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Viktor Ullmann's Terezín Lieder: a performance guide to songs for soprano or high voice

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Dissertation

VIKTOR ULLMANN’S TEREZÍN LIEDER:
A PERFORMANCE GUIDE TO SONGS FOR SOPRANO OR HIGH VOICE

by

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ABSTRACT

Viktor Ullmann’s Terezín Lieder: A Performance Guide to Songs for Soprano or High Voice is, as the title states, a detailed guide of nine songs composed while Ullmann was imprisoned in the Terezín Ghetto from 1942-1944. This dissertation also proves that although he was incarcerated in terrible and inhumane conditions, Ullmann, among others, was able to compose music highly artistic in style and value. The songs and sets included in this document are “Wendla im Garten” (1918/1943), Hölderlin Lieder (1943/1944), Lieder der Tröstung (1943), and Drei jiddische Lieder/Březulinka Op. 53 (1944).

Included is the history of Terezín before and during World War II, the camp’s musical output, and a concise biographical background of Viktor Ullmann’s life. A brief biography of each poet or writer (Frank Wedekind, Friedrich Hölderlin, Albert Steffen, David Einhorn, and Zalman Shneour) is given along with a discussion as to why Ullmann chose particular poems and prose. The importance anthroposophy had on his life and his musical output is also explored.

The original text of each poem or prose is given with a poetic translation. In addition, the texts presented in Ullmann’s scores are provided with a word for word
translation and International Phonetic Alphabet pronunciation guide. A style guide to various elements – e.g. melody, harmony, range, accompaniment, etc. – in each song is also provided in hopes of allowing these songs to be more approachable and accessible. Finally, lists of various foundations dedicated to the life and music of Viktor Ullmann and the Holocaust, as well as Ullmann lieder scores and recordings are provided.
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Introduction

This dissertation marks the 70th anniversary of Viktor Ullmann’s (1898–1944) untimely death in Auschwitz. Ullman is one of many composers imprisoned and actively composing in the Terezín Concentration Camp during World War II. Although he is arguably best known for his opera, “Der Kaiser von Atlantis,” Ullmann wrote in almost all genres: orchestral music, solo instrumental and chamber music, solo vocal and choral music, and opera. Vocal songs were among his earliest compositions and he composed Lieder throughout his career, and he continued to write Lieder while imprisoned in Terezín (September 8, 1942 – October 16, 1944).¹

Viktor Ullmann’s music has received wide circulation since his death. All works released during his lifetime were self-published; Ullmann never published his earliest works (pre-1930), which are now lost and are only known through pre-war press releases.² His surviving Terezín compositions were published posthumously, using manuscripts kept by Ullmann’s friends in Terezín after he was deported to Auschwitz.³ A complete collection of Ullmann’s Lieder did not appear until Schott Music’s Sämtliche Lieder⁴ came out in 2004, which was the first time that most of these songs had ever appeared in print.

Although Ullmann’s music has received many performances and attracted significant scholarship in recent decades, many of his songs are still rarely performed.

² Ibid, 88.
His opera *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, which first premiered in the United States at Curtis Institute of Music in 1989, has received many posthumous performances around the world, including stagings by many opera companies in the past decade and several commercial recordings. Ullmann’s Lieder, by contrast, are not nearly as well-known or recorded. Nine of his Terezín Lieder are the focus of this dissertation.

Each of the songs and sets chosen for performance and discussion – “Wendla im Garten” (1918/1943), *Hölderlin Lieder* (1943/44), *Lieder der Tröstung* (1943), and *Drei jiddische Lieder* (1944) - have not been the subject of significant prior analysis (aside from their publication in the *Sämtliche Lieder* critical edition) and little is known about the circumstances of their performances or the singers who premiered them in Terezín. The manuscripts for these and other Terezín Lieder by Ullmann are mostly housed in the Paul Sacher Stiftung in Basel, Switzerland, and at the Albert-Steffen Stiftung in Dornach; many of the surviving manuscripts from his pre-Terezín period are preserved at the Karlsuniversität in Prague.

The goal of this dissertation is to make the aforementioned songs and sets more

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6 Mark Ludwig, founding director of the Terezín Music Foundation, e-mail message to author, March 14, 2014.

7 *Sämtliche Lieder*, 228-39.
accessible to performers. Each chapter includes pertinent information that will guide the
performers – singer, pianist, and possibly string trio (*Lieder der Tröstung*) – toward
informed decisions about the performance style of these songs. The Schott *Viktor
Ullmann: Sämtliche Lieder – Complete Songs for Voice and Piano* score was used in the
learning and analysis of the songs and sets of this document. To date, it is the most
comprehensive collection of Ullmann *lieder* available.

In this dissertation, the name “Terezín,” as opposed to “Theresienstadt,” will be
used for the purpose of uniformity, and also in consideration that the town was initially
and is currently called Terezín. It was only under Nazi occupation that it was called
Theresienstadt.
Chapter I.
The History of Terezín and its Musical Output

The fortress town of Terezín, established in 1780, was originally founded by Austrian Emperor Joseph II as a gift for his mother, Empress Maria Theresa. The town, consisting of a “Big Fortress” and “Small Fortress”, is located in North Bohemia along the Labe (Elbe) and Ohře rivers. The construction of the fortresses began in 1780, and lasted for ten years. They were designed as a barrier against any possible invasion, most notably, although almost 100 years later, during possible Prussian attacks of the Austro-Prussian War (June 14-August 23, 1866). The town was never used for military purpose during the Austro-Prussian War, and the fortress’s military use ended by 1882. Soon after, the general public began living in the houses and barracks in the Big Fortress. By 1940, approximately 3,700 civilian inhabitants lived in 219 houses, and about 3,500 soldiers lived in eleven barracks.\(^8\)

The Small Fortress was used as a political prison during World War I, and most notably imprisoned Gavrilo Princip, who was responsible for starting World War I by assassinating Archduke Francis Ferdinand d’Este of Austria and his wife, Sophie, Duchess of Hohenberg on June 28, 1914 in Sarajevo.\(^9\) It was because the Small Fortress, or garrison, was being used as a prison that the general public was able to live and work in the Large Fortress; most inhabitants were shopkeepers, businessmen, and artisans who

provided for the soldiers.  

On November 24, 1941, the first transport of 342 Jewish prisoners arrived at Terezín, displacing the previously resident civilian population. This first set of arrivals consisted of able-bodied young men who were known as the “Aufbaukommando.” The barracks that had previously been inhabited by soldiers were completely stripped bare, including the removal of any type of bunk or bed. This forced the Jewish workers to sleep on pallets on the ground without blankets or anything to keep them warm during the night. They were left without provisions: no food to cook and no place to cook it. This episode marked the beginning of the history of the Theresienstadt Ghetto.  

The population of Terezín grew rapidly during the war; transports to the ghetto numbered between 2,000 to 3,000 Jews almost daily. The camp was originally built to support a maximum capacity of approximately 11,000 inmates. By September 18, 1942, however, the camp had reached its officially recorded peak of 58,491 inmates, although survivors claimed that the population eventually reached over 75,000. A total of 139,654 prisoners were sent to Terezín between May 1941 and May 1945. Among these prisoners, some 33,419 prisoners died in Terezín itself, while another 86,934 were deported to Auschwitz and other extermination camps, including Treblinka. Only an estimated 17,320 people (12.4% of the total recorded prisoners) are said to have survived their imprisonment in Terezín.  

Terezín was officially built as the so-called “model” or “privileged” camp for

11 Ibid., 23.
German and German-speaking Jews, and used as a holding camp for those who made an impact in their committees, such as writers, artists, musicians, decorated war veterans, etc. The early prisoners were told that they would live more comfortably than non-German or German-speaking Jews being deported to other concentration camps, but this was not the actually case. Transports of non-German-speaking Jews also arrived from countries such as Czechoslovakia, Denmark and the Netherlands, and, of course, all prisoners were treated poorly. Fake shops and banks that issued worthless currency were built to help deceive the prisoners that they would be able to live their lives normally. These deceptions were also used to mislead a Red Cross inspection team in June of 1944 into believing that the living conditions in Terezín were acceptable.

The most effective instrument in creating a deluded sense of Jewish control was arguably the establishment of *der Ältestenrat* (Council of Elders). The Nazis, as in all European ghettos, required the prisoners to elect a Jewish Council that would nominally oversee the needs of the prisoners and the activities of the ghetto. These councils, however, were no more than an act of elaborate bureaucracy by the Nazis to exterminate as many Jews as possible.¹⁴ For example, SS commanders periodically forced the council to choose 1,000 inmates to be deported to Auschwitz, which, in most cases, led to their deaths.¹⁵

Men, women, and children in Terezín were not permitted to live in the same barracks with one another. Families were split apart, and many children were forced to

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live in a separate barracks without their parents, only being permitted to see their mother and/or father once a week. Each barracks was ostensibly built to accommodate 500 inhabitants. Under normal peacetime circumstances, one room in a barracks could accommodate twelve soldiers. In each room of the men’s barracks (named the Sudeten barracks), however, fifty men were forced to live in highly cramped conditions – more than four times the peacetime limit. In the smaller rooms of the women’s barracks (named the Dresden Barracks), twenty to forty women were forced to share a room.¹⁶

This overcrowding had severe consequences for the prisoners’ health. Aside from discomfort and lack of privacy in such crowded living conditions, sickness and disease spread at an exceedingly fast rate throughout the camp. The overly crowded and inhumane conditions of the barracks made illness inevitable for most prisoners. Most of the illnesses and diseases that afflicted the prisoners were gastrointestinal: diarrhea, enteritis, dysentery, typhoid, and similar afflictions. These diseases, compounded by poor nutrition, were often deadly. A lack of food, especially food with any substantive nutritional value, was a common plight. All prisoners went hungry often and some starved to death.¹⁷

The psychological effects on the Jewish prisoners from the combination of discrimination, displacement from their normal lives, and imprisonment in Terezín took a heavy toll on them as individuals and as a culture. Dr. Jiří Diamant, a survivor who was imprisoned as a child in Terezín, later recalled how he perceived the change in the human psyche, noting, “I saw that the behavior of many people had changed: some grew older,

¹⁶ Ghetto Theresienstadt, 17.
¹⁷ Theresienstadt: Hitler’s Gift to the Jews, 52-55.
others became more selfish, ruthless, others more melancholy and reflective.”

Some chose to give up on fighting to survive, while others, like Dr. Diamant, chose to embrace the things that they thought made life worth living – art, poetry, and music. “Poets and writers were discovered among us,” Diamant noted. “We competed with one another, wrote a chronicle, published a magazine.”

Music emerged as an especially prominent element, with Diamant recalling,

In this environment I had the opportunity of listening to music, to the Czech music of Bedřich Smetana. We practiced [his opera] *The Bartered Bride* there. I buried myself in its tones, listened again and again to the joyful melodies, full of optimism that was so needed by us all.

Diamant’s experience was not unique, reflecting the prisoners’ cravings for the arts and culture that they had enjoyed in their pre-Terezín lives.

These cultural efforts began with the first transport of Jews, the first *Aufbaukommando*, to the camps. Amongst these 342 prisoner-laborers were the pianist and conductor Rafael Schächter and the avant-garde theatre actor Karel Švenk. Schächter led the men in singing folksongs as a diversion from their bestial living quarters; he eventually went on to conduct many performances in the camp. These meager musical resources were increased by a group of young musicians that arrived as part of the second shipment of *Aufbaukommando* to the camp, a group that arrived on December 4, 1941. Although bringing musical instruments was expressly forbidden, some of these musicians arrived with their instruments secretly hidden in their personal belongings. One proposed explanation for this oversight is a claim that the SS officers may have been more lenient

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about searching the men’s belongings for contraband because the *Aufbaukommando* was a group of volunteers.\textsuperscript{21}

The first documented concert in Terezín is described in a program dated December 6, 1941, a variety show that took place in Hall Number 5 of the Sudeten barracks. By Christmas, the camp officials found out about the secret concerts. Instead of banning them and punishing those involved, however, they encouraged the concerts. The concerts became officially sanctioned as *Kameradschaftsabende* (evenings of fellowship) starting on December 28, 1941. The official rationale for allowing the prisoners to present and attend these concerts was that this would discourage the prisoners from causing unnecessary trouble.\textsuperscript{22}

The stream of new transports arriving brought many more musicians to Terezín. These new transports were not filled with volunteers as in the *Aufbaukommando*. The new inhabitants of the camp included men, women, and children whose arrival gave more variety to the performances that took place. This rapid growth of the camp population led to the creation of a complex system through which prisoners internally governed the camp, including its musical offerings.

Jakob Edelstein, a noted Jewish leader in Czechoslovakia in the early years of World War II, was instrumental in creating much of this system. Edelstein was deported to Terezín on December 4, 1941 – just two days before the first musical performance in the camp. He was soon appointed the first Judenältester (Jewish Elder) of *der Ältestenrat* and took a prominent role in camp governance; one of his notable contributions was

\textsuperscript{22} *Ibid.*, 13-14.
forming *die Freizeitgestaltung*, or Committee of Free Time Activities, in 1942. This committee included many departments related to entertainment: Czech and German theatre, cabaret, lectures, programming, scheduling of performances and practices, a technical department, chess, library, sports, and music. The department of music itself had many subdivisions, including specialized groups to promote vocal, instrumental, and popular music.

The first official performance presented by the *Freizeitgestaltung* took place on March 21, 1942. This performance was organized by mezzo-soprano Hedda Grab-Kernmayr, the first director of the *Freizeitgestaltung*, and consisted of readings and recitations, dance, two songs sung by Grab-Kernmayr from Czech composer Antonín Dvořák’s Opus 99 “Ten Biblical Songs” collection, and two Schubert *lieder* sung by Emmy Zeckendorf. This performance required considerable work on Grab-Kernmayr’s part to stage, but the effort was rewarded by many repeat performances of the program that were held in both the women’s and men’s barracks.23

The arrival of many Czech-speaking citizens prompted a strong interest in performances of Czech theatre, opera, and cabaret in Terezín. These performances were very different from the formal concerts that the prisoners had enjoyed in their former lives. Jana Šedová, a Czechoslovakian Jew imprisoned in Terezín, recalled the night of the women’s cabaret premiere in the Sudeten barracks, noting

> The festive first night took place in the cellar of the ‘Sudeten’ barracks. There were no plush stalls. The audience did not wear formal dress. There was no rustling of candy paper bags. No refreshments were to be had in the buffet. Applause was strictly forbidden. It was not advisable to make unnecessary noise.

The closing chorus of the evening sung by the spectators, together with the
performers, sounded subdued but all the more enthusiastic. It ended with the
words: ‘Where there is a will, there is a way. Let us join hands and one day we
will laugh on the ruins of the Ghetto.’

The lyrics and music of the cabaret show, composed by Karel Švenk, were biting and
satirical – and fortunately not understood by the German officers who controlled the
camp, who had no idea that they were being ridiculed onstage. These performances
boosted the morale of the Czech-speaking Jews in the camp.

Opera performances were a significant part of the camp’s musical life. Two
operas by Czech composers, Bedřich Smetana’s *The Bartered Bride* and the children’s
opera *Brundibár* by Hans Krása, were favorites of not only the Czechs, but also of the
large majority of the camp’s prisoners. Both were performed multiple times - *The
Bartered Bride* was performed thirty-five times, *Brundibár*, fifty-five times. The other
operas performed in Terezín notably included Pergolesi’s *La Serva Padrona*, Verdi’s
*Rigoletto*, Puccini’s *Tosca*, and Bizet’s *Carmen*. The opera most infamously associated
with Terezín, however, is Viktor Ullmann’s *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* (The Emperor of
Atlantis) – the only opera that is known to have been composed in the camp.

*Der Kaiser von Atlantis* is an allegorical story about the evil Emperor Überall
who orders the (personified) Death to lead his army into war for the Emperor’s own

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25 Ibid.
glorification. Death refuses to follow the Emperor’s command and goes on strike, an action that prevents anyone from dying. The Emperor finally understands the mistake that resulted from his selfish desires, and in exchange for Death’s returning to duty, he agrees to become Death’s first victim. This scenario represented and commented on the contemporary situation of all prisoners and victims of Terezín and the other German-run concentration and death camps.

*Der Kaiser von Atlantis* was created using a significant portion of the musical resources available. The libretto was written by Peter Kien, a poet and painter imprisoned in Terezín, and was scored for five singers and a thirteen-piece orchestra. Production was set to take place in the fall of 1944, but never did due to a large transport of prisoners to Auschwitz in October 1944. Ullmann and many of the performers were placed in that transport and died in Auschwitz without having performed the opera. Although the planned premiere never took place, the names of the singers cast in the production and their assigned roles have been preserved: Karel Berman as Death, Walter Windholtz as the Emperor, David Grünfeld as Pierrot, Marion Podolier as the Girl, and Hilde Aronson-Lindt as Drummer. The orchestra consisted of standard and non-traditional instrumentation, and the premiere of *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* did not take place until December 1975 in Amsterdam.

Musical instruments were initially forbidden and only sparsely available at the start of musical activities in Terezín. At first, only a legless, broken piano that the

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29 Flute/piccolo, oboe, B-flat clarinet, alto saxophone, C trumpet, tenor banjo/guitar, harpsichord/piano, organ, small timpani, suspended cymbal, triangle, large gong, violin 1, violin 2, cello, contrabass with 5th string

prisoners found in one of the barracks was available and put to use for choir rehearsals. Eventually, however, the camp officials allowed the prisoners to bring instruments into the ghetto. This led to the formation of many chamber ensembles and multiple orchestras. Choirs of all types – men’s, women’s, mixed, and children’s – sprang up and had many opportunities to perform. Musical scores and other performance materials were of limited availability, however, leading to some unusual rehearsal methods.

