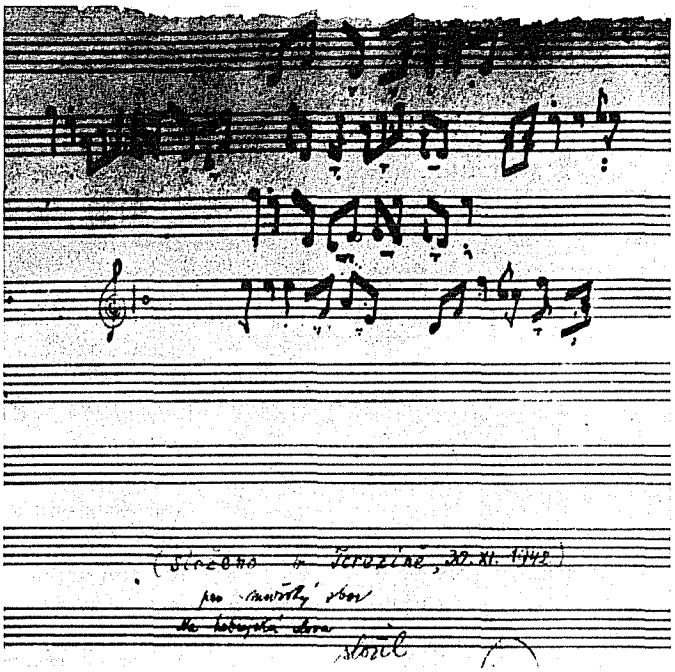
Music in the Holocaust

by Joshua Jacobson



Cover page of "Al Sefod" by Pavel Haas
(Translation: "A souvenir of our first and last anniversary in Terezín")

> I consider it a very strange phenomenon that under these horrible circumstances were created such magnificent works. . . . It's amazing that people are able to create such beauty while surrounded by such atrocities.[1]
>
> *Eliska Kleinova, survivor of the Terezín concentration camp*

For Jews trapped in Europe during the Nazi Holocaust, music was a means of expressing pain and anguish, of sustaining hope, and of maintaining their humanity. For some, after the war, music was the medium through which they could vent their feelings of horror, outrage, grief, and mourning.

This article explores some of the musical phenomena that arose out of the experience of the Holocaust. The creators of most of these poems and songs were murdered by the Nazis and their collaborators, but their music lives on.

Nazi Policy toward Music

The Nazis had a utopian dream: they would start the human race over again. After purging humanity of all imperfect specimens, they would repopulate the world with a race of supermen. It was the exclusive prerogative of the Nazi elite to define who was perfect and who was subhuman. The achievements of the Aryan race in all spheres of human activity from warfare through music were seen as proof that it deserved to rule the world. If the Aryan race were to be the sole legitimate heir to humanity, however, the Nazis would have to demonstrate that all other races were inferior. Any human activity that was not Aryan had to be proven degenerate.

In the 1920s, Germany was licking its wounds. The Reich suffered an ignominious defeat in the First World War. After a European reaction against German Romanticism in the arts, Paris replaced Berlin and Vienna as the musical and artistic capital of the world. In the eyes of Germany, this situation had to be rectified; the German people demanded a restoration to their former position of world hegemony.

The Nazis waged political and cultural war not only against their neighbors in Europe but also against foreign elements within the country that had "perverted" the pure German culture. Early in the century, the Jewish-born German composer Arnold Schoenberg had introduced dodecaphonic modernism into German music and, as a teacher in the conservatory, was passing this "degenerate and unpopular" musical style to the next generation. The Jewish composer Kurt Weill was introducing the strains of "degenerate" African-American jazz into German opera and operetta with such works as *The Three Penny Opera*. In October 1925 the following statement by respected musicologist Alfred Heuss appeared in the Berlin magazine *Zeitschrift für Musik:*

> The appointment of Arnold Schönberg [*sic*] as director of one of the three masterclasses for composition at the Prussian Academy of the Arts in Berlin strikes a blow against the cause of German music that is so provocative in nature it would be difficult to imagine anything worse in the present situation. . . . [This is] a contest of strength between Germandom and—and now we must also be quite frank—the specifically Jewish spirit in music.[2]

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Heuss was not voicing a new opinion. Most Germans considered the Jews living among them to be a foreign element. Even after the emancipation at the end of the eighteenth century, when civil rights were extended to the Jewish population for the first time, those who left the ghetto and attempted to participate in the cultural life of Germany were viewed with great suspicion. The composer Carl Friedrich Zelter said about his pupil Felix Mendelssohn, "He is, to be sure, a Jewboy (*Judensohn*) but no Jew. It would really be something rare if a Jewboy were to become a true artist."[3] Mendelssohn was denied appointment as head of the Berlin Singakademie on the basis that "an organization dedicated to the singing of church music could hardly be presided over by a Jew, even a converted one."[4]

Richard Wagner brought cultural intolerance out into the open with the publication of his article "Das Judentum in Music" in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* in September 1850.[5] Wagner believed that no person who had grown up in a Jewish environment would be capable of understanding the cultural heritage of Christian Europe.

> The Jew talks the modern European languages merely as learned, and not as mother tongues. This must necessarily prevent him from all capability of therein expressing himself idiomatically, independently, and comfortably to his nature. Our whole European art and civilization have remained to the Jew a foreign tongue. . . . [Synagogue music is] the travesty of a divine service in music. . . . Who has not been seized with a feeling of the greatest revulsion or horror mingled with absurdity at hearing that senseless and irritating gurgle, yodel, and cackle which no caricature could make more repugnant?[6]

The source of Wagner's anti-Semitism stemmed from the failure of his operas in Paris and the success of the less sophisticated works of Meyerbeer, Halévy, and Offenbach. The operas of the Jewish composer Meyerbeer were so successful that he had become one of the wealthiest men in Europe. In Wagner's paranoid fantasy, Jews seemed to be dominating the middle-class opera-, theater-, and concert-going public. Jews were conductors, determining what music would be programmed. Jews were music critics, influencing public opinion through newspaper reviews. Wagner complained that Jews were "innately incapable" of presenting themselves as artists because of their appearance, speech, and, particularly, their singing. Yet they had been able to affect public taste significantly throughout the art world, especially in music.[7]

