling hope in those incarcerated, encouraging life, stimulating the antithesis of despair, are all consequences evidently of what Löwenthal was trying to do, consciously or unconsciously.

This final song is one of the *Hoshanot* songs sung on *Sukkoth*. The text asks for God to 'save us, we pray' for the sake of his 'truth, covenant, greatness, magnificence, faith, glory, assemblies, remembrance, kindness, goodness, uniqueness and honour.'²⁹⁶

3.5 Zigmund Schul (1916-1944)

Zigmund (Siegmond) Schul was born in Kassel, Germany, in 1916. His pre-War compositions are few: *Phantasie für Streichsextett*, an opera *Liebe im Reagenzglas*, a song cycle entitled *Gesänge an Gott* (which David Bloch considers to be *Mogen Owaus* for soprano, baritone, mixed choir and organ), a piano sonata and a flute sonata. These were mentioned in the obituary written by Viktor Ullmann after Schul's death from tuberculosis in Theresienstadt in 1943.²⁹⁷ Schul composed

²⁹⁴ Martin Gilbert, *The Holocaust*, p. 262.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 659.

²⁹⁶ David Bloch, *Terezín Music Anthology*, p. 16.

²⁹⁷ Viktor Ullmann quoted in Ingo Schultz, 'Siegmond Schul', *Komponisten in Theresienstadt*, Die Drucklegung dieser Auflage wurde gefördert durch Mittel der Senatskanzlei der Freien und Hansestadt Hamburg, des Deutsch-Tschechischen Zukunfts Fonds, der PRO MUSICA VIVA- Maria Strecker Daelen (Hamburg: Initiative Hans Kräsa, 2001), pp. 64-73.

short part-songs and instrumental works using Hebrew themes, for example, *Ki Tavo al Ha'aretz* for children's choir (1942), and *V'Yerushalayim* for voice and string quartet (1942). In Berlin, he studied under Paul Hindemith and his influence was seen in his compositions. After 1933 he moved to Czechoslovakia and settled for a time in Prague. There he encountered composer Alois Hába in the Prague German Academy of Music and Performing Arts. Both composers were to exert considerable influence on Schul. Ullmann's obituary of Schul described him as being part of the Hindemith-Hába school of composition.²⁹⁸

It is known that Schul studied medieval manuscripts in the Old-New Synagogue in Prague.²⁹⁹ By 1941 he had transcribed 165 Hebraic melodies which were put into modern notation by Professor Konrad Wallerstein (1879-1944).³⁰⁰ Alois Hába observed the work with great interest and was particularly fascinated by the microtonal intervals in the melodies themselves. He noted the deviations from the diatonic tonal system. His work was unfinished due to Schul's deportation to Theresienstadt on 30 November 1941. Schul was described by Thomas Mandel, survivor of Theresienstadt and violinist, in the following terms:

I was optically impressed by a person that, to me, at that time, looked like the typical ascetic artist. The person who - this is a typically romantic concept - is the suffering artist, who produces something really sublime.³⁰¹

In spite of the influences of Hindemith and Hába, it was the Hebraic influence that was most predominantly evident in his Theresienstadt works.

²⁹⁸ Viktor Ullmann quoted in Ingo Schultz, 'Siegmond Schul', *Komponisten in Theresienstadt*, pp. 64-73.

²⁹⁹ Joža Karas, *Music in Terezín*, p. 123.

³⁰⁰ Ingo Schultz, 'Siegmond Schul', *Komponisten in Theresienstadt*, p. 69.

³⁰¹ From the transcript of an interview held between David Bloch and Thomas Mandel in Stockholm on 8 September 1995.

Following his internment in Theresienstadt on 11 November 1941, he completed the first of *Two Chassidic Dances* for viola and cello on 22 December 1941, *Di Finale di Cantata Judaica* for choir and tenor solo and the *Divertimento Ebraico* for string quartet which consisted of variations on an Hebraic folk melody in 1942.

3.5.1 *Di Finale di Cantata Judaica*

Schul's *Di Finale di Cantata Judaica* is scored for four-part male-voice choir with a tenor solo in traditional cantorial style for the last bars preceding the *Amen*. *Pars pro toto* is inscribed at the top left hand side of the score (See Example 3.12 below). The bottom of the score indicates the place and date of composition: 'Ghetto Theresienopolis, 4.XII.1942.' Only the finale to this work is extant. The declamatory style of the fugal motives of this work is intended to recall the sound of the *shofar* which might indicate liturgical usage for a high holiday such as *Rosh Hashanah* or *Yom Kippur*.³⁰² It also includes a cantorial style conclusion. The text states: 'Sound the great Shofar for our freedom, and say Amen.'

³⁰² David Bloch, 'Jewish Music in Terezín – A Brief Survey', from *Verfemte Musik: Komponisten in den Diktaturen unseres Jahrhunderts: Dokumentation des Kolloquiums vom 9-12 January 1993 in Dresden*, p. 21.

musaf and ten before *alenu*.³⁰⁴ There are variations in the manner in which the shofar is blown: *tekiah* or long note, *shevarim* or three tremulous notes, and *teruah* which is nine short notes. In Schul's setting, the first word of the Hebrew text is *teka*, indicating the first variation of the *shofar* calls on *Rosh Hashanah*. Close examination of the rhythm of the calls identifies the way in which the composer mimics the variations in rhythm and time of the occurrence of the shofar in the service. In the first two bars, the off-beat rhythms occur only once across the bar-line (See Example 3.12 above).

Compare that with the movement towards diminished rhythmic values which give the effect of greater frequency of the calls. Its polyphonic and antiphonal style reflects the dialogue of the shofars on *Rosh Hashanah*. The calling motifs occur in all four parts respectively: Bass II, Bass I, Tenor I and Tenor II. The diminished values predominate until the quasi-improvisatory cantorial section occurring in the last line of the music. The sustained notes of the *Amen* could suggest the *tekiah* or the longer repeated notes of the *shofar* in the *Rosh Hashanah* service (See Example 3.12 above).

The *shofar* signifies a call to remember the Creator. It is a call to repentance and a call to memory, to recall the goodness, kindness, compassion and mercy of God. Maimonides, the great Jewish physician and philosopher, said of the blowing of the *shofar*:

Awake from your slumbers, ye who have fallen asleep in life,
and reflect on your deeds. Remember your Creator. Be not of
those who miss reality in pursuit of shadows, and waste their

³⁰⁴ Explanations of these terms are contained in the Glossary within the preliminary pages of this thesis.

years in seeking after vain things which neither profit nor save. Look well to your souls and improve your character. Forsake each one of you his evil ways and thoughts.³⁰⁵

Schul's inclusion of the allusion to the *shofar*, as indicated in the text itself, is to reflect longed-for freedom. The *Torah* readings for this feast allude to hope and to the future: Sarah's long period of barrenness gives way to the birth of Isaac; the inclusion of the *Akedah* or the binding of Isaac recalls also the rescue of Isaac from sacrificial death; and finally there is a looking forward to the final redemption of the people of Israel. Memory and hope for the future could not have had a more apposite context than that of Theresienstadt.

The musical setting of this text is based on the medieval and church Phrygian mode of D: D, E flat (semitone), F sharp (augmented interval), G (semitone), A (tone), B flat (semitone), C (tone). In the Jewish modes, and also in Middle Eastern music, this has an equivalent called the *Freygish* (Fraigish) scale which is characterised by its distinctive flattened second, and the augmented leap between the second and third intervals.

3.5.2 Chassidic Dances 1 and 2

Chassidism, as a branch of Judaism, evolved after the persecutions endured by the Jews in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The movement emphasised mysticism and piety.³⁰⁶ It asserted that God was present in all things and in all the events of life. The power of music in Jewish tradition is well documented. Music

³⁰⁵ Maimonides, quoted in Martin Gilbert, *Letters to Auntie Fori*, p. 275.

³⁰⁶ Rudolf Brasch, *The Unknown Sanctuary: The Story of Judaism, its Teachings, Philosophy and Symbols* (Sydney, Australia: Angus and Robertson Ltd., 1969), p. 48.

alone, without text, was thought to awaken religious spirit in the Chassidic tradition. The concept of *Niggun* is a genre of song which is performed entirely with non-significative syllables. When it is performed, it imbibes the spirit which would be embedded in the actual original text.

Schul's *Chassidic Dances*, while written for viola and cello, are of the same character as the *niggun*. Close inspection of the music of the first of these dances uncovers its roots in one of the liturgical modes used in the *Shabbat* services. These modes have some parallels with the western medieval modes, but this particular mode has no direct parallel in western music and would appear to have more in common with Eastern European folk music.³⁰⁷ This mode is characterised by an augmented second interval between the second and the third notes of the mode, F and G sharp. The mode is called the *Ahavah Rabbah* and is referred to as the most 'Jewish' of the Jewish prayer modes. Chassidic musical repertoire uses this mode quite often. Mark Kligman explains the mode succinctly as follows: 'Ahavah Rabbah means 'great love'; and aptly reflects the affective association of this mode, which musically expresses the 'great love' for God through a unique musical sound.'³⁰⁸ In the *Shabbat* services, the *Ahavah Rabbah* precedes the recitation of the *Shema Israel* in the morning and evening services.

In conjunction with Mandel's earlier eye-witness description of Schul as a 'suffering artist' we know the origins of such a comment. In his obituary of Schul, Ullmann made reference to the fact that the composer had suffered much since his

³⁰⁷ Mark Kligman, 'Music in Judaism', *The Encyclopaedia of Judaism*, eds. Jacob Neusner, Alan J. Avery-Peck, and William Scott Green, 2nd edn, 5 vols (Netherlands: Brill Academic Publishers, 2005), iii, pp. 1778-1797.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

arrival in the camp and with the beginnings of a debilitating illness.³⁰⁹ In Scripture, the Suffering Servant of the Book of Isaiah the prophet is one who has to bear the sufferings of others for some prophetic role. It was not a concept just restricted to biblical narrative but found resonance in the artistic world. The composer as suffering servant is a concept that was mooted first in relation to Arnold Schoenberg's compositions which were infused with Jewish themes and ideologies.³¹⁰ Music, as an ikon of sound, in the words of composer, John Tavener, or as the sound of God, theosony, in the words of Nóirín Ní Riain, has always been seen to have the capacity to communicate something of God. The basis of these melodies being in the *Ahavah Rabbah* mode makes this assumption a distinct possibility. In regard to Schul's *Chassidic Dances*, it is possible to speculate that this may have underpinned his musical endeavours. In the *Chassidic Dances*, the idea of joy permeates, reflected in antiphonal treatment of the main melodic line based on this ancient *Ahavah Rabbah* mode. These works, while short, show quite clearly a strong Jewish influence but, in addition, a movement away from the traditional tonalities of Western music to frequent modulations to remote keys.

3.5.3 *Uv'tzeil K'nofecho*

The melody of *Uv'tzeil K'nofecho* (In the Shadow of Your Wings) was dictated to Zikmund Schul by the tenor and composer David Grünfeld. The prayer, known also as the *Hashkiveinu, Lay us down*, is a blessing at the evening service of the *Shabbat*

³⁰⁹ Viktor Ullmann quoted in Ingo Schultz, 'Siegfried Schul', *Komponisten in Theresienstadt*, pp. 64-73.

³¹⁰ For further information see Eduardo de la Fuente, *Twentieth Century Music and the Sociology of Modern Culture* (Taylor and Francis, 2009); Theodor Adorno, *Essays on Music* (London and Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Alexander L. Ringer 'Arnold Schoenberg and the Prophetic Image in Music', *Journal of the Arnold Schoenberg Centre*, i, 1 (October 1976).

concluding the *Shema* and its blessings.³¹¹ The *Shema* is the affirmation of belief in a monotheistic God. *Hashkiveinu* is preceded by blessings which praise God, the creator of night, the God of everlasting love and the God who is true and trustworthy.³¹² The theme of the *Hashkiveinu* blessing surrounds the concept of redemption. It is a prayer to overcome fear, to be protected: 'shield us, remove from us the foe, plague, sword, famine and woe; and remove spiritual impediment from before us and behind us and in the shadow of your wings shelter us for G-d who protects and rescues us are You; for G-d, the Gracious and Compassionate King, are You.'³¹³

Situating the *Hashkiveinu* in the context of the *Shema* and its blessings means that it is not just a prayer for protection, but in context it is 'a cry and song to life itself, called forth from our innermost self, addressed to the wonder and mystery of life that we have dared to call again by the ancient and holy name of God.'³¹⁴ In the *Shabbat* settings of Theresienstadt, the *Hashkiveinu* must have been recited with the utmost fervour.³¹⁵ The choice to set this prayer to music, and also for Schul to do an arrangement of elements of the same melody for string quartet, may have reinforced a sense of security in the protection of God in the circumstances. Connecting with the collective memory of Judaism for such times as *Shabbat*, is part of the continuity into the future. The protection petitioned for in

³¹¹ See the Glossary of Terms in the preliminary pages of this thesis.

³¹² Michael Maher, *Judaism: An Introduction to the Beliefs and Practices of the Jews* (Dublin: Columba Press, 2007), p. 124.

³¹³ Gil Mann, 'A Night-time Prayer for letting go of stress' from *Being Jewish*, Winter 2001 <<http://www.beingjewish.org/magazine/winter2001/article5.html>> [accessed 5 February 2011].

³¹⁴ Arthur Green, *Seek my Face: A Jewish Mystical Theology* (Woodstock, Vermont: Jewish Lights, 2003), p. 13.

³¹⁵ The full text of the *Hashkiveinu* is provided in the Glossary within the preliminary pages of this thesis.

the prayer is for now, for life and for eternity. The prayer for protection is rooted in memory, giving strength, fortification in face of the adversaries.

3.6 Conclusion

Emil Fackenheim's 614th commandment pleads with the Jewish people not to grant Hitler a posthumous victory by denying God, their faith, their identity as Jews, in the aftermath of the war. As he saw it, to deny any of these or to adopt an antagonistic attitude to the world would constitute self-destruction for Jewry. Jewish collective memory was fundamental to their identity. If music and the sub-text of Jewish music can be equated with the objects, texts and spaces to which Irwin-Zarecka refers in her discourse, then the music outlined above has real significance. Through the articulation of Jewish collective memory, both the composers and the hearers were connecting the past to the present. While the majority of inmates of Theresienstadt may not necessarily have been observant Jews, nevertheless, common elements from Jewish memory provided a framework which would have enabled them to find some vestiges of meaning. The religious narrative for Judaism is replete with references to oppression and slavery and the compelling *mitzvot* to remember. In the music and the texts of Theresienstadt, hope was expressed, and hope was key to survivance. Leo Baeck, an internee of the ghetto, spoke of hope as one of the keys to survival in that context:

Hope is a flickering flame in a concentration camp, burning high today and almost dying tomorrow; keeping it alive strengthened the prisoners' will to live and made living more worthwhile for whatever life span, as long as they did not set their hopes on a chronologically fixed date with its inevitable disappointments but on Kairos time, the indefinite quantitative term for things to

happen “when the right time has come”. You could hope to the very last...³¹⁶

To lose hope, Wiesel says, is humanly possible, but not ethically permissible.³¹⁷

³¹⁶Leo Baeck, quoted in Albert H. Friedlander, *Leo Baeck: Teacher of Theresienstadt* (USA: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968), p. 216.

³¹⁷Elie Wiesel, ‘Keynote Address’, *Hearing the Voices: Teaching the Holocaust to Future Generations* (Pennsylvania: Merion Westfield International, 1999), p. 2.

CHAPTER FOUR

Viktor Ullmann: Anthroposophist Collective Memory

The cognitive sociologist Eviatar Zerubavel states that our social environment can influence how we mentally process the present, affecting the way we remember the past.³¹⁸ Accordingly, the works composed in Theresienstadt influenced how these composers lived in their present context. The social milieu of their past informs, nourishes, and sustains their present context, perhaps even contributing to their survivance. This chapter examines the compositions of Viktor Ullmann from the perspective of collective memory. During his life, there were various influences in his compositions. Some stemmed from individual composers such as Arnold Schoenberg and Alois Hába; others from musical genres such as jazz, Romantic, nationalist, Jewish, Christian; and others from Rudolf Steiner's anthroposophist movement.

Zerubavel refers to remembrance environments including the family, a religious community, and a nation. I contend that the remembrance environment can have a physical location anywhere but the mental location can vary according to the shaping influences of the past. Within one environment there may be many constituents of memory. In the Theresienstadt ghetto, the locale of the concentration camp is the physical environment but what is remembered is elements of collective memory expressed through the internees' association with different collective groupings. For Ullmann, these associations were quite specific. Each site of memory is more than any individual but is less than the human race.

³¹⁸ Eviatar Zerubavel, *Social Mindscales: An Invitation to Cognitive Sociology* (Cambridge MA and London England: Harvard University Press, 1997), p. 81.

Each individual has a facet of collective memory. A mediated cultural memory, therefore, could conceivably be expressed in the references to music, in an ideology, or in a text significant for the composers in their past which then underpins a particular composition. Examples are evident in Ullmann's works. He uses music drawn from Western art and folk music repertoires as reservoirs of memory and association. The music and ideology expressed in his compositions were transmitted to him. He, in turn, imbibed them making them form part of their memory thus creating a remembrance environment.

In Ullmann's Theresienstadt works, there is evidence of inspiration derived from different sources including anthroposophy, Judaism, and Czech collective memory. This chapter focuses, in particular, on anthroposophy as a source of collective memory for Ullmann. I consider anthroposophy to be the foundation of all of Ullmann's Theresienstadt compositions. The focus here is on an exploration of anthroposophy, its influence on Ullmann, and the expressions of collective memory through the musical and philosophical ideology which underpinned his work.

4.1 Viktor Ullmann's Background

Viktor Ullmann was born in Těšín within the borders of the present Czech Republic. Ullmann's mother-tongue was German but he was also conversant in the Czech language. Consequently, his cultural exposure was primarily to German music, art and literature. Ullmann's background was Jewish, Roman Catholic and anthroposophist. His musical career took him to Prague, Stuttgart, England, Zurich, Geneva, Dornach, and Theresienstadt. In Prague he gained a position as director of

the opera chorus and répétiteur in the Neuen Deutschen Theater in 1920, where he assisted Alexander Zemlinsky. In 1922 he succeeded Zemlinsky as director of the German Theatre. In 1923 he had a song cycle performed in Prague and received impressive reviews. This song cycle followed chamber music works: a string quartet and an octet for strings, wind instruments and piano. In 1925 he wrote the larger-scale *Symphonische Phantasie*.

Ullmann was a student of Arnold Schoenberg and this influence predominated between the 1920s and early 1930s. In homage to Schoenberg, he took a theme from his *Sechs kleine Klavierstücke*, Op. 19 (1913) as the basis for his own piano variations concluding with a vast double fugue. This *Variationen und Doppelfuge über ein Thema von Arnold Schönberg* composed in 1925, had twenty-one variations and was criticised because of its length. Ullmann revised and orchestrated the work in 1929. The number of variations was radically reduced to five, most of which were newly-composed. This version was performed at the festival of the International Society of Contemporary Composers in Geneva where music critics were favourable and considered Ullmann part of the Schoenberg School along with Webern and Berg.³¹⁹ From 1924, Berg appeared to be a considerable influence in Ullmann's compositions and Ullmann made references to *Wozzeck* in his letters and diaries.³²⁰

³¹⁹ Ingo Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk* (Germany: Kassel, 2008), p.77.

³²⁰ Ingo Schultz, 'Viktor Ullmann' in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/28733>> [accessed 8 January 2011].

In 1927 Ullmann became director of the Music Theatre of Ústí nad Labem. He held this position for a short time until he moved to Prague. Until 1929, he worked as a freelance musician and taught musical theory, analysis and wrote critiques for a music magazine. One of the most formative and influential periods of his life came at a time of profound personal, spiritual, and intellectual crisis between the years 1929 and 1933. During these years he divorced his first wife and married his second. At the time he was director of the Zürich Schauspielhaus.

4.2 Ullmann's Movements Towards Anthroposophy

While he had been introduced to the anthroposophist movement in 1919, his sojourn in Zurich gave him the opportunity to pursue the epistemology and esoteric teachings of Rudolf Steiner more deeply. This was not just the influence of one individual; this was part of the collective memory of a group which was to be a source of his creativity and the basis for his ideology of life. Anthroposophy was not a new religion nor was it a variation of Christianity as some might think because of its emphasis on aspects of Christology and the Golgotha event. Rudolf Steiner states:

It is often asked how spiritual science or anthroposophy stands in relation to the religious life of man [...] By reason of the whole character of anthroposophy, it will not intervene in any religious creed, in the sphere of any sort of religious life [...] Spiritual science never can entertain the wish to create a religion [...] One cannot, therefore, call spiritual science, as such, a religious faith. It neither aims at creating a religious faith nor in any way at changing a person in relation to his religious beliefs. In spite of this, it seems as if people were worrying themselves about the religion of the anthroposophists. In truth, however, it is not possible to speak in this way; because, within the Anthroposophical Society, every kind of religion is represented, and there is nothing to prevent any one from practicing his

religious faith as fully, comprehensively, and intensively as he wishes.³²¹

For two years of his life, Ullmann actually abandoned his flourishing musical career and immersed himself in the anthroposophist movement, joining it in 1931. He worked in their bookshop in Stuttgart, a move strongly encouraged by Alois Hába. Due to the fact that it was neither economically nor commercially viable, the shop was closed in 1933. From 1931 to 1933 Ullmann became acquainted with Hans Büchenbacher and Herman Beckh who were key figures in the German anthroposophical movement.³²²

Anthroposophical ideology and subject matter continued to be expressed in his work. His opera *Der Sturz des Antichrist* (1935) based on a play of the same name by Albert Steffen articulated the thrust of anthroposophy.³²³ Key elements are found in this work which are also evident in his Theresienstadt one-act melodrama *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* (1943/44). In both, there is the classic struggle between light and darkness, and the powers of evil and good, engaging in a cosmic dialectic within a divided humanity. Ullmann's personal journey was also being supported through the psychoanalysis of Freud at this time.³²⁴ *Der Sturz des Antichrist* was completed in 1935 but he could not find a suitable venue for its

³²¹ Rudolf Steiner, 11 January 1916 at Liestal near Basel, Switzerland, cited from Guenther Wachsmuth, *The Life and Work of Rudolf Steiner from the Turn of the Century to his Death*, trans. by Olin D. Wannamaker and Reginald E. Raab (New York: Whittier Books, 1955), pp. 100-101.

³²² Gwyneth Bravo, 'Viktor Ullmann' from the Orel Foundation
<http://orelfoundation.org/index.php/composers/article/viktor_ullmann/> [accessed 14 January 2011].

³²³ Albert Steffen was the spiritual successor to Rudolf Steiner in the anthroposophical movement.

³²⁴ Gwyneth Bravo, 'Viktor Ullmann' from the Orel Foundation
<http://orelfoundation.org/index.php/composers/article/viktor_ullmann/> [accessed 14 January 2011].

performance having made efforts in Prague and Vienna.³²⁵ He was awarded the Emil Hertzka Prize in composition for this opera.

From approximately 1933, the influence of Schoenberg and Berg gained a stronger hold in Ullmann's compositions. Ullmann's musical orientation was characterized by a greater effort to push the boundaries of conventional harmony by 'exploring what remains to be discovered in the realms of tonally functional harmony or filling the gap between romantic and "atonal" harmony'.³²⁶ From 1935 to 1937, Ullmann attended Hába's courses in quarter-tone composition. A number of other works were performed in Prague during the late 1930s, including the Piano Sonata no. I, the *Sechs Lieder* for soprano and piano op. 17 with texts by Albert Steffen, and the String Quartet no. 2, which was also given by the Prague Quartet at the 1938 ISCM festival in London.³²⁷ In 1938, he spent sojourns in England, Dornach and eventually settled in Prague. After this time there were no public performances of his works as a result of the Nuremberg Laws and the restrictions they placed on the music of Jewish composers and performers. In the years immediately prior to his internment in Theresienstadt, he composed the *Slawische Rhapsodie*, a piano concerto and another opera, *Der zerbrochene Krug*.

In 1940 he was re-accepted into the Roman Catholic Church after he became disillusioned with the anthroposophical movement. This was a significant development and was also to be an influence in the works which Ullmann

³²⁵ Ingo Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, p. 155.

³²⁶ Ingo Schultz, 'Viktor Ullmann' in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, <<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/28733>> [accessed 8 January 2011].

³²⁷ Ingo Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, pp. 159-170.

composed in Theresienstadt. However, in spite of his disillusionment, anthroposophy was evident even in the notes and the intervals which shaped his music.

4.3 Ullmann's Theresienstadt Works

Ullmann arrived on an *Aufbaukommando* transport to Theresienstadt in early 1942. His arrival signified the beginnings of a flourishing cultural life. As mentioned earlier, it was upon his initiative, combined with that of the conductor, Rafael Schächter, that the *kameradschaftsabende*, *freizeitgestaltung*, and *Studio für Neue Musik* programmes were developed.

Ullmann's Theresienstadt works were many. His output included instrumental, stage and vocal works. Some of Ullmann's compositions have already been mentioned (See Chapter Three above).

4.3.1 Ullmann's Anthroposophical Ideas

His music aesthetics are well-documented in the series of essays he wrote in Theresienstadt, one of which is entitled *Goethe und Ghetto*. This essay documents his struggles with the ethical dimension of the composition and performance of music in the midst of atrocity. In addition to the essays, Ullmann's forty-eight reflections on various aspects of his interior life during his internment in Theresienstadt are articulated in *Der Fremde Passagier*.³²⁸ In these self-revelatory

³²⁸ The full translated texts of *Der Fremde Passagier* (Strange Passenger) are in Appendix 7, p. 267. The full texts are available in German in *Viktor Ullmann Materialien*, 'Der Fremde Passagier: Ein Tagebuch in Versen', ed. by Hans-Günther Klein (Hamburg: von Bockel, 1995), pp. 101-121.

poems and aphorisms there are many links with anthroposophy, Jewish and Christian collective memory. To some extent, these texts provide a key to what was to sustain him in the midst of adversity and the source of his compositions. It is no coincidence that this text, or diary, was written in parallel with his musical compositions in Theresienstadt. The clear links with anthroposophy can be summarised as follows:

1. Two poems are dedicated to Rudolf Steiner and Albert Steffen.
2. There are numerous references to light and darkness.
3. Humanity and the self: 'If you learn to suffer and you learn to conquer, that which painfully oppresses you will fade away before the light.'³²⁹
4. The ahriman or demon: 'The beast in you is Ahriman's to claim, the angel is what Lucifer wants back'.³³⁰
5. Michael, the archangel: 'Michael slays the dragon, He still wants to catch the dilatory ones, so that they don't lose the bridegroom' and 'The world's alive, Michael's golden banner floats on high and God is near in hearts (so dear)'.³³¹
6. The references to Greek mythological figures: Ixion, Tantalus, Danaids, Sisyphus, all of whose symbolism is futility.

³²⁹ Viktor Ullmann, 'Consolation', No. 24 from *Strange Passenger: A Diary in Verse* by Viktor Ullmann, trans. by Sonja Linden
<http://www.viktorullmannfoundation.org.uk/poetry/frame_poetry.html> [accessed 18 January 2011].

