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Grasping at Hours of Freedom: Musical Life in the
Terezin Concentration Camp

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By

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Grasping at Hours of Freedom:
Musical Life in the Terezin Concentration Camp

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This study focuses on the primary documents from the Terezin concentration camp that discuss the musical and cultural life that occurred there between 1941 and 1945. The documents discussed include music critiques and an essay by composer Viktor Ullmann, an essay by composer Gideon Klein, diaries of Philipp Manes, Willy Mahler, Pavel Weiner, Gonda Redlich, and Ruth Brösslerová, poems and magazine articles by children in Terezin, and a letter by inmate Otto Brod.

Founded by Emperor Joseph II as a fortress in 1780 and later turned into a military garrison town, Terezin became a concentration camp in 1940 after Nazi officials removed its Aryan residents. Designed as a holding camp to transport Jews from the Czech lands and prominent Jews from the Third Reich to the death camps in Poland, Terezin's inmate population included musicians, actors, academics, and visual artists. Despite the horrors surrounding them, the inmates of Terezin created a cultural life that rivaled any major European city during World War II. Academic lectures, plays, operas, cabarets, and recitals all contributed to an active and varied cultural society within the camp.

The majority of research on Terezin's musical life up to this point has focused on specific composers (such as Viktor Ullmann and Gideon Klein) or on musical compositions written about Terezin within the last twenty to thirty years. Published material on Terezin includes history texts and survivor memoirs, but little in-depth

scholarly analysis has been conducted on Terezin's musical life. While survivor memoirs from after the war provide valuable information, certain issues arise with these materials; some of the memoirs written long after the war contain incorrect information and others interpret occurrences during the war in light of current information. Examining these documents will give the musicological and historical fields a better understanding of Terezin's musical life and how it affected the lives of the inmates. It will also shed light on an aspect of music in the Third Reich that has been severely neglected.

This dissertation by Karen Lin Uslin fulfills the dissertation requirement for the doctoral degree in Musicology approved by Andrew H. Weaver, Ph.D., as Director, and by Christina Taylor Gibson, Ph.D., and Murry Sidlin, M.M. as Readers.

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DEDICATION

In memory of Rafael Schächter, Viktor Ullmann, Gideon Klein,
and all of the musicians from Terezin who never made it
home.

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INTRODUCTION

Overview of the Terezin Concentration Camp

In the northwest corner of the Czech Republic in the midst of the Bohemian countryside sits the town of Terezin. Surrounded by fortress walls, this former military barracks town became the center of a Nazi deception to convince the world of their humane treatment of the Jews. Turned into a concentration camp in November 1941, Terezin, or Theresienstadt to the Germans, was a gateway to the death camps of the East, mainly Auschwitz. Despite the Nazi claim that Terezin was a “spa town” or “paradise ghetto,” overcrowding, disease, and death were normal parts of everyday life. Yet despite these conditions, Terezin witnessed an artistic life that for four years turned this concentration camp into one of Central Europe’s most thriving arts centers.¹

This artistic life, however, has rarely been studied in-depth. While research on Terezin has grown, scholarly work focuses on specific composers (for example Viktor Ullmann and Gideon Klein) or compositions based on writings from Terezin. Research on musical life as a whole and its effect on the lives of the inmates is scant at best; little musicological research has been done on this aspect, and a study of documents from the time has not been completed. The goal of this dissertation is to offer insight into the musical life of Terezin using the writings of the inmates who witnessed and/or participated in these events. A study of these documents, combined with what information is available from secondary sources, will offer a more complete picture of Terezin’s musical and cultural life.

¹ George Berkeley, *Hitler’s Gift: The Story of Theresienstadt* (Wellesley: Braden, 1993). This is the main source used to describe daily life in Terezin.

OVERVIEW OF TEREZIN

1.1 From Town to Concentration Camp

Terezin's history begins in 1780, when Emperor Joseph II founded the town and named it after his mother, Empress Maria Theresa. Its fortress walls and placement on the banks of the Eger River made it a prime location from which to defend the Austro-Hungarian empire against attacks. Terezin consists of two sections: the town itself and the military prison, also called the *Kleine Festung* (Small Fortress). When Terezin no longer functioned as a fortress, it became a military garrison town. The *Kleine Festung* remained in use as a military prison.² The high walls, the location on the river, and the pre-existent prison, made Terezin both a strong fortress and an ideal concentration camp.

Terezin's existence as a concentration camp began in 1941 when the first transports to the camp departed from Prague. These transports included men who had volunteered to go to Terezin in order to prepare the camp for its future Jewish population. The idea for a concentration camp within the Czech lands, however, emerged almost immediately after Hitler's takeover of Czechoslovakia in 1939. The Zionist community in Czechoslovakia feared the worst; the speed with which Hitler had taken over the country greatly alarmed them. Many debates ensued among these Jewish community leaders: should they try to leave Czechoslovakia with their families, or should they stay to try to help their fellow Jewish comrades?³ These men knew that because of their high visibility in the Jewish community they would bear the brunt of the Nazi campaign

² The most famous prisoner in the Small Fortress of Terezin was Gavrilo Princip, the man who assassinated Archduke Franz Ferdinand d'Este in Sarajevo, an event that proved to be the catalyst for World War I. Princip eventually died in the Small Fortress and is buried in the town cemetery of Terezin.

³ Berkeley, 3.

against the Jews. Jakob Edelstein, the head of the Palestine Agency's Prague office and the man who would become the first Jewish Elder of Terezin, convinced his fellow Zionists to stay in Czechoslovakia. In Edelstein's mind, leaving meant taking a coward's way out, when what the Jewish community needed were strong leaders to see them through Hitler's regime.⁴

In October 1939, only a few months after Hitler invaded Czechoslovakia, the SS sent Edelstein, along with 2,900 men from Czechoslovakia and Austria, to Poland to build a Jewish settlement.⁵ From the beginning, the project was a disaster: the men suffered unspeakable abuse from the SS, Polish villagers attacked them, and they were given almost no materials with which to build this settlement. The Nazis eventually decided to abandon the project; less than 700 of the original 2,900 men returned to Czechoslovakia.⁶ Edelstein was one of the lucky ones, but he returned certain that the Jews would not survive if sent to Poland. Edelstein hoped that creating a settlement in Czechoslovakia that proved economically useful to the Germans would spare the Czech Jews from being deported to the East. This hope led Edelstein and his fellow community leaders to double their efforts to create a Jewish settlement within the Czech borders. Originally, the Jewish community leaders tried to find a suitable location in Prague, but the Nazis rejected Prague as a possibility. Eventually, Terezin became the only option for a Jewish settlement in Czechoslovakia.

⁴ While the Czech Jewish community in general was highly assimilated, there was a small faction of strong Zionists who worked hard to try to get as many Jews to Palestine as possible before the European borders closed. This group of Zionists, which included Edelstein, would initially make up many of the members of the first Council of Elders in Terezin.

⁵ Berkeley, 18.

⁶ Ibid, 19.

By 1941 transports to the death camps in the East increased, and Edelstein and his colleagues worked to get a plan for Terezin approved by the Nazi command. The original plans for the settlement looked more like plans for an actual town; the Jewish leaders submitted a plan that included a post office, telegraph office, and even a travel bureau on the chance that emigration to Palestine remained an option. The Nazi command paid little attention to these details. Their only request was that the Jewish leaders submit a list, composed of both Zionist and non-Zionist Jews, to act as Council of Elders in the camp. The Nazis chose Edelstein to head the new settlement.⁷

The first order of business for the new Council of Elders was to gather volunteers to ready Terezin for the arrival of the Jewish community. The Council actually had little difficulty finding volunteers, because the Nazis had promised that these families would be safe from deportations to the East. While that promise was in most cases not fulfilled, these initial transports of men, named AK1 and AK2, did have a privileged status within the camp.

Once in Terezin, AK1 and AK2 were responsible for preparing the camp for future transports. Initially, this proved slightly difficult because non-Jewish residents still lived in part of the town. By June 1942, the Nazis had relocated the residents, and the entire town became available to the Jews. At this point, deportations into Terezin increased rapidly; the Nazis sent Jews from Czechoslovakia, Germany, Austria,

⁷ Terezin's Council of Elders worked as a puppet government, set in place to disseminate Nazi official decrees to the general population. Each day, the head of the Council would meet with the Nazi commandant of Terezin, and then the head informed the Council and the Council informed the prison population. To give the impression of a town governed by Jews, Terezin also included offices for every aspect of life in the camp (for example, offices existed for receiving clothing, living arrangements, record keeping, and culture). These offices all had various departments beneath them; permission for all aspects of life (moving to a new barrack, getting clothing repaired, receiving medicine, etc) had to be obtained from these departments.

Luxembourg, and the Netherlands. Later, smaller groups from Denmark, Slovakia, and Hungary would also make their way to Terezin.

1.2 Arrival and Accommodations

The journey to Terezin for Jewish men, women, and children normally began when they received their deportation notice, which arrived three days before they had to report for deportation. Each person could take no more than 110 pounds of belongings; however, many adults packed lighter if they also had to carry luggage for children or elderly family members.⁸ After officially turning over their property to the Germans, the Jews headed to the train station, which took them to Bohusovice.⁹ From there, the prisoners walked about two miles into Terezin; the elderly and sick were loaded onto tightly packed carts to get them to town. Once in the camp, new arrivals marched through the streets to a center known as the Schleuse, or delousing center, located in the Hamburg Barracks. The new arrivals saw no one except the SS guards as they entered the camp; those already in Terezin were ordered to stay in their barracks with the shades drawn each time a new transport arrived. At the Schleuse, the new arrivals filled out paperwork concerning their work ability, underwent an interrogation, and were physically examined.

Many prisoners, especially the elderly German ones, became hysterical and confused while in the Schleuse. The Germans arrived to Terezin believing they would

⁸ Berkeley, 42. Even for those who did pack the full 110 pounds, many of their belongings were confiscated upon arrival in Terezin, where bags were taken away, searched, and then returned to prisoners upon arrival.

⁹ Bohusovice is a town about two miles from Terezin, which sported the only train station in proximity to the ghetto. Eventually the Nazis ordered the prisoners to build train tracks coming directly into Terezin itself. These original tracks into Terezin can still be seen today.

spend their days in a spa town, bringing with them eveningwear and luxury items. A fair amount of these prisoners never recovered from the shock of what life in Terezin actually entailed. New arrivals could stay in the Schleuse for up to five days before being let into the general prison population.

Upon entering the general population, new inmates were given a work assignment and a barracks assignment. Although the removal of the Aryan population provided more space for the inmates, Terezin's swelling population meant that every inch of available space had to be utilized.¹⁰ The Council of Elders had not prepared for the amount of people that would be residing in Terezin; initially they had believed that only Czech Jews would be sent to the ghetto. When Jews from outside Czechoslovakia began arriving, the Council had to change their initial ideas about accommodation. Rooms that prior to the war held three to four people now held as many as seventy. Personal space fell to eighteen square feet per person; tiered bunks were measured to the inch in order to ensure that no one received more space than was allotted.¹¹ Once bunk space ran out, people slept on the floors. The weather also caused problems with living conditions. A constant short supply of coal in the winter caused some to literally freeze to death, and overcrowded conditions prevented airflow in the summer. For the first year or so of Terezin's existence, the barracks were segregated by gender; the Hamburg barracks held women and children, while the Sudetan barracks housed the men.¹² For a time, men and women could not mix; children saw their fathers once a week on Sundays for two hours when gendarmes escorted the children to the Sudetan barracks. However, once the pre-

¹⁰ Although figures vary from source to source, at its height, approximately 50-55 thousand inmates lived in Terezin at one time. Prior to the war, the average population was approximately 7,000.

¹¹ Berkley, 46.

¹² All of Terezin's buildings were given German names by the SS. Terezin itself was referred to as Theresienstadt.

existing residents of Terezin had been relocated, the rules were relaxed somewhat; women and men mixed, children roamed freely, and the sidewalks opened for public use.

1.3 Daily Life

In a 2005 email from Terezin survivor Edgar Krasa, he writes: “Life of the adults was monotonous, same every day.”¹³ Most days contained a mix of work, eating what little food was provided, and dealing with the stress and horror of camp life. While cultural events provided much needed bright spots, bad conditions made life a struggle. The horrid living conditions caused disease to spread quickly. Lice infested everyone, and inmates received bites from the multiplying bugs throughout the day and night. Epidemics broke out, and a lack of vitamins caused serious but temporary diseases, including conjunctivitis, which includes flare-ups of night blindness due to a lack of Vitamin A. Scurvy, pellagra, heart and lung problems, typhoid and hepatitis were also common. Typhoid epidemics hit Terezin a few times throughout its existence, though some saw typhoid as a blessing because it caused no pain and allowed a person to spend a few nights in bed. Lack of food contributed to many of these diseases by weakening immune systems.

People died at alarming rates; sometimes there were more than 150 deaths a day.¹⁴ Dead bodies covered the barracks and streets of Terezin until someone could remove them. Death squads loaded bodies onto a wooden hearse for transport to an opening in a wall for a funeral service. Protestants, Catholics, and Jews all had allocated times for funeral services, after which the bodies were taken to the mortuary and placed in wooden

¹³ Edgar Krasa, personal email, 1 August 2005.

¹⁴ Joza Karas, *Music in Terezin 1941-1945 Second Edition* (Hillsdale NY: Pendragon, 2008), 10.

coffins. The death squads took the coffins to the cemetery for burial; however, in the later years of the camp, when the number of available burial plots diminished, bodies were wrapped in a sheet and buried in mass graves. In September 1942 rising water levels pushed the buried bodies to the surface, and a crematorium became a new addition to Terezin. Cremated bodies were boxed and set aside, eventually being thrown into the Ohre River by the Nazis in an effort to cover their misdeeds towards the Jews.¹⁵

A complex political and social hierarchy existed at the camp, with tiers based on camp status, profession, ideology, and ethnicity. The Zionists became one of the main ideological factions in the camp; illness among non-Zionists (who were mainly the elderly) and Hitler's racial policies caused this movement to grow quickly. A small group of communists also existed in Terezin, and they tried to work with the Zionists for common goals. There was animosity between the Czechs and the Germans; most Czechs saw the Germans as simply Germans, who were all bad. The Germans tried to avoid the Czechs as much as possible, and most Czechs never made an effort to reach out to the Germans. The Germans initially came to Terezin thinking the Czechs would be their allies. The German Jews were treated slightly better by the SS as well, causing more animosity between the two groups. Deportations from Terezin that seemed to focus on Czech Jews also made the Czechs wary of the Germans. The Germans in general made no effort to understand Czech or Czech culture; they also tended to staunchly follow German orders without question.

Death, disease, hunger, and fear of transports took over the minds of Terezin residents every day of their ghetto existence, leading inmates to do whatever necessary in

¹⁵ The Jews in Terezin who threw ashes into the Ohre river were later executed at the Kleine Festung.

order to survive. A bartering system developed in the camp, with food and cigarettes turning into commodities to trade. Those who worked in the kitchens and gardens stole food for family and friends while also keeping extra for themselves, and young adults and children stole or traded whatever they could. In this respect the elderly suffered the most because they were physically unable to steal or trade anything of value. The diet in Terezin consisted of ersatz coffee,¹⁶ a watery soup that sometimes had scraps of vegetables or horsemeat, a third of a loaf of bread twice a week, and once in a while a dumpling; sometimes a meal consisted only of coffee. Sometimes a teaspoon or two of margarine, sugar, or jam was also included. Stealing or trading for food not only added to this meager diet but also allowed inmates to supplement their meals with much needed fruits and vegetables. However, no bartering or stealing could completely compensate for the lack of food. Food became a main topic of conversation; many survivors write about how inmates reminisced about meals from home or discussed what they would eat after liberation. Collections of poems and writings from Terezin's days as a camp also include a fair amount about food or lack thereof.

Besides food, the fear of being transported permeated every aspect of life at Terezin. Originally, the Council of Elders had envisioned Terezin as a place where the Jews of the Czech lands could stay until the end of the war. That hope was shattered when Jews from Germany, and later other countries, began being shipped to the camp. What the Council did not know was that two months after the first transport to Terezin left from Prague, a meeting of top Nazi officials took place in the Berlin suburb of

¹⁶ "Ersatz" in German means substitute, which is exactly what this coffee was: a substitute made of available herbs that acted as coffee.

Wannsee.¹⁷ This meeting on 20 January 1942, later known as the Wannsee Conference, laid out a plan for the Final Solution and ultimate destruction of the Jews. Terezin was discussed at this conference; contrary to the ideas of the eventual Council of Elders, the Nazi officials in Wannsee from the beginning saw Terezin as a “privileged ghetto.” From the start, Terezin was planned as a camp for prominent Jews whose disappearances might be questioned by the rest of the world. It also would serve as a camp for Jewish veterans of World War I; while the Reich may not have cared about the Jews as a whole, the German army felt that veterans still deserved some honor. Jewish veterans who were disabled or highly decorated were initially “honored” with being deported to Terezin rather than the death camps in the East. The Council of Elders and Terezin’s residents, however, did not know that the Nazis had two purposes in mind for the camp; Terezin would serve not only as a place for privileged Jews, but also as a stopover on the way to the death camps. This last function eventually earned the camp the nickname “Anteroom to Hell.”¹⁸

1.4 Deportations

Deportations from Terezin to the East began in January 1942, only a short time after Jewish residents began arriving. A work detail of 1,000 prisoners to Riga was ordered; this transport shattered whatever hope the Council of Elders and residents had of staying in Terezin for the duration of the war. This initial transport was followed by thirty-nine more over the next thirteen months. Through the spring, most of these

¹⁷ Nazi officials present included Reinhard Heydrich (who would later become the head of the Reich Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia and would then be assassinated) and Adolf Eichmann (who is normally credited with creating the plans for the operation of the concentration camps).

¹⁸ The term “Anteroom to Hell” has been found in quotes from many survivors. Viktor Ullmann, the composer who would go on to head the Leisure Time Organization at Terezin, also uses the term.

transports went to Minsk and Lublin. Transports to the death camps began in July 1942, when the first transport to Treblinka occurred. Treblinka was the death camp most inmates were sent to until October 1942, when the first transport to Auschwitz from Terezin occurred. From then on, Auschwitz and Birkenau would be the destination of all transports leaving Terezin.

The process for transportation to the East in Terezin always began with an announcement of how many people would be on the transport. In a cruel twist, the Nazis left it up to the Council of Elders to decide who would be included on the transport list. The Council had criteria within which to work; these guidelines included making sure that those convicted of crimes or those requested by the SS were put on the transport list. They also had a list of exemptions, or people that they wanted to keep off the lists for various reasons. Those with exemption status included the *Prominenten*, those on the first two transports to Terezin, those with Aryan marriages, and those whose work was seen as vital to daily camp life.¹⁹ When choosing whom to send to the East, the Council often first looked to the newest arrivals in the camp. New arrivals did not have enough time to make good connections in the camp, nor did they have the chance to make themselves irreplaceable. The Council therefore saw new arrivals as prime candidates to put on the transports. Inmates whose work was not vital to daily camp operations or who had poor work performance also ended up on transport lists.

Those on the lists initially found out from their house elder, who received the list from the Council. Inmates selected for transport were allowed to send messages to

¹⁹ The *Prominenten* were those in Terezin who were considered “honored” citizens of the camp. These included the Council of Elders, former WWI veterans, those who had famed reputations before the war, and those in the arts. As for Aryan marriages, Jews who were married to Aryans before the war were sent to Terezin rather than the death camps.

family and friends in the camp and have laundry done.²⁰ Inmates also could take most of their belongings with them; this was a calculated move on the part of the SS, who knew that they would confiscate the inmates' belongings once they arrived at their destination. What inmates could not take they normally gave to those left behind. An appointed time was given for inmates on the transport to gather at the Schleuse, after which they were not allowed contact with the main camp population. Inmates on the transport could wait anywhere from hours to days in the Schleuse before being boarded onto trains. Most of the inmates sent to Poland did not survive.

1.5 Religion

In such desperate circumstances, inmates grasped onto anything to get them through the day; for some, this meant turning towards religion. Religion in Terezin played an intriguing part in camp life. On one hand, religious services and practices did not affect everyday life, but on the other hand, one cannot forget that these inmates were arrested and sent to Terezin for being Jewish. Another angle to the influence of religion in Terezin concerns the Council of Elders, a predominately Zionist governing body. All of these components played a part in the function of religion in the camp and its impact on the inmates. Prior to the war, in both Czechoslovakia and Germany, religion for many people came second to nationality; in other words, being Czech or German meant more than being Jewish or Christian.²¹ There were also those who converted from Judaism to

²⁰ Since most Terezin inmates could only have laundry done once every few months, this was considered a privilege to those being transported.

²¹ This is one of the main reasons why Jews in Germany in the 1930s did not necessarily see Hitler as a major threat to their lives, in their minds, they were simply German and therefore did not expect the calamities that would follow. This focus on nationalism also played a part in the tensions between the Czechs and Germans mentioned earlier in this chapter in section 1.3.

Catholicism or Protestantism long before Hitler or the war changed their lives. Many inmates in Terezin never considered themselves Jewish until they received their deportation notice. While many prisoners in the camp did continue their secular way of life, some took the opportunity to explore their Jewish roots and history. Terezin was one of the few places where Catholics, Protestants, and Jews worshipped together peacefully for the most part. A small group of Jews who had converted to Christianity as adults faced some animosity, but these instances were not prevalent.

Many on the Council of Elders, including Jacob Edelstein, were religiously observant Jews who believed in the creation of an all-Jewish state. The initial Council of Elders, who were all Czech, made every effort once in Terezin to make sure that the Jewish people somehow survived to create the all-Jewish state. The overall well being in Terezin made this effort particularly difficult; transports to the East also impeded this effort. Eventually, the Council chose to focus its efforts for a Zionist future on one particular group of inmates: the children of Terezin.

CULTURAL AND MUSICAL LIFE IN TEREZIN

2.1 Culture

In this atmosphere of fear, deception, and despair, hope and bits of happiness were found in Terezin's cultural life. Thanks to its inception as a propaganda camp, the Nazis deported many society elites to Terezin. These included known academics, actors, dancers, musicians, and filmmakers. The convergence of some of the greatest intellectual and artistic minds of Central Europe turned Terezin into one of the most culturally active centers in Europe during the war. Rafael Schächter, a piano teacher and choral conductor

from Prague created the foundations for musical life in the camp. Schächter arrived in Terezin on one of the first transports in 1941 and began working to get the town ready for its future Jewish inmates. Fearing his comrades would develop a prisoner mentality, Schächter conducted the men in singing Czech songs. Many musicians smuggled their instruments into Terezin, and secret night concerts took place in the barracks.²²

The first documented performance was a chamber music concert in 1941 held in the Sudeten barracks.²³ A jazz orchestra also formed among the earliest musicians in Terezin. Eventually, the Nazi officials found out about these illegal concerts, but they decided that the musicians could be useful in showing the world that the Jews were being treated humanely. Nazi guards encouraged these *Kameradschaftbende* (evenings of fellowship), and the Council of Elders selected an opera singer, Hedda Grab-Kernmayer, to organize educational and cultural events at the camp.

Despite the difficulties, Terezin's musical and artistic life flourished. Most artists jumped at the chance to practice their craft. Many found the environment somewhat liberating; free from outside responsibilities, they could concentrate solely on their chosen field.²⁴ The musicians also had the opportunity to perform works by Jewish composers, something that was forbidden outside the ghetto walls. Younger musicians studied with established performers and composers; for many, this was a time that

²² From the time the Nazis began organizing Jews into ghettos, performances by Jews were not allowed in any capacity. Many Jews arranged secret salon concerts in their ghetto apartments, with concertgoers staying overnight in the host or hostess's apartment. The ban on performances extended to the concentration camps as well once the ghettos were liquidated of their residents.

²³ The musicians included Karl Frolich and Heinrich Taussig on violin, Viktor Kohn on flute, and Wolf Lederer and Kurt Meyer on accordion (Karas, p. 11). The exact date of the concert is unknown; a program of the concert was dated 6 December 1941 (Karas, p. 11), but the program was typed after the concert took place therefore not guaranteeing 6 December 1941 is an accurate date.

²⁴ All of Terezin's prisoners worked forced labor positions except those whose job was to work for the FZG, which is mentioned below. The inmates who did work for the FZG had the opportunity to work only on the artistic endeavors and not forced labor.

allowed them to expand their knowledge and skill level. Religious music also had a place in Terezin. A temple choir performed music at Jewish religious services, and other small ensembles performed at Christian services.

As Terezin grew, various departments and administrative groups were created to organize all aspects of life in the camp. The Freizeitgestaltung (Leisure Time Organization) officially came into being in late 1942. This meant that the Nazis now sanctioned all cultural activities, though they were also subject to censorship. Those working for the Freizeitgestaltung were exempt from manual labor and could work in their given field. The leaders of the Freizeitgestaltung set aside times for practicing, writing, and composing. Within the organization were various departments: music, theater, sports, lectures, scheduling, and technical support. All of these departments had subdivisions as well. One common observation about Terezin is that there was a department for everything from culture to getting shoes repaired, and that there were so many departments within departments that it was a challenge to keep track of them.

2.2 Musical Life in Terezin

Hans Krasa led the music section of the Freizeitgestaltung, which included subdivisions for opera and vocal music (led by Rafael Schächter), instrumental music (led by Gideon Klein), coffee house music (led by Paul Libensky), and instrument management (also led by Libensky). Specific to the music department were such tasks as finding instruments, finding sheet music, and scheduling rehearsal times with the one available piano in the camp. The music department faced many challenges in putting on their events. Some were common to the entire Freizeitgestaltung; finding space for

performances and lectures was one of the most daunting tasks due to the overcrowding in Terezin. Another challenge involved transports. While most of the prominent artists in the Freizeitgestaltung were initially exempt from transports, many of the artists involved in choruses and ensembles were transported East.

Hedda Grab-Kernmayer presented the first cultural program in the women's barracks in March 1942, with the Council of Elders in attendance.²⁵ The first full vocal concert took place three months later and included works by Puccini, Meyerbeer, Bizet, Smetana, and Dvorak. The opening of a coffeehouse in Terezin's square gave rise to the Ghetto Swingers, a swing band that performed on the pavilion just outside the coffeehouse. The leisure time division of the Administration emerged at the end of 1942, adding to the Administration's repertoire with lectures, concerts, theater productions, and poetry readings.

Choral (including opera), chamber works, and solo music received the most attention at Terezin. Rafael Schächter's choral department grew and gained more performance ability with the arrival of pianist Gideon Klein. Four choral groups existed at Terezin: a men's chorus, a women's chorus, a girls' chorus, and a boys' chorus, with the groups combining to perform mixed choral pieces.²⁶ A Temple chorus also existed to sing at religious services. The choral groups performed a variety of works, including oratorios like Mendelssohn's *Elijah* and Haydn's *Creation*. Sometimes the vocal concerts took on a deeper meaning beyond an attempt to preserve a sense of normalcy and culture to other inmates. Edgar Krasa, for example, describes Schächter's reason for staging a choral performance of Verdi's *Requiem*:

²⁵ Karas 1985, 18. This was the first time that any men had been in the women's barracks, as at the time the Nazis still banned the sexes mixing.

²⁶ Karel Berman headed the girls chorus, while Karl Vbra took charge of the boys chorus.

Schächter [’s] drive to tell the Nazis that the day of reckoning will come, and they will not escape punishment. He could not tell them in German, but thought singing it in Latin he will be able to get it off his chest. Among the objectors were many musicians, Rabbis and the Council of Elders told Schächter that if the Germans find out the intent, they will hang him and deport the whole choir. He persisted. 7 months after the start of teaching the Czech singers Latin and the difficult music by rote, and 3 times losing always sizeable numbers of choir members, the premiere took place in January 1944.²⁷

Although many of the choral members eventually died in the gas chambers, Schächter never viewed this performance as the Czech Jews’ way of singing their own Requiem; instead, Schächter believed the choir sang a Requiem for the Third Reich.

Opera had a special place in the musical life of Terezin. Smetana’s *The Bartered Bride* was the first opera performed there. The orchestra consisted of a baby grand piano with no legs, a broken reed organ, an accordion, and a pitch pipe. The performance took place in a gymnasium. Despite all of that, *The Bartered Bride* became Terezin’s most popular opera, not only due to the quality of the performance but also because the opera resonated with Czech Jews, who at the time were in the majority in Terezin. Most of the operas were performed in concert versions with a piano, and Czech operas like *The Bartered Bride* attracted more of an audience than Mozart’s operas.²⁸ Two fully staged operas appeared on the stage in Terezin: Pergolesi’s *La serva padrona* and Bizet’s *Carmen*. Rafael Schächter directed *La serva padrona*, and the opera’s orchestra consisted of strings and a continuo. The cast for *Carmen* grew with the arrival of a transport from the Netherlands. Hans Krasa’s *Brundibár*, a children’s opera, became incredibly popular in the camp and provided entertainment for Red Cross officials during

²⁷ Edgar Krasa, personal email, August 1, 2005

²⁸ The two Mozart operas performed in Terezin were *The Marriage of Figaro* and *The Magic Flute*.

their 1944 visit. The opera was fully staged during its entire run in Terezin, including for the Red Cross visit.

Chamber music enjoyed the most favorable conditions in Terezin. The instrument supply received help from the Council of Elders, who had brought their personal instruments with them to the camp.²⁹ The SS brought string instruments and even had instruments delivered to the camp from workshops in Prague. While instruments were never in short supply, sheet music for chamber ensembles proved difficult to come by. The camp's first official string quartet included Egdon Ledec, Dr. Ilona Kral, Viktor Kohn, and Dr. Klapp; they called themselves the "Doctors' Quartet." Klapp had his own apartment, where the quartet would perform. Another famous chamber group, the Terezin Quartet, consisted of Karel Frolich, Heinrich Taussig, Romauld Sussmann, and Fredrich Mark.

Solo recitals abounded in Terezin, especially for pianists and vocalists. Bernard Kaff, Edith Steiner-Kraus, and Alice Herz-Sommer were known for their solo piano recitals. Solo recitals also gave composers a chance to premiere new works to the Terezin public. Many composers created piano and vocal pieces for performers to premiere each night at the camp. Viktor Ullmann was one such composer, and his works are only now making their way into the mainstream twenty-first century music world. Musician, composer, and musical critic, Ullmann made a name for himself as one of Terezin's premier authorities on music. Ullmann counted works for solo piano, string

²⁹ The Council of Elders lived in their own apartments, and in much better condition than the other inmates. Many Elders invited musicians to play in their quarters and gave them instruments they had brought from their personal collections. The Elders had many more privileges than the rest of the camp, so they had the ability to bring in items forbidden to others, like musical instruments.

quartet, and voice among his output. Many of these had premieres at Terezin, with one notable exception being Ullmann's opera, *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*.

LATER YEARS IN TEREZIN

3.1 Later Changes

Life in Terezin continued to be dominated by hunger, disease, and fear of transports—with the only bright spots religion and culture—for its entire existence. However, in 1943, changes in the camp began to take place. Living conditions began to improve, and the Nazis relaxed many of the rules and regulations that had been in place from the camp's inception.³⁰ The end of 1943, however, began a stressful time for inmates. Transports to Auschwitz became more frequent, and officials on the Council began to be replaced. In late 1943, Jakob Edelstein and three aides were arrested for falsifying the camp registry. Otto Zucker temporarily replaced Edelstein as head of the Council of Elders until the SS nominated Dr. Paul Eppstein.

Eppstein was not a welcome choice among most of the Czech prisoners in Terezin. A German Jew and former professor in Berlin, Eppstein was tortured in a Gestapo prison for four months before being sent to Terezin. According to witnesses, this left him a weakened individual, one who followed Nazi orders in Terezin to the letter. No definitive reason was ever given by the Nazis as to why they decided to replace Edelstein with Eppstein. Possibly they felt Eppstein would be easier to control, unlike Edelstein who tried to skirt around Nazi orders when possible. Eppstein spoke fluent German and English as well, and the Nazis indicated possibly considering using

³⁰ Better living conditions included more water, better delousing stations, a sewage system, and a little more food. As for rules, the Nazis allowed almost everything except tobacco and the participation in body building sports such as European football and gymnastics.

Eppstein for overseas broadcasts. The Czech Jews were especially unhappy with this change in leadership, seeing Eppstein solely as a German and not a fellow victim of Nazi cruelty. The Council had slightly better living conditions than the general population, and the Nazis would sometimes grant special requests from the Council; for example, when they arranged to float Eppstein's piano down the river on a barge for use in his apartment. But by 1943, the Council had stopped having an important role in daily camp life; their function became more useful for the propaganda ideals of the Nazi party.³¹

In 1943, Anton Burger, an adamant anti-Semite, replaced commandant Seidl.³² Rudolph Haindl replaced deputy commandant Karl Bergel.³³ Both of these men hated Czech Jews and treated them with particular violence. Around this time, rumors about gas chambers began circulating of the Nazi horrors in the camps in the East, though the camp population did not know the terms Auschwitz and Birkenau. Most of these reports were not given credence by the prisoners.³⁴ There is some speculation that the Council of Elders also knew about the death camps since they were the ones who created the transport lists, but no evidence has definitively proved that the Council knew anything.

3.2 Beautification Process and Red Cross Visit

³¹ In this case the propaganda ideals of the Nazi party refer to the idea that Terezin would be a "model" camp used to show the world that the Jews were being treated fairly.

³² Dr. Siegfried Seidl was the first Nazi commandant of Terezin. Born 24 August 1911 in Tulin, Austria, he became commandant in November, 1941 and stayed as the head Nazi official in Terezin until July, 1943. He was arrested after the war and executed in Vienna on 14 November 1946 (information taken from database of Yad Vashem).

³³ Karl Bergel was born 23 March 1902 in Dresden. He acted as deputy commandant to Siegfried Seidl until July, 1943. He disappeared after the war and his whereabouts remain unknown.

³⁴ One of the few inmates who knew the true state of affairs in the East was Leo Baeck, a Berlin rabbi who had a prominent status within the camp. Baeck had heard about Auschwitz and its horrors from an outside source but chose to keep this information to himself in order to avoid starting a panic.

By 1944, less than half of Terezin contained Czech Jews. Germans, Austrians, Danes, and Slovaks made up the rest of the camp population. Dutch Jews began arriving at the camp on 18 January 1944.³⁵ It was also in early 1944 that Terezin's beautification process picked up speed in preparation for a visit from the International Red Cross. The process itself had begun in late 1943, when the King of Denmark put pressure on the International Red Cross to visit the camp. King Christian X was greatly concerned over the living conditions of the Danish Jews in Terezin, and so the International Red Cross, with Nazi permission, made plans to visit the camp in June 1944. The Nazis took this as an opportunity to show the world how well the Jews were being treated by the Germans. The entire camp received, in essence, a facelift: buildings were coated with fresh paint, and sidewalks were paved. The main square, which had previously been off limits to the Jews, now housed a coffeehouse where musicians could be heard and the prisoners could get a cup of ersatz coffee. A playground for the children was added as well. Another consequence of the preparations for the Red Cross visit occurred in the form of transports: those who looked unhealthy were deported to Auschwitz. Edgar Krasa describes his memories of the Red Cross visit and the beautification process:

The 'beautification' of the Ghetto was started soon after the commander accepted the idea of a propaganda program. Right after the first transport arrived, tents and prefab buildings were put up on the town square, and all prisoners, men and women, were put to work on war industry and consumer goods were produced there. A huge barter economy developed in absence of real money. Inside the Ghetto were no German guards, a Jewish police force was established. Also an economy police, whose job it was to try to prevent stealing community and personal property. When it was decided to invite the Int. Red Cross, the tents and barracks on the town square were removed, grass was planted, flower beds established, a music pavilion built on the town square for the 'promenading'

³⁵ While this was not the first group of Jews deported to Terezin from Holland, it was the first group of actual Dutch Jews deported to Terezin. The other transports from Holland contained Jews who had moved there from other Nazi occupied countries.

public. All old people were sent away, so that only young, good looking people would be seen. A playground was built with swings and everything that is on a playground. I could not understand that members of the Red Cross, who were asked to do the Nazis a favor, agreed not to interview people they met at random on the street, but only those whom they were introduced to by the Commander, accompanying them. These were auditioned under threat of deportation to say what the SS wanted the visitors to hear. So were little children, who, when the visitors came to the playground, were given chocolate and had to address the commander [SS Colonel Karl Rahm], whom they have never seen, as uncle, and by his name: Uncle Rahm, again chocolate?! Many children did not even know chocolate because it was not on their ration tickets at home. Everything was a farce.³⁶

The Red Cross visit took place on 23 June 1944. The Nazis had planned their visit down to the minute detail. Prisoners were given specific tasks, and as the Red Cross approached various places along their route, a signal would be given, and prisoners would perform their assigned acts. These included children playing on the playground, girls whistling on their way to work in the gardens, and prisoners enjoying a performance in the coffeehouse. The Red Cross also got a glimpse into the cultural life of Terezin; as mentioned above, they saw performances of Hans Krasa's *Brundibár* and a performance of Verdi's *Requiem* conducted by Rafael Schächter. Initially, the prisoners had hoped they could speak with the Red Cross to give them an idea of the horrible conditions. The Nazis, however, made sure that did not happen; none of the inmates at Terezin had the chance to say anything to the Red Cross.

Once back at their headquarters in Switzerland, the Red Cross wrote a report about the visit to Terezin. While the report did not overly praise Terezin, it did say that no evidence could be found of obvious mistreatment of the Jews. In 1979, Claude Lanzmann interviewed one of the members of the Red Cross delegation, sociologist

³⁶ Edgar Krasa, personal email, 3 August 2005.

Maurice Rossel.³⁷ In the interview, Rossel says that while he on some level knew that he was seeing a “Potemkin camp,” the Jews to him seemed passive and made no effort to get his attention to alert him that something was not right. In the years after the war, the International Red Cross received much criticism for not intervening at Terezin and other camps. Rossel tells Claude Lanzmann that he “could not invent things I did not see.”³⁸ Rossel was permitted to take photographs while at Terezin, and in his opinion, those did not show anything terribly out of the ordinary.³⁹

In the eyes of the Nazis, the Red Cross visit was a success that needed to be built upon. To this end, they decided to create a film entitled *The Führer Gives a City to the Jews*. The Nazis enlisted Kurt Geron, an actor and director imprisoned in the camp, to shoot the film. Twenty-four minutes of this film survive, showing scenes of a soccer match, musical performances, and the children’s homes. The entire thing, like the Red Cross visit, was staged. Once filming was finished, those involved with the film, and those who had close-up shots, were transported to Auschwitz and sent to the gas chambers. The Nazis had intended to release the film to show the world that the Jews were being treated fairly, but the downturn of the war for Germany prevented them from doing so. When the Russians liberated the camp, they found the film footage and eventually released it to the public.⁴⁰

³⁷ Claude Lanzmann, *Shoah Interview with Maurice Rossel*, full transcript of interview, 1979 (<http://resources.ushmm.org>).

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ An attempt to make a film in Terezin had been done in 1942 slightly less than ten minutes of that original film survive. Titled *Theresienstadt*, filming occurred long before the beautification process of Terezin for the Red Cross visit. Once the film had been sent to Berlin for viewing, it was deemed too crude looking to be shown to the public.

3.3 Final Years and Liberation

Three months after the Red Cross visit, Paul Eppstein was arrested for supposedly trying to escape Terezin; in reality Eppstein had upset several SS members by arguing with a Czech gendarme. However, other factors also seem to account for the SS's desire to remove Eppstein as head of the Council of Elders. The fact that Commandant Rahm did not particularly like Eppstein, and that Eppstein was apparently not following Nazi orders to the letter, may have played a part. Eppstein was shot at the Kleine Festung soon after his arrest, and Benjamin Murelstein, a Viennese Jew on the Council of Elders, became the third head of the Council. The inmates in Terezin did not take kindly to this news, as Murelstein was not a popular figure in the camp. Murelstein had worked with Adolf Eichmann in Vienna, before Terezin had been created, and this did not win him support among the Viennese Jewish community. In the years since the war, Murelstein has often been vilified for not doing enough to help the Jews and for his association with Eichmann. In Claude Lanzmann's 1975 film *Shoah*, he interviewed Murelstein; his scenes did not make it into the final version of the film, but clips and the transcript of the interview are available on the website for the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. In his defense, Murelstein says, "Basically, the Jewish Elder was always, as can be said, between hammer and anvil, between the Jews and the Germans. And you know, those who are between hammer and anvil can divert many blows. That means that the blow coming from above, does not hit the anvil. But not all blows, one blow from time to time."⁴¹

Terezin's cultural life thrived until the last wave of transports to Auschwitz began

⁴¹ Claude Lanzmann, *Shoah Interview with Benjamin Murelstein*, full transcript of interview, Winter 1975-1976. (<http://resources.ushmm.org>)

in September 1944. By this time, the Germans knew their chances of winning the war were slim and that the Russian army was closing in on the death camps in Poland. In the minds of the Nazis, this gave them precious little time to take care of the Final Solution. In the face of defeat, the gas chambers and crematoria at Auschwitz were being pushed to their limits. Transports from Terezin played a part in this; in two months, over 20,000 inmates were sent to Auschwitz.⁴² These transports not only cleared out much of the camp, but they also decimated Terezin's cultural life. Almost all of the musicians were on the transport of 16 October 1944. Rafael Schächter, Viktor Ullmann, Gideon Klein, conductor Karel Ančerl, Hans Krasa, and Pavel Haas were all sent to Auschwitz. Most of the musicians were automatically sent to the gas chambers upon arrival the next day. Gideon Klein stayed in Auschwitz for a few weeks; he was sent to the Fürstengrube concentration camp, where he died in October 1944. Rafael Schächter was transported from Auschwitz to several other camps before dying on a death march in March 1945. Karel Ančerl and singer Karel Berman both survived Auschwitz and went on to have musical careers in Europe and North America, but they were among the very few lucky ones. An entire generation of Czech musicians was wiped out between October 1944 and March 1945.

In Terezin, the musical life continued on without the majority of the *Freizeitgestaltung*, as many of the camp's prominent pianists (such as Alice Herz-Sommer and Edith Steiner-Kraus) had not been deported. Danish and Dutch musicians, whose opportunities for performance had been limited, began giving concerts of their own. In general, most of the camp's concerts consisted of solo recitals, piano/vocal

⁴² Karas, 143.

recitals, and chamber music concerts. While Terezin's musical life continued at a surprisingly high pace, productions such as operas, oratorios, and other large-scale choral works were not possible due to the diminished camp population. Though few children remained in Terezin by the spring of 1945, they also put on small shows and performances.

The spring of 1945 was an eventful one for Terezin. Several hundred Slovak Jews and over 1,000 Hungarian Jews were deported to the camp.⁴³ The Danish Jews, whose freedom had been negotiated by the Swedish Red Cross, left Terezin and returned to Denmark. Besides the Hungarians and Slovaks, Terezin's population rose due to transports of prisoners coming from the Buchenwald and Gross-Rosen concentration camps. This influx of prisoners also caused a typhoid epidemic. On 2 May 1945, the same day German forces in Berlin surrendered to Soviet troops, Terezin commandant Rahm turned the camp over to the International Red Cross. A few days later, Soviet troops entered Terezin and officially liberated the camp. Due to the typhoid epidemic, those left in Terezin were quarantined for several months. Once the quarantine was lifted the last of Terezin's former inmates left the camp in August 1945.

⁴³ United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. "Theresienstadt", *Holocaust Encyclopedia*. <http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10007460> (accessed August 1, 2014).

LITERATURE REVIEW

Unlike other musicological topics, Terezin has no definitive canon of literature. The amount of literature on Terezin is relatively small in comparison to literature on other concentration camps, notably Auschwitz. Another problem with Terezin research is the language barrier; many sources on Terezin have not been translated into English, and therefore unless one is fluent in German, Czech, or Hebrew (the languages of most non-English Terezin sources), certain sources will remain unavailable. While small portions of translated material may appear in other Terezin sources, most of these non-English books have not been fully translated into English.

Terezin literature can be divided into several categories: guide books, general books, survivor accounts, published archival material, and academic works. The guide books come from the Památník Terezín organization, which oversees the museums and displays in the town of Terezin. In many ways, these guidebooks provide some of the best general material on Terezin because the information used to create these guidebooks comes directly from the archives of the camp, which are extensive. These guidebooks have been translated into many different languages, making them accessible to visitors of Terezin and scholars alike. While general guidebooks do not go into detail on specific people or the musical life of Terezin, they do provide a strong foundation in the general workings of the camp and the living conditions there.

General books on Terezin are few in number; of the handful that exist, H.G. Adler's *Theresienstadt. 1941-1945. Das Antlitz einer Zwangsgemeinschaft, Geschichte Soziologie*

Psychologie is widely considered to be the most definitive tome on the subject.⁴⁴ Written in 1955, Adler used material he had written during his imprisonment in Terezin as well as newspaper articles and information gathered in the years directly after the war. Much of the material resides with the H.G. Adler Collection at the Netherlands Institute for War Documentation and Holocaust and Genocide Studies in Amsterdam (NIOD). Despite his book being the closest thing to a definitive volume on Terezin, many later scholars have pointed out errors in information and a great deal of bias on Adler's part.⁴⁵ Some of these inaccuracies are due to the fact that much of the information on the Holocaust in what would become the Soviet Bloc was suppressed in the years after the war; therefore, Adler had access to limited amounts of information. As for biases in the book, no one has given a definitive answer as to why Adler seems to take such a harsh view on certain people and aspects of Terezin; Adler is particularly harsh on Terezin's cultural life. Survivor Otto Grunfeld, who met Adler in London in the late 1940s, offered this observation as a possible reason for Adler's views: "I incline to view that Günther Adler might have been 'out of tune' with avant-garde mid-20th century music since his values would have been deeply embedded in the supreme achievements of the classical, romantic, and post-romantic periods..."⁴⁶ While not a definitive answer as to the reason for Adler's critiques, Grunfeld's observations offer a possible motive.

A more standard publication on Terezin is George Berkley's *Hitler's Gift: The Story of Theresienstadt*. Published in 2010, it gives details on Terezin's history before, during, and after the war. While it does mention some aspects of the creative life that

⁴⁴ H.G. Adler, *Theresienstadt. 1941-1945. Das Antlitz einer Zwangsgemeinschaft, Geschichte Soziologie Psychologie* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1955).

⁴⁵ Factual errors in Adler's book are normally associated with the timing of events or other events during the war.

⁴⁶ Otto Grunfeld, personal letter, 13 March 2013.

occurred there, the focus is on camp operations and the political hierarchy that ran Terezin. Berkley's source material includes interviews with survivors, archival material from various European collections, as well as other published books and articles. It is a comprehensive guide to the camp and its history, written in a way that is accessible to readers of all levels. In the realm of Terezin literature, this is the most authoritative foundational book on the camp's history.

The most recent book to be published on the history of Terezin is Vera Schiff's *The Theresienstadt Deception: The Concentration Camp the Nazis Created to Deceive the World*, which was published in January 2013.⁴⁷ Schiff worked as a nurse in Terezin when she was sixteen years old and has written several books on the camp. Her 2004 book, *Theresienstadt*, is a survivor memoir interspersed with information on camp life and life before and after the war in former Czechoslovakia.⁴⁸ This new release seems to be a general history of Terezin, though it is not readily available in the United States.

Concerning musical life in Terezin, Joza Karas's *Music in Terezin 1941-1945* is the only general volume on the subject.⁴⁹ Originally published in 1985, a second edition was published in 2008. The book is mainly a primer, introducing those involved with the musical life in Terezin and giving basic information on some of the major performances that occurred in the camp. For the most part, Karas does not go into detail on the conditions in the camp or the circumstances surrounding Terezin. Instead, Karas focuses on the musicians and performances that were the cornerstones of Terezin's musical life. Some may consider this a weakness of Karas's book, on the grounds that not giving an

⁴⁷ Vera Schiff, *The Theresienstadt Deception: The Concentration Camp the Nazis Created to Deceive the World* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 2013).

⁴⁸ Vera Schiff, *Theresienstadt* (Toronto: Michael Schiff, 2004).

⁴⁹ Joza Karas, *Music in Terezin 1941-1945* (Hillsdale: Pendragon, 1985).

accurate context to the musical life of Terezin is misleading. However, Karas's book is a product of its time, written at a point in Holocaust studies when discussions of resistance movements and hope in a hopeless situation were popular.

While few general books on Terezin have been published, numerous survivor accounts exist in multiple languages. They include memoirs from those involved with the cultural life in Terezin, child survivors, and survivors from other areas of Terezin's camp life. One of the most recent survivor memoirs comes from Zdenka Fantlova, an actress involved with theater productions in Terezin. Her book *The Tin Ring*, published in 2010, focuses on the various relationships with friends and family Zdenka developed before the war and during her time in Terezin and Auschwitz.⁵⁰ Fantlova also published a more general memoir, *My Lucky Star*, in 2001.⁵¹ This book details Fantlova's pre-war days, her incarceration in Terezin, and her eventual liberation from the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp.

Another memoir written by a survivor involved with Terezin's cultural life is Norbert Troller's *Theresienstadt: Hitler's Gift to the Jews*.⁵² Troller was an architect and World War I veteran from Brno. Troller worked as an architect at Terezin, and along with other artists, he sketched and painted pictures of the conditions of life in the camp. Troller recounts his life in Terezin and how he and other artists including Fritz Taussig (also known as Bedrich Fritta), Otto Ungar, and Leo Haas secretly depicted the hunger, despair, and crowded living conditions of the camp. Eventually, the SS found these paintings and imprisoned all of the artists in the Kleine Festung. Troller was one of the

⁵⁰ Zdenka Fantlova, *The Tin Ring* (Newcastle: Northumbria, 2010).

⁵¹ Zdenka Fantlova, *My Lucky Star* (New York: Herodias, 2001).

⁵² Norbert Troller, *Theresienstadt: Hitler's Gift to the Jews* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2004).

few imprisoned who survived; he was eventually liberated at Auschwitz. Troller's book is one of the only memoirs that focuses on this incident in Terezin's history, now called The Painters' Affair. This is likely due to the fact that Troller and Haas were the only two artists who survived incarceration in the Kleine Festung and subsequent deportation to camps in the East. Other survivor memoirs on Terezin include Gerty Spies's *My Years in Theresienstadt: How One Woman Survived the Holocaust*, Ruth Elias's *Triumph of Hope: From Theresienstadt and Auschwitz to Israel*, and Jana Renée Freisova's *Fortress of My Youth: Memoir of a Terezin Survivor*.⁵³

Along with survivor memoirs, other published material concerning the survivors include published transcripts of interviews (many of which are available through the website of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum) and biographies of various survivors. In 2008, Melissa Muller and Reinhard Piechocki wrote *A Garden of Eden in Hell*, a biography of Terezin survivor Alice Herz-Sommer.⁵⁴ In Terezin, she became one of the camp's most well-known pianists, famously playing the entire collection of Chopin's etudes. Muller and Piechocki interviewed Herz-Sommer for the book, making this publication similar to an autobiographical memoir.

Published archival material of Terezin has grown over the last decade. One of the earliest publications in this category is *The Terezin Diary of Gonda Redlich*, published in 1999.⁵⁵ Redlich, a committed Zionist, had been a teacher and soccer coach before the

⁵³ Gerty Spies, *My Years in Theresienstadt: How One Woman Survived the Holocaust* (New York: Prometheus, 1997); Ruth Elias, *Triumph of Hope: From Theresienstadt and Auschwitz to Israel* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1998); Jana Renée Freisova, *Fortress of My Youth: Memoir of a Terezin Survivor* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 2002).

⁵⁴ Melissa Muller and Reinhard Piechocki, *A Garden of Eden in Hell* (London: Macmillan, 2008). Alice Herz-Sommer passed away on 23 February 2014 at 110 years old.