Wagner saw two possible solutions to the problem:

> [In view of the] influence over our intellectual life which the Jews have acquired [which found expression in the] decay of our culture, [only two paths are open. One is the] total ejection of the destructive foreign element, [the other is the assimilation of this element] in such a way that, in common with us,

> it shall ripen toward a higher evolution of our nobler human qualities. [I do not know whether the first alternative is practicable,] for this would require forces whose presence are unknown to me.[8]

Eighty years later Adolf Hitler wrote, "I have the most intimate familiarity with Wagner's mental processes. At every stage of my life I come back to him."[9] The Nazis carried out Wagner's theories in a way that had never been done before. The state exercised total control over musical composition and performance. Joseph Goebbels, as Minister for the People's Enlightenment and Propaganda, was determined to eliminate alien influences on German music. Thus, Jews were purged from their positions as music teachers, performers, composers, and scholars.

In 1933, Richard Strauss was named the first president of the National Ministry of Music, and Wilhelm Furtwängler was named his deputy. The ministry introduced a succession of policies aimed at protecting Aryan culture from alien acculturation. All Jews still holding positions of influence within German musical life were expelled from their posts. Their performances were no longer heard on the radio, nor were their records available in stores. The list of Jewish musicians who fled the Nazi regime includes the following: Samuel Adler, Willi Apel, Paul Bekker, Victor Borge, Manfred Bukofzer, Alfred Einstein, Lukas Foss, Herbert Fromm, Karl Geiringer, Ernest Gold, Otto Klemperer, Erich Wolfgang Korngold, Erich Leinsdorf, Lotte Lenya, Darius Milhaud, Nathan Milstein, Bruno Nettl, Paul Nettl, Gregor Piatigorsky, Max Rudolf, Curt Sachs, Artur Schnabel, Arnold Schoenberg, Rudolf Serkin, Robert Starer, William Steinberg, George Szell, Mario Castelnuovo Tedesco, Ernst Toch, Jennie Tourel, Bruno Walter, Kurt Weill, and Stefan Wolpe. Music written by Jewish composers was banned. In Frankfurt, Alfred Rosenberg set up a pseudo-academic organization, Die Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage (Institute for the Investigation of the Jewish Question). Musicologists working at the institute were commissioned to publish a *Lexicon of Jews in Music.*[10] This became an invaluable reference work for radio programmers, distributors of sheet music and records, and musicians planning repertoire for public concerts—anyone who had to conform to the ban on Jewish music. Wagner's essay of 1850 was brought up-to-date with Richard Eichenauer's book *Musik und Rasse* (Music and Race,)[11] and Karl Blessinger's *Mendelssohn, Meyerbeer und Mahler: Drei Kapitel des Judentums in der Musik* (Three Chapters of Judaism in Music).[12]

Arnold Schoenberg and Jewish Identity

Arnold Schoenberg had renounced his Judaism in 1892 at the age of eighteen. The young man found that he could find employment in conducting and teaching more easily by converting to Protestantism. In 1921 a disturbing incident gave Schoenberg cause to reconsider his identity. When he took his family for a summer vacation at the lakeside resort of Mattsee, he was turned away and informed that the area was restricted to Aryans. Shortly thereafter he wrote:

> I have at last learned the lesson that has been forced upon me during this year, and I shall not ever forget it. It is that I am not a German, not even a European, but I am a Jew.[13]

In 1933, when the Berlin Academy of Music announced its policy of purging all Jewish elements, Schoenberg resigned his teaching position and left Germany forever. On July 24, at a ceremony in a Paris synagogue, the composer officially "re-entered into the Community of Israel."[14] Because of the persecution he endured, Schoenberg came to feel himself more and more a Jew. A good deal of his prose writings (including *The Path of the Bible, A Four-Point Program for Jewry,* and *Modern Psalms*) and several important compositions (including *Jacob's Ladder, Moses and Aaron, Kol Nidre, A Survivor from Warsaw, Three Thousand Years,* and *De profundis*) focus on his religious identity. Ironically, it was German anti-Semitism that inspired Schoenberg to rediscover his Judaism and express himself as a musical Jew.

As a result of Nazi policy, Europe became nearly *Judenrein*—emptied of its Jewish population. An entire generation

