

Re-Contextualizing Viktor Ullmann's *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*
Within Twentieth-Century German Opera

by

Mindy Elicia Buckton
Bachelor of Arts, Laurentian University, 2010

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of the Requirements for the Degree of

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Supervisory Committee

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Abstract

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Viktor Ullmann's opera *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, composed in the Theresienstadt concentration camp in 1943-44, has received regular performances since its belated first performance in 1975. Research on this opera has largely been restricted to the confines of Theresienstadt, with limited connections made to the outside world. Nevertheless, when Ullmann's work is viewed within the artistically evolving context of the interwar period – a formative era in Ullmann's life – new light is shed on his artistic achievements. This era of change between 1919 and 1930 gave rise to new artistic movements such as *Neue Sachlichkeit* and produced the genres of *Zeitoper*, Brechtian *Epic Theatre*, and *Kabarett*. Artists of staged works used their artistic freedom to challenge audiences, most obviously with techniques such as Bertolt Brecht's "Verfremdungseffekt." In the freedom of the newly established Republics, political commentary and the representation of contemporary life became the source material for libretti. It is within this era that we find the inspiration and source of Ullmann's representation of Theresienstadt within *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*. Indeed, examining the opera within the context of the interwar period expands many elements beyond the representation of Theresienstadt. By investigating the inherent symbolisms within the opera to the spirit of the new Republics, we can re-contextualize the modest but growing place *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* holds in the operatic repertoire. For it is only by combining these two radically contrasting worlds – the freedoms associated with the artistic experiments in liberal democracy typical of the interwar period and the restrictions of detention in Theresienstadt at the hands of the National Socialists – that a robust understanding of the mastery of defiance and irony that is *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* becomes possible.

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Dedication

To all my family who never stopped believing.

Introduction

Music historians often limit their discussion of Viktor Ullmann's opera *Der Kaiser von Atlantis: oder die Todverweigerung* op. 49 (The Emperor of Atlantis: or Death's Refusal) to the circumstances in which it was composed in 1943/44.¹ During the Second World War, Ullmann was one of the many Czech citizens of Jewish heritage who were transported to the Theresienstadt concentration camp located just outside of Prague in the months following the Nazi invasion of Czechoslovakia beginning in 1938.² Built in 1780 by the Emperor Joseph II of the Austro-Hungarian Empire as a garrison town named in honour of his mother, Empress Maria Theresa,³ Theresienstadt provided an ideal location to create a ruse "Jewish city" to hide the actual conditions of the ghettos and concentration camps created throughout occupied Nazi Europe. With the hopes of maintaining the façade of the Nazi ghettos, Theresienstadt became the camp to which Jewish people with international reputations were sent, including many of the musicians, composers, and artists who were immersed in and helped shape the culture that defined the interwar period.

¹ Some examples of this trend in research include: Linda Hutcheon, "'Death, Where is thy Sting?': The Emperor of Atlantis," *The Opera Quarterly* 16/2 (2000): 224-239; André Meyer, "Peter Kien's Libretto of Viktor Ullmann's Opera 'Kaiser von Atlantis' - A Text Full of Allusions," *Hudebni veda* 35/3(1998): 232-239; Robert Rollin, "Viktor Ullmann's 'The Emperor of Atlantis' (1943): an Opera Composed in Terezin Concentration Camp," *Ex Tempore* 12/1 (Spring/Summer 2004): 38-46; Hugh R. Ross, "Aesthetic Reflections on Viktor Ullmann's *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*" (Master Thesis. California State University, 2011); William André Toerien, "The Role of Music, Performing Artists, and Composers in German-Controlled Concentration Camps and Ghettos during World War II" (Nondoctoral Dissertation, University of Pretoria, 1993).

² Theresienstadt is the German name for the town (Czech: Terezín), located approximately sixty kilometers north of Prague.

³ Joža Karas, *Music in Terezín: 1941-1945* (Hillsdale, New York: Pendragon Press, 2008), 2.

While artistic modernism was banned in occupied Europe, it continued to be accepted and even encouraged in this isolated Jewish “city.”⁴ Though music and dramatic performances were initially banned in Theresienstadt, these creative outlets were later encouraged by the Nazis as a way to subdue and manage the potential of resistance by the inmates.⁵ This tolerance of artistic activities would later play an important role in several scenes in the propaganda film *Der Führer schenkt den Juden eine Stadt* (The Führer Gives a City to the Jews).⁶ Although the film offers a falsified portrayal of the living conditions in Theresienstadt, the cultural aspect of life it portrayed was fairly accurate.⁷ The tolerance and even encouragement of artistic pursuits led to the establishment of the *Freizeitgestaltung* council (organization of leisure activities), of which Ullmann became an active member. Although Ullmann’s artistic achievements during his two-year internment are in themselves extensive, they can also be seen as the continuation of his flourishing musical activities in the interwar era.

Unlike previous studies that remain confined to the circumstances surrounding *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, this thesis is concerned with re-contextualizing Ullmann’s Theresienstadt opera within the developing innovations of the genre in the freedom of the

⁴ These banned works were part of what the Nazis deemed as “*entartete Kunst*” (degenerate art), which were considered un-German or Jewish Bolshevist. These degenerate works were displayed in an art exhibit titled *Entartete Kunst* in Munich in 1937.

⁵ Krasa, 14.

⁶ The National Center for Jewish Film, *The Führer Gives a City to the Jews*, DVD (Waltham, Massachusetts: National Center for Jewish Film, 2005). Kurt Gerron (1897-1944) was the chosen director of the film production; however, the footage that was recorded was often staged and controlled by Nazi officials.

⁷ The extensive nature of cultural events in Theresienstadt can be read in Joža Karas’ *Music in Terezín: 1941-1945*; Alice Herz-Sommers’ memoir: *A Garden of Eden in Hell*; Norbert Troller’s memoir: *Theresienstadt: Hitler’s Gift to the Jews*; *Seeing through “Paradise”: Artists and the Terezín concentration camp*, organized by Massachusetts College of Art, Boston; Ruth Thomson’s *Terezín: Voices from the Holocaust*; and H.G. Adler’s *Theresienstadt: 1941-1945*.

new Republics.⁸ Features that defined and shaped interwar operas can be found throughout Ullmann's work, and though the inspiration for the plot is clearly influenced by the conditions of Theresienstadt, the work itself needs to be situated within the context of operas from the new Republics. *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, therefore, should not be restricted and isolated as simply a work composed in a ghetto, but should also be considered as a part of the modernization of opera during the early twentieth century.

The details of Ullmann's life and critical musical achievements that influenced his artistic voice are outlined in Chapter One ("Viktor Ullmann: Evolution as a Composer and Critic"). Divided into three main sections, this chapter will examine his involvement and close association with Arnold Schoenberg's circle and the *Verein für musikalische Privataufführungen* (Society for Private Musical Performances) in Vienna. In addition, his close proximity to the changing world of opera, first with his position as répétiteur under Alexander Zemlinsky (1871-1942) and later as the musical director of the Aussig Opera House, will be considered. The second section of Chapter One sets up the changed cultural atmosphere at the conclusion of World War I and the establishment of the new Republics in 1919. The revolutionary ideals fostered in this short period created a climate in which experimentation with new music was widely accepted by audiences. This was particularly the case with opera, which was now faced with recreating itself within the changed attitudes of society. The popularity of light entertainment such as *Kabarette* and jazz big bands shifted the audience's attention away from long operas, such as Richard

⁸ At the end of World War I and the conclusion of the Austro-Hungary Empire, new Republics were formed. This thesis focuses on the Weimar Republic in Germany, the Republic of Czechoslovakia, and the Republic of Austria.

Wagner's music dramas in the manner of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* (total work of art).⁹ Ullmann's first two operas, *Der Sturz des Antichrist* op. 9 (The Fall of the Antichrist) composed in 1935 and *Der zerbrochene Krug* op. 36 (The Broken Jug) of 1941-42, highlight the influence of the new styles of opera from the interwar period on his works. The final sections of the first chapter will examine the period of Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia and Ullmann's internment in the concentration camp Theresienstadt. This third period of Ullmann's creative life was also his most productive time as a composer, which will be discussed in detail within the chapter.

Chapter Two ("*Der Kaiser von Atlantis*: Source, Synopsis, and Instrumentation") focuses on the composition of the work. The opening section of the chapter outlines the details of how the manuscript copy of Ullmann's opera survived Theresienstadt. This section will also summarize the particulars of its discovery by the conductor Kerry Woodward and his subsequent restoration and world premiere of the opera in 1975. The opera took over thirty years to be revived, but has since remained in regular performance, particularly in Europe. Following a brief synopsis of *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, this chapter examines the contextual aspects of the opera beginning with its characters. Ullmann and Kien's character choices for the *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* are laden with symbolism that represents aspects of both the interwar era and Theresienstadt. Ullmann's more emblematic characters include Tod and Harlekin, both of which have a rich history in drama and opera. The choice of Harlekin in particular is interesting, as he features as the protagonist in two influential works of the early twentieth century, Schoenberg's

⁹ These new types of opera, the effect of jazz and entertainments such as *Kabarettes* and *Revue*s will be discussed in Chapter Four of this thesis. Popular and influential operas created during this period include *Wozzeck* by Alban Berg, *Jonny spielt auf* by Ernst Křenek, and *Dreigroschenoper* by Bertolt Brecht and Kurt Weill.

melodrama/song cycle *Pierrot Lunaire* (1912) and Igor Stravinsky's ballet *Petrushka* (1910-11). A full examination of the libretto for *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* makes up the next portion of Chapter Two, where various excerpts from each scene are highlighted to show how it represents aspects of both the interwar era and Theresienstadt.¹⁰ The final section of Chapter Two explores the vocal and instrumental choices that Ullmann made when composing his Theresienstadt opera. Of particular interest is the question of whether he wrote for those particular instruments by choice or if he was limited to those instruments that were available to him. This section looks at the activities of groups within Theresienstadt, particularly the jazz medium of performances in the camp, as well as the specific vocalists Ullmann chose for the planned premiere of the work in the summer of 1944.¹¹

While Chapter Two focuses on the building blocks that Ullmann used to construct his opera, Chapter Three ("Musical Quotation and Allusion in *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*") looks at the extra-musical commentary embedded in the opera. As with the previous two chapters, the third is divided into three main sections. The first pertains to Ullmann's musical settings of the characters described in Chapter Two. Each of these characters features a distinct musical style. Each character is introduced in the Prologue with a *leitmotif*, often associated with a particular instrument or instrument grouping. Interlaced with Ullmann's use of quotations throughout the opera, the juxtaposition of styles is representative of the interwar operas. The second section of this chapter examines in detail the symbolic nature of quotations that Ullmann appropriates and then re-composes within the framework of *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*. The quotations found in the opera

¹⁰ The relation of this text in the context of post World War I opera will be discussed later in this thesis.