The most notable, and possibly the most profoundly effective, choral work performed in the Terezín was Giuseppe Verdi’s *Requiem*, which was performed sixteen times between 1943–44. Its conductor, Rafael Schächter, greatly admired this work but only had one copy of the score, so he taught his choir by rote. Many of the [Jewish] choir members did not initially understand why they should learn a Catholic Mass, but this became apparent when singing the repeated phrase “Libera me” (deliver me). Camp officials, missing the irony of this plea, notably coerced Schächter into a performance of the *Requiem* for the visit and inspection by the Danish Red Cross on June 23, 1943.\(^{31}\)

The last transport from the Terezín ghetto to the Auschwitz extermination camp was on October 28, 1944. Many of the remaining musicians in the camp who had not already been deported were placed on this last transport. The musicians left behind were mostly women, such as the pianists Alice Herz Sommer and Edith Steiner-Kraus, and the singers Marion Podolier, Hedda Grab-Kernmayr, Ada Schwarz-Klein and Hilde Aronson-Lindt. The International Red Cross liberated the surviving prisoners in Terezín on May 8, 1945, but the freed prisoners could not leave for another two weeks because of

a strict quarantine from a typhus epidemic in the camp. As a result, almost 6,000 freed
inmates still lived in Terezín at the end of June, and many died in the camp from disease
and malnutrition. By August 17, 1945, the former residents of the pre-World War II
garrison town returned to again inhabit what was a once concentration camp.\footnote{Music in Terezín 1941-1945, 171-180.}

\textbf{Viktor Ullmann}

The composer and music critic Viktor Ullmann was born on January 1, 1899 in
Teschen, then a city in Austro-Hungarian Empire. (Modern Teschen is now called Český
Těšín and is divided between the Czech Republic and Poland). His father Maximilian
(1861-1938) was a high-ranking officer in the Austrian military, and his mother, Malwine
(1873-1940), was part of the Viennese high bourgeoisie. His parents, although both of
Jewish descent, converted to Catholicism together in 1896 in order to gain higher social
and military status. Because this conversion took place several years before his birth,
Ullmann was baptized Catholic at an early age and raised Catholic; he did not have any
Jewish upbringing.\footnote{Ingo Schultz, Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk, (Stuttgart and Weimar: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 2008), 7-10.}

Ullmann’s childhood education was undistinguished, apart from his music studies.
He was a student at the Volksschule in Teschen from 1904–1908, and studied at the
Albrecht Gymnasium also in Teschen from 1908–1909. In 1909, he moved with his
mother to Vienna, where he attended Rasumofsky Gymnasium. Ullmann’s musical
studies included piano lessons with Eduard Steuermann, and theory and composition with
Dr. Josef Polnauer beginning in 1914. In 1916, Ullmann graduated with a Kriegsarbitur, a
diploma given to students who left to enroll in military service, rather than by passing an exit exam. He fought in World War I as a Second Lieutenant, and was awarded a medal of courage for his services.\textsuperscript{34}

After the end of World War I, Ullmann initially returned to Vienna to begin his studies in law at Vienna University. He had far more interest in music than law, however, and soon moved to Prague to study music theory and composition with Arnold Schönberg. His studies with Schönberg landed him a job a year later at the New German Theatre in Prague in 1919.\textsuperscript{35} This connection came as a direct result of Ullmann’s studies with Schönberg, who was so impressed with his student’s musical talent that he recommended Ullmann to his brother-in-law, Alexander Zemlinsky. Zemlinsky subsequently appointed Ullmann as the theatre’s chorus director and vocal coach. In May 24, 1919, Ullmann married his first wife, Martha Ullmann, née Koref.\textsuperscript{36} On December 21, 1921, he conducted his first opera performance, Mozart’s \textit{Bastien und Bastienne}. He continued to conduct many more performances for the theatre, including operas by Smetana, operettas, and incidental music for dramatic productions, some of which he composed himself.\textsuperscript{37}

Ullmann left the New German Theatre in 1927 to become the music director at the Aussiger Opera House in Ústí nad Labem in northern Bohemia. This position gave him, for the first time in his life, the freedom to make his own artistic decisions for a

\textsuperscript{34} \textit{Ibid.}, 12-20, 36-38.
\textsuperscript{36} \textit{Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk}, 37.
\textsuperscript{37} \textit{Music in Terezín 1941-1945}, 113.
performing arts organization. Although he was very successful, Ullmann left this position after only one season and moved back to Prague for one year. Following that year, Ullmann was hired as a conductor and composer of incidental music at the Zürich Schauspielhaus, where he worked from 1929–1931.³⁸

In 1931, Ullmann left Zürich and moved to Stuttgart to manage an anthroposophic bookstore called the Stuttgarter Novalis-Buchhandlung. During the years that he spent living in Prague, Ullmann became acquainted with many musician and composers. One of these was Alois Hába, a Czech composer who specialized in quarter-tone composition – and was also an anthroposophist. Ullmann’s friendship with Hába sparked his interest in anthroposophy;³⁹ while later living in Zürich, Ullmann visited the Goetheanum (headquarters of the Anthroposophical Society) in Dornach to explore further the ideology and teachings of Rudolph Steiner. After divorcing his first wife, Martha, on April 16, 1931, Ullmann seized the opportunity to dedicate his life to anthroposophy and completely halted his musical activities and endeavors.⁴⁰

The business of managing the Novalis bookstore did not turn out to be successful, however. Despite financial assistance from his second wife, Annie Ullmann (née Winternitz),⁴¹ Ullmann was unable to support his family managing the bookstore in the long term. Unbeknownst to him, he had acquired the previous owner’s debt when signing the mortgage of the Novalis. After approximately two years of struggling to keep the bookstore open, the mortgage on the property was foreclosed, leading Ullmann and his

³⁸ “Ullmann, Viktor,” *Grove Music Online*.
³⁹ Anthroposophy is explained more thoroughly in the following chapter.
⁴⁰ Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk, 122-123.
⁴¹ Viktor and Annie were married in late July of 1931.
wife to move back to Prague in 1933.\textsuperscript{42}

In the twenty-two years between Viktor Ullmann’s first publicly presenting himself as a composer in 1935, he is only known to have composed seven complete works. After returning to Prague, Ullmann began to compose again, to give music lessons, and to write for the German magazine \textit{Der Auftakt} (The Up-beat). He also presented lectures and collaborated with the Czechoslovak Radio, but these jobs did not provide enough financial stability to support the Ullmanns and pay off the debts that he had acquired in Stuttgart.\textsuperscript{43} Starting in 1935, he continued his studies in composition at the Prague Conservatory, where he became a pupil of Hába. During his studies with Hába, Ullmann was awarded the Emil Hertzke Award twice: the first time in 1934 for his \textit{Schönberg-Variationen}, and the second time in 1936 for his opera \textit{Der Sturz des Antichrist}, which is based on a dramatic sketch by the anthroposophist Albert Steffen. Unfortunately, negotiations for performing these works in Vienna and Prague were not successful.\textsuperscript{44}

In the summer of 1937, Ullmann suffered a severe mental breakdown, and entered a psychiatric hospital. Although little is known about his hospital stay, it is only through letters to Annie and diary passages from which he titled, \textit{Der fremde Passagier}, that this information is known. By the third treatment, Ullmann declared himself cured, and was he released in May 1938.\textsuperscript{45}

\textsuperscript{42} \textit{Ibid.}, 124-134.
\textsuperscript{43} These debts were not settled until March 31, 1937. \textit{Ibid.}, 134.
\textsuperscript{44} “Ullmann, Viktor,” \textit{Grove Music Online}.
\textsuperscript{45} \textit{Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk}, 167-170.
Upon his death on March 20th, 1938, Viktor Ullmann’s father left the composer an inheritance which Ullmann used to self-publish his works. Although he continued to compose and publish, he continued to suffer financial burdens due to a lack of steady employment. Although he applied for Czechoslovakian citizenship, he was denied, and could not officially apply for work. In 1938, the Germans began their occupation of Austria and Czechoslovakia. Knowing that this was a serious situation, Ullmann and Annie opted, begrudgingly, to send two of their three children, Felicia, and Johannes, on a Kindertransport to Sweden and on to England in 1939. Their third child, Maximilian, later went to Terezín with his mother, Annie. These unfortunate events broke apart Viktor and Annie’s relationship, and their marriage ended in March of 1940.\textsuperscript{46}

Ullmann continued to try to acquire Czech citizenship, but his Jewish descent made it impossible to accomplish. Early on, those who were married and/or had children were not transported as readily as single individuals. In an effort to avoid deportation to a concentration camp, Ullmann married Elisabeth Frank-Meissl on December 31, 1940.\textsuperscript{47} His fight to gain Czech citizenship, and attempts to relocate to Switzerland or South Africa (where fellow Schönberg-follower Josef Trávníček-Trauneck lived) were unsuccessful, and on September 8, 1942, Viktor Ullmann and his wife Elisabeth were sent to Terezín.\textsuperscript{48}

Ullmann was assigned as committee member of the \textit{Freizeitgestaltung} (Committee of Free Time Activities) after arriving in the camp, acting as a music critic

\textsuperscript{46} \textit{Ibid.}, 169-179.
\textsuperscript{47} \textit{Ibid.}, 180-181.
\textsuperscript{48} \textit{Music in Terezín 1941-1945}, 115.
and composer. He wrote twenty-six musical reviews and composed sixteen known works during his internment, including three piano sonatas, a string quartet, eleven songs and song cycles, Yiddish and Hebrew songs arranged for choir, and an opera. Ullmann became strongly aware of his Jewish roots for the first time while in Terezín. Prior to his imprisonment, he had never composed any type of music with Yiddish or Jewish text or meaning, or acknowledged this heritage in any significant way.\footnote{Ibid., 115-117.}

Two years later, when Ullmann learned of his impending deportation to the East, he gave his writings and music to a friend, Dr. Emil Utitz. Ullmann instructed Utitz to return the works to him after the war. In case he did not survive, however, Ullmann instructed Utitz to give his works to H.G. Adler, with whom he had collaborated in Terezín.\footnote{Ibid., 120.} Ullmann was never able to collect his writings and music from Utitz. He was deported east on October 16, 1944, and died on October 18, 1944 in Auschwitz.\footnote{Ibid.} Today, the manuscripts for these works and other Terezín lieder by Ullmann are mostly housed in the Paul Sacher Stiftung in Basel, Switzerland, and at the Albert-Steffen Stiftung in Dornach. Many of the surviving manuscripts from his pre-Terezín period are preserved at the Karlsuniversität in Prague.\footnote{Axel Bauni and Christian Hoesch, \textit{Viktor Ullmann: Sämtliche Lieder für Singstimme und Klavier}, (Mainz: Schott Music, 2004), 228-239.}

Viktor Ullmann, looking back, left a personal testament of his time in Terezín and its influence on his music in the last pages of his private journal:

I composed in Terezín a certain quantity of music, principally to satisfy the needs of the conductors, the directors, the pianists and the singers, and through them of
the members of the *Freizeitgestaltung* of the ghetto. To make up its catalogue would be as vain as to stress the fact that playing piano in Theresienstadt was absolutely impossible as long as the camp was deprived of instruments. It would be equally futile for the identification of the future generations to evoke the cruel lack of music paper.

One has to stress nevertheless that Theresienstadt contributed to emphasize and did not hinder my musical activities, that in no way whatsoever we sat down to weep on the banks of the waters of Babylon, and that our effort to serve the Arts respectfully was proportionate to our will to live, in spirit of everything. I am convinced that those who fight, in life as well as in Art, to triumph over matter, which always resists, will share my point of view.\(^{53}\)

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Chapter II: Poets, Text and Ullmann’s Interpretation

Viktor Ullmann’s deep appreciation and fascination with contemporary poets inspired him to set multiple poems and prose that were popular during his lifetime.

Though some authors that Ullmann admired were not alive during the time in which he was composing (e.g. Louise Labé, Friedrich Hölderlin, and Conrad Ferdinand Meyer), their works were highly regarded by contemporary philosophers, writers, and composers of the early to mid-twentieth century.

“Wendla im Garten” (Frank Wedekind)


Der Weg ist wie ein Pelücheteppich – kein Steinchen, kein Dorn. – Meine Füße berühren den Boden nicht… Oh, wie ich die Nacht geschlummert habe!

Hier standen sie. – Mir wird ernsthaft wie einer Nonne beim Abendmahl. – Süße Veilchen! – Ruhig, Mütterchen. Ich will mein Bußgewand anziehn.

“Ach Gott, wenn jemand käme, dem ich um den Hals fallen und erzählen könnte!”

“Wendla in the Garden”

Why have you slipped out of the room? – To hunt violets! – Because Mother seems to laugh at me. – Why can’t you bring your lips together anymore? – I don’t know. – Indeed I don’t know, I can’t find words – The path is like a velvet carpet, no pebbles, no thorns. – My feet don’t touch the ground. – Oh, how I slept last night!

Here they are. – I become as grave as a nun at communion. – Sweet violets! – Peace, little mother, I will put on my long dress. – Oh God, if somebody would come upon whose neck I could fall and tell!”

Modernist poet, writer, and playwright Benjamin Franklin Wedekind, more commonly known as Frank Wedekind, wrote an expansive collection of approximately thirty plays and pantomimes, seventeen prose narratives, twenty-one essays on literary, cultural, social and political topics, and cabaret and political poems. He is arguably most well-known for his plays *Frühlings Erwachen* (1891), and his “Lulu” plays *Erdgeist* (1895) and *Die Büchse der Pandora* (1904).  

Frank Wedekind was born in Hanover on July 24, 1864 to a Swiss mother and German father. Wedekind’s mother became pregnant with Frank while she was living in San Francisco; his father became exorbitantly wealthy from his success from the California Gold Rush. Missing home, the Wedekinds decided to move to Hanover to give birth to their son. As a tribute to his father’s success in America, they named him Benjamin Franklin. In 1871, the Wedekinds fled Germany during the Bismark regime to escape the Franco-Prussian War, relocating to neutral Canto Aargau, Switzerland.

Wedekind left Switzerland to study law initially in Lausanne in 1884, transferring to Munich in the same year, but did not have much success. His father, who was giving him financial support, stifled his fascination and passion for literature. Wedekind quit law school to focus on his literary desires, which led to a heated argument with his father, who subsequently discontinued his financial support. This circumstance forced him to fend for himself, which led to him finding work in Zürich at the soup company, Maggi,

58 *Frühlings Erwachen: Eine Kindertragödie*, x.
where he was named director of advertising. After seven months, he left to devote himself to his writings, which proved to be financially unsuccessful. Eventually, his father relented, and sent him money to support his writing endeavors. In 1888, Mr. Wedekind died, leaving much of his wealth to Frank.59

Now able to focus on his passion, Wedekind traveled throughout Europe frequenting many literary circles, living life as a Bohemian, and enjoying the company of as many women as possible.60 These experiences influenced his first play, Frühlings Erwachen. Given its scandalous content, it was not staged until 1906 in Berlin.61

The fin de siècle period brought about great, and arguably much needed, change – socially, politically, artistically – to the financially stifling imperial and bourgeois social climate of Europe. As the century came to a close, some literary figures, artists, composers and musicians began to rebel against the Biedermeier genre of art, music and literature in favor of the popular Jugendstil variety. The literary and theatrical focal point of the Jugendstil movement was the embrace ment of a sterile and androgynous sexuality in youth and adolescence, and a revolt against the prude and, supposedly, moral older generation.62 Some, including Wedekind, did not embrace the sterile purity of Jugendstil, but rather mocked it.

Frühlings Erwachen (“Spring Awakening”) is a prime example of how the Jugendstil movement combined with the pessimism and cynicism of the fin de siècle, a

59 Best, Frank Wedekind, 12-13.
60 Best, Frank Wedekind, 13.
61 ‘Ibid., 20.
combination that eventually led into the modernist movements in literature and theatre.

Elizabeth Boa summed up this play as offering

an individualistic response to problems it diagnoses as social. Critical analysis of a sexually oppressive culture is combined with vivid evocation of the sexual fantasies bred by that culture. The play marries dramatic form and theatrical effects with the social, psychological and moral argument. As self-reflective theatre, the play in production becomes a metaphor for human nature as self-reflective. Self-consciously theatrical and anti-illusionist, it is a seminal work in the history of modern theatre.63

Wedekind’s prose is found in several notable compositions by members of the Second Viennese School and the Schönberg Circle. The most famous example is found in Alban Berg’s opera Lulu. These composers, as was common in this period, chose recent and contemporary literature as the texts of many of their vocal works. Arnold Schönberg was the leader of this musical movement; his most notable students include Alban Berg, Anton Webern, and Hanns Eisler. Schönberg, along with Berg and Webern, “brought late-romantic harmony to its conclusions and at the same time establish[ed] new starting points, first compositionally with free atonality around 1907, and then theoretically with twelve-tone compositions around 1920.”64 This mirrors Wedekind’s writing style.

