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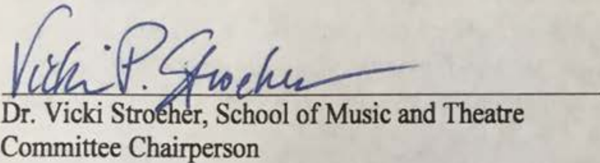
"UNITED WE'LL WIN OUR STAND": THE ROLE OF FOCALIZATION IN REPRESENTING SOLIDARITY IN THE ANTHEMS OF THREE HOLOCAUST CONCENTRATION CAMPS

A thesis submitted to
the Graduate College of
Marshall University
In partial fulfillment of
The requirements for the degree of
Masters Degree
In
Music History and Literature
By
Hillary Louise Herold
Approved by
Dr. Vicki Stroeher, Committee Chairperson
Dr. David Castleberry
Rabbi Jean Eglinton

Marshall University
May 2017

APPROVAL OF THESIS

We, the faculty supervising the work of Hillary Louise Herold, affirm that the thesis, *"United We'll Win Our Stand": The Role of Focalization in Representing Solidarity in the Anthems of Three Holocaust Concentration Camps* meets the high academic standards for original scholarship and creative work established by the School of Music and the College of Arts and Media. This work also conforms to the editorial standards of our discipline and the Graduate College of Marshall University. With our signatures, we approve the manuscript for publication.



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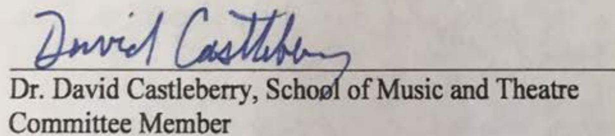

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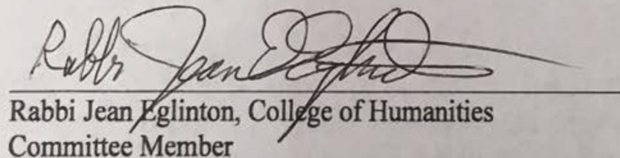

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables……………………………..………………………………………………….….…..v

List of Figures…...……………………………………………………………………..…vi

List of Musical Examples…………...………...…………………………………………….…...vii

Abstract……………………………………………………………………..………………...viii

Introduction………………………………………………………………………………..1

Chapter 1: *Die Moorsoldatenlied*....……...……....................……….…………………………..8

Chapter 2: *Sachsenhausenlied*……......……………………..………………………….………34

Chapter 3: *Brundibár*..… ……………..…………………………………………………………59

Conclusion………………………………………………………………………………….82

Bibliography……………………………………………………………………………..87

Appendix A: Letter from the Institutional Research Board…….………………………………..91

Appendix B: Copyright Permission…………………………………………………………...…92

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1 The First Stanza and Refrain of *Die Moorsoldatenlied* Showcasing the Syllable Count and Rhyming Scheme……….…………………………...……………………………………19

Table 1.2 Representation of the Stanza and Line Relationship Between the Last Stanza and the First Five Stanzas of *Die Moorsoldatenlied*.……………….……………………………………25

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1. Representation of the textual relationship between the first five stanzas of *Die Moorsoldatenlied* ……………………………………………………………………………………...24

Figure 2.1. The text of *Die Moorsoldatenlied* from *Die Sachsenhausenliderbuch*. Public Domain…………………………………………………………………………………...40

Figure 2.2. The text of *Die Moorsoldatenlied* from *Die Sachsenhausenliderbuch* (part 2). Public Domain………………………………………………………………………………..…….41

Figure 2.3. Scan of Original sketch of *Die Moorsoldatenlied* from *Die Sachsenhausenliederbuch*. Reprinted from the Public Domain…………………………………………………………42

Figure 2.4. Another example of the text of *Die Moorsoldatenlied* from *Die Sachsenhausenliederbuch*. Public Domain........…………………………………………………43

Figure 2.5. Drawing of the entrance of Sachsenhausen. Public Domain………………………...49

Figure 2.6. The text of *Sachsenhausenlied* from *Die Sachsenhausenliederbuch.* Public Domain...60

Figure 2.7. The Exchange of Power Between the Guards and Prisoners………………………..56

LIST OF MUSICAL EXAMPLES

Example 1.1. The Melody of *Die Moorsoldatenlied* Jerry Silverman, Syracuse University Press...28

Example 1.2. mm 1-17 of *Die Moorsoldatenlied*, mm. 1-7 Jerry Silverman, Syracuse University Press…………………………………………………… ………………………….…28

Example 1.3. The unmarked and marked measures of the verse, mm.1-2 and mm. 9-10 Jerry Silverman, Syracuse University Press………..…………………………………………29

Example 1.4. The opening measure of the Refrain section, mm. 17-18 Jerry Silverman, Syracuse University Press ……………………………………………………………..……..…30

Example 1.5. The transposition of the melody in the Refrain, mm. 18-26 Jerry Silverman, Syracuse University Press ……………………………………...……………..............30

Example 2.1. The Melody of *Sachsenhausenlied*, *(Die Bauern Wollten Freie sein)* Public Domain..45

Example 2.2. *Sachsenhausenlied*, mm. 1-4 Public Domain...46

Example 2.3. *Sachsenhausenlied*, mm. 4-5 Public Domain...…..47

Example 2.4. *Sachsenhausenlied*, mm. 7-8 Public Domain…………………..……………..…47

Example3.1 *Brundibár*, Brundibár's Theme Hans Krása, Tempo Praha......................................70

Example3.2. *Brundibár*, Victory Chorus Theme Hans Krása, Tempo Praha ……………….……75

ABSTRACT

Concentration camps during the Holocaust were populated by various groups of people imprisoned for reasons that were not always associated with religious beliefs. This diversity led to a natural segregation among these groups of prisoners, dependent upon the prisoner's nationality, the camp's classification, and its date of establishment. Because of overwhelming feelings of isolation in the majority of the prisoners, it was common to turn to music and music making as means of creating solidarity between the prisoners for survival of their day-to-day experiences. Some works became popular to such an extent through their performances by both prisoners and SS guards that they can be called "camp anthems," and these served to unite the "community." This thesis analyzes camp anthems from Börgermoor, Sachsenhausen, and Theresienstadt in terms of focalization, or point of view, as expressed through the text and its musical underpinning, uncovering various unifying thematic tropes.

INTRODUCTION

The individuals who suffered in the concentration camps created during the Holocaust of World War II had an incredible spirit that showed in their daily lives in the camp. The prisoners in the camps had to try to survive torture, disease, starvation, and imminent threats of death. Although there are several coping mechanisms that these individuals used to help with those dangers, one of the main forms of solace came from music making. Yehuda Bauer, quoted in *Music in the Holocaust: Confronting Life in the Nazi Ghettos and Camps,* calls this solace "Spiritual Resistance":

> defining music not only as a channel through which Nazism's victims derive emotional comfort and support, but also a life affirming survival mechanism through which they asserted solidarity in the faces of persecution and the will to live and the power of the human spirit.[1]

There are several reasons why spiritual resistance arose in the concentration camps: the relationship between community and the individual; the instinct to stay alive; and the creation of an illusion of normality.[2] Each individual concentration camp can be considered a community. There were places that had a population of individuals of different nationality, sex, age, religious and political beliefs. As interaction between the individuals occurred, the sense of community began to form. Although the individuals were different, they found things that could bring them all together. The instinct to stay alive, also a community effort, was another form of resistance. This notion is often questioned. Common wisdom about the inmates of the camps holds that they could rebel whenever they wanted, could have gotten weapons from somewhere, or could have

[1] Yehuda Bauer, quoted in Shirli Gilbert, *Music in the Holocaust: Confronting Life in the Nazi Ghettos and Camps* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) 2.
[2] *Ibid*., 8-10.

escaped. The ability to physically resist, however was almost impossible. The inmates had to find other means though which to resist. Yehuda Bauer argues,

> The main expression of [Jewish] resistance could not be armed, could not have be violent. There were no arms. The nearby population was largely indifferent or hostile. Without arms, those condemned to death resisted by maintaining morale, by refusing to starve to death, by observing religious and national traditions.[3]

The third aspect of a spiritual resistance came with the search for and creation of normality in their everyday lives in the camps. Although there was nothing "normal" about the actions occurring in the camps, the victims came to adopt a daily routine that was the "new normal" for them. There were two stages to their adjustment in life. The first stage happened when the victims were introduced into a camp. The initial emotion they experienced was shock. From the first day to about a half a year's time the general feelings held by the prisoners were indignation and desperation. After shock, these victims experienced a transformation of character that would ultimately normalize their behavior.[4] After six months, the second stage of the adjustment began with a shift of mentality called concentrationary thought.[5] The prisoners reverted to a primitive level of thinking while also scoffing at the new inmates as they began stage one.[6] Although this act of normalizing within the concentration camps was not the intention of the Nazis, the victims nevertheless maintained some of the pre-war aspects of their lives, and adjusted to their new surroundings. In many cases, however, this act of normalization was not enough to help the victims cope with their situations.

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[3] Yehuda Bauer quoted in "No Raisins, No Almonds: Singing as Spiritual Resistance to the Holocaust," *Shofar* 24, no. 4 (2006): 51.
[4] Eugen Kogon, *The Theory and Practice of Hell: The German Concentration Camps and the System Behind Them*". Translated by Heinz Norden, (New York: Otagon Books, 1979), 270.
[5] *Ibid*., 277.
[6] *Ibid*.

Within the concentration camps one element of social interaction stands alone in the formation of communities and relationships between the prisoners, propagated by the need for a release from the stress and horrors, caused by the extreme conditions. Many victims found that music was an option for release. The role of music making, both composing and performing, has been characterized as a "comforting vehicle for asserting humanity or dignity, that in itself is immune to politicization."[7] In the concentration camps, where victims were dehumanized and humiliated on a regular basis, music assisted in the normalizing of life despite the horrendous conditions. Shirli Gilbert argues,

> Music is often one of the most important means through which displaced groups adapt to new conditions, both because it helps to restore something of the environment of their former lives and because it is useful for strengthening, preserving, or restoring past group identities.[8]

A sense of personal and group identity was something that victims strived for during their time in the camps. The camps had large demographics, and an individual could easily lose him or herself, both physically and mentally in the group. Groups were formed in several ways. For example, the Lone wolves were prisoners that would keep to themselves, often newcomers, or people with high integrity who had been in the camp for a longer time. Even though lone wolves tended to isolate themselves from others, they formed an identity group. Partnerships formed especially in camps that housed a large influx of political prisoners when common political thoughts provided refuge. General group alliances arose based on the similar thinking around varied subjects.[9] Whatever other group an individual discovered, many participated in music making in some form or another to help coping with their new environment. For example, as

[7] Gilbert, *Music in the Holocaust*, 3.
[8] *Ibid*., 143.
[9] Kogon, *The Theory and Practice of Hell,* 277-280.

people sought support from others, it was “performances, readings, concerts [that] would take them away from that place [the camp] and into a “pre-war” sense of mind.”[10]

Survivor accounts show that there were several opportunities to make music in the camps: personal use, entertainment for high-ranking camp officials, and accompaniment for work. Several types of ensembles were also available for the prisoners, ranging from chamber orchestras, cabaret ensembles, and vocal ensembles, to small ensembles compiled from whatever instrumentation was available. These groups of performers could be considered “official” ensembles of the camps because they were brought together to play music for formal and non-formal events. For example, a survivor of Auschwitz remembered,

> To render their [the new prisoners] welcome more pleasant at this time (June-July 1944) an orchestra composed of all young and pretty girls dressed in little white blouses and navy blue skirts played during the selection at the arrival of the trains. Gay tunes such as “The Merry Widow” the “Barcarolle” from *The Tales of Hoffman* and so forth.[11]

There were also ensembles that functioned as official musical representatives in the camp, put into effect by the official guards. While these opportunities to make music were the most common, they were often used as forms of torture for the prisoners. Juliane Brauer noted,

> Especially after 1939, guards would often demand a song in the evenings after a long and hard day’s work. This was the most frequently used instrument for demonstrating their [the guards] power for collectivity humiliating the detainees in the central site of total power, the prison yard.[12]

Many camps had experience only with a formal music-making tradition, and found some way to find hope in their performances. Other camps, however, had a more specific type of music that had a different effect on the prisoners. Established groups or individuals would gather

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[10] Anna Pawelczńska, *Values and Violence in Auschwitz*, trans. Catherine Leach (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1979,) 118-120.
[11] Tadeusz Cyprian and Jerzy Sawick, *Nazi Rule in Poland 1939-1945*, (Warsaw: Polonia Publishing House, 1961), 162.
[12] Juliane Brauer, “How can Music be Torturous?: Music in Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camps,” *Music and Politics* 10 no.1, (Summer 2016): 1-34, Accessed May 23, 2016.

together to compose short songs that expressed their experiences. The songs, however, varied in expression, because some writers used the text to yearn for home, or to speak of the horrors they saw, or to relate their daily lives in the camps. The texts often differed in their expression based on the nationality of the prisoners. German prisoners did not use "angry texts, mentions of the Nazi Party, or grief filled texts."[13] Polish prisoners on the other hand, often wrote about the harsh realities of the camps using sarcasm and dark humor.[14] The difference in text stems from the comfort level that songs brought to the prisoners. The Germans would often sing the songs at night in private to calm themselves.[15] The Polish prisoners found that,

> Music was not only a place where they could document their suffering, but it was also a medium through which strong feelings of anger, hatred and bitterness could be united and where the unpleasant realities of the camp experience could begin to be confronted.[16]

The melodies were as varied as the text. Prisoners often used familiar folk songs. These melodies might also be taken from other countries such as *Volga Volga*, a Russian melody used for the piece *Frauenlager.*[17] Most of the time, however, the melodies consisted of newly composed material. Whether the composers chose an already composed melody or composed their own, the songs generally had the same characteristics: strophic, syllabic, straight rhythms, and easily singable melodies. However, there were variations of the melodies that displayed characteristics such as chromaticism, extreme range, and uneven or rubato rhythms.[18]

Some individual songs became more popular than others. The prisoners often attached themselves to the text or, if they did not know the words, the melody. It was common for both

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[13] Gilbert, *Music of the Holocaust,* 112.
[14] *Ibid*., 123.
[15] *Ibid*., 119.
[16] *Ibid.,* 130.
[17] Jerry Silverman, *The Undying Flame: Ballads and Songs of the Holocaust,* (New York: Syracuse University Press 2002), 139.
[18] Gilbert, *Music of the Holocaust,* 124.

the prisoners and the guards and officials to sing these songs. Through saturation by performances in the camps, the songs often would begin to take on a new meaning to the people singing them. The most popular songs ones that were taught to prisoners as soon as they entered the camp, or sung the most frequently, which came to be considered as "camp anthems." These songs influenced both the prisoners and the guards as they performed them. The prisoners felt the songs represented them and showcased their struggles in a new light, a struggle to which the full group could relate. The guards often joined the prisoners in singing the songs as their own entertainment, or used the songs as punishment for the prisoners. In both groups, however different their reasons for performing the anthems, the songs created and fostered a sense of "community" within the camps. The prisoners used the anthems as a form of defiance and resistance towards the war and their imprisonment in the concentration camps.

In this study, three specific "camp anthems" are examined: *Die Moorsoldatenlied* from Börgemoor, *Sachsenhausenlied* from Sachsenhausen, and a children's opera, *Brundibár,* performed in Theresienstadt. The relationship between music and text is analyzed with an emphasis on the focalization of the text or the point of view of the written text. In *Die Moorsoldatenlied* and *Sachsenhausenlied* the author sheds light on the individual camps with which they are associated, as well as on how the prisoners felt. This aspect is revealed through shifting inner and outer narratives. The inner narrative applies to the individual's thoughts and is internal expression. The outer narrative is in the actions, setting, or conversations described by the narrator. Focalization in *Brundibár* is a special case because, as a children's opera, the point of view is that of the librettist as portrayed through the characters in the opera. The characters may not express the direct narrative of the librettist as most of the text is used to move the plot

forward. The final song, however, can be taken out of context to form an anthem based on the survivor accounts about how they felt performing the piece.

The positive effect of music in the camps was not and is not acknowledged by everyone particularly those survivors that experienced music as torture. Orchestra musicians felt "they could not support or help the people being punished [because they were playing] so they did not see music in a positive light."[19] Musicians playing in official events felt helpless as they watched people being killed while they were kept alive to perform entertainment. Some prisoners that were not involved in the orchestras but were exposed to the music thought the same way. Esther Bejarano, a survivor of Auschwitz said "Music was no longer a pleasure. We played only because of the order, never for ourselves. I had always liked to sing, but singing was spoiled for me in Auschwitz."[20] There are several other accounts of the dislike of music by prisoners and arguments for music as a negative aspect of the camps. Both experiences should be examined based on the environments of the camp, personal prisoner experience, and the extent of the exposure to music by the prisoners. In both instances, negative and positive, the overall narrative of these works, instrumental or vocal, to showcased experiences. The experiences within these works "emphasize meaningful aspects of identity and promote particular interpretations and responses."[21]

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[19] *Ibid.*, 185.
[20] Brauer, "How Can Music Be Torturous?" 20.
[21] Gilbert, *Music of the Holocaust,* 199.

CHAPTER ONE

DIE MOORSOLDATENLIED

The idea of nationalism functioning in the environment of the system of concentration camps can be seen in the text of the camp songs were composed and written by prisoners, under the intense scrutiny and supervision of the SS guards that were present. It was not always the case, however, that the prisoners had the freedom to compose these songs that would soon become symbols for the longing for liberation or expression of negative thoughts. The earliest example of such a song that presents prisoners as objecting to their surroundings and making their opinions known through song is *Die Moorsoldatenlied.* Composed by the prisoners in Börgermoor, this song became an anthem for the prisoners in that camp, as well as an anthem for multiple camps as its popularity spread.

Before examining the anthem, an understanding of the history and function of the camp is essential to complete a picture of how and why the anthem functioned as it did among the camp's inhabitants. Börgermoor was one of the first to be constructed during the war. The camp was in a group of three that were built beginning in June of 1933. The others were Esterwegen and Neusustrum. All were located in the northeastern peat bog area of Germany.[22] The location for Börgermoor was chosen for two reasons. First, none of the camps were in industrial settings of the country. The location hindered the operations that the prisoners could work on. The sole purpose of the activities assigned by the *Schutz-Staffel-Defense Echelon* (SS) was to make the prisoners' sentences stagnant and full of mundane activities. These activities did not serve a

[22] "*Moorsoldatenlied*," Music and the Holocaust, accessed June 23, 2016, http://holocaustmusic.ort.org/places/camps/music-early-camps/*Moorsoldatenlied*/?fb_locale=es_ES&cHash=2b360c8f175bcc189d444772685147c4.

purpose and was work to keep the prisoners busy. Second, the environment, because it was away from industrial settings, meant that the prisoners worked on public projects, the pinnacle of what the SS system believed in.[23]

The variety of roles of the SS officers is one of the main factors in determining how not only the whole concentration camp system functioned, but also as individual camps began to emerge, how these individual camps were different in their governing of the prisoners. The SS was established in 1929 by Hitler, just prior to the Great Depression that struck economies around the world.[24] However, the establishment of an official policing system for the concentration camps began with the personal protection service for the Nazis. When the SS was formed, there were two factions: the SS and the *Sturm-Abteilungen,* the SA.[25] The two factions had completely different roles within the Third Reich governing system. The SS, led by Heinrich Himmler, had the original responsibility of protecting Hitler as pseudo bodyguards.[26] The men in the SS at this time had to meet strict physical and ideological guidelines. For example, one of the physical requirements for the candidates of the SS was that they had to be at least five feet, eleven inches tall.[27] Ideological requirements also referenced a German heritage or lineage for the individual stretching from at least 1750 to that present time. Additionally, officers also had to conform and unite their beliefs about the "hatred of other races" with those of Hitler.[28] The SA functioned differently in that they were Hitler's personal antagonists, or bullies.[29] The SA would often catch individuals on the street and punish them, even if they had committed no crime. Their

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[23] *Ibid*.
[24] William Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich, (*New York: Simon and Schuster Inc, 1960), 121.
[25]Eugen Kogon, *The Theory and Practice of Hell: The German Concentration camps and the System Behind Them,* trans. Heinz Nordon (New York, NY: Octagon Books, 1979), 18.
[26] *Ibid*., 17.
[27] *Ibid.*
[28] *Ibid*.
[29] *Ibid*., 18.

role, however, became a problem within the policing system and by 1934, Hitler banned the SA because of conflict with the SS. The order to demolish the SA resulted in "The Blood Purge" that occurred on June 30, 1934. The purpose of the purge was the re-evaluation of the lineage of the members of the service to make certain that the current members of the organization were still in line with the requirements as put forth by Hitler. When many members were shown to not have the blood lineage required to be in the service, they were dismissed; therefore, Hitler called for a ban on the SA because of their relaxed security screenings of men for that service.[30]

SS members were often the downtrodden and dismissed members of the Nazi society, who were nonetheless good with firearms.[31] Many of the men who served in the SS came from Austria and the Balkan countries and were considered "Nazi refugees," a term that identifies them as converts to Nazism after their countries were either invaded or when the men felt the ever-pressing power of Hitler.[32] A common misconception about the forces was that the majority were all members of the military and had intense military training before joining the SS. Military training was prevalent among the higher ranking officials such as officers, who had joined the SS after their military service had come to an end or after they had been they had been discharged and were desperate for work.[33] For non-ranking officials, military training varied from person to person, but the majority of the people in the organization were middle class citizens, employed as "truck drivers, barbers, clerks, students, and prison guards."[34] Despite the varied background of the individuals, the goals of the SS were the same: to train a new ruling class and to eliminate

[30] *Ibid*., 20.
[31] *Ibid*., 27.
[32] *Ibid*.
[33] *Ibid.*
[34] *Ibid*.

the opposition.[35] With these goals intact, the SS service evolved from the body guards of Hitler to the main enforcement officials of the concentration camps.

