



THE ROLE OF MUSIC, PERFORMING ARTISTS
AND COMPOSERS IN GERMAN-CONTROLLED
CONCENTRATION CAMPS AND GHETTOS
DURING WORLD WAR II

by

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Krechtst nisht, shrayt nisht, zingt a lid.

Don't moan, don't cry, sing a song.

Line from a song by Emanuel Hirshberg,
an inmate of the Lodz ghetto (Rubin 1963:432)

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Pretoria
October 1993

SUMMARY

This thesis examines the role of music in the concentration camps and ghettos during World War II.

Chapter 2 gives a brief overview of the role of music in general, including its effect on emotions, morale and religion, as well as its uses as propaganda, protest, documentation, entertainment and therapy.

Chapter 3 explains the term "concentration camp", and the way in which these camps operated. Subsequently the musical activities in the following concentration camps are discussed in Chapters 4 to 10:

Auschwitz (Chapter 4)
Belzec (Chapter 5)
Bergen-Belsen (Chapter 10)
Börgermoor (Chapter 10)
Buchenwald (Chapter 6)
Budzyn (Chapter 10)
Cieszanów (Chapter 10)
Dachau (Chapter 7)
Dinaverk (Chapter 10)
Dora (Chapter 10)
Flossenburg (Chapter 10)
Fürstengrubbe (Chapter 10)
Ganov (Chapter 10)
Gleiwitz (Chapter 10)
Gross-Rosen (Chapter 10)
Kaiserwald (Chapter 10)
Lipa (Chapter 10)
Majdanek (Chapter 10)
Mauthausen (Chapter 10)
Mechelen (Chapter 10)
Plaszow (Chapter 10)

Ravensbrück (Chapter 10)
Sachsenhausen (Chapter 10)
Sobibor (Chapter 8)
Treblinka (Chapter 9)
Westerbork (Chapter 10)
Wülzburg (Chapter 10)

Chapter 11 introduces the second part of the thesis by defining the term "ghetto", and gives a concise overview of how the ghettos functioned. Chapters 12 to 19 concentrate on the musical activities in the following ghettos:

Bedzin (Chapter 19)
Bialystok (Chapter 19)
Chelm (Chapter 19)
Cracow (Chapter 12)
Czestochowa (Chapter 19)
Kovno (Chapter 13)
Libau (Chapter 19)
Lodz (Chapter 14)
Lublin (Chapter 19)
Lvov (Chapter 15)
Radom (Chapter 19)
Sosnowiec (Chapter 19)
Terezin (Chapter 16)
Vilna (Chapter 17)
Warsaw (Chapter 18)

The final chapter draws conclusions arrived at in this study, i.e. that music considerably affected the lives of inmates, serving as a morale-booster, as entertainment for both inmates and camp authorities, and as a means of propaganda. Many songs reflected the inmates' dissatisfaction with the way they were treated, some served as a form of documentation of daily events, while others called for revenge.

The thesis concludes with a Glossary of terms used and two Appendices, one containing the names of musicians in the concentration camps and ghettos, and the other the titles of works composed in the concentration camps and ghettos.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie verhandeling ondersoek die rol van musiek in die konsentrasiekampe en ghetto's van die Tweede Wêreldoorlog.

Hoofstuk 2 gee 'n kort oorsig oor die rol van musiek in die algemeen en sy invloed op die emosies, moreel en godsdiens. Dit verwys ook na musiek as 'n middel ten opsigte van propaganda, protes, dokumentasie, vermaak en terapie.

Hoofstuk 3 definieer die term "konsentrasiekamp" en verduidelik hoe hierdie kampe gefunksioneer het. Die musiek-aktiwiteite in die konsentrasiekampe word vervolgens in Hoofstukke 4 tot 10 bespreek:

Auschwitz (Hoofstuk 4)
Belzec (Hoofstuk 5)
Bergen-Belsen (Hoofstuk 10)
Börgermoor (Hoofstuk 10)
Buchenwald (Hoofstuk 6)
Budzyn (Hoofstuk 10)
Cieszanów (Hoofstuk 10)
Dachau (Hoofstuk 7)
Dinaverk (Hoofstuk 10)
Dora (Hoofstuk 10)
Flossenburg (Hoofstuk 10)
Fürstengrubbe (Hoofstuk 10)
Ganov (Hoofstuk 10)
Gleiwitz (Hoofstuk 10)
Gross-Rosen (Hoofstuk 10)
Kaiserwald (Hoofstuk 10)
Lipa (Hoofstuk 10)
Majdanek (Hoofstuk 10)
Mauthausen (Hoofstuk 10)
Mechelen (Hoofstuk 10)
Plaszow (Hoofstuk 10)

Ravensbrück (Hoofstuk 10)
Sachsenhausen (Hoofstuk 10)
Sobibor (Hoofstuk 8)
Treblinka (Hoofstuk 9)
Westerbork (Hoofstuk 10)
Wülzburg (Hoofstuk 10)

Hoofstuk 11 lei die tweede deel van die verhandeling in met 'n beknopte uiteensetting van die term "ghetto" en die wyse waarop die ghetto's gefunksioneer het.

Hoofstukke 12 tot 19 is toegespits op die musiek-aktiwiteite in die volgende ghetto's:

Bedzin (Hoofstuk 19)
Bialystok (Hoofstuk 19)
Chelm (Hoofstuk 19)
Cracow (Hoofstuk 12)
Czestochowa (Hoofstuk 19)
Kovno (Hoofstuk 13)
Libau (Hoofstuk 19)
Lodz (Hoofstuk 14)
Lublin (Hoofstuk 19)
Lvov (Hoofstuk 15)
Radom (Hoofstuk 19)
Sosnowiec (Hoofstuk 19)
Terezin (Hoofstuk 16)
Vilna (Hoofstuk 17)
Warsaw (Hoofstuk 18)

Die laaste hoofstuk bevat die gevolgtrekkings van die studie, naamlik, dat musiek die lewens van die kamp- en ghettobewoners aanmerklik beïnvloed het, onder meer as middel om die moreel te versterk, as vorm van vermaak vir beide inwoners en kampowerhede, en as propagandamiddel. Baie van die liedere weerspieël die inwoners se misnoeë met die wyse waarop hulle behandel is, terwyl

sekeres dien as dokumentasie van die daaglikse gebeure en nog ander om wraak roep.

Die verhandeling sluit af met 'n Woordelys van gebruikte terme en twee Bylaes, een waarvan die name van musici in die kampe en ghetto's bevat en die ander die titels van werke wat in die kampe en ghetto's gekomponeer is.

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1:	Map of Europe showing the locations of concentration camps	18
Figure 2:	Map of Auschwitz II (Birkenau)	21
Figure 3:	Map of Europe showing the locations of ghettos	66
Figure 4:	Example of a programme of a music concert organised by the <i>Studio für neue Musik</i>	112
Figure 5:	Map of the Terezin ghetto	114
Figure 6:	Poster advertising <i>Brundibár</i>	118
Figure 7:	Example of a programme of a chamber music concert	122
Figure 8:	Poster advertising Karel Svenk's cabaret <i>Long Live Life</i>	125
Figure 9:	Map of the Warsaw ghetto	139
Figure 10:	Map of Europe showing the General-Government area	169

LIST OF MUSIC EXAMPLES

Example 1:	Moorsoldaten	52
Example 2:	Es Brent	73
Example 3:	Minutn fun Bitokhn	73
Example 4:	Song composed by Dawid Bajgelman	91
Example 5:	Rumkowski, Chaim	93
Example 6:	Rifkele di Shabesdike	152

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
SUMMARY	iv
OPSOMMING	vii
LIST OF FIGURES	x
LIST OF MUSIC EXAMPLES	x
1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Motivation for the study	1
1.2 Object of the study	1
1.3 Methods of research	2
1.4 Problems pertaining to the study	2
1.5 Division of chapters	6
2 THE ROLE OF MUSIC	8
2.1 The influence of music on emotions	8
2.2 The influence of music on morale	10
2.3 The influence of music on religion	11
2.4 Music used as a means of propaganda and protest	12
2.5 Music used for documentation	13
2.6 The role of music as entertainment	13
2.7 The role of music as therapy	14
2.8 Conclusion	16
3 CONCENTRATION CAMPS	17
3.1 Genesis	17
3.2 Organisation of life in the camps	19
4 AUSCHWITZ CONCENTRATION CAMPS	20
4.1 Geographical location and genesis	20
4.2 Musical activities in Auschwitz I	22

4.3	Musical activities in Auschwitz II (Birkenau)	24
4.4	Conclusion	28
5	BELZEC CONCENTRATION CAMP	29
5.1	Geographical location and genesis	29
5.2	Musical activities in Belzec	29
5.3	Conclusion	30
6	BUCHENWALD CONCENTRATION CAMP	32
6.1	Geographical location and genesis	32
6.2	Musical activities in Buchenwald	32
6.3	Conclusion	34
7	DACHAU CONCENTRATION CAMP	35
7.1	Geographical location and genesis	35
7.2	Musical activities in Dachau	35
7.3	Conclusion	37
8	SOBIBOR CONCENTRATION CAMP	38
8.1	Geographical location and genesis	38
8.2	Musical activities in Sobibor	38
8.3	Conclusion	40
9	TREBLINKA CONCENTRATION CAMP	42
9.1	Geographical location and genesis	42
9.2	Musical activities in Treblinka	42
9.3	Conclusion	47
10	OTHER CONCENTRATION CAMPS	48
10.1	Bergen-Belsen	48
10.2	Börgermoor	50
10.3	Cieszanów	53
10.4	Dinaverk	53
10.5	Dora	54
10.6	Flossenburg	55
10.7	Gleiwitz	56

10.8	Kaiserwald	56
10.9	Mechelen	58
10.10	Plaszow	58
10.11	Sachsenhausen	59
10.12	Westerbork	61
10.13	Additional concentration camps	62
10.14	Conclusion	64
11	GHETTOS	65
11.1	Genesis	65
11.2	Organisation of life in the ghettos	67
12	CRACOW GHETTO	69
12.1	Geographical location and genesis	69
12.2	Musical activities in Cracow ghetto	69
12.3	Conclusion	76
13	KOVNO GHETTO	77
13.1	Geographical location and genesis	77
13.2	Musical activities in Kovno ghetto	77
13.3	The last years of the ghetto	81
13.4	Conclusion	81
14	LODZ GHETTO	82
14.1	Geographical location and genesis	82
14.2	Initial musical activities	83
14.3	Musical activities under the House of Culture	84
14.3.1	The professional stage	84
14.3.2	The amateur stage	87
14.3.3	Youth entertainment	87
14.3.4	Domestic entertainment	88
14.3.5	Street entertainment	88
14.4	Decline of cultural activities	100
14.5	Conclusion	101



15	LVOV GHETTO AND ITS LABOUR CAMP, JANOWSKA	103
15.1	Geographical location and genesis	103
15.2	Musical activities in the Lvov ghetto	103
15.3	Musical activities in the labour camp Janowska	105
15.4	Conclusion	106
16	TEREZIN (THERESIENSTADT) GHETTO	108
16.1	Geographical location and genesis	108
16.2	The organisation of life and cultural activities	109
16.3	The organisation of musical activities	111
16.3.1	Pre-fall 1944 musical activities	115
16.3.1.1	Vocal music	115
16.3.1.2	Instrumental music	119
16.3.1.3	Lighter musical activities	123
16.3.1.4	Composers	124
16.3.1.5	Other pre-fall 1944 musical activities	126
16.3.2	Musical activities from Fall 1944 until the liberation of the ghetto	126
16.4	Aftermath	127
16.5	Conclusion	128
17	VILNA GHETTO	130
17.1	Geographical location and genesis	130
17.2	Background to cultural activities	130
17.3	Musical activities in Vilna ghetto	132
17.4	Conclusion	137
18	WARSAW GHETTO	138
18.1	Geographical location and genesis	138
18.2	The establishment and progress of cultural and musical activities	140
18.3	Satirical songs	147
18.4	Conclusion	148

19	OTHER GHETTOS	150
19.1	Bedzin	150
19.2	Bialystok	150
19.3	Chelm	153
19.4	Czestochowa	153
19.5	Libau	154
19.6	Lublin	154
19.7	Radom	155
19.8	Sosnowiec	155
19.9	Conclusion	156
20	CONCLUSION	157
	LIST OF SOURCES	163
	GLOSSARY	168
APPENDIX A:	MUSICIANS IN THE CONCENTRATION CAMPS AND GHETTOS	171
APPENDIX B:	WORKS COMPOSED IN THE CONCENTRATION CAMPS AND GHETTOS	177

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Motivation for the study

History, and in particular that of World War II, has long been a subject of intense interest to the writer, and a field in which he has read extensively.

While reading and doing research on the music of World War II, he became aware of the lack of information in this particular field, especially with regard to the role of music in the German-controlled concentration camps and ghettos of this period.

When doing his Honours Paper, which dealt with the role of music during World War II, the writer attempted to create a basis for further study, since two chapters of the above Paper dealt particularly with the music life and activities in the concentration camps and ghettos. Those chapters will serve as a basis for this indepth research.

1.2 Object of the study

The aim of this dissertation is as follows:

- To do research pertaining to the origin and development of musical activities in the concentration camps and ghettos.
- To give an outline of the compilation of programs and the repertoires of soloists, ensembles and orchestras.
- Cultural activities are all interconnected. Music therefore can not be discussed completely on its own. Mention was made of other cultural happenings in the concentration camps and ghettos.

1.3 Methods of research

The primary sources used were books and periodicals. Institutions like the Zionist Federation in Johannesburg gave many hints on finding sources. These leads were followed and led to many sources the writer never knew about. The Israeli embassy also provided a few pamphlets.

Furthermore the writer received a video on the Terezin ghetto and obtained a compact disc with recordings of some of the works composed in Terezin.

Unfortunately letters sent to Yad Vashem in Jerusalem were not answered. This left a gap in the research which might have helped the writer acquire more of the sources.

1.4 Problems pertaining to the study

Several problems presented themselves while the writer was doing research on the subject, one of these being the lack of objectivity. The other problems concern the sources, their availability and reliability, as well as the lack of real knowledge on the part of the general public.

The lack of objectivity on the subject probably arose of its being such an emotional one to both Jews and Germans. Keeping this in mind, it was difficult to decide what to include and what to omit. For this reason opposing opinions were shown.

Because this thesis is concerned with music in the concentration camps and ghettos, it was decided not to discuss atrocities committed here, as it would be a needless repetition of most of the sources available, seeing that no-one can deny the existence of such inhumanities.

It frequently happened that sources contained very little

information that could be used in this study. An example of this is the book by Germaine Tillion (1975) of which only sentence was used. The amount of information available in the sources determined the lengths of the different chapters. The chapters on the Lodz and Terezin ghettos both exceed 20 pages while the information available on a number of concentration camps and ghettos were only able to fill half a page.

Subjectivity is also evident from the complete one-sidedness of the books available in most book-stores. For a long time a comprehensive and objective study of the war as a whole has been sadly neglected.

The lack of knowledge on the subject of the concentration camps and ghettos is a real problem with the public at large. The writer found many people claiming to know everything after having read only a few books on the subject. Any person seriously interested in a subject should read widely and try to keep updated. Some individuals known to the writer thought that a prisoner-of-war camp was identical to a concentration camp.

This point was further emphasised to the writer when interested parties asked whether Oliver Messiaen's *Quartet for the end of time* in this thesis had been included. If that had been the case, the subject would also have included music in the prisoner of war camps, as Messiaen's work had been composed in the P.O.W. camp at Görlitz in Silesia. Works by the composer Rudolf Karel would also have been included. He composed a *Nonet* for flute, oboe, clarinet, bassoon, French horn, violin, viola, cello and double bass, and an opera called *Three Hairs of Old Wise Man* during his internment in a prison in Prague and in the Terezin small fortress, which was a jail. (Walsh 1993:72.)

The greatest problem to arise probably was the availability and especially the reliability of sources. The distance from South Africa to Europe was the main problem in the availability of sources, as the writer could not use all the sources that are

available in Europe.

Much can be said about the reliability of sources. The first problem the writer came across was that certain books were outdated, but still being kept in libraries and, of course read and believed. This ties in with the public's lack of knowledge, as they would have no idea of which facts had been changed or updated.

An example of this is the Black Book (1946:396) which states that:

Four million Jews - about two-thirds of the six million who perished in Europe at the hands of the Nazis - were murdered at Oswiecim and its subsidiary camps.

However, Mr Shmuel Krakowski, the head of the archives at the Yad Vashem Holocaust Memorial in Jerusalem, welcomed findings by the Auschwitz State Museum that only about 960 000 Jews had died at Auschwitz, the better known name of Oswiecim. (Lower death toll welcomed, *Pretoria News* 19 July 1990:6). Yet many people still believe books like the Black Book.

A large percentage of the public read and believe books without really concentrating on the correctness of information given. For example, there are numerous testimonies of the gassing of inmates at concentration camps not in Poland, like Mauthausen, Stutthof, Bergen-Belsen, Sachsenhausen, Ravensbrück, Buchenwald, Flossenburg and Dachau (Matussek 1975:19), which is in direct contrast to Feig (1979:26) and Suzman (1978:74) who categorise only the camps in Poland as the "extermination camps".

Another instance of improbable sounding statements is found in Laska (1983:171) where mention is made of the crematoria going at full blast 24 hours a day. The inside walls were covered with inches of human fat. Although this sounds terrible, it would be impossible for crematorium, especially those built of bricks, to

continue operating 24 hours per day without cracking or otherwise breaking. It is also highly improbable that human fat would cover the walls since they worked for so many hours a day. Intense heat must also have been the order of the day as Nyiszli (1960:55) claims having seen bodies cremated in 20 minutes, with only ashes remaining. This also borders on impossibility in light of the fuel used, which was coal, most likely low grade coal. The Black Book (1946:255-256) even claims that 400 bodies were cremated in 10 hours in 6 coal burning furnaces. The crematoria of those days could maybe burn one corpse per crematorium per hour, which would give a total of 60 corpses.

The writer dealt with this problem in the following way: Books containing inconsistencies were not used as primary sources but only as a way of confirming facts in credible sources.

The prime example of an unreliable source is the book by Shelley (1986) which could not be used as a source because of its unreliability. Page xv notes the registering of all new arrivals, where even normal deaths were recorded. But on pages 2 and 284 it mentions that quite a number of inmates were not registered at all.

The writer's opinion is that authors should look at what their books say, as it is a bad reflection on this aspect of history. It also makes it difficult to decide which books are authoritative sources.

Fortunately it was much easier to discern between "truth and fiction" as regards musical activities, as some books are in agreement as to some of the facts.

The difficulty is mainly in deciding which books should be the main references, and which could only be used to confirm information from more reliable sources.

1.5 Division of chapters

The thesis starts with a brief overview of the role of music in general which includes the effect that music has on emotions, morale and religion as well as the uses of music for propaganda, protest, documentation, entertainment and therapy. A chapter explaining the term "concentration camp", and the way in which these camps functioned, follows. The musical activities in the following concentration camps are then discussed in a number of chapters:

Auschwitz (Chapter 4)
Belzec (Chapter 5)
Bergen-Belsen (Chapter 10)
Börgermoor (Chapter 10)
Buchenwald (Chapter 6)
Budzyn (Chapter 10)
Cieszanów (Chapter 10)
Dachau (Chapter 7)
Dinaverk (Chapter 10)
Dora (Chapter 10)
Flossenburg (Chapter 10)
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Majdanek (Chapter 10)
Mauthausen (Chapter 10)
Mechelen (Chapter 10)
Plaszow (Chapter 10)
Ravensbrück (Chapter 10)
Sachsenhausen (Chapter 10)
Sobibor (Chapter 8)
Treblinka (Chapter 9)
Westerbork (Chapter 10)

Wülzburg (Chapter 10)

The second section of the thesis commences with a concise overview of the term "ghetto", as well as the way they functioned. The next few chapters concentrate on the musical activities in the following ghettos:

Bedzin (Chapter 19)
Bialystok (Chapter 19)
Chelm (Chapter 19)
Cracow (Chapter 12)
Czestochowa (Chapter 19)
Kovno (Chapter 13)
Libau (Chapter 19)
Lodz (Chapter 14)
Lublin (Chapter 19)
Lvov (Chapter 15)
Radom (Chapter 19)
Sosnowiec (Chapter 19)
Terezin (Chapter 16)
Vilna (Chapter 17)
Warsaw (Chapter 18)

The last chapter contains the conclusions arrived at in this study. The thesis concludes with a Glossary of terms used and two Appendices, one containing the names of musicians in the concentration camps and ghettos, and the other the titles of works composed in the concentration camps and ghettos.

CHAPTER 2

THE ROLE OF MUSIC

The influence and role of music in the life of man have been recognised and applied from the earliest periods of recorded history. The evidence of prehistoric archeology, in the form of primitive musical instruments found in mounds, burrows and caverns, points to a still earlier recognition of the power of music (Diserens 1922:1).

Aristotle also wrote about the role of music and the influence it exerts on man's emotions. He sums it up very effectively in the following quotation (Scott 1958:39):

Emotions of any kind are produced by melody and rhythm, therefore by music man becomes accustomed to feeling the right emotions; music has thus the power to form character, and the various kinds of music based on the various modes, may be distinguished by their effects on character: one, for example, working in the direction of melancholy, another of effeminacy, one encouraging abandonment, another self-control, another enthusiasm, and so on through the series.

In this chapter the role of music will be discussed, exploring the different influences of music on man as mentioned above. The themes that will be investigated are the influence of music on the emotions, morale, religion, propaganda and protest, documentation, entertainment and music as therapy.

2.1 The influence of music on emotions

Almost every piece of music that has ever been composed, whether instrumental or vocal, was composed with a specific purpose and

message in mind. The composer expresses his emotions by creating music that possesses the quality of his emotions. With his composition he hopes to transmit or communicate the same emotions to the audience.

Evidence of the influence of music on the emotions of people has been found in studies done by Schoen and Gatewood which have shown that in general a musical composition not only produces a change in the affective state of the listener, but that its effect upon the large majority of the members of an audience is uniform in a striking degree (Schoen 1927:131).

Vocal music definitely has a greater effect on the arousal of specific emotions. This must unquestionably be attributed to the words used in the composition, as words have such great power to transmit the message of the composer, his feelings and emotions. Good examples of this are the popular love songs which convey emotions of happiness, sadness or melancholy.

It is not only vocal music that can change the emotions of listeners. A good example of the influence of instrumental music on emotions can be found in the effects produced by marches, which are especially popular during war time. Emotions like patriotism and preparedness are usually induced by this kind of music.

Liszt is known to have said that music "does not lie to the feelings" (Watson 1991:38). Tolstoy stated the following about art and emotions (Budd 1985:121):

Art is a human activity consisting in this, that one man consciously by means of certain external signs, hands on to others feelings he has lived through, and that others are infected by these feelings and also experience them.

2.2 The influence of music on morale

During times of difficulty and uncertainty poets and songwriters can have a major effect on the morale of the people with the works they produce.

Through music the composer and songwriter can inspire people to have hope for the future, to keep up their spirits and remind them that they are not alone in their struggle. Music and poetry can serve as a vehicle of morale and cultural sustenance.

Music builds morale and encourages people to help each other fight back - to stand up to their problems.

Frieda Aaron (1985:95-96) in her dissertation on poetry in the holocaust writes:

The very exhortation to "sing" became itself a moral mandate in much of the Holocaust world, for singing and writing were verbal citadels that often protected, even if temporarily, against moral and physical disintegration.

In this and similar situations it is clear that music can have a positive influence on the morale of people.

Here follows the text of a song written in the Warsaw ghetto by H. Broyda to encourage and inspire (Aaron 1985:15-16):

*Moshah, keep going, Moshah, keep going!
Don't fall apart.
Moshah, keep going even stronger.
Moshah, don't give up,
Remember... we must survive.*

2.3 The influence of music on religion

In most religions music and religious activity are inseparable. Music is used in this setting for worship, to create the appropriate emotions conducive to receiving the message that the preacher wants to put across, and sometimes as a prayer.

Even in the Islamic religion, where by definition "music" is forbidden in the mosque, passages of the Koran are vocalised in a manner similar to Hebrew and Gregorian chant. Thus the periodic call to prayer by the muezzin (official of a Muslim mosque) is a definable melody (Perris 1985:124).

Music in worship is expected to heighten the desired emotional effect in the churchgoer. To articulate the text, emphasis is placed on some significant words and attention is focused on the religious activity.

At the simplest level, the music created for public worship is a word for word intoning of adoration and prayer. This is the ancient method employed in the non-literate traditions of tribal religions, as well as in the written texts of high cultures such as the Jewish, early Christian, Hindu and Buddhist (Perris 1985:124).

Specific religious works can be a spiritual experience for the listener, such as Händel's *Messiah*, or a conscious act of devotion. Religious music may also have missionary value in that it may attract new adherents.

For whatever purpose music is used in religious activity, it is clear that music plays a very important part in man's interaction with God.

2.4 Music used as propaganda and protest

Music is a very effective tool for propaganda purposes, because it has such an impact on the emotions. Propagandising is an ancient use for music, not to deceive but to persuade (Perris 1985:1).

Singing of commercials on radio and television can be seen as attempts to persuade. All the same, songs of protest, satire, praise and scorn from all times fall into the category of music as propaganda.

Throughout the ages, especially during times of rebellion and war, music was written to express the feelings of the people involved and to inspire others to join forces against the perceived culprit or oppressor. Some examples of this are the following: During the German Peasant wars of the 16th century a song *Die Gedanken sind frei* (Thoughts are free) was written and very popular amongst the peasants (Perris 1985:5). More recent examples are the numerous protest songs against the Vietnam War by singers like John Lennon and Bruce Springsteen.

Another example of music as propaganda during wartime is the broadcast of music over a loudspeaker on a war front to encourage soldiers of the other side to defect. This happened on many of the war-fronts during the Second World War.

In the light of the viewpoint that propaganda intends to persuade, even the music which is used to enhance a religious service can also be seen as propaganda (Perris 1985:5).

Music as propaganda can thus be used in two ways, firstly to persuade people to join forces for a specific purpose. Secondly it can be used to protest against certain institutions, legislation or practices such as abortion.

2.5 Music used for documentation

At different times in history music has been used to document specific events. Special songs are written for certain important occasions in order to commemorate these.

Frieda Aaron (1985:19) wrote the following about music and poetry in the Holocaust:

There was a spontaneous exploitation of folk poets and street singers, who were moved by a compulsion to bear witness, and hence their endeavors, however unsophisticated or lachrymose, reflect a simple veracity.

Documentary poetry and songs often attempted to identify or name facts in order to understand what was actually happening. In primitive, illiterate societies making up songs and stories about their history was the only way to record and preserve it for posterity. This is evident from many folk songs and folk tales.

Music is thus also used to convey facts about important times in human life.

2.6 The role of music as entertainment

Probably the most important role of music is to entertain. Since ancient times and in just about every society music and dancing formed an integral part of entertainment and leisure.

People from diverse cultural and social backgrounds are entertained by different kinds of music. Operas and other classical works were composed explicitly for the entertainment of the elite and royalty in many of the past centuries, while the people from the lower classes enjoyed their own kind of music like those created by the minnesingers and jongleurs.

One of the functions of music as entertainment is to transfer the listener to another world. It is a temporary means of escape from an unpleasant situation. At the same time it serves as an aid to relaxation.

As mentioned earlier, people from different social and cultural backgrounds will be entertained by different types of music. Not everybody enjoys classical music or ballet. The younger generation, in particular, may prefer jazz, popular or rock music.

Whatever a person's preference in music, its entertainment value can be clearly seen from music sales and the popularity of classical works, musicals and ballets, and from box-office successes.

2.7 The role of music as therapy

A quite recent development in music, is its application in a therapeutic context. Music therapy is a broad field which includes therapy for the cure of disease, disorders and disabilities. It is moreover used to improve motor skills, communication skills, cognitive, social and emotional skills.

It is not clear exactly what propensities music possesses that makes it so effective in therapy. Perhaps it is enough to say that music plays a role as mirror of life and is thus useful as a therapeutic medium.

Michel, in a paper delivered at the Eleventh National Conference of the Australian Music Therapy Association (Allison 1985:4), suggested seven specific ways music functions as a therapeutic tool:

- 1. Music can structure learning within (and perhaps outside of) a time-frame (Ex. television and radio music jingles).*

2. *Music may provide a form of reward to reinforce learning.*
3. *Music may stimulate a physical activity which can facilitate motor learning.*
4. *Music may provide a means for accomplishment by individuals, which may enhance their self-esteem and self-confidence.*
5. *Music may provide a form of stimulus which either increases or decreases human activity and tension.*
6. *Music can provide an activity which may be structured to enhance social skills through group interaction.*
7. *Music may provide a means for individuals to relate to the longer parameters of life (sometimes called spiritual experiences), through its special evocation of the aesthetic response.*

The following examples of music therapy are from papers delivered at the Eleventh National Conference of the Australian Music Therapy Association in 1985 and are representative of the divergent fields that can benefit from music therapy.