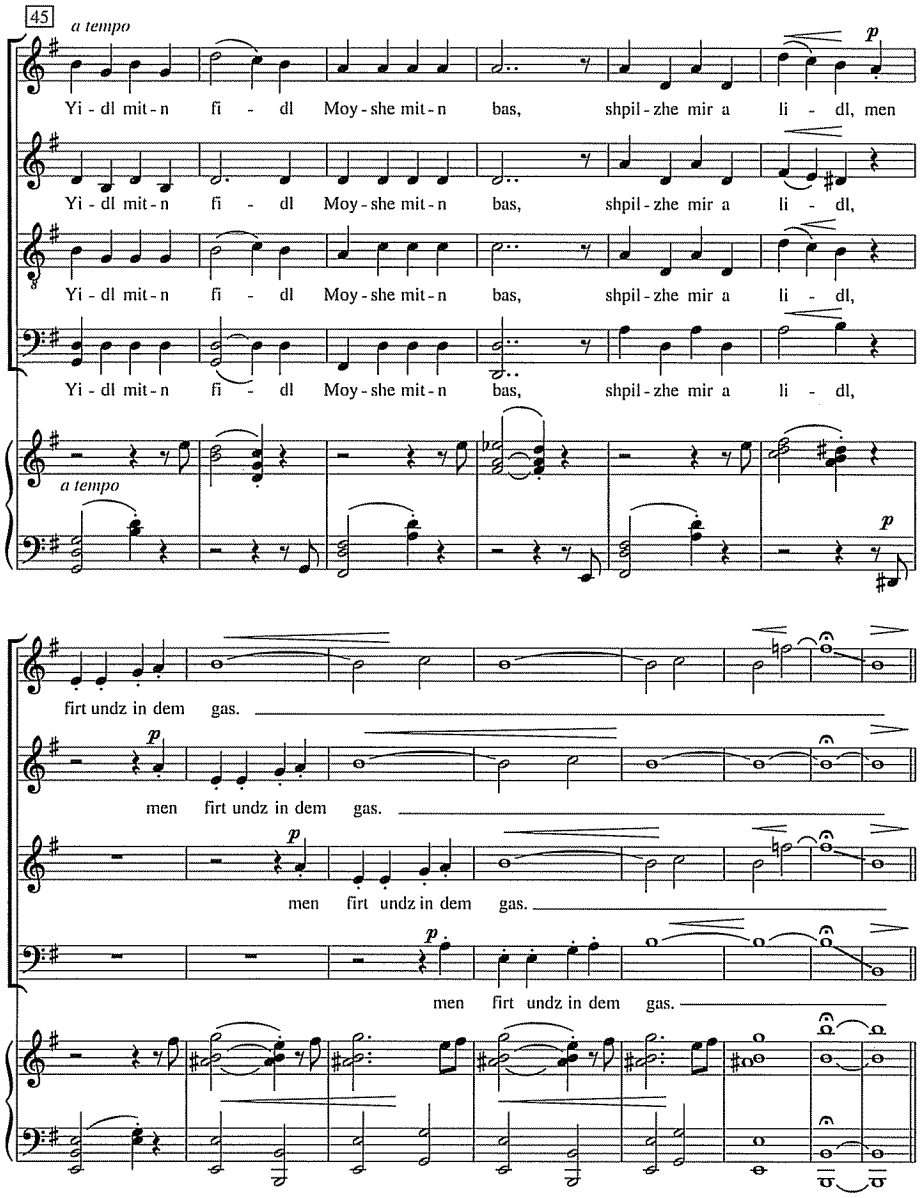

Figure 1. Martin Rosenberg, *Tsen Brider* (arr. Joshua Jacobson)

"Yidle with your fiddle, Moshe with your bass, play me a little song; they're taking me to the gas!"

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of European Jewish (and some non-Jewish) composers, performers, and musicologists resettled in America, leaving Europe culturally impoverished. Not all Jews were fortunate enough to be able to emigrate, however; many found themselves in the hellish world of the concentration camps.

Music in the Death Camps

Martin Rosenberg was a Polish-born Jewish conductor who, under the pseudonym Rosebery d'Arguto, conducted a workers' chorus in Neuköln, a suburb of Berlin. In 1939 he was arrested and sent to the nearby Sachsenhausen concentration camp, where he was brutally tortured. Shortly after recovering, Rosenberg organized and conducted a clandestine chorus of twenty-five prisoners. When he discovered that he and his singers were to be sent to the death camp at Auschwitz, Rosenberg composed a death-song for the occasion. Based on an old Yiddish folk song, *Tsen Brider* (Ten Brothers) is a ballad about brothers who are murdered, one after another, in the death camp.[15] In its haunting refrain, the author ironically requests the ubiquitous *klezmer* musicians (Jewish instrumentalists in eastern Europe who entertained at weddings and other joyous community events) to play a *totentanz* (death dance) as he is led away to the gas chamber (Figure 1).

In 1942, Rosenberg and his chorus were deported from Sachsenhausen to Auschwitz, where they all died in the gas chambers. Their song survived because of the efforts of Alexander Kulisiewicz, a Polish musician who was detained in Sachsenhausen. Rosenberg asked Kulisiewicz not to forget *Tsen Brider,* and, if he should survive, to sing the song and, through it, tell the world of the suffering in the death camps. Kulisiewicz kept his promise. Until his death in 1982, Kulisiewicz devoted his life to making the songs of the concentration camps known all over the world.[16]

Herbert Zipper was born in Vienna in 1904. After studies with Europe's finest musicians, including Richard Strauss and Maurice Ravel, Zipper began his career as a conductor and composer in Germany in the early 1930s. When he was deported to the Dachau concentration camp in 1938, he risked his life acquiring musical instruments and organizing, conducting, and composing for a chamber orchestra

that met secretly once a week in an abandoned latrine. He composed a song, the *Dachau Lied,* that became an underground anthem of resistance in the camps. Zipper was among the more fortunate prisoners; he survived the war, traveling from Dachau to Buchenwald to Manila and, finally, to America.[17]

Several musicians have written about their experiences playing in one of the most macabre musical institutions that has ever existed, the Auschwitz death camp orchestra.[18] Many of the Jewish musicians sent to Auschwitz were forced to play in this ensemble, which was commanded repeatedly to entertain the German and Polish camp guards. But the primary raison d'être of the Auschwitz orchestra was to distract the new arrivals as they disembarked from the trains and to boost morale and maintain order among the prisoner slaves as they marched off to the forced-labor detail in the morning. The performers were rewarded with, relatively speaking, better rations of food, more protective clothing, and more humane living conditions; they were temporarily spared from the murderous work details and from the crematorium itself.

Music in the Lodz Ghetto

As the Third Reich extended its reach beyond Germany's borders, it introduced the infamous Nuremberg racial laws into the occupied territories. In the fall of 1939, the Polish city of Lodz was incorporated into greater Germany. The Germans changed the name of the city to Litzmannstadt (after a World War I German hero), and German was proclaimed the official language. Anti-Jewish ordinances were instituted, including the prohibition of religious ceremonies, the freezing of bank accounts, forced labor, the disbanding of cultural and communal institutions, a nightly curfew, confiscation of personal property, and the requirement to wear the yellow *Jude* badge in public.

By the spring of 1940, the Germans had fenced off a 1½-square-mile portion of the city, declared it a ghetto, and moved all Jews and Romas (gypsies) into that area. The inmates were not allowed to leave, and Germans and Poles were not allowed in. Lodz was turned into a slave labor camp of workshops and factories contributing to the German war effort; it contained more than ninety enterprises with more than seventy-five thousand workers.