¹¹ Ingo Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2008), 220.

include most prominently the national anthem of the time, *Deutschland über alles*, and the Lutheran chorale *Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott*.¹² These musical quotations are central to the meaning of this work, and have been something of a *locus classicus* of research into this opera. Ullmann imbues these musical quotations with his own personal compositional style and an embedded sense of irony within the work both to highlight Peter Kien's libretto and to emphasize the original text for the quotation. The final section of this chapter will look at the various musical styles that are used throughout the opera. These include the juxtaposition of tonal and atonal textures between the music of the characters, neo-classical versus jazz styles, along with other comparisons within the compositional style and structure.

In Chapter Four (“*Der Kaiser von Atlantis* in the Context of Twentieth-Century German Opera”) the opera will be discussed in relation to early twentieth-century German opera, which will bring the opera beyond the boundaries of Theresienstadt. The development of opera that took place from the end of the First World War to the Second World War in the new Republics can be seen to have greatly influenced many of the compositional aspects and representations of current life, including those of Theresienstadt and Nazi Germany. Even before the outbreak of World War I, opera began to undergo extensive remodeling in response to the new cultural values of a changed society, most significantly with composers and artists rejecting the aesthetics that had been developed during the Romantic era. For opera the new artistic movement of *Neue Sachlichkeit* (New Objectivity) changed the type of subject matter librettists and composers were choosing for their works. Everyday life and subjects became the new

¹² These two quotations are among several others used within the work; however, they are the most substantial and longest quotations used in the opera.

focus for characters and plot lines. *Neue Sachlichkeit* went hand in hand with Neoclassicism to return to the clean structural lines and forms that defined the Classical and Baroque periods. One has only to look at the forms used in Alban Berg's opera *Wozzeck* (1914-22) to see how influential forms of previous centuries found new life in the era.¹³ Ullmann's first opera, *Der Sturz des Antichrist*, followed the example of *Wozzeck* by using traditional forms such as sonata and fugue as the basis for the structures found within the work.¹⁴ The neoclassical idioms first found their way into Ullmann's work, however, in his piano piece *Variationen und Doppelfuge über ein Klavierstück von A. Schönberg* (1929), which is discussed in Chapter One. This piece represents the turning point of Ullmann's compositional style towards an idiom that was distinctly his own – one that attempts to juxtapose and reconcile atonal music with neoclassical idioms. This progression finds its fullest expression in *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*. Although the movements of *Neue Sachlichkeit* and Neoclassicism can be seen to have influenced the form and structure of Ullmann's work, other pre-Theresienstadt forces inform the dramatic plot and political representations in the opera. These include the new style of opera that grew out of the *Neue Sachlichkeit* that was known as *Zeitoper*, which was also influenced by the fashionable forms of entertainment of *Kabarett, Revue*, and the *Kabarettrevue* that became popular during World War I.¹⁵ The style of these genres, as well as the way in which they can be traced throughout Ullmann's opera, will be discussed in Chapter Four. Another major influence during this period of operatic

¹³ Andrew Clements, "Wozzeck," In *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online* http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/subscriber/article/grove/music/O005360?q=wozzeck&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1 (Accessed October 1, 2012).

¹⁴ Ingo Schultz, "Viktor Ullmann," In *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online* http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/subscriber/article/grove/music/28733?q=viktor+ullmann&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit (Accessed August 29, 2012).

¹⁵ Susan Cook, *Opera for a New Republic: The Zeitoper of Krenek, Weill, and Hindemith* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1988), 34.

innovation derives from the ideals of *Epic Theatre* and *Verfremdungseffekt* of the dramatist and theorist Bertolt Brecht, which are also considered in Chapter Four. The dramas of Brecht were not created solely for the entertainment of the audience, but were meant to bring about social change by challenging assumptions about everyday life and commonplace, ostensibly universal values and beliefs. The elements of defiance and questioning in Brecht's works can all be found in *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, which allows us to expand the context in which Ullmann's opera can and should be viewed.

These movements of Brechtian Theater, *Neue Sachlichkeit*, *Kabarette*, and the genre of the *Zeitoper* influenced and shaped the ways in which Ullmann composed *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, which revitalized the spirit of twentieth-century opera in the context of Theresienstadt. By tracing the important influences on the opera, both as a work composed in the concentration camp and a continuation of the spirit of twentieth-century opera, we can better understand the choices that Ullmann made in creating his opera. This will illustrate that *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* is a continuation of the *Neue Sachlichkeit* movement of the interwar period, and not solely a work to be viewed within the confines of Theresienstadt.

Chapter 1: Viktor Ullmann: Evolution as a Composer and Critic

Viktor Ullmann was born just before the turn of the twentieth century – a century marked by several important global events that had a dramatic impact on his life. Before these global events, the first major influence on Ullmann’s education was the decision of his mother Malwine Ullmann to move to Vienna in 1909 with the young Viktor. This relocation played an important part in the cultural and musical aspect of Ullmann’s life. Enrolled at the Rasumowsky-Gymnasium, he would meet and become friends with musicians Hanns Eisler, Josef Travnicek, and Erwin Ratz.¹⁶ These friendships continued to play a role throughout Ullmann’s life, as can be seen in the correspondence and discussion in Verena Naegele’s biography *Viktor Ullmann: Komponieren in verlorener Zeit* and Ingo Schultz’s *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*.¹⁷ Ullmann’s education was interrupted in 1914 with the outbreak of World War I. In 1916, upon his completion of studies at the Gymnasium and following in the footsteps of his father, Viktor enlisted in the Austro-Hungarian army and was stationed at the Italian front of Isonzo. Unlike most critics, biographers, and researchers, who often only cursorily mention Ullmann’s service in World War I, Naegele highlights this period of Ullmann’s life in two chapters of her biography. Naegele’s approach also stands in stark contrast to most biographical research by giving priority to the middle period of Ullmann’s life when he turned his focus

¹⁶ Verena Naegele, *Viktor Ullmann: Komponieren in verlorener Zeit* (Germany: Dittrich Köln, 2002), 38.

¹⁷ Hanns Eisler would become an important composer during the interwar period in Germany, particularly with regards his collaborations with Bertolt Brecht on several plays. Eisler was also a student of Schoenberg and part of the circle of musicians that surrounded Schoenberg. Josef Travnicek also studied composition with Schoenberg and also studied conducting under Alexander Zemlinsky. Travnicek, who was of Jewish heritage, would immigrate to Africa to flee Nazi Germany. Erwin Ratz studied with Guido Adler and Schoenberg, and would go on to write *Einführung in die musikalische Formenlehre* (Introduction to Musical Form) in 1951.

towards a career in music over that of law.¹⁸ Before Ullmann entered into military service during World War I, he had been proficient in piano performance and had begun lessons in Vienna with the pianist Eduard Steuermann (1892-1964), who was himself a pupil of Arnold Schoenberg.¹⁹ Steuermann later began theory lessons with Engelbert Humperdinck (1854-1921); unsatisfied with the instruction he was receiving from the latter, however, Steuermann began studies with Schoenberg in 1912.²⁰ In 1914 Ullmann began taking theory lessons studies with another Schoenberg pupil, the theorist Josef Polnauer, which supplemented his lessons with Steuermann. There is little information on Polnauer besides mention of his connection with students Paul Kont, Karl Heinz Füssel, Michael Gielen, Friedrich Cerha, and Kurt Schwertsik.²¹ Polnauer's obituary, found in *The Musical Times*, is brief and likewise provides little detail:

JOSEF POLNAUER, honorary president of the ISCM [International Society for Contemporary Music] and a former pupil of Schoenberg, has died in Vienna; he was 81.²²

At the conclusion of his military service in 1918, Ullmann enrolled at the University of Vienna for studies in law. Having been prepared by his teachers Steuermann and Polnauer, he also applied and was accepted into Schoenberg's seminar at the university. Although he did not complete his university training, Ullmann became close to the Schoenberg circle, and at the suggestion of Schoenberg was made a founding member of the *Verein für musikalische Privataufführungen* (Society for Private Musical

¹⁸ Naegele, 99.

¹⁹ Steuermann was also a piano student of Vilém Kurz (1872-1945) and Ferruccio Busoni (1866-1924).

²⁰ Michael Steinberg, "Eduard Steuermann," in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online* http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/subscriber/article/grove/music/26729?q=eduard+steuermann&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit.

²¹ "Search Results: Josef Polnauer," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online* http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/subscriber/search_results?q=josef+polnauer&search=quick&button_search.x=0&button_search.y=0.

²² "Obituary: Josef Polnauer," *The Musical Times* 111/1531 (September 1970), 927.

Performances).²³ The aim of the society was to create an atmosphere in which new, modernist works could be performed in a setting that fostered the ability of the audience to listen, appreciate, and understand the works being heard. As the concerts were private, the organizers were able to invite only those who would accept the new musical ideas and styles. Ullmann's support of new music continued throughout his career, as well as during the Theresienstadt period, where he was appointed the director of the camp's *Studio für neue Musik*. Through his assistance in organizing concerts and events for the *Verein für musikalische Privataufführungen*, Ullmann developed skills that transferred throughout all aspects of his musical career. While still studying at the Wiener Gymnasium, Ullmann had already begun to conduct choral and chamber works under the instruction of Polnauer. The first orchestral concert he conducted took place on May 12, 1915 in Vienna with a program of Mozart's "Titus" overture, the first movement of Schubert's B-flat major Symphony, and Johann Strauss's "Schatzwalzer."²⁴

By tracing Ullmann's various musical activities, we can see his inclination towards organizing, directing, and composing music over that of being a performer. In 1920, Ullmann moved to Prague to work as the choir director and répétiteur for the *Prager neues deutsches Theater* under Alexander Zemlinsky.²⁵ This position at the opera house kept Ullmann well connected to the Schoenberg circle of musicians, since Schoenberg and Zemlinsky had become close friends when they performed in the same orchestra together, and Zemlinsky later became one of the few formal composition teachers with whom Schoenberg would study. Zemlinsky then became Schoenberg's

²³ Ingo Schultz, "Viktor Ullmann," in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*
http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/subscriber/article/grove/music/28733?q=viktor+ullmann&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit.