Branch (Allison 1985:33) found that music in palliative care settings is useful in assisting the dying; to use effective communication to restore, regain and maintain a quality of life. Music therapy with Alzheimer patients was found to be especially effective in that old songs provided an excellent vehicle for reducing confusion (Allison 1985:40). Macmahan, in his paper on "Music in a multi-disciplinary approach to school-based programming for the visually handicapped", quoted Ginglend and Stiles in saying (Allison 1985:50):

The variety of activities that are possible with music makes this medium ideal for supplementing and reinforcing much of the desired learning of all children.

Music therapy is also useful in helping Parkinsons patients coping better with their particular symptoms. In a project by

Cosgriff, Swollow and Steward in 1984, it was observed that music provides motivation and rhythmic stimulus to initiate movement, increase mobility and assist in the control of voluntary movements. Music can also be used to induce a state of relaxation which reduces involuntary movements and permits control of voluntary movement. (Allison 1985:53-54.)

Other areas where music therapy is applied successfully are with multi-handicapped, visually impaired children, self-injury behaviour in profoundly retarded children, and reducing cancer pains. These are by no means the only uses for music therapy.

From the above it is clear that the role of music as therapy is very widely and significantly used. It should however not be seen as therapeutic only for sick people, as even healthy individuals can benefit from the relaxing qualities of music.

2.8 Conclusion

Music plays a very important role in human and animal life and definitely affects it in diverse ways. It influences the way man feels and communicates; it affects even his health and the way he copes with the different situations and stresses he faces.

Since ancient times humans had the inherent need for music and thus created it to satisfy this need. To separate man from music would certainly have a negative effect on his quality of life.

Scott (1985:43) summarises the influence of music as follows:

Music affects the minds and emotions of mankind.

It affects them either consciously or subconsciously, or both.

It affects them through the medium of suggestion and reiteration.

It affects them either directly, indirectly, or both.

CHAPTER 3

CONCENTRATION CAMPS

3.1 Genesis

The concentration camps were usually built close to towns by the inmates themselves. These camps were originally intended for holding areas or prisons for criminals, political prisoners or Jews.

Before World War II these camps were situated in Germany. As German-occupied territories expanded during the war, so the locations of the camps were also distributed throughout the occupied areas. As the war progressed, greater emphasis was placed on receiving Jews as inmates.

During the war Jews were deported from newly occupied areas but also from ghettos. Most of these concentration camps provided slave labour to the surrounding industries. In this way the German government received extra revenue, as the industries had to pay the concentration camp authorities for the use of these labourers.

The concentration camps discussed in this thesis are not the only concentration camps to have existed in German-occupied Europe. many more concentration camps existed, but were not found to have any form of musical or cultural activities. A few examples of these are Ebensee, Günskirchen, Gusen, Jasenovac, Sachsenburg and Stutthof.

The map in Figure 1 shows the locations of the concentration camps discussed in Chapters 12 to 18.



Figure 1 : Map of Europe showing locations of concentration camps

3.2 Organisation of life in the concentration camps

The camp guards, usually SS men, were in direct control of the camps. They had the final say in all important decisions.

In contrast with the ghettos, which had a Council of Elders as self-governing body, the concentration camps had an authoritative hierarchy, consisting of inmates, based on a system of elders and capos. A Camp Elder was elected to be a contact between the inmates and authorities. The Camp Elder was the head of the prisoners' hierarchy with Block Elders who were subject to his decisions. The Block Elders were each placed in control of one or more blocks or buildings.

As the concentration camps were actually used as labour camps, the labour groups or units had to be organised. These units were then supervised by one prisoner called a "capo", also spelled "kapo", or foreman. In the case of large labour units, one capo was placed in control of a number of capos. The capos were still under direct control of an SS man. (Dachau Review: 106.)

In most of the concentration camps some form of musical activities took place. These varied from orchestral performances to private song evenings. Other cultural activities, such as theatrical performances and the reading of literature, played a role in the camps as well. These cultural expressions were usually allowed by the camp authorities to a lesser or greater degree.

CHAPTER 4

AUSCHWITZ CONCENTRATION CAMPS

4.1 Geographical location and genesis

The composite Auschwitz concentration camp is probably the best-known of its kind. It was situated near Cracow in Poland, and was also known as Oswiecim. This camp actually consisted of two main camps, known as Auschwitz I and Auschwitz II (Birkenau).

Auschwitz I was opened in May 1940 as a concentration camp for Polish political prisoners (Laska 1983:15). Most of these were men. The first inmates only arrived during June/July 1940 (Gutman 1984:49). 39 camps surrounded the main camp, with 31 of these providing labour for factories and industrial plants in the area (Garlinski 1975:84). A women's section was opened in March 1942, but these women were soon sent to Birkenau (Laska 1983:173).

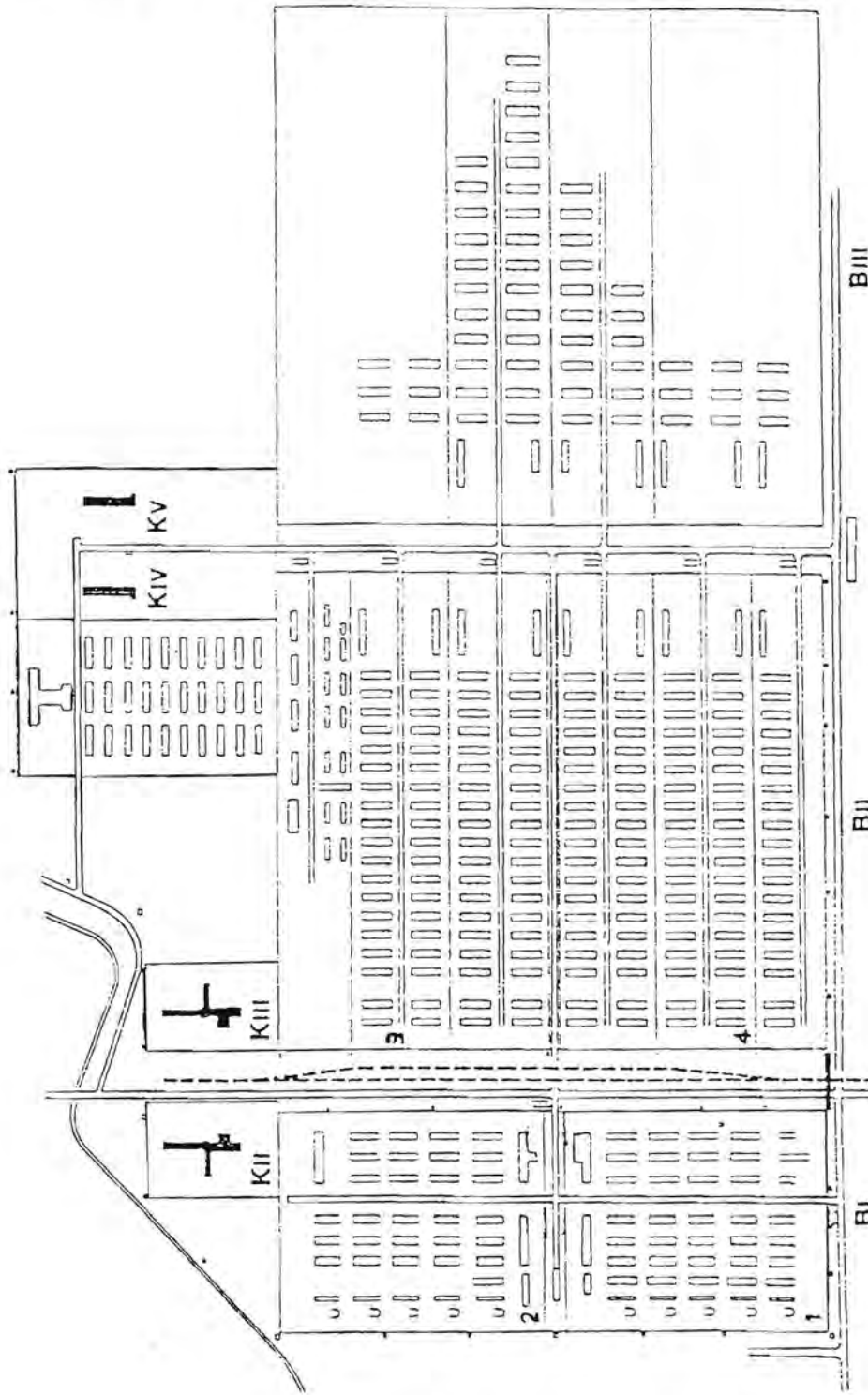
A certain Vera B. was assigned to take care of a group of children. She took them to the edge of the camp to play games with them, sing songs and help them to while away the time (Langer 1991:149).

In spite of all that is known about Auschwitz, Matussek (1975:18) claims that Auschwitz was a paradise compared to the Lodz ghetto. This seems to be unlikely. It is however known that inmates with money could buy food at canteens provided at the camp (Kielar 1981:21). A bordello of 40 rooms with girls working in two hour shifts, three times a week, was provided for the inmates (Laska 1983:181).

One of the most amazing facts about Auschwitz, is that no comradeship existed between the inmates. In many cases the fellow inmates, including the prisoner hierarchy (elders and kapos), were just as bad or even worse than the Nazi guards (Matussek

1975:13). One would expect the inmates to have cared more about each other. Unfortunately this very rarely was the case in any of the concentration camps and ghettos.

Figure 2: Map of Auschwitz II (Birkenau) (Pawelczynska 1979:27)



- 1 and 2: The women's camp.
- 3: Family camp for Gypsies.
- 4: Family camp for Czech Jews.

Where Auschwitz I was better known as a labour camp, Auschwitz II, or Birkenau, was known as an extermination centre. This camp was situated about 3 kilometres from Auschwitz I, and the building of the camp started in March 1942 (Shelley 1986:1). During August 1942, the women's camp of Auschwitz I was transferred to Birkenau (Garlinski 1975:108). This camp was officially opened in October 1941 (Laska 1983:15). Its first commandant was Josef Kramer.

The Terezin Family Camp was in section BIIb, housing up to 4 000 ex-inmates of the Terezin ghetto at any particular time (Garlinski 1975:228). This section of the camp was opened in September 1943 (Karas 1985:157).

4.2 Musical activities in Auschwitz I

In this camp music was played over loudspeakers, for instance when inmates entered the camp, Lohengrin was heard (Lagnado 1991:34). Some of the kapos and SS camp officers also forced the prisoners to sing (Kielar 1981:12).

Many solo artists performed in the camp, or else played or sang for their own pleasure. Some of these were a French violinist (Micheels 1989:79) and Nora Micheels, who played flute in her barracks (Micheels 1989:77). Nora also performed with a small group of musicians during her stay in Auschwitz (Micheels 1989:117).

A trumpet player, called Lex van Weren, performed at a Christmas tree in the camp during December 1943 (Ouwehand 1992:52).

The two Rosner brothers, who were deported from Plaszow concentration camp, probably also performed during their stay here (Keneally 1982:336). Another chamber music group performed regularly on Sunday mornings to an audience consisting of, or including, SS officers, among them the commandant of Auschwitz,

Rudolf Höss (Micheels 1989:126).

Two orchestras existed in Auschwitz. The first was a non-Jewish orchestra, whose members were deported to Dora and other concentration camps during the fall of 1944. A Jewish orchestra then came into existence. (Ouwehand 1992:52.) More information is available on the first of these, as the second orchestra only existed for about 4 to 5 months.

At the beginning of January 1941, the commandant decided that a prisoner's orchestra should be formed and rehearse as soon as possible. The musicians of this orchestra were very competent and the orchestra was frequently used to impress visitors to the camp, or to serve as proof of the exceptionally good treatment the prisoners were receiving (Garlinski 1975:65).

The orchestra was also used for other purposes, like the accompanying of work parties on their way to and from work (Micheels 1989:92).

This orchestra was highly thought of throughout the concentration camp system (Fénelon 1977:viii) and was a full symphony orchestra with excellent players, as well as a number of soloists (Fénelon 1977:209). This was because they had some of the best musicians in Europe. The members of this orchestra were more fortunate than many of the other inmates as they were exempted from heavy labour, and they received better food (Mirchuk 1976:34).

It was also claimed that music was played while prisoners were hung from the gallows for offences they committed (Dachau Review S.a.:81-82). The orchestra performed waltzes and marches, as well as works like *The Merry Widow* and the *Barcarolle* from *The Tales of Hoffmann* (Arad et al. 1981:366).

The Jewish orchestra performed every morning for the labour parties, and gave concerts on Sundays (Ouwehand 1992:52). Variety shows were also held on Sundays (Micheels 1989:83).

Max Garcia, a Dutch Jew, and other Dutch prisoners formed a unique camp group, who performed cabarets to entertain the inmates with music and jokes. This cabaret group was very popular with the prisoners and the SS and performed regularly on Sundays (Feig 1979:349). After these performances the members of the group received an extra soup ration (Dachau Review S.a.:85).

Many of the inmates sang Jewish folk songs and sentimental Russian ballads in their free time (Donat 1978:268). Another form of entertainment that was introduced shortly before the evacuation of Auschwitz was film shows (Kielar 1981:259).

In Auschwitz, as in many of the other concentration camps and ghettos, most inmates were only concerned with their own survival, and especially their "standard of living". This fact is very well noted by Pawelczynska (1979:81-82):

...each of the notables worked at making his or her dream of luxury come true.... A notable might employ not only a domestic (to cook, wash, clean), but also tailors or seamstresses, shoeshiners, hairdressers, and masseurs.... Social life among the elite required added attractions and thus arose a unique patronage of the arts. Famous singers, actors, dancers, and musicians were summoned to an organized party, and for a bowl of soup or a piece of bread enlivened the emptiness of these select receptions. Fortune-tellers, circus people and erotic partners were also kept around by the elite.

4.3 Musical activities in Auschwitz II (Birkenau)

Many solo artists performed in Birkenau, most of them as vocalists. A young girl, Liza, was asked to sing to the SS men (Nomberg-Przytyk 1985:15). A certain Lily, sang excerpts from *La Traviata* (Perl 1948:102), and Betty sang works by Schubert, Grieg, Bach and Mozart (Perl 1948:136). In one of the buildings

of the camp, Block 17, the *Blockälteste* ordered a Greek professional singer to perform for her (Laska 1983:242).

Max Garcia and the rest of the Dutch cabaret group already mentioned in Auschwitz I, were also required to perform in Birkenau (Feig 1979:349).

The only women's orchestra to exist in any of the concentration camps was in Birkenau (Fénelon 1977:viii). Before this orchestra came into existence the mens' orchestra from Auschwitz I performed here. The first conductor of the womens' orchestra was a certain Tchaikowska (Fénelon 1977:36). The orchestra was formed by commandant Höss to provide music for the prisoners to march to work.

A woman called Alma took over direction of the orchestra on her arrival at Birkenau, and became the Kapo for Music (Dribben 1969:192). Under her direction the orchestra started growing in numbers until the total membership reached 47 (Fénelon 1977:34). They worked up to 17 hours per day (Fénelon 1977:55). Members wore identical outfits, and the soloists even wore evening gowns (Nomberg-Przytyk 1985:67).

The orchestra was used for a wide variety of music events. Their most important function was at roll-calls. During the winter months they were exempted from these because of the possibility of violin strings snapping (Fénelon 1977:84). Feig (1979:359) mentions that "attractive women" played gay tunes from operas and light marches when new inmates debarked from the trains. (The choice of the word "attractive" seems strange, as their hair had been close-cropped.)

While the inmates marched in and out of the camp to go to work, the orchestra played cheerful marches and sentimental folk songs (Müller 1979:2, 58).

Concerts were held, both for the inmates and the camp authori-

ties. During the latter half of 1944, two to three concerts were held on Sundays (Fénelon 1977:124). One of the regular Sunday concerts was that given in a wash-room. Prisoners not working could attend these concerts (Dribben 1969:217).

They also gave concerts, often together with singers, near the edge of the camp (Nomberg-Przytyk 1985:67). In the mornings and evenings performances were given on a band platform at the intersection of the A and B camps (Fénelon 1977:46). Other appearances were at the block for the insane and the hospital (Fénelon 1977:125, 127), and also at one Christmas Eve concert (Feig 1979:186). Mengele (the notorious doctor of Auschwitz) is known to have attended at least one concert, accompanied by several twins (Lagnado 1991:67). The orchestra also played for the camp guards throughout New Year's Eve on 31 December 1944 (Lagnado 1991:88).

Some of the works in the repertoire of this orchestra were Suppé's *Lustspiel*, arias from *Madame Butterfly*, *Cavalleria Rusticana*, Brahms' *Hungarian Dances*, selections from *Tosca* and *Whitehorse*, *Song of the Volga* (Fénelon 1977), *Serenade* by Schubert (Müller 1979:11) and a song called *In my homeland the roses are blooming* (Laska 1983:242).

As hardly any music scores could be brought into the camp, Fania Fénelon and three helpers had to transcribe many works for the orchestra (Fénelon 1977:53). Some of these were *Madame Butterfly*, Peter Kreuder's *Twelve minutes* (Fénelon 1977:89-90) and Suppé's *The Charge of the Light Brigade* (Fénelon 1977:102).

Transcribing music was also necessitated by the types of instruments available in the orchestra. Some of the instruments used were 10 violins, 3 guitars, 5 mandolins, 2 accordions, one each of flute, reed pipes, drums, cymbals (Feig 1979:186) and an unspecified number of violas and cellos (Dribben 1969:217).

After Alma's death, a certain Sonia took over the leadership of

the orchestra (Dribben 1969:218). The first music they performed under her baton was *The Laughing Polka* (Fénelon 1977:215).

In Birkenau a school opened under the direction of Fredy Hirsch. Consideration was given to musical education, especially singing. A library was also provided for reading and schooling. In addition several choirs existed and the inmates could attend recitals of chamber music. A children's opera called *Schneewittchen* was even produced, with a mouth harmonica as accompaniment (Karas 1985:158).

In the Gypsy Camp the inmates sang and danced. They also formed an orchestra which played waltzes, mazurkas, ballads and operettas (Lagnado 1991:82-83).

The Terezin Family Camp also had an excellent orchestra. On occasions they performed before the SS (Müller 1979:97).

A song, known to have come into existence in Birkenau, tells of loss and sorrow (Rubin 1963:437):

*Lokomotiv, du shvartser, bizt zich geforn,
Host kayn birkenau mich bald avekgefirt.
Lokomotiv, du shvartser, nem mich shoy'n tsurik.
Ich vil zen vider mayn meydele.*

*Oych vifil mol bin ich azoy geforn,
Fil mol bin ich shvach un krank gevorn,
Vey iz mir, ... ch'bin in daytshland doch noch a
shklaf,
Un ich benk aheym, tsu mayn fayn meydele.*

English translation:

*Black locomotive, you rode and rode,
Till you brought me to Birkenau.
Black locomotive, oh, take me back.*

I want to see my little girl again.

So many times have I traveled this way,
So many times have I become weak and sick,
Woe is me, ... I'm but a slave in Germany.
And I long for home and my lovely little girl.

4.4 Conclusion

The role of music in Auschwitz I and Auschwitz II (Birkenau) could be interpreted in many ways. It could first of all be seen as a pacifier, or a way in which the inmates could be led to believe that the situation was normal.

Music could also be seen as a morale-booster, but at the same time as a way to confuse. Laska (1983:178) notes that some of the music played by the orchestras was familiar and filled the inmates with a mixture of joy and painful nostalgia.

For the members of the orchestras it was a form of escape from the tedium of day-to-day activities, as they were not forced to work and were better provided for as regards food and clothing. The songs the inmates sang could be seen as a means of expressing how they experienced life in the concentration camps.

CHAPTER 5

BELZEC CONCENTRATION CAMP

5.1 Geographical location and genesis

The concentration camp Belzec was situated near the city of Belzec in the Lublin district of Poland. It was decided to open a labour camp for Jews in this area in the early months of 1940, but by autumn 1940 the labour camp was closed down.

The Lublin district became the centre of a large Jewish population in the General Government area (see Glossary) after the annexation of the eastern half of Poland by Germany in August 1941. Construction of the Belzec concentration camp began in November 1941 (Arad 1987:23). The camp was officially opened on 17 March 1942 (Bridgman 1990:21), but construction of the camp was only completed by the end of 1942. During the construction of Belzec most of the work, such as carpentry, was done by the prisoners themselves. Belzec was one of the so-called "extermination centres" (Feig 1979:26).

After completion of the camp, labour units were sent from the camp to work where they were needed. They were, for example, used for working on the defence lines along the German-Russian border (Gilbert 1988:46).

5.2 Musical activities in Belzec

Musical activities in Belzec included singing as well as performances by ensembles which they called small orchestras (Arad 1987:227). There is reference to one ensemble or orchestra, consisting of six players, that was used to play for the entertainment of the SS camp guards, as well as during the alleged extermination of Jews arriving in transports (Arad

1987:227). Rudolf Reder tells about another ensemble consisting of a violinist, flautist and accordionist, who were ordered to play "Es geht alles vorüber, es geht alles vorbei" and also "Drie Lilien, kommt ein Reiter, bringt die Lilien" (Arad 1987:227).

One of the above-mentioned ensembles was also responsible for accompanying the inmates who were forced to sing before they could receive their afternoon and evening meals. Besides this they also had to perform for the SS camp guards quite close to the SS living quarters (Arad 1987:228).

Inmates were also entertained on arriving at Belzec by music and singing of a ten-man orchestra (Hilberg 1985:969). There is moreover mention of an Austrian inmate playing the violin while corpses were being handled (Rashke 1984:51).

Mordechai Gebirtig was one of the inmates of Belzec who had been deported from Cracow. He composed a large variety of songs, especially in Yiddish. Many of his songs were favourites and were sung throughout Poland (See Chapter 12: Cracow ghetto).

Belzec was one of the Operation Reinhard camps, together with Sobibor and Treblinka. Therefore it pursued the general policy that was followed in those camps, namely the encouragement of musical and other entertainment activities, as well as love affairs between inmates. (Arad 1987:226.)

5.3 Conclusion

Little information is readily available about the musical activities in Belzec, but what could be learned from available sources, seems to indicate that music and other forms of entertainment were encouraged by the camp authorities, and that at least one ten-man orchestra and two ensembles existed in the camp, one a trio and the other a sextet. Their role was firstly to entertain the camp guards and other camp authorities.

They also entertained the inmates as well as serving as accompaniment for the inmates while they sang before meals and at other times, such as during the killing of Jews arriving in transports.

CHAPTER 6

BUCHENWALD CONCENTRATION CAMP

6.1 Geographical location and genesis

The Buchenwald concentration camp was situated in Germany, close to Weimar. The camp was completed by 1937, two years before the start of World War II.

This camp was originally meant for detaining professional criminals, but was later used to house Jewish prisoners, especially those of Dutch descent. The commandant of the Buchenwald camp was a certain Rödl. During the eight years of the existence of this concentration camp about 238 000 inmates passed through its doors. Some of them died here while others were transferred to factories, labour camps and other concentration camps.

Buchenwald concentration camp was liberated on 10 April 1945, about a month before the end of the war.

6.2 Musical activities in Buchenwald

The first echoes of musical activities in the Buchenwald camp could be detected in 1939 and were actually sparked off by SS officers feeling a need for a brass band consisting of musicians from the ranks of the Jewish inmates. The purpose of this brass band was to entertain visitors to the camp. In 1941 these musicians were equipped with distinctive uniforms similar to those of the Royal Yugoslav Guard. (Feig 1979:96.)

During the early years of their stay in Buchenwald the inmates had to sing a special song, called the "Jew Song", after roll-call. Initially music for these roll-calls was provided by

Gypsies playing guitars and harmonicas.

At a later stage another prisoners' orchestra was formed. The inmates themselves made many of the instruments used in this orchestra (Feig 1979:96), as musical instruments were in very short supply. The prisoners' orchestra was primarily used to provide background music and marches when the inmates left the camp for work, or when they arrived back at the camp after a day's work (Poller 1961:161). Another important function performed by this orchestra was "serenading" the camp authorities. Two of the best-known songs they played while doing such "serenading" were *Castle in the Wood* and *Buchenwald Song* (Poller 1961:161-162).

When the orchestra was required to play for the working parties leaving the camp in the morning, they had to line up at the gate beside a microphone. Various marches were played on these occasions. Poller (1961:54) noted that these marches sounded like a cacophony of noise that was "meant to keep a horde of savages in step by an ecstatic delirium, with a hypnotic rhythm".

While attending the frequent roll-calls, the orchestra played the melody of *Castle in the Wood* while the inmates had to join in as a mass choir.

Besides the above-mentioned duties the musicians were also required to play on Sundays when they mostly performed in concerts. The inmates of Buchenwald were allowed to listen to radio broadcasts of concerts by German symphony orchestras. In Block 66 of Buchenwald, the Block elder founded a boys' choir which turned out to be very successful (Feig 1979:96).

According to reports, the orchestra was asked to play while inmates were being whipped. At times a solo violin player took over that duty from the orchestra. (Poller 1961:132.)

In addition to the above, Buchenwald had two string quartets, one

of them led by the French violinist Maurice Hewitt, and the other having Karel Fröhlich and Jaroslav Pekelsky as the two violinists (Karas 1985:190). Karel Fröhlich was also an inmate of the Terezin ghetto, but it is uncertain if his stay in Buchenwald was before Terezin opened its gates in 1941 or after the fall of 1944 when inmates of Terezin were deported.

Other cultural and recreational activities were also allowed. One of these was motion pictures which were shown frequently. The inmates had the use of a library in the concentration camp. Buchenwald also had facilities for falconry, and even sported a zoo. The zoo had quite a selection of animals ranging from common ones such as monkeys, to rarer species such as rhinos and bears. (Laska 1983:18.)

6.3 Conclusion

In Buchenwald musical activities were at first initiated by the camp authorities. This soon developed a desire in the hearts of the Jews to take part in musical activities. These included an orchestra that performed marches while the labour parties marched off to work and returned from their labours. It also entailed serenading for the camp authorities. Not everybody enjoyed these activities.

Sunday concerts by the Buchenwald orchestra and radio music broadcasts were great favourites. Successful choral performances also became a prominent feature among the musical activities of this notorious camp.

As was the case in many of the other concentration camps, Buchenwald had a library and motion pictures were shown. The camp had a falconry court and a zoo that made it unique among the concentration camps.

CHAPTER 7

DACHAU CONCENTRATION CAMP

7.1 Geographical location and genesis

The concentration camp of Dachau, about 15 kilometres north-west of Munich in Germany, was the first of its kind to be built. It was officially opened on 21 March 1933 (Berben 1975:2).

The first inmates of Dachau were political prisoners. During 1937 and 1938 Dachau was upgraded and enlarged. Part of these improvements was the upgrading of the kitchen facilities to the level of one of the best kitchens in the concentration camp system. During the war years the number of Jews deported to Dachau increased quite dramatically, so that by 1945 a considerable percentage of the prisoners was Jewish.

The Black Book (1946:259-260) mentions American soldiers and newspaper representatives being told of gas chambers in Dachau, while it is now a recognised fact that there were no operative gas chambers there (Feig 1979:26).

One of the last transports of Jewish prisoners to Dachau from Eastern Europe was one from Vilna or Lublin in July 1944 (Gilbert 1982:200). More than 200 000 political prisoners and Jews passed through Dachau and its surrounding camps and factories during the twelve years of its existence (Berben 1975:10).

7.2 Musical activities in Dachau

An International Committee came into existence in Dachau. This committee consisted of inmates of the camp who originated from different occupied areas of Europe. At first their activities were organised in secret. These activities were aimed at the

morale of the prisoners. They were responsible for the organisation of cultural and sporting activities, concerts, theatrical performances and parties. (Berben 1975:175.)

The SS camp authorities organised theatrical entertainment, concerts and films as well as lectures and revues for the prisoners. Many talented people were inmates of Dachau, including famous and competent amateur musicians and theatre and music-hall artists (Berben 1975:72).

Sundays were set aside by the camp authorities as a rest day, or a day for amusement and entertainment, probably with the aim of raising the morale of the Jews and other political prisoners, and in that way to increase the amount of work completed in the camps and factories during the week.

Music and singing also had another purpose: that of contributing towards the revival of hope and courage among the prisoners. Many music groups and choirs were formed with this in mind. A song called "Dachau-Lied" was one of the well-known songs performed by these groups (Berben 1975:175).