For the Jews of Lodz, even under such appalling conditions, life was unthinkable without music. Two musical events are described in entries from *The Chronicle of the Lodz Ghetto,* secret diaries that were found buried underground after the war:

> Today [March 1, 1941] the first symphonic concert conducted by David Beyglman took place in the auditorium of the House of Culture at 3 Krawiecka Street. The following works were performed: Bela Keller's *Overture,* Popa's *Suite Orientale* and *Shabes nokh kugel,* Beyglman's *Wiegenlied* and *Chor der Derwische,* the Overture from Massenet's *Phaedre,* Ayzenman's *Jewish Medleys,* Side's *Intermezzo,* Shalit's *Der Yosem* and *Ballet Orientale.* Accompanied by the orchestra, Mrs. Ala Diamant sang several soulful Yiddish songs.
>
> March 13, 1941. A symphony concert conducted by David Beyglman in which the HaZamir chorus participated.[19]

Music in the Vilna Ghetto

Vilna, now called Vilnius, is the heart of the newly independent republic of Lithuania. Before the 1940s, Vilna was a major center of spiritual and cultural life for Eastern European Jewry. In the summer of 1941, the German armed forces invaded Lithuania and immediately began the systematic extermination of the Jewish population. Despite their imprisonment in the ghetto and the transports to the death camps, Vilna's Jews declared, "Our bodies may be enslaved, but our souls are not."[20] Musicians, artists, writers, and poets formed the Literary Artistic Circle, which met nearly every week throughout the war for lectures, discussions, and concerts.

Luba Levitska, the beloved "nightingale" of the Vilna ghetto, sang a concert for the Literary Artistic Circle on January 18, 1942. A few weeks earlier, fifteen

thousand of Vilna's Jews had been hunted down, loaded onto trucks, taken to the nearby Ponar woods, shot, and buried in mass graves. An eyewitness to the concert recalled that "the audience stood in sacred silence, as one stands in front of an open grave. Every word, every sound recalled the victims at Ponar."[21]

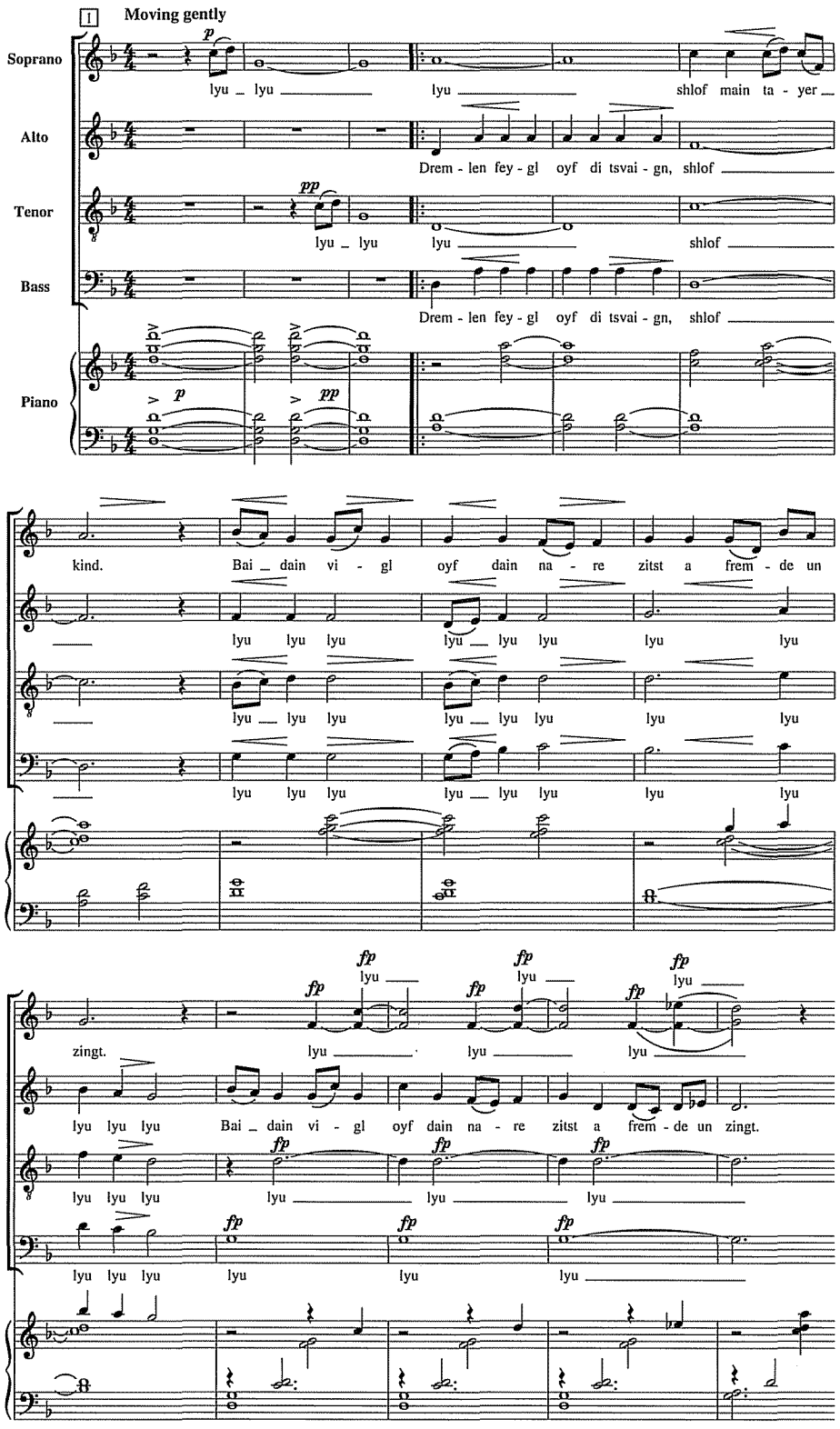

Figure 2. Lea Rudnitska and Leyb Yampolski, *Dremlen Feygel* (arr. Joshua Jacobson)
"Birds are drowsing on their branches / Sleep my dear child / Near your cradle / Stands a stranger who sings / Lyu lyu lyu."
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One of the songs performed at the Literary Artistic Circle was a dark lullaby composed by Lea Rudnitska, a young teacher and poetess who adopted a baby left homeless after its parents were deported to the death camp. Soothing the child to sleep, Rudnitska wrote the lyrics for *Dremlen Feygel* (Birds Are Drowsing), a song about the happiness that once surrounded the cradle of the now motherless and fatherless child. The song is one of hundreds of Holocaust contrafacta:[22] songs created by fitting new words—reflecting a new situation—to existing popular melodies (Figure 2).