³³⁰ Viktor Ullmann, 'Chess Ballad', No. 26 from *Strange Passenger*,
<http://www.viktorullmannfoundation.org.uk/poetry/frame_poetry.html> [accessed 18 January 2011].

³³¹ *Ibid.*, No. 12 and 'To my Father', No. 11 from *Strange Passenger*.

7. The anti-Christ: 'The banner of the Anti-Christ is spread'.³³²

On the basis of what he expressed in *Der Fremde Passagier*, anthroposophy was more embedded in his consciousness than he cared to admit. Poems dedicated to Steiner and Steffen are, to some degree, Ullmann's expression of admiration for the philosophical ideals of anthroposophy. Ullmann's Theresienstadt compositions reflect some of the elements enumerated above. Before examining a selection of his compositions, a deeper exploration of the connections between anthroposophy and collective memory may illuminate the context for Ullmann's work. As a result, connections are created between Ullmann's compositions, his writings, and anthroposophy, during his internment in Theresienstadt.

4.3.2 Anthroposophy and Collective Memory

Anthroposophy is not classified as a religious tradition but it draws on the collective memory expressed in Christianity, Judaism, theosophy, Rosicrucianism, German idealist philosophy, and the myths of ancient civilisations. Separately, each of these can be classed as representative of collective memory but these memories are the expression of memory affiliated to those groups. Is it possible to say that memory is social/collective when one is not completely socialised into those groupings? It might be assumed, rightly or wrongly, that this would not be true or sufficient in the definition of collective memory. Is it enough then, that the objects of collective memory would constitute part of a group's identity so that the group itself embodies the collective memory of another tradition or social grouping?

³³² Ibid.

These questions are fundamental to the understanding of Ullmann's music and the role of collective memory within it.

However, anthroposophy is a philosophy rather than a technically defined social group. Anthroposophy is not a religion, therefore it does not fit the defined categories of religious tradition. In consequence, it is outside the standardised Durkheimian definitions of religions. It is possible then to look outside of the traditional frameworks of memory of Halbwachs to a collective concept based on cultural memory rather than the shared memory of a specific tradition, a geographical or even a topographical group. The knowledge structures of the anthroposophists differ from those of other collective groupings. In addition to the eclectic nature of its more religious-orientated philosophy, 'Anthroposophy is also especially concerned with the self-observation of the cognizing human being.'³³³ Regardless of the context, the human being is the centre of anthroposophy even by its own definition. The rational human being is central to its ideology. While there are links with existing religious traditions, the explorations of the anthroposophists do not lead them to pursue the specific line of the main religious traditions. Schneider summarises the purpose of anthroposophic Christology, for example, as 'to describe the path and the experiences of each individual human being in their quest for spiritual truth'.³³⁴ This is more generic than the thrust of mainstream Christian tradition which, though it would not negate what has just been articulated, certainly would move it to a very specific Christological focus. Does this make the anthroposophists,

³³³ Johannes W. Schneider, 'Christianity and Other Religions: Does Anthroposophic Christology create a barrier for Non-Christian Cultures?' pp.17-21, from *Judaism and Anthroposophy*, ed. by Fred Paddock and Mado Spiegler (USA: Anthroposophical Society, 2003), p. 19.

³³⁴ Ibid.

consequently, devoid of any collective memory? The answer is firmly no. Humanity is central whether they examine it in the light of the ancient civilizations of Rome and Greece, or whether it is in the light of Judaism or Christianity. Anthroposophists have a specific identity in and through their concept of reality as expressed in their philosophy. This would appear to be best exemplified in Jan Assmann's and John Czaplicka's theory of cultural memory which attempts to connect memory, culture and the group to each other. The knowledge base is derived from this place within the individual and in the group. There are six characteristics of this cultural memory which is a manifestation of collective memory, which are evident not only in the compositions of Ullmann but also in his writings emerging in Theresienstadt:

1. *The concretion of identity:* Referring to the concept of the 'concretion of identity', Assmann's and Czaplicka's theory is quite transferable to the context of the anthroposophists and to Ullmann. Assmann says that 'a group bases its consciousness of unity and specificity upon this knowledge and derives formative and normative impulses from it, which allows the group to reproduce its identity.'³³⁵ It is the cultural memory from which the group derives its unity and peculiarity.³³⁶ The concretion of identity is the relation to the group.

2. *Its capacity to reconstruct:* Cultural memory reconstructs memory within its contemporary frame of reference by preserving, transforming, critiquing or appropriating what has been part of the memory.

³³⁵ Jan Assmann and John Czaplicka, 'Collective Memory and Cultural Identity': 'Collective Memory and Cultural Identity' from *New German Critique*, No. 65, Cultural History/Cultural Studies (Spring - Summer, 1995), p. 128.

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

3. *Formation*: the articulation of communicated meaning and collectively shared knowledge which Assmann sees as a prerequisite of its transmission 'in the culturally institutionalized heritage of a society'.³³⁷
4. *Organization*: the institutional formalized communication and the specialization of the cultural memory. In the case of anthroposophy, the texts written by Rudolf Steiner are seminal to the cultural memory of the group; in effect, they are akin to the sacred texts of a world religion. They embody his philosophy, teachings, which are the source of inspiration and part of the collective and socialised memory of the group.
5. *Obligation*: The kernel of this characteristic is the values and the symbols which reveal their identity and their orientation and what is important in their collective memory. Again, the symbols evident in anthroposophy are those provided through the teachings of Steiner, in particular; the play between darkness and light, the evocation of the occult and esoteric, and the references to the richness inherent in the ancient civilisations, are very evident in his writings.
6. *Reflexivity*: There are three sub-divisions here according to Assmann: practice reflexive, which is the maxims and rituals which are part of the group's self-definition; self-reflexive, the manner in which the group draws on its own cultural memory to explain, distinguish, interpret, criticise, control or receive;

³³⁷ Ibid.

reflexive, in terms of its own image and how this is evident in the group's social system.

These characteristics are evident in the music of Ullmann. In Assmann's estimation 'cultural memory has its fixed point; its horizon does not change with the passing of time'.³³⁸ Ullmann steeped himself in the ideals of anthroposophy. He was introduced to it in 1919 in Vienna but rejected it until approximately ten years later when he visited the Goetheanum in Dornach, Switzerland, home of the anthroposophist movement.³³⁹ Steiner's philosophical corpus of work is reflected in some of the themes which permeate Ullmann's compositions.

4.3.3 Influence of Anthroposophy on Ullmann's Compositions

Steiner delivered a series of lectures on the nature of music between 1906 and 1923.³⁴⁰ In these lectures, Steiner discussed the origin and nature of intervals, the character and feeling related to these intervals, and their effects on self-understanding. Alban Berg stated that there was nothing that Ullmann had not read by Steiner written on the topic of music.³⁴¹ A number of likely hypotheses can be built on the basis of that information. It suggests that there is heightened significance in the music of Ullmann where even the notes themselves absorb and express something that is intrinsic to anthroposophist collective memory. This in

³³⁸ Ibid., p. 129.

³³⁹ The years 1929 to 1931 were a time of spiritual crisis in the life of the composer and his encounter with anthroposophy was to make a deep impression on his view of life.

³⁴⁰ These lectures were delivered in Cologne, Stuttgart, Dornach and Berlin between the years mentioned.

³⁴¹ Gwyneth Bravo, 'Viktor Ullmann', <http://orelfoundation.org/index.php/composers/article/viktor_ullmann/> [accessed 12 March 2011].

turn means that the intervals which Ullmann uses are infused with meaning. Intervals take on a symbolism which is more than the mere writing of the notes. In Steiner's lectures, intervals such as the third, fourth, seventh and octave, all have a particular significance related to feeling and perception. If music is an icon of sound, as composer John Tavener asserts, and we are to examine the works of Ullmann through Steiner's symbolic-iconic and collective memory prism, then we can see that Ullmann's music is refracted, giving significant meaning replete with diverse colours and perspectives in every note and interval which he uses. Meyer states that 'Meaning arises when an individual becomes aware, either affectively or intellectually, of the implications of a stimulus in a particular context.'³⁴² Music in this symbolic-iconic understanding also draws on the meaning of music as a language capable of expressing something. This does not embody the absolutist model of musical analysis and interpretation but leans, unapologetically, more towards a referentialist mode of understanding. The following extracts from those lectures give some illumination pertaining to his theories.

4.3.4 Steiner's Musical Theories Permeating Ullmann's Music

In his series of lectures on the inner nature of music and the experience of tone, for example, Steiner revealed his understanding of the musical intervals of the third and fifth:

Returning to the experience of the third — in both the major and minor third — we arrive at an inner motion of the human being. The "I" is, so to speak, within the confines of the human organism; man experiences the interval of the third inwardly. In the transition from a third to a fifth — though there is much in between with which we are not concerned here — man in fact

³⁴² Leonard B Meyer, *Music, the Arts and Ideas: Patterns and Predictions in Twentieth-Century Culture* (USA: University of Chicago Press, 1994 (1964)), p. 9.

experiences the transition from inner to outer experience. One therefore can say that in the case of the experience of the third the mood is one of consolidation of the inner being, of man's becoming aware of the human being within himself. The experience of the fifth brings awareness of man within the divine world order. The experience of the fifth is, as it were, an expansion into the vast universe, while the experience of the third is a return of the human being into the structure of his own organization.³⁴³

For Steiner, thirds and fifths were not merely intervals to delineate spatial distances between notes; they embody far deeper symbolism. In his estimation, they express, in the case of the third, inner identity and, in the case of the fifth, the relationship with external reality. Music is a language that engages within and without. Furthermore, Steiner stated that the fifth conjures up emptiness and is connected to the imagination, whereas the third reflects an interior quality in humanity's essence:

Yesterday, someone said quite rightly that man senses an emptiness in the interval of the fifth. Naturally, he must experience something empty in the fifth, since he no longer has imaginations, and the fifth corresponds to an imagination while the third corresponds to a perception within man's being.³⁴⁴

In the same lecture, the symbolism of these intervals returns with another clarification:

The experience of the fifth brings awareness of man within the divine world order. The experience of the fifth is, as it were, an expansion into the vast universe, while the experience of the third is a return of the human being into the structure of his own organization.³⁴⁵

³⁴³ Rudolf Steiner, 'The Inner Nature of Music and the Experience of Tone', 8 March 1923, from the Rudolf Steiner Archive, Dornach, <<http://wn.rsarchive.org/Lectures/GA/GA0283/19230308p01.html>> [accessed 30 December 2010].

³⁴⁴ Ibid.

³⁴⁵ Ibid.

It is difficult to estimate the frequency of these intervals in the works of Ullmann. They occur in every work but they predominate in some more than others; for example, thirds and fifths feature quite prominently in the first movement of Piano Sonata no. VI, and in many of the vocal settings of the Yiddish and Hebrew texts.

For Steiner the interval of the fourth manifested another perspective. It lay at the juncture of the inner and outer life of the individual; grounded in humanity but orientated toward the spiritual or the divine:

The experience of the fourth is perhaps one of the most interesting for one who wishes to penetrate the secrets of the musical element. This is not because the experience of the fourth in itself is the most interesting but because it arises at the dividing line between the experience of the fifth of the outer world and the experience of the third in man's inner being. The experience of the fourth lies right at the border, as it were, of the human organism. The human being, however, senses not the outer world but the spiritual world in the fourth. He beholds himself from outside, as it were (to borrow an expression referring to vision for an experience that has to do with hearing). Though man is not conscious of it, the sensation he experiences with the fourth is based on feeling that man himself is among the gods. While he has forgotten his own self in the experience of the fifth in order to be among the gods, in the experience of the fourth he need not forget his own being in order to be among the gods. With the experience of the fourth, man moves about, as it were, in the divine world; he stands precisely at the border of his humanness, retaining it, yet viewing it from the other side.³⁴⁶

The interval of the fourth is heard in *Berjoskele* (1944), the first song from the *Brezulinka* song cycle. It is heard in the vocal part and is antiphonally treated in the accompaniment. It is one of the significant intervals in *Der Kaiser von*

³⁴⁶ Rudolf Steiner, 'The Inner Nature of Music and the Experience of Tone', VI, 8 March 1923, <<http://wn.rsarchive.org/Lectures/InNatMusic/19230308p01.html>> [accessed 3 January 2011].

Atlantis, and its symbolism in that context will be discussed later in this chapter. It is present in the beginning and end of the Piano Sonata no. V where the notes are representative of death.

The seventh also had significance in terms of the Atlantean age of the evolution of humanity where the known history of humanity began. Steiner posits that, 'The experience of the seventh was the essential musical experience of the ancient Atlantean age'.³⁴⁷ The seventh occurs in his opera *Der Sturz des Antichrist* in the second act on the words of the Artist: 'ich bin ein Mensch'; the interval extends upwards from 'g' on the word 'ein' to an 'f' natural on 'Mensch'. 'Mensch' is a generic word in the German language meaning 'humanity'. Examining this in the light of Steiner's theory, it correlates even to the word 'Mensch' being sung in the context of that interval. In *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, there is an almost identical mirror where the seventh is the interval in which Death proclaims 'ich bin der Tod'; the interval of a seventh going from the 'd' of 'der' upwards to the 'c' of 'Tod'.³⁴⁸ Its symbolism in the context of the opera with its reference to Atlantis, and the identity and role of death, is significant. The interval, as it symbolises the evolution of humanity, is occurring at a time in the opera when human love is triumphant over pain and suffering. That association is eloquent testimony to Steiner's theories and Ullmann's appropriation of them in his compositions.

In the use of the octave in music, there is quite an extraordinary link with the 'I' so central to esotericism and the ethereal nature of humanity. 'Every

³⁴⁷Rudolf Steiner, 'The Inner Nature of Music and the Experience of Tone', V, 7 March 1923, <<http://wn.rsarchive.org/Lectures/GA/GA0283/19230307p01.html>> [accessed 2 January 2011].

³⁴⁸Viktor Ullmann, *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, No. 16.

time the octave appears in a musical composition, man will have a feeling that I can only describe with the words, "I have found my 'I' anew; I am uplifted in my humanity by the feeling for the octave."³⁴⁹ These intervals are linked, in Steiner's anthroposophy, to who we are in our evolution as humans and our associations with the physical, heavenly and divine realms.

The world of tones draws my 'I' and my astral body out of my physical and etheric bodies. I interweave my earthly existence with the divine-spiritual world, and, on the wings of the tone structure, the gods move through the world. I participate in their moving when I perceive the tones.³⁵⁰

Ullmann shows evidence of symbolism in intervals and notes which could very well have their foundations in Steiner's anthroposophical teachings. One such example is from Ullmann's Piano Sonata no. V which uses cross-symbolism and references which add an extra layer of musical interpretation to his music. According to Ingo Schultz, there is a similarity between the first bars and closing bars of this sonata.³⁵¹ It was dedicated to 'Meiner lieben Frau Elisabeth' and, in the first version of the sonata, Ullmann added another dedication: 'in memoriam Theresienstadt'. The sub-title which Ullmann gave to this sonata, 'Von meiner Jugend', alludes to a possible connection between Ullmann's time of conscription at the Isonzo front in World War I and the end of Ullmann's youth. There is a symbolism attached to the fourth six-note chord and the four-note chords which precede and follow it, both at the beginning and the end of the sonata, which Ingo Schultz interprets as representations of death; the notes c-g-d-a-e-h (b natural) are

³⁴⁹Rudolf Steiner, 'The Inner Nature of Music and the Experience of Tone', V, 7 March 1923, <<http://wn.rsarchive.org/Lectures/GA/GA0283/19230307p01.html>> [accessed 2 January 2011].

³⁵⁰ Rudolf Steiner, 'The Inner Nature of Music and the Experience of Tone', VII, 16 March 1923, <<http://wn.rsarchive.org/Lectures/GA/GA0283/19230316p01.html>> [accessed 3 January 2011].

³⁵¹ Ingo Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, p. 206.

cross-symbols for the death experience both in both World War I and in Theresienstadt.³⁵²

If such referentialist interpretations are attached to Ullmann's works by Schultz, then Steiner's teachings on music and anthroposophy strongly influenced how Ullmann composed and the symbolism he attached to those compositions. The influence of anthroposophy on Ullmann's thought, attitudes and, more importantly, how he saw music, became even more evident in his writings in Theresienstadt. Anthroposophy provided a basis wherein he conceived an aesthetic which governed his compositions.

4.3.5 Form, Matter and Music

Anthroposophic considerations were based on the Aristotelian concepts of matter and form but, for Ullmann in Theresienstadt, this transferred into the aesthetic problem of how to transform existing matter into artistic form and the ethical problems of permanent reconciliation of spirit and matter.³⁵³ This was not merely a notion in Ullmann's head; this was the rationale for his attitude to composition in Theresienstadt. It was the underlying articulation of anthroposophist collective memory that governed how Ullmann composed in the midst of atrocity. In his *Goethe und Ghetto*, we see the clearest underlying threads of anthroposophy: expressions of collective memory which are related to all of his compositions in Theresienstadt. Ullmann realised that it was easy to compose in an environment

³⁵² Ibid.

³⁵³ Ingo Schultz from *Monthly Orchestra*, Yomiurei Nippon Symphony Orchestra, Tokyo, (9) September, 56.

where it is comfortable, at ease, where every facility conspires to bring about a work of beauty. Ullmann surmised as follows:

Goethe's saying 'Live the present moment, live eternity' always represented for me the enigmatic meaning of Art. Theresienstadt was, and is still for me, the school of style. Before that, when we did not feel the impact or the burden of material life because they were erased by comfort, that magical accomplishment of civilization, it was easy to conceive artistic forms of great beauty: it is here in Terezín, when our daily existence we had to vanquish matter with the power of style, when everything that was related to the muses clashed so overtly with our environment, that was the true school of mastery.³⁵⁴

Theresienstadt presented a challenge to Ullmann's modus operandi and forced him to confront the ethical and aesthetic issues of composition in the midst of atrocity. He continued: 'Like Schiller we tried to penetrate the secret of each work of art in an attempt to annihilate matter through form. This is the supreme mission of the human being, an aesthetic as well as an ethical one.'³⁵⁵

This disintegration of the dualism between matter and form was illustrative of aspects of Jewish collective memory and thought. Greek thought has characteristically been dualistic in nature: matter and form; light and darkness; flesh and spirit. It is oriented towards harmony, beauty, measure, logic, and order. Matter and form, to which Ullmann referred, are two areas which exhibit two opposing views in Greek and Hebrew thought. In Greek thought, form was considered of prime importance; matter was secondary. Matter and form were concepts explored in detail by Aristotle who illustrated both the link and the difference in the image of the acorn and the oak tree.

³⁵⁴ Viktor Ullmann, 'Goethe and the Ghetto' (translated from *Viktor Ullmann: Goethe und Ghetto*, Göran Rosenberg, Peter Berggren, Stockholm, 1995), cited in Elena Makarova, Sergei Makarov, Sergei, and Victor Kuperman, *University Over the Abyss*, p. 237.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 237-238.

However, in Hebrew language, there were no words developed for shape, outline or contour. There were no expressions in the language for geometric shapes. The dualisms which such expressions sought to articulate and define were not part of the Hebrew thought-patterns. Their concept of reality was quite different when compared to the Greeks. For the Greeks beauty was equated with form and form was essentially static. In Jewish thought, the apprehension of form was not necessarily concomitant with beauty. Hebrew thought was evidently much more dynamic in character. Past, present and future are the three Grecian realms of time; in Hebrew consciousness there are past and present-future. A 'psychological reality of those days can coincide with one from the present so that an identity arises through personal involvement, psychologically speaking.'³⁵⁶ Ullmann's references to the annihilation of matter through form is now informed with the backdrop of the significance of these concepts in Grecian and Hebrew thought. In the anthroposophist movement these areas of concordance and divergence were articulated.'³⁵⁷

These insights have significance for the connection between Ullmann, Anthroposophy and collective memory. The annihilation of matter through form is a function of the will, allied to composition and art, which contributes to survivance.

³⁵⁶ Ruth Windolf, 'The Hebrew Experience of Reality as contrasted with the Greek' pp.36-53, cited in *Judaism and Anthroposophy*, ed. by Fred Paddock and Mado Spiegler, p. 43. Greeks were considered to be the 'eye-people' signifying their capacity to see externally, in geometric and spatial proportions, and internally, intuitively and perceptually. As such these attributes could be applicable to an individual or a group. Hebrews were considered to be 'ear-people' by comparison. Ear-people are people of communication and conversation; this is dependent on others. Ruth Windolf says that 'The thought of the Hebrews flees logical construction; it is similar to the character of music, in which a theme is continually shaped in new variations.'

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

One has to stress nevertheless that Theresienstadt contributed to emphasize and did not hinder my musical activities, that in no way whatsoever we sat down to weep on the banks of the waters of Babylon, and that our effort to serve the Arts respectfully was proportionate to our will to live, in spite of everything. I am convinced that those who fight, in life as well as in Art, to triumph over matter which always resists, will share my point of view.

The will to live and the will to compose are closely allied in Ullmann's writings. Art is a wager on survivance and the basis for this is found in, and through, his conscious or unconscious articulation of anthroposophical memory. There is a correlation between what Ullmann expresses above in *Goethe und Ghetto* and what Steiner said in one of his lectures on music:

But musical sound is a direct expression of the Will itself. The composer listens to the pulse-beat of the Will, and renders it in the sequence of musical sounds. Music is thus intimately related to the working of the Will in nature, to "things in themselves"; it penetrates into the elemental archetypal being of the cosmos and reflects the feeling of it; that is why music is so deeply satisfying.³⁵⁸

This was the fundamental basis of Ullmann's composition in Theresienstadt. It would appear that the need to compose is an effort of the will which transmutes the notes into a deep symbolism of the individual, the environment in which one composes, and the cosmos. This has its firm groundings in anthroposophy.

³⁵⁸ Rudolf Steiner, 'The Inner Nature of Music and the Experience of Tone: The Occult Basis of Music', 3 December 1906, Cologne, <<http://wn.rsarchive.org/Lectures/19061203p01.html>> [accessed 2 January 2011].

Steiner died in 1924 and his successor, Albert Steffen, inherited his spiritual legacy. His poetry and dramatic works were inspirations for Ullmann's cycle of seven songs and his opera *Der Sturz des Antichrist*. The expressions within this are also echoed in his musical settings of poetry of Albert Steffen in the settings of *Two Songs of Consolation* in 1943 and *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*.

4.3.6 *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*

The anthroposophical influence is also evident in the title of the opera *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*. Atlantis, for Steiner, had a mythical significance, and also provided the fulcrum for an adverse evolutionary stage in the formation of the human race as he had known it in the beginning of the twentieth century.³⁵⁹ Atlantis, the ancient civilization governed by a pantheon under Poseidon's leadership, was first described in Plato's *Timaeus and Critias*.³⁶⁰ Atlantis was equated with a utopian dream which could not be maintained. It imploded, mythically and symbolically, and in its descent to the depths, shattered the legendary pillars of Hercules causing the eventual destruction of the entire civilization: an apt analogy, indeed, of the Nazi Regime under the leadership of Adolf Hitler and his cohort. To an educated audience, such references retained their symbolism.

We have seen that anthroposophy encouraged engagement with life in all the challenges it presented, with such challenges perceived as opportunities to fulfil one's own potential. Welburn suggests that anthroposophy 'seeks [...] to make us aware of the spirit through our own activity, interpreting and

³⁵⁹ Rudolf Steiner, 'Greek and Germanic Mythology: Lecture 1 – The Prometheus Saga' from the Rudolf Steiner Archive, Berlin, 7 October 1904, <<http://wn.rsarchive.org/Lectures/Dates/19041007p01.html>> [accessed 11 January 2011].

³⁶⁰ Plato, *Timaeus and Critias*, trans. by H. D. P. Lee (Baltimore; England: Penguin Books, 1971)

transforming the world around us'.³⁶¹ Steiner and the anthroposophist movement grappled with questions concerning the nature of humanity, the nature of the universe as an 'elemental need in life, just as one feels hunger and thirst.'³⁶² It is possible, then, to speculate, with a degree of certainty, that this anthroposophical outlook must have loomed large in the horizon which presented itself to Ullmann in Theresienstadt. This is evident both in the choice of the title of the work itself, and in the aspect of confronting the challenges of the Nazi camp. The content of the libretto, written by Petr Kien (1919-1944), fits with this speculation.

Der Kaiser von Atlantis is linked to Ullmann's *Symphonie Phantasie* (1924), the finale of which is a setting for tenor and orchestra of *Tantalos's Farewell* by Felix Braun (1885-1973). The last aria of *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* is called *The Emperor's Farewell*.³⁶³ There are two copies of the libretto, one which contains the last words of Tantalos's Farewell. The text is almost identical in both. Tantalos had been condemned by the gods because he had eaten ambrosia and nectar, the food of the gods, the recipe for immortality.

Der Kaiser von Atlantis exhibits a fusion of musical genres very evidently: jazz, classical, cabaret, nationalistic, Christian, Jewish, and folk traditions. It seems that this had a dual purpose: first, to address his mixed participative and attentive audiences and, secondly, to borrow, transform and incorporate material with which his audience would already have been familiar,

³⁶¹ Andrew Welburn, *Rudolf Steiner's Philosophy and the Crisis of Contemporary Thought*, (Edinburgh: Floris Books, 2004), p. 19.

³⁶² Rudolf Steiner, *Anthroposophical Leading Thoughts: Anthroposophy as a Path of Knowledge: the Michael Mystery*, trans. by George and Mary Adams (London: Rudolf Steiner Press, 2003), p. 13.

³⁶³ Michael Graubart, *Tempo*, New Series, No. 193, German Issue (Jul., 1995), pp. 39-40.

in order to convey a significant message of defiance and hope. The revolutionary theme of *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, provided a subject matter which was very relevant in Theresienstadt. The tyrant (Kaiser) was overthrown, when personified Death, the executor of the dictator's criminal will, refused obedience.³⁶⁴ This idea was not new, and was exemplified in the contemporary literature of the time, for example, Karel Čapek's *Bílá Nemoc* or *The White Disease*.³⁶⁵ In 1935, Ullmann wrote a prize-winning opera entitled *Der Sturz des Antichrist*, based on an anthroposophist mystery play about the power of the artist to withstand the tyrannical demands of Evil for total power: another act of defiance and hope.³⁶⁶ In *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, the artist's integrity stands against the dictator's reign of terror. Ullmann's manner of addressing this content was through citing references to certain works which, in its context in Theresienstadt, presented opportunities for both defiance and hope.

The opera recounts the story of the Kaiser or Emperor who wants to rule the world. He has begun a universal war. His contact with the world is mediated through reports from the Loudspeaker. In a twisted allegorical manner, Death is tired of the incessant slaughter and decides to go on strike. The Kaiser realises that without Death's support, he will never be victorious and will ultimately be rendered powerless. The consequence is that no one is allowed the peace of death, and people exist in a living hell, but a hell that is

³⁶⁴ Vojtěch Blodig, 'Culture in the Terezin Ghetto' from *Art against Death: Permanent exhibitions of the Terezin Memorial in the former Madgeburg Barracks* by Vojtěch Blodig, Kurt Jiří Kotouč, Marie Rút Křížková, Milan Kuna, Jan Munk, Arno Pařík, Eva Šormová, Ludwík Václavek, trans. by Jan Valeška (Prague: Oswald Pubs., 2002), p. 23.