Wedekind used Jugendstil, a popular and contemporary movement, as a platform to break through into the lesser-known, uncomfortable and controversial modernist aesthetic now referred to as Expressionism. At the same time as Schönberg began to shade his music with a discernibly expressionistic style, Wedekind was writing the first of his Lulu plays,

63 Ibid., 26.
Die Büchse der Pandora.\textsuperscript{65}

Viktor Ullmann, like his contemporaries, took interest in modernist writers, especially Frank Wedekind and Oscar Wilde. It was towards the end of World War I in early April 1918 when Ullmann learned of the deaths of Wedekind and Achille-Claude Debussy, both of whom he regarded highly. In a letter written to his then-girlfriend, Anny Wottitz, Ullmann reflected on the respect he had for their words and music, equating them with friends of an older generation that did not survive war.\textsuperscript{66}

Ullmann’s veneration towards Wedekind inspired him to compose “Wendla im Garten” (1918-1943), a Lied set to text from \textit{Frühlings Erwachen}.\textsuperscript{67} The text, a monologue given by fourteen-year-old Wendla Bergmann, comes from act 2, scene 6. At this point in the play, Wendla has sneaked out of her house in the early morning to pick violets and she does not want her mother to know why she is smiling. In an earlier scene (act II, scene 2), Wendla’s sister, Ina, has just given birth to her third child. Wendla, not having the slightest knowledge about sexual intercourse and reproduction, demands that her mother explain to her the process of becoming pregnant. Mrs. Bergmann, flustered, deflects the question multiple times, finally succumbing to Wendla’s plea by telling her that in order to have a child, a woman must love her husband with her whole heart. Wendla is confused, and eventually leaves to visit her new nephew.\textsuperscript{68}

\textsuperscript{68} \textit{Frühlings Erwachen: Eine Kindertragödie}, 22-26.
scene, Wendla finds Melchior, her schoolmate in whom she shows romantic interest, in a haystack in a barn. He demands that she leave, but she refuses. She explains to him her understanding of love, and in turn he rapes her. Wendla, still oblivious to the semantics of sex and love— and, more importantly, rape— is elated the following morning (act II, scene 6) that she has felt love for the first time, and is now a woman. Although this most certainly a convoluted conception of love, the authentic happiness Wendla that feels is undeniable, and gives the reader a true sense of her naiveté. Ullmann embraced the joy and naiveté in Wendla’s monologue purely for what it is. The monologue that Ullmann chose to set also stands alone without alluding to the prior events in the play, making it especially suitable for a standalone song setting.

The score for Ullmann’s lieder “Wendla im Garten” includes a dedication to Friedl Dicker, “Sind wir anders als vor… Jahren, da ich Dir, liebe Friedl, das nämliche Lied zum Geburtstag widmete? Nein, wir zwei sind zueinander ‘die Alten’ geblieben und bleiben es!” Ullmann and Dicker most likely met in Vienna in late 1918 when she decided to take a harmony course from Arnold Schönberg. They had a brief affair before she left to study art at the Bauhaus in Weimar in 1919, and they were reunited in Terezín in 1942. The dedication on the score suggests that Ullmann first composed

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69 Ibid., 28.
70 Ibid., 30-31.
71 Viktor Ullmann: Sämtliche Lieder, 1.
72 “Are we different now than we used to be… years ago, dear Friedl, when I devoted this song to you? No, the two of us have remained to each other, ‘the same old [people/friends/lovers]’, and will continue to remain this way.”
73 Some sources refer to Dicker by her later married name, Dicker-Brandeis.
74 Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk, 70-71
“Wendla im Garten” in 1918 in Vienna, edited it in 1943 in Terezín, and gave the surviving, edited manuscript to Dicker in 1944.\textsuperscript{76} The extant evidence does not show whether or not Ullmann brought the original score for this song with him to Terezín, or if he rewrote or re-transcribed it while incarcerated.\textsuperscript{77}

According to the Ullmann song-interpreter Axel Bauni, “Wendla im Garten” lies on the borders of the “lied” genre due to its use of extreme dynamics, declamatory and dramatic style, and its theatrical text.\textsuperscript{78} Ullmann chose to omit a few lines from the monologue when he set it to music to make it more suitable as a freestanding lied. The beauty and innocence of the text may have been used to imply the feelings that Ullmann had for Dicker. Little is explicitly said about their affair in the text, but the symbolism of certain words in the text – notably Veilchen and Bußgewand – alludes to Ullmann feeling a sincere love towards Dicker.\textsuperscript{79}

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\textsuperscript{76} Viktor Ullmann: \textit{Sämtliche Lieder}, viii.
\textsuperscript{77} Viktor Ullmann: \textit{Leben und Werk}, 70.
\textsuperscript{78} Viktor Ullmann: \textit{Sämtliche Lieder}, vi.
\textsuperscript{79} Veilchen (violet). During the Victorian Era, white violets symbolized innocence and purple violets symbolized the preoccupation of being in love. \textit{Violets}, gardens.si.edu, (accessed September 15, 2014).
Bußgewand (a long “sackcloth”). In the opening of \textit{Frühlings Erwachen}, Wendla is arguing with her mother about having to wear long dresses. Wendla has just turned fourteen years’ old, and her mother insists that Wendla dress more like a young woman instead of wearing her short, childish dresses. \textit{Frühlings Erwachen: Eine Kindertragödie}, 1.
**Hölderlin Lieder**

**Sonnenuntergang**

Wo bist du? Trunken dämmert dir Seele mir
Von aller deiner Wonne; denn eben ist’s,
Daß ich gelauscht, wie, goldner Töne
Voll, der entzückende Sonnenjüngling

Sein Abendlied auf himmlischer Leyer spielt;
Es tönten rings die Wälder und Hügel nach.
Doch fern ist er zu frommen Völkern,
Die ihn noch ehren, hinweggegangen.

**Der Frühling**

Wenn auf Gefilden neues Entzücken keimt
Und sich die Ansicht wieder verschönt und sich
An Bergen, wo die Bäume grünen,
Hellere Lüfte, Gewölke zeigen,

O! welche Freude haben die Menschen!
froh
Gehn an Gestaden Einsame, Ruh’ und Lust
Und Wonne der Gesundheit blühet,
Freundliches Lachen ist auch nicht ferne.

**Sunset**

Where are you? My intoxicated soul awakens
Of all your delight; Since it was just now
that I listened how full of golden sounds
the enchanting sun-drenched youth

Was playing his evening song on a
heavenly lyre;
Forests and hills were echoing to the right
and to the left,
But he has gone, far away to devout peoples,
Who still honor him.

**The Spring**

When new delight sprouts in the pastures
And the scenery beautifies itself again and
At mountainsides, where the trees are
greening,
Brighter Air, clouds appear,

Oh! How much joy the people have!
cheerfully,
Solitary folks walk along the shores, calm
and zest,
And pleasance of good health is blooming,
Friendly laughter is not far away, not far away.
**Abendphantasie**

Vor seiner Hütte ruhig im Schatten sitz
Der Pflüger, dem Genügsamen raucht sein
Herd.
Gastfreundlich tönt dem Wanderer im
Friedlichen Dorfe die Abendglocke.

Wohl kehren itzt die Schiffer zum Hafen
auch,
In fernen Städten, fröhlich verrauscht des
Markts
Geschäftiger Lärm; in stiller Laube
Glänzt das gesellige Mahl den Freunden.

Wohin denn ich? Es leben die Sterblichen
Von Lohn und Arbeit; wechselnd in Müh'
und Ruh
Ist alles freudig; warum schläft denn
Nimmer nur mir in der Brust der Stachel?

Am Abendhimmel blühet ein Frühling auf;
Unzählig blühn die Rosen und ruhig scheint
Die goldne Welt; o dorthin nimmt mich,
Purpurne Wolken! und möge droben

In Licht und Luft mir zerrinnen Lieb' und
Leid! –
Doch, wie verscheucht von töriger Bitte,
flieht
Der Zauber; dunkel wirds und einsam
Unter dem Himmel, wie immer, bin ich –

Komm du nun, sanfter Schlummer! zu viel
begehrt
Das Herz; doch endlich, Jugend! verglühst
du ja,
Du ruhelose, träumerische!
Friedlich und heiter ist dann das Alter.

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**Evening Fantasy**

Sitting quietly in front of his hut in the
shade,
Is the plower, the frugal man’s hearth is
smoking.
Hospitably sounds the evening bell
of the peaceful village in the wanderers’ ear.

Surely, the skippers return to port now,
In distant cities, gladly fading away are the
market’s
Busy noises; in a quiet arbor
The convivial dinner glistens among the
friends.

Where am I to go? The mortals live,
Of wages and labor, toil and rest are taking
turns
Everything is cheerful, why is it then
That the thorn in my chest never knows any
rest?

A spring is blossoming in the evening sky;
Countless roses are blooming and silent
seems
The golden work; oh thither take me,
crimson clouds! And may up there

In light and air my love and sorrow melt
away!
Yet, as if the foolish plea scared it off,
the magic flies away; it turns dark and
lonely
under the sky; as always, I am –

Come now, you soft slumber! Too much
desires,
The heart; but finally, youth! You burn up,
You restless, dreamy youth!
Peaceful and serene old age will be.⁸⁰

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⁸⁰ Translation by Matthias Kuhlmeier,
November 1, 2014.
Friedrich Hölderlin, born in Lauffen am Neckar on March 20, 1770, was a Swabian poet whose works overlapped both the Classical and Romantic eras of literature. Raised by his twice-widowed mother in a very religious environment, Hölderlin initially entered the seminary to study theology at the age of eighteen in Tübingen. He soon became more interested in mysticism and poetry than in theology, and he began his career as a poet. As he grew older, Hölderlin became progressively more anxious and lonely. He rarely left Germany, with only one recorded trip taking him abroad to Bordeaux. In 1806, he was forced into confinement at a psychiatric hospital in Tübingen, but he was deemed incurable and released in 1807. He spent the rest of his life in Tübingen in foster care, and died on June 7, 1843.

Hölderlin’s poetry was not well known and only rarely acknowledged during his lifetime. Many scholars and his contemporaries of the 19th century considered his poetry dark and incomprehensible. Friedrich Schiller was one of the few exceptions to this point of view. Like Hölderlin, Schiller was from Swabia, and he had the utmost respect for Hölderlin’s poetry that spoke so fondly of the “Vaterland” – a term which, for Hölderlin, was always synonymous with Swabia. Schiller befriended Hölderlin, referring to him as “mein liebster Schwabe” (my little Swabian).

Various sources and authors place Hölderlin’s works within either the Classical or the Romantic eras because his poetry possesses elements of both eras. His verses are

82 Hölderlin, 299-313.
Classical in syntax and form, but are seen as Romantic because of the mysticism they invoke and his use of topics related to nature. For example, Hölderlin’s lyric novel *Hyperion* (1797) is full of references to Greek localities – a pronounced theme in Classicist literature. However, it also includes many references to nature and the natural world, which is a prominent characteristic of Romanticism.\(^8^5\)

It was not until the early 20\(^{th}\) century that Hölderlin’s works were studied in depth and became greatly respected. He has been credited with the influence and success of writers and philosophers such Rainer Maria Rilke, Friedrich Nietzsche, and especially the German philosopher Martin Heidegger. Heidegger described Hölderlin as the poet who was the “national awakener of conscience” and as “a prophet of the latent future of a nation.”\(^8^6\) During the 1930s Hölderlin’s works found literary acceptance, and he began to be described by scholars as an esteemed philosopher.\(^8^7\)

Hölderlin’s work had a strong influence on Martin Heidegger. Heidegger, a prominent professor of philosophy at the University of Freiburg, became a very controversial figure in 1933 when he joined the German National Socialist Party (Nazi Party). Many of his university lectures incorporated his Nazi idealism and support of the Third Reich. These lectures, given between 1933 and 1944, strongly advocated the racist doctrine of Hitlerism by inciting “völkisch supremacy of the ‘German essence.’”\(^8^8\)

\(^8^5\) Hölderlin, 85-86.


\(^8^7\) “Hölderlin in Germany, 1940-1945,” 404-405.

\(^8^8\) Emannuel Faye, Alexis Watson, and Richard J. Golsan, “Nazi Foundation in Heidegger’s Work,” in *South Central Review* 23, no. 1, “Fascism, Nazism: Cultural Legacies of Reaction” (The Johns Hopkins University Press on behalf of The South Central Modern Language
Because Heidegger considered Hölderlin to be “der Dichter des Dichters,” or “the poet of poets,” many of his lectures integrated the philosophy of Hölderlin, especially in that of Hölderlin’s *Hyperion*. Heidegger’s lectures sought to persuade his students of Hölderlin’s “Classicism”; this was repeated by many newspaper articles written in National Socialist Germany that used his poetry to support war propaganda. Hölderlin’s poetry, especially poems pertaining to “der Heimat”, is generally described today as being written in a Greek style. Unfortunately, the Nazis, who compared Germany to the Ancient Grecian Empire, appropriated this for their own purposes. Nazis misinterpreted (arguably intentionally) Hölderlin’s poetry to suit the ideology of World War II Germany.

One might find it odd that Viktor Ullmann chose to set three of his Lieder to Hölderlin poems, especially during his imprisonment in Terezín. Even though the Third Reich hailed Hölderlin as the poet of the “Vaterland,” one must not forget that he was a highly regarded, newly discovered and popular poet during the 1920-1940s. As previously mentioned, Ullmann and his contemporaries were very interested in contemporary writers, and setting music (lieder) to texts by contemporary writers was considered fashionable. Although Hölderlin was long dead, his work enjoyed new popularity in Ullmann’s lifetime. It would be unfortunate to dismiss Hölderlin as only a

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91 *The Significance of Locality in the Poetry of Friedrich Hölderlin*, 3.
92 “‘Anti-Enlightenment’: National Socialist Educators’ Troubled Relationship with Humanism and the Philhellenist Tradition”, 203.
Nazi poet (an association for which he, being long dead, held no responsibility) and not to recognize him as an exceptional poet who spoke highly of his “Heimat” (homeland).\textsuperscript{93}

The work published as Ullmann’s Hölderlin Lieder contains three settings of Hölderlin’s poems: “Sonnenuntergang” (1796-1798), “Der Frühling (Wenn auf Gefilden …)” (1806-1843), and “Abendphantasie” (1798-1800).\textsuperscript{94} It is not clear whether these three songs were intended to form a complete set for performance; “Abendphantasie,” the third song in the set, is a much longer poem than the previous two. The dates of Ullmann’s “Sonnenuntergang” and “Der Frühling” are marked in the manuscript as 1943-1944, whereas “Abendphantasie” is only dated as 1944, suggesting that it was composed separately. The extenuating circumstances of being imprisoned in Terezín may have altered Ullmann’s compositional schedule, preventing him from editing his song sets according to the same schedule and economy of time he used in Prague. The lack of firm evidence to disprove this possibility, according to the prominent Ullmann lieder-interpreter Axel Bauni, has led most performers to assume that “Abendphantasie” is part of Hölderlin Lieder, and should be performed as part of a larger set.\textsuperscript{95}

There is no firm evidence that shows why Ullmann chose to set these specific Hölderlin poems in Terezín. Books, music, manuscript paper, etc. were officially not permitted in the camp,\textsuperscript{96} factors that would have made it more difficult for Ullmann to be fastidious about choosing poetry and text to set to music. The possibility that Ullmann

\textsuperscript{93} Axel Bauni, interview with the author, April 3, 2014.
\textsuperscript{95} Ibid.
composed these songs before his Terezín years cannot be definitively ruled out, nor does the known evidence preclude the possibility of these texts being set in part because Ullmann or another member of the camp community memorized these poems.
Lieder der Tröstung

Tote wollen nicht verweilen
Tote wollen nicht verweilen:
Wie sie wallen, wie sie eilen,
werfen immer neue Hüllen
von den Seelen und erfüllen
so ihr Wesen und genesen.

Wasser sind wir, tot der Tränen.
Luft, erlöst von allem Sehnen,
Sonne, selig in dem Lichte,
jenseits jeglichem Gewichte.
Erdenerbe, es ersterbe.

Erwachen zu Weihnachten
Augen noch im Schlaf geschlossen
Schauen wie auf Purpurschwingen
Engel goldne Schalen bringen.
Schon von Sonne überflossen
sehn sie, wie die erdenschweren
Lasten immer wiederkehren

Prüfe mit dem Himmelsblicken
deinen Leib im Tageslichte:
Abwärtsziehende Gewichte
Einst verschuldetter Geschicke.
Wer erkennt im Reich der Sterne,
trägt das Leid der Erde gerne

Denn das Kreuz ist zu ertragen,
seit die Gottheit dran gehangen.
Licht in uns ist aufgegangen
und der Himmel lässt sich fragen.
Schau, es leuchten im Geäste
die Gestirne jetzt zum Feste.
(Albert Steffen)

Dead people do not want to linger
Dead people do not want to linger:
How they surge, how they hurry,
always casting new shells
off their souls and thus fulfill
their being and are healed.

We are water, dead of tears.
Air, redeemed from all yearning;
sun, blessed in the light,
beyond any burden.
Earthly heritage, it may die.

Awakening on Christmas
Eyes still closed, fast asleep,
are watching angels on purple wings
bring golden bowls.
Bathed in sunlight already,
they see how the heavy,
earthly burdens keep returning.

Examine with heavenly gaze
your own body in broad daylight:
The downward-pulling weight
of fates once caused
Those who recognize in the realm of the
stars, Gladly bear the world’s sufferings.