Music in the Terezín Transit Camp

In November 1941, shortly after invading Czechoslovakia, the Nazis evacuated Terezín (or Theresienstadt, as it was called in German) and transformed the ancient walled city into a huge transit camp. Terezín provided a convenient holding pen for the Jews of Bohemia and Moravia until they could be shipped to the East, where the death camps in Poland were running at full capacity. A year later the Germans decided to use Terezín as a "model camp," a façade to hide the truth of the extermination of European Jews.

More than one hundred thousand Jews were sent to Terezín. The Nazis allowed the inmates, many of whom were prominent writers, scholars, and musicians, to organize cultural activities and produce concerts. In 1942 the Nazis even organized the Freizeitgestaltung (administration of free-time activities), officially sanctioning such activities. There were choirs, chamber ensembles of all types, orchestras, opera companies, a cabaret, and a jazz band called the "Ghetto Swingers [*sic*]." A 150-member choir performed such works as Mendelssohn's *Elijah* and Verdi's Requiem (Figure 3). The prisoners' performances were featured in a Nazi propaganda film, *Der Führer schenkt den Juden eine Stadt* (The Führer Gives the Jews a City),[23] and inspectors from the International Red Cross were shown flower gardens, schools, concerts, and cafés. But the truth was that of the 140,000 men, women, and children who were sent to Terezín between 1941 and

1945, only 11,000 survived. The rest either perished from malnutrition and disease in the ghetto or were sent to the death camps in Poland.

Karel Berman and the Verdi Requiem at Terezín

Karel Berman was born in 1919 in Bohemia. At the age of twenty-two, he was deported to Terezín. "I had a terrible job," he reports. "They called it a 'garbage collector,' but basically what I did was carry corpses [from the streets of the camp] to the crematorium for incineration."[24] Soon Berman was transferred to more humane work; as a professional musician he was employed by the Freizeitgestaltung to conduct, compose, sing, and organize public concerts.

In September 1943, Berman was the bass soloist in one of the most incredible concerts mounted in the camp: a performance of Verdi's Requiem (Figure 4). In a review in the Terezín press, composer Viktor Ullmann wrote, "Raphael Schaechter, to whom Terezín musical life is indebted for so many stimulations and artistic deeds, delivered a performance of a big-city standard."[25] Through this work the inmates expressed their anxieties over an uncertain future. They sang of death defiantly before their executioners, of the hellish punishment in store for evildoers, and of the power of faith to liberate humanity from its mortal fate. Rehearsals were held in cramped quarters after long days of labor. Chorus parts were hand-copied. The participants never knew from day to day if their fellow performers were still alive or if they had been sent to the death camps in the East. In an interview Berman described the process:

> We rehearsed in a very small basement . . . into which the entire chorus was squeezed. Gideon Klein accompanied the rehearsals on a harmonium. . . . For the concert we moved to a hall with a very nice new piano. . . . The story of these rehearsals and performances is unique . . . in the history of music. The production had three performances, and always after a performance half of the chorus was transported to Auschwitz and was gassed. . . . After the third performance, Gideon Klein, Raphael Schaechter, and I were transported to Auschwitz. Now I am the only eyewitness alive who can tell about what happened there.[26]

Figure 3. The Terezín choir performing Mendelssohn's *Elijah*

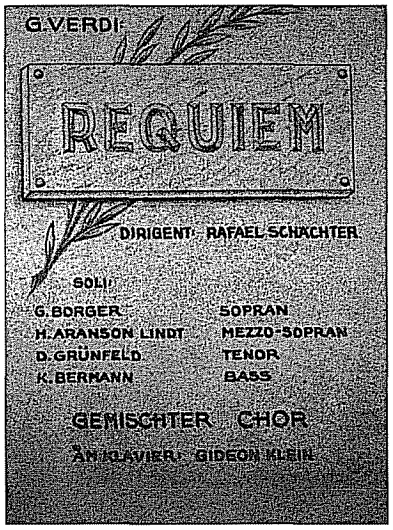

Figure 4. Poster for the performance of the Verdi Requiem in Terezín

One other survivor, however, Joseph Bor, wrote a partly documentary novel about the preparation and performance of the Requiem. He described the extraordinary moment when the performance began:

> [Schaechter] looked at his choir and soloists. . . ; he knew every one of them, he knew what they could do, he could rely on them. . . . "You must not think of parents and brother and lover, . . . remember the others, too, all those beaten and tormented and massacred, they will unite for you into one great mass, you will not even recognize individuals among them, and so much the more clearly you will be aware of the true face of the murderers. You must not show fear or weakness before them. Today you

will be singing to the murderers, don't forget that."