³⁶⁵ Vlasta Benetková, 'The Emperor of Atlantis or the Denial of Death' Sleeve Notes with the CD of *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* produced by Arbos Gesellschaft für Musik und Theater (Czech Republic: Polyglot, 1995), p. 19.

³⁶⁶ Linda Hutcheon and Michael Hutcheon, 'Death, where is thy sting? The Emperor of Atlantis' from *Opera Quarterly* Vol. No. 16 (2): 224-239 (England: OUP, 2000), p. 225.

transformed through the experience of love as expressed between the Soldier and the Girl Soldier. Love, in this context, is a form of resistance to the decrees of the dictator. Death offers to renew his contract, but with one condition: the Emperor must be the first to die. Finally, Death is welcomed, because in death is a release from intolerable pain and incessant violence.

There are seven characters in the one-act opera, set in the manner of *commedia dell'Arte*:

Emperor Überall: the tyrannical ruler living in splendid isolation (Baritone)

The Loudspeaker: a bodiless, impersonal narrator of events (Bass)

Death: the personification of death as a retired soldier. (Bass)

Harlequin: a jester and subject of Überall's oppressed kingdom. (Tenor)

Soldier: participant in Überall's great war. (Tenor)

Girl Soldier: who first opposes and then falls in love with the Soldier. (Soprano)

Drummer: the announcer of Überall's decrees to the kingdom's subjects. (Alto)

Structurally, the work is divided into four scenes preceded by the prologue where each of the characters is announced. It was originally scored for seven singers and a mixed ensemble of between thirteen and eighteen musicians consisting of strings, flute, saxophone, clarinet, trumpet, banjo, piano/harmonium/cembalo. As an opera, it contains the familiar components: arias, duets, quartets, recitatives, chorus, and instrumental intermezzi.

The opera commences with an ascending and descending tritone, G-D flat and E flat-A respectively, played on trumpet and echoed in the Loudspeaker (See Example 4.1).

Example 4.1: Viktor Ullmann, *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, bars 1-4

Der Kaiser von Atlantis
Viktor Ullmann

The musical score consists of two staves. The top staff is for the trumpet, marked 'Laut-Sprecher (Loudspeaker)'. It begins with a whole note G4, followed by a descending tritone to D4 flat. The bottom staff is for the piano, marked 'ff' and 'Moderato'. It features a similar tritone figure. The lyrics 'Hal-lo, hal-lo!' and 'Hel-lo, hel-lo!' are written above the piano part, with 'Sie To' at the end.

The tritone from medieval times has been called *diabolus in musica*, the devil in music. We saw that in Steiner's musical theory, the fourth has particular significance representing the juncture between the inner and the outer life of an individual, and the liminal space between the divine and the human. Perhaps there is something suggestive here from the outset in the dissonance, ambiguity, and underlying implications of the tritone. The mood is set. Early in this opening Prologue, Ullmann connects with two significant composers from the Czech lands. He begins with a quotation, the death motif, which is taken from Dvořák's *Requiem*.

Dvořák's *Requiem*, stimulated by a request for an oratorio, was written in one of the composer's most successful and contented periods rather

than in response to personal experience of death.³⁶⁷ Another quotation, incorporated in Ullmann's opera, was from Josef Suk's *Asrael* (Second) Symphony (See Example 4.2).

Example 4.2: Josef Suk, *Symphony for Large Orchestra in C minor*, 5, bars 1-4

Suk was Dvořák's son-in-law. Dvořák and Suk's wife, Otilka, died in 1904 and 1906 respectively. This marked a significant watershed in Suk's life. In his writings on his second symphony, he wrote that 'such a misfortune either destroys a man or brings to the surface all the powers dormant in him.'³⁶⁸ When confronted with the camp life of Theresienstadt, perhaps it forced Ullmann to a similar place within himself that questioned how it was possible to survive in this situation of impending catastrophe. Could that have been an

³⁶⁷ Kurt Honolka, *Dvořák*, trans. by Anne Wyburd (London: Haus Publishing, 2004), p. 74.

³⁶⁸ Josef Suk from his own writings taken from Paul Serotsky, <http://www.musicweb-international.com/Programme_notes/suk_asraelsym.htm> [accessed 28 February 2007].

incentive for the inclusion of the quotation in *Der Kaiser*, particularly in the context of the 'misfortune' of Theresienstadt and art as the 'wager on survivance'?³⁶⁹

Asrael, the Angel of Death, permeates the structure of Suk's second symphony, which is suggested by particular motifs and intervals, one of which is the tritone. The titles of the individual movements of the symphony reflect the struggle between life and death, loss, and questions about the purpose of existence. *Asrael* was performed in President Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk's reign (1918 to 1935) at all occasions of national mourning in the Czech lands. The inclusion of the extract from *Asrael* suffused nationalistic tradition with symbolism. It may also have been an expression of hope akin to the end of the symphony itself, when the solo violin at the end of the last movement heralds the eventual harmony, tranquillity and peace of eternal rest. Ullmann's audience would have made the intrinsic association between the inclusion of these extracts, and death and hope.

It must have been evident, for both Kien and Ullmann, that there was a very delicate balance between hope and despair when challenged by the imminent prospect of death at Theresienstadt. This is reflected in Petr Kien's libretto to *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*. When the protagonist, Harlequin, laments his discontented life under the Kaiser, he realises that, even as a jester, he can no longer laugh. Harlequin bemoans the lack of wine, the symbol of life and joy. A quotation is included here from Mahler's *Das Lied von der Erde*. It is

³⁶⁹ George Steiner, *Real Presences: Is there anything in what we say?*, p. 4.

significant to note that the four of the six poems written for Mahler's work, are concerned with the topic of death.³⁷⁰ The sentiments expressed in Ullmann's opera are echoed most obviously in the fifth movement of *Das Lied von der Erde* entitled *Der Trunkene im Frühling*. The loneliness and despair of the drunk are imbued with a certain tragedy and nihilism, echoed in the words of the Harlequin. It is also reminiscent of Berg's *Wozzeck* Act Two, Scene Four, the Tavern Scene. Wozzeck was a drunken soldier, betrayed and despised, a hapless victim of his environment.³⁷¹ Poignant reflections surrounding meaning, existence, purpose, dualities of life, and destiny, are shared between Harlequin of *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, the drunk in *Das Lied von der Erde*, and *Wozzeck*. There is nothing particularly beautiful in what is portrayed by these characters in their original contexts. The symbolic places of deep despair and anguished questions are personified in them. It could be suggested that some of what they expressed in their sentiments, was analogous to that which was perceptible in people's consciousness in Theresienstadt. The Theresienstadt internees were not in a drunken stupor oblivious to the cruelty of life unfolding around them. They could not deny the reality of their situation. In using these images and associations in his music, Ullmann produced a creative response to the violent environment in which he and others were living: he confronted the reality of death.

In contrast, echoes of Mahler's Symphony no. 2 *Resurrection* are heard in Scene 2 of Ullmann's opera, in the dialogue between the Kaiser and

³⁷⁰ Stephen E. Hefling, *Mahler: Das Lied von der Erde* (UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 80.

³⁷¹ D. J. Grout and Claude V. Palisca, *A History of Western Music* (NY and London: Norton and Company, 1996), p. 740.

the Loudspeaker, most significantly in the lower strings and the trumpet parts. The symphonic extract is significant in its ideological content in the context of its inclusion in *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*. Mahler's questions, in the programme accompanying the symphony, have a particular relevance in the context of the opera: 'Why did you live? Why did you suffer? Is it all nothing but a huge frightful joke?'³⁷² Mahler's Symphony no. 2 questions the purpose and value of human existence and this question is answered in the text of the Symphony through the affirmation of the Resurrection, an expression of hope. This may have loomed in Ullmann's consciousness since he was re-admitted to the Roman Catholic Church in 1940 and therefore might have had a renewed sense of this concept and incorporated it because of that.

Defiance is most overtly displayed in *Deutschland über alles*, the German national anthem (See Example 4.3).

Example 4.3: Joseph Haydn, *Deutschland über alles*



³⁷² Deryck Cooke, *Gustav Mahler: An Introduction to his Music* (London: Faber and Faber, 1988), p. 55.

It was the subject of a grotesque, satirical and distorted treatment in *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* (See Example 4.4). As a prisoner in a Nazi concentration camp Ullmann treated this symbol of National Socialism with such contempt and arrogance, that it could be interpreted as suicidal, crazy or subversive. Immediately preceding the anthem, the Drummer announced that the Emperor had declared ‘a great and blessed war of all against all.’³⁷³

Example 4.4: Viktor Ullmann, *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, distorted version of *Deutschland über alles* (Letter I)

The image shows a page of a musical score for a drum part. The page is numbered 37 in the top right corner. The score is for a drum part, indicated by the label 'TROMMLER' on the left. It consists of four systems of music, each with a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are in German and English. The first system starts with 'f sempre' and includes a first ending bracket. The second system has 'pp' marking. The third system has 'p' marking. The fourth system has 'con forza' marking. The lyrics are: 'Ein-zi-ge, Ruhm des Va-ter-land-es, Se-gen der Mensch-heit... glo-ri-ous, pride of the Fa-ther-land, bless-ing to man-kind... Kai-ser bei-der In-di-en, Kai-ser von At-lan-tis, re- rul-er of both In-dies, Emp-'ror of At-lan-tis, Im-gie-ren-der Her-zog von O-phir und wirk-li-cher -pe-ri-al Duke-in the lands of O-phir. Truch-seß der A-star-te, Ban von Hun-garn, High priest of A-star-te, lord of Hun-gary.'

³⁷³ Linda Hutcheon and Michael Hutcheon, ‘Death, where is thy sting? The Emperor of Atlantis’ from *Opera Quarterly*, No. 16 (2), pp. 224-39, p. 231.

This opera was a direct creative act of defiance against the tyrant, also signified in the name of the Kaiser of the opera Kaiser Overall (Überall) or Emperor Overall. The composition of a distorted version of *Deutschland über alles* in a Nazi camp was a blatant expression of insubordination and the manifestation of gritty determination. This was demonstrative of the steely feisty spirit that would not be subjugated by any force or law or regime. This was an articulate and courageous affirmation of the human spirit, underscored by the recurring leitmotiv of the wager on survivance, refusing to be crushed or annihilated in face of all that was sadistic, callous and brutal.

The final part of the opera contains music from the Lutheran Chorale *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott* (A mighty stronghold is our God).

Example 4.5: J. S. Bach, *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott*, BWV 80

The image displays a musical score for J.S. Bach's chorale 'Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott' (BWV 80). The score is arranged for Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass voices, with a keyboard accompaniment. It consists of three systems of staves. The first system shows the vocal entries for Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass. The second system shows the vocal parts and keyboard accompaniment. The third system shows the vocal parts and keyboard accompaniment. The music is in G major and 4/4 time.

The text speaks of the mighty fortress that is God in time of distress.

Ullmann's treatment of the chorale melody is similar to Berg's quotation of Bach's *Es ist genug* from his Violin Concerto. Ullmann includes a quasi-improvisatory melodic line played on violin in klezmer-like style in counterpoint to the chorale melody.

Example 4.6: Viktor Ullmann: *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, Finale, bars 1-20

102

Nr. XVIII
Finale

Largo semplice, dolce grazioso

BUBIKOPF

1.) Komm Tod, du un - ser wer - ter Gast,
2.) Nimm von uns Le - bens - leid und Last,
1.) Come Death and be our hon - oured guest,
2.) Free us from life's tor - men - ting test,

TROMMLER

HARLEKIN

1.) Komm Tod, du un - ser wer - ter Gast,
2.) Nimm von uns Le - bens - leid und Last,
1.) Come Death and be our hon - oured guest,
2.) Free us from life's tor - men - ting test,

LAUT-SPRECHER

Largo semplice, dolce grazioso

Hbl. *p dolce*

Viol. *p, grazioso*

BUBIKOPF

in un - sers
führ uns zur
our hearts for
lead us to

TROMMLER

HARLEKIN

in un - sers
führ uns zur
our hearts for
lead us to

LAUT-SPRECHER

Hbl. *p*

Banjo

BUBIKOPF
Her - zen Kam - mer.
Rast nach Schmerz und Jam - mer.
you are wait - ing.
rest from all - our suff - 'ring.

TROMMLER
Her - zen Kam - mer.
Rast nach Schmerz und Jam - mer.
you are wait - ing.
rest from all - our suff - 'ring.

HARLEKIN
Her - zen Kam - mer.
Rast nach Schmerz und Jam - mer.
you are wait - ing.
rest from all - our suff - 'ring.

LAUTSPRECHER
Her - zen Kam - mer.
Rast nach Schmerz und Jam - mer.

pp

Kanon a cappella
tranquillo *dolce* (♩ = ♩)₃

BUBIKOPF
Lehr uns Le - bens Lust und
Teach us nev - er to ig -

TROMMLER
dolce Lehr uns Le - bens Lust und Not
Teach us nev - er to ig - nore in

HARLEKIN
dolce Lehr uns Le - bens Lust und Not
Teach us nev - er to ig - nore in

Kanon a cappella
tranquillo (♩ = ♩)

The chorale is sung in four parts including the characters of the Girl Soldier, Harlequin, the Loudspeaker and the Drummer. The setting of the original chorale by Bach in Cantata BWV 80 was for the Reformation festival. Jaroslav Pelikan asserts that this contains a 'tumult motive' by which Bach portrays the 'tumult of combat' suggesting the sounds of marching columns and the hooves of horses in motion.³⁷⁴ A text, which was subsequently added on in a revised version, includes the story of Christ casting the devil out of a

³⁷⁴ Jaroslav Pelikan, *Bach among the Theologians* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), p.16.

dumb man.³⁷⁵ It is part of the collective memory of Christianity and finds its home in the context of a concentration camp in the Second World War.

In the final part of the opera, death is welcomed as an honoured guest. The Kaiser desires Death because for him, the toll of thousands of dead bodies is equated with the pinnacle of ultimate triumph. Conversely, Death for the other protagonists is a welcome and comforting release from unending suffering. The mockery of Death itself is perhaps best encapsulated in the exegesis of the text which Ullmann/Kien include from 1 Corinthians 15. 54-55: 'Death where is thy victory? Death where is thy sting?' (A free version of Hosea 13. 14 and Isaiah 25. 8.) Scripture scholars have noted that the original word in the Hebrew text for *penalty*, in Greek, *dikē*, changes in the *Septuagint*, to *victory*, in Greek, *nikē*, in vs. 55 to make it a mockery of death.³⁷⁶ For Ullmann, this victory must be the epitome of defiance, the direct antithesis of death, and still the great expression of hope in the composition of *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*. Bodily death may terminate one's earthly existence, but the instinct for survivance may not be extinguished by death. While this work was never performed in Theresienstadt because of its overtly antagonistic elements, the parts had all been allocated to prodigious singers in the camp. All those selected for the various parts, except for one person, were annihilated in Auschwitz. The only person to have survived, ironically, was the bass, Karel Berman, who was chosen to play the part of Death. Perhaps, this is the ultimate defiance - flying in the face of death itself.

³⁷⁵ Alec Robertson, *The Church Cantatas of J. S. Bach* (London: Cassell & Co. Ltd., 1972), p.338.

³⁷⁶ Ben Witherington III, *Conflict and Community in Corinth: A Socio-rhetorical Commentary on 1 and 2 Corinthians* (Carlisle: Pater Noster Press, 1995), p. 10.

4.4 Conclusion

Viktor Ullmann was one of the most prolific and influential composers in the Theresienstadt Ghetto. While his musical background was in the school of Hába, Berg, and Schoenberg, his music has traces of Baroque and Romantic genres, motifs, and structures. His contribution to music in Theresienstadt, in particular to the *Freizeitgestaltung* and the *Studio für Neue Musik*, extended far beyond self-interest encouraging the compositions and performances of younger internees of the ghetto. Ullmann said that Theresienstadt enhanced his compositional skill and musical opportunities rather than curtailed it.

On the basis of the investigation of the collective memory of anthroposophy, Rudolf Steiner's theories of music, a selection of Ullmann's compositions and his non-musical texts, it is possible to postulate that every note of Ullmann's compositions was infused with anthroposophical referentialist meaning and, therefore, by association, with anthroposophist collective memory. Anthroposophic symbolism was associated with intervals, the subject matter of his own writings, and his compositions. The basis of this conclusion is derived from the investigation of a selection of his works and, particularly, Ullmann's own Theresienstadt writings in *Goethe und Ghetto* and *Der Fremde Passagier*. The thoughts which he articulated in these writings illuminate another facet of Ullmann's background and which, undoubtedly, inform his compositions.

In Theresienstadt, Ullmann, through the critiques of concerts and the musical initiatives, provided a forum for other composers and performers,

an opportunity for them to express something fundamental to their own humanity. The harps of the gods were silent but for the internees of the ghetto, their songs continued to resound and were brought to both the ears and eyes of the deity:

Since the sacred harp of the gods was silenced,
since the leaden night separated us from the realm of light
since we found the dungeon in our own being:
many are the trials that we have been put through,
and we are wilting from them, so that we can hardly bloom again.
Sick and mute, blinded and deaf, it has been our lot
to endure what no man has yet experienced.
And suffering has crowned us with a lunatic crown of thorns.
Yet we pluck the harp and sing to the gods –
when their song fell silent, ours resounded anew,
nothing happens in the world from now on that we have not done
and they listen to our deeds and they watch our song.³⁷⁷

In his essay *Goethe und Ghetto*, Ullmann stated that '[their] endeavour with respect to the Arts was commensurate with [their] will to live'. For Ullmann, music was inextricably connected to survivance.

³⁷⁷ Viktor Ullmann, No. 40, *Strange Passenger*,
<http://www.viktorullmannfoundation.org.uk/poetry/frame_poetry.html> [accessed 18 January 2011]. Full text is in Appendix 7, p. 267.

CHAPTER FIVE

Pavel Haas and Gideon Klein: Czech Collective Memory

Maurice Halbwachs asserts that memories are not only something for the perception of the subjective mind, rather they have to do with the social constructs which form them: 'It is in society that people normally acquire their memories. It is also in society that they recall, recognise, and localize their memories.'³⁷⁸ Memories are intrinsic to collective memory. Brian Conway, of the Sociology Department at the National University of Ireland, Maynooth, offers a succinct summary of the key elements of collective memory as follows:

1. Collective memory is not the property of individuals but of social groups.
2. Collective memory is about what people feel about the past and not objectively what happened in the past.
3. Collective memory has to do with the remembered past and its connections to the living present and the imagined future.³⁷⁹

Conway's summary is useful for the purposes of discourse within this thesis because of its clarity, succinct summaries of the characteristics of collective memory, and the possibilities of their application, particularly, to the Theresienstadt compositions. First, we should ask to what extent collective memory is formed by the memories of individuals. It cannot be reduced to individual reminiscences or memories alone otherwise it would only be individual memory. The collective, however, must find its resonance in the individual in a

³⁷⁸ Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, trans. and ed. by Lewis A. Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 38.

³⁷⁹ Brian Conway, 'New Directions in the Sociology of Collective Memory and Commemoration', *Sociology Compass*, 4 (2010), pp. 442-453.

reciprocal and informative relationship. Its relevance, therefore, to the compositional output of Theresienstadt is considerable. In this chapter, the works of Czech Jewish composers exhibiting a strong nationalist thrust will be examined. The collective memory of this group was, for the most part, assimilated; therefore, these frameworks of memory have been constructed primarily, though not exclusively, from more secular perspectives.

Secondly, if collective memory is about what people feel about the past and not objectively what happened, as suggested by Conway, then it is not always empirically verifiable. Consequently, it may not be possible to determine the composers' *felt* experience other than to create hypotheses or make certain assumptions on the basis of available information. Composers' references in their music to something from their past may not necessarily be related to an episode which may have happened to them directly and may well have been culturally mediated. These references are, nonetheless, significant in their usage in the context of the life of Theresienstadt.

Thirdly, collective memory is orientated to past, present, and future. The reference to the past includes the connection with their heritage through their music. The references to literature, motifs, songs, and larger-scale works which are included in the music of these composers, are borne from a store of memories drawn from the past, some dating back to the 15th century from the time of the Hussites or quotations from the works of Western composers.³⁸⁰ These individual

³⁸⁰ Some Theresienstadt composers showed influences from Jazz and Rumba; Hebrew, Yiddish and Czech folk repertoires; some cited texts from India, China, France, Germany, Czechoslovakia; others embodied the philosophies and ideologies of Judaism, Zionism, and anthroposophy.

expressions evident in their compositions are constitutive of elements of collective memory.

For composers then, memory relates to the present. Their music was written in a historical time which was the present. It is oriented to the future because their music, as an autobiographical document, is an historical legacy for succeeding generations. When we think of something that is autobiographical, we have a fixed concept of textual data, of chronology, of historical and contextual detail. This concept gives us information that helps us to remember a series of events through the eyes of another. The subject of music as autobiographical memory is, by and large, a discipline receiving little attention in the scholarly writings and bibliographies of sociology, psychology, or psychiatry except in relation to trauma. This chapter considers the music of Pavel Haas and Gideon Klein in the context of collective memory and nationalism.

5.1 Nationalism and Collective Memory: Convergences and Divergences

In this chapter, the phenomenon of nationalism is coupled with collective memory. Nationalism links individuals to 'persisting communities whose generations form indissoluble links in a chain of memories and identities.'³⁸¹ Nationalism needs to be part of the context of collective memory since this was part of the backdrop to the compositions, for example of Pavel Haas and the milieu in which he composed. Nationalism is a wider concept than collective memory since the former embraces many communities within the related concept of nationhood. An exploration of

³⁸¹ Anthony Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of the Nations* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1988), p. 176.

some definitions of nationalism and of these definitions in dialogue with collective memory will further elucidate this point.

The ideology behind nationalism, from a modernist perspective (Benedict Anderson), was one which first emerged predominantly in the nineteenth century. Nationalism is a concept fraught with complexities because of its association with political, historical, geographical and perceived cultural boundaries. Nationalism is often characterised by obvious features like national sentiment, patriotism, political affiliation, folklore and cultural manifestations.³⁸² It is considered by some historical sociologists, such as Eric Hobsbawm (1917-), to be a tool for the elite members of society to further their own interests; a means to obtain and to preserve power.³⁸³ Hobsbawm also reiterated that in Bohemia industrialism thus 'stimulated both German and Czech nationalism and because the German component had political power, it also had "privileged access to the

³⁸² Nationalism emerged with the modernisation of society and the changes from 'feudalism to citizenship and social mobility, the move from industrialisation and capitalism, the nationalisation of previously 'regional' languages and the development of national education systems' (Michael Murphy, 'Introduction', *Musical Constructions of Nationalism: Essays on the History and Ideology of European Musical Culture: 1800-1945*, ed. by Harry White and Michael Murphy (Cork: Cork University Press, 2001), 1-15 (p. 2)). This was broadly manifested in the context of Jewry of the Czech lands, in the *Haskalah* and the emergence of the *Torah H'adam* as well as the *Torah Hashem*. The *maskilim* wanted to introduce secular elements into the Jewish curriculum, adopt the native language of their assimilated cultures, and to be more immersed, generally, into secular culture. The collective memory of Judaism, in this case, would be quite different to the nationalist memory since it would have incorporated the memory of the monarchy in Israel, the Temple and its destruction, and the pogroms through the generations, which would not necessarily be part of the shared memory of nationalism in the geographical specificity of the Czech lands.

³⁸³ A certain colonialism can sometimes be characteristic of what occurs. A dominant culture can impose its culture, language or customs on indigenous minorities. Prague-born sociologist and philosopher Ernest Gellner (1925-1995) suggested that industrialisation, and probably economic factors, in the nineteenth century created a movement from agrarian societies to more industrialised societies which had an effect on the social and cultural constructs of the Czech lands: 'If an industrial economy is established in a culturally heterogenous society... then tensions result which will engender nationalism... Bohemia was the source of much of the early nationalist activity and theory, both German and Czech...' (Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), pp. 108-109).

central high culture”³⁸⁴ This is an important consideration in relation to the Jewish community in the Czech lands in the nineteenth century, as they sought to assimilate into their surrounding culture which some adopted as high German and others as Czech. Consequently, Czech nationalism had to assert itself against German nationalism particularly in the areas of culture and politics.³⁸⁵

Collective memory is particular to nationalist groups and yet collective memory also encompasses a broader memory than that of the individual groupings. The parameters of nationalism and of collective memory are so broad as to be virtually indefinable and yet there are common threads suggested by theorists in the area of politics, culture, ethnicity, diversity and collectivity.

5.1.1 Nationalism in the Czech Lands

In the area of music and the arts, nationalism reveals another perspective. Anthony Smith’s definition of nationalism incorporates the more cultural and collective aspects of the concept: ‘More than a style and doctrine of politics, nationalism is a form of culture – an ideology, a language, mythology, symbolism and consciousness’.³⁸⁶ This definition incorporates much in relation to culturally mediated memory, as something which is passed on through the generations through language, mythology, symbolism and consciousness.

³⁸⁴ Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), p. 97.

³⁸⁵ Nationalism is not equated to homogeneity of cultural or political, civic or ethnic identity; by nature it represents diversity and, sometimes, even the quite opposing perspectives which are constitutively inherent in the concept itself. In some respects, there is a symbiotic relationship between collective memory and nationalism. While there is diversity of identity within the wider concept of the ‘nation’ and of nationalism, there is a certain homogeneity which is the unifying factor over and above all the diverse individual groupings however they are characterised.

³⁸⁶ Anthony Smith, quoted from *National Identity* (London, 1991), p. 79, in ‘Introduction’, *Musical Constructions of Nationalism: Essays on the History and Ideology of European Musical Culture: 1800-1945*, ed. by Harry White and Michael Murphy (Cork: Cork University Press, 2001), p. 5.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, art, literature and music began to look to nationalism in the quest for autonomy, independence and a strengthened sense of identity. As a musical trend, and a strong component of the compositional thrust of Romantic composers, nationalism evolved as a reaction to the supremacy of German music and a compelling search for a native indigenous voice in music composition. The understanding of nationalism associated with music particularly is that of 'the employment of native folksongs and dances or imitating their musical character', which in turn gave composers a style which had its own ethnic identity.³⁸⁷ Czech national feeling received its first artistic influence in literature through Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744-1803) and the German Romantics. In 1826 the first Czech opera *Dratenik (The Tinker)*, composed by František Škroup (1801-1862), was performed and, in the early 1850s, the first collections of Czech folk poetry were published by Karel Jaromír Erben (1811-1870) under the title *Kytice*.³⁸⁸ Nationalist subjects in operas incorporated many of the characters of national mythology and significance: Smetana's *The Brandenburgers in Bohemia (Braniboři v Čechách)*, *Dalibor* and *Libuše, Šarka* operas of Zdeněk Fibich (1850-1900) and Leoš Janáček (1854-1928), and *The Death of Vlasta (Vlasty skon)* composed by Otakar Ostrčil (1879-1935).³⁸⁹ Smetana's operas still maintained the Germanic Romantic tonal languages rather than incorporating any indigenous tonalities.³⁹⁰ He is regarded by some as 'the first major nationalist

³⁸⁷ D. J. Grout and Giovanni Palisca, *A History of Western Music*, p. 666.