A school for Russian children was opened in Dachau. The camp also had the luxury of a canteen for the use of prisoners (Berben 1975:5). They had access to a library, which had a total stock of about 15 000 books. During the the last few months of the war the camp authorities organised film shows (Berben 1975:72) for entertainment so as to keep the inmates ignorant as to developments on the battle-front.

In the mid-war years (about 1943) the authorities opened a brothel, primarily for the convenience of privileged prisoners (Laska 1983:16). For this purpose a few dozen women were brought in from the concentration camp at Ravensbrück. By December 1944 there were still thirteen of these prostitutes left in the camp.

7.3 Conclusion

Dachau as concentration camp had a very active cultural life. At first the International Committee was responsible for the organisation of all types of entertainment, even though it had to be done in secret. These included cultural activities, sport, concerts, theatrical performances and parties.

Very soon the camp authorities gave permission for the upgrading of entertainment. In addition to the previously named activities, many other types of entertainment and services were allowed. These included more concerts, especially on Sundays, the organising of choirs, the opening of a school and a library, as well as film shows for the prisoners. The camp "elite", like the camp elder, block elders and other Jewish administrators involved in the camp "government" were privileged in having a well-stocked brothel at their disposal.

It is quite clear that the inmates of Dachau were well catered for as regards entertainment and other leisure activities.

CHAPTER 8

SOBIBOR

8.1 Geographical location and genesis

The concentration camp at Sobibor was one of the so-called "extermination camps", and was situated close to Chelm. That was near Wlodawa just inside the eastern border of the General Government area (see Glossary) of occupied Poland. Sobibor was one of the Operation Reinhard Camps (see Glossary).

Construction of the concentration camp was begun in March 1942 with Jews from the Lublin district. The camp was originally built for Soviet prisoners of war, as well as for Jews from Holland, Belgium, France, Denmark and Poland. As to the official opening of the camp, there is a difference of opinion about the exact date. Bridgman (1990:21) claims it took place on 8 May 1942, while the Black Book (1946:374) claims 15 May 1942 as the opening date. Sobibor was divided into three sections. The first contained workshops, the second warehouses and shops and the third had buildings without windows (Black Book 1946:374).

8.2 Musical activities in Sobibor

Sobibor had an orchestra from the very outset. The camp authorities even forced the prisoners to take part in entertainments (Arad 1987:228). Dov Freiberg, one of the survivors of this camp, mentioned hearing an orchestra upon arriving there (Arad 1987:75).

In the first section in the camp, the Jews had to sing and dance. At least one violin, a bugle and an accordion were used to accompany the singing and dancing (Rashke 1984:121).

An ensemble was also formed in Sobibor. Kszepicki mentions a trio of Jewish musicians playing in the camp (Arad 1987:86). The instruments that were used for this ensemble, were probably a bugle, an accordion and a violin.

Choirs were quite a popular form of entertainment in the concentration camps, as the Jewish people enjoyed singing. But when the camp authorities at Sobibor decided to organise a choir and only one volunteered to be a part of it, a group of men and women were forced to sing in the choir. The conductor of the choir was Moniek, who was the only volunteer for the choir. It was probably because of his volunteering that he was made conductor, and was promoted to the rank of kapo (Arad 1987:228).

A female vocal trio existed for a time, but for some unknown reason they were executed (Arad 1987:115).

Tovia Blatt, one of the survivors of this camp, frequently heard music coming from the tailor's shop. She also remembers having to sing while marching to work. While marching they sang German, Polish, Russian and Ukranian military marches (Arad 1987:229).

A song the inmates particularly liked to sing while marching to work, was one with the following words (Rashke 1984:198):

*Es war ein Edelweiss
Ein kleines Edelweiss
Hol-la-hi-di, Hu-la-la,
Hol-la-hi-di-ho.*

A mandolin player, Kalimali, also known as Shabayev, sang Polish army songs, like *Tachanka*, and folk songs, like *Chastuski* (Rashke 1984:179).

On many occasions Soviet Jews were placed in front of a column of prisoners and ordered to sing. One of the songs they sang was a very well-known song in the Soviet Union entitled *Yesli zavtra*

voina, composed by Dunayevskiy and commencing with the following words (Ainsztein 1974:755-756):

*If war comes tomorrow,
If tomorrow we have to fight,
If a threatening power should arise,
Then like one man
The entire Soviet people will arise
To defend their free homeland.*

One of the survivors and also one of the leaders of the revolt in Sobibor, Leon Feldhendler, said the following: "The music, the dancing, and the women all had one purpose - to kill any thought of liberation that the prisoners might have" (Arad 1987:226). It would seem that apart from music and dancing, brothels were also provided for the inmates of this camp.

Activities such as the orchestra and other types of entertainment, as well as love affairs between prisoners were encouraged. This was the general policy decided upon by the rulers of the General Government. These forms of entertainment were introduced in all the Operation Reinhard camps, and were not just due to local initiative in certain camps (Arad 1987:226). This, of course, also made life more pleasant for the SS camp guards, as it allowed them more leisure hours and opportunities for listening to the orchestra.

Musical activities at Sobibor started declining in 1943 when the number of revolts increased dramatically, resulting in the death of many inmates. An example of this from the pamphlet, *Holocaust and Resistance*, is the killing of 300 inmates during a break-out led by Alexander Pechersky.

8.3 Conclusion

In Sobibor, as in many of the other concentration camps, musical and other entertainment activities were allowed and even

encouraged. However, the difference is that the inmates here actually had to be forced to participate in cultural activities such as, for instance, the choir.

This factor is quite difficult to explain, as in many other concentration camps and ghettos the inmates were seemingly optimistic and eager about the idea of having the chance to sing or to perform in cultural activities. On the other hand, it is quite understandable that they hated the idea of singing under duress, such as at roll-calls.

CHAPTER 9

TREBLINKA CONCENTRATION CAMP

9.1 Geographical location and genesis

The concentration camp at Treblinka was situated in pre-war Poland. After the German occupation the area fell within the north-eastern section under the jurisdiction of the General Government.

This concentration camp consisted of two separate camps and was built about 60 kilometres from Warsaw, with a railroad station as its centre (Black Book 1946:20). Treblinka was also in the vicinity of Siedlce and Malkina. Initially Treblinka was merely a penal camp, but by the end of 1942 the concentration camp was completed. Treblinka was known as one of the so-called "extermination centres" (Feig 1979:26).

This camp at first housed only Polish offenders, but was soon opened to other inmates. The gates of Treblinka finally closed on 23 July 1944 (Black Book 1946:201).

9.2 Musical activities in Treblinka

Initially the musical activities were of a low standard. A band existed from the start, but little is known about this band (Donat 1979:45).

After completion of the concentration camp itself during 1942, however, transports of new prisoners from Warsaw started arriving. This was fortunate for the extension of cultural activities, as professional musicians formed part of these transports. Many of them brought their own instruments with them (Donat 1979:45). The musicians among the new arrivals were

assigned to start a small orchestra (Arad 1987:231).

One of these was Artur Gold, who had been the conductor of one of the best orchestras in Warsaw before the war. He naturally became one of the most prominent musicians and organisers of cultural activities in Treblinka.

One of the camp officers, Hauptsturmführer (Captain) Stand, did much to promote the success of the orchestra and even brought back musical instruments from vacation (Arad 1987:232). A large number of instruments were also brought to Treblinka by some of the inmates. Other instruments that were needed, like drums, were manufactured by the inmates themselves.

In Treblinka Artur Gold was appointed to organise the orchestra which comprised ten musicians. Rehearsals were held at specified times, and the musicians were excused from labour groups when rehearsals were held. Artur Gold even composed a few pieces for the orchestra (Arad 1987:232).

The orchestra in Treblinka boasted an own uniform consisting of white suits with blue collars and decoratively sewn lapels. The conductor had his own distinctive uniform, and appeared in a white frock-coat with the same decorations, patent leather shoes, pressed pants and white shirt. (Arad 1987:232.)

At times Artur Gold received special food rations from the camp authorities, which he then sometimes passed on to members of the orchestra.

There is also mention of an intimate orchestra that performed and sang a song composed by some Jewish composer. The words to this song were written by Untersturmführer Franz. (Hilberg 1985:898.)

Ensembles existed in both sections of the camp. The band in camp I consisted of four players, while camp II had a trio that performed regularly. The Ukranian guards were probably their most

loyal supporters, as this trio performed well-known Russian songs. After these performances the guards supplied the inmates with food and cigarettes. (Ainsztein 1974:727-728.)

A mixed choir of male and female voices was formed by Artur Gold, who also composed music for the choir to the texts of a Jew from Czechoslovakia whose name is unfortunately not known. The choir, and occasionally a soloist, at times performed with the orchestra.

The favourite location for concerts was a tailor shop which was the largest and "nicest" hall in Treblinka (Arad 1987:232). During the hot days in summertime an outside venue was preferred.

One of the main functions of the orchestra was to perform at major occasions for the SS, and at galas. The orchestra also played at roll-calls in the camp (Feig 1979:306). At times a group of musicians would stand on one side and play the Polish Army March, called *My Pierwsza Brygada*. At other times they accompanied the prisoners who sang. The most popular and most frequently sung song was *Tambalalaika*, of which one prisoner would sing a verse and the rest would join in with the chorus (Arad 1987:234).

By 1943 the inmates refrained from singing this song, and rather concentrated on including more "cultured" songs in the repertoire (Arad 1987:234). One of the songs that became popular was a Yiddish song to the tune of a foxtrot, called *The Girl from the Puszca* (Arad 1987:235).

During roll-call all the prisoners had to sing the *Treblinka Anthem* which was composed by Artur Gold (Arad 1987:233). The prisoners were forced to memorise this "anthem" (Arad 1987:202-203) and sing it on their way to and from work. It is claimed that inmates burdened with the task of cremating the corpses were also forced to sing this song (Black Book 1946:411).

The text was as follows (Arad 1987:233):

*We look straight out at the world,
The columns are marching off to work
All we have left is Treblinka,
It is our destiny.*

*We heed the commandant's voice,
Obeying his every nod and sign
We march along together
To do what duty demands.*

*Work, obedience, and duty
Must be our whole existence
Until we, too, will watch a glimpse at last
Of a modest bit of luck.*

After roll-calls, the inmates were forced to listen to Gold's orchestra performing. These programmes frequently contained serious music and marches (Donat 1979:199-200).

It was further reported that the orchestra and choir had to perform after the whipping of an inmate. The orchestra usually played marches on these occasions (Arad 1987:202). Other functions at which the orchestra performed, were such as weddings between inmates (Arad 1987:236).

Another orchestra that performed was a group of 6 or 7 musicians, who played the latest popular hits for the German and Ukranian guards. The instruments they used included a flute or fife, a mandolin and a violin. On one of the anniversaries of the war the SS arranged musical entertainment for the Jews, where one of the orchestras had to play Jewish tunes and several young Jews had to dance. (Donat 1979:106.)

Sport was another activity allowed by the camp authorities in Treblinka. Boxing-matches were one of the favourite sport

gatherings and the orchestra usually opened these events with renderings from operas and operettas sung by soloists and the choir (Arad 1987:233). Sports events would usually be concluded with another performance by the orchestra.

In another section of Treblinka there was a separate orchestra of about eight or nine musicians. This orchestra included a certain violinist, Jerzy Rajgrodzki, and a clarinet player, called Fuchs. These two musicians joined a Warsaw pianist-composer to form a trio (Arad 1987:234).

Treblinka was also the home of another trio who performed extensively. They played during meals, in the evenings and during other free times, at parties and for guests. These three were amateur musicians from a small town, Stock, where they used to perform at weddings. One example of a performance by the amateur trio from Stock, was when they played on the third anniversary of the war on 1 September 1942, when the inmates were included in the festivities. The Jews stood at attention while the trio played Jewish songs and melodies. (Arad 1987:231.)

In Treblinka a variety of songs were written to serve a revolutionary purpose and to encourage the inmates to continue their struggle for survival. A song, *Lager zwei ist unzer leben, ay, ay, ay* (Camp Two is our life, ay, ay, ay), was composed to signify that they, the inmates, were alive and well. The chorus of this song was sung by Spiegel, a professional singer who had appeared in Prague before the war. (Arad 1987:235.)

Concerts had to be held for the Ukrainian guards who worked with the camp authorities, and during June and July of 1943 the camp authorities decided to keep the inmates of Treblinka busy by asking them to prepare a play. The orchestra also had to perform in these preparations. (Arad 1987:235.)

In addition to these activities, the camp authorities organised compulsory theatrical performances, concerts and dance rituals.

The performers were chosen from those inmates who had been exempted from work. Many of these appearances were on Sundays. (Donat 1979:178-179.)

9.3 Conclusion

At first, musical activities were not of a high standard at Treblinka. As new inmates arrived with transports from Warsaw and other locations, the quality of music started improving. Full credit should be given to Artur Gold for the part he played in organising the music life in Treblinka and for his role in the general upliftment of the inmates and their attitude towards life in the camp.

In Treblinka, as with the other Operation Reinhard Camps (at Sobibor and Belzec), the policy was to encourage activities such as orchestras, entertainments and love affairs between prisoners (Arad 1987:226). Music was used to make the lives of the SS guards in Treblinka more pleasant, but also to build the spirit of the inmates, and to make them feel more reconciled to their fate.

On the other hand it was also claimed that the music played by many of the bands actually inspired many inmates to revolt (Ainsztein 1974:728).

CHAPTER 10

OTHER CONCENTRATION CAMPS

In the case of many of the smaller concentration camps very little information is available. It is nevertheless interesting to compare the cultural activities of these camps with each other, and with the larger concentration camps.

10.1 Bergen-Belsen

The Bergen-Belsen concentration camp was situated near Bergen, a town about 50 kilometres north of Hannover in Germany. When opened in 1941, it was a Russian POW camp. Feig (1979:26) classifies this camp as a Reception and Holding Centre. During 1943 it was upgraded to a detention camp. Finally in 1944 it became a concentration camp (Lévy-Hass 1982:vii), while still under the misnomer of a Reception and Holding Centre. Bergen-Belsen, famous for having Anne Frank as inmate, was liberated by the Allied armies on 15 April 1945.

Many of the inmates were prepared to compromise with the hope of saving their own lives, which led to a lot of disunity among themselves. This behaviour was common in many of the concentration camps and ghettos. In exchange for quality clothes and huge quantities of food, some inmates betrayed their own people by leaking certain information to the Jewish authorities in the camp (elders and kapos) and thus also to the camp commanders. These betrayers did not care what happened to the other inmates (Lévy-Hass 1982:22-23). Musicians also worried only about their own lives and did everything possible in exchange for food, clothes and exemption from hard labour.

Many women became prostitutes so as to provide for themselves (Lévy-Hass 1982:50).

Cultural activities in Bergen-Belsen ranged from the scholarly and theatrical to a variety of musical entertainments. A school was opened in this camp against the orders of the camp commanders (Lévy-Hass 1982:7-8). This school managed to survive underground until December 1944.

Some of the inmates, including the camp elite, were fortunate in having their own huts, which were relatively clean and comfortable. Sounds of laughter, merriment and singing could be heard from many of them. The people in these quarters even managed to organise concerts, binges and drinking-parties as well as other social gatherings (Lévy-Hass 1982:24).

Irene Butter-Hasenberg remembers hearing people singing in Bergen-Belsen. Many of the young people came together on Friday evenings to sing Hebrew songs. This time was also used for lectures (Dwork 1991:131).

The Jewish Elders, or governing body, decided to set Saturdays aside for special children's festivals, mostly of a religious nature. These included recitations, chants, choruses and short plays (Lévy-Hass 1982:42). The children also formed small choirs. During 1944 the Dutch Jews decided to play and perform for their Queen Wilhelmina's birthday. This performance was given for the benefit of the children (Lévy-Hass 1982:15).

Somewhere between the end of 1944 and early 1945 the women's orchestra from Birkenau (Auschwitz II) arrived as inmates of Bergen-Belsen (Lévy-Hass 1982:15). Unfortunately it cannot be confirmed whether they were given the opportunity to contribute to the cultural activities of this camp.

The role of music in Bergen-Belsen has to be divided into two areas: For the elite members music probably was a form of escape from the humdrum life of everyday activities and problems. For the ordinary inmates, including the children, it could have served as a form of encouragement, to boost their morale and to

give them a sense of identity.

10.2 Börgermoor

This concentration camp, reserved primarily for political offenders, is one of which very little is known. It was situated in north-western Germany in the vicinity of Hannover.

We do know that weekly cultural evenings were initiated, while inmates were also involved in the writing of poetry and songs. As in many of the other concentration camps, the inmates sang marching songs to and from work. It is also said that the first song to be written in a concentration camp was composed here. This song was entitled *Moorsoldaten* (Peat Bog Soldiers). The text was written by Esser and Wolfgang Langhoff and the music by Rudi Goguel, who also transcribed it for a four-part chorus (Kalisch 1985:92-93).

It was first performed at a cultural event in the camp, which was called *Zirkus Konzentration* and was shortly afterwards declared the official camp song. It then became known as the *Börgermoorlied* (Kalisch 1985:93).

These are the words and the music to this frequently sung song (Kalisch 1985:94-96):

*Wohin auch das Auge blicket
Moor und Heide nur ringsum.
Vogelsang uns nicht erquicket,
Eichen stehen kahl und krumm.*

*Refrain:
Wir sind die Moorsoldaten.
Und ziehen mit dem Spaten
Ins Moor.*



*Auf und nieder gehn die Posten -
Keiner, keiner kann hindurch.
Flucht wird nur das Leben kosten -
Vielfach ist umzaunt die Burg.*

Refrain:

*Doch für uns gibt es kein Klagen,
Ewig kann's nicht Winter sein.
Einmal werden froh wir sagen:
Heimat, du bist wieder mein!*

Refrain:

*Dann zieh'n die Moorsoldaten
Nicht mehr mit dem Spaten
Ins Moor!*

English translation:

*Far and wide as the eye can wander
Heath and bog are everywhere,
Not a bird sings out to cheer us,
Oaks are standing gaunt and bare.*

Refrain:

*We are the peat bog soldiers.
We're marching with our spades
To the bog.*

*Up and down the guards are pacing -
No one, no one can get through.
Flight would mean a sure death facing -
Guns and barbed wire greet our view.*

Refrain:

But for us there's no complaining,

Winter will in time be past.
One day we shall cry, rejoicing:
Homeland dear, you're mine at last!

Refrain:
Then will the peat bog soldiers
March no more with their spades
To the bog.

Music example 1: Moorsoldaten

Slow ($\text{♩} = 72$)



Wo - hin auch das Au - ge blick - et,
Moor und Hei - de nur rings - um. Vo - gel - sang uns nicht er - quick - et,
Refrain
Ei - chen ste - hen kahl und krumm. Wir sind die Moor - sol - da - ten. Und
i. etc.
zie - hen mit den Spa - ten ins Moor.
Fine
Moor. Dann zieh'n die Moor - sol - da - ten Nicht mehr mit dem
Spa - ten ins Moor!

10.3 Cieszanów

This camp, more often referred to as a labour camp, was situated in Poland, about 260 kilometres south-east of Warsaw. The following song was the official camp song (Dawidowicz 1975:203):

*Work, brothers, work fast,
If you don't, they'll lash your hide.
Not many of us will manage to last -
Before long we'll all have died.*

10.4 Dinaverk

It is uncertain where Dinaverk concentration camp was located. Two of the songs sung in this camp are known. The first of these calls for revenge (Rubin 1963:446):

*In blut fargosene
Fun lebn yungfarloshene,
Zey rufn fun der erd.
O, bruder, heyb di shverd
Un nem nekome far yederns neshome
Vos hot zayn lebn dem soyne opgegebn.*

English translation:

*Covered with blood,
Young lives snuffed out
Cry out from the earth.
O, brother, raise your sword
And take revenge for each soul
That gave its life to the enemy.*

The following is an example of a marching song that mentions hatred, the will to live and the desire for revenge in one of its stanzas (Rubin 1963:448):

*Nor eyn gedank - er tsit mich shtark tsum lebn,
Er tret nisht op fun mir oyf eyn minut:
Ch'volt veln a nekome chotsh derlebn
Un zen vi blut vert opgetsolt tsurik mit blut.*

English translation:

Only one thought - I want so much to live,
It doesn't leave me for a moment:
I want to live to take revenge
And see blood paying back for every life that bled.

10.5 Dora

Dora concentration camp was situated near Nordhausen in Central Germany, about 200 kilometres west-south-west of Berlin. It was previously a branch and labour camp of Buchenwald. It was officially opened as a concentration camp on 1 November 1944 (Gutman 1984:16).

Music at Dora was at first practised on a very informal basis with some of the musicians playing the accordion. Music was also played over loudspeakers.

Before Dora was officially opened as a concentration camp, members of an orchestra from Auschwitz started arriving in September 1944. Some of these inmates were gypsies. Many of the musicians managed to bring their instruments along. These musicians had to perform for the entertainment of the camp commandant and his guests. One of these concerts was reported to have lasted for a few hours (Michel 1979:150-151). These musicians probably also performed for the inmates.

During November 1944 one of the barracks was converted so as to house a cinema and a brothel for the inmates (Michel 1979:156).

Although this concentration camp did not exist for very long, musical activities did exist. Before the arrival of musicians from Auschwitz the inmates probably performed music to lift their spirits. This was even more so when more professional musicians arrived and the opportunity arose to listen to music of a higher artistic value.

10.6 Flossenburg

Flossenburg concentration camp, called Flossenbürg by Gilbert (1988:182), was one of those to be opened in Germany about a year before the war started in September 1939. It was situated just to the west of the pre-war Czechoslovak border and about 100 kilometres north-east of Dachau.

This concentration camp was privileged in having a concert orchestra. Despite this, very little information is at hand concerning the music life there, possibly because Flossenburg was not one of the larger and more well-known camps.

Some of the members of the orchestra were professional musicians, and they were housed in a separate dormitory (Heger 1980:58). They had to provide their own instruments, even by purchasing them from the camp authorities.

On Sundays the orchestra assembled on the parade ground and performed marches and operetta tunes. They also had to provide entertainment for visits by the Red Cross (Heger 1980:59).

Concerts by the previously named orchestra mostly took place on Sundays, and served to "divert" the inmates (Heger 1980:57). These concerts were held in the bathhouse where admission was free, but the audience had to provide their own seats. Before a work could be performed, it first had to be approved by the camp authorities. The orchestra was also fortunate enough to have a Viennese conductor. Some of the works they performed were a

Hungarian *chardash*, the *Gladiator's March* and the overture to *Maritana* by Vincent Wallace (Topas 1990:234). Other works performed, were compositions by Franz Lehár, and operetta numbers by a singer from Prague, like the *Student Beggar* by Millöcker (Heger 1980:58-59).

The Czech violinist, Zdeňek Kolársky, and the pianist, Josef Kyselka, performed sonatas for piano and violin by Beethoven (Karas 1985:190).

The musical activities in Flossenburg served as a morale booster, as well as being a form of entertainment the inmates could look forward to in their otherwise humdrum existence.

10.7 Gleiwitz

The Gleiwitz concentration camp was situated on the pre-war boundary of Germany and Poland. This camp was divided into two sub-camps: Camp I was only for male inmates, and Camp II for females. Camp I alone was fortunate in having an orchestra, even though it was only a small one. Their repertoire consisted mostly of semi-classical music. This all-male orchestra also performed at Camp II. After these concerts the inmates could usually visit each other (Karas 1985:190).

It is difficult to comment on the role music played in Gleiwitz. All that can be said is that the inmates certainly found the music and visits with people of the other sex to be a great inspiration and something to look forward to.

10.8 Kaiserwald

Kaiserwald concentration camp was situated about 20 kilometres south-east of Riga in pre-war Latvia, one of the Baltic States. Not much has been written about Kaiserwald. However, one of the

songs sung there is known to have been composed by a young boy in marching rhythm and was very popular (Rubin 1963:440):

*Mir zingen a lidl fun hayntiger tsayt
Fun yidishe tsores, fun yidishe layd,
Un chotsh mir zenen yinglech kleyn
Mir veysn dem hunger, mir konen dem payn.*

*In a finstere, tunkele, harbstige nacht,
Hot men undz fun libau kayn rige gebracht.
Yom-kiper baynacht, ven men zagt dem al chet,
Hot men undz fun libau gebracht in katset.*

*Men hot undz tsheshplitert, men hot undz tseribn,
Mir zenen fun libau gants veynig geblibn.
Oyf arbet farshikt undz, in derfer, in shtet,
Azoy iz dos lidl fun undzer katset.*

English translation:

We sing a song of modern times
Of Jewish troubles and Jewish suffering,
And although we are still very young lads
We know of hunger, we know of pain.

In a dark, horrible, autumn night,
We were brought from Libau to Riga.
Yom-Kippur night, when the prayers of forgiveness are
said,
We were brought from Libau to the concentration camp.

We were splintered and pulverized,
Few of us survived.
We were sent to labor in villages, in cities,
And that is the song of our concentration camp.

10.9 Mechelen

Mechelen was a concentration camp situated in Belgium and was mainly used as a staging point en route to other concentration camps in Germany and Poland.

Musical activities in Mechelen were quite popular among the inmates. Activities were organised by Nora Micheels who was also a flautist (Micheels 1989:55). Some of the inmates formed a little orchestra, as well as another that was probably a jazz band. They were fortunate in that the camp staff managed to bring in sheet music and instruments for the musicians. L Micheels, Nora's husband, was a cellist, but as there were no music scores for cello, he preferred not to perform, but rather to lend the cello to the jazz band (Micheels 1989:58-59).

In one of the dormitories an 18-year old boy played the guitar. Apparently he was a very competent player who specialised in works by Bach (Micheels 1989:56).

In Mechelen the inmates were quite fortunate in having such a variety of music performed, from solo guitar and flute to listening to a small orchestra or a jazz band. Although life in Mechelen was everything but easy, it would appear from the book by Micheels that the musical life in the camp had a positive and encouraging effect on the morale of the inmates.

10.10 Plaszow

In this camp loudspeakers were provided by the camp authorities for the broadcasting of music as well as for announcements (Topas 1990:18). Plaszow was originally a labour camp of the Cracow ghetto, but later became a concentration camp when the ghetto was liquidated. It was only two kilometres away from the Cracow ghetto in southern Poland.

The two Rosner brothers, Herman and Leon, originally from the Cracow ghetto, were largely responsible for many of the musical activities. They were known to have given impromptu outdoor concerts at least once. One of the brothers played the violin and the other accompanied him on the accordion, because the camp had no piano. The two brothers also had to perform for the camp guards. One of the works they performed was Anton Rubinstein's *Melody in F* (Topas 1990:192); others being music by Suppé and Lehár (Keneally 1982:259).

They also sang Russian songs, like *Volga, Volga*, *Kalinka Maya*, and performed a Hungarian love ballad, *Gloomy Sunday*, for visitors to the camp (Keneally 1982:233, 258). The two brothers were later deported to Auschwitz. Their fate remains uncertain.

Another artist in Plaszow was Tosia Lieberman who sang Brahms' *Lullaby* every night in the women's section of the camp (Keneally 1982:237). A band was organised as well, but it is unsure when they performed.

10.11 Sachsenhausen

The Sachsenhausen concentration camp, also known as **Oranienburg**, was situated 20 kilometres north-west of Berlin and was opened as early as 1933.

Alex Kulisiewicz, one of the inmates, was a guitar player and composer of songs, of which he wrote at least 54 (Wortsman 1978:14-15). He also helped to organise numerous illegal poetry readings and song evenings in which he himself participated. A choir also existed in Sachsenhausen. It was organised by the German-Jewish composer Rosebury d'Arguto, also known under the name Martin Rosenberg. The choir had 25 members, all of them Jewish prisoners. They performed secretly in the less closely guarded barracks of the political prisoners (Kalisch 1985:49). D'Arguto's *Jewish Deathsong* was performed in this concentration

camp, but it is not known whether it was actually composed there (Wortsman 1978:15).

Another song he composed was *Tsen Brider* (Ten Brothers), apparently shortly before being deported to Auschwitz. This song is based on the well-known song "Ten little Indians" (Kalisch 1985:49).