²⁴ Naegele, 54.

²⁵ Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann Leben und Werk*, 28.

brother-in-law when Schoenberg married his sister Mathilde in 1901.²⁶ As director of the opera house from 1911 to 1927, Zemlinsky performed traditional as well as modern works, such as those by Schoenberg, Ernest Křenek, and Paul Hindemith.²⁷ In 1922 Ullmann was promoted by Zemlinsky to the position of *Kapellmeister* at the theater, expanding his role in the productions at the opera house. During his time in Prague, Ullmann also worked on his own compositions in various different genres (see Appendix 1). These works were often performed in the setting of the *Verein für musikalische Privataufführungen*, as well as at the *Prager Musikfest der internationalen Gesellschaft für neue Musik* (Prague Music Festival hosted by the International Society for Contemporary Music –IGNM).²⁸ Ullmann honoured his friend and teacher by composing his piano piece *Variationen und Doppelfuge über ein kleines Klavierstück von Schönberg* (op.19, 4), one of his most important works of the decade following World War I. Originally composed in 1925 with twenty-one variations, the piece was reworked to only five variations and performed at the IGNM in Geneva in 1929. It was there that Ullmann began to gain international recognition as a composer, as well as to forge a musical voice of his own – one that combined the colouristic tones of atonality while remaining within an expanded tonal practice. Ullmann’s choice for the theme of this work of one of Schoenberg’s *6 Kleines Klavierstück*, op. 19 – a short piece in a free atonal style – serves both as a homage to his teacher and friend, as well as a turning point in his compositional career. Ullmann reworked the *Variationen und Doppelfuge* three more times, twice in

²⁶ O.W. Neighbor, “Arnold Schoenberg,” in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online* http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/subscriber/article_citations/grove/music/25024?q=schoenberg&search=quick&pos=2&_start=1 (Accessed August 31, 2012).

²⁷ Richard Kolář, “Prague State Opera: History,” *Czech Opera* http://www.czechopera.cz/index.php?akce=theatres&kod_sceny=4 (Accessed November 26, 2012).

²⁸ Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, 89-90.

1933/34 and again in 1939. The first revision added four additional variations to the 1929 piano version, which was self-published by Ullmann as op. 3a and dedicated to his teacher Josef Polnauer. Ullmann revisited the piece once again, re-orchestrating it for orchestra, and received the Emil Hertzka-Preis from Vienna's Universal Edition in 1934.²⁹ He reworked the piece once more in 1939, for the last time, now for string quartet. This final version is not known to have been performed during Ullmann's lifetime, and only a photocopy of the autograph remains.

In 1927 Ullmann left his position at the *Neues deutsches Theater* in Prague to become the musical director at the first Aussig Opera.³⁰ Ullmann remained at the Aussig Opera for only the 1927/28 season. There he premiered several new works before returning to Prague as a freelance musician.³¹ As can be seen in Table 1, Ullmann's choice of repertoire was not restricted to one genre, but rather reflects his knowledge of diverse trends. His range from the classical *opera buffa* style of Mozart's opera to the new *Zeitoper* of Křenek demonstrates that Ullmann was well versed in the production of a wide variety of operatic genres from his studies with Zemlinsky at the *Neues deutsches Theater*. It was there that Ullmann had first encountered Křenek's *Jonny spielt auf* under the direction of Zemlinsky. The importance of Křenek's *Zeitoper* in relation to Ullmann's *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* will be addressed further in Chapters Two and Four, as they share many common characteristics.³²

²⁹ Emil Hertzka was the director of Universal Editions from 1907-1932, and did much to advance the publishing of "new music" during his time. Between 1932 and 1938 the Emil Hertzka Foundation offered a compositional prize titled the *Hertzka Preis*.

³⁰ Today Aussig is known as Ústí nad Labem and is located approximately 90km from Prague and 40km from Theresienstadt in the Czech Republic.

³¹ Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, 105-106.

³² Both operas use an allegorical story line and focus on contemporary events.

Table 1: Works premiered by Ullmann at the Aussig Opera 1927/28³³

Date of premiere	Composer	Opera title
October 8 th	Otto Nicolai	<i>Die lustigen Weiber von Windsor</i>
October 21 st	Giuseppe Verdi	<i>Der Troubadour</i>
November 19 th	Richard Strauss	<i>Ariadne auf Naxos</i>
January 11 th	Albert Lortzing	<i>Der Waffenschmied</i>
February 4 th	Ernst Křenek	<i>Jonny spielt auf</i>
March 1 st	Bedřich Smetana	<i>Der Kuss/Hubička</i>
April 18 th	Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart	<i>Figaros Hochzeit</i>
May 19 th	Richard Wagner	<i>Tristan und Isolde</i>

Ullmann obtained a position as director at the Zürich Schauspielhaus in 1929 that lasted until 1931. By then, he was completely immersed in the changing world of opera and theater in the interwar period. While Ullmann was in Zurich, he was also introduced to anthroposophy, a philosophy developed by Rudolf Steiner (1861-1925).³⁴ In 1931 Ullmann left music behind and took up ownership of an anthroposophical bookstore in Stuttgart, where he remained until 1933. With the rise of Hitler to the position of the Chancellor of Germany, Ullmann returned to Prague and resumed his musical career, initiating his productive second period of composition (see Appendix 2). In 1936 Ullmann received the Hertzka-Preis for the second time for his first opera *Der Sturz des Antichrist* op. 9 (The Fall of the Antichrist), based on a libretto by Albert Steffen. The opera centers on a power-hungry Regent who is striving to obtain world domination, but is repelled by three figures: the technocrat, the priest, and the poet. The poet is the only one to resist the power and temptations offered by the Regent.³⁵ Despite having received the Hertzka-Preis for this work, Ullmann still faced complications in having the work performed due to his Jewish heritage. This opera, like his other two, would not be

³³ Ibid.,103.

³⁴ Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, 124.

³⁵ Schott Music, "Viktor Ullmann: Der Sturz des Antichrist," *Schott Music Online* <http://www.schott-music.com/shop/products/show,156530.html> (Accessed February 26, 2013).

performed in Ullmann's lifetime (*Der Sturz des Antichrist* world premiere took place in Bielefeld Germany in 1995 by the conductor Rainer Koch – three years after the new edition of *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* by Schott Music in 1992).³⁶ Despite the increasing unrest in German-occupied Europe and the persecution of Jews, Ullmann was able to self-publish some of his works in the 1930s, thus inadvertently saving them from the loss or destruction that was the fate of many of his other works.³⁷ The first of Ullmann's seven piano sonatas was composed in 1936, while the next three sonatas would be composed in 1939, 1940, and 1941 respectively. Since Ullmann was able to publish private editions of his two operas as well as all four of the piano sonatas, they were also preserved. Each of these piano sonatas was dedicated to a particular pianist. Of interest is the dedicatee of the fourth, Alice Herz-Sommer, a pianist of Jewish heritage living in Prague who, with her husband, hosted musical evenings on Sundays in which Ullmann participated.³⁸ The Herz-Sommer family was also later transported to Theresienstadt, where Alice Herz-Sommer continued her piano performances as part of the *Freizeitgestaltung*, allowing herself and her son to survive their internment in Theresienstadt. Ullmann would create one more complete opera in 1941/42, *Der zerbrochene Krug* op. 36 (The Broken Jug), based on a play by the Romantic writer Heinrich von Kleist that was adapted into a libretto by Ullmann himself. Conceived as a one-act opera, it focuses on a judge who sits in judgment of a defendant guilty of breaking a woman's jug. The judge himself is eventually revealed to be the guilty party.³⁹

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ See Appendix 1 and 2 to see the works that were preserved and those that were lost.

³⁸ Melissa Müller and Reinhard Piechocki. *A Garden of Eden in Hell: The Life of Alice Herz-Sommer*, trans. by Giles Macdonogh (London: Pan Books, 2006), 119.

³⁹ Schott Music, "Viktor Ullmann: Der zerbrochene Krug," *Schott Music Online* <http://www.schott-music.com/shop/9/show,158156.html> (Accessed February 26, 2013).

This opera would only receive its world premiere in Dresden in 1996. This work, as with Ullmann's other operas, has underlying commentary that reflects on the contemporary political situation. Within the new regime, the guilty party was often the one that sat in judgment and the innocent were charged with little to no actual proof – particularly those of Jewish heritage. This type of commentary is very much in the style of *Zeitoper* of the interwar period.⁴⁰

Deportation and the Theresienstadt Period

On 8 September 1942 Ullmann and his family were transported to Theresienstadt, which remarkably coincided with his most productive third period of composition (see Appendix 3).⁴¹ Until this date, Ullmann had managed to avoid the transports to the camps because of his connections in society and his service in World War I; however, it had only delayed the inevitable. By the time Ullmann and his family were transported to Theresienstadt, the musical activity of the camp had already begun to take shape. The highly active nature of the various musical groups in the camp was exploited first during the Red Cross tour, then again in the Nazi propaganda film mentioned in the introduction.⁴² The film features live performances from various musical groups that had formed under the *Freizeitgestaltung*. One clip shows a performance of Hans Krása's children's opera *Brundibár*, composed for Prague's Jewish Orphanage and performed by the children in 1942. This short opera follows the style of *Zeitoper* as well, though the

⁴⁰ *Zeitoper* and the relation to Ullmann's opera will be discussed in detail in Chapter Four.

⁴¹ Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, 192.

⁴² Theresienstadt was always meant to be a deception, concealing the true nature of the concentration camps that had been created throughout occupied-Europe. It also served as a central transit camp because of its location on the rail lines, which meant that prisoners were in general healthier than at other locations. The location of Theresienstadt also meant that it an ideal transit camp, easily moving prisoners from one camp to another, particularly the extermination camps like Auschwitz. This all suited the needs of the Nazis, and when it was required that a Red Cross Delegation tour a camp, Theresienstadt met all the requirements and could quickly be transformed to look acceptable.

political connotations are quite veiled when compared to Ullmann's *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*.⁴³ The piano score of the *Brundibár* was eventually brought into Theresienstadt where it received approximately 55 performances.⁴⁴ Though the propaganda video was skewed to show the allegedly privileged life of the Jewish people, it does capture the strong cultural atmosphere that was able to thrive under dire circumstances.