³⁸⁸ Alfred Einstein, *Music in the Romantic Era* (London: Dent, 1947), p. 297.

³⁸⁹ Jan Smaczny, 'Musical national traditions in Ireland and the Czech lands in the nineteenth century: similar roots, creative divergences', *Irish Musical Studies: Music in Nineteenth Century Ireland*, ed. by Michael Murphy and Jan Smaczny, 10 vols (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007), ix, p. 283.

³⁹⁰ Regarding the libretti of these operas, while Smetana set much of *Dalibor* in German, he then had the text changed to Czech. None of his operas reached the stage in German. None of his operas that were staged in the Provisional and National theatres were in German language.

composer of Bohemia' though this is a much-debated assumption.³⁹¹ Janáček, on the other hand, was technically classed as a folklorist and modernist. Although these references to elements of Czech historical and mythological import are not necessarily equated to nationalism they are expressions of collective memory.

In Theresienstadt, Rabbi Leo Baeck (1873-1956) was asked what strengthened the will to live among the inmates of Theresienstadt, and what sustained them in adversity. One of the possibilities on which he focused was the assimilation of Jews into their national contexts: 'The Jews, though displaced from their "homelands", took along environmental Western culture and tended it lovingly, thereby easing the trauma of being uprooted while, simultaneously, intensifying their bonds with Jewish culture'.³⁹² In the assimilated world of Eastern European Jews, there was always a dialectic between indigenous identity and national identity wherever they were citizens. From the time of their emancipation in the eighteenth century, Jews had sought to become integrated into society. Consequently, in the Europe of the Second World War, Jews saw themselves predominantly as assimilated and considered that their Jewish-ness was not something associated specifically with their religious practice but with their indigenous identity. Jewish people from Bohemia and Moravia expressed themselves in the critical situations like real nationalists more than other Czech

³⁹¹ Richard Taruskin, 'Slavs as Subjects and Citizens: Smetana, Glinka, and Balakirev', *The Oxford History of Western Music: The Nineteenth Century*, 6 vols (Oxford: OUP, 2005), iii, p. 443. According to Richard Taruskin, Smetana argued that 'true national opera need not and should not rely on folk songs, even in the case of comic operas where their use had always been traditional' (Ibid., p. 448).

³⁹² This is from a report of a meeting with Rabbi Leo Baeck, reconstructed from carbon copies of letters written at the time to friends, and memories contributed by other St Louisans attending the meeting; it purports by no means to be of biographical nature. The text is in the archives of Yad Vashem.

people from so-called 'Aryan' origin.³⁹³ German Jews, however, felt betrayed by the Nazi regime because they were body and soul German and therefore in a different position to those Jews drawn from other countries and incarcerated in Theresienstadt.³⁹⁴

What has been described above provides the context for the Czech composers Pavel Haas and Gideon Klein. The tensions between nationalism and collective memory were complex and grounded in the assertion of self-identity for the ethnic populations of the Czech lands. The Jewish community found themselves in the struggles of self-definition within a national framework and, while in many cases they often conducted their lives in a multi-lingual setting, the emphases of some rested on a strong affiliation with Czech collective memory. This emphasis was often evident in the works composed by the musicians of Theresienstadt.

5.2 Pavel Haas (1899-1944)

Pavel Haas's parents spoke Czech in their domestic affairs and German in their economic affairs. His father owned a shoe-shop in Brno and it was particularly fortuitous to be able to command the two languages for business purposes. Born in Brno in 1899, Haas therefore spoke Czech at home and was initially schooled in German and later in Czech.³⁹⁵

³⁹³ Milan Kuna, *Hudba na Hranici Života: O Činnosti a Utrpení Hudebníků z Českých Zemí v Nacistických Koncentračních Táborech a Věznicích* (Prague: Naše Vojsko, 1990), p. 167.

³⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

³⁹⁵ Pavel Eckstein, 'Pavel Haas', *Komponisten in Theresienstadt: Beiträge von Pavel Eckstein, Milan Slavický, Ingo Schultz und Cornelius Witthoefft und Leben und Werk der Komponisten und zur Geschichte des Lagers Theresienstadt* (Hamburg: Initiative Hans Krása, 1999), p. 10. This bilingual

In 1935 Haas married Soňa Jakobson, the former wife of the renowned Russian linguist, Roman Jakobson (1896-1982). In 1937 their daughter Olga was born. To spare both of their lives, Haas divorced his wife before he was deported to Theresienstadt in December 1941.

Haas's understanding of himself was influenced by his background and the movement towards self-assertion of those with nationalist tendencies in the country of his birth. These nationalistic elements were manifested in Haas's music. Lubomír Peduzzi's research focuses much on the nationalistic elements in the music of the Theresienstadt composers and, in particular, on those of Pavel Haas.³⁹⁶ The context for this study of Haas's Theresienstadt compositions is to examine elements of Czech collective memory evident in these works. Many of Haas's Theresienstadt works have not survived. Witnesses have testified that the following works were composed by Haas during his internment:

Songs: *Al S'Fod (Do not lament, 1942)* for four-part male-voice choir; *Čtyři písně na slova Čínské poezie (Four Songs on Chinese Poetry, 1944)* composed some time between 24 February and 27 April 1944 for bass and piano;³⁹⁷ the preliminary sketches of a Requiem for soloists, choir and orchestra, the only documentation of which is provided by Peduzzi; *Advent (1944)*, for mezzo-soprano, tenor, flute, clarinet and string

context was not unusual: the city's population numbered 100,000 at the time of his birth and two-thirds of that population spoke German.

³⁹⁶ In *Pavel Haas: Život a Dílo Skladatele, Musik im Ghetto Theresienstadt: Kritische Studien*, Peduzzi explores aspects of the life and work of Haas. His penultimate book on the nationalist elements in Haas's work is interesting.

³⁹⁷ This was the time of the beautification of the camp for the Red Cross visit in June 1944. The bass Karel Berman arrived in the camp on 5 March 1943 but it was only in the beginning of 1944 that Haas was acquainted with him; it was performed by Berman, accompanied by Rafael Schächter on 22 June 1944.

quartet on text of Czech poet František Halas.

Instrumental works: *Studie pro Smyčcový Orchestr* (Study for String Orchestra, 1943); *Variace pro Klavír a Smyčcový Orchestr* (Variations for Piano and String Orchestra, 1944); *Partita pro Klavír* (1944).

Of his compositional output in Theresienstadt, only three works survive intact: *Al S'Fod* (1942), *Studie pro Smyčcový Orchestr* (1943), and *Čtyři písně na slova Čínské poezie* (1944). The key question I wish to address is: of all the influences which Haas had on his musical corpus, why did he draw on elements from Czech collective memory at a time when he was most confronted with oppression and with the prospect of annihilation? Why did he not draw on his Jewish background as a source of inspiration for this work? The answer lies in the fact that, as an assimilated Jew, his immersion was not in his religious tradition; this is not to say that it did not provide an influence for him in certain elements of his works. It was the culture which surrounded him which was to influence him most and, in his case, this culture was both German and Czech. In tracing his musical background, it becomes evident that there were diverse influences on his composition but that in the final years of his life, he referred mostly to Czech collective memory.

5.2.1 Musical Background

Haas studied under the tutelage of Janáček, Jan Kunc (1883-1976), and Vilém Petrželka (1889-1967) at the Beseda Brněnská and later at the Brno Conservatory.

His musical style was eclectic. Haas's compositional oeuvre included symphonic poems, cantatas, symphonies, quartets, song-cycles, opera, and incidental music for films and plays. There is evidence of the ancient modes of Judaism,³⁹⁸ the Classical tradition of Beethoven, the Romantic styles of Brahms, Tchaikovsky and Suk,³⁹⁹ the influence of Moravian and Slovakian folk music,⁴⁰⁰ jazz and rumba,⁴⁰¹ the harmonic and rhythmic languages of the neoclassicists Stravinsky and Honegger.⁴⁰² Thus his

³⁹⁸ The ancient modes of Judaism, which were to be a source of influence for Haas, were engrained in his memory from his uncle who was cantor in the synagogue in Kolín. These modes were evident in Haas's early compositions: a symphonic poem *Jonas, Exodus, Psalm 29*, and his later efforts to compose an opera on a Jewish theme (Joseph Johann Soukup's libretto to *Durch Macht zum Licht*, S. Ansky's drama *Dybbuk*, and Stanislav Lom's *Kajici Venuse*). Peduzzi notes that the Hebraic melodies were included unobtrusively in his music (Lubomír Peduzzi, *Pavel Haas: Život a Dílo Skladatele* (Brno: Muzejní a Vlastivědná Společnost, 1993), p. 5).

³⁹⁹ The late Classical tradition of Beethoven and early Romantic elements were evident in Haas's earlier compositions until 1916. From Beethoven, Haas inherited the legacy of motific development which he chose to explore in these compositions. The year 1916 was one of the most productive of Haas's career producing eight songs with a strong German influence in the romantic style of Schubert which show a reliance on German classic texts and incorporate word-painting; three fugues for string quartet; a psalm for tenor and organ, a complete and unfinished piano sonata, a sonata for piano and violin; fragments of two symphonies and a cantata.

⁴⁰⁰ From 1917 there was a change in Haas's musical orientation within his compositions under the influence of Petrželka. He began working with Czech language texts. In the *Šest Písní v Lidovém Tónu* (*Six Songs in Folk Style*) from 1919, there are references to modal tonalities and rhythms characteristic of Moravian melodies. Haas's three compositions for piano (Spring 1919) show an orientation towards the style of Vítězslav Novák (1870-1949) and Josef Suk, evident in Haas's technical knowledge and instrumental style. From 1920 to 1922, Janáček worked directly with Haas in the Brno Conservatory of Music. Janáček was inspired by the music of the Eastern half of Moravia and Slovakia. Moravia was characterised by the staunch adherence of its occupants to their own traditions through customs and music. In the early 20th century, Moravia was not infiltrated by the developments of modern life. For this reason, it had a particular appeal for Janáček and he was conscious of his role and of his mission as an artist in his homeland. Janáček was known to be a nationalist composer meaning that 'his music was developed from the melodic and rhythmic characteristics of his native folk music, and in their poetic content'. The influence of Janáček in Haas's work is clear in many of Haas's compositions, especially those from the period where Haas studied with the composer (Lubomír Peduzzi, *Pavel Haas: Život a Dílo Skladatele*, pp. 25-26).

⁴⁰¹ These influences are evident in the String Quartet no. 2 (1925). The fourth movement of this work entitled 'Wild Night' has characteristic South American Rumba rhythms. It is prepared in a lengthy prelude to the melody. The first six notes of the rumba melody are stated in augmentation and also by diminution. The rumba itself starts in pizzicato in all instruments. This influence is characteristic of the performed repertoire to which he was exposed in Brno at the time. The 1920s were a time when jazz and South American music was in vogue.

⁴⁰² The polyrhythms of the neoclassicist school of Stravinsky and Honegger were also evident in his work. The concerts which he attended were to influence his styles of composition: Stravinsky and Honegger each gave concerts in Brno in the 1920s, both of which Haas attended. He adopted some of the compositional techniques of Arthur Honegger in his String Quartet no. 2 which was influenced by *Pacific 231*. In his *Studie pro Smyčcový Orchestr* he uses combinations of polyrhythms. Haas's opera *Šarlatan* written in 1937 has evident influence of Stravinsky in its subject matter, rhythm, melody and instrumentation.

musical influences which were quite eclectic and highly significant for him. His musical expression was reflective of the changing topography of the musicological landscape of Europe.

A significant trend can be observed in Haas's compositions in advance of the Second World War. Of all the eclectic influences, which were both to form and inform his compositions, the Czech indigenous influences were drawn upon most frequently. In the years when his country was being invaded by occupying Nazi forces, and immediately prior to his internment in Theresienstadt, Haas drew more on elements of Czech collective memory; this was a means of deriving meaning and expressing a certain defiance against the oppressive regime. This is evident in the brief survey of his works, from 1937 to the time of his internment in Theresienstadt, that follows here.

5.2.2 Haas's Compositions (1937-1941)

Haas began to compose his String Quartet no. 3, Op. 15 in 1937. The second movement of this work was composed at a time of great political tension induced by the death, in September, of the Czechoslovak President Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk. In the same year, Haas was admitted to hospital with a perforated ulcer, and his daughter Olga's birth was surrounded with complications.⁴⁰³

1938 heralded a greater and more palpable presence of the Nazi regime in the Czech lands. In September the Munich Agreement had been signed and it signified catastrophe for the Jewish people. From this point, Haas drew on Czech

⁴⁰³ Lubomír Peduzzi, *Pavel Haas: Život a Dílo Skladatele*, p. 80.

collective memory as the impetus and inspiration for his compositions. It provided both the subject matter and the musical language that informed his oeuvre. This is evident in the works which follow here.

Before completing his String Quartet no. 3 (1937-1938), Haas sought recourse to the musical arrangement of fourteen Moravian songs from Jan Poláček's collection *Slovakian Songs. From the Evening to the Morning (Od Večera do Rána)*, Op. 16 was scored for soprano, tenor, women's and men's chorus and orchestra. He also revised the *Song in Folk-Tone* of 1919, adding new orchestration and dedicating the work to the soprano Marie Bakalová (1904-1992) saying, 'Dear Marie, when you'll sing these songs, we'll all be well off.'⁴⁰⁴ The Third String Quartet draws on *Šarlatan* for its inspiration. Its main themes are those associated with Amaranta's and Pustrpalk's encounters in the opera. The first movement ends with a quotation from the St Wenceslas Chorale, a chorale which was most significant in Czech collective memory.⁴⁰⁵ The second movement uses material from the *Agnus Dei (Agneče Božij)* from Janáček's *Glagolithic Mass (Glagolské Mše)* and includes more frequent quotations of the Chorale. The third movement is a theme with variations and fugue. The work was finished at the beginning of August 1938.

From 18 July 1938, Haas wrote a *Suite pro Oboe a Klavír*; it articulated some of the desperate emotion of the anticipation of occupying Nazi forces in

⁴⁰⁴ Pavel Haas, 'Milá Máňo, až tyto písně zazpíváš, bude nám všem dobře' quoted in Lubomír Peduzzi, *Pavel Haas: Život a Dílo Skladatele*, p. 81. Marie Bakalová was a soprano with the Brno Opera. Her husband, Břetislav Bakala, was a Czech pianist and conductor who had a particular interest in Moravian folk-song.

⁴⁰⁵ The significance of the Czech chorale *Svatý Václave* will be discussed later in this chapter.

Europe. This music contains the Hussite Chorale, *Ktož jsú Boží Bojovníci*, and the St Wenceslas Chorale, both of which are imbued with patriotism and nationalism in the Czech lands. This three-movement composition was intended to be a cantata for tenor and orchestra. Peduzzi maintained that the content of this work was subversive and, therefore, he elected to change it to an instrumental work only.⁴⁰⁶ The St Wenceslas Chorale permeates the whole work. Peduzzi is convinced of the symbolism of its inclusion in the context of the proximity of the invading armies:

When human forces seem to be weak opposite a monstrously growing evil, depression leads many to seek spiritual support believing in something greater, whether they call it God, historical justice or whatever. This belief helps them to overcome a seemingly hopeless present. By such belief in the force of national tradition Haas filled the last, third movement of his Suite. He began it on the same day he finished the second movement and that by a full quotation of the oldest known sound of the St Wenceslas Chorale.⁴⁰⁷

However, to say that depression leads many to seek spiritual support in face of evil is not entirely true, as depression can drive one into a descending spiral of self-deprecation and powerlessness. It might be better to suggest that in the face of extraordinary evil, one's resources are so severely depleted that one has to resort to what both sustains and maintains meaning in those circumstances. Peduzzi does point out the value of a belief in something beyond what is here and now, irrespective of how that belief is expressed. He rightly asserts that, in the case of Haas, this belief is firmly in his national Czech identity by incorporating quotations from the chorale in his *Suite*. Taking Peduzzi's assertion a little further,

⁴⁰⁶ Lubomír Peduzzi, *Pavel Haas: Život a Dílo Skladatele*, p. 86.

⁴⁰⁷ Lubomír Peduzzi, 'Když se síly člověka zdají být slabými proti nestvůrně rostoucímu zlu, přivádí deprese mnohé k hledání duševní opory ve víře v něco mocnějšího, at' už to nazývají Bohem, dějinnou spravedlností či jinak. Tato víra jim pomáhá překonat zdánlivě bezvýchodnou přítomnost. Takovou vírou v sílu národní tradice naplnil Haas poslední, třetí větu své SUITY. Začal ji ještě téhož dne, kdž dokončil větu druhou, a to úplnou citací nejstaršího známého ynění svatováclavského chorálu' cited in *Pavel Haas: Život a Dílo Skladatele*, p. 89.

it could be said that Czech collective memory is firmly situated in the composer's consciousness. As Haas is confronted with the liminal space of life at that time in history, it is Czech collective memory which provides him with the nourishment and inspiration to create works which are key to survivance. Interestingly, the *Suite* was followed by a collection of Seven Moravian Folk songs, Op. 18, written to texts of Slovak songs by František Ladislav Čelakovský (1799-1852), another work steeped in Czech collective memory.

Haas moved to Prague from Brno on 15 March 1939. In 1940-1941 he composed a symphony for large orchestra which was left unfinished. In ideological content, in musical expression, and in response to German occupation of Czechoslovakia, the symphony had links to the *Suite*.⁴⁰⁸ In these works, recurring motifs were based on two themes with strong significance in nationalist consciousness in the Czech lands: *Ktož jsú Boží Bojovníci* (You who are the warriors of God) and *Svatý Václave*, the ancient chorale in honour of St Wenceslas. These chorales are not just nationalistically symbolic, they are constitutive of Czech collective memory. We find them quoted and metamorphosed, hidden and explicit, in the works of Haas. The background to these two chorales in the context of Czech collective memory is highly significant in Haas's usage of these themes in both his pre-Theresienstadt and Theresienstadt compositions.

⁴⁰⁸ Lubomír Peduzzi, 'Dessen dichterischer Inhalt und musikalische Ausdrucksweise bezeugen, dass dieses Werk seiner Idee nach an Haas' letzte Kompositionen vor seiner Internierung anknüpften, nämlich die Suite für Oboe und Klavier sowie die Symphonie, mit der er auf die deutsche Okkupation und den Kriegsausbruch reagiert hatte', quoted in *Musik im Ghetto Theresienstadt: Kritische Studien* (Czech Republic: Barrister & Principal, 2005), pp. 68-69.

5.3 *Ktož jsú Boží Bojovníci* (Hussite Chorale)

The Hussite movement was formed in the fifteenth century in Bohemia by Jan Hus (1369-1415). Hus was influenced by the philosophy of an English reformist theologian John Wycliffe (1328-1384). While religious, the Hussites were primarily remembered for their nationalist ideals and their desire to be free of Germanic rule in the form of the medieval ascendancy.⁴⁰⁹

The Hussites were famous for their singing of songs. *Ktož jsú Boží Bojovníci*, sung normally before battle, was the most renowned and significant. It was said to typify 'the stubborn tenacity of a people who refused to yield to superior force even in defeat.'⁴¹⁰

You who are the warriors of God
and of the Law of God
pray that God will help you.
Believe in God
and with God you shall triumph.

Czech identification with the sentiments expressed in those texts, and its power and symbolism in national identity, made the chorale a compelling source of meaning at a time of increased oppression. That composers should have included quotations from the song in their compositions was a testament to

⁴⁰⁹ Thomas A. Fudge, *The Crusade against the Heretics in Bohemia, 1413-1437: Sources and Documents for the Hussite Crusades* (UK: Ashgate, 2002), p. 83. Jan Hus had four specific areas which he wanted to address: To be free to proclaim the word of God throughout Bohemia; to be able to receive the Holy sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord (hence the name ultraquists by which the Hussites were also known); that numerous priest and monks possessed worldly goods and power which was in opposition to the commandments of Christ; Sins, especially those which bring down the good name of the country, should be punished. The movement was ideologically appealing to the masses because the Hussites sought to strip society of the excesses which certain groupings had accumulated. The Hussites' course of action brought them into direct conflict with the papal authorities and this was manifested most vehemently in a series of five crusades against them. Alliances were formed between the papal armies and the Czech monarchy.

⁴¹⁰ John R. Bennett, *Smetana on 3,000 Records* (UK: Oakwood Press, 1975), p. 250. This song was thought to have been written by the blind commander Jan Žižka (1360-1424), but was later reputed to have been written by a rebel priest Jan Čapek (died 1445). Its date of composition is estimated to be c. 1420.

collective memory expressed in its words and music, creating strength in adversity.

Example 5.1: Hussite Chorale: *Ktož jsú Boží Bojovníci*⁴¹¹



5.4 *Svatý Václave* (Saint Wenceslas Chorale)

The other chorale to find its home in Czech national identity, and in the compositions of Haas, is the St Wenceslas Chorale, *Svatý Václave*. As Viktor Velek states, 'Its meaning and expressions have been deeply involved in the development of national identity and relationship with the German-speaking population, the moulding of Czech statehood, church life, political life, and the interpretation of history, and in all branches of the arts as well as music.'⁴¹² He adds that 'During the 1st [*sic*] World War, mythical and symbolic messages became more intense in treatment of the St. [*sic*] Wenceslas Chorale. Afraid of stirring up of national passions, the government sometimes prosecuted some expressions of the St. [*sic*]

⁴¹¹ Hussite Chorale, *Ktož jsú Boží Bojovníci*, Jaroslav Pohanka, *Dějiny České Hudby v Příkladech* (Prague: Státní Nakladatelství, Krásné Literatury, Hudby a Umění, 1958).

⁴¹² Viktor Velek, 'Sancte Wenceslae ora pro nobis! The Cult of St. Wenceslas in Music', *Czech Music*, (2008), 34-47 (p. 36).

Wenceslas tradition (including the singing of the chorale) under certain circumstances.⁴¹³ The Chorale became an important symbol of national identity.

Example 5.2: Czech Chorale in honour of St Wenceslas: *Svatý Václave*⁴¹⁴

2. SVATÝ VÁCLAVE

Latinský graduál
Rkp. kolem r. 1473 Druhá polovina 12. stol.

The image shows a musical score for a Latin Gradual. It consists of two staves of music in a single system. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a common time signature. The melody is written on a five-line staff with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The lyrics are written below the notes. The second staff continues the melody and lyrics. The lyrics are in Latin and Czech: '1. Sva - tý Vá - cla - ve, vé - vo - do Če - ské ze - mě, kně - že náš, pros za ny Bo - ha, sva - té - ho Du - cha! Kri - ste - le - y - son!'.

1. Sva - tý Vá - cla - ve, vé - vo - do Če - ské ze - mě, kně - že náš,
pros za ny Bo - ha, sva - té - ho Du - cha! Kri - ste - le - y - son!

Velek asserts that ‘Together with the Hussite chorale *Kdož jsou Boží bojovníci*, and the Czech anthem [St Wenceslas Chorale] it is clearly the most important musical symbol of Czech culture.’⁴¹⁵

Other composers used a similar technique in their compositions. Like the inclusion of *Ktož jsou Boží Bojovníci* in the compositions of Czech composers to identify and strengthen national identity at a time of adversity, the use of the St Wenceslas Chorale was no different. Haas was in line with a long list of Czech composers who had used the chorale in works with which he is likely to have been

⁴¹³ Ibid., p. 45.

⁴¹⁴ Svatý Václave, Jaroslav Pohanka, *Dějiny České Hudby v Příkladech* (Prague: Státní Nakladatelství, Krásné Literatury, Hudby a Umění, 1958), p. 1.

⁴¹⁵ Viktor Velek, ‘Sancte Wenceslae ora pro nobis! The Cult of St. Wenceslas in Music’, p. 36. The title of the chorale used in the quotation is copied exactly from source and does not reflect the general use of the correct title which is *Ktož jsou Boží Bojovníci*.

familiar. Within those compositions, Czech composers cited their own symbolism for its inclusion and this is consistent with the practice adopted by Haas.⁴¹⁶

The chorales feature predominantly in Haas's Overture Op. 11 written between October 1930 and March 1931 for the opening of Brno Radio and in the work entitled 'Concert for Organ and String Orchestra' (and added parentheses, bells, baritone and children's choir); it became known as Psalm 29.⁴¹⁷ The *Suite for Piano*, composed in 1935-1936 shows elements of this chorale in the movement marked 'Pastorale'. However, the chorale is most evident in the *Suite for Oboe and Piano* (1939). Peduzzi states that Haas uses the St Wenceslas Chorale more often than the Hussite hymn. In the compositions of most nationalist composers, the St Wenceslas Chorale featured more prominently than the Hussite Chorale. Haas was then in line with the established practice and tradition of his predecessors. Given the association of the chorale with Czech national consciousness, this inclusion seems quite deliberate and strategic. From the time of Nazi occupation, almost all the compositions quote from the Wenceslas chorale.

⁴¹⁶Bedřich Smetana's symphonic-poem cycle *Má vlast* (1874-1879) includes two movements explicitly connected with this Hussite battle song or chorale: *Tábor*, the symbol of supreme revolutionary opposition where, in his own words, *Tábor* 'depicts resolute will, victorious battles, perseverance, and stubborn inflexibility with which the composition ends [...]' (John Clapham, *Smetana* (London: Dent, 1972), p. 78). In the final movement of *Má vlast*, entitled *Blaník*, Smetana again makes reference to *Ktož jsú Boží Bojovníci*. *Blaník* recalls the resting place of the Hussites after defeat in battle at White Mountain in 1620. There they rested in sleep until they would be ready to defend their country again. In *Blaník*, the inclusion of the Hussite chorale reminds those listening of 'the resurrection of the Czech nation, its future happiness and glory' (John Clapham, *Smetana*, p. 78). Suk incorporated the St Wenceslas Chorale as a basis for his *Meditation* scored for strings or string quartet in 1914. In 1917, during the First World War, Janáček quoted the Hussite victory march in the *Výlety Pana Broučka* (*The Excursions of Mr Brouček*). Dvořák was also influenced by the Hussites. Though he was a committed Roman Catholic and as such could not agree with Jan Hus's theological stance, he was, nevertheless, in admiration of a man whom he believed 'contributed largely to a powerful growth of the Czech national sentiment and consciousness' (Alec Robertson, *Dvořák* (London: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1964), p. 3). Dvořák enshrined the Hussites in memory in his *Hussite Overture* which was originally conceived as a musical prelude to the first of a trilogy of plays. Novák, before the advent of the Second World War in 1937, integrated another version of the St Wenceslas Chorale in 'The March of the Taborites' from the *Jihočeská Suita* and later composed the *Svatováclavský Triptych* (1942).

⁴¹⁷ Lubomír Peduzzi, *Pavel Haas: Život a Dílo Skladatele*, p. 61.