This shift in function arose with the creation of concentration camps which began in 1933, and the appointment of Colonel Theodor Eicke as the “Inspector for Concentration Camps” in 1934.[36] The SS were first appointed to Dachau, but their presence did more harm than intended good. A political prisoner, the main type of prisoner in the camp, was killed on the first night that the SS guards were present.[37] When Eicke was informed of the murder, he immediately began work to regulate and mandate disciplinary actions that were to become standard for all of the concentration camps formed after that point. In *Rules of Discipline and Punishment for the Prison Camps* and *Service Regulations for Watchmen*[38] responsibility is placed on the guards to treat prisoners for their “crimes,” and a higher standard of conduct is asserted. If the guards disobeyed the regulations as outlined by Eicke, they experienced “ritual punishment” meant to “enforce discipline among the guards as much as it punished their victims.”[39]

After the guards were held more accountable as more disciplinary actions were established, there arose a new purpose of the early concentration camps, as well as a clearer ideology of why the camps existed. This purpose stems from one of the core values of the SS: the elimination of the opposition. Michael Thad Allen posits that “one of the pronounced values in the SS entrepreneurship was its productivism […] the belief that industrial and economic

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[35] *Ibid.*, 30.
[36] Michael Thad Allen, *The Business of Genocide: The SS, Slave Labor, and Concentration Camps* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 37. Allen explains the methodology and psychology behind those members of the SS and how exactly how they are used in the Concentration Camps.
[37] *Ibid.*
[38] *Ibid.*
[39] *Ibid.*

activity should be bent to the service of national identity rather than sordid profit gains."[40] The questions then become: do entrepreneurship and productivism differ from each other in this context and further, what exact effect do either of those have on the workings and environment contained within the various concentration camps? The answers lie in the differences in disciplinary actions as seen between Colonel Eicke and his future replacement, Oswald Pohl, each of whom had different personal ideologies which affected their ideas of how the camps should function.

Eicke's version of productivity was the use of acts of forced labor performed by the prisoners. There were several reasons why forced labor of prisoners began in the early concentration camps, as suggested by Allen, but essentially these all led to the umbrella reason: "work detail kept prisoners constantly working and continually exhausted."[41] Eicke proclaimed:

> one of the most valuable tool for servicing the safe incarceration of the criminal is [to make him] work-all day long, from morning to night, every week, month, and year of his imprisonment. This leaves no time for stupid thinking and as an added bonus helps to raise discipline within the institution.[42]

Eicke's primary goal for the camp was the punishment of the prisoners using any form available, including brutality. However, the brutality was not reserved for prisoners alone. The SS guards, and a small unit that eventually became known as "SS Death-Head Units" had training that tested their own brutality on each other, making them somewhat equal to the prisoners who experienced the punishments in the future. [43] Brutality in the camps can be understood as a hierarchical two-step system. In the first step trainee guards were to perform two

[40] *Ibid.*, 32.
[41] *Ibid.*, 43.
[42] *Ibid.*
[43] Kogon, *The Theory and Practice of Hell,* 31.

acts of brutality on the prisoners. The first act was for training purposes and the second act, a show of dominance. Once these two acts had been successfully completed, the trainees were examined. If the trainees "showed softness, sentimentality, or human sympathy [they were] kicked out or stripped of ranks before the others."[44] Further, a failed SS trainee's "head was shaved, [they were] given 25 lashes, and consigned to the company of the sub-humans."[45] This two-step system of guard brutality directly illustrates Eicke's philosophies about how prisoners and guards alike should be treated within the camps.

Oswald Pohl, vastly different from Eicke, based his camp discipline on equal treatment of prisoners and a more business-like approach to the camps. Himmler appointed Pohl in 1934 and gave him the responsibility to help with the overall budget of the SS and the Inspector of Concentration Camps, a move that put him in direct supervision of the camps, above Eicke.[46] Pohl also had to solve conflict between the civilians in the towns surrounding the camp, and the prisoners in the camp. The civilians rioted because they felt they were being cheated out of jobs by the prisoners in these early camps.[47] Pohl therefore began to develop his own administrative approach to the camps that sharply contrasted with Eicke's. One difference between Pohl and Eicke was the treatment of the prisoners. Eicke actively sought out Jewish prisoners and used more brutal punishments on them, but Pohl embraced the notion of "equality" among the prisoners. [48] He decided that "prisoners without exception [were] obliged to carry our physical labor. Status, profession, and background [would not] be taken into account."[49] He used the

[44] *Ibid*.
[45] *Ibid*.
[46] Allen, *The Business of Genocide,* 54.
[47] *Ibid*.
[48] *Ibid*., 43.
[49] *Ibid*.

specific work that the prisoners did to "demoralize" them and reinforce their subhuman category.[50]

Working in tandem with the development of the disciplinary style of Pohl was the overarching ideal of organization that is espoused by the SS. In turn, the notion of being part of an organization was fueled by the physical act of building the camps. The officers embraced the new approach to technology that was being introduced into the camps on a regular basis that not only made the building of the camps more time effective but also increased the productivity of the prisoners. One of ways that the SS used their new technology to build the camps was to set a specific formula for the appearance of the barracks. As the SS was being formed, Himmler wanted the officers and their families to live in villages that had similar architectural structures. Pohl took that same intent for the guard's housing developments and applied it to the barracks of the early camps.[51] Pohl, with the help of Gerhard Weigel, an SS engineer in charge of the SS Building Brigade, developed a system that had both economic and spatial considerations. They decided that each barrack should be constructed with a maximum cost allowance of seventeen marks per inmate. In other words, the materials that were to be used to build the barracks could not cost more than seventeen marks per inmate, with the total cost dependent on how many inmates were to be housed in the barracks when the project was finished. In terms of space, Weigel suggested that the measurements of the bunks for the prisoners were to take up "no more space than the surface dimensions of a large coffin or the volume of a shallow grave."[52] Although the measurement for the bunks is slightly less specific than the exact calculation of seventeen marks that it would take to build the structure of the barracks, it shows that the SS

[50] *Ibid.*, 44.
[51] *Ibid.*, 53.
[52] *Ibid.*

guards were thinking of the function of the camp and also the conservation of space within the barracks so they could fit as many people in them as possible.

As construction of the barracks continued, the constant search for productivity by the SS guards began to fuel a new idea of unity among them. They were part of something that made them feel significant and useful to society, and that took over in importance for the prisoners. If one remembers the type of men that were recruited into the service of the SS – the downtrodden, and lacking in self-confidence – it is not a stretch to suggest that the building of the barracks potentially united the guards because it gave them something to believe in: an identity. Allen concluded that, "SS productivism led them to see technological labor as a cultural act, one that helped unify and gratify the nation."[53] The prisoners were not just building barracks, sewage systems, or fences, they were building the elements of Hitler's ideals, his Nation, from the ground up. As Allen notes, "They [the SS guards] were constructing more than barracks, they were constructing a national identity"[54] But as the guards were building their national identity with the erecting of the camps, the prisoners were also forming their own collective sense of identity.

One of the first songs that could be considered a camp anthem and that promoted the inward unity of the prisoners is *Die Moorsoldatenlied*.[55] The song, composed in 1933, had a simple origin. The lyricist Wolfgang Langhoff along with his partner Johannes Esser, both prisoners in Börgermoor, approached Rudi Goguel, a popular composer in the camp, about creating a song that would represent the prisoner population:

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[53] Allen, *The Business of Genocide,* 49.
[54] *Ibid*.
[55] There are several names for this song. Other names include *Börgermoorlied, Lager lied von Börgemoor , Lied der Moorsoldaten, Moorsoldatenlied, Wir Sind die Moorsoldaten, The Peat Bog Soldiers,* and *Le chant de Marais.*

> Couldn't you write a song that we could all sing together in the camp? See, it can't be a song that the SS could ever ban. It should relate to our camp and to our families back home. You know, like a song from home, but not so kitschy like "I would like to leave to go back home." "Sure I could do something like that," the comrade [Goguel] carefully responded. I [Langhoff] will set it myself and then bring the lyrics to you in your barracks within the week.[56]

Although the anecdote is short, it illustrates that the song's message was pre-meditated to convey several things. First, the song was composed to be sung by a large group, together. There was to be no individual treatment of the text, but rather the words should be made universal. Second, the intention was that SS would not forbid it from being sung inside of the camp. Banning songs from being sung in the camps was rare, but in the case of *Die Moorsoldatenlied* the effect that it had on the prisoners, guards and even persons living outside of the camps was profound. This effect will be discussed later in the chapter, but it is important to note, for now, that *Die Moorsoldatenlied* was both approved for, *and* banned from being sung in the camp.[57] The third goal for the song was that it not be an outright cry for home, but rather a hint of the dissatisfaction of the prisoners to illustrate that the prisoners themselves moved past their conditions with every singing. The third goal of the composition was to write of longing for the homeland without explicitly saying "I would like to leave to go back home." There are several ways that this statement is offered implicitly in the text.

S1.Wohin auch das Auge blicket, (L1) Moor und Heide nur ringsum (L2) Vogelsang uns nicht erquicket (L3) Eichen stehen kahl und krumm. (L4)	Far and wide as the eye can measure Heath and bog are everywhere. Not a bird's song give us pleasure Oaks are standing bleak and bare.
Refrain (Repeated) Wir sind die Morrsoldaten Und ziehen mit dem Spaten ins Moor!	 We are the peatbog soldiers. We march with spades on shoulders In the bog.
S2.Heir in dieser öden Heide (L1) ist das Lager aufgebaut (L2)	Here in dreary desolation, We're behind the prison wall.

56 "Moorsoldatenlied," Music and the Holocaust.
57 John Eckhard, "Music and Concentration Camps: An Approximation," *Journal of Musicological Research* 20 (2001): 27.

wo wir fern von jeder Freude (L3)
hinter Stacheldraht verstaut. (L4)

Far from every consolation,
Barbed wire does surround us all.

S3.Morgens ziehen die Kolonnen (L1)
in das Moor zur Arbeit hin. (L2)
Graben bei dem Brand der Sonne, (L3)
doch zur Heimat steht der Sinn. (L4)

Mornings we're marched out in one line,
On the moorland to our toil.
Digging in the burning sunshine,
Thinking of our native soil.

S4Heimwärts, heimwärts jeder sehnet, (L1)
zu den Eltern, Weib und Kind. (L2)
Manche Burst ein Seufzer dehnet, (L3)
weil wir hier gefangen sind. (L4)

Homeward, homeward each is yearning
For his parents, child and wife.
In each breast a sigh is burning
We're imprisoned here for life.

S5.Auf und nieder gehn die Posten (L1)
keiner, keiner kann hindurch. (L2)
Flucht wird nur das Leben kostenm (L3)
Vierfach ist unzäunt die Burg (L4)

Up and down the guards are pacing,
No one can escape this place.
Flight would mean a sure death facing
Four-fold 'round the guards to pace.

S6.Doch für uns gibt es kein Klagen, (L1)
ewig kanns nicht Winter sein. (L2)
Einmal werden froh wir sagen (L3)
Heimat, du bist wieder mein. (L4)

But for us there is no complaining,
Winter will in time be past.
One day, free, we'll be exclaiming:
Homeland, you are mine at last.

Final Refrain:
Dann ziehn die Moorsoldaten
Nicht mehr mit dem Spaten
ins Moor

Then no more will peat-bog soldiers
March with spades on shoulder
To the bog. [58]

The poem is structured into stanzas, each of which contribute to a gradual refinement of the overall theme. The first section of the text gives a broad description of what the prisoners see and hear as they look out into the camp. As the stanzas progress, this description becomes more detailed. The middle section addresses the action in which the prisoners take part. The last section of the text is where we get the affirmation, the striving to stay positive and overcome the realities of the camp. As an overview of the stanzas has been presented in their subject matter, each individual stanza may be reviewed in terms of their subject matter, rhyming scheme, and syllabic content to show that the various goals of the composition have been achieved.

[58] Jerry Silverman, *The Undying Flame: Ballads and Songs of the Holocaust* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2002), 3-4.

The form is four lines per stanza and each stanza is followed by a couplet refrain. The refrain remains the same for the first five stanzas, but changes the last time it is stated. The individual stanzas have an alternate rhyme scheme or *abab* pattern. The refrain is not rhymed. Thus, the form for each stanza/refrain is *ababcd*. The individual lines of the stanzas have a syllabic count that also alternates, 8,7,8,7. There is only one instance where the syllabic count does not fit in to this structure. In the fifth stanza of the poem there is an added syllable, making its syllable count 9,7,8,7. It could be argued however, that the word *gehen* (to go) in that line could be elided to be one syllable, making the count fit into the syllabic scheme without the addition of an extra note to the melody. The refrain also has an uneven syllabic scheme, which reverses that of the stanza, 7,8. The appearance of seven syllables in the first line of the refrain functions as an indication that the stanza has ended and the refrain has begun (see Table 1).

TABLE 1.1: THE FIRST STANZA AND REFRAIN OF *DIE MOORSOLDATENLIED* SHOWCASING THE SYLLABLE COUNT AND RHYMING SCHEME[59]

Text	Rhyme Scheme	Syllable Count	Translation
Wohin auch das Auge blicket	**a**	**8**	**Far and wide as the eye can measure**
	b	**7**	
Moor und heide ringsherum	**a**	**8**	**Heath and bog are everywhere.**
Vogelsang uns nicht erquicket	**b**	**7**	**Not a bird's song give us pleasure**
	c	**7**	
Eichen stehen kalt und krumm.	**d**	**8**	**Oaks are standing bleak and bare.**
			We are the peatbog soldiers.
Wir sind die Moorsoldaten	**c**	**7**	
			We march with spades on shoulders In the bog.
Und ziehen mit dem Spaten ins Moor-(8) d	**d**	**8**	

The first stanza begins with a description of the prisoners' surroundings. The first four lines create the visual scene for the listeners to draw them into the landscape. In the second line, two similar types of natural environment are described, heath and bog. A heath, a shrub-covered habitat with poor soil, is not a place in which crops are grown for food consumption because of the high alkaline levels in the soil. Because of the physical structure of the soil in heaths, water is drawn to the habitat very easily and tends to remain there because of its poor soil drainage. The standing water present in either large or small areas of the heath creates a new environment, a bog. Börgermoor, or "Bog-Moor," was surrounded by bogs, specifically what are called peat

[59] Silverman, *The Undying Flame: Ballads and Songs of the Holocaust,* 3.

bogs because of the certain mosses that grew in the bogs formed by disintegration of plant material that fell in.

The lack of bird song, mentioned in the third line could be due to several factors. First, the building of the camp destroyed the natural habitat of several species, which is a typical occurrence when a large part of the landscape is changed. Second, the poet could simply have not been consoled by the birds' songs that he did hear, and used the bird as a symbol as something that is free, unlike himself. Or third, the poet could have been inadvertently commenting on the migratory pattern of the birds that surrounded the camp. For example, the *falco tinnunculus*, or krestrel as it is more commonly called, has a migratory pattern that begins in August for the fall migration, the time when the song and poem were composed in 1933. Each of the reasons for the lack of bird song are valid so it can be taken either literally or figuratively by the listener.

The fourth line of the stanza makes the first specific mention of the flora that is seen by the prisoners. The Oak tree, or *Eichen* in German, is identified by name and described as being bleak and bare by the poet. It is unlikely, based on the leaf shedding pattern of oak trees, and in particular, the English oak tree that is common in the Emsland where Börgermoor was located, that the tree would have shed its leaves in August, being so close to summer.[60] The lack of soil drainage, however, may have had an effect on the oak trees, because they tend to thrive in well-drained areas. The trees may have been diseased from being waterlogged, therefore, making them seem bleak and influencing the leaf production. The oak tree specifically also may reveal symbolistic ideas of the poet. For example, the oak tree that produced bog wood is said to have

[60]Edward F. Gilman and Dennis G. Watson, "Quercus Robur," Department of Agriculture Forest Service, Last Modified October 1994, Accessed September 1, 2016. http://hort.ufl.edu/database/documents/pdf/tree_fact_sheets/queroba.pdf.

supernatural powers. Its supernatural powers "gave man better protection from negative energy from outside and helped recover strength."[61] Whether the poet had prior knowledge about the bog oak tree, or whether he was simply making an assumption about what kind of tree it was, is unknown. However, the overarching symbolism and what the oak tree represents cannot be ignored as it relates to the prisoners.

The second stanza does not present the same symbolism as does in the first stanza. There are a few differences between the German and the English translation provided by Jerry Silverman. The translation, however, contains changes that completely alter the emotional meaning of the stanza in both a positive and negative way. There are three words that have been changed. The first is "*Heide,*" or "heath," that occurs in the first line of the stanza. Silverman translates this as "desolation." The notion of "desolation" has more of an impact on the listener because the image of heath was already solidified in the first stanza. To make the image more effective, desolation would be the preferred word. On the other hand, the word "*Freude*," or "joy," is mistranslated as consolation. Consolation and joy have two different meanings. Consolation has a negative connotation because to be consoled, one must have suffered, but upon examination of the whole line, "Far from every consolation," the word choice does not make linguistic sense. The prisoners reflected upon their past that had joy in it, not suffering. The third word that, in the author's opinion, does not carry as much weight in the English translation as it does in the German is "*verstaut*," a conjugation of the word "*stauen*," or to "stow." Silverman translates this as "surround" in the line "Barbed wire does surround us all" (*hinter Stacheldraht verstaut*). "To surround" and "to stow" are two completely different words, and the concept, "to stow," is more negative than "to surround." The prisoners are stowed away in barbed wire, never

[61] *Ibid*.

to escape, much like cattle being stowed away in the field. This change to the specific words in the song, if it were to be sung in English, would not alter the effect of the song, but the words would not hold the same weight as the original German text.