Research into the extent of musical activities in Theresienstadt was undertaken by Joža Karas in his book *Music in Terezín 1941-1945*, first published in 1985 and revised in 1990, when new research was made available to the author. The full extent of the musical life and atmosphere is beyond the scope of this thesis; however, Karas's book highlights how it was possible for Ullmann and other composers to remain productive within the camp. Ullmann picked up where he had left off in Prague, continuing to support new music within the concentration camp and working to get those pieces performed. In March 1943, when Otto Zucker became the head of the *Freizeitgestaltung*, Ullmann wrote to him addressing the concern he had that new works composed in Theresienstadt were not being heard – including his own (see Appendix 4):

I have lived in the Ghetto for 9 months and have composed here: music to Aeschylus' "Prometheus," Music to "François Villon," String Quartet no. 3, 3 songs with piano, "Songs of Consolation" (with string trio), 10 Yiddish and Hebrew choruses. In process I have String Quartet no. 4 and a Sonata for Clarinet and piano. Of these works not a note has been heard in the Ghetto.⁴⁵

⁴³ *Brundibár* is about two children who are trying to raise money to buy milk to help their sick mother. Seeing the organ grinder (Brundibár) playing for money, they are inspired to try the same thing. Brundibár steals their earnings, as they have stolen his audience. With the help of various animals they are able to get their earnings back and are able to buy the milk needed to save their mother. The "good triumphs over evil" storyline hit home to many of the people transported to Theresienstadt.

⁴⁴ Ingo Schultz, "Hans Krása," In *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online* http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/subscriber/article/grove/music/15473?q=hans+krasa&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit (Accessed December 17, 2012).

⁴⁵ "Ich lebe seit 9 Monaten im Ghetto und habe hier geschrieben: Musik zu Aeschylus' ›Prometheus‹, Musik zu ›François Villon‹, Streichquartett Nr. III, 3 Lieder mit Klavier, ›Lieder der Tröstung‹ (mit Streichtrio), 10 jiddische und hebräische Chöre. In Arbeit habe ich Streichquartett Nr. IV und eine Sonata für Clarinette

Ullmann would become the director of the *Studio für neue Musik*, which supported concerts of new compositions. His role as music critic was also highly regarded within the camp: his standards were high, and much was expected of the performer. In her memoir, *A Garden of Eden in Hell*, Alice Herz-Sommer recounts:

The hall was as packed as ever, and Leopold and Stephan were as usual sitting in the front row. A few seats further along sat the composer Viktor Ullmann with paper and pencil in his hand. For Theresienstadt music lovers, Viktor Ullmann's critiques of the concerts were a minor sensation. Between 1934 and 1944 he wrote a total of twenty-six of them. Even in the ghetto he demanded an incredibly high standard and judged everything by the toughest criteria, just as if the concerts had taken place under normal circumstances.... He typed out his articles in the office of the Free Time Organization. There they were duplicated and then delivered to his readers.⁴⁶

The twenty-six critiques written by Ullmann were preserved along with his compositions of this period. Today they have been published in a collection edited by Ingo Schultz, *26 Kritiken über musikalische Veranstaltungen in Theresienstadt*.⁴⁷ From these reviews and the accounts of musical activities we can begin to understand how people found inspiration to remain artistic within Theresienstadt (see Table 2).

u. Klavier. Von diesen Werken ist noch kein Ton im Ghetto erklingen." Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, 201[my translation].

⁴⁶ Müller, *A Garden of Eden in Hell*, 165.

⁴⁷ Viktor Ullmann and Ingo Schultz, *26 Kritiken über musikalische Veranstaltungen in Theresienstadt* (Hamburg: Brokel, 1993).

Table 2: Performances critiqued by Ullmann in Theresienstadt⁴⁸

Concert Title	Genre	Performers
Lieder tschechischer Komponisten	Lieder, Cabaret	Hedda Grab-Kernmayer, Dr. Karl Reiner
Die Fledermaus	Opera	
Kinderchor-Konzert	Choral	Rudolf Freudenfeld, Children's choir
Mozart-Abend	Chamber Music	Juliette Arányis, Paul Kling, Romouald Süßman, Friedrich Mark
Zwei Violinabende	Chamber Music	Adolf Schächter, Alice Herz-Sommers, Karl Frölichs, Ferencz Weiss
Klavier-Trio	Chamber Music	Heinrich Taussig, Paul Kohn, Wolfgang Lederer
Klavierabend Gideon Klein	Piano	Gideon Klein
Musikalische Rundschau I	Choral, Lieder, Chamber Music, Piano	Ada Schwarz-Klein, Josef Hermann, Jakob Goldring, Taussig, Kling, Süßmann, Mark, Kohn, Karl Ančerl?, Bernhard Kaff
Musikalische Rundschau II	Opera, Choral, Piano	Carlo Taube, Dr. Karl Reiner, Karl Bremann
Musikalische Rundschau III	Oratorio, Chamber Music	Rafael Schächter-choir, Walter Windholz, Karl Fischer, Egon Ledeč, Alice Herz-Sommers, "Ledeč quartet: Ledeč, Kohn, Kraus, Dauber
Klavierabend Alice Herz-Sommer	Piano	Alice Herz-Sommer
Die Švenk-Premiere	Theatre	
Esther	Opera	
II Konzert des Ančerl-Orchesters	Orchestra	Karl Ančerl
Liederabend Karl Bermann	Lieder	Karl Bermann,
La serva padrona	Opera	Rafael Schächter, Marion Podolier, Bedřich Borges, Bremann
Die Zauberflöte	Opera	Schächter, Podolier, J. Fried, Walter Windholz, Gertude Borger, Hilde Lindt-Aronson, Rita Fuchs, Ada Hecht, David Grünfeld
Verspätete Glossen zu Verdis "Requiem"	Oratorio	Schächter, Podolier, Lindt-Aronson, Grünfeld, Bermann
Bernhard Kaff spielt Beethoven	Lieder, Piano	Bernhard Kaff
Klavier-Trio Gideon Klein, Paul Kling, Friedrich Mark	Chamber Music	Gideon Klein, Paul Kling, Friedrich Mark
Klavierabend Renée Gärter-Geiringer	Piano	Renée Gärter-Geiringer
Liederabend Fritz Königsgarten	Lieder	Fritz Königsgarten
Klavierabend Edith Steiner-Kraus	Piano	Edith Steiner-Kraus
24 Chopin-Etuden, gespielt von Alice Herz-Sommer	Piano	Alice Herz-Sommer
"Die Schöpfung" von Haydn	Oratorio	Frau Kohn-Schlesskov, Goldring, Karel Freund, Gärter-Geiringer
Carmen	Opera	Grab-Kernmayr, Gobets, Windholz, Karl Fisher, Pollak, Borger, Lindt, Hecht

⁴⁸ Ullmann, 26 Kritiken über Musikalische Veranstaltungen in Theresienstadt.

In the summer months of 1943 Ullmann began work on one of the largest and most complex undertakings of composition within Theresienstadt, the one-act opera *Der Kaiser von Atlantis: oder Die Todverweigerung* (The Kaiser von Atlantis: or Death's Refusal). The work was completed in February of 1944 and rehearsals were begun with a planned summer performance to be conducted by Rafael Schächter.⁴⁹ The production of the work was halted by the SS-commander during rehearsals, and the work was never performed in Ullmann's lifetime.⁵⁰ The autumn of 1944 was the beginning of the liquidation of Theresienstadt as well as many other camps and ghettos, as the German forces were being driven back from occupied territories. Ullmann and his wife Elisabeth were transported on 16 October 1944 on the "Künstler-Transport" (the artist transport) to Auschwitz, where they perished in the gas chambers upon arrival. Ullmann had entrusted his works to the Theresienstadt librarian Professor Emil Utitz, thereby securing their preservation.⁵¹ Surviving Theresienstadt, Utitz preserved the works until his death, when he passed them on to H. G. Adler, another survivor of Theresienstadt and friend of Ullmann.⁵² Today Ullmann's works from this late period are housed at the Goetheanum in Dornach, Switzerland.

Der Kaiser von Atlantis is strongly rooted in the history of the Shoah⁵³ and spiritual resistance of Jews during World War II; however, the ties to the development of

⁴⁹ Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, 220-221.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 226.

⁵¹ Emil Utitz was a professor of philosophy and aesthetics before he was transported to Theresienstadt. He continued to give lectures at the camp and preserved many Jewish books in the camp library. Utitz provided space in the library for Ullmann to work, and Ullmann's third string quartet was dedicated to Utitz with the inscription "Prof. Utitz in admiration and gratitude." Utitz survived the camp and taught until his death in 1956. Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann Leben und Werk*, 195-196.

⁵² Adler would later publish his own book *Theresienstadt, 1941-1945: Das Antlitz einer Zwangsgemeinschaft* in 1960. Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, 228-229.

⁵³ Shoah (calamity) is the Hebrew term adopted by Jews beginning in the 1940s, rather than the Greek term Holocaust (sacrificial burning) which became a defining term to mean great massacre. In the 1960s,

opera from the interwar period are just as important for understanding the work. There are many factors to be considered when trying to re-contextualize Ullmann's opera *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* within German opera history. The next three chapters of this thesis will focus on contextual and analytical examinations of the opera, expanding the framework in which Ullmann's opera can be examined.

Holocaust became the label of the events of World War II. The Nazi label for the events of World War II is "Endlösung der Judenfrage" (Final Solution of the Jewish Question). It should also be noted that it was not only Jews who were persecuted during the War, other groups include: Gypsies, mentally and physically disabled persons, Soviet prisoners-of-war, Jehovah's Witnesses, homosexuals, and other "undesirables."

Chapter 2: *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*: Sources, Synopsis, and Instrumentation

Source

As Viktor Ullmann never premièred *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, he never truly completed the score. In the absence of a definitive or even completed score, researchers have had to rely on the original source materials. The manuscript copies of *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* remained in the possession of the aforementioned H. G. Adler until the 1970s, when research into the musical culture of Theresienstadt began in earnest. The score was informally brought to the attention of conductor Kerry Woodward, who endeavored to create a performance edition that would allow the opera to be premièred. Woodward worked from the autograph copy of the score; however, it contained text variations and sections that were crossed or blacked out.⁵⁴ The libretto remains in two copies: a handwritten copy and a typewritten version, which were also among the collection of works entrusted to Utitz and Adler. Before being performed in Theresienstadt, the typewritten version of the libretto had to be sent to the *Freizeitgestaltung* for approval. By 1974 Woodward had completed a piano vocal score of the work and interest had been generated in the United States by Fred Grubel at the Leo Baeck Institute, an archive-library in New York devoted to German-Jewish history, to have the world premiere take place in New York.⁵⁵ Due to financial reasons, the planned performance through the Leo Baeck Institute was aborted, and the premiere of *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* took place on the 16 December 1975 at the Bellevue Center in

⁵⁴ Viktor Ullmann, "Preface," *Der Kaiser von Atlantis: oder die Todverweigerung*, vocal score, ed. Henning Brauel and Andreas Krause, trans. Sonja Lyndon (Mainz: Schott Music, 1993), 10.