5.5 Chorales in the Repertoire of Theresienstadt Composers

The composers of Theresienstadt also alluded to nationalist myth through music. Karas illustrates that in times of oppression it was usual for Czech composers to revert to the memory of the ancient chorales.⁴¹⁸ Ullmann's Piano Sonata no. VII, for example, refers to the Hussite chorale in its final movement. In the ensuing juxtaposition of themes as diverse as *Rachel*, *Nun danket alle Gott* and B-A-C-H, the Hussite battle-song *Ktož jsú Boží Bojovníci* struggles to assert itself. The nationalist overtones of the Hussite chorale could have inspired Ullmann with the passion experienced by his predecessors in Bohemia, those who confronted the enemy and who used the battle song as one of their primary weapons of war and combat. The song contains words such as 'warriors', 'with God you will triumph', 'shall gain life eternal', 'remember', and 'fight'. Such words were not seen as mere rhetoric but rather as words that encapsulated the hopes and the affirmation of the survival of the Czech nation. Gideon Klein uses the Chorales in his String *Trio* which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Vlasta Reittererová reiterates the deep symbolism of the references to the Wenceslas Chorale in the music of Pavel Haas.

The testimonies about Pavel Haas's Terezín period differ, which may not be surprising given the complexity of the context, the hardship of the time. What is certain though is that Haas wished to express the symbolism of St Wenceslas Chorale, reappearing in his works, the symbolism of lost life, which is cut short, *Four Chinese Songs*, the symbolism of fragility as well as power and endlessness of a work of art, *Study for Violins*, premiered in September 1944 during the screening of Kurt Gerron's film about the "great treatment" of the Jews by the Nazis (the director himself fell victim to the Nazis later on).⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁸ Joža Karas, *Music in Terezín*, p. 69.

⁴¹⁹ Vlasta Reittererová, 'Působí zde naše podvědomí, ale také čitelná a jasná symbolika, kterou skladatel do svých skladeb vtělil a kterou nám - o tom není pochyb - jistě chtěl předat: symbol

Reittererová observes that the St Wenceslas Chorale contains the dual symbol of a life cut short and the fragility of life itself, in contrast to the power and endlessness evident in works of art and, in particular, in Haas's Theresienstadt compositions. Her observations in relation to the significance of the chorale lead us to its links with survivance.

The inclusion of melodic motifs and quotations from these chorales can be subconscious, or perhaps even unconscious but, nevertheless, they embody real symbolism. There is an argument that suggests that the legends or national myths, and possibly ideologies contained therein, are elements of the collective subconscious while the appropriation of these in contemporary contexts through the creation of new myths relates to the collective conscious.⁴²⁰ Both elements are constitutive of collective memory. In the case of new myths, it could be suggested that the myths being formed in the context of Theresienstadt were articulated in the music, creating new myths for new contexts appropriating the ancient historical tradition for contemporary situations. It could be said that the inclusion of the chorales – St Wenceslas Chorale and *Ktož jsú Boží Bojovníci* - which are of such national, political and religious significance, are elements of historical memory alone and that, therefore, they have no significance except in the historical realm; that, effectively, they have no connection to collective memory. However, while history and memory each have different approaches, each offers a particular

svatováclavského chorálu, jehož téma se objevuje v řadě jeho skladeb. Symbol přervaného a zmařeného života, vyjádřeného ve Čtyřech čínských písních. Symbol křehkosti i síly a trvalosti uměleckého díla, jakým je jeho *Studie pro smyčce*, premiérována v září 1944 v rámci natáčení filmu Kurta Gerrona (jenž se pak sám stal nacistickou obětí). ' Cited in 'Skladatel mesice Pavel Haas' <<http://www.muzikus.cz/klasicka-hudba-jazz-clanky/Skladatel-mesice-Pavel-Haas~27~cervenec~2004/>> [accessed 6 September 2010].

⁴²⁰ Noa Gedi and Yigal Elam, 'Collective Memory – What is it?', *History and Memory*, 8 (1996), 30-50 (p. 31).

distinctiveness that is part of the dialogical process of collective memory.⁴²¹ The two chorales mentioned above are linked in memory and history. The organic nature of memory is manifested in the treatment of these chorales within the context of the Theresienstadt compositions; not only are they the manifestations of the collective subconscious and unconscious, they are also the historical documents of music of collective memorial significance.

Therefore, Haas's inclusion of quotations from music with such powerful resonances were far from mere individual memories; rather, they were an expression of the collective memory of a certain section of the Czech population. Examining the ideology behind both hymns, it is clear that they have far-reaching roots extending to the fifteenth century, a memory which does not belong to any one individual but rather to the culturally mediated memory of a group. Motifs from both of these hymns are included in the *Suite for Oboe and Piano* in each movement. Peduzzi asserts that their function serves to encourage and to strengthen.⁴²² In the Symphony, the completed first and second movements, and the final movement (only begun), again contained references to the Czech Chorale. Its symbolism permeates the work, Peduzzi notes, and 'is as if rays of hope flash through the darkness of suffering'.⁴²³ It is quoted in motifs and treated fugally.

In Haas's three extant Theresienstadt works, we find evidence of the inclusion of *Ktož jsú Boží Bojovníci* and St Wenceslas Chorale. The common

⁴²¹ Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire', trans. by Marc Roudebush, in *Representations*, No. 26, Special Issue: 'Memory and Counter-Memory' (Spring 1989), pp. 7-12). For more details, see the Introduction to this thesis.

⁴²² Lubomír Peduzzi, *Pavel Haas: Život a Dílo Skladatele*, p. 49.

⁴²³ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

denominator in the these extant works is the consistent evocation and quotation, not so much of Hebrew and Jewish melodies or modes, but of music that is representative of Czech collective memory. However, since *Al S'Fod* was written in Hebrew language, has Hebrew inscriptions in its title page, and has some links with Psalm 22, it was examined in the context of Chapter Three above.

5.6 *Studie pro Smyčcový Orchester* (1943)

Studie is a single-movement composition for string orchestra comprised of Violin I and II, Viola, Violoncello and Double Bass. It was written from summer to autumn 1943. The work was reviewed by Thomas Mandl (1926-2007) after its performance on 13 September 1944 even though it had been part of the concert featured on the propaganda film *Der Führer schenkt den Juden eine Stadt*. In the review, Mandl recalls that Haas himself had said there was a relatively good orchestra in Theresienstadt.⁴²⁴ Pavel Kling (1928-2005) asserts that the work was certainly more technically difficult than the Dvořák *Serenade* which was also played at the same concert.⁴²⁵ Viktor Ullmann had said that there was a need for more bass in the performance; there was only one double-bassist, Lisl Baerlein, from Munich.⁴²⁶

In the single-movement *Studie*, there are three themes which are derived from an *idée fixe* related to the interlude to the Second Act of Haas's opera

⁴²⁴ Thomas Mandl, Review of the first concert of Haas's *Studie*, from *Viktor Ullmann: 26 Kritiken über Musikalische Veranstaltungen in Theresienstadt* (Hamburg: von Bockel, 1993) ed. by Ingo Schultz, p. 66.

⁴²⁵ Ibid.

⁴²⁶ Ibid.

Šarlatan.⁴²⁷ There are also echoes of the St Wenceslas Chorale throughout the *Studie*, and two Moravian folk-songs. The fact that these feature so prominently in the work results from Haas's drawing on Czech collective memory at a time in which he faced the imminent prospect of extinction. The work is in four sections: *Allegro con brio - Meno mosso, ma molto energico - Adagio (molto meno mosso) - Allegro molto (ma poco meno mosso)*

The inter-sectional connections are made through references to recurring motifs derived from Moravian folk-songs and the St Wenceslas Chorale. Haas's clever device of placing accents on notes in the midst of much rhythmic and melodic interest and movement, disguises oblique references to the chorale which permeate the entire work. Haas, being a prisoner in a Nazi ghetto, was shrewd in employing this particular technique considering the historical power of the chorale in the context of Czech collective memory.

From the outset, the four-note motif could be said to echo the *Kyrie eleison* refrain of the St Wenceslas Chorale (See Example 5.3 below). The motif, in descending dotted-crotchet steps, creates a two-bar *basso ostinato* which establishes itself after the first four bars of introduction. The *ostinato* recurs, initially, thirteen times in the bass. A contrary motion figure, with slight variations in rhythm and ornamentation in the upper strings, is accented in order to stress the notes of ascending mirrored motif (See Example 5.3).

⁴²⁷ Lubomír Peduzzi, *Pavel Haas: Život a Dílo Skladatele*, p. 67.

Example 5.3: Pavel Haas, *Studie pro Smyčcový Orchestr*, bars 5-9⁴²⁸

At bar 17, a Moravian folk melody is introduced in *divisi* octaves on the first violins. Moravian melodies are different in harmonic structure from the folk music of Bohemia because minor keys predominate over major keys, and modal and exotic scales form the basis of many melodies.⁴²⁹ Haas's theme in bar 17 has the contours of Moravian folk song with the characteristic leaps of the fourth and its modal quality. While this section is in 6/8 time, the three accented crotchets of the melodic line are played against the two dotted crotchets accompanying in the bass thus temporarily obscuring the sense of pulse one would expect in such a time signature (See Example 5.4, bar 17). This was a favourite polyrhythmic strategy which Haas used in his compositions.

⁴²⁸ Pavel Haas, *Studie pro Smyčcový Orchestr*, Completed and Revised by Lubomír Peduzzi, Critical Edition (Berlin: Bote and Bock; Prague: Tempo, 1991).

⁴²⁹ Hans Hollander, 'The Music of Leos Janáček – its origin in folklore', *The Musical Quarterly*, 41(1955), 171-176 (p. 175).

Example 5.4: Pavel Haas, *Studie pro Smyčcový Orchester*, bars 15-19⁴³⁰

The same Moravian melody provides the basis for the full statements of the fugal subject beginning in the second section of the work in the violas, violin II, violoncelli, and violin I, entering at bars 60, 66, 74, and 84 respectively (See Example 5.5 below).

Example 5.5: Pavel Haas, *Studie pro Smyčcový Orchester*, bars 60-64⁴³¹

Meno mosso, ma molto energico

The final voice of the fugue enters with a partial statement of the subject on the double bass at bar 95 which also dovetails with the *stretto* entries in

⁴³⁰ Pavel Haas, *Studie pro Smyčcový Orchester*, Completed and Revised by Lubomír Peduzzi, Critical Edition (Berlin: Bote and Bock; Prague: Tempo, 1991).

⁴³¹ Ibid.

accompanying parts. The full statement of the subject does not occur in the double bass until bar 101.

Haas works with a melody reminiscent of the character of a Moravian folk song forming part of the development section of the *Studie* after the fugal exposition. The development section of the fugue contains a clever compositional device combining the fugue and the statement of a Moravian-style folk tune, with its characteristic Lydian fourth and syncopated rhythms. It is derived from the main subject but contrasts with it. Moravian folk tunes regularly find a home in Haas's compositions perhaps suggesting the memory of his home, the evocation of collective memory.

The tempo change to *adagio* at bar 143 marks the central section. It retains its Moravian folk-like quality. Peduzzi describes it as an intermezzo between the fugue and a continuation of the fugue in diminution leading into a second Moravian folk-like melody. I consider it a contemplative reflection in the middle of the work; time to stop and appraise what has happened in the previous section and anticipate what might happen in the future, a future not confined to time-boundaries of the music itself. This melodic section has an affiliation with the *Hashkivenu* and *Yehi Ratzon*, two Jewish songs.⁴³² The first two bars of this section (Bar 143) state the opening bars of *Yehi Ratzon* quite clearly.

⁴³² *Hashkivenu* was already discussed in Chapter Three of this thesis (above) on Jewish Collective Memory.

Example 5.6: Pavel Haas, *Studie pro Smyčcový Orchestr*, bars 142-144⁴³³



The image shows a musical score for five staves, likely for a string orchestra. The tempo is marked 'Adagio molto meno mosso' with a metronome marking '(cca ♩ = 60)'. The music is in 4/4 time. The first staff has a dynamic marking 'p' and 'espress.'. The second staff has a dynamic marking 'p'. The third staff has a dynamic marking 'p'. The fourth staff has a dynamic marking 'p' and 'espress.'. The fifth staff has a dynamic marking 'p' and 'pizz.'. There are also markings 'con sord.' and 'pizz.' in the fifth staff. The score is divided into three measures by vertical bar lines.

Yehi Ratzon is a Hebrew petition that asks God to save people from the sources of evil and malice. It begins by expressing the desire to act with humility, and continues with the hope of being spared from false accusations, ‘ruthless opponents’ and the powers of destruction. Some of the same sentiments are expressed in the final verse of the St Wenceslas Chorale, on the words ‘otžeň vše zlé’ (banish all evil), the melody of which is varied yet recognizable in bars 145 to 146.

The Moravian theme returns again in the fourth section at bar 160 in fugato style where the fugal subject, the first Moravian theme, and fragments from yet another Moravian folk-song are juxtaposed. The three themes are firmly grounded in Haas’s homeland. The inclusion of these themes, which are derived from Moravian folk melodies, and the St Wenceslas Chorale indicate the influence

⁴³³ Pavel Haas, *Studie pro Smyčcový Orchestr*, Completed and Revised by Lubomír Peduzzi, Critical Edition (Berlin: Bote and Bock; Prague: Tempo, 1991).

of collective memory on the music of Haas in Theresienstadt. The significance of their inclusion in the Theresienstadt works was never mentioned by Haas himself. However, on the basis of the importance which he ascribed to their quotation in pre-War works, and in times of greatest danger, we can assume that Czech collective memory was the place from which he drew greatest solace and inspiration. In the constant pervading reality of death in Theresienstadt, Haas's *Studie* was definitely a 'wager on survivance', a defiant statement of resistance against the Nazi regime, an expression of humanity and dignity in face of atrocity.

5.7 Čtyři písně na slova Čínské poezie (1944)

Čtyři písně na slova Čínské poezie was written towards the end of Haas's internment in Theresienstadt, when transports were occurring with greater frequency and the outlook was as bleaker than ever.⁴³⁴ From February 1944, the ghetto was being beautified in preparation for the Red Cross visit on 23 June 1944. As part of that preparation visit, 7,500 internees of the ghetto were sent to the 'family camp' of Auschwitz Birkenau between 15 and 17 May.⁴³⁵ This coincided with the period in which Haas wrote *Čtyři písně na slova Čínské poezie*.

The four songs set to texts of Chinese poetry, *Čtyři písně na slova Čínské poezie*, were written for voice and piano, and show a great longing for home: *Zaslech jsem Divoké Husy* (*I heard the Wild Geese*), *V Bambusovém Háji* (*In the Bamboo Grove*), *Daleko Měsíc je Domova* (*The Moon is Far from Home*), *Probděná*

⁴³⁴ See Appendix 2: Time-line of Events in the Protectorate, Theresienstadt and in World War II, p. 255.

⁴³⁵ See Appendix 3: Chronology of the Theresienstadt Ghetto, p. 258.

Noc (A Sleepless Night). The longing for home is such that Peduzzi suggests an alternative title for this selection of songs in order to reflect their content and sentiment more accurately. In his estimation, the first line of the first song 'Domov je tam' ('Your homeland is there') would have been more appropriate than referring to them collectively as *Čtyři písně na slova Čínské poezie*.⁴³⁶ This is a significant suggestion in context of collective memory. This is where Haas's true homeland is: in the deep signification of Czech collective memory.

The four songs are based on a selection of Chinese poetry of the eighth century CE, written by Wei Jing-wu, Wang-wei, Tchang Tiou-ling, Han I and translated by the nineteenth century Czech poet, Bohumil Mathesius. On the writing of songs in the Czech language, Jan Smaczny asserts that musical setting of texts in Czech was problematic and frustrating for composers due to its declamation and the difficulty of placing syllabic accents to make musical sense.⁴³⁷ Haas's *Čtyři písně na slova Čínské poezie* accomplishes the musical settings of the Czech texts with apparent ease. These songs were written in response to a request from the bass Karel Berman for repertoire for a recital in Theresienstadt. A concert was performed on 22 June 1944. It seems the selection of the poems chosen by Haas was quite deliberate. Three poems primarily express nostalgia and longing for home.

⁴³⁶ Lubomír Peduzzi, *Musik im Ghetto Theresienstadt: Kritische Studien* (Czech Republic: Barrister & Principal, 2005), p. 72.

⁴³⁷ Jan Smaczny: 'Musical national traditions in Ireland and the Czech lands in the nineteenth century: similar roots, creative divergences', *Irish Musical Studies: Music in Nineteenth Century Ireland*, ed. by Michael Murphy and Jan Smaczny, 10 vols (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2007), ix, p. 287.

More significantly, in the musical context of the songs, Haas refers for inspiration to the *Suite for Oboe and Piano*, quotations from the St Wenceslas Chorale, his opera *Šarlatan*, and Moravian Folk Song. The common denominator in these compositions is the inclusion of references to the St Wenceslas Chorale or to the rhythms and melodic contours allied to Moravian music. In the context of the cited works, to which I referred earlier in this chapter, these motifs and quotations related to nationalist identity, and to the collective memory of nationalism and were intended to give courage and strength in a time of adversity. Now, in the context of Haas's Theresienstadt works, their inclusion has even greater significance.

In *Čtyři písně na slova Čínské poezie* home is symbolized in the regular references to music of Czech origin and significance. The St Wenceslas Chorale is included in three of the four songs. The first song is based entirely on the Chorale as an ostinato-like effect in the accompaniment.⁴³⁸ The irregular syncopation of the song suggests that home is far away. The motif, stated by the right hand of the piano and repeated, is echoed by the voice part in the fourth bar. This four-note motif occurs six times in the St Wenceslas Chorale. In the accompaniment of the whole song, this motif receives diminutive and augmented treatment at different times. It is significant that where the motif is diminutively treated, it reflects part of the text which says 'zblou dilé srdce! Daleko tam domov, domov' (lost wandering heart! So far away, my home, my home'). It is as if there is greater urgency and depth of emotive feeling communicated in the semiquaver movement of the accompaniment.

⁴³⁸ Lubomír Peduzzi, *Pavel Haas: Život a Dílo Skladatele*, p. 69.

Example 5.7: Pavel Haas, *Čtyři písně na slova Čínské poezie*, 'Domov je tam'⁴³⁹

The image shows a handwritten musical score for the song 'Domov je tam' by Pavel Haas. The score is written on aged paper and includes a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are in Czech: 'Domov je tam, da - le - ho tam, da - le - ho tam... mě - lo bys domi, poco a poco accel.'. The score features various musical notations such as clefs, time signatures, and dynamic markings like 'pp espress.', 'mf', and 'accel.'. There are also handwritten annotations in the top right corner, including 'accelerando' and 'ritardando'.

The motif is augmented again in the *A tempo* section of the piece at bar 15. While, ostensibly, it seems to be the same as the beginning, we notice a greater

⁴³⁹ Pavel Haas, *Čtyři Písně na Slova Čínské Poezie*, 'Domov je tam', first song from the cycle, preserved scan of the original which is in the Jewish Museum, Prague, Sbirka Terezín, inv. č. 319a.

frequency of unrest even in the changes of time-signature between 12/8, 6/8, 10/8, and 3/4, until it settles for the last remaining bars of the song in 2/4. We are left with the motif poignantly stated in the melodic line and doubled by the accompaniment as if to illustrate this depth of association with home. The text 'Domov je daleko tam' means 'My home is so far away'.

The second song, *V Bambusovém Háji (In the Bamboo Grove)*, is a cheerful interlude in comparison to the prevailing nostalgic mood of the other three songs. The song's text describes a person alone in a bamboo grove playing soft tunes on the lute or whistling quietly. The bamboos 'hide me [...] me alone' and the musical emphasis on 'alone' is an ironic interjection in the context of the over-populated ghetto environment. This is the only song from the cycle which makes no reference to the St Wenceslas Chorale.

The third, *Daleko Měsíc je Domova (The Moon is Far from Home)* evokes the St Wenceslas Chorale in juxtaposition with motifs from the *Suite for Oboe and Piano* and a Moravian Folk Song. From the outset, we are reminded of the same motif which introduced the first song of the cycle. As in the first song, the motif is again introduced in the bass of the accompaniment in a monodic melody.

The final song has a *tempo rubato*, chromaticisms on piano, and rhythms expressing what Peduzzi calls 'the anxious restlessness of an unquenchable longing for home'.⁴⁴⁰ It is significant that home is represented in

⁴⁴⁰ Lubomír Peduzzi, *Pavel Haas: Život a Dílo Skladatele*, p. 114.

musical and textual terms for Haas. Home is a blatant expression of collective memory, an allusion to the past and a reference to the imagined future.

5.8 Gideon Klein (1919-1945)

Klein's musical abilities were prodigious and he demonstrated an exceptional gift for music from an early age. Before World War II, he studied piano under Vilém Kurz at the Conservatory of Music in Prague and, simultaneously, took courses in the Philosophy Faculty of Charles University. During the years 1929 to 1938, Klein was a self-taught composer. He studied composition, formally, with Alois Hába from 1939 to 1940, a period which was to influence his compositional style significantly. As a professional pianist, Klein performed under the pseudonym Karl Vránek. His period of internment in Theresienstadt began with the first *Aufbaukommando* (work detail) in early December 1941. Klein's earliest musical initiative there consisted of the acquisition of a battered piano which had no legs and which he put on two wood-blocks. It was secretly brought to an attic in one of the Barracks and used for practice and recitals. Klein and pianist, Bernard Kaff (1905-1944), each gave recitals on this instrument playing Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Schumann, Brahms, Dvořák, Suk and Janáček. When rehearsals for Verdi's *Requiem* took place, it was Klein who played the orchestral reduction in accompaniment to the choir that was directed by Rafael Schächter.

5.8.1 Musical Background

Milan Slavický has identified three periods in Klein's compositional development:

1. 1929-1938: self-taught.

2. 1939-1941: when the composer was strongly influenced by the pedagogy of Alois Hába at the Prague Conservatory.

3. 1942-1944: the Theresienstadt years which preceded his internment in Auschwitz and death in Fürstengrube.⁴⁴¹

Slavický's divisions are helpful in outlining key factors which influenced certain compositional periods of his life and, consequently, what may have influenced his Theresienstadt compositions most.

5.8.2 Klein's Jewish and Moravian Musical Influences

Klein's early life was influenced by the family environment which was Jewish and Moravian. Moravia was part of the country which was perceived to be quite traditional in comparison to the more culturally diverse area of Bohemia. The earlier works of Klein reflected an overtly Jewish influence: from the years 1934 to 1935, he used Hebrew titles on scores, a draft of a psalm for flute and piano and a sketch of *Shema Israel* for voices and string quartet.⁴⁴² This Hebrew influence is again present in the sketch of a *Kaddish* for Tenor and organ written in 1940/1941 and in the melodic basis of a madrigal set to words of the German poet Hölderlin. These works with the Jewish titles, particularly the *Shema Israel* and *Kaddish*, are seminal texts in the identity and life of Judaism. The *Shema Israel*, recited twice daily by observant Jews, is one of the foundational creeds of Judaism expressing monotheistic belief in God. The text is mainly derived from the Book of Deuteronomy, chapters six and eleven, and the Book of Numbers, chapter fifteen, and has benedictions added for morning and evening recitations: 'Hear, O Israel,

⁴⁴¹ Milan Slavický, *Gideon Klein: A Fragment of Life and Work* (Prague: Helvetica Tempora, 1995), p. 28.

⁴⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 19.

the Lord your God is one Lord [...].’ The text is inscribed and enclosed in the mezuzahs in Jewish households and on the tefillin or phylacteries which are worn by Jewish men at prayer. In the latter, it is attached to the forehead, to symbolise keeping the essence of the text at the forefront of one’s consciousness; and at the left elbow which is the side traditionally nearest the heart, symbolising the connection of the text to the heart and mind of the Jewish person who prays. The *Kaddish*, while a prayer in Aramaic, is nevertheless an important component of Jewish life with four particular forms for recitation: the whole *Kaddish*, ‘half *Kaddish*, scholars’ *Kaddish* and mourners’ *Kaddish*.⁴⁴³ The emphasis is on the praise and glory of God and the expectation of his Kingdom on earth.

While these influences were significant, and representative of one facet of Klein’s identity, his earlier works reflect musical trends of the 1930s. In 1931 Klein moved to Prague where he was influenced by the works of the composers Stravinsky, Honegger, Hindemith, Milhaud, Prokofiev, and Rachmaninov, whose works he heard in concerts. The exposure to such diverse musical styles ‘substantially helped to shape his musical horizon.’⁴⁴⁴ Such influences contributed to the following traits being evident in Klein’s compositions: expanded tonality,

⁴⁴³ The Kaddish: Glorified and sanctified be God's great name throughout the world which He has created according to His will. May He establish His kingdom in your lifetime and during your days, and within the life of the entire house of Israel, speedily and soon; and say, Amen. The congregational response, which is repeated by the sheli'ah zibbur is May His great name be blessed forever and to all eternity. Blessed and praised, glorified and exalted, extolled and honored, adored and lauded be the name of the Holy One, blessed be He, beyond all the blessings and hymns, praises and consolations that are ever spoken in the world; and say Amen. May the prayers and supplications of the whole house of Israel be accepted by their Father in heaven; and say, Amen. May there be abundant peace from heaven and life, for us and for all Israel; and say, Amen. He who creates peace in His high places, may He create peace for us and for all Israel; and say Amen (Avenary, Hanoach and Rochelle L. Millen, *Kaddish Encyclopaedia Judaica*. ed. by Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik, xi. 2nd edn (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2007), pp. 695-698).

⁴⁴⁴ Milan Slavický, *Gideon Klein: A Fragment of Life and Work*, p. 29.

neoclassical influences, freely atonal idioms and polyphonic styles.⁴⁴⁵ In the years immediately prior to the outbreak of war, 1938, 1939, 1940, at the period when Klein was studying under Kurz and Hába, Janáček's musical language and Moravian rhythms become more prevalent in his work.

5.9 Klein's Theresienstadt Compositions

Klein was deported to Theresienstadt in December 1941. He had a very active musical role in the ghetto. He collaborated with Rafael Schächter in directing vocal and instrumental ensembles as well as composing and performing in concerts. It is known that he had a very positive influence on others who were impressed by his sharp intelligence, pleasant bearing, and keen musicality.

5.9.1 Arrangements of Folk-Songs

The early compositions of Klein's internment were arrangements and improvisations on folk tunes that represented the various demographic groupings and reflected significant events pertaining to these groupings and events of the camp-life itself: Czech songs *Už Mně Koně Vyvádějí* (They are getting the horses ready), *Aby nás Pánbůh Miloval* (May God love us), *Na Tých Našich Lukách* (In our meadows); Silesian songs such as *Chodžila Liška po Razi* (The fox sneaked around); Hebrew songs *Bakhuri Lean Tissa* (My boy, what will become of you), *Sh'khav B'ni* (Sleep, my son); and one arrangement of a Russian song *Poliushko, Polie* (expressing belief in freedom and defeat of the Nazi tyranny).⁴⁴⁶ The arrangements of these songs laid the foundations for his own original choral writing. Thus, these

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 29.