The next three stanzas alternate between a description of the camp and an internal dialogue by the prisoners. These stanzas relate to the first stanza, connecting the first five stanzas together in their word choice and relationships. The third stanza contains the first description of the actions that occur in the camp, identified as "marching," "digging," and "thinking." It is also the first time the prisoner's native soil, "*Heimat*" is mentioned. The allusion to native soil then leads into the fourth stanza where the stanza which begins with homeward, "*Heimwärts*." This link essentially forces the narrative inward as the text turns to verbs such as "yearning," "sigh," and "imprisoned." The fifth stanza returns to the outer narrative to describe more actions: "pacing," "escaping," and "flight." The first five stanzas are shown in Figure 1. The brackets illustrate the relationships between the stanzas (1 and 5, 2 and 4). There are several connections between these particular stanzas and certain words that are used create a pattern in the speech.[62]

The first bracket (1) represents the least number of connections, and encompasses stanzas one and five. These both begin with oppositional directional designations. Stanza one states "Far and wide," while stanza five relates "Up and down." With these directions, the two stanzas are connected, and begin and end the description section. The second bracket (2) connects stanzas two and four, which contain oppositional setting designations. Stanza two begins with "Here," meaning the camp, and stanza four, "Homeward." These stanzas represent the internal and external narrative created by the poet, each corresponding to the very first word of the stanza.

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[62] There is one final stanza of the text, the affirmation that life will be better and they will escape their turmoil, and therefore is not included in this part of the analysis.

The final bracket incorporates the third stanza, the central foundation of the poem, and connects it with the fifth stanza, related by oppositional action descriptions. Stanza three uses the word "marches" to describe the type of movement that prisoners were doing, while stanza five uses the word "pacing" in reference to the guards. The words show the difference between the prisoners and the guards. Marching is a strict action, and in the camps, it was done in columns of five people across. This action contrasts with the end of the stanza, which mentions the guards as they pace "four-fold 'round." Therefore, the stanzas are connected not only by the different types of action but also by differentiation between the number of prisoner lines and guards.

Stanza one and five both portray birds. The first stanza, as the analysis has shown thus far, states that the birds do not bring pleasure to the prisoners. The fifth stanza makes a mention of birds in the context of escaping, but the specific word that is used is the German word for flight, "Flucht." The word choice, therefore, alludes to birds, therefore creating another sequential connection between the first and fifth stanza. The line in stanza five is as follows: "Flight would mean a sure death facing." If the prisoners escaped, death would meet them. Perhaps this is the reason there are no birds singing, because they are outside of the camp, and therefore are dead as a result of attempting to escape. Escaping the camp, according to Rachel Adelstein, was "the worst offense" because the prisoners had "seen, heard, and done things that may harm the state."[63] Kogen explains further "its better to shoot a concentration camp prisoner than to endanger the security of the Reich by his escape."[64] The notion of escape instilled great fear in prisoners. It could, and more than likely would, result in death if they were caught, or might cause the death of others as punishment if they were not caught. So, the prisoners relate

[63] Rachel Louise Adelstein, "Singing the Unspeakable: Music as a Carrier of Holocaust Memory," (MA diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2006), 155, Accessed May 28, 2016.
[64] Kogon, *Theory and Practices of Hell,* 270.

directly to the birds because there is no pleasure to be had by comparing themselves to the birds on the outside of the barbed wire.

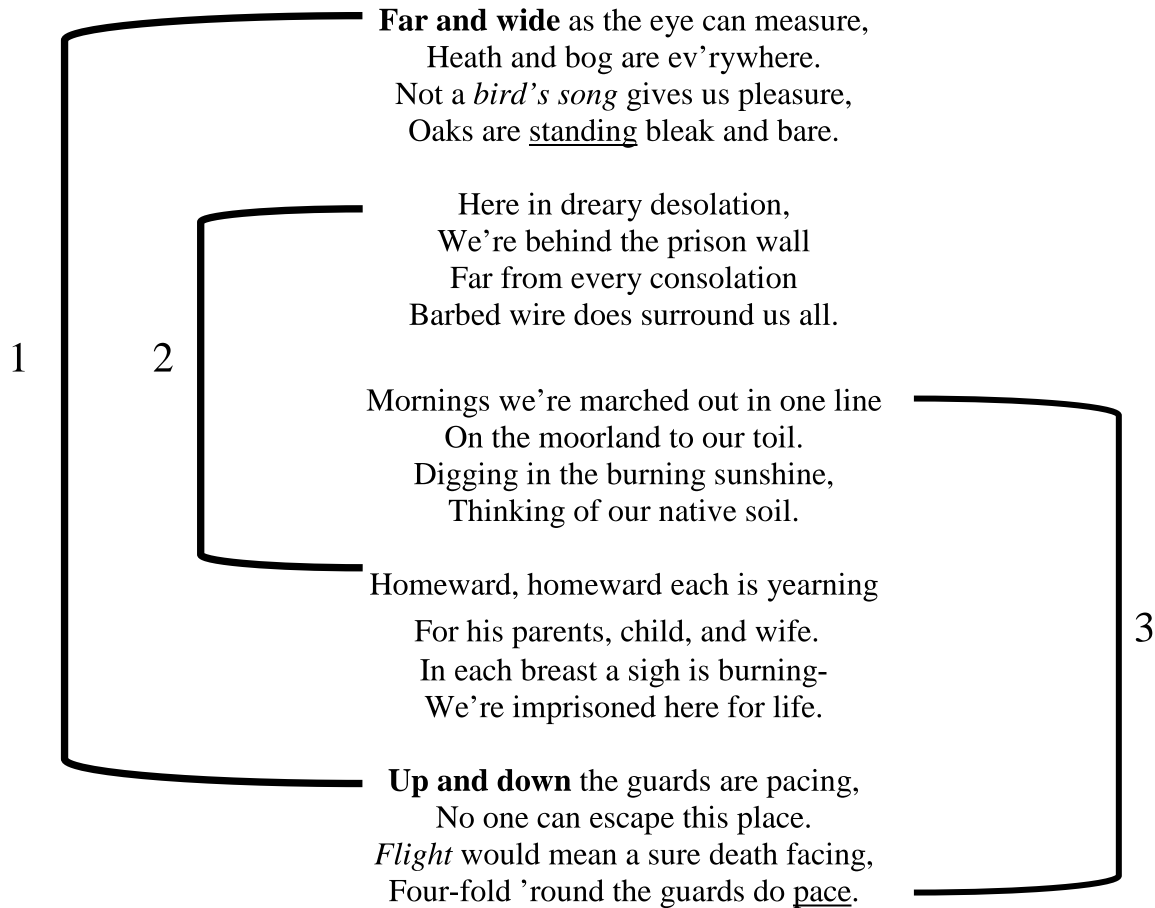

Figure 1.1. Representation of the textual relationship between the first five stanzas of *Die Moorsoldaten.*

The final or affirmation stanza is completely different from the stanzas that precede it. Every line exudes positivity and comfort for the prisoners and can be related in some way to at least one other stanza, as seen in Table 1.2.

TABLE 1.2. REPRESENTATION OF THE STANZA AND LINE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE LAST STANZA AND THE FIRST FIVE STANZAS OF *DIE MOORSOLDATENLIED*

Text	Correspondences With Other Stanzas
But for us there is no complaining	S1:L2, S2:L1, S3:L3, S4:L4
Winter will in time be past-	S1:L4, S3:L3
One day free, we'll be exclaiming-	S2:L2/L4, S3:L4, S4:L1/L4, S5:L3.
Homeland, you are mine at last	S3:L4, S4:1.

Stanza=S
Line=L

In the final stanza, the overarching mood of the poem changes, taking a positive turn. Over the course of the poem the poet establishes the setting, tells his frustration and provides an internal and external narrative. In the final stanza, the one every prisoner can relate to, it is clear through a change of personal pronouns that solidarity has been achieved. However, this stanza is different than the previous stanza because it goes from mentioning a plural "us" in the first line and "we'll" in the third line to using a singular "mine" in the last line. The choice of using both plural and singular words makes a shift from the feeling of unity to a personal reflection by the individual. The individual is represented through the single word "homeland" because the prisoners came from different places. Therefore, all the homelands are not the same, making the unity only applicable to the prisoners as a whole and not on an individual level.

The final section of the poem that has been mentioned briefly, but not fully explored up to this point, is the refrain. In the form of a couplet, it is the declamatory section of the text. There are two parts. The first is the initial refrain or Refrain A, is stated after every stanza before

the last one, and the second, Refrain B, or is the final refrain, is stated after the affirmation stanza. Refrain A fits in to the first section of the text, because it describes what happens to the prisoners, and states who is performing the action, and specifically what that action is. The prisoners, who have promoted themselves from prisoners to self-named Peat Bog soldiers (*Moorsoldaten),* now have formed a complete identity with each other, uniting in their title. One of the justifications for the prisoners calling themselves "soldiers" rests in the type of prisoners they were. Börgermoor was a camp that was specifically built to house political prisoners, classified by Eugen Kogon, into four types of people:

1. Members of the Anti-Nazi Party
2. Captured members of foreign legions
3. Foreign exchange violators
4. Illegal radio listeners.[65]

Political prisoners, including soldiers, could be found in these categories, so the prisoners identifying as "Soldiers" should not come as a surprise. The unity that was felt among these "soldiers" is different in this camp than the other camps to be discussed, however. The camp was not specifically made to house only political prisoners. Those that were put into the camp for political reasons, however, were reluctant at first to feel any unity towards the other prisoners. They "would feel degraded by being put into the same camp as those considered scum of 'society'."[66] But despite their feeling of derogation, eventually the prisoners found that the refrain of the song created a feeling of solidarity through reference to the group as a whole. This unity is shown by the use of the word "We" (*Wir*). The poet could have easily have stated "I am…I march," but instead used the plural form of the word. The word "march" also carries a different meaning for the refrain than it does when used in the stanzas. In the stanzas, it has a

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[65] Kogon, *The Theory and Practice of Hell,* 40-41.
[66]*Ibid*., 46.

negative connotation and evokes the image of exhausted, starving, and utterly desolate people marching with no life in them. In contrast, the image in the refrain is positive, and the marching is pictured as full of life, described as picking up the feet and marching with pride.

In Refrain B, a shift in imagery occurs as the soldiers turn into free people in correspondence with the affirmation stanza. In Refrain B, the unity of the "soldiers" is still referenced, and it is can be assumed that when they get out of the camp, that they will still be united through their shared experiences in the camp, and will always consider themselves "soldiers." Refrain B is the ultimate unifying section of the song because it confirms exactly what their goal is after they were released from the camp: never returning to the bog.

Refrain A

We are the peat-bog soldiers, We march with spades on the shoulders to the bog

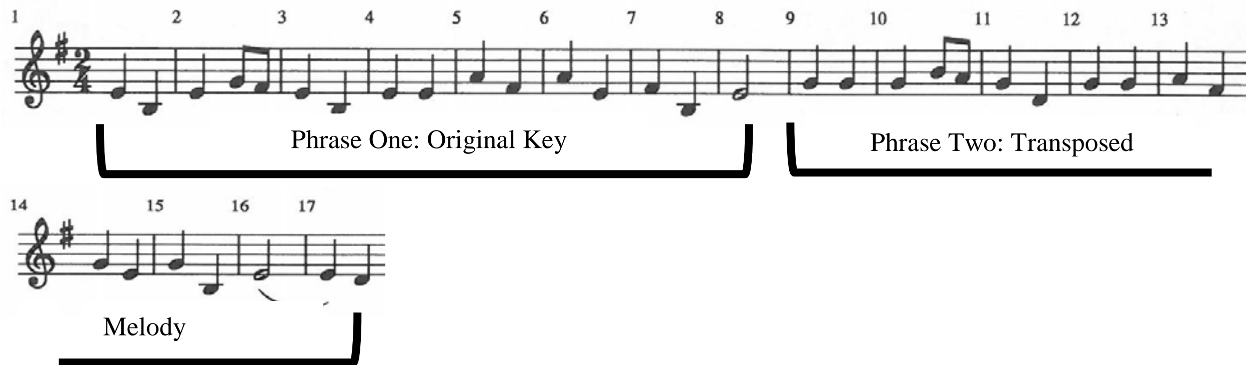
Refrain B
Then no more will peat-bog soldiers, March with spades on shoulders to the bog

The melody, as stated before was, composed at the same time the lyrics were written. On the surface, it is a simple folk melody. Through a closer lens, however its intricacies and text painting become apparent (see Example 1.1)

Example 1.1. The Melody of *Die Moorsoldatenlied*.[67]

The form of the song can be classified in two ways: ABC, or A(A-prime)B. The distinction between the two forms could come from the repetition of the melodic material used in the verse. The verse can be separated into two phrases, each eight measures long. The phrases are different in the first four measures of the melody, but the remaining four measures are the same. The second phrase is transposed a third higher than the first phrase, thus creating a need to classify it as a different part of the form (see Example 1.2).[68]

Example 1.2. Measures 1-17 of *Die Moorsoldatenlied*.[69]



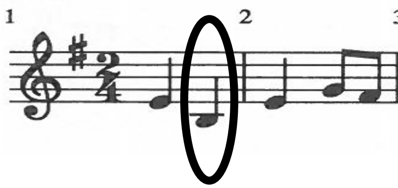
In addition to the transposition, the second phrase can also be classified as different because of the first three notes. The terms "marked" and "unmarked," when applied to a melody or rhythm, indicate a disruption of an original pattern. The initial pattern is considered unmarked, because it

[67] Jerry Silverman, *The Undying Flame: Ballads and Songs of the Holocaust*, 3-4.
[68] The transcription by Jerry Silverman is used in the following musical examples. However, depending on the starting pitch that would have been chosen, each pitch should not be taken literally, as this is one transcription.
[69] All musical examples in this and subsequent chapters were transcribed by the author.

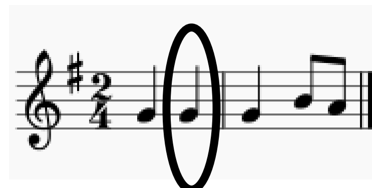
is the original pattern. Therefore, any change in the pattern indicated a marked portion, marking the change in melody or rhythm. In the first measure of the piece, the pitches descend a major third, and back to the starting pitch, which establishes the opening pattern. The second phrase, which would normally follow the opening phrase, uses a repetition of one pitch for three beats. The second beat of the first and ninth measure differ from one another. The second phrase then becomes marked because of the change in the initial pattern (see Example 1.3).

Example 1.3. The unmarked and marked measures of the verse, measures 1-2 and 9-10.

Unmarked



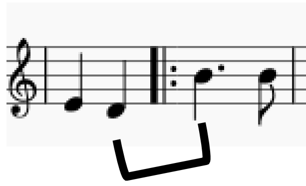
Marked



The time signature of 2/4 reinforces the marching theme. The verse contains an alternation between eighth, quarter, and half notes, with the quarter note taking precedence. Quarter notes equate to the marching indicated by the text. The eighth notes are used as embellishments in the beginning of the phrases.

The refrain section, “B,” is similarly separated into two phrases. The melody begins with the largest interval leap used thus far, an ascending sixth (see Example 1.4). The leap indicated to the listener that there has been a change within the form and that a new section has begun.

Example 1.4: The opening measure of the Refrain section, measures 17-18.



Within the refrain there is also a transposition of a third similar to the one used in the verse. The transposition however is a third lower, back to the tonic (see Example 1.5). This contrary transposition is an extension of the leap that was seen in the beginning of the section. The ascending transposition in the first section leads the melody to the refrain, while the descending third indicates the end of the piece.

Example 1.5: The Transposition of the Melody in the Refrain, measures 18-26.

An analysis of the song through the lens of a singer reveals several interesting elements. First, the range is small, only spanning an octave.[70] The narrow range along with the repetitive nature of the melody, makes it a feasible song for a singer to learn quickly as the prisoners would have done. Also, because the range is only an octave, it is easy for singers of all voice types to sing because unless there is damage to the voice. An octave is a reasonable range for a singer. Second, the march-like pattern in the verse provides a building foundation for the singer. With each repetition the emphasis on the repeated quarter notes will grow in intensity. The refrain also

will be automatically emphasized because of the ascending passage. The section begins on the apex of the octave. It is a natural vocal technique for the voice to get louder as the pitches get higher. As a group is collectively singing the piece, the refrain will sound louder whether there is one or twenty people singing it because of the leap to the upper part of the range. The refrain, when sung with the text transforms the work from a song, to an anthem. Rudi Goguel, the composer, offered the following anecdote about the first performance of the song and explains the effect the refrain had on the prisoners:

> The 16 singers mostly members of the Solingers Worker's Singing Club marched into the arena with their green police uniforms and their spades on their shoulders. I was in the front in a blue tracksuit and used the broken off handle of a spade as a baton. We started singing and by the second verse almost all of the 1,000 prisoners were singing along to the refrain… At the words 'Then the moor soldiers will no longer travel with spade into the moor' the 16 singer stuck their spades in the sand and marched out of the arena. They left their spades behind, extending from the ground like crosses in a graveyard.[71]

As the piece grew in popularity, the SS noticed that, in their opinion, it had a negative effect on the prisoners. The prisoners were coming together to sing while working in defiance of the SS. For that reason the anthem was banned by the SS for a short time after the first performance. However, Goguel related an anecdote that shows that the decision was not that they did not like the song, but rather because it had a deeper psychological reason:

> With every verse the refrain grew stronger and by the final verse even the SS who had come along with their commandant were singing. It seemed they felt themselves to be "Moor" Soldiers as well.[72]

As David Hirsch observes "music was used to evoke a schizophrenic feeling of the guards."[73] There were three possible reasons as to why the guards may have felt that way when the song was performed. The first, the tunefulness of the song combined with power of the text

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[71] "Moorsoldatenlied," Music of the Holocaust.
[72] *Ibid*.
[73] David H. Hirsch, "Camp Music and Camp Song: Szymon Laks and Aleksander Kelisiewicz," in *Confronting the Holocaust: A Mandate for the 21st Century,* 157-168 (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1997), 3.

caused the SS guards to sing it and even adopt it as their own anthem to represent themselves. The second, as the anecdote above stated, the SS guards had a realization that they actually liked the song, and not wanting to associate themselves with it, they banned it. The guards seemed to have a feeling of guilt that they liked the song, and in fear of their feelings being discovered, they banned it. In the final analysis, the guards knew the impact that song had on the prisoners which caused them to resent the song. This feeling of resentment was the reason it only took the SS two days to prohibit the prisoners from singing the song.[74] Heinze Junge told of a particular performance of the song:

> We gathered at the place where the commandant stayed and we began to sing the song of the Moor. This time we sang the melody even stronger. The commandant woke up at once, came out and started to yell at us. Then the SS started beating us.[75]

The guards saw the potential of the song for the prisoners and wanted to stop it from spreading and growing in strength before the message got out of hand. Because of the fear of the growing popularity of the song, it was prohibited not only from being sung inside of the camp, but also in the whole country of Germany.[76] Even though the song was banned, that did not stop the prisoners from singing the song on their own, however. The prisoners would often sing the song in secret "to express their protests and to cheer up each other or to give the newcomers a friendly greeting."[77] This "friendly greeting" that was experienced by the new prisoners was also a rude awakening for them. One undocumented prisoner recalled that they were greeted with "Man, it is hell here! Have they already taught you to sing?"[78] The new prisoners would be taken from the train when they got to the camp and then would be taught *Die Moorsoldatenlied* as a

[74] Silverman, *The Undying Flame,* 3.
[75] "Moorsoldatenlied," Music of the Holocaust.
[76] *Ibid*.
[77] *Ibid*.
[78] *Ibid*.

welcome to the new camp. It was essential for the prisoners to learn the song because even after it was banned, the guards would have the prisoners sing the song as a form of torture. The prisoners also learned the song as a means for survival. Hirsch said, “music and music-making in the German concentration camps gave neither pleasure nor fulfillment, but became simply one more method of survival.”[79] Although that statement may hold some weight, in this case, music making, when it was not forced, not only acted as a way of survival, but the prisoners gained a small amount of solace from singing it. The prisoners would have especially taken pleasure when singing in a large group, with their voices raised as one to defy their captors. Having learned the song, the new prisoners were now able to escape threats of torture but they also “communicate[d] their pain and their hope and continue[d] to live day by day.”[80]

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[79] David H. Hirsch, “Camp Music and Camp Song,” 2.
[80] Eliyana R. Adler, “No Raisins, No Almonds: Singing as Spiritual Resistance to the Holocaust,” *Shofar* 24, no. 4 (2006): 66.