Here follows the Yiddish text together with the English translation (Kalisch 1985:57):

*Tsen brider zenen mir geven;
Hobn mir gehandelt mit vayn.
Eyner iz geshtorben-
Zenen mir geblibn nayn.
Oy, oy, oy, oy.*

Refrain:

*Yidl mitn fidl,
Moyshe mitn bas,
Shpil-zhe mir a lidl,
Men firt undz in dem gas.*

*Eyn bruder nor bin ikh geblibn,
Mit vem zol ikh veynen?
Di andere hot men derharget-
Tsi gedenkt ir zeyer neymen.
Oy, oy, oy, oy.*

Refrain:

*Yidl mitn fidl,
Moyshe mitn bas,
Hert mayn letst lidl
Men firt mikh oykh tsum gas.*

*Tsen brider zenen mir geven-
Mir hobn keynem nit vey geton.*

English translation:

Ten happy brothers were we together,
We lived by dealing in wine.
One of us died early -
And so we remained nine.
Oy, oy, oy, oy.

Refrain:
Yidl with the fiddle,
Moyshe with the bass,
Play for us a little,
The gas chamber we face.

One brother only I remain.
With whom shall I sigh?
All the others coldly killed -
Remember them and cry.
Oy, oy, oy, oy.

Refrain:
Yidl with the fiddle,
Moyshe with the bass,
Let me sing my last song,
The gas chamber I face.

Ten brothers were we together -
We hurt no one and did no wrong.

Judging by available sources, it appears that the only other musical activities were cabarets in which the inmates themselves sang and played the instruments (Feig 1979:78).

10.12 Westerbork

Westerbork concentration camp was situated in the Netherlands,

about 100 kilometres north-east of Amsterdam. At Westerbork the commandant was very much involved in promoting the musical activities there. Two of the musicians cleverly used this fact to survive. These two became favourites with the camp commander. One of them used to sing songs to the commander, while the other was a pianist of whom it was said that he could play Beethoven's *Ninth Symphony* as a jazz number (Hillesum 1983:215).

Cabarets were also performed in Westerbork. The commandant was in the audience during many of the cabaret shows. Under his auspices a male choir was also started. This, too, was one of his pet projects. The camp commander's favourite song was *Bei mir bist du schön* and the male choir probably had to perform it quite regularly (Hillesum 1983:217).

Musical activities were encouraged, thus making many of the inmates far more willing to participate in these. Two soloists were even given to believe that this was the reason they survived.

10.13 Additional concentration camps

In many of the other concentration camps there were likewise musical activities of some sort. Unfortunately only passing comments could be found on what such musical activities actually entailed.

In connection with **Budzyn** camp the only available information on music is that which refers to the singing of Polish army songs by Polish POW's as they marched to work (Topas 1990:127). This Polish concentration camp was situated about 300 kilometres west-south-west of Lodz. It can also be assumed that in their living quarters they sang folk songs and others of a patriotic nature for encouragement.

The only mention of music in the concentration camp at **Ganov** is

of mass shootings of prisoners to the accompaniment of music by an orchestra consisting of inmates (Nuremberg Trials 1947:Vol II:61). Unfortunately no reference could be found as to the exact location of this camp.

In **Gross-Rosen** the members of labour parties sang and listened to poetry while in their barracks (Laska 1983:181). This concentration camp was situated about 80 kilometres to the west of Breslau.

The first concentration camp in Czechoslovakia was at **Lipa**. This camp opened in mid 1940, but there are no clear indications as to its site. Among the inmates were Karel Berman and Karel Fröhlich who later were considered two of the top musicians at Terezin. In Lipa they organised musical activities during their own leisure time after working-hours. What these musical activities actually entailed is uncertain (Karas 1985:7-8).

The **Majdanek** concentration camp was built just outside the Lublin ghetto, and was constructed in 1941. At first only Russian soldiers were interned, but later inmates from the ghetto were deported to the camp (Gruber 1978:38). Music broadcasts were frequently heard over loudspeakers as in many of the other concentration camps (Black Book 1946:386).

It is quite amazing that there is so little information available about a camp as well-known as **Mauthausen**. This camp was in Austria, lying 150 kilometres to the west of Vienna. All that is known is that the SS had a camp band (Horwitz 1990:44). Consequently it is impossible to ascertain whether the band consisted of SS members, or only of inmates of this camp.

There were no real musical activities at **Ravensbrück** apart perhaps from singing in the barracks at night for inspiration. No orchestral or smaller instrumental group was allowed at this camp, which had only female inmates. This is quite amazing for a camp situated only 60 kilometres north-west of Berlin. During

1944 one of the inmates, Germaine Tillion, reportedly wrote an operetta called *Verfügbar in the Underworld* (Tillion 1975:xxi).

The locations of the following two camps could not be ascertained. The only information available on music in the **Wülzburg** camp, is that a composer, Ervin Schullhof, was one of the inmates in this camp (Walsh 1993:71-72). Gideon Klein, a composer mentioned in Chapter 16, on the Terezin ghetto, was deported to the concentration camp, **Fürstengrube** (Walsh 1993:71-72).

10.14 Conclusion

The role of music in all the above-mentioned camps was basically the same: it served as a source of encouragement, and in a way was a form of escape from the misery of incarceration and the uncertainty of what tomorrow might bring. The songs, too, helped to bring relief to the various stresses of camp-life, and frequently called for revenge against those responsible for their fate.

CHAPTER 11

GHETTOS

11.1 Genesis

The ghettos, in contrast with the concentration camps, were cities or certain sections of cities that were cordoned off, or walled in, to keep the Jews within certain restricted areas and to separate them from non-Jews living outside the ghettos. Most of the ghettos came into being in Eastern Europe and in parts of Russia from 1939 onwards. The best-known of these ghettos were the ones at Warsaw, Lodz, Kovno, Lvov and Vilna. Hundreds more were opened throughout the war, some, however, containing as few as 1 000 inmates. The ghettos are frequently seen as a staging point for Jews before they were deported to concentration camps.

Vast numbers of Jews were deported from surrounding towns and cities and were then placed in these ghettos. The ghettos were to a large extent self-sufficient with, for example, their own factories, tailors and, to a lesser extent, farmers. Most of the food, however, had to be brought into the ghettos from outside. In addition to the factories, many labour camps, factories and industries also surrounded the ghettos, where many of the inmates worked.

In this chapter one of the two sources, the book by Trunk, may be regarded as the most authoritative work on the subject of the organisation of life in the ghettos.

The map in Figure 1 is a map of Europe showing the locations of the ghettos that are discussed in Chapters 12 to 19.



Figure 3 : Map of Europe showing the locations of ghettos

11.2 Organisation of life in the ghettos

The German authorities decided to give the Jews some form of self-government in the ghettos. This was realised through the Jewish Councils or "Judenräte". Even though the inmates of the ghettos lived under a form of self-rule, they were still under the supervision of the military governors of the different areas, but with more freedom than allowed in the concentration camps.

The Jewish Councils were permitted to take care of the distribution of supplies, of maintaining a certain standard of sanitation, and of preserving peace and order within the ghettos. Other activities, such as social welfare, economic and cultural work relating to the internal requirements of the Jewish population, were accorded with "a certain degree of tolerance, and even of encouragement" (Trunk 1977:44).

The German authorities intended the autonomy of the ghettos to be absolute in every respect. They had to be self-reliant, organised social units. The reason for this is that they did not want the ghettos to be a burden on the wartime economy of Germany.

The main function of the Judenräte was welfare and medical aid, but also included the maintenance of hospitals, clinics, first-aid stations, dental clinics, pharmacies, inoculation centres, public baths, barber shops and disinfection stations. In addition they were responsible for providing schooling and trained teachers. (Dawidowicz 1975:229, 253.)

Vocational training for locksmiths, mechanics and many other trades was also provided (Dawidowicz 1975:254).

At the schools in the ghettos, children learned to play, sing, dance and act. In this way the schools became the "bracing cultural centres for the whole ghetto" (Dawidowicz 1975:254-255).

In many of the ghettos, particularly the larger ones, an intensive urge "for cultural and aesthetic impressions" is found, as well as a renewed interest in the cultural past of the Jewish people. On the other hand, one also finds a strengthening of assimilationist tendencies (Trunk 1977:217).

On the whole a yearning for books in Hebrew or Yiddish and for Jewish music and theatre was prevalent in all the ghettos (Trunk 1977:217).

Dawidowicz (1975:256) writes the following about the role of entertainment in the ghettos:

However poor the talent and trashy the context, this improvised entertainment heightened ghetto morale simply by releasing the audiences for a brief span from their day-to-day anxieties and transporting them into a more cheerful existence of pre-war normality...

CHAPTER 12

CRACOW GHETTO

12.1 Geographical location and genesis

Cracow is situated in Poland, about 240 kilometres south-south-west of Warsaw. The pre-war Jewish population (1939) was just over 56 000 or 26% of the total population of the city. The ghetto was opened in March 1941. Twelve labour camps were situated around the ghetto. The president of the Judenrat (Council of Elders) was Marek Biberstein. Some of the departments in this Judenrat were responsible for culture and education, even though schooling was forbidden (Keneally 1982:88).

12.2 Musical activities in Cracow ghetto

In this ghetto, as in many of the others, cultural life was allowed to develop. Some examples of this were the Jewish schools, synagogues and Houses of Study. Concerts and lectures were also held regularly. Theatrical and sports organisations came into being, and a periodical, called *Gazeta Zydowska*, was even produced (Friedman 1954:288-9).

Furthermore, Cracow also had cafés, night clubs and restaurants, which people from outside the ghetto visited for entertainment. Some of these visitors who made a profit out of these entertainments available in the ghetto, regularly noted that "One amuses oneself in the ghetto" (Friedman 1954:138). One of these restaurants was called *Foerster's Restaurant* (Keneally 1982:126). Visitors from outside even went so far as to refer to this ghetto as *Fun City*.

Two of the inmates of the Cracow ghetto were the Rosner brothers, who frequently performed in cafés and restaurants, *Foerster's*

amongst others.

Mention is also made of a loudspeaker-system, over which music was played at different times, such as when inmates were deported elsewhere (Topas 1990:5).

Mordechai Gebirtig, a Yiddish poet and composer, was one of the inmates in this ghetto. Many of his songs were known throughout a large number of the ghettos and concentration camps, mainly as a result of the deportation from one ghetto or concentration camp to another. One of the songs he wrote while an inmate in Cracow was *Es Brent* (Zylberberg 1969:36). He also wrote the words to this song (Kalisch 1985:17):

*S'brent, briderlekh, s'brent!
Oy, undzer orem shtetl nebekh brent!
Beyse vintn mit yirgozn
Raysn, brekhn un tseblozn,
Shtarker nokh di vilde flamen -
Alts arum shoyn brent.*

Refrain:

*Un ir shteyt un kukt azoy zikh
Mit farleygte hent.
Un ir shteyt un kukt azoy zikh
Undzer shtetl brent!*

*S'brent, briderlekh, s'brent!
Oy, undzer orem shtetl nebekh brent
S'hobn shoyn di fayertsungen
Dos gantse shtetl ayngeschlungen -
Un di beyze vintn huzhen,
Undzer shtetl brent!*

Refrain:



*S'brent, briderlekh, s'brent!
Oy, es ken kholile kumen der moment:
Undzer shtot mit undz tsuzamen
Zol oyf ash avek in flamen,
Blayben zol - vi nokh a shlakht,
Nor puste, shvartse vent!*

Refrain:

*S'brent, briderlekh, s'brent!
Di hilf iz nor in aykh aleyn gevendt.
Oyb dos shtetl iz aykh tayer,
Nemt di keylim, lesht dos fayer,
Lesht mit ayer eygn blut,
Bavayzt, az ir dos kent.*

Refrain:

*Shteyt nit, brider, ot azoy zikh
Mit farleygte hent.
Shteyt nit brider, lesht dos fayer
Undzer shtetl brent!*

English translation:

*It burns, brothers dear, it burns!
Our poor little shtetl is on fire!
Furiously angry winds storm,
Madly around the whipped flames swarm,
Ever wilder grows the fierce blaze -
Everything's on fire!*

Refrain:

*And you stand around and stare
While the flames grow higher.
And you stand around and stare
While our shtetl burns.*

It burns, brothers dear, it burns!
Our poor little shtetl is on fire.
Tongues of fire have swallowed down
Houses, streets, our whole little town,
And the angry winds are howling -
Our shtetl is on fire.

Refrain:

It burns, brothers dear, it burns!
Our little shtetl will soon be on fire.
This our village in which we dwell
Will be a fiery hell,
Blackened as after a battle,
Walls like a burning pyre.

Refrain:

It burns, brothers dear, it burns!
If we don't help ourselves, our fate is dire.
If you love your poor little town,
Please don't let them burn it all down.
Put out the flames with your own blood -
Only you can squelch the fire.


Refrain:

Brothers, don't just stand and stare
While the flames grow higher.
Brothers, don't just stand and stare
While our shtetl burns.

The following is the music to the above-mentioned song (Kalisch 1985:15-16):

Music example 2: Es Brent

Slow (♩=76)



S' - brent - bri - der - lekhn,
s' - brent! (Oy,) Un-dzer o - rem shte - tl ne - bekh brent! -
Bey - ze vin - tn mit yir - go - zn Ray - sn, bre - khn un tse - blo - zn,
Refrain
Shtar - ker nokh di vil - de fia - men, Alts a - rum shoyn brent. Un ir shteyt un
kukt a - zoy zikh Mit far - leyg - te hent. Un ir shteyt un
kukt a - zoy zikh - Un-dzer shte - tl s' - brent!

Another song composed by Mordechai Gebirtig was *Minutn fun Bitokhn* (Moments of confidence). The text was written by Julius Hofman, another inmate in the ghetto (Kalisch 1985:18).

The melody of this song is as follows (Kalisch 1985:20-22):

Music example 3: Minutn fun Bitokhn



Yi - dn, zol zayn frey - lekhn! - Shoyn nit lang, - ikh - haf.
S'ekht bald di mil - kho - me, Es kumt bald zey - er sof.
Frey - lekhn, nor nit zor - gn, Un nit a - rum - geyn trib.



Hot ge - duld, bi - to - khn Un nemt alts on far lib. Un
nemt aits on far lib. Av - day, Hot bi - to - khn,
Nemt alts on far lib. Ay - day, Hot bi - to - khn,
Nemt alts on far lib. ho - bn zey in d'rerd! Fine

The text is divided into four verses (Kalisch 1985:22):

*Yidn, zol zayn freylekh!
Shoyn nit lang, ikh hof:
S'ekht bald di milkhome,
Es kumt bald zeyer sof.
Freylekh, nor nit zorgn,
Un mit arumgeyn trib.
Hot geduld, bitokhn -
Un nemt alts on far lib.*

*Nor geduld, bitokhn,
Nit lozt aroys fun hant.
Undzer alt kley-zayin,
Vos halt undz gor banand.
Hulyet, tantsttalyonim.
Shoyn nit lang, ikh hof -
Geven amol a Homen,
Es vart oyf im zayn sof.*

*Hulyet, tanst talyonim.
Layd ken a yid.
S'vet di shverste arbet,
Undz keynmol makhn mid.
Kern? Zol zayn kern!
Kol-zman ir vet zeyn*

*Iz umzist dos kern,
S'vet do nit vern reyn.*

*Vashn? Zol zayn vashn!
Kayins royter flek,
Hevls blut fun hartsn -
Dos vasht zikh nit avek.
Traybt undz fun di dires,
Shnaydt undz op di berd.
Yidn, zol zayn freylekh!
Mir hobn zey in d'rerd!*

English translation:

*Jews, be merry, be strong!
Don't give up, but hope:
The war will soon be over
And they will soon be gone.
Be merry, and no grieving,
Don't give in to despair.
There's comfort in believing -
Have patience to forbear.*

*Have patience, have confidence,
Hold them close at hand.
Our spirit is our weapon
To keep us a tight-knit band.
Dance, ye wicked henchmen.
Before long, you'll see -
Like Haman long before you,
Dire your end will be.*

*Dance, ye wicked henchmen.
We Jews have known travail.
Despite the cruelest labor,
Our strength will yet prevail.
We must sweep? Then we'll sweep!*

As long as need be.
But no amount of sweeping
Will clean your infamy.

Blood that flowed from Abel
Makes a dark-red stain -
No amount of scrubbing
Can cleanse the hands of Cain.
You can drive us from our houses,
Cut our beards, our joys dispel.
Jews, be gay, be merry!
Henchmen, go to hell!

The first of these songs, entitled *Es Brent*, is a song telling of the pain and suffering the inmates of the ghettos had to endure. The other, entitled *Minutn fun Bitokhn*, is a song calling for hope and perseverance, and telling the people that their suffering would be remembered.

After the liquidation of this ghetto, many inmates were deported to Plaszow concentration camp which was only two kilometres away from the Cracow ghetto (Topas 1990:4).

12.3 Conclusion

In the Cracow ghetto the songs composed by Mordechai Gebirtig tell of sorrow and loss, but also of hope and the will to live, despite every hardship. The role of music could on the one hand be seen as a way of relieving their anguish, and on the other as a morale-booster, to make the people believe in their future.

Other musical activities served more as a form of escape from all that was happening around them.

CHAPTER 13

KOVNO GHETTO

13.1 Geographical location and genesis

Kovno is situated in Lithuania, about 300 kilometers north-north-east of Warsaw. The Kovno ghetto was founded in July 1941, and a total of 300 000 inmates were interned in the ghetto in July to August 1941.

As in the case of the other ghettos a Jewish Council was elected who laid down regulations for activities from their headquarters in the ghetto police station. These entailed organisational and artistic activities. The police station regulations were designed to give official status to the orchestra. (Tory 1990:65.) Dr Chaim Nachman Shapiro was elected head of the Jewish Council's education and culture departments.

13.2 Musical activities in Kovno ghetto

The Kovno ghetto had many outstanding musicians as inmates, including some former members of the Lithuanian State Opera.

A cover had to be provided for rehearsals of the ghetto orchestra; members were employed in a labour unit or as part of the Jewish Council. The members of the police orchestra were enlisted as ghetto police. The orchestra functioned within the framework of the ghetto police from that time on. A "policemen's club" was established, where the orchestra appeared twice weekly on a regular basis (Tory 1990:65). Their membership totalled 35. They were forbidden to play music by German composers, excepting those of Jewish-German origin. Their repertoire consisted of works by Mendelssohn, Meyerbeer, Halévy, Offenbach, and a wide range of Yiddish and Hebrew art songs and folk songs (Dawidowicz

1975:257).

The first concert took place in August 1942. During this concert Kol Nidrei (The day of Atonement's opening prayer) was performed. According to Tory (1990:136) this was a very emotional evening with tears flowing.

A second "special" orchestra also came into existence to play for the children of German Jews. This orchestra of well-known Kovno musicians performed in the yeshiva (see Glossary) on Yeshiva Street to an audience of school children.

Another orchestra to come into existence was a mandolin orchestra (Dawidowicz 1975:257). Unfortunately no more information is available about them.

By 25 November 1942 the ghetto police finished their job of renovating the building of the Slobodka yeshiva, as well as adapting it to serve as concert hall for the police orchestra. At first there was strong opposition to the use of this venue, as many claimed that such concerts desecrated the memory of murdered Jews (Tory 1990:136). Some Jews had apparently been killed in the same building.

Many of the concerts were attended by policemen and members of the Jewish Council, and at times also by the German Commandant of the ghetto. At the end of 1942 the Jewish musician and composer, Geist, was returned to the ghetto, presumably after escaping, and was executed by the Gestapo.

In March 1943 a concert was held in which, as part of the programme, three groups of children presented their own songs and plays. They were accompanied by a gifted pianist, David Helerman.

The police orchestra was very busy with rehearsals during July as two concerts were held on the 20th and 21st days of Tammuz (see Glossary). Hebrew music and songs were performed at these

concerts and Hebrew poems were recited.

The concert on 24 July 1943 was a very prestigious event. The concert hall was packed with notables and the most active members of the Zionist movement that were left in the ghetto at that time. This concert was the last big performance of that nature in the ghetto. A certain S. Hofmakler, a violinist and conductor, played a large role in the concert both as organiser and conductor. The orchestra performed *Song of the Valley*. Other performers were Mrs Ratchka who sang *Two Letters* by Avigdor Hameiri and *Let Me In* by Bialik, the violinist Stupel, Kupritz who recited, and Zaks who sang *The Harbour Song*. The concert was concluded with the singing of *Hatikvah* to the accompaniment of the orchestra.

Many songs were composed and sung in this ghetto as a morale booster or as songs of hope. The first of these already imagines seeing liberators approaching on horseback (Rubin 1963:449):

Refrain:

*Nor nit veyn, yid, es kumen besere tsaytn,
Ich ze shoyn dos lid fun der vayt,
Soldatn oyf ferd dort es raytn,
Di fone, di fone zi veyt.*

*Undz shrekt kayne klep, kayne tsoymen,
Mir veysn, di tsukunft iz hel,
Di sonim, zey megn haynt shoymen,
Di frayhayt, zi vart oyfn shvel.*

English translation:

Refrain:

*Don't weep, Jew, better times are coming,
I now hear the song from the distance,
Soldiers on horseback are riding,
With banners, with banners waving.*

We fear not the blows nor the bonds,
We know that the future is bright,
The enemies now may be fuming,
But freedom for us now is nigh.

Another song sung as a morale booster was a favourite of the labour brigades. The song went as follows (Dawidowicz 1975:203):

*We don't weep or grieve
Even when you beat and lash us,
But never for a moment believe
That you will discourage and dash us.*

*Jewish brigades,
With rags for clothes
March day in, day out
And bravely bear their woes.*

The next example is a song stating the inmates' feelings about the Chairman of the Judenrat (Rubin 1963:435):

*Iz in geto do faran
Eyner gor a groyser man,
Velcher iz gevorn a tiran.
Yedn morgn inderfri,
Traybt er mentshn vi di fi
Un er meynt, az eybik blaybn vet er hi.
Shrayt un shilt, shtendig vild,
Vi a vildedhaye oyf di mentshn bilt.*

English translation:

In the ghetto there is one
Who is a very important man,
But who has become a tyrant.
Every morning early,
He drives people like cattle

Thinking, that he will live forever,
He yells and curses, is always wild,
And barks at the people like a mad beast.

13.3 The last years of the ghetto

According to Tory (1990:xxi) the Kovno ghetto became a concentration camp in October 1943. The last large deportation batch to reach Kovno was on 18 May 1944. The Jews were from Paris. As Soviet forces neared the ghetto in July 1944 many inmates were killed or deported to Stutthof or Dachau.

13.4 Conclusion

The musical activities in the Kovno ghetto were much more difficult to organise than in any of the other ghettos and camps. Musical activities were organised under the auspices of the Ghetto Police to enable the musicians to have rehearsals. All the other inmates were daily sent out of the ghetto in labour units. Apart from the "Ghetto Police Orchestra" there was also another, which specialised in playing for the German Jews.

Concert performances were allowed on a regular basis with most of the audiences consisting of members of the Jewish Council or Jewish Police. When the camp was dissolved most of the musicians were either shot or sent to concentration camps like Dachau or Stutthof (Gilbert 1982:200).

The role music played in this ghetto can be seen in two ways. The songs that were sung clearly show their purpose, that of raising morale and that of documentation of their life in the ghetto with its accompanying problems. The orchestras and many of the other cultural and musical activities were a form of escape from reality for many of the inmates.

CHAPTER 14

LODZ GHETTO

14.1 Geographical location and genesis

Lodz is situated in Poland, about 100 kilometers to the southwest of Warsaw. Before the war started in 1939, Lodz had a Jewish population of over 200 000, which amounted to a third of the total population. After the occupation of Poland by Germany in 1939, six working camps were erected in the Lodz area. Many of the Jewish women, children and elderly people from different areas of Poland were deported to surrounding ghettos, for example Lublin and Warsaw.

After the founding of the Lodz Ghetto in May 1940, Jews were deported to Lodz from different camps and ghettos, as well as from areas of Europe where Jews were still residing. Lodz was one of the first ghettos to be opened in Poland (Hilberg 1985:221). It was closed off by barbed wire and board fence (Tushnet 1972:x). Many industries were opened in the ghetto, for example textile manufacturers, furniture shops, clothing and shoe factories. These products were then sold in exchange for food (Tushnet 1972:21). Lodz was also renamed by the German authorities to Litzmannstadt (Adelson 1989:xvii).

The total population of the ghetto reached 230 000 to 250 000 inmates (Flam 1992:11). By the end of 1944 it was one of the few ghettos still in operation. During 1944 the main feeding areas for the Lodz ghetto were concentration camps - for example, a total of about 100 000 Jews were deported from the Auschwitz concentration camp to the Lodz ghetto. The ghetto was finally closed during August 1944.

14.2 Initial musical activities

Lodz had a very rich cultural life as can be seen from the information available. The Jews had to provide their own police force, post office and administration departments (Tushnet 1972:16).

A Jewish Cultural Society was established in October 1940 to meet the need for a controlling body for cultural activities. Rumkowski, chairman of the Judenrat, took direct control of these in deciding what was in the interests of all (Tushnet 1972:40). The tasks of the Judenrat were to start a library and a folk university, as well as to undertake the organisation of musical activities and a drama circle. A symphony orchestra was formed and choruses were organised, largely due to the renewal of activities by the pre-war *Hazomir Society* (cultural organisation). (Trunk 1977:224.) The more traditional entertainers of pre-war days, like wedding entertainers and cantors, nearly disappeared in the ghetto (Flam 1992:17).

Several youth groups also came into existence during the early years of the ghetto (Tushnet 1972:18). A periodical called *Litsmanshtetische Geto-Tsaytung* started appearing before the end of 1941 (Friedman 1954:289).

Two of the leading musicians in the Lodz Ghetto were Bronislawa Rotsztat and Teodor Ryder. The former was a violin soloist in the Lodz Symphony Orchestra and the concert master of the Lodz Philharmonic Orchestra before the war. She regularly performed at private gatherings such as soup kitchens and at the House of Culture which was established in 1941. Teodor Ryder was a pianist and conductor. Before the war he performed with the Warsaw Opera. In Lodz he was appointed as conductor of the Lodz Symphony Orchestra and was one of the founding members of the House of Culture. (Dobroszycki 1984:11.)

On 18 January 1941 Bronislawa Rotsztat, accompanied by Teodor

Ryder, performed a concerto by Wieniawski to a full house. She achieved great success in the ghetto (Dobroszycki 1984:11). A week later Teodor Ryder accompanied the tenor Nikodem Sztajman in a recital at one of the soup kitchens in the ghetto. He sang arias from operas by Puccini, Verdi, Meyerbeer and Leoncavallo. (Dobroszycki 1984:16.)

Different groups, like the *Bundists*, *Zionists* and the *Communists*, used choruses and dramas as a front for their political activities (Tushnet 1972:40). With the influx of Western Jews from Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Luxembourg the different cultural groups, choruses, theatres and symphony orchestras eagerly awaited the arrival of possible new members (Tushnet 1972:38).

When the activities of these groups became too bold, Rumkowski decided to open the "House of Culture" in March 1941. Through this organisation sports clubs were also encouraged to open (Tushnet 1972:40-41).

14.3 Musical activities under the House of Culture

During the following nine months about 60 musicians, singers and actors together with 10 painters registered with the House of Culture. Streetsingers also performed on a regular basis. (Trunk 1977:225.)

Musical activities here can be divided into five types: the professional stage, the amateur stage, youth performances, domestic entertainment and street entertainment (Flam 1992:18).

14.3.1 The professional stage

The professional stage entertainment can further be divided into concerts and theatrical entertainment.

On March 1, 1941 the House of Culture was inaugurated. This was one of the departments of the Judenrat, and their most important function was the organisation of a variety of cultural events. Symphony concerts with participating soloists together with revues presented by the theatre studio *Avangard* were two of the kinds of entertainment that were offered by the House of Culture. *Avangard*, also spelled *Avantgarde*, was created by an adolescent called Moishe Pulaver. They permanently employed 18 actors, 7 dancers and a choir. (Flam 1992:20.)

One of the musical comedies produced here was *Libe zukt a dire* (Love is looking for an apartment) by Jerzy Jurandot. This show was a great favourite with the audiences. (Friedman 1954:71.)

No restrictions were placed on the repertoire of orchestras or any other performing groups, and these musicians were allowed to perform works by so-called Aryan (see Glossary) composers. An average of about ten concerts were given per month. At least 13 concerts were held during March 1941.

The orchestras mostly consisted of string instruments. One of the symphony orchestras regularly performed works by Beethoven. The full houses at these concerts most definitely testify to the inmates' need for uplifting classical music (Adelson 1989:294).

Two Yiddish theatres came into existence, namely *Ararat* and *Azazel* (Satan). In addition to these two theatres the House of Culture had another hall with 400 seats, which was well equipped with professional stage gear and lighting. Two other cultural organisations also made use of this hall. They were the *Lodz Choral Society Hazomir* and the *Revue Theatre* (Flam 1992:19). The first of these organisations specialised in the singing of national Hebrew songs (Flam 1992:18).