He took up his baton. The auditorium fell silent. A strange, a special silence, unusual in the camp. Not the silence of bare walls and secret dread. The silence of quivering anticipation. . . . Almost imperceptibly the baton moved. Almost inaudibly the first notes of Verdi's Requiem stole through the hall.[27]

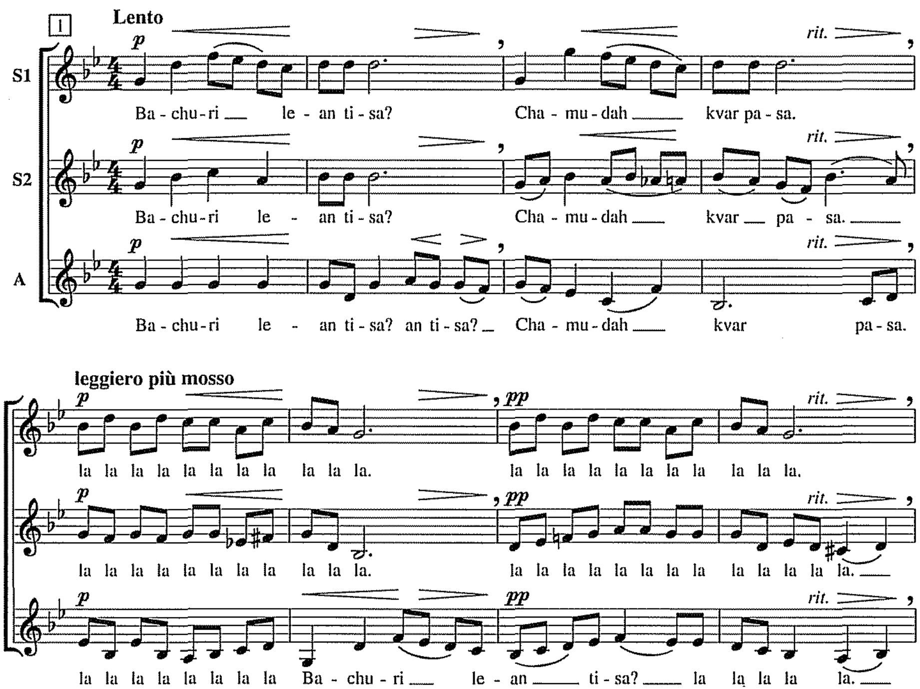

Figure 5. Gideon Klein, *Bachuri, Le'an Tisa*

"'My boy, where are you going?' 'Sweetheart, it's all over.'"

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Paul Kling, Violinist

Paul Kling was born in Czechoslovakia in 1928. By the age of seven he had developed such a high level of musicianship and technique on the violin that he was invited to perform with the Vienna Symphony. He was acclaimed as one of the greatest prodigies of the century. Then, in 1939, the Germans invaded Czechoslovakia. Within a year the Nazis extended the Nuremberg laws to their newly conquered land. Kling, along with many others of his race, was forbidden to continue his schooling or perform in public. His violin was confiscated. Even so, he would, on occasion, risk his life by practicing on a friend's violin and performing at clandestine concerts in private apartments.

In 1942, at the age of fourteen, Kling was sent to the Terezín transit camp, where, ironically, his fortune began to change for the better. At first the Germans tolerated his music-making, then they encouraged it, and finally they demanded it.

When asked in an interview how people could perform and compose even in the depths of hell, Kling responded that there were basically three attitudes among the inmates. The naive prisoners were oblivious to their surroundings and did not absorb the full impact of their situation. They saw no reason to change their lifestyles; if they had practiced six hours a day before the war, they would continue to practice six hours a day in the camp. The optimists believed that the war would be over soon and that the civilized world would not allow the atrocities to continue. They would continue to practice in anticipation of their imminent liberation. Then there were the pessimists who said, "We will soon be murdered; why not make the best of our lives while we can?" Thus the pessimists also continued to perform.[28]

Gideon Klein, Pianist/Composer

At the age of twenty, Gideon Klein was considered one of the most promising young composers and pianists of his generation. Shortly after his graduation from the Prague Conservatory in 1939, however, the Nuremberg laws were enacted in the Nazi protectorates of Bohemia and Moravia. Jews were forced to wear the yellow *Jude* badge and were no longer

allowed to attend concerts or perform in public. Music by Jewish composers was totally banned from radio and concert halls.

Gideon Klein performed several times under the pseudonym Karel Vranek, but that became too dangerous. Clandestine concerts were then held in private apartments. At one memorable soirée at the home of the Blass family, Klein performed the Brahms Concerto in B♭ Major. The program ran so late that the guests, unable to risk violating the curfew, were forced to spend the night.

In December 1941, Klein was deported to Terezín. Although initially assigned to the Aufbaukommando, whose task it was to build barracks for the growing number of Jewish prisoners, he soon became involved in the musical activities of the camp. One of the many works that Klein composed for the Terezín choirs was a miniature for women's voices called *Bachuri, Le'an Tisa* (My Boy, Where Are You Going?), written on December 3, 1942 (Figure 5). A sketch of the score has been preserved. The poignant Hebrew text, indicating the uncertain future faced by the young men and women in Terezín, is underscored by the tragedy of Klein's own death at the age of twenty-five in January 1945 in the Fürstengrube concentration camp. The lyrics convey a tragic ambiguity: "'My boy, where are you going?' 'Sweetheart, it's all over.'" Is this merely the frivolous dialogue of two teenagers ending a relationship, or is it the final farewell of a lover leaving for the death camp?

While *Bachuri, Le'an Tisa* is one of Klein's simplest choral compositions, his madrigals represent the opposite end of the spectrum. In April 1942 he set a poem by Francis Villon in Czech translation. In the lyrics the poet mourns the death of a young girl and asks to end his own life. The difficulty of this piece attests not only to the musicianship of the composer but also to the talent of the performers and the sophistication of the audience (Figure 6).