⁴⁴⁶ Milan Slavický, *Gideon Klein: A Fragment of Life and Work*, p. 42.

arrangements presented an important activity within Klein's development and verification of his choral compositional techniques.⁴⁴⁷

5.9.2 *Fantasia a Fuga* for String Quartet (1942/1943)

Klein's first attempt at serious composition was the *Fantasia a Fuga* for string quartet. Prior to his internment, Klein had studied and analysed the quartets of Mozart so it is no surprise that he chose this particular genre for his first major composition. A fantasia is, by nature, a work associated with freedom, imagination, improvisation, and skill. Klein's thematic organisation is based on free atonality. The *Fantasia* shows the influence of Schoenberg and Berg, and uses the twelve-tone system as its foundational harmonic basis missing only one note from the chromatic scale with no repeat. The fugal exposition, which is derived from a Moravian folk-melody, conforms to strict rules.

The manuscript shows that the first part was completed on 26 November 1942, the second part several months later on 2 February 1943. In October 1942, the month before Klein began the *Fantasia a fuga*, twenty-five transports carrying 44,000 people were sent on the first deportations from Theresienstadt to Auschwitz. Did those events provide a stimulus to Klein's creativity? Was his music an aesthetic response to atrocity, a statement of survivance? Klein must have been aware of the movements to and from the camp, the calls to transports, and the associated anguish of these deportations. In the middle of this violent and volatile environment, Klein makes a statement of

⁴⁴⁷ Milan Kuna, 'Pro skladatelský vývoj Gideona Kleina to byla důležitá činnost, neboť mladý autor si při ní ověřoval účinnost sborových kompozičních prostředků.' Cited in *Hudba Vzdoru a Naděje: Terezín 1941-1945* (Prague: Bärenreiter, 2000), p. 163.

fundamental humanity and survivance incorporating both the expressionistic language of Schoenberg and the traditional fugal form epitomised by Bach.

5.9.3 Madrigals

Klein composed three madrigals in Theresienstadt and these reflected increasing sophistication and demanded more technical requirements incorporating shifting tonalities, time-signatures, cross-rhythms, and more challenging vocal lines: *Madrigal pro dva soprány, alt, tenor a bas na slova Fr. Villona* (Madrigal for two sopranos, alto, tenor and bass, based on a poem by Francois Villon), *První Hřích* (Original Sin) for four-part male choir and tenor solo, and *Madrigal pro dva soprány, alt, tenor a bas na slova Friedricha Hölderlina* (Madrigal for two sopranos, alto, tenor and bass, based on a poem by Friedrich Hölderlin). This progress to more musically challenging compositions was made possible due to Rafael Schächter's assistance in the training of vocal groups within the camp. Of all the madrigal settings, Klein's *První Hřích* is estimated by scholars to be the finest example. The madrigal was composed on 17 December 1942, proximate to Klein's first anniversary in the ghetto. *První Hřích* is based on Moravian folk poetry with an allusion to a Moravian folk-song in the opening bars (See Example 5.8 below).

Example 5.8: Gideon Klein, *První Hřích pro Mužský Sbor na Slova Lidové Poezie*, bars 1-4⁴⁴⁸

Gideon KLEIN
(1919 - 1945)

Posuvky platí pro jednu notu.

Lento

Tenor 1.

Tenor 2.

Bass 1.

Bass 2.

p

Šel jest Pán Bůh, šel do rá - je, A - dam za ním, za ním po - kle - ka - je.

The text is loosely based on the Genesis account of the temptation, sin, and eventual expulsion of Adam and Eve from the garden of Eden. A four-part fugue beginning with the bass introduces the song. The terse harmonies do not establish a particular tonality. The tenor solo enters at bar 45 on the words ‘Eva vza la okusila s Adamem se rozdělila. Jez, Adame, jez to jablko což jest po něm velmi sladko’ (‘Eve she took it, and took a bite, sharing it with her mate Adam. Eat my Adam, eat the apple to help us find the sweetest bliss.’).⁴⁴⁹ The entry at that point accentuates the temptation of Adam by Eve. The next time the tenor solo appears is in the final section where the couple are ejected from the garden, and condemned to dig the ground and work hard to earn their bread. It is not known whether Klein knew this text off by heart or if he was given the text by some of the other internees of the ghetto. His choice of this text, speaking of the miserable

⁴⁴⁸ Gideon Klein, *První Hřích pro Mužský Sbor na Slova Lidové*, English trans. by Richard Howard. (Berlin: Bote and Bock, 1993).

⁴⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

existence of life, certainly reflected aspects of Klein's imprisoned existence in Theresienstadt.

5.9.4 Piano Sonata (1943)

Klein's Piano Sonata, dated 1943, moves towards free atonality in the spirit of Schoenberg's piano compositions.⁴⁵⁰ A twelve-note series begins the sonata but repeating some of the tones of the series. He retains sonata form principle in the three-movement work but each movement has much imitation within the structure. There are reminiscences of the *Dance of Death* by Franz Liszt which Kuna sees as suggesting the end of Theresienstadt.⁴⁵¹ It is chordal and atonal and exhibits a style that is new for emerging composers of the time. The slow movement begins like one of the nocturnes or études of Chopin. It develops more impressionistically in character with its Debussy-like accompanying configurations. The final movement is an *allegro vivace* and is atonal.

Klein's sonata shows no direct influences of Moravian folk-song other than the lyricism in its melodies. Nor does the movement contain any references to the chorales of the Hussites or St Wenceslas. There is no assumption to be drawn from this other than Klein was using harmonic language influenced by Schoenberg, and the rhythmic and melodic inflections of Janáček. Freeman recognises Klein's sonata as an act of defiance and posits that it would have been

⁴⁵⁰ Milan Kuna, *Hudba Vzboru a Naděje: Terezín 1941-1945* (Prague: Bärenreiter, 2000), p. 164.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid.

easily recognised as such, 'Something to give vent to his anger and frustration again and again in the playing of it'.⁴⁵²

5.9.5 *Trio pro Housle, Violu a Violoncello* (1944)

Gideon Klein's *Trio pro Housle, Violu a Violoncello* was written specifically for a string trio in Theresienstadt comprised of Karel Frölich (violin I), Romuald Süßmann (violin II) and Freddy Mark (violoncello) even though the score indicates violin, viola and violoncello.⁴⁵³ The *Trio* was written between 5 September 1944 and 7 October 1944, approximately ten days before Klein and many of the musicians of Theresienstadt were transported to Auschwitz. At one performance, a woman remembers an attic concert 'with only three chairs for the string trio.... The audience stood still as mice.... Someone kept lookout from an attic window, and guards stood on the steps.... The few hours of spiritual nourishment made many people forget the hunger and misery and long for another concert.... Meanwhile for the artists this was revolt against the regime.'⁴⁵⁴ This woman realised the contribution this work was as a wager on survival for the performers and those in attendance that day.

There had now been a lull in Klein's compositional output for several months, his previous work being the Madrigal set to the poetry of Hölderlin. This lacuna gave rise to a new compositional idiom in this work which is more tonally

⁴⁵² Robin Freeman, 'Gideon Klein: Moravian Composer', *Tempo* (2005), 59 (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 2-18, p. 16.

⁴⁵³ Truda Solarová, 'Gideon Klein' from *Theresienstadt* (Wien: Europa-Verlag, 1968), p. 266.

⁴⁵⁴ Cited in John Felsteiner 'Speaking Back to Scripture: The Biblical Strain the Holocaust Poetry' from *Humanity at the Limit: The Impact of the Holocaust Experience on Jews and Christians*, ed. by Michael A. Signer (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2000), p. 393.

based than that of previous works composed.⁴⁵⁵ It shows a strong influence of Janáček, with a Moravian folk influence and music inspired by Novák. The three-movement work illustrates these folk elements from the outset, incorporating a Lydian modal tonality. As Haas demonstrated in his music some of the folk idioms of Janáček, Klein also includes these elements of style in his work.

The second movement of the *Trio* is entitled *Variace na Moravskou Lidovou Píseň* (Variations on a Moravian Folk song), and is based on the Moravian folksong *Ta Kněždubská Veža* (the Kněžduby tower). The date written on the score for its composition is 21 September 1944. The folk-song would have been well known by those who heard it; the references in the text to the killing of the goose, the symbol of freedom, would certainly not have been lost.

Example 5.9: Gideon Klein, *Trio pro Housle, Violu a Violoncello*, II, *Variace na Moravskou Lidovou Píseň*, bars 1-12⁴⁵⁶

The image displays a musical score for three instruments: Violino, Viola, and Violoncello. The score is divided into two systems. The first system (bars 1-5) is marked 'Lento' and 'poco f'. The second system (bars 6-12) is marked 'Poco più mosso' and includes dynamics like 'p', 'mp', and 'sul C'. The score features a Lydian modal scale and includes a circled number '5' above the first system and '10' above the second system. There are also handwritten annotations in blue ink, including a circled '1' above the first system and a circled '10' above the second system.

⁴⁵⁵ Milan Slavický, *Gideon Klein: A Fragment of Life and Work* (Prague: Helvetica Tempora, 1995), p. 48.

⁴⁵⁶ Gideon Klein, *Trio pro Housle, Violu a Violoncello* (Berlin: Bote and Bock, 1993).

The metamorphoses of the theme that occur through the variations serve to repeat the same basic melodic idea while also reinforcing an ideology: Moravia as representative of the memory of Klein's homeland and all that it symbolises for him. The ten-bar statement of the original theme stretches to twenty-two bars in the final variation.⁴⁵⁷ The theme is homophonic and akin to a chorale. While its identity, as the piece progresses, is tenuous, in the final section it gathers momentum and is treated at length reinforcing the strong statement of the theme. Even towards the end of the first variation there is a melodic reference similar to the cadence of the first song from Gustav Mahler's *Kindertotenlieder* (*Songs on the Death of Children*) based on the poems of Friedrich Rückert. It gives an added poignancy considering that in a little over a week after this movement was composed, and before the final movement was finished, a transport including 819 children under the age of 15 was sent to Auschwitz. One wonders if between the completion of the second and third movements Klein might have re-visited the former and adapted the cadence incorporating this extra-musical reference. In the entirety of this movement, there is something symbolic in the inclusion of the Moravian folk-song just at this particular time of Klein's incarceration in Theresienstadt. It was a strong statement of identity, of memory, and ultimately of survivance:

The fact that Klein, increasingly uncertain about his own fate, at the end of his third year in internment, in total isolation from the cultural life beyond the boundaries of the ghetto, picked up a genuine folk song, which he remembered from childhood and which he handled with great emotional power, bears undeniable testimony to the intense impression encountered with folk songs from his native region made on the young boy; moreover, it bespeaks his fervent relationship to the music of his country at the most difficult moments of his life.⁴⁵⁸

⁴⁵⁷ Milan Slavický, *Gideon Klein: A Fragment of Life and Work*, p. 50.

⁴⁵⁸ Milan Slavický, *Gideon Klein: A Fragment of Life and Work*, p. 50.

Freeman has noted that the final movement of the *Trio* is said to be more in the style of Mozart or the Czech composer Václav Píchl (1741-1805) than of Haydn or Beethoven, because of the manner in which the theme and episodes are treated as part of a continuum.⁴⁵⁹

5.10 Conclusion

In the works from Theresienstadt, the remembered past was expressed by Pavel Haas and Gideon Klein in quotations from the Czech Chorale *Svatý Václave*, the Hussite Battle Hymn *Ktož jsú Boží Bojovníci*, references to Moravian folk-songs, and often allusions to composers whose works were representative of Czech collective memory. All of these components had a significant resonance in the context of the oppressive regime of the Theresienstadt ghetto. These were not merely nationalistic recollections; these were expressions of collective memory in the context of the music composed by assimilated Czech Jews and were orientated towards the future. Collective memory transcends the geographical boundaries normally affiliated to political nationalism; where nationalism encompasses the diversity of ethnic groupings, collective memory can be quite particular to specific indigenous groupings. In the music of Pavel Haas and Gideon Klein, we see elements derived from Czech collective memory, significant inclusions which contributed to their Theresienstadt compositions being wagers on survivance.

⁴⁵⁹ Robin Freeman, 'Gideon Klein: Moravian Composer', *Tempo* (2005), 59 (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 2-18, p. 17.

CONCLUSION

Music, memory, and the *Shoah* are areas that are replete with documentation of diverse musical, psychological, and historical perspectives. This thesis brings a new dimension to the research and investigation of music and the *Shoah* by investigating the works of the composers of Theresienstadt from the perspective of collective memory. On the basis of this investigation into the compositions of Theresienstadt, it is evident that the past memories on which they rely, which are the composers' rich expressions of collective memory, constitute part of their identity in their present, and contribute to hope for the future. As Miroslav Volf puts it, 'With regard to our past, present, and future, then, we are a great deal more than our memories, and how memories shape our identity depends not only on the memories themselves but also on what we and others do with those memories.'⁴⁶⁰

This thesis has examined selected Theresienstadt ghetto compositions and performances between the years 1941 and 1945. A large corpus of works was produced during that time by composers who were shaped, for the most part, by the style and influence of western European art music. The works selected for examination in this thesis were chosen on the basis of their representation of the diverse styles and perspectives evident in the musical and sociological life of the ghetto. The purpose of the thesis was to look at the role of collective memory in the works composed and performed in the ghetto, establish the source of that memory, and to ascertain how collective memory contributed to survivance.

⁴⁶⁰ Miroslav Volf, *The End of Memory: Remembering Rightly in a Violent World* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2006), pp. 25-26.

Mnemosyne, as mother of the Muses, has been probed and analysed in diverse contexts from Plato and Socrates, through the intervening generations, to Paul Ricoeur and Eviatar Zerubavel. She has been immortalized in her daughters, particularly in the arts. Memory's multi-faceted hallmarks are manifested in individual, political, collective, national, ritual, traumatic, conscious, and unconscious expressions. The Jewish people have their injunctions to remember and not to forget; Emil Fackenheim's emphatic 614th commandment reiterated the importance of this thus denying Hitler a posthumous victory. Pierre Nora speaks of sites of memory. Usually, these sites are physical and geographical locations where certain events have taken place and which are commemorated in preserved locations with all the paraphernalia of remembrance. This thesis argues that music, in itself, can legitimately be called a site of memory. In the music written by the Theresienstadt composers, we receive a legacy conceived in the midst of oppression and atrocity, an eloquent testimony to collective memory and to the arts as wagers on survivance.

Shoah, music, memory and survivance is a rich tapestry of sound and culture, story and experience. Memory and the *Shoah* recall the caesura or the rupture from which these compositions emerged. Any caesura leaves a fractured legacy, one borne out of excruciating circumstances of atrocity and destruction. The eloquence of music has, in the works of the composers of Theresienstadt, contributed to a language of lament and joy, despair and hope; a language hewn from the collective memory which has shaped the contours of their lives philosophically, ideologically, and religiously.

On 21 May 2006 I attended the first performance of Verdi's *Requiem* in Terezín since September 1944. Mentioning this performance here is apposite. It signifies the importance of memory now, at a time when survivors are becoming ever more fragile. The performance was attended by survivors who sang the *Requiem* in the camp and those who had known the personnel associated with its original performances in Theresienstadt. Murry Sidlin, the conductor of the performance, put this contemporary interpretation of Verdi's *Requiem* into a context that should not be forgotten:

Here upon this hallowed ground, here right where we are standing, here where the footprints of 150,000 prisoners are still embedded upon the earth that rests atop physical remains and the carved memories of unspeakable suffering now made fresh by our return, here the ghetto-concentration camp of Terezín contained all the dreadful elements that we associate with the other like places of the Nazi era[...].⁴⁶¹

A sound montage of the variety of music that was to be heard in Theresienstadt followed Sidlin's introduction: a Bach partita, a Schubert lied, a Mozart aria, a Cabaret dialogue, a swing band, a Yiddish folk song, and a piano solo from one of Ullmann's piano sonatas – all the diverse types of music integral to the cultural and musical life of the internees at Theresienstadt. This merged into a cacophony of sound which suddenly grew silent at the choir's entrance invoking rest for the departed: *Requiem aeternam dona eis, Domine*. At that performance in 2006, Murry Sidlin asked the following questions:

Who could write, paint, compose? Who could find the wit, the desire, the inspiration created in the midst of the most horrendous of human situations? How can one plumb the depths of the psyche in profoundly difficult circumstances? Where does that will come from? What gives the motivation, the incentive, the courage to be defiant?⁴⁶²

⁴⁶¹ Murry Sidlin, from the performance of *The Defiant Requiem*, Verdi's *Requiem* in Terezín on 21 May 2006.

⁴⁶² Ibid.

In the context of the research for this thesis these questions are relevant and, through the lens of collective memory, the sources of meaning, survivance and defiance for composers and performers in the Theresienstadt ghetto have been explored.

6.1 Explorations

The works of the Theresienstadt composers were explored to identify what elements of collective memory appeared in the works of the selected composers. Historian David Cesarini's assessment on memory is important for the considerations of this thesis:

We cannot remember everything that happens to us every minute of the day. We select that which is important at the time it occurs – which is not the same as what may be deemed significant at some time in the future. What we choose to store away in our memory banks, consciously or otherwise, is at least in part socially determined. Memories are no more autonomous than any man is an island. As anyone who has studied and used oral history knows, we tend to recall things that are important in our society and culture, events of political significance as well as personal dramas.⁴⁶³

Collective memory is both conscious and unconscious, incorporating societal and personal memories. Regarding the composers of Theresienstadt, their music reflects what has been drawn from collective memory of their faith tradition, their surrounding assimilated culture, or the ideologies which have sustained them in the past. The selection of composers and performances here reflect the diversity of the ghetto sociologically and geographically.

⁴⁶³ David Cesarini, 'Memory, Representation and Education', *Remembering for the Future: The Holocaust in an Age of Genocide*, Vol. 3, *Memory*, eds. in chief John K. Roth and Elisabeth Maxwell, ed. by Margo Levi (Hampshire and New York: Palgrave, 2001), 231-236, p. 231.

Jewish tradition places a *mitzvah*, or a divine injunction, on the people to remember and not to forget.⁴⁶⁴ Collective memory is clearly identified by references to the collective past which is articulated in the sacred texts, associated narratives and midrash, primarily, and the memory of the key characters who shaped Judaism. In Judaism, memory is not something located in a fixed time but is living and vibrant, made present through ritual and recital. Löwenthal's and Schul's music, in particular, embody these important references in their Theresienstadt compositions.

In the area of anthroposophy, another rich source of collective memory is found in the works of Viktor Ullmann. While Ullmann had distanced himself from the organisation in the pre-War years, nevertheless, its influence was tangible in his Theresienstadt works. Examining Ullmann's works by extrapolating more detail in relation to the founder of anthroposophy, Rudolf Steiner, it is possible to identify ideological-philosophical principles which, viewed through an anthroposophist lens, underpinned Ullmann's compositions. In the unique case of Ullmann, there is evidence from his own Theresienstadt writings which shows that the collective memory of anthroposophy is foundational to his whole conception of music from a transcendent and ideological basis. This throws a different light on the notes on his manuscripts which assume a great significance as a consequence. We know from communications with the composer Alban Berg, that there was nothing of Steiner's philosophy on music which Ullmann had not imbibed. The writings of Steiner on music, combined with Ullmann's essays on Goethe, the texts entitled *Der Fremde Passagier*, and Ullmann's own references to

⁴⁶⁴ *Mitzvah* (Singular); *Mitzvot* (Plural).

key aspects of anthroposophy, all gather to verify that anthroposophy was a strong source of collective memory for the composer and one which gave him a solid basis in and impetus for his composition.

We have seen that in the collective memory of the Czech lands, the two chorales – *Svatý Václave* and *Ktož jsú Boží Bojovníci* – hold particular importance in the nationalist emergence of Czechoslovakia and for Czechs in the pre-World War II period. These two songs are rich in their national and political significance and it is interesting that their inclusion is clearly evident in some of the Theresienstadt works. These find expression particularly in the works of Pavel Haas and Gideon Klein. References to the works of Czech nationalist composers and those who drew on the ancient folk traditions of Moravia, also find resonance in the works of Haas and Klein.

Through this exploration it is possible to suggest that collective memory was a powerful hermeneutical tool shaping the music of the composers through the following means:

- The reference to significant meaning-laden motifs from other composers' works in the Theresienstadt composers' own music.
- The texts within compositions.
- The associated heritage and significance of collective memory expressed through the texts.
- The extra-musical significance embodied in the music itself.
- Any personal writings which have been available to indicate the composers' own emphases or underpinning ideologies.

I argue that collective memory provided a meaningful framework whereby the compositions and performances became wagers on survivance. The works, composed and performed became wagers on survivance because of the context and the content of the collective memory to which they referred. Jewish, anthroposophic and Czech collective memory, found greater resonance in the compositions of the Theresienstadt composers. German collective memory was not so much in evidence except in the performances of some German works but it was not evident in the compositions themselves. The attitudes of non-Germans to German Jews, even within the camp, exhibited hostility because German Jews were seen to be affiliated to the oppressors. In fact, German Jews, who had happily lived as Germans in Germany and other parts of the occupied territories, were now also marginalised in the concentration camps and ghettos. The perceived identification of Germans with the Nazi regime and, consequently, the association of 'German' with oppression, might be the particular reason why German collective memory did not feature significantly in the compositions of Theresienstadt except to parody German musical material which was rich in political symbolism.

It is interesting to note that music drawn from sources of collective memory was used to positively reinforce a particular feeling or attitude: strength, courage, determination, defiance, assertiveness. This was done by quoting from songs or music of these traditions, embedding them in the compositions, explicitly or implicitly, but all the time making them recognisable. In Jewish collective memory, this was evident in the references to the prophets, the symbolism of feasts, the triumph of good over evil. Czech collective memory was evident in the quotations of the key chorales and references to Czech composers whose works

were symbolic in the context of Theresienstadt. Anthroposophic collective memory made reference to anthroposophic ideology and teaching which sought to establish an integrated understanding of the self. However, in the area of German collective memory, where music with more political overtones was used, it was negative in the sense of being distorted. Perhaps this technique itself gave an indication of the tainted nature of collective memory as it was perceived by those living in the oppression of the regime. In fact, the composers' distortion of the music was expressing something very powerful in relation to emerging perceptions of German collective memory at the time. This distortion was also articulated by George Steiner and Viktor Klemperer, both German scholars, who had expressed the views that the German language itself had been tainted because, in the Nazi period, it became synonymous with brutality and abuse.⁴⁶⁵ So, the musical distortion was reflective of a distortion perceived in other arts where German collective memory was also in evidence. However, composers' usage of this distortion was to serve them positively in their own self-assertion and in their outright defiance of the regime. Its inclusion stated firmly that they would not be diminished or extinguished by a brutal regime but would stand in contradistinction to its ideologies, asserting their own survivance in the process.

It is evident that not everyone was positively affected by the musical compositions or performances in Theresienstadt. The elements of collective memory of the Theresienstadt works, what the significance of such memory is, and

⁴⁶⁵ George Steiner, *Language and Silence: Essays on Language, Literature and the Inhuman* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998); Victor Klemperer, *The Language of the Third Reich*, trans. by Martin Brady (London and New York: Continuum Press, 2000).

how these works are wagers on survivance, are what is most important in this discourse. In the works which I have explored, I have illustrated characteristics which are exemplified through the expressions of collective memory thus creating a strong connection between collective memory and survivance. For example, in the final movement of Piano Sonata no. VII, Viktor Ullmann uses an ancient Hebrew melody *Rachel* as a leitmotif of survivance and defiance which was underpinned by the symbolism of the matriarch of the same name of the Jewish tradition. Contrapuntal treatment of this song reiterated the importance of that melody and its symbolism as part of the collective memory of Judaism. Other examples are evident in other works which have been discussed at length in the previous chapters. The works themselves did not contribute to lengthening the composers' lives, most of which were swiftly and brutally cut short in October 1944. However, the Theresienstadt works grew from what sustained them in the years previous to the war, from the collective memory where they found resonance. This was where they turned at the time of intense persecution and atrocity. It gave them the impetus to make their mark on the world through the legacy which they would leave to later generations, contributing to the corpus of collective memory works born in the hell of Theresienstadt.

6.2 Constructing a Methodology for Future Research

This thesis provides a methodology for an exploration of other works in diverse contexts of oppression and atrocity in any period of history. This methodology consists of five steps:

1. Identifying a situation of atrocity or oppression which has taken place in any period of historical chronology for which we have written or oral documentation which can be accessible.
2. Exploring the musical works which were composed or performed in that context.
3. Identifying some elements of collective memory evident in these works.
4. Exploring the sources of collective memory which they selected, and the significance of those sources as the composers and performers shaped and reshaped them in the context of oppression.
5. Finding elements within the compositions and performances in the context which exemplify survivance.

The methodology is relevant to parallel discourse in the future because it yields information about the sociological, ideological, religious and cultural areas in which people were immersed before the time of atrocity. Such explorations lead to the next stage in understanding what moves composers to use, consciously or unconsciously, extra-musical references replete with meaning which emphasise one area of collective memory over another. What did they draw on from their past which became significant for them in the present? The answer to this question, and its importance in the context of the oppressive situation, needs to be addressed. Finally, the methodology seeks to establish how collective memory contributes to these compositions in atrocity being 'wagers on survivance'.

This thesis is a signpost to possibilities present in other contexts. Within Theresienstadt itself, other composers whose works were beyond the

range explored in this thesis could be investigated using this methodology. It would also be possible to look at other situations of atrocity where artists responded creatively to the oppression of a particular regime and who plumbed the depths of collective memory in order to do so. There are several contexts where this could be pursued and explored.

6.3 Further Possible Explorations

As our world is evolving, there are, sadly, many places which are, and have been, divided by war and conflict and in which artists continue to function bringing some meaning to bear on the situations in which they find themselves. These examples of international situations of atrocity have all taken place in the twentieth century and span the continents of Europe, Asia and Africa.⁴⁶⁶ The attempt at identifying these situations aims to highlight contexts which, while different to Theresienstadt, have common elements of oppression, atrocity, destruction and violence. Consequently, the methodology outlined above is transferable to such situations. These situations are considered chronologically, beginning with the Armenian Genocide and concluding with the system of apartheid in South Africa. However, these are only a few examples of other contexts where further research is possible. There are many more. Apart from leaving a record of the decimated communities, it is possible to study the shaping influences of collective memory in each of these contexts to assess its importance in the music which was composed in these situations of atrocity and to identify how these works became wagers on survivance where human life was a disposable commodity.

⁴⁶⁶ For further information on some of these atrocities, refer to *The Holocaust and Other Genocides: An Introduction*, ed. Barbara Boender and Wichert ten Have (Amsterdam: NIOD Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies, Amsterdam University Press, 2012).

6.3.1 Armenian Genocide (1911-1917)

The Armenian Genocide which took place between 1911-1917 resulted in the deaths of over one million people. While the Turkish authorities maintain an ambivalent stance in relation to this genocide, for the Armenians it was a deliberate attempt to exterminate their people. Armenian musicians have left a legacy from that time, for example, Romanos Melikian (1883-1935) Armenian composer of *Zmrukhti*, a song cycle (1916-1918) dedicated to the victims of the Armenian Genocide. The exploration of the music of such composers offers a fertile area for research into the collective memory whence this music emerged and of its links to significant elements of the past.

6.3.2 Soviet Union (1933-1968)

In the former Soviet Union, under the dictator Josef Stalin, the governmental-imposed famines (1932-1933), the phenomenon of the Gulag (from the early 1930s-1950s), and the oppression and suppression of artists, provide examples where it is possible to examine composers, as yet uncovered and unknown, who drew on aspects of collective memory to contribute to their survivance. Historian Anne Applebaum has said that the stories of those oppressed in the Gulag systems have not yet been recorded in a manner similar to the victims of the Nazi regime. Together with the literary legacy of Alexander Solzhenitsyn, collections of testimonies are still emerging.