The audiences were usually factory workers from the ghettos, but concerts were also performed for the authorities. A few concerts were held at soup kitchens. It seems that two orchestras were

used in the ghetto. One of them was called the *Hazomir* orchestra while the name of the other is not known. Two conductors were used for concerts, namely Dawid Bajgelman and Teodor Ryder with the latter as the senior conductor. Minia Ber, a singer, gave some recitals with the orchestra, but Nikodem Sztajman was a more popular singer in the ghetto. Bronislawa Rotsztat, the violinist, continued giving recitals, with or without an orchestra. The repertoire of the orchestras and soloists was mainly classical, but Jewish music was also performed to a lesser extent.

Rudolf Bandler, an inmate of the ghetto, sang arias from Italian operas as well as ballads by Loewe and lieder by Schubert (Adelson 1989:294-295).

October and November 1941 marked the arrival of large numbers of new inmates at the ghetto. With their arrival the ghetto acquired many talented performers, both pianists and singers (Dobroszycki 1984:83). The new arrivals were registered with the House of Culture. Special concerts were organised to give some of the newcomers a chance to display their talents. Leopold Birkenfeld was one of the new arrivals from Vienna. He was an acclaimed pianist and, amongst others, gave performances of Beethoven's *Moonlight Sonata* and the *Rhapsody no 2* by Liszt (Dobroszycki 1984:93).

The House of Culture performed its 100th concert on 31 December 1941. Teodor Ryder accompanied Bronislawa Rotsztat in the performance of works by Bach, Glazunov and Mozart. During 1941 the House of Culture was further responsible for the presentation of 85 revue performances.

Until August 1942 concerts were held at regular intervals, about one per week, mostly on Wednesday evenings. During September and October no concerts were performed. This could possibly be due to the fact that just about at that time the House of Culture ceased to exist as an independent department. As a result the musicians had to seek employment in workshops or other

departments. They could now perform only during leisure hours. (Dobroszycki 1984:286.)

On 7 November 1942 the concerts resumed with a symphony concert conducted by Dawid Bajgelman. Some of his own compositions, including a few concerto fantasies and variations on popular Jewish themes were performed. Bronislawa Rotsztat participated as a soloist in this concert. A week later a few of Bajgelman's works were again performed. It was decided to start giving concerts at regular intervals once more. These concerts were usually on Saturdays and it was mostly the elite who were able to attend. An average of four concerts per month were held during 1942. (Dobroszycki 1984:286.)

14.3.2 The Amateur stage

Amateur stage entertainment denotes that which was provided at the work place for example. Workers created shows for their co-workers, especially revues. It also included concerts held at soup kitchens by professional entertainers such as Bronislawa Rotsztat. After 1942 the workplace or workshops became the main stage for cultural life. The largest revue show to be held in Lodz was that given in the paper factory, with a cast of 70. Rumkowski, the chairman of the Judenrat, decreed in 1943 that these shows should be stopped, but he was ignored in this, as artistic activities in the workshops continued. (Flam 1992:25-26.)

Office parties were another form of the Amateur Stage entertainment to be cultivated in the ghetto (Flam 1992:27).

14.3.3 Youth entertainment

The Judenrat placed a heavy emphasis on the entertainment for the youth. The first step taken by them was the opening of schools, of which they had 45, with a total of 10 000 pupils enrolled.

Separate religious schools also existed (Dawidowicz 1975:254).

A school health system was organised, as well as orphan asylums and technical schools (Tushnet 1972:34). The schools department organised the performance of vocal and instrumental music for school children (Dobroszycki 1984:36). Many lullabies were also written for the children (Aaron 1990:120).

During June 1941 the idea of opening a music school was raised. Some of the distinguished musicians would be asked to present lectures at the school. Unfortunately this idea was never realised due to the disintegration of the school system in 1942.

Children were encouraged to perform in, and produced shows. An example of such a show is one named *A Summer Holiday*. It included singing, recitation, dances and jokes. Children were also involved in many dramatic societies that gave regular performances on Friday afternoons, on Jewish holidays and other special occasions (Flam 1992:22).

14.3.4 Domestic entertainment

Domestic entertainment came into being as a result of a decree by the Judenrat, according to which no Jewish holidays were to be celebrated. The inmates then decided to celebrate these days at home by getting together and singing around their table. A certain Lucille Eichengreen recalled knowing about two chamber music concerts being held in private homes (Flam 1992:27).

14.3.5 Street entertainment

Entertainment provided by street artists was probably the favourite with audiences. These artists included musicians and jugglers who performed in public gardens, backyards and mostly on street corners (Flam 1992:23).

A literary newspaper in the ghetto, *Min Hametsar*, collected several of the street songs sung during its existence (Flam 1992:25). Many hit songs from before the war were used as basis for songs composed here. Others were composed in the ghetto in the style of Yiddish theatre or folk songs (Flam 1992:5). Songs were forced to be topical of everyday life, so as to attract attention (Flam 1992:53).

As mentioned previously, many lullabies were sung. Irony was a figure of speech often resorted to. One of these lullabies, *Close Your Precious Eyes*, was composed by Isaiah Spiegel after the death of his daughter (Aaron 1990:120). Here are the words to this song (Aaron 1990:121-122):

Refrain:

*Close your precious eyes,
Birds are flying nigh,
And circle all around
A flutter above your crib.
A bundle ready in hand,
The house by fire rent.
We are off, my child,
To seek good luck.*

*God has shut our world so bright
And everywhere is dark, dark night
And waits for us right here
With horror and with fear
We are both standing there
In this dreadful, dreadful hour,
Not knowing where the road will lead.*

Refrain:

Close....

*Naked, of everything bereft
Chased, our homes we left,*

*In the pitch of night
Pursued into the field,
And storm, hail, and wind,
My child, escorted us
To the fathomless void.*

*Refrain:
Close....*

This lullaby, as well as others were sung by Dov Beygelson. Many of the songs, however, were banned by Rumkowski, the Chairman of the Judenrat, because they openly addressed the Jewish tragedy. In spite of this ban, songs were still sung. They were as much an offering of consolation, even if parodic and bitter, and a form of lamentation as an expression of resistance (Aaron 1990:124-125).

Another song, composed by Emanuel Hirshberg, and sung here was the following one which tells of the hard labour that had to be done (Rubin 1963:431-432):

*Finster, nas un vintn kalte
Shlepn vegn noch der tsol,
Mener shver, shoyn shvache, alte
O, vu nemt men kraft? O vu?*

*Bruder! shlep un shtup dem vogn
Gants geduldik! Chotsh s'iz shver.
Gornisht kuk im oyf dem mogn,
Oysgehungert un gants ler.*

*Geyt geshpant un shlept dem vogn,
Krechtst nisht, shrayt nisht, zingt a lid.
Veyst, az sof kol sof vet togn,
Gliklich vet noch zayn der yid.*

English translation:

Dark, wet, and cold winds
We pull our quota of wagons,
Tired men, weak and old,
O, where can we find strength? O where?

Brother! Pull and push the wagon
Patiently! Though it be hard.
Pay no attention to your stomach,
Which is empty and starved.

Walk in harness and pull the wagon,
Don't moan or cry but sing a song.
Know, that in the end the dawn will come,
And the Jew will yet be happy again.

The next example is of a song composed by Dawid Bajgelman. He also composed many other songs, some of which are mentioned in Appendix B. The following is the music and the words of this song (Kalisch 1985:89-91):

Music example 4: Song composed by Dawid Bajgelman

Slow



Fin - ster di nakht, vi koy - ln



shvarts, Nor trakht un trakht, un s'klapt mayn harts. Mir tsi-

ritenuto *Tempo*



gay - ner le - bn vi key - ner! Mir lay - dn noyt, ge - nug koym oyf broyt.

Faster



Dzum, dzum, dzum, dzum, — dzum, dzum, Mir fli - en a -



rum vi di tshay - kes. Dzum, dzum, dzum, dzum,

1.
dzum, dzum, Mir shpi - ln oyf di ba - la - lay - kes.

2.
lay - kes. lay - kes.

Slow D.S. Fine

*Finster di nakht, vi koyln shvarts.
Nor trakht un trakht, un s'klapt mayn harts.
Mir tsigayner lebn vi keyner,
Mir laydn noyt, genug koym oyf broyt.*

Refrain:

*Dzum, dzum, dzum...
Mir flien arum vi di tshaykes.
Dzum, dzum, dzum...
Mir shpiln oyf di balalaykes.*

*Nit vu men togt, nit vu men nakht;
A yeder zikh plogt, nor kh'trakht un trakht.
Mir tsigayner lebn vi keyner,
Mir laydn noyt, genug koym oyf broyt.*

Refrain:

English translation:

*Dark is the night, like blackest coal.
I brood and brood, my heartbeats toll.
We Gypsies live like no others do,
Suffering pain and hunger too.*

Refrain:

Dzum, dzum, dzum...

Like seagulls we fly near and far.
Dzum, dzum, dzum...
We're strumming our gypsy guitar.

Nowhere to stay, almost no food;
Everyone struggles, but I just brood.
We gypsies live like no others do,
Suffering pain, and hunger too.

Refrain:

Junkele (Jankele) Herszkowicz, a popular ghetto street "troubadour" (Dobroszycki 1984:92) composed and performed songs in the Lodz Ghetto. He wrote a song called *Rumkowski, Chaim* in 1940 and managed to earn a living for several months by performing it, by which time it had become a hit song. The song tells about three Chaim's, but the main aim was to attack Rumkowski, the chairman of the Judenrat. It went as follows (Flam 1992:37-42):

Music example 5: Rumkowski, Chaim



Yi - da - lakh zay - nen ge - bentsht mit kha - yim, Kha -
yim le - oy - lam nu - ves. Kha - yim fin beys ha - kha - yim,
— Rum-kov-ski kha-yim mit zayn groy - sn nes. — Er makht dekh
ni - sim oy. Yey-dn tug a - zoy, Ge-valt isi shra - a - yen oy, oy,
oy. Ye-der ay - ner frey - gt — A tsvey - le shay -
le, oy. — Zugt er kha - yim s'iz git a - zoy.



Refrain

Vayl ind - zer kha - yim. Er get indz kla - yen. Er get indz
gro - pn. Er get indz man. Far-tsay - tus hobn di mid - ber yi - dn
ge - ge - sn man; Hay - nt est shoy n ye - de vayb ir
man. Rum-kov-ski , kha - yim hot git ge - trakht. Ge - ar - bet
shve - [e]r bay tug bay nakht. Ge - makht a ge - to in a
dye - to. In er shrayt ge - vald ar iz ge - rakht!

*Yidalkh zaynen gebentsht mit khayim,
Khayim leoylam muves,
Khayim fin beys ha'khayim,
Rumkowski khayim mit zayn groysn nes.
Er makht dekh nisim oy,
Yeydn tug azoy,
Gevalt tsi shrayen oy, oy, oy,
Yeyder ayner freygt:
A tsvayte shayle, oy,
Zugt er khayim s'iz git azoy!*

Refrain:

*Vayl er iz indzer khayim,
Er geht indz klayen,
Er geht indz gropn,
Er geht indz man.
Fartsaytns hobn di midber yidn gegesn man,
Haynt est shoy n yede vayb ir man.
Rumkowski khayim hot git getrakht,
Gearbet shver bay tug bay nakht,
Gemakht a geto in a dyeto
In er shraytgevald az er iz gerakht!*



Khayim vaytsman hot gezugt:
Az er wil di yidn in palestine hobn.
Hot zay gehaysn akern zeyen,
Er hot zay dortn tif bagrubn;
Ober indzer khayim'l,
Rumkowski khayim,
Er geht indz yeydn tug shrayim:
Aynem a shtik broyt,
In Tsveytn a shtik ferd,
Me leygt bay eyem oyekh tif'n drerd.

Refrain...

Der driter khayim fin beys ha'khayim,
Hot mit malkhe hamuves a git gesheft gemakht:
Er zol im tsishteln maysim vus mer;
Er zol im tsishteln bay tug bay nakht.
Hot zekh der malekh ha'muves genimen
Tsi der arbet shnel.
Er makht fin yedn giber oy a tel:
Er makht der flink,
Er makht des git.
Er makht di gantse geto shvakh in mid.

Refrain...

In a zimer tug,
Geveyzn iz a tug a hayser,
Geyt Rumkowski in der gas,
Er zet dokh oys vi a keyser.
A hele antsug, oy,
In tinkele briln,
Politsay arim bevakht.
Iekh zug aykh guer
Indzer keyser hot groue huer;
Leybn zol er gantse hindert yuer!

Refrain:

*Runkowski Khayim der eltster yude,
Iz ungeshtelt bay di gestapo.
Meye yidalakh zaynen zayne bruder,
In er farzorgt indz di papo.
Er makht dekh nisim oy,
Yeydn tug azoy
Gevald tsi shrayen oy, oy, oy!
Yeyder ayner freygt:
A tsvayte shayle oy?
Zugt er khaynim: s'iz git azoy!*

English translation:

Jews are seen to be blessed with life,
Life until death,
Life from the house of life,
Rumkowski Chaim and his great miracle.
He makes miracles, oy,
So every day,
For heaven's sake, oy, oy, oy,
Everyone asks:
A second question, oy?
Chaim says: It's good this way!

Refrain:

Because he is our Chaim
He gives us bran,
He gives us barley,
He gives us manna.
Once upon a time Jews of the desert ate manna;
Now each woman eats her husband.
Rumkowski Chaim thought it through,
Worked hard day and night,
Made a ghetto with a diet store,
And claims gevald that he is right!



Chaim Weizmann said:
He wants to have the Jews in Palestine.
He told them to plow, sow,
He did them in there deep;
But, our Chaim,
Rumkowski Chaim,
Everyday he gives us leftovers:
One a piece of bread,
The other a piece of horse,
And we are also done in deep.

Refrain:

The third Chaim of the house of life,
Made a good deal with the angel of death:
He should provide him more and more corpses;
He should provide them day and night.
So, the angel of death
Got to work right away.
He makes a mess out of every hero:
He does it quickly,
He does it well.
He makes the whole ghetto weak and tired.

Refrain:

On a summer day,
It was a very hot day,
Rumkowski walked in the street,
And looked like a Royal Highness.
He wore a light-colored suit, oy,
And dark glasses,
Surrounded by the police.
I tell you
Our Royal Highness has grey hair;
May he live to be a hundred!

Refrain:

Rumkowski Chaim, the Eldest of the Jews,
Is employed by the Gestapo.
We Jews are his brothers,
And he supplies our food.
He makes miracles, oy,
So every day,
For heaven's sake, oy, oy, oy!
Everyone asks:
A second question, oy?
Chaim says: It's good this way!

Herszkowicz was also responsible for the 1941 hit song, *Es geht a Yeke mit a Teke*. This ghetto hit song made fun of the newly arrived German Jews, known as Yekes. It treats their ups and downs and unfamiliarity with local customs with humour. A partnership was formed with Karol Rozencwajg in 1941. He accompanied Jankele Herszkowicz on a guitar or a zither. (Dobroszycki 1984:92.)

Another song composed and sung by Hershkowitz was *Ikh fur kayn palestine*, which is a song of hope. It deals with the inmates' wishes for a Jewish state in Palestine, after hearing rumours that it could happen (Flam 1992:78). These are the words of this song (Flam 1992:75-78):

Refrain:

*Ikh fur kayn palestine,
Dortn iz a goldene medine.
Ikh vel kishn di mezize,
In di levune shaynt.
Kh'vel zikh toyvln in der mikve,
Yedn tug zingen di tikve.
Ikh vel flantsn pomerantsn,
S'vet zayn olerayt!
Ikh vel veyrn dozer in der kehile,*



*Bentshn esrog in kishn di tfilim,
In reb yoshke kalb
Vet zayn undzer fraynt;
Servus yidn ikh fur ahaym.*

*Di novemyeske gas, oy, oy,
Di sokhrim zenen blat, oy, oy, oy,
Ale zenen haynt shoy n playte;
S'iz dokh nisht kayn shpas.
Rubin mit der zin,
Shmekn dort ahin,
Goldman mit di zibn tekhter,
Moyshe tsiker shmil.
Rumkowski mit zayn armey,
Viln kayn eretz yisruel arayn.
M'vet klapn in polkn,
A gantse tsayt,
A gedile vet zayn, olerayt.*

Refrain:...

English translation:

Refrain:
I'm going to Palestine,
That is a golden land.
I will kiss the mezuzah,
And the moon will shine.
I'll dip in the mikveh,
Every day I'll sing "Hatikvah."
I'll plant oranges,
Everything will be all right!
I'll be active in the community,
I'll bless the etrog and kiss the tfillin,
And Rabbi Yoshke Kalb
Will be our friend;
Good-bye Jews, I'm going home.

Verse:

The Nowomiejska Street, oy, oy,
The dealers are illegal, oy, oy, oy,
They've all run away by now;
It's not a joke anymore.
Rubin with his son,
Longs to go there,
Goldman and his seven daughters,
Moishe Tsiker-Shmil.
Rumkowski and his army,
Want to enter Eretz-Yisrael too.
We'll make noise,
All through that time,
We'll have a celebration, all right!

Refrain:...

14.4 Decline of cultural activities

The House of Culture finally closed down in 1943. A great need was felt for some form of cultural life. Small centres for the cultivation of music sprang up. Participation was usually only possible for the elite. Either professional or amateur musicians performed for intimate groups of guests at these concerts, and the emphasis was placed on chamber music.

During the first three months of 1944 the Jewish authorities announced that musical instruments had to be registered and later surrendered. This operation was supervised by the conductor Bajgelman who had great knowledge of the value of musical instruments. The instruments were selected according to the needs of the municipal orchestra of Lodz, the mayor of Lodz and for the music school of the Hitler Youth and the Reich Chamber of Music. Dawid Bajgelman was supported by an expert and the general manager of the municipal theatre of Lodz. Bajgelman was asked for

his impressions of the different instruments, but his opinion on the value of the instruments was largely ignored. A total of 44 violins were bought for only one mark each. In all, four excellent pianos, mandolins, guitars, an accordion, zithers, lutes, flutes, clarinets, saxophones, trumpets, different percussion instruments, sixty violins, two cellos and a custom-made trombone with a total value of over 20 000 marks, were bought for only 2 400 marks. As a result of this the symphony orchestra was dismantled, the revues were discontinued and music life as a whole in Lodz Ghetto came to a standstill. (Dobroszycki 1984:471.)

14.5 Conclusion

The course of World War II can easily be recognised in the life of the Lodz Ghetto. The relative normalisation, in relation to the progress of a war, of life and activities in Poland after the German occupation started in 1940 with the deportation of Jews to the different ghettos. While the Germans felt that the prospects of winning the war were good, musicians in the ghettos did not need to do manual work, as the House of Culture in the Lodz Ghetto organised the musical activities and they decided to employ full-time musicians. The total number of musicians must have been around 200, as there were two orchestras, a few soloists, as well as the revue performers.

When the war reached its turning-point in August 1942 the musicians were required to work in factories or departments of the Jewish Council. As the prospects of winning the war against the Allied Forces decreased, so did cultural activities in the Lodz Ghetto.

Singing was most certainly the one factor or cultural activity that meant a lot to the inmates. Miriam Harel, one of the composers in the ghetto, said the following about songs (Flam 1992:1):

The song was the only truth. The Nazis could take anything away from us, but they could not take singing from us. This remained our only human expression.

The main role of music in this ghetto was upliftment and encouragement, and to build morale and hope for the future.

CHAPTER 15

LVOV GHETTO AND ITS LABOUR CAMP, JANOWSKA

15.1 Geographical location and genesis

The city of Lvov is situated in pre-war Poland, about 170 kilometres to the south-east of Warsaw. In 1939 the Jewish population of Lvov numbered about 100 000, which was one third of the total population of Lvov. Lvov was situated in that part of Poland occupied by Russia in 1939. The Jewish population grew to about 160 000 by June 1941 when the Germans invaded Russia and the Russian-occupied areas (Friedman 1954:224).

The Lvov ghetto came into existence in October 1941 and soon became the third largest ghetto (Hilberg 1985:221). More than nine labour camps were established around the city of Lvov. One of these labour camps, Janowska, which had an active music life, was built around a factory.

Another labour camp in the vicinity of Lvov was Czwartaki. This camp will be discussed under the same heading as Janowska, as musical activities only started once the Janowska labour camp had been closed down.

15.2 Musical activities in the Lvov ghetto

The Jewish inmates in the Lvov ghetto were compelled by the German authorities to conduct public cultural activities (Friedman 1980:289). Lvov was fortunate enough to have as inmates a large number of Jewish performers and singers. Some of these performers had already been famous before World War II.

In order to enhance Jewish cultural activities, the Germans organised two orchestras in the Lvov area. One functioned in the

Lvov ghetto and the other in the Janowska labour camp near the city.

The orchestra in the Lvov ghetto was used for a variety of purposes. Their most important duty was to accompany the detachments marching off to and returning from work.

Upon orders from the highest-ranking official or officer they also played dance music, marches, such as the *Radetzky March*, and works by Mozart and Beethoven. At times the musicians were forced to perform, in spite of their personal feelings, at tragic moments such as roll calls and "selections" (of inmates to be deported to concentration camps) in the ghetto and at the gate of the ghetto (Friedman 1954:289).

A newspaper in the ghetto, *Gazeta Lwowska*, published a satirical song about the Jewish musicians in the ghetto and noted the names of 40 artists performing there.

During the first 18 months since the establishment of the ghetto many inmates were either deported, killed or died of different causes. By December 1942 only 24 000 inmates were left in the ghetto. Unfortunately the losses were high among musicians and artists.

Prominent musicians who died were the conductors, Alfred Stadler, Marcell Horowitz and Jakob Münd, and the composers Leonid Striks, Maks Striks, Jozef Frenkel, Skolka, and Willem Kristel. Others were the opera singers Feller, Fiszer, Scronge and Buxbaum (Friedman 1954:293-294).

A few professors of the pre-war Lvov Conservatory of Music also perished in the ghetto, namely Leon Zak, Schatz, Jozef Herman, Edward Steinberg, Hildebrand, Breyer, Priwes and Aron Dobszyk. Instrumentalists who did not survive were the following: Leon Eber, Mark Bauer, Artur Hemelin and Pollak (Friedman 1954:293-294).

15.3 Musical activities in the labour camp Janowska

Janowska was one of the labour camps in the area surrounding the Lvov ghetto. It was situated around the Janowska factory. The commandant of this camp was Obersturmführer Wilhaus (Black Book 1946:246).

The Janowska labour camp was started in October 1941. During October the camp population consisted of 580 Jews and 320 non-Jewish Poles. Besides being a labour camp it was also used as a transit camp for prisoners being sent to Belzec. The maximum number of inmates at any given time was usually less than 10 000 (Friedman 1954:304). An estimated 300 000 to 400 000 people passed through the gates of this camp during its existence. A large number of these died from different causes, ranging from natural causes to execution.

An orchestra was established in the Janowska camp upon the initiative of the deputy commander SS Untersturmführer, Rotika (Friedman 1954:311). This orchestra consisted of 60 male members who were all inmates of the camp (Wells 1963:135), many of them being first rate musicians (Ainsztein 1974:209). Quite a few well-known personalities from the music world formed part of this orchestra. These included Jozef Münd, Jozef Herman, Eduard Steinberger and Schatz, who was also known as a composer.

Professor Leonid Striks was appointed conductor of this orchestra (Friedman 1954:293). In reality both Professor Striks and Jozef Münd led the orchestra, as the latter had been a famous conductor at some time, most probably before the war (Black Book 1946:308-309).

The orchestra was expected to play for the inmates on their way to work and on their way returning to the camp, as well as during roll calls. They further had to perform for their "mentor", Rotika, who was reported to be a connoisseur of music (Friedman 1954:311).

A special melody played frequently and called *Tango of Death*, was composed by order of Rotika. This melody was most probably composed by Schatz, and was played for the work brigades leaving camp in the mornings. Some of the members of the orchestra were occasionally expected to sing.

Literary activities were alive in the camp, but these had to be conducted in secret. An example of this was a secret poet session organised by the popular song-writer, Schlechter, on New Year's Eve of 1941 (Friedman 1954:312).

Copies of poems and folk-songs written in the Janowska labour camp survived the war as a result of Jewish clerks who worked in the offices at the camp and made copies of these and then hid them.

By May 1944 there remained fewer than 100 inmates at Janowska and it was decided to close the camp and deport the remaining inmates to other labour camps, ghettos or concentration camps.

One of these was a nearby labour camp called Czwartaki. The commandant, Untersturmführer Fichtner, and the commander of the Sonderkommando, Scherlack, decided to start an orchestra. He received four musicians from Janowska after its liquidation. Both the commanders and the staff of the labour camp enjoyed listening to the new band and the singers that were accompanied by the band. For the inmates these performances meant even more, as they could discuss revolt plans and mass escapes while pretending to listen to the music (Ainsztein 1974:711).

15.4 Conclusion

A substantial difference can be seen in the quality and quantity of music performed in the Lvov ghetto and the Janowska labour camp.

In the Lvov ghetto inmates were compelled to participate in cultural activities. This led to the forming of a rather large orchestra as Lvov had many inmates who were good musicians. Musical activities started to decline in the latter part of 1942, as many inmates were being deported to other camps and ghettos, while others died in the ghetto.

Music life in the Janowska labour camp operated under much stricter circumstances. The orchestra in Janowska was only used for camp parades and to play for labour groups leaving and returning to the camp, whereas the one in the Lvov ghetto was also used for entertainment.

On the other hand, these musical activities afforded the inmates the opportunity to discuss revolts and escapes, quite probably not only in the Czwartaki labour camp.

CHAPTER 16

TEREZIN (THERESIENSTADT) GHETTO

16.1 Geographical location and genesis

Terezin is situated about 60 kilometers north of Prague and as such was in that part of Czechoslovakia which was occupied by Germany before the war. Terezin, or Theresienstadt, was originally built as a fort in the 18th century. During the 19th and 20th centuries Terezin was upgraded to a military and political prison (Chládková 1991:6).

During 1940 the fort of Terezin was turned into a Gestapo prison. In late 1941 it was transformed into a Jewish transit-concentration camp. The German authorities called Terezin "Ghetto Theresienstadt" (Chládková 1991:6).

The first transport of prisoners reached Terezin on 24 November 1941. These prisoners, as well as many of the other inmates to arrive at Terezin, came from Prague and Brno (Chládková 1991:8). Terezin was finally completed in 1942 (Green 1969:31).

A total of 30 000 to 40 000 people permanently resided in the ghetto (Chládková 1991:10). The total number of inmates to pass through the gates of Terezin was about 140 000 (Green 1969:31). The number of inmates at any particular time reached a peak at 60 000 inmates (Karas 1985:10). From 1943 onwards inmates were deported elsewhere from time to time. At first inmates were deported to Riga, Izbice, Maly, Trostinec, Sobibor, Majdanek and Treblinka, and from 1944 deportations were made to Auschwitz as well (Chládková 1991:16).

In the book, *The Artists of Terezin*, Green (1969:84) mentions gas chambers working with Zylkon B, and Lévy-Hass (1982:83) mentions hearing about gas chambers in Terezin. This is in direct

contradiction to Feig (1979:26), who sees it as a fortress town, having no resemblance to the extermination centres, and Laska (1983:229) who totally rejects the fact that gas chambers existed there.

The camp was liberated on 8 May 1945 by the Russian Army after being surrendered to the Red Cross by the German authorities on 2 May 1945.

16.2 The organisation of life and cultural activities

Life in Terezin was moulded according to a fixed pattern. The German government placed a guard unit of SS (see Glossary) in overall control of the ghetto. The first SS commander was Dr Siegfried Seidl (Karas 1985:8). He was followed by two commanders of the SS, A. Burger and Karl Rahm (Chládková 1991:9).

A Jewish Council of Elders was instituted in the camp for purposes of self-administration, but responsible to the SS. Their first chairman was Jakob Edelstein with Otto Zucker as his deputy (Green 1969:55; Karas 1985:8). At a later date Dr Paul Eppstein and Dr Benjamin Murrelstein respectively took over the chairmanship (Chládková 1991:9). One of their functions was the drafting and implementation of laws governing life in the ghetto. Members of the council were put in charge of individual departments like administration, economics, finances, technical as well as health and social care, labour and youth care (Chládková 1991:9-10). Unfortunately corruption was rife (Matussek 1975:18) as in many of the other ghettos.

One of the first steps taken by the Council of Elders to organise cultural activities was when they asked Hedda Grab-Kernmayer to organise these activities including education, entertainment, music and lectures. This was the predecessor to the highly organised *Freizeitgestaltung* (Administration of free time activities). When this organisation came into existence, Rabbi

Weiner was named as its first director (Karas 1985:15).