⁵⁵ Leo Baeck Institute Archives, "Viktor Ullmann Collection 1973," *Leo Baeck Institute Internet Archive* <http://archive.org/details/viktorullmannf001> (Accessed December 29, 2012).

Amsterdam. Woodward took some liberties with Ullmann's score of *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, and work was done in the 1990s with Schott Music to create a performance version that was closer to Ullmann's work. This was undertaken by Henning Brauel and Andreas Krause, with the new vocal and full score versions being published in 1992. Ullmann's opera has continued to receive a modest but growing place in the operatic repertoire since that time (see Appendix 5). It is when we explore *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* in detail that we discover the minute elements of Kien and Ullmann's work that keep it in performance.

Peter Kien and the Libretto

The libretto of *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* was written in 1943 within the walls of Theresienstadt by the poet and artist Franz Peter Kien (1919-1944).⁵⁶ Kien received his education at the German Gymnasium in Brno, where his ability to write and draw were noted in his school certificate.⁵⁷ In 1936 he was enrolled in the Art Academy of Prague as well as attended the private graphic design school *Officina Pragensis*, where he was taught by Professor Hugo Steiner-Prag. Unable to emigrate out of occupied Europe, Kien and his family were deported to Theresienstadt in December 1941, where he worked at the Technical Department with other prominent artists. Kien was an active artist within Theresienstadt, and with the use of stolen paper he created numerous portraits, landscapes, drawings, and genre sketches.⁵⁸ Various poems and dramatic sketches were also written at this time, including the play *Marionetten* (Puppets), which was performed

⁵⁶ There are two main sources of research on Kien, Margarethe Heukäufer, *Und es Gibt so wenig Menschen: Das Kurze Leben des Künstlers Peter Kien* (Prague: Verlagshaus Helena Osvaldová, 2009), provides a short biography on Peter Kien, however is devoted primarily to his poetry. Elena Makarova, *Franz Peter Kien* (Prague: Verlagshaus Helena Osvaldová, 2009) is hard to obtain.

⁵⁷ Elena Makarova, "Franz Peter Kien," in *Elena Makarova Initiatives group* <http://www.makarovainit.com/kien/index.htm> (Accessed Sept. 12, 2013)

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

approximately 25 times, as well as *Medea*, *An der Grenze* (On the Border), and *Der Böse Traum* (Bad Dream).⁵⁹ Kien's poems from *Die Peststadt* (The Plague City) were set in a song cycle by composer Gideon Klein (1919-1945). The libretto of *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* can be seen as a testament to Kien's skill at playwriting, and his collaboration with Ullmann created a multivalent work that is full of irony and veiled meaning.

Plot Synopsis

Der Kaiser von Atlantis is a one-act opera divided into a prologue and four scenes that are loosely related to each other. Delivered by the Lautsprecher, the Prologue both provides the audience with the background story of the current war instigated by Kaiser Overall and sets up Scene One. In the Prologue, the audience is also introduced to the seven characters of the opera (see Table 3). The way in which each of the scenes is structured allows the work to be performed with a minimum of five people to cover all the characters. The four roles that can be doubled by one person are the Lautsprecher and Tod, as well as Harlekin and the Soldier. These characters, as seen in Table 3, occupy the same vocal range, and in the opera do not appear in the same scene together. In the case of the planned Theresienstadt performances, Ullmann chose six of the most active singers and performers in the camp.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ The score of *Marionetten* has been lost and others have never been published or performed; the surviving manuscripts are housed at the Wiener Library, London.

⁶⁰ The list of the planned Theresienstadt cast can also be seen in Table 3, where the role of Harlekin and the Soldier are the doubled by the same actor. The active nature of these artists can be seen in Table 2 on page 19, from the concerts that were critiqued by Ullmann in the camp.

Table 3: The characters of *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* and their appearance, voice type and Theresienstadt casting

Character	Appearance	Voice Type	Theresienstadt cast ⁶¹
Kaiser Overall ⁶² (Emperor Überall)	Scene 2 and 4	Baritone	Walter Windholz
Der Tod (Death)	Scene 1 and 4	Bass	Karel Berman
Harlekin (Harlequin)	Scene 1 and 4	Tenor	David Grünfeld
Der Lautsprecher (The Loudspeaker)	Prologue, Scene 2 and 4	Bass	Lediglich Bedřich Borges
Ein Soldat (A Soldier)	Scene 3	Tenor	David Grünfeld
Bubikopf–ein Soldat (Bobbed haired girl- a soldier)	Scene 3	Soprano	Marion Podolier
Der Trommler (The Drummer)	Scene 1,3, and 4	Alto/Mezzo- soprano	Hilde Lind-Aronson

Scene One

Opening with the characters of Tod and Harlekin, who are watching the war-ravaged world go by, we are introduced to a situation in which the passage of time has become meaningless. Lamenting a past of laughter, wine, love, respect, honour, and glory, Harlekin and Tod dispute whose current situation in life is worse. This debate is interrupted by the Trommler, who, by order of Kaiser Overall, proclaims that everyone – including every man, woman, and child – will fight in his “heiligen Kampf” (holy war).⁶³ This proclamation tells us that Kaiser Overall has placed himself above Tod, and that it is Tod who honours Kaiser Overall and his war. This decree enrages Tod and sets in motion the crux of the opera. By breaking his sword, Tod abdicates his position as collector of souls, making it so no one can die in the world, no matter the extent of their injuries. This act of retaliation against Kaiser Overall closes the scene.

⁶¹ Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, 224.

⁶² In the opera, Ullmann uses the English translation for his name, in the English version of the work translated by Sonja London the juxtaposition of the German/English title is maintained by using the German translation.

⁶³ Ullmann, *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*: vocal score, 40 [my translation].

Scene Two

Situated in the palace of Kaiser Overall, the second scene serves to inform the audience of the early repercussions of Tod's refusal to collect souls. The Kaiser's only interaction with the outside world is done through the Lautsprecher, and it is through it, embodied as a character, that he first learns about Tod's refusal when a terrorist who was hanged at 4:13 is still alive at 5:35.⁶⁴ After conferring with the doctor, he learns that thousands of soldiers are unable to die from their injuries. Seeking to gain the upper hand, Kaiser Overall makes another proclamation announcing that through him deserving soldiers will receive everlasting life – an irony that given the fact that soldiers still had to suffer the agonies of being killed – would not have been lost on the audience:⁶⁵

Wir, Overall, der Einzige, schenken unsern verdienten Soldaten ein
Geheimmittel zum ewigen Leben. Wer es besitzt ist gefeit gegen den Tod
und keine Wunde und keine Krankheit kann ihn fortan hemmen, das
Schwert für seinen Herrn und das Vaterland zu führen.
Tod, wo ist dein Stachel?
Hölle, wo ist dein Sieg?!⁶⁶

Scene Three

In the third tableau of *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* we are taken to the battlefield where we are introduced to two opposing soldiers in the war – the Soldier and Bubikopf. As the two characters are locked in confrontation on stage, we hear the Trommler off-stage publicizing Kaiser Overall's proclamation from the end of Scene Two. Unable to

⁶⁴ This information holds terrible repercussions. One can only imagine the horror for the person being hanged and then shot and still unable to die.

⁶⁵ Kaiser Overall chooses to ignore the repercussions of Tod's actions: though soldiers cannot die from their injuries, they would likely still be injured and feel every pain associated with their injuries.

⁶⁶ "We, Overall the only, give our deserving soldiers a secret medicine for eternal life. Those who possess it will be immune against death and no wound or sickness can henceforth hinder him from taking his sword [into Battle] for their Fatherland and his master. Death, where is your sting? Hell, where is your victory?!" Ullmann, *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*: vocal score, 58-59 [my translation].

kill each other, the Soldier and Bubikopf move away from thoughts of war to those of love, beauty, and freedom. Sensing the Soldier's change of heart, the Trommler enters on stage and tries to win him back to the cause of Kaiser Overall's war. This is to no avail, the strength of love between the Soldier and Bubikopf is stronger than the call to war from the Trommler, and their hearts are turned towards the light on the horizon.

Scene Four

Returning to the palace of Kaiser Overall, the final scene of the opera shows the repercussions that Tod's abdication has had on Kaiser Overall's war. Through the use of the radio and the Lautsprecher, the Kaiser learns that he is being defeated; the Rebel forces have been quickly advancing and conquering cities that had been under the control of Overall's armies. Unlike Scene Two, Kaiser Overall is no longer alone in his palace; he is accompanied by the Trommler and Harlekin. Questioning whether he is still a man or just a machine, Overall rips off the curtain that has been covering a stand in his office in the imperial palace. What appears is not Overall's reflection, but rather that of Tod. Tod informs him that he will return to the world of men, but only on the condition that Kaiser Overall is the first to try out the new death. At first hesitating, Overall accepts Tod's offer and takes his hand, thus ending the war that has ravaged the land.

The Characters and Their Allegorical Connotations

Beneath the surface of *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* is a symbolic world that reaches beyond the simple plot structures of the opera. Beginning with an examination of the characters alone, we can already see that they are full of allegorical connotations that go beyond the immediate context of Theresienstadt. Based around seven characters (shown

in Table 3 on page 23) they impart their own line of commentary and representation, which as will be seen, enriches the subversive meanings within *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*.

Kaiser Overall

Kaiser Overall is the first character to be introduced in the opening Prologue of the opera. He does not represent a specific person, but rather a broader connection to past and present rulers in Europe. His name in the opera is a doubling of approximately the same thing – the Kaiser (Emperor) is the absolute ruler in their empire. The title “emperor” was first applied in the ancient Roman Empire, which then carried on into the Western European countries over the centuries. When looking into the inspiration for the character in *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, the parallels between the Kaisers of the Austro-Hungary Empire and the connection to Adolf Hitler are the most obvious.⁶⁷ Hitler’s absolute power and desire to expand the German empire fits within the characterization of an Emperor; however, within Ullmann’s opera, the Kaiser Overall represents a broader association than only Hitler. A deeper association with the historical European emperors of the eighteenth century provides a fuller understanding of the nature of the character that we find in the opera (see Table 4). The European Empires flourished in the nineteenth century until the conclusion of World War I, when in many cases the monarchy was abolished or overthrown. Throughout their reigns the various emperors strove to expand their territories through marriages and wars, increasing their titles and power. People were at the mercy of these rulers, and when the call to war was given; they were faced with leaving everything behind and joining the army.