Because the cross can be borne,
ever since the deity hung from it.
A light has risen within us.
and heaven permits us to ask.
Look, the stars are shining brightly now
in the branches of the tree upon our feast.  

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97Translation by Matthias Kuhlmeier, November 1,2014.
The novelist, poet, and dramatist Albert Steffen was born on December 10th, 1884. He was raised in Wynau, Switzerland on the bank of the Aare River and in the foothills of the Swiss Jura mountain range. His father was the village physician, and as a child, Steffen witnessed illness, disease, and death. Steffen lived a “country boy’s” life, devoting himself to nature and, later on, natural sciences. His upbringing and connection with the natural surroundings of his homeland eventually filtered into Steffen’s poetry and writing, along with his fervent involvement in the intellectual movement that became anthroposophy. 98

Steffen attended Gymnasium in Bern from 1900-1904, and in 1904 began his medical studies at the University of Lausanne. Displeased with the lack of spirituality in the medical field, however, he turned to writing poetry. By 1905, Steffen had relocated to the University of Zurich and begun to focus instead on sociology, literature, poetry, art history, and philosophy. This is also the year in which he wrote his first novel, *Ott, Alois, and Werelschte*. 99 He spent three semesters in Zurich before moving to Berlin in October 1906. 100 Steffen chose to live in a one-room apartment in a less than ideal part of Berlin across from an inn. He wrote that his reasoning for this was “in order to understand life in all its depth, I took rooms in a street where misery and sordidness prevailed. My room looked out on a back yard on which the doors of an inn opened. At night, I heard bawling and screeching that never ceased. I heard in this cry from within the submersion of the

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human soul. It was a call for help, a clinging, a pressing demand to find the word of salvation." In the years that Steffen lived in Berlin, he paid great attention to studying occupational diseases and intensely questioned the sicknesses that he observed in human life.

Steffen’s first novel *Ott, Alois, and Werelschte* was published in Berlin in 1907. In this same year, Steffen attended his first lecture given by Ruldolf Steiner. Steffen was drawn at once to the teachings of Steiner, the founder and creator of anthroposophy (a subfield of theosophy) – so much so that he joined the Theosophical Society (reformed as the Anthroposophical Society in 1912) of Munich in 1910. While in Munich, Steffen wrote and published many poems, dramas, and novels, but this did not prove to be lucrative. He eventually moved back to Switzerland, settling in Dornach until he died in 1963.

While in Dornach, Steffen became more involved with the Anthroposophy Society. He was asked by Rudolf Steiner in 1921 to become the main editor for the society’s weekly publication, *Das Goetheanum*, which he did. Upon the death of Rudolf Steiner on March 30, 1925, Steffen was made president of the society, and inducted on Christmas 1925. He continued to write poems, novels, and dramas while he remained president until his death in 1963.

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101 *Three Poets and Reality: Study of a German, an Austrian, and a Swiss Contemporary Lyricist*, 73.
102 Ibid.
103 Steffen Stiftung.
104 Ibid., 4.
105 Ibid., 5-8.
To understand the writings of Albert Steffen and the poetry that Viktor Ullmann chose for his *Lieder der Tröstung*, one must first understand the beliefs and ideals of anthroposophy. The Anthroposophical Society was founded in 1912 by Rudolf Steiner in Cologne, Germany. Steiner, displeased with the Theosophical Society, left that organization to form his own society, *Die Anthroposophische Gesellschaft* (the Anthroposophical Society). According to the Goetheanum in Dornach, the world headquarters of the Anthroposophical Society, the foundations of the society are based on the following ideals: “In order to lead a satisfying and healthy life, human nature needs knowledge and cultivation of its own supersensible nature and the supersensible nature of the non-human world… True spiritual research and the attitude that arises from it should give the Anthroposophical Society its character…” These foundations were further summarized with three main points:

1. All people can work together in the society who consider a spiritual element shared by all human souls to form the basis for loving collaboration, however different they may be with regard to faith, nationality, status, sex, etc.

2. Serve research into the supersensible element hidden in all sense-perceptible things and propagate genuine spiritual science.

3. Cultivate knowledge of the kernel of truth in the various worldviews of people and ethics.¹⁰⁶

Steiner himself summerized these goals by stating, “Anthroposophy is a path of knowledge aiming to guide the spiritual element in the human being to the spiritual in the universe.”¹⁰⁷

Over time, the Anthroposophical Society grew from having only one location, to around 10,000 institutions worldwide today that incorporate the ideology of anthroposophy into schools, biodynamic farms, physicians’ practices, pharmaceutical companies, banks, etc. The international Waldorf school model prominently incorporates anthroposophical ideas.\(^{108}\)

Viktor Ullmann became an anthroposophist in 1931.\(^{109}\) The lectures and writing of Rudolf Steiner were very popular in the 1910-20s, and Ullmann’s interest in contemporary writers initially drew him to Steiner. But it was Steiner’s Anthroposophic ideology that truly spoke to Ullmann. The religious background and beliefs of Ullmann varied throughout his life; he was born into the Catholic faith (renouncing it in 1919), found great interest in Far Eastern teachings and Freemasonry, and eventually became Protestant in 1925.\(^ {110}\) The foundations of anthroposophy notably do not discriminate against religious background or belief.

Ullmann’s anthroposophism is linked to his studying composition with Alois Hába in Prague, a member of the Anthroposophical Society, during the 1930s. Ullmann visited the Goetheanum in 1929 with Hába; this experience resonated so much for him that he decided to become a member of the society.\(^ {111}\) To gain membership, Ullmann needed a current member to act as a guarantor to join the society. Hába acted as this guarantor, and Ullmann eventually became a member of the Czechoslovakian branch of

\(^{107}\) Ibid.
\(^{108}\) Ibid.
\(^{110}\) Ibid., 125-127.
\(^{111}\) Ibid., 122-123.
the Anthroposophical Society on July 31, 1931.\textsuperscript{112}

Ullmann set two of Albert Steffen’s poems in \textit{Lieder der Tröstung} (1943), “Tote wollen nicht verweilen” and “Erwachen zu Weihnachten,” to music. Both poems have a direct connection to Anthroposophy that can be seen through the symbolism within the poems. Both poems speak of the “die Sonne” (the sun); Steiner used the symbol of the sun to represent the light within the human soul, a symbol of hope and the victory over darkness. “Erwachen zu Weihnachten” (“Awakening to Christmas”) is symbolic of anthroposophy as a whole. According to Steiner, the “Christmas Festival” was the most symbolic time of year for an anthroposophist; it is a “symbol of hope, confidence and trust.”\textsuperscript{113} Christmas also comes at the time of year when the days that have been growing shorter (leading to longer periods of darkness) finally start to grow longer (leading to longer periods of sunlight).

“Tote wollen nicht verweilen” describes how dead people do not want to linger on earth, but instead want have their souls redeemed in heaven. “Erwachen zu Weihnachten” interprets the symbolism of Christmas according to the teachings of Rudolf Steiner, and speaks of freeing the soul up into heaven from the burdens of living on earth. The setting of these poems can be seen as symbolic of Ullmann’s time in Terezín, with the dead or dying people on earth whose souls want to be freed and sent (i.e., liberated) to heaven (i.e., freed from Terezín). As David Bloch, founder and director of the Terezin Music


Memorial Project, describes in his 2006 article “Hidden Meanings: Musical Symbols in Terezín,” almost every composer and many other musicians in the camp produced or performed works that appear highly symbolic of their imprisonment. Arguably the most notable works illustrating symbolism and double meanings in Terezín’s musical output are Viktor Ullmann’s opera Der Kaiser von Atlantis and the performance of Verdi’s Requiem, especially the “Dies irae” movement, conducted by Rafael Schächter.\footnote{David Bloch, “Hidden Meanings: Musical Symbols in Terezín,” \textit{India International Centre Quarterly} 32, no. 4 (2006), 116-123.}
Drei jiddische Lieder/Březulinka Op. 53

Di Beryozkele
Ruik, Ruik, shoklt ir gelokte, grine kelp
Mayn vaysinke beryozkelekh un davnt
on a shir
Yedes, yedes bletele iris sheptsheh stil a
tfile...
Zay shoyn, kleyn beryozkelekh, mispalel
oykh far mir!

Ikh bin do an elnter gekumen fun der
vaytn,
Fremd iz mir der got fun dan un fremd iz
mir
zayn shprakh,
Nisht er vet mayn troyer zen un nisht
farshteyn mayn
tfile,
Khotsh ikh vel mispalel zayn, mispalel
sein a sakh.

Fun dem vaytn mayrev hot zikh troyerik
farganvet
In di dine tsvaygelekh a rozer, tsarter
shstral
Un a laykhtn kush geton di bletlekh, di
kleyne,
Velkhe hobn, dremmeldik, gehorkht dem
nakhtigal.

Fun di breyte felder iz a vintele gekumen
Un dertseylt di bletlekh legende on a
shir...
Epes hot in hartsn tif bay mir genuen
benken:
Zay shoyn, kleyn beryozkelekh, mispalel
oykh far mir!...

The Little Birch Tree
Softly, Softly my little white birch tree
shakes her curly green head,
Praying without end.
Her every leaf whispers a prayer.
Pray, little birch tree, pray too for me.

I’ve come here alone, from far away.
Strange to me your God from here, and
strange his tongue.
He will not see my sorrow, nor
understand my words,
even though I’ll pray so much to Him.

From the distant West, a soft red ray of
sun has stolen
sadly into your thin branches,
and lightly kissed your little leaves—
dreamily listening to the nightingale.

From the broad fields came a breeze
that told countless legends to the tree.
Something deep in my heart began to
yearn.
Pray, little birch tree, pray too for me.¹¹⁵

*Verse not included in Ullmann’s score.

¹¹⁵Eleanor and Joseph Mlotek, Songs of
Generations: New Pearls of Yiddish Song,
**Margaritkelekh**

In veldl, baym taykl, dort zaynen gevaksn
Margaritkelekh elnt un kleyn—
Vi kleyninke zumen mit vaysinke shtraln,
Mit vaysinke- tra – la – la – la!

Geganen iz Khaleve shtil un farkholemt,
Tslozn di gold-blonde tsep;
Dos heldzl antbloyzt un gemurmlt,
gezungn
A lidele – tra – la – la – la!

Di zun iz fargangen, der bokher farshvundn,
Un Khavele zitst nokh in vald.
Zi kukt in der vayt un murml farkholemt
Dos lidele: tra – la – la – la…

*Only verses 1, 2, and 12 appear in Ullmann’s score.*

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**Little Daisies**

In the woods by the stream, there they grew.
Daisies lonesome and small.
Like little rays of sun with beams of white.
All singing tra – la – la – la.

Along came Chavele dreamily walking.
Her golden plaits fluttering in the wind.
Her throat was bare as she was humming a little tune tra – la – la – la.

The sun has set, the boy has fled,
Yet Chavele stills sits by the brook.
Her eyes filled with tears and longing as she murmurs tra – la – la – la.116

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Ikh bin shoyn a meydl in di yorn*
Ikh bin shoyn a meydl in do yorn
Vos hostu mir mayn kepele fardreyt?
Ikh volt shoyn lang a kale gevorn
Un efsher take khasene gehat.

Du host mir tsugezogt mikh nemen,
Ikh hob oyf dir lang shoyn gevart;
Far vos zolstu, dushenyu, mikh
farshemen
Tsi hostu dikh in mir genart?

*IVerses 3 and 4 are omitted in Ullmann's score.

I am a maiden – no longer young
I am a maiden but the years pass me by.
You turn my head with promises
which then you deny.

You have promised to marry me,
And I have waited for you.
Why should you, my dear, shame me
And make a fool of me?117

Eastern European Yiddish folksongs are the most recent archetype of Jewish folk music to emerge. Although folksongs have been a common practice in almost every culture for centuries, even millennia, what is currently referred to as Jewish folk music did not come into fruition until the eighth and ninth centuries. The only earlier music tradition from the Jewish religion and culture believed to have survived into the present day is the traditional chanting of prayer in religious ceremonies.  

It is difficult to trace the exact boundaries and lineage of Jewish folk music due to the many changes to and splintering of Jewish culture in the Diaspora, but the use of Jewish folksongs is recorded in regions of Spain and North Africa during the eighth and ninth centuries. The Jews in these regions created Hebrew poetry that was often set to a fixed melody. The melodies were typically composed by the poet but were also influenced by melodies of other cultures – e.g., the Far East, Byzantine, Moorish-Spanish, and Turkish.

It was between the tenth and fourteenth centuries that the Yiddish language came into existence. Many Jews from Eastern and Central Europe settled in the Rhineland region of Germany, and by the end of the eleventh century, Jews had been settled there for decades. According to Moshe Denburg, contributor to the Jewish Virtual Library, Yiddish began “as an offshoot of Medieval German in the tenth century. Yiddish developed as a unique hybrid of German, Hebrew, and whatever other languages Jewish

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120 *Voices of a People: The Story of Yiddish Folksong*, 18.
people spoke in the various countries where they dwelled. Thus, there are Slavic, Polish, and many other loan words in Yiddish.”

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, secular Yiddish poems were sung by Judeo-German “Spielmänner,” or folk singers. These songs were taught and learned through oral tradition, with the purpose of entertaining and educating the Jewish communities. The songs borrowed from contemporary German literature and songs, incorporating German rhymes, phraseology, and idioms, but the themes were changed to relate more closely to Hebrew lore, literature, and songs. The performances given by a Spielmann were usually composed of epic tales and ballads, and could last anywhere from a few hours to a couple of days. These performances drew large audiences that often included many women, and occasionally, scholars as well.

At the same time, pogroms started forcing many Judeo-Germans to migrate to Eastern Europe, where they established new cultural centers. This is where the Yiddish language most strongly developed, and it was also the starting point for Eastern European folksong. A large number of the Jews that migrated from Germany settled in Poland, which then became the main settlement for Jewish culture starting in the fifteenth century.

By the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the texts of these folksongs started to reflect historical events such as the expulsion of Jewish communities, plagues, fires, and

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125 Voices of a People: The Story of Yiddish Folksong, 23.
many other current events. But it was not until late in the nineteenth century that a written collection of this previously oral Yiddish folk poetry was created. Ethnographer M. Berlin noticed that the only Jewish songs in print were those sung in synagogues. With the help of Jewish historians, the first major collection of Yiddish folksongs began in 1898, and it was published in St. Petersburg, Russia in 1901.  

Several important advancements in the collection of Yiddish folksongs were made after World War I, especially in Kiev and Minsk. Another important event was the founding of the Yiddish Scientific Institute (1925) in Vilna, Lithuania, which is today known as the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research and located in New York City. Today, efforts are being made to preserve the dying Yiddish language and culture. Recent Yiddish folksong anthologies, including, but not limited to, Eleanor Mlotek’s *Mir Trogn A Gesang!* and *Songs of Generations: Pearls of Yiddish Song*, organize the songs into various categories that express the ways of the Yiddish culture. Some of the categories included in these anthologies are: cradle songs, children’s songs, songs of love and courtship, marriage, customs and beliefs, dancing, songs of reflection, immigrating to America, Soviet folksongs, and songs of the Holocaust. The folksongs that Viktor Ullmann chose to set to music fall into the categories of reflection (“Di Beryozkele”), and love and courtship (“Margaritkelekh” and “Ikh bin shoyn a meydl in di yorn”).  

The text to “Di Beryozkele” (The Little Birch Tree) was written and composed by

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126 *Mir Trogn A Gesang!*, vii.  
128 The YIVO Institute’s standard transliterated Yiddish will be used for the sake of standardization, along with the original titles of the folksongs. The spelling and titles in Viktor Ullmann’s arrangements vary.
David Einhorn in 1918. Einhorn, the son of a government-appointed rabbi, was born in 1886 in Karelitz, Belarus (then part of the Russian Empire). His parents were highly religious and affluent Jews. His first Yiddish poems, written and published before 1905, were mainly political in nature, being written in response to the politics of the Russian Revolution. After the perceived failure of the revolution, Einhorn’s writing took a pivotal turn toward Marxism and socialism. In 1912, he was arrested and imprisoned for six months for his connection with the Bund, a Marxist union of Jewish workers in Lithuania, Poland, and Russia that was founded in Vilna in 1897. After his release, Einhorn traveled to Paris, and subsequently moved to Bern, Switzerland. Einhorn relocated further to Radom, Warsaw, and then Paris before settling in the United States in 1940. He continued to write Yiddish poetry and many other publications – mostly under pseudonyms – until his death in 1973.