⁵⁵ Gonda Redlich, *The Terezin Diary of Gonda Redlich*, ed. Saul Friedman (Lexington: University of Kentucky, 1999).

war. Once in Terezin, he was given the monumental task of heading the Youth Services Department in the camp. While in Terezin, he kept a diary of daily events; he also began a diary for his son, who along with his wife was also interred at Terezin. Redlich's diary was one of the first diaries published by a camp inmate; it provides a first-hand account of daily life in Terezin. Before being transported to Auschwitz, Redlich hid the diary in an attic, where it was discovered by Czech workers in 1967. One of the intriguing things about Redlich's diary is that he considered it a Zionist duty to keep a record of what occurred in Terezin. To that end, Redlich wrote his diary in Hebrew, but wrote in Czech on the Sabbath to honor his religion.

A more recent edition to the category of published archival works is Philipp Manes's *As If It Were Life*.⁵⁶ Manes, a Berlin academic, was sent to Terezin with his wife in 1942. He started out as the leader of a security detail but eventually became the organizer of a series of lectures at Terezin that are known as the Manes Group. In 1944, Manes began documenting events and his experiences in Terezin from his arrival; he kept the diary until his deportation to Auschwitz. Manes's diary is unique in that his tone is almost upbeat and not concerned with the conditions around him. He praises the staff and Council of Elders, consistently mentioning how well they work with what they have. He rarely complains about the conditions in the camp, always saying that things could be worse. He also remains completely loyal to his homeland, fearing the destruction of his beloved hometown and hoping that Germany will be spared destruction. To those who know of Terezin's conditions, these views may be surprising. It is difficult to tell from Manes's diary if he truly felt this way or if he was trying to convince himself that all was

⁵⁶ Philip Manes, *As If It Were Life*, ed. Ben Barkow and Klaus Leis (Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009).

well when it so obviously was not. However, one thing that is not necessarily unique to Manes is his views on Germany. While many of the Germans in Terezin did see themselves as victims of Nazi brutality, they still held a fierce love for their homeland.

Another unique book in the realm of published archival material is *We Are Children Just The Same: Vedem, the Secret Magazine by the Boys of Terezin*.⁵⁷ This book includes information about the children's homes in Terezin and includes excerpts from the magazine *Vedem*, which was started by a group of boys in room L417. The magazine included poems, essays, interviews, and paintings. The boys "published" it on a weekly basis; the originals were saved by one of the surviving boys. The magazine gives a glimpse into Terezin's youngest inmates, who despite their surroundings, found small things that brought them joy. While the children were not immune to transports, hunger, or illness, many who survived recall good moments in the children's homes. Much of the good was due to those in charge of the Youth Department, who took great pains to bring some normalcy into the children's lives.

The last category, academic works, is the most difficult category to discuss. While there have been advances in the research of Terezin's music over the last twenty to thirty years, few of those advances have involved journal articles, dissertations, or scholarly books on Terezin. Many of the dissertations are by DMA students who have performed recitals featuring various works by Terezin composers for their recitals. Some of these DMA dissertations include works by Terezin composers before their incarceration. One dissertation in this category that focuses on works written during the Terezin period is John Paul Healy's "The Solo Piano Music of Viktor Ullmann: From Prague to Holocaust:

⁵⁷ Paul Wilson, ed. *We Are Children Just the Same: Vedem, the Secret Magazine by the Boys of Terezin*, (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1995).

A Performer's Guide to the Complete Piano Sonatas and Variations.”⁵⁸ Only two Ph.D. dissertations involving music in Terezin have been completed. The first, Rachel Bergman's “The Musical Language of Viktor Ullmann,” is a music theory dissertation that analyzes Ullmann's works from before and during his time in Terezin.⁵⁹ The second, Gwyneth Bravo's “Staging Death: Allegory in the Operas of Erwin Schulhoff and Viktor Ullmann,” is a musicology dissertation that specifically analyzes musical representations of death in Schulhoff's and Ullmann's operas before and during the war.⁶⁰ Two other academic works on Terezin include my own scholarly works. My master's thesis, “A Historical Analysis of Viktor Ullmann's *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*: An Opera from the Concentration Camp of Terezin,” interprets Ullmann's opera using narrative theory.⁶¹ The second work is an article written for the psychohistory journal *Clio's Psyche*, which discusses the history of the performances of Verdi's Requiem in Terezin. It focuses on how the Requiem was used as an act of defiance, especially during the performance given for the International Red Cross visit to Terezin in June 1944.⁶²

While academic research on Terezin has been limited the last twenty to thirty years, the future of Terezin research looks bright. In February 2012, Leeds College of Music held the first ever International Conference on Terezin Music. The presentations included my own research on the performances of Verdi's Requiem, as well as research

⁵⁸ John Paul Healey, “The Solo Piano Music of Viktor Ullmann: From Prague to Holocaust: A Performer's Guide to the Complete Piano Sonatas and Variations” (DMA diss., University of Cincinnati, 2001)

⁵⁹ Rachel Elizabeth Bergman, “The Musical Language of Viktor Ullmann” (Ph.D. diss, Yale University, 2001).

⁶⁰ Gwyneth Rachel Bravo, “Staging Death: Allegory in the Operas of Erwin Schulhoff and Viktor Ullmann” (Ph.D. diss, University of California Los Angeles, 2011).

⁶¹ Karen Lin Uslin, “A Historical Analysis of Viktor Ullmann's *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*: An Opera from the Concentration Camp of Terezin” (MM thesis, Temple University, 2006).

⁶² Karen Uslin, “Defiant Creativity: Rafael Schächter and Verdi's Requiem in Terezin,” *Clio's Psyche* 18, no. 4 (March 2012): 433-36.

on theater and cabaret performances (Lisa Peschel, York University), survivor memoirs on music (Joseph Toltz, Sydney Conservatory of Music), and the music of Gideon Klein (David Fligg, Leeds College of Music and Michael Beckerman, New York University). The 2011 Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society in San Francisco also included a session devoted to Terezin research. This session was divided into two sections. The first, concerning musical works from Terezin, included presentations on *Brundibár* (Candace Aippersoach, Texas Tech University), Ullmann's *Kaiser von Atlantis* (Peter Laki, Bard College), and Ullmann's "Variations and Fugue on a Hebrew Folksong" (Simon Etedgee, Boston). The second section of the session focused on context and sources. Presentations included papers on Terezin, trauma, and memory (Amy Lynn Wlodarski, Dickinson College), Gideon Klein (David Fligg, Leeds College of Music), musicians during the Red Cross visit (Emile Wennekes, Utrecht, Netherlands), and Israeli sources on Terezin (Judah Matras, Hebrew University).

This dissertation contributes to the recent spate of research on Terezin by focusing on Terezin's musical life through primary sources. The materials in this study include both published and archival materials, with the latter gathered from archives in Europe and the United States. The materials not published in English were translated for this dissertation; the documents that have been published in English were also viewed in their original format to ensure accuracy. After viewing and translating original documents, the materials provided the foundation to study the use of music in Terezin's cultural life and how that musical life affected camp life as a whole. The chapters of this dissertation are divided by inmate population categories. Chapter one analyzes writings of musicians in Terezin, specifically Viktor Ullmann and Gideon Klein. Chapter two focuses on the

writings of inmates who were not musicians in the camp and also discusses nationalistic differences between the German and Czech inmates. The third chapter focuses on writings from the children's homes in Terezin, analyzing poems, magazines and diaries from those who lived in the homes. The final chapter discusses other documents from Terezin that discuss the musical life of the camp but do not necessarily correspond to the groups of inmates mentioned above.

CHAPTER 1

Writings of Musicians: the Documents of Viktor Ullmann and Gideon Klein

INTRODUCTION

The goal of this chapter is to provide information and analysis on musical life in Terezin from the perspective of two of the musicians interred in the camp: Viktor Ullmann and Gideon Klein. Both had rising musical careers prior to being deported and actively participated in the cultural activities of the camp; their critiques and essays constitute the only materials written by Terezin composers.¹ This chapter focuses on an essay on arts and culture in Terezin by Klein and twenty-six music critiques and an essay (*Goethe und Ghetto*) by Ullmann. English translations of the Ullmann critiques and essay appear in the appendices of this dissertation.² These writings give insight into the views that the professional musicians in Terezin had about the cultural life happening around them. Ullmann's critiques in particular give information about many of the performers imprisoned in Terezin; in some cases, the only proof of their existence is the fact that Ullmann mentions their names. These writings give insight into the quality of the performances and the nature of musical life in Terezin.

¹ Viktor Ullmann, Gideon Klein, Pavel Haas and Hans Krása are generally considered the four most well-known composers in Terezin. Klein and Ullmann are the only ones known to have written any prose during their time in the camp. While some other major musicians (Alice Herz-Sommer being a primary example) wrote memoirs or gave interviews after the war, the only known primary material from top composers comes from Ullmann and Klein.

² The Ullmann critiques and *Goethe und Ghetto* essay were translated into English by this dissertation author. The published editions appear in German in the following volume: Ingo Schultz. *Viktor Ullmann: 26 Kritiken über Musikalische Veranstaltungen in Theresienstadt* Reprint (Neumünster: Bockel, 2011). Originally published Hamburg: Bockel, 1993.

LIFE AND WRITINGS OF VIKTOR ULLMANN

1.1 Life of Viktor Ullmann

Born on 1 January 1898 in Teschen near the Czech-Polish border, Viktor Ullmann was raised in a Roman Catholic household.³ His father Maximilian was a successful soldier in the Austrian army who reached the rank of Colonel and was knighted after World War I as the Baron von Tannfels. Ullmann's mother, Malwine Bilitzer, came from an educated Viennese family. Although both of Viktor's parents grew up Jewish, they converted to Catholicism in order to lift any barriers to Maximilian's advancement in the army. Thus, Ullmann grew without exposure to Jewish customs or in-depth knowledge of Judaism; he never identified himself as a Jew until his incarceration at Terezin. In 1909, Ullmann and his mother moved to Vienna while his father served in the army. Ullmann excelled in school and showed an aptitude for music, which he began to study formally in 1914 with Josef Polnauer, a student of Arnold Schoenberg. Through his studies with Polnauer and meetings with Schoenberg and Alban Berg, Ullmann took an interest in the avant garde.

Ullmann graduated from grammar school in 1916 and was drafted immediately into the Austrian army, receiving a silver heart for bravery and the rank of Lieutenant. After his tour of duty in 1918, Ullmann enrolled in the University of Vienna as a law student, but he could never suppress his musical interests. Against the will of his father, Ullmann dropped his law studies in 1920 to pursue music full-time at the Arnold Schoenberg-Institut. Here Ullmann studied counterpoint, form and analysis,

³ The most detailed biographical information comes from John Paul Healey's 1993 dissertation, "The Solo Piano Music of Viktor Ullmann: from Prague to the Holocaust-A Performer's Guide to the Complete Piano Sonatas and Variations" (DMA diss., University of Cincinnati, 2001).

instrumentation, and piano with Eduard Steuermann. Ullmann stayed in seminars at the Institut for one year, and in May 1919 he married Martha Koref, a harmony student from Prague. In the summer of 1919, the couple moved to Prague, where Ullmann began studying with Heinrich Jalowetz, who introduced him to Alexander Zemlinsky.⁴

In the fall of 1920, Ullmann worked as choirmaster for the New German Theater, becoming Kapellmeister for the 1921-1922 season. During this period, Ullmann began putting more effort into his own music, and his reputation as a composer steadily grew. Ullmann left the New German Theater in 1927 and headed for Aussig (Usti nad Labem) in Bohemia, later becoming Kapellmeister of Aussig's opera house. Despite great success in Aussig's 1927 season, Ullmann headed back to Prague in the fall of 1928, where he remained for only a year before taking the position of Kapellmeister of the Zurcher Schauspielhaus (a playhouse) in 1929, where he spent much of his free time composing and teaching. All of this travel took a toll on Ullmann's marriage, which ended in divorce in 1931.

In September 1931, Ullmann married Annie Winternitz in Prague. They had three children: Maximillian (born in July 1932), another son born in 1934, and a daughter born in 1936.⁵ Around the time his children were born, Ullmann's composer friend Alois Hába influenced him to take an interest in the anthroposophy movement.⁶ After leaving Zurich, Ullmann took a break from music and worked at an Anthroposophical bookstore in Goetheanum, Switzerland. Ullmann could not, however, pull the bookstore out of

⁴ Although no formal documentation exists to prove it, most scholars believe that Ullmann took conducting lessons from Zemlinsky. Ullmann made his living primarily as a conductor over the next twenty years.

⁵ I have been unable to find any documentation on the names of Ullmann's other children.

⁶ Anthroposophy began with Rudolf Steiner in 1919. This movement claims that the spirit is a modern path of knowledge, and that self-development is more important than faith.

debt, and it went bankrupt seven months later. Ullmann and his family returned to Prague in July 1933 in financial ruin.

Ullmann's situation improved after he began teaching piano and composition in Prague. In 1934, he received international recognition by winning the 1934 Hertzner Composers Competition for his Variations, Fantasy, and Double Fugue on a Little Piano Piece by Arnold Schoenberg. Later that year, Ullmann wrote his first opera, *Der Sturz des Antichrist* (The Fall of the Antichrist), based on an anthroposophical theme. Ullmann received the Hertzner competition prize for his opera. Ullmann continued to lecture, teach, perform, and compose during his third stay in Prague, and the exposure led to many published compositions throughout 1937. In March 1938, Ullmann's father Maximilian died, but Ullmann pushed on with work through the end of the year; this time period was his most productive outside of his internment in Terezin.

In late 1938 and early 1939, with Hitler's increasing actions against the Jews, Ullmann, fearing for his family's safety, wrote to his friend Joseph Trauneck in South Africa to ask if he could emigrate. Trauneck told Ullmann to stay in Prague and never responded to Ullmann's further entreaties for help. Hitler's war against the Jews worsened as Ullmann's marriage to Annie broke up in 1940. Annie gave birth to their fourth child after the breakup, and not long after the divorce Ullmann married his third wife, Elisabeth Meissl. Ullmann completed his third and fourth piano sonatas not long after his marriage; these would be the last pieces Ullmann composed before his incarceration. In September 1942, the Nazis arrested Viktor and Elisabeth and sent them to Terezin.

Ullmann arrived in Terezin as the Nazis announced their sanctioning of entertainment in the camp. Ullmann worked for the Freizeitgestaltung (Leisure Time Organization, known as the FZG), thereby avoiding manual labor. Ullmann's specific duties included organizing music rehearsals and practice rooms for pianists, as well as being the resident music critic for performances. Ullmann headed the "Studio für Neue Musik," which premiered works by contemporary composers. Later, Ullmann also arranged performances of Terezin's Collegium Musicum.

Ullmann's output in Terezin consists of between sixteen and twenty-four new pieces, which include string quartets, piano pieces, and his final opera, *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, begun in 1943. This opera had been considered for the performances given when the Red Cross came to Terezin, but ultimately the Elders rejected the opera because its themes were deemed too obvious and critical of the Nazis. In the summer of 1944 the Nazis banned all non-German language performances, lectures, and readings. Although Ullmann's opera was in German, allowing for its performance, a lack of preparation time kept the opera from seeing a planned performance in the summer of 1944. In October 1944, before boarding a transport for Auschwitz, Ullmann thrust his manuscripts into the hands of Dr. Emil Utitz.⁷ Ullmann died in the gas chambers at Auschwitz, and his last-minute decision to trust his manuscripts with Utitz is the only reason his music survived the war.

1.2 Ullmann's Writings

In addition to his work with the Freizeitgestaltung and composing, Ullmann also

⁷ After the war, Dr. Utitz gave the manuscripts to H.G.Adler, who later donated them to the Ullmann Archives in Switzerland.

wrote twenty-six music critiques while in Terezin.⁸ The critiques cover a wide variety of Terezin's musical life, including chamber music concerts, solo recitals, opera performances, and choral performances. While Ullmann did not date his critiques, Ingo Schultz has dated the performances he reviewed to mainly 1944. The original documents are a mix of handwritten and typed papers, indicating that Ullmann had high status in the camp to access a typewriter.⁹

Ullmann's status among the camp hierarchy as a leader of the performing and cultural arts is evident in his writing. The twenty-six critiques are written in a style that speaks to Ullmann's musical education. Ullmann quotes composers and scholars, gives details in the form of musicological anecdotes, and also shows a high level of awareness of literature and philosophy; in other words, Ullmann was a well-read individual. In many ways, Ullmann's writings reveal as much about himself as they do about the musical life of Terezin. Throughout the critiques, Ullmann touches on a variety of topics that relate back to whatever performance is being analyzed. However, several subjects repeatedly emerge from these twenty-six writings: Ullmann's thoughts on new music, his philosophy and opinion of music and its history, the state of music in Terezin, and the

⁸ The original manuscripts of these critiques are housed in the H.G. Adler collection at the Netherlands Institute for War, Holocaust and Genocide Studies (NIOD) in Amsterdam. Ingo Schultz transcribed and published Ullmann's critiques and essays in his book *Viktor Ullmann: 26 Kritiken über Musikalische Veranstaltungen in Theresienstadt* (Neumünster: Bockel Verlag, 1993). While a new edition of this book was published in 2011, it has never been translated into English. There are no published translations of Ullmann's writings.

⁹ The general population in Terezin had no access to typewriters; only certain offices within the Jewish administration were afforded this luxury. The Council of Elders and the Records Department had access to typewriters for their various responsibilities. The FZG did print typed programs of each week's cultural activities, which is how Ullmann most likely accessed a typewriter. It is not known whether these critiques were publicized in anyway or if Ullmann shared the critiques with colleagues in the camp. The FZG announced various performances each week on an announcement board located in the center of the town. While possible that Ullmann's typed critiques were posted on the board for others to see, no direct evidence exists to definitively prove that possibility. In examining the original documents, I did find that some of the originals were discolored; this could be due to the age of the paper or an indication several people handled the critiques. No pinholes or tape marks are apparent, however, to suggest that these critiques were posted on the bulletin boards used for camp announcements.

quality of the performances given (as well as the quality and skill level of the performers themselves).

In addition to his twenty-six critiques, Ullmann also wrote several essays during his time in Terezin. One of the most significant of the group is titled *Goethe und Ghetto* and discusses the merits of composing and making music in Terezin. While not significant in length, the essay is one of Ullmann's most oft-quoted writings, mainly for the following passage:

Theresienstadt was and is for me the school of form, beyond which you do not feel force and load of the material life; because of the comfort, the magic of civilization they repressed, it was easy to create beautiful shapes. Here, where one has to overcome in daily life substance through form, where everything in arts stands in striking contrast to the environment... I have in Theresienstadt written pretty much new music, mostly to satisfy the needs and desires of conductors, directors, pianists, singers, and thus the needs of recreational venues of the ghetto. It seems to me futile to emphasize that we could play the piano in Theresienstadt, while there were no other instruments. Even the sensitive defects of note paper should be of no interest to coming generations. To emphasize that I have been in my musical work sponsored by Theresienstadt and not inhibited, that we did not merely sit lamenting by the waters of Babylon and that our culture was equal to our will to live—I am convinced that those who have sought to wrest a reluctant substance from form in life and art will prove me right.

Though written in the midst of his other critiques (this essay was written in August 1944, the same month as the opera *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*), the themes mentioned in this quote resonate throughout Ullmann's other writings. The above quote also mentions the arts being in contrast with the environment, and that the environment did not prevent creativity. Ullmann believed that no matter how bad the environment in Terezin, that environment was no excuse for poor performances. With this essay, Ullmann describes why he critiqued performers and performances in the manner he so chose. It is not the lack of resources that Ullmann deemed important, but the fact that the need to create was

as important as the desire to remain alive. Ullmann discusses an absolute need for culture amidst their surroundings, a sentiment that shows itself in the critiques with Ullmann mentioning how fortunate Terezin is to have the performances. Stating that they did not weep at the waters of Babylon also highlights Ullmann's deepening faith and empathy in Judaism. This essay is as close as we can come to a written philosophy by Ullmann and is one of the only writings that explicitly states his opinion and feelings behind the arts in Terezin.

As for the themes mentioned earlier that Ullmann covers in his critiques, his first mention of new music is simply a passing comment in his first critique, on a concert of songs by Czech composers. Ullmann writes: "And even though there was only new music, the public responded with interest and increasing warmth." As someone who had studied with and took after Schoenberg and Berg, Ullmann was a major proponent of new music.¹⁰ He greatly admired his mentors, though compositionally he felt more in line with Berg than Schoenberg. Ullmann never wrote a fully atonal work, but he chose to stretch tonality as far as possible while still having some sort of key relationship as a foundation. This quote from his first critique reveals that Ullmann knew how the general public could receive "new music." He seems pleased, however, that the audience for this particular performance had enough of an open mind to appreciate something out of the ordinary. The concert included songs by Vítěslav Novak, Leo Janaček, and Josef Suk, all late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Czech composers.

¹⁰ In Ullmann's case, new music meant what we would now call early twentieth century music and atonal music. Ullmann's "new music" would have comprised the years from 1918 until his deportation to Terezin in 1942. Once in the camp, Ullmann had no knowledge of musical happenings outside of the camp and therefore would not have known of any new musical innovations taking place.

In many of the critiques, Ullmann juxtaposes his support of new music with critiques on music from the early and mid-nineteenth century; he especially takes issue with music from the Romantic era. In Ullmann's fourth critique, on an evening of Mozart performances, Ullmann writes: "Content wins over form, just as in the common sentimental misunderstanding of the Romantics, form had already been absorbed by the creativity of the master." The last part of this quote refers to Mozart, but Ullmann does not hide his opinion on the Romantics. Considering that Ullmann studied with two of the major proponents of early twentieth-century music, however, it is no surprise that Ullmann feels the Romantics misunderstood Mozart. This particular Mozart evening included performances of the G-minor Piano Quintet, the Clarinet Trio, and the Sonata in F major.

Ullmann insults the Romantics one more time in Critique No. 25. This piece, on a performance of Haydn's *The Creation*, begins with the following comment: "It is the nature of our time and of our experiences that we gain distance from the delusion of the nineteenth century and thus also to some of our grandparents' inviolable cultural goods." Once again Ullmann pushes what is new at the expense of the old. While throughout Ullmann's critiques it is clear he has a healthy amount of respect for the elder statesmen of classical music (Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, etc.), it is also evident that he feels music needs to move forward. Ullmann also does not equate respect with an inability to be critical; despite Haydn's place in the pantheon of music history, Ullmann spends much of this critique disparaging Haydn's interpretation of the Bible and his musical choices. Concerning Bible interpretation, Ullmann writes the following:

This music has, with few exceptions, about as much to do with Genesis, its sublime images and symbols, its majesty and mystery, as the Cheops-Pyramid does with a cute rococo house.

As the critique continues, Ullmann does not offer any ideas on how the Book of Genesis should be set to music; he describes the text of *The Creation* as “mostly very silly, shepherd-like and idyllic.” Ullmann never details how he would change the piece textually or musically, but it is clear he feels that the symbolism of the book of Genesis is absent from both the text of *The Creation* and the music itself.

Ullmann’s next comment on new music comes in his eighth critique; the piece is simply titled “Musical Observations” and includes criticism of several Terezin performances. The first performance Ullmann discusses is on Jewish chants, songs, and folk songs, and the second performance is a chamber music concert that included Schubert’s Quintet. However, Ullmann’s new music comment comes when he writes about Bernard Kaff’s piano recital that contained pieces by Pavel Haas, Janaček, and Mussorgsky. Ullmann says the following:

Bernard Kaff courageously played a modern program. Actually, the new music is feared only for their harmony’s sake, because with very few exceptions indeed, the classical form was not abandoned. The abandonment of the tonal system, which is nature-given, is the same as leaving the faithful imitation of nature in painting.

Ullmann’s opinion here mirrors his own compositional style: one where elements of old and new combine to create new music. While Ullmann himself is not considered an atonal composer, he had no issue with others using atonal elements.

In an interesting twist, Ullmann’s final comment on new music comes in a review of a recital by Karel Bermann that includes new and nineteenth-century music. Bermann sang songs by Pavel Haas (this was the premiere of Haas’s well-known *Four Songs on*

Chinese Poetry), Hugo Wolf, Beethoven, and Dvořák. It seems with this particular critique (No. 15), Ullmann cannot bring himself to completely insult Beethoven (whose compositional style he praises in several critiques) or Dvořák (a founding father of Czech classical music). Besides praising Bermann's singing, especially his performance of Haas's piece, he levels a philosophical question at his readers: "Many may ask, why is there new music? Are there not enough old masterpieces to delight the music lover? But a secret law forces productive people to create." The last sentence could very well be directed towards those who marvel at the idea that music in Terezin could exist in the first place. Stripped of their livelihoods, the musicians of Terezin did what they knew how to do and what they needed to do to keep themselves going: they created music.

The critiques are replete with Ullmann's referencing such luminaries as Goethe, Schoenberg, Beethoven, Mozart, Schikaneder, Mahler, and Rellstab. Ullmann uses quotes and anecdotes from all of these artists to expand on his ideas about music and philosophy. However, his fourth critique on an evening of Mozart contains some of Ullmann's strongest statements on his opinion of music in general. His feelings about Mozart are similar to his feelings about other composers prior to the twentieth century. Ullmann starts the critique posing the following questions:

Is Mozart popular? Was he during his time? Many masterpieces owe their later popularity to a spiritual inflation process by which foreign contemporaries adjust the artistic needs of a big number of people.

Ullmann believes that nostalgia for the old, and its complete difference from the modern, elevates past works into what we consider classics. He implies that the only reason Mozart is popular is due to a commodification of art not necessarily to any talent on the part of the composer. Ullmann continues this assessment of Mozart with the following

comment: “The galant style is Mozart’s mask, like the breaches or the braid which he carries as a creature of his time...but not as a genius and creator of future times.”

What Ullmann does not comment on is whether he believes that the new music he so champions in his time will suffer the same fate as Mozart, or if somehow musical development stops with modern music. In this case, for Ullmann, as well as the other musicians in Terezin, musical development in many ways had stopped with the early twentieth century. Ullmann had no knowledge of musical developments beyond the fortress walls of Terezin, and therefore he could not know what was developing musically beyond the twentieth-century practices he himself had studied in Vienna and Prague. While statements like those of the fourth critique abound in relation to Beethoven, Wagner, Schubert, and other nineteenth-century giants, this particular piece does more than give us a glimpse into Ullmann’s musical preferences. This critique highlights the artistic challenges faced by all the artists in Terezin, challenges that included having their performing arts education brutally cut off in the early 1940s.

Besides giving his opinions on music in general, Ullmann also writes specifically about the situation in Terezin, both musically and life in general in the camp. His first assessment on this issue occurs in his second critique, on a performance of *Die*

Fledermaus:

We in Theresienstadt look around somewhat soberly in this world, in this society, whose support frequently sways seriously and is always more or less tipsy. We have long since realized that the slogan of the world is no longer ‘Amusement’ as in the time of our grandfathers; we see beyond these descendants of Harlequin and Columbine as the historical and cultural future we experienced in the past.

Ullmann’s reference to support frequently being swayed may refer more to the governing body of the camp (the Nazis and, to a lesser degree, the Council of Elders) than to his

fellow prisoners. Just as the cultural life of Terezin could be used as propaganda, it could also be the target of threatening punishments. There were several instances where the cultural activities ceased by order of the Nazis due to some camp infraction or to punish all of Terezin for the “crimes” of a select few.¹¹ Ullmann acknowledges in this quote that the situation in the camp is not the same as that of his ancestors and that culture is not necessarily synonymous with joy or fun. However, in mentioning a “historical and cultural future we experienced in the past,” Ullmann may here be referring to the idea of Terezin’s cultural activities allowing the prisoners to reclaim some of their heritage. With performances of Jewish composers being banned in the Third Reich, those in Terezin had no such limitations. This particular quote recognizes all of these ironies: the prisoners needed culture as a means of survival, a way to keep their heritage alive (both nationalistic and religious heritage), but this also meant being a part of the propaganda machine run by the Nazi officers.

Ullmann next addresses a specific issue in Terezin’s musical life in the beginning of his fifth critique, which discusses two evenings of violin music, one by Adolf Schächter and one by Karel Fröhlich. Ullmann writes the following:

It is saddening that our art is not spared of personal friction, which has brought whole branches of chamber music to a standstill. So we have not listened—for how long?—to more string quartets, which were once an essential and enjoyable part of our musical life. The inability to separate objectively artistic from uninteresting personal issues has already intervened repeatedly. And what often threatens the existence of even the best quartets so often under normal circumstances—I remember Rosé and Kolisch—is for us, because each trained musician is irreplaceable, like a catastrophe.

Ullmann brings up an interesting point about music in Terezin: even in a concentration camp, artists had artistic and personal differences. The idea that hundreds of thousands

¹¹ See chapter two section on Philipp Manes for details on the halt of cultural activities in Terezin.

of individuals could all get along because of the common circumstance in which they found themselves is unrealistic. While ample opportunity existed to perform, the camp contained both professionals and amateurs fighting for space, time and resources. What is interesting here is that Ullmann takes issue with petty personal problems interfering with musical culture in Terezin. One can imagine that Ullmann would take issue with this outside the camp as well. But this quote shows that for Ullmann, circumstances do not excuse behavior, and that in his opinion, making quality music takes precedence over everything else. This quote also indirectly addresses another issue in Terezin: while there were plenty of amateur musicians in the camp, deportations depleted the resources and people needed for these performances.

Ullmann discusses chamber music again in Critique No. 20, stating:

The strange fate of our chamber music associations has been meteor-like: they sparkle, show promise and disappear. In each new case nothing is left but to hope this time it'll be different. And this time, it would be especially a shame if it remained at this promise and did not hold.

The chamber music concert Ullmann refers to in this quote was given by a piano trio that included Gideon Klein, Paul Kling, and Friedrich Mark. In many ways, chamber music concerts were some of the easiest performances to produce in Terezin because they did not require sets, costumes, and other aspects of a stage production (and also did not require a large amount of performers). So it is intriguing that Ullmann comments on the inability of chamber music ensembles to thrive in the camp. This could be due to the artistic differences Ullmann mentioned in his fifth critique; it could also be that between people dying of disease and starvation, and others being deported to the East, certain musicians could not stay together long enough to create a functioning, regularly performing chamber ensemble. As a composer of chamber music himself (Ullmann

composed several string quartets in Terezin), there is also the possibility that Ullmann was frustrated with his inability to find musicians he deemed talented enough to play his own music.

One of Ullmann's last comments addressing musical practice in Terezin occurs in Critique No. 11, on a piano recital given by Alice Herz-Sommer. Ullmann writes:

Finally, a word to our pianists. We applaud emulation, with which they show us the artists of Romanticism. But there is a large number of composers who deserve our attention not only because they are Jews, but also because they have talent and genius and are still not played in our world.

Ullmann's championing of Jewish composers marks a change of heart from the music he previously endorsed. Being raised Catholic, Ullmann had no in-depth knowledge of Jewish customs and traditions; he did not consider himself a Jew until his deportation and arrival in Terezin. With the exceptions of Schoenberg, Mendelssohn, and Mahler, Ullmann paid little attention to Jewish composers or compositions. However, in Terezin, Ullmann was forced to face his Jewish heritage, and he became a fervent student of Judaism and Jewish music.¹² He eventually used Yiddish folk songs in several compositions and promoted works by Jewish composers (including new music by composers in the camp). While there is no evidence that Ullmann practiced Judaism in Terezin, he did take an active interest in cultural Judaism.

The last category of comments from Ullmann's critiques concerns his criticism of the performers and performances themselves. A common question concerning musical performances in Terezin is: how did the performances sound? Ullmann gives some

¹² Ullmann's stance on Judaism prior to the war is not necessarily an exception or particular circumstance in comparison to his fellow prisoners. The majority of the Jewish population in the Czech Republic at the time was assimilated with its Gentile neighbors. Many of the Jews celebrated both Jewish and Christian holidays (like Christmas) and only went to synagogue for the High Holy Days of Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur. Even in Terezin, many continued to practice either the Christian religions their families had practiced for several generations or did not practice Judaism at all. It was a small part of the prison population that were fervent religious Jews.

indication of this in his critiques, where he in many cases is quite forthright on his opinions of someone's talent or the success of a performance. One of the first performances Ullmann praises is the performance of *Die Fledermaus*, which constitutes his second critique. He writes: "In regards to listening: we have a cast that could have the same success in every good theater as with our audience." Ullmann says something similar in Critique No. 18, on a performance of Verdi's Requiem:

In this case, however, it may seem right once again to emphasize Rafael Schächter, to whom Terezin musical life owes so much, whose stimulus and artistic actions have managed a performance of metropolitan level.

With regards to production value, however, Ullmann could also be critical if he felt things were not to his standards. In Critique No. 26, on a performance of the opera *Carmen*, Ullmann writes: "The problem is only the production. If it is done half way, so it can be done all the way." Ullmann never considered Terezin's environment an excuse for a bad performance.

In addition to commenting on the production value of the performances in Terezin, Ullmann also did not mince words when it came to critiquing individuals. Here Ullmann could be effusive in his praise or harsh in his criticism. While Ullmann made remarks on many of Terezin's performers, some of his most detailed commentary is reserved for the well-known musicians in the camp. In those cases, Ullmann had the benefit of knowing many of these artists prior to the war and was aware of the work they had done in and around Prague. While Ullmann sometimes spares amateur musicians in his writings (he will give the excuse that a performer is at the beginning of his or her career), those who had established careers coming into Terezin were viewed as high-level professionals.

Gideon Klein is mentioned in several of Ullmann's critiques; in addition to performing his own recitals, he also participated in many chamber music concerts in Terezin. In his seventh critique, on a piano recital by Klein, Ullmann writes: "Gideon Klein is undoubtedly a very important talent. He presents the style of the cool, objective new youth; it is remarkable how early in life he became so sure of his style." In the same critique, Ullmann ends with a comment about the younger musicians in Terezin: "Our youth has strong intelligent brains; hopefully they can also include their hearts as well as their heads." In both of these instances, Ullmann shows his support of young musicians. Asking the young musicians to put more emotion into their music is in line with Ullmann's own feelings about music.

Another musician Ullmann discussed in his critiques is Rafael Schächter. While Ullmann comments on him in several critiques, he makes two detailed observations in Critique No. 17, on a performance of *The Magic Flute*. The first comes in a comment about the children's choir in the opera:

The children sing with power, but they sing like machines, soulless and mechanical... Rafael Schächter has done a huge amount of work that is recognized without reservation... In addition, Schächter is not exactly a born Mozart conductor. Much of it is too hasty, it lacks the elasticity of tempo and presentation, it is still too much to hear parts that are drilled...

While Ullmann praises Schächter's talent he also points out the conductor's weaknesses. The quality of the children Schächter had to work with, along with the less than ideal circumstances of performing the piece in Terezin, do not factor into Ullmann's assessment. Ullmann's next observation about Schächter points out some aspects of his character: "Schächter has very good qualities, but too high ambitions for a provincial theater... and are we yet? But if we are a big-city theater, then I'm wrong and would not

want to have said anything...” Ullmann’s comments shed light on a highly ambitious musician whose big-city talent was being forced into brutal circumstances.

A final example of Ullmann’s critiques on performers concerns the pianist Alice Herz-Sommer. In Critique No. 11, on a piano recital given by Herz-Sommer, Ullmann writes:

For her, reproducing means to recreate, identification with the work and its creator. Consequently, she puts her eminent technique and her considerable expertise in the service of the work; she is not one of those “piano devils,” whose virtuosity is an end in itself, and selfish; she has more warmth than harshness, more sincerity than brio.

With this quote Ullmann also offers insight into his opinion that musicians should not be virtuosos for the sake of virtuosity. His critique of Herz-Sommer also mirrors critiques he made of other pianists (like Edith Steiner-Kraus); Ullmann tended to give the professional pianists in Terezin high praise.

What do Ullmann’s writings ultimately tell us about music in Terezin? Ullmann’s critiques and essays give the most comprehensive picture of music and the arts in Terezin. All together, Ullmann wrote twenty-six critiques, covering over thirty performances. He mentions seventy-four people involved with the musical performances in Terezin; some of the names he mentions only appear in these critiques and are the sole record of existence for these men and women. One of the first things these writings show is that Terezin’s musical life had much variety. Chamber performances, solo recitals, operas, and oratorios all had billing in the programs at the camp. While it is impossible to know exactly how these performances sounded, Ullmann’s high praise of many of these productions give credence to the idea that the level of musical ability in Terezin was extremely high. Beyond the information on production value, however, some of the

best information gleaned from these critiques concerns Ullmann himself and the other musicians in Terezin. While the more well-known musicians of Terezin have been mentioned in other sources on music in Terezin, little is ever discussed about their actual abilities as musicians or their personalities. Ullmann's critiques give insight into the skill level and musical style of those musicians whose careers were cut short by the war. In the end, Ullmann's writings give a picture of a thriving musical life created by artists whose desire and need for music outweighed the tragedy of their circumstances.

LIFE AND WRITINGS OF GIDEON KLEIN

1.3 Life of Gideon Klein

Gideon Klein was born into a traditional Jewish family on 6 December 1919 in Přerov, a town in the Moravian section of what is now the Czech Republic.¹³ After showing early signs of musical talent, he began taking formal piano lessons at age eleven. Klein wrote his first composition in 1934 and went onto to study at the Prague Conservatory. After receiving his master's degree in piano from the State Conservatory in Prague in 1939, Klein stayed in Prague to study musicology and composition with Alois Haba. Klein's formal study of music came to an end in 1940, when he was forced to leave the Prague Conservatory and Charles University due to a Nazi decree banning Jews from receiving an education. Deported to Terezin on 4 December 1941, Klein quickly became involved in the burgeoning cultural life of the camp. Besides composing original works and arranging songs, Klein also gave solo recitals, accompanied operas,

¹³ Most of the biographical information on Gideon Klein comes from Milan Slavický, *Gideon Klein: A Fragment of Life and Work* (Prague: Helvetica-Tempora, 1995). This book remains the only biography ever written about Klein. Much of the information in this book is summarized on the Orel Foundation website: http://orelfoundation.org/index.php/composers/article/gideon_klein/

and taught piano to some of the children. His original compositions (those composed both before the war and during Klein's time in Terezin) include several vocal and choral works, a piano sonata, a string quartet, and a string trio. One work, a song cycle titled *Die Pest*, has been lost.¹⁴

Like most of the musicians from Terezin, Klein was deported to Auschwitz in October 1944. He died in the labor camp at Fürstengrube in January 1945, at only twenty-five years of age. Until 1990, it was thought that all of Klein's pre-Terezin works had been lost in the war. However, an unopened suitcase Klein had given to a friend before being deported to Terezin was discovered in 1990; inside contained the majority of Klein's pre-Terezin works. All together, Klein wrote about twenty-five original works and made approximately ten song arrangements.¹⁵

1.4 Article on musical culture in Terezin

Gideon Klein wrote his only article on the musical culture of Terezin on 20 August 1944.¹⁶ At the time, Klein was in the midst of composing his final string trio, which he would complete less than two weeks before he was deported from Terezin to Auschwitz. August 1944 also marked two months since the International Red Cross's visit to Terezin. The success of that visit prompted the Nazis to force inmate Kurt Geron, a well-known

¹⁴ Karas, p. 59. Details about this song cycle are scant at best. A poster for Viktor Ullmann's Studio for New Music shows that the cycle was for alto and piano and based on poetry by Petr Kien. It was sung by Hilde Aronson-Lindt. The poster is in the archives of the Památník Terezín Memorial. For more information on *Die Pest*, see chapter four, which discusses a letter by Otto Brod that mentions this particular cycle.

¹⁵ Slavicky, 10. In 1990, the family of one of Gideon Klein's friends (the family is not named) found a suitcase that had not been opened since the war; the suitcase contained almost all of Gideon's pre-Terezin works.

¹⁶ The original copy of the article is housed in the archives of the Památník Terezín Memorial. A transcription and translation of the essay appears in Slavicky, *Gideon Klein*, pp. 85-87.

actor and director prior to the war, to direct a propaganda film entitled *Der Führer schenkt den Juden eine Stadt* (The Führer Gives a City to the Jews). Filming began 16 August 1944 and ended 11 September 1944; the shoot took eleven days.¹⁷ It was in this atmosphere of Nazi propaganda on display that Klein decided to make some observations of Terezin's musical life.

Klein begins his essay on a positive note, praising the quantity of musical performances that are offered: "When going through the weekly musical programme published by the FZG [Freizeitgestaltung], people who have never lived here will be surprised and partly astonished by the quantity of music performed here."¹⁸ Klein mentions that every week there are seven concerts (which include solo recitals or chamber ensembles), three operas in concert format, and a selection of choral works.¹⁹ In Klein's opinion, this puts Terezin's musical life on equal footing with the musical offerings in any European city. He also acknowledges the difficulty in maintaining this quantity given the lack of resources and space available for performances in Terezin. For the most part, however, this is where Klein's praise of the musical life in Terezin ends.

Klein spends the rest of the essay being fairly critical of what he deems to be weaknesses of Terezin's musical culture:

A salient feature of Terezin's musical life is the limited artistic resources that do not allow to perform orchestral pieces in their original version and a dire shortage of genuine professional musicians – actually, in other branches of culture and the arts the situation is even more difficult. Certain features of amateurism, although essential for keeping up Terezin's cultural life, nonetheless call for critical assessment and for coming to terms with this reality.²⁰

¹⁷ Steven Spielberg Film and Video Archive. "Nazi Propaganda Film about Theresienstadt." http://resources.ushmm.org/film/display/detail.php?file_num=2703 (accessed August 1, 2014).

¹⁸ Slavicky, 85.

¹⁹ Slavicky, 85.

²⁰ Slavicky, 86.

This can seem both a harsh and an accurate assessment of cultural life in Terezin. What gives Gideon Klein the right to judge and be so critical of Terezin's artistic life? Despite his young age and limited experience compared to senior musicians in Terezin, Klein did have the credentials to be an accurate judge of music and musical skill in the camp.

One clue to Klein's credentials comes from the comments on his diploma from the State Conservatory of Music in Prague. Klein graduated from the master class of the Conservatory in June 1939, having studied piano and general music. The members of the examination board for the Conservatory made the following remarks on Klein's diploma:²¹

Expert opinion of the special aptitudes of the student...Despite his youth Mr. Gideon Klein is a mature artist, whose faultless performances bear the imprint of his individuality, high intelligence and temperamental musicality. In his interpretations, he demonstrates an equal feeling for the style of the music he performs, whether classical and romantic or later modern works. The technical standards of the exceptionally gifted pianist are first class....²²

This statement describes a young man of high intelligence and high musical aptitude who after his master's studies went on to enroll in composition classes at the Conservatory and take up musicology studies at Charles University. Reviews of concerts he gave in Prague prior to the war align with the statements of his Conservatory examiners. Klein also had access to the upper echelon of Czech cultural society and was surrounded by some of the best talent of his day. His musical talents and intelligence gave Klein the credentials to make judgment calls on his fellow musicians. Klein made his critiques from his personal experience; it just so happens his personal experience included being extremely talented and having a high aptitude for analyzing music and musical performances.

²¹ The members of the examination board were S. Vilém Kurz, Dr. Vítězslav Novák, K. Hoffmeister, Jan Hermann Jar Kocian, Jaroslav Křička, Dr. Jan Branberger, and Jindřich Feld (Slavicky, 95).

²² Slavicky, 95.

One final note on Klein's critical stance: one cannot forget that Klein was also a composer. While it is impossible to prove, Klein may have judged his fellow musicians in Terezin based on their general ability to play his own music. One month after writing this essay, Klein began composing his final work in Terezin, a string trio. Prior to this piece he had composed several instrumental and vocal works in the camp. If he found the musicians lacking in their ability to perform his music, it may have colored his opinion of the musical talent in Terezin.

Without mentioning specific names, Klein gives some credit to the solo instrumentalists in Terezin, stating that "the highest standards..." are found in their performances.²³ Many of the solo performers in Terezin (Alice Sommer-Herz and Edith Steiner Krauss are two primary examples) performed professionally in the years prior to their incarceration; some performed solo concerts, and others played with orchestras in Central and Eastern Europe. While Klein did not doubt their level of professionalism, he was of the opinion that their performances did suffer due to the time constraints placed on them. In the days before the war, a professional musician might prepare only one or two programs per season; these programs would be repeated on tour throughout the musical season, which lasted between eight and ten months. In Terezin, musicians performed several programs many times, sometimes more than once in the same week. The time constraints, on top of the adverse living conditions of the camp, prompted Klein to declare:

...we quickly realize that in many instances we cannot apply to these performances the critical meter of city reviewers. This is even more so with chamber music, where amateurs and only partly trained future musicians are recruited because of a lack of genuine professionals.²⁴

²³ Slavicky, 86.

²⁴ Slavicky, 86.

This section of Klein's article is also the only one in which he mentions any musicians by name, pointing out that approximately seventy-five percent of the members of Karel Ančerl's string orchestra are amateurs. It seems that while Klein has incredibly high standards, he accepts that not everyone in Terezin is musically on his level.

Klein mentions that the strongest examples of amateurism occur in the vocal productions and other areas of cultural life in Terezin: "Needless to say, amateurism is most striking in vocal performances."²⁵ Karel Berman, Marion Podolier, and Hilde Aronson-Lindt were a few noted exceptions concerning Terezin's vocalists; all had been professional vocalists before being deported to Terezin. Many performances of choral works at Terezin included experienced singers as soloists, but the choirs themselves consisted of amateurs who had little to no prior singing experience. As for the other areas of culture in Terezin, Klein's opinion may be more the result of his incredibly high standards and personal preferences than actual fact. The theater community in Terezin included many former actors, directors, and stage hands; quite a few had experience working in the many avant-garde and cabaret theaters prevalent in Czechoslovakia in the early to mid-twentieth century.²⁶ One of the other main components of the humanities and cultural community in Terezin was academic lectures, which were given on a multitude of subjects. Many of these lectures were given by figures such as Rabbi Leo Baeck, the former head of the Berlin Jewish community. Other professionals and respected intelligentsia also participated in lectures on their area of expertise.

²⁵ Slavicky, 86.

²⁶ Arguably the most well known international figure from the theater and film community in Terezin was Kurt Gerron, who was a well known actor and director before being incarcerated in the Westerbork concentration camp in the Netherlands; he was deported to Terezin on 25 February 1944.

While Klein's criticisms may simply highlight his high standards and opinions, they also highlight another prevalent aspect of life in Terezin: cultural bias. Terezin's camp population consisted of people of Czech, German, Dutch, and Danish origin, yet the majority of Terezin musicians on whom modern scholars have focused are Czech. The families of some of the musicians, like Viktor Ullmann, were of German background but had lived for generations in the Czech lands. Others, like Rafael Schächter, had moved to Prague from other countries (in Schächter's case Romania) to pursue musical careers. That is not to say that good musicians, even professionals, did not exist in the other ethnic groups in Terezin. However, these groups for the most part did not mix. The relationship between Czech and German inmates in Terezin tended to be especially strained. As George Berkley wrote in his book *Hitler's Gift: The Story of Theresienstadt*:

All these differences, however, paled into insignificance compared to what was certainly the most disruptive division within the camp: the animosity between the Czechs and the Germans. The Czechs looked upon Theresienstadt as their camp. They had built it and had put it into operation. Then suddenly hordes of Germans poured in, dressed as if going to a resort, speaking only the hated language of their captors and, for the most part, unable to make any useful contribution to the camp... To make matters worse, the SS tended to treat German Jews a bit better than Czech Jews.²⁷

This animosity caused the two groups to avoid each other wherever possible, even in terms of cultural activities. In relation to Klein's essay, this means that while there may have been "professional" musicians among the non-Czech ethnic groups, Klein may have never heard them perform or even had contact with them in Terezin. Many of the Dutch musicians did not have a chance to actively perform until after the transports of September and October 1944 deported the majority of the Czech musicians to Auschwitz. All of this seems to indicate that Klein's analysis of musical life in Terezin was restricted

²⁷ Berkley, George E. *Hitler's Gift: The Story of Theresienstadt*. Wellesley: Braden Books, 2010. pp. 94-95.

to Czech musical life in Terezin and does not take into account the talent that may have existed within the other ethnic groups at the camp.

After comments on the quantity of and amateurism in the music of Terezin, Klein leaves one of his most profound observations for the end of his essay. He gives the following as one of the main reasons he feels that musical standards, especially in vocal performances, are lacking:

In Terezin, professional singers who either worked for some opera or who could have been members of some good-standard provincial opera are an absolute rarity. This is why all opera performances preserve, despite often incredible efforts of the conductors, unmistakable features of amateurism: this is true not only of minor parts, but more often than not of the leading roles and of the musical concept itself. This is the result of a total absence of contacts with the outside world and of the complete isolation from musical productions and performances elsewhere in the world. Certainly, after an almost five-year isolation from the musical life of our surroundings, the listener loses almost entirely all critical sense he may have had in the past: moreover, both creative musicians and interpreters lose much more. Above all, they are cut off from new incentives and sources, often mediated by simple competition... Obviously, qualitative shortcomings have to be tackled and overcome by enthusiasm and a sense of honest craft, which in our present situation often replaces a truly original and intense artistic expression.²⁸

Klein's comments about isolation playing a factor into Terezin's musical life are not unwarranted. In 1938, the German Reich passed anti-Jewish legislation forbidding Jews from attending and working in the cinema, theater, and concerts. This left the majority of Jewish musicians scrambling to find work, with many trying to piece together a living by teaching private students. It meant that Jews neither heard concerts in the symphonic halls and opera houses nor attended any event where professional musical organizations performed.

²⁸ Slavicky, 86-87.

For composers like Gideon Klein, this meant their compositional development and knowledge of new music stopped with the musical ideas of the early twentieth century.²⁹ Klein blames isolation for the lack of musical development among his colleagues and fellow musicians in Terezin; in truth, Klein fell victim to his own accusation. Some composers, like Viktor Ullmann, used the isolation to their advantage; Ullmann's compositional output in Terezin was as extensive as it had been before the war.³⁰ Klein, on the other hand, felt the isolation acutely. In his 1902 biography of Joseph Haydn, James Cuthbert Hadden quotes and then comments on a letter Haydn wrote to his friend Georg August Griesinger about his position under the Esterhazy Prince:

I was cut off from the world. There was no one to confuse or torment me, and I was forced to become an original.' But his originality was that of an active mind working upon material already stored, and the store had to be replenished in occasional excursions, all too few from the palace.³¹

While this quote (both the quote of Haydn and Hadden's comments) could easily refer to Gideon Klein, there are differences between the two situations. While Haydn may have been isolated, he was not under arrest, stripped of his rights, or cut off from new musical developments. He was able to keep up with the intellectual and philosophical developments of his time. Haydn was well fed and generally well taken care of by the Esterhazys. Gideon Klein had no chance for an occasional excursion; this was a man who had thrived on the intellectual and cultural stimuli accessible to him before the war.

²⁹ Most of the composers in Terezin were influenced by the Second Viennese School or the music and philosophy of Leoš Janáček. Viktor Ullmann and Hans Krasa studied under Zemlinsky; Ullmann also studied under Berg and some of Schoenberg's pupils. Gideon Klein and Pavel Haas studied under students of Leoš Janáček. The composers had no access to new music from England, Russia, the United States, and Latin America.

³⁰ The Orel Foundation, "List of Works of Viktor Ullmann," 2013 http://orelfoundation.org/index.php/composers/works/viktor_ullmann (accessed August 1, 2014).

³¹ James Cuthbert Hadden. *Haydn*. (London: J.M. Dent, 1902) p 48.

Klein had soaked up the new ideas and innovations afforded him before the war by the Czech elite whose company he kept. In Terezin, surrounded by musicians he felt on the whole were inferior and had no knowledge of cultural developments on the outside, Klein felt stifled. Klein also suffered from hunger, illness, and poor living conditions along with the rest of his fellow inmates. Isolation, in Klein's case, seemed to hold him back from his potential.