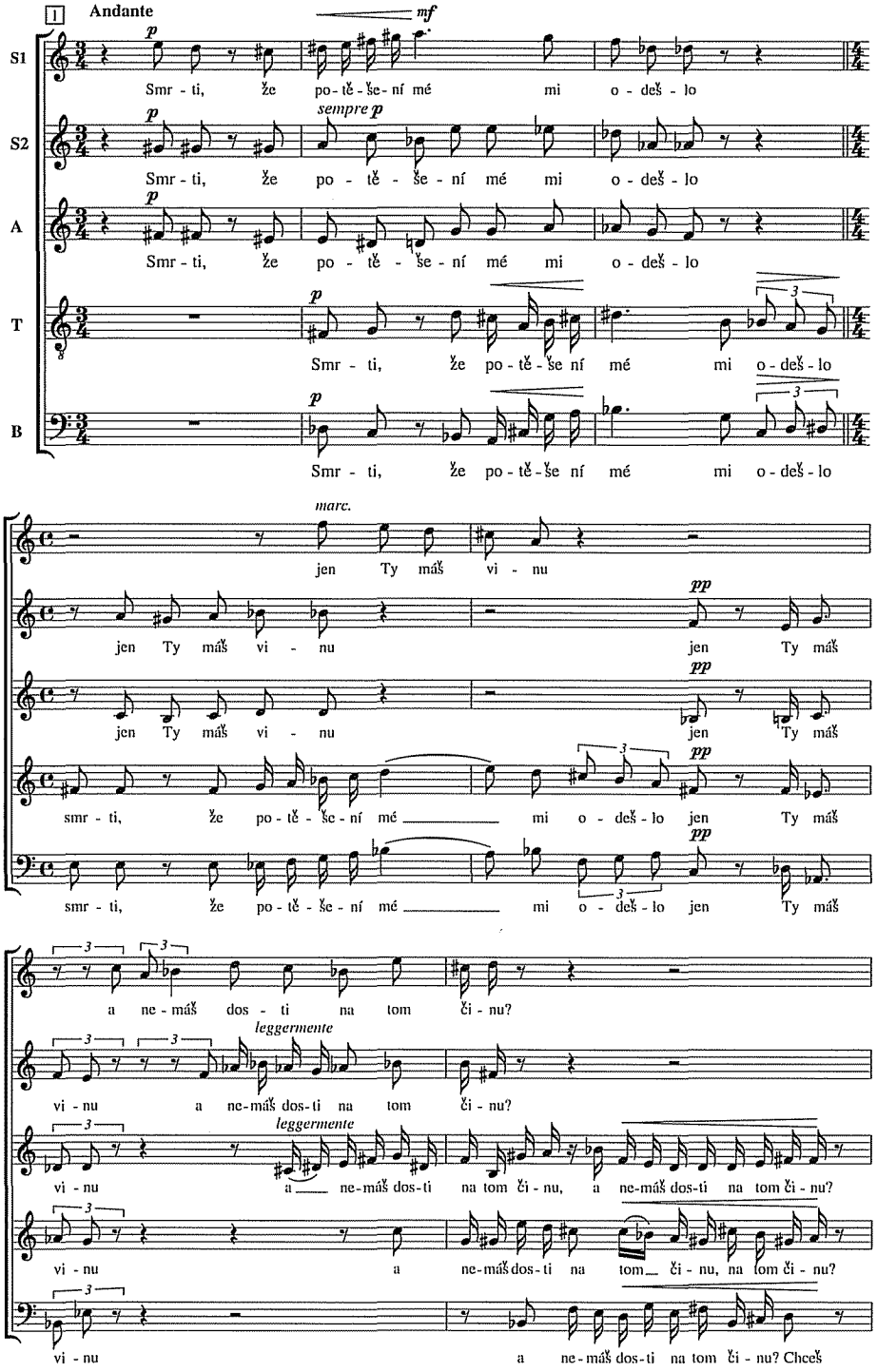

Figure 6. Gideon Klein, *Madrigal (Smrti, ze poteseni me me odeslo)*
(O Death, All My Pleasures Have Fled from Me)

Pavel Haas, Composer

Pavel Haas was born in Brno, Moravia, in 1899. At the age of twenty-one, he began studying with Leoš Janáček, from whom he learned an enthusiasm for folk songs, particularly those of the independent Czechoslovak Republic, newly liberated from the hegemony of the Austro-Hungarian empire.

In 1941, Haas was deported to Terezín. On November 30, 1942, he composed *Al Sefod* (Do Not Mourn), a choral work for male voices, which he dedicated to Otto Zucker, Deputy Chairman of the Terezín Council, a prisoners' group. The work's optimistic text, a new poem by the Palestinian Jew Yaacov Shimoni, is a vigorous exhortation to the people to free themselves from the lethargy of Diaspora by working and reclaiming the land of Israel. On the cover is a touching inscription in Hebrew, its letters

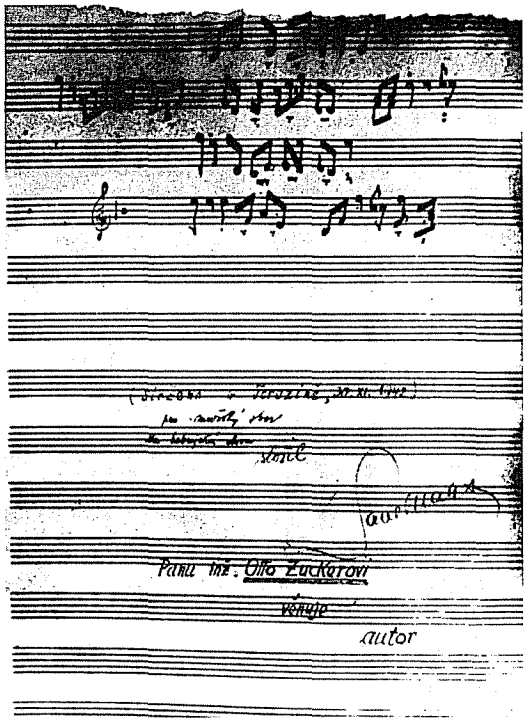

Figure 7. Pavel Haas, *Al Sefod,* cover

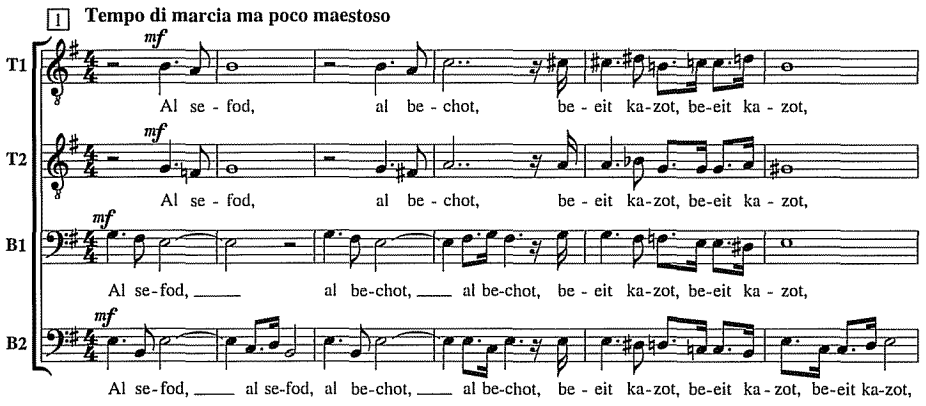

Figure 8. Pavel Haas, *Al Sefod*

"Do not mourn, do not cry at a time like this."