Some of Einhorn’s “lider” took on a feeling of longing and reflection after he was exiled from his homeland. This longing and reflection is present in “Di Beryozkele.” Published while Einhorn was living in Warsaw, Poland, this song captures his loneliness being in a distant land with a foreign God. Einhorn, like many other Jews, was part of a flood of immigration into Warsaw in the aftermath of the Russian Revolution of 1905 and during World War I. By 1917, approximately 41% of the population in Warsaw was Jewish. In 1945, however, only about 5,000 Jews remained after the Holocaust. “Di

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129 Einhorn’s name is sometimes given as Dovid Eynhorn.
“Beryozkele” was very popular amongst the displaced Yiddish-speaking population in Poland in the 1930s.132

“Margaritkelekh” and “Ikh bin shoyn a meydl in di yorn” are both examples of Yiddish folksongs on love and courtship. These types of folksongs are among the most popular and commonly written songs in Yiddish culture. Love songs clearly outnumbered all other types of songs in the folksong tradition starting in the 19th century in Eastern Europe. They reflect both this culture’s mating customs before marriage, and of the younger generation’s struggle to escape from the strict rules made by their parents and the Yiddish community.133

“Margaritkelekh” (Little Daisies) was written and composed in 1909 by the Hebrew-Yiddish poet Zalman Shneour.134 Born in the Belarusian town of Shklov in 1886, Shneour was an avid reader of both Hebrew and Yiddish literature. When he expressed his desire to become a writer, his parents discouraged the notion and directed him toward a career in commerce. His childhood was not pleasant, and he fled to Odessa (then part of the Russian Empire, now part of Ukraine) at the age of 13. In 1902, Shneour found work in Warsaw at the editorial office at the Hebrew-language children’s weekly Olam Katan, which published his first poems. After deciding that he wanted to obtain a modern literary and scientific education, Shneour moved west and studied in Bern, Geneva, and Paris. In the decade before World War I, he was a successful author of Yiddish psychological and natural prose fiction, and he continued to write poetry. It was also in

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133 Voices of a People: The Story of Yiddish Folksong, 70-73.
134 Shneour’s name is sometimes also spelled as Zalman Shneur.
this decade that he found his mature voice as a poet.

Shneour was studying medicine in Berlin at the beginning of World War I. Having only a Russian passport caused many restrictions for him because Germany and Russia were at war. He was forced to give up his studies, and only in 1919, after the war was over, did he finally manage to leave Germany for the United States. While in America, he restored his ties with American and European Yiddish newspapers that he had lost contact with during the war, and then returned to Germany. By 1925, he and his family relocated to Palestine, but – disappointed with the bitter reception he faced there – he moved once again to Paris. Shneour and his family were forced into hiding in 1940 when the Nazis occupied various parts of France with the outbreak of World War II. In 1941, they were able to escape to New York, where Shneour died in 1959.135

“Margaritkelekh” tells the tale of a maiden named Khavele who goes into the woods to pick daisies. On the way, she meets a handsome, dark stranger who calls her the prettiest daisy of them all. At sunset, he leaves her in the field of daisies all alone.136 “Ikh bin shoyn a meydl in di yorn” explores a similar theme of a woman experiencing loneliness. In this folksong, a maiden is waiting for a man to marry her. She explains that although she might not have the biggest dowry, her mother is willing to sell her house. She also reassures her hopeful husband-to-be that she comes from a renowned ancestry, since her grandfather was a well-known rabbi.137 The poet of “Ikh bin shoyn a meydl in di yorn” folksong is unknown.

136 Mir Trogn a Gesang!, 41.
Both of these folksongs express the trials and tribulations of what many young Yiddish women experienced in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: waiting for love, finding love, losing love, and the frustration of bargaining for a suitable marriage based on what dowry a bride-to-be’s family could offer. All three folksongs were very popular throughout the Yiddish community of middle and Eastern Europe, as well as those in Terezin.¹³⁸

Viktor Ullmann’s arrangements of these three folksongs, and his five sets of Yiddish and Hebrew choral arrangements, are seemingly the only evidence of his contribution to Jewish music. All of these contributions were composed in Terezín between 1943-44.¹³⁹ Ullmann himself was raised in the Catholic faith, switched to Protestantism, and was highly involved in anthroposophy, which had its background in Christianity. While of ethnically Jewish descent, his pre-war choice of texts suggests that he identified more strongly with Christianity.

In Ullmann’s article “Goethe und Ghetto,” he notes that he was asked by other members of the Freizeitgestaltung to supply music for stage directors, pianists and conductors. Most members of the committee (Hans Krása, Gideon Klein, Pavel Haas, to name a few) were more overtly Jewish than Ullmann, and thus asked him to compose or arrange music that would be relevant to the prisoners. He was given a copy of the Jüdisches (Makabi) Liederbuch, from which he arranged the choral settings and Březulinka (Drei jiddische Lieder), Op. 53 for solo voice.¹⁴⁰ It is possible that he chose

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¹³⁸ Voices of a People: The Story of Yiddish Folksong, 80-81.
¹⁴⁰ David Bloch, “Viktor Ullmann’s Yiddish and Hebrew Vocal Arrangements in the Context of
“Di Beryozkele,” “Margaritkelekh,” and “Ikh bin shoyn a meydl in do yorn” because of the popularity of the songs, but it is also plausible that Ullmann might have chosen “Di Beryozkele” because of its text and depiction of the feeling of loneliness and longing in a distant land with a foreign God. This is a folksong to which every prisoner in Terezin could relate, no matter how “Jewish” it might have been in content.

Chapter III: Compositional Style and Performance Guide

Viktor Ullmann’s lieder comprise the largest portion of his surviving musical œuvre and provide important examples of his mature compositional style. Many of these songs represent his last known surviving works. They are especially important in light of Ullmann’s untimely death in Auschwitz. Many are also notable for having been self-published by the composer because he never found a commercial publisher while he lived in Prague.¹⁴¹

Ullmann’s compositional development falls into three main categories. From approximately 1920 to the early 1930s, his style was greatly influenced by Arnold Schönberg, with whom he had studied in 1919; his works from this early period are mainly in atonal and twelve-tone and/or serial idioms. By 1924, however, Ullmann began taking an interest in Alban Berg’s compositional style, which emphasized free atonality and twelve-tone construction but eliminated much of the serialism. In particular, Ullmann had great admiration for Berg’s opera Wozzeck, an admiration expressed in many of his letters.

Ullmann’s middle compositional period followed a two-year period in which he is not believed to have composed any musical works. During this interval, he instead managed an anthroposophic bookstore in Stuttgart. In 1933, however, he resumed composing and returned to Prague. This is generally considered to be where he began to settle into what is now considered his unique compositional style. As explained by Ullmann scholar Ingo Schultz, the composer’s style “took up an intermediate stance, with

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exploring what remains to be discovered in realms of tonally functional harmony or
filling the gap between romantic and ‘atonal’ harmony.”\textsuperscript{142} This style includes the use of
dissonant harmony to connect functional tonality and polyphonic writing.\textsuperscript{143} Ullmann
also developed a compositional method based on notes eight through fourteen of the
natural harmonic series.\textsuperscript{144}

The composer’s third stylistic period is linked to the years that Ullmann spent in
Terezín. This style combined the formality in his musical writing from the musically
productive life he lived in Prague with the hardships and limited resources of living in the
Terezín ghetto. An example of this music is the “Gebrauchsmusik” (“utility music,” or
music written for a specific purpose) that Ullmann was obligated to compose for the
Freizietgestaltung, including the Drei jiddische Lieder. The constraints of the ghetto and
these contexts hindered him from reaching his full potential as a composer in these pieces.
The music he composed for his own satisfaction, however, retains the highly artistic
standards shown in his years in Prague.\textsuperscript{145}

“Wendla im Garten”

The song “Wendla im Garten” is an atypical lied. The text, as previously noted, is
from Frank Wedekind’s play Frühlings Erwachen, and is prose rather than a poem,
unlike Ullmann’s other lieder composed in Terezín. The uneven meter of the prose and

\textsuperscript{142} Ingo Schultz, “Ullmann, Viktor: Biography,” Grove Music Online (accessed January 10, 2014),
\textsuperscript{143} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{144} Viktor Ullmann Sämtliche Lieder, vi.
\textsuperscript{145} “Ullmann, Viktor: Biography,” Grove Music Online.
the wide range of dynamics in the song setting gives this lied a theatrical, almost aria-like quality.

This lied has a dedication date of 1918-1943 and shows Ullmann’s early compositional style. It is unknown whether Ullmann brought the original score of “Wendla im Garten” with him to Terezín and used it to make edits there, or if he first retranscribed the lied in its entirety from memory or another source.

**Stylistic Elements**

**Melody**

- **Contour and Phrase Shape:** Chromatic with large interval leaps to express the feelings and emotions of Wendla.
- **Phrase Length:** Phrases are uneven, ranging from two to seven measures in length.
- **Range and tessitura**
  - Range: A to B-flat 2.
  - Tessitura: loosely middle to high, but difficult to place due to the use of wide intervals.
- **Vocal Articulation:** Syllabic, declamatory and lyric, though it can be perceived as angular due to the use of wide interval leaps and tritones.

**Harmony**

- **Harmonic Texture:** Ranges from light and sparse to thick and heavy; atonal and chromatic.
- **Text Illustration Through Harmonic Means:** Most of the text painting occurs with the change of dynamic and tempo/musical direction markings. Overall, Ullmann uses vastly different harmonic textures to depict the personality and excitement of 14-year-old Wendla.
- **Tonality:** Atonal- no key signature noted, no sense of key area; many dissonant harmonies including the frequent use of tritones.

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Rhythm

- **Tempo**: Initially marked as “Ruhig” - the tempo can be interpreted as $j = 66-78$; allow the text to guide the tempo. Also note that a strong sense of the tempo is not present until measure 7.
- **Metric Organization**: Simple triple meter (3/4), with the exception of the entrance of the voice line, which is in simple duple meter (2/4).
- **Rhythmic Patterns**: A syncopated rhythm in the accompaniment is present in the first phrase, followed by triplets and sextuplets, and eventually, larger (9, 10, 11) bracketed notations. This is worth noting because the voice line rarely strays from the strong beats of the meter.

Accompaniment

- **Predominant Accompaniment Figures**: As stated above, syncopated rhythms, triplets, and sextuplets are very prominent in the piano.
- **Shared Material with the Voice**: The piano part only rarely shares any material with the voice. This creates a theatrical contrast and provides the song with a rich texture.
- **Distinctive Dramatic Effects**: Thick, rich harmonic and rhythmic texture with louder dynamic markings and in high vocal registers; sparse harmonic and rhythmic textures where the text depicts things that are calm, peaceful, and poignant. The whole-tone sextuplets in measure 19 illustrate the dream-like state in which Wendla finds herself. The single, sparse tetrachord played at a *ppp* under “Bußgewand” on measure 34 allows the voice to highlight the importance of this word. The ending, although a brief two beats’ duration, gives a very theatrical finality to the song, although the voice line alone does not.

Text

- **Prose Setting**: Since the text originates from a prose play (*Frühlings Erwachen*), the text is theatrical but lacks regular poetic meter. This gives the song a more declamatory style.
- **Treatment of Prose**: Melodramatic. Mood, texture, and (sometimes) dynamic levels change with the beginning of each sentence/phrase. This heightens the dramatic intensity of the text, but tends to limit a smooth connection between lines of text as a whole. This disconnection can be perceived as the emotional instability of a fourteen year-old girl.
Other Elements

- **Form**: Through-composed.
- **Influences on Composer**: Ullmann’s connections to the Second Viennese School, and his guidance from Schönberg are very present in this song. The compositional style bears some similarity to those of his contemporaries Kurt Weill and Hans Eisler, especially through Ullmann’s theatrical approach to the text. In light of Ullmann’s respect for Debussy\(^{147}\), who died in 1918, it is plausible that measures 18-25 were a tribute to Debussy’s compositional style as well.

Notes for the Singer

- **Voice Type**: This is most appropriate for a soprano with a wide range who is comfortable with singing pitches located below the staff, but has enough flexibility to sing lightly in a high register. The singer’s voice should not be too heavy.
- **Difficulties**: The wide intervals and large and frequent leaps between registers can pose some difficulties for the singer, as can quick dynamic changes, *pianissimo* in the high register of voice, and chromaticism/atonality of the song.
- **Uses**: May be used as an addition to any art song recital program, or an addition or substitution to a program of more well-known songs by composers from the same compositional period, e.g., Schönberg, Berg, Weill, etc.

\(^{147}\) *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, 68.
Warum hast du dich in den Garten geschlichen?

Veilchen suchen. Warum bringst du auch die Lippen nicht mehr zusammen? Ich weiß es nicht, nicht (any)more together? I know it not,

Der Weg ist wie ein *Pelücheteppich
The path is like a plush-carpet,

kein Steinchen, kein Dorn.
no stones (pebbles), no thorns.

O, wie ich die Nacht geschlummert habe…!
Oh, how I - (last) night slept have…!

Süße Veilchen! Ruhig Mütterchen!
Sweet violets! Quiet little-mother!

Ich will mein Bußgewand anziehn…
I want my (penitential) robe to-wear…

Ach Gott! Wenn doch jemand käme, dem ich um den Hals fallen und erzählen könnte!
Ah God! If only somebody to-come, whom I around the Neck fall and (to) tell could!

*May substitute “Plüsch” for “Pelüche” to fit the rhythmic notation.
**Hölderlin Lieder**

Viktor Ullmann’s *Hölderlin Lieder* is an exceptional example of his mature compositional style. The first two songs in the set border on tonality and the third frequently escapes it, giving this set elements of late Romanticism combined with 20th-century post-tonal components such as those prominent in the style of the Second Viennese School. As in many of Ullmann’s other works, no performance practice instructions from the composer himself have survived.

According to Axel Bauni, a co-editor of *Ullmann Sämtliche Lieder*, these songs are Romantic in style but should not be sung too slowly. He advises interpreters of this work to take an approach similar to that used for the songs of Kurt Weill and Hans Eisler (with whose work these songs share some stylistic similarities), and not of their contemporary Richard Strauss. Bauni also stresses that these songs were composed with a more sober approach, and that performers should not take too many liberties with the tempo through extensive use of rubato. These songs have a straightforward approach to the writing and try to avoid sentimentalism, but singers should nevertheless make sure to not neglect understanding and relaying the tenderness of the text.

Ullmann did not attach dates to his *Hölderlin Lieder* collection as a whole, but they were most likely completed during his last few months in Terezín. Only two of the three lieder were explicitly placed together by Ullmann, but were collected together for a posthumous publication. Christian Hoesch, the editor of several editions of Ullmann’s

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148 Bauni is also a world-renowned accompanist and vocal coach.
149 *Alex Bauni*, in discussion with the author, April 3, 2014.
posthumously published music, argued that all three songs can be considered a cycle for the following reasons:

From a precise analysis from the method of notation and the type of manuscript paper used, it can be inferred that No. 2 [‘Der Frühling,’ the only lied labeled with a date of 1943] was actually the first to be composed and not the second as the numbering would indicate. No. 1 ‘Sonnenuntergang’ and the unnumbered third lied ‘Abendphantasie’ were written on the same poor quality paper which could only be used on one side… In both lieder, the text is written in upper-case letters – a further difference to No. 2.

These lieder also display a particularly close stylistic proximity to one another with their clear, extremely linear part-writing and the almost troubled, soaring piano part. The reason why Ullmann only numbered one of the lieder (as No. 1), therefore clearly classifying it as being part of the cycle – was the numbering of the third lied simply forgotten? – will probably always remain unsolved.150

Although some questions about these songs’ composition will likely never be answered due to a lack of documentary evidence, current practice treats the songs as a collective set.

“Sonnenuntergang”

Stylistic Elements

Melody

- **Contour and Phrase Shape:** The melodic line is fluid, although moderate intervallic leaps between notes with a wide use of range (octave plus) occur within a phrase. There is very little sense of tonal center; there are hints of what can be perceived as tonality, but the melody never truly cadences.
- **Phrase Length:** Melodic phrases are of uneven length – two 5-measure phrases, followed by one 8-measure phrase. There is little recovery time for the singer between phrases with only a couple of 1-beat rests.
- **Range and Tessitura**
  - Range: B-flat to A2.
  - Tessitura: Middle to high, but difficult to place because of the wide pitch intervals.

150 Ullmann Sämtliche Lieder, IX.
• Chromaticism: A frequent use of chromaticism deceives the singer and listener into believing that the melody will finally cadence.
• Vocal Articulation: Syllabic with angular lyricism.
• Text Painting: The placement of “Sonnen” in the word Sonnenjüngling” (measure 6) on the highest pitch occurring in the song allows the word to shine through. Another prominent moment of text painting occurs in measures 11-12, where a rolling, hill-like figure leads up to the word “Hügel,” which is sung on the highest pitch in the song before quickly descending in the same fashion.

Harmony

• Harmonic Texture: Overall atonal, but bordering on tonality; fairly chromatic. The harmonies are chordal with a dense, chromatic structure that provides richness and stability for the voice line. Much alternating dissonance and consonance.
• Key Schemes, Modulation, and Cadences: There is no set key or key area; the harmony tends to gravitate around A major, but never truly cadences in this key.

Rhythm

• Tempo: Not notated. The strong evidence that “Der Frühling” was composed before “Sonnenuntergang,” suggests that interpreters should follow the preceding song’s tempo marking of “Der Frühling” – “Sanft bewegt,” or “gently emotional.” It should not be sung too slowly or drag; an adagio tempo is suggested, with a $\text{♩ = 48-56}$. Allow the text to lead the tempo.
• Metric Organization: The time signature alternates between compound triple (9/8) and quadruple meters (12/8).
• Rhythmic Patterns: Simple, and slightly flexible to allow expression within the text.

Accompaniment

• Predominant Figures in the Accompaniment: Block chords falling on the beat give the melody in the voice line a strong sense of tempo. The accompaniment does not have any prominent features – no introduction, interlude, or prelude. It helps to reinforce the melody in the voice line.
• Shared Material with the Voice: The piano doubles the voice line, which is played mostly in the highest voice of the right hand, for part of the music. This doubling is rare on the faster-moving sections of melody.
• **Text Illustration:** The accompaniment provides a richness that supports the soaring contour of the vocal line. It reflects the enchanted bliss of the sun-drenched youth with warm and “golden” tones. The rare ascending triple patterns in measure 10 highlight the words “Leier spielt,” suggesting the sound of a lyre being played.