What does Klein's essay teach us about music in Terezin? At its heart, it is not an essay built around facts and names and statistics. Klein does not give a list of names of those participating in Terezin's musical life, nor does he give examples of programs being put on in the camp. Klein's essay is a much more personal endeavor. It shows the frustrations of a highly intelligent, highly talented young man who was ripped from a cultural life of privilege and seems to be struggling to make the best of his circumstances. Klein may have written this essay in an attempt to objectively analyze the cultural arts in Terezin, but he was in no position to be objective. Despite composing, performing, arranging, and participating in a large number of musical activities at the camp, this essay shows a man who in the end seems artistically unfulfilled. It is a glimpse into the life of a professional musician in the worst circumstances imaginable, and ultimately, it is the last testament of a composer murdered before his time.

CONCLUSION

The writings of Ullmann and Klein show a musical life that was rich yet complex. These writings are also a study in opposites. Ullmann addresses the variety of Terezin's musical life, its production value, and the need for culture taking precedence over the

circumstances and environment of a concentration camp. While Klein also addresses production value in his essay, Ullmann and Klein's conclusions differ. Where Ullmann views the isolation of his surroundings in a positive light, allowing him to grow as a composer and focus solely on music, Klein views the isolation as a barrier to personal and musical growth. In the end, these opposite viewpoints highlight an important facet of not only musical life in Terezin but of camp life in general: life in Terezin affected everyone in a different way. The effect was highly individualized, and while some drew inspiration from their surroundings, others felt stifled. While it is easy to believe that everyone in the camp banded together for a common cause or simply felt the same towards Terezin and its musical life, it is important to note that all are individuals, and therefore the camp and its culture were viewed differently by each person.

CHAPTER 2

Writings of German Inmates: the Diaries of Philipp Manes and Willy Mahler

INTRODUCTION

This chapter includes discussions on musical activities in Terezin from the viewpoint of the musical audience. Philipp Manes and Willy Mahler came from different generations (Manes was thirty-four years older than Mahler), but their writings show the effect musical activities in Terezin had on the general population. Besides the generational gap, Manes and Mahler were also part of opposing nationalist factions, with Manes a member of the German camp population and Mahler a member of the Czech inmate population. Manes discusses tensions between the Czechs and Germans throughout his diary, acknowledging that the two groups did not have strong relations with one another. In reference to music and culture, Manes's diary gives us a glimpse into activities outside the realm of the FZG; these groups are rarely discussed in Terezin scholarship. Finally, Manes's and Mahler's diaries discuss the emotional impact music had on Terezin's inmates; while these sentiments appear in many survivor memoirs, these sources record these thoughts as the performances and cultural events occurred.

LIFE AND WRITINGS OF PHILIPP MANES

2.1 Life of Philipp Manes

Philipp Manes was born to a Jewish family in Elberfeld, Germany on 16 August 1875.¹ Manes's family had been established for several generations in the Rhineland,

¹ Biographical information is mainly taken from the editor's introduction of the published diary of Philipp Manes. The diary was edited by Ben Barkow and Klaus Leist, who also translated the work along with

but in 1886 the family relocated from Elberfeld to Berlin. Manes's father Eduard established himself as a fur merchant and trader, eventually opening his own successful business. Philipp Manes left school and worked as a business traveler for a brief time, eventually finding a job with the publications department of the New Photographic Society in Berlin.² Manes's position included traveling Germany to interview prominent artists and writers before their portraits were completed. This position sparked his love of literature, music, and theater; his devotion to these subjects would lead to his participation in the artistic life of Terezin.

Manes married Gertrud Elias in 1904; in 1910, he left the New Photographic Society and joined his father's fur trading business in Berlin. Manes became a successful fur trader himself until, at the request of his daughter Eva, he dissolved the business due to the Nazi occupation of Germany.³ By 1939, all four of Manes's children had left Germany, leaving their parents in Berlin; due to the worsening situation for Jews in the Third Reich, Philipp Manes convinced his children to emigrate. It was around this time that Manes began keeping a diary, recording his thoughts on life in Nazi Germany. He also documented his life before the Nazi takeover; his goal was to record as much as possible for his children. Manes began working in a factory in the spring of 1942, but he

Janet Foster (*As if It Were Life: A WWII Diary from the Theresienstadt Ghetto* [New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009]). Information is also taken from the following website: Wiener Library. "Philipp Manes Collection." <http://www.wienerlibrary.co.uk/Search-document-collection?item=2> (accessed August 1, 2014). The Wiener Library site lists Manes's birthplace as Neuwied, Germany; however, all other biographical sources of Manes list his birthplace as Elberfeld.

² There is not information available as to the specific age Manes left school to work in business.

³ While the Nazi Party began discriminating against Jews almost as soon as they came to political power in Germany, Manes continued operating his business despite anti-Jewish legislation. The events of *Kristallnacht* (The Night of Broken Glass, occurring on 9 and 10 November 1938), where Jewish business and synagogues were attacked and burned to the ground, convinced Eva Manes that her father needed to close the business.

was only there a few months. In July 1942, the family had their property confiscated and were deported to Terezin.

Once in Terezin, Manes was assigned work as the head of a new organization within the camp called the Orientation Service.⁴ Initially, the Orientation Service assisted inmates who got lost within the camp; later, the service turned into a general protection and social service group. Manes, through the Orientation Service, also began introducing lecture series for the inmates. The lectures became known as the Manes Group and included over five hundred events during its two-and-a-half-year history.⁵ Many of the events were lectures given by interred scholars, but they also included dramatic readings, choral performances, and other forms of musical entertainment.

The Orientation Service ceased operations in February 1944.⁶ Manes continued to host the lecture group through the summer and also began interviewing prominent inmates in Terezin. Conducting the interviews and keeping a diary helped keep Manes busy after the dissolution of the Orientation Service. On 28 October 1944, Manes and his wife were sent on the last transport from Terezin to Auschwitz, where both were immediately sent to the gas chambers.⁷

2.2 Writings of Philipp Manes

Manes's writings are housed at the Wiener Library in London. The collection, called the Manes collection, includes all of Manes's manuscripts from before and during

⁴ The Orientation Service was an auxiliary force of the Terezin Ghetto Watch, which was a sort of internal Jewish police force. The Orientation Service was later renamed the Auxiliary Service of the Ghetto Watch.

⁵ Manes, *As if it Were Life*, 5.

⁶ Manes, 5.

⁷ Transport date taken from a copy of the transport list for 28 October 1944. The list is housed in the Památník Terezín Archives.

the war. His earliest works comprise notebooks documenting life prior to the war: two volumes titled *My Life* (these cover the years 1899-1915 and 1918-1940), *Memories of My Youth in Berlin and Encounters with German Artists*, two volumes detailing Manes's work during World War I as a sergeant running bookshops behind the Russian front, and four volumes titled *The German Fur Industry and its Associations 1900-1940*. These earlier notebooks also include a volume of essays Manes called *Way and End: Destinies, Experiences, Thoughts*; in this volume Manes discusses major philosophical and political issues, such as Anti-Semitism and Zionism. Diaries Manes kept between 1939 and 1942 (*The Last Days in Berlin*) were intended to be a record of his and his wife's experiences living in Nazi Germany; these notebooks were for Manes's children, so they could have a record of their parents' lives just prior to deportation⁸.

Manes's detailed account of life in Terezin is contained in eight volumes that Manes called his *Tatsachenbericht*, or Factual Report. Manes began working on the Factual Report in February 1944, after the Orientation Service was disbanded. The report begins with details of Manes's early days in Terezin; this includes the formation of the Orientation Service as well as the beginnings of the Manes Group. Once the Factual

⁸ How Manes's writings ended up at the Wiener Library in London demonstrates the circuitous path that many of these kinds of documents took to in their current locations. In the case of Manes, the story of the preservation of his writings begins on 24 October 1944 (Manes, p 6). Manes wrote a note on the final volume of his journals indicating that they should be sent to either Fanny Franck (the wife of his good friend Dr. Adolf Franck; the Franck family was not Jewish) or her daughter Ilse Scheischke. Prior to his deportation, Manes gave his pre-Terezin writings to Dr. Adolf Franck; therefore it makes sense he requested his Terezin writings to go to the same family. Before his deportation to Auschwitz, Manes gave his Terezin writings to Lisa Klemich along with the writings of his friend Gustav Hochstetter, who had died in Terezin. Klemich survived the war and hid the manuscripts under her mattress until liberation; she then contacted Hildegard Hochstetter (wife of Gustav), who had been in touch with Dr. Adolf Franck. Franck, with the assistance of the Jewish Committee for Relief Abroad, got the manuscripts to Manes's daughter Eva (who was living in England) in May 1948. Once she received the papers, Eva Manes discussed the possibility of publishing her father's works with Dr. Alfred Wiener (founder of the Wiener Library in London). The first publication did not appear until 2005 (in German under the title *Als ob's ein Leben wär*; the English edition under the title *As if it Were Life* appeared in 2009), but Eva Manes donated her father's manuscripts to the Wiener Library in 1995, and they have remained on loan to the library since that year.

Report catches up to Manes's current timeline, the report turns into more of a diary of his last months in the camp. The Factual Report also includes biographies of well-known camp inmates, as well as poems and letters given to Manes by other prisoners.

In 2005, Manes's Factual Report was published in German under the title *Als ob's ein Leben wär*.⁹ The original manuscript was edited somewhat for publication: the editors omitted Manes's biographies of Terezin inmates, along with some general information deemed widely available in other public sources. The editors also chose not to include the poems and letters written to Manes by other inmates showing their gratitude for the Manes Group. Included are Manes's observations, recollections, and opinions on his life in Terezin, as well as thoughts and observations about the Nazi party and German political situation.¹⁰ As a prologue, the editors also included the last section of Manes's notebook *The Last Days in Berlin*, which includes Manes's life until he and his wife were deported to Terezin. In 2009, *Als ob's ein Leben wär* was translated into English under the title *As if it Were Life*.¹¹

Though Manes called his diary a "Factual Report," he writes in a prose style that recounts and tells events in chronological order; he does not simply bullet point a list of events from the time he arrived in Terezin. Although Manes began writing the report towards the end of his time in Terezin, he divided the diary into the years he was at the camp, starting with 1942. Throughout the diary, Manes's entries focus on several aspects

⁹ Philipp Manes. *Als ob's ein Leben wär*, ed. Ben Barkow and Klaus Leist. (Berlin: Ullstein Buchverlage, 2005).

¹⁰ While Manes's observations on German political life are not the focus of this particular study, his opinions about Germany and the German government are surprisingly positive throughout his diary. Even reflecting on the horrible conditions in Terezin, he takes the opinion that things can always be worse. His views are more optimistic than one might expect from a diary of a concentration camp inmate.

¹¹ Philipp Manes. *As if it Were Life*, ed. Ben Barkow and Klaus Leist, trans. Janet Foster. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

of music in Terezin. When speaking of actual performances, Manes describes the emotional impact more than technical aspects. He also spends much time describing the performances and musical events related to his cultural group, the Manes group, which ran separate from the FZG. The discussion of the diary entries for this dissertation will take place in chronological order, beginning with the earliest entries of 1942.

Manes's first mention of anything relating to music in the camp involves Louis Treumann, an opera singer from Vienna.¹² This section on Treumann illustrates how many of the musical artists involved themselves with the Manes Group. While, as we will see later in this study, many choirs and individuals did perform for various ceremonies and cultural evenings in the Manes Group, others simply lectured about the history of music or their experiences in the music and theater worlds. Manes wrote the following about his experience with Treumann:

The next eminent speaker on the list was Louis Treumann, the great Viennese operetta tenor, who on three evenings talked about his experience and successes in [Franz] Lehar's *Merry Widow*, among other things. He was the first Danilo and probably the best. [But] we were not able to get him to sing. Only once did he do a serious scene from a comedy, and he showed what a great vocal artist he was. He spoke enchantingly, standing – but look out if he was disturbed by noise! Then he would explode! We learned a lot about the alluring, glittering world of the theater, from the process of creating and putting on plays to the fears and anxieties of everyone involved: Will it be a success? [Unfortunately] Treumann was not able to give the final lecture; the iron curtain lowered quite suddenly. Medicine could no longer stem the tide of his escaping life, and on the day when he was supposed to speak, I could only speak words of remembrance and thanksgiving.¹³

¹² Louis Treumann (born Leopold Politzer) was born 1 March 1872 in Vienna, Austria and died in July 1944 in Terezin. He was a well-respected tenor in Viennese music circles. He created the role of Danilo in the 1905 premiere of Franz Lehar's *The Merry Widow*. Treumann also starred in several of Lehar's other operettas before being deported. Information on Treumann taken from the following website: Tores, Claude. "Autres Compositeurs Terezin: Louis Treumann." <http://claudetores1.perso.sfr.fr/Terezin/AutresCompositeurs/TreumannLouis.html> (accessed August 1, 2014).

¹³ Manes, 57-58.

The rest of Manes's writings on 1942 describe incidental musical performances that occurred during meetings of the Manes Group. Many of the lectures included performances of folk songs by children's choirs or simple songs played on guitar and sung by individuals. One of the last pieces of information Manes gives about his group in the 1942 section does not specifically mention music, but it does mention the Freizeitgestaltung (Leisure Time Organization, hereafter FZG). The FZG oversaw the majority of cultural activities in Terezin; many of the major musicians in the camp worked within the structure of the FZG. The Manes Group, however, operated independently of the FZG. Manes himself had no job associated with the organization, and the FZG did not publicize the Group's events. However, Manes still had to receive approval from the FZG for each lecture and event he held. In Manes's words:

And now to the literary conclusion of the year 1942. It occurred to me to give the gentleman of the administration [the officials working in the self-administration of the ghetto] and also a larger audience a chance to get to know my work. Until now I had had complete freedom to act and to create. I was not accountable to anyone. I did not need any permits and never catered to the general public. Those with an interest in high-quality lectures knew where to find me. I never did any advertising, and Room 38 was not mentioned in the program of the Leisure Time Organization... The only condition that had ever been imposed on me was to hand in my weekly program. The commandant's office had to be informed about every lecture. The Leisure Time Organization vetted the themes, to see whether or not they were acceptable, and if they gave their approval, I had a green light.¹⁴

Few groups outside the FZG enjoyed that kind of autonomy, and Manes's group was certainly the largest and most prolific that had that level of independence. This autonomy may have been the result of tensions between the Czechs and Germans in Terezin. The FZG department heads were predominately Czech, and therefore the majority of artists under the FZG were Czech. Manes's lecturers and performers were mainly German.

¹⁴ Manes, 61.

While Manes does not explicitly state that this was the cause of his Group's independence, he mentions in the conclusion of the 1942 section that "The Jewish Czech does not love us. He sees us only as Germans."¹⁵ Manes seems content working as his own boss rather than under the FZG; he may have benefitted from the tensions between Czechs and Jews in the camp.

Manes's section on 1943 initially mentions little about musical activities in the camp; rather, it focuses on the theatrical productions done by the FZG. The first mention of anything musical comes when Manes writes about the summer of 1943. A ballroom became available for musical performances, and a team of ghetto guards refurbished the space to make it adequate as a small recital hall. This gave Terezin one more performance space, but this room also became the primary meeting room for the Manes Group, allowing them to have more elaborate musical performances at their events.

While the Manes Group was not part of the FZG, and despite tensions between Czechs and Germans in Terezin, for the most part, Manes praises the activities of the FZG and frequently mentions performances he found artistically superb. Manes wrote the following about a performance sponsored by the FZG that took place in autumn 1943:

In autumn, the Leisure Time Organization staged a wonderful event in the courtyard. The Karl Fischer mixed choir sang scenes from *Aida* and *Cavalleria Rusticana*, featuring soloists. It was overwhelming, an electrifying experience that we, the audience, took home with us. It was part of another, better world – a world that we believed we had lost forever and that, at long intervals, we recaptured piece by piece, creating an imaginary, yet shining, picture.¹⁶

This is one of the few times Manes alludes to conditions in Terezin not being up to the standard that Manes and his colleagues had enjoyed before the war. Throughout most of

¹⁵ Manes, 70.

¹⁶ Manes, 95.

Manes's diary, he speaks highly of Germany, the German people, and of Terezin itself. Generally, Manes is optimistic, comparing his situation in Terezin with imagined worse conditions elsewhere.

In spring, 1943, Manes address an incident in Terezin that affected the camp for one month: the cessation of all cultural activities. The possibility of the cultural activities being stopped weighed heavily on the Council of Elders. It is one of the reasons why they, along with Ullmann, initially tried to stop Rafael Schächter from performing Verdi's Requiem in the camp. Because Schächter himself saw the Requiem as a political message aimed at the Nazis, the Council feared that should the Nazis discover this hidden message, all cultural activities would be stopped immediately. The incident Manes documents occurred in April 1943, when the entire camp was punished due to the escape of five boys. Manes writes in his diary the following in 1943:

Up until April 7, all the evenings went according to plan. Then we suffered a hard blow—the lectures were to be suspended until May 12. One morning in the beginning of April, we were informed of an event that caused both great consternation and great excitement. Five young boys had escaped, just disappeared, and had not reported to work. When all attempts to catch them failed, the German authorities had to be notified... These boys don't hurt just their own families, [but] the entire ghetto, which has to bear the consequences. That said, the German authorities went easy and did not impose "sanctions or penalties" but instead issued only one decree. All leisure activities are banned. The suspension was valid from April 17 to May 13.¹⁷

This is the only known instance where cultural activities came to a standstill under orders of the Nazi government in Terezin.

In his discussion of 1943, Manes also includes a rare critique of the FZG:

There is a particular group of people who always attend, keep faith with me through thick and thin. I was on my own. None of the gentleman of the Leisure Time Organization took the time to even once calmly talk through the serious

¹⁷ Manes, 90-91.

problems [of mounting the lectures] and to give me their views. They allowed me to work, but gave me no support. This has been painful for me, because I could not understand it. In official statements it was proudly said that we “pull together,” but if one is not given the rope one is supposed to pull on, it is quite difficult to do. I must refrain from speaking about the large and complex Leisure Time Organization. I know too little of its internal operation. I only read the weekly program, which gives me an overview of what the various departments are presenting... They do achieve a lot, but more could be offered if they allowed a number of groups to work, following my example, which has proven itself. But independent creative activity is not appreciated from above, so mine remains alone as a group.¹⁸

As mentioned earlier, independent creative endeavors outside the auspices of the FZG were rare in Terezin, and the Manes group represents the most prominent of these endeavors. Manes here, however, shows that being an independent entity could be difficult given the size and influence of the FZG. This is the only time Manes openly criticizes the FZG and expresses even the slightest hint of disappointment in their unwillingness to work with him. Manes rarely criticizes anyone in his diaries and goes out of his way to compliment people, making this particular critique an exception to his normal manner of writing.

Manes gives effusive praise to the musical activities in general: “The music is outstanding. Berlin could not achieve more than they do here. Even the lighter music receives its due.”¹⁹ Considering Manes spends much of the time in his diary espousing German culture and tradition, putting Terezin’s musical activities on par with Berlin is some of the highest praise Manes could have offered.

While Manes himself never performed, conducted, or specifically ran any musical groups, members of his lecture circle sometimes took it upon themselves to provide musical activities. One such Manes Group member, Willi Durra, decided to create a

¹⁸ Manes, 106-107.

¹⁹ Manes, 106.

choir to sing exclusively for presentations of the Manes Group. Durra, who was born in 1882 in Breslau and was murdered in Auschwitz in 1944, had been the conductor of the choir at the Breslau synagogue. Durra assembled a choir which subsequently sang at many Manes Group lectures and also would do more elaborate concerts for special events. Manes describes the forming of the choir as follows:

The musician Willi Durra, from Breslau, introduced a completely new note into the series of presentations...Durra got to work, cheerfully and energetically, and in a short time put together a first-rate choir whose performances quickly won favor in our circle. There were evenings of folk songs featuring solo performances...The music brought a very welcome change from the monotony of the spoken word and was enthusiastically welcomed. Once we had the Ledeč Quartet as welcome guests in the cramped Room A6; but they took up too much room, and their sound did not unfold, and so we did not repeat this experiment. Song and chorus in antiphony seemed like a fresh drink from a forest spring and refreshed both the audience and the performers.²⁰

The Ledeč Quartet, begun by violinist Egon Ledeč, had two incarnations in Terezin (one from August 1942 to summer 1944 and the other from late summer 1944 until Ledeč was transported in October 1944.).²¹ In general, Ledeč's playing was universally praised by some of the most famous musicians in Terezin, including Viktor Ullmann and Alice Herz-Sommer. It is interesting that Manes criticizes their sound; whether this is due to biases on his end, the sound just truly did not meeting his standards, or simply the unsuitability of the location may never be determined. But it is clear that Manes's efforts to work with groups and musicians involved with the FZG did not always turn out according to his wishes.

The last significant musical event that Manes mentions in his section on 1943 involves Kurt Singer and a performance of Verdi's Requiem. Singer was one of the most

²⁰ Manes, 106.

²¹ Karas, 31-32.

educated and prominent inmates in Terezin: a neurologist, musicologist, and conductor, Singer had founded the Jewish Kulturbund (Culture Association) in Berlin after the Nazis forbade Jews from participating in any cultural events. With Nazi permission, the Kulturbund provided musical entertainment for the Jewish community in Berlin until transports to the concentration camps started. Manes mentions that Singer gave one lecture for his group, entitled “The Aim and Purpose of Music.”²² Singer did not last long after his 1943 arrival in Terezin; having been told by the Nazis he was being sent to Terezin to create and head an opera group, Singer went into deep shock upon his arrival. He could not tolerate the conditions and died two months after his arrival, in January 1944.

Singer had only been gone a month when Manes wrote about him:

Voila! Every time Verdi’s *Requiem* is performed here, it is a funeral celebration for Kurt Singer, and for all the prominent men who died here in Theresienstadt. Requiem in pace rings for each one of them. It is like a soft prayer on wings of music, rising up to every spirit, that has become joined with the infinite.²³

While many survivors, especially those who sang in the Verdi choir, mention this memorial aspect of the Requiem, Manes’s quote is one of the few times this sentiment is expressed in primary documents. One thing is clear from all of Manes’s words: he appreciated greatly a quality musical performance, and psychologically and emotionally a beautiful performance lifted his spirits and helped him cope with the horrible conditions in Terezin.

The section on 1944 begins with Manes recounting events of the last month and with Manes describing significant changes to his life in Terezin. A few weeks into the

²² Manes, 111.

²³ Manes, 111.

new year, Manes was informed that his Orientation Service, which had become a branch of the Ghetto Watch, was being disbanded as of the first of February.²⁴ Manes was asked to continue his lecture series; however, he would now be under the direction of the FZG. For Manes, this was not an easy change. He had devoted his existence in Terezin to the men he led in the Auxiliary Service and to the organization of his lecture series without outside interference. He was forced to let his men go and work for an organization, which could change how his lecture group operated.

Surprisingly for Manes, his transition into the FZG turned out to be smoother than he may have anticipated. The FZG gave Manes permission to operate much as he had been doing all along, independently, without any interference from the FZG administration. While the lecture topics still had to be approved by the FZG, for the most part, they left him alone. As Manes wrote of this development: “I was extremely grateful for this recognition and the show of confidence, as I could continue to develop my work in peace and security.”²⁵ With the opportunity to keep the lecture series operating as it had for the past two years, Manes threw himself into the work of organizing lectures and performers for his group.

At this point the lectures also expanded to include themed evenings. One of the first musical events Manes mentions in his section on 1944 is for an evening on Schubert, which took place in his own group. Manes writes:

²⁴ The Orientation Service, which Manes led upon his arrival at the camp, eventually turned into the Auxiliary Service of the Ghetto Watch, in essence, a branch of the security service at Terezin. The Ghetto Watch was the internal police force of Terezin run by inmates. Manes ran his lecture group through the Auxiliary Service; the Service also was one of the few groups consisting of workers aged sixty-five and older. With the group disbanding, it meant many of the seniors would be out of work in the ghetto and therefore receive less food and be considered dispensable in terms of transports.

²⁵ Manes, 130.

Dr. [Margaret] Merzbach spoke about Schubert's life. The terrific singer Eduard Fried sang hymns accompanied by Margaret Pick, and at the close, Alfred Loewy improvised Schubert melodies on a small reed organ. The evening was repeated on March 2. This time the soloist was Edith Weinbaum from Berlin.²⁶

Despite Manes's now being a part of the FZG, and more than likely having access to FZG performers, he seems to have kept to the circle of people he knew, mainly German speakers and artists who did not necessarily have FZG affiliation. Manes felt loyal to the colleagues with whom he worked and to his fellow German citizens who had been deported; that loyalty did not necessarily extend to the Czech or other inmates in Terezin, but it did extend to the Nazis in command of Terezin, as he believed that the German authorities allowed those in Terezin a measure of freedom that they would not have had in other camps.

As Manes's diary entries begin to match the events he is writing about, they become more contemplative about the past and focus on people left behind and on friends who have died in Terezin. In these entries, as in the 1943 entry mentioning Verdi's Requiem, Manes interprets musical performances as memorials and memories of better days before the war. In the midst of the Jewish holiday Shavout, Manes recounts the following musical performance he heard while passing what was then a new lecture hall:

The delicate Mrs. Kathe von Giżycki sat at the grand piano and played Schubert. I sat there very quietly, the only audience, and listened to *Impromptu*, masterfully played on the good instrument. How often my daughter – far away – had played it for us! And now Schubert's solemn music stirred memories and opened barely

²⁶ Manes, p. 130. The following information is taken from the Terezin archives. Eduard Fried was born in 1911 in Oradia, Romania and died in 1992. He was educated as a cantor in Prague. After liberation, he became the cantor of the Alteneu (Old New) Synagogue in Prague. In 1948, after meeting a member of the Copenhagen Synagogue, he moved to Denmark and became a cantor there. No information could be found for Margaret Pick. Edith Weinbaum was born on 2 November 1902 and was deported to Terezin in 1942. She survived the war. Alfred Loewy was born 30 March 1884 and was deported to Terezin in 1942. He also survived the war.

healed wounds, and at this same time, comforted and soothed. After that, Gideon Klein played Brahms. This was my personal celebration of the dead.²⁷

Manes mentions he went to the columbarium and prayed the Kaddish for the dead after the musical performances (which more than likely, though not stated, were rehearsals).²⁸

At this point in the diary Manes begins to mention changes to the camp due to the beautification process that took place prior to the June 1944 visit of the International Red Cross. One of the more amusing notes on the beautification process occurs in Manes's notes on the addition of a new grand piano to the camp. The piano was taken through the camp on a wagon pulled by two young inmates. Manes does not mention names, only that one of the musicians played a march through the heart of the camp as the piano was taken to the Magdeburg Barracks.²⁹

Manes goes into great detail about a recital given by Renée Gärtner-Geiringer.³⁰

A full section, given the title *Intermezzo sinfonico*, describes the following:

I was happy when one morning someone brought me a ticket for a piano recital by Mrs. Renée Gärtner-Geiringer in the town hall at 6:15. I would be able to attend because this evening's reading was scheduled for eight o'clock. The beautiful hall was crowded. The artist is greeted with lively applause. César Franck – *Praeludium*: a powerful, heavy, solid, dramatic, raging work. It was rebellious, accusing, heralding fate; it held no tenderness, only force and violence. One listened shaken, to the wrath of this overture to a drama that we ourselves were feeling. Interval. One must allow oneself a moment of silence in preparation for another world, another, more serene sky. Johann Sebastian Bach: *Italian Concerto*. What unique, beautiful clarity! We could almost see the lovely Italian scenery,

²⁷ Manes, 158. Kathe von Giżycki was a pianist in Terezin of German origin who was eventually deported to Buchenwald and died there. No information could be found on her life prior to deportation.

²⁸ The columbarium in Terezin was where funerary rites for both Jews and Christians were held, with each religion having its own section to conduct rites. It is located on the very outskirts of the camp. While Manes does not appear to have attended an actual service in his visit to the columbarium, it would be seen as an appropriate place to say Kaddish.

²⁹ Manes, 158. The Magdeburg Barracks held the offices and quarters of the Council of Elders as well as some performance spaces, including an attic space still used for performances and lectures today in Terezin.

³⁰ Renée Gärtner-Geiringer was born 9 March 1908 in Vienna. She was deported to Terezin in October 1942. While in the camp she gave several solo recitals and also performed as an accompanist. She was deported to Auschwitz in October 1944 and sent immediately to the gas chambers.

hear the babbling of the springs, the fluttering of the wind, and the rustling of the trees. We could see festively dressed people walking through a colorful meadow on their way to a nearby grove to lounge and enjoy the sunny day. One apprehended all this in the music. In this sober room Bach's divine music vividly conjured up the land of our erstwhile yearning: Italy. [...] Beethoven: *Sonate op. 90*. It is one of the bright, generous, and light pieces. One who was not a connoisseur would think it a piece by Schubert. The song-like melodies were exquisite and lingered in the ear. One beat time to it, wanted to sing along and join the happiness. Then the runs bubble up, and one remains behind – and all too quickly the mirth and merriment roll away. [...] The delicate woman remained seated at the grand piano, her fingers gliding over the keys as though exploring them. Silver rays of moonlight shone through the wide-open windows. And then, as if directed by some invisible hand – *Adagio sostenuto*, the opening notes of "Moonlight Sonata"... It was dead silent in the hall, the audience was completely spellbound by the music. They had experienced it as a revelation, as an invitation to a different, better world. Then, the rustle of the applause, it disturbed me. I would have preferred to walk out silently and go to the nearby park to savor and revel in the wonder of this hour. Thanks. Thanks for the precious gift of this hour, which we were all fortunate to receive.³¹

This passage is by far the most detailed description of a musical performance Manes gives in his entire diary. Part of this is due to the fact that Manes rarely had the opportunity to see performances outside of those that took place at his own lecture series. This passage shows that while Manes himself was not a musician, he was musically intelligent. His descriptions show a familiarity with the pieces being performed. Manes's writing skills also become apparent in this passage, giving detailed descriptions of the setting, pieces, and audience's reactions. Once again, it is also clear how much evenings like this meant to Manes and his fellow inmates; Manes may have considered himself fortunate to be in Terezin rather than another camp, but he also recognized that the life he was living in Terezin was not the same life he left behind in Berlin. Evenings filled with culture gave Manes the chance to reminisce and enjoy a brief respite from camp conditions.

³¹ Manes, 102.

Manes continues this trend of detailed descriptions with appreciation for musical evenings as he moves through describing life in Terezin in 1944. He also, however, paints a picture of grandeur that runs contrary to how life actually was in Terezin:

The large concert hall, which is also used for workshop – the [] is closed off by the black velvet curtains that cover the broad stage – is filled up to the last free space. The visitors sit at rough tables, on chairs and stools, and listen to music for an hour from three to four o'clock. Mrs. Gärtner-Geiringer performed Beethoven, Bach and Handel with her usual mastery. On another day at the same hour, the whole Durra choir sang, excellently rehearsed and led by its conductor, Wilhelm Durra. One is in another world, forgetting everything that goes on around one and listening, deeply moved by music that one so often studied in one's own home, knew every bar of, and loved. That we may now be allowed to linger in this grand, beautiful place, where otherwise the squad of young Czechs does gymnastics, that so beautiful a house would be made available to us, is a blessing, which cannot be praised highly enough. Recently, [I] had something to do [here] in the morning, and Beethoven's *Violin Concerto* sounded in my ears. In the anteroom classroom, Professor Fröhlich practiced, accompanied by Mrs. von Giżycki. I sat down on the stone steps and forgot time and place. That, too, was a special occasion.³²

The grand, beautiful place Manes speaks of was not a concert hall like one might expect in a major European city, but more than likely either the upper level of the Magdeburg Barracks or a large room in another building used for performances. The utilitarian spaces barely resembled concert halls at all, though they provided what was necessary for performances in Terezin.

Manes carries this line of thinking through much of his diary; he praises the German soldiers for allowing performances at all, and gives praise for everything from his living conditions to his food rations in Terezin. He takes the attitude that things could always be worse, and that the conditions in Terezin are adequate. This is rare in the

³² Manes, 199-200. Brackets were inserted by the original editors. Karel Fröhlich was a violinist born 20 November 1917 in Olomouc (Moravia). He studied at the Prague Conservatory and Master School prior to his deportation to Terezin. After liberation, he continued his studies in Paris and toured France and Belgium. In 1948, Fröhlich relocated to the United States, where he continued to perform and tour until his death in New York on 8 December 1994.

documents examined for this dissertation and secondary sources; most survivor memoirs will talk about the conditions being horrific. Manes's thinking is even more astounding given that he was a German and, by Terezin standards, a senior citizen; he was considered a "prominent" German. As survivor Hana Krasa recounts: "Unfortunately the German Jews that came in 1942 were by the Nazis called 'Prominent Jews' where the men who fought in WWI for Germany. The Nazis played a cruel game with them telling them that because they are prominent, the Nazis will send them to a spa where they will receive everything they need. So they did not bring anything, only items you take to a spa."³³ Many of the senior citizens in Terezin suffered this deception. They also faced an uphill battle for survival due to a decision by the Council of Elders to cut food rations for seniors in favor of giving greater rations to the children. For Manes to have such a positive outlook on life in Terezin, and for him to have survived two years in the camp, was a rarity.

Manes touches little on the popular music performances in Terezin. While many performances of jazz, band, and folk music took place in the camp, a limited amount of scholarly study has been devoted to these performances.³⁴ However, Manes does discuss a little of the popular music in Terezin in the following quote, written when his writing and daily life had caught up to each other in 1944:

The city band under Carlo Taube has developed splendidly, and every day, it presents an hour of music in the open air. Something must be said about this because it is current. The merry art was moved to the courtyard and set up its props and boards there. There are the Strausses, both steadfast bringers of joy, who, with their ensemble, have more than 200 times given the old people two cheerful and often contemplative hours. They perform a colorful mixture of music

³³ Edgar Krasa. Personal email to Karen Lin Uslin. 17 May 2014.

³⁴ One notable exception to this is the work of the late musicologist David Bloch, who taught at Tel Aviv University in Israel. Bloch spent his life researching music in Terezin, including doing extensive research on the Ghetto Swingers (Terezin's jazz band) and their bandleader, Martin Roman.

and dance – seriousness and lightheartedness. Above it all sounds the accordion, which always provides accompaniment when nothing else is available.³⁵

The courtyard Manes refers to came into existence during the beautification process for the International Red Cross visit that took place in June 1944. Located on the lawn of the main square in Terezin, this section was initially off limits to the prisoners.

As part of the beautification, the courtyard was turned into a coffeehouse, complete with a performance pavilion. Inmates who got tickets could go for an hour, sit at a table and have *ersatz* coffee, and listen to music. Terezin's jazz band, the Ghetto Swingers, played at the pavilion, along with other popular music bands. The establishment of the coffeehouse and its pavilion also led to other performances being held in courtyards through Terezin, as Manes describes in the following passage:

Now the artists have left the confines of the *ubikationen* [military barrack dwellings] and have gone into the courtyards. In the cool of the evening, one can sit there comfortably. A wooden stage is quickly erected, or the edge of the fountain is used – scenery is not necessary. They often perform for 2,000 spectators who delight in the performances and the coloratura of Mrs. Narewczewitz, or Mrs. Eisenschimmel, and whatever all the other blessed singers are called. What an atmosphere, when the twilight imperceptibly lowers its veil and Mozart's arias ring out through it, or the violin of a master sounds in the Czech style. Yes, there are evenings of great expectancy and joy in the ghetto of Theresienstadt, so much so that one forgets where one is.³⁶

³⁵ Manes, 203. Carlo Taube was a pianist, composer and conductor born on 4 July 1897 in Galicia. He studied piano in Vienna and played in the nightclubs in Brno and Prague. Deported to Terezin in 1942, Taube conducted the first orchestral concert in Terezin in the Magdeburg barracks in April 1942. He was transported to Auschwitz in October 1944; he did not survive.

³⁶ Manes, 204. Gertrud Narewczewitz was the wife of mathematician Erich Narewczewitz. She was originally from Frankfurt and studied music at the music conservatory there. Deported with her husband and son Robert to Terezin in 1942, Gertrud participated in several performances and recitals in the camp. In 1945, Gertrud and Robert were members of an International Red Cross prisoner exchange and were sent from Terezin to Switzerland. In 1947, Gertrud and Robert moved to Auckland, New Zealand, where the family presently lives. Nelly Eisenchimmel was a soprano who was known for her art song recitals in Terezin. She also sang in the camp's production of *Der Fledermaus*. No other information has been found for her.

This quote is also one of the few times Manes mentions anything specific about a Czech style of music.

As his writings for 1944 continue, Manes spends some time describing, in great detail, some of the bigger performances that took place at the camp. One such description is given for a performance of Mendelssohn's *Elijah*:

The largest artistic event, which left all the preceding musical performances in the dust, was the presentation of Mendelssohn's *Elijah*, under the direction of Karl Fischer. Approximately 80 ladies and gentlemen, who all worked during the day, some doing hard labor, rehearsed for about five months because the conductor could hardly ever assemble the whole choir for a rehearsal. With unbelievable tenacity and energy, this musically obsessed man 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. The large hall in the Sokolowna provided the choir, which stood on rising steps, with the most beautiful space for the oratorio. The calm, dignified arrangement, with comfortable seating and high ceilings, meant that during the two and a half hours one did not feel confined; everything was festive. The music-hungry listeners had looked forward to this August 15 for weeks. Nobody had been admitted to the rehearsals. The piece was to be worked on without disturbance and presented only upon completion of the great work. Theresienstadt may be proud that its inmates came together as such a beautiful community to prove that in the ghetto art can unfold freely despite chains, and no narrow confines and no walls can cripple it. We listeners thank conductor Fischer. He and his work prevailed and presented us with the most memorable hours of unadulterated enjoyment.³⁷

Karl Fischer was a former synagogue cantor and conductor who was deported to Terezin in 1941. He gave several concerts of synagogue music and conducted a choir in the camp. His main musical endeavors included singing and conducting operas and oratorios. He was deported to Auschwitz in the same transport as Viktor Ullmann in October 1944 and was killed.

³⁷ Manes, 207.

Manes's comments about *Elijah* depart in some ways from his previous writings on music; in this quote he actually acknowledges the difficulties of producing artistic endeavors in Terezin, and that circumstances may be less than ideal. This differs from his effusive praise of music in Terezin and of the living situation in the camp in general. As seen in the diary quotes mentioned earlier in this chapter, Manes's analysis of music in Terezin tends to focus on its uplifting qualities; for example, the 1942 entry on the Karl Fischer choir's scenes from *Aida* and *Cavalleria Rusticana* describes the performance as "an electrifying experience...It was part of another, better world..."³⁸ In the quote discussing *Elijah*, Manes talks of a "beautiful space" and "comfortable seating." Whether Manes considered Terezin's settings truly beautiful or simply found artistic beauty despite his surroundings may never be known, but Manes gives indications that for him personally, music evokes a different state of mind. An example of this can be seen in the quote mentioned earlier describing Manes's overhearing a music rehearsal: "Professor Fröhlich practiced, accompanied by Mrs. von Giżycki. I sat down on the stone steps and forgot time and place. That, too, was a special occasion."³⁹ What is clear is that at the very least, Manes, like so many inmates, was appreciative of the artistic endeavors happening around him.

In September 1944, changes came to Terezin and the FZG. At the beginning of the month, several thousand Dutch Jews arrived in the camp. This added another dynamic to the relationship between the nationalities in the camp. In the case of the FZG, Manes notes that a new division of the organization was created specifically for the Dutch. This followed in line with FZG practice up to this point; the FZG from its

³⁸ Manes, 95.

³⁹ Manes, 199-200.

inception had separate departments for Czech and German cultural activities. This separation along nationalist lines contributed to the artists from each of these groups having minimal interactions.

In the midst of these changes, Manes began a new project in Terezin. Harkening back to his days interviewing cultural elite for the New Photographic Society, Manes began interviewing prominent citizens of Terezin.⁴⁰ He also kept up his detailed descriptions and musings of the musical rehearsals and performances he had the opportunity to hear in Terezin:

With all the upheaval and unrest in the first ten days of September, which affected us all equally, I propelled myself one afternoon toward the Sokolowna for an hour of Schubert in the great hall. Outside was a blue sky; it was pleasantly cool; and the immense hanging vines that nearly block the entrance were wonderful as always – they are the house custodians. I love to take refuge in Schubert when my soul is in turmoil, when tormenting concerns press too intensely, when thoughts turn to yearnings for what is far away and cannot be reached because everything seems so terribly uncertain and reason finds no anchor. Then the master's sound-images release us from the confusion of the day and lift us gently to those eternal heights, carrying us away from the earth. The beautiful hall is overcrowded. Silence falls, the doors remain closed. The people are ready to receive. Sonatina for piano and violin. My sonatina, which I practiced with the 19-year-old Ernst Meyer a few months before my departure, was so difficult for me at first, but when I had it in my fingers, it gave me such infinite joy. This was the piece I heard, and believe it or not, the tears fell from my eyes. I was so moved by this magic that even the first notes conjured up my homeland and reminded me of what I had lost. Three bars – I know every note – I play along with them, while my wife sits in the wings and looks at me affectionately... Then Edith Weinbaum sings *Lieder*. She has developed her voice wonderfully, it flows calmly, fully, and clearly. She leads us into another world. We wander to that infinitely cheerful and easily reached *Elsewhere*, listen in earnest to the *Lindenbaum*, and succumb to the charm of *Mondnacht*, which is so magnificent in this setting. Each of the eight songs is a redemptive message that makes us joyful. The *German Dances* echoes its melodious sweetness, its melancholy cheeriness, the charming, graceful dance, which lets us see gentle maidens in wafting veiled robes, ending wistfully – it

⁴⁰ These interviews are not included in the published version of Manes's diary, but the original manuscripts of these interviews are housed with the rest of Manes's writings at the Wiener Library in London.

brings us a shared reverie. At the end, a brisk *Impromptu*, I awake from dreams.
*Hour of music, I thank you!*⁴¹

This is the longest passage on music in Manes's diary; it is also one of the few times Manes truly acknowledges the full extent of the conditions in Terezin and the life he left behind in Berlin. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Manes survived over two years in Terezin as a senior citizen, a feat that was incredibly rare. It is clear from this particular quote that the cultural life of Terezin (which included his own lecture group) kept him grounded and gave him a reason to try to survive despite his circumstances. It is a sentiment that is expressed by many survivors in Terezin (as seen in a variety of interviews and survivor memoirs); it is not, however, a sentiment one finds often in the original documents.

As the section discussing 1944 continues, Manes devotes part of his diary to discussing holidays and religious services in Terezin. Religion in general was not a priority for most of Terezin's inmates. Many of them and their families had been assimilated Jews who only went to synagogue for Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur. Some of Terezin's inmates were raised as Christians, as in the case of Viktor Ullmann, whose parents converted to Catholicism before Ullmann was born. However, there were small groups of inmates who did practice their faith, and for those inmates, services (both Jewish and Christian) were available. Manes does not regularly mention attending synagogue services in his diary, but he does highlight them for major celebrations.

The Holy Days of Fall 1944 provided Manes with the opportunity to elaborate on religious services and celebrations. A special service was held in the Sokolowna since

⁴¹ Manes, 221-222. The events to which Manes refers in the beginning of September include barracks being shut down and inmates being relocated to other buildings, transports of Dutch prisoners from Westerbork entering the camp, and general disruptions to daily life in Terezin.

the regular prayer rooms were, according to Manes, overcrowded. He gives the following description of the music for the Sokolowna service:

Over 1,000 people could listen to the wonderful choir that was singing under Durra's confident direction. For those of us from Berlin it was an hour of wistful memory, as all the melodies that sounded in our ears were ones we had heard for two decades in the synagogue on Lützstraße. It was a greeting and a benediction – both a reminder and an admonition to accept the divine providence and to put our faith and hope in God. In addition, there was the soft, beautiful voice of Kurt Messerschmidt as cantor. He never overdid it, but he often added artistically to the antiphonal singing and achieved an effect of profundity. The atmosphere was reverent, there were no disturbances, no coming and going, and no one showing off by singing too loud.⁴²

Manes does not indicate in his diary whether he regularly attended services before his deportation or if he solely went to synagogue on Jewish Holy Days. It is clear from this quote, however, that the services were not adjusted or changed due to the circumstances in Terezin.

The last entry about music in Terezin takes place at the very end of Manes's diary, just a few pages before he abruptly stops writing.⁴³ The entry is dated 20 October 1944, one of the few times in which Manes gives a specific date. Transports had taken the majority of the artists and musicians to Auschwitz only a week before, so the FZG had ceased to exist. Manes's entry does not discuss a performance, but rather a piano rehearsal:

Mrs. von Giżycki let me know she was going to practice in the Sokolowna at nine thirty... Today, two sat and listened, entranced, to the playing – the sounds of Mozart, Schubert, Beethoven; and for an hour, they lead us to another world, a

⁴² Manes, 231. Kurt Messerschmidt was born 1 January 1915 in Werneuchen, Germany. He was a cantor and teacher in Berlin until he and his wife were deported to Terezin in 1942. While in Terezin he conducted synagogue services and led prisoners in singing Yiddish folk songs. In 1944 he was deported to Auschwitz. He survived several more camps, and after reuniting with his wife after liberation, they moved to Portland, Oregon. Messerschmidt's wife died in 2010, but he still resides in Portland.

⁴³ Manes's diary cuts off mid-sentence, never to be completed.

world, eternally beautiful, sober, cheerful, and bathed in the sunlight of genius. We forget the terrible burden of those sad days of farewells; we let ourselves warm up to the sweet pictorial quality of Mozart, the mournful songs of Schubert, who laments in his sonata but quickly moves beyond that to take us into cheerful, greenening realms, where peaceful contentment expands the chest and gives joy to those with open hearts and minds. The first four notes of Beethoven's concerto: Fate knocks at the gates – open up, you people; hear how a life unfolds with its heights, depths, with whooping joys, the highest bliss, delightful love, burdensome care, oppressive grief. But always the heights are recovered. Although in between the dunning four notes can be heard, a reminder that fate can suddenly close in, but it cannot hold you down because the stormy desire to go forward toward exhilaration, the joy of being, is so rousing that all oppression is dispersed, and divinity triumphs. Professor Herman Leydensdorff, from Amsterdam, was the partner of Mrs. von G. On an unfamiliar violin he played perfectly, with sweet tones, and his *cantilena* made us feel blessed and warm. A wonderful hour that gave us hope and strength.⁴⁴

It is possible that this was the last live music Manes heard; eight days later, he was bound for Auschwitz and would never again return to Czechoslovakia or his beloved Germany.

In the end, the question must be asked, what does Manes's diary teach us about musical life in Terezin? One of the greatest lessons this diary teaches us is that musical life in Terezin was not a simple endeavor, or just a group of amateur musicians putting on small performances in their barracks. Terezin's musical life was a large, complicated component of the overall ghetto management. The FZG was considered an actual branch of the governing body of the ghetto, with departments for music (both vocal and instrumental), theater, sports, etc. Within the music and theater divisions, further divisions for Czech, German, and Dutch language activities existed. There also existed independent artistic groups, as Manes's group had been until forced to join the FZG. All of this indicates a highly complex artistic endeavor striving to bring as much variety to the camp as possible.

⁴⁴ Manes, 260-261.

Manes's diary also highlights the differences, and difficulties, between the Czech and German populations in Terezin, differences that spilled over into the artistic sector of the camp. Most of the artists Manes mentions are German, and he seems to have had little contact or desire to collaborate with Czech artists. While Manes never outright expresses a desire to not work with the Czechs, he does tend to stay within his own German circle. Manes's diary is one of the few primary documents that even hints at the cultural divide between the Czechs and the Germans. Whether this divide adversely affected music in Terezin is difficult to say; however, it cannot be denied that the divide prevented collaborations among the two national groups. While there is no evidence to suggest that collaborations among the Czech and German musicians would have changed Terezin's cultural life drastically, it may have prevented younger musicians from gaining valuable experience working with others from outside their musical knowledge.

Finally, and most importantly, Manes's diary gives us an idea of exactly how important these cultural and musical activities were to the prisoners. Survivor memoirs and interviews with survivors mention the cultural events, and many mention how they kept souls and spirits alive and gave hope in a hopeless situation. However, Manes's diary puts those sentiments in writing as these events were happening, only hours or at most a couple days after a rehearsal or performance. Manes's diary can sometimes be difficult or confusing to read, because he speaks about beauty and goodness in a place that severely lacked both, yet he found beauty and goodness in music and culture. The quality of the performances, in Manes's opinion, were worthy of any concert hall, but the miraculous part of the cultural life at Terezin was that it existed at all.

LIFE AND WRITINGS OF WILLY MAHLER

2.3 Willy Mahler: Life and Diary Excerpts

Little is known of Willy Mahler's early life. He was born on 3 November 1909 in the Bohemian town of Německý Brod (called Havlíčkův Brod since 1945). His father, Arthur Mahler, was a well-known Czech-Austrian archeologist who also served in the Austrian House of Representatives. Arthur was also a cousin of composer Gustav Mahler. Prior to his deportation, Mahler worked as a journalist and headed his local football team.⁴⁵ Along with his mother and father, Mahler was deported to Terezin on 13 June 1942. While in Terezin, Mahler became a member of the Council of Elders and a block leader in the Hanover Barracks. He began typing his diary in 1942, but did not regularly update it; he began writing every few days in March 1943.⁴⁶ Mahler's entries on Terezin's cultural life began in 1944. The last entries in the diary date from September 1944, and these particular entries are handwritten. Mahler was deported from Terezin to Auschwitz on 29 September 1944. He was deported from Auschwitz to Dachau and died there on 19 January 1945.⁴⁷

Mahler's diary is extensive; from 1942 until 1944 he wrote almost one thousand pages. Prior to his deportation to Auschwitz, Mahler gave the diary entries to an acquaintance; eventually Mahler's mother, who survived the war in Terezin, took the diary after the war. It is housed in the Památník Terezin Archives in the Czech Republic. While the existence of the diary is known to Terezin scholars, the diary itself has not

⁴⁵ Football here refers to what we in the United States call soccer. I am choosing to use the European term football since that is how it is described in the Památník Terezin archives.

⁴⁶ As in the case of Viktor Ullmann, Mahler's access to a typewriter denotes that he had a high status in the camp hierarchy, in this case by being a member of the Council of Elders. The Council had their own apartments in the Magdeburg Barracks, where their offices were also located. This allowed Mahler access to a typewriter on a consistent basis.

⁴⁷ Biographical information on Willy Mahler taken from the Památník Terezin archives.

been the subject of any formal academic study, nor has it been mentioned in the majority of scholarship about Terezin.⁴⁸ This paper will focus on only four excerpts from the diary; more extensive research is needed to cover the entire diary.

Many of the cultural activities Mahler writes about surround Terezin's theatrical performances. In the following entry, however, he discusses the first concert to take place in the newly built music pavilion in the main square. The entry is dated 13 April 1944.

Dnes se konal zde prvý koncert městské hudby na náměstí v tam upraveném sadě a v tam postaveném hudebním pavilonu. Učinkovale kapele o čtyřiceti mužích, kterou střídavě řídili prof. Karlo Taube a Petr Deutsch. Zahajovacím číslem pořadu byla předehra Carla Maria von Webers k opeře Čarostřelec. Koncert se konal mezi 12 a 13 hod. za krásného počasí a za veliké účasti terezínských obyvatelů. Přirozeně, že jsem se s ohl. na svůj smutek koncertu nesúčastnil. Zaznamenávám ve svých záznamech pouze zprávu o něm.

Today here took place the first concert of urban music in the renovated park and newly built music pavilion in the square. There played a band of forty men alternatively conducted by Prof. Carlo Taube and Peter Deutsch. The opening act of the program was a prelude from Carl Maria von Weber's opera *Der Freischütz*. The concert took place between 12 and 1 pm in wonderful weather with a huge presence of Terezin's residents (naturally, because of my mourning time I did not visit it. I just recorded it into my notes).⁴⁹

Mahler was in mourning due to the death of his father Arthur, which occurred several days before this entry. This performance signaled the beginning of the pavilion

⁴⁸ I personally became aware of the diary's existence in 2011 on a research trip to Terezin, where the archivists had set aside the diary thinking it might be of interest to me. Petra Penickova, who works in the education department of the Terezin Memorial Archives, mentioned that no one had researched the diary in-depth or published any scholarly work about the diary. My own examination of published Terezin resources has found no mention of Mahler's diary, though Mahler himself is occasionally mentioned.