CHAPTER TWO

SACHSENHAUSENLIED

Much of the music composed in concentration camps came to serve either specific purposes or was used against the prisoners depending on the type of music that it was. *Die Moorsoldatenlied* is one example of how a camp anthem could represent the prisoners of Börgermoor through unification. In other camps, however, the music created had almost the opposite effect on the prisoners, who were forced to sing. They felt united, but music also came to be something that they dreaded. In Sachsenhausen, music was sung and played by the prisoners. However, unlike the unifying anthem of Börgermoor, the anthem of Sachsenhausen was used as a form of torture for the prisoners. This practice, alongside dismal conditions, established this camp as one of the most wretched.

One phenomenon that occurred in several of the camps, but in Sachsenhausen especially, was frequent communal singing. The practice, *Schallerabende,* did not originate in the camps, but stemmed from choral societies formed during the communist revolution of 1848.[81] German citizens compiled songs they sang in communities in songbooks. These songs were familiar fare throughout Germany in the mid Nineteenth Century, and persisted through World War I and the formation of the Third Reich. These featured songs were popular from school, military, youth, and worker programs.[82] These songs were particularly popular among the German Youth, so it is no surprise that some of the melodies were brought into the camps and juxtaposed into its daily life.

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[81] Shirli Gilbert, *Music in the Holocaust: Confronting Life in the Nazi Ghettos and Camps* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 107.
[82] *Ibid*., 109.

When examining the origin of these daily camp melodies, one must consider the main source of these songs, youth programs. During the first years of the second World War, the youth of Germany, or, the future SS guards of the regime, were trained in a large part through the singing of songs. These songs relayed messages of discipline and other training essentials, and eventually evolved into texts and melodies that reflected the main purpose of the SS. The practice occurred during a time called "the home evening," when the youth were to be at home with their parents. They learned these songs during their training and were sent home to practice so they could sing them with the other members of the youth party at their next meeting.[83] The practices of "Hitler's Youth" state:

> Old songs are repeated and learned new. It clarifies the meaning and significance of the song and when and where you can sing the songs. Do we know something special about a song about its origin or its author or before or told? *The Peasants want to be Free* is told from the time of Peasants Wars.[84]

The use of old melodies combined with new text was not a new practice and was very common in several concentration camps. Although learning songs in groups proved to be an educational and bonding tool for Hitler's Youth, that practice had a negative effect on the prisoners of Sachsenhausen because they were forced to learn them.

Sachsenhausen was unique among the concentration camps for several reasons. First, it did not function as a regular camp because of its structure. Constructed in 1936, three years after Börgermoor, Sachsenhausen functioned as a reconstruction or model camp for the improvement of old camps, and the planning for new camps.[85] Second, Jewish prisoners were not present in the camp until two years after its construction. Between 1936 and 1938, its prisoner classification

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[83]Hitlerjugend, "Der Heimabend," Jugend! Deutschland 1918-1945, http://www.jugend1918-1945.de/thema.aspx?s=5394&m=3448&v=1964.
[84] *Ibid*.
[85]Juliane Brauer, "How Can Music be Torturous? Music in Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camps," *Music and Politics,* 10, no. 1 (Summer 2016): 10.

indicates that the camp held political prisoners, communists, social democrats, homosexuals, and Jehovah's Witnesses.[86] In 1938, there was a large influx of Jewish prisoners into the camp, a number estimated at 6,000.[87] Although it might seem that the Nazis and Gestapo had no system as to what type of prisoner was sent to which camp, the organizational system of the camps was very specific. Class specifications determined what kind of labor the prisoners would be expected to perform. There were three classes of concentration camps:

> **Class 1**-Labor Camps-The mildest of the camps. Only held prisoners for a few weeks before transport to other camps.
> **Class 2**-"Proper" Labor Camps-The living and working conditions worse. Hard labor performed.
> **Class 3**-Death Camps ("Mills of Death")-In these camps, the Gestapo wanted all of the political prisoners, Communists, homosexuals, and Jewish citizens.[88]

Based on its prisoner population, Sachsenhausen was categorized as Class 3. However, Heinrich Himmler, who had his own classification of the camps, made it out to be a "moderate" camp.[89] There are several reasons as to why the prisoner demographic of Sachsenhausen was so varied, whereas in other small camps, for instance, the variation was quite less. First, political prisoners were charged in several ways: 1) being members of an anti-Nazi party, 2) captured members of foreign legions, 3) foreign exchange violators or 4) illegal radio listeners.[90] Because the majority of these prisoners were not Jewish and there was a strong undercurrent of anti-Semitism in German society they felt shamed if they were forced to associate with people assumed to be "the scum of society" (Jewish people)"[91] Although there were many other

[86] *Ibid*., 11.
[87] Ibid,.
[88] Eugen Kogon, *The Theory and Practice of Hell: The German Concentration Camps and the System Behind Them* trans. by Heinz Nordon (New York, NY: Octagon Books, 1979), 35.
[89] Shirli Gilbert, *Music in the Holocaust: Confronting Life in the Nazi Ghettos and Camps* (Oxford, London: Oxford University Press, 2005), 106.
[90] Kogon, *The Theory and Practice of Hell,* 40-41.
[91] Ibid., 45.

disciplinary tactics and strategies that guards of Sachsenhausen used to keep the prisoners from misbehaving, the one tactic that was specific to Sachsenhausen was the practice of forced singing for the prisoners. The practice was not fueled by the individual groups of prisoners, but was strictly an SS act. This practice is not like other instances in which musicians were forced to play for SS guards or other prisoners as a form of entertainment as accounts from Auschwitz relate, but rather it was a practice considered torturous to the prisoners.

Forced singing in Sachsenhausen is reflected in the daily routine of the prisoners. The general daily schedule for a prisoner was:

> Wake up- 4:00-5:00 a.m. (Summer), 6:00-7:00 a.m. (Winter)
> Morning Chores- Usually 30 minutes (Breakfast, washing, bed making)
> Roll Call
> Labor Details
> Work- Would get 30 minutes for lunch
> Evening Roll Call[92]

Arguably, the more important points of the day were the morning and evening roll calls. Several things would happen during the call that was vital to the survival of the prisoners. First, the function of the roll call was to record all the people in the camp. Prisoners were instructed to stand in the *Appel-platz*, the attendance square, in specific rows. Prisoners had their particular spot depending on their assigned barrack. The arrangement showed who was missing or had died during the day during work detail or during the night. Taking accurate records was a very long process because everyone had to be accounted for, either dead or alive. If a person had died before roll call, their body had to be recovered and brought to the square for an accurate count. If the body was not recovered, roll call would last until the body was found. Roll call was also vital to survival during the long time it took for the call to take place. The SS often employed methods of extreme torture on the prisoners. The torture would vary from physical to mental torture. For

[92] Ibid., 77-80.

example, "Caps Off," a common command given to the prisoners, indicated that they had to take off their cap, a part of their uniform, and place it at their side, in one swift movement. If this action was not performed correctly, prisoners were beaten or shot on sight.[93] Physical torture was also used during roll call. Prisoners were made to do repeated exercises, called fatigue drills, and many prisoners died doing the exercises.[94] As mentioned previously, however, one of the favorite forms of punishment was forced singing which combined both physical and mental torture. A prisoner from Sachsenhausen related:

> The SS made singing, like everything else they did, a mockery, a torment for the prisoners ... those who sang too softly or too loudly were beaten. The SS men always found a reason ... when in the evening we had to drag our dead and murdered comrades back into the camp, we had to sing. Hour after hour we had to, whether in the burning sun, freezing cold, or in snow or rain storms, on the roll call plaza we had to stand and sing… Meanwhile the dead and dying comrades lay next to us on a ripped up wool blanket or on the frozen or soggy ground.[95]

This forced singing practice began with SS guard Arthur Rödl. He was not stationed in Sachsenhausen solely, but spent his time in the SS among four camps and used music as a forced practice for instrumentalists and non-instrumentalists alike.[96] For example, a prisoner who experienced Rödl's torture said "on occasion at Buchenwald, SS Major Rödl actually stationed an *opera* singer by the rack (an apparatus for whipping) and had him accompany the 'performance' (the whipping of a prisoner) with operatic arias."[97] It was common for the guards to use music to detract also from the actual actions that were going on in the camp. Another account comes from a few years into the camp's existence during which inmates consisted of a large number of Russian prisoners:

[93] *Ibid.,* 81.
[94] *Ibid.*, 106.
[95] "Sachsenhausenlied," Music and the Holocaust.
[96] *Ibid.*, 80.
[97] *Ibid.*, 105.

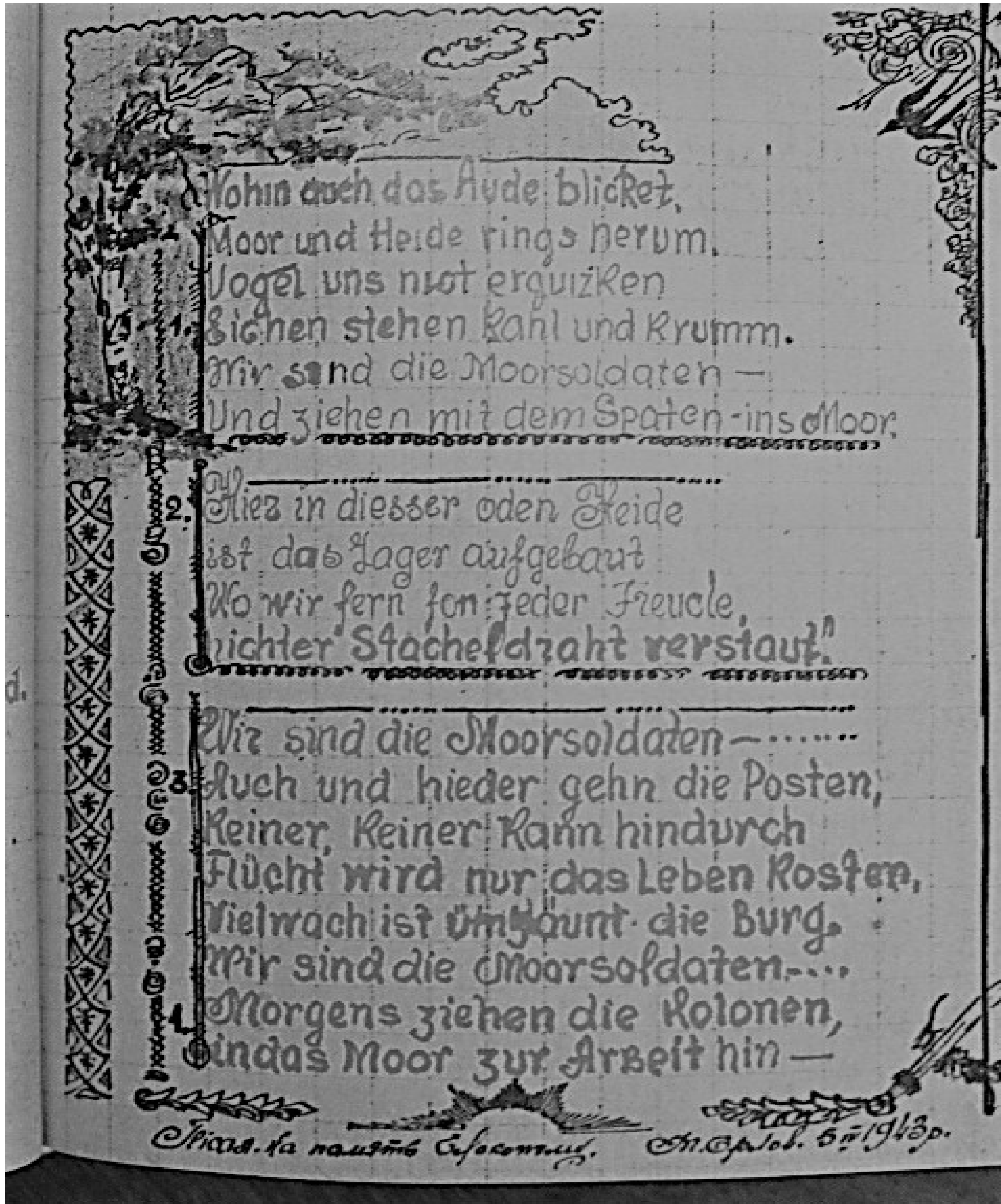
> To drown out the crack of the rifles, the entire camp had to assemble in the roll call area and sing songs often in the middle of the work day, after several weeks, matters proceeded without ridiculous camouflage[98]

The learning of songs that were part of daily life in the camp however was also essential tool for survival. One of the first tasks of the new arrivals to the camp was to learn the songs that would be sung on a regular basis. In the camp setting this activity is referred to as *Strafsingen*, or, the act of practicing songs continuously until the prisoners learned them.[99] Often, the types of songs practiced were simple folk songs or songs from the Nazi repertoire, with texts changed by the guards to further humiliate the prisoners.[100] *Sachsenhausenlied* did not have lyrics that humiliated the prisoners, on the contrary, its text contained symbols and messages that represented the prisoners experienced and served as the anthem.

Sachsenhausenlied was a unique among the songs composed in the camp because it did not come from the prisoner's oppression. Prisoners were asked to create a song that reflected their experience in a positive light. Shortly after Sachsenhausen was constructed, the anthem from Börgermoor made its way to the camp and became popular. Despite the lack of resources, the prisoners kept a good record of the songs that were sung in the camp. The prisoners drew pictures and wrote down the text of the songs in the *Sachsenhausenliederbuch*. In this book, one can find most the songs that were performed at some time in the camp. *Die Moorsoldatenlied* is recorded in the book and because of this, the reader can note that the song had crossed the Sachsenhausen border to become popular enough to warrant recording (Figure 2.1). The reader may note that on the detail that is contained in the drawing. For example, in the upper right hand corner, there is a faint drawing of a bird. On the left hand side, the text is flanked by a forest, and

[98] *Ibid.*, 184.
[99] *Ibid.*, 14.
[100] John Eckhard, "Music and Concentration Camps: An Approximation," *Journal of Musicological Research* 20 (2001): 30.

in the lower right hand corner, a sword is present. All of the images present represent images of the text, discussed in the previous chapter.



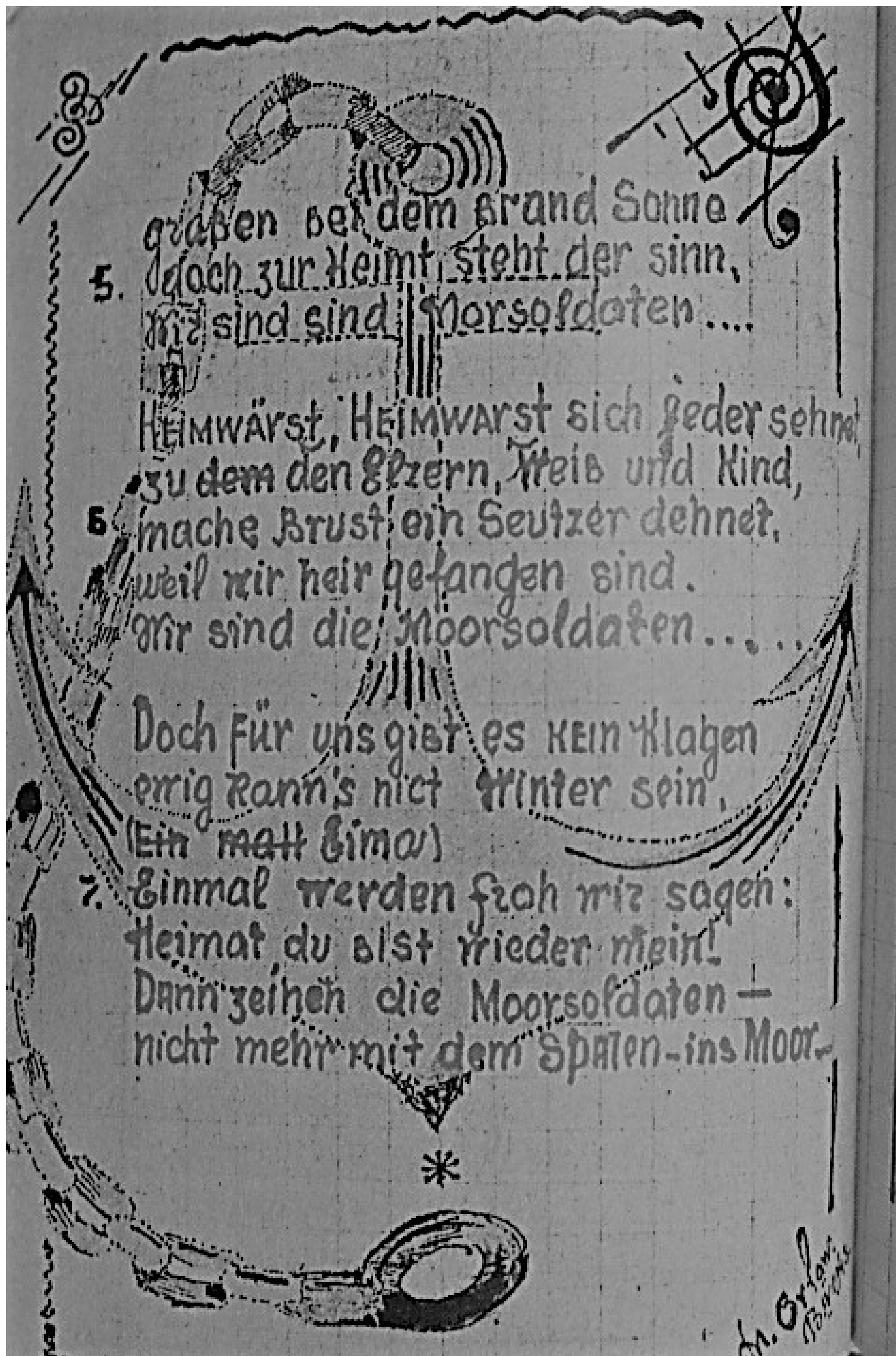
Wohin auch das Auge blicket,
Moor und Heide rings herum.
Vogel uns niot erquizken
Eichen stehen kahl und krumm.
Wir sind die Moorsoldaten –
Und ziehen mit dem Spaten ins Moor.

2. Hiez in diesser oden Heide
ist das Lager aufgebaut
Wo wir fern fon jeder Freude,
hichter Stacheldraht verstaut.
Wir sind die Moorsoldaten –......

3. Auch und hieder gehn die Posten,
Keiner, Keiner kann hindurch
Flücht wird nur das Leben Kosten,
Vielwach ist umzäunt die Burg.
Wir sind die Moorsoldaten....

4. Morgens ziehen die Kolonen,
in das Moor zur Arbeit hin –

Figure 2.1. The text of *Die Moorsoldatenlied* from *Die Sachsenhausenliderbuch* (part 1). Public Domain.



gräßen bei dem Brand Sonne
5. doch zur Heimt steht der sinn,
Wir sind sind Moorsoldaten....

Heimwärst, Heimwarst sich jeder sehnt
zu ~~dem~~ den Eltern, Weib und Kind,
6. mache Brust ein Seutzer dehnet,
weil wir heir gefangen sind.
Wir sind die Moorsoldaten.....

Doch für uns gibt es kein Klagen
ewig kann's nict Winter sein,
(~~Ein matt~~ Eimal)
7. Einmal werden froh wir sagen:
Heimat du bist wieder mein!
Dann zeihen die Moorsoldaten —
nicht mehr mit dem Spaten-ins Moor.

Figure 2.2. The text of *Die Moorsoldatenlied* from *Die Sachsenhausenliderbuch* (part 2). Public Domain.