**Text**

• **Prose Setting and Treatment of Prosody:** Ullmann slightly altered the text of the original poem, which changes the meter of the original poem. This is most apparent in the phrases with an odd amount of measures and beats, but it also enhances the meaning and fluidity of the poem.

**Other Elements**

• **Form:** Through-composed.

• **Influences on Composer:** Late Romanticism and the early Second Viennese School especially Berg’s *Sieben frühe Lieder*.\(^{151}\) The popularity of Hölderlin’s writings and poetry in the 1920s-1940s was also a notable influence.

• **Mood:** Warm, relaxed, content, but with a sober underlying quality.

**Notes for the Singer**

• **Voice Type:** Soprano with a wide range who is comfortable with singing pitches located below the staff, but with enough flexibility to sing lightly in the high register. This voice should not be too heavy, but should project warmth. This piece could also potentially be sung by a tenor with a suitable lower range.

• **Difficulties:** Large leaps and wide, chromatic intervals are very common in this song. Since this song touches on tonality, but never achieves it, the challenge is to sing the pitch that is written, not the pitch that seemingly tonal harmonies suggest. Another challenge is being able to produce a clean entrance on the quick first note (A2) of the voice line.

• **Uses:** An addition to any art song recital program; any addition or substitution to a program of more well-known songs by composers from the same compositional period, e.g., Schönberg, Berg, Weill, etc.

*Because of the similarity in compositional style found throughout the Hölderlin Lieder set, the “Notes for Singer” section will not appear for the following two songs to avoid repetition.*

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\(^{151}\) *Ullmann Sämtliche Lieder*, IX.
Wo bist du? Trunken dämmert die Seele mir
[vö bist du 'trukən dəmərt di 'ze lə mir ]
Where are you? Drunkenly dawns the soul me

von all deiner Wonne! denn eben ist's
[fɔn ɔl ˈdai nɐ ˈvo nə dən ˈeb ən iʃts]
of all your bliss! just now it-is

daß ich gelauscht, wie, goldner Töne voll
[das ɪts ɡɔ ˈləʊft ˈvi ˈɡɔlt nər ˈtɔ nə fɔl] that I listened how golden sounds full

der entzückende Sonnenjüngling sein Abendlied
[der ɛnt ˈtsY kɔn də ˈtsɔ nɐn ˈʃʏn ˈa ˈaŋ lɪt] the enchanting sun-drenched-youth his evening-song

auf himmlischer Leier spielt.
[əʊf ˈhim ɪr ˈlaɪər ˈspɪlt] on heavenly lyre played.

Es tönten rings die Wälder und Hügel nach.
[ɛs ˈtœnt ɾɪŋz di ˈvɛl dɔr ʊnt ˈhy ɡəl nax] it echoing around the forest and hills was.

Doch ferne ist er zu frommen Völkern,
[dɔx ˈfer nɔ ist er tsu ˈfrɔ ˈmɐn ˈfɔl kɔrn] But distant is he towards devout people,

die ihn nach ehren, hinweggegangen.
[di ɪn ˈnaʊ ɐn ˈhɪn ˈvek ɡɔ ɡaŋ ɐn] who him still (to)honor gone-away.
Melody

• **Melodic Contour and Phrase Shape:** Mostly stepwise and fairly fluid, but not without the occasional wide intervals between phrases and sometimes between measures. The melody expresses the overall content and joyful, bright, and playful nature of the poem.
• **Phrase Length:** Each of the three phrases contains five measures.
• **Range and Tessitura**
  o **Range:** B to B-flat2.
  o **Tessitura:** Middle to high with much of the voice sitting in the passaggio.
• **Tonality:** Atonal, but gravitating towards being tonal. A frequent use of chromaticism deceives the singer and listener into believing the melody will cadence.
• **Motives:** A triple pattern is present on the strong beat(s) is present throughout the song.
• **Vocal Articulation:** Syllabic, lyric, and smooth, despite the wide intervallic leaps.
• **Text Painting:** In measure 9, a major seventh leap on “Gewölke” depicts the clouds appearing in the light air. The crescendo on the high B-flat in measure 18 on the word “Wonne” expresses the delight of the people, followed by the “blooming of good health” in measures 19-20.

Harmony

• **Harmonic Texture:** Alternating from sparse to thick and heavy – the heaviness is due to the chromaticism and the frequent use of tritones, which contribute to the atonality of the song.
• **Tonality:** Overall atonal, but bordering on tonality; fairly chromatic. The harmonies are chordal with a dense, chromatic structure that provides richness and stability for the voice line. The chords in the piano create dissonance against the consonant parts of the voice line.
• **Key Scheme, Modulations, and Cadences:** Atonal with no set key or key area, and with no strong modulations. Gravitates towards tonality and establishing major keys, but never accomplishes this.
• **Text Illustration Through Harmonic Means:** Bright major chords highlight the overall jovial theme of the poem.
Rhythm

- **Tempo**: Ullmann gives the tempo marking of “Sanft bewegt,” or “gently emotional/smoothly eventful.” It should not be sung too slowly or drag; a suggested interpretation is to take an adagio tempo – \( \text{\textit{J.}} = 48-56 \). Allow the text to lead the tempo.

- **Metric Organization**: Alternating compound duple (6/8) and triple (9/8) meters are almost evenly placed with the exception of the repeated 6/8 in measure 19. The repeated 6/8 measure can be perceived as an accentuation of the text.

- **Rhythmic Patterns**: Simple, rhythmic patterns that fall on the beat with a few dotted rhythms, a sixteenth note triplet, and a quadruplet. These additional rhythmic patterns emphasize the text and phrasing, and should be accentuated.

Accompaniment

- **Predominant Accompaniment Figures**: Block chords that imitate much of the rhythm and pitches in the voice line are present throughout the song.

- **Shared Material with the Voice**: The piano doubles the voice line in the highest voice of the right hand almost entirely, which makes singing some of the more chromatic intervals and leaps more approachable.

- **Use of Motives**: The near-identical repeat of the first measure’s music in measure 16 creates the foundation of a new and slightly more emotional phrase.

- **Text Illustration**: Just as the voice line does, the piano accentuates the text in measures 18-19 by breaking away from the voice doubling and creating more vigor and excitement with a faster rhythmic notation.

- **Accompaniment Texture**: Rhythmically sparse, or unvaried from the voice line, but harmonically dense.

Text

- **Prose Setting and Treatment of Prosody**: Ullmann changed the poetic meter of the poem, which at times splits the lines of the poem between phrases. The light playfulness of the compound meter portrays the contentment and delight of the poem, as do the occasional bright major chords.

Other Elements

- **Form**: Through-composed.

- **Influence on Composer**: Late Romanticism and the early Second Viennese School, especially Berg’s *Sieben frühe Lieder*. Also, the popularity of Hölderlin’s writings and poetry in 1920s-1940s.

- **Mood**: Warm, jovial, and tender.
Wenn auf gefildem neues Entzücken keimt
When on pastures new delight sprouts

Und sich die Ansicht wieder verschönt
and itself the view again beautifies

und sich an Bergen, wo die Bäume grünen,
and itself at mountains where the trees green,

hellere Lüfte, Gewölke zeigen,
brighter air, clouds appear,

O! welche Freude haben die Menschen!
Oh! what joy have the people!

froh gehen an Gestaden Einsame.
cheerfully walk at the shores solitary.

Ruh und Lust und Wonne der Gesundheit blühet
Quiet and zest and delight of good-health blooms

Freundliches Lauchen ist auch nich ferne.
friendly laughter is also not far.
“Abendphantasie”

Stylistic Elements

Melody

- **Melodic Contour and Phrase Shape:** Mostly stepwise with occasional leaps. The lyric, stepwise motion of the melody occurs most frequently in areas with a strong sense of key area and tonality. By contrast, the melodic line becomes more tumultuous in areas of atonality.
- **Phrase Length:** The phrases vary between 6-14 measures in length.
- **Range and Tessitura**
  - Range – A-flat to G-Sharp2 (exactly two octaves).
  - Tessitura – middle range, in or just below the passaggio in most areas of the song.
- **Vocal Articulation:** Lyrical and melodic in most places, but still possessing some angularity in sections with wide intervals.
- **Text Painting:** The alternating wide intervals in measures 38-40 show an alternation between toil and rest. The declamatory articulation of the melody in measures 41-45 stresses the question presented in the poem: “If everything is cheerful, why is it only me who bares a thorn in the chest?” Another notion of discontent is highlighted in measure 83 with the very chromatic and dissonant series of eighth notes on “Du ruhlose” (“you restless...”), which takes place directly after a consonant and fluid phrase.

Harmony

- **Harmonic Texture:** Varies depending on phrase – many block chords that vary in consonance, dissonance, and density. It also alternates between tonality and atonality.
- **Tonality:** Mostly tonal with atonal variants – many areas of key stability with strong cadences blended with wandering chromatic harmonies, which sometimes abruptly switch back to stable key areas.
- **Recurring Harmonies:** These happen mostly within consonant and major key areas. For example, measures 1-8, 18-25, and 74-81 use the same harmonic structure/chords and rhythm.
- **Key Schemes, Modulations, and Cadences:** Begins in and returns to F major throughout the song while also modulating to various keys or key areas. The key area with the most stability and strong cadence points is F major.
- **Text Illustration:** In measures 32-40, a repeated, pulsing pedal point depicts the discontent and weary feeling of the narrator: the uncertainty of daily life.
Returning to the final motive in F major in measures 74-81, the poem speaks of rest, slumber and youth. These harmonies are gentle and secure.

**Rhythm**

- **Tempo**: Indicated as “Largo, un poco andante.” It is very important that it is not sung too slowly, although this song should not feel rushed. Allow the text and harmony to guide the tempo.
- **Metric Organization**: Simple triple (3/4).
- **Rhythmic Patterns**: They are simple, mostly falling on the beat with many recurring triple patterns.
- **Rhythms that Reinforce the Text**: A series of triplets in measures 55-57 emphasize a relaxed sense of freedom and the feeling of melting away in love.

**Accompaniment**

- **Predominant Accompaniment Figure**: Many block chords, with the use of triplets in areas that carry a heavier emotional weight in the text.
- **Shared Material with Voice**: Areas of doubling do occur in this song, but not as frequently as in the previous two songs. The doubling mainly takes place in phrases conceived as consonant and tonal, and appears frequently in measures 1-15, 58-71, 74-82, and 86-88. Occasional doubling is found sporadically throughout the entire song.
- **Prominent Sections Without Voice**: Ullmann composed a postlude for this song. Beginning on measure 89, the piano travels through many harmonic areas on linear block chords before ending in F major giving the song and set a sense of finality.
- **Use of Motives**: A recurring theme can be heard in the piano on measures 1-8, 18-25, and 74-81. This motive brings the key area back to F major creating tonal stability.
- **Accompaniment Texture**: Block chords and linear with occasional arpeggiated figures, which include triplets and sixteenth notes to denote emotional discontent.

**Text**

- **Prose Setting and Treatment of Prosody**: Ullmann tends to focus on the complete thoughts of the text by combining and breaking the lines and stanzas of the original layout of the poem. This creates varied phrase lengths, and allows the key area and texture to fluctuate depending on the text.
Other Elements

- **Unifying Elements**: The key of F major unites the interchanging tonal and atonal sections of the song. Unlike the previous two songs in this set, the definitive key areas (especially F major) are used and reintroduced in the beginning, middle, and end.
- **Form**: Through-composed with returning motives in the piano.
- **Influence on Composer**: Late Romanticism and the early Second Viennese School, especially Berg’s *Sieben frühe Lieder*. The popularity of Hölderlin’s writings and poetry in the 1920s-1940s was also a notable influence.
- **Mood**: Warm, content, with moments of turmoil and despair.

Vor seiner Hütte ruhig im Schatten sitzt
[vor ˈzaɪ nɐr ˈhʏ tə ˈru ɪç ɪm ˈʃaʊ tən ʃɪtst]
Before his hut quietly in-the shade sits

der Pflüger, dem Genügsamen raucht sein Herd.
[der ˈpfʏ ˈgər dem ˈɡənʏ ˈɡɑ mən ˈraʊxt zən hɛrt]
the plower the frugal (man’s) smoking(is) his hearth.

Gastfreundlich tönt dem Wanderer im
[gast ˈɡɹʊɑ Ynt ɪç ˈtɑnt dem ˈvɑn ˈdoʁ ɪm]
Hospitably sounds (to)the wanderer in-the

friedlichen Dorfe die Abendglocke.
[ ˈfʁɪt liç ən ˈdoʁ fo di ə ˈa bɑnt ɡlɔ kɑ]
peaceful village the evening-bell.

Wohl kehren itzt die Schiffer zum Hafen auch,
[vol ˈkeɐn ɪtst di ˈʃɪfər tsum ˈha faŋ ɔux]
Surely return now the skippers to-the harbor also

in fernen Städten fröhlich verrauscht des Markts
[ɪn ˈfɛr nən ˈʃtɛd tən ˈfrɔ liç ɪfə ˈʁɔʃt ən markts]
in distant cities gladly fading the markets

geschäftiger Lärm; in stiller Laube
[ɡə ʃʃət ɡɐr ˈlaɐm ɪn ˈʃɪlt laʊ ˈlaʊ bə]
busy noise; in quiet cove
Glänzt das gesellige Mahl den Freunden
[głentst daz ɡəˈzɛl li gə məl dən ‘frɔYn dən]
glistens the convivial feast (for) the friends.

Wohin denn ich? Es leben die Sterblichen
[vɔ ‘hɪn dən iç ɛs ˈle bɔnt di [tɛrp li çɔn]
Where-to-go then (am)I? It live the mortals

von Lohn und Arbeit; wechselnd in Müh und Ruh
[fɔn lon ɔnt ‘ar baɪt ‘vɛk sənt m my ɔnt ru]
of wages and labor alternating in toil and rest

ist alles freudig; warum schläft denn
[ɪst ‘a lɔs ‘frɔY diç va ‘rum ʃleːft dən]
is everything cheerful why rests then

nimmer nur mir in der Brust der Stachel?
[ˈni mər nur mir m ɪn də brʊst dər ‘ʃtə xəl]
ever only me in the chest the thorn?

Am Abendhimmel blühet ein Frühling auf;
[am ‘a bɔnt hɪ məl ‘bly ət am ‘fry lɪŋ aʊf]
in-the evening-sky blossoms a spring --

unzählig blühn di Rosen und ruhig scheint
[ʊnˈtseː lɪç blyn di ‘ro zən ɔnt ‘ru iç ʃənt]
countless blooming the roses and silent seems

die goldne Welt; o dorthin nimmt mich
[di ˈgɔlt na vɛlt o dɔrt ‘hɪn nɪmt mɪç]
the golden world; oh there take me

purpurne Wolken und möge droben
[ˈpur pur nə ‘vɔl kən ɔnt ˈməʊ ɡə ‘dro bən]
crimson clouds and may up-there
in Licht und Luft mir zerrinnen Lieb’ und Leid.
[in liçt ont loft mir tser ‘rım ən lib ont latt] in light and air my melt-away love and sorrows.

Doch, wie verscheucht von töriger Bitte, flieht
[dɔx vi fer ‘ʃɔYçt fɔn ‘tɔ ri ɡə ’bɪ tɔ flit] Yet, as-if scared-away by foolish plea escapes

der Zauber; dunkel wirds und einsam
[der ˈtsɔə bɔr ‘dɔŋ kɔl wirts ont ‘am sam] the magic; dark it-turns and lonely

unter dem Himmel, wie immer bin ich.
[ɔn tɔr dem ‘hi mɔl vi ‘i mɔr bin iç] under the sky, as always am I.

Komm du nun, sanfter Schlummer; zu viel begehrt
[kɔm du nun ‘zanf tɔr ‘ʃlo mɔr tsu fil ˈbo ɡərt] Come you now, soft slumber too much desires

das Herz; doch endlich, Jugend, verglühist du ja!
[das hɔrts dɔx ‘ent liç ‘ju ɡɔnt fer ‘ɡlɪst du ja] the heart; but finally youth, burn-up you --!

Du ruhelose, träumrische!
[du ˈru ə lo za ‘trɔi mɔr ʃa] you restless, dreamy(one)!

Friedlich und heiter ist dann das Alter.
[ˈfrit liç ont ‘ha tɔr ist dan das ‘al tɔr] Peaceful and serene is then the old-age.
Lieder der Tröstung

*Lieder der Tröstung*, or Songs of Consolation, were composed in early 1943. Originally composed for string trio and low voice, a piano arrangement is included in the Schott Music collection, *Viktor Ullmann: Sämtliche Lieder*. In “Erwachen zu Weihnachten,” the word ‘Fragment’ appears in the title; only three of the five stanzas appear in Ullmann’s original score. The poem comes from Steffen’s *Der Tröster* (1935), and there are indications that Ullmann wanted to include the remaining two stanzas, but this cannot be proven.152

“Tote wollen nicht verweilen”

Stylistic Elements:

Melody

- **Melodic Contour and Phrase Shape**: The melody combines stepwise motion with large intervals, giving the vocal line a feeling of disconnect. Very angular and chromatic.
- **Phrase Length**: The melody is divided into three unequal phrases consisting of 10, 8, and 2 measures in length. This allows for a more expressive delivery of the simply written poetry.
- **Range and Tessitura**
  - Range: B-flat to G-sharp2.
  - Tessitura: Difficult to place considering the frequent large leaps from the low to high registers.
- **Chromaticism**: Very chromatic and atonal – many tritones, augmented fifths, and alternating minor and major thirds.
- **Vocal Articulation**: Syllabic, very chromatic with large intervals, but must be sung smoothly and lyrically.
- **Text Painting**: An ascending major seventh leap to the word “Luft” in measure 22 depicts the lifting air up to an even higher pitch on “Sonne” in measure 24. The descending G major/g minor triad followed by an augmented ninth ascending leap.