⁴⁹ Taken from the diary of Willy Mahler manuscript. The diary is in Mahler's estate archives, No. A 5693-5704. The diary has some handwritten numbers on some pages, but these are not necessarily page numbers. Being that the diary is a typewritten original manuscript, no page numbers have been assigned. Translation initially written by Petra Pěničková at the Památník Terezin Archives in 2011; the translation was revised by Karen Uslin, 2014. Peter Deutsch was born in 1901 in Berlin and began his career by composing and scoring music for German films. He moved to Denmark in 1929 and became conductor of the Royal Copenhagen Orchestra. He was deported to Terezin in October 1943 along with other Danish Jews. In Terezin, Deutsch directed the symphony orchestra. His work with that orchestra included directing them for the Nazi propaganda film. Deutsch was released, along with all the other Danish Jews in Terezin, into the custody of the International Red Cross in April 1945. He returned to Copenhagen and resumed his music career there until his death on 13 May 1965. Information taken from Karas, 179-180.

performances. The Ghetto Swingers, Terezin's jazz band under the direction of Martin Roman, would become fixtures at this pavilion. The pavilion and reconstruction were part of the beautification process that occurred in Terezin prior to the June 1944 visit of the International Red Cross.

A second diary entry that mentions music is dated 5 May 1944. Mahler writes the following:

Dne 30. dubna 1944 byl slavnostně předán k užívání Freizeitgestaltungu velký divadelní sál místní Sokolovny. Stalo se tak po předchozím jeho pástečném přestavění a úspěšně provedené úpravě. Slavnostního zahájení provozu Sokolovny označené prostě Westgasse Nr. 3 ss účastnili všechny význačné místní osobnosti a dělnictvo pracující na akci Stadtverschönerung. Zahájení byl přítomen také Rahm a Berger. K zahájení v předvečer 1. května došlo s úmyslem vzpomenouti tak Svátku práce. Pokud moji informátoři sám pro smutek jsem se otevření Sokolovny nesúčastnil mi sdělili bylo zahájení provedeno důstojnou a slavnostní formou. Orchester řízaný K. Ančerlem zahrál jednu větu z IX. symfonie Ludwiga van Beethovena. Judenältester dr. P. Epstein zmínil se o významu slavnosti a vzdal dík pracujícím za jejich činnost. Téměř stočlenný pěvecký sbor řízený Rafaelem Schächtem zapěl dva židovské sbory. Po recitaci jedné z Wolkerových básní zakončil oslavu orchester přednesem Dvořákovy Houslové serenády. Také vnější rámec večera byl důstojný významu oslavy.

On 30 April 1944, a big theatrical hall of a local Sokolovna was ceremonially handed over to the Freizeitgestaltung. It happened after its reconstruction and successfully made adjustments. At a ceremonial opening of the working Sokolovna it was simply named Westgasse Nr. 3, and all local personalities and workers were there working on a city beautification action. At the opening were also Rahm and Burger. The opening on the eve of 1 May was meant as a memory of the Day of Labour. My informants (I could not take part in the opening because of my grief) told me that the opening was done in a dignified and ceremonial form. An orchestra conducted by K. Ančerl played one movement from the Ninth Symphony of Ludwig van Beethoven. Jewish Elder Dr. P. Epstein mentioned the meaning of the opening and gave thanks to the workers for their work. Almost a 100 head choir, conducted by Rafael Schächter, sang two Jewish choir pieces. After a recitation of one of Wolker's poems, the celebration was ended by the orchestra playing Dvořák's Violin Serenade.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Taken from Mahler diary manuscript. Translation written by Petra Pěničková. Karl Rahm was the SS commandant of Terezin from February 1944 until May 1945. He was originally from Klosterburg, Austria. In February 1947, he was sentenced to be executed in Litoměřice by the People's High Court of Czechoslovakia. Anton Burger was SS commandant of Terezin from July 1943 until February 1944. He was born in 1911 in Neunkirchen, Austria. After the war he went into hiding and remained undetected until

This concert described by Mahler has some significance, as it is the only time Beethoven's Ninth Symphony was ever played in the ghetto. Also of significance is the attendance of this concert by Commandant Rahm and SS officer Burger. The Nazis charged with guarding and overseeing Terezin rarely interacted with the general population. The head of the Council of Elders (in this case Dr. Paul Eppstein) was the only person in the camp who had any regular interaction with the SS. Their protocol was to pass orders down to the Council Head, who in turn informed the Council and they in turn got word out to the rest of the camp. It is possible that Rahm and Burger's attendance was intended as a false show of unity prior to the International Red Cross visit, which took place one month later.

Two much shorter excerpts of Mahler's diary briefly discuss cabaret and comedy performances in Terezin. The first excerpt is dated 28 March 1944:

Večer jsme e máti v B V na veselohře Gogolově ženitba. Hlavní postavy vytvořili půvabná Mařenka Schönová a K. Süssland zv. Cajvajs. Dobře jsme se pobavili. Hrání bylo neobyčejně svižně a v dobře režii G. Schorsche a ve vkusné výpravě de korační a kostýmové navržené arch. V. Zelenkou.

In the evening I was with my mother in B.V. at a comedy by Gogol: *Marriage*. The main roles were played by the charming Mařenka Schönová and K. Süssland. We had a good time. It was played extraordinarily briskly and in a good direction by G. Schorsche and was in an elegant setting with scenery and costumes designed by architect V. Zelenka.⁵¹

1994, when it was discovered he had died in 1991. Karel Ančerl was born on 11 April 1908 in Tučapy, in southern Bohemia. He studied conducting and composition at the Prague Conservatory. Prior to the war, he conducted at the Liberated Theater and Czechoslovak Radio in Prague. After the war, Ančerl worked as a conductor in Prague for the Radio Orchestra, Grand Opera, and Czech Philharmonic. He moved to Toronto in 1969 to conduct the Toronto Symphony; he died in Toronto on 3 July 1973.

⁵¹ Taken from Mahler diary archived manuscript. Translation written by Petra Pěničková and edited by Karen Uslin, 2014. BV more than likely refers to Block BV, the Magdeburg Barracks, which included an attic where cultural performances (for both music and theater) were held. Mařenka Schönová, also called Marie Schoenova, was born 17 January 1922. She was sent to Auschwitz on 19 October 1944 and survived the war. While not much is known about Mařenka Schönová, her sister Vlasta was a well known actress who later moved to Israel and wrote a memoir about acting in Terezin. No information can be found on K. Süssland. The name does not appear among the cast listed on the original Terezin poster advertising the

The play Mahler refers to was written by Russian author Nikolai Gogol and published in 1842. While this excerpt does not specifically mention any music that may have occurred within the play, it does give the names of several Terezin inmates not mentioned in other camp documents. It also gives a definitive date for the performance itself.

The last of these particular excerpts from Mahler's diary includes a brief mention of a cabaret by Karel Švenk.⁵² The following entry dates from 1 April 1944:

Večer jsme s máti v B V 241 na revue Karla Švenka. Všechno nejde. Znameníť obsahová úroveň a politickou i kulturní, i časově místní tendenci je doplňována v tečnými výkny celého Švenkova kolektivu. Revue semně velice líbila.

In the evening I was with my mother in BV 241 at a revue of Karel Švenk: *Everything is not well*. An excellent content level with politics and culture and a local time tendency is completed with an outstanding performance of all of Švenk's group. I liked the revue very much.⁵³

Much of what is studied about original compositions in Terezin concerns the more serious, dramatic pieces that reflect on the circumstances of camp life. However, there were lighter, humorous musical events that also commented on life in Terezin while lifting the morale of the camp population. Karel Švenk became Terezin's premier

performance of Gogol's play; this could be the result of K. Süßland replacing someone last minute due to illness, death, or transports. Gustav Schorsch was born 29 January 1918 in Prague. He worked as an assistant to Czech director Karel Dostál at the National Theater in Prague before being deported to Terezin on 22 December 1942. At the camp, Schorsch became head of the theater division of the FZG. He was deported to Auschwitz on 16 October 1944 and did not survive. František Zelenka was born 8 June 1904 in Kutná Hora. He received his degree as an architectural engineer. He put his degree to use as a set designer for both the National Theater and the Liberated Theater in Prague. He was deported to Terezin on 13 July 1943 and became one of the camp's premier set designers for both musical and theatrical performances. Zelenka was deported to Auschwitz on 19 October 1944 and did not survive. His set designs were found and preserved by Zelenka's mother, who survived the war. The designs were later donated to the National Museum in Prague.

⁵² Karel Švenk was born 17 March 1917 in Prague. He was deported to Terezin on 24 November 1941, which was the first transport to go to Terezin. Called AK1, the men on this transport were offered protection from transports to the East until 1944. While in Terezin, Švenk became one of the camp's leading cabaret directors and writers. He was deported to Auschwitz on 1 October 1944 and later died in the Buchenwald concentration camp.

⁵³ Taken from Mahler diary archive manuscript. Translation written by Petra Pěničková and edited by Karen Uslyn, 2014.

composer of cabarets, which included music, skits, and political and cultural commentary. Švenk began these cabarets in 1942 with the men of the Sudeten Barracks, whom he would entertain after the workday finished. In addition to composing these works, Švenk wrote the text, produced, directed, and acted in his own works.⁵⁴

While Mahler's diary entries do not necessarily provide anything new to the discussion of music and Terezin, his chronicle of daily life in the camp provides great detail in exactly what was performed and when in the camp, as well as the musicians involved with each performance. The four excerpts mentioned above give great detail, despite the fact that Mahler in some cases did not actually attend the performances himself. Mahler's diary is also the only known diary of a member of the Council of Elders. Considering that the Council of Elders received slightly better treatment and had knowledge that the prisoner population did not, Mahler's diary gives a unique insight into life in Terezin.

CONCLUSION

The Manes and Mahler diaries give us a view into how musical life affected the prison population. A theme consistent throughout both diaries is the emotional impact of these musical and cultural events, with Mahler's diary elaborating on Manes's descriptions of music's uplifting power. The fact that these men were members of two different nationalist populations also provides a unique view into musical life at the camp. Manes delves into this topic in detail, discussing in depth the cultural friction that

⁵⁴ Švenk did write one cabaret that was rehearsed but never performed. The Council of Elders banned *The Last Cyclist*, whose plot revolved around a society where citizens who rode bicycles were targeted for extinction. The Council deemed it too obvious in its condemnation of the Nazis and therefore refused to allow it to be performed.

existed between the German and Czech inmates. Manes writes in his diary the following comments: “The Jewish Czech does not love us. He sees us only as German.”⁵⁵ While Mahler does not discuss nationalist relationships in detail like Manes, his focus on performances by Czech artists offers a contrast to Manes’s more German-centric cultural discussions. Like Viktor Ullmann in the previous chapter, these diaries also highlight that music in Terezin was not a simple endeavor; it was a large, complicated component of camp life, albeit one that brought much joy to the general population of Terezin.

⁵⁵ Manes, 70.

CHAPTER 3

Writings from the Children's Homes of Terezin

INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on writings from the children's homes in Terezin; these include poems from the collection *I Never saw another Butterfly*, writings from the children's magazine *Vedem*, and the diary of Pavel Weiner. The children's homes occupied a unique place in the camp; adults tried to create an atmosphere of normalcy amidst the horror of camp life. Due to this effort, Terezin's children had the opportunity to study and work with many of the camp's premier musicians; their writings give insight into the lives of those with whom they had the opportunity to work. These pieces also give detailed information about the performances the children were involved in, including *The Magic Flute* and *Brundibár*. The writings included in this chapter show variety; children's writings included magazines, poems, and diaries, expanding on the literary genres of the documents written by adults.

3.1 Lives and Education of Children in Terezin

As Nazi decrees spread their way across Central Europe, one particular Nuremberg Law had a devastating effect on children of the Reich: as of 15 November 1938, Jewish children were forbidden from attending public schools. One of the few places Jewish education existed was in Jewish orphanages, where children were cared for by young educators who were members of the Zionist movement. These children

received traditional school instruction as well as a musical education, with many of the children participating in the various choirs at these institutions.

In the initial planning phases for the Terezin camp, future elder Jakob Edelstein recognized that accommodations for children had to be made.¹ Edelstein personally asked for volunteers to go to Terezin and prepare homes for children; among those who answered that call were Alfred “Fredy” Hirsch, Egon “Gonda” Redlich, Ze’ev Shek, and Aron Menczer.² These men, as well as the other men and women who worked in the children’s homes, did their best to create a loving, supportive, calm environment in the midst of the horrors of camp life. Survivor Edgar Krasa recalls the following about the situation of the children of Terezin:

I personally know three of the councilors, and some kids under their care. I also read books some of the former kids wrote. They cannot express enough praise about their councilors. Almost all said or wrote that the councilors, who themselves were in their early twenties, molded their character, streamlined their thinking, and guided their creativity.³

¹ The definition of a child by Terezin standards differs among scholars and sources. Broadly speaking, anyone up to the age of eighteen could technically be classified as a child. Those aged fourteen to eighteen, however, had to work during the day the same as the adults; their duties, however, rarely included any heavy manual labor. Children under the age of fourteen were exempt from working.

² Fredy Hirsch was born in Aachen on 11 February 1916. Deported to Terezin on 4 December 1941, he became one of the most beloved children’s councilors in the camp. Because he previously worked in Prague at several Zionist youth organizations, many of the children knew Fredy prior to their imprisonment. Hirsch was deported to Auschwitz on 6 September 1943 and became part of the Terezin family camp there, setting up a children’s section in Birkenau section BIIB. In February 1944, members of the resistance approached Hirsch about the fate that awaited him and the family camp and asked Hirsch to help lead their resistance. Unable to cope with this information, Hirsch committed suicide in Auschwitz on 8 March 1944. Ze’ev Shek was born on 13 May 1920. He was a member of the Hechalutz Zionist movement. In Terezin he taught the children Hebrew and worked in the ghetto library cataloguing Hebrew books liquidated from Jewish libraries. Shek survived the war and became an Israeli diplomat; he served as an Israeli ambassador in Prague, London, Paris, Vienna, and finally Rome, where he died on 2 October 1978. Aron Menczer was born 18 July 1917 and was deported to Terezin on 25 September 1942. He was sent to Auschwitz on 5 October 1943 and did not survive. For information on Gonda Redlich see section 4.2 of this chapter.

³ Edgar Krasa, personal email, August 1, 2005.

Great care was taken in the setup of the children's homes. Edelstein and the Council of Elders considered the children to be Judaism's best hope for survival; in order to ensure this was the case, a Children's Welfare department was created within the ghetto government.⁴ Homes were created for boys, girls, infants and toddlers, and German-speaking children, and a space was even set aside so children had their own sick care home. Kitchens were created specifically for the children's use. The children also had more space in their accommodations than the adults in their barracks. Despite these measures, however, the counselors could not prevent the children from experiencing hunger, disease, or transports to the East. The Camp Elders did their best to make sure that no Eastern transports contained children. Unfortunately, their efforts were not very successful: of the 15,000 children to pass through Terezin, only 150 survived the war.⁵

Education proved difficult to organize at first. While the Nazis had permitted children in Jewish orphanages to be educated prior to their incarceration, education in the camp was strictly prohibited. However, the Nazis did want those children not working to be occupied during the day. The Council of Elders was willing to risk Nazi displeasure, and possible deportation, in order to teach the children. In an interview with author Joža Karas, children's counselor Ze'ev Shek had the following to say about the formation of the children's education system:

So, I came to the *útulek* (children's home). I had about twenty children in the room who had not enough to eat, and now I had to keep them busy. The Germans called it *Beschäftigung*. I could play with them, I could sing with them, but I was not allowed to teach them. So, we had to invent ways. And here our education of scouting, of youth movement, has helped a lot. Maybe you will remember that in one of Kipling's books which is called *Kim*, they play "Kim games," games of

⁴ Gonda Redlich headed the department of Children's Welfare at Terezin.

⁵ This statistic has been verified by Karas and Berkely, and it has been mentioned in several Terezin documentaries.

observation. Or they play *Slavni mu*i* (Famous men). So, we had a system of teaching history by playing “Famous Men.” Or you know the game “Countries and towns.” You say a town and the other must say the country. Or you say, it starts with P and ends with A; it’s PRAHA (Prague). This was geography. And we even had a system for smaller children. Singing was also a way of teaching. We took Hebrew songs, which were based on poems, and so we had a little of literature. It was not easy and it was not, of course, unanimous what to teach. Some friends believed that we should give these children a Czech education, not a Jewish education. We had children from Denmark, from Germany. But we were sure we had to give them a Jewish education, universal but Jewish, by all means not chauvinistic. They were in the ghetto and we wanted to bring these children out of the ghetto spiritually, mentally sane, so that they would become quite normal people. I would call it “positivistic approach to life,” this normalization under abnormal circumstances, you are a human being, and it is up to you to react as a human being. They can break your body; they can’t break your spirit without your cooperation. This is what we used to tell them. After all, the logical way to fight death is to stay alive, isn’t it?⁶

While the education the children received was primarily Jewish, it was taught in Czech, Hebrew, and German. Songs in all of these languages were part of lessons; songs promoting the Zionist cause were also taught. While some of the adults expressed displeasure at the use of the German language, Shek’s feelings on the matter were as follows:

I was always against boycotting of the German language, because I was of the opinion that the language is the vehicle. It is not the language that is bad, it’s what you say that’s bad. The first anti-Semitic writings of modern times were in English. It was (Houston Stewart) Chamberlain, the English racist and philosopher. The Roman and Greek anti-Semites did not write in German, while, on the other hand, Theodor Herzl wrote *Der Judenstaat* in German. So, we also sang German songs.⁷

The teaching of songs for educational purposes was just one part of the musical activities in which children took part. Several of the larger productions in Terezin required children’s choruses. The two most well-known musical productions to use children were

⁶ Taken from an interview with Karas in Jerusalem, 5 January 1977. Karas, 72.

⁷ Taken from an interview with Karas in Jerusalem, 5 January 1977. Karas, 73.

Mozart's *Bastien und Bastienne* and Hans Krása's *Brundibár*. Children who showed great vocal promise were given advanced training with singer Karel Bermann or conductor Rafael Schächter. Schächter had taught piano to some of the children prior to the war and therefore had experience working with several students. Advanced musical training also included instrumentalists. Many young musicians studied privately with the established professionals in the camp. Pavel Kling, a child violin prodigy from Opava, studied from and played in ensembles with violinist Karel Frölich; he also took theory lessons with composer Pavel Haas.⁸

It is this system of education that may be Terezin's greatest triumph concerning the children who were incarcerated there. In addition to the music education and what was offered in the children's homes, the abundance of academic lectures by experts in various fields gave older children, teenagers, and university-age students the chance to expand their knowledge despite their circumstances. Although most of the children did not survive the war, those who did thrived in their post-war lives, due to the education they received in the camp.

⁸ Pavel Kling was born 27 March 1928 in Opava. A child prodigy in violin, he studied in Brno, Vienna, and Prague before being deported to Terezin on 9 April 1943. He was deported to Auschwitz on 28 September 1944 and was liberated at Blechhammer, making him one of the few children from Terezin to survive the war. After immigrating to the United States and serving as concertmaster for the Louisville Symphony, he moved to British Columbia and taught at the University of Victoria. He died on 2 January 2005. Karel Frölich was born on 1 January 1917 (this date, taken from the prisoner database of the Terezin archives, differs from Karas, who gives Frölich's date of birth as 20 November 1917) in Olomouc. A concert violinist before the war, he was deported to Terezin on 4 December 1941. He was deported from Terezin to Auschwitz on 1 October 1944 and survived the war. He toured Europe until 1948, when he emigrated with his wife to the United States. Frölich died in New York on 8 December 1944. Pavel Haas was born 21 June 1899 in Brno and studied composition with Leoš Janáček. He was deported to Terezin on 2 December 1941; while at the camp he wrote music for plays as well as orchestral works, chamber music, and vocal compositions. He was deported to Auschwitz on 16 October 1944 and did not survive.

3.2 Children's Poems

The most famous collection of children's poems from Terezin appear in the book *I never saw another butterfly*.⁹ The title of the collection is based on the poem "The Butterfly" by Pavel Friedman, who was born in 1921 and died in Auschwitz in 1944. A significant amount of poems and drawings from Terezin's children survived the war. These artworks give us a glimpse into how these children viewed their circumstances. They were not immune to the horrors around them, yet they held onto a remarkable amount of optimism. Their poems and drawings are filled with blue skies, imaginary animals, fairy tale elements, and family scenes. They poured their emotions onto paper in various ways, and in doing so, created a healthy outlet for the fear and sadness they felt at their new life situation.

A poem by Michael Flach, "Concert in the Old School Garret" relates the events of a specific music recital, one played by Gideon Klein.¹⁰ Flach was a counselor in one of the children's homes for four to nine year olds, and wrote poetry along with his charges. While Flach is not considered a child (even by the sometimes changing

⁹ The book was originally edited by Hana Volavková and published by the State Museum in Prague in 1959. This publication, according to the copyright notes at the beginning of *...I never saw another butterfly...*, was a special edition in a different format made specifically for the State Museum. A revised edition, published by Schocken Books (also in Prague) appeared in 1978. The first edition published in the United States, and the one being used for this dissertation, was also by Schocken Books and published in 1993: Hana Volavková, ed., *...I never saw another butterfly...Children's Drawings and Poems from Terezin Concentration Camp, 1942-1944*, expanded second edition (New York: Schocken, 1993).

¹⁰ Volavková, 34. When *I never saw another butterfly* was originally published, the poem "Concert in the Old School Garret" was attributed to an anonymous author. However, the Orel Foundation, the Beit Theresienstadt archives, and a 1998 SHOAH Foundation Video archive interview with Michael Flach all attribute the poem to Michael Flach (Flack). In other sources the poem sometimes appears under the title "Concert in the Attic of the Old School." Michael was born 12 September 1920 in Lemberg (now the town of Lviv in Ukraine). He was deported to Terezin on 14 December 1941. While at the camp he assisted in managing one of the children's homes. He was deported to Auschwitz on 28 September 1944. He was liberated at Meuselwitz, a subcamp of Buchenwald. After the war he moved to the United States, where he received his doctorate and then went on to become Dean of the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs at the University of Pittsburgh. Flach died 4 January 2009. No information is available to identify which Gideon Klein concert this poem specifies.

definition of what constituted a “child” in Terezin), his poem’s inclusion in ...*I never saw another butterfly*... (a collection of poems specifically written by children in Terezin)

merits its location in this chapter.¹¹ The poem text reads:

**Koncert na Půdě Staré Školy
Gideonu Kleinovi**

Bílé krstý kostelníka těžce na nás lpí

Půl století
již nikdo tento klavír tolik nestiskl
at' se tak rozezní
jak musel včera

Přízraky rukou, jež tlukou tiše nebo velmi nahlas
Čelo toho muže bylo těžké jak nebe před deštěm

A pera
pod tíhou nadšení opomenula skřípat
Půl století už nikdo tento klavír tolik nestiskl

Náš dobrý přítel čas
se ze všech ciferníků vyprázdnil jak včela,
která již dosti dlouho žila
a dosti medu měla
aby teď uschla někde na slunci

Pod zavřenýma očima vždy jiný člověk sedí
pod zavřenýma očima si na klávesy hledí
jak na žíly, z nichž teče měkká krev
když políbíš je nožem a přiložíš k nim zpěv

A onen muž včera přeřízl všechny varhan
podplatil všechny ptáky, aby zpívali
a aby zpívali
i když tvrdé prsty kostelníka těžce na nás lpí
Skloněný nad svůj způsob konce jsi jako Beethoven

Tvé čelo bylo těžké jak nebe před deštěm

¹¹ The poem itself was probably included in the original published collection because Michael Flach’s authorship of the poem was not known until much later. The poem, despite being written by an adult, continues to appear in the collection and therefore also warrants reason for including it in this chapter about children’s writings in Terezin.

Concert in the Old School Garret

White fingers of the sexton sleep heavy upon us
 Half a century
 Since anyone as much as touched this piano.
 Let it sing again
 As it was made to yesterday.

Phantom hands that strike softly or that thunder.
 The forehead of this man heavy as the
 heavens before it rains.

And the springs
 Under the weight of excitement, forgot to speak.
 Half a century it is since anyone as much as touched
 this piano.

Our good friend Time
 Sucked each figure empty like a honeybee
 That has lived long enough
 And drunk enough honey
 So that now it can dry out in the sun somewhere.

Under the closed eyes, another person sits,
 Under the closed eyes, he seeks among the keys
 As among the veins through which the blood flows softly
 When you kiss them with a knife and put a song to it.

And this man yesterday cut all the veins,
 Opening all the organ's stops,
 Paid all the birds to sing,
 To sing.

Even though the harsh fingers of the sexton
 sleep heavy upon us.
 Bent in his manner of death, you are like Beethoven

Your forehead was as heavy as the heavens before it rains.¹²

Traditionally, a sexton looked after a church and its graveyard and also sometimes acted as a bell-ringer. Flach, in the first two stanzas of the poem, believes that the

¹² Volaková, 34.

sexton's responsibilities were of a grave and serious nature. In comparing Klein to a sexton, and describing Klein's forehead as "heavy," Flach indicates that Klein felt an enormous responsibility to the music he played and to the audience. The poem describes Klein as a musician with the weight of the world on his shoulders; it is not difficult to imagine that a perfectionist like Klein would put pressure on himself to make each performance in Terezin as perfect as possible. The description that Klein "cut all the veins" gives the impression that the pianist held nothing back in expressing himself musically. Flach's poem indicates in a stanza describing Klein as allowing "all the birds to sing" that the musician was successful. In addition to playing his concert well, the poem also connects Klein to history. Flach twice writes "Half a century since anyone as much touched this piano"; besides attempting to achieve the ideal of perfection, Flach alludes to Klein also having the weight of history upon him.

While this poem alone does not give significant information on musical life in Terezin, it does give us details on one concert by one of the more prominent musicians in the camp. Flach, in using imagery and philosophical, poetic language, paints a portrait of Klein and of the responsibility performers felt to give the best recitals and concerts possible despite their circumstances. The poem promotes the idea that truly talented people, no matter the situation, can create music.

3.3 Vedem Magazine

Beginning in 1942, the boys of room L417 produced a magazine they titled *Vedem*, which translates to "In the Lead."¹³ The boys, ages thirteen to fifteen, included in

¹³ The editions of *Vedem* being used for this dissertation are from a published volume: Marie Rút Křížková, Kurt Jiř Kotouč, and Zdeněk Ornest, *We Are Children Just the Same: Vedem, the Secret*

the magazine essays, interviews with prominent members of the camp, poems, and anecdotes of their days in Terezin. Their editor-in-chief was Petr Ginz, a highly intelligent, prolific boy of fourteen who at the time of his deportation to Terezin had already written several novels and a diary containing a detailed account of life in Nazi Czechoslovakia. Born on 1 February 1928 in Prague, Ginz was deported to Terezin on 24 October 1942. At the camp he edited, wrote, and drew illustrations for *Vedem* and also created an ambitious educational plan for himself. He kept track of the books he had read, the books he wanted to read, as well as various academic subjects he wanted to learn. On 28 September 1944 Ginz was deported to Auschwitz; he did not survive. While Ginz was the ring-leader of the boys from L417, he was not the only contributor to *Vedem*. Many of the boys who came through that room wrote articles or drew for the magazine; the entire run consists of over eight hundred pages of material.¹⁴

The first piece from *Vedem* that references musical activities in Terezin is a poem by Hanuš Hachenburg (Hachenberg) titled “View from the Coffee House.”¹⁵ Hachenburg was approximately thirteen years old when this poem was written. The text is as follows:

Magazine by the Boys of Terezin, trans. R. Elizabeth Novak, ed. Paul R. Wilson (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1994). This is the first edition of *Vedem* published in English. Kotouč and Ornest were two of the boys originally from room L417 and involved in the creation of the magazine. The anti-Semitic atmosphere of communist post-war Czechoslovakia prevented the boys from publishing the magazine directly after the war. In 1968, an account of *Vedem* appeared in a literary magazine titled *Plamen* (The Flame). In 1978, a self-published collection of *Vedem* appeared under the title *Are the Ghetto Walls my Homeland?* The English language edition includes more drawings and illustrations than the 1978 version. *We are Children Just the Same* does not collate *Vedem* by date of publication, but rather divides the book into general topics and then inserts those sections of *Vedem* that fit with the topic of the chapter.

¹⁴ The original copies of *Vedem* are currently held at the archives of the Terezin Memorial.

¹⁵ Hachenburg was born 12 July 1929 and deported to Terezin from Prague on 24 October 1942. He was sent to Auschwitz on 18 December 1943 and did not survive. His poem comes from one of the 1943 editions of *Vedem*.

Pohled z kavárny

Kavárna, to je pěckně místo!
skleničku s čajem mám tam jisto.
Při falešné muzice dívám se shůry
na dráty německé komandantury
a děvky, co kávu roznášejí
že nemohou jinak, tak se jen smějí.

Bavím se dobře s veselou lící
(Tam dole ted' nesou umírající,
jen dědkové tlačí tu pohřební vůz
jak symbol svých let, jež nemohou už)
a vzadu ta zelená budova
tyfem je šírána dopola.

Proč tady v teple sedět je třeba
když "svět dole" rve se o krajíček chleba?
A aplaus: hudba hraje džez
přemožen dojmy v dál jsem se vznes
a hudba zněla jak kočičí lkání
a řevem vran nad sněžnatou plání
jak shnilé sklo, jež do propasti
snaží se mne jako do hrobu klásti.

A obejmul dole jsem svět časů a větrů
svět hladu a bídy, svět kilometrů
jak slunné kvítko, které hostí
mne ve světě skutečnosti.

View from the Coffee House

Oh, the coffee house is a wonderful place,
They've got tea and coffee and air and space,
But the music's off-key, and I look down
On the German HQ in the garrison town.
And the wenches that carry the coffee in
Wear their faces bent in a permanent grin.

I'm having fun too, and my face is smiling
(While down below they cart off the dying
And old men are pushing the funeral carts
With tears in their eyes and heavy hearts.)
And that green building, its outlines vague

Is left half empty by a typhoid plague.

Why must we sit here, void of strife
While the “world down there” fights for its life?
People clap hands while the band plays jazz,
And I’m carried away by the razzamataz
That assaults my ear like a caterwauling,
Like ravens in winter, raucous, appalling,
Like shattering glass, like a cresting wave
That would fling me ashore and into my grave.

I embrace it, this world of time and tide,
The world where anguish and hunger collide.
Like sun-kissed winding round me,
It welcomes me back to reality.¹⁶

The coffeehouse was located in the main square of Terezin; the main square also included the building used as the German garrison for the camp. Prisoners accused of massive wrongdoing would be interrogated in the garrison before being sent to the *Kleine Festung* or being deported. Hachenburg’s poem discusses the absurdity of music while being surrounded by hunger, disease, and death. This poem also clearly points out that while every effort was made to spare Terezin’s youngest prisoners from the horrors of camp life, it was impossible to keep them completely ignorant of the circumstances. Music, while providing a bright spot, could not erase reality completely.

One of the features that appeared regularly in *Vedem* were the cultural reports, which were summaries of the cultural events in Terezin each week. Some music and theater performances were given in-depth reviews. One that received a detailed report was the performance of Mozart’s *Die Zauberflöte*. Imanuel (Emanuel) Mühlstein, who

¹⁶ *Vedem*, 129-130.

was twelve at the time of his deportation, wrote a piece about the opera for *Vedem* while it was still being rehearsed.¹⁷ He gives the following report about the opera:

The Magic Flute is the last opera composed by the famous composer W.A. Mozart, written in the year of his death. Emanuel Schikaneder, who wrote the libretto, and Mozart himself were both Freemasons. This is why the libretto so clearly shows the Freemasons' thoughts and tendencies, and the whole opera is regarded not as a German nationalist opera, as some have said, but as the opera of the Freemasons. At the time Austria was against the Freemasons and because of censorship, the libretto became incomprehensible and, as is the case with most operas, worthless and nonsensical. The opera contains separate arias connected by dialogue... There are many remarkable scenes in this opera. *The Magic Flute* is one of Mozart's most beautiful operas, where his light style, so difficult for the singers, is put to best use. There is not an opera house that does not have this wonderful opera in its repertoire, and this is why we in Terezin do not wish to lag behind. Raf Schächter, with his excellent cast, has rehearsed *The Magic Flute*, and we shall soon be able to hear it.¹⁸

Many of the boys who wrote for the magazine interviewed various prisoners for their pieces, or would ask people in Terezin details about their jobs in the camp to make sure their articles were accurate as possible. Mühlstein may have had the chance to observe a rehearsal since he would have known Schächter from working on *Brundibár*.¹⁹ Although details of the performance itself are not included, what is striking about this particular report is the historical knowledge Mühlstein has of the opera. It is unclear from the report whether Mühlstein was familiar with the opera prior to his deportation to Terezin, or whether he received the information on the opera from witnessing rehearsals

¹⁷ Imanuel (Emanuel) Mühlstein was born on 22 July 1929. He was deported to Terezin from Prague on 17 December 1941. Mühlstein was considered one of the more talented young vocalists in the camp: he is best known for playing the role of Pepiček in the camp performances of *Brundibár*. Mühlstein was deported from Terezin to Auschwitz on 16 October 1944 and did not survive.

¹⁸ *Vedem*, 151-152.

¹⁹ Earlier in this chapter it was mentioned that students who showed great musical promise were sent to Schächter and other prominent musicians in the camp for further study. Schächter also assisted in rehearsals for *Brundibár*. Mühlstein, having been given a lead role in *Brundibár*, more than likely worked personally with Schächter and therefore would probably have been allowed by him to witness a rehearsal of *Die Zauberflöte*.

and speaking to people in Terezin. In either case, the fact that Mühlstein wrote this for *Vedem* shows a desire to educate the boys of room L417, and that music and culture played a part in the overall education of the children in Terezin.

Another detailed report appears in *Vedem* about the play *Esther*. The author of this report is unknown, as it is simply signed Fi-La.²⁰ Titled “Reportage About *Esther*,” an excerpt of the text is as follows:

All of you are sure to remember that some time ago Nora Frýd came to see us. He told us about old Czech folk plays and as an illustration he brought us a comedy entitled *Esther*...The play itself dates from about the seventeenth century, the time of rococo and baroque. The plot is essentially the same as the bible story. And in many places the play is enlivened by dance, song and straight scenes...Music for *Esther* was composed by Karel Reiner, who worked in close collaboration with E.F. Burian, as did the director Nora Frýd. The songs, with the exception of a few merry dance songs, are written in the manner of old Czech church chorales (like Mordechai’s prayer to God). The songs will be accompanied by an orchestra of five musicians: violin, bass, trumpet, clarinet and drum...Let us hope *Esther* will not end up like all the plays that we have so far rehearsed, and that we’ll soon be hearing excellent reviews of our performance directly from the theatrical experts of Terezin.²¹

The passage alludes to a common practice within the camp of having the adults come to the children’s homes to lecture them about areas of specialty not in the normal

²⁰ Many of the children in Terezin had nicknames, and in *Vedem*, the boys signed their articles and reports using either just their first names or their nicknames. The “Reportage on Esther” may have been written by two boys named Herbet Fischl and Petr Lax. Two boys with the name Herbert Fischl appear in the Terezin Memorial database, and so the Herbert Fischl who may have written this article cannot be identified. Petr Laz was born 26 September 1929 and was transported to Terezin from Prague on 8 February 1942. He was deported from Terezin to Auschwitz on 18 December 1943 and did not survive.

²¹ *Vedem*, p. 153. Nora (Norbert) Frýd (Fried) was a Czech writer and diplomat born 21 April 1913 in České Budějovice. Prior to the war he was working towards his doctorate in modern literature and also collaborated with E.F. (Emil František) Burian. Frýd was deported to Terezin on 8 July 1943 and was sent from Terezin to Auschwitz on 28 September 1944. He survived the war and was liberated at Allach, a subcamp of Dachau. E.F. Burian was a Czech artist born in 1904 in Pilsen. He, along with several colleagues, began his own theatre troupe called Da-Da and also worked in the modern Czech theater scene. A member of the Communist party, Burian was arrested by the Nazis in 1941 and sent to several concentration camps before being liberated in Neuengamme. He died in 1959. Karel Reiner was born 27 June 1910 in Žatec. He was deported to Terezin on 5 July 1943 and spent much of his time in the camp writing music for theatrical plays. He was sent from Terezin to Auschwitz on 28 September 1944 and was liberated in Dachau at the end of the war.

curriculum. Rather than a performance review, it recounts a rehearsal; it is possible Frýd allowed the author to attend and observe a rehearsal as well as ask questions on the backgrounds of the director and composer. The chamber ensemble being used to accompany the musical numbers of the play would have been typical for this endeavor in Terezin. In many cases, composers wrote music (whether for an orchestra, a chamber piece, or to accompany a theatrical number) using the instruments available to them in the camp. The ensemble used for *Esther* included instruments that were not in short supply in Terezin.

The ending sentence of this report is intriguing because it gives the impression that many plays in Terezin were rehearsed but not performed. The majority of plays and musical events in Terezin had to be approved by the Jewish Administration. Although there are only two cultural activities that were known to have rehearsals but were not allowed to be performed--Viktor Ullmann's opera *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* was one, and the other was a play by Karel Švenk titled *The Last Cyclist*—it is possible that more works were rehearsed but not performed.²² The loss of performers due to deportations or illness also affected performances.

The last significant report on culture from *Vedem*, and one of the longest articles on music to appear in the magazine concerns the children's opera *Brundibár*. Hans Krása wrote the opera in 1938 for a composition competition in Prague, which was later cancelled. After the cancelled competition, and the political upheaval preventing many

²² Ullmann's opera, about Death going on strike until the leader of Atlantis becomes his first victim, and *The Last Cyclist*, which depicts a society where those who ride bikes are targeted for extinction, were considered too obviously critical of the Nazi regime. Fearing that if the Germans caught wind of either of these performances they would cancel all cultural activities in the camp, the Jewish administration chose not to allow them to be performed. *Esther* was performed: Viktor Ullmann gives a positive review of the play in his thirteenth critique.

Jews from participating in cultural life, Krása and some of his contemporaries (including Gideon Klein, Rafael Schächter, František Zelenka, etc.) began to meet at a Jewish orphanage run by Moritz Freudenfeld. Freudenfeld loved music, and used it as a teaching tool for his wards. His son Rudi helped in copying parts out for various musical pieces. Freudenfeld was very respected in the Prague community, and plans were made for *Brundibár* to be performed for Mortiz's fiftieth birthday. Schächter, with the help of Rudi Fruedenfeld, began rehearsing the opera for the elder Fruedenfeld's birthday celebration. The premiere of the opera took place in the winter of 1942, with Zelenka designing the sets. By that time Krása and Schächter had been deported to Terezin. Rudi Freudenfeld took over directing after Schächter had been deported; Rudi Freudenfeld himself was also eventually deported to Terezin on 3 August 1942. In Terezin, Krása reworked the opera to be performed by the children in the camp; it became the most performed musical piece in Terezin. As mentioned above, *Brundibar*, along with Verdi's Requiem, was performed for the International Red Cross on their June 1944 visit to Terezin. The opera was also performed for the propaganda film directed by Kurt Gerron.

Rudolf Laub wrote the report on *Brundibar* in *Vedem*.²³ The report contains highly detailed information on the process between rehearsal and the opera's opening night:

Brundibár the Organ Grinder—the children's opera that enjoyed an endless number of repeat performances in front of Terezin audiences—was a well-deserved success. I have no wish to quarrel with the quality of the libretto or the music, or speculate on whether it was properly directed. That is a matter for the critics and for people who watched it from the auditorium. But I can say that the effort put into the children's opera was far from small and it was not easy, in the comparatively short time of one-and-a-half months, to rehearse a ten-man

²³ Rudolf Laub was born 20 May 1929. He was deported to Terezin from Prague on 2 July 1942. He was deported to Auschwitz on 18 December 1943 and did not survive. He participated in several performances of *Brundibár*.

orchestra, a forty-member children's choir, and ten soloists, who were also children. Or have you ever been a director who has had to deal with fifty strapping boys and girls who are convinced that the more noise and fun during the rehearsals the better? No—it's not easy and I take my hat off to Rudi Freudenfeld, because throughout the rehearsals he only got angry a few times, and then calmed down again immediately. I would not have had that kind of patience, and I doubt whether anybody else would have either.

To give you the story of *Brundibár* from its origin to the first night: the first rehearsals were mostly boring. They were held in a dusty attic with a screeching harmonium and suffocating heat. The choir sang "This is little Pepíček..." twice, learned another verse, repeated "Brundibár defeated..." and then gladly escaped the stifling atmosphere to get a breath of fresh air. In the meantime the candidates for solo parts stood with trembling voices before the sweating Rudi and sang "Lalalalala" after him. We were on tenterhooks to know who would get what part and who would say a few more words than anyone else on the stage. There was plenty of competition, envy, and minor intrigue, but at last all the roles were assigned and slowly but surely we started to rehearse. At first, we only rehearsed the songs.

The rehearsals were soporific, though some people enjoyed them, and it often seemed the whole business would come to a bad end. But some sort of aura held us together, the feeling that "when it's finished, it'll be super." We made progress, we got a better rehearsal room, and interest grew. Everybody began to look forward to rehearsals, and would tell acquaintances with a certain pride "We're rehearsing a children's opera."

At last the day came when we could sing nearly the whole opera. Architect Zelenka came and we started to set up the staging. Perhaps it was because we suddenly had to get off our seats and move about as if we had a stage, or perhaps it was architect Zelenka with his "What are you staring at, you fool," or "Get a move on, don't stand about like a lot of drunks." The fact is that everything suddenly came to life, and the rehearsals became so exiting that Rudi finally threatened to drop everything if things went on like this, that we'd never amount to anything, etc. Fortunately nobody took him seriously, and so "mix-up after mix-up" continued to be the order of the day in most rehearsals. The director's job was not easy, for what can you do with a fellow who insists on singing "Who's afraid of the actor..." instead of "the doctor," or with an individual who always jumps in a bar ahead. There were quite a number of people like that and it took some time to get rid of them. Unfortunately the spirit of these types still haunts the performances, causing all sorts of foul-ups. By that time, the newly appointed conductor, Rudi Freudenfeld, was already rehearsing the orchestra. The work was beginning to come together, and only small adjustments had to be made. The last week of rehearsals came (we were now in the Magdeburg barracks) and there was no shortage of mishaps. The least upsetting was that during one of the final rehearsals the lights in the Magdeburg barracks went out at half past nine. What happened before this whistling, screaming, shouting throng of rehearsing actors was called to order defies description. Suffice it to say we left a partly destroyed stage behind and were in a giddy mood.

Then came the dress rehearsal, which was actually a disappointment to everyone. We all expected noise, confusion, disorder, all of which is the sign of real theater life, and hoped it would be full of mishaps, which could be taken as a sure sign that the opening night would go well. But as I said before, we were all properly disappointed. It must have been the most peaceful dress rehearsal ever held in Terezin, and a most successful one.

Despite that, the premiere came off splendidly. We arrived an hour and a half before curtain, and when we saw each other in our makeup, which we thought terrible, we began to cut up as usual, til Rudi had to come and settle us down. But as soon as the audience started filling in, our little souls were slowly but surely overcome by stage fright. Three of the “experienced” actors walked up and down backstage and said over and over again: “I haven’t got stage fright, nothing can throw me off,” and only their scarlet ears belied them. But as soon as the first bars of music sounded, we forgot our fear and went to it. Everything went well. *Brundibár*—Sara Trechlinger—on stage with the artisans, saw to it that there was a lot of fun while Pepíček, Anička, and the animals took care of the musical side of things. And the lullaby sung by the choir, “*Mummy is rocking...*” moved everyone and reaped well-deserved applause. Rafik Schächter, after all, had worked like a galley slave to get us to sing it properly. And when we had finished and the hall was filled with thunderous applause, we were all happy and content, for man is a creature eager for fame. And in all of us there was some satisfaction at having done a thing well.

Now, in further performances, we’ve all got the singing down to a routine and can concentrate on making sure there’s a lot of fun. There have been unforeseen occurrences, though. One performance was suddenly interrupted by a terrified scream from twenty maidenly throats. After anxious enquiries, we discovered that a bench holding twenty singers had tumbled over. But often things happen on stage that the audience doesn’t even notice, while we backstage are doubled over with laughter.

Brundibár will soon disappear from the thoughts of those who watched it in Terezin, but for us actors it will remain one of the few beautiful memories we have of that place.²⁴

This article by Laub is one of the most detailed descriptions available of the first performances of *Brundibár*; it is also one of the most detailed accounts of any rehearsal and production process of any performance in Terezin. The premiere performance took place on 23 September 1943, only a few months before Laub was deported to Auschwitz.

²⁴ *Vedem*, 154-156. Rudolf Freudenfeld was born 23 September 1921 and was deported to Terezin on 5 July 1943. He was later sent to Auschwitz on 28 September 1944. He was liberated in Gleiwitz, a subcamp of Auschwitz. František Zelenka was born in Kutná Hora on 8 June 1904. He studied architecture in Prague. He was deported to Terezin on 13 July 1943 from Prague and later sent from Terezin to Auschwitz on 19 October 1944. He did not survive.

Rafael Schächter assisted in initially rehearsing the children for the opera; he also recommended children with whom he had worked on *The Bartered Bride* for lead roles. However, as musical life in Terezin began to grow and Schächter became more in demand, he turned the conducting and musical duties over to Rudi Freudenfeld.

Laub comments on the difficulty of directing fifty children who tended to be rambunctious and not always in the mood to pay attention; while this fact may not be surprising, it is an aspect rarely mentioned in memoirs or discussions of *Brundibár*. The article also shows how the rehearsal process, in many ways, mirrored a standard theater or musical rehearsal prior to the war: sets being designed, actors learning their roles, and things coming together as the rehearsals continue. Laub's anecdotes about the cast hoping for a bad rehearsal in order to have a good show could easily apply to any theatrical rehearsal even in present day.

One of the most remarkable things about this article, however, is its writing style. On one hand, Laub comes across as a typical thirteen-year old boy: he discusses boring rehearsals, antics backstage, and how rowdy he and his friends could be through the process. But there is also an adult-like tone to his writing, with Laub sounding older than his age. His last sentence, on how the rehearsals will remain beautiful memories for those involved, show the toll camp life took on Terezin's youngest prisoners. For the majority of the children involved with *Brundibár*, it would be the last bit of culture they would experience before being sent to Auschwitz. Laub's assessment on beautiful memories has merit in that the opera was one of the last good things these children experienced.

What does *Vedem* teach us about music in Terezin? *Vedem* itself, beyond the cultural reports, gives us a glimpse into the lives of teenage boys in Terezin who were determined to keep their education and their lives going in the midst of upheaval and camp life. Lectures, musical concerts, and plays were all given reviews and articles in the magazine; while all of these faced some harsh criticism from the boys, what comes through the most is the pure joy of the experience and the curiosity the boys had on a myriad of subjects. For the musical activities children participated in, we get a view of Terezin's musical life that shows how they were as invested as the adults in giving the best performances possible. The views expressed by the writers of *Vedem* show that while the children were not unaware of the uncertainty and horrors of camp life and the future, they had the ability to not let their worry consume them. Musical rehearsals were just another part of daily life in Terezin for them, and a part that gave many of them a great amount of joy.

3.4 Diary of Pavel (Paul) Weiner²⁵

Pavel Weiner was born in Prague on 13 November 1931. Pavel's family included his father Ludvík, mother Valy, and older brother Hanus (nicknamed Handa). The family was a middle class Jewish family, with Ludvík working at the business of his brother-in-law. Like many Jewish families in the Czech Republic, the family was not overly religious: they celebrated important Jewish holidays, but otherwise assimilated with their non-Jewish neighbors, focusing on Czech nationalism rather than their Jewish faith. After the Nazi takeover of Czechoslovakia, Weiner was forbidden from attending school.

²⁵ After Weiner moved to the United States, he used Paul, the English version of his Czech name Pavel.

While an uncle and several cousins fled the country, the rest of the Weiners and their extended family chose to stay in Czechoslovakia. In May 1942, Pavel Weiner, his parents, and his brother were summoned for transport to Terezin.

Upon arriving in the camp, Ludvík and Hanus Weiner were sent to the men's barracks; Pavel and his mother Valy lived in the Dresden barracks until the children's homes were established. Pavel then moved to Room 7 in home L417, led by madrich (counselor) Franta Maier.²⁶ This room, called a heim (home), became the center of Pavel's world in Terezin. Assemblies, called apels, were held once or twice a day to check the room and review the program for the day; these programs included activities such as sports, room cleaning, academic classes, and rehearsals. Pavel also edited the room magazine, called *Nešar*, named after the boys in the room (who called themselves *nešarim*, or eagles).²⁷ Prior to the war he studied piano, accordion, and recorder; this love of culture carried over to Terezin, where Pavel studied with several of the camp's top musicians. Pavel and his mother lived to see liberation in Terezin. His father and brother were deported to Auschwitz in September 1944; they both perished at Kaufering (a sub-camp of Dachau). Pavel Weiner moved to the United States after the war; he died on 17 January 2010.

The diary of Pavel Weiner dates from April 1944 until April 1945 and so only covers his last year in the camp. In 1979, while relocating his mother from Washington,

²⁶ František "Franta" Maier was born 17 May 1922. He was deported to Terezin on 19 March 1942. At the camp he was one of the madrichs, or counselors, that headed the boys' home. As a counselor, Maier assisted in educating the boys, helping them keep order in their room, and keeping the children as healthy and active as possible despite their circumstances. Maier was deported to Auschwitz on 28 September 1944; he was liberated at Gleiwitz in 1945. After the war, Maier moved first to Brno and then to the United States, where he lived until his death in 2013.

²⁷ Many of the boys' rooms had names had nicknames they used to identify themselves; these names (which in many cases consisted of animal names, like Eagles) also identified the boys' soccer teams.

DC to New York City, Pavel discovered that his mother had kept his wartime diary and the thirteen copies of *Nešar* magazine he had written and edited. Pavel translated the diary himself from Czech to English, and after his death his daughter Karen prepared the translation for publication in 2012. The original resides in the archives of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.²⁸

Pavel's diary includes a vast amount of information about the cultural life he participated in and witnessed in Terezin. One aspect he describes in great detail is his private lessons in both voice and piano. Many of the musicians and composers in Terezin spent time teaching the children, whose parents normally paid them with food. His first entry on private lessons appears on 14 April 1944:

Another thing that occurred was an exam with Berman. I was accepted to play the recorder but I didn't pass the singing because I was awfully hoarse. Some idiot, who didn't even know how to play the piano well, gave me the exam. I feel dejected.²⁹

Pavel refers here to Karel Berman, who took talented youngsters on as private students.³⁰ Students had exams in their private lessons just as they did with their academic classes; these exams normally consisted of privately performing several pieces for the teacher. While Berman mainly taught voice, Pavel's diary entries indicate he also examined students in recorder and piano.

The next entry concerning lessons appears on 22 May 1944:

I return to the heim, but immediately I go to L218. I wait there for about half an hour and I discover for myself my music scores. Finally, Jindra arrives and we practice. We're doing quite well, but all moves too slowly...I meet Jindra in front of BV and we go together to the brewery, where we find Berman. We immediately start to play. Partly because of stage fright and partly because I

²⁸ The diary was published under the following: Pavel Weiner. *A Boy in Terezin* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2012).

²⁹ Weiner, 16.

³⁰ For information on Karel Berman, see Ullmann critique #15.

cannot play so fast, I did not do very well. I don't feel upset, however, because everything can be improved upon.³¹

This particular entry is one of the first indications that children played musical duets together in Terezin. Pavel also mentions stage fright several times throughout his diary; it is important to note that many of these children worked with professionals they may never have had access to outside of the camp. However, despite the stage fright, the entry shows Pavel taking advantage of the opportunity to study with Karel Berman and to continually improve.