The *Freizeitgestaltung* was divided into different sections including the theatre, cabaret, opera, instrumental music, café music, recitation, library and sport. The theatrical, recitation and library sections were the largest, each being divided into smaller sub-sections. A vast variety of sport activities was allowed in Terezin. Among the favourites of these were football, volleyball, basketball, tabletennis, handball and chess (Karas 1985:16). Different concessions were granted to scientists and people taking part in cultural activities. One of the most important of these was exemption from heavy labour (Karas 1985:15).

At first cultural activities were suppressed by the SS camp authorities, but the situation quickly changed, as by mid 1942 there was considerable freedom to participate in these events (Chládková 1991:14). Concerts, lectures, the library and art shows were even regarded as an encouragement to the people (Green 1961:35). Dwork (1991:128) goes as far as stating:

...in different periods in the history of Theresienstadt cultural and scholarly activities were not only tolerated but actually encouraged.

One of the other institutions that existed in Terezin was an underground school for the children (Dwork 1991:125-126).

Theatrical performances took place and art was allowed. The initiators in the theatrical genre were Gustav Schorch, Vlasta Schönova, Paul Fryd and Zdenek Jelinek. Five of the well-known artists resident in the ghetto were Bedrich Fritta, Leo Hass, Otto Unger, Karel Fleischmann and Petr Klein (Chládková 1991:15).

By the summer of 1944 the SS authorities decided that Terezin had to be beautified and upgraded. This was because of an impending visit by the Red Cross. As a result of this the daily routine

improved even more.

16.3 The organisation of musical activities

The first musical activities were probably initiated by the second group of inmates who arrived. This group was responsible for the building of the ghetto. Karel Svenk and Rafael Schächter played a very important role in initiating musical activities in the camp (Karas 1985:11). These activities consisted of the singing of folk songs. This second group also had in its midst a number of musicians, previously inmates of Lipa (the location of this camp could not be determined). Many of these musicians brought their own instruments with them, like Karel Fröhlich who brought in his violin and viola and Kurt Maier who brought his accordion with him (Karas 1985:13).

The first document available on music life in Terezin is the programme of a variety show in the barracks on 6 December 1941. Musicians performing were Karel Fröhlich and Heinrich Taussig on the violin, Viktor Kohn on the flute and the accordion players Wolfi Lederer and Kurt Maier. Another feature at this concert was a jazz band consisting of Fritz Weiss, Hans Selig, Pavel Kohn, Fredy Mautner, Franta Goldschmidt, Tedy Berger and Wolfi Lederer (Karas 1985:13).

As new transports arrived so did a few new musicians, but musical and cultural life only started blossoming once a few pianos arrived at Terezin. In the later war years cultural activities became so popular that at a certain stage several concurrent musical and theatrical performances took place every day besides lectures, debates and sports activities (Karas 1985:43).

As mentioned previously, Hedda Grab-Kernmayer was asked by the Council of Elders to organise different cultural activities, including the music. The *Freizeitgestaltung* later took over these functions. There were several sections organising opera, vocal,

instrumental and café music. Hans Krása was a member of the *Freizeitgestaltung* and in overall control of the music section (Karas 1985:92).

Figure 4: Example of a music concert organised by the *Studio für neue Musik* (Karas 1985:58)

Studio für neue Musik

Leitung: Viktor Ullmann

2. Konzert

Junge Autoren in Theresienstadt

1. Gideon Klein:
Die Part. 4 Lieder für Altstimme
u. Klavier Dichtung: Peter Klein
2. Heinz Alt:
6 Miniaturen für Klavier
3. Siegmond Schul:
2 Chasidische Tänze für Violine u. Cello
4. Karl Berman:
Poputa
5. Siegmond Schul:
Diverdi-Mento Ebraico für Streichquartett

Mitwirkende:

Arnonson-Lind, Kling, Ledec-Quartett
Dr. Reiner, Z.-Schächter, Weisenstein

Despite the pleas of the *Freizeitgestaltung*, collective punishment in the form of a ban was placed on cultural activities from time to time. One of the occasions that would evoke such a ban would be when an inmate attempted to escape (Chládková 1991:27).

The *Freizeitgestaltung* music section had the added responsibility of acquiring musical instruments for the inmates of the ghetto, as well as sheet music and books. They also provided the opportunity for young artists to study and practise. Composers and writers could moreover produce new works (Karas 1985:18).

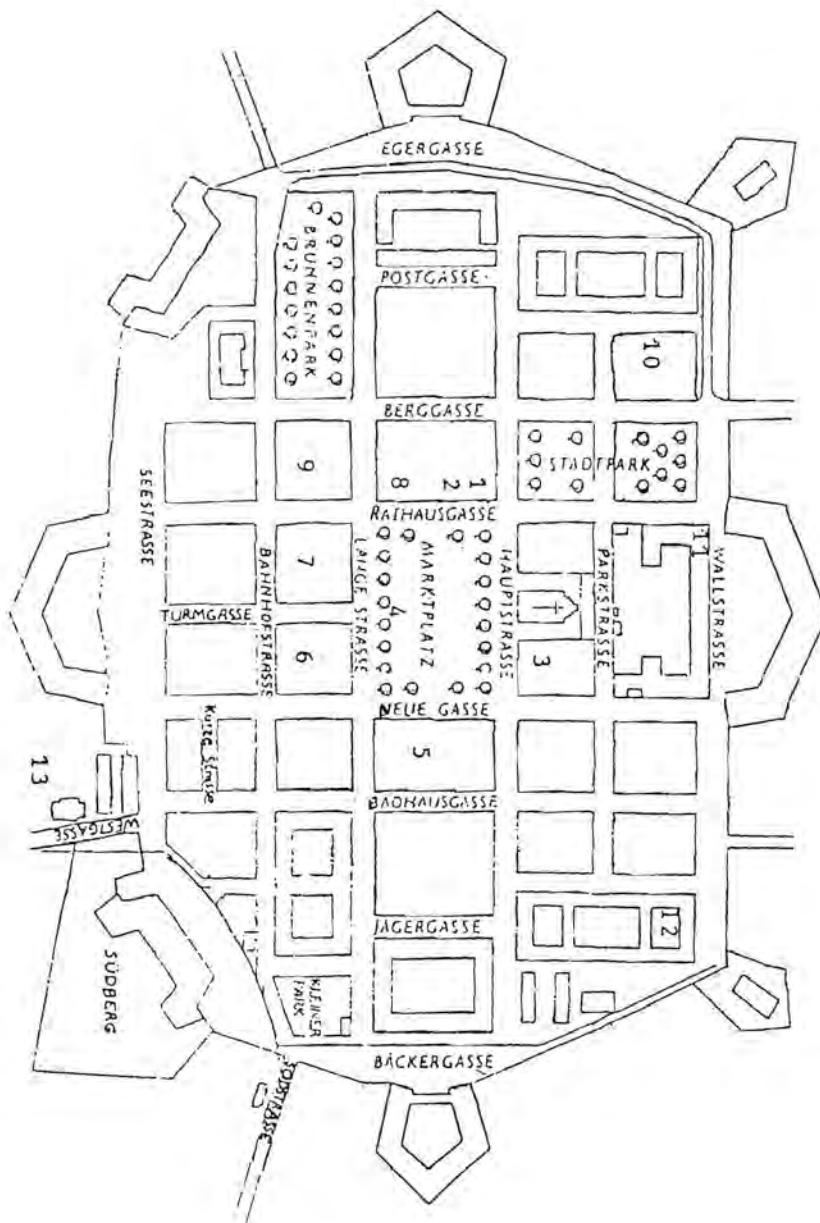
Viktor Ullmann, another musician and composer, founded and directed the *Studio für neue Musik* (Karas 1985:55). The activities of this *Studio* included music concerts, theatrical presentations, lectures on a wide range of subjects, recitation of poetry, and participation in sport (Karas 1985:61). An example of a music concert organised by this *Studio* is given on the previous page, as Figure 4.

Explanation of Figure 5 (Map of the Terezin Ghetto)

- 1 In the attic a school was started. The gymnasium was used for performances such as of the *Bartered Bride*.
- 2 Concerts and performances were held in the council chamber.
- 3 The cellar was used as a rehearsal hall.
- 4 After the improvements in 1944 this location was changed into a park and music pavillion.
- 5 A café was situated here. People could order tea and coffee while listening to an orchestra or to other performers.
- 6 Different cultural programmes and lectures were held here.
- 7 Performances of a varied nature were held here.
- 8 This was the location for many theatrical performances.
- 9 Parts of this location were used for theatrical and other cultural activities.
- 10 A hall in one of the houses was used for theatrical performances and concerts. A library was also housed in one of the buildings.

- 11 At this location public baths, showers and a swimming pool were provided for use by the inmates.
- 12 This building contained a hall used for cultural performances.
- 13 After the improvements in 1944 this location had cultural halls, a library, a synagogue and a relaxation area.

Figure 5: Map of the Terezin Ghetto (Chládkova 1991:20-21)



16.3.1 Pre-fall 1944 musical activities

Musical activities will be discussed under the headings pre-fall 1944 and from fall 1944 onwards, as musical activities nearly came to a standstill during the fall of 1944, when thousands of inmates were deported elsewhere. With the influx of new inmates musical activities again started increasing in number.

16.3.1.1 Vocal music

The first musician involved in vocal music was Rafael Schächter. At first such vocal music only consisted of informal singing of folk songs, but this changed with the arrival of Gideon Klein who started arranging music for Schächter's choir. These arrangements included Czech, Slovak, Hebrew and Russian folk songs. Schächter's first choir was a male choir but a female choir was started later and then combined with the male choir (Karas 1985:23).

Subsequently many other choirs came into existence. Amongst these were Berman's girls' chorus and Karl Vrba's boys' choir and a male singing group of ten. The above-mentioned Vrba was also known for his arrangement of folk songs for choirs. At the same time Siegmund Subak formed the Subak Chorus, a choir which specialised in the singing of Jewish liturgical music, Yiddish folksongs and new Palestine music. Another choir similar to the Subak Chorus was called the Tempel Chor. The Durra Chorus specialised in folk songs from a wide variety of nationalities (Karas 1985:25).

Gideon Klein extended the repertoire of the choirs by composing two works for choirs. The first of these was a work for male voices based on a text of Czech folk poetry. The other was *Two Madrigals* for a five-part mixed chorus (Karas 1985:23).

Besides the adult choirs in Terezin a few children's choirs also

entertained the inmates. Rudolf Freudenfeld's children's chorus and Karel Berman's girl's chorus were two of these.

Jakob Edelstein urged teachers to keep the children busy at school. The teaching system included teaching through games and the singing of poems (Karas 1985:86-87). As part of the cultural activities at school Ella Pollack, a piano teacher and concert pianist, started a choir at school (Dwork 1991:128).

Throughout the ghetto a great deal of emphasis was laid on the singing of Jewish patriotic songs. The people did not sing Jewish songs only, but also Czech and German ones. Chassidic and liturgical songs were also sung while canons were a great favourite, especially with the children (Karas 1985:88-89).

The first fully vocal concert took place on 11 June 1942. Performing in this concert were Gerta Harpmann, Jakob Goldring, Emmy Zeckendorf, Anka Dub and Hedda Grab-Kernmayer (Karas 1985:19).

Opera also formed an integral part of the vocal music in Terezin and quite a variety of operas were performed. The opera, *The Bartered Bride*, by the Czech composer Smetana was probably the first to be performed in Terezin. It came about as a result of choirs practising choruses from this opera. Soloists became available and it was then decided to perform the work as a whole (Karas 1985:23-24). The première took place on 28 November 1942 and ran for a total of 35 performances (Green 1969:73).

Other operas rehearsed by Schächter were Smetana's *Hubicka*, with fifteen performances, and Mozart's *The Marriage of Figaro* and *The Magic Flute*. The only opera he actually conducted at a performance was Pergolesi's *La Serva Padrona*, in which a full accompaniment of string orchestra and continuo was used (Karas 1985:28).

Another conductor to try his hand at opera was Franz Eugen Klein.

He conducted operas such as Verdi's *Rigoletto*, Puccini's *Tosca* and Bizet's *Carmen*. With all three operas a double cast was used. Only for the opera *Carmen* the orchestra was replaced by two pianos played by Edith Steiner-Kraus and Franz Eugen Klein (Karas 1985:29). Some of the cast used for this opera were Machiel Gobets, David Grünfeld, Hedda Grab-Kernmayer, Ada Schwarz-Klein, Walter Windholz, Karel Freund, Karel Berman, Ada Hecht, Truda Borger and Hilde Aronson-Lindt. Besides the above-mentioned operas Klein also conducted a few that were of German origin (Karas 1985:25).

Mascagni's *Cavalleria Rusticana* and Verdi's *Aida* were conducted by Karel Fischer, who actually preferred directing oratorio. Other conductors were Karel Berman, who conducted Vilém Baldek's *V Studni* (In the well) and Wolfgang Lederer who conducted Johann Strauss' *Die Fledermaus* (Karas 1985:32).

In two of the productions children were involved, namely in Mozart's *Bastien und Bastienne* and Hans Krása's *Brundibár*. On the next page a poster advertising *Brundibár* is shown.

Der gläserne Berg (The Glass Mountain) was one of two operas composed in Terezin. Unfortunately it was only performed before the Council of Elders, who for reasons unknown refused to allow its performance for the rest of the inmates of Terezin. Bedrich Borges described the work as too modernistic, and probably of inferior quality (Karas 1985:36).

Viktor Ullmann's opera *Der Kaiser von Atlantis oder der Tod dankt ab* (The Emperor of Atlantis) was his major endeavour while in Terezin. Peter Kien, a painter and poet, who also resided in Terezin, wrote the libretto. It was scored for five singers and a 13-piece orchestra, including a saxophone, banjo and harpsichord (Karas 1985:35). The performance of this opera was conducted by Raphael Schächter.

No facet of the musical repertoire was left untouched. Even

oratorios and cantatas were performed. Karel Fischer conducted Haydn's *The Creation* and Mendelssohn's *Elijah*. Rafael Schächter himself directed Verdi's *Requiem* (Karas 1985:135).

Figure 6: Poster advertising Krasá's opera *Brundibár* (Karas 1985:92)



16.3.1.2 Instrumental music

The first orchestra to come into existence in Terezin was a string orchestra under the leadership of Karel Ancerl. This orchestra comprised 16 violins, 8 violas, 6 cellos and one double bass (Karas 1985:63, 65) and performed on the concert stage on Terezin Square.

Four other orchestras existed alongside many smaller ensembles for popular music. Evidently another small string orchestra was formed, possibly under direction of Lucian Horwitz. Karel Ancerl was leader of one of the other orchestras in addition to his own string orchestra (Karas 1985:68). A municipal orchestra consisting of 35 members (Dwork 1991:129) was probably directed by Peter Deutsch (Karas 1985:69). Although musical talent was abundant, many ensembles were nearly identical. It frequently happened that a brilliant instrumentalist had to perform in many of the orchestras. An example of this is Karel Fröhlich, who had to act as concertmaster in all the orchestras.

Many of the concerts in the park on Terezin Square were led by Carlo Taube. Another favourite venue for concerts was the town hall.

Chamber music was another well-represented genre as were also performances by soloists accompanied by a piano. Chamber music was one of the activities that flourished from the very outset. The first group to perform was a trio, consisting of Otto Zucker (violin), dr Erich Klapp (cello), and dr Paul Eppstein (piano). Their initial performances were held in the living quarters.

String quartets formed the larger number of ensembles found at Terezin. The first of these was the so-called Doctor's Quartet, comprising the two violin players Egon Ledec and dr Ilona Král, the viola player Viktor Kohn and dr Klapp, the cellist. They performed works by Haydn, Beethoven and Dvorák weekly (Karas 1985:37-38). At a later date Egon Ledec formed the Ledec Quartet,

with himself and Schneider as violinists and the Kohn brothers, Viktor and Paul, playing the viola and cello respectively. Julius Stwertka later replaced Schneider as violinist. During 1944 Egon Ledec again formed another quartet, this time with Adolf Kraus (violin), Viktor Kohn (viola) and Dauber (cello) (Karas 1985:38-39).

The ensemble with "higher artistic aspirations" (Karas 1985:39) was the so-called Terezin Quartet. This ensemble had already been performing together prior to their transfer to Terezin. Karel Fröhlich, probably the best violinist in Terezin, and Heinrich "Bubbi" Taussig were the two violinists. The rest of the quartet was made up by Romuald Süßmann on the viola and Friedrich Mark on the cello. As they concentrated only on a limited number of works, the level of their performances must have been superior to many of the other ensembles. Some of the works they performed were the following quartets: C minor (op 18 no. 4) by Beethoven, B-flat Major by Brahms, D Major by Mozart, and the *Meditation on an Ancient Czech Chorale* by Josef Suk. They also made an intensive study of two works composed in Terezin, one of which was Hans Krása's *Variations* on his own theme and the other one was Gideon Klein's *Praeludium and Fugue*. (Karas 1985:39.)

Three of the members of the Terezin Quartet, Fröhlich, Süßmann and Mark, formed a piano quartet with the pianist Gideon Klein. They performed works by Beethoven and Dvorák. Gideon Klein is said to have made his name as pianist as a direct result of his performance with the quartet (Karas 1985:40).

One of the inmates of the ghetto wrote the following poem after a piano recital by Gideon Klein at Terezin (I never saw another butterfly 1965:30):

Concert in the Old School Garret (played by Gideon Klein)

*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 which strike softly, on which thunder
The forehead of this man heavy as the heaven before it rains.*

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

Our good friend, Time,

*Sucked each figure empty like a honeybee
Which 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 figures 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.*

A number of soloists performed in Terezin. One of these was the violinist Fritz Brunner who performed every Sunday for an hour and a half over a period of 15 months. He was accompanied on the piano by Leval (Dwork 1991:130). Another violinist, Karel Fröhlich, in conjunction with Bernard Kaff as accompanist, also performed in Terezin. Some of the works they played were

Beethoven's Kreutzer Sonata and César Frank's Sonata in A Major
(Karas 1985:46).

Figure 7: Example of a programme for a chamber music concert
(Karas 1985:42)

Kammermusik
Abend.

FRANZ SCHUBERT:
QUINTETT C-DUR OP.163

JOHANNES BRAHMS:
SEXTETT G-DUR OP. 36

AUSFÜHRENDE:

I. Violine: Heinrich G. Faussig
II. Violine: Paul Hlink
I. Viola: Romuald Lüssmann
II. Viola: Karel Ancerl
Violoncelli: Friedrich Mark
Paul Kohn

A few solo pianists used their talents to entertain the inmates. The first of these was Bernard Kaff, who succeeded in providing the inmates with a wide range of programmes. Two of his programmes consisted of music by Beethoven, one of music by Liszt and another of music by various composers, including Pavel Haas. Gideon Klein, acclaimed pianist that he was, also gave piano recitals. He participated in many of the genres available in the ghetto, like chamber music, recital accompaniments and helping with rehearsals and performances of operas and oratorios. The busiest pianist was probably Edith Steiner-Kraus. Solo concerts by singers and instrumentalists were likewise very popular (Dwork 1991:129).

16.3.1.3 Lighter musical entertainment

In this musical genre four types dominated the scene. These were orchestras playing semi-classical music, jazz bands, cabarets and variety concerts.

The cafés were used as a venue of performance by many of these groups (Green 1969:89). The best-known of the jazz bands was the *Ghetto Swingers*. Initially this band was under the direction of Erich Vogel and consisted of a piano, percussion, guitar, bass, trumpet, trombone and one player for tenor saxophone and clarinet. Martin Roman later took over from Erich Vogel and enlarged the orchestra to three violins, two saxophones, three trumpets, trombone, guitar, accordion, bass and drums (Karas 1985:151-152).

Cabaret was very popular and much was done to boost this genre in Terezin. Early in 1942 Schächter and Svenk combined their talents to produce the first all-male cabaret show together with a variety show at Terezin (Karas 1985:14). The name of this show was *The Lost Food Card*, by Karel Svenk (Karas 1985:143). Female cabarets were equally popular with the inmates, especially those produced by Jana Sedova.

Another show performed there was in the form of a variety concert. This piece was aimed at strengthening the morale of the prisoners by including many optimistic and morale boosting songs. The title of the show was *Long Live Life* which in itself says a lot about the show. The poster advertising this cabaret show appears on the next page. Karel Svenk was also the producer of a cabaret called *The Last Cyclist* (Karas 1985:145). Even German cabarets were performed, as was the case in early 1944 when Obersturmführer Karl Rahm ordered Kurt Gerron to produce a German cabaret *Der Führer schenkt den Juden eine Stadt* (The Führer presents the Jews with a city). Other small shows and cabarets were directed by people like Hans Hofferer, Leo Strauss (Chládková 1991:15), Egon Thorn and Baby Morgan (Karas 1985:146).

With regard to semi-classical music, Carlo Taube was the man to promote this genre and to form an orchestra to play it (Karas 1985:149).

16.3.1.4 Composers

Musicians at Terezin encountered many problems in their efforts to provide music and entertainment. One of the greatest problems experienced was the inadequate supply of sheet music, especially where chamber and piano music were concerned. Fortunately a lot of music was smuggled in (Karas 1985:41). The pianists were more fortunate in a way, in that many of the more talented pianists had already memorised a large repertoire of music during the pre-war years (Karas 1985:50).

The obvious way of solving the problem with regard to the lack of sheet music was by making use of the composers in Terezin. Fortunately quite a few composers were inmates of Terezin, such as Gideon Klein, Pavel Haas, Hans Krása, Zikmund Schul, Karel Berman, Egon Ledec, Viktor Kohn, Viktor Ullmann, Frantisek Domazlicky, Ilse Weber and Karel Reiner. A composer like Egon Ledec wrote music for the ensemble of which he was a member

(Karas 1985:127). Pavel Haas had already been a recognised composer before entering the camp (Karas 1985:76), and composed works like *Al S'fod* for men's chorus and *Study* for string quartet.

Figure 8: Poster advertising Karel Svenk's cabaret *Long Live Life* (Karas 1985:144)

ANĚT ŽIJE ŽIVOT

Revie
aneb - tanečnice kolem kostry



napsal: Karel Švenk
režie: Karel Švenk
hudba: Karel Švenk

výprava: Dolfi Aussenberg
tance nastudovala: Kamila Rosenbaumová

hraní:

Beck - Bejček	Masárková
Becková Hanna	Pollaková
Bergmann	Popper
Bermann Karel	Pötschauerová
Borges	Rosenbaumová Kamila
Dr. Brammer	Siemens
Eckstein Luděk	Spitz
Eckstein Zdeněk	Schönová Vava
Glaserová	Schönová Maria
Goldschmidt	Sušický
Grábová - Kemmayerová	Steiner
Kraus Cesar	Straussová
Straus Karel	Švenk Karel
Kavan Karel	Neuschul
Schliesserová, Töpfer Otto, Zajlais.	

16.3.1.5 Other pre-fall 1944 musical activities

Special concerts were organised to celebrate certain holidays. An example of such a concert is one held at Christmas time. This programme included Gounod's *Ave Maria*, Mozart's overture from *The Marriage of Figaro*, Puccini's duo from *La Bohème*, *Frère Jacques* and *Daughter of Zion* (Dwork 1991:130).

A very small private conservatory of music was started and run by Bernard Kaff. Different subjects, including music history, aesthetics and composition were taught at this conservatory. Two of the lecturers were Dr H G Adler and Dr James Simon (Karas 1985:91).

A new concert hall was opened on West street (*Westgasse*) on 30 April 1944. The concerts in this hall were very formal, so that inmates had to reserve seats for attending these (Karas 1985:67).

During June 1944 a commission of the Red Cross visited Terezin to see what the conditions were like. The Terezin orchestra gave a concert for this occasion, performing works by Mozart in the community centre, while a band also entertained the guests on Terezin Square during their visit (Green 1969:89).

Unfortunately many musicians were deported to other ghettos and concentration camps during the Fall of 1944. As a result cultural activities showed a decline, as operatic productions and performances of ensembles now proved to be out of the question. At this time male inmates were in the minority in Terezin (Karas 1985:171).

16.3.2 Musical activities from Fall 1944 until the liberation of the ghetto

The number of cultural activities later normalised as new transports of inmates arrived at Terezin. Among the new arrivals

were the conductor Robert Brock and the singer Hanus Thein. As a result of the new influx of musicians, musical activities again rose to pre-fall standards (Karas 1985:172).

Orchestral activities were greatly revived through the efforts of two conductors, Leo Pappenheim and Robert Brock. Hans Feith did the same for jazz with his jazz quintet (Karas 1985:174).

When rumours of an impending visit by the Red Cross started spreading, Hanus Thein was asked to compose a children's opera. For this purpose he composed *Broucci* (Fireflies). He started composing and producing the opera in March 1945, with Robert Brock and Schönova as co-workers. Between the three of them they finished the composition in only three days. This opera contained Czech folksongs (Karas 1985:175). The première took place on 20 March 1945 in the Sokdovna hall. It was produced no fewer than 15 times.

The last concert in Terezin took place on 10 April 1945, when Offenbach's *Tales of Hoffmann* was performed. This was truly a first in Terezin, as works by a Jewish composer had never been allowed before (Karas 1985:177).

16.4 Aftermath

Unfortunately many of the promising musicians and composers died during imprisonment in Terezin, or in other ghettos and concentration camps. Some of these were Zikmund Schul, Pavel Haas, Bernard Kaff, Hans Krása, Egon Ledec, Rafael Schächter, Carlo Taube, Viktor Ullmann and Gideon Klein.

Many others managed to survive and later became well-known. These included the singers Karel Berman, Hanus Thein, David Grünfeld, Anny Frey, Alexander Singer and Greta Hoffmeister; the conductors Karel Ancerl and Robert Brock; the composers Karel Reiner and Frantisek Domazlicky; the violinists Karel Fröhlich, Pavel Kling

and Tomas Mandl; the pianists Edith Steiner-Kraus, Alice Herz Sommer, Tella Polák, Kurt Maier, Martin Roman and Wolfgang Lederer and the harpsichord virtuoso Zuzana Ruzicková, who survived Terezin as a child. The foundations of her musicianship were actually laid in Terezin.

16.5 Conclusion

The role of music in Terezin can to a large extent be summed up in the following two quotations:

Viktor Ullmann, who died in Terezin, said (Bloch 1979:162):

I have written in Theresienstadt a fair amount of new music, mainly to meet the needs and wishes of conductors, stage directors, pianists and singers, and thereby of the Recreation Administration of the Ghetto... But it must be emphasized that Theresienstadt has served to enhance, not impede, my musical activities...

Karel Ancerl, who became chief conductor of the Prague Philharmonic Orchestra after the war, said (Green 1969:78):

... one thing was revealed to me, that the power of music is so great that it draws every human being possessing a heart and an open mind into its realm, enabling him to bear the hardest hours of his life.

For all the professionals, be it conductors or performing artists, the role of music was mainly to enhance their own creativity. For the inmates of the ghetto, the role was partly to encourage them during difficult times in the ghetto, where life was by no means pleasant. In a certain sense it created the illusion of normality.

The cultural activities available in Terezin ghetto were probably

more numerous than in any of the other ghettos and concentration camps. This was possibly because of the status of this ghetto as a visiting point for the Red Cross. Musical activities ranged from vocal music to opera, from solo instrumental music to orchestral music, and from classical music to popular music like cabarets, variety shows and jazz.

This large variety of musical activities surely catered for the needs of all the inmates, and as such could have encouraged them to think more positively, while providing entertainment and creating the opportunity for expressing their feelings.

CHAPTER 17

VILNA GHETTO

17.1 Geographical location and genesis

Before World War II the city of Vilna was situated in Poland, about 300 kilometres to the north-east of Warsaw. At that time it had a Jewish population of 55 000, which was about 28% of the total population. During the period 1939 to 1941, it belonged to Russia who occupied the Eastern half of Poland. By 1941 the number of Jewish inhabitants had reached 190 000 which formed 60% of the total population (Tushnet 1972:142).

Shortly after the German invasion of Russia, Vilna was captured by the Germans who soon decided to change some of the outer suburbs of Vilna into a Jewish ghetto. At first there were two smaller ghettos, but after a few months only one remained. The first ghetto's total population was 29 000 Jews, who were skilled workers, with their families. The second ghetto, with a population of 11 000 was soon liquidated (Tushnet 1972:148-149).

The Vilna ghetto was finally closed on 23 September 1943, with the inmates being sent to Majdanek as well as to labour camps.