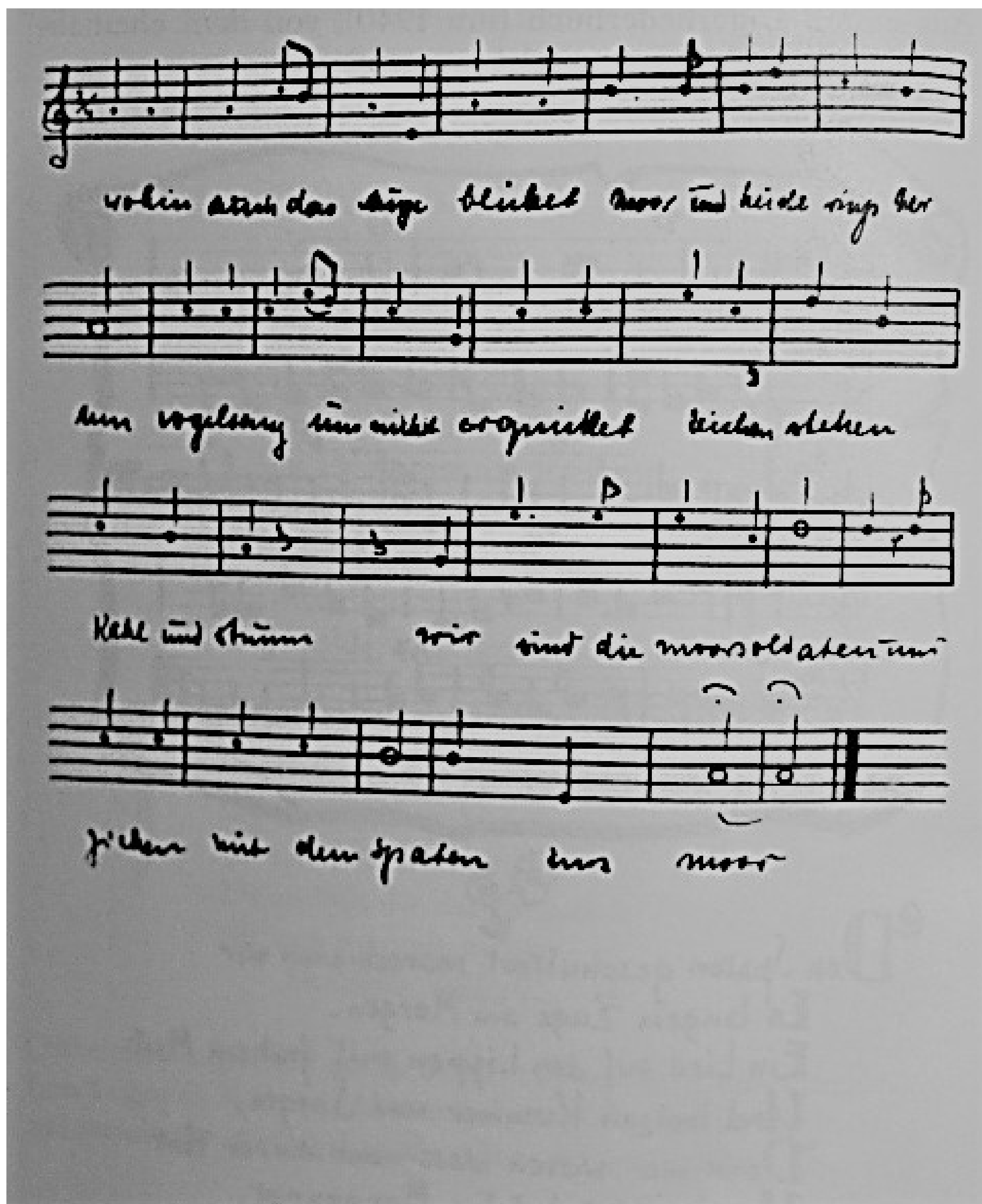
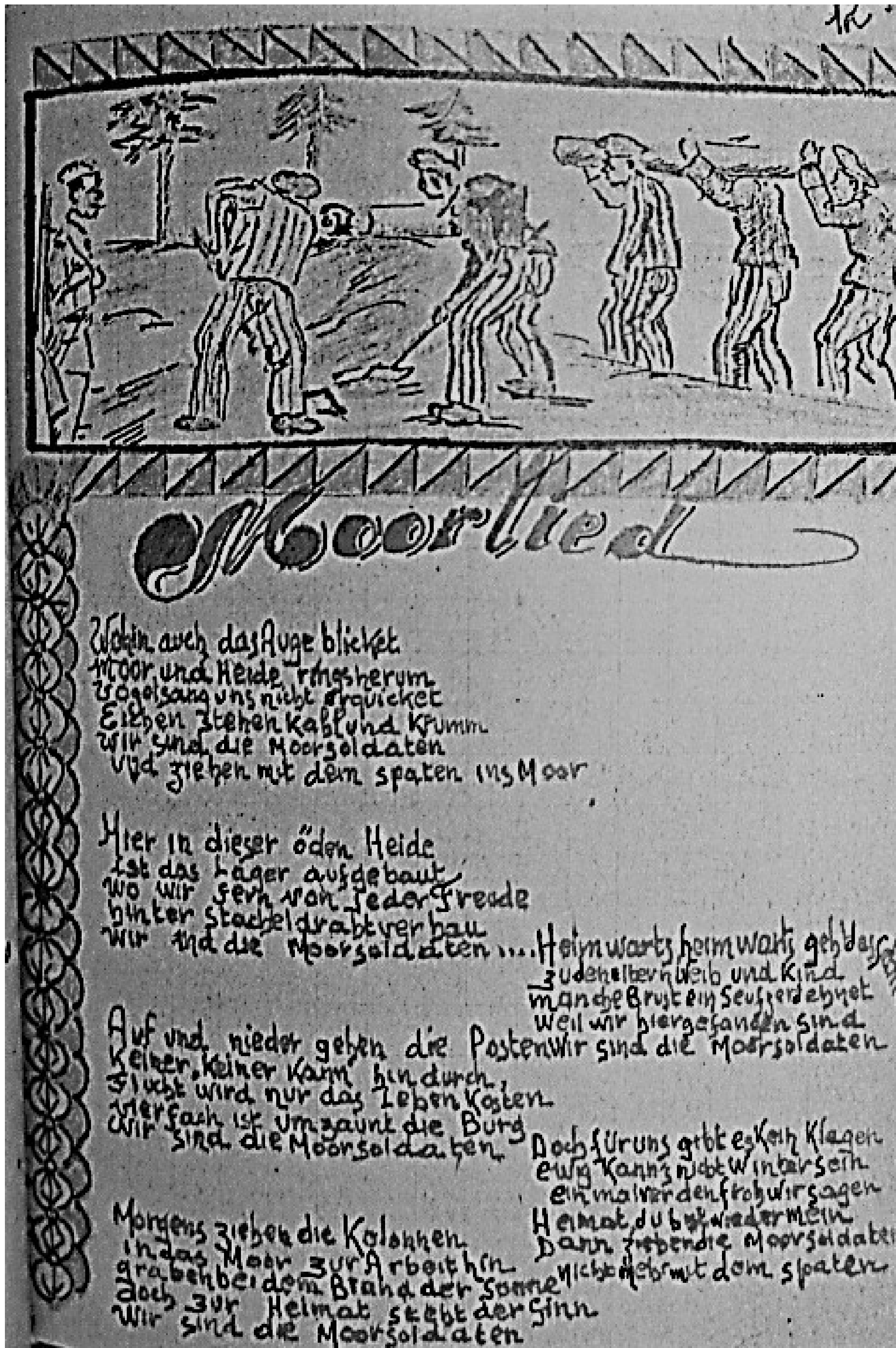


Figure 2.3. Scan of Original sketch of *Die Moorsoldatenlied* from *Die Sachsenhausenliederbuch*. Public Domain.



Moorlied

Wohin auch das Auge blicket
Moor und Heide ringsherum
Vogelsang uns nicht erquicket
Eichen stehen kahl und krumm
Wir sind die Moorsoldaten
und ziehen mit dem Spaten ins Moor

Hier in dieser öden Heide
ist das Lager aufgebaut
wo wir fern von jeder Freude
hinter Stacheldrahtverhau
Wir sind die Moorsoldaten ....

Heimwarts heimwarts geht das
zu den Eltern Weib und Kind
manche Brust ein Seufzer dehnet
weil wir hier gefangen sind
Wir sind die Moorsoldaten

Auf und nieder gehen die Posten
Keiner, keiner kann hindurch,
Flucht wird nur das Leben kosten
vierfach ist umzaunt die Burg
Wir sind die Moorsoldaten

Doch für uns gibt es kein Klagen
ewig kann's nicht Winter sein
einmal werden froh wir sagen
Heimat du bist wieder mein
Dann ziehen die Moorsoldaten
nicht mehr mit dem Spaten

Morgens ziehen die Kolonnen
in das Moor zur Arbeit hin
graben bei dem Brand der Sonne
doch zur Heimat steht der Sinn
Wir sind die Moorsoldaten

Figure 2.4. Another example of the text of *Die Moorsoldatenlied*. Public Domain.

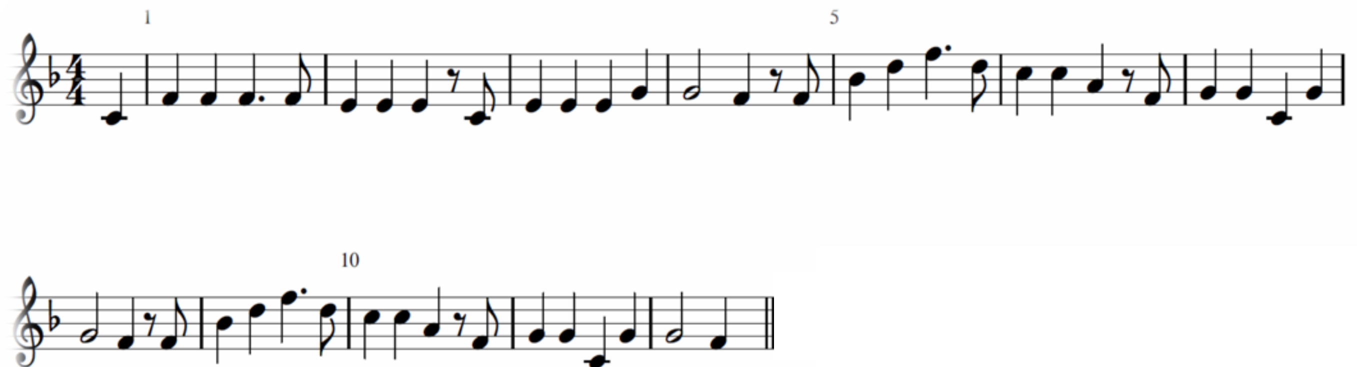
The SS guards wanted to create their own anthem to represent Sachsenhausen. The request for the song was made specifically by Commandante Weissenborn, who asked three communist inmates, Bernhard Bästlein, Karl Fischer, and Karl Wloch, to write the song for him.[101] Although information about Fischer and Wloch is minimal, much is known about the life of Bästlein. Fischer was a Communist prisoner who arrived at Sachsenhausen in 1941.[102] Wloch was imprisoned as a German political prisoner. Bästlein was born in Germany in 1894 to a working-class family, and was a mechanic before fighting in World War I. After he returned from his service, and having an increased interest in politics, he joined the *Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands*, (KPD) the Communist Party of Germany. After some years, he became an editor of several Communist newspapers until 1931. In 1932, he was elected to the Prussian State Parliament, and in the following year he won a seat in the Reichstag government. After his arrest in 1933 for involvement with the Reichstag, he was sentenced to prison. He was then moved to the concentration camp Esterwegen in 1936, before being moved to Sachsenhausen. After his release in 1940, he went back to work as a mechanic, but was arrested several times for his association with the Communist party. After he became the leader of the Communist Resistance in May of 1944, he was murdered in September of the same year.[103]

When Bästlein, Fischer, and Wloch met to discuss the aspects of the anthem, they had to choose what melody they would use. Instead of composing new music they decided that an existing melody with new text was the best way to represent the prisoners. The melody they chose was a German folk song popular among the German youth groups, *Die Bauern Wollten*

[101] Gilbert, *Music of the Holocaust,* 113.
[102] "Sachsenhausenlied, " Music of the Holocaust.
[103] "Bernhard Bästlein," *Gedenkstätte Deutscher Wiederstand,* accessed March 21, 2017, http://www.gdw-berlin.de/en/recess/biographies/index_of_persons/biographie/view-bio/bernhard-baestlein/?no_cache=1.

Freie sein (The Peasants Want to be Free), (See Example 2.1).[104] The melody was well known by the SS, because many of them sang it during their training as members of the German Youth movement. The three men thought that the character of the song, plus the familiarity of the melody would prove to be the right platform to represent the prisoners.[105]

Example 2.1. The Melody of *Sachsenhausenlied, (Die Bauern Wollten Freie sein).*



The song is in a simple binary form AB(B). The B section is repeated and forms the refrain, while A encompasses the verse. The verse, like its counterpart *Die Moorsoldatenlied*, has an element of markedness that occurs in the second phrase. In measure two the melody is on a single pitch. The second phrase, beginning in measure three, follows the same melodic pattern for the first two beats of the measure. On beats three and four, the marked passage begins. The melodic line repeats the same pitch that was used on previous beats, but the fourth beat is different, causing a disruption of the pattern. The pitches ascend a third before resolving in measure 4 (See Example 2.2). The alternation of descending and ascending passages is the same

[104] "Sachsenhausenlied," Music and the Holocaust.
[105] Gilbert, *Music of the Holocaust,* 116.

in Die *Moorsoldatenlied*, therefore it can be determined that the ascending passage leads the singer to the refrain section.

Example 2.2 Measures 1-4 of *Sachsenhausenlied*

Original Passage:

1. Same pitch throughout
2. Rhythm: Dotted quarter, eighth

Marked Passage :

1. Pitch ascending a third.
2. Rhythmic change

Another example of markedness occurs in the rhythm of the last measure of the second phrase. Measure two the rhythm is two quarter notes followed by a dotted quarter, eighth note passage. There follows a measure of resolution to end the phrase before the second phrase begins. In this phrase the dotted rhythm of the second measure is replaced with a strict quarter note pattern. The change in the pattern marks the third and fourth beat.

The refrain consists of two phrases, with repetition of both text and melody. The rhythm of the refrain follows the same rhythmic scheme as the verse except for one beat. The first beat of the verse is a quarter note and the first beat of the refrain is an eighth note. However, because both of the beats are used as pick-ups for the following measure, it can be argued that the note value may not have been strictly enforced (see Example 2.3)

Example 2.3. Measures 4-5 of *Sachsenhausenlied*

The refrain of *Sachsenhausenlied* also begins in a similar way that of *Die Moorsoldatenlied* with an ascending leap. In this song however, the leap is only of a fourth, which is a smaller than the sixth of *Die Moorsoldatenlied*, which was a sixth. The interval is the same as the beginning of the piece. In addition, the leap leads to an arpeggio that reaches the climax of the song. The apex appears on beat three of measure five. The melody then descends and returns to its lowest pitch. The pitch has already been used in the ictus of the song, but it creates an interesting pattern. In the song, no pitch is repeated more than three times in a row. If the refrain did not descend to the lowest note C4, (See Example 2.4), then there would be a repetition of this pitch in measure seven no fewer than five times, which would cause a disruption in the pattern and create monotony in the melody.

Example 2.4. Measures seven and eight of *Sachsenhausenlied*

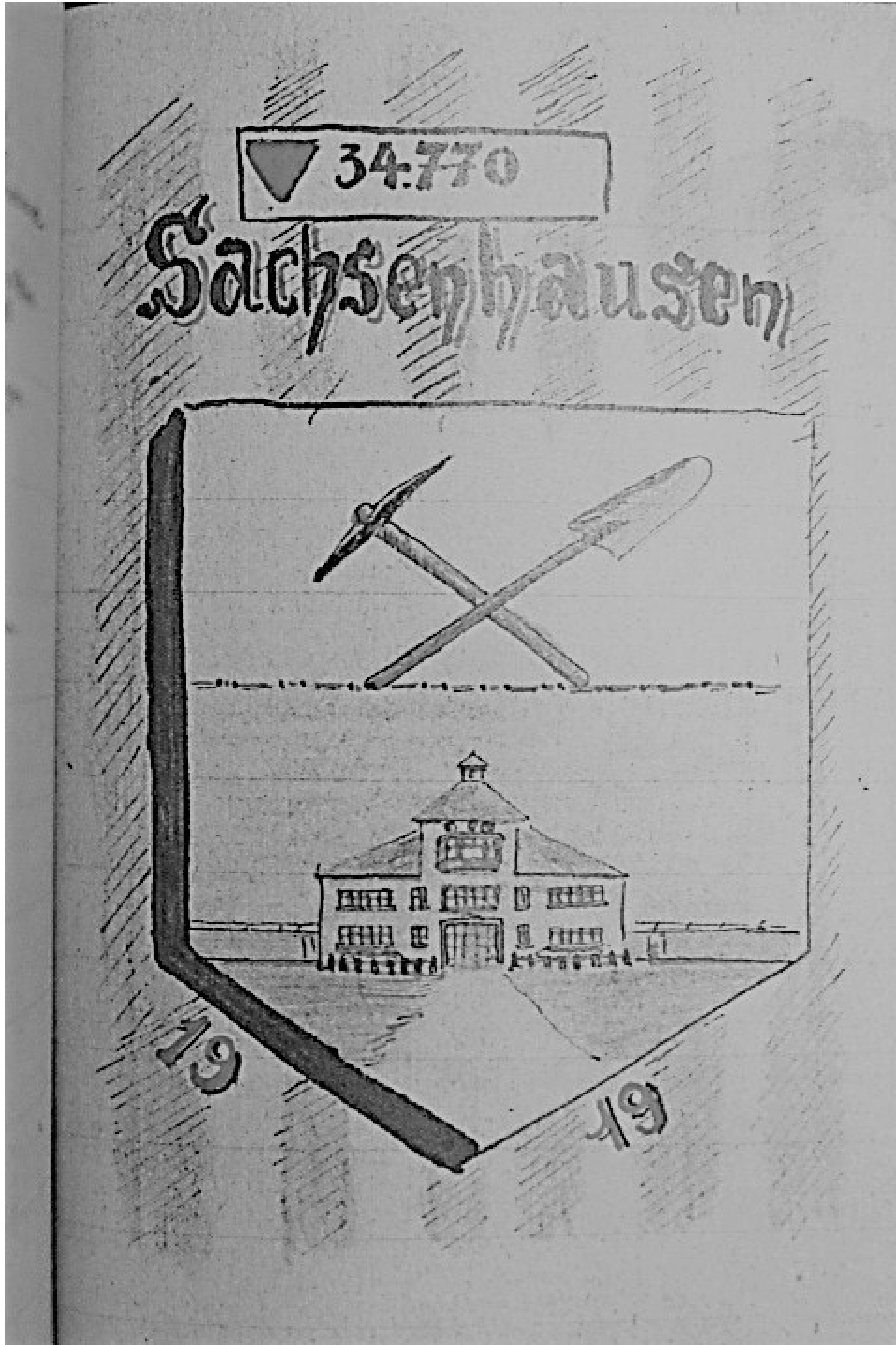
The highest pitch of the melody in the refrain is also placed on the longest rhythmic duration of the song, therefore the words that are sung on that pitch will become emphasized through an agogic accent. The text that occurs on this note, when extracted from the stanza creates an abstract message:

Stanza 1- *zeiht*	to pull
Stanza 2- *will*	will
Stanza 3-*Sachsenhausen*	Sachsenhausen