Pavel's studies with Berman highlights an aspect of children's life in Terezin little analyzed in scholarly study: the artistic benefit the children of Terezin gained because of their imprisonment. Children like Pavel had the opportunity to study with a community of musicians, artists, and scholars they most likely would not have had access to prior to the war. The majority of adults in Terezin made a concerted effort to brighten the lives of the children in Terezin and provide them with some sense of normalcy. Thanks to this effort, the camp's youngest inmates gained access to members of Czechoslovakia's cultural intelligentsia.

The next two entries mentioning lessons occur on 16 and 17 June 1944 as Terezin prepared for a visit from the International Red Cross. The first of the two entries is as follows:

In front of the School, the boys grab me and tell me to go singing with them, which I do. Franta sits at the pavilion and we are instructed that when the commission arrives we must sing German songs. We are learning "O Tannenbaum" and several others, but we are not doing too well...It is six o'clock. I go to Jindra to practice and at 6:30 we must go to Berman. They don't want to

³¹ Weiner, 59. Pavel does not give a last name for Jindra, and no boy by that name appears on the list of boys in Room 7. It is possible this Jindra was a friend from one of the other boys' rooms in L417, but no information is given as to specifically who Jindra was.

tune our flutes and we are not in the best form. We go to Berman and I have no stage fright. Amazingly, we don't mess up too much.³²

This is the first time Pavel mentions playing the flute; this he did in addition to playing the recorder and taking lessons in voice and later piano. He mentions Berman and also a “they” that heard him and Jindra play. This seems to indicate that the exams given to music students consisted of not only performing for the teacher but also for a small group of Terezin's musical community to check their progress. The entry also mentions learning German songs for the International Red Cross commission; this is one of the only documents on Terezin's musical life that mentions this aspect of the IRC visit.

The second entry, on 17 June 1944, says the following:

At eight o'clock I have a test with Berman in the Adler Eagle House. I go there but there is *Schopfung* [?] and, therefore, I have to wait for such a long time. Jindra is also there. I am struck with stage fright, even though I know I will be playing in front of a very small audience. In the end, I play well and everybody likes it.³³

It seems that musical testing happens fairly frequently, as it occurs in many of the entries concerning lessons. This entry also points to one of the problems scheduling cultural events in Terezin: the lack of available space. Due to overcrowding, finding spaces in which to perform and practice was extremely difficult. While the entry itself gives no translation for *Schopfung*, it is likely Pavel refers here to a performance of Haydn's *Die Schöpfung*. Originally performed on 15 February 1944, the oratorio may have been performed more than once.³⁴

³² Weiner, 70. Franta refers to Franta Maier, Pavel's room counselor.

³³ Weiner, 71.

³⁴ The original date of the *Die Schöpfung* performance comes from an illustration of an FZG program in Karas, 122. Many recitals and operas were performed more than once in Terezin, especially if they were

The last entry concerning a specific music exam appears on 28 June 1944, just a few days after the Red Cross commission. Pavel writes:

Mother tells me I have an exam at 8:30 already with the orchestra. I'm looking forward to it...At eight o'clock, I go to Orel [the new hall]. Schächter, Fried, Prager and others are already there. It seems that Schächter doesn't like it and doesn't want to show it in public. I start playing at nine o'clock with three violins and cello. It is not very pretty. We finish at 10:30 and Jindra takes me home.³⁵

Between his work with children in *The Bartered Bride* and his assistance in casting and rehearsing for *Brundibár*, Rafael Schächter worked with many of the children in Terezin. However, as this entry shows, his high standards extended to Terezin's youngest residents as well as the adults.

In July 1944, Pavel was given permission by a piano teacher named Mrs. Geisinger to practice the piano in Terezin.³⁶ He gives a detailed account of his first practice in the following entry, dated 5 August 1944:

After picking up mother, we go into the basement in L410. The coldness of the basement and the warmth of the music welcome us. I cannot get to the piano because it is not yet my time. I have a bit of stage fright lest I forget the notes. At last, it is 3:30 and I sit down behind the piano. First, I play the scales, which I do well. Then I play the "Turkish March" for Professor Weiss. I completely forgot to mention what happened on Sunday, 30 July, the day I saw Mrs. Geisinger about the piano. She was very kind and wrote out a ticket for

popular among the prison population. It is likely that then that Haydn's oratorio saw several performances, and that one of these prevented Pavel Weiner from meeting Karel Berman on time.

³⁵ Weiner, 78. For information on Rafael Schächter, see Ullmann critique #18. Norbert Fried (changed to Fryd after the war) was born 21 April 1913 in České Budějovice, A cabaret, theater, and film writer, he was deported to Terezin on 8 July 1943. Fried continued his cultural activities in the camp until his deportation to Auschwitz on 28 September 1944. He was liberated in Allach (a sub-camp of Dachau) and returned to Czechoslovakia. Norbert Fryd died 18 March 1976 in Prague. No information is available on Prager, whom Pavel refers to in other entries as simply a gardener.

³⁶ No first name for Mrs. Geisinger is ever given, and no Geisinger appears in Terezin's Prisoner database. It is possible that Pavel meant Renee Gartner-Geiringer, who was a well-known pianist in the camp (information on Gartner-Geiringer can be found in Ullmann critique #2). However, Pavel consistently uses the name Geisinger when referring to his piano teacher, so there is no way to be certain to whom exactly he refers.

times I could practice—Saturdays from 3:30 to 4:00, Mondays from 1:00 to 1:30, and Wednesdays also for half an hour. She told me that I will be instructed by somebody named Professor Weiss, a Dutchman, whom I immediately contacted. He is pleasant and I could see that he knows his stuff. He said that he would be glad to instruct me, but first I have to practice and then play something for him. That's why I have practiced the "Turkish March" and "Melodies" by Beethoven. Then I play some little things. I am lucky that I can practice for a full hour.³⁷

With space at a premium and only one working piano in the camp, those wishing to practice had to be scheduled in half-hour increments. Pavel's having the opportunity to practice even once for a full hour would have been a rare occurrence in Terezin. This entry mentions that Ferencz Weiss required Pavel in a sense to audition before agreeing to be his teacher. While many of the musicians in Terezin were incredibly generous with their time and efforts towards the children, they also wanted to spend their efforts on children whom they felt had talent that could be expanded upon. Pavel's first official lesson with Ferencz Weiss occurred on 14 August 1944:

At home, I wash up and soon I sit down to practice the piano. It's very noisy there because of some small kids. The professor arrives fifteen minutes late. I am told to straighten out my chair and then I play scales in the following manner: first four octaves, then backward and up and back. He is a forgetful professor as he doesn't realize that the woman who is accompanying me is my mother. For practice he gives me two pieces from Schutze [presumably German composer and organist Heinrich Schütz, 1585-1672] and a scale; tomorrow I am to come back for the etudes. I practice until six o'clock because nobody else comes.³⁸

This entry is one of the few primary documents that describes an actual private lesson held in Terezin for an adult or child. Despite Terezin's conditions, musical lessons seem to be conducted largely in the same manner as before the war.

In several entries Pavel writes about assistance he received from a distant relative, Luci Horowitz. Little is known about Horowitz, except that he was a cellist from Austria

³⁷ Weiner, 110. Professor Weiss refers to Ferencz Weiss (Weisz). For further information see Ullmann critique #5.

³⁸ Weiner, 122.

and a distant relative of Pavel's. Luci Horowitz was deported to Auschwitz by 30 October 1944; Pavel mentions that the entire Horowitz family is gone by that date. His first mention of Luci's assistance with his piano training appears on 7 August 1944:

I can practice the piano from 1:00 to 1:30, which means I have to be there fifteen minutes earlier...I have stage fright because of the expected presence of Luci Horowitz during my playing. My nervousness affects my overall mood, which comes to a boiling point while I am visiting Mother. I need to leave to avoid something serious. At home, I am nervous and already at 12:45, I am at L410. After waiting a while, I sit down at the piano. I play the sonatina quite well when I play it alone, but soon my mother arrives with Luci. He is a professor of the conservatory and he points out certain arm movements that are essential. I learned them in Prague but have since forgotten them. After half-hour of practice, I learn what Luci has shown me.³⁹

Pavel's second entry about Luci appears on 9 August 1944:

Afterward I go home and nervously await six o'clock, the time of my piano practice. Since no one is there when I arrive, I can start practicing. But soon my mother arrives with Luci. He is not quite satisfied as yet with my playing. He keeps bugging me about the positioning of my hands.⁴⁰

Pavel's entries here, more than anything, show his opinions and feelings on practicing and performing in front of higher-level musicians. They show Pavel as a serious student, determined to get things right, but also that he is still a boy prone to frustration over being told what to do. Pavel's frustration may also stem from what he mentioned in the 1 August 1944 entry, in which he states he forgot the techniques he learned in Prague.

The last mention of Luci Horowitz occurs on 12 August 1944:

I have a piano lesson from 3:30 to 4:00. It is dumb that next door the harmonium is playing and that Mother comes without Luci. I don't know what to play. I'm somewhat angry and take it out on Mother. Almost instantaneously, my good mood has changed. When we walk out of the basement, we meet Professor Weiss.

³⁹ Weiner, 112-113.

⁴⁰ Weiner, 115.

He wants me to play something for him. Considering what consequences it will have, I don't even have a big stage fright. It will turn out somehow. From his behavior I can tell that Professor Weiss is a serious artist. He seems to be conceited about his artistry. I'm asked to play some scales for him, which I do quite well. I also play chords and finally a sonatina that I don't finish. He feels my fingers expertly and tests my finger span on the keyboard. He tells me that I will do and that I may take lessons with another student (a Dutch girl) and that he will tell Mrs. Geisinger about my lessons. So it turned out pretty well for me, but I am still nervous about whether he will take me.⁴¹

This is one of the few detailed accounts we have of the personality of Ferencz Weiss; however, this entry also gives an example of how children viewed the musicians and adults around them. Pavel also mentions he will share a lesson time with a Dutch girl; as 1944 progressed, the majority of Czech musicians were deported to Auschwitz. This allowed others, like the Dutch and Danish inmates, to become more involved in the musical life of Terezin.⁴² As the diary continues, Pavel mentions practicing piano and taking lessons only a few more times; the last entry on this subject appears on 20 September 1944. Here, he simply states: "I have my makeup piano lesson. It doesn't turn out well because my hands are frozen. After the lesson, I practice."⁴³ While Pavel may have had the opportunity to practice after this, with the deportation of his father and brother two days after that entry and the subsequent transports of most of Terezin's musicians, it is also possible that Pavel simply spent less time with his pianistic endeavors.

⁴¹ Weiner, 119.

⁴² This is not to say that music in Terezin was solely a Czech endeavor. However, the majority of those who participated in the FZG sanctioned music activities were Czech or German. By October 1944, almost all of the major musical figures from the FZG had been deported to Auschwitz, thereby giving opportunities to musicians from other nationalities who had not had the chance to participate in the FZG.

⁴³ Weiner, 154.

Besides writing about his own musical studies, Pavel also discusses various performances and other musical happenings in Terezin. The first diary entry that mentions music is written on 5 April 1944:

During *Apel*, they give out tickets to a Beethoven concert and I manage to get one. After *Apel*, we have a rehearsal for *Nebuchadnezzar*. It doesn't interest me much. At three o'clock the concert starts. I pick myself up and hurry with Sasha into the Hamburg Barracks. For a while we roam through the barracks and soon we find the room where the concert takes place. I get into an argument with one of the boys. At the concert, B. Koff plays the piano and H. Taussig the violin. They play "Spring Sonata" and "Thirty-two Variations." It is quite short and I have heard better playing before.⁴⁴

Pavel mentions he is not impressed with the concert he saw; it seems the musical education and culture he was exposed to prior to the war left him with strong opinions on what he considers good music. He judges the performance solely on what he hears, not taking into account the conditions of the musicians in the camp. No information is given as to whether *Nebuchadnezzar* is a play with no music or whether it had a musical component. However, many of the children's homes and individual rooms produced their own plays and concerts, and so it is possible Pavel refers to a play specifically for Room 7.

While details on *Nebuchadnezzar* are scarce, one boys' home performance that Pavel does give more information on is a celebration on the anniversary of *Rim, Rim, Rim* magazine. *Rim, Rim, Rim* was the other magazine written by boys in Room 7; it competed against *Nešar* for both readers and in competitions held by the madrichs for best writing.

⁴⁴ Weiner, 10. Sasha refers to Alexandr Schweinburg, born 8 May 1930. He was deported to Terezin on 10 December 1941. He was sent to Auschwitz on 10 October 1944 and did not survive. B. Koff refers to Bernard Kaff (for information on Kaff see Ullmann critique #8). H. Taussig refers to Heinrich Taussig (for information on H. Taussig see Ullmann critique #6).

When *Nešar* stopped production after thirteen issues, Pavel began writing for *Rim, Rim,*

*Rim.*⁴⁵ The following appears in his diary on 12 April 1944:

Lion wants to put together some kind of a celebration for the anniversary of the twentieth issue of *Rim, Rim*. It will include some kind of a play and an orchestra led by Holzer. I'm supposed to play the recorder. I cannot refuse, but I know that it will not work because harmonica and recorder together do not harmonize well. I go to the attic, where the first "rehearsal" takes place; it is awful!⁴⁶

The performance took place on 24 August 1944. Pavel had little enthusiasm for the endeavor initially; he also at various times found it hard to get along with other boys in Room 7.⁴⁷ Pavel wrote in his diary the night of the performance:

Tonight at 8:30 there is supposed to be the celebration of *Rim, Rim*. I'm supposed to play the recorder, but I make fun of it. Lion rehearses some play and therefore I go into the hall where I write my diary. I don't feel like doing it. After the rehearsal, I put myself in order and then the performance begins. Holzer's band surprises me; it is relatively good. After Lion's play, I play three pieces: "Zelení Hájové" [Czech folk song], "March of the Comedians" [from Bedřich Smetana's opera *The Bartered Bride*], and another piece. The whole evening surprises me.⁴⁸

Both diary entries on the celebration for *Rim, Rim, Rim* show that while children participated in the musical activities of the adults, they also created their own cultural opportunities. This independent activity has not been documented often, as most of the material on children's cultural activities concerns the opera *Brundibár*.

⁴⁵ In the introduction to this diary, Pavel describes *Nešar* as being more focused on arts and culture, while *Rim, Rim, Rim* was more focused on sports.

⁴⁶ Weiner, 118. Pavel Lion was born 24 July 1930. He was deported to Terezin on 14 December 1941 and was later sent to Auschwitz on 12 October 1944. He did not survive. Holzer refers to Hanuš Holzer, born 29 June 1929. He was deported to Terezin 30 January 1942. He was eventually liberated in Terezin; after the war he returned to Prague. After the communists took over Czechoslovakia, Holzer and his wife and son moved to Switzerland. As of 2012 Holzer was still alive.

⁴⁷ Pavel's diary is filled at various times with entries about boys in the room with whom he disagreed, and with whom he was choosing to be friends at any given moment, all things that in normal circumstances would be considered typical behavior for boys his age. However, the situation in Terezin complicated many of these sorts of issues.

⁴⁸ Weiner, 134.

As the Fall of 1944 came to a close, the majority of Terezin's population had been sent on transports to Auschwitz. Pavel writes about the loss of his father and brother, but also Franta Maier and the majority of the children's counselors. He realizes that the life in Terezin he knew up until November 1944 was gone; this also held true for the cultural activities in the camp. While those left continued putting on recitals and concerts, these consisted mostly of chamber and solo recitals and not larger-scale works like operas and oratorios. Pavel makes an observation about these changes in an entry dated 24 December 1944: "I agree with Mrs. Kollinerová to go to a concert. It reminds me of the old times but now everything is different and not very festive."⁴⁹

Pavel's last diary entry that mentions music was written on 15 April 1945. A week later he would write his last diary entry, which reveals that the transports arrived from other camps bringing with them the news about other camps and gas chambers.⁵⁰ But on 15 April 1944, Pavel writes about the removal of the Danish prisoners from Terezin back to Denmark:

On the corner of *Komandatura* there will be a band playing as a farewell to the Danes. People are already gathering there. Such a spectacle Terezin hasn't seen yet. The buses pass by. I take a place in the first row and the band starts playing. Through the [illegible] go two Germans. It is said that the Germans are the biggest pigs who now must watch five hundred Jews depart, and the world will

⁴⁹ Weiner, 211. No first name is given in Pavel's references to Mrs. Kollinerová, so it is impossible to know specifically to whom he refers. There is one Bedřiška Kollinerová that appears in the Terezin Prisoner Database, and that is the only person with the last name of Kollinerová who survived the war, so it is possible, but not certain, that this is to whom Pavel is referring.

⁵⁰ When and if the general prison population knew of the horrors of the death camps in Poland and East Germany has been the subject of much research and debate. There is some indication that the Council of Elders knew something of what was happening, making their task of creating transport lists all the more heartbreaking. Of those in the general population, it seems that revered leader and German rabbi Leo Baeck may have been the only one to know of Auschwitz and the gas chambers; he chose to keep this information from the rest of the population, believing it would only incite panic over a situation in which nothing could be done. Towards the end of the war, as the Russians closed in on the German front in the East, the Nazis sent transports from other camps to Terezin; in some cases this meant people who had been deported out of the camp returned. It was these transports of prisoners that finally clued the rest of Terezin in on what was happening in Auschwitz.

find out what has been happening here in Terezin. They are entirely powerless. At last—a motorcycle appears and then a car with Rahm. The band is playing.⁵¹

In April 1945, a deal had been reached with the Nazis to release the Danish Jews and send them back to Denmark; this was done with assistance of the Swedish Red Cross, who provided the buses Pavel mentions in the entry above. However, this is one of the only diaries that discusses an official event surrounding the Danes' departure. While Pavel gives no indication of exactly what the band played, the presence of the band itself indicates that this particular event in Terezin's history constituted a much larger ceremony than previously thought.

In the end, the question that must be asked is what Pavel Weiner's diary tells us about music in Terezin. Pavel's diary is particularly detailed on the dates and times he writes: all of the headings for each entry include the day of the week, actual date, and in some cases even the time of day when the entry was written. These details allow for exact dating of musical performances in the camp; this is not something that is possible with other primary documents. The diary also gives much information on aspects of Terezin's musical life little studied: how private lessons were conducted and how the children joined together to create their own musical endeavors see little space in most of the literature on the camp. More importantly, however, Pavel's diary gives insight into how children perceived the musical activities around them and how they interacted with some of the well-known musicians in the camp. As Pavel shows with his discussions of

⁵¹ Weiner, 222. Rahm refers to Karl Rahm, the last commandant of Terezin. Born 2 April 1907 in Klosterneuberg, Austria, he joined the Nazi party in Austria and rose to the rank of *Sturmbannführer* (major) in the SS. He took up his role in Terezin in February 1944 and remained in that position until the end of the war. Rahm oversaw the beautification of the camp for the International Red Cross visit in June 1944 and also oversaw the filming of the propaganda film that Kurt Geron was forced to direct. In May 1945, Rahm fled to Austria where he was captured by American forces. He was sent back to Czechoslovakia, tried for crimes against humanity and war crimes, and executed on 30 April 1947.

people like Ferencz Weiss, the children's observations about the character and actions of people were often more blunt than the adults'. By viewing the adult musicians, and musical activities, through the eyes of the children, a clearer picture can emerge of the camp's musical life, one unencumbered by the biases and pre-war histories the adults may have had with certain musicians and performers.

3.5 Diary of Ruth Brösslerová

Little is known about the life of Ruth Brösslerová. She was born 19 May 1929 in Brno and deported to Terezin on 28 January 1942. Her father died in the camp on 1 March 1943; Brösslerová and her mother survived the war in Terezin and were chosen, along with 1200 other prisoners, to be sent to Switzerland on 5 February 1945.⁵² After the war, Brösslerová relocated back to the Czech Republic and was living there as of 2012.⁵³ Brösslerová's diary consists of two notebooks that contain drawings, notes from others, and information about her life in room 25 of the L410 barracks. She also gives details about the little known 1942 Terezin film; Brösslerová appears in one of the scenes taken in the girls' barracks.⁵⁴

⁵² United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. "Theresienstadt: Final Weeks, Liberation and Postwar Trials." www.ushmm.org (accessed June 1, 2014). By 1945 the Germans knew that the war was not going in their favor. In an effort to bolster good faith towards Germany, SS Heinrich Himmler and several other high ranking Nazi officers negotiated the release of 1200 Terezin prisoners in exchange for five million Swiss francs.

⁵³ While information is plentiful about Brösslerová's diary, little information exists on her life before or after the war. She was noted as speaking at several engagements in the Czech Republic in 2012, which is the most recent information that could be found for her. Her diary is currently housed at the Terezin Memorial Archives.

⁵⁴ While the 1944 film that was staged following the International Red Cross visit is well-known, little research has been done on the 1942 film. Terezin was seen for its propaganda possibilities fairly early; not long after the first transports arrived in the camp, SS commandant Siegfried Seidl (Terezin's first commandant) began raising money for the film. His deputy, Lieutenant Otto (first name unknown), was in charge of production. The entire film was choreographed and scripted in the same manner as the 1944 film. František Petr Kien (Peter Kien) was given the task of writing the script. Born 1 January 1919 in Varnsdorf, Kien studied art and graphic design in Prague until the Nazi takeover of Czechoslovakia. In

In discussing life in Terezin, Brösslerová's diary includes excerpts on music.⁵⁵

An early excerpt comes from 26 November 1942, almost a year after Brösslerová was deported. She writes the following:

Tak děvčata seřad'te se do trojic a jde se. Lidičky představte si v Terezíně a jdeme na prodanou nevěstu. Není to sice divadlo, jen zpěv, ale mohla jsem si to úplně živě. Konečně sedíme a už to začíná. "Proč bychom se netěšili"..... Zapoměla jsem na chvíli, že jsem v Terezíně. Můj dojem byl tak hluboký, že bych nemohla mnoha mluvit, ale kdo by se mi podíval do očí určitě by to poznal. Magda měla také poprvé obvaz dole a měla spuštěné vlasy. Byla krásná. Takovou prodanou nevěstu jistě nikdy již neuvidím.

So the girls line up in threes and go. Folks, just imagine, in Theresienstadt and we go to the *Bartered Bride*. It's not theater, just singing, but I could get it quite vividly. Finally, we sit and it begins. "Why should we not rejoice?" I forgot for a moment that I was in Terezin. My impression was so deep that I could not talk much, but any who would have looked into my eyes certainly would know. Magda had her bandage off for the first time and had her hair down. She was beautiful. Such a *Bartered Bride* certainly will never be seen again.⁵⁶

Brösslerová here writes about the first performance of *The Bartered Bride* in Terezin; this also happened to be the first opera performance.⁵⁷ What became one of the most

Terezin he worked in the Technical Department with many of the camp's artists; Kien himself became known as a prolific playwright and poet in addition to being an artist. His most famous contribution to Terezin's musical life is as the librettist for Viktor Ullmann's *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*. Kien was deported to Auschwitz on 16 October 1944 and did not survive. His script for the film is housed at the Jewish Museum in Prague. After filming was completed in 1942, the Germans chose not to publicize it. Unlike the 1944 film, where Terezin had gone through an extensive "beautification" process, the 1942 film showed the camp in all its misery: cramped quarters, inmates who looked diseased and dying, etc. It was deemed not appropriate to show to the general public. Originally about sixteen minutes in length, approximately half of the footage has survived and is available to view through the USC Steven Spielberg Shoah Foundation.

⁵⁵ This dissertation includes several excerpts from the diary, but not every excerpt on music included in the diary.

⁵⁶ Ruth Brösslerová (později Blažková), Inventory number 3693, Access number 139/81. Official entry can be found at the following website: Památník Terezin Memorial. "Ruth Brösslerová." http://www.pamatnikterezin.cz/vyhledavani/listiny/detail.php?table=Evidencni_karta&col=id&value=7710&offset=27 (accessed January 1, 2015).

⁵⁷ Some debate initially took place over the exact date of this first performance, as two dates had been given: 25 November 1942 and 28 November 1942. The actual first performance took place on 25 November 1942 in the old gymnasium; however, this performance was prior to the involvement of the FZG. Once the FZG was involved, the first "sanctioned" performance took place on 28 November 1942. The FZG was just coming into existence as *The Bartered Bride* had its first performance; this is why they were not involved in the performance on 25 November 1942 (Karas, p. 20). This particular entry also contains a mystery as to the identity of Magda. No one by that name (short for Magdalena in Czech)

performed operas in Terezin had its beginnings in the basement of the Sudetan barracks, where Rafael Schächter rehearsed choruses from the opera with a group of girls.

Eventually, this led to a production of the entire opera.

Despite her youth, Brösslerová captures the emotions that many felt upon seeing *The Bartered Bride* in Terezin. She also gets to the essence of what the arts in Terezin attempted to accomplish: to bring some joy to the lives of the inmates and make them forget their circumstances for a small period of time. Because this particular opera is so ingrained in the nationalistic Czech spirit, it held special meaning for many of the inmates. Brösslerová's entry demonstrates that the children were as affected as the adults in Terezin by music and culture in the camp. Her expression of wonder that something like *The Bartered Bride* had the potential to be performed in Terezin mirrors the opinion of many survivors who later wrote about their experiences.

Brösslerová's second passage concerning music appears on 24 October 1943:

Měli jsme teorii. Přitáhli jsme si harmonium a Berman nám hrál vyňatky z oper, má vlast atd. Byla jsem unesená tóny harmonia. Až budu doma, budu svůj volný čas věnovat hudbě, divadlu a vůbec těm krásným věcem, které jsou mi leď tak vzácné. Již se těším jak se pohrouším do kouzla divadla. Chci poznat všeliké triky nejen divadla ale i kina. Chtěla bych být živa asi 100 let, abych viděla pokroky které se zlepšují rok od roku. Myslím, že vývoj a kultura lidstva nikdy nemůže mít hranice, nikdy nemůže být ukončena. Mám touhu mnoho vědět, být hodně vzdělaná a později podávat vše dále svým dětem.

We had theory. We found a harmonium, and Berman played us excerpts from operas, *Ma Vlast*, etc. I was captured by tones and harmonies. When I get home, I will devote my free time to music, theater, and all those beautiful things that are so precious to me. Already I am looking forward to how to produce the magic of theater. I want to know every trick not only in the theater but also the cinema. I would like to be alive about 100 years, to see the progress that is improving year by year. I think that the development of a culture of humanity shall never have

appears on the original poster advertising the performance, and without a last name it is impossible to know specifically to whom Brösslerová refers. The remaining possibility is that Magda refers to one of her friends or roommates who was in the chorus; the names of the chorus members were not written down on the posters.

borders, can never be completed. I have a lot of desire to know, to be much more educated and later teach everything down to our children.⁵⁸

While other documents, like the diary of Pavel Weiner, discuss Berman teaching voice, Brösslerová is one of the few that discusses Berman teaching theory. This shows that children in Terezin who participated in lessons were receiving a well-rounded musical education despite their circumstances. Brösslerová also writes of her dreams to learn more about music and the arts after the war; it is obvious that the musical experiences she was exposed to in Terezin had a profound effect on her.

A third passage discussing music appears in an entry dated 1 December 1943:

Celý den ubíhá ve strašné nudě, až večer. Na ten určitě nezapomenu. V 8 hodin jsme šly do schneiderstube. Máme tam klavír. Gideon a jeho sestra nám hráli čtyřručně Beethovenovu V. symfonii a jako bombonek (tak se vyjádřila paní Kamila Rosenbaumová) přidali ještě kousek z druhé symfonie. Byla jsem unesena. Slyšela jsem ji přece již několikrát doma, ale nikdy ve mně nebyl vzbuzen takový dojem. Velmi lituji, že jsem nemohla psát hned jak jsem přišla (byla již tma). Jistě bych mohla psát mnohem vřeleji než teď. Hudbu vycítím jen v sobě, bohužel to neumím vyjádřit na papíře. Tatíček měl tento kus tak rád. Strašně mě schází s ním si promluvit. Velmi málo jsem se s ním bavila, čehož teď velmi lituji. S maminkou se nemohu tak bavit. Ne, že by mě nerozuměla, ale nemá hlavu na bavení. Je na to příliš unavena. Mívá 3x do týdne noční služby a je stále unavena.

Jak může být člověk unesen a povznešen pěti linkami vyplněnými černými tečkami! Chci se věnovat hudbě! Chci umět hrát na klavír. Chci ovládat ty bílé a černé klávesy. Na Beethovenou pátou budu dlouho vzpomínat. Na ni nezapomenu. Budu ji hrát s vlastním citem. Kdybych už byla tak daleko! Je nevyplnitelné přání. Ale přece. Musí to přejít! Všechno má svůj konec! Jenže nám již trvá všechno už moc dlouho.

⁵⁸ Ruth Brösslerová (později Blažková), Inventory number 3693, Access number 139/81. For information on Karel Berman see Ullmann critique #15.

The whole day passes in a terrible boredom until evening, which will certainly not be forgotten. At 8 o'clock we went to Schneider's office. We've got a piano. Gideon and his sister played four-hands Beethoven's Symphony V and as candy (as commented by Ms. Kamila Rosenbaum) added a little of the second symphony. I was captivated. I heard it done several times at home, but it never awakened in me that kind of impression. I very much regret that I could not write as soon as I arrived [back] (it was already dark). Sure I could write much more warmly than now. The music I can sense only in myself, but unfortunately I cannot express it on paper. My father enjoyed this piece so much. I meet with him to talk; I've talked with him very little, which I now greatly regret. I cannot talk with my mother. Not that she doesn't understand me, but no one is of a head to entertain. He [father] is too tired. He works 3x a week at overnight service and is still tired.

How can one who is captivated and elated write just five lines filled with black dots! I want to dedicate myself to music! I want to know how to play the piano. I want to control the white and black keys. Beethoven's Fifth I will long remember and never forget it. I'll play it with my own flair. If I had been so far! It is not a fillable wish. But still it must go! Everything has its end! But this one already lasted all too long.⁵⁹

Although Beethoven's string pieces and solo piano works were performed in Terezin, the symphonies were performed infrequently. While Terezin had many instrumentalists, they did not have the resources for a Beethoven-sized orchestra. In that context, this entry takes on added importance because it documents one of the few times Beethoven's symphonies were performed in any arrangement in the camp.

The last excerpt being examined here was written on 12 January 1944 and says the following:

⁵⁹ Ruth Brösslerová (později Blažková), Inventory number 3693, Access number 139/81. For information on Gideon Klein, see Chapter 1. For information on Kamila Rosenbaum, see Ullmann critique #13. Gideon Klein's sister, Eliška Kleinová, was born 27 February 1912 in Píseň. She was deported to Terezin 20 July 1942. Though a well-known pianist prior to the war, Kleinová rarely participated in the musical and cultural life of Terezin, making this particular diary entry one of the few that details any of her Terezin performances. She was deported to Auschwitz on 12 October 1944; she survived the war and was liberated at the Kurzbach labor camp in Germany. Kleinová died on 2 September 1999 in Prague. Brösslerová also mentions visiting "Schneider's office." It is unknown who Schneider is; he does not appear on the list of officials for the FZG (Karas, p. 14). There was a man of that name, a violinist who played with the Ledec quartet, but his first name is unknown (Karas, p. 32).

Večer pro mě přišla Rája, abych šla dolů, že tam někdo hraje na housle a na klavír. Byla jsem unesena. Nemohu se ani slovy vyjádřit, je to příliš veliké! Hudba. Jak ráda bych se zase učila na klavír. Co všechno zmůžou v člověku ty černé a bílé klapky. Mohou určitě ze zlého člověka udělat dobrého. Hudba. Jak ji miluji. Člověku je hned blaze, když slyší několik tónů. Chtěla bych opanovat hudbu, chtěla bych ji mít v mé moci. Dávat koncerty, potěšovat lidi a sebe samou. Bude mi to vyplněno?

In the evening Rája came for me to go down; someone was playing the violin and the piano. I was captivated. I cannot even put into words, it's too big! Music. How I would like to teach on the piano. What can the man do with the black and white keys. They can certainly make a person from evil to good. Music. How I love her. A person is now blessed to hear several notes. I would like to dominate the music, I would like to have it in my power. Giving concerts, to comfort people and myself. Will I be fulfilled?⁶⁰

Brösslerová gives little details about this particular performance, and it may well be that she and her friend simply heard someone rehearsing. She mentions going “down,” and the basement of the L410 children’s home held a rehearsal space used by many of the musicians in Terezin. Rehearsals were not formal concerts, but many interviews and memoirs include survivors recounting experiences hearing someone rehearse. As seen in documents discussed in previous chapters, sitting in on another’s rehearsal was not an uncommon occurrence in Terezin.

The diary of Ruth Brösslerová, while useful for its recollections of various performances, is more astounding for the way in which Brösslerová herself speaks about her musical experiences. Thirteen years old at the time of her earliest entries, Brösslerová eloquently describes music’s effect on her and the emotions she felt at each performance for which she had the opportunity to be present. In comparison with the writings of other children from Terezin, Brösslerová’s view is much deeper, giving the

⁶⁰ Ruth Brösslerová (později Blažková), Inventory number 3693, Access number 139/81. Although no last name is given, it is likely that Rája refers to one of Brösslerová’s roommates from room 25.

reader a glimpse into the impressions left by the camp's well-known musicians. All of this leaves the reader with a better understanding of how music was perceived by those in Terezin: not necessarily as a means of resistance, but simply as a beautiful work of art that gave comfort to many in the midst of despair.

CONCLUSION

The writings from the children's homes of Terezin offer a unique perspective on the camp's musical life; in many ways these views may be more open minded than those of the adult population. Because most of the children had no access or previous connections with the musicians in Terezin, their observations are not clouded by any pre-war biases. This can especially be seen in the entries from the diary of Pavel Weiner as well as the cultural reports of *Vedem*, which discuss in detail aspects of Terezin's musical life often overlooked in documents written by adults; these topics include the rehearsal process and private lessons taken by the children. The Weiner diary also gives details on musical endeavors taken on by the children themselves; this particular aspect of music in Terezin was only witnessed by the children themselves and their counselors, providing another example of musical events the documents written by the adults overlook.

The responsibility of performing well, and the importance of success, also pervades these writings. Michael Flach's poem on a concert by Gideon Klein emphasizes this responsibility through the use of poetic imagery and language. *Vedem* and the Weiner diary expand on this idea, showing that the children were just as invested as the adults in the success of the musical events with which they were involved. The diary of Ruth Brösslerová differs greatly in tone from the other children's pieces. Brösslerová

speaks of music's emotional effect with more maturity and intensity than others her age. She views music in Terezin for its beauty and comfort and not in terms of resistance or political messages. In throwing themselves whole-heartedly into the cultural activities of Terezin, the children, while not unaware of the horrors surrounding them, looked past these horrors to actively participate in musical activities of the camp.

CHAPTER 4

Other Documents and Diaries of Terezin

INTRODUCTION

The documents discussed in this chapter comprise a unique facet of writings on Terezin's musical life. Otto Brod's letter from the Jiří Lauscher Collection discusses a little known musical work and performance in Terezin; this writing has not been published in English or analyzed by scholars. The diary of Gonda Redlich presents one of the only known writings by a committed Zionist in Terezin and offers insight into how one's faith practices affected one's view of music and culture in the camp. While none of these documents fits in the categories of the previous chapters, these particular writings expand upon the ideas mentioned in previous chapters while also adding new areas to examine.

4.1 Otto Brod Letter in the Jiří Lauscher Collection

The Jiří Lauscher Collection consists of five boxes of materials housed at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC. Little is known of Lauscher himself; born on 14 September 1901, Lauscher was deported from Prague to Terezin on 22 December 1942. While in the camp he worked in the technical department, which included many artists who worked in the drawing and architecture sections of the department. Lauscher survived the war, but little is known of his post-war life. In 1989, Lauscher and his wife Irma donated materials to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.¹ These materials include documents on the Jewish

¹ According to the finding aid for the Lauscher Collection, Lauscher and his wife Irma donated part of the materials for the collection in October 1989 with the assistance of Michael Berenbaum, a child survivor of

administration in the camp, diaries, and letters. In the category of cultural material, the collection contains songs and a cabaret script of Karl Fleischmann, children's art, drawings by artist Leo Haas, and poems by various prisoners.²

One of the documents from the Lauscher collection about music is a letter from Otto Brod describing a recital of German song; the performance included Hilde Aronson-Lindt singing and Rafael Schächter conducting. Gideon Klein also premiered a new song cycle at this recital. Brod, the younger brother of poet and philosopher Max Brod, was born 6 July 1888 in Prague; the Brod family were German-speaking Czech Jews. While not much is known of Otto Brod's life, he was a poet in his own right. He was deported to Terezin on 10 December 1941. While in the camp he lectured and wrote several plays; he was deported to Auschwitz on 28 October 1944 and did not survive.

The following is the entire text of Brod's letter, written 8 November 1943. There is no particular person to whom the letter is addressed, and the heading on the page simply reads "Liederabend Frau Lindt-Aronson."

Grundsätzlich, ist meine Ancient, dass es die Pflicht des reproduzierenden Künstlers ist, die Konzertprogramme so zusammentzstellen, dnes das Publikum

Terezin. Lauscher's daughter Michaela Vidlakova donated the rest of the materials that make up the collection in December 1989.

² Dr. Karel Fleischmann was born 22 February 1897 in Klatovy. A medical doctor and artist, he was deported to Terezin on 18 April 1942. While in the camp he worked for the medical service but also painted and wrote poems and plays. He also gave a lecture on art and medicine, the text of which has survived and is included in the Lauscher collection. Fleischmann was deported from Terezin to Auschwitz on 23 October 1944 and did not survive. Leo Haas was born 15 April 1901 in Opava. A graphic designer and artist before the war, Haas was deported to Terezin on 30 September 1942. At the camp he worked in the technical department, which organized construction and architectural projects in Terezin. In 1944 Haas and several other artists in the camp were arrested in what was later called "The Painters' Affair." After discovering pictures that depicted the realities of life in Terezin, the Nazis had Haas and other artists in the technical department arrested. Accused of promoting false propaganda about the camp, the artists were sent to the Kleine Festung. Haas survived for three months in the prison before being deported to Auschwitz in October 1944; he was labeled a political prisoner rather than a Jewish prisoner. Haas was later deported to Sachsenhausen and Mauthausen before being liberated in the Ebensee camp in 1945. After the war Haas returned briefly to Terezin, where his wife had survived but was in ill health. The family moved to Prague, and after his wife's death, Haas relocated to East Berlin, where he continued to work as an artist and designer. Haas died in East Berlin in 1983.

nach Möglichkeit mit weniger oft aufgeführten Kunstwerken bekannt gemacht wird. Es kann nicht der Zweck von Konzertveranstaltungen sein, immer wieder diejenigen Kunstwerke zu bringen, welche dem grössten Teil des Publikums längst bekannt sind, und welche nur und zu dienen sollen, die Leistung des reproduzierenden Künstlers in das beste Licht, zu stellen. In diesem Sinne wäre, zu dem Programm diese Liederabends manches zu bemerken. Es erscheint racht überflüssig, ein so schwaches und oft gehörtes Lied wie: Immer leiser wird mein Schlummer - von Brahms aus Programm zu setzen, wogegen die Aufführung der selten gehörten Lieder von Reger freudig zu begrüßen ist. Ueberhaupt war das gestrige Programm in dieser Beziehung eines der besten der letzten Zeit, denn es soll ja unbestritten bleiben, dass manche Meisterwerke, wie zum Beispiel Brahms - von ewiger Liebe, oder Wolfe - Der Gärtner - immer ihren Glanz behalten und überhaupt nicht zu oft aufgeführt werden können, aber das sind Ausnahmen. Im allgemeinen würde ich den reproduzierenden Künstlern dringend empfehlen, ihre Pflichten gegenüber selten aufgeführten oder neuen Kunstwerken nicht aus dem Auge zu verlieren.

Der Hauptereignis des gestrigen Abends war daher auch die Uraufführung des Liederzyklus, Die Pest, von Gideon Klein auf Texte von Peter Kien. Klein gibt sich durch die reichliche Verwendung von Mehrklängen und das Ueberwiegen von Dissonanzen unverblümt als Anhänger der neuesten Kunstrichtung zu erkennen und rochnet daher sicherlich mit der Tatsache, dass seine Musik dem grössten Teil der Zuhörerschaft nicht ohne weiteres in die an solche Klänge noch nicht recht gewöhnten Ohren eingeht. Die Zuhörerschaft sei aber gewarnt, nicht in den gleichen Fehler zu verfallen, den die Zeitgenossen nicht nur gegenüber den ersten Werken von Richard Strauss und Gustav Mahler, sondern auch gegen die Schöpfungen Richard Wagners, Beethovens, ja sogar Glucks, begingen. Wir möchten doch nicht, dass man einmal von uns etwas Aehnliches erzählt, wie von den Zeitgenossen Beethovens, die beim Hören Beethovenscher Musik sagten, der arme Komponist machs nur deshalb ein so wüstes Geräusch, weil er taube Ohren habe. Den Kienschen Gedichten konnte man-oder wenigstens ich - leider nicht folgen, man hätte sie vorher lesen müssen. Den stärksten Eindruck machte sowohl musikalisch als auch inhaltlich das dritte Lied, mit seinem eindringlich wiederholten: Das ist die Pest.

Frau Lindt-Aronsohn sang sowohl die älteren als auch die modernen Werke mit der für sie charakteristischen Musikalität und seelischen Einfühlung in die Welt des schaffenden Künstlers. Ihre Kunst fand bei der Zuhörerschaft begeisterten Beifall. Rafael Schächter bringt gewisse Eigenmächtigkeiten, der Tempi über welche man streiten könnte, so z.B. das übertriebene Accelerando am Schlusse des Liedes... Von ewiger Liebe... aber sonst ist seine Begleitung technisch und musikalisch von solcher Meisterschaft, dass auch er uneinge-schränkten Beifall der Zuhörerschaft erntet.³

³ Jiri Lauscher Collection, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington DC. RG-35.001*06 Box 1. While Brod refers to singer Hilde Aronson-Lindt by the name Mrs. Lindt-Aronsohn, this is the only document I have found where her name is listed in reverse. Translated by Karen Uslin, translation edited by Allison DeKorte.

Basically, it seems to me that it is the duty of the artist to reproduce concert programs with which the audience is familiar, with leading works of art less often if possible. It cannot be the purpose of concerts, the greatest works of art which are already known to the audience, to provide performances that only serve to reproduce the artists' works in the best light. In this sense, it is of note that some of the songs on this recital program seem superfluous. It appears superfluous to put on their program weak and often heard songs like Brahms's "Immer leiser wird mein Schlummer", whereas the performance of rarely included songs by Reger are happily greeted. It is supposed to remain uncontested that some masterpieces such as Brahms's "Von ewiger Liebe" or Wolf's "Der Gärtner" retain their shine always and can be performed none too often, but these are exceptions. In general, I would strongly recommend the reproductive artists not to lose sight of their duties to perform rarely performed or new works of art.

The main event of yesterday evening, therefore, was the first performance of the song cycle *Die Pest* by Gideon Klein on texts by Peter Kien. Due to the abundant use of more sounds and the preponderance of dissonance, Klein recognizes and bluntly follows the latest art direction. Therefore, he certainly expects the fact that most of the audience is not accustomed to his music and such sounds are not readily received by their ears.

But be warned, audience, not only not to fall into the same error that contemporaries committed against the first works by Richard Strauss and Gustav Mahler, but also against the creations of Richard Wagner, Beethoven, and even Gluck. We surely would not want you to tell us something as similar as Beethoven's contemporaries, who upon hearing Beethoven's music, said the composer had such a desolate sound because he had deaf ears. Unfortunately, Kien's poems would have to be read beforehand; at least I could not follow them. The strongest impression made both musically and in content came in the third song with its insistent repeating: This is the plague.

Mrs. Lindt-Aronsohn sang both the older and the modern art with the musicality and emotional empathy characteristic in the world of the creative artist. Her art was enthusiastically applauded from the audience. Rafael Schächter has a certain handedness through the tempos, though one could argue he exaggerated the accelerando at the end of the song "Von ewiger Liebe." But otherwise his support and music are of such mastery that he too harvested unqualified applause from the audience.

Theresienstadt am 8 November 1948, Otto Brod.

One of the most important pieces of information in this letter is in Brod's description of Gideon Klein's song cycle *Die Pest*; the composition takes its text from a poetry cycle written by the artist Petr Kien titled "Die Peststadt" (the Plague City).⁴ Kien's poetry

⁴ František Petr Kien (Franz Peter Kien) was born 1 January 1919 in Varnsdorf. He studied art at the Academy of Fine Arts in Prague before Nazi racial laws forced him to abandon his formal education. He

cycle consists of four poems that paint the picture of a town rife with death, hearses in the streets, and corpses remaining unburied. Despite the horror, the last line of the fourth poem reads: “Doch unsere Träume kann uns niemand rauben” (But no one can rob us of our dreams).⁵ All of these descriptions apply to Terezin itself and represent the irony of hopes and dreams existing in a place of such despair and desolation.

Brod’s letter indicates that the recital he discusses, which took place on 7 November 1943, included the first performance of Klein’s song cycle. Brod mentions that the work is highly dissonant and that Klein is following current musical trends. Though the description itself is minor in the letter, it is one of the only descriptions of this song cycle that exists. Terezin scholar David Bloch, in his 1990 article on solo song performances in Terezin, says the following: “All the more unfortunate, then, is the fact that Gideon Klein’s cycle, *Die Pest*, performed at the second concert for Viktor Ullmann’s *Studio für neue Musik*, has been lost; nor is there any report as to what the music was like.”⁶ Bloch had no knowledge of Brod’s letter, and no other information on Klein’s piece has come to light in the intervening years.⁷ The Kien’s poems, however, survived the war.

was deported to Terezin on 4 December 1941. While at the camp his official duties included working with the Technical Department. However, he was one of Terezin’s most prolific artists; his output of artistic work includes drawings, paintings, and sketches as well as original plays, librettos, and poetry. Many of these works survived the war and are now housed at the Weiner Library in London. One of Kien’s most well-known works in Terezin was writing the libretto for Viktor Ullmann’s opera *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*. Kien was deported to Auschwitz on 16 October 1944 and did not survive.

⁵ Text of the poem taken from the following website: Theresiastadt Lexicon. “Die Pestadt.” www.ghetto-theresiastadt.info/pages/k/klenp.htm (accessed January 1, 2015).

⁶ David Bloch, “‘No One Can Rob Us of Our Dreams’: Solo Songs from Terezin,” *Israel Studies Musicology* 5 (1990): 69-80.

⁷ David Bloch’s article was published only one year after the Lauscher collection containing Brod’s letter was donated to the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Bloch, a professor of musicology at Tel Aviv University, more than likely did not have access to the collection while researching and writing his article.

While Brod is effusive in his praise of Hilde Aronson-Lindt and Rafael Schächter, it is Brod's opinion of modern music and performance practice that also sheds light on musical life in Terezin. Brod's letter hints that the audiences may not be prepared for new music or used to the sound of new music. Despite the fact that many of the composers in Terezin were products of the Second Viennese School, Brod's comments indicate that nineteenth-century music still seemed to resonate the most with the general audience. In comparing Klein's situation with those who initially criticized the likes of Richard Strauss, Gustav Mahler, and Beethoven, however, Brod does seem to believe that Klein will stand the test of time.

Another significant aspect of Brod's letter is his opinion of which works should be performed and the difference between creative and reproductive artists. Brod's older brother, Max Brod, was a well-known intellect in the early twentieth-century Czech intelligentsia. A close friend of Franz Kafka, Max Brod would eventually write Kafka's biography; Max Brod also had a significant output of philosophical writings and novels, and he even composed music. While little is known of Otto Brod, he also wrote and was influenced by the company of Max and his colleagues. It is unsurprising that Otto Brod would heavily promote new music; however, his comments on reproductive artists are unique. His remark that concerts should be more than works audiences thoroughly know and should include newer works echoes the sentiments of many of the artists in Terezin who were products of the music and philosophy of early twentieth-century Central Europe.

What does Brod's letter teach us about music in Terezin? Like many other sources, it speaks to the caliber of musicians and talent in Terezin and attests that the

quality of the performances was strong. His discussion of Gideon Klein's *Die Pest* is invaluable since it is the only documented description of the work. However, it is his opinions on modern music and performance practice that provide the most insight into music in Terezin. Promoting the performances of new music kept Brod in line with many of his artistic colleagues in Terezin and pushed more traditional musicians to expand their horizons and try performing new compositions. It seems Brod's message became a reality in Terezin, with groups like Ullmann's *Studio für neue Musik* focusing specifically on twentieth-century works. While many of the staples of the classical canon were performed in Terezin, a large number of new musical and theatrical works were premiered in the camp.

4.2 Egon "Gonda" Redlich and His Diary

Egon "Gonda" Redlich was born in Olomouc on 13 October 1916.⁸ Redlich grew up in an assimilated family during the interwar period in Czechoslovakia. While his older siblings became involved in communist and socialist politics, Redlich had no interest. His passions at the time focused on athletics. However, his views changed after witnessing several anti-Semitic incidents in school. Angered by these incidents, he joined Maccabi Hatzair, a Zionist youth movement.⁹ Redlich committed himself fully to the movement and also aspired to study law.

⁸ Biography of Gonda Redlich taken from Gonda Redlich, *The Terezin Diary of Gonda Redlich*, ed. Saul Friedman, trans. Laurence Kutler (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1992).

⁹ Maccabi Hatzair was established in Czechoslovakia in 1929. Like most Zionist youth movements, it focused on teaching children Jewish culture and history as well as physical exercise to prepare students to go to Eretz Israel.

When the Nazis annexed Czechoslovakia in March 1939, Redlich gave up his law studies and focused on working to prepare children for Aliyah to Israel.¹⁰ He also worked at a school in Prague, serving as a soccer coach, school counselor, and teacher of Hebrew and Jewish history. He eventually became the assistant director of the school. At the time he was deported to Terezin on 4 December 1941, his reputation as a top educator had been firmly established. The Council of Elders at the camp chose Redlich to head the Jugendfürsorge (Youth Welfare Department). The department was responsible for the housing, overall care, and education of those eighteen and under who came through the camp.¹¹ Besides running the Youth Welfare Department, Redlich also participated in the cultural life of Terezin; he involved himself in both the theater and musical productions at the camp. Redlich also had another job at Terezin: he was on the Transport and Appeals Committee, which decided who went on transports to the East. This particular job caused Redlich much grief, as he rarely could exempt even his own family from transports. In the end, however, many times exemptions only bought a little time for those who received them. Redlich himself, along with his wife and young son, were deported to Auschwitz on 23 October 1944. None of them survived.

The published diary of Gonda Redlich consists of two separate diaries.¹² The first diary chronicles Redlich's time in Terezin from 1 January 1942 until 2 August 1944. A

¹⁰ The term Aliyah refers to emigration of Jews to Israel. The sentiment behind the term is to come home, in the sense that Israel is the ancestral home of all the Jewish diaspora.

¹¹ It should be noted that while children's homes for boys, girls, and the various age groups existed, not all of the children who came through Terezin ended up in one of these homes. Despite having these facilities, space was at a premium, and there was not always space to house all of the children in the children's homes. Some mothers simply chose to keep their children with them in their barracks, or children chose to stay with their parents (a famous example of this is the pianist Alice Herz-Sommer, who kept her son Stephan with her). Those children who did not live in the children's homes, however, still participated in the activities, education, and musical events designed for their peers.