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152 *Viktor Ullmann: Sämtliche Lieder*, 239.
in the last phrase in the voice line denotes the sinking into the ground from the burdens of the earthly heritages, then being set free through death.

**Harmony**

- **Harmonic Texture**: Dense and chromatic without a tonal center or key areas, and without any strong cadence points.
- **Tonality**: Atonal and very dissonant with the frequent use of tritones and augmented fifths.
- **Text Illustration**: The text, as previously noted in chapter 2, speaks of the uneasiness of the living souls that are still trapped in the bodies of the dead. The uncomfortable urgency for the soul to leave the body is portrayed in the unsettled, chromatic harmonies of the song.

**Rhythm**

- **Tempo**: Not indicated. A plausible indication comes from the second song (“Erwachen zu Weihnachten”), which is marked as “Andante senza rigore.” This song should be sung with a sense of urgency, but without rushing the tempo.
- **Metric Organization**: Simple duple (2/4) and triple (3/4) meters that alternate unevenly. Although not indicated in the score, this song begins in 3/4.
- **Rhythm**: The majority of the voice line is sung on even eighth notes with an occasional quarter note and dotted eighth-sixteenth note patterns. The vocal line always enters on the downbeat. The accompaniment has faster-moving rhythms in solo passages; these are motivic and should be accentuated.

**Accompaniment**

- **Predominant Accompaniment Figures**: Many block chords in the accompaniment, with the motivic descending equal eighth-note pattern recurring frequently throughout the song.
- **Prominent Sections Without Voice**: A sparsely textured-two measure introduction, followed by a seven-measure miniature interlude in measures 13-19, and ending with the motivic descending major/minor triad intertwining in each voice of the accompaniment.
- **Shared Material With Voice**: Voice doubling appears in many places to assist the voice with awkward and chromatic pitches. The piano or strings also occasionally echo the voice line.
- **Motives**: Descending, even eighth notes outline a second-inversion major triad, which ends on a minor third of the triad (e.g. – B-G-G-D-D-B-flat) occur in the
accompaniment throughout the song. This motive occurs in every voice of the accompaniment, and should be accentuated.

- **Text Illustration:** Though nothing outstanding, the accompaniment allows for the voice line to be highlighted by playing slower-moving rhythms and block chords under it.
- **Accompaniment Texture:** It possesses a sparse rhythmic motion when playing under the voice line, and a thicker harmonic texture with a faster-moving rhythm when playing alone.

**Text**

- **Prose Setting and Treatment of Prosody:** The original organization of the poem consists of two 5-lined stanzas. Ullmann, as with many of his other lieder, changed the prose to fit his understanding of the text. The only notable alteration was made to the last phrase, “Erdenerbe, es ersterbe,” which stands alone in this song setting, and was mostly separated from the original stanza to emphasize the meaning of the text. The words that bear stronger importance are placed on strong beats.

**Other Elements**

- **Form:** Through-composed.
- **Influences on Composer:** Much of the atonality and chromaticism show direct influence from the Second Viennese School and Ullmann’s studies with Schönberg. As an anthroposophist, he was highly influenced by the works and poetry of Albert Steffen.
- **Mood:** Uneasy, unsettling, and uncomfortable.

**Notes for Singer**

- **Voice Type:** Soprano, Tenor or light Baritone. The singer’s voice must be flexible and able to leap into both low and high registers.
- **Difficulties:** Atonal and chromatic with wide intervals.
- **Uses:** This set can be used in any art song recital in place of or in addition to any post-tonal sets. If sung with a string trio, this can also be used in a chamber recital or similar setting. It is also useful for ear training and flexibility exercises.
Tote wollen nicht verweilen:
(The) Dead want not to-linger:

Wie sie wellen, wie zieilen,
how they surge, how they hurry,

werfen immer neue Hüllen
casting always new shells

don den Seelen und erfüllen
from the souls and fulfill

so ihr Wesen und genesen.
thus their being and healed.

Wasser sind wir, tot der Tränen.
Water are we, dead of tears.

Luft, erlöst von allem Sehnen,
air, redeemed from all yearning,

Sonne, selig in dem Lichte,
Sun, holy in the light,

jenseits jeglichem Gewichte.
beyond any burden.

Erdenerbe, es ersterbe.
Earthly-heritage, it may-die.
"Erwachen zu Weihnachten"

Stylistic Elements:

Melody
- **Melodic Contour and Phrase Shape**: The vocal line is mostly stepwise within phrases, with wide intervals between pitches occurring frequently in the third phrase.
- **Phrase Length**: Short, uneven phrases in the voice line consisting of two, three, and four measures respectively.
- **Range and Tessitura**
  - Range: A-flat to F2.
  - Tessitura: middle to mid-high, with the exception of the last phrase, which is sung in a low register.
- **Vocal Articulation**: Syllabic, lyric, stepwise, and very chromatic. Angular between wide intervals.

Harmony
- **Harmonic Texture**: Overall, the texture is atonal and chromatic. The accompaniment is composed mostly of block chords and eighth notes moving in a stepwise motion that do not cadence. Unsettled.
- **Tonality**: Atonal and very chromatic.
- **Text Illustration**: Similar to the first song in this set, the harmonies are uneasy and unsettled to depict the "waiting" before a burdened soul is released to heaven.

Rhythm
- **Tempo**: Indicated as “Andante senza rigore” and “Tranquillo” at the entrance of the vocal line. The tempo stays constant throughout the song until reaching the *ritard* in the final measure of the voice line.
- **Metric Organization**: Simple double (2/4), triple (3/4), and quadruple (4/4) times are used to emphasize the text. It is important to keep the quarter note beat steady and consistent.
- **Rhythmic Patterns**: The majority of the vocal line consists of eighth notes, only shifting to singing quarter notes with a change of meter. The piano/strings rhythmic patterns vary.
- **Rhythms that Unify**: The beginning two and final two measures repeat the same eighth-note pattern in the accompaniment both rhythmically and harmonically.
Accompaniment

- Predominant Accompaniment Figures: Block chords, moving eighth notes in the middle voice, and a beginning pattern that is both rhythmically and harmonically identical.
- Prominent Sections Without Voice: Nothing outstanding.
- Shared Material With Voice: There is rarely any doubling in this song, either rhythmically or harmonically.
- Use of Motives: The first and last two measures are identical, introducing and closing each verse.
- Text Illustration: The unsettled harmonies portray the unsettled souls burdened by their life on earth.
- Accompaniment Texture: Harmonically dense, atonal and chromatic, but rhythmically simple with block chords and moving eighth and quarter notes in only one voice at a time.

Text

- Prose Setting and Treatment of Prose: The text is set to the meter of the poetry. Ullmann avoids breaking apart a stanza or the lines in a stanza by not including any rests in the vocal line.

Other Elements

- Form: Strophic.
- Influences on Composer: Much like the first song in this set, much of the atonality and chromaticism show direct influence from the Second Viennese School and Ullmann’s studies with Schönberg. As an anthroposophist, he was highly influenced by the works and poetry of Albert Steffèn.
- Mood: Musically unsettled, uneasy, and uncomfortable, but tranquil.

Notes for Singer

- Voice Type: Light Baritone, Soprano or Tenor. The singer’s voice must be flexible and able to leap into both the low and high registers.
- Difficulties: Chromatic and atonal, strophic.
- Uses: Set can be used in any recital, in place of or in addition to any post-tonal sets. If singing with a string trio, this can be used in a chamber recital or setting. It can also be used for ear training and flexibility exercises.
Augen noch im Schlaf geschlossen
Eyes still asleep

Schauen wie auf Purpurschwingen
(are)watching how on purple-wings

Engel goldne Schalen bringen.
angel golden bowls bring.

Schon von Sonne überflossen
Already of sun bathed

sehn sie, wie die erdenschweren
see they how the earthly-burdens

Lasten immer wiederkehren.
keep always again-returning.

Prüfe mit dem Himmelsblicke
Examine with the heavenly-gaze

deinen Leib im Tageslichte:
your body in-the daylight:

Abwärtsziehende Gewichte
Downward-pulling weight

Einst verschuldeter Geschicke.
one once caused faits.
Wer erkennt im Reich der Sterne,
Who recognize in the realm of the stars,
trägt das Leid der Erde gerne.
bear the suffering of the earth gladly.

Denn das Kreuz ist zu ertragen,
Because the cross is to bear,
seit die Gottheit dran gehangen.
ever since the deity from hung.

Licht in uns ist aufgegangen
light in us is risen
und der Himmel lässt sich fragen.
and the heaven permits itself to ask.

Schau, es leuchten im Geäste
Look, it shines in the branches
die Gestirne jetzt zum Feste.
of the stars now to the feast.
Drei jiddische Lieder/Březulinka Op. 53

Viktor Ullmann’s Drei jiddische Lieder, also known as Březulinka, Op. 53 (1944), is a very unusual example of his compositional output. No surviving records indicate that Ullmann composed or arranged any Jewish or Yiddish music before his years spent in Terezín. These folksong arrangements, as a result, appear to represent a compositional output by the composer that is unique to his imprisonment. Unlike many of his other lieder that were composed in the Terezín ghetto, there are surviving records that indicate the singers who originally performed these songs: Ada Schwarz-Klein (mezzo-soprano), Jacob Goldring (tenor), and Josef Hermann (voice type unknown).153 This information serves as a loose guide indicating the likely voice type(s) for which these songs were arranged.

The texts for these songs were taken from the 1930 edition of the Jüdische Liederbuch (published in Berlin).154 Ullmann set these texts exactly as they were written in the Liederbuch. As a result, the spelling and pronunciation of these texts in these arrangements capture the historical dialect of this source, rather than following the current YIVO international standard for Romanized Yiddish transliteration. Only the IPA pronunciation of the original text in Ullmann’s score has been included in this document, although the YIVO standardized transliteration of the Yiddish text has been included in the previous chapter.

According to Zalman Mlotek, music editor of Songs of Generations: New Pearls of Yiddish Song, when singing Yiddish folksongs,

153 Viktor Ullmann: Die Referate, 85.
154 Ibid., 82.
The most obvious point is to know the meaning of the words that are sung [so as] to be able to communicate them as naturally as possible. … Thus Point One: the performer should be conversant with the text and implications of the song. Point Two: I suggest that in order to really comprehend a song, one must learn about the life and work of the author the author and composer. … Point Three: Singers interested in the performance of Yiddish music today should be familiar with the varieties of song types: Holocaust songs as distinct from traditional folk, popular, theatre, operatic, art, Hassidic, semi-liturgical, mixed-language songs. Point Four: Arrangements of songs today might contain more complex arrangements with inner voices, syncopated rhythms and discordant harmonies, reflecting contemporary musical styles.155

Ullmann’s arrangements of these three Yiddish songs possess a more complex and artistic approach to the piano accompaniment than many of his other songs. Though it is important to present these songs in folksong style, it is very important to understand that Ullmann’s musical output is highly artistic having been composed in a classical style. This provides a contrast to the folk melodies. Therefore, the singer and pianist must combine both styles of folksong and art song when performing these songs.

“Berjoskele”

Stylistic Elements:

Melody

- Melodic Contour and Phrase Shape: Very melodic and stepwise in motion with a few small intervals. The phrases are even and smoothly connected to one another.
- Phrase Length: A total of five phrases (4 phrases for the vocal line) with four measures in each phrase. This takes into account the accompaniment as well.
- Range and Tessitura
  - Range: C1 (middle C) to A-flat2.
  - Tessitura: middle to low, with only two measures sung in a high register.
- Vocal Articulation: Lyric and melodic in a folksong style. Syllabic and very tuneful.

Harmony

- Harmonic Texture: Fluid and sparse in the piano and pianissimo areas of the vocal line; thick, rich and full in forte areas of the vocal line. The harmonic texture is denser when the piano is not accompanying the voice line. A combination of block chords and broken figures keep the harmonic structure steady, but interesting, supplying a forward motion to the song.
- Tonality: Diatonic with some chromaticism in the accompaniment; mostly consonant, with dissonance occurring before a cadence point.
- Recurring Harmonies: Parallel fifths and diminished chords.
- Key Schemes and Modulations: Arranged in f minor without any modulations.
- Text Illustration: Interpreters are recommended to follow Christian Schubart’s comments on the aesthetics of music that f minor denotes “deep depression, funeral lament, groans of misery and longing for the grave.”

Rhythm

- Tempo: Lento (poco andante) – a sense of holding back, with the exception of measures 13-16, where the harmony and high register of the vocal line allow for more movement.
- Metric Organization: Simple and quadruple (4/4) throughout song with steady and deliberate beats, and a strong sense of the downbeat.

• **Rhythmic Patterns**: Steady, eighth notes are present in the majority of the voice line.
• **Rhythms that Reinforce the Text**: A dotted eighth-sixteenth note pattern sung on “Berjoskele” accents the title of the folksong.

### Accompaniment

• **Predominant Accompaniment Figures**: A contrapuntal quarter-note motive between the right and left hands is found throughout the song.
• **Shared Material With Voice**: The piano repeats the voice line in the third and fourth measures of the fifth phrase.
• **Text Illustration in Piano Patterns**: The contrapuntal quarter note motive between the right and left hand is found throughout the song, which can be perceived as a rocking effect to console and soothe the soul.
• **Accompaniment Texture**: Mostly sparse, but a richer and thicker texture in louder and higher areas of the vocal line are present.

### Text

• **Prose Setting and Treatment of Prosody**: Ullmann changed the delivery of the text by breaking the vocal line with miniature piano interludes and adding dynamics to accentuate the emotion and dramatic feel of the text.

### Other Elements

• **Form**: Strophic.
• **Influences on Composer**: The compositional environment of Terezín and Ullmann’s fellow Jewish inmates had the biggest influence on his arrangement of these folksongs. His unique style is prominently audible in the piano accompaniment.
• **Mood**: Reflective, somber, longing.

### Notes for Singer

• **Voice Type**: Any voice type, including children, can sing this song. The text is non-gender specific.
• **Difficulties**: Make sure that the text is being delivered expressively. Yiddish is a heavily consonant driven language, so be sure to emphasize the consonants clearly, but without hindering the vowels.
• **Uses**: Can be used as an addition to any recital program, formal or casual.
Ruig, Ruig schockelt ihr gelocktes grines Kepel
[‘ru ik ‘ru ik ’ʃɔ kalt ir ge ‘lok tes ‘grn ɛs ‘kɛ pɔl]
Calmly, calmly shakes her curly green little-head

mein wejssinke Berjoskele un davent on a Schir;
[mam ‘vet sɨŋ kɛ ber ’joz kɛ lɛ ɔn da vɔnt ɔn a ʃir
my cute-little-white little-birch-tree and prays without an end;

jedes, jedes Bletele ihr’s schetshet shtil a t’fille.
[‘je des ‘je des ble te le irs ‘ʃept ʃet ʃtl a tʃi le]
every, every little-leaf-at-of hers whispers quietly a prayer.

Sej schejn, klejn Berjoskele, mispallel ejch far mir!
[zɛt ‘ʃem kʃem ber ‘joz kɛ lɛ mis ‘pɔ lɛl ɛʃ far mir]
-- be-already little little-birch-tree pray you for me!

Fun weiten Marev hot sich trojig farganvet
[fɔn ‘var ʃɛn ‘ma reʃ hot zix ‘tɾoj ɾik fər ‘ɡɔn vɛt]
From-the far west has itself sadly stolen

in die dine twejgelech a rizer, zarter Stral,
[in di ‘di nɛ ‘tve ɡɛ lɛʃ ə ‘ɾi zɛɾ ‘tsar ter ʃtral]
in your thin little-branches a rose-colored, tender ray-of-light,

un a stillen Kush getun di Bletelech die Klejne,
[ɔn a ‘ʃtɛ len kɔʃ ɡɛ ‘ton di ble te lɛʃ di ‘kʃɛ nɛ]
and a lightly kissed made the little-leaves those tiny-ones,

welche hoben dremlendig gehorcht dem Nachtigall.
[‘ʃɛl ɛʃ ‘ho bon ˈdɾem len dik ɡɛ ‘hoɾxt dem ‘nax tʃ gal]
who have dozing-off listened to-the nightingale.

Fun die weite Felder is a Wintele gekumen
[fɔn di ‘var ʃɛl der ɪʃ ə ‘vɪn te le ɡə ‘ko men]
From the wide field has a tiny-breeze come

un derzejlt die Bletelech Legends on a Schir,
[ɔn der ‘ʃeʃl di ‘ble te lɛʃ ‘lɛ gendz ɔn a ʃir]
and told-to the little-leaves legends without an end,

Epes hot in Harzen tief bei mir genumen benken.
[‘ep ɛʃ hot in har tɔn tʃf bai mir ɡə ‘ko men ˈbeŋ kɛn]
Something has in heart deeply to me come (to)yearn.
Sej schejn, kejn Berjoskele, mispallel ejch far mir.