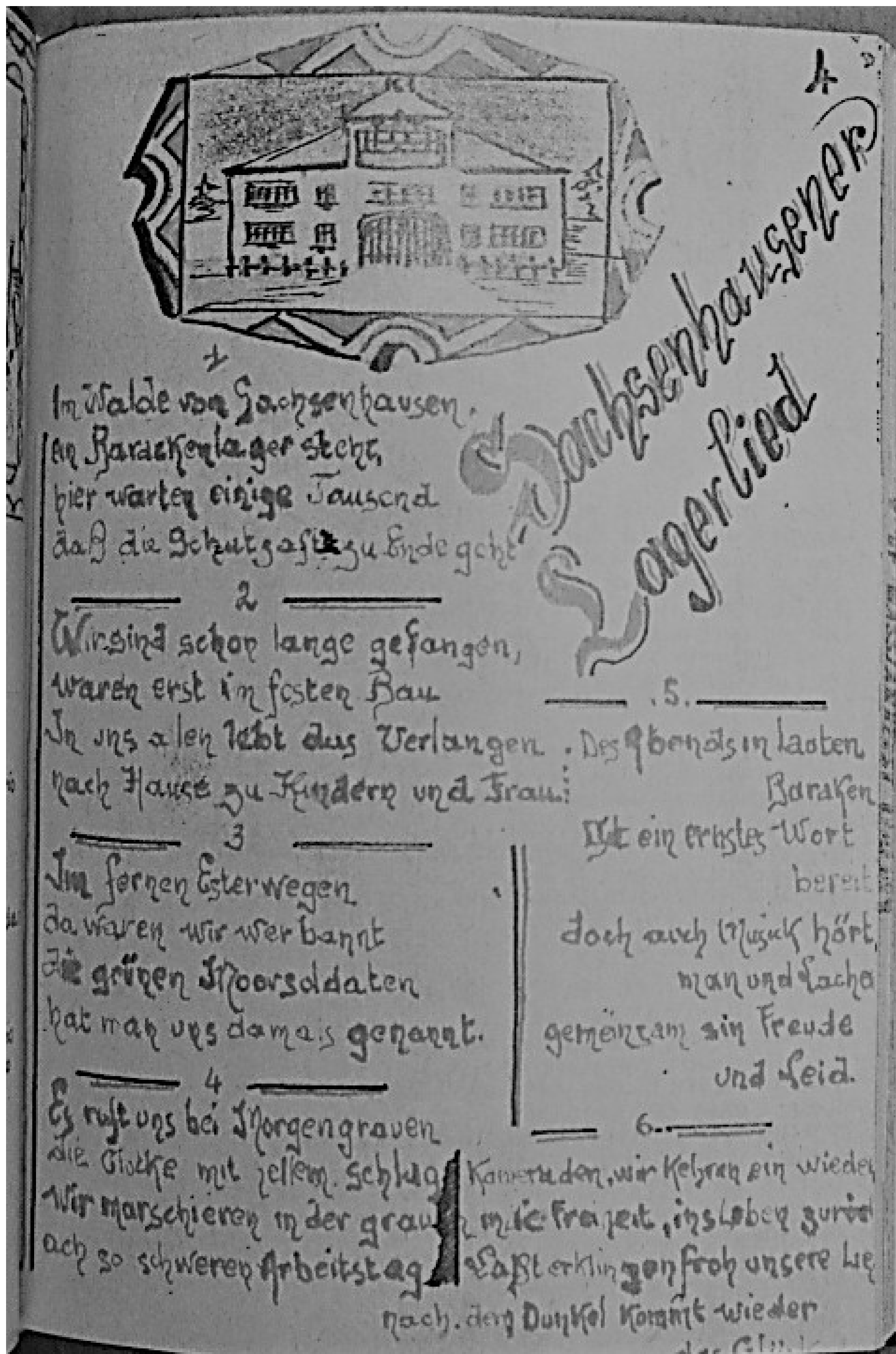
Stanza 4- *zu*	Towards
Stanza 5- *(die) ganze*	whole
Stanza 6- *unsre*	our

The emphasized words tell the disjunct tale of how, if the prisoners are pulled towards Sachsenhausen, then their whole self will be pulled into the camp. Whether the listeners would hear this on the first, or even subsequent hearings is questionable. But, as the words occur at the apex of the melodic line and are repeated, they become emphasized. Therefore, the singer will take a natural step to enhance their meaning. The note is also the second longest note value of the melody, and therefore it will seem extended and elongated for the listener regardless. Whether this coincidence was intended to portray this message, is unknown, but it is unusual that a clear message can be found on this pitch and rhythm.

The melody follows a simple strophic form that encompasses four lines of text. The last two lines of text be repeated and the melody also repeats to add emphasis to the lines. The melodic content is simple and easy to sing, as is discussed later, but the text, similar to Börgermoor's anthem, proves to be the most revealing and uniting aspect of the song. Similar to the drawings that were previously mentioned, prisoners provided several drawings in *Die Sachsenhausenliderbuch* that are related to Sachsenhausen. (Figures 2.5 and 2.6)



2.5. Drawing of the entrance of Sachsenhausen. Public Domain.



4

Sachsenhausener Lagerlied

1

Im Walde von Sachsenhausen,
ein Barackenlager steht,
hier warten einige Tausend
daß die Schutzhaft zu Ende geht.

2

Wir sind schon lange gefangen,
waren erst im festen Bau
In uns allen lebt das Verlangen
nach Hause zu Kindern und Frau.

3

Im fernen Esterwegen
da waren wir verbannt
Die grünen Moorsoldaten
hat man uns damals genannt.

4

Es ruft uns bei Morgengrauen
die Glocke mit hellem Schlag
Wir marschieren in der grau
ach so schweren Arbeitstag

5

Des Abends in lauten Baracken
Ist ein ernstes Wort bereit
doch auch Musik hört man und Lache
gemeinsam in Freude und Leid.

6

Kameraden, wir kehren ein wieder
mit Freiheit, ins Leben zurü
Laßt erklingen froh unsere Lie
nach dem Dunkel kommt wieder

Figure 2.6. The text of *Sachsenhausenlied* from *Die Sachsenhausenliederbuch*. Public Domain.

The text, which follows a similar composition as the anthem for Börgermoor, provides more of an insight as to what the prisoners were experiencing. Focalization occurs in shifts between past (plain text), present (bold text), and future tense (italicized text). Stanzas one, four, and seven are narrated in the present tense. The prisoner's current situation and surroundings are mentioned in these stanzas. The text of the third stanza occurs in the past tense. The narrator uses words such as "marched" (*leight)* and "reached" (*erricht).* The future tense is used in the two remaining stanzas, 2 and 5, illustrated by "tomorrow" *(Das Morgen)* and the literal mention of "future" (*Die Zukunft).* In the fifth and second stanzas, however, a unique time stamp arises that signifies the combination of both present and future, something that has not been seen. Both stanzas follow the same construction: past tense followed by future tense. This constant shift in the tenses, with reflection on past actions that have accrued and projection to the future, directly mirrors how the prisoners would have reacted to their situation. The text then is not only a tale of their past, to be heard by everyone that is part of the camp, old and new, but also a hope for the future.

S1. Wir schreiten fest im gleichen Schritt	We march firmly with equal strides
Wir trotzen Not und Sorgen	We defy hardship and worries
Denn in uns zieht Die Hoffnung mit	because we carry in us the hope
Auf Freiheit und *das Morgen*	of freedom and the morrow
S2. Was hinter uns, ist abgetan,	What is behind us is dismissed
Gewesen und verklungen	Been and faded away
Die Zukunft will en ganzen Mann,	The future requires man to give all of himself
Ihr sei unser Lied gesungen.	Let's devote our song to it.
S3. Aus Eterwegen zogen wir leicht	We marched easily out of Esterwegen,
Es liegt verlasen im Moore,	It lies deserted in the moors,
Doch bald war Sachsenhausen erreicht	But soon we reached Sachsenhausen
Es schlosen sich wieder die Tore.	The gates were closed again.
S4. Wir schaffen hinter Stacheldraht	We labour {sic} behind barbed wire
Mit Schwielen an den Händen	With callused hands
Und packen zu und werden hard	And knuckle down and become hard

Die arbeit will nicht enden.	The work won't end
S5. So mancher koomt, kaum einer geht,	Many arrive, hardly any go,
Es gehen Mond' und Jahre,	Months and years go by,
Und bid das anze Lager steht,	And by the time the entire camp is built up
*Hat mancher graue Haare***.**	Some will have grey hair.
S6. Das Leben Lockt hinter Drahtverhau,	Life beckons beyond the wire fence,
Wir Möchten's mit Händen greifen	We want to grab it with our hands,
Dann werden unsre Kehlen rauh	Then our throats become raw
Und die Gedanken schweifen	And our thoughts wander.
S7. Wir Schreiten fest im gleichen Schritt	We march firmly with equal strides,
Wir trotzen Not und Sorgen	We defy hardship and worries
Denn in uns zieht Die Hoffnubg mit	Because we carry in us the hope of freedom
Auf Freiheit und *das Morgen*	and the morrow.

In addition to the changes of tense in the text, there is also a change in the narrative focalization specifically, whether the text is being told through an internal or external narrative. This change occurs in a sandwich effect, beginning with an internal narrative in the stanzas one and two, followed by three stanzas of external dialogue, and ending with two internal stanzas. The subject matter is similar to that of *Die Moorsoldatenlied*, but the pattern that introduces the subject is presented differently. The text reveals in the introduction how the prisoners are feeling instead of what the prisoners are seeing. The camp surroundings and actions of the prisoners are shown in the middle section. The ending section is like the opening stanzas, but they are more emphatic and declamatory, just as the ending of the Börgermoor anthem was with its repeated refrain.

In order to see the internal and external connection in a closer light, each stanza must be examined in the relation to those around it. Stanzas two and six are internal stanzas.

What is behind us is dismissed
Been and faded away.
The future requires man to give all of himself
Let's devote our song to it

Life beckons beyond the wire fence
We want to grab it with our hands,
Then our throats become raw
And our thoughts wander

The first lines of each of the stanzas offer a look into the past and then into the present as the prisoners look beyond the fence. These lines are considered internal because, although the situation that the prisoners find themselves in is similar, the exact circumstances that each population experienced are not the same. Every prisoner who sang these lines would have had a personal internal experience. The second lines also illustrate this, because in stanza two, the past is gone, while in stanza six, the future is reached for. But the last two lines of the stanzas offer an opposite effect, though remaining internal. Stanza six looks back into time: they claim their throats are becoming raw as they sing their song but then their thoughts begin to wander. Each thought is individualized, continuing the internal dialogue.

The three middle stanzas are external stanzas because the poet describes the actions that take place and the surroundings the prisoners see.

We marched easily out of Esterwegen
It lies deserted in the moors,
But soon we reached Sachsenhausen
The gates were closed again.

We labour {sic}behind barbed wire
With callused hands
And knuckle down and become hard,
The work won't end.

Many arrive, hardly any go,
Months and years go by,
And by the time the entire camp is built up,
Some will have grey hair.

As the external section begins, the text gives specific information, instead of ambiguous thoughts as seen in the stanzas 2 and 6. The first two stanzas present direct actions, telling of the prisoner's experiences and changing from an internal focalization to an external one as the tense changes. The last section of the stanza becomes ambiguous again, but still mimics the direct action of what is happening, ending with the building of the camp. However, it is in the fifth stanza that there is the past, present, and future. The present occurs in line one, to accompany the statement regarding the arrival of inmates. The past tense in line two illustrates the passing of time through the use of time associated words, months and years. The circle of time is completed in the fourth and fifth lines when the future is mentioned.

The song is a folk melody from the German youth. Composed of mainly step wise motion following the leaps of a fourth and of a third that begin each phrase of the melody, the song is easy to learn, sing, and memorize. Ease in learning the songs was important for the individuals inside the camp, especially for those who were not native speakers of German. In 1944 the demographic of Sachsenhausen changed so drastically that less than ten percent of the prisoners were native speakers.[106] The language barrier proved to be difficult in every aspect of the camp from following orders to communicating with other prisoners. It also created a cultural hierarchy. The first task of the new prisoners, referred to as *Der Zugang,*[107] was to learn the songs that were frequently sung at the camp, including *Sachsenhausenlied*, which by then was considered a camp anthem.[108] There is an account from the camp in which Wilhelm Schubert forced an unnamed Polish prisoner to practice the songs while the prisoner remained in a crouched position for an extended period of time.[109] This punishment, a targeted humiliation, was used directly on the

[106] Brauer, "How Can Music be Torturous," 14.
[107] Levi Primo, *The Drowned and the Saved* trans. Raymond Rosenthal (New York: Summit Books, 1988*),* 39.
[108] Brauer, "How Can Music be Torturous," 14.
[109] *Ibid*,.

Polish prisoner because he did not speak German, and therefore was having difficulty learning the song. This form of torture was called "No-touch Torture,"

> The combination of sensory disorientation, isolation, standing in extreme heat and cold, light and dark, noise and silence, with self-inflicted pain, both physical and psychological, so as to cause a prisoners very identity to be disintegrated.[110]

Even though the melody is simple, and easily learned, the language of its text was a struggle for most of the foreign prisoners. This language barrier was constantly shifting as new prisoners from other countries would come into the camp, and the SS would refuse to speak to them in anything but German.

One of the commonalities between *Die Moorsoldatenlied* and *Sachsenhausenlied* was, that at one point their performance in their respective camps, they were each banned by the SS.[111] The action of banning the songs brings to the surface a question regarding the amount of knowledge that the SS guards had about the message the song was trying to send. In Börgermoor, the song was made by the prisoners and then the SS guards sang it themselves and banned it when they grew bored of it. The difference in Sachsenhausen was that the guards initiated the project, ordering prisoners to produce a song. But there are two sides of the argument. Before *Sachsenhausenlied* was banned, the SS guards made use of it as a form of control over the prisoners, which is how the SS regarded the song.[112] The prisoners, in contrast, used the song, as Wloch said after the war, "to reflect the spirit of the anti-fascists in its sense of optimism, determination to defy hardship and hope for the future."[113] The prisoners asserted this view in two ways. The first was by use of a melody that SS guards were familiar with, a common

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[110] Brauer, "How Can Music be Torturous," 25.
[111] "Sachsenhausenlied," Music of the Holocaust.
[112] Gilbert, *Music of the Holocaust,* 115.
[113] *Ibid*., 115.

folk song that reminded the guards of home. The folk song melody created a distraction from the actual message of the song. The second plays on the type of person that was recruited to be an SS guard. The guards' lack of formal education of was a key factor in the performances of the song. Wloch noted, "the SS were too stupid to realize the purpose of the song."[114] His diminishing of the SS guards is a possibly an exaggeration, but it is a common thread of accounts from prisoners when it came to interpreting the production of music. Gilbert argues that "while music was to some extent able to assist in building community and comforting prisoners in their struggles, ultimately the SS tolerated only what did not jeopardize the larger plan."[115] But, although the SS used the songs as a form of punishment and mockery of the prisoners, the intention of the songs was reversed when the prisoners used the anthem as a form of mockery of the SS guards and as personal defiance[116] (see Figure 2.7).

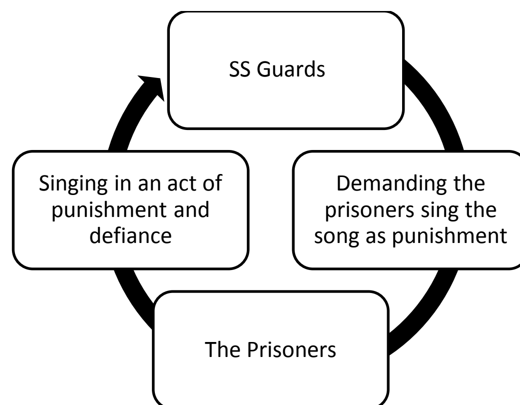

Figure 2.7. The Exchange of Power Between the Guards and Prisoners

[114] *Ibid*.
[115] *Ibid*., 143.
[116] *Ibid*., 115.

This exchange of power between the prisoners and the SS guards is something that was seen in all the concentration camps. One of the reasons why the guards wanted to show their power over the prisoners was because it "supplemented them not being on the front lines."[117] They possibly took out their frustration on the prisoners of not having more of an impact on the fighting of the war. Another reason for the constant show of authority was the feeling that they got when they were displaying their dominance. Levi Primo suggests that "it is understandable that the power of such magnitude overwhelmingly attracted the human type that is greedy for power… and that the latter became fatally intoxicated by the power at their disposal. "[118] Primo, however, is not supportive of the actions of the SS guards, but rather, provides an explanation of the affect power can have on a person. It was clear that the guards would both show their control individually and as a group to enforce their command over the prisoners.

Primo also asserts that "power exists in all the varieties of the human social organization."[119] As the SS guards were utilizing their own form of power, the prisoners pushed back against them using another type of power: the power of resistance. H. Leivick, a survivor said, "Jews sought strength in prayer, in poetry, in song…we are all pierced by a single feeling of admiration: The nation is always singing. Yes, always."[120] Their power came not only from the anthem they sang but also from their togetherness in a group. Although the prisoners were forced to sing *Sachsenhausenlied* more often than they sang it for entertainment, they did it together. When a prisoner entered a concentration camp, they came in as an individual who felt powerless to change his or her situation. But, as the individuals became members of defined groups, their outlook changed, and they began to feel power within their group. Having a group identity was

[117] Gilbert, *Music of the Holocaust*, 185.
[118] Levi Primo, *The Drowned and the Saved*, trans, Raymond Rosenthal, (New York, NY: Summit Books, 1988), 46.
[119] *Ibid*., 46.
[120] Gilbert, *Music of the Holocaust*, 11.

increasingly important for the prisoners. Even though “the[se] practices of forced singing were motivated by a desire not only to punish the prisoners’ physical bodies, but to break them inwardly, to destroy the certainty of their memories, identities, and humanity,”[121] the prisoners rose above it. By singing together, they not only could regain their individuality that had been lost when they entered the camp, but they also feel like a part of the larger group.

[121] Brauer, “How Can Music be Torturous,” 16.

CHAPTER THREE

BRUNDIBÁR

The model ghetto of the transit camp, Theresienstadt, created a false depiction of what events occurred during the Holocaust. To the world, the prisoners of the ghetto appeared happy, well fed, and thriving on art and music. The Nazis strove to keep the charade. In reality, the prisoners suffered with little to eat, cramped quarters, and threat of deportation to Auschwitz. The prisoners of the camp needed to find a release from the constant presence of starvation, disease and death: the release from those hardships was found quickly by the prisoners. Theresienstadt, from the beginning of its installment as a camp was one to which artists, musicians, poets and other creative persons were sent. Having a large concentration of artists in one place must have had a positive effect on the prisoners almost immediately. They were able to make music, draw, recite poetry and create art. The most influential piece of music in the camp was a children's opera by the name of *Brundibár*. The whole opera, under an hour long, was written to be performed by a child cast and has a simple plot. The opera's plot, though simple, provides clear symbolism: freedom through the characterization of the antagonist, Brundibár, as Adolf Hitler, as well through parts of dialogue and its final song, a "Victory Song." This song inspired the prisoners to live and honor the memory of those that had died.

Theresienstadt, before it was known as a concentration camp, was advertised as a retirement home for three types of people: those over 65, injured and well decorated World War I veterans, and persons of significant recognition whose disappearance would alarm the people those in the surrounding area.[122] Given this distinction of the purpose of the camp, the

[122] The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, "Theresienstadt: Timeline," Accessed September 28, 2015, http://orelfoundation.org/index.php/journal/journalArticle/jazz_and_popular_music_in_terez237n/.

advertisement and appeal of the ghetto was heightened as it was described as a "spa."[123] The prisoners were encouraged to buy deeds to the "Ghetto for the Aged" and told to bring all they could carry, according to Lederer.[124] He describes the deception experienced by the prisoners as soon as they entered the camp: "these aged deportees soon learnt that they had been deceived. They were taken to the 'Flood Gate', stripped of their belongings, and housed in lofts, or small cubbyholes where they had to sleep on the bare floor."[125]

The removal of belongings, and deception of the living environment diminished the prisoners' optimism as they began to experience the true meaning of the Holocaust. The Jews realized that they were not exempt from the power of Germany because of their age or disability. Even though the limitations on freedom, starting with the loss of their possessions, were severe for prisoners of the ghetto, the people within the camp did experience bursts of what could be called independence. Although the rules and restrictions changed constantly, the prisoners had the opportunity to write postcards, talk with family, and receive packages from the outside.

As prisoners arrived, a certain demographic began to form. Theresienstadt became a camp for artists, musicians, painters, writers, and poets. Daniel Schorn, a correspondent from CBS News refers to Theresienstadt as "the Julliard for the Jews"[126] in his interview with surviving musicians. Zdenka Fantlova, a survivor from Theresienstadt observed:

> Original artists, professional artists, conductors, musicians, soloists, actors, writers…they all came in and said 'now well since we are here, should we do something? We must use the art, we must perform here'……The Germans had nothing against it. 'Yes you go ahead, we will

[123] Zednek Lederer, *Ghetto Theresienstadt* (New York: Howard Fertig Incorporated, 1953), 39.
[124] *Ibid*.
[125] *Ibid.*
[126] Daniel Schorn, "*Brundibár*: How the Nazis Conned the World" CBS *60 Minutes*, February 23, 2007, Accessed September 30, 2015, http://www.cbsnews.com/news/brundibar-how-the-nazis-conned-the-world/.