⁶⁷ Hitler styled himself as the *Führer* of Germany, demanding total and unquestioned authority over the people and military of Germany. The civilian authority in which Hitler was first elected into power was gone when he placed himself as the absolute military leader of the Nazi party. The link of Nazi Germany as the Dritte Reich (Third Empire) places Hitler as the Emperor of Nazi Germany – even if he did not use this title himself.

Table 4: European Emperors from the eighteenth century to the end of World War I

Emperor of Austria		Russian Empire	
Name	Reign	Name	Reign
Francis I	1804-1835	Alexander I	1801-1825
Ferdinand I	1835-1848	Nicholas I	1825-1855
Francis Joseph I	1848-1916	Alexander II	1855-1881
Charles I	1916-1918	Alexander III	1881-1894
		Nicholas II	1894- 1917
French Empire		German Emperor	
Name	Reign	Name	Reign
Napoleon I	1804-1814	Wilhelm I	1871-1888
Napoleon III	1852-1870	Frederick III	1888-1888
		Wilhelm II	1888-1918

The character of Kaiser Overall in *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* has traits that link him not only to Hitler but also to these historical emperors. In Scene One of the opera, we are provided with an introduction to the character of Overall by the Trommler.⁶⁸ This introduction gives the impression that Overall is a very assured, authoritative character, a notion that is contradicted by his first appearance in Scene Two, in which he reveals himself to be nervous and mistrustful. We learn from his introduction in the Prologue, that Kaiser Overall has locked himself away from the population, communicating only through telecommunications. The distance in which Kaiser Overall places between himself and the war, became typical of rulers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries – this creates a strong connection to Hitler.

There is another consideration we must make when understanding the character of Kaiser Overall, namely being the Kaiser of Atlantis. The empire of Atlantis has long bordered the realms of being either a mythical or historical place that was swallowed by the sea. In mythology, Atlantis and the Atlantean race held the reputation as being highly

⁶⁸ This introduction is the “Arie des Trommlers” which quotes Haydn’s “Kaiserhymne”. The implications of Overall’s titles will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three.

achieved, enlightened, and technically advanced – yet were a warlike and colonizing people. It was Ignatius Donnelly's book *Atlantis: The Antediluvian world* in 1882 that spurred interest in the history of Atlantis in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.⁶⁹ It is in the context of the renewed interest in Atlantis that the racial ideals of the superior race and the predecessors of the Aryan race were introduced, upon which the Nazi doctrines are partially based. Alfred Rosenberg's book *Der Mythos des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts* (The Myth of the Twentieth Century) in particular was used to claim superior status for the Aryan race by associating it with the Atlantean.⁷⁰ In the opera, the identification of the Atlanteans as the ancestors of the Aryan race therefore as the original myth of Nazism cannot be overlooked. Consequently, Kaiser Overall's character throughout *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* is a complex amalgamation of representations, which is further informed through Ullmann's musical settings. The connections to the superior race (Atlanteans/Aryan) as well as the connections to the Austro-Hungarian Kaisers both add intertextual layers to the opera.⁷¹

Tod

In the opening of Scene One, Tod appears on stage wearing a *k.-u.-k Uniform* ("kaiserlich und königliche" – Imperial and Royal), which was the attire of soldiers of the Austro-Hungarian Empire up to the conclusion of World War I.⁷² There are various possible symbolic connotations for Ullmann's choice of clothing for Tod. Theresienstadt itself was created and designed to be a military defense for the Austro-Hungarian Empire;

⁶⁹ Ignatius Donnelly, *Atlantis: The Antediluvian World* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1882).

⁷⁰ Alfred Rosenberg, *Der Mythos des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts* (München: Hoheneichen, 1930).

⁷¹ The connection to the Austro-Hungarian Kaisers will be further discussed in Chapter Three in connection with the quotation of Haydn's *Kaiserhymne*.

⁷² This description is found on page 17 of the piano vocal score, or page 6 of the full score of Ullmann's *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*.

also many of Jews who served Germany with distinction and honour during World War I were sent to Theresienstadt. The choice of attire can also be seen as part of the commentary on World War II. Tod, by not adopting the current attire of the Nazi soldiers, can be seen as suggesting that Hitler's war, like Kaiser Overall's, is far from honourable. In Scene One, we are provided with Tod's romanticized reminiscences of past wars that glorified his name in his aria "Das waren Kriege" ("Now, those were wars"). It is at the end of Tod's aria that we are first given the impression of his disapproval of Kaiser Overall's war. The self-centered and spiteful nature of Tod is shown at the end of Scene One, when he breaks his sword to show that Overall does not rule death. This action, though already fuelled by his dissatisfaction with the large scale killing in Atlantis, is not a means to help the people, but rather to fulfill his own personal agenda. Though Tod thrives on battle, in Scene Four we are presented with a different symbolic version of Tod, one in which he represents himself as a provider of mercy and peace. In his second aria of the opera "Ich bin der Tod" (I am Death); he describes himself as being the release from the pains of the world and not the cause of them. He is not the creator of death but only the guide of those who are facing their end. This aria is in itself an ironic contradiction, as it is Tod's choice that he has selfishly removed himself from his role, placing the world into a state of limbo. The personification of Tod in *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* is a continuation of his traditional identity that can be traced throughout history, literature, art, and various dramatic works.

Harlekin

The character of Harlekin is drawn from the dramatic world of *commedia dell'arte* from sixteenth-century Italy. Though given the name of Harlekin in the opera,

the character portrayed is closer to that of Pierrot, his rival within the Renaissance genre. In the two libretti for *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* the title of Pierrot is used for the character; it is not until the score that the name is changed to Harlekin.⁷³ Ullmann's choice of the name Harlekin instead of Pierrot could be seen as a commentary addressed against those who identified themselves as German but were labeled by the Nazis as Jewish.⁷⁴ Typically in *commedia*, the character of Harlekin is depicted as stupid and gluttonous yet still very nimble, and he is the love interest of Columbine. The representation of Harlekin as an old man draws further parallels to the people of Theresienstadt, who aged quickly in the camp from malnutrition. In the eighteenth century, his character became more of a romantic hero. On the other hand, Pierrot is characterized as a melancholy character pining for love of Columbine. Within this opera, Harlekin is Pierrot-like in his melancholy character avid for love and wine. The character Pierrot grew in popularity during the twentieth century, with several notable works with which Ullmann would have been well acquainted as part of the Schoenberg circle. The first is Schoenberg's melodrama/song cycle *Pierrot Lunaire* composed in 1912, based on the poetry of Albert Giraud (1860-1929).⁷⁵ Other works that portray the Pierrot character include Erich Wolfgang Korngold's opera *Die tote Stadt* (1920), Alban Berg's unfinished opera *Lulu* (1937), and Igor Stravinsky's ballet *Petrushka* (1911). In *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* we are introduced to Harlekin in the first scene, sitting alongside Tod. Within the score he is described as being a bearded old man who is singing a nonsensical piece about the moon

⁷³ Ullmann, "Preface," *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*: vocal score, 10.

⁷⁴ The audience would likely have been well acquainted with the character features of Pierrot from his popularity in various entertainment avenues of the twentieth century.

⁷⁵ The original collection of poems was published in 1884 with fifty different poems, Schoenberg choose only twenty-one of these poems for his piece. Originally written in French, the poems were translated into German by Otto Erich Hartleben in 1892. *Oxford Music Online* "Pierrot Lunaire."

(“Der Mond geht auf”), which is reminiscent of Giraud’s moon poems. The melancholy nature of this song would be more suited to Pierrot’s character than to Harlekin. When Harlekin reappears in Scene Four of the opera, he sings a gloomy song that reminisces about childhood events. After being interrupted by the Trommler he changes to a dark, almost morbid lullaby. Throughout the opera, the character of Harlekin is represented by a jazz style of music that is almost playful and can be linked with his characteristic traits; however, this playful nature is juxtaposed with the melancholic text written for him.

The Trommler and Lautsprecher

Drummers have had a long-standing major role within military warfare, being used alongside horns and fifes to provide command signals during battle.⁷⁶ In *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, the Trommler character is described in the prologue as being “not quite a real figure. Like the radio.”⁷⁷ The Trommler is solely the voice of Kaiser Overall and serves to call the people to war, as well as proclaim the orders that are issued by Overall. Within the opera the Trommler character appears in Scenes One, Three, and Four and maintains an emotional detached character throughout each of them.

The Lautsprecher is an innovation of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that amplifies sound in order to reach larger groups of people, and is similar in function to the military drummer. Within the opera, the character of the Lautsprecher remains off-stage, and as such is heard without being seen by the audience. The Lautsprecher serves two distinct purposes as the public address system in the Prologue, and the personal intercom system within Kaiser Overall’s palace in Scenes Two and

⁷⁶ Howard Mayer Brown, et al. “Fife,” *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online* http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/subscriber/article/grove/music/09610?q=fife&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit (Accessed December 18, 2013).

⁷⁷ “Der Trommler, eine nicht ganz wirkliche Erscheinung, wie das Radio.” Ullmann, *Der Kaiser von Atlantis: vocal score*, 14 [my translation].

Four. The Lautsprecher was used throughout the ghettos and concentration camps in the German-occupied territories, both in a traditional manner as well as a form of torture.⁷⁸

The medium of the radio was also important for Nazi propaganda messages, especially for broadcasts of extensive speeches and messages from the propaganda minister Josef Goebbels.⁷⁹ In the opera, Ullmann and Kien have given the Lautsprecher a detached personality that separates him from the immediate action; his responses and announcements are short and to the point. As he has no direct physical interaction with the people in the opera, the Lautsprecher is the voice and mouth piece of Overall and only relays the messages from higher authorities.⁸⁰ In Scenes Two and Four, the Lautsprecher also portrays different outside characters, which Kaiser Overall calls to request updates on war orders. Throughout the opera the characters of the Trommler and the Lautsprecher are closely linked to the function of the radio and public address systems of the Nazi regime.