17.2 Background to cultural activities

In many of the East European cities that became ghettos the German authorities allowed some cultural life to develop. There were also Jewish schools, synagogues, as well as Houses of Study. The schools included several elementary and secondary schools, with up to 2 000 pupils per year attending (Dawidowicz 1975:254). It was further possible to hold lectures and concerts. Theatres were established and sport organisations for the youth were allowed. Vilna even had its own periodical, *Vilner Geto Yediyes*

(Friedman 1954:289).

The Vilna ghetto had a library which at one time had around 100 000 books.

The Jewish Camp Elder in Vilna was a man called Gens. Under his supervision literature, art and science flourished in the ghetto. A worker's house was used as a lecture-room. Children's and youth clubs were established, as well as a music school, an orchestra and a choir.

Of all of the ghettos, the Vilna ghetto was the one with the most intense cultural manifestations. People from all walks of life were involved in cultural activities.

Cultural departments of the ghetto included the following: schools, a library and reading-room, a theatre, archives, a statistics office, a museum, folklore and sports, literary competitions, a music school, and even a bookshop (Trunk 1977:219).

The theatrical department was one of the largest in this ghetto. This department was responsible for stage performances, the orchestra and the Yiddish and Hebrew choruses. The theatre comprised a Yiddish theatre, known as *Der Kleyner Shtot Zal* (Aaron 1990:12), and an experimental Hebrew theatre. The theatrical department had the added responsibility of supervising the work of the stage actors, musicians, solo-singers and the two choruses, one Yiddish and the other Hebrew. Initially there was a total of 20 actors, 30 musicians and 155 chorus-singers involved in the theatrical division.

A literary group under the direction of Z. Kalamovitch was started, which celebrated Jewish writers. They also issued two periodicals, *Ghetto News* and *People's Health*, and gave theatrical performances (Black Book 1946:446). The Vilna Publishing House was also started to encourage writers. They were given the

responsibility to publish a newspaper (Tushnet 1972:169).

Gens, the Camp Elder, gave his full support to the theatres in the ghetto. By 1942 prizes were even being awarded for the best efforts in sculpture, poetry and drama (Aaron 1990:100).

Shortly after the opening of the ghetto, a social aid committee was organised at the initiative of the Jewish *Labor Bund* Organisation. It was decided to deduct a certain percentage from the salaries of the Ghetto Council functionaries and members of the ghetto police to fund the social aid committee. Workers in the employment of Germans outside the ghettos also contributed to the social aid fund. Other funds were collected through social events, shows, concerts, gifts by individuals as well as "yort sayt" offerings in memory of perished loved ones.

The Ghetto Police also organised many cultural activities, probably with the aim of raising the morale.

17.3 Musical activities in Vilna ghetto

An orchestra and two choirs were formed in this ghetto. The first choir was the Vilbig Choir under the direction of A. Slieff, and the other a Hebrew choir under the direction of David Mashkin (Black Book 1946:446).

No restrictions were placed on the performance of "Aryan" composers as was the case in the Warsaw Ghetto. Music by such composers was actually performed two to three times a week. Some of the works the orchestras performed were Beethoven's *Leonore Overture no. 3* and Chopin's *Piano Concerto in E Minor* (Dawidowicz 1975:257).

Concerts were very much in demand, and there were times when the theatre was in operation every day or every second day. An average of about twenty performances were produced per month.

These included shows, choruses, symphony concerts and concerts of the music schools. During 1942 the theatres gave 120 shows with around 38 000 people attending (Trunk 1977:227).

Performances reached a peak in March 1943 with six or seven performances of impressive variety being offered every Sunday.

The orchestra specialised in the performance of symphonic music, light music and jazz. Quite a few choruses existed including a religious chorus whose first performance was in December 1942.

In June or July 1942 a music school was opened in the ghetto under the direction of two prominent Vilna conductors. A total of 95 students enrolled in the music school in August 1942. The students gave their own concerts and also participated in various other cultural engagements in the ghetto (Trunk 1977:227).

Singing formed an integral part of the cultural activities. The Jewish people used singing to "rally their spirits" (Rudashevski 1973:139).

Musical activities were of such a nature that they even allowed for a music competition to be held in early 1943 (Arad et al. 1981:449).

The music teacher, Gershteyn, was one of the best-known musicians in the ghetto. He was responsible for the direction of the school choir, where he sang with the children. His favourite song was (Rudashevski 1973:60):

*I saw Yiddish words
Like small birds
Like beautiful birds
I saw Yiddish words
Like a little dove
cooing like a little dove.*

Because of his popularity, the ghetto inmates organised a special memorial service when Gershteyn died. The memorial service included a funeral march, after which a violinist led off with several pieces in memory of Gershteyn (Rudashevski 1973:64-5).

Another well-known musician was Lyuba Levitska (also spelled Levitski). She appeared regularly in programmes containing folk-songs of the ghetto. She also took part in Gershteyn's memorial service by singing some of Gershteyn's favourite songs. She was arrested by the camp authorities and was later shot for some unknown reason.

Avrom Slyep, a teacher of singing, director of a folk choir and conductor of Yiddish and Hebrew choruses, diligently collected classical compositions and folk-songs for his repertoire. He died during the war.

A song called *One, Two, Three*, composed in the ghetto by L. Rosenthal, became very popular. One of the inmates of the ghetto who managed to survive the war, was Dora Rubina, a very good singer who later made recordings of many of the songs that were popular in the ghetto (Rudashevski 1973).

The end of 1943 saw the start of a decline of cultural life in the ghetto. In July 1944 inmates were either deported to Stutthof or Dachau, or possibly killed as Russian troops neared Vilna.

A 11-year-old boy, Alek Volkovinsky, started composing while being an inmate of this ghetto. One of his songs, *Shilter, Shilter* (Hush, Hush), was produced at a concert, sponsored by the Judenrat, in April 1943. The lyrics were written by Schmerke Kaczerginski (Aaron 1990:125).

The words were as follows (Aaron 1990:126-129):

*Hush, hush, lets be silent,
Graves are growing high,
The enemy has planted them,*



Green, they reach blue sky.
All roads are leading to Ponary,
No road is leading back,
and your father vanished too
And with him our luck.
Hush, hush, don't cry precious,
Weep my child no more.
The depth of our tragedy
The enemies ignore.
Oceans have had always shores
And fences prisons had,
But to our anguish
There is no end
There is no end.
Spring's descended on the land,
Fall's been ushered in for us.
And the morning brim with flowers
Night's enveloped us
Stalks aglitter with fall's gold hues,
We are full of pain,
A Mother has been orphaned somewhere;
Her child went to Ponary.
Like Vilia when restrained
And burdened flows in pain,
Ice floes cover Lithuania.
Moving out to sea.
Somewhere darkness is breaking up
Sun rays seeping through the clouds
Rider quickly come
Your child calls,
Your child calls.

Hush, Hush, springs are gushing,
Flooding our hearts,
While the gates are not yet falling,
We must all be mute.
Don't rejoice, child, for your smile

*Is still forbidden us,
Let the fiend see next spring
In the autumn leaves.
Let the springs flow serenely,
While you must hush and hope...
For with your freedom, little one,
Your father will return.
Sleep my child, then sleep.
Like the liberated Vilia,
Like the trees renewed and green,
Freedom is bound to shine
Upon your face
Upon your face.*

In his book, *Music in Terezin*, Karas (1985:190) mentions an 11-year-old boy, Alex Volkoviski, winning the second prize in a musical contest in 1943 for a song called *Stile, Stile*. This most probably was the same boy mentioned previously, and it could very well be that the two songs are the same. The song, *Stile, Stile*, was incorporated into a cantata by Abraham Slep. This cantata was performed in the Vilna ghetto.

A song called the *Partisan's Hymn*, with the title *Zog nit keyn mol als du geyst dem letstn veg* (Never say you walk the final road) became very popular in this ghetto (Dawidowicz 1975:218).

Another song, written to encourage, had the following text (Dawidowicz 1975:216):

*Moshe, hold on,
Keep hold of yourself,
Remember we must get out.*

*Moshe, hold on; hold on, Moshe -
It isn't very long,
The hour will soon toll...*

17.4 Conclusion

Vilna was one of the larger ghettos and inmates had a lot of freedom regarding cultural activities. Great emphasis was laid on theatrical productions, music and singing. Concerts were held at regular intervals.

Most of the audiences consisted of inmates of the ghetto, but at times the German authorities also made use of the performers at private gatherings.

Musical activities furthermore included music competitions and the composition of songs that could be sung by everybody. These songs were great favourites.

Music concerts were even greater favourites after events which adversely affected the inmates. The following example highlights the great role music played in the ghetto as an inspiration and as a way of calming emotions: After the killing of many inmates during December 1941, there was at first great opposition to a concert being held. In spite of this the concert hall was filled to capacity by people wishing to hear music and the recitation of literature (Aaron 1990:83).

CHAPTER 18

WARSAW GHETTO

18.1 Geographical location and genesis

The Warsaw ghetto was situated in Poland in the city of Warsaw. Warsaw was part of the area occupied by the Germans at the start of World War II, in 1939. It was also in the General-Government area (see Glossary) of Poland which comprised all of Poland, with the exception of Russian-occupied Poland and upper Silesia, the Warthegau and the area around Danzig.

The pre-war Jewish population of Warsaw was about 353 000, constituting about 29% of the total population of the city. From 1939 to 1940 the German authorities of the General-Government decided to use Warsaw as an assembly area. During the last three months of 1939 40 000 Jews were deported to Warsaw from other areas in German-occupied Poland.

It was only by the latter half of 1940 that it was decided to set up a ghetto within Warsaw, and during October a wall was built around the ghetto area. The generally accepted date for the opening of the ghetto is 16 November 1940 (Lewin 1988:1). By that time the Warsaw ghetto was home to about 400 000 inmates (Black Book 1946:216). Fourteen labour camps were also opened in the Warsaw area during the early years of the war.

During the existence of the ghetto the total population varied between 410 000 and 590 000. Like elsewhere in Europe, food was relatively scarce. The inmates were allowed to handle the distribution of available foods themselves.

A revolt started in the ghetto during April 1943. This uprising ended by 16 May 1943 and shortly afterwards the ghetto was officially closed down (Berenstein 1963:61).

The following is a map of the ghetto (Topas 1990:42):

Figure 9: Map of the Warsaw Ghetto



A very interesting fact that should be noted is that Jewish suicides in Warsaw declined by 65% from 1939 to the period 1940-1942 (Friedman 1954:99).

18.2 The establishment and progress of cultural and musical activities

As a result of the war, unemployment among Jewish actors, musicians, painters and graphic artists reigned supreme (Trunk 1977:222). This problem was worsened by the deportation of Jews from other parts of Europe, especially those from surrounding towns and villages to the Warsaw ghetto.

Due to these circumstances the musicians reverted to entertaining in such places as coffee-houses, restaurants and bars. In order to raise the level of artistic standards, as well as to ensure the protection of the professional interests of the performers, a Central Show Commission was founded during September 1940. Through the latter permission could be requested for a public performance.

By the end of September 1940 a total of 150 musicians had actually been registered (Trunk 1977:222), and by April 1941 there already were 61 entertainment venues in the ghetto (Gutman 1982:108). The 1941 April 11 issue of the ghetto newspaper *Gazeta Zydowska* advertised a café with the name *Tira* which promised "a concert every day" (Gutman 1982:108).

There is much uncertainty about the role that the Judenrat's cultural department actually played, as one of the sources holds a different opinion from the others as to what they entailed. Tushnet's (1972:102) view is that their only function was the receiving of fees for granting permits to hold parties. Others like Shoskes (1945) and Friedman (1954) discuss the full extent of their functions:

One of the persons involved in the organisation of activities was Professor Balaban (Shoskes 1945:35). This culture department was responsible for the creation of a network of schools, a people's university and a large Jewish library as well as the organisation of lectures and reports on scientific subjects. Various entertainments of high artistic and literary standards were provided and bad literature and theatre were judged as such and condemned (Friedman 1954:111).

At one time Warsaw had 19 schools with at least 2 000 enrolled pupils (Dawidowicz 1975:254).

A Central Entertainment Committee regulated performances of music concerts and tried to raise the level of performances. One of its aims was also to lend a helping hand to actors, musicians, painters and dancers. Special care was accorded to new talent in the ghetto (Friedman 1954:124). They managed to enroll 135 actors, directors and theatrical managers; 52 artists in show business; 157 musicians and composers; 81 writers and poets; and 25 painters and sculptors (Friedman 1954:129). By 1943 nearly 500 actors, musicians, dancers and artists had been registered (Dawidowicz 1975:256).

Institutions like *YIKOR* (*Yiddische Kultur Organizatsye*) (Yiddish Cultural Organisation) and the Zionist Socialist *DROR* (Freedom) undertook a wide spectrum of literary and theatrical productions, concerts, ballets, lectures, readings of works by the authors and performances by children (Aaron 1990:95).

Other forms of entertainment also provided were those in park-playground complexes, of which three were opened. Czerniakow, the president of the Judenrat, considered these to be the crowning achievements of his administration and decided that the opening was to be a great occasion. The Jewish Police Orchestra, choirs, dance groups and gymnasts took part in this opening event (Eisen 1988:43).

During almost the entire existence of the ghetto there were newspapers, journals and miscellaneous volumes printed by an underground press. Examples of these are *Biuletin*, *Tsayt-Fragn*, *Proletarisher Gedank*, *Avangard*, *Der Ruf* and *Morgn Frayhayt* (Friedman 1954:114).

There were also quite a few poets, such as Katzenelson, whose works were a great inspiration for the Warsaw ghetto uprising (Aaron 1990:11). Wladyslaw Szlengel, a poet and song-writer, was one of the central figures in an underground journal, *Zywy Dziennik*, and a cabaret called *Sztuka* (Art). His songs and poems had great inspirational value and quickly spread throughout the ghetto and other surrounding labour camps (Aaron 1990:20-21).

Theatrical entertainment was also well catered for. Admission prices were kept low, so as to make it affordable to all the inmates. A large number of Jewish and half-Jewish singers and actors, who had previously been with the Polish National Opera and other theatres, now resided within the ghetto, where they at first performed in wooden barracks, half-ruined apartment buildings and vacant factories (Shoskes 1945:44).

Later many theatres were provided, like the two Yiddish theatres called *Eldorado* and *New Azazel* (New Satan), in both of which Jewish dramas were performed. In *Eldorado* light musical comedies were also staged. Aaron (1990:12) mentions three other theatres, *Femina*, *Melody Place* and *Na Pietrku* (On the floor) (Aaron 1990:12). *Femina* even had the services of a choir and a ballet group (Shoskes 1945:44). Revues and operettas were also performed here, for example *Maritza* and *The Czardazz Princess* (Friedman 1954:127).

Many other theatres came into existence. Some of these were the *New Studio Theatre*, *Teatr Kameralny* (Chamber Theatre), a marionette theatre and a children's theatre. There were also many amateur theatrical performances and the Judenrat organised a competition for a children's play in the schools (Zylberberg

1969:33-34). A number of variety shows were also held.

During November 1940 groups of young children, including a quartet, sang on the sidewalks. Choirs with their cantors became available as the synagogues were closed, and these undoubtedly contributed to the musical activities in the ghetto. Instrumental bands in which vocalists also cooperated performed on many street corners as well. Solo artists were frequently seen performing in the same venues (Katsh 1965:221).

The Central Entertainment Committee tried to organise so-called "high grade" concerts. From September 1940 to September 1941 they managed to arrange 1814 artistic shows (Dawidowicz 1975:256), among them light symphony concerts. There usually was one matinee symphony concert per week, mostly on Saturdays or Sundays (Friedman 1954:124).

The symphony orchestra in Warsaw ghetto came under the direction of Szymon Pullman, who was also responsible for a chamber orchestra. The young singer, Marysia Ajzensztat, known by her fellow inmates as the "Nightingale of the ghetto" often sang with the symphony orchestra. She also performed with several other smaller groups, such as her father's ensemble (Karas 1985:189). He, Dawid Ajzensztat, was also the director of one of the choirs, and composed many works while staying in this ghetto.

There was even a licensed street orchestra under the leadership of a "popular conductor", Adam Furmanski (Friedman 1954:125). The first music concert took place on 6 November 1940. A large variety of musical entertainment groups came into existence, such as a number of string quartets and other chamber music groups. One of the other smaller groups was directed by a clarinet player, Sztromberg.

Choirs were formed: two folk choruses, two popular song groups directed by Jacob and Joseph Gladstein, children's choirs, the choir of the Great Synagogue and a choir called *Shir* or "Song".

This choir was directed by professor J Faiwizys (Friedman 1954:125). Many other choirs and singing groups existed, but the above-mentioned were the best known.

Children were very important to the Judenrat and much was done to encourage them and to keep them busy. A children's choir, directed by Faiwizys, was reputed to be of "unusually high quality" (Karas 1985:189-190). During March 1941 the House Committee at 33 Chlodno Street arranged a concert at the orphanage of Dr Janusz Korczak (Zylberberg 1969:36). Another event in which children were involved was a performance by a children's choir of 1 000 at a synagogue (Zylberberg 1969:62). A noisemaker was also invented for the children. It consisted of two pieces of wood that made a clicking noise when hit together (Dwork 1991:190).

The Judenrat could however not provide work for all the musicians. Some found work in private entertainment venues, or in backyards as street bands. Others found work in so-called Centos institutions. The latter were responsible for a high level of aesthetic education in the ghetto schools, where high-quality shows were produced. These shows could be distinguished by their artistic, musical and choreographical features.

In the Warsaw ghetto the Jewish orchestra was prohibited to perform music by "Aryan" composers (Trunk 1977:217), which was in contrast to ghettos like Vilna. It was by an order of the *Kommissar für den jüdischen Wohnbezirk*, dated 8 April 1942, that this regulation was enforced by the German authorities. As penalty for ignoring this order, the orchestra involved was not allowed to perform for two months.

The musicians in the ghetto had to perform for the Germans as well, as was the case at Warsaw's Powiak Prison.

Occasionally other shows were also staged in the ghetto. One of these was a satire, *Everybody Equal*, which was performed in one

of the theatres in the ghetto.

As the situation in the ghetto worsened, the number of concerts increased. It is claimed that Czerniakow said the following in connection with the increase in concerts (Tushnet 1972:126):

I am like the captain of a sinking ship who orders the band to play to calm the passengers.

Shortly before the Ghetto Uprising of 1943, the Judenrat under Nahum Remba and Marcelli Reich organised concerts devoted to Jewish music and songs (Friedman 1954:129). This could have been to encourage and to inculcate a feeling of pride in their "Jewishness".

In the Warsaw ghetto, as was the case in most of the other ghettos, there were cafés, restaurants and nightclubs to be found. In the case of Warsaw, people from outside the ghetto came to enjoy the entertainment that was provided inside it (Friedman 1980:138).

Many artistic programmes were performed in cafés and restaurants. Leszno Street, for example, had 30 entertainment venues, such as *Sztuka* (Art), *The Quiet Corner*, *Under the Fountain* and *Esplanade* (Friedman 1954:109). There were also many restaurants including 20 in Leszno, Zelanza and Sienna Streets. Many of these cafés and restaurants offered musical programmes. Orchestras, or bands, played English songs, even though this seems incredible for a country under German occupation (Friedman 1954:110).

Many of the songs sung by the streetsingers were sung to popular melodies, and this at times led to a clash between the sentimental melodies and the highly charged ghetto poems. Poems put to song were greatly favoured by the song-writers (Aaron 1990:18). Below is an excerpt from a very popular song (Aaron 1963:98-99):



*Yo, yo, bay undz muz yeder freylech zayn,
Farges fun morgn, du muzt nit zorgn,
Ven dos harts lacht, lachn mir,
Un ven dos harts veynt, lachn mir,
Bay undz muz yeder freylech zayn.*

English translation:

*Yes, yes, among us everyone must be gay;
Forget the morrow, you must not sorrow,
When the heart laughs, we laugh,
When the heart weeps, we laugh,
Among us, everyone must be gay.*

Two-lined rhymes were also very popular in the Warsaw ghetto. The following is an example of one of these (Rubin 1963:432):

*Vos darfn mir veynen, vos darfn mir klagn,
Mir veln noch frankn a kadish noch zogn.*

*Lomir zayn freylech un zogn zich vitsn,
Mir veln noch hitlern shive noch zitsn.*

*Lomir zich treystn, di tsores fargesn,
Es veln di verim noch hitlern fresn.*

*Di sonim, vos firn undz dort kayn treblinke,
Zey veln noch vern in der erd ayngезinken.*

*Mir veln tsuzamen noch orem bay orem,
Imirtseshem tantsn oyf daytshishe kvorim.*

English translation:

*Why should we weep, why should we mourn,
We'll live to say the prayer of the dead for Frank.*

Let us be gay and tell jokes,
We'll yet live to see Hitler dead.

Let us comfort one another and forget our troubles,
The worms will yet gnaw at Hitler.

The enemies who lead us there to Treblinka
Will yet be sinking into the earth.

Together we will yet, arm in arm,
With the help of God, dance on the graves of the
Germans.

Another song sung in the ghetto was *The little Smuggler*, written by Henryka Lazowert. The refrain of this song went as follows (Donat 1978:36):

*Around walls, through holes, past guards,
Over the rubble, fences, and barbed wire,
Hungry, determined, and bold, I sneak.*

New words were frequently sung to older tunes. An example of one of these texts written in Warsaw is (Dawidowicz 1975:218):

*Listen here, Haman you,
Jews will live to settle scores.
You will get your come uppance.
Jews have lived and will endure.
But Haman, you will go to hell.*

18.3 Satirical songs

The President of the Judenrat was a certain Czerniakow (Tushnet 1972:73). Taxes were raised by the Judenrat to pay for food and other utilities with a total of 54 types of taxes (Tushnet 1972:101). Although taxes were shared under the slogan "All are

equal", the Judenrat officials made their fortunes (Tushnet 1972:102). This resulted in the following happening: "Nightclubs and fancy restaurants opened, serving fine food and liquor, while the death toll from starvation mounted..." (Tushnet 1972:102). In these nightclubs and restaurants a variety of music was performed for the patrons.

Unfortunately the Jews were not united in these hard times. This was even the case in the entertainment areas. According to Gutman (1982:108) "the most abhorrent and provocative inequality was apparent in the leisure and entertainment spots - cafés, nightclubs, restaurants, buffets - where the members of the elite indulged themselves to the point of stupor." It seems that the elite was partly responsible for the shortage of food in the ghetto as they on the one hand indulged themselves "to the point of stupor", but were at the same time supposed to be responsible for the fair distribution of available food.

As a result of these circumstances many satirical songs came into existence. In these the corruption and the helplessness of the Judenrat was raised as subject (Friedman 1954:116-117). This is an example of one of these songs (Friedman 1954:117):

*A Jew has come to "Joint's" bureau
To say he starved and ask for aid
"I have six children, Mr. Chairman
So help me, please," the Jew has said.*

*"Then come to-morrow, we will see,"
The Chairman to the Jew replied.
Believe or not, he did not come
Because the very day he...died.*

18.4 Conclusion

As the Warsaw ghetto was probably the largest ghetto, it could

be expected to harbour a lot of cultural activities. This proved to be true as there were orchestras, ensembles, singers, soloists and many other people involved in such activities. It is quite surprising on the other hand that there were certain rules under which cultural activities had to function. The Warsaw ghetto was the only one where the performance of "Aryan" music was strictly prohibited.

The streetsingers undoubtedly played a very important role in the cultural life of the ghetto, and it was in their songs that the other inmates saw hope and an urge for revenge, which they took to heart. One can come to the conclusion that the different forms of morale-building musical activities, such as concerts and songs calling for patience and revenge, ultimately paid off in the Ghetto Uprising, where all were united against the common foe.

In spite of the above it is quite apparent that the cultural activities achieved a high enough standard to become a cynosure for many music-loving people in Warsaw.

CHAPTER 19

OTHER GHETTOS

The ghettos mentioned in this chapter, are those about which little has been written. These ghettos were all situated in Eastern Europe, mostly Poland. The information available is remarkably similar to those of the larger ghettos.

19.1 Bedzin

The Bedzin ghetto was situated in Poland, about 180 kilometres south of Lodz. In this ghetto a certain measure of cultural life was also allowed to develop. In the case of Bedzin this included lectures, music concerts and theatrical performances. Schooling was provided for both young and old, while synagogues were also allowed.

Sports activities, too, were permitted as a form of entertainment. A periodical was probably published in Bedzin, but this could not be confirmed without any doubt. (Friedman 1954:288-9).

19.2 Bialystok

The Bialystok ghetto was situated in Poland, about 170 kilometres north-east of Warsaw. Very little is known about musical activities in this ghetto, with the exception of a very popular love song written by Peysakh Kaplan, and called *Rifkele di Shabesdike* (Rifkele, the Sabbath Widow) (Kalisch 1985:82). The words of this song ran as follows (Kalisch 1985:85-86):

Rifkele di shabesdike
Arbet in fabrik;
Dreyt a fodem tsu a fodem,



*Flekht tsunoyf a shtrik.
Oy, di geto fintstere,
Doyert azoy lang,
Un dos harts azoy farklemt
Tut ir azoy bang.*

*Ir getrayer Hershele
Iz avek, nito,
Zint fun yenem shabes on,
Zint fun yener sho.
Iz fartroyert Rifkele,
Yomert tog un nakht,
Un atsind baym redele
Zitst zi un zi trakht.*

*Vu iz er, mayn libinker -
Lebt er nokh khotsh vu?
Tsi in kontsentratsye-lager
Arbet shver on ru?
Oy, vi finster iz im dort,
Biter iz mir do -
Zint fun yenem shabes on,
Zint fun yener sho.*

English translation:

*Rifkele, the Sabbath widow
Spins at the fact'ry wheel;
Twists a thread around a thread,
Turns rope around a reel.
Oh, the darkness of the ghetto
Lasts too long to bear,
And the longing in her heart
Breeds its sorrow there.*

*Her beloved Hershele
Is gone, is no more here,*



Since that dreadful Saturday,
That hour so filled with fear.
Rifkele mourns her beloved,
Cries all night and day,
Spins at her spinning wheel
And broods the hours away.

Where is my beloved Hershele -
Does he still live somewhere?
In a concentration camp -
Have they sent him there?
Dark it is there for him,
Bitter for me here -
Since that dreadful Sabbath,
That hour so filled with fear.

This song tells of the uncertainty of what happened to loved ones, as inmates were frequently separated from these, sometimes never to see them again.

The following is the music to the above-mentioned song (Kalisch 1985:84-85):

Music example 6: Rifkele di Shabesdike

The musical score consists of three staves of music in G major and 3/4 time. The lyrics are written below the notes.

Riv - ke - le___ di___ sha - bes - di - ke; Ar - bet in fa -
brik. Dreyt a fo - dem tsu a fo - dem, Flekht tsu-noyf a
shtrik. Oy, di ge - to fints - te - re. Doy - ert a - zoy



The only other information available is of a singer called Liza who arranged music evenings and sang Russian songs and arias from operas and operettas (Nomberg-Przytyk 1985:15).

19.3 Chelm

This ghetto was situated in Poland, about 220 kilometres south-east of Warsaw. One of the songs the inmates sang here was a prayer for salvation. It is also based on some of the Psalms (Dawidowicz 1975:216):

*A look from heaven and behold,
Look down from the skies and see!
For we have become as a derision,
A derision among the nations.*

*Therefore we plead with You ever:
Now help us, Guardian of Israel,
Now take notice of our tears,
For still do we cry aloud, "Hear O Israel".
O, take notice, Guardian of this nation.
Show all the people that You are our God,
We have indeed none other, just you alone,
Whose name is One.*

19.4 Czestochowa

Czestochowa ghetto was situated 100 kilometres south of Lodz, in Poland. The only information available on this ghetto is that

cultural activities were also encouraged. Sports activities, education and concerts were allowed. (Friedman 1954:288-9.)

Czestochowa was also fortunate in having restaurants, night clubs and cafés. As in the case of the Cracow ghetto people from outside the ghetto came in for the entertainment that was made available. (Friedman 1954:138.)

19.5 Libau

The exact location of this ghetto could not be established. However, it is almost certainly in Poland or in another area of Eastern Europe. The following song was sung by labour brigades (Dawidowicz 1975:203):

*We are the ghetto Jews
The loneliest people on earth
Everything we had we lost,
We have nothing left worth.*

19.6 Lublin

Lublin is situated nearly 80 kilometres south-east of Warsaw. The pre-war Jewish population of this city was about 40 000 which was 35% of the total number living there.

After the occupation of Poland, the Germans used the Lublin district to set up a reservation for the Jewish people of the area, but soon afterwards this project collapsed. A ghetto replacing the project was opened in April 1941. 28 labour camps surrounded the ghetto and provided many work opportunities for the inmates.