> call it friendly evenings (*freundenabend*). People immediately started building a stage and wooden benches.[127]

The prospect of performing with others helped to create the musical ensembles within the camp, which were diverse. There was the children's opera cast, but there were also ensembles of skilled musicians with formal training. For example, there was a jazz group called the "Ghetto Swingers."[128] The "Ghetto Swingers" were formed by Eric Vogel, a jazz trumpeter and arranger.[129] After obtaining permission to form a jazz ensemble, he created and modeled his own after the American Big Band Jazz bands of the time.[130] Vogel described his experience of playing in the jazz ensemble, "we were obsessed with music and we were happy that we could play our beloved jazz. We contented ourselves with this dream that Germans were producing for their propaganda."[131] There was also a cabaret ensemble in the camp that served two purposes. The first was to use the text of the songs that they chose to perform to reflect and represent life in Theresienstadt, and the second, to attempt to help the prisoners forget their life in the camp.[132]

Hans Krása, the composer of *Brundibár*, took his inspiration from several twentieth century composers including Igor Stravinsky and Arnold Schoenberg. He studied composition with Alexander von Zemlinsky, the only formal music training that he received during his life. Also a well-established conductor, Krása received job offers from several symphonies but did not accept because he wanted to spend more time writing in his home city, Prague. He was introduced to the poetry of the librettist of *Brundibár*, Adolf Hoffmeister, when he set several of

[127] Zdenka Fantlova, "Holocaust Survivor Describes the Music of Terezín Concentration Camp," (Personal account) produced by Guardian Music, posted on April 5, 2015, Accessed October 28, 2015 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tZA3vXdE6tY.
[128] Harold Kisiedu, "Jazz and Popular Music in Terezín," The OREL Foundation, accessed November 2, 2015, http://orelfoundation.org/index.php/journal/journalArticle/jazz_and_popular_music_in_terez237n/.
[129] *Ibid*.
[130] *Ibid*.
[131] *Ibid.*
[132] *Ibid*.

Hoffmeister's poems as songs. Krása did not live to see the end of the war or even the premiere of his third opera. He was taken to Theresienstadt where he was transferred to Auschwitz on August 10, 1942. He died there in the gas chambers.

Librettist Adolf Hoffmeister had a very interesting life: his career began as a lawyer. His father was a lawyer and trained his son to do the same.[133] Hoffmeister initially did not want to be a lawyer, as his passion was in music. He was not only a librettist, but also a painter, writer, and political caricaturist. He could express himself through art because he was free of financial burdens because he frequently had successful cases.[134] He escaped Prague during the beginning of the war, fleeing to France where he was imprisoned for a short amount of time. After his sentence was completed, he went to Casablanca. After some time, he made his way to America, where he had a steady career in America, working for several publications, writing and using his art to express what was occurring in the war. Hoffmeister stayed in America until the war was over. He then returned to Czechoslovakia where he became the Czechoslovakian ambassador to France.[135]

Joža Karas gathered extensive information about the inception and first performances of *Brundibár*, both outside and inside the camp. The work is different from the songs discussed in previous chapters because it was composed before the composer went to the camp. The opera was written in Prague for the children at the Jewish Orphanage for Boys. Krása and Raefel Schaechter, the conductor, worked with the children before the premiere in 1942 in the orphanage. Production ceased for a short period because Krása and Schaechter were taken from

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[133] Johannes F. Evelein, ed. *Exiles Traveling: Exploring Displacement, Crossing Boundaries in German Exile Arts and Writing 1933-1945* (Amsterdam:Rodopi Publishing, 2009), 178.
[134] *Ibid*., 179.
[135] *Ibid*., 180.

Prague and transported to Theresienstadt that year. The production continued with the new conductor, Rudolph Freudenfeld. The premiere performance of *Brundibár* occurred in the winter of 1942. The instrumentation, a solo violin, piano, and drums, was the original that Krása intended. The production was popular and lasted for over a year, with sporadic performances. [136] The instrumentation was ultimately expanded to a small orchestra, and a children's chorus was also added to the score. [137]

In 1943, while the midst of performances, the opera was shut down because the children in the cast were transported to Theresienstadt. There they joined Krása and Schaechter. Although this stopped the productions in Prague, the opera was still performed in Theresienstadt. The children who had experience with the opera set a good foundation. New cast members were added to fill in the parts that became vacant when the children of the original cast died.[138] The cast worked on the opera within the camp with a copy of the score that was smuggled into the camp by Rudolf Freudenfeld.[139] The premiere of the opera inside the camp occurred on September 23, 1943 in the Madeburg Barracks. During the iconic Red Cross visit and preceding Beautification process of the town, the opera was moved from the cramped barracks to the newly renovated gymnasium.[140] The Red Cross inspection is discussed later in the chapter, as is the Beautification process.

The plot of *Brundibár* is associated with a children's story. It is simple, with the underdogs fighting and winning against the antagonist. This type of story is easy for children to

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[136] Hans Krása, *Brundibár: Children's Opera in Two Acts*, conducted by Robert DeCormier, recorded with the Essex Children's Choir, January 28, 1996, (New York: Arabesque 1996), liner notes.
[137] *Ibid*.
[138] *Ibid.*
[139]Ann Dutlinger, ed. *Art, Music and Education as Strategies for Survival: Theresienstadt 1941-1945*, (New York, NY: Herodias Incorporated, 2001), 141.
[140] *Ibid*., 128.

comprehend, even if they are very young. However, through a closer lens, the story, characters, and text can be interpreted more deeply as a representation of the prisoners in the camp and their quest for freedom.

The opera begins with two siblings, a boy named Pepíček (Joe), and his sister, Aninku (Annette). Their mother is deathly ill and she needs milk as prescribed by the doctor. Joe and Annette do not have money to buy the milk, so they have to go on the street to try and earn money. They encounter an organ-grinder who uses his organ to earn money from the passing people. The organ-grinder is the antagonist Brundibár. The children notice that he is getting money from the people passing by, and they decide that this is a good way to make money. They try their hand at singing for money, but the people ignore them. Unhappy, Joe and Annette are take out their frustration by imitating Brundibár and his singing. Their mocking of Brundibár makes the townspeople and Brundibár very angry, and they tell the children to stop singing. The children feel defeated by the people and leave the town square to go to sleep.

When night falls the children are met by three animals: a sparrow, cat, and dog. The animals offer their support to the children and vow to help them defeat Brundibár for telling them to go away. The next morning the Animals gather together with the other children of the town to help Joe and Annette make money by singing. A fight breaks out among Brundibár, the children, and animals. The adults that told the children to be quiet now sympathize with them and help to fight Brundibár. It would seem that Brundibár is defeated, and so the children decide to celebrate by singing a lullaby. Brundibár, angry that he has been defeated by the children steals the money that Joe and Annette have earned from their music. After a chase, the money is acquired and given back to Joe. Brundibár leaves the scene, and the children, animals, and townsfolk sing a song of victory.

Within the opera's libretto there are lines of text that can be seen as blatant representations of the Nazi's treatment of Jewish prisoners, as well as life in Theresienstadt. The significant lyrics occur from the very beginning of the opera to the final victory song sung by the children. In scene two of Act 1, Joe sings:

Vy máte plný vůz Pekař má plný koš	You have a loaded cart Baker has bread and rolls.[141]

While this sentence seems like an innocent sentence spoken by a child, to a listener within the camp it is anything but innocent. The reference to a Baker's cart holds significance in the lives of the prisoners of the camp because the carts that were used to transport bread were also used to transport the dead from one place to another. These carts were referred to as hearses by the prisoners. [142] Malvína Schálková, an artist imprisoned in the camp, drew a haunting picture portraying one of these "carts" titled *Bread Being Delivered*. The picture, despite its title, only shows only a small portion of bread in a cart, rather the majority of the scene portrays bodies on the cart as it is pushed by 6 people in shabby clothing. [143]

The second example of a section of text that can be connected to the events that occurred in the camp is from a minor character, The Policeman. The Policeman does not speak of crimes or justice but about money:

Za peníze všecko k mání Zdarma ne bude nic Když je něco trochu lepší Hnedka to stojí víc	Everything is quite expensive You'll get nothing for free, but the sad fact is that money Does not grow on trees.

[141] Hans Krása, *Brundibár,* libretto by Adolf Hoffmeister, ed. Blanka Červinková, trans. Joža Karas, rev. ed, (Prague: Tempo Praha, 1998), 19.
[142] Gerald Green, *The Artists of Terezin* (New York: Hawthorn Books Incorporated,1969), 56.

[143] *Ibid*., 60.

Kdždý musí vydělávat	If you want to have some money,
kdochce peníze mít	You must work every day.
bez peněz na tomhle světě	In this world it isn't easy
nidko nemůže žít	To exist without pay. [144]

As has been seen in previous chapters, the officers and professional personnel within the camps had a major impact on the lifestyles of the prisoners. The difference between the police in Theresienstadt and other camps, however, is that at its opening the camp was guarded by Gendarmes, general guards of the camp and not SS officers. Zdenek states that "Czech gendarmes were generally not hostile to prisoners, and some of them incurred very great risks enabling prisoners to keep in contact with their homes."[145] The relationship between gendarmes and prisoners created a problem. The officials of the Nazi regime who oversaw the discipline of the concentration camps decided that these guards were not using the correct amount of force on the prisoner, so they threatened the use of SS officers in the camp. The threat was taken seriously and the gendarmes changed their disciplining manner for the prisoners. Zdenek writes, "many gendarmes showed little concern for the Jew's fate."[146] One way that police would try to control or give hope to prisoners was by accepting bribes. Having money, or having slightly wealthy relatives could make a difference between life and death to prisoners in some instances. Zdenek explains that money was used in the camp as a way to sway the gendarmes as "some gendarmes also granted other help, but most of them charged a high price for their services."[147]

The Policeman makes a reference to having money, and also working for money, a satirical comment for the prisoners who listened to the opera because they worked for everything that they had in the camp. To be reminded of their purpose at the camp in such a way was

[144] Krása, *Brundibár,* 21.
[145] Lederer, *Ghetto Theresienstadt,* 35.
[146] *Ibid*.
[147] *Ibid*.

insulting. Money held another personal significance to the prisoners at the camp because the prisoners were "paid" for their work. Money was used to create a real sense of life in the camp despite its being counterfeit and having no monetary value. The prisoners received money for work done, and they could deposit it in the bank in town, which served no purpose. This valueless money was printed haphazardly on paper and featured a poorly drawn head of Moses.[148]

There are several adult characters in the opera, in addition to Brundibár and the Policeman. The children and adults interact only when the children are in the town square. An example of the relationship between the children and "adult" characters occurs after the children mock Brundibár when they do not receive money for their first song. The exchange is as follows:

(Obě děti opakují flašinetářovu písen, pitvoři se po velkých a tanči. Shlukk lidí kolem flašinetáře si jich povšimne a reptá.)
Mlékař: Kdo to tady pořád mnouká?
Zmrzlinář: Až mi z toho bolí uši.
Pekař: Kdo to tady ještě brouká?
Brundibár: Tenhle cvoček nás ruší?
Zmrzlinář: Rošťárna mu z očí kouká!
Strážník: Copak tohleto se sluší?
Pekař: Hele na ně, utřinosy, jak své nosy vzhůru nosí!
Brundibár: A ten malý usmrkanec, myslí že je tohle tanec.
Mlékař: Ale věru, je to skrček, hlas má sotva jako cvrček.
Zmrzlinář: A tenhleten, král všech písklat, bude nám tu ještě jřískat.
Brundibár: Dám vás, uličníci, sebrat.
Strážník: Opovažte se mi žebrat.
Pepíček/Aninka: Ale pane, ale páni, my neměli ani zdání.
Brundibár: Ani muk a tisíc hromů, alou, rychle běžte domů.
Pepíček/Aninka: Ale pane, ale páni, my neměli ani zdání.
Brundibár: Mlč a koukej, ať jste v prachu.
(Rozežene se holí po dětech. ty utíkají)
Mlékař: Mají gatě plné strachu.

(Joe and Annette imitate the adults, mimic the organ-grinder's melody, and dance. The adults take notice of them and begin to scold them.)

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[148] Green, *The Artists of Terezin,* 78.

Milkman: Who is screeching, squealing here?¨
Ice Cream Man: These darn noises hurt my ear!
Baker: Who is Making all that fuss?
Brundibár: That shrimp is disturbing us!
Ice Cream Man: Full of mischief are his eyes!
Policeman: Do you think this is nice?
Baker: Look at two pests, acting tough, how they hold their noses up!
Brundibár: And this rascal at a glance acts as if this were a dance.
Milkman: He is just a little squirt in a dirt worn out shirt
Ice Cream Man: He can yell and scream and shout, he's the King of Noise-no doubt.
Brundibár: I'll have you kids put into jail.
Policeman: That would fix them without fail.
Annett/Joe: Gentleman, we beg your pardon…
Brundibár: Shut up now! Shut up, in thunder! How you do behave, I wonder.
Annett/Joe: Gentleman, we beg your pardon…
Brundibár: Silence! And get out of here!
(Brundibár swings his arm at the children. They run away and hide.)
Milkman: They are overcome by fear.[149]

In this passage, the children represent the whole Jewish community, while the adults portray those people who oppressed the Jewish community and culture. The only solution, according to the adults, is to put the children in jail. It is interesting that it is not the Policeman who suggests putting them in jail, but Brundibár. Brundibár also gives the command for the children to leave the area, and the Policeman comments on the appearance of the children. It is clear in the opera that Brundibár has control over the town in which the characters live. His influence can be seen in even clearer light with the following passage taken from Scene VIII in Act One:

Zatrolená pimprlátka Kdybych já byl jejich táta, Tak jim povím hezky zkrátka, Zač jsou u nás kaprdlata.	Doggone children, what a bother! If only were their father, I would teach them proper manners; Courtesy, respect and honor.
A vy děti, buďte teše, Tohleto je moje říše, Tady vládne jako král Flašinetář Brundibár	And you kids don't make a riot! Where I rule you must be quiet. Here's my empire, I'm the czar Organ-grinder Brundibár

[149] Krása, *Brundibár,* 29-30.

Czech	English
Tady každý zpívat musí	When I play and turn this handle
Jak já touhle klikou točím	Sing with me, don't make a scandal!
Ať to jenom někdo zkusí	Don't you like my music making?
Hnedka po něm dolů skočím	Out of here! Or you'll be aching!
Tady vládnu jako král, já	Of this show I am the star!
Flašinetář Brundibár	I, organ-grinder Brundibár[150]

In Scene VIII, a few key words stand out to the listener. The first is "father," which draws a clear connection to Adolf Hitler and *Vaterland*. Brundibár's description of how he would discipline the children if they were his own also resembles Hitler, the government, and the "Final Solution" with which Hitler intended to control the world. Brundibár then goes on to state clearly that he is the ruler of the town, referring to himself as a Czar. The music during this passage is also a representation of Hitler. During this speech, several pitches are accented with a staccato and accompanied with accents by crash cymbals. This section is reminiscent of the way that Hitler spoke in public, as seen in movie footage taken of his various speeches. Hitler had an aggressive, separated way of speaking, which has been parodied in many movies generally accompanied by images of him banging his fists on the podium and shouting at the audience. The combination of the libretto and music at this point in the work make it clear that Krása is attempting to portray Hitler (see Example 3.1).

[150] *Ibid*., 31-32.

Example 3.1: Brundibár's Theme.

Dog-gone chil-dren what a both-er! If I on-ly were their fa-ther, I would teach them

prop-er man-ners: cour-te-sy, re-spect, and hon-or. Of this show I am the star! I

or-gan-grin-der Brun-di-bár!

Although there are several spots in the opera that have text that represents the Nazi Regime as a whole, there are also sections that show that justice will prevail and that the individuals who suffered in the camps should stick together and do anything to survive. The characters Cat, Sparrow, and Dog speak these words:

Pojd̓te s náma školáčkové
Do nejmladší kulálky.
Přiložte své hlásky k dílu
Hlas a hlas dá velkou sílu.
Když půjdeme všichni spolu,
Vyhrajeme dětský spor
Proti zlému diktátorudáme
Světu pěkný vzor.

Add your talents to our efforts voice to voice, and we'll be strong. Pull together with our fold. Right and Justice will uphold. Dictator, he'll be defeated, united we'll win our stand. We shall give a good example to all people in the land.[151]

[151] *Ibid*., 56.

The three characters, just as Brundibár implies when he states he is the ruler of the land, blatantly describe him as a Dictator in this passage. The characters also try to convince the children and townsfolk that if they band together then they can successfully beat Brundibár before he hurts them. The final line shows this in great stride: they want to make the example that not only will people join together in times of need, but if they do so for the same cause, then they can rise up and defeat the opposition.

The final chorus of the opera, the "Victory Song" as it will be referred to in this writing, is one that serves as an inspiration for life for the people of the camp. Although the melody has been used before in the opera in an earlier scene, the Victory song at the triumphant ending has double the significance:

Brundibár poražen, utíká do dali. Zavirte na buben válk jsme vyhráli.	We've won a victory over the tyrant mean Sound trumpets, beat your drums, and show us your esteem
Vyhráli proto jen, že jsme se ne dali Že jsme se nebáli Že jsme si všichni svou Písničku veselou do kroku zpívali. (Mé drahé dětičky, Vstávejta z židličky, Je pozdže z večera, Skončla opera. Než se však rozejdem, Rozejdem docela ještě si zapějem Ve spolek zvesela.) Kdo má tolik rád Maminkus tatínkem A naši rodmou zem Je náš ka marád A smí si s námi hrát	We've won a victory since we were not fearful Since we were not tearful Because we marched along Singing our happy song, bright, Joyful and cheer. (My darling little friends Our opera now ends It's getting very late, You must go home. But wait! Don't say "good night" as yet! We'll send you on your way, When we have sung once more Our song with you today.) He loves his dad, Mother and native land Who wants the tyrant's end Join us hand in hand And be our welcome friend![152]

[152] *Ibid*., 71-74.

Every character, except Brundibár, for obvious reasons, joins in to sing this Victory Song. It might strike the listener as odd that "adult" characters who were so unsupportive and mean to the children are now on their side. In the final act, the adults join the children in their fight against Brundibár. The adults have had a change of heart as they were slowly introduced to Brundibár's intent to steal the money and hurt the children if they did not behave. This type of moral dilemma was something that the prisoners also encountered as they faced their individual and group struggle within the camp.

The melody is separated into three phrases in the form ABC. The first phrase (measures 1-9) begins with a repetition of the first two measures. In the sixth measure the melodic line begins a descent from B4 down to D4. The phrase ends in the same tessitura in which the melody begins. The rhythm for the opening section is in a military style with the repetition of the dotted eighth sixteenth note figure (measures two and four). The style continues in the second half of the phrase with the syncopation in measure six, and a return of the dotted eighth sixteenth pattern in the remaining measures. The highest pitch of the phrase comes on the word "sound" making this word the most important point of the phrase. In measure seven, the rhythmic figure mentioned above is placed on the words "beat your drum." The speech pattern is sounds like a drum itself, and the rhythmic figure accentuates that point.

The second phrase (measures 11-24) begins with a descending figure similar to the one used in the first phrase. Beginning on the same pitch, B4, the melody moves downwards to the opening range, ending on the D4. After the initial descent of the second phrase, an ascending interval of a seventh is heard in measure 14. The C5 that is present is now the highest pitch that

has been used thus far. It will, however, be replaced by Db5 two measures later. The sequence of this section of the phrase corresponds to the text. The text expresses a range of feelings, from defiance to "fearful" and "tearful." After measure seventeen another descent can be seen, accompanied by the military style rhythm again. Similar to the rhythm that underlies the beating of a drum in the first phrase, the dotted eighth sixteenth accompanies the words "marched along" in the second phrase. In this phrase, the dotted rhythm also represents the positive outlook of the text in its second half. In measures 21 and 22 the rhythm occurs on the words "happy" and "joyful." It adds rhythmic vitality to the words with the syncopation of the beats.