¹² Gonda Redlich, *The Terezin Diary of Gonda Redlich*, ed. Saul Friedman, trans. Laurence Kutler (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1992).

unique aspect of this diary is that it is written in both Hebrew and Czech. Redlich chose Hebrew for several reasons: it allowed him to strengthen his knowledge of the language (which he hoped to use if he survived the war and could move to Israel), and also Redlich believed it honored his Jewish religion and heritage. Another reason for writing in Hebrew was a practical one: should the Nazis discover the diary, they would not be able to understand what was written. Redlich only wrote in Czech on the Sabbath. As he writes in an early diary entry: “I refuse to write in Hebrew on *Shabbat*, preferring Czech instead.”¹³ Though Redlich was not raised as an Orthodox Jew, his work with Zionist movements and his incarceration at Terezin pushed him to strengthen his Jewish identity. Since the Sabbath could not be celebrated in a traditional way in Terezin, writing in Czech was a way of honoring his commitment to Judaism.

Beginning 16 March 1944, Redlich began a second diary, which runs concurrently with the first until 2 August 1944. This second diary was written for his son Daniel; Redlich’s first entry in this diary is the day his son was born.¹⁴ Redlich writes this diary directly addressing Daniel, whom he hoped would one day have the opportunity to read it. In the last entry, written the day before Redlich and his family were deported to Auschwitz, Redlich tells his son about the trip they are taking and that

¹³ Redlich, 2. Diary entry written 2 January 1942.

¹⁴ Daniel was one of only a handful of children born in the ghetto. Across the Reich, Nazi policy was to force women to have abortions, or in the case of the death camps, women were sent straight to the gas chambers. Redlich writes of this in the 16 March 1944 entry: “It was forbidden for Jews to be born, for women to give birth. We were forced to hide your mother’s [Gerta Beck, Redlich’s high school sweetheart] pregnancy” (Redlich, p. 152). Decrees by SS Burger (the last Kommandant of Terezin) required abortions for women less than seven months pregnant or they faced being sent to the East.

their family had all gone before them.¹⁵ The entry gives no indication that Redlich knew the fate that awaited him and his family.

Right before he was sent to Auschwitz, Redlich hid the diaries in a woman's purse (the identity of the woman is unknown). In 1967, Czech workers discovered the documents in an attic and turned them over to the communist Czech state government. Eventually, the documents became the property of the Beit Theresienstadt kibbutz, which includes a museum, education center, and archive. Copies of the original are housed in both Yad Vashem and the Terezin Memorial Archives.¹⁶

The first entry in which Redlich mentions music, and cultural life in general, is dated 20 February 1942, only a couple months after he arrived at Terezin:

Shabbat. Last night a "living newspaper." I lectured on Trumpeldor. Truly a delightful function. In the afternoon, there was a Sabbath party. In the evening, a children's play. The children's program this time was very good from the standpoint of acting. (A parody of the plays of Voskovec and Werich). Toward the end, they sang popular songs, and the audience reproached them, much to my happiness. We are beginning to express a cultural life. Although there is not much free time, I still would like to be culturally active for the others, too.¹⁷

Redlich's entry is very much a diary in style, rather than a journal, as the entry is short and focuses on recounting the events of the day. The children's program he describes was a typical way for music to be incorporated into their cultural events. Many of the theatrical plays and skits performed by the children included music, mainly folk songs or

¹⁵ Some discrepancy exists with the date of this last entry in the diary for Daniel. The English translation (edited by Friedman and translated by Kutler) gives the date as 6 October 1944. The first publication of the diary, transcribed in Hebrew by Ruth Bondy in Jerusalem in 1982, gives the date as 6 September 1944. According to the prisoner database of the Terezin archives, Redlich was deported to Auschwitz on 23 October 1944. The September date seems unlikely; transports were stopped between 7 April 1944 and 27 September 1944. This last entry was clearly in October.

¹⁶ I was personally able to view the copy of Redlich's diary contained at the Terezin Memorial Archives.

¹⁷ Redlich, 19-20. The "living newspaper" refers to a program of spoken articles that were more than likely part of the academic lectures given in Terezin. Joseph Trumpeldor was a late nineteenth- early twentieth-century Russian born Zionist. Jiří Voskovec and Jan Werich were playwrights (Voskovec was Czech-American and Werich was from Prague).

nationalistic songs. Redlich continued to discuss this particular performance in an entry dated 22 February 1942:

Yesterday there was a children's play. The children are great actors, and I liked their songs. Towards the end, they sang "explosive" songs – but to my joy a fellow started to sing "Hatikvah." Others joined in, and it was a good lesson for the children. I was pleased that there are still good Jews here.¹⁸

This particular entry highlights some important issues facing residents in Terezin and how music played a part in those issues. While Redlich makes no mention of specific "explosive" songs, it is likely he is speaking of popular songs written in the camp about daily life.¹⁹ Redlich did not look with favor on these popular songs and more than likely deemed them explosive because if the Nazis had heard the lyrics, the prisoners would have faced severe punishments in the form of deportations or being sent to the *Kleine Festung*. The song "Hatikvah" has special meaning; modern audiences know this as the national anthem of Israel. It held special meaning for Zionists at the time of the war, because the British Mandate government had banned performances of the song from 1919 until the creation of the state of Israel. For those like Redlich, the song represented their future hopes and dreams of settlement in what they considered their homeland.

But the song, whose lyrics come from an 1878 poem by Naphtali Herz Imber, was not without controversy. Redlich's comments about "good Jews" highlights an important, though overlooked, part of Terezin's history: the religious makeup of the prisoners was not completely Jewish. Czech Jews especially had a reputation for assimilation, and most Jewish families only celebrated major Jewish holidays. Terezin also had a substantial amount of prisoners whose families had been practicing Christians

¹⁸ Redlich, 20.

¹⁹ Songs like Karel Švenk's "Terezin March" were popular among the inmates and parodied life in the camp. This particular song, written originally for a cabaret in Terezin, became the unofficial camp anthem.

and Roman Catholics for one or two generations. This was seen as a travesty to many Zionists like Redlich, who believed passionately in keeping Jewish culture and religious practices alive and in working towards a permanent Jewish settlement in Israel.

The next entry in which Redlich mentions music was written on 4 April 1942. Redlich's statement concerning music is unique in that it does not discuss a specific musical performance in Terezin, but rather discusses his personal views on Czech music and culture. Redlich states: "Shabbat. Four months of Terezin. On the whole I have turned into a Jew in the fullest sense of the word. Czech music and culture have lost all their meaning."²⁰ Performances in Terezin of such works as Bedřich Smetana's *The Bartered Bride* helped keep Czech culture alive. As in his entry above discussing "explosive" songs, however, Redlich distinguishes himself from his many assimilated Czech colleagues and friends. He wanted every aspect of his life, including his cultural activities, to reflect his Jewish heritage and beliefs rather than his Czech nationality.

Redlich does not mention anything specific about musical or cultural activities again until July 1942. Over the course of two entries, he repeats the same comments about culture occurring in such a horrendous place. The first entry appears on 18 July 1942: "Shabbat. God, what a life! Multifaceted, threats, full of contrasts that race by quickly, terribly fast. The presentation of a cabaret on one hand, and on the other, old people dying."²¹ The second entry appears on 19 July 1942: "So many contrasts in life here. In the yard, a cabaret with singers and in the house the old and sick are dying. Great contrasts."²² Redlich mentions cabarets again, though this time the comment appears

²⁰ Redlich, 32.

²¹ Redlich, 58.

²² Redlich, 58. It is unclear exactly in which yard these performances occurred. An initial reading of this passage might lead one to assume he is speaking of the *Kaffehaus* (coffeehouse) pavilion, which was

almost an afterthought in an entry dated 29 August 1942: “Before us, in a wide yard (the yards of several connected houses), a meeting takes place – a cabaret. A strange time, strange people, a cabaret of life.”²³ These comments on cabaret are some of the few times Redlich blatantly comments on the strangeness of having entertainment in the circumstances of Terezin.

The next time Redlich mentions anything concerning music is not until 25 November 1942: “Today, there was a premier performance of *The Bartered Bride*. It was the finest one I had ever seen in the ghetto.”²⁴ In the camp, performances were conducted and accompanied by Rafael Schächter. The work became so popular in Terezin that it was performed almost forty times.²⁵ It is intriguing that Redlich gave such high praise to the opera, because earlier in his diary he says he feels no affinity or emotion for Czech music and culture. *The Bartered Bride* represents a zenith in Czech nationalism and nationalistic music. For Redlich to not argue the opera’s lack of a Jewish subject or background indicates he may, despite his objections, still feel something for his Czech roots.

In the winter of 1942, Redlich wrote a play he titled *The White Shadow*. The plot involved an assimilated Jewish woman who married a Christian officer. The woman was arrested and sent to Terezin, but because she knew no one in the camp she felt estranged

located in Terezin’s main square and held performances of both cabarets and later, the Ghetto Swingers jazz band. However, the first *Kaffehaus* performance did not take place until 8 December 1942.

²³ Redlich, 67.

²⁴ Redlich, 86.

²⁵ Joža Karas, *Music in Terezín 1941-1945*, second edition (Hillsdale: Pendragon, 2008), p. 20. Karas states that after its initial performance, repeat performances were given “about thirty-five times.” This made *The Bartered Bride* the second most performed opera in Terezin, with *Brundibár* being the most performed. Karas also writes that initially, two different dates were given for the premiere performance of *The Bartered Bride*: 25 November 1942 and 28 November 1942. The earlier date, and the one Redlich writes about, was the first performance in Terezin. However, 25 November 1942 was prior to the official creation of the *Freizeitgestaltung*. The performance on 28 November 1942 was the first performance under the auspices of the FZG.

from her fellow prisoners. The music was written by Gideon Klein.²⁶ Redlich mentions the play in his diary entry of 3 December 1942:

The first presentation of the play was not favorably received by the public. The assimilationists especially were annoyed that I dared present the problem of a converted old woman on stage. For the most part, I was interested in the problem from a humanistic, rather than nationalistic perspective. The assimilationists don't learn. They don't learn from circumstances.²⁷

Redlich's play once again highlighted his opinions on his fellow Czech prisoners, many who were assimilated Jews. While Redlich does not discuss the music for his play specifically, his mentioning of the play gives us an insight into an original piece written in Terezin. The play also shows how the arts were used to push various political agendas amongst the prisoners.

Redlich does acknowledge his changing tastes in music in an entry dated 1 March 1943. In a very straightforward entry, Redlich writes: "I am starting to like serious music more. Today I attended a performance of *Ein Lied geht um die Welt*."²⁸ No information is given as to who performed the song or whether it was performed as part of a cabaret or a vocal recital. The interesting note here is Redlich's description of the song as "serious." The song has qualities more in the style of ballads from the 1930s rather than serious in the vein of classical or dramatic music. The lyrics, however, fit with the sentiments of many prisoners in Terezin. The song depicts a piece of music that can be heard in the heavens and on earth, a song dreaming of happiness and that will last for

²⁶ There is no evidence that Redlich's play or Klein's music for it survived the war. The play does not appear in any archival collections or in a published format, making Redlich's diary the only proof the play existed. While many pieces of Gideon Klein did survive the war and have been published, his music for Redlich's play does not appear in any archival collections or in any published collections of his works.

²⁷ Redlich, 88.

²⁸ The song, in English "A Song Goes Round the World," was popularized by the Jewish Austro-Romanian tenor Joseph Schmidt. The song is from a 1933 German film of the same name, and later an English version of the film was produced in 1958. The film was meant to be a semi-biographical portrayal of the life of Joseph Schmidt (1904-1942). Schmidt starred in the German film but was deceased by the time an English version was made.

eternity.²⁹ These ideas of being heard and having an eternal legacy may well have resonated with Redlich.

Redlich's next mention of music appears on 24-25 March 1943 and discusses a little known musical work from Terezin:

I saw the operetta *Das Ghettomadel* [The Ghetto Maid] yesterday. The play was a shame, from a cultural perspective. To venerate a policeman in the ghetto is a strange and disgraceful thing. Young girls participated in the play, and this was a worse shame. It would have been right to stop the play, but those responsible did not have sufficient authority to do so.³⁰

Members of the ghetto police force wrote the operetta with the support of their supervisor, Dr. Karl Loewenstein.³¹ The operetta was written with the intention of improving the image of the police force; the prisoners did not trust them for the most part. The police answered to the Camp Elders and the Germans themselves, with Loewenstein holding the second highest position among the prisoner population. Being arrested by the ghetto police could lead to trial by inmates' court, being imprisoned within the camp for a period of time, or in extreme cases, being sent to the *Kleine Festung*. Because of these factors, Redlich felt these police officers did not have the

²⁹ Lyrics taken from the following website: Comedian Harmonists. "Ein Lied geht um die Welt." <http://www.comedian-harmonists.de> (accessed January 1, 2015). English translation of lyrics available on website.

³⁰ Redlich, 109-110.

³¹ Dr. Karl Loewenstein was a German naval officer who served in World War I. Born 2 May 1887 in Siegen, he was sent to Terezin on 17 May 1942. Prior to the war, and after his World War I service, he worked as a banker. He had converted to Protestantism in 1919 and was a co-founder of the Evangelical Confessing Church. This church worked to unify all Protestants in Germany and was created in resistance to the Nazi party. Loewenstein's involvement with the church resulted in his deportation first to the ghetto in Minsk, where he witnessed unspeakable atrocities and suffered severe beatings at the hands of the Nazis. When he arrived in Terezin, the Germans were afraid of what he would do with his knowledge of what occurred in Minsk. On orders from Berlin, Commandant Seidl gave him the position of head of the ghetto police force in Terezin. When Seidl was replaced by Commandant Anton Burger, Loewenstein was relieved of his duties and found guilty in an inmates' court of minor offences. Loewenstein survived the war but was arrested by Russian soldiers and investigated for war crimes, though he was later released without charges being filed. Loewenstein died in Berlin in 1978.

ability to be admired. The music for this operetta has not survived; however, set drawings for the show by designer Adolf Aussenberg exist.³²

Redlich's comment about those responsible having the ability to stop the play is better understood in context of the later FZG department. Redlich mentions in an entry dated 29 March 1943 that the FZG was in the process of being organized.³³ Once the FZG officially came into being, all cultural activities had to be run through the corresponding department.³⁴ While censorship was not common, the FZG could forbid a performance or lecture from going forward if they felt the content was too blatantly anti-German or anti-Nazi. This censorship and review board, however, did not exist at the time Redlich saw *Das Ghetto-madel*. The elders of the camp or the German officers would have been the only ones who could have stopped the operetta. The German officers rarely attended cultural events in the ghetto (or for that matter interacted with prisoners at all), and the Council of Elders must not have found the operetta's material offensive or troubling enough to stop it.

Over a year passes before any mention of music appears in Redlich's diary again. No musical details are given, and the entry, dated 3 May 1944, simply states the following: "A new hall has opened. Festive speeches. Music, song. Two Germans stand on the gallery and look at the proceedings."³⁵ The new hall, called the *Sokolovna*,

³² Adolf Aussenberg was born 1 July 1914 in Prague. Prior to the war he attended Technical University in Prague and began working on films. He was deported to Terezin on 12 February 1942 and sent from Terezin to Auschwitz on 12 October 1944. According to the prisoner database of the Terezin archives, Aussenberg's last known whereabouts were in Lieberose, a sub-camp of Sachsenhausen. Aussenberg did not survive, and his year of death is given as 1945.

³³ Redlich, 110. The FZG would eventually be organized into smaller departments including theater, music, lectures, libraries, and sports. Each department had a head, who answered to the FZG supervisor.

³⁴ As seen in chapter two, some independent cultural organizations (such as the Manes Group) did not run their programs through the FZG until forced to join under them in 1944. However, almost all of the musical activities were officially part of the FZG and therefore subject to this review process.

³⁵ Redlich, 146.

originally served as a hospital. When the beautification process began in preparation for the camp's visit by the International Red Cross, the building was transformed from a hospital to a community center. It included offices for the morgue, library, a stage for cultural events, and a prayer hall. While Redlich gives no indication as to the kind of music sung at the ceremony, it is likely that the ceremony included folk songs or popular songs rather than songs from the classical repertoire.³⁶

Redlich mentions cultural events in relation to the beautification process again in his entry of 19 June 1944, just days before the Red Cross visit:

All events center around one thing: the visit of the commission. They rain down order after order. Kindergarten children are to sing during the visit, the workers are to return home. Plays and cultural events and sporting activities must take place...³⁷

The cultural events the International Red Cross saw were a performance of the children's opera *Brundibar* and a performance of Verdi's Requiem. Both of these pieces had been performed numerous times in the camp prior to the Red Cross visit; this would be the last performance of the Requiem to take place in Terezin. *Brundibar* would be performed several more times, including a performance for the propaganda film that began shooting not long after the Red Cross visit. The entire visit by the Red Cross was orchestrated to show the commission that the Jews were living healthy lives in Terezin (and therefore in all of the camps). Unfortunately, the charade worked; the Red Cross did not notice anything out of the ordinary on the visit.³⁸

³⁶ Several ceremonies of this nature took place in Terezin; certain administrative departments also sometimes had internal ceremonies to commemorate their founding, etc. The music at these ceremonies was generally popular or folk music and not lieder or songs from the classical repertoire.

³⁷ Redlich, 148.

³⁸ The original report of the International Red Cross is part of the H.G. Adler collection at The Netherlands Institute for War Documentation and Holocaust and Genocide Studies (NIOD) in Amsterdam. The report,

This is the last entry in Redlich's first diary that mentions anything about music, but Redlich does discuss some musical activities in the diary he wrote for his son Dan.

The first entry mentioning music in Dan's diary is from 13 April 1944:

In the city square, the Jewish orchestra played. A Jewish orchestra, as if a hard war full of blood was not being fought, a war of survival. Our enemies have new tactics—eye-catching, building a 'Potemkin Village.' So the Jewish orchestra played in the ghetto when people were permitted to stroll. But the melody never blocked out the memory of the terrible sacrifice, the pogroms, the danger still ahead of us, the danger that only now has a new face.³⁹

Redlich goes into more detail about his feelings on the musical events in Terezin while writing to his son; he does not come across this opinionated in his first diary. What Redlich highlights, however, is the dichotomy between camp life and high culture. On one hand an orchestra plays music that would have been heard in any concert house prior to the war; on the other hand, as Redlich points out, life in the camp is hardly calm or reminiscent of a pre-war existence. Musical and cultural events had the ability to provide some solace, but they could never fully take the prisoners away from their current circumstances.

Redlich wrote the last entry in Dan's diary that mentions music on 2 June 1944. The entire entry is fairly long, as Redlich tended to elaborate more on life in the camp and his opinions in his son's diary rather than his own. The entry occurs only a short time after deportations in May sent the old, sick, and those who looked unhealthy to Auschwitz. This was done so that the Red Cross commission would only see healthy, vibrant looking Jewish citizens and not ones dying of starvation and disease. Redlich writes the following:

written in French, does not outright condemn conditions in Terezin and did not make conditions for Terezin's inmates better.

³⁹ Redlich, 155.

...Our enemies are merciful, full of compassion. They will send the sick, the weak, orphans, old people eastward in boxcars...The orchestra is to perform only light music. They want us to be cheerful. They want to show that the Jewish city is happy. They are the merciful ones.⁴⁰

Redlich was using sarcasm to express his opinion on the deportations as well as the idea that Terezin was a happy Jewish city. Once again, this entry shows the dichotomy between perception and reality. By mentioning that the orchestra has been commanded to play nothing but “light music,” Redlich shows music’s role in creating this dichotomy. These entries also highlight the extreme measures taken to ensure that the Red Cross did not uncover the truth about the camp or the true lives of the prisoners being held in Terezin.

Once again, the question must be asked: what do Redlich’s diaries teach us about music in Terezin? On the surface, they do not seem to give us many details. However, because Redlich’s writings are some of the few we have from a committed Zionist in Terezin, Redlich’s diaries show us the struggles one faced in trying to practice his religious faith while in the circumstances of a concentration camp. For Redlich, this included taking stock of how the cultural activities in Terezin promoted or hindered the Zionist cause. Because so many Czech Jews were assimilated or came from families who had converted generations prior, being Czech meant more to many prisoners than being Jewish. Redlich’s comments on how he has turned fully into a Jew and that Czech music and culture have no meaning for him anymore are a stark example of an exception amongst the prisoner population in Terezin.

⁴⁰ Redlich, 157.

Redlich's diary to his son, while not containing an overabundance of information on music in Terezin, does give more details on Redlich's opinion of the cultural events in context with the realities of camp life. While survivors write about how uplifting the musical activities in Terezin were, or how they gave them spiritual strength, Redlich's writings point out the extremes of the situation: high-caliber concert performances in the midst of a living situation where people are dying and genocide is being committed.

CONCLUSION

The documents examined above, while expanding upon the documents of previous chapters, offer unique perspectives on music in Terezin. The letter of Otto Brod, while comparable to Viktor Ullmann's critiques in its discussion of modern music, provides one of the only known accounts of Gideon Klein's song cycle *Die Pest*. The loss of this cycle means that Brod's letter takes on added importance. The diary of Gonda Redlich focuses on a little studied aspect of Terezin scholarship: religious life in the camp and its effects on cultural life. As a committed Zionist, Redlich's faith took precedence over his nationality: he mentions Czech music and culture having no meaning for him, that only Jewish endeavors held importance. This is a contrast to many Czech Jews of Redlich's day, who believed themselves Czech first and Jewish second. All of the viewpoints from these documents show that while music in Terezin was meant for all, how it affected each individual was a personal matter. No two inmates were affected by culture and music in the same manner, making music in Terezin a deeply personal experience for all involved.

Conclusion

In a letter dated 13 March 2013, survivor Otto Grunfeld wrote the following recollection about Rafael Schächter's Verdi choir in Terezin:

Of the origins of his performance of Verdi's Requiem in Theresienstadt I know nothing. But do I remember following an intense and irresistible sound of choral singing right into the substantial barren basement of one of Theresienstadt's large barracks; finding, to my joy, Rafael Schächter's massive choir during one of their rehearsals? And remember being riveted by this extraordinarily powerful experience of uninhibited musical expression in this most unlikely of settings, this most unlikely of prisoner activities.¹

Grunfeld echoes the sentiments of many survivors whose lives were impacted by the musical and cultural activities at Terezin; seventy years after the end of World War II, these moments of artistic joy stand out. But these memoirs tell only one side of a large, complex story: the other side can be found in the documents written by prisoners incarcerated in Terezin. The documents discussed in this dissertation touch on several aspects of the camp's cultural life rarely mentioned in World War II studies.

One aspect of Terezin's musical life that stands out in the primary documentation is the musical variety they describe. Operas, oratorios, solo recitals, chamber ensembles, and even orchestral performances encompassed parts of the camp's cultural life.² Musical revues, jazz bands, and cabarets also added to the culture in Terezin. Besides types of performances, variety also occurs in musical styles: classical, folk, religious, and jazz music all received attention in Terezin. Traditional (meaning folk) and new music also made their way into each of these musical subdivisions. All of this points to a musical community that was diverse, a reflection of the diversity among the prisoner population.

¹ Otto Grunfeld to Karen L. Uslin, 13 March 2013, personal letter. The inconsistencies in punctuation are copied directly from Grunfeld's letter.

² For a list of performances that took place in Terezin see Appendix 3.

Another insight primary documents give regarding music in Terezin not found in other sources concerns the musical ability of the prisoners and the quality of performances. This particular subject has garnered much attention among scholars and musicians studying this topic, but it is also one of the most difficult to address.³ Many of the more well-known musicians in Terezin (Viktor Ullmann, Gideon Klein, etc.) had careers prior to their incarceration. Some musicians who survived the war (Karel Bermann, David Grunfeld, Alice Herz-Sommer, Edith Steiner-Kraus, to name a few) continued their pre-war careers well into the twentieth and twenty-first century. Recordings of their playing and singing exist to give us some indication of their musical ability, but for those who did not survive the war, few options remain.⁴ Viktor Ullmann's critiques provide some of the best clues for musical quality in Terezin; with his standards so high, Ullmann never failed to write about the strengths and weaknesses of the musicians he observed. While others, like Philipp Manes, also discussed whether they felt what they heard was of a high quality, Ullmann's background as a professional musician gives his critiques more weight on the subject of musical quality. Ultimately, because no recordings of music from the camp exist, it is a question that cannot be answered accurately.

And yet, this subject of musical quality also brings with it another question: does it matter? In a situation where musical life bloomed in what can only be described as one

³ While the sources mentioned in this dissertation do not blatantly discuss this topic, the question of the sound and quality of performances in Terezin is a common one asked of those of us who have presented on this topic at conferences, given lectures, etc. A 2012 interview given by Professor Murry Sidlin to John Hopkins Magazine discusses this question in regards to comments made by Terezin survivor and pianist Edith Steiner-Kraus and is mentioned below.

⁴ While the name of the song is not given, one recording from the archives of the E.F. Burian Theater exists of Rafael Schächter playing a four-hand piano piece with another unnamed artist. This recording is the only pre-war recording known to this author of a performance from one of Terezin's main musical figures prior to the war.

of the worst conditions of humanity in the twentieth century, does it matter how professional these musical performances sounded? In 2000, conductor and professor Murry Sidlin interviewed Terezin survivor Edith Steiner-Kraus in Jerusalem. A prominent pianist before the war, Steiner-Kraus continued her performance career in Israel in 1949 and retired in 1979. She spent her remaining years preserving the legacy of Terezin's composers, especially Viktor Ullmann, who dedicated his sixth piano sonata to her.⁵ In Steiner-Kraus's interview with Professor Sidlin, he asked her how the choir sounded for Rafael Schächter's Verdi Requiem. She answered with the following:

You know, you would've been proud of this chorus in any urban setting, but the superficial nature of that question troubles me terribly... You want to know about all those musicianly things. Did they sing in tune? How about the choral balances? What about the rhythmic precision? Was there good phrasing? Choral color? Was there an understanding of the text? Was there a relationship between the performers and did it get to the audience? All that stuff, as if any of that matters. We were so deeply inside the music that we had returned to Verdi's desk.⁶

In the end, while the question of the importance of musical quality and ability in Terezin may never be fully settled, the primary documents provide information on this particular subject that cannot necessarily be found in post-war literature and memoirs. It is also a highly subjective question; while the likes of Ullmann and Klein would no doubt consider quality and ability of paramount importance, this would not be the case of everyone. For many inmates, the emotional impact of music in the camp sufficed.

In addition to variety and musical quality, another aspect brought to light by these documents is the complex mechanics of music making in Terezin. Musical performances

⁵ Edith Steiner-Kraus passed away in Jerusalem on 2 September 2013.

⁶ Bret McCabe. "May it go to the Heart." *John Hopkins Magazine* Winter 2012
<http://hub.jhu.edu/magazine/2012/winter/may-it-go-to-heart> (accessed January 1, 2015).

in the camp, with few exceptions, were not the result of several inmates getting together and simply performing. Cultural life was ingrained in the management of the ghetto, and the FZG itself operated under a complex array of departments and subdivisions within departments. The majority of performances had to be run past the FZG first and given permission to be shown to the general public in Terezin. Finding spaces and resources for these cultural activities also added a bureaucratic and logistical aspect to the task of providing entertainment. While various sources lay out the specific departments within the FZG, Manes's diary provides details on the inner workings of the management of the ghetto, especially concerning the FZG and independent cultural groups like his own.

Manes's diary also examines an aspect of musical life that has received little analysis: nationalistic tensions.⁷ Other sources have casually mentioned tensions between the Czech and German inmates in Terezin, but Manes's diary shows how those tensions affected musical and cultural endeavors in the camp. The main corps of Terezin musicians studied by scholars are the Czech musicians; Ullmann, Haas, Krasa, and Klein were all born in the former Czechoslovakia. Other musicians, like Rafael Schächter, were not born in Czechoslovakia (Schächter himself was born in Romania), but they are grouped with the Czech musicians because they worked in Prague or other Czech cities prior to the war.⁸ Little attention has been given to the musicians from Germany, the Netherlands, Hungary, or Denmark who were deported to Terezin. Because Manes's

⁷ Manes's diary is the only primary document I have seen that expressly discusses the nationalist tensions between the Czech and German inmates. Berkley's book on Terezin (*Hitler's Gift: The Story of Theresienstadt*) mentions these tensions but does not provide the detail of Manes's diary.

⁸ The grouping of who was considered a Czech musician comes from historical and literary sources. For example, Rafael Schächter is considered a Czech musician because he received his musical education in Czechoslovakia and remained in Prague working after he completed his schooling. Schächter's deportation from Prague also meant he was included in the grouping with Czech musicians despite having been born in Romania. This instance can apply to others also not necessarily born in Czechoslovakia but who made their living there.

artistic endeavors included mainly German participants, his diary is one of the few available sources that sheds light on a minority group of artists and musicians in Terezin. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Manes never outright claims that he does not want to work with the Czechs. However, his discussions of Czech/German tension, and his propensity for working with fellow Germans, gives a view of cultural life rarely seen in modern works about the camp. In addition to nationalistic views of cultural life, documents like Gonda Redlich's diary point out how religious views shaped one's experience of culture and music in Terezin. As an avowed Zionist, Redlich viewed his entire Terezin experience, including musical and theatrical activities, through his religious philosophy. While Zionism was not a dominant view among the general population, it is an aspect of life in Terezin.

The insights provided by primary sources on music in Terezin on the aspects listed above are undoubtedly crucial to understanding musical life in the camp as a whole. But possibly more importantly, these sources give us something that no survivor memoir or history book on Terezin can: a "real-time" picture of music in the camp. Memoirs, interviews, and history books are of vital importance to the study of music in Terezin and music of the Holocaust in general. Literature after the fact, by its nature, includes a context that diaries, poems, and essays of the time do not: the context of information about the Holocaust as a whole, history of the Final Solution, and, in the case of Terezin, an understanding of how the camp fit into the greater picture of Nazi destruction of European Jewish life. At the time these primary sources were written, however, none of the inmates knew what the situation was in Europe at large. The word "Auschwitz" had no meaning to these inmates, and the idea of death camps and gas

chambers was a foreign one. While no one wanted to be included on a transport to the East, no one in Terezin truly knew what “the East” meant. These diaries, poems, essays, and music critiques show music in Terezin for what it truly was, without the historical context that came once the facts of the Holocaust were known.

However, that lack of historical context can also be a pitfall when studying these texts. Because the inmates of Terezin were unaware of the larger picture of the Holocaust, their writings constitute a biased view of the events they witness. The children’s writings are a primary example of this: not only are the children in Terezin uninformed about the war and the Holocaust outside of the camp, but in many cases they are also unaware of the overarching events in Terezin itself. Pavel Weiner’s diary illustrates this in great detail; he writes solely about what he personally witnesses in Terezin and how things affect him. Gossip also pervaded the camp, and many inmates wrote information they heard about the war or the outside world as if it were fact; much of this information was either incorrect or severely outdated by the time it reached the prisoners.

Another issue with analyzing original documents comes in the form of translation and interpretation. In translating the diaries of Willy Mahler and Ruth Brösslerová, the critiques and essays of Viktor Ullmann, and the letter of Otto Brod, inevitably one comes across terms that were commonplace for these authors but that do not necessarily have an exact English equivalent. Even in published English translations of works (like the diaries of Pavel Weiner and Gonda Redlich), the authors use abbreviations and nicknames for people and places; these terms are not always described in detail or given

explanations since they were considered commonplace among those in Terezin. This can make interpreting what someone wrote difficult.

The purpose of this dissertation was to analyze Terezin's musical life through primary sources, in the hopes that these sources would expand our knowledge of music in Terezin and provide a new lens through which to look at this subject. The question must be asked, however: where should research on music and Terezin go from here? First and foremost, several of these sources need to be more fully analyzed. This dissertation includes only excerpts of the diaries of Willy Mahler and Ruth Brösslerová; both of these sources are much more extensive than the excerpts included in this dissertation, and neither source has been studied in its entirety or translated into English. Another source with only excerpts is the children's magazine *Vedem*; in general, all of the children's magazines from Terezin should be analyzed for content on musical endeavors. This is especially true when studying the performances of *Brundibár*, as one of the most detailed discussions about any musical endeavor in Terezin comes from *Vedem*. The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum also contains collections that include manuscripts from Terezin discussing musical life in addition to the Lauscher collection. While these sources in some cases contain hundreds or nearly thousands of pages of material, what they could reveal about musical life in Terezin would be invaluable to the future of this field.

In addition to analyzing some of these documents in their entirety, many of these sources also need publication in an English-language version. No English-language book exists on the life and writings of Viktor Ullmann; his writings have also never been published in their entirety in English. The diaries of Willy Mahler and Ruth Brösslerová

have also never been published in English, nor have the majority of the collections containing information on Terezin's musical life from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. English-speaking scholars are at a distinct disadvantage by this lack of translations; it prevents the study of some of the most seminal works on the camp and its cultural life. Translating these documents will allow scholars not fluent in Czech and/or German the chance to study and discuss these sources; these discussions could only help to further the field of Terezin studies.

Finally, studying primary sources for information on musical life during the Holocaust can be applied not only to research on Terezin, but also to research on music in the camps as a whole. It is rarely mentioned that musical activities took place in other concentration camps, including Auschwitz, Ravensbruck, Sachsenhausen, and Westerbork.⁹ In 1999, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum began a project of compiling and publishing an *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945*. As of 2013, researchers from the museum identified 42,500 camps, ghettoes, slave labor camps, POW camps, euthanasia centers, etc.¹⁰ This unfathomable number shows that our current knowledge of musical activities in these places is scant at best. Studying primary documents from these places would greatly add to our knowledge and understanding of musical activities in the camps; it also would give us more information on musicians

⁹ One of the largest published collections of music from the camps and ghettos is Jerry Silverman's *The Undying Flame: Ballads and Songs of the Holocaust* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2002). Silverman includes music written in various camps and ghettos in France, Poland, Germany, Hungary, Italy, the Czech Republic, Austria, Lithuania, and Ukraine. Concerning Auschwitz, Fania Fénelon's autobiography *Playing for Time* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1997) discusses the women's orchestra in Auschwitz. Research has also been conducted on that orchestra's leader, Alma Rosé. The archives of Westerbork, held at the Jewish Museum in Amsterdam, also include information on music performed both in Westerbork and in Terezin.

¹⁰ Erik Lichtbau. "The Holocaust Just Got a Lot More Shocking." *New York Times* 1 March 2013 <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/03/03/sunday-review/the-holocaust-just-got-more-shocking.html?pagewanted=all> (accessed January 1, 2015).

whose names may not currently be known, but who may have had an impact on European musical life prior to the war.

It is precisely because of those names that research on music in Terezin, and music in the Holocaust, must continue and expand. An entire generation of European musicians and composers were wiped out by the Holocaust. We will never know how modern music may have developed had these composers and artists lived or survived the war. For these musicians, their musical development stopped with the Second Viennese School. If they had had the opportunity to study, grow, and develop their talents, where might music be today? In a letter written on 3 March 2013, Otto Grunfeld wrote:

It is possible to find the cause of that madness, still as strong as ever today, explicable, even if intolerable: the shrug of the shoulder, the plausible exonerations, the diplomatic evasions, doubtlessly point to human weakness for which we all are bound to be judged.¹¹

Music history was forever changed by the madness Grunfeld mentions in his letter. Yet in the most extraordinary of circumstances, Terezin's musicians created beauty and gave joy and hope to prisoners in spite of the madness surrounding them. Studying the history of Terezin's musicians and composers, and viewing their legacy from all angles, allows their legacy to live on and a gap in music history to be filled.

¹¹ Otto Grunfeld to Karen L. Uslin, 3 March 2013, personal letter.

APPENDIX I

Viktor Ullmann "Goethe und Ghetto" Essay¹

Significant models characterize for the following generations their "Habitus" [attitudes], their lifestyle. So it seems to me that the attitude of the educated European for 150 years is determined by Goethe in everything: language, belief, relationship of man to the life and art of work and pleasure. A symptom of this is that everyone likes to refer to Goethe, as the dialectical ideology, yet so differently. (The second great influence, to some extent the antithesis, the opposite flow, comes from Darwin and Nietzsche.)

"Live in the moment, live in eternity," always to reveal the enigmatic meaning of art entirely: this seems to me Goethe's maxim. Painting rescues, as in still life the ephemeral, fleeting thing or rapidly wilting flower, as well as landscape, human face and figure, or the important historical moment of transience. Music takes the same for the "libido" in the broadest sense, for Eros and Thanatos. From here, the "form," as understood by Goethe and Schiller, is the conqueror of "substance."

Theresienstadt was and is for me the school of form, beyond which you do not feel force and the load of the material life; because of the comfort, the magic of civilization they repressed, it was easy to create beautiful shapes. Here, where one has to overcome in daily life substance through form, where everything in arts stands in striking contrast to the environment, here is the true master school where Schiller sees the mystery of the artwork: the substance to destroy the form -that indeed supposedly is altogether the mission of men, not only of aesthetical, but also of ethical people.

¹ Schultz, 110-113.

I have in Theresienstadt written pretty much new music, mostly to satisfy the needs and desires of conductors, directors, pianists, singers, and thus the needs of recreational venues of the ghetto. It seems to me futile to emphasize that we could not play the piano in Theresienstadt while there were no other instruments. Even the sensitive defects of note paper should be of no interest to coming generations. To emphasize that I have been in my musical work sponsored by Theresienstadt and not inhibited, that we did not merely sit lamenting by the waters of Babylon and that our culture was equal to our will to live—I am convinced that those who have sought to wrest a reluctant substance from form in life and art will prove me right.

APPENDIX II

Viktor Ullmann Music Critiques

#1 Songs of Czech Composers²

“...of the twentieth century” would be better since only Suk’s *Wiegenlied*, a charming work from his youth, is an exception (having been composed in 1891).

Therefore an evening of song without Schubert, Schumann, and Brahms. We gratefully acknowledge Mrs. Hedda Grab-Kernmayer, the courageous and distinguished interpreter of contemporary music, and her accompanist Dr. Karl Reiner, the outstanding pianist and composer.³ And even though there was only new music, the public responded with interest and increasing warmth.

The program was framed with songs by Vítěslav Novak that are disconnected by a period of thirty years: the *Melancholischen Liebeslieder* (1906) show the old master as an epigone – here, “O Liebe, endlos’ Meer” (Vrchlicky) is truly inspired, and the *Slovakian Lieder* (1936) allow Novak to reveal his mature hand in a creative masterpiece.⁴ However, during “Der Lenz für ihn sang,” it seemed the people’s

² Schultz, 53.

³ Hedda Grab-Kernmayer was born 6 August 1899 in Prague, moved to Vienna in 1908, and then returned to Prague before the beginning of the war. She spent three years in Terezin working and performing with the Freizeitgestaltung. She survived the war and moved to Israel, eventually settling in Denver, CO in 1950. She changed her name to Hedda Graab Evans and died 16 September 1990 (biography taken from Joža Karas, *Music in Terezin 1941-1945 Second Edition* [Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon, 2008], pp. 180-181). Karl (Karel) Reiner was born in Žatec, in western Bohemia, on 27 June 1910. He studied law and musicology at Charles University, eventually receiving a master’s in composition. While at the university, his primary teachers were Josef Suk and Alois Haba. While Reiner produced many dramas and comedies in Terezin and was active in the musical life there, he was not a member of the Freizeitgestaltung. He survived the war and went on to have a career in music. Much of his music after the war expressed his socialist political leanings. Karel Reiner died in Prague on 17 October 1979 (information taken from the website of the Jewish Music Institute at Hebrew University in Jerusalem: www.jewishmusic.huji.il; accessed on 23 February 2014.).

⁴ Vítěslav Novak was born 5 December 1870 in Kamenice nad Lipou in southern Bohemia. He eventually moved to Prague and studied at the Prague Conservatory. He changed his name from Viktor to Vítěslav to make it sound more Czech and to outwardly show a more Czech identity. His style is considered more modern than Dvořák’s, with whom he took several master classes. He is considered one of the founders of

unchanging spirit sang for him. This time, the worthwhile folkloric parts of the evening surpassed the art song by far in quality and depth.

This was immediately determined when one heard Leo Janaček's *Mährische Volkspoesie in Liedern*, charming bagatelles, which exalt his perfect masterpieces to the level of great art. Singer and accompanist find here an appreciated object for their interpretation. And in reference to the composer, the extensive, large and yet flexible voice, the heartfelt and natural expression of Mrs. Grab-Kernmayer, and the crystalline, very musical execution by Dr. Karl Reiner, our hope is that he will not keep us waiting much longer for delaying his first solo piano recital.

The remaining part of the program presented two beautiful songs by Josef Suk, which of course give no perception of the master's "Asrael" [symphony] and the remaining colossal symphonic tone poems, and then the cycle *Vergängliches Glück* by K.B. Jířák, which appears to me could be dropped in such environments. Still, in every respect, it was a successful and thankfully welcome evening.

the modern Czech music movement. He died in Skuteč on 18 July 1949 (information taken from the website for the Society for Vítěslav Novak, accessed 23 February 2014: www.vitezslavnovak.cz).

#2 Die Fledermaus⁵

It was Adele, Johann Strauss's second wife, who persuaded the doubtful and reluctant waltz king to try his, and therefore also our, luck on the stage and experiment with operetta. We are very thankful today to her, for we have the *Zigeunerbaron*, *Nacht in Venedig*, and *Die Fledermaus*. Of course, in this and all other operas by Johann Strauss the waltz is the undisputed central motive, from which all else turns out; besides the irrepressible and brilliantly arranged waltzes, one rarely finds anything that could not have been written by another talented composer. From the view of form Johann Strauss always stayed imperfect and scrupulous. The blessed and blissed three-quarter time carries his very uneven scherzando above any unevenness and away from his little developed feel of form (which even the canon "Brüderlein & Schwesterlein" – with its very beautiful melody – and the other brief song trio "Hier steh' ich voll Zagen" of the third Fledermaus waltz could not mislead). Johann Strauss: he is the Fledermaus waltz, the Tête-à-Tête waltz, and the delightful idea, the "Mein Herr Marquis..."; he is the Emperor waltz, the "Rosen aus dem Süden," the Patzmann waltz, and so forth.

We in Theresienstadt look around somewhat soberly in this world, in this society, whose support frequently sways seriously and is always more or less tipsy. We have long since realized that the slogan of the world is no longer "Amusement" as in the time of our grandfathers; we see beyond these descendants of Harlequin and Columbine as the historical and cultural future we experienced in the past. There was too much noise and wine, women, and song—it was a dance on the graves of the future and at our expense. We sip some champagne at that—but we stay sober.

⁵ Schultz, 54-56.

The Theresienstadt performance, which we owe to the initiative of the young, talented and ambitious Wolfgang Lederer, can be seen and heard.⁶ In regards to seeing the work: Adolf Aussenberg created the delightful improvised sets, and Eva Kohner designed colorful and funny costumes.⁷ In regards to listening: because we have a “cast” that could have the same success in every good theater as with our audience. Annie Frey, the experienced and charming Soubrette, whose brilliant voice has lost none of its appeal, Nelly Eisenschimmel, who sang the part of Rosalinde with her beautiful and balanced voice, Kurt Weisz, our excellent Bon Vivant, who brought us his musical offering of singing to us—and very musically too, Liesl Hofer as Orlofsky, subtle yet effective; they were joined by Dr. George Behal, Fritz Benscher, Harry Hambo, and as a jailer “Frosch” Hans Hofer, whose father I saw in the same role; I believe the son has looked deeper into the glass.⁸ The text has been revised through satyr plays, improvisations, motivations by William Sterk—the old text by Haffner and Genée has been very deservedly enriched.⁹

⁶ Wolfgang Lederer was born 30 September 1918 in Berlin. He studied at the Stern Conservatory. Once in Terezin he became a sought-after accompanist. He also played harmonium and accordion. After the war, Lederer lived in Prague, Switzerland, and Turkey before settling in Seattle, WA. He spent his post-war career as a successful jazz pianist. Lederer died 28 June 1997 in Blacksburg, VA.

⁷ Adolf Aussenberg was born on 1 July 1914 in Prague. He was transported to Auschwitz on 12 October 1944 and died there. No information on Eva Kohner was found in the Terezin prisoner database or the Theresienstadt Lexicon.

⁸ Annie Frey was born 15 November 1906 in Vienna. She was deported to Terezin on 9 July 1942. She survived the war and worked as a singer in Vienna. No information can be found on Nelly Eisenschimmel in the Terezin database or Theresienstadt Lexicon. Kurt Weisz was born on 2 July 1894 and was transported from Prague to Terezin on 20 November 1942. He was transported to Auschwitz on 16 October 1944 and did not survive. Liesl Hofer was born 16 December 1912 in Vienna and worked as a singer and cabaret performer. No records survive to show when she was transported to Terezin, but she survived the war and died in Rostock, Germany on 2 November 1991. Dr. Jiří Běhal (George Behal) was born 1 March 1912 in Prague. A lawyer by trade, he also worked as an amateur singer and actor. He came to Terezin as part of the “Aufkommando” (volunteer transports of men to help set up the camp) on 4 December 1941. He was deported from Terezin to Auschwitz on 29 September 1944. In 1945 he was sent from Auschwitz to Dachau, where he died. Fritz Benscher was born 13 October 1904 in Hamburg. Prior to deportation he toured as a cabaret artist in Germany with the Jewish Cultural Association. He was transported to Terezin on 25 June 1943. He was deported to Auschwitz on 28 September 1944 and was eventually liberated in Dachau-Kauferring. He went on to become a film actor and work for Bavarian Radio. Benscher died in Munich on 10 March 1970. Harry Hambo was deported to Terezin from Denmark in October 1943. He performed in several reviews as a cabaret artist and singer after the autumn transports of 1944. He returned

The accompaniment has naturally been our biggest problem; after all, our different salon orchestras put together would almost have created a complete theater orchestra, which would have been a better solution; certainly the piano worked perfectly correctly for Renée Gärtner-Geiringer.¹⁰ But the mixture with harmonium remains problematic, though Wolfgang Lederer knows how to elicit woodwind effects from it with great skill. The overture—or rather that introductory medley—cannot be brought to life this way. The performance was studied and musically perfectly clean, the scenic set of Der Hofer created with humor and pace.

The question remains: whether “Fledermaus” was in accordance with our needs precisely; I know two hours of Johann Strauss’s “Immortal Waltz Ways,” etc. But there was yet one fairly famous Jewish operetta composer, Jaques Offenbach, who within and outside of Terezin is acknowledged enough in spite of giving the world “Hoffman’s Tales.” We do not want “The Beautiful Helena”; especially the lesser known operettas contain musical jewels: *Madame Parchiduc*, *Perichole*, *Die Briganten*, even *Die*

to Denmark before the end of the war as part of deal with the International Red Cross that returned the Danish prisoners to their home country. Hans Hofer (original name Hans Schulhof) was born on 17 March 1907 in Prague. Before the war he worked as a singer, director, and cabaret actor. He was deported to Terezin on 24 November 1941 as part of the “Aufkommando” transports. At Terezin he participated in cabarets and opera revues; he also was the assistant director to Kurt Geron during the filming of the Nazi propaganda film in Terezin. He was sent to Auschwitz in October 1944 and was liberated in Dachau-Kaufering. He died in Rostock on 26 April 1973. Schultz, in his appendix of biographies of artists in Terezin, gives Hofer’s date of death as 26 April 1988 (1973?). No documentation supports the 1988 death date; Schultz gives no information as to the origin of the 1988 death year.

⁹ William (Wilhelm) Sterk was born 28 June 1880 in Budapest. He worked as an opera librettist in Vienna until he was transported to Terezin on 6 January 1943. At Terezin he worked on arranging opera librettos for performances at the camp and also gave lectures on history and writing opera librettos. He was transported from Terezin to Auschwitz on 9 October 1944; he did not survive.

¹⁰ Renée Gärtner-Geiringer was born on 9 March 1909 in Vienna. She was deported to Terezin in 1942 and became one of the most prolific pianists in the camp. She gave over thirty piano recitals, mostly of standard Classical and Romantic repertoire. She also had steady work as an accompanist. In October 1944, along with many of the other musicians from Terezin, Gärtner-Geiringer was deported to Auschwitz. She was sent directly to the gas chambers upon arrival.

Verlobung beder Laterne—the small, lovely one act play. There is a wide field for our operetta stage, which was brought to life by Wolfgang Lederer.

#3 Children's Choir Concert¹¹

R. Freudenfeld and his choir, whose achievements in Krása's *Brundibár* will not be forgotten, offered us Czech and Hebrew folk songs in different treatments this time (Gideon Klein, Adolf Schächter, Otakar Šín, J.B. Förster etc.).¹² Freudenfeld is a real pedagogue and a good musician; we are grateful to him, not only for the not-so-easy parts, cleanly studied and courageously chanted in 3-4 choirs, which the young as well as the older singers braved, but also for his loving employment with the Terezin children in general. As a whole it can be said that those edits moving in the middle position appropriate to the children's voices sounded best. The head register tones of soprano are always to be avoided. However, the little ones tolerated an intuitive polyphony very well, as many children's songs of different people were created as a round. A song set asks the children to sing slightly physiologically incorrectly, but not only ours but the Vienna Boys Choir—of course I cannot compare them with our hopeful children's choir.

The best praise of the critic is probably that he heard his own adaptations of Hebrew melodies in pristine playback.

¹¹ Schultz, 57.

¹² Rudolf Freudenfeld was born on 23 September 1921 in Prague. He was an educator by trade, and not a musician. However, upon his arrival in Terezin, he became involved with musical performances given by the children imprisoned in the camp. While working as one of the counselors in the children's homes, he conducted all performances of *Brundibár*. Composed by Hans Krása, *Brundibár* is a children's opera that tells the story of two orphans trying to buy milk for their sick mother. The opera became one of the most frequently performed pieces in Terezin; over fifty performances took place. After the war Freudenfeld changed his last name to Franěk and worked as a principal at a secondary school in Prague.

#4 Mozart Evening¹³

Is Mozart popular? Was he during his time? Many masterpieces owe their later popularity to a spiritual inflation process by which foreign contemporaries adjust the artistic needs of a big number of people. “The beauty of a piece of art emerges at the moment when the unproductive start to miss it” (Arnold Schoenberg).¹⁴ Thus Rafael’s Sistine Madonna hangs in every farmhouse parlor, Mona Lisa smiles on countless postcards and bad printings, Schubert’s noble melodic wealth becomes the “Dreimaderlhaus,” there croaks the lyre man in Verdi’s *Contilenen*—to recall only a few examples. Content wins over form, just as in the common sentimental misunderstanding of the Romantics, form had already been absorbed by the creativity of the master. The extent to which we misunderstand Mozart—leaning towards the side of the low-blooded Rococo—is proven, for instance, in E.T.A. Hoffman’s genius short novel *Don Juan*, or in tracks of Mahler’s Mozart tradition which could be found in Zemlinsky and Bruno Walter, or in Lert’s book *Mozart at the Theater*, where it is correctly learned that there is a figure similar to Shakespeare hidden in the petit-gallant wig-wearer, a demon ruled with the force of a genie which rays through almost all works, which shines in his [Hoffmann’s] letters and which finally emerges in whole pieces in the finale of the second act of *Don Giovanni*.¹⁵ The galant style is Mozart’s mask, like the breaches or the braid

¹³ Schultz, 58-60.

¹⁴ Arnold Schoenberg, *Theory of Harmony*, trans. Roy E. Carter (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), p. 325. Schoenberg’s text originally was published in Vienna in 1911; Carter’s English translation of the text is based on the third edition, published in 1922. The original quote reads: “Beauty exists only from that moment in which the unproductive begin to miss it.” It is highly likely that Ullmann studied Schoenberg’s text in his own musical studies; he may not have recalled the exact quote when writing this critique.

¹⁵ The Hoffmann work to which Ullmann refers here is a short story of Don Juan (*Don Juan. Eine fabelhafte Begebenheit, die sich mit einem reisenden Enthusiasten zugetragen*), which appears as part of a collection of short stories by Hoffmann: *Fantasiestücke in Callot’s Manier* (Bamberg: C.F. Kunz, 1814). Lert’s book is Ernst Josef Maria Lert’s *Mozart auf dem Theater* (Berlin: Schuster & Loeffler, 1921).

which he carries as a creature of his time—person called mask—but not as a genius and creator of future times. This view is strongly confirmed—also by Gustav Mahler and Ernst Lert—by the remarks of Goethe to Eckerman, “Mozart should have composed the ‘Faust,’” Goethe refusing the concept of “composing” for Mozart because there was “nothing baked together.”¹⁶ We admire the surface of Mozart's work, not its totality, proven by the flop of *Don Juan* in Vienna and also by the whole biographical picture of Mozart.