Unfortunately very little is known about cultural activities in this ghetto, but it can be assumed that some form of instrumental

music was allowed, be it ensembles or orchestral. Choirs, too, were probably allowed to perform.

The only definite information available is the mention made of a couple bringing in a portable record player. The inmates danced to the accompaniment of music played on this record player (Gruber 1978:30). It is also known that there were no shows or night clubs in Lublin (Gruber 1978:31).

On the other hand, some Jews set up restaurants which offered black market delicacies that even drew the Polish Police to visit these restaurants (Gruber 1978:42).

19.7 Radom

The Radom ghetto was situated in Poland, about 50 kilometres south of Warsaw. In this ghetto the pre-war number of Jews was about 25 000, which was about equal to a quarter of the total population of the city.

This ghetto, opened in April 1941, was another example of a double ghetto which was divided into two sections.

Regrettably, very little is known about cultural activities here. One school operated in the ghetto (Dwork 1991:183). A sixteen-year-old girl, Bina Landau, sang, and later even composed a song, called *Zog Nit Keyn Mol* (Never Say), upon hearing about the Warsaw ghetto uprising during 1943 (Stehle 1988:151, 254). It was frequently sung in other ghetto, like the one at Vilna (Dawidowicz 1975:218).

19.8 Sosnowiec

As in the case of Bedzin, Sosnowiec was another ghetto where the development of cultural activities and other entertainment was

allowed. The fact that these activities were so similar, could be owing to their closeness to each other, with Sosnowiec only a few kilometres to the south of Bedzin.

Education was provided for both young and old and music concerts were held. The inmates' religious needs were also catered for with the opening of synagogues. A periodical was printed in the ghetto, and sports activities were greatly encouraged. (Friedman 1954:288-9.)

19.9 Conclusion

In these ghettos music, as well as other cultural activities, played a very important role. It was a means of expression for many of the songwriters, whose songs were then generally sung by the other inmates.

The more organised musical activities could in a way be seen as a form of escape and an illusion of normality, whereas the songs sung in the ghettos were mostly a reflection of the way the inmates actually perceived life, whether it was the uncertainty, the hope of survival or the urge for vengeance.

CHAPTER 20

CONCLUSION

Any study of the events of World War II would be incomplete without reference to the music of this period. This is especially true with regard to the music played and composed in the Nazi-controlled ghettos and concentration camps where its roles were manifold and significant.

Because of the rigidity of life in the concentration camps, music was not performed as regularly as in the ghettos. In most of the former, however, music had a profound impact on the emotions and morale of the inmates.

On the negative side, music here frequently perplexed many of the inmates as it posed a bewildering contradiction: the same camp commanders and guards, who could one moment be so cruel and harsh, could soon afterwards listen with deep emotion and appreciation to the sounds of music.

Und die Musik spielt dazu was a popular hitsong of the thirties. In the Terezin ghetto Walter Lindenbaum wrote a bitter parody on this song portraying the lamentable conditions there and describing the role of music in these words (Eckhard 1991:5):

*Obwohl Musik hier chronisch
leben viele disharmonisch.*

(Despite the constant playing of music, harmony is lacking in the lives of many.)

These words can be regarded as a gross understatement in view of the atrocious conditions in the concentration camps and ghettos, where the prisoners were under the constant guard of SS camp

officials and kapos, surrounded by cynical Nazi slogans such as *Arbeit macht frei* (Work brings freedom); where total strangers were crowded together in cramped quarters, haunted by fear, hunger and illness - conditions which did not promote feelings of trust and confidence, but rather brought to the surface tendencies of "each man for himself" in their bitter struggle for survival.

In these circumstances the constant blare of music over loudspeakers could for many have been a disharmony, such as is expressed in Lindenbaum's parody (John 1991:6):

*Ich liebe infernalisches
Alle die sehr musikalisch,
Denn Musik beglückt, berückt, entzückt
Selbst das Herz des Bösewichts
Doch zu Hölle wird sie schnelle
Ist zur Stelle die Kapelle
Und ich zitier den Shakespeare hier
Und zwar: 'Viel Lärm um Nichts'.*

The following is a translation of the German poem:

I love infernally
Everyone so musical
Because music makes happy, charms, enchants
Even the heart of an evildoer
But music becomes hell quickly
When the band strikes up
And I quote Shakespeare here,
Indeed: 'Much ado about nothing'.
(Literally: Much noise about nothing.)

Lindenbaum's cynical view of the discordant role of music in the camps may also have had a bearing on the fact that members of orchestras were often exempted from hard labour, thus escaping from many of the physical hardships endured by their fellow

inmates. And as the musicians had to provide entertainment for the hated camp authorities and others of the camp "elite", such as the block-leaders and kapos, they may well have elicited a fair amount of chagrin from their fellow prisoners - even though many of the members of orchestras had no choice, since they played under duress.

To some of the inmates of camps - and to the musicians themselves - music might well have become a form of torment, as in some concentration camps, such as Buchenwald. SS guards forced prisoners to sing songs of a ridiculing and degrading nature (Eckhard 1991:7). Prisoners were often forced to sing while running or working. In this way the singing of 'innocent' and well-loved German folksongs became a form of sophisticated torture. Primo Levi (1961:52) remarks that this singing during heavy work sessions was the last thing about the concentrations camps that he would be able to erase from his memory.

The SS commanders also used music as accompaniment when punishment was being inflicted or inmates executed.

The Nazis furthermore employed music as a means of propaganda. It was played over loud-speakers or by the camp orchestra upon the arrival of a batch of new prisoners to create an impression of normality, temporarily assuaging fears.

Camp orchestras and ensembles were also used to impress visitors, as was the case at Terezin, where an orchestra gave a special performance during a visit by Red Cross officials. Thus music was used as a form of propaganda, making visitors believe that conditions were passable, if not excellent.

On the positive side music played an important role in the struggle for survival that must have been uppermost in the minds of most inmates. Some prisoners even survived thanks largely to their musical talents. An Italian inmate at Auschwitz reported in 1960 in Milan: "My voice saved me - Auschwitz 180 046"

(Eckhard 1991:13). Although not all camp musicians were so lucky and many of the talented ones from Terezin were later deported to die in Auschwitz during 1944, members of orchestras and ensembles on the whole had a better chance of survival than the other inmates - even though, just like their fellow prisoners, their human dignity and morale were progressively undermined by hunger, illness and constant fear, as many of them were, in fact, later sent to so-called extermination camps where they died.

Apart from music played during work and punishment sessions, and for the entertainment of the camp authorities, it also played an important role as entertainment for the inmates. This music undoubtedly served as means of escape from the realities of life in the camps. It formed part of the so-called "leisure activities". Apart from the official camp orchestras, which were formed by order of the camp commanders, many other independent music groups existed, some of which performed in secret and the time they spent together was often also utilised for encouraging each other and for planning escapes and revolts. Certain private music groups were allowed by some of the SS commanders, but this varied from camp to camp. Especially at Terezin there were numerous orchestral and vocal music groups, as a large section of the inmates were talented musicians and artists. Music, here, played a very important role in reaffirming the inmates' humanity and dignity and in establishing a trace of normality in their lives.

At the "coffee-shops" or cafés in Terezin cabarets were presented, which not only aimed at portraying the shocking events of daily life there, but also served as a means of helping the inmates to come to terms with these conditions. Interestingly, the music composed at Terezin portrays very little of the realities of camp-life, but rather seems to create a counter-world, which was extremely important for survival. During a visit to Prague in 1992 the writer's parents attended an exhibition of children's drawings from the Terezin ghetto during the years that led up to 1944, when the lives of most of these young artists

ended. They were struck by a significant feature which also had a bearing on the music composed there: the drawings reflected a make-believe world where tables were heaped with food, where fields full of flowers and wide open spaces created a sense of freedom and well-being - a counter-world that made life more bearable.

Music as a form of protest also served as an outlet to emotional frustration and hate. Singing was the most original and creative form of musical expression in the camps and ghettos. National folk songs were sometimes so cleverly incorporated in the music that SS officials often failed to detect them. Although camp songs were songs of suffering, many of them encouraged resistance and exhorted prisoners to endure and retain hope for the future. In this way the vocal music became a shield against annihilation of the human spirit and identity, and for the inmates music and songs were indeed weapons for psychical self-defense which boosted morale and enabled them to endure and survive as long as possible.

In the ghettos cultural activities, including music, likewise played a prominent role. This was possible as the Council of Elders, or Judenrat, had a greater say in the activities allowed here. As a result most of the ghettos had at least two orchestras in addition to many smaller instrumental ensembles and choirs. The variety of music performed in the ghettos was generally far greater than in the concentration camps.

Music had a tremendous influence on the morale of the inmates and in this respect performances of classical music played a major role. Recitals of well-known works seem to have had a cathartic as well as inspiring influence, since these were sometimes greeted with weeping and at other times seemed to be a supportive means of bolstering the inmates' morale.

In this respect the songs of the streetsingers greatly influenced the lives of prisoners. A considerable number of these songs

voiced protest and called for revenge, but many instilled courage and hope in seemingly hopeless situations. Songs moreover served as a form of documentation of events taking place in the ghettos. Most of all these songs - many of which were satirical - were appreciated for their entertainment value and for the relief they brought from daily tensions and hardships.

As pointed out earlier in this thesis, music was in some cases, for instance at Terezin, also used as a means of educating young inmates.

On the positive side the main role of music in the camps and ghettos can be divided into three main categories, i. e. music that entertained and brought some relief from the stark realities of camp-life, music that afforded the inmates an opportunity for protesting against the conditions under which they lived and music that had cathartic value and instilled courage and hope, thus boosting the morale of the inmates and acting as a source of psychical self-defense and -affirmation in the struggle for survival.

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GLOSSARY

ARYAN - A term frequently misused in connection with World War II when implying that only the German race was *Aryan* or the so-called *Master Race*. The word actually refers to any white non-Jewish person.

ELDERS - This is a term used as a title or rank within the Jewish form of self-government that existed within the concentration camps and, to a lesser extent, the ghettos. In the concentration camps there was the Camp Elder, as head of the self-government, and several Block Elders, each of them in charge of certain blocks or living quarters in the camp. In the ghettos the head of the self-government was sometimes referred to as the Camp Elder. The title more frequently used for this position in the ghetto was Chairman of the Judenrat (governing body).

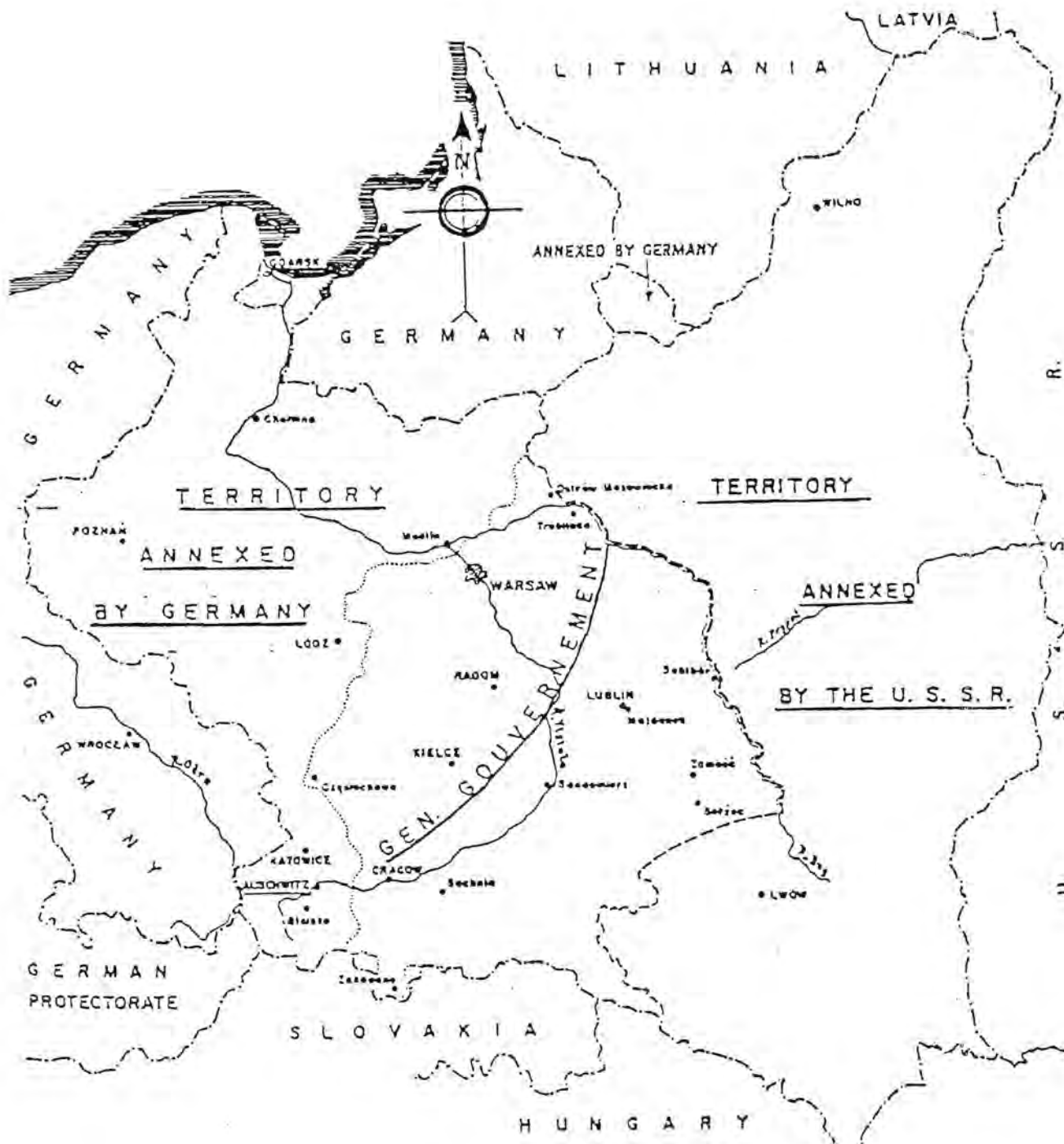
GENERAL-GOVERNMENT - When Germany successfully invaded Poland in 1939, Polish territory was divided into two sections. The Eastern half was annexed by the U.S.S.R. and the other half belonged to Germany, who divided its area into two parts, one being governed by Germany itself, while the other was granted a form of self-government under direct control of Germany. This area of General-Government included the Warsaw, Lublin, Radom, Czestochowa and Cracow ghettos, and concentration camps like Treblinka, Sobibor, Majdanek and Belzec. A map showing the location of this area appears on the next page.

JUDENRAT - The Judenrat was the self-government that was allowed by the German authorities in the ghettos. They were responsible for the making of laws and had a say in the everyday life in the ghettos. The president of this body was usually called the Chairman of the Judenrat.

KAPO - This is another of the ranks or titles given to members of the self-government in the concentration camps. Inmates with this rank were responsible for the organisation of working

parties. They very often exceeded the camp guards in cruelty.

Figure 10: Map of Europe showing the General-Government area (Garlinski 1975:15)



OPERATION REINHARD CAMPS - These three concentration camps were the so-called "pets" of Heinrich Himmler, head of the SS. The camps were named after Himmler's deputy Reinhard Heydrich. They were Treblinka, Sobibor and Belzec. All three were situated in the General-Government area of Poland.

PENAL CAMP - The penal camps during World War II were often much worse than concentration camps as the inmates were treated like slaves. Out of many of these camps came penal companies who had to fight for Germany under the worst conditions possible.

POW - An abbreviation of Prisoner of War. Prisoners of war, especially those of the Western countries, like France, England and the USA, were generally treated well in the camps.

SONDERKOMMANDO - Some inmates belonged to this organisation in the concentration camps. These Kommandos were given all the dirty work in the camp, like the transporting of the dead, for which they enjoyed special favours, like extra food rations. They also preyed on food and other valuables taken from their dead inmates, and so managed to survive longer.

SS - German abbreviation of Schutzstaffel, which was an organisation originally used as bodyguards for Hitler. Later one of the sub-divisions of the SS was used as guards in the concentration camps.

TAMMUZ - One of the months of the Hebrew calendar.

YESHIVA - This is the same as a Talmudic Academy, which is a Jewish institution for higher religious studies.

APPENDIX A

MUSICIANS IN THE CONCENTRATION CAMPS AND GHETTOS

These are the musicians who were actively involved in musical activities in the concentration camps and ghettos. Where "others" are mentioned, it signifies that they took part in an unspecified capacity, or if they had already been mentioned previously, that they took part in some other unknown way. Where only one name is given it can be assumed to be their last name, or surname, with the exception of the names at Birkenau, which are generally first names.

Auschwitz I concentration camp:

Flute: Nora Micheels

Trumpet: Lex van Weren

Vocalist: Emilio Jani

Conductor: Adam Kopecinski

Others: Herman Rosner, Leon Rosner

Auschwitz II (Birkenau) concentration camp:

Accordion: Lili

Cello: Marta

Cymbals: Danka

Double Bass: Yvette

Flute: Frau Kröner

Guitar: Lotte

Mandolin: Anny

Percussion: Helga

Piano: Fania Fénelon, Anny, Alla, Sonia

Reedpipes: Karla

Violin: Alma Rosé, Pani Irena, Wisla Irena, Ewe Benedek, Irene, Jenny, Halina, Ibi, Elsa, Julie, Rachel, Hilde, Florette, Zocha

Vocalists: Fania Fénelon, Clara, Ewa, Lily, Betty, Liza

Arranging: Fania Fénelon

Conductors: Pani Tchaikowska, Alma Rosé, Sonia

Others: Pani Founia, Ewa, Flora, Hilde, Marisha, Marila, Renate,

Irene, Lili, Koja, Wish, Zocha, Rachela, Musha, Margot, Sylvia,
Lotto, Ruth

Belzec concentration camp:

Composer: Mordechai Gebirtig

Bialystok ghetto:

Vocalist: Liza

Börgermoor concentration camp:

Composer: Rudi Goguel

Buchenwald concentration camp:

Violin: Maurice Hewitt, Jaroslav Pekelsky

Conductor: Vlastimil Louda

Cracow ghetto:

Composer: Mordechai Gebirtig, Julius Hofman

Others: Herman Rosner, Leon Rosner

Flossenburg concentration camp:

Piano: Josef Kyselka

Violin: Zdeňek Kolársky

Fürstengrube concentration camp:

Piano: Gideon Klein

Kovno ghetto:

Piano: David Helerman

Violin: S Hofmekler, Stupel

Vocalist: Frau Ratchka, Zaks

Composer: Geist

Conductor: S Hofmekler

Lipa concentration camp:

Violin: Karel Fröhlich

Vocalist: Karel Berman

Lodz ghetto:

Guitar/Zither: Karol Rosencwajg

Piano: Teodor Ryder, Leopold Birkenfeld

Viola: E Wachtel

Violin: Bronislawa Rotsztat, Kantor, Dawid Bajgelman, Karel Rosencwajg

Vocalists: Nikodem Sztajman, Minia Ber, Dov Beygelson, Rudolf Bandler, Frau Ala Diamant, Yankele Herszkowitz, Dasao, Yaakov Rotenberg, Itka Slodowsky, Miriam Haren

Composers: Jerzy Jurandot, Isaiah Spiegel, Emanuel Hirschberg, Dawid Bajgelman, Yankele Herszkowitz, Shimeon Janowski, Herman Yablokoff, Miriam Haren

Conductors: Teodor Ryder, Dawid Bajgelman

Other: Mr Steinman

Lvov ghetto:

Cello: Leon Eber, Leon Zak, Schatz, Jozef Herman, Edward Steinberg, Hildebrand, Breyer, Aron Dobszyc, Priwes

Piano: Leopold Müner, Mark Bauer, Artur Hermelin, Pollak

Vocalists: Feller, Fiszer, Szrange, Buxbaum

Composers: Leonid Striks, Maks Striks, Jozef Frenkel, Willem Kristal, Skolka

Conductors: Alfred Stadler, Marcelli Horowitz, Jakob Münd

Janowska labour camp:

Composers: Schatz, Schlechter

Conductors: Leonid Striks, Jozef Münd

Others: Jezef Münd, Jozef Herman, Eduard Steinberger, Schatz

Mechelen concentration camp:

Cello: L Micheels

Flute: Nora Micheels

Plaszow concentration camp:

Vocalists: Tosia Lieberman

Others: Herman Rosner, Leon Rosner

Radom ghetto:

Vocalist: Bina Landau

Ravensbrück concentration camp:

Composer: Germaine Tillion

Sachsenhausen concentration camp:

Vocalist: Alex Kulisiewicz

Composers: Alex Kulisiewicz, Rosebury d'Arguto (Martin Rosenberg)

Conductor: Rosebury d'Arguto

Sobibor concentration camp:

Mandolin: Shabayev (known as Kalimali)

Composer: Dunayevskiy

Terezin ghetto:

Accordion: Kurt Maier, Wolfi Lederer

Bass (most probably tuba): Fasal

Cello: Dauber, Lucian Horwitz, Dr Erich Klapp, Paul Kohn, Friedrich Mark, Swab

Clarinet: Langer, Fritz Weiss

Double Bass: Pavel Libensky

Flute: Viktor Kohn

Guitar: Goldschmidt

Harmonium: Wolfgang Lederer

Harpsichord: Renée Gärtner-Geiringer, Hans Krása, Rafael Schächter

Percussion: Dr Kurt Bauer

Piano: Juliette Arányi, Frau Bach-Fischer, Karel Berman, Dr Brammer, Dr Paul Eppstein, Renée Gärtner-Geiringer, Helena Herrmannová, Prof Bernard Kaff, Franz Eugen Klein, Gideon Klein, Otto König, Dr Ilona Král, Hans Krása, Leval, Kurt Maier, Beatrice Pimentel, Tella Polák, Karel Reiner, Truda Reisová-Solarová, Martin Roman, Rafael Schächter, Elsa Schiller, Vlasta Schönova, Edith Steiner-Kraus, Carlo S Taube, Prof Ferencz Weiss

Saxophone: Langer, Fritz Weiss

Trombone: Mautner

Trumpet: Vogel

Viola: Karel Ancerl, Karel Fröhlich, Viktor Kohn, Parkus, Snyders, Romuald Süssmann

Violin: Block, Fritz Brünner, Freudenthal, Karel Fröhlich, Paul Herz, Pavel Kling, Adolf Kraus, Egon Ledec, Prof Herman Leydensdorff, Tomás Mandl, Otto Sattler, Adolf Schächter, Schneider, Julius Stwertka, Heini Taussig, Otto Zucker

Vocalists: Otto Abeles, Hilde Aronson-Lindt, Karel Berman, Dr Blum, Truda Borger, Bedrich Borges, Anka Dub, Nella Eisenschimmel, K Eisinger, Karel Freund, Anny Frey, J Fried, R Fuchsová, Kurt Gerron, Machiel Gobets, Jakob Goldring, Hedda Grab-Kernmayer, David Grünfeld, Harry Hambo, Gerta Harpmann, Ada Hecht, Rafael Herz-Sommer, Hans Hofer, Lisl Hofer, Greta Hoffmeister, Frau Kohn-Schlesskov, Fritz Königsgarten, Pinta Mühlstein, Zdenek Ornest, Marion Podolier, Karel Polák, Ada Schwarz-Klein, Alexander Singer, M Singer, Eva Stein, Marta Tamara-Zucker, Hanus Thein, H Tomková, Franta Weissenstein, Kurt Weisz, Walter Windholz, Emmy Zeckendorf

Other instrumentalists: Fritz Weiss, Hans Selig, Pavel Kohn, Fredy Mautner, Tedy Berger, Franta Goldschmidt

Composers: Heinz Alt, Karel Ancerl, Karel Berman, Peter Deutsch, Frantisek Domazlicky, Schul Grünfeld-Z, Franz Eugen Klein, Gideon Klein, Viktor Kohn, Hans Krása, M Kron, Egon Ledec, Dr Karel Reiner, Antonin Roubicek, Zikmund Schul, Karel Svenk, Carlo S Taube, Viktor Ullmann, Ilse Weber

Conductors: Heinz Alt, Karel Berman, Robert Brock, Peter Deutsch, Karl Fischer, Pavel Haas, Franz Eugen Klein, Wolfgang Lederer, Leo Pappenheim, Karel Schächter, Rafael Schächter

Music critics: Dr Kurt Singer, Viktor Ullmann

Vilna ghetto:

Vocalist: Lyube Levitska

Composers: L Rosenthal, Alek Volkovinsky, Abraham Slep, Bina Landau

Conductors: Avrom Slyep, A Slieff, David Mashkin

Music teacher: Gershteyn

Warsaw ghetto:

Clarinet: Sztromberg

Piano: Pearl Richter Feldschuh

Violin: Ludwik Holcman, Marion Neuteich, Bernard Lewinson

Vocalists: Marysia Ajzensztadt, Savenka Margo, Dutlinger, Menachem Kipnis, Clare Cukier, Sholem Cukier, Helena Ostrowska, Vera Grun, Pola Braun

Composers: Wladyslaw Szlengel, H Broyda, David Ajzensztadt

Conductors: Szymon Pullman (Pulver), Israel Fajwiszys, J Zaks, David Ajzensztadt, Jacob Gladstein, Joseph Gladstein, Anna Osser, A Kaminski-Gurdas, Zygmunt Szklar, Adam Furmanski, Sztromberg

Wülzberg concentration camp:

Composer: Ervin Schullhof

APPENDIX B

WORKS COMPOSED IN THE CONCENTRATION CAMPS AND GHETTOS

This list comprises works known to be composed in the concentration camps and ghettos. Many more works were probably composed, but only these were referred to in sources on the subject.

Börgermoor concentration camp:

Rudi Goguel: *Song: Börgermoorlied*

Cracow ghetto:

Mordechai Gebirtig: *Songs: Es Brent, Minutn fun Bitokhn*

Janowska labour camp:

Schutz: *Song: Tango of Death*

Lodz ghetto:

Dawid Bajgelman: *Songs: Tsigaynerlid, Makh Tsu di Eygelekh, Nisht keyn Rozhinkes mit Mandlen, Wiegenlied, A yidish lidl*

Revue: Shoe Ressort

Others: Chor der Derwische, Concerto fantasies, Variations on popular Jewish themes

Jankele Herszkowicz: *Songs: Es geht a yeke mit a teke, Rumkowski, Chaim, Lebn zor prezes Khaim, Geto, getunya, S'iz kaydankes kaytn, Ikh fur kayn palestine, Vus zol men tien yidn?, A pensjonat*

Jerzy Jurandat: *Musical comedy: Libe zukt a dire*

Isaiah Spiegel: *Several Lullabies*

Terezin ghetto:

Karel Berman: *Voice and Piano: Poupata, Three Songs*

Solo Piano: Terezin

Frantisek Domazlicky: *Choir: May Song*

Chamber group: Song without words

Pavel Haas: Choir: *Al S'fod*

Voice and Piano: *Four Songs to the text of Chinese Poetry*

String orchestra: *Study*

Gideon Klein: Chamber group: *Trio, Fantasia and Fugue*

Solo Piano: *Sonata*

Choir: *Old Folk Poetry*

Vocal Group: *Madrigal (2)*

Viktor Kohn: Chamber group: *Praeludium*

Hans Krása: Opera: *Brundibár*

Chamber group: *Passacaglia and Fugue, Dance, Theme with Variations*

Voice and chamber group: *Three Songs*

Egon Ledec: Chamber group: *Gavotte*

Zikmund Schul: Voice and chamber group: *Schicksal*

Chamber group: *Duo, Two Chassidic Dances*

Choir and Vocal Solo: *Finale from Cantata Judaica*

Carlo Taube: Voice and Piano: *Ein Jüdisches Kind*

Viktor Ullmann: Piano Solo: *Sonatas no.'s 5, 6 and 7*

Chamber group: *Third String Quartet*

Opera: *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*

Voice and Piano: *Three Songs, Der Mensch und sein Tag,*

Two Chinese Songs, Hölderlin Lieder, Brezulinka,

Wendla im Garten, Abendphantasie, Immer in Mitten,

Chansons des Enfants Françaises

Voice and chamber group: *Herbst*

Men's choir: *Three Songs*

Women's choir: *Three Songs, Two Songs*

Children's choir: *Three Songs*

Mixed choir: *Two Songs*

Ilse Weber: Voice and Piano: *Seven Songs*

Treblinka concentration camp:

Artur Gold: *Camp Song: Treblinka Anthem*

Vilna ghetto:

Bina Landau: *Song: Zog Nit Keyn Mol*

L. Rosenthal: *Song: One, Two, Three*
Alex Volkovinski: *Song: Stile, Stile*

Warsaw ghetto:

Songs by Szlengel, Broyda and David Ajzensztadt