Please be-already little little-birch-tree, pray you for me.\(^{157}\)

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\(^{157}\) Julian Levinson, Associate Professor of Jewish American Literature at the University of Michigan, interviews with author, October 23, 2014; October 30, 2014; November 13, 2014.
“Margarithelech”

Stylistic Elements:

Melody

- Melodic Contour and Phrase Shape: Mostly stepwise motion with small interval leaps of no larger than a perfect fourth.
- Phrase Length: The phrases of the vocal line and melody consist of three sets of four measures each, and are sung consecutively.
- Range and Tessitura
  - Range: D1 to F2.
  - Tessitura – medium-high.
- Vocal Articulation: Lyric, syllabic, and melodic. Because this song is strophic, it can be sung somewhat lyric-recitative in sections to emphasize the text.
- Text Painting: The held note (fermata) in measure 9b on the word “la” depicts the little lied that is being sung by Chavele.

Harmony

- Harmonic Texture: The chordal and broken harmonies are primarily diatonic, which sustain the melody and give the song forward motion.
- Tonality: Diatonic with occasional chromaticism in piano, especially preceding a cadence. Occasional mode mixture.
- Key Schemes and Modulations: Arranged in d minor, which represents “melancholy womanliness.”

Rhythm

- Tempo: Indicated as “Moderato piacevole,” suggesting a tempo that is upbeat but slightly relaxed. Waltz-like. The tempo can bend slightly depending on the text.
- Metric Organization: Compound duple (6/8) throughout the song.
- Rhythmic Patterns: Block chords on eighth notes in one or both hands of the piano and the vocal line; descending scalar sixteenth notes in the last two phrases played in the right hand of the piano create more diversity in the rhythmic texture.

Accompaniment

- Predominant Accompaniment Figures: Block chords on eighth notes in one or

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158 Ibid.
both hands of the piano; descending scalar sixteenth notes in the last two phrases played in the right hand of the piano are played over block eighth note chords in the left hand.

- **Shared Material With Voice**: Occurs only in measures 3-4 in the highest voice in the right hand.
- **Text Illustration**: A trill in the right hand in measures 9a and 9b played under “tra-la-la-la” depicts singing.
- **Accompaniment Texture**: Thick and busy, but not heavy.

**Text**

- **Prose Setting and Treatment of Prosody**: Ullmann retained the delivery of the original text by writing the voice line as it is originally, adding dynamics to accentuate the emotion and dramatic feel of the text. A lighthearted approach to the accompaniment follows common stylizations of folksong.

**Other Elements**

- **Form**: Strophic.
- **Influences on Composer**: The compositional environment of Terezín and Ullmann’s fellow Jewish inmates had the biggest influence on his arrangement of these folksongs. His unique style is prominently audible in the piano accompaniment.
- **Mood**: Lighthearted and youthful.

**Notes for Singer**

- **Voice Type**: Soprano, possibly light baritone or tenor.
- **Difficulties**: Making sure that the text is being delivered expressively. Yiddish is a heavily consonant driven language, so be sure to emphasize the consonants clearly, but without hindering the vowels.
- **Uses**: Can be used as an addition to any recital program, formal or casual.

\begin{align*}
{\text{In Weldele beim Teichel,}} & \quad {\text{dort senen gewachsen}} \\
{\text{[in vel del bam tar xal dort zei nen ge vak sën]}} & \\
{\text{In little-forest by-the little-river there they grew}} & \\
{\text{Margarithelech elent un klejn}} & \\
{\text{[mar ga ri te lex e lont on klem]}} & \\
{\text{daisies lonesome and small}} & \\
\end{align*}
wie klejinke Sunen mit wejssinke Strahlen
[vi 'klei nɪŋ ke 'zo nɛn mit 'vei siŋ ke 'ʃtra ləŋ] like tiny-little suns with little-white rays

mit wejsinke tra-la-la-la!
[mit 'vei siŋ ke 'tra la la la] with little-white Tra-la-la-la!

Gegangen is Chavele still un farcholemt,
[ge 'gaŋ en iz 'xa ve leʃtil on far 'xo ləmt] going is little-Chava quiet and wrapped-up-in-dreams,

zulosen die goldblonde Zep
[tsɔ 'lo zoŋ di 'gɔld blɔŋ də tsep] flowing the golden-blond locks

dos Helzel entblojst un gemurmelt, gesungen
[dɔs 'hel dɔl ent 'bɔjst on ge 'mor mɔlt ge 'zoŋ en] the little-neck bare and whispers sung

a Lidele. Tra-la-la-la!
[a 'li de le 'tra la la la] a little-song. Tra-la-la-la!

Die Sun is forgangen, der Bocher verschwunden
[di zɔŋ iz for 'gaŋ gen der 'bo xeɾ fer 'ʃvɔn dɔn] the sun has gone-down, the boy (has)disappeared

un Chavele sitzt noch in Wald.
[on 'xa ve le zɛtst ʁɔx in vald] and little-Chava sits still in forest.

Sie kukt in der weiten un murmelt farcholemt
[zi kʊkt in der 'vaɾ tɔŋ on 'mor mɔlt far 'xo ləmt] she looks in the distance and whispers dreamily

dos Lidele: Tra-la-la-la.
[dɔs 'li de le 'tra la la la] this little-song: tra-la-la-la.159

159 Julian Levinson, Associate Professor of Jewish American Literature at the University of Michigan, interviews with author, October 23, 2014; October 30, 2014; November 13, 2014.
“A Mejdel in die Johren”

**Stylistic Elements:**

**Melody**

- **Melodic Contour and Phrase Shape:** Stepwise melody with very few leaps, and connected phrases without rests within and between phrases.
- **Phrase Length:** Consists of five 4-measure phrases, with three phrases in the vocal line.
- **Range and Tessitura:** Range – D1 to F2; Tessitura – medium/middle.
- **Vocal Articulation:** Syllabic, lyric, slightly lyric-recitative especially on repeated pitches.

**Harmony**

- **Harmonic Texture:** Diatonic, chordal harmonies with more chromaticism than the previous two songs bring out the character in this folksong. The longer periods of tension that occur in the harmony drive the text forward, but finally cadence to create stability.
- **Key and Tonality:** Diatonic with chromaticism – arranged in the key of d minor, which is appropriate for this song, if considering the meaning of the key stated in the previous song.
- **Text Illustration:** Thick, heavy chords with chromatic alterations give an uneasy, confused feeling. This reflects the text and the emotion of the “Mejdel.”

**Rhythm**

- **Tempo:** Not indicated on Ullmann’s arrangement, but marked as “Sostenuto-quarter note = 74-76 in the *Antologie fun Yidishe Folkslider*. Heavy and brooding.
- **Metric Organization:** Simple quadruple (4/4) throughout the song.
- **Rhythmic Pattern:** A constant downbeat/offbeat eighth-note pattern alternating in the right and left hands in the piano creates a feeling of heaviness in the song as a whole.

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160 *Antologie fun Yidishe Folkslider*, 4.
Accompaniment

- **Predominant Accompaniment Figures**: A constant downbeat/offbeat eighth-note pattern alternating in right and left hands in the piano creates a feeling of heaviness in the song, as does the octave doubling in the left hand.
- **Prominent Sections Without the Voice**: The first and last musical phrases are the only areas in which the voice line is not present.
- **Shared Material With the Voice**: The right hand plays the first two measures of the voice line in the first phrase, and continues to double the voice line sporadically.
- **Text Illustration**: The heaviness of the constant downbeat/offbeat eighth-note pattern alternating in the right and left hands gives an overall uneasy and brooding feeling to the “Mejdel.”
- **Accompaniment Texture**: Thick, heavy, busy.

Text

- **Prose Setting and Treatment of Prosody**: Ullmann kept the delivery of the text by writing the voice line as it is originally, and added dynamics to accentuate the emotion and dramatic feel of the text.

Other Elements

- **Form**: Strophic.
- **Influences on Composer**: The compositional environment of Terezín and Ullmann’s fellow Jewish inmates had the biggest influence on his arrangement of these folksongs. His unique style is prominently audible in the piano accompaniment.
- **Mood**: Heavy, unhappy, brooding.

Notes for Singer

- **Voice Type**: Mezzo-soprano, or soprano with a full, mature timbre.
- **Difficulties**: Make sure that the text is delivered expressively. Yiddish is a heavily consonant driven language, so be sure to emphasize the consonants clearly, but without hindering the vowels.
- **Uses**: Can be used as an addition to any recital program, formal or casual.
Ich bin schejn a Mejdel in die Johren,
I am already a little-girl in the old age,

wos hostu mir den Kopf fordreht?
why have-you my the head spun-around?

Ich wolt schejn lang a Kale geworen
I would have-already long a bride become

un efscher take Chassene gehat.
and maybe indeed wedding had.

Du host mir zugesogt zu nemen,
You have me promised to take,

un ich hob ejf Dir gewart;
and I have for you waited;

farwos solstu, Duschenju, mich farschejnen.
why should-you, little-dear-one, me to-shame.

Zi hostu Dich in mir genart?
Why have-you you in me made-a-fool? 

161 Julian Levinson, Associate Professor of Jewish American Literature at the University of Michigan, interviews with author, October 23, 2014; October 30, 2014; November 13, 2014.
Conclusion

Efforts are continuously being made through various foundations to preserve music of the holocaust. It is the goal of the foundations to educate the public on the tragic history of events that took place during World War II, but also to highlight the vast amount of music produced in concentration camps, especially music produced and performed in Terezín. Listed below are notable foundations dedicated to music of the holocaust, Terezín, and Viktor Ullmann:

Foundations:

- United States Holocaust Memorial Museum – www.ushmm.org
- YIVO Institute for Jewish Research – www.yivoencyclopedia.org
- The OREL Foundation – www.orelfoundation.org
- Viktor Ullmann Foundation – www.viktorullmannfoundation.org.uk
- Terezín Music Foundation – www.terezinmusic.org

Worldwide availability of Viktor Ullmann lieder is relatively scarce; Schott Music’s Viktor Ullmann: Sämtlicher Lieder has the most circulating copies to date, and is the most accessible to singers and pianists interested in a wide variety of Ullmann’s lieder. This collection can be purchased through Schott Music Publications. Listed below is a selection of scores containing Viktor Ullmann’s lieder. This list is in according to
what is available through WorldCat.org. Due to duplicate listings on WorldCat, some scores have not been added below.

Scores:

- **Hölderlin Lieder** by Viktor Ullmann, text by Friedrich Hölderlin, edited by Axel Bauni, no date available.
- **Lieder der Tröstung: für Stimme und Streichtrio** by Viktor Ullmann, text by Albert Steffen, no date available.
- **Chinesische Lieder: für Singstimme und Klavier; Der müde Soldat** by Viktor Ullmann, text by Schi-King and Jucundus Frohlich Klabund, no date available.

Finally, featured below, is a sampling of recordings containing Ullmann lieder.

These recordings are being noted for the quality of the historical content presented in the liner notes. Many recordings of Ullmann’s lieder exist, but not all have the scholarly element pertinent to furthering the knowledge and education of the listeners and/or performers. The list is organized chronologically.
• **KZ Music: Encyclopedia of Music Composed in Concentration Camps** – A collection of twenty-four CDs and digital recordings; Ullmann *lieder* can be found on volumes 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, and 13. 2008.
• **Terezín/Theresienstadt** – featuring Anne Sofie von Otter (Mezzo-Soprano), Bengt Forsberg (Piano), Christian Gerharer (Baritone), and Daniel Hope (Violin). 2007.
• **Viktor Ullmann: Die Weise von Liebe und Tod des Cornets Christoph Rilke; Hölderlin Gesänge, Liebeslieder** – featuring Mitsuko Shirai (Mezzo-Soprano), Elisabeth Verhoeven (Speaker), and Hartmut Höll (Piano). 2001.
• **Forbidden, Not Forgotten: Suppressed Music from 1938-1945** – featuring Maria Rossi (Soprano) and Marina D’Ambrosio (Piano). 1996.
• **Sange** – featuring Christine Schäfer (Soprano), Liat Himmelheber (Mezzo-Soprano), Yaron Windmüller (Baritone), and Axel Bauni (Piano). 1994-1995.
Appendix

Provided below is a list of existing Viktor Ullmann lieder. All lieder and sets marked with an asterisk (*) were composed in Terezín. 162 163


“Schwer ist’s, das Schöne zu lassen…” – A. Steffen, High Voice and Piano, 1936

*Sechs Lieder nach Gedichten von Albert Steffen*, Op. 17, Soprano and Piano, 1937
1. An Himmelfahrt
2. Drei Blumen
3. Dreierlei Schutzgeister
4. Es schleppt mein Schuh
5. Wie ist die Nacht
6. Aus dem Häuschen in den Garten

1. Wo hast du all die Schönheit hergenommen
2. Am Klavier
3. Sturmlied
4. Wenn je ein Schönes mir zu bilden glückte
5. O schöne Hand

*Geistliche Lieder*, Op. 20, High Voice and Piano, 1939-1940
1. Um Mitternacht, im Schlaf schon (A. Steffen)
2. Die arme Seele (based off of a Swiss folksong)
3. Leis’ auf zarten Füßen (Christian Morgenstern)
4. Marienlied (Novalis)
5. First Meeting (P. McKay, German by A. Steffen)
6. Christmas Morning in Dornach (P. McKay, German by A. Steffen)

*Drei Sonette aus dem Portugiesischen* – E. Barrett-Browning, translation by Rilke
Op. 29, Soprano and Piano, 1940
1. Briefe, nun mein! (Sonett XXVIII)
2. Sag immer wieder (Sonett XXI)
3. Sein erster Kuss (Sonett XXXVIII)

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1. Vorausbemuttimmung
2. Betrunken
3. Unwiderstehliche Schönheit
4. Lob des Weines

Six Sonnets de Louïze Labé, Op. 34, Soprano and Piano, 1941
1. Claire Vénus (Sonnet V)
2. On voit mourir (Sonnet VII)
3. Je vis, je meurs (Sonnet VIII)
4. Luth, compagnon (Sonnet XII)
5. Baise, m’encor (Sonnet XVIII)
6. Oh si j’étais (Sonnet XIII)

*Drei Lieder – C. F. Meyer, Op. 37, Baritone and Piano, 1942
1. Schnitterlied
2. Säerspruch
3. Die Schweizer

1. Gang in den Morgen
2. Gesang
3. Heimat
4. Der Liebsten
5. Blüten
6. In der Stube
7. Der Nachbar
8. Gebete
9. Im Wald
10. Verdämmern
11. Nacht
12. Stille

* “Little Cakewalk,” High Voice and Piano (poet/author unknown), 1943

*Drei Chinesische Lieder – Klabund, only two of the three songs exist, 1943
1. Wanderer erwacht in der Herberge
2. Der müde Soldat
* Immer inmitten – H. G. Adler, Mezzo-Soprano and Piano, 1943
  1. Immer inmitten
  2. Vor der Ewigkeit

* Hölderlin Lieder – F. Hölderlin, High Voice and Piano, 1943-1944
  1. Sonnenuntergang
  2. Der Frühling
  3. Abendphantasie

* “Herbst” – G. Trakl, Middle-Low Voice and String Trio, 1943

* Lieder der Tröstung – A. Steffen, Low Voice and String Trio, 1943
  1. Tote wollen nicht verweilen
  2. Erwachen zu Weihnachten

* Drei jüdische Lieder/Březulinka – Op. 53, 1944
  1. Berjoskele (D. Einhorn)
  2. Margaritelech (Z. Shneour)
  3. A Medel in die Johren (unknown)
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Jennifer Zabelsky, soprano, earned her Bachelor of Music in Vocal Performance at the University of Nevada, Reno in 2003. While in Nevada, she studied voice with Dr. Katharine DeBoer. She was the Nevada State and Southwest Division winner and National Finalist at the 2001-2002 MTNA Voice Competition, and also the winner of the First Annual French Art Song Competition at the University of Nevada. Her most notable roles performed at Nevada were “Lily” in The Secret Garden and “Mrs. Nordstrom” in A Little Night Music.

She continued her studies at Duquesne University, graduating in 2005 with a Master of Music in Vocal Performance. During this time, she studied voice with Guenko Guechev, and made her international opera debut at the May Opera Festival in Stara Zagora and Plovdiv, Bulgaria performing the roles of “Monica” in The Medium (2004) and “Elisetta” in Il Matrimonio Segreto (2005).

While at Boston University, Jennifer studied voice with Dr. Jerrold Pope, focusing on twentieth century Art Song. Also during this time, she performed opera and oratorio roles across the United States and Europe. She most recently appeared as “Pomaria” in Zehn Mädchen und Kein Mann in Saarburg, Germany, and as the soprano soloist for Haydn’s Lord Nelson Mass with the Reno Chamber Orchestra. She has given various masterclasses, most notably at the Saarburg International Music Festival in Germany and the University of Nevada. Jennifer acted as musical director for the comic
opera *The Frat Party* at the 2014 Minnesota Fringe Festival in Minneapolis.

Jennifer currently resides in Ann Arbor, Michigan where she studies with University of Michigan associate professor of voice, Martha Sheil, teaches private voice lessons, and continues to perform both nationally and internationally.