The third phrase is an affirmation of the text (measures 25-44). The phrase begins with the familiar dotted rhythm, and an ascending interval of a perfect fifth on the word "dad." The upwards motion of the melody to measure 26 also has the longest duration of rhythm that has been used, a half note. The appearance of the half note differentiates this phrase from the previous two. However, it would not necessarily be considered a "marked" entity because there is no established pattern. Therefore, the half note is merely a change in rhythm. The highest pitch of the phrase, D5 occurs on the word "land." This word is emphasized as the most important of the phrase not only because it not only occurs on the highest pitch of the phrase, but also because of what it meant to the prisoners. They yearned for the life they had before the camps, and their native lands. Its placement at the highest point in the phrase is appropriate. In the following measures an interesting turn is heard. The presence of a Db5 in measure 32 on the word "tyrant" is the opposite treatment of the word "land." The lowering of a pitch by a half step signifies the negativity of the word "tyrant" and under a broader lens, Hitler.

The last portion of the phrase consists primarily of half notes as the phrase ends and the true affirmation is made. The half-notes ascend in a triadic form, and then descend in a larger

leap of a fourth. The half-notes in this section emphasize the text, as they are longer than the majority of the rhythms that have been seen thus far in the chorus. The text, "join us hand in hand," is emphasized at the end of the section because it is a direct statement to the listener that if they unite and resist their oppression, they can achieve victory. The range of this section is also attainable for even novice singers, and therefore, makes it the ideal section for the audience to join in the song. If the prisoners did not have musical training, which in Thereresianstadt, would be rare, it was still an easy song to learn. There are only a few instances of accidentals or altered pitches, and the rhythms are fairly consistent. Another aspect that would have helped the prisoners learn the song was the frequency with which the opera was performed. The prisoners were exposed to the music on a regular basis and would probably have heard the rehearsals throughout the camp. So it would be no surprise if it only took one or two times through the chorus to learn the pitches, and then the text.

Example 3.2. Victory Song Theme.

We've won a vic - to-ry o - ver-the ty - rant mean sound trum - pets,

beat your drum and show us your es-teem. We've won a vic-to-ry

since we were not fear - ful since we wer not tear - ful be-cause we

marched a-long sing-ing our hap - py song bright, joy - ful and cheer-ful.

He who loves his dad, mother and na-tive land, who wants the ty-rant's end,

join us hand - in hand and be our wel - come friend.

Theresienstadt was, from the beginning, used for propaganda and concealment of the reality of the Holocaust. The Germans worked extremely hard to keep up the charade that was the camp. Zdenka Fantlova, in an interview about the music of the camp, remarked “the Germans decided it would be a very good plan to put all the Jewish population in as a waiting room, and from there to send them all to the extermination camps. We didn’t know anything about it at

all."[153] She continues, "Of course what we didn't know is what the Germans knew: that we were sent to death, sooner or later."[154] To the prisoners, this was the reality of the camp, but people outside of the camp, were convinced otherwise. The deception created for the outsiders that the actions of the Holocaust were not as bad as they heard, began with the visit from the International Red Cross as well as representatives from the Danish Red Cross. To prepare for the visit from the organization, Theresienstadt began a "Beautification Process" in 1944.[155] Shops were established to sell shoes, clothing, perfume, and handbags where Jews could buy back, with their fake money, their belongings that were confiscated when they first arrived at the camp.[156]A café was set up where prisoners could listen to live music being played, as was a lending library filled with books. That, like the items in the shops, were taken from the prisoners when they arrived.[157] The library contained over 60,000 books written in Hebrew and also held a collection of hymn books from the fourteenth century.[158] During the beautification process the camp was cleaned and painted by the prisoners. People in the camp were given new clothes to present the illusion of their being happy and clean. Unfortunately, as the camp was cleaned, to make the camp appear more spacious, a mass deportation occurred that involved removing 75,000 people from the camp.[159] This deportation included orphans, tuberculosis patients, and after a long process, randomly selected people to reach the extermination quota set by the Nazis.[160]

The Red Cross inspection took place on June 23, 1944. Among those invited into the camp were representatives from the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Danish Red

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[153] Fantlova,"Holocaust Survivor," 123.
[154] *Ibid*.
[155] Dutlinger, *Art, Music, and Education as Strategies for Survival,*123.
[156] Lederer, *Ghetto Theresienstadt,* 52.
[157] *Ibid*., 53.
[158] *Ibid.*
[159] *Ibid*., 112.
[160] *Ibid*., 114-115.

Cross Chairman. There were also highly ranked officials from Berlin and Prague.[161] The officials at the camp wanted to make sure that the representatives saw only the illusion. The Red Cross was led around the town surrounded by "Singing Jewish girls, shouldering rakes, {marching} off to their gardening" and "Terezin's orchestra {playing} Mozart."[162] The representatives were not taken into the poorly established barracks of prisoners or anywhere that would cause alarm. At the end of the day, the special guests were treated to a performance of the ever popular opera, *Brundibár*. The prisoners, in survivor accounts of children in the cast as well as several in the orchestra, had a very somber and frightful experience from the visit. Paul Sandfort, a trumpet player in the orchestra said, "It was a little tenser. A little more tense because we had to…this feeling of….I at least had the feeling 'you must not fail, you must play for your life'." [163] The Red Cross left the camp, but not before passing the conditions of the camp with flying colors. The ruse had worked, and the camp was a good place to be if you were Jewish. The events of the Red Cross visit had a major influence on the next significant event that would happen in the camp.

The Nazis wanted to conceal the nature of the concentration camp system even further. In order to do that, Theresienstadt was featured in a film, "The Führer Gives the Jews a City."[164] The film alone was meant to present the official German position regarding Jews and other individuals and to distract the curious masses from making inquiries as to the whereabouts of these individuals. Once again, the town was cleaned and the people made presentable, and then filming began in the summer of 1944. The propaganda film, as it is now known, featured many

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[161] Dutlinger, *Art, Music, and Education as Survival Strategies,* 89.
[162] *Ibid*.
[163] Daniel Schorn, "*Brundibár*: How the Nazis Conned the World" CBS, February 23, 2007, accessed September 30, 2015, http://www.cbsnews.com/news/brundibar-how-the-nazis-conned-the world/.

[164] Green, *The Artists of Terezin,* 90.

of the same venues that the Red Cross saw, as well as a very short shot of the final chorus of *Brundibár*. This film, according to Green, only exists in an unedited version, and was never actually shown to the public.[165]

The fact that *Brundibár* was chosen to represent the music that was performed within the camp, despite the camp being filled with performances of all genres, speaks of the popularity of the opera. The opera was so well attended that there were tickets printed for every showing and these would often sell out. A member of the chorus, Dita Krause, when asked by Daniel Schorn about the tickets, stated:

> Narrator: It was the hottest ticket in town?
> Dita Krause: It wasn't very easy to get tickets.
> N: Tickets were printed for *Brundibár*?
> K: Tickets were printed for every performance.
> N. And *Brundibár* was a difficult ticket to get?
> K: Yes, most, I think, maybe *the* most.[166]

The popularity of the opera had an enormous impact on the opera performers, who were children. The children especially enjoyed the opera because they connected in another way with the performances: the time that the children spent on the stage was a time where they felt free. Ella Weissberger, a prisoner and advocate for Holocaust awareness, often speaks about her time in Theresienstadt as well as her performances in *Brundibár.* She portrayed the role of the Cat in almost every performance and described in an interesting anecdote the costume that she had to wear: "I wore my sister's ski pants and my mother's sweater, black sweater, this was my costume."[167] The children had real costumes; however, something was missing from every one – the required yellow Jewish six-pointed star was nowhere to be found on her costume. The Jewish

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[165] *Ibid*., 94.
[166] Schorn, *Brundibár*.
[167] *Ibid*.

star became mandatory for every Jewish person to make visible on their clothing on September 19, 1941. The star was required in Theresienstadt and if a prisoner was caught without it, he or she was subjected to punishment and was accused of attempted escape.[168] Weissberger remembers the experience as a liberating one, saying "it was the only time that they said we didn't have to put on the Jewish Star. A little couple minutes of freedom." When the children were on stage, they were free from the harsh conditions of the camp, and could focus solely on the music and their performance for an hour or so.

After the liberation of the camp, preservation of the art and music made in the camp became important. It was essential not only to preserve but also display and perform these works because such keeps the stories of the survivors alive. These works also educate students and scholars of all ages about the events that led to, surrounded, and came after the Holocaust. As more people became aware of the situation during the Holocaust, interest grew in knowing more about not only the people or the conditions of the camps, but also the artwork and music that came from those camps. Theresienstadt is unique in this aspect because so much work exists from children and adults alike. In this camp, there was a specific group of artists that were appointed to create art that represented the camp. Of course, they were restricted in the type of art that they could create. The Nazis did not want the artists creating negative images that would make their way out of the camp. Groups of artists began as cartographers and strategic diagram drawers for the Nazis inside of the camp. [169] They soon began to draw what life inside was like, such as the hearse picture mentioned above. These drawings survive along with some of the music that was composed in the camp. Many of the performances in the camp were of works that

[168] Lederer, *Ghetto Theresienstadt,* 13.
[169] Green, *The Artists of Terezin,* 44.

already existed, such as Giuseppe Verdi's *Requiem* and Bedrich Smetana's *The Bartered Bride,* which was performed thirty-five times in the camp.[170] *Brundibár* is different in this aspect because it was fairly new when it was smuggled into the camp and performed for the first time. It was new, exciting, and held a powerful message for those that heard it.

The tragedy that was the "modern ghetto" Theresienstadt has not only provided a glimpse into the different types of treatment of Jews in Czechoslovakia, but also stands as a symbol of creation in times of intense hardship. The creation of art, poetry, and music is something that not only the prisoners of Theresienstadt had, but those in other concentration camps as well. Musicians were used to boost spirits, provide entertainment and comply with requests of the SS guards. Performing music was not only a form of entertainment, but a way to stay alive in many cases. Karel Ančerl, a conductor of the Prague Philharmonic orchestra, who also conducted in Theresienstadt related,

> One thing was revealed to me, that the power of music is so great that it draws every human being possessing a heart and an open mind into its realm, enabling him to bear the hardest hours of his life.[171]

The time that the prisoners spent creating music and sharing in that short-lived joy served as a desperately needed escape. It did not matter if the Red Cross were there to continue the lie that the Nazis had started or that every day thousands of people were being murdered. All that was important to the performers and audiences was that for an hour they could enjoy life with the music that was occurring around them. The children especially benefited from this. George Eisen, author of *Children and Play in the Holocaust*, offers insight on why the children would benefit not only from music but from playing games within the camps. Eisen asserts that the

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[170] *Ibid*., 73.
[171] *Ibid*., 78.

children possessed a great sense of imagination that the adults had abandoned and because of this they wanted to "play out reality" instead of escaping from it.[172] Playing out reality is what *Brundibár* stands for. When Brundibár is characterized as Hitler, and the children know this, they are automatically connected to the story because it is their reality. The work stands for freedom from oppression and the resilience of the human spirit, and that is something that history will not be able to erase.

[172]George Eisen, *Children at Play* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), 81.

CONCLUSION

The classification of the works discussed as "camp anthems" stems from the unifying power of the individual songs and the prisoner's relation to them. Although *Die Moorsoldatenlied, Sachsenhausnelied,* and the "Victory Song" from *Brundibár* came from different camps, each held a significance to the prisoners, survivors, and those who had experiences with the camps. Each song is as unique in its history from conditions of composition, to the camps for which they were written. Despite the differences among the songs, there is a connecting thread from one to another. The sense of community for both the prisoners and the guards when they performed these pieces is something that cannot be denied.

The positive effect of music in the camps was not and is not acknowledged by everyone. There are several arguments against the benefit of music from survivors, particularly those who experienced music as torture. Orchestra musicians felt "they could not support or help the people being punished [because they were playing] so they did not see music in a positive light."[173] Musicians playing in official events felt helpless as they watched others being killed, and yet they were spared to perform entertainment. Some prisoners who were not involved in orchestras, but were exposed to songs, thought the same way. Esther Bejarano, a survivor of Auschwitz said, "music was no longer a pleasure. We played only because of the order, never for ourselves. I had always liked to sing, but singing was spoiled for me in Auschwitz."[174] There are several other accounts of the dislike of music and arguments that music was a negative aspect of the camps. Both types of experiences should be examined based on the nature of the camp, personal

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[173]Shirli Gilbert, *Music in the Holocaust: Confronting Life in the Nazi Ghettos and Camps*, (Oxford, London: Oxford University Press, 2005), 185.

[174] Juliane Brauer, "How Can Music be Torturous? Music in Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camps," *Music and Politics* 10, issue 1 (Summer 2016): 20

experiences of the prisoners, and the extent of the exposure to music for the prisoners. In both instances, negative and positive, the overall narrative of each of the three songs was meant to showcase experience. The experiences within these songs "emphasize [the] meaningful aspects of identity and promote particular interpretations and responses."[175]

The images that the prisoners chose to use in their song are both powerful and devastating. Each song, however was seen though the viewpoint of the writer of the text and prisoners who sang it. In *Die Moorsoldatenlied*, the surroundings of the camp as they pertain to nature are mentioned, as well as the daily life of the prisoners. Also, the focalization shows clear differences between the internal and external narrative. The external text offers a slightly vague description of the actions completed by the prisoners. The internal narrative, however, is the more poignant description because it tells of how much the prisoners are yearning for their homeland. As one of the first "camp anthems" *Die Moorsoldatenlied* laid an important foundation for other songs.

Sachsenhausenlied follows in the steps of *Die Moorsoldatenlied* by offering different narratives. Where the two songs diverge is the use of time to portray the prisoners' feelings. *Die Moorsoldatenlied* is written in the present tense, with a slight reference to the future tense in the last stanza and the last refrain. Because the focus is taken away from time, the narrative becomes its prevailing entity. The changing tenses in *Sachsenhausenlied,* on the other hand, reveal that the author lives in all times: past, present, and future. Time was something that the prisoners of concentration camps must have cherished. The past gave the prisoners memories about which they could reminisce. The present gave direct information about the daily experiences that could be immediately recorded and reflected upon. In this song, the descriptions of what the prisoners

[175] Gilbert, *Music in the Holocaust: Confronting Life in the Nazi Ghettos and Camps,* 199.

were doing provide more details for their specific actions. The future, a strong symbol of hope in a time that was filled with hardships, was something to which everyone who heard the song could relate. Aspirations for the future might change with each prisoner, but a commonality seen in both *Sachsenhausenlied* and *Die Moorsoldatenlied* was the wish to return to their homeland and to their past lives.

While *Brundibár* would seem an odd work to compare to the others, there are similarities in focalization that can be observed. The narrative is primarily external. The "internal dialogue" is presented in the form of conversations with other characters. While the opera lacks an aria in which a character sings about his or her feelings, a sense of the characters' thoughts are not lost because they are expressed through an external focalization. Therefore, the "Victory Song" of *Brundibár* exhibits the same narrative form as *Die Moorsoldatenlied*. Its similarities with *Sachsenhausen* lie in the use of the future tense of the last portion of the piece. *Brundibár* does not change tenses as often as *Sachsenhausenlied,* as it is primarily in the present tense. The final chorus, however tells of the wish for a triumphant future for all of those that deserve it.

Each of the songs is unique in their own way, especially in the function that each came to serve the prisoners in the camps. *Die Moorsoldatenlied* arose from oppression and frustration, and evolved into a piece that was not only sung as a reflection of the prisoners of Börgermoor, but of other camps as well. *Sachsenhausenlied,* created at the request by the SS guards in the camp, came to represent the torturous conditions that the prisoners lived through every day. It was also used as a form of punishment through forced singing of the prisoners. The "Victory Song" of *Brundibár,* although it was composed outside of the camp and smuggled in, nevertheless became an anthem for the prisoners. Only some of the prisoners had experience with the opera before their time in Theresienstadt, and yet they identified with it on such an

intense level that they made it their own. The perpetual power of the songs, despite their differences, is something that they all have in common. The power that the prisoners felt in performing them, as they began to form their group identity, was something that makes the songs important in the study of music of the Holocaust.

It is not, however, the music alone that gave the prisoners that feeling. The text and attention to the narrative by the author also empowered the prisoners. Gilbert states,

> Cut off from the world both physically and emotionally, victims felt it crucial that someone or something survive and attest to what had happened...the lyrics themselves explicitly articulate this intention.[176]

Devoid of its text, *Die Moorsoldatenlied* is transformed into a marching song, with thematic material that references military topics. Such a song could accompany their work, but it would not have any deeper connection to the prisoners. The same treatment applied to *Sachsenhausenlied* and *Brundibár* would have a similar effect. The emotion of the song would be lost without their texts, which is why the music should not be the only aspect that is examined. By adding the extra layer to the song, the text provides insight into what the prisoners coped with daily, and what they thought during their time in the concentration camps. It was through the text that the songs were passed between several camps, such as *Die Moorsoldatenlied*. Justin Cohen, and several others were interviewed by Rachel Louise Adelstein regarding how music was carried from the Holocaust into modern day. He stated, “poetry conveys the stories of the dead; music literally gives voice to those stories.”[177] Such is not only true for the three songs that have been discussed, but for hundreds of Holocaust-related songs that were written during World War II, or thereafter. This poetry has meaning by itself, but

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[176] Shirli Gilbert, “Music as Historical Source: Social History and Musical Texts,” *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 36, no.1 (2005): 126.
[177] Justin Cohen, quoted in, Rachel Louise Adelstein, “Singing the Unspeakable: Music as a Carrier of Holocaust Memory” (MA thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2006) 69.

when it is combined with music, a deeper connection can be felt not only by the performer, but by the listener as well. There are several other songs that served as camp anthems that came from larger camps such as Auschwitz (*Auschwitzlied)* and Buchenwald (*Buchenwalden Lagerlieder).*[178] These texts follows a similar formula as the three primary anthems, but as they are from different camps, they are individualized. The message is the same, nonetheless: the prisoners hoped for freedom from their oppression and for a better life after their time in the camp, physically or spiritually.

The prisoners of Börgermoor, Sachsenhausen, and Theresienstadt suffered inhumane treatment. Facing persecution for their ethnicity, religion, and political views at every moment, many of them were broken individuals. Music offered a mental escape for the prisoners when actual escape was impossible. The group mentality of the prisoners was fueled through the formation of bonds with other inmates in the camp, of either like-minded thoughts or based on the sole fact that they were in the situation together. The singing of these camp anthems underscored the relationship among the prisoners, their groups, and the SS, giving them the possibility to experience solidarity with every opportunity these songs were sung.

[178] Jerry Silverman, *The Undying Flame: Ballads and Songs of the Holocaust* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2002), 133-134, 16-17.

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APPENDIX A

LETTER FROM THE INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD

Office of Research Integrity

January 20, 2017

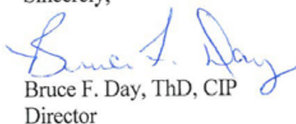
Hillary Herold
2632 Washington Blvd.
Huntington, WV 25705

Dear Ms. Herold:

This letter is in response to the submitted thesis abstract entitled *"United We'll Win Our Stand": The Role of Focalization in Representing Solidarity in the Anthems of Three Holocaust Concentration Camps."* After assessing the abstract it has been deemed not to be human subject research and therefore exempt from oversight of the Marshall University Institutional Review Board (IRB). The Code of Federal Regulations (45CFR46) has set forth the criteria utilized in making this determination. Since the information in this study does not involve human subjects as defined in the above referenced instruction it is not considered human subject research. If there are any changes to the abstract you provided then you would need to resubmit that information to the Office of Research Integrity for review and a determination.

I appreciate your willingness to submit the abstract for determination. Please feel free to contact the Office of Research Integrity if you have any questions regarding future protocols that may require IRB review.

Sincerely,



Bruce F. Day, ThD, CIP
Director

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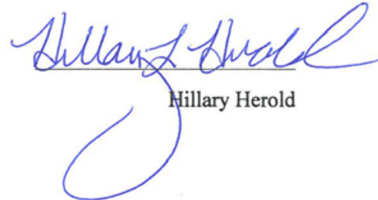

Hillary Herold