Soldier

Scene Three of *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* is where we are first introduced to the character of the Soldier, the one who has been forced to leave everything behind to take part in the war declared by Emperor Overall. The soldier reminisces about the girl he used to know, likely one he lost because of the war. He relates to Bubikopf his memories

⁷⁸ “Sonic Torture” was particularly used in Dachau as a way to mentally break the inmates by playing German music, Nazi public addresses, and German radio at all hours of the day-particularly at night. Guido Fackler, “Sonic Torture at Dachau,” in *Music and the Holocaust* <http://holocaustmusic.org/places/camps/music-early-camps/dachau/sonic-torture-dachau/> (Accessed May 9, 2013).

⁷⁹ Since the radio broadcasts of Nazi regime served as one of the key points of propaganda during World War II, Hitler had two affordable *Volksempfänger* (the Peoples Radio) developed to ensure that radio could be present in the homes of everyone.

⁸⁰ After World War II, prominent members of the Nazi political parties were tried during the Nuremberg Trials held between October 1945 and October 1946. Orders were passed down and were meant to be followed without question; however their choice to relay and act out orders links them to the offenses. The guilt which still clings to the passive relayer of orders Lautsprecher might well be a commentary on the collective guilt held by all levels of the Nazi war machine.

of how the world was before the destruction of war. This remembrance would have been close to many of the members in Theresienstadt, who had been separated from their loved ones.⁸¹ In both the opera and real life there are civilians in the war; everyone is a soldier and must leave their lives behind. The general character of the Soldier is not fully developed in the opera; we know only that he has been enlisted into Overall's army. This lack of definition allows the character to be a universal one who can go beyond the context of World War II and the twentieth century.

Bubikopf

Bubikopf is the last character introduced in *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* and is the second (female) soldier from Scene Three of the opera. The inspiration for this character comes directly from the early twentieth century. Bubikopf in English translates to "a girl with bobbed hair," and was used in German to describe women who identified with the "New Women" ideals during the interwar period; in America and England these women were called Flappers.⁸² During World War I, women were brought into the work force as many young men were recruited to fight in the war. Women's rights during the first half of the twentieth century were continuing to evolve, and women all over the world were beginning to find a new independence for themselves. The *Bubiköpfe* and flapper women were characterized by their short (bobbed) haircuts, short hemlines on skirts, pantaloons, or other such unstructured clothing (no more corsets), as well as open sexuality, independence, and enjoyment of jazz and other night-time entertainments. With the rise of the Nazi party in Germany the "New Woman" movement was vilified as one of the

⁸¹ In the ghettos and concentration camps many families were separated. There were also many cases of divorce throughout occupied Europe where Aryan-Jewish couples split to avoid the harassment caused by Nazi propaganda.

⁸² Some of the more influential flappers of this period include Coco Chanel and actress Louise Brooks.

many factors that had led to the destruction of the “ideal” Germany. The rights that many women had fought for during the interwar period were lost, and those who continued to follow the ideals of flappers quickly found themselves isolated from society. It was not until 1943 that women would begin to be used for military purposes within the Nazi forces. Within the opera, the Bubikopf character can be seen as representing both the “New Woman” that flourished in the new Republics, as well as the girls who were appropriated to serve as reserve fighters in the Nazi army in 1943. However, as Bubikopf serves the rebel forces in the opera, the character can be considered to represent the flappers who were condemned at the beginning of the Nazi regime.

The characters of *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* provide a rich and diverse mode of representation within the opera. Each of them offers an outlet of understanding that reaches beyond the limits of Theresienstadt, yet also is related to the camp as well. When the plot is considered with these allegorical allusions in mind, a deeper level of commentary between the lines of the libretto emerges.

Plot Contextualization

Der Kaiser von Atlantis is an opera depicting a world rife with war and death. Divided into two different warring factions – the people of Atlantis and the Rebels⁸³ – have been at war for an indeterminate amount of time. The libretto contains various elements of representation that reflect the economic and political state of Theresienstadt during World War II as well as references to the period of the Austro-Hungarian Empire

⁸³ Within the opera the distinction of who is at war with whom is never named outright. The closest reference to the opposition to Kaiser Overall is the term “rebel” used at the beginning of Scene Two. One identity that can be clearly linked to the Rebel forces is the Soviet troops. This connection is found in the opening of Scene Four where a general reports that “Die Aufrührer haben schwarze Fahnen und einen blutigen Pflug in Wappen” (The Rioters have a black flag with a bloody plow crest), The Rebel flag is reminiscent of the red flag with a golden sickle and hammer of the Soviet Union. Ullmann, *Kaiser von Atlantis*: vocal score, 78 [my translation].

and the creation of the new Republics. A strong undercurrent of satirical commentary against the Nazi regime is also portrayed throughout the opera. These are at the heart of the *Neue Sachlichkeit* movement as well as *Zeitopern* in the interwar period.⁸⁴ The interlinked representation of the characters and their songs provides a complex and multilayered commentary of the events surrounding Theresienstadt. Through examining these connections, we can better understand the underlying commentary in the opera.

Prologue

The function of the prologue goes back to early Greek plays, where it was used to provide the background information that was crucial to set up the plot, but not necessary within the scene. In *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, the prologue both informs the background plot of the opera and introduces each of the characters musically. These introductions include a thematic fragment of music that is associated with each character throughout the opera (see Figure 1). At the end of the Prologue the Lautsprecher describes the opening of Scene One, where Tod and Harlekin are watching the world around them go by. The closing line of their activities is particularly interesting in that the text describes the audience and inhabitants of the camp:

Tod und Harlekin sitzen im Ausgedinge, das Leben, das nicht mehr lachen
und das Sterben, das nicht mehr weinen kann in einer Welt, die verlernt
hat, am Leben sich zu freuen und des Todes sterben zu lassen.⁸⁵

As this opera was created with the audience of Theresienstadt in mind, this passage from the Prologue can be read as rather overtly informing the audience that there is another

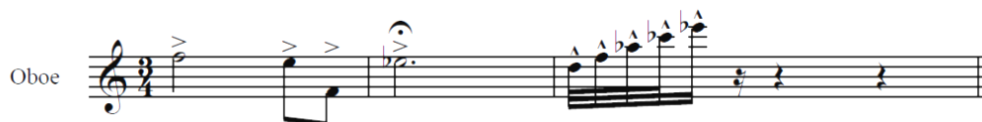
⁸⁴ As mentioned in the introduction, the artistic movement known as *Neue Sachlichkeit* (New Objectivity) began representing everyday subjects and events within their works. The full detailed analysis of this movement within *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* is found in Chapter Four.

⁸⁵ “Death and Harlequin are sitting in retirement, life no longer laughs and the dying, they can no longer cry in this world. The world has forgotten to let the living rejoice and the dying die.” Viktor Ullmann, *Der Kaiser von Atlantis: Vocal Score*, 15 [my translation].

level to the opera than just the staged drama. As the opera progresses through the different scenes, the representation of political events – past and present – and current affairs with regard to everyday life becomes more prevalent.⁸⁶

Figure 1: Characters and their Corresponding Musical Motives in the Prologue to *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*

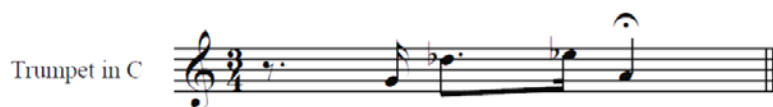
Kaiser Overall



Trommler



Laut-Sprecher



Ein Soldat



Ein Mädchen (Bubikopf)



⁸⁶ This representation is in the style of theatre and opera during the interwar period, particular with regards to *Zeitoper*. This will be covered in detail in Chapter Four.

Der Tod

Harlekin

Scene One

In the first scene of the opera we are introduced to the characters of Tod, Harlekin, and the Trommler. The scene opens with a jazz “Präludium” that is metrically dissonant with the main melodic line built from Harlekin’s theme established in the Prologue (see Figure 1). The scene opens with Harlekin’s song “Der Mond geht auf” (The Moon is Rising), which laments the changes that life has taken in this world of war. The main literary themes that recur in the song are the moon, love, blood, and wine. Harlekin’s lament is interrupted by Tod when he interjects “Laß sein. Was singst du da?”⁸⁷, as he is unable to enjoy the dark humor of Harlekin’s song. Tod changes the topic from Harlekin’s moon and wine to discuss the passage of days, particularly trying to figure out what day it is. This leads to their driving duet “Tage, Tage,” in which they ridicule the passage of the days as being the same. The monotonous events of the everyday have devalued the importance of keeping track of the passage of time. The random thoughts and poignant imagery in the song represent real experiences within Theresienstadt.

⁸⁷ “Stop it! How can you Sing?” Ullmann, *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*: vocal score,,21[my translation].

After Tod and Harlekin sing their respective recitatives “Ich fühle mich” and “Und was ist das?” about what their past lives were like before this new war, comes Tod’s aria “Das waren Kriege.” Its political commentary on the current state of war in Europe is further intensified in the Trommler’s “Arie des Trommlers.” In this aria, Ullmann combines the text and music to create different levels of commentary on the current and previous political events in German-speaking Europe.⁸⁸ The aria begins with the announcement of Kaiser Overall’s titles. Rather than representing the political power and titles that Hitler possesses, these titles represent those held by the Habsburg-Lorraine monarchy in the Austrian Empire (see Table 5). Three of these titles in particular coincide with those held by the Austrian Emperor, shown in bold in Table 5.⁸⁹ This table opens up the multiple personas that Kaiser Overall represents within *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, and by that restricting him to only one diminishes the complexity of his function in the opera. The important element of the Trommler’s proclamation from Kaiser Overall is the decree of all-out holy war, where every man, woman, and child will fight in the war.⁹⁰ The Trommler’s aria is packed with political references; however, this aria is where we also hear the line that causes Tod to rebel against Kaiser Overall’s war:

Unser alter Verbündeter, der TOD, wird uns sein glorreiches Banner vorantragen im Namen unserer großen ZUKUNFT und seiner großen Vergangenheit. Streitet tapfer!⁹¹

⁸⁸ Musically Ullmann sets the libretto to a quotation of Haydn’s “Kaiserhymne”. The musical analysis of his use of the German and Austro-Hungarian National Anthem will be discussed in Chapter Three.

⁸⁹ Further discussion on the meaning of the titles follows in Chapter Three in context with the Trommler’s aria.

⁹⁰ This line here comments on the recruitment of younger male children into the Hitler-Jugend and Deutsches Jungvolk groups, and the Bund Deutscher Mädel for young girls.