The G-minor Piano Quartet (July 1785) belongs to those works that remain young forever. Mozart himself judged, “It is the best I’ve written in my life.”¹⁷ The performance was impressive. It was played cleanly, distinguished, and by heart by Mrs. Juliette Aryáni.¹⁸ Paul Kling, Mr. Süssmann, and Mark, the latter two having long been proven forces in our chamber music, as well as Kling, are still a bit biased but honest.¹⁹ The

¹⁶ The remarks Ullmann refers to between Goethe and Eckermann appear in a book titled *Conversations of Goethe with Johan Peter Eckermann*, trans. John Oxenford (London: Da Capo, 1998). The original was written and published by Eckermann in three volumes between 1836 and 1838, and Margaret Fuller translated the first volume into English in 1838. In reference to Mozart and Faust, Goethe says in a conversation dated 12 February 1829: “The awful and repulsive passages that must occasionally occur are not in the style of the time. The music should be like that of *Don Juan* [Giovanni]. Mozart should have composed for ‘Faust.’ Meyerbeer would perhaps, be capable; but he would not touch anything of the kind, he is too much engaged with the Italian theaters” (p. 291).

¹⁷ Ullmann actually ascribes this quote to the wrong Mozart piece. Ullmann’s Mozart quote comes from a letter dated 10 April 1784 from Vienna; it was written to Leopold Mozart. In the letter, Mozart writes “I have written two grand concertos [No. 236] and also a quintet for hautboy, clarinet, corno, bassoon and pianoforte which was received with extraordinary applause [No. 452]. I consider it myself to be the best thing I ever wrote in my life.” This quote is from Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *The Letters of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1769-1791) Vol. II*, trans. Lady Wallace from the collection of Ludwig Nohl (London: Lomans, Green and Co., 1865).

¹⁸ Juliette Aryáni was born on 12 December 1912 in Brezno, Slovakia. She was a pianist and child prodigy who began performing at concert halls in Central Europe at age six. Before being deported to Terezin she studied piano in Bratislava and Vienna. Juliette Aryáni was deported from Terezin to Auschwitz in October 1944. She did not survive.

¹⁹ Paul (Pavel) Kling was born in Opava on 28 March 1928 and was a child violin prodigy. He studied in Brno and Vienna before graduating from the Academy of Musical Arts in Prague. Kling became one of the camp’s most sought after violinists and was picked by Viktor Ullmann to be a member of the ensemble that would accompany his opera *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*. Kling survived the war and worked as a professional. He died on 2 January 2005 in California (information taken from Karas, p. 182). Romuald (Romouald) Süssmann was a violist born 19 November 1914. He was deported to Terezin in 1941. While in Terezin he

Clarinet Trio had a hard time competing but managed successfully. Fritz Weiss is a very good clarinetist; it is amazing that his career in jazz did not ruin his tone.²⁰

The central piece was Juliette Aryáni's Sonata in F major. The artist plays—this as well as the above-mentioned pieces—with a rare and admirable precision rhythmically as in the absolute uniformity of the works' passages. She presided above the work with calm and purity in style. Here, an almost ascetic elimination of her own personality is driven up to a problematic level. This not only questions the technical side of their Leimer method, but that of all subjective interpretation from which the living pulse of the lecture flows. "The tempo must become completely different in the third, the fourth measure," wrote Gustav Mahler.²¹ The pedagogic cannot become mechanical, the metronome is a hint of the grand tempos, not a factor of the performance.

Juliette Aryáni transformed the modern concert grand piano into a clavichord—naturally since we copied the piano technique from the harpsichord, which would not have worked with the Leimar-Giesecking method. So it remains to ask whether Mozart composed for another instrument, thus requiring a more robust intonation.

played with several string quartets. He survived the war and moved to Norway. He died in the early 1990s (exact date unknown) in Bergen. Friedrich Mark (Freddy, Bedřich) was born on 9 January 1918 in Linz and was deported to Terezin from Prague on 28 April 1943. He was a cellist and played in several chamber music ensembles in Terezin before being deported to Auschwitz on 1 October 1944. He was deported from Auschwitz to Dachau and died there on 19 March 1945.

²⁰ Fritz Weiss was born on 28 September 1919 in Prague. Early on he became interested in jazz and was involved with the swing movement in Bohemia. He began playing trumpet as a teenager and eventually also played clarinet and saxophone. Before his deportation, he was involved with the Emil Ludvik Orchestra, which played Weiss's arrangements and compositions despite the Nazi laws against Jews being involved in cultural activities. After being deported to Terezin, Weiss still maintained contact with his former orchestra by smuggling arrangements to the group through a Czech guard; the orchestra played his arrangements and compositions, attributing the pieces to a fictitious Czech artist. While in Terezin, Weiss created his own jazz ensemble and continued arranging and composing music. He was eventually deported to Auschwitz, where he was sent to the gas chambers along with his father in September 1944.

²¹ The origins of this quote were unable to be found for this dissertation.

#5 Two Violin Evenings²²

It is saddening that our artwork is not spared of personal friction, which has brought whole branches of chamber music to a standstill. So we have not listened—for how long?—to more string quartets, which were once an essential and enjoyable part of our musical life. The inability to separate objectively artistic from uninteresting personal issues has already intervened repeatedly. And what often threatens the existence of even the best quartets so often under normal circumstances—I remember Rosé and Kolisch—is for us, because each trained musician is irreplaceable, like a catastrophe.²³ Quite different from the well-known *Quod licet Jovi*...²⁴

So now each type of rare chamber music is such a welcome treat for musicians as well as music lovers. Adolf Schächter's program consists of two beautiful concertos—Vivaldi and Mozart—and Beethoven's Sonata in A minor played as an encore—which would have been better between the two concertos. Adolf Schächter is a capable violinist, whom one is always happy to hear.²⁵ He shows his strength in the slow movements of the two concertos, particularly in the forward-looking melody and harmony and wonderful

²² Schultz, 61-63.

²³ Rosé refers to the string quartet of Arnold Rosé, a Viennese violin player. Begun in 1882, the quartet performed until 1938 and was known for playing the music of Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, and contemporary composers. Rosé spent the war in exile in the Netherlands and England and died in 1946. His daughter Alma became the head of the Auschwitz-Birkenau prisoner orchestra. The Kolisch Quartet was founded by Rudolf Kolisch in the early 1920s in Vienna. The quartet became known for their playing of Schoenberg's music, and the composer himself conducted the quartet several times. After the Nazis annexed Austria, the group relocated to Paris and eventually left to tour the United States. Once the United States entered the war the quartet remained there. Rudolf Kolisch died in Boston in 1978.

²⁴ "Quod licet Jovi" is the shortened text of the Latin phrase "Quod licet Jovi, non licet bovi." It means "What is permissible to Jove [Jupiter] is not permissible for an ox" and is an ancient Roman proverb that addresses the idea of double standards. In other words, what is permissible to one so high is not necessarily permissible to the lowly.

²⁵ Adolf Schächter, brother of conductor and fellow Terezin musician Rafael Schächter, was born in Breila, Romania on 20 January 1900. Along with his brother, he made a career as a musician in Prague before being deported to Terezin in 1942. While interred in the camp, Schächter played violin and arranged choral music. He was deported to Auschwitz in 1944 and did not survive the war (information taken from Ingo Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann 26 Kritiken Über Musikalische Veranstaltungen in Theresienstadt* [Neumünster: von Bockel, 2011], p. 141).

set of Vivaldi. The cadenzas in both concertos were excellently performed, in particular Ferdinand David's Mozart cadenzas, which are all glorious inventions. I imagine Schächter as conductor of an exquisite orchestra, Alice Herz-Sommer at the piano, which is really all that has to be said, not quite uninhibited, since you can just be better alone than in company...and she happens to be a true poet.²⁶

Works have a different influence on me—that of the “three big B's,” as Bülow, the master conductor said—who wanted to dedicate his life to Bach, Beethoven, and Brahms. It seemed to be a game we played as children—famous men on B—as it cannot be explained why Buxtehude, Berlioz, Bruckner are not included. But Karl Fröhlich chose a nice and great program, which included Bach's lighter and more playful A-major sonata as well as two other choices: Brahms's G-major sonata and Beethoven 7 in C minor. Fröhlich is a violinist of name and has without doubt an outstanding talent and is developing well.²⁷ Of course one cannot predict where his talent will lead him or what he will be deprived of. Anyway, he already has strong and beautiful features. He still seems a bit chilly, but the sound is warm, the technique is steady. He was accompanied by Ferencz Weiss, who is technically outstanding.²⁸ Beethoven was performed best. Brahms was far too slow in the first sentence; moreover, with two cool interpreters it did not sound like Brahms. Kalbeck said that he—I believe in Ischl—once observed a crazy person in the fields. He ran as if being chased, dragged his jacket behind him on the

²⁶ For more information on Alice Herz-Sommer, refer to Critique No. 11.

²⁷ Karel (Karl) Fröhlich was born on 30 November 1919 in Olomouc, Moravia. He studied at the Prague Conservatory before being deported to Terezin. After liberation, he became concertmaster for the Grand Opera in Prague. The Czech government then chose him to participate in an artist exchange program, which sent Fröhlich to study at the L'Ecole Normale in Paris. In 1948 Fröhlich came to the United States, where he continued to work as a musician until his death on 8 December 1994 in New York City.

²⁸ Ferencz Weiss (Weisz) was born on 8 February 1893 in Budapest. He was a professor at the Liszt Academy before moving to the Netherlands at the start of the war. In 1944 he was deported from Westerbork to Terezin, where he worked with the Freizeitgestaltung. He was deported to Auschwitz in September 1944 and did not survive the war.

ground, bellowing like a brutal bull, and Kalbeck recognized Master Johannes, with bloodshot eyes, the sweat running in streams over his exhausted face.²⁹ “Does he believe that I think of his wretched fiddle when the spirit speaks to me?” Beethoven once shouted to Schuppanzigh.³⁰ Yes, you have to play the way the spirits spoke to the masters. Otherwise, it is only a façade, like a photographic, gray reproduction of a wonderfully glowing painting in radiating colors.

²⁹ Max Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms*, volumes 1-8 (Vienna: Wiener Verlag, 1904-1914).

³⁰ This quote was supposedly written by Beethoven to Schuppanzigh after the latter complained about a difficult section of one of Beethoven's string quartets. Published Beethoven biographies, dissertations, published letters of Beethoven, and the Beethoven digital archive from Leipzig were all searched for the origin of this quote. The book *Beethoven, the Man, the Artist as Revealed in His Own Words*, ed. Friedrich Kerst, trans. Henry Krehbiel (New York: B.W. Huebsch, 1905) gives the only clue to the backstory of this quote. The following quote appears on page 25: “Does he believe that I think of a wretched fiddle when the spirit speaks to me?” (spoken by Beethoven to his friend, the admirable violinist Schuppanzigh, when the latter complained of the difficulty of a passage in one of his works). In the Preface of the book, the following appears: “In conclusion the compiler directs attention to the fact that in a few cases utterances which have been transmitted to us only in an indirect form have been altered to present them in a direct form, in as much as their contents seemed too valuable to omit simply because their production involved a trifling change in form.” This note in the preface seems to indicate that the alleged quote by Beethoven may have been passed down from oral history and that no documentation exists to verify it. The letter Beethoven wrote to Schuppanzigh and his quartet sending them the parts has been published in various sources; but no response from Schuppanzigh could be found, nor a letter where Beethoven says this quote. The quote in the preface of Krehbiel's translation, and the lack of evidence in Beethoven's published letters, leads me to the conclusion that this quote and its supposed source were added because it has been assumed as common musicological knowledge.

#6 Piano Trio³¹

Our new trio, Heinrich Taussig, violin, Paul Kohn, cello, and Wolfgang Lederer, piano, has satisfactorily introduced itself to all fans of good chamber music with Beethoven's Ghost Trio and Novak's op. 1.³² The young artists have a finite sense of style, technical maturity, and musical instinct; they are well in sync and disciplined, so they exaggerate the chamber tone a bit and are concerned to miss it. So we advise them to follow their healthy instincts and play without concern. Beethoven tolerates accents, intonation, rubato, and dynamics quite strongly; his musical personality requires them often. So no cuddling, no pale, gentle music!

The style, or the manner in which music is played, comprises the whole person. Like Beethoven played, Napoleon did, and Fichte philosophized... As much as Beethoven's op. 70, no. 1 was welcomed, the performance of Novak's op. 1 was unnecessary! Not that the show was not sound; it was vivid and lively. But the old Czech master would rightfully today deny this youthful folly. This debut is a graduate work, seemingly influenced by Brahms and Dvorak, with the exception of a very skilled scherzo. It shows a pubescent style in which everyone composed between the mid 80s and the World War... Brahms, however, burned two large boxes with his early works, which Robert Schumann had recommended warmly to his publisher... We hope to hear our piano trio again soon.

³¹ Schultz, 64.

³² Heinrich Taussig was born 20 October 1923. He was a violinist who was transported to Terezin on 4 December 1941. He was active in several string quartets at the camp. He was later deported from Terezin to Auschwitz on 28 September 1944; he did not survive. Paul (Pavel) Kohn was born 13 December 1920. Kohn was deported from Prague to Terezin on 30 November 1941. He played cello and trumpet and was active in chamber music and jazz groups in Terezin. He was deported from Terezin to Auschwitz on 28 September 1944 and did not survive. For information on Lederer, see Critique No. 2.

#7 Piano Evening Gideon Klein³³

The program deliberately avoids the sonata form and presents two Czech masters of the twentieth century at the beginning—a remarkable attempt, to use the freshness of the listener, instead of giving the “modern music” to tired nerves. Next, Gideon Klein puts Bach’s great organ toccata at the end of the program and shows the pianist that he can omit the cheap but brilliant apotheosis of his dexterity and still get the success he deserves. Bach and Suk are mystical people. If “genius” means to lead the struggle for existence against oneself rather than against others, the battle of genius against the demon, that’s what mystical means: to win the battle. In his book *The Art of the Fugue*, Dr. Erich Schwebsch shows that Bach’s last work is the key to the work of the greatest master of music.³⁴ Busoni interprets and forms our grand piano into an organ. Gideon Klein shows that he is quite up to the task and at the height of his skills. Josef Suk, the modern mystic, was represented by “Erlebtes und Erträumtes II.” This great composer rises stage to stage in his four symphonic works, from “Trauer des Stoffes” in “Asrael” to the plant-like flowering splendor of the sweet “Sommermärchen” to the harsh, masculine passion of his biographical “Lebensreife” and from here to his “Epilog.” The piano works also bear the unmistakable signature of this homo religious, one of the last after Gustav Mahler, in particular its harmonies, this peculiar and incomparably graceful sound.

If Brahms, who was represented by three interludes, is the great preserver of the classical form, Janáček belongs to that small group of masters who divulges it deliberately—Debussy, Webern, Hába. The future will show where this road leads, on the thematic development to metamorphosis, enhancement, implementation, etc. [So] no

³³ Schultz, 65-66.

³⁴ Eric Schwebsch, *Johann Sebastian Bach und die Kunst der Fuge* (Stuttgart: Orient-Occident Publishing, 1931).

classical record types are available in Leoš Janáček's "Sonata IX 1905." The later master of the Moravian peasant opera also does not deny his uniqueness. He is always personally strong, even in places where it is not needed. The first sentence—"The Idea"—is perhaps stronger than the second—"The Death"—with its faltering rhythms.

Gideon Klein is undoubtedly a very important talent. He presents the style of the cool, objective new youth; it is remarkable how early in life he became so sure of his style. The pioneers of 1770, former champions of *ars nova*, were part of the "Sturm und Drang" period. Our youth has strong, intelligent brains; hopefully they can also include their hearts as well as their heads.

#8 Musical Observations³⁵

“East European Jewish Sages,” liturgical chants, songs, and Chassidic folk songs brought art and were expertly presented with knowledge of art and content by Ada Schwartz-Klein and Mr. Goldring and Hermann.³⁶ Among the rhapsodic chanting of religious hymns, especially the duet with its melancholia was remarkable. If the arrhythmic, eastern vocal element dominated, the first kind showed the famous hymns by Levi Jizchak von Berdytschew and the influence of the rhythmic ballet, in particular in the famous “Dudale,” which is included in Vittorio Weinberg’s repertoire.³⁷ The norm in folk songs remains the western rhythmic symmetry. All of the serious as well as cheerful moods found a receptive and sympathetic audience. The latter was also dominated by minor keys, which is obviously connected with the pre-tonal keys. The arrangements often show Western character, but without harming the character of the folk culture.

The first chamber music at the Community House united a music-loving ensemble of Mr. Taussig, Kling, Süßman, Mark and Paul Kohn, and was joined by Karl Ančerl in the Sextet by Brahms, and who modestly hid behind the desk of the second viola.³⁸ But his conductor’s signature was still noticeable in the reproduction, and it surpassed the previous Schubert Quintet by a wide margin. Precision, clarity, tonal

³⁵ Schultz, 67-70.

³⁶ Ada (Adele) Schwartz-Klein was born 16 July 1895. She was a mezzo-soprano who sang with the New German Theater in Prague before being deported to Terezin on 8 July 1943. She survived the war and was liberated in Terezin. Jakob Goldring was born in the town of Mukačevo (in what is now Ukraine) on 7 May 1916. He trained as a cantor and sang at synagogues in Děčín and Prague before being transported to Terezin on 2 July 1942. At the camp he sang in various vocal recitals and concerts. He was deported from Terezin to Auschwitz on 16 October 1944 and then liberated in Friedland. He came to the United States in 1946 and served as a cantor at several synagogues in Chicago and Detroit before settling in Indianapolis, where he died on 11 May 1959. No information is available for Josef Hermann.

³⁷ Levi Jizchak von Berdytschew was an eighteenth-century Polish Hasidic rabbi who composed popular Hasidic religious folksongs. Vittorio Weinberg was an opera singer (baritone) who also held cantoral positions at synagogues in the United States and Israel.

³⁸ For information on Karl Ančerl, see footnote for Critique No. 14.

beauty, and purity of style are the sextet's characteristics. The Schubert Quintet succeeded less, but the impression improved from set to set.

Bernard Kaff courageously played a modern program.³⁹ Actually, the new music is feared only for their harmony's sake, because with very few exceptions indeed, the classical form was not abandoned. The abandonment of the tonal system, which is nature-given, is the same as leaving the faithful imitation of nature in painting. Paul Haas, however, does not continue this process; he actually reverses the new sound into a tonality, one could speak of a twelve-tone tonality.⁴⁰ The "Partita im alten Stil" observes the forms, or at least the basic phenomena of the suites. Haas's music is also here to affirm absolutely; it is playfully powerful, unenforced, coherent, transparent in the piano part, interesting, and graceful. My winner is the little Air, but I do not want to downplay the other pieces' quality. Whether the term "partita" should be applied to various pieces with unresolved tonality in the individual sets is a question in itself. In the partita, originally, all sets are connected by the same key. I would therefore have preferred the designation as a second suite.

Kaff played the partita with vigor and mastery. This time he had actually chosen an ascetic program. Janáček's "Im Nebel" remains at least for the pianist a thankless piece. It is a member of a small group which proudly refuses to accept the tradition of musical form. "The Deluge in front of me"—and they play music as if they would leave the Arc for the first time.

³⁹ Bernard Kaff was born in Brno on 14 May 1905. He was a pianist known for his interpretations of contemporary music. He was deported from Brno to Terezin on 5 December 1941. He was then deported from Terezin to Auschwitz on 16 October 1944; he did not survive.

⁴⁰ Paul (Pavel) Haas was born 21 June 1899 in Brno. A student of Leoš Janáček, Haas studied and composed in Brno until he was transported to Terezin on 2 December 1941. In Terezin he was one of the camp's most prolific composers, writing music for concerts, film, and stage plays. He was deported from Terezin to Auschwitz on 16 October 1944; Haas did not survive.

Also included here is Mussorgsky. Mostly self-taught geniuses, and some of them—Schönberg, Debussy—do the pilgrimage, the road to Canossa at a mature age and return to the classic closed form idea.⁴¹ “Im Nebel”—who is not reminded of the tone of Moravian peasants in Janaček’s opera? With unprecedented boldness it is transferred to the piano.

Mussorgsky, progenitor of Impressionism, was introduced by Kaff the piano master as the second opera composer, well compared to the first. Ravel’s instrumentation in the “Pictures at an Exhibition” was not missed because of Kaff’s playing, technically sublime, colorful, bizarre, and always necessary, never arbitrary shaping. Art comes from ability and yet need. Kaff does not need to be obstinate; he plays just like the composer would want it but still enchants and seems personal.

The lack of any polyphony in Mussorgsky’s cycle is noticeable. Despite the length, he does not get tired but works himself up to “Hut of Baba Yaga” and the glory of Kiev. Whether indeed the title could be dispensable is another question, because if the “program” is maliciously concealed, who wants to be transferred from the delicate rhythm of the dance piece to a “Ballet of the Chicks in their Eggshells” ...

⁴¹ The “pilgrimage to Canossa” is a European phrase meaning to do an act of penance or submission, often unwillingly. In German, the phrase is “nach Canossa gehen,” or “to go to Canossa.” The phrase comes from the Middle Ages, when Holy Roman Emperor Henry IV was excommunicated by Pope Gregory VII. In 1077 Henry traveled from Speyer (in present-day Germany) to Canossa Castle in Emilia Romana (present-day Italy). There Henry was forced to kneel at the gates of the castle for three days before the Pope allowed him to enter, whereupon Henry begged the Pope’s forgiveness for his transgressions, and his excommunication was revoked.

#9 Musical event (II)⁴²

Carlo Taube played his Romantic program.⁴³ Even if this means to carry coals to Newcastle,⁴⁴ there must be praise for Taube, who rarely plays and still—or especially because of it—chose especially beautiful works: Schumann's wonderful fantasy pieces, one of the manifestations of his [Schumann's] youthful genius and unfortunately too neglected, just as the League of David or Novelettes [are neglected], along with two interludes, the magnificent B-minor Rhapsody by Brahms—dedicated to his friend Herzogberg—last but not least, of course, a bouquet of Chopin. Carlo Taube would undoubtedly be one of the best pianists, if he had studied only the piano and music from the beginning. He was really born with hands made for the piano, and he has temperament for two (sometimes too much). But of course the piano is like a lover who does not tolerate a rival, and we add: to study old and new masters one must surrender to their own toughness and selflessness, otherwise only seen in science research, and use the very Brahmsian self-discipline which is the essence of the moral of any artist. Taube is now at a crossroads as once Heracles was—he has to decide [which way to go].

⁴² Schultz, 71-73.

⁴³ Carlo (Karel Zikmund) Taube was born 7 July 1897 in Galicia. A pianist and composer, he studied with Busoni in Vienna before moving to the Czech Republic. He played in nightclubs and coffeehouses in Brno and Prague until he was deported to Terezin on 10 December 1941. At Terezin he conducted several orchestras, including one that played at the coffeehouse in the town square. He also wrote the *Terezin Suite*, one of the well-known original pieces to come from the camp. Taube was deported to Auschwitz on 1 October 1944 and did not survive.

⁴⁴ This phrase, which appears originally as “Wenn dies bei uns auch Eulen nach Athen tragen heist...,” can be translated in two ways, both with the same meaning. The first is to translate it as is stated above, “to carry coals to Newcastle.” Newcastle upon Tyne, England, was the United Kingdom's first coal exporting location. To “carry coals to Newcastle” meant to do something pointless, as Newcastle already had plenty of coal and had no need of anyone bringing them more; this English version of the phrase originated in the Middle Ages. An equivalent phrase, which can also be used in the translation above, comes from Ancient Greece: “bringing owls to Athens.” The owl was the symbol of the city of Athens; it was also featured on the silver coins used as currency in the city. Athens mined its own silver and minted its own coins. Bringing an owl to Athens, in the form of the real bird or a silver owl coin, was pointless.

Dr. Karl Reiner and Karl Bermann provided a delightful and interesting experiment with a program of language and singing choirs.⁴⁵ One must confess that the vocal band was actually even more impressive. The school of avant-garde young Czechs is unmistakably recognizable, even in this case when the performers are children. The—so to speak melodramatic—effects in our beloved and big children—why deny it—who are still interested in tales of Božena Němcová etc. are amazing, and the children who spoke their choral and solo ensemble sets in proper counterpoint were quite charming. Also the performances of the new Berman's Girls' Choir—for the time being restricted to standard and two-part folk songs—were excellent and promised for the future much joy. The edits are from the hands of masters Dvořák and Novák (and some others). Berman is also a gifted conductor, but we recommend more control in his movements. So versatile is this artist and sympathetic—however, we do not plan to employ him as a dancer.

We thank him for the exquisite, perfect rehearsal of Mozart's *Bastein and Bastienne*, the first performance of opera scenes in Theresienstadt, along with directing. The beautiful pastoral has always been the playground of young singers and conductors; however, it is more than easy and light goods: we suspect the later Mozart only in the second half; everything else is the galant style of the time. We discovered a real theater among the singers—and singing talent: R. Fuchs.⁴⁶ You have to pay attention to her. Miss Tomková also performed very bravely and after overcoming some bias revealed a very

⁴⁵ For information on Karl (Karel) Bermann, see footnote in Critique No. 15. For information on Karl (Karel) Reiner, see footnote in Critique No. 1.

⁴⁶ Rita Fuchs (Fuchsová) was born 23 January 1923. She was deported from Prague to Terezin on 13 July 1942. At the camp she sang soprano in several opera productions. She was transported from Terezin to Auschwitz on 6 October 1944 and was later sent to Bergen-Belsen, where she died on 15 March 1945.

pretty voice.⁴⁷ Pollak needs a good singing teacher: he sings to himself, so to speak, and it's really too bad about his sonorous voice.⁴⁸

The string quartet, accompanied by Jochowitz, definitely needs a Contrabass—because how can you play bass?—and possibly also a second first violin.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Hana Tomková was born on 15 August 1916. She was deported from Prague to Terezin on 2 July 1942. She sang in several productions at the camp and was liberated in Terezin in 1945.

⁴⁸ Karel Pollack (Polák) was an amateur singer. He was born in Brno on 14 August 1918. He was deported from Brno to Terezin on 2 December 1941. He was sent from Terezin to Auschwitz on 28 September 1944. He died in Dachau on 23 February 1945. Some discrepancy exists as to whether Pollack died in Dachau or the Kaufering subcamp. Schultz lists Pollack's death place as Kaufering; the Památník Terezin prisoner database lists his death place as Dachau. Because the Terezin database also gives Pollack's prison number in Dachau, and Schultz gives no source for his statement that Pollack died in Kaufering, the Terezin database most likely has the correct information..

⁴⁹ Hans Jochowitz was a pianist and conductor who was born on 8 March 1920. He was deported from Prague to Terezin on 18 December 1942. Besides participating in cultural activities, Jochowitz also worked as a supervisor of one of the children's homes in Terezin. He was transported from Terezin to Auschwitz on 28 September 1944 and later died in Dachau-Kaufering in 1944.

#10 Musical Events (August 1944)⁵⁰

The summer months have rather increased the interest in musical events than diminished, and so the performances have become more frequent again.

The Smetana evening of Rafael Schächter's choir was enjoyed with an introducing of the happily inspired cantata "The Czech Song," which shows all the benefits of the master: the folk music roots which are continuously refreshed and full of melodic invention, just like Mozart's stylized signature—and already noticed by Hanslick—in symbiosis with neo-Romantic elements.⁵¹ Rafael Schächter provides us with an upbeat, lively, dynamic, rhythmically satisfying, and sculptural performance of this gracious work. Heinz alternately interpreted a good arrangement for two pianos.⁵² Of course not all women and men's choirs sounded as good as the mixed choir, but they too remained at considerable quality. Walter Windholz sang Smetana's "Evening Songs" with fine voice and sense of style.⁵³

A second, more ambitious choral evening was put together by Karl Fischer: Mendelssohn's *Elijah*.⁵⁴ Masses, operas, and oratorios are the three streams of European folk music, the child of the world in the middle between the Catholic and Protestant art

⁵⁰ Schultz, 74-76.

⁵¹ For information on Rafael Schächter see footnote for Critique No. 18.

⁵² Heinz Alt was born on 4 August 1922. He was deported from Moravian Ostrava to Terezin on 30 June 1943. In the camp he worked primarily as an educator in the children's homes, but also did some arrangements for piano and composing. He was transported from Terezin to Auschwitz on 28 September 1944 and from Auschwitz to the Dachau sub-camp of Kaufering on 6 January 1945. Alt died at Kaufering.

⁵³ Walter Windholz was born 1 September 1907. Prior to his deportation to Terezin he sang baritone with the Brno Opera. He was transported to Terezin from Klatovy on 26 November 1942. In Terezin he sang in recitals, operas, and oratorio performances. He also was cast as the Emperor in Viktor Ullmann's *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*. Windholz was deported from Terezin to Auschwitz on 16 October 1944 and did not survive.

⁵⁴ Karl (Karel) Fischer was a cantor and conductor born 14 March 1893. He was deported from Brno to Terezin on 2 December 1941. At the camp Fischer conducted the first concert of synagogue music. He also sang and conducted choirs, operas, and oratorios. Fischer was deported from Terezin to Auschwitz on 16 October 1944; he did not survive.

form. Mendelssohn, who struggled about the palm leaf with Schütz, Handel, and Bach—whom he has, so to speak, discovered—and with Beethoven, Haydn, and other great and greatest masters, is honored. There are more brilliant, but not more talented works by Felix Mendelssohn. The choruses are not always easy but always grateful and well set, often through beautiful polyphony and dramatic sweep of compaction. The phases of Elijah's life—drought, raising the dead, the war with the priests of Baal, persecution, wilderness, and ascension—often pass us in poignant tones. Karl Fischer's performance is of a high quality, the sonority of the about eighty-person choir is surprising. Some cuts of the very long work without omitting its most precious parts would have been recommended without injuring it. Mr. Windholz does great as he carries out the main part. Also distinguished is Ms. Borger's bell-clear voice next to the magnificent alto Mrs. Lindt and Gobets's bright, metallic tenor.⁵⁵ A pleasant solo contribution was made by Mrs. Kohn-Schlesskov.⁵⁶ Two upright pianos, which replaced the orchestra, were played by Karl Reiner—who also accompanied the Schächter choir and Mr. Berman—and Mrs. Bach-Fischer.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Truda (Gertrude) Borger was born 20 May 1903. She was deported to Terezin from Moravian Ostrava on 26 September 1942. She was transported from Terezin to Auschwitz on 10 January 1944. She was liberated at Mathausen in 1945. Hilda Aronson-Lindt (name is sometimes given as Lindt-Aronson, Aronson, or Aronsohn) was born 18 December 1899 in Arnstadt. She was deported from Berlin to Terezin on 18 March 1943. While at Terezin she sang in recitals and operas and was cast as the Drummer in Ullmann's *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*. She was liberated in Terezin and later moved to New York City. Machiel (Michael, Michel) Gobets was born 21 May 1905 in Amsterdam. Prior to being sent to Terezin he sang with the Royal Netherlands Opera. He was sent to Terezin from Westerbork on 20 January 1944. He was deported from Terezin to Auschwitz on 28 September 1944 and did not survive.

⁵⁶ No information is known on Frau Kohn-Schlesskov other than she sang in *Elijah* and *The Creation*.

⁵⁷ No information is known on Mrs. Bach-Fischer other than her being mentioned in this particular critique.

Ledeč and Alice Herz-Sommer played three of Beethoven's finest violin sonatas.⁵⁸ How Beethoven became detached from the idea in Opus 12 is shown gracefully by the Mannheim first set. The second set leads into the middle of his master time with its bold melodies and harmonies, which can be seen in his Spring Sonata. While Op. 96 spreads the shadow of his late period over the blinding light of youthful inspiration—the deaf Beethoven composes not vegetatively but meditatively. (Can we hear Mahler's Fischpredigt in the trio of the scherzo?) Egon Ledeč is more than an excellent “Bohemian musician,” very close to his instrument; he has a great sense of style in interpreting and also knows about the secrets of the violin like phrasing, bowing, slinking, finger works, etc. His beautiful, purified tone allows for a blessed presentation, and his musical instincts are remarkable. At his side Alice Herz-Sommer, who offered real, genuine Beethoven with her beautiful, elegant singing and her plastic thematic design with well-proportioned layout of the form, completed with agogic accents and dynamics at the piano.

Lastly, let's mention the new Ledeč-quartet (Ledeč, Kohn, Kraus, Dauber) that came up with a magically beautiful and excellently played Haydn and Sigmund Schul interessante, followed with a well-made (and well-known) Divertimento ebraico.⁵⁹ At last Borodin with his peppy but not always great quartet that sometimes sounds more like a

⁵⁸ Egon Ledeč was born 16 March 1889 in Kostelec nad Orlicí (Eastern Bohemia). After studying at the Prague Conservatory, he went on to play violin for the Czech Philharmonic Orchestra. After serving in the army and several positions in Slovakia, he returned to the Czech Philharmonic and became associate concertmaster in 1927. He was deported from Prague to Terezin on 10 December 1941 and was transported from Terezin to Auschwitz on 16 October 1944. Ledeč did not survive. For information on Alice Herz-Sommer, see Critique No. 11.

⁵⁹ For information on Paul (Pavel) Kohn see footnote in Critique No. 6. No information is available on Adolf Kraus. While several entries for Adolf Kraus appear in the Terezin database, it is unknown which one is this particular Adolf Kraus. Robert Dauber was a cellist who was born in Vienna on 27 August 1922. He was deported from Prague to Terezin on 8 September 1942. He was sent from Terezin to Auschwitz on 28 September 1944 and eventually died in Dachau on 24 March 1945.

boulevard than like a steppe. The new quartet maintained precise and beautiful sonority.
It is absolutely an addition for our chamber music.

#11 Piano recital Alice Herz-Sommer⁶⁰

She is friend of Beethoven's, Schumann's, and Chopin's music, and we thank her for many a delicious hour here and before in Theresienstadt. Alice Herz-Sommer at the piano means simple, clear, intense playing moments—often whole sets of true greatness and genuine congeniality with the Master.⁶¹ For her, reproducing means to recreate, identification with the work and its creator. Consequently, she puts her eminent technique and her considerable expertise in the service of the work; she is not one of those “piano devils,” whose virtuosity is an end in itself and selfish: she has more warmth than harshness, more sincerity than brio. Her playing has clarified and developed markedly in recent years, for this highly talented artist was once a virtuoso of temperament.

That being said, she could be the appointed interpreter of the Romantic, and she is. Truly gratifyingly she plays, for example, the indescribably beautiful final sentence of Schumann's C-major Opus 17 Fantasy, removed and floating suspendedly like Jean Paulisch's high Romanticism past the listener, and he forgets that the artist had slipped her timekeeping during the previous march scherzo. In this set, one cannot get by with speed alone; this so very musical interpreter, of course, noticed its problems and rhythmic monotony. Alice Herz-Sommer is very close to the simplicity of the “ineffective” work of Beethoven.⁶² In this sonata, Op. 10 No. 3, the closeness to Schubert's D-minor Largo is a

⁶⁰ Schultz, 77-78.

⁶¹ Alice Herz-Sommer (name also seen as Sommer-Hertz) was born on 26 November 1903 in Prague. After studying at the German Music Academy in Prague, she embarked on a career as a solo pianist. She was deported to Terezin in July 1943. She performed in chamber music concerts and solo piano recitals at the camp. Herz-Sommer was liberated in Terezin and resumed her solo career. In 1949 she moved to Israel and taught at the Music Academy in Jerusalem. In 1986 Herz-Sommer relocated to London, where she remained until her death at age 110 on 23 February 2014.

⁶² The “ineffective” work of Beethoven likely refers to a quote from E.T.A. Hoffmann's essay “Beethoven's Instrumental Music,” which is the fourth essay in his *Kreisleriana* collection. The full quote is as follows: “Many a so-called virtuoso condemns the Master's piano compositions, adding to the criticism ‘Difficult’, the reproach, ‘and most ineffective.’” (translation taken from Arthur Ware Locke,

[great] experience and probably the highlight of our artist. Mrs. Herz-Sommer played the attractively innocent “Czech Dances” by Smetana with its famous “Furiant” at the end of the concert. Here the Czech national soul has a rendezvous with Franz Liszt. We recommend her to emphasize less the late-Romantic center voices. Just recently it has become, mainly of modern composers, a habit to emphasize the main and center voices too much.

Finally, a word to our pianists. We applaud emulation, with which they show us the artists of Romanticism. But there is a large number of composers who deserve our attention not only because they are Jews, but also because they have talent and genius and are still not played in our world. To name a few: Mendelssohn, Carl Goldmark, Paul Lukas, Arnold Schönberg, Ernest Bloch, E.W. Korngold, Wilhelm Grosz, Erwin Schulhoff, Kurt Weill, Hanns Eisler, Carol Rathaus, Egon Wellesz, Ernst Toch, Paul Pisk—I could mention many more, while I refrain from Theresienstadt composers. And I think that all of them wrote interesting piano works.

“Beethoven’s Instrumental Music: Translated from E.T.A. Hoffmann’s *Kreisleriana* with Introductory Note,” *Musical Quarterly* 3 [1917]: pp 123-133). The essay is a revision of an article published by Hoffmann in *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* on 4 July 1810. The revised essay was first published in 1813 in *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* in Leipzig. The revised essay was later reprinted in *Fantasiestücke in Callot’s Manier*, which is where *Kreisleriana* and other essays were published in one collection for the first time.

#12 The Švenk Premiere⁶³

Our Theresienstadt Aristophanes unfortunately meets only rarely, although there would be enough material and talent and ingenuity to transform its annual premiums in monthly revues.⁶⁴ “Shake before use ” is not the medicine, but the patient; after one and a half hours of laughter it is quite impossible to raise any critical objections. And so it should be noticed that the new show “It’s One and the Same Thing”—or is it “You Can’t Do Everything”—which would be the corresponding translation of Czech titles?—is superior literarily or satirically to the previous show “Viva Vital,” which was musically stronger. It was therefore only natural that Švenk included some of the original musical numbers as extras.

Švenk is able, like Wedekind in “King Nicolo,” to show us the ancient acrobatic feat, to climb into one’s head. This can mean two things, namely irony or reverence. Here the first masterfully succeeded. The ironic self-knowledge brings forth comedy or satire, whose child is parody. Certainly Švenk’s revue is mostly parodic. But are not Nestroy’s “Tannhäuser” and “Judith” parodic too? In key scenes Švenk teaches the level of satire and thus true art, as he does in his musically excellent choir parodies, in the weekly sound film newsreel, in the parody of Terezin theater events, as for Camilla Rosenbaum’s magnificent dance parody. But one should not name names, since a “collective” plays,

⁶³ Schultz, 78-79.

⁶⁴ Karel Švenk was born in Prague on 17 March 1917. He was deported from Prague to Terezin on 24 November 1941. While at the camp he composed cabarets and also wrote the play *The Last Cyclist*, which was banned by the censure board in Terezin due to concerns over its subject matter. Švenk was transported from Terezin to Auschwitz on 1 October 1944. He died in 1945, though his exact location of death is debated. Ingo Schultz, in the appendix (p. 146) of his book of Ullmann transcriptions, claims that Švenk died on a death march to Meuschwitz, which is a sub-camp of Buchenwald. The Terezin Archives prisoner database has Švenk’s last known location as Buchenwald. The Terezin Music Foundation database claims Švenk died in Mauthausen. A website devoted to *The Last Cyclist* (thelastcyclist.com) interviewed survivors who were allegedly with Švenk in Meuschwitz, but those sources could not be verified. Because the Terezin Archives prisoner database has Švenk’s last known location as Buchenwald, it is likely that Švenk died in Buchenwald itself or one of its sub-camps.

dances, and sings—and so each of them received our thanks in the form of a symbolic golden tie pin. Wagner actually gave the composer of Nestroy's Tannhäuser parody one as a gift, because he brilliantly made fun of the Venusberg motives. "Of all the spirits who deny me the rogue burdens me least ..."⁶⁵

⁶⁵ This quote comes from lines 338-339 of Goethe's *Faust* (the original was published in several parts between 1790 and 1833). This particular quote has several possible translations. The original German reads: "Von allen Geistern, die verneinen, Ist mir der Schalk am wenigsten zur Last."

#13 Esther⁶⁶

The old Czech peasant game is only one sibling from a very large family. As for the “Esther” material, it must have been played at every carnival whether it was a fair or pilgrimage; Goethe does not use this material [Esther] in his “Carnival in Plundersweilen,” written in rhyming couplets. “Esther” belongs to the category of those pleasant plays that edited the biblical stories with an unspoilt nature and became true folk art. They were found and collected especially in the last years of the last century, such as by K.J. Schröber who collected peasant games from Oberufer Pressburg from top banks in Bratislava, or scattered pieces of Swabian peasantry. In “Esther” we find, as in the popular Adam and Eve plays, the Christmas plays, etc., a unique blend of biblical material and earthy folksiness, the respective “modern” farmers and dialect are inserted into the Bible and now deal very strangely and dramatically with all the necessary anachronisms.

Our performance in this sense is quite stylish, and if it does not always hit the right thing, it is meant in the right way. Director N. Frieds effectively directed the peasant works by bringing out the peasant humors, and he solved a staging problem with three static locations of the background for the biblical characters and actions, reserving the foreground for the peasant characters and actions.⁶⁷ The costumes are colorful and fun enough, appealing in particular in the Esther scenes. Dance and music add to the comfortable impression; the beautiful dances were choreographed by Camilla

⁶⁶ Schultz, 79-80.

⁶⁷ No information is available for N. Frieds.

Rosenbaum and Traute Gach, the music was supervised by Dr. Karl Reiner.⁶⁸ A special commendation is due to the very talented dancer B. Kunc.⁶⁹

K. Reiner's music is a surprise inasmuch as the sound of the old Czech folksongs appears to be so faithfully imitated and made that this copy deceives the listener completely, and he succumbs to the amiable fake. Reiner composed in the best old Bohemian way up to the primitive sound of his small instrumental group, and the farmhouse style was very realistically adapted.

At the scene the play was earthy, fresh, and humorous, played and sung, and we gladly turn a blind ear when one of the meritorious contributors sounds more peasant-like, as was originally intended.

⁶⁸ Camilla (Kamilla) Rosenbaum was born 28 August 1908 and worked as a professional dancer prior to being deported to Terezin. She came to Terezin from Prague on 22 February 1942. At Terezin she worked as a choreographer for many of the children's productions. She was deported from Terezin to Auschwitz on 23 October 1944. She survived the war, but her career after the war is unknown. Traute Amálie Gach (Gachová) was born 11 April 1919. She was deported from Brno to Terezin on 29 March 1942. She was transported from Terezin to Auschwitz on 4 October 1944; Gach did not survive. On Karl Reiner, see Critique No. 1.

⁶⁹ No information is available for B. Kunc other than her appearance in this critique.

#14 Concert of Ančerl Orchestra⁷⁰

Karl Ančerl is a conductor of format and considerable skill; that he's heroically welded together and educated this ensemble is a proof of his qualities, but also his superhuman patience.⁷¹ Ančerl's style of conducting reminds us of what Hermann Scherchen's and Talich's style has been; he is also a pioneer of new music, and so he creates a very beautiful and especially demanding premiere: Paul Haas's Study for String Orchestra.

A virtuosic, polyrhythmically interesting introduction leads to a skilful, energetic fugal exposition, whose distinctive theme with its hiatus proves to be memorable, as well as a sleek Fugato, followed by a lively folklorically tinted Scherzando; after some slow melodies in place for slow movement sets—we actually distinguish two motifs—follow a condensed reprise of the Fugato and a captivating, motoric coda as the finale. This study was developed out of the essence of the string orchestra, and it sounds good; it is less revolutionary than Haas's earlier works which he had written here. On the whole, it shows the hand of a musician who knows what he wants and what he is able to do. The performance of the orchestra—except for the lack of contrabasses—was quite satisfactory. Haas, Ančerl, and his orchestra were gratefully celebrated.

Suk's mediation on an old choral hymn has a new, unique, epic choral interpretation. It is a deeply serious, increasingly passionate ecstasy piece that lets all the

⁷⁰ Schultz, 81-82.

⁷¹ Karel Ančerl was born 11 April 1908 in Tučapy (Southern Bohemia). He studied conducting and composition at the Prague Conservatory and then worked as a conductor for the Liberated Theater and Czechoslovak Radio, both located in Prague. Ančerl was deported from Tábor to Terezin on 16 November 1942. At the camp he became one of its premier conductors. He was deported from Terezin to Auschwitz 16 October 1944. He survived the war and returned to Czechoslovak Radio. In 1969 he moved to Toronto and conducted the Toronto Symphony until his death on 3 July 1973.

forces of the string orchestra unfold, and it does not deny the characteristic harmony and melody of the great late-Romantic.

Antonin Dvořák's famous Serenade captured the hearts of listeners in a storm here as anywhere. It is a most genius piece of music, just as Dvořák is one of the few masters in general, who always has a never-ending abundance of plastic, brilliant ideas ... besides him, there is only the case of Bach, Mozart, and Schubert. The technically easier and well-sounding work will benefit our orchestra and was well played.

15 Song Recital Karl Bermann⁷²

The upright, courageous, and so all around talented artist, singer, composer, conductor Karl Bermann has been an apprentice until today—now he has delivered his masterpiece.⁷³ From the start we would like to thank him for the exemplary noble and distinguishly well chosen program, and it is our next duty to give our happy gratitude to Paul [Pavel] Haas for his beautiful gift: for his four songs after Chinese poetry, which premiered this evening.

Many may ask, why is there new music? Are there not enough old masterpieces to delight the music lover? But a secret law forces productive people to create; “in any case it must not rest,” the wonderful fabric of Western music development.⁷⁴ The generations to come also want their music, theirs and not ours. “The appeal to posterity arises from the pure, vivid feeling that there is something imperishable ... which will enjoy the applause of the majority” (Goethe).⁷⁵ Haas’s vivid and topical songs do not want to be missed but interpreted in everyday life as soon as you have heard them once. Only in this way shall new art gain acceptance in time. It is used for house music and presents essential joy just like a good book, and like everything that you work for. The gracious,

⁷² Schultz, 83-84.

⁷³ Karl Berman (Karel Bermann) was born 14 April 1919 in Neuhaus (in Czech the town is called Jindřichův Hradec) in the Czech Republic. He was deported from Prague to Terezin on 6 March 1943. While at the camp he sang in several operas and recitals; he was also cast as the character of Death in Ullmann’s *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*. He was deported from Terezin to Auschwitz on 28 September 1944. He was liberated in the Allach concentration camp. After the war, Berman studied voice and stage directing at the Prague Conservatory. He worked at several opera houses in both Opava and Pilsen. In 1953 he became a member of the National Theater in Prague. Berman continued his solo performing career and gave solo vocal recitals throughout Europe and Japan. He died in Prague on 29 October 1997.

⁷⁴ This quote comes from a poem by Goethe titled “Eins und Alles.” The line in German reads: “In keinem Falle darf es ruhn,” which can also be translated “But never, nowhere, can be rest.”

⁷⁵ This quote is taken from Goethe’s *Maxims and Reflections of Goethe*, which was originally published by MacMillan in 1892. A translation by Bailey Saunders was published by MacMillan in 1906. The original quote reads “The appeal to posterity springs from the pure, strong feeling of the existence of something imperishable; something that, even though it be not at once recognised, will in the end be gratified by finding the minority turn into a majority.”

cheerful second song of the Chinese cycle, which is repeated as a whole in the fourth and at the end, is a great success. The serious songs about longing to be home are impressive, natural, and still progressive inspirations. The first and third songs are connected by a clever play of four tones, which are distinguished as ostinato or cantus firmus in many metaphors. The Haas songs are stylistically too personal to belong to Janáček's school, as the physiognomy of the powerful old lion in the distance seems like sheets of lightening.

The harmonies are not expressionistic, although dominated by multiple sounds which subordinate to a latent tonal center. Bermann created this series very musically and with fine tact with its own tonal language and expressiveness. Rafael Schächter was the lovely and understanding interpreter at the piano.⁷⁶

As a prelude, we heard three magnificent Michelangelo-Lieder by Hugo Wolf; the third one belongs to the masterpieces of the composer's songs. Then followed Beethoven's rarely performed *Song Cycle to a Distant Beloved* (setting of Jeitteles), a highlight of the master and an anticipation of [the cycles of] Schubert. Finally the brilliant master Dvořák's "Gypsy Melodies 7" were elected winners.

Berman's voice is neither sensual nor glamorous nor particularly large, but it dominated as support and with taste and culture. The lower range sounds quite sonorous, the mezza voce middle layer is brilliant, the pitch is not yet aligned but capable of development. Above all, every sound is inspired by a musician's personality. Berman is a true artist with higher pretensions than external momentary successes.

Our final thank you to the initiator and great accompanist of this beautiful evening: Rafael Schächter.

⁷⁶ For information on Rafael Schächter, see Critique No. 18.

#16 La serva padrona⁷⁷

The commedia dell'arte, the clown comedy, is the ancestress of comic opera with her younger sister, the operetta. Originally, their images as "interludes" to fill the pauses between the acts of opera seria that had been switched, as well as Moliere's "Le malade imaginaire" in the Polichinelle [Pulcinella] scenes, until gradually the interludes emancipate themselves. (Hoffmannsthal - Strauss's Ariadne then can penetrate even the Commedia in the opera seria.)

Pergolesi's a great champion, but his opera buffa is not his masterpiece. The first act, but the first interlude, suffers from excessively long and respective arias that do not come out of a brittle four-four time. Only the second part of *Öperchens* solves mainly in the big bass aria and duet happy ending; here are premonitions of Mozart. The archetypes of the libretto are naturally Columbine, Pantalone, and Harlequin, also known as Brighella (Captain "whirlwind"), who is disguised as a mute person between the two singers.

Rafael Schächter's little work was brought out very satisfactorily with two talented singers, an excellent comedian, and a small string orchestra.⁷⁸ The harpsichord was noticed with pleasure Hans Krása. Mrs. Podolier for Serva is probably far too magnificent; the costume looks very pretty and graceful, and she skilfully plays, sings as well, although the bel-canto is better than the soubrette staccato.⁷⁹ A surprise is Mr. Borges, less convincing by the fullness of his voice than by a real bass buffo game.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Schultz, 85-86.

⁷⁸ For information on Rafael Schächter, see Critique No. 18.

⁷⁹ For information on Marion Podloier, see Critique No. 17.

⁸⁰ Bedřich Borges was born on 28 August 1909 in Prague. Before the war he studied economics and worked as a diplomat. In 1927 he began vocal studies at the Prague Conservatory. He also sang with the German Men's Choir in Prague. Borges was deported to Terezin on 4 December 1941. He participated in

Švenk, carrying the makings of a Grock in itself, provides a masterly performance, especially the unforgettable moment when he reveals himself in the panel on "his masters voice" against his will.⁸¹ Bermann's direction is alive, and he is a dignified enough musician to decide to fake blood in order to prove his worth as a director, also like the routine still missing.⁸² The costumes of architect Zelenka are all very colorful, pretty and funny.⁸³ About the solution of the problem scenes we dare not express an opinion and leave it to those more competent.

However, it is recommended to shorten the arias and revise the all-too frequent and unmotivated exits and appearances.

several musical performances and was cast as the Loudspeaker in Ullmann's *Der Kaiservon Atlantis*. Borges was sent to Auschwitz on 28 September 1944. He was liberated at the Blechhamer camp, which was part of the Auschwitz complex. Borges died in Prague on 7 October 1992.

⁸¹ For information on Karel Švenk, see Critique No. 12.

⁸² For information on Karel Bermann, see Critique No. 15.