6.3.3 Pol Pot Regime and the Khmer Rouge (1975-1979)

The Khmer Rouge regime, extending from 1975 to 1979 under the leadership of Pol Pot in Cambodia, was characterised by appalling brutality. A culture of silence, fear and violence permeated society so that many artists lived in exile; others were forced into propaganda art and performance. All artistic, musical, literary expressions were to extol the virtues of the leader, Pol Pot. It is estimated that 90% of Cambodia's musicians were killed during the lifetime of the regime.⁴⁶⁷ While the remaining 10% may be alive, it is difficult to estimate how much is preserved and whether these composers have remembered or recorded their works.

6.3.4 Quechua people (1980s)

In Peru, during the period of activity of the terrorist group, *Sendero Luminoso* (Shining Path), there was a systematic plot to kill the indigenous Quechua people. Some who survived gathered the existing instruments of the exterminated people, and engaged musically with these instruments in a shamanic-type ritual which claimed to revive the spirits of the people through playing music on their instruments. Their music, again, was a very rich heritage of folk tradition, handed down mainly orally through the generations. Here is another area where it is possible to explore the role of collective memory in the songs which were composed in those years of persecution for those people.

⁴⁶⁷ R. A. Sutton, 'Cambodia: Music and Performing Arts', from *The World and its Peoples: Eastern and Southern Asia* (New York: Marshall Cavendish, 2008), p. 772.

6.3.5 South Africa (1948-1994)

The period of apartheid in South Africa gave rise to music which was expressive of the injustice and the emergence of a new political dawn. Much of this music, emerging as it did in the black townships of South Africa, was part of a strong oral and aural tradition. An indepth study of music of the different communities affected by the apartheid system could be an interesting possibility for further investigation.

6.4 Conclusion

Within the scope of this thesis, it has been possible only to offer a selection of exemplars for further exploration. The onus remains on those of us who carry this inherited memory, 'the guardian[s] of the songs they left behind', so that the voices of those who have lived in these concentration camps and ghettos 'will be heard by the skeletonlike Brothers, the burning ghetto and the people beyond the seas'.⁴⁶⁸ It is imperative to remember and not to forget.

The forty-six member-country signatories of the Declaration of the Stockholm International Forum on the Holocaust have made a commitment to Holocaust commemoration and education: 'We pledge to strengthen our efforts to promote education, remembrance and research about the Holocaust, both in those of our countries that have already done much and those that choose to join this effort.'⁴⁶⁹ This research presented within these pages is a contribution to that

⁴⁶⁸ Abraham Sutzkever, 'Chant of a Jewish Poet in 1943'. from *Bearing the Unbearable: Yiddish and Polish Poetry in the Ghettos*, Frieda W. Aaron, p. 81.

⁴⁶⁹ Declaration of the Stockholm International Forum on the Holocaust, Task Force for International Cooperation on Holocaust Education, Remembrance and Research, 28 January 2000

memory, that the music of those who have created and performed it may continue to be a sign of hope to those who search for meaning and expression in the midst of atrocity and oppression. A fitting conclusion to this thesis is to recall the words of Elie Wiesel from the lecture delivered at his Nobel Peace Prize award ceremony in 1986. His words emphasise the necessity of memory coupled with hope, another word encapsulated in survivance:

Without memory, our existence would be barren and opaque, like a prison cell into which no light penetrates; like a tomb which rejects the living. [...] if anything can, it is memory that will save humanity. For me, hope without memory is like memory without hope.⁴⁷⁰

<<http://www.holocausttaskforce.org/about-the-itf/stockholm-declaration.html>> [accessed 11 April 2010].

⁴⁷⁰ Elie Wiesel, Nobel Lecture, 11 December 1986,

<http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1986/wiesel-lecture.html> [accessed 15 November 2011].

APPENDIX 1

Short biographies of selected composers and performers

Information here is abridged from the following sources: David Bloch, *Terezín Music Anthology IV*, p. 14 and Joža Karas, *Music in Terezín: 1941-1945*, pp. 203-208.

Ančerl, Karel (1908-1973)

Conductor, born 11 April 1908 in Tučapy, Southern Bohemia. Graduated from the Prague Conservatory in conducting and composition. He became conductor at the Liberated Theatre and at the Czechoslovak Radio in Prague. After his imprisonment he returned to the Radio Orchestra in Prague, then became conductor of the Grand Opera of May 5th, and finally, in 1950 the music director of the Czech Philharmonic. From 1969 until his death on 3 July 1973, he conducted the Toronto Symphony. As a guest conductor, he appeared with major orchestras around the world and also made a large number of recordings from the Czech as well as world repertoire.

Berman, Karel (1919-1995)

Bass, born 14 April 1919 in Jindřichův Hradec (Bohemia). He assumed the name František Havlas for certain musical activities during the war years. Graduated from the Prague Conservatory after his release from concentration camps, majoring in voice and stage directing. He worked in both capacities in opera houses in Opava and Plzeň (Pilsen), and since 1953 he has been a member of the National Theatre in Prague. He was very active in the field of recording and television, including an appearance on CBS-TV in 1971, and sang on operatic and concert stages throughout Europe and in Japan.

Brock, Robert (1905-1979)

Conductor, born 27 May 1905, in Rakovník (Bohemia). After studies at the Prague Conservatory, he was engaged in Switzerland, Germany, Russia, and Prague. In 1945 he became conductor in Brno, then at the Grand Opera of May 5th in Prague and, finally, at the National Theatre. He was professor of conducting at the Academy of Musical Arts in Prague from 1948 until his retirement in 1974. He died in Prague on 2 December 1979.

Freudenfeld, Rudolf (1921-)

Educator, born 23 September 1921, in Prague. In Theresienstadt, he conducted all fifty-five performances of Krása's children's opera, *Brundibár*. After the war, he returned to his original field and became a principal of a secondary school in Prague. He changed his surname to Franěk.

Frölich, Karel (1917- 1994)

Violinist, born 20 November 1917, in Olomouc (Moravia). While a student at the Prague Conservatory and the Master School, he gave recitals in Czechoslovakia. Immediately after the liberation, he became concertmaster at the Grand Opera of May 5th in Prague, and in that capacity he left for Paris to pursue his studies at L'École Normale. He made extensive tours of France and Belgium, and in 1948 he came to the United States where he continued to give recitals with his wife.

Grünfeld, David (1915-1963)

Tenor, born in Užhorod (Ruthenia) in 1915. Before the war he studied singing in Prague. In 1946 he emigrated to the United States, where he sang under the name David Garen as a soloist with various orchestras, member of the NBC Opera, and finally, as a cantor in Huntington. He died there on 6 June 1963.

Haas, Pavel (1899-1944)

Composer, born 21 June 1899, in Brno. He graduated from the Conservatory and Master School in Brno, where he was one of the best students of Leoš Janáček. A very versatile composer, he wrote music for films and stage plays as well as orchestral, choral, solo and chamber works. He died in Auschwitz on 17 October 1944.

Herz-Sommer, Alice (1903-)

Pianist, born 26 November 1903, in Prague. She studied at the German Music Academy in Prague. She performed in numerous recitals and as a soloist in Czechoslovakia, Germany and Sweden. After the liberation, she resumed her concert performances in several European countries and in Israel, where she took up residence in 1949. She also became a teacher at the Music Academy in Jerusalem. She now lives in London.

Kaff, Bernard (1905-1944)

Pianist, born 14 May 1905, in Brno. He studied in Brno, Vienna and Berlin and gave concerts in a number of European countries, often featuring contemporary music. For more than a decade he commuted between Vienna and Brno, teaching piano. He died in Auschwitz on 17 October 1944.

Klein, Gideon (1919-1945)

Pianist and composer, born 6 December 1919, in Přerov (Moravia). After his graduation from the Master School in Prague, in 1939, as a pianist, he studied composition with Alois Hába. He often performed under the name of Karel Vránek. His great talent was, however, suppressed by the ban on performances by Jewish artists, and his subsequent internment in several concentration camps. The estimated date of his death in Fürstengrube was 27 January 1945.

Krása, Hans (1899-1944)

Composer, born 30 November 1899, in Prague. Before his graduation from the German Music Academy in Prague, in 1921, he was engaged as vocal coach at the German Theatre in Prague. He started composing before his tenth birthday. He was not very prolific but most of his compositions have been published in Paris and Vienna and performed in various European cities. He died in Auschwitz on 17 October 1944.

Ledeč, Egon (1889-1944)

Violinist, born 16 March 1889, in Kostelec nad Orlicí (Eastern Bohemia). He graduated from the Prague Conservatory in 1906, and two years later he joined the Czech Philharmonic. After a stint in the Army and several engagements in Slovakia, he rejoined the Czech Philharmonic in 1926, and the following year he was promoted to the post of associate concertmaster, which he held until 1939. He

was active as soloist and chamber music player as well as composer of a number of salon pieces. He died in Auschwitz on 17 October 1944.

Löwenthal, Hugo (1879-1944?)

Composer, born in Prague in 1879, arrived in Theresienstadt early in 1942 and was deported to Auschwitz in June of the same year. The only biographical information known about Löwenthal was found on his transport card.

Reiner, Karel (1910-1979)

Composer and pianist, born 27 June 1910 in Žatec (Western Bohemia). He studied law and musicology at the Prague University and graduated from the Master School in composition. As a pianist, he promoted contemporary music throughout Europe and was very active in various musical organizations. Many of his compositions reveal his strong political (Communist) affiliation. He died in Prague on 17 October 1979.

Schächter, Rafael (1905-1944)

Conductor and pianist, born 27 May 1905, in Braila (Romania). After World War I, he came to Brno, where he started his musical studies and later continued at the Prague Conservatory, where he graduated in composition and conducting, and at the Master School in piano. He formed a very successful Chamber Music Opera and was a popular vocal coach. He died in Auschwitz on 17 October 1944.

Schul, Zikmund (1916-1944)

Composer, born 11 January 1916, in Kassell (Germany). He sought refuge in Prague, where he studied with Alois Hába. He was very interested and influenced by Hebraic chant as witnessed by all his works written in Theresienstadt. He died there on 20 June 1944.

Simon, James (1880-1944)

Musicologist and composer, born 29 September 1880, in Berlin. He was a student of Conrad Ansohn (piano) and Max Bruch (composition). From 1907 until 1919, he taught at the Klindworth-Schwarzenka Conservatory in Berlin. In 1934 he moved to Zurich and later to Amsterdam, where he was arrested in 1941. He died in Auschwitz in 1944.

Steiner Kraus, Edith (1913-)

Pianist, born in Vienna in 1913. She lived in Bohemia, where she began performing at the age of eleven. Following her studies with Schnabel in Berlin, she moved to Prague and played frequently on the Czechoslovak Radio. After the war, she emigrated to Israel and there she resumed her career as performer and teacher at the Rubin Academy in Tel Aviv.

Taube, Carlo S. (1897-1944)

Pianist and composer, born 4 July 1897, in Galicia. He studied piano with Busoni in Vienna, but for economic reasons he played in night-clubs in Brno and Prague. He died in Auschwitz in October 1944.

Ullmann, Viktor (1898-1944)

Composer, born 1 January 1898 in Těšín (Silesia). He studied with Arnold Schoenberg in Vienna and quarter-tone composition with Alois Hába at the Prague Conservatory. He became conductor at the New German Theatre in Prague and, in 1927, director of the opera house in Ústí nad Labem (Aussig). After several short stays in Zurich, Vienna, Stuttgart, etc., he returned to Prague. He privately published many of his prewar compositions. He died in Auschwitz on 17 October 1944.

APPENDIX 2

Time-line of Events in the Protectorate, Theresienstadt and in World War II

The information presented in this appendix is abridged from the Multimedia CD-ROM entitled *Between the Worlds: Social Circles in the Theresienstadt Ghetto* (Jerusalem: International School for Holocaust Studies, Yad Vashem, The Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Authority, 2010).

1938	
1 Oct	Germans enter Sudetenland
1939	
15 Mar	Germany occupies Bohemia and Moravia
Jul	"Centre for Jewish Emigration" is opened in Prague under the supervision of Adolf Eichmann
11 Aug	The campaign for concentrating the Jews of the Protectorate in Prague commences.
1 Sept	World War II breaks out. Germany attacks Poland.
19, 26 Oct	First two transports of Jews from the city of Ostrava leave for the village of Nisko near Lublin in Poland.
1940	
30 Apr	The Jews of the Protectorate are ordered to hand their property over to the authorities.
8 Aug	Jewish children are not eligible to study in schools in the region of the Protectorate.
1941	
22 June	Germany attacks the USSR
5 Jul	Nuremberg Laws enforced in the territories of the Protectorate.
1 Sept	Jews of the Protectorate are obliged to wear a yellow badge.
Oct	All synagogues are closed by order of the Germans.
16 Oct	A transport of the Jews is sent from the Protectorate to Łódź Ghetto.
19 Oct	The Germans choose the city of Terezín as the site where the Jews of the Protectorate are to be detained.
24 Nov	The spearhead unit sets off for the city of Terezín to set up the ghetto.
4 Dec	Jakob Edelstein arrives at the ghetto. The first transports arrive at the ghetto.
11 Dec	Germany declares war on the United States.
1942	
9 Jan	A "transport" of 1,000 people is sent from Theresienstadt to the Riga Ghetto. 102 of them survive.
10 Jan	Nine youngsters are publicly hanged in the Theresienstadt Ghetto.
15 Jan	Transport of 1,000 people is sent to Riga. 15 of them survive.
20 Jan	The Wannsee Conference convenes, during which the organisation and execution of the 'Final Solution' are coordinated.
11, 17 Mar	2,000 people are forcibly taken from Theresienstadt to Izbica near Lublin. 9 of them survive.
1 Apr	A "transport" of 1,000 people is sent to Trawniki. 5 of them survive.

18 Apr	A “transport” of 1,000 people is sent to Rejowiec in Lublin. 3 of them survive.
23 Apr	A “transport” of 1,000 people is sent to Lublin. 1 of them survives.
25 Apr	A “transport” of 1,000 people is sent to the Warsaw Ghetto. 9 of them survive.
27 Apr	A “transport” of 1,000 people is sent to Izbica near Lublin. 1 of them survives.
28, 30 Apr	Two “transports” of 2,000 people are sent to Zamosc in Poland. 24 of them survive.
9 May	A “transport” of 1,000 people is sent to the Sobibor death camp. None of them survives.
17 May	A “transport” of 1,000 people is sent to the Majdanek extermination camp. None of them survives.
25 May	A “transport” of 1,000 people is sent to Lublin. 1 of them survives.
27 May	Fighters from the Czech partisan movement assassinate Reinhard Heydrich, the head of the Security Police of Nazi Germany
Jun	The Czech population is evacuated from the city of Terezín.
10 Jun	A “transport” of Jews leaves Prague for Poland in retaliation for the assassination of Heydrich.
12 Jun	A “transport” of 1,000 people is sent to Trawniki. None of them survives.
13 Jun	A “transport” of 1,000 people is sent to the Sobibor extermination camp. None of them survives.
Jul	Elderly Jews and VIPs from Germany and Austria arrive at the Theresienstadt Ghetto.
14 Jul	One “transport” of 1,000 people is sent to Minsk. 2 survive.
28 July	A “transport” of 1,000 people is sent to Baranowicze. None of them survives.
3 Aug	The Germans confiscate religious and cultural objects from the Jews and stockpile them in the Jewish Museum in Prague in order to prepare an exhibition entitled: <i>The Extinct Jewish Race</i> .
4 Aug	A “transport” of 1,000 people is sent to Maly Trostinets. 2 survive.
20 Aug	A “transport” of 1,000 people is sent to Riga. None of them survive
25 Aug	A “transport” of 1,000 people is sent to Maly Trostinets. 1 survives.
1 Sept	A “transport” of 1,000 people is sent to Raasiku-Valge in Estonia. 45 survive.
8 Sept	A “transport” of 1,000 people is sent to Maly Trostinets. 4 survive.
19, 21 Sept	Two “transports” of 4,020 people are sent to Treblinka. No one survives.
22 Sept	A “transport” of 1,000 people is sent to Maly Trostinets. One survived.
23, 26, 29 Sept	5,984 people were sent to Treblinka death camp. No one survived.
Sept	Overcrowding in the ghetto reaches its peak: 58,491 Jews were incarcerated in the city. The number of dead reaches 3,941 – 131 per day.
28 Oct	First “transports” are sent directly from Theresienstadt to Auschwitz and Treblinka.

1943	
20-26 Jan	Mass “transports” of Theresienstadt Jews to Auschwitz.
2 Feb	The German Sixth Army is annihilated near Stalingrad.
27 Jun	German Red Cross delegation visits Theresienstadt.
11-18 Sept	A first “transport” is sent to the “Family Camp” in Auschwitz-Birkenau.
6 Oct	Children of Bialystok are sent from Theresienstadt to be murdered in Birkenau.
11 Nov	A count of the Jews in Theresienstadt Ghetto is conducted , and Jakob Edelstein is arrested for a discrepancy between the results of the count and the number of Jews registered in the card index.
18 Dec	A second “transport” is sent to the “Family Camp” in Birkenau. Edelstein, his wife Miriam and son Ariele are sent on this “transport”.
1944	
Feb	The sprucing up of the ghetto begins in anticipation of the visit of the International Red Cross.
8-9 Mar	The Jews of the first “transport” sent to the “family camp” in Birkenau are murdered.
15-18 May	A group of some 7,500 people are taken to the “Family Camp” in Auschwitz-Birkenau
6 Jun	Allied armies land on beaches of France-Normandy.
20 Jun	Jakob Edelstein and his family are murdered at the Death Wall in Auschwitz.
23 Jun	International Red Cross Delegation arrives at Theresienstadt to examine the condition of Jews in the ghetto.
Aug-Sept	Germans shoot a propaganda movie about the Theresienstadt Ghetto.
27 Sept	Paul Epstein, chairman of the Council of Elders, is arrested and executed.
28 Sept-25 Nov	18,000 Jews are sent to the Auschwitz-Birkenau extermination camp.
26 Nov	Himmler orders a cessation of murder in the gas chambers of Auschwitz-Birkenau
15 Dec	Benjamin Mornelstein, formerly vice-chairman of the Council of Elders, is appointed chairman.
1945	
27 Jan	Red Army liberates Auschwitz
6 Apr	Paul Donat from the International Red Cross delegation visits Theresienstadt accompanied by Adolf Eichmann.
15 Apr	Bergen-Belsen camp is liberated.
4 May	“Czech Aid Action” – Doctors and nurses from Prague arrive at Theresienstadt.
9 May	Red Army liberates Theresienstadt Ghetto and reaches Prague.
Nov	The last Jews leave the city of Terezín

APPENDIX 3

Chronology of the Theresienstadt Ghetto

Information for this chronology is abridged from Ludmila Chládková, *The Terezín Ghetto*, (Prague: Naše Vojsko Publishers, 1991) pp. 46-53.

1941	
10 Oct	In Prague, a conference takes place concerning the solution of the Jewish question in the Protectorate. The participants are R. Heydrich, K.H. Frank, A. Eichmann, and further high officials. The decision is to establish a Ghetto in Terezín
16 Oct	The first Jewish transport from the Protectorate is dispatched to Łodz (Litzmannstadt). Further transports followed on 21, 26, 31 October and 3 November. In all, they contained 5,000 people.
24 Nov	The first transport is dispatched from Prague to Terezín, designated Ak 1, with 324 men, the so-called <i>Aufbaukommando</i> . Another construction transport, Ak 2 followed on 4 December, with 1,000 men and 23 members of the Staf, the basis of the future so-called Jewish self-administration. Jacob Edelstein was appointed Jewish Elder and Otto Zucker, his deputy.
	SS Obersturmführer Siegfried Seidl is appointed commander of the Terezín camp. He remained in office until 3 July 1943, after which he was sent to Bergen-Belsen and Vienna. After the war, he was sentenced to death in Vienna and executed.
2 Dec	By orders of Günther, Head of the <i>Zentralstelle fünf jüdische Auswanderung</i> in Prague, during the first four weeks, postal links between persons in the Ghetto and their families were prohibited by the threat of the death penalty.
6 Dec	By order of the camp commander, women and children are separated from the men and placed in the Dresden Barracks. Dormitories were established with time also in the other barracks building. The <i>Ghettowache</i> (Ghetto Guard) is being established.
15 Dec	The first daily order is being issued. In the beginning they were being given out daily except Saturday, gradually the intervals became longer.
1942	
9 Jan	The first transport from Terezín to the East, designated O, is dispatched to Riga.
10 Jan	9 prisoners hanged. Most of them had made themselves guilty by writing home.
20 Jan	The Conference at Wannsee near Berlin, where the implementation of the 'final solution' was debated and approved. It is being decided to make Terezín into a Ghetto mainly for old and prominent Jews from the Reich.
16 Feb	The order by Heydrich on the abolition of the community in Terezín is being published. Until 30 June, 3142 original inhabitants of the

	town have to move out.
26 Feb	The second execution takes place: 7 prisoners are hanged.
2 Jun	The first transport of Jews from Berlin arrives. Afterwards, transports from other places in the Reich were arriving.
10 Jun	By order of camp commander Seidl, 30 men from the ghetto go to Lidice where they dig a mass grave for the murdered men from Lidice
16 Jun	In the barracks courtyards, all prisoners have to look at photographs of objects belonging to the perpetrators of the assassination of Deputy Reich Protector Heydrich, and certify by signature that they do not belong to them.
21 Jun	The first transport of Austrian Jews arrives.
6 Jul	Free movement in all of Terezín is permitted; the period of 'open Ghetto' commences, meaning in fact that all of the town is now a prison. Prisoners are now being housed also in the remaining houses. A set time of leaving the houses and family members visiting one another has to be observed.
Jul	Letters and numbers are used designating streets, house and barracks. Homes are being established for the youth: L 417, L 410, L 318, and later also in other buildings.
7 Sept	The camp crematorium commences operation. Starting in October, all four ovens operate, burial into the ground ends.
13 Sept	The daily order announces that there will be shops opened in the Ghetto. Finally, there were eight shops with third rate goods.
	A disastrous situation caused by high numbers of elderly prisoners, hunger and totally inadequate housing and hygiene are the main causes of the demise of 3,941 people during this month.
19 Sept	The first transport of old prisoners to the East leaves Terezín. The commander solves the situation of the overcrowded ghetto by ordering nine transports to the East.
26 Oct	The first transport for Auschwitz leaves. All transports from Terezín from then were to Auschwitz. In 25 transports, over 44,000 prisoners get deported to that extermination camp.
8 Dec	In the house Q 418, a café opens operating daily from 10.00 until 19.30.
1943	
31 Jan	Paul Eppstein is appointed Jewish Elder. The previous Jewish Elder Jacob Edelstein remains in the Council of Elders as his First Deputy.
2 Feb	A seven month lull in the deportation begins today. A certain normalization of the prisoners' life takes place. The overall number of prisoners equals 44,672.
18 Mar	The access road from Prague to Lovosice is moved to the periphery of the Ghetto. This way, the isolation of the Ghetto to and from the surrounding world is guaranteed.
9 Apr	Collective punishment is called, following the escape of several

	prisoners: curfew, no light, no cultural events. This lasts for more than a month.
22 Apr	The first transport from the Netherlands arrives from Westerbork concentration camp. Further transports arrived during 1944. It was the <i>prominenten</i> . The arrival of the transport on 20 January 1944 was actually filmed.
12 May	The so-called Bank of the Jewish self-administration commences operation. From this day, prisoners are being paid for their work in camp money.
1 Jun	The first train to arrive directly into the ghetto because of the railway spur built by the prisoners. Construction of the link began on 24 August 1942. Its length was 2.8 kilometres.
3 Jul	SS Obersturmführer Anton Burger is appointed camp commander. He remained in office until 7 February 1944. Later he was active in Greece, Hungary and Germany. After the war, he was missing and died in 1991 in Germany.
	The camp commander ordered to name the streets, and abolished the current numbering of blocks and barracks. This applied specifically to postal connection with the outside world. Bastion III on the Southern Hill is opened for the prisoners. The SS commander orders to speedily evacuate the Sudeten and Bodenbach Barracks, the former Armoury, and two houses. Parts of the Archive of the RSHA in Berlin will be transferred to Theresienstadt. Numerous German officials and their families arrive.
16 Aug	Burger orders the Ghetto Guard to be abolished. Its members are included in the next transport to the East.
24 Aug	A transport of 1,260 children from the liquidated Ghetto in Bialystok arrives in Theresienstadt. The children are strictly isolated from other prisoners. On 5 October, the children leave, together with their 53 carers, allegedly to be exchanged for German prisoners of war. In reality, the complete transport were exterminated on their arrival in Auschwitz.
6 Sept	Transports designated DI and DM, containing 5,007 prisoners were taken to the so-called Family Camp at Auschwitz-Birkenau. For propaganda purposes, they were kept alive there for six months in a so-called quarantine, and then they were all exterminated.
5 Oct	The first transport of Danes arrives. Further transports of Danes arrived on 6 and 14 October. The Danes were treated better than the other prisoner in view of the frequent foreign interventions on their behalf.
9 Nov	The first Jewish Elder Jacob Edelstein is arrested and kept in prison in the camp. He is sent to Auschwitz on the next transport, and is shot on 20 June 1944.
11 Nov	After irregularities are discovered in the records of the prisoners, the commander orders a counting roll-call in the area of the Bohušovice basin. The counting lasts all day and many prisoners die as a consequence.
15 and	Another 5,007 people leave for the Family Camp in Auschwitz-

18 Dec	Birkenau.
	The RSHA orders a beautification of the Ghetto. After frequent interventions and requests from some governments, the Red Cross is permitted to visit some camp for Jewish prisoners. It is being decided to present Theresienstadt as a town which 'The Führer has given to the Jews'.
1944	
8 Feb	SS Obersturmführer Karl Rahm is being appointed camp commander. He remains in office until the end of the war. In April 1947, he is found guilty by an Extraordinary People's Court of Justice in Litoměřice, and subsequently executed.
2 Mar	The Kommando Zossen of 200 men leaves for Wulkow to the South-East of Berlin, to construct a Barrack Camp for the SS. The Kommando returns to Theresienstadt on 10 February 1945.
Spring	Extensive adaptation and beautification takes place: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Wooden fences and barriers removed ➤ Ghetto renamed a 'Jewish settlement area' ➤ A music pavilion erected and benches put in the square ➤ In the park, a children's pavilion is built ➤ The Gym is turned into a Community Centre ➤ Shops are remodelled and improved ➤ An urn grove by the crematorium and tombstones put in the cemetery ➤ The housing of prominent prisoner supplied with furniture which was brought in for that purpose
15, 16, 18 May	7,503 prisoners are being sent to the Family Camp in Auschwitz-Birkenau.
23 Jun	A delegation headed by a representative of the International Committee of the Red Cross arrives in town. Its members spend six hours in Theresienstadt.
17 Jul	A group of artists is arrested for 'spreading horror propaganda' by means of their pictures. They and their families are handed over to the Gestapo and imprisoned in the Small Fortress.
16 Aug	Through the orders of the Nazi officials, the Prague film journal Aktualita starts filming a propaganda document about the model Ghetto in Theresienstadt. The Ghetto prisoners Kurt Geron, Jo Spier, and architect František Zelenka are forced to cooperate in the making of the film. The other prisoners also have to participate. Filming ends on 11 September.
27 Sept	Jewish Elder Paul Eppstein is arrested, secretly brought to the Small Fortress and then shot. In his place, on 13 December, Benjamin Marmelstein is appointed.
28 Sept	A series of liquidation transports commences. Until 28 October, 11 transports with over 18,000 persons leave for Auschwitz. In Theresienstadt some 11,000 prisoners remain; of these 819 were children under the age of 15.