created from the shapes of musical notes. It reads (in translation), "a souvenir of the first and last anniversary of our exile in Terezín" (Figure 7). Unfortunately 1942 was not to be the last year of the Terezín exile. Today we are inspired by the undying faith of the men and women who, in the face of their own impending destruction, held on to the spirit of optimism represented in Haas's piece (Figure 8).

Music Was Life

Music in the Holocaust served a dual purpose. On the one hand, the songs expressed the anguish of the situation—agony for which words alone were an inadequate vehicle. On the other hand, music was the means by which the dehumanized could maintain their humanity, the link that allowed the condemned to cling to life. This is music that is optimistic and life-affirming. As Terezín survivor Greta Hofmeister stated so powerfully, "Music! Music *was* life!"[29]

Viktor Ullmann wrote of his experiences creating music in a Nazi camp that he could no more give up music than he could give up breathing, that music was the only remaining means by which he could make some sense of a world gone mad.

> It must be emphasized that Terezín has served to enhance, not to impede, my musical activities, that by no means did we sit weeping on the banks of the waters of Babylon, and that our endeavor with respect to Art was commensurate with our will to live.[30]

The message of the Holocaust musicians speaks to us today and warns us to be vigilant against xenophobic hatred and begs us never to lose our compassion. By reviving their compositions, we can keep that message alive, affirming our commitment to music as a vehicle for human harmony.

NOTES

[1] Eliska Kleinova, interview with the author, Prague, October 13, 1993.

[2] Alfred Heuss, "Arnold Schönberg—Prussian Teacher of Composition," *Zeitschrift für Musik* (October 1925), 583–85, quoted in Alexander Ringer, *Arnold Schoenberg: The Composer as Jew* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 224.

[3] Franz Kobler, *Juden und Judentum in deutschen Briefen aus drei Jahrhunderten* (Vienna, 1935), 259, quoted in Jacob Katz, *The Darker Side of Genius: Richard Wagner's Anti-Semitism* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1986), 14.

[4] Ezra Mendelssohn, *Modern Jews and Their Musical Agendas* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 11.

[5] Originally written under the pseudonym Karl Freigedank, the article was published under his own name in an expanded version in 1869.

[6] Albert Goldman, ed., *Wagner on Music Drama* (New York: Dutton, 1964), 51, 55.

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[8] Richard Wagner, *Das Judentum in der Musik* (Leipzig, 1869), 57, quoted in Katz, 69.

[9] H. Rauschning, *Gespräche mit Hitler* (1939), 2d ed. (Vienna, 1973), 216 f., quoted in Paul Lawrence Rose, *Wagner: Race and Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 182.

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[14] Ringer, 135.

[15] Martin Rosenberg, *Tsen Brider* (New York: Transcontinental Publications, 1995).

[16] Shoshana Kalisch, *Yes, We Sang* (New York: Harper and Row, 1985), 50. Kulisiewicz recorded *Tsen Brider* on *Songs from the Depths of Hell,* Folkways FSS 37700.

[17] Paul Cummins, *Dachau Song: The Twentieth-Century Odyssey of Herbert Zipper* (New York: Peter Lang, 1992).

[18] Szyman Laks, *Music of Another World,* trans. Chester Kisiel (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1989), originally published as *Musiques d'un autre monde* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1948); Fania Fénelon, *The Musicians of Auschwitz,* trans. Judith Landry (London: Michael Joseph, 1977).

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[20] Kalisch, 114.

[21] Ibid., 3.

[22] Ibid., 120.

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[25] Josa Karas, *Music in Terezín* (New York: Beaufort Press, 1984), 140.

[26] Berman, interview.

[27] Joseph Bor, *The Terezín Requiem,* trans. Edith Pargeter (New York: Avon, 1977), 7, 101.

[28] Paul Kling, interview with the author, Boston, November 17, 1994.

[29] Karas, 197.

[30] H. G. Adler, *Theresienstadt 1941–1945: Das Antlitz einer Zwangsgemeinschaft; 2. verbesserte Auflage* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1960), 661, quoted in Max Bloch, "Viktor Ullmann: A Brief Biography and Appreciation," *Journal of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute* 3 (October 1979): 162.

—CJ—

Julius Herford Prize, Call for Nominations

THE SUBCOMMITTEE for the Julius Herford Prize, given annually by the American Choral Directors Association, is now accepting nominations for the outstanding doctoral terminal research project in choral music for 1995. Projects will be considered if they constitute the principal research component of the degree requirements, whether the institution calls the project a "dissertation," "document," "treatise," etc. Eligibility is limited to doctoral recipients whose degrees were conferred during the period January 1 through December 31, 1995.

Nominations must be approved by the dean, director, or chair of the music unit. An institution should, preferably, submit only one document. In no case may an institution submit more than two, and a second nomination should include a justification for the additional nomination. The winner will receive a plaque and a cash award of $500 to be presented at the 1997 ACDA National Convention in San Diego, California.

A letter of nomination (including the signature of the head of the music unit) and one copy of the dissertation should be submitted no later than April 15, 1996, to Carroll Gonzo, School of Music, University of Texas, Austin, Texas 78712; telephone 512/471-0941; fax 512/471-7836; e-mail: mubj500@utxvms.cc.utexas.edu.

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