⁸³ František Zelenka was born 8 June 1904 in Kutná Hora. Prior to the war he received his degree in architectural engineering and began working for the National Theater in Prague in 1926. He soon became one of the city's premiere set designers. Zelenka was deported to Terezín 13 July 1943 and worked in the FZG as a set designer. He was sent to Auschwitz on 19 October 1944 and did not survive. His mother, who survived in Terezín, held on to his set designs and later donated them to the National Museum in Prague.

#17 The Magic Flute⁸⁴

Schikaneder comes in the spring of 1791, and Mozart is ordered to write an opera for the Starhemberg Freihaus Theater in Vienna. He needs something that will bring in a full house, because it is threatened by competition from the Leopold Theater [Leopoldstädter]. Mozart has doubts: "If we have a mishap, I cannot be at fault because I have not yet composed a 'magic' opera."⁸⁵ Schikaneder to Mozart: "Dear Wolfgang! Meanwhile I send you your Pa-pa-pa back, which is quite alright to me, it will do..."⁸⁶ The performance premiered on 30 September 1791. After the overture stony silence. The composer Schenk, who listens in the orchestra pit, crawls back to the conductor's stand and kisses Mozart's hand ... the teacher of Beethoven pays homage to Mozart. The first act falls through; Mozart is dismayed and pale on the stage, and when there is the usual moderate success and final applause after the second act, he refuses to say thank you ... Two months and five days later, he is gone to a "better land." Schikaneder, who wants in ruthless fashion to create maximum "effect," binds two completely heterogeneous elements: the remains of ancient secret society rites and the pre-March, Bengalese

⁸⁴ Schultz, 87-90.

⁸⁵ The original letter comes from the private collection of Dr. Ludwig Nohl, which was published in 1880 in Leipzig under the title *Mozart nach den Schilderungen seine Zeitgenossen* (p. 375).

⁸⁶ This particular letter, currently housed at the Vienna State Library, has some controversy surrounding it. Egon Kormorzynski hypothesized that the letter may not be authentic due to a note attached to the letter from the Vienna State Library that states that the signature differs from another Schikaneder letter in their collection (Egon Kormorzynski, *Emanuel Schikaneder: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des deutschen Theaters* [Vienna: Doblinger, 1951], p.192). Peter Branscombe ("Die Zauberflöte: Textual and Interpretive Problems," *Proceedings of the Royal Music Association* 92 (1965-1966): 45-63.) stated that while he was not concerned about the signature, what made him question the letter was that Schikaneder addresses Mozart with his Christian name (Wolfgang) and uses the informal German "du" but signs the letter E. Schikaneder, which differs from his other letters to Mozart where he signs his Christian name. Hermann Abert (*W.A. Mozart*, 2nd edition [New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007]; first release by Breitkopf and Härtel in 1923) says that the letter has already been proven to be "spurious" (p. 1215). Finally, Kurt Honolka (*Papageno: Emanuel Schikaneder, Man of the Theater* [Portland: Amadeus Press, 1990]; originally published by Residenz Verlag in Salzburg, 1984) says that "Kormorzynski questions it because of Schikaneder's graphologically dubious signature, but Rommel and other Mozart experts accept it." (p. 139).

extravaganza with singing that Raimund later raises to the rank of high art. Mozart's naïve genius immediately finds the adequate musical expression; it also combines two contrasting elements. He is classical and popular at the same time. By seeming archaic, he is inspired by his admiration of Handel, whom he so very accurately knows from the edits that he himself did on several works of the great predecessor. One remembers it: the master examines the departure from the Italian style noted already in the Ouverture, then in the three-part vocal set, which shows an unheard of simplicity. In the absence of ornamentation and polyphony, at the prevailing central position in voice and orchestra, at the strange lack of bass ... this time it is not "too many notes," but the minimum. The childishness of the text, whose prose was replaced by one of Dr. Kamill Hofmann's tastefully executed dialogues and F. Lerner's discreet speaking, the suburbs of Vienna that correspond to that strange infantilism of this music, can be found in no other works of Mozart.⁸⁷ It reminds me of Paul Klee's paintings and drawings and characterizes almost all of Papageno's scenes. Here that sounds like an Austrian folk songs, the popular songs of those times. So Mozart transformed the ambiguity of the text, upgraded it to a joke, satire, irony, and above all to a deeper meaning.

We have heard and loved *The Magic Flute* from childhood. Some even still have Mahler's interpretation in the ear, others Richard Strauss, Schalk, Walter, Zemlinsky. We heard the foremost Mozart singers in the world, saw the stage settings of great artists and retained the memory of the sweet, delicate, incomparable sounds of the accompanying

⁸⁷ Dr. Kamill Hoffmann was born 31 October 1878 in Kolin. He was deported from Prague to Terezin on 24 April 1942. He was transported from Terezin to Auschwitz on 28 October 1944 and did not survive. Prior to the war he served as the cultural attaché to Berlin. Fritz (Bedřich) Lerner was an actor born 14 April 1906 in Olomouc. He was deported from Tabor to Terezin on 16 November 1942. He was transported from Terezin to Auschwitz on 28 September 1944 and died in Buchenwald on 8 March 1945. Lerner was a member of the cast that performed Viktor Ullmann's *Die Weise von Liebe und Tod des Cornets Christoph Rilke* (The Lay of the Love and Death of Cornet Christoph Rilke, which is the title of a short story by Rainer Maria Rilke).

orchestra. Can you, can you report critically of a performance that these memories behave as a second stage sample to a rehearsal? About a performance that not even the conductor is allowed to conduct—by the way why?—because he must accompany them on a more than questionable piano while his hands are full with the hazards and the difficult ensembles that need a conductor. And if he lets go of the piano to conduct, then we hear again only a fraction of the accompanying music. In short, I can not understand why the meritorious conductor Rafael Schächter does not put one of our excellent pianists to the piano, to first of all get your hands on the most important data: the conducting.⁸⁸

The Magic Flute is one of the most difficult and challenging operas in the world literature, it requires approximately ten soloists of the highest order and excellent additions to the mixed men's choir. These are conditions that remain impossible to meet in Theresienstadt. There were fully valid performances: Podolier, Fried, Windholz, and the three ladies Borger, Lindt, Fuchs — there were selfless, exquisite singers who sang lots which do not fall within their field in order to help out, such as Hecht and Grünfeld, who had to deal accordingly with the matter somewhat.⁸⁹ But there were also substitutes such as Heymann, who should have been chosen for a soprano role like Pollak, Singer,

⁸⁸ For information on Rafael Schächter, see Critique No. 18.

⁸⁹ Marion Podolier (Marion Hildegard Podolier, Hildegarda Podolierová) was a soprano born 21 February 1906. She was deported from Prague to Terezin on 12 September 1942. While at the camp she sang works of Ullmann's; she also sang in several operas and was a soloist for the Verdi Requiem performances. She survived the war and moved to London after liberation. J. Fried was a bass singer who was transported from Holland to Denmark and then to Terezin. No other information is known about him. For information on Walter Windholz, Trude (Gertrude) Borger, and Hilda Aronson-Lindt see Critique No. 10. For information on Rita Fuchs see Critique No. 9. Ada Chudes Hecht was born on 30 January 1896 in Zawichost, Poland. Prior to the war she sang as a coloratura soprano with the Vienna Folk Opera. She was deported to Terezin on 11 September 1943. Hecht was transported from Terezin to Auschwitz on 28 October 1944 and did not survive. David Grünfeld, a tenor, was born 12 March 1914. He studied voice in Prague before the war and was sent to Terezin on 12 December 1942. While at the camp he appeared in operas, was a solosit for Verdi's Requiem, and had been cast as the soldier for Ullmann's *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*. He was sent from Terezin to Auschwitz on 28 October 1944. He survived and was liberated at Litoměřice. He continued to perform as a recording artist and a cantor under the name of David Geron (Geran). He died in New York in 1961.

and the three boys ... yes, the three boys!⁹⁰ Hopefully, the brave, talented, small Mühlstein's voice will finally change before it has cut our ears entirely.⁹¹ The delightfully sweet songs of the three boys are not for the brittle voices of children; the protagonists of Krása's lovable *Brundibár* are not in *The Magic Flute*, for that was written for children's voices. They can maintain them, but this is impossible in *The Magic Flute*. The children sing with power, but they sing like machines, soulless and mechanical. How does this sound and speech mix with Pamina's warm, soulful tones; we shudder at the experience. Rafael Schächter has done a huge amount of work that is recognized without reservation. But—as long as Gustav Mahler sat in the province, he kept his vow: no performances of Mozart and Wagner! In addition, Schächter is not exactly a born Mozart conductor. Much of it is too hasty, it lacks the elasticity of tempo and presentation, it is still too much to hear parts that are drilled... For example, the piece with two armed men is a nearly perfectly measured, solemn piece that should well be taken slower by half; also the Priests' March lacks solemn calm, and the male choir as well as the children are pushed by the high vocal position.

It was unnecessary to show roles that are not on all the big-city stages. Thus, some might say that which is hereby summarized in this warning: even we can adapt our ways and means in the repertoire. Schächter has very good qualities, but too high ambitions for a provincial theater...and we are yet? But if we are a big-city theater, then I'm wrong and would not want to have said anything... So no competition with Milan's La

⁹⁰ No information is known about Heymann. Karel Pollak (Polák) was an amateur opera singer born 14 August 1918 in Brno. He was deported to Terezin on 12 December 1941. He was transported from Terezin to Auschwitz on 28 September 1944 and from Auschwitz to Dachau-Kaufering on 10 October 1944. He did not survive. No information is known about Alexander Singer other than his name and that he was a tenor.

⁹¹ No information is known about Mühlstein.

Scala and the Vienna State Opera, which must be hopeless from the outset. In contrast, we very well have the opportunity to increase our claims to artistic quality and for that to select works that we can perform quite properly occupied and can even adequately stage: Smetana's *The Kiss*, yes, and Nicolai's *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, Donizetti's *Don Pasquale*—a timeless choir masterpiece—Lortzing's *Poacher*, Gluck's *Der Betrogene Cadi*, Haydn's *Pharmacist*, Offenbach's *Brigands*, and Mozart's *Bastien and Bastienne*.

#18: A Delayed Critique on Verdi's "Requiem"⁹²

Bach, the Lutheran, wrote his "High Mass," Beethoven, the free spirit, his "Missa Solemnis" and Verdi, the master of opera, his "Requiem," and it is one of his most beautiful operas. Concerning that doubt, the old liturgical text finds here its metamorphosis in the theatrical, and that "Missa defunctorum" brings in this form more delight than understanding. What unspeakable glory of melodic invention, what an inexhaustible abundance of forms, ensemble sets, skillfully placed choirs at dramatically exciting moments, wisely distributed highlights—all this Verdi applied in so many operas and has developed to the highest mastery. The harmony of this late form shows clearly the change of style that is differently prepared from *Aida* to *Otello*. It in itself is similar to that ambivalent experience of congenial Richard Wagner — the miracle of regeneration of an old man, who after one of the first Italian performances of *Walküre* finds the words: "How small everything seems to me against this music I have written..."⁹³ To now relearn again in the last decade of his glorious life and his greatest, including the "Requiem"... still, he remains in the theater, remains true to himself. In this mixture of Baroque sensuality with late Romantic sweet melody and harmony, even death loses its terror, and who does not see the real theatrical gesture in "Rex tremendae majestatis." In willful inspiration, where all composers of the mass become mystical, he adds a graceful, cheerful fugue against all practices of the liturgy in the "Sanctus." Only toward the end of this magnificent work does the master find mystical tones..."Et lux perpetua luceat eis."

⁹² Schultz, 91-93.

⁹³ The origins of this quote are unknown. Wagner himself could not have said this quote; he died on 13 February 1883 in Venice, and the first performance of the Ring Cycle in Italy did not occur until April 1883.

Yesterday's performance was yet another reprise, and one should not say more about the technical aspects. In this case, however, it may seem right once again to emphasize Rafael Schächter, to whom Terezin musical life owes so much, whose stimulus gave and artistic actions have managed a performance of metropolitan level.⁹⁴ Through overcoming the technical designs at the beginning, Schächter captures the spirit of the work with economical but evocative gestures. The choir does not sing precisely to the page; however, they are dynamically perfect. The soloists are faithful to their conductor, especially in the high register—radiant soprano Podolier, the warm, velvety voice of Lindt-Aronson, the flourishing tenor Grünfeld, and the dark, beautiful, and profound bass Bermann.⁹⁵ Together they unite themselves to the overall effect of the bel canto singing, which thrilled the listeners. And who could write for human voices, if not Verdi? Why does everything sound glorious with Verdi, while with countless other masters the human voice does not sound beautiful but snaps like a fish on the dry beach—while syllabic chanting hacks the most beautiful melody...?

Gratefully we acknowledge the superb performance by Gideon Klein on piano and hope to hear on the opera stage Verdi's real legacy, the incomparable *Falstaff*, as the final wisdom in the master's last and most successful venture proclaims: "Everything is a joke on earth."⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Rafael Schächter was born in Braila, Romania on 27 May 1905. He studied conducting and composition in Brno and at the Prague Conservatory and also studied piano at the Master School. He made a name for himself as an accompanist and vocal coach, working at several opera venues and theater before being deported to Terezin on 30 November 1941. While in the camp he became one of the primary musicians of the FZG. He was deported from Terezin to Auschwitz on 16 October 1944 and did not survive.

⁹⁵ For information on Marion Podolier, see Ullmann critique #17. For information on Hilde Aronson-Lindt (Lindt-Aronson) see Ullmann critique #10. For information on David Grünfeld see Ullmann critique #17. For information on Karel Bermann see Ullmann critique #15.

⁹⁶ The original line, taken from the final fugue of *Falstaff*, reads "Tutto nel mondo é burla," which would more aptly translate to "Everything in the world is a joke." Ullmann's original German reads "Alles ist Spaß auf Erden."

#19 Bernhard Kaff plays Beethoven⁹⁷

If music really is a "higher wisdom than all philosophy and religion," as Beethoven once said, it would have to stand the test when it is interpreted in the spirit of its creator.⁹⁸ Here the two great antipodes meet, because even Goethe sees in art, "the revelation of secret natural laws, which would have remained hidden forever without it."⁹⁹ Music is a non-conceptual art, its mystery unraveled to the pulsating blood, the sentient, throbbing heart, not the pensive head. Nevertheless, one feels in the late style of the great masters of music—Bach, Bruckner, and Mahler—the need for conceptual interpretation. In many later works the mind breaks the mold as entelechy escaping the bodily joints. From the cracks of the music flow the sublime biographical spirit forms of the masters, their work outstanding... "The works are the ephemeral," says Gustav Mahler, "man is the permanent."¹⁰⁰ Yet there was never purer music as in this last sonata of Beethoven (op. 111), which is placed in the center of Kaff's program.¹⁰¹ In the first movement, which coincidentally is the main theme, the aspects of Schubert's unfortunate

⁹⁷ Schultz, 93-94.

⁹⁸ This quote of Beethoven's comes secondhand. Its only appearance occurs in a letter from Bettina von Arnim to Goethe on 28 May 1810. Bettina von Arnim published a collection of letters between herself and Goethe (which also included letters to Goethe's mother) in a collection titled *Goethe's Correspondance with a Child*. Originally published in German in 1835, von Arnim published her own English translation in 1837. Von Arnim quotes Beethoven: "He says himself 'I open my eyes, I cannot but sigh, for what I see is against my religion, and I am compelled to despise the world, which has no presentiment, that music is a higher revelation than all their wisdom and philosophy...' " (p 206). Von Arnim published her letters to Goethe in order to raise money for a memorial in his honor after his death. However, biographer George Henry Lewis (*Life of Goethe* [London: Smith, Elder & Company, 1864]) claims that the letters are full of inaccuracies (including the title itself: though von Arnim claims she was thirteen at the time of her first meeting with Goethe she was actually twenty-two). Lewis is of the opinion that von Arnim had a strong infatuation with Goethe and therefore embellished much of the published correspondence.

⁹⁹ Thomas Bailey Saunders, trans., *The Maxims and Reflections of Goethe* (London: Macmillan, 1906). The specific maxim of Goethe (Saunders, p 171 #481) states "The Beautiful is a manifestation of secret laws of nature, which, without its presence, would never have been revealed." Goethe's maxims are a collection of his quotes on art, music, philosophy, science, etc. that appeared in various journals towards the end of Goethe's life. They were first compiled into a cohesive volume under the title *Goethe's Sprüche in Prosa* (Berlin: G.v. Loeper, 1880).

¹⁰⁰ The source of this Mahler quote is unable to be found at this time.

¹⁰¹ For information on Bernhard Kaff, see Critique No. 8.

Atlas who must bear the weight of the world, grows up to the size of the task presented. Then he plays the angelic and immortal arietta, surpassing its incomparable spirituality... "I renounce in tones, circling, weaving, unprofound thanks and praise without officials, desireless I yield to the great breath..." (Stefan George).¹⁰² This could well be the motto of this set, and Kaff plays "a roar that can only be the holy voice."¹⁰³

This was preceded by an equally unpopular, but affectionately playful, cheerful little-performed sonata: the F-sharp major, Op. 78. This graceful, tight, bright work is in happy contrast to the last selected two-movement sonatas. If the previous work is without a finale, so this is without an Adagio. How unconventional is this sleek sonata, a letter to the "Immortal Beloved." The comparable piece has been proven to be a charming coincidence; the audience did not even notice that the conclusion of the Sonata had come, and there he sat, stirring no hands... (Later, someone asked me: "Why has Kaff omitted a sonata?") It was Beethoven and Kaff's greatest success.

With the Appassionata, a Rembrandt style passion between brightness and stormy dark passion — "poor Beethoven, for you there is no happiness ..." — the evening is closed.¹⁰⁴ Actually I would have preferred the chronological order, not from pedantry, but

¹⁰² The quote comes from a poem by Stefan George titled "Entrückung" (Enrapture), which comes from a collection of George's poems published in 1907 titled *Der siebente Ring* (The Seventh Ring). The text of this poem was used in Schoenberg's String Quartet No. 2. The original German of the poem reads "Ich löse mich in tönen, kreisend, webend, Ungründigen dank und unbenamten lobes. Dem grossen atem wunschlos mich ergebend." (Bryan R. Simms, *The Atonal Music of Arnold Schoenberg 1908-1923* [New York: Oxford University Press, 2000], p. 44). This line can be translated as "I lose myself in tones, circling, weaving, with unfathomable thanks and unnamed praise. Bereft of desire, I surrender myself to the great breath."

¹⁰³ This line also comes from the Stefan George poem mentioned in the footnote above. The original German of the poem reads "Ich bin ein dröhnen nur der heiligen stimme." This line is normally translated as "I am only an echo of the holy voice." However, the German word "dröhnen" means roar or boom, and therefore a more forceful sound than an echo.

¹⁰⁴ This quote comes from a letter written by Beethoven to his friend Baron von Gleichenstein (A.C. Kalischer, *Beethoven's Letters: A Critical Edition with Explanatory Notes vol. 1*, trans J.S. Shedlock [London: J.M. Dent, 1909], p. 135). Beethoven wrote the letter in the spring of 1808 and says, "So be it

because the Arietta angelica—as I call it—itsself already is an epilogue, and after it actually nothing can be tolerated further. Kaff is now at the height of his mature artistry. This one, however, has the instinctive feeling that he is still developing, and this is the most beautiful: that he is a learner of all champions...

"But this one has learned, and he will teach us..."¹⁰⁵

then, for thyself poor Beethoven, no happiness comes from without, thou must create everything from within..."

¹⁰⁵ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Faust*, trans. Walter Kaufmann (New York: Anchor Books, 1961), p. 503.

#20 Piano Trio – Gideon Klein, Paul Kling, Friedrich Mark¹⁰⁶

The strange fate of our chamber music associations has been meteor-like: they sparkle, show promise, and disappear. In each new case nothing is left but to hope this time it'll be different. And this time, it would be especially a shame if it remained at this promise and did not hold.

The new trio already leads by the choice of the best possible works. Beethoven's Opus 70, No. 2 is one of the rarely performed and therefore particularly rich and beautiful works. One notes that Beethoven is once again beset by Mozart's shadow — and then usually something so wonderful comes out of this, like the second movement, the Andante, of this trio. The Scherzo hears echoes of Schubert manifold, and the Finale is a virtuosic, concertant, peppy piece.

Brahms was represented by a likewise repeatedly interesting work (B-Major Trio, Op. 8). If you did not know that two movements, I and III, were subjected to later revising, you would have concluded that the Scherzo and Finale bear the physiognomy of the young Brahms — those first fruits which were found worthy by himself and Robert Schumann. The revised movements, in all their beauty, no longer have the freshness and fullness of the first group, so the implementation of the first set will almost academically act against the exposure that can resound those gentle, enthusiastic themes from Brahms's youth. The performance is remarkable for the exquisite rehearsal, led by Gideon Klein, who played even the difficult piano part with a spirited performance and robust sense of style. Paul Kling makes his debut on the violin with much success; he is

¹⁰⁶ Schultz, 95-96.

very talented and on his way.¹⁰⁷ And Frederich Mark has proven himself as an excellent chamber music player many times.¹⁰⁸ On occasion one wishes the two strings had a stronger, more undaunted presence. Here, as so often in the performances of our chamber music, falls a certain effeminacy of Classic-Romantic style on in the strings; in this case of Gideon Klein's playing this is even more noticeable. Apparently our young musicians who show such beautiful promise are not quite correct in terms of music from the "good-old times." They are imagining them as too idyllic and biedermeierisch ... We know the phenomenon — related to the antique Athenian style of Nietzsche, in *The Birth of Tragedy*, the phenomenon of effeminacy and the misunderstanding of older style elements of art. Because the supposed hardships of contemporary music cause some to anxiously recede—though we are partly trying to get used to it—one no more feels the hardships of the older masters. And yet there are seven sounds in Brahms, and in his Fourth Symphony the critic Hanslick confessed that the music brought him to despair, "as if two would fight ..." ¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ For information on Paul Klein see Critique No. 4.

¹⁰⁸ For information on Friedrich Mark see Critique No. 4.

¹⁰⁹ This anecdote about Brahms and Hanslick, and the subsequent quote of the latter, originally appeared in Max Kalbeck's biography of Brahms. Walter Frisch includes it in his book *Brahms: The Four Symphonies* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 115-16. The story goes that Brahms initially premiered his Fourth Symphony in October 1885 as a two-piano arrangement, played by Brahms himself and Ignatz Brüll. Eduard Hanslick turned pages for Brahms at this gathering. The quote is as follows: "After the wonderful Allegro... I expected that one of those present would at least break out in a loud 'Bravo'... Finally Brahms grumbled 'So let's go on!' and gave a sign to continue. Hanslick heaved a sigh and quickly exploded, as if he had to relieve his mind and yet feared speaking up too late: 'For the whole movement I had the feeling that I was being given a beating by 2 incredibly intelligent people.'"

#21 Piano Recital Renée Gärtner-Geiringer¹¹⁰

The musician who has to report almost every week on a pianist's personality is facing too heavy a task. Because if the technique of an artist reaches a certain height, it cannot be discussed at any time. One can henceforth only be asked the question of how far the field of identifications can be stretched, which constitute the essence of the reproductive artist: is he now an actor, conductor, or pianist.

Mrs. Gärtner-Geiringer, this versatile and excellent musician, features a virtuoso technique of the genuine Viennese School.¹¹¹ However, for her personalities, for her specific talent, for her musical predestination as it were, this time she has chosen not a particularly happy program. She is—if one may say so without being misunderstood—a harpsichordist. On this instrument her personal technique would have come to a very special effect. She has masterfully played Bach's "Italian Concerto." In the second movement, I recommend less pedal, in the Presto a moderation of the rapid time measure.

For Beethoven the resigned melancholic, for his heroic hardships, and his Hoffmanesque fantasy, its wild passion is to be the objective of the game, cool and smooth; just as many benefits exist for all preclassic, rococo, and modern, objective styles. But in Beethoven one must be able to encounter pain; it must hurt as much as he hurt his contemporaries. "Now the guy is ripe for the madhouse," calls C.M. Weber at the first hearing of the Seventh [Symphony].¹¹² And his colleague at the Vienna

¹¹⁰ Schultz, 97.

¹¹¹ For information on Renee Gärtner-Geiringer see Critique No. 2.

¹¹² Ullmann here uses another quote, which during his lifetime may have been considered musicological fact but in the modern era has been surrounded by controversy. The first documentation of this quote appears in Anton Felix Schindler's biography of Beethoven, published originally in 1840 under the title *Biographie von Ludwig van Beethoven*. In 1966, an English translation of Schindler's biography was published under the title *Beethoven As I Knew Him: A Biography by Anton Felix Schindler*, ed. Donald W. MacArdle, trans. Constance S. Jolly (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press). The English version

"Freimütigen" in 1806 writes as follows about the Leonore Overture No. 3: "The ugliest intersecting modulations follow each other in a really dreadful harmony, and a few small, insignificant ideas avoid even any appearance of grandeur, consummating in unpleasant numbing impressions...."¹¹³ That was Beethoven for the majority of his contemporaries. Now we play and hear him too often. There will come a day when Beethoven's music is for us only a template, only a phrase with no meaning. I warn in time. Our beautiful Beethoven!

This is of course only in general terms. Back to our artist. From rarely performed works we heard an exemplary playing of "Prelude, Chorale and Fugue" by César Franck, one of those strange un-French-like composers of France, who deny the famous "esprit" and are righteous and boring—one might even say righteously boring. Certainly he is one of the pioneers of French Impressionism. But the theme of this fugue has already been borrowed from Mozart, who borrowed from Bach, which he played around in *The Magic Flute* with the darkly splendid ancient chant of the two armed men.

The next program of Mrs. Gärtner-Geiringer will hopefully be a harpsichord program; then we can hear her at the height of her ability — her grand and admirable skill — and listen with her in her own highly personal sphere.

was re-released by General Publishing Company in Toronto with a foreward by Ruth W. MacArdle in 2011. The English translation of Schindler reads: "...Weber, after hearing our master's A major symphony, declared its composer ready for the madhouse. This evaluation, too, appeared in print and sooner or later it will turn up as others have." (MacArdle, p. 482). Schindler, who had an open disregard for Weber, was accused by critics of putting words in Weber's mouth. Schindler replied in a journal, *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung* (Sheets for Literary Entertainment, 1840) that "...perhaps Weber was not the author of those bitter criticisms of Beethoven's work." He claimed that he had received the information from Baron von Lennoy, a Viennese composer and writer, who had received the information from friends of Beethoven. No documentation of Weber's includes this quote.

¹¹³ A print version of this quote cannot be found.

#22 Song Recital Fritz Königsgarten¹¹⁴

It is strange that Fritz Königsgarten has not yet discovered his voice.¹¹⁵ It is like gold ore in a shaft: if he forgets the rehearsed mezza voce and can make a natural tone sound, as in the peak of Schubert's "Doppelgänger," the true voice of Fritz Königsgarten penetrates with painful violence, to the surprise of the listener — it's one of those rare metallic notes of the Italian hero. Some years of bel canto studies in Italy and he could sing Radames and Otello.

Today, he offers only half of his voice. He strives to succeed singing Schubert's songs and Mendelssohn's beautiful, simple melodies. On one he succeeds, on one less so, but you feel this is not the place of the singer Königsgarten. His mezza voce is shaded, busy, and you have to wonder, especially when one hears some of those magnificent random tones and has discovered his true voice and character: why does he not sing as it is happening, why does he not use his voice, which always comes when he forgets to control himself? Why does he suppress himself aesthetically, when he has been trained with a healthy natural gift, and why does he strive to sing little songs, since he certainly is an aria singer, even a slightly-dramatic tenor? And one is left with the wish that the singer comes into himself and his truly beautiful voice.

Franz Eugen Klein should not be forgotten as a discreet accompanist.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ Schultz, 98.

¹¹⁵ Fritz (Bedřich) Königsgarten was born 13 May 1898. He was deported to Terezin 2 December 1941 and later sent to Auschwitz on 19 October 1944. He did not survive.

¹¹⁶ Franz Eugen Klein was born 29 April 1912. Before the war he worked as a composer and music director of Viennese cabarets. After 1938, he conducted the orchestra for the Vienna Jewish Cultural Association. He was sent to Terezin on 10 October 1942 and deported to Auschwitz 16 October 1944. He did not survive.

#23 Piano Recital Edith Steiner-Kraus¹¹⁷

"Well, you've probably dreamed of goblins or dragons! This went over stock and block!" calls Zelter jokingly to the twelve-year-old boy Felix Mendelssohn, who has just improvised on a given theme from his teacher he wrote 8 November 1821 in Weimar.¹¹⁸ It is that memorable evening that Rellstab described which led Goethe, 72, to prophesize the great future of the gifted child. "He spoke to me with a rich, warm faithful belief" (Rellstab).¹¹⁹ Then Felix had to play every afternoon for him [Goethe], and every time he gets a kiss from Goethe. The magnificent E-major Sonata, op. 6 that Edith Steiner-Kraus gifted us with may come from this time or not much later.¹²⁰ It bubbles little by little with glory out of itself; it is in the form, invention, style, and set of incomprehensible maturity.

What Rellstab praises in Mendelssohn's playing is the lightness of hand, security, rounding, and clarity of the passages, fire and imagination—these are properties that can also apply to the interpreter, Edith Steiner-Kraus. One can hardly think of a better performance of this sonata by the young Mendelssohn.

¹¹⁷ Schultz, 99-100.

¹¹⁸ This anecdote originally appears in the autobiography of Ludwig Rellstab: *Auf Meinem Leben* (Berlin: Verlag Guttenlag, 1861), p. 141. Rellstab relates an evening spent at Goethe's home, where Goethe says the purpose of the evening is to test the skills of young Felix Mendelssohn. Mendelssohn's teacher, Karl Zelter, is present and plays for Mendelssohn a piece he wrote himself. Mendelssohn took the piece, played it back perfectly, and proceeded to improvise furiously. Rellstab quotes Zelter as saying: "Na, du wohl vom Kobold oder Drachen geträumt? Das ging ja über Stock und Block!" The quote translates to "Well, you probably dreamed of goblins and dragons? This went over stock and block!"

¹¹⁹ This quote also comes from Rellstab's *Auf Meinem Leben*, as Ullmann himself indicates. The quote appears as follows: "Er sprach mit vollem, warmem Glauben davon zu mir" (p. 148). This translates to "He spoke with a rich, warm, faithful belief."

¹²⁰ Edith Steiner-Kraus was born 16 May 1913 in Vienna. When she was a young girl her father's business required the family to move from Vienna to Karlsbad. After playing piano for Alma Mahler, the composer's wife recommended her as a student to Arthur Schnabel. Steiner-Kraus moved to Berlin to study with him and also attended the State School for Music in Berlin. She had a career as a concert pianist before being deported to Terezin on 10 August 1942. At the camp she became one of the most sought-after pianists and accompanists and was a particular favorite of Ullmann, who asked her to premiere his Piano Sonata No. 6 in the camp. Steiner-Kraus survived the war and moved to Israel after liberation. Beginning in 1951 she taught at the Tel Aviv Music Academy and continued to have an active life as a performer. In 1983 she recorded several of Ullmann's piano sonatas and worked to have his music recognized in the canon. Edith Steiner-Kraus died in Jerusalem on 2 September 2013 at the age of 100.

The prelude of the original program consisted of three sonatas of the young Scarlatti, to whom we owe ultimate form suggestions for the classic first movement of the sonata. Of the three the expectant first sonata is here ... lovable and sometimes brittle early Rococo piano style. The third sonata is particularly interesting and imaginative. I would want a little moderated nuance in time, since it is known to the harpsichord virtuoso that such tempos of today were not executable. For this celebration our modern concert grand is a triumph of beauty of sound — with the exception of Mendelssohn, but in the ensuing pieces of more recent masters. Of course, Suk's "Spring" is still not quite Suk ... the dangerous influence of Liszt is felt; there are May breezes and Love's whisper only in the fourth piece, the omens are three stars in the title: the lion's claw leaves a paw track, for which we are grateful as foreshadowing of the brilliant "Asrael." The polychromatic harmony of the French Impressionists is suitably given to linearity — in a thematic development or imitative style —and is able to offer a replacement, if not a personally powerful character behind it. This is proven in Ravel's Sonatina. The piece is more the waste of Debussy than Ravel's ideas, except the Minuet. Of course, even that is not yet the mature master Ravel, the master of *Gaspar de la nuit*, *Les sortilèges*, *L'Heure espagnole*, *La Valse*, etc. But even on these works Arnold Schönberg was in a circle of musicians and gave his judgment: "Ravel has preludes always, but is there nothing else...?"¹²¹

¹²¹ This quote by Schönberg does not appear in any of his written books or correspondence. Since Ullmann says that the quote was given to a "circle of musicians," it is likely that Ullmann heard Schönberg say the quote in person.

#24 Chopin Etudes played by Alice Herz-Sommer¹²²

George Sand once said of Chopin's oeuvre: “He closes himself in his room, plays, writes, crosses out, runs up and down, starts again, rejects again—always a repeated process, an often desperate struggle with the musical thoughts that does not always let Chopin be the winner; often he tears up the manuscript, to start over the next morning.”¹²³ Thus originated an often disproportionate incongruity between substance and attribute in a dazzling world of sound between bright and melancholic in classical eyes. Simple, melodic ideas have matured to rich ornaments which almost crush him — unthinkable for Mozart, hardly to be found in Schumann, whose piano is balanced between melody and harmonic ornaments. Nevertheless — or because of it — Chopin remains the favorite of pianists and the broader mass of music lovers. Those pianists who present their whole virtuoso craftsmanship, those who enjoy the glittering surface of the arabesque, the capricious and bravura ornaments, conquer ideas that are often primitive and wonderful. So Chopin is probably the opposite of the old and the new objectivity. His fantastic, irritable, morbid nature, his restless French-Polish blood, his feminine nature, not least his virtuoso career—all this determines the style and the fate of these much loved, much maligned works. Mazurkas, Polonaises, Etudes, Waltzes, Ballads, Preludes, etc. — what a playground of pianistic ambitions! It is no wonder that our artists vie to shine with Frédéric Chopin's works.

¹²² Schultz, 101-102.

¹²³ The quote is taken from the autobiography of George Sand, whose title in French is *Historie de ma vie*. An English translation appeared in 1991: George, Sand, *Story of My Life: The Autobiography of George Sand*, ed. Thelma Jurgrau, Group Translation (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991). The exact quote is as follows: “He would shut himself up in his room for days at a time, weeping, pacing, breaking his pens, repeating and changing a single measure a hundred times, writing it and effacing it with equal frequency, and beginning again the next day with a meticulous and desperate perseverance. He would spend six weeks on one page, only to end up writing it just as he had traced it in his first outpouring” (p. 1109).

All 24 Etudes in one evening was a physical, but also an aesthetic venture. They are afterall etudes, or study pieces, determined for the formation of Romantic piano technique. That they, like Debussy's Etudes, are also performance pieces is correct. But due to the fact they have no authority, there is no purpose in performing them on one night as if they were a coherent work of art in relationship with each other. The individual study pieces are unrelated to each other. To the attentive observer one can specify the change to the original order: one can play two, three, six, twelve, or Chopin's etude series in a row forwards or backwards. A connection does not result. Monotony is inevitable in even the most skillful arrangement. Then there is the unspeakable technical difficulty, which calls for a physical tension, yes a power surge, whose consequences are unfortunately manifested in both A-flat major Etudes.

So phenomenal were certain etudes played by Alice Herz-Sommer, this great little artist and rightly admired pianist—I'm thinking of the two Etudes in C minor, the E-flat minor, the C-sharp minor to arbitrarily single some out—that this program is not rejected as a whole.¹²⁴ She played Lamond and Beethoven some evenings, but there are just no Beethoven etudes, and Chopin's etudes are and will remain—despite the enthusiastic and therefore jazzy E Major, Alice Herz gave them all their delicate, original magic again—what their name says: Etudes, namely pianistic study.

¹²⁴ For information on Alice Herz-Sommer, see Critique No. 11.

#25 “The Creation” by Haydn¹²⁵

It is the nature of our time and of our experiences that we gain distance from the delusion of the nineteenth century and thus also to some of our grandparents’ inviolable cultural goods. So it is true that Joseph Haydn today is a wrongly neglected genius master—for his 120 symphonies and his operas are forgotten—so true that his *Creation* is a far overrated work. Think of Michelangelo's ceiling painting in the Sistine Chapel painted by Watteau or Fragonard, and there is Haydn’s *The Creation*. This music has, with few exceptions, about as much to do with Genesis, its sublime images and symbols, its majesty and mystery, as the Cheops-Pyramid does with a cute rococo house. It is understood that Haydn pours over the mostly very silly, shepherd-like and idyllic loveliness of the text a wealth of well-formed and beautiful melodies of his mind. Nevertheless, he achieved the highlights just where it is Gothic, that is, polyphonic, particularly in the two double fugues "Glory to His Name Forever" and in the final fugue, "The Lord is Great.”

The choirs were in fact the best and the purest joy of our Terezín performance. Merit goes to Karl Fischer, who is an excellent choirmaster and who has his fresh and enthusiastic youth singing choir firmly in hand.¹²⁶ The soloists did their best to advance Mrs. Kohn-Schlesskov, who is noticeable as the best oratorio singer, and her fine, beautiful coloratura came to bear in the aria "On Mighty Wings.”¹²⁷ Mr. Goldring made his debut as an oratorio singer and has amazingly quickly found his style; a pliant tenor offers him all the advantages, and the aria "In Native Worth and Honor Clad" succeeded

¹²⁵ Schultz, 103.

¹²⁶ For information on Karl Fischer, see Critique No. 10.

¹²⁷ For information on Mrs. Kohn-Schlesskov, see Critique No. 10.

excellently.¹²⁸ Mr. K. Freund does not need a vocal coach for his beautiful material; he showed himself ready to the whole of his heavy task.¹²⁹ Mrs. Gärtner-Geiringer does not let us miss the lack of orchestral accompaniment.¹³⁰ Finally, a text revision is suggested, to edit the all too embarrassing passages of the libretto. (There should be Bible protection!) Some samples: "He also made the stars ...," "And the angels struck their immortal harps ...," "Most beautiful appear the gently sloping hills"... In general, everything is right there already, the Lion "cheerful, roaring stands," the cattle stand "in herds," and to the bosom of Adam, only just created from his rib, "a woman fair and graceful spouse." Behold, there was a lady in crinoline and powder wig...

Eritis sicut deus ex machina...¹³¹

¹²⁸ For information on Jakob Goldring, see Critique No. 8.

¹²⁹ No information is available for K. Freund. Several Karl/Karel Freunds appear in the Terezin Memorial database, but there is no information to specify which K. Freund this may be.

¹³⁰ For information on Renee Gärtner-Geiringer, see Critique No. 2.

¹³¹ A well-known Greek and Latin saying that means "You will be like god from a machine." In terms of performance history, a *deus ex machina* was a plot device in Greek and Roman theater to denote that the plot would be resolved by a god coming on stage by way of a crane. Today, the phrase refers to something that appears unexpectedly but is an artificial solution to a problem unable to be solved.

#26 Carmen¹³²

If Nietzsche enthusiastically threw Bizet to the chest to pit him against Wagner—whom he saw next to Schopenhauer as the most powerful educator of European humanity—so we can say from a reasonable distance: Wagner had come to make *Carmen* questionable.¹³³

That is the mission of all these great destroyers, the rebels and futurists, the decadent and independent: to make tabula rasa. Nothing seems to be as important to the world spirit as the overcoming of inertia, the law of inertia. The road goes via the indignant uprising of mediocrity — it's just one way and not a swamp. "Tradition is slovenliness" (Mahler).¹³⁴ Also Bizet serves unconsciously, developing less skillfully in his most amiable as an awesome inspired musician, as in the quite revolutionary idea of this first naturalistic textbook that proceeded to inform the Verismo movement by decades. Lulu enters the opera stage in place of Euridice, Alkestes and Leonora, and so primitive rightly hewn from Mérimée's brilliant novella—his only thought is that the love of gypsies comes ... so it is in conjunction with the music but an important stage for a time to come. Today as in past ages, we feel the air of decadence, already "pale in the darkness of the face," and there are those of Baudelaire and Verlaine, Toulouse-Lautrec

¹³² Schultz, 104-106.

¹³³ Here Ullmann refers to Nietzsche's book *Der Fall Wagner*, in English sometimes referred to as "The Case of Wagner," which was published in 1888. Nietzsche, who was once one of Wagner's most fervent supporters, compares him to Bizet and claims that Wagner's music now has no philosophical meaning and feels that Wagner's music is one part of a change and problem in European thinking.

¹³⁴ An explanation of this quote is given by Alma Mahler in her book *Gustav Mahler: Memories and Letters*, trans. Basil Creighton (New York: Viking Press, 1946), p. 105. Alma Mahler gives the following account of this quote: "It was Mahler's wish to hand down his own interpretations as tradition. His notorious saying 'Tradition is laziness' was meant in quite another sense. When anyone pointed out to him that he took a passage in some opera otherwise than was accepted as tradition, he said 'That is how I hear it. What is called tradition is usually an excuse for slovenliness.'"

and Van Gogh, Matisse and Debussy.¹³⁵ The outer gesture of this music is indeed reactionary — well, they came to what was then French anyway and Spanish before, the Spaniards again too French—it is the music of the limbs, meaning music that best lies in the rhythmic and in this case we are necessarily secretive of the delicious and sparkling clean score.

The singing of our performance is laudable. Grab-Kermayr, Gobets, und Windholz offered magnificent voices and spirited performances.¹³⁶ The firm studied ensemble numbers stand out, among the smugglers particularly Karl Fischer and Pollak with the ladies Borger and Lindt.¹³⁷ Mrs. Hecht, the always-ready artist, now sings it all really Soprano-like and admirably in her versatility.¹³⁸ The choirs are always so hard, as before, and all well studied in precision, but they sounded a bit tedious and not always pleasant.

On the whole, the idea is a significant achievement of the gifted conductor F.E. Klein.¹³⁹ The problem is only the production. If it is done halfway, so can it be done all the way. If the matter is a staged rehearsal, you cannot come to a high level of enjoyment especially when one is so reminiscent of Fritta's peppy cartoons ... but then again I'm missing Escamillo's umbrella.

The highlight of our performance is undoubtedly the third act in which indeed Bizet has pursed the dramatic knot with a master's hand. Here Frasquita and Mercedes

¹³⁵ This quote comes from Stefan George's "Entrückung." The line reads "Mir blassen durch das dunkel die gesichter...", which translates to "I blow through the dark, the pale faces..."

¹³⁶ For information on Hedda Grab-Kernmayr, see Critique No. 1. For information on Machiel Gobets and Walter Windholz, see Critique No. 10.

¹³⁷ For information on Karel Polak (Pollak), see Critique No. 17. For information on Karl Fischer, Truda Borger, and Hilda Aronson-Lindt, see Critique No. 10.

¹³⁸ For information on Ada Chudes Hecht, see Critique No. 17.

¹³⁹ For information on Franz Eugen Klein, see Critique No. 22.

sing (Borger and Lindt) their provocative duet, here Micaela (Hecht) can hear their beautifully sung aria, here unfolds the voluminous and lush voices of Hedda Grab and Mr. Gobets, here even the choruses sing to a satisfactory level of sonority.

APPENDIX III

Dates of Performances in Terezin

The following list includes dates for performances that took place in Terezin. These include dates for FZG and non-FZG performances (including performances in the children's homes and performances included at festivals). The sources used to compile this list are as follows: Philip Manes, *As if it were Life: A WWII Diary from the Theresienstadt Ghetto*, ed. Ben Barkow and Klaus Leist, trans. Janet Foster, Ben Barkow, and Klaus Leist (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), excerpts from the diary of Ruth Brösslerová (taken from the Terezin Memorial Archives), excerpts from the diary of Willy Mahler (taken from the Terezin Memorial Archives), Gonda Redlich, *The Terezin Diary of Gonda Redlich*, ed. Saul Friedman (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1999), *Viktor Ullmann: 26 Kritiken über Musikalische Veranstaltungen in Theresienstadt*, ed. Ingo Schultz (Hamburg: Bockel, 1993; reprint, Neumünster: Bockel, 2011), Pavel Weiner, *A Boy in Terezin* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2012), and Joža Karas, *Music in Terezín 1941-1945* 2nd ed. (Hillsdale: Pendragon, 2009).

In some cases, only a month or a season (plus a year) is given as an indication of when a performance occurred. Karas's book does contain one program from the FZG that lists a week of performances from 14 February 1944 through 20 February 1944.¹⁴⁰ While many posters exist that advertised performances in Terezin and were posted on bulletin boards in the main square, these posters do not list dates for the performances. The Ullmann critiques published in Schultz's book sometimes include months or seasons, but for the most part the dates associated with the performances Ullmann reviewed come

¹⁴⁰ Karas, p. 122.

from information Schultz researched at the Terezin Memorial Archives. In the cases of performances mentioned in the diaries listed above, in some instances it is simply mentioned that a cabaret or a recital took place, and no other details are given. These performances are included in the following list without descriptions.

Performances 1941

6 December: Variety show (first documented performance in Terezin)¹⁴¹

Performances 1942

21 February: Children's play (parody of poems by Czech poets Jiří Voskovec and Jan Werich that included songs)

18 July: Cabaret

29 August: Cabaret

25 November: Premiere of Smetana's *The Bartered Bride*

26 November: *The Bartered Bride*

3 December: *The White Shadow* (play written by Gonda Redlich, music composed by Gideon Klein)

31 December: Berlin women's choir (conducted by Alexander Weinbaum)

Performances 1943

January: Überbrettel (Hebrew literary cabaret with music)

Mid-1943: Recital by Fritz Königsgarten

1 March: *Ein Lied geht um die Welt*

8 March: Cabaret

¹⁴¹ Karas, p. 11.

10 March: 100th lecture of Manes Group (included a celebration with music from the Ledeč Quartet and a choir)

24 March: *Das Ghetto-madel* (operetta composed by Jewish police gendarmes)

Summer: Bernard Kaff recital of pieces by Beethoven; Mozart recital (first of several performances by Juliette Aryáni, Paul Kling, Romuald Süssmann, Fredrich Mark)

July: Choir recital (choir conducted by Willi Durra)

20 July: Smetana's opera *Hubička* (*The Kiss*)

1 August: Anniversary celebration of the founding of the Orientation service (included choir performance)

Autumn: Choir performances of scenes from Verdi's *Aida* and Mascagni's *Cavalleria Rusticana* (choir conducted by Karl Fischer)

September: First performance of Verdi's Requiem (conducted by Rafael Schächter)

10 September: Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte*

23 September: Premiere of Krasa's *Brundibár*

29 September to 9 October: Choir performances for Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur (Willi Durra Choir)

October: Piano Trio (Gideon Klein, Paul Kling, Frederick Mark); piano recital by Renee Gartner-Geiringer

24 October: Karel Bermann recital

November: Studio for New Music concert (includes performances of *Die Pest* by Gideon Klein, "Six Miniatures for Piano" by Heinz Alt, "Two Hassidic Dances for Violin and Cello" by Sigmund Schul, "Pouputa" by Karel Bermann, "Divertimento Ebraico" for string quartet by Sigmund Schul)

7 November: Premiere of *Die Pest* (song cycle by Gideon Klein) in conjunction with a recital by Hilde Aronson-Lindt

1 December: Gideon Klein and Elisa Kleinova piano recital

21 December: Choir performance for Hanukkah (Willi Durra Choir)

24 December: 300th lecture celebration of Manes Group (included performances by Willi Durra Choir and a performance of Beethoven by the Dr. Henry Cohn Quartet)

Performances 1944

No specific date: Piano recital (Alice Herz-Sommer), Bizet's *Carmen*

8 February: Voice recital (Edvard Fried accompanied by Magister Pick); evening of Schubert (Alfred Loewy)

14 February: Piano trio (Heinrich Taussig, Paul Kohn, Wolfgang Lederer); orchestra concert (conducted by Carlo Taube)

15 February: Haydn's *Die Schöpfung*; Puccini's *Tosca*

16 February: Piano recital (Edith Steiner-Kraus plays Bach)

17 February: Piano quartet recital of music by Brahms and Dvořák (Gideon Klein, Karel Frölich, Romuald Süssmann, Fredrich Mark)

18 February: Piano recital (Carlo Taube plays Chopin)

19 February: Vocal recital (Songs of Czech Composers, sung by Hedda Grab-Kernmayer, accompanied by Karel Reiner); orchestra concert (conducted by Viktor Kohn)

20 February: Verdi's Requiem; Strauss's *Die Fledermaus*; orchestra concert (directed by Carlo Taube)

2 March: Evening of Schubert

Mid 1944: Mozart recital (Juliette Aryáni, Paul Kling, Romuald Süssmann, Fredrich Mark)

Spring: Piano recital (Renée Gärtner-Geiringer); children's play (includes musical performance of folk songs)

1 April: *Everything Is not Well* (Karel Švenk cabaret)

5 April: Concert of music by Beethoven (Heinrich Taussig, Bernard Kaff)

13 April: Orchestra concert (conducted by Carlo Taube)

18 April: Cabaret (directed and written by Karel Švenk)

30 April: *Ceremony at Sokolovna* (musical performances by Karel Ančerl orchestra, choir conducted by Rafael Schächter)

May: Voice recital premiere (Karel Bermann, performed several times)

May/June: East European Jewish Sages (vocal recital including Ada Schwartz-Klein, Jakob Goldring, Josef Hermann); chamber Music concert (included Heinrich Taussig, Paul Kling, Romuald Süssmann, Fredrich Mark, Paul Kohn and Karel Ančerl); piano concert (Bernard Kaff)

3 May: Festival for opening of Sokolovna (hospital turned into a community center for the inmates of Terezin), including musical performances, both vocal and instrumental

6 May: “Bonke Gruppe” cabaret

27 May: Violin recital (Adolf Schächter)

28 May: Piano recital (Gideon Klein plays Brahms); evening of Schubert (Käthe von Giżycki); Gogol’s *The Marriage* (play that included musical performances)

Summer: Piano recital (Carlo Taube); voice and choir recital (Karl Reiner, Karel Bermann, Girls’ Choir conducted by Karel Bermann); *Esther* (directed by Norbert Fried)

First week of June: “Music of Youth” concert

17 June: Voice recital (Fritz Königsgarten); *Die Schöpfung*

22 June: Voice recital (Karel Bermann)

23 June (Visit from the Red Cross): *Brundibár*; Verdi’s Requiem

24 June: Concert for Partaky (squad leaders)

29 June: Piano recital (Alice Herz-Sommer plays Chopin Etudes)

30 June: Voice recital (Karel Bermann); cabaret (Boys in Room 6)

2 July: Czech folk songs concert

11 July: Boys’ choir concert for Madrichim (youth counselors); *The Slaves* (this was a “Nesev,” or Hebrew language entertainment program)

15 July: *The Slaves*

24 July: *The Bartered Bride*

August: Smetana recital (choir conducted by Rafael Schächter); Mendelssohn’s *Elijah* (choir conducted by Karl Fischer); chamber music concert (Egon Ledec and Alice Herz-Sommer play Beethoven); chamber music concert (Ledec Quartet); piano recital (Renée Gärtner-Geiringer); choir concert (Willi Durra choir)

2 August: Concert of songs on poetry of Jiří Voskovec and Jan Werich (Children's Homes Room 9)

5 August: Mozart's *Bastien und Bastienne*

6 August: Scout Day Festival (included choirs singing German and Czech songs)

24 August: Celebration for *Rim Rim* magazine (includes musical performances)

September: *Elijah*; Schubert Lieder recital (Edith Weinbaum); organ recital (Paul Haas)

8 September: Viennese Cabaret

13 September: Ančerl Orchestra concert (conducted by Karl Ančerl)

18 September to 27 September: Concert for Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur (Willi Durra Choir, Kurt Messerschmidt)

28 September: Pergolesi's *La serva padrona*

Performances 1945

5 January: Beethoven concert

15 April: Band concert for Danes (band plays as the Danes are released from Terezin)

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