Nov	The SS Commander orders the urns with the ashes to be liquidated. The Theresienstadt prisoners are told they will be taken to the Jewish cemetery in Prague. In actual fact, the ashes are thrown into the river Ohře and partly buried next to the concentration camp in Litoměřice.
23 Dec	The first transport of Slovak Jews arrives from Sered. Further transports arrive in January, March and April 1945.
1945	
31 Jan	Transports of Jews from mixed marriages and half-casts, who until now were protected from deportation, start arriving.
5 Feb	Departure of a transport with 1,200 prisoners to Switzerland. The people travel in passenger carriages.
	A gas chamber is being built in an underground passage next to the Litoměřice gate. A group of prisoners are prepared, in case of danger, to blow up the store of Zyklon B.
5 Mar	Eichmann visits Theresienstadt, and after an inspection of the dilapidated camp, orders a new beautification. The SS systematically destroy all traces of what happened there before 1945.
6 Apr	A delegate of the ICRC arrives accompanied by high SS officials. Again, the camp is presented in a propagandist way.
15 Apr	All Danes leave Theresienstadt. Buses of the Swedish Red Cross had come to collect them.
	The RSHA archive material is being burnt. The RSHA employees, together with their families, leave Theresienstadt.
20 Apr	The first evacuation transport arrives with 2,000 prisoners from liquidated concentration camps. During a two-week period, over 15,000 prisoners arrive in Theresienstadt, all in terrible condition. Some of them have typhus.
1 May	Typhus is evident in the original prison population in Theresienstadt.
3 May	Paul Dunant, delegate of the ICRC, takes over protection of the Ghetto as well as of the police prison in the Small Fortress.
5 May	The last SS leave Theresienstadt.
8 May	Red Army tanks go through Theresienstadt en route to Prague.
10 May	Red Army take control of the camp. Between 11-13 May, a Soviet sanitary unit arrives to help relieve the typhus epidemic.
14 May	A quarantine, connected with a prohibition to leave the camp, is imposed for two weeks.
28 May	Repatriation of the former prisoners begins, and the liberated people can finally return to their homes in 29 countries of the world. The last people leave Theresienstadt in August.
27 Aug	By decree of the President of Czechoslovakia, the community of Terezín is re-established. In 1946 the original inhabitants begin to return.

APPENDIX 4

Summary of Intellectual and Educational Events with Topics occurring more than ten times⁴⁷¹

Personalities	546	Prague	62
History	518	Technology	60
Literature	434	Tradition	55
Jews	293	Antiquity	54
Medicine	271	Religion	52
Personal experiences	306	Children	48
Society	261	Geography	47
Philosophy	250	Youth	46
Terezin	239	Women	45
Judaism	198	Palestine	43
Culturology	176	Hebrew	41
Art	156	Diaspora	36
Science	150	Physics	36
Music	111	Cinema	35
Theatre	110	Chemistry	34
Czech	98	Nature	34
Education	96	Sport	29
Travel	92	Ethics	22
Psychology	89	Mysticism	21
Economy	86	Politics	18
Zionism	81	Sociology	16
Ethnography	80	Fairytales	15
Legal	71	Journalism	15
Humour	70	Business	12

There were 2,430 lectures documented in Theresienstadt from 1942-1944. Of the 520 lecturers, 266 were doctors – 135 of Science, 43 of Law and 88 of Medicine; 44 were engineers with postgraduate education, and 14 rabbis.⁴⁷²

⁴⁷¹ All the information contained in the table was from p.13 of *University over the Abyss: The Story behind 520 Lecturers and 2,430 Lectures in KZ Theresienstadt 1942-1944*, Elena Makarova, Sergei Makarov, and Victor Kuperman (Jerusalem: Verba Publishers, 2004).

⁴⁷² *Ibid.*, p.14.

APPENDIX 5

Sample Programmes

*Festus and programs of concert GIDEON KLEIN
inv.č. 33c*

ERÖFFNUNG

DES GEMEINSCHAFTSRAUMES WESTGASSE 3

AM 30. APRIL 1944

- 1 BEETHOVEN:
THEMA AUS DER NEUNTEN SYMPHONIE
- 2 ANSPRACHE DES JUDEN'ALTESTEN
- 3 ZWEI HORRA-SÄTZE FÜR GEMISCHTEN CHOR
SATZ VON GIDEON KLEIN
- 4 GEORG WOLKER:
BALADE O OČÍCH TOPIČOVÝCH
GESPROCHEN VON KARL KAVAN
- 5 DVORÁK:
SERENADE FÜR STREICHORCHESTER NO 3

STREICHORCHESTER: LEITUNG KARL ANČERL
CHOR: LEITUNG RAFAEL SCHÄCHTER

ŽIDOVSKÉ MUZEUM V PRAZE
U Staré školy 1, 3, 110 01 Praha 1
Tel. 221 711 511, FAX 221 711 584
IC 60459263 DIC CZ60459263

Posters and programs of concerts **GIDEON KLEIN**

INV.Č. 33C

Volkalkonzert.

Hebräische und tschechische Volkslieder, für Chor bearbeitet.

Mitwirkende: Frauenchor C III
Männerchor E I.

Einstudiert: Rafael Schlichter
Dirigent:

Program:

Gideon Klein: Hatikvah
Technsakhah
El Hachula } singt Männerchor

Bernard Pollak: Haj, Haj
Ale giva } singt Frauenchor

Gideon Klein: Bachuri lean tisa }

Aby nás Pánbůh miloval
Už mně kone vyvádějí } singt Männerchor
Chodíme, chodíme

F o n e t

Gideon Klein: Neviděli jste tu mě panenky } singt Frauenchor
Ej láske, láske
Tovačov, Tovačov

Poljuška
Chodzila liska } singt Männerchor
Na tých našich lukach

26 118

ŽIDOVSKÉ MUZEUM V PRAZE

U Staré školy 1,3, 110 01 Praha
Tel. 221 711 511, FAX 221 711
IČ 60459263 DIČ CZ60459263

APPENDIX 6

Hebrew and Yiddish Instrumental and Vocal Works written in Theresienstadt

(This is not an exhaustive list as works are still being discovered. This is compiled with the assistance of the Jewish Museum, Prague, and David Bloch, former Professor of Music, Tel Aviv University)

David Grünfeld: *Uv'tzeil knofecho* (1942; arr. R. Goldstein) voice/organ

Pavel Haas: *Al S'fod* (1942) male choir

Gideon Klein: *Wiegenlied* (1942; arr.) voice and piano; *Bachuri l'an tisa* (1942; arr.) girls' choir

Hugo Löwenthal: *Traditionelle Weisen Pesach, Schwuos u. Sukkot* (1942)

Zikmund Schul: *Zaddik* (1942) string quartet, *Uv'tzeil knofecho* (1942) string quartet; *Two Chassidischer Tänze*, op. 15 (1941-2), viola and cello; *Cantata Judaica* (1942) male choir; *Ki tavo al ha'aretz* (1942; arr.) children's choir; *Mogen Owaus* (1941) sop. Bar., choir, org./violin.

Carlo S. Taube: *Ein jüdische Kind* (1942), voice and piano

Viktor Ullmann: *Knabenchor* (1942; arr.) children's choir; *Frauenchorwerke*: (1942) *Yome, Yome shpil mir a lidele*; *Du solst nischt geyn mit keyn andere*; *Du meydele du sheyns*; *Hala Yarden*; *Ura, ura Yisrael*, *Männerchorwerke*: (1942) *As der Rebe Elimelech*; *Scha shtil, mach nisht keyd geroder*; *Fregt die Welt an alte Kashe*, *Gemischtechorwerke*: (1942) *Eliahu Hanavi*; *Anu Olim*; *Brezulinka*, *Three Songs*, op. 53 (1944; arrs.) voice and piano

Vilem Zrzavý: *V'l'yerushalayim* (1942; arr. Z. Schul) cantor/string quartet

APPENDIX 7

The Strange Passenger: A Diary in Verse by Viktor Ullmann

Trans. by Sonja Linden

<http://www.viktorullmannfoundation.org.uk/poetry/frame_poetry.html> [accessed 26 April 2012].

1. To the Fellow Passenger

You who with the scourge of fire
Drove me into gruesome hells,
Scraped the lode stone of the ancients (Lit: wise ones)
With the Maker's noble chisel
You who turned me to the devil,
Lured me from the straight and narrow
Bent me 'neath the yoke of madness
As you travelled through my veins
Never shall you crush my will!
You're the one who'll stay in hell
And each day I'll make you drill –
As poet and tamer as well.

2. Fellow Passenger Removes his Mask (Dedicated to Albert Steffen)

Here we have man's doppelganger of fugues of course the perfect singer.
The mirror does his theme reflect so that from God you will defect.
The counterpart he sings is perfect like a mirror crab – it's contra subject.
In line with that well-tried old scheme
He's the double fugue, the second theme.

3. The Ill-Fated Boys' Choir (To Rudolf Steiner)

You are the sun and we the planets,
To us, the encircling ones, you send the becoming.
Oh, see how our paths are already separating us,
Light is the sun, but dark our yearnings
How you slip away, how you vanish
Spiralling away from the planets
Once again the fatal wounds bleed angels do bind them, in loyalty bind them to
you.

4. At the Cemetery

Sun sinks low, yet still they play
The little ones, on graves grown cold,
Upon the weathered basalt grey,
Between the Jewish gravestones old.
How they laugh and how they play

Beneath the birch, the lime, the acorn,
Upon death's floorboard's they dance away
As children are the dead reborn.
Blonde young girl so full of wonder
Is the grave you jump on yours?
The naked dead do whisper rumours,
The bees around the honeycomb buzz.

5. Penelope

6. Poet's Doppelganger

Gloriously he enters Elysium Hebe proffers wine
Angels stand around.
At second glance he sees
It's his odes that bear Holderlin aloft
Carried on the air.
On wings that ring out clear
To the crystal heights
Where the dazzling choir
Sings out fugues in space.
Christus-Uranus
Has received him
And the light flows all around
The new wheel of fate.
Yet on earth there creeps –
(His) Sinister companion,
Who arrives at the void –
Solitary Scapinell.

7.

I paint playthings, meadows, roofs and houses,
A tiny church, trees covered in blossom,
Thus I sit, day in, day out, like a house of cards,
That every fresh glance pours scorn on anew.
If it's sunny outside, the colours light up for me,
Their sevenfold glow is all around.
Whether or not these games of life shall spoil
At least I'm not a spoilsport any more.

8.

One does not deceive God nor his eyes,
Even if you don't yet recognise His law,
Yet even this knowlege will do you little good,
Unless you are inflamed with love for him.
You will never free yourself from this cruel arrest

Until you recognise the God in you yourself
And with this new found power in your Self, selflessly
Rouse Christ from the depths of your heart.

9.

The demon was my cross.
I had to bear it,
Too heavy for the weak strength of my shoulders –
The adventure of the spirit I had to risk
And it misfired –
I atone for it on the shaft of the cross.
The acolyte fell before the portrait at Sais
Which he approached unclean, too early and too keen –
How long does the atonement last in Thebes?
Is it in the wilderness that its blessed seeds are realised?

10. A maxim to (St.) John

As long as the serpent is not defeated
The "I" will give in to the anti-"I".
Flight from life or addiction to it
Either way we are damned by our obsessions!
Obsession with the spirit, obsession with the world –
And both have turned sour for us.
No free "I" breaks the chains,
Light is still not dawning in the interior!
Euphorion is the leap of the spirit,
The fall follows close on from the leap of death.
What we inherit, what we strive for,
Pulls us constantly in two directions.
Whenever we are wrenched free from the dungeon
We find ourselves in a new prison –
Greed turns to madness, madness turns to greed –
Wayward angel, cursed beast.

11. To my Father

I am alone.
The world is dead.
The banner of the Anti-Christ is spread.
And God is far
Upon his star.
I am all-one.
The world's alive,
Michael's golden banner floats on high
And God is near
In hearts (so dear).

12.

Sound becomes word, word becomes sound,
Song becomes joy and consolation for scorn.
Folly becomes truth, fall becomes ascent,
Ghost dance becomes angels's dancing ring.
A light flows into this world,
The darkness is lit up with a glow;
It wishes to penetrate the very depths
In order to rout the enemy of love.
The foolish virgin comes too late,
The clock hand points to twelve –
You have not dampened your wick,
So the light has not shone for you.
Oh sister, send me some oil!
Michael slays the dragon,
He still wants to catch the dilatory ones,
So that they don't lose the bridegroom.

13. To the Buddha Gotamo

You great peace, you quiet "No!"
The teaching resounds out of your mild mouth,
Removing unbearable suffering from the earth
And becoming the longed for shield of the heart.
Your prophetic eye penetrates my insane being
And frees me from the gaily coloured guild of folly,
I become pure again in your word,
My grotesque face gradually turns human.
All of us, oh noble one, who belong to the race of Cain
Crawl though the delusion of our fate:
We hear you and we are for ever yours,
You quiet the thirst, you silence the torment that rages.

14. Prayer

You have done, what Buddha taught,
Oh do it to (for) me,
The one who worshipped you in error:
Let me (remain) with you.
In changing times you are uniquely lasting –
We waft towards (you),
When you burst (through) death which immures you: I am.
(The "I am" of Christ is a fusion of the old and new testament references : "I am that I am" (God's self appellation) and "I am the resurrection and the life." J.D.)

15. The Confession

I searched for truth and I fell into madness
I sought healing and I became ill,

I caught sight of the way, and the path broke,
Whilst growing I wilted, till I sank right down.
For beauty I searched and fell into obsession,
To art I gave myself and I became ill,
From evil I fled, only to be damned,
For freedom I strove, and became a slave.

16. The doctrine

Many have tasted the doctrine – which lets them slurp cosily,
Which offers the willing fruits for the enjoyment of peace and happiness
What was granted to me, however, was the sight of terror,
Daily I tasted the sponge, soaked through with acid and gall.

17. The Hybrid

Thus speaks the evil genius: "Live for the moment!"
His lighter counterpart: "Enjoy eternity."
Oh (this) conflict which tears at my breast!
Yet to become a man let alone a spirit.
The bell sounds once more for me its final chime
I am a cross between beast and angel.

18.

The deepest pain cannot be turned into music,
No word can form it,
It doesn't fashion form from the stone of the earth –
It is veiled in silence.
Thus I bear mute grief for the grieving muteness
That I missed,
And silence it, so it only hums,
What I have dreamt.
The deepest pain is not to be able to return
To distant time(s),
The wounds throb, that now burn fatally,
The past!

19. The Enemy

All enemies I forgave,
With one exception! I feast my soul
At his trial. The mask comes off –
Now show yourself – ! You fool,
The demon is me!

20. Homunculus

What is that strange rumbling

Deep down in my ears?
It whisks and it chatters,
And awkwardly whispers –
It grouches and titters,
It grunts and it mumbles,
It croaks and it flutes –
Folk hear it and blush –
To him I am soldered,
Would that he were murdered!
He lies satirisingly
Smirks irritatingly
With smutty guffaws
He licks on his paws –
He flits and he flutters
He fondles and splutters –
And where's he now hidden?
Homunkel is stretching!

21. Delicate Situation

The donkey stands between cartloads of hay –
They smell alternately delightful and lascivious;
To the good animal both these smells are new
He gives a snort to the left, then to the right, through his dilated nostrils.
I fear the donkey will become shy again
And will never recover from his torments:
For once he is not true to his ideals,
He plucks them again, as though they had never been.

22. Inhibition

As a boy I dreamt
My head was encircled
With raging flames,
And fate threatened.
I stepped into life
Childishly trusting,
With inner trembling,
Building (my hopes) on people.
Teaching confused me
Removed me from my goals,
I fell short, went astray
Like so many others.
Childhood lasts too long
Paired up with emotion,
Blindness struck me
I lost my direction.

23. The Lost Son Speaks:

Father, I strayed far,
Am completely destroyed,
Under the cursed star I have crawled.
Among the sows I ate pig swill –
Send me your fatherly word,
Fate's unraveller!
I only want the crumbs
From off your table....
Feed me with lamb and fish
And I'll say:Amen!

24. Consolation.

Everything will come to fruition (made complete) one day
Everything will turn out for the good,
Half will not remain undone,
Love will complete the circle
And he who is freed from disgrace and delusion
Will partake of the spirit.
Whatever has gone wrong, whatever has failed,
Will be called to new deeds
In a rejuvenated life:
The old dragon will never be victorious
And you shall slay him one day out of revenge
With your sword plunged to the hilt.
Belief, hope, love, bind one
To God, whom you have sinned against
And he teaches you to come through:
If you learn to suffer and you learn to conquer,
That which painfully oppresses you
Will fade away before the light.

25. Mankind's Passion

Mankind bears my pain, I bear hers,
Here is no mine and thine,
I endure my agony in order to adorn
Her bloodstained dress with my songs.
The face of our time is grotesque:
The enemy of mankind,
A typhoon its's onslaught – and the dragon's paw
A denial of the Christ.
He who is still vanquished hopes to conquer,
The time has come –
Even when he still waged war on us more angrily,
(There) was Golgotha.
Everyone constantly only felt their own suffering,
Now you learn,

That every happiness that we begrudged others,
So that we bear all the bitter suffering of everyone,
As our own burden,
Till one day in the far off future the Christ grasps us in one.

26. Chess Ballad.

Your life's the prize they're after in this game.
Though white begins, it's followed soon by black –
The beast in you is Ahriman's to claim,
The angel is what Lucifer wants back.
They stalk the board and capture pawns at will,
The king's the one for whom they lie in wait.
This game in which they'll never have their fill,
Though both of them keep trying for checkmate.
From this you learn the need to be quite clever
In choosing your opponent and your moves,
Or else they'll try and win your soul forever,
At best then neither side will win or lose.

27. Winter

Cold is the body, cold is the world
And cold the grave into which it falls –
The room is cold, and cold the heart,
Where something still flies heavenwards?
Cold is fate, cold is death
And cold the sore necessity for life....
Cold is hell and cold is greed –
Who has overcome the animal in him?
A warm breeze wafts in from the south,
The Redeemer always rises up again!
Easter will come again – be consoled!
The sun's rays will caress the earth.

28. At New Year

Unworthy was I for lofty yearnings,
Yet even happiness, it's gone –
The fullness of the golden life of youth,
And what I am now, is alien to me.
Life's value has been shattered,
What I have built is in ruins –
Now I am old and sick – embittered,
I shudder at the sight of myself.
My head of wisdom has burst asunder,
The high path come to an end,
Vultures await in the eagle's nest,
No more shall I clamber up the mountain.

The wretched iron chains of fate
Drag with all their might at my defences,
And instead of saving my brethren,
It is I, the fool, who is in darkness.
And yet – I know: there is a life
Where duty and joy flow together,
A quiet, eternally upwards striving,
That freely renounces, freely enjoys.

29. Richard Wagner I

He who fears the sword's point
Masters himself only through the power of the runes.
The law that applies to him, he is not free in grace,
Is that of a creature of the demiurge.
Only he who is freer than gods
Can stride through the fiery furnace –
The hell of desire.
Those who are not free get singed, are consumed.
He pledged the downfall
Of the raging pack of night fools
He who is in fear, is his subject.
Death brings him ego-gold,
Stemming from the gods, forged into earth clods
By Alberich-Ahriman.

30. Richard Wagner II

I forged for myself in hellfire
The sword, that God smashed to pieces,
Thus I remained Michael's loyal follower,
Undoing Ahriman's deceit.
The first freedom I can taste
Is the concept of willpower;
So that affliction stretches the dragon for me
I climb into the cave of envy day and night.
In wishful aspirations
The shattered sword is welded –
If Siegmund died, Siegfried will live,
Who Fafnir once snatched victory.

31. Richard Wagner III

Those who have not bathed in the blood of the dragon
Cannot withstand the trial of fire,
When the flames of greed surround them,
The unprotected shall all die.

32.

When we cast off the word, the world cast us out,
Pathless we wandered, with neither fruit nor refreshment
Loathsome worms crept round our feet, bats flitted,
Snakes were our travelling companions, avalanches threatened ,
Sandstorms raged and waterspouts sprang up,
Geysers of fierce desire sprouted in the deserts,
The hurricane of madness overwhelmed the spirit...

33.

Through the depths of darkness of the earth
Which did not yet exist since God's cry "Let there be..."
The sore feet of mankind drag themselves –
Mankind is Israel and they have to wander
Forty years through the wilderness, till they have atoned
For everything they did for so long, without atonement.

34. What have I brought about?

How am I to blame?
A soldier fell –
The battle standard
Once waved at its target
The animal falls!
He whom I chose
Long many he reign Michael.

35. To Abel

Children of Cain are we, Abel,
Wandering through the night of death,
No, in Sodom and in Babel
The highest will not come to pass.
We explore murky swamps,
Where no child of Abel tarries,
Our eyes, blind to daylight,
Make out the distant abyss.
We wrest, him whom God cursed,
From the destruction of grace-less fruit of fate,
Out of the cavern into the light
Where none have trodden.

36.

Oh sad eyes, who have often (been) sinned against,
You have already shed too many tears,
You once pronounced the teaching from your lips
Though after that poison flowed through your gates.

Your stream of tears has long since run dry –
The pain too great ever to be soothed away,
The complaints too wild, the delusions too strong,
The eye is dry and dark the earth.
There, where the lyre lay on my lap
With broken strings, the word was given to me,
That I may spread my arms in the word
In His way, of truth and life.

37. Fool- Doppelganger as Prologue

Here I am weighing nil grammes netto –
Looking exactly like Rigoletto.
You always take me for a phantom
Your motto being "when in Rome!"
An audience mostly protestant
Indifferent and irrelevant.
The devil they rebuke in their myths
Dead he is and spurns all wreaths.
Yet his passing away was nothing but guile
A mere pretence – he's at work all the while.
In this the kings of yore were wiser
They knew all about man's arch deceiver
And asked to be given daily reminders
That hell is a place that is inside us!
They knew that in man's unconscious there lurks
The sooty black devil who mockingly smirks.
You see in me the well-known sham
Displaying my mirror, fool's cap and fool's wand!
I hold up the mirror before the king:
He smiles at the glass and back smirks a fool!
The wand whips up my true desires
My thoughts dart swiftly like flickering fires
Should one soar upwards I'll drag it down
You all love the colourful clothes of the clown!
I'm far from whole, I'm divided in two
To the left I am red, to the right I am blue.
Should one plunge downwards,
I'll yank it upwards
And still they end up a little bit odd.
I'm a lover of orgies and an ascetic
I love exegesis, am quite atheistic
An egoist am I though more idealistic
A pacifist too though openly ballistic.
So many poets have sung my song
I'm completely imbued with my mission.
I was Sancho Pansa,
I was Leporello, Hans Wurst, and Iago in Shakespeare's Othello.
I walk onto stages, I climb into beds –

No living person can escape me
For if with earthly eyes he sees me
It's already too late, he'll be vanquished completely
Never to see me would be better
Lest the old codger thinks he's got schizophrenia.
There is only one who'll stand up to my stare
For he overcame me and so he can dare
For the rest, I'm yourself, how you are, how you stay
Then I'll spin myself round on your axis so slyly
So you are the shadow and I the schlemiel –
The wand gives a wave:
Let's start the spiel.

38. Gulliver's Travels.

Wherever I should turn
The shadow beats me to it –
So in the end I land up
In the mirrored cabinet.
The exit I'll never find,
Only mirrors all around –
It's getting worse and worse
And I am defenceless!
The hollow mirror shows me dwarfs,
Fat poisonous vermin –
Hunted by mirror thugs
I drag myself by my own tail.
Now I stare upwards
At a huge skinny giant –
However much I cry and plead –
I'll never get free.
The laquered cabinet is a dungeon,
In which a madman raves,
A poor craftsman of sound,
Glassed in convexly and concavely.

39.

Snatch forth the mothers from their final sanctuary!
Out of their houses, up out of the mire!
You were born that you could one day give birth,
For which you will be paid back with bitter tears!
Once there were children who suckled at the breast,
Then later they were to have quite different desires,
You have gone wrong: they were not born of woman,
But were begotten and elected by demons!
All earthly creatures must honour their mothers,
What lies under the earth cannot give birth!
Man and beast derives from woman –

Rise up hell's abyss!
Banish mothers!

40.

All of us brothers hold out our hands to each other
Across the ocean tides and across the tides of time:
Some of us roam about sleeping or fully awake
Some of us roam from birth until death
Or from death until re-birth; all of us
Whether we are in the grip of a struggle, drained of strength,
Or whether we have gained a victory: hold out our hands.
Since the sacred harp of the gods was silenced,
Since the leaden night separated us from the realm of light,
Since we found the dungeon in our own being:
Many are the trials that we have been put through,
And we are wilting from them, so that we can hardly bloom again.
Sick and mute, blinded and deaf, it has been our lot
To endure what no man has yet experienced.
And suffering has crowned us with a lunatic crown of thorns,
Yet we pluck the harp and sing to the gods –
When their song fell silent, ours resounded anew,
Nothing happens in the world from now on that we have not done
And they listen to our deeds and they watch our song.

41.

Into our night
There suddenly broke
The word's light.
When we awoke
There came bread and wine;
We do not hunger.

42.

Devils must be wicked
Angels draw one to goodness –
In order to free mankind,
Christ had to give his blood.
That God allows the awareness of evil,
Can't you appreciate that?
In the Middle Ages there was plague,
We have cathedrals and masses.

43. What is Man?

Ixion, strapped onto the wheel of fate,
And Tantalus, craving for cooling moisture,

And Sisyphus, whose strength was in vain –
The Danaides, filling the leaking cask.

44. Transformation

Soothe your sensual desire with colours,
They flow, healing, onto the clouded brow,
Evil you can lessen with your tone and word,
Truth also dwells in the earthly mind.
Through suffering endurance becomes a virtue,
A late fate makes you a gift of a second youth.

45. Oracle, Horoscope and so on.

That roasted doves should fly into your gob?
You are naive my friend and sadly lazy.
The stars, you moan, would have tormented you?
These were torments that you chose yourself.

46.

Twice in my life I was led astray:
When I elected to follow evil,
When I tried to enforce goodness –
Virtue is silver and freedom is gold.

47.

Not everyone is a simple fool,
Sinners are also led up to God
The caterpillar eats the trees bare,
That's why you're no Parsifal yet.

48. To a Psychiatrist

My friend, with your clever, blue eyes,
You are only aware of the skin that encloses us,
Demons who suck at your patients,
You only see with closed eyes.

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