⁹¹ “Our old ally, DEATH, shall lead the way with his glorious banner in the name of our great FUTURE, and his great past. Fight bravely!” The emphasis is found within the libretto. Ullmann, *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*: vocal score, 42-43 [my translation].

Table 5: Comparison of Kaiser Overall's and the Emperor of Austria's titles

Kaiser Overall's titles	Emperor of Austria's titles ⁹² .
Emperor of Atlantis Ruler of both Indies Imperial duke in the lands of Ophir High Priest of Astarte Lord of Hungary Cardinal Prince of Ravenna King of Jerusalem Archpope	Emperor of Austria King of Hungary , Bohemia, Lombardy and Venice King of Jerusalem Archduke of Austria Grand duke of Tuscany and Cracow Duke of Lorraine, Salzburg, Styria, Carinthia, Teschen etc. Grand prince of Transylvania Margrave of Moravia Prince of Trent and Brixen

In this passage, Kaiser Overall tries to usurp Tod's position as the collector of souls and the ultimate arbiter over life and death. Taking matters into his own hands, Tod changes the course of the war by breaking his own sword and refusing to collect the souls of those who should die, creating a world of the living dead. This world creates a commentary that frankly represents the experiences of citizens directly affected by World War II, particularly those of Theresienstadt and other concentration camps.

Scene Two

The function of the second scene is to show Kaiser Overall's reaction upon first learning about Tod's abdication when he follows up on the hanging of a terrorist – hanged at 4:13, he is still alive at 5:35. Thinking that perhaps that this can be attributed to the hangman's incompetence rather than Tod's refusal to collect the soul, Kaiser Overall orders the terrorist to be shot. It is here that Overall hears the third utterance of "Der Tod muß jeden Augenblick eintreten" (Tod must arrive at any moment) from the Lautsprecher that something has changed in his war. These statements are delivered with a matter-of-

⁹² This is only a partial listing of all the titles the last Emperor Franz Joseph I of Austria held.

fact tone, and it is at the end of this exchange that the audience can begin to comprehend the implications of Tod's refusal.

Scene Three

In Scene Three the audience witnesses the repercussions of Tod's refusal to collect the souls of those who should die. After a tussle between the Soldier and Bubikopf, the Soldier ultimately gains the upper hand. It is in this moment that Bubikopf sparks a memory in him of a young woman he used to know before the war. It is clear from the text that the soldier is considerably older than Bubikopf, and has memories of a time of beauty and freedom before Kaiser Overall's reign. The young Bubikopf cannot remember a time that was not tainted by the destruction of war. Sensing the Soldier's change of heart, the Trommler tries to sway him back to the cause of Kaiser Overall's war. This attempt is thwarted first in the duet "Komm fort von hier" (Come far from here) with Bubikopf, then again in the aria and trio "Die Trommel, Trommel dröhnt und quarrt" (The drum, the drum calls to quarters). The Trommler resorts to using provocative sexual innuendos to try to lure the Soldier back:

Die Trommel, Trommel dröhnt und quarrt, ein Mann ist nur in die Trommel vernarrt. Ah! Hat ein glattes Fell wie nur ein Weib, ist rund um ihren ganzen Leib, und voll und laut ist ihre Sprach'. Ein Mann läuft nur der Trommel nach!⁹³

The Trommler's attempt does not touch the heart of the Soldier, as his affection towards Bubikopf has created a hold on him that the beat of the drum cannot sway. Moving away from the Trommler's beat, Bubikopf and the Soldier shift to a chorale-like duet "Schau,

⁹³ "The drum, the drum calls to quarters, a man only becomes infatuated with [the call] of the drum. Ah! I have smooth skin just like that of a woman, I am round around my whole body, and my voice is deep and loud. A man only chases after [the call] of the Drum." Ullmann, *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*: vocal score, 70-73 [my translation].

die Wolken” that describes the new world that love has unveiled. Even surrounded by death, Ullmann and Kien have revealed that love can still overcome the evil that dominates their environment. They have found love within a world full of death, and they can once again see that there is still beauty, though they may not be able to experience it directly. In the opera, these two characters show that choosing love over hate is itself an act of rebellion. Hatred is often a quick burning-flame that consumes the heart, which can only be controlled and extinguished by love. In this one scene of the opera Ullmann and Kien have shown the audience that it is their choice to allow love to enter their hearts.

Scene Four

Scene Four contains the most explicit commentary on contemporary events of World War II, while projecting an idyllic ending to the war. Whereas Kaiser Overall was alone in Scene Two, in the final tableau he is accompanied by both the Trommler and Harlekin. As in Scene One, Harlekin sings yet another melancholy song, “Wir sind um” (We’d dash to), this time about various carefree activities of childhood – likely representing a time before the war. The Trommler, sensing the mood in the room, interrupts Harlekin and tries to convince Kaiser Overall that his cause has been just. This leads into Harlekin’s Lullaby “Schlaf, Kindlein, schlaf” (Sleep, Child, sleep), which is darker than the song that Trommler interrupted.⁹⁴ Following this lullaby, there is a spoken dialogue section between Kaiser Overall and the Lautsprecher. Radio stations throughout the occupied land have fallen into rebel hands, and as Kaiser Overall switches through stations we hear a proclamation from the rebel army:

⁹⁴ “Schlaf, Kindlein, schlaf” is a popular German folk lullaby, which would have been known by the inmates of Theresienstadt. The parody of its tune and text will be examined in Chapter Three.

Ein furchtbarer Arzt hat uns den Star geschnitten und uns von unserer Blindheit geheilt. Groß wie der Wahnsinn unserer Sünden ist die Strafe, furchtbar die Schmerzen, die wir zu erleiden haben. Wir wollen sie in Demut tragen und nicht eher ruhen, bis wir das letzte Unkraut des Hasses und der Unversöhnlichkeit ausgerottet haben werden aus unseren Herzen. Mit bloßen Händen werden wir die stählernen Schanzen des Teufels niederreißen...⁹⁵

By having this passage set as speech unaccompanied by music, it stands out even more as a statement of resistance, not just within the opera but within occupied Germany. It is here in the opera when Kaiser Overall begins to go mad, having lost touch with the world that he has ruled. This passage is followed by the driving trio “Fünf, sechs, sieben, acht, neun, zehn, hundred, tausend Bomben” (Five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten, a hundred, a thousand bombs) between Kaiser Overall, Harlekin, and the Trommler, which questions whether Kaiser Overall is still a man or a counting machine.⁹⁶ The Trio comes to a halt when Kaiser Overall rips off a curtain that has been covering a standing mirror in his office in the imperial palace. What appears is not the Emperor’s reflection but that of Tod. When questioned who he is, Tod embarks on his aria “Ich bin der Tod,” which tells them not to be afraid of him and to embrace the peace and release that he offers:

Ich bin der Tod, der Gärtner Tod,
und säe Schlaf in schmerzgepflügte Spuren.
Ich bin der Tod, der Gärtner Tod,
und jäte welches Unkraut müder Kreaturen.
Ich bin der Tod, der Gärtner Tod,
und mähe reifes Korn des Leidens auf den Fluren.

Bin der, der von der Pest befreit, und nicht die Pest.
Bin, der Erlösung bringt von Leid, nicht, der euch leiden läßt.
Ich bin das wohlig warme Nest, wohin das angstgehetzte Leben flieht.

⁹⁵ “A tremendous doctor has removed the cataract and has healed our blindness. Great, like the insanity of our sins, is the punishment, tremendous is the pain that we will have to suffer. We will bear our humility and shall not rest until we have exterminated the last weeds of hatred and irreconcilability from our hearts. With our bare hands we will tear down the steel fortress of the Devil...” Ullmann, *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*: vocal score, 83 [my translation].

⁹⁶ This questioning is found in the final trio.

Ich bin das größte Freiheitsfest.
 Ich bin das letzte Schlummerlied.
 Still ist und friedevoll mein gastlich Haus!
 Kommt, ruhet aus!⁹⁷

There are veiled references in this aria: Tod's repetitive statement that he is Death serves to put Overall in his place – he had gone too far in place himself above Tod. At the end of the aria, Ullmann once again uses unaccompanied speech for Tod to state his terms for restoring death to the world. Kaiser Overall, Tod stipulates, must be the first to try this new death; he must relinquish his pride and surrender to Tod.⁹⁸ The Kaiser accepts Tod's terms, takes his hand, and begins to sing his aria "Des Kaisers Abschied" (The Emperor's Farewell). The aria is utopian in nature, describing a peaceful world untouched by the troubles of the war that he has caused. The world after death is not to be feared but embraced; the shadows that surround the world are lifted in death. The Kaiser's aria is followed by a chorus, which quotes the Lutheran choral *Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott*.⁹⁹ This is not the end of the opera, however; Ullmann reprises Kaiser Overall's "Abschied," with Tod now singing a new text set to the music. Where we heard relief and acceptance in Kaiser Overall's aria, Tod's version can be considered pessimistic, as if saying that although the war may be over, it is only a question of time before the next war erupts:

Der Krieg ist aus, das sagst du so mit Stolz.
 Nur dieser Krieg, nur dieser Krieg ist aus, der Letzte?
 ...
 Gedämpft ist nur das Feuer, nicht gelöscht!

⁹⁷ "I am Death, the gardener Death, and [I] sow vestiges of sleep into pain-filled furrows. I am Death, the gardener Death, and [I] remove the wilted weeds of weary creatures. I am Death, the gardener Death, and [I] harvest mature corn of suffering in the meadows. I am he, he who frees you from the plague, and not the plague. He, who brings salvation from misfortune, not he who lets you suffer. I am the cozy warm nest, to whom victimized being flees. I am the greatest freedom feast. I am the last lullaby. Quiet and peaceful is my welcoming House! Come, rest here! *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*: vocal score, 89- 92 [my translation].

⁹⁸ It is interesting to note that Hitler committed suicide on 30 April 1945, a year to the day after the original rehearsals of *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* began (though this is of course not to imply that his death was for the sake of the people as Kaiser Overall's death was in the opera).

⁹⁹ The detailed analysis and implications of the use of this chorale can be found in Chapter Three.

Bald flammt es wieder hoch, bald flammt es wieder hoch,
von Neuem rast Mord, und ich ersehnte Grabesruh!¹⁰⁰

The issue of war is not the only one questioned in Tod's version of "Des Kaisers Abschied." Death is but a fantasized escape from the reality that surrounds the people of Theresienstadt; the death of one person cannot instantly change the circumstance they all find themselves. For this reason when the "Abschied" is followed by the final chorale "Komm Tod" – though there is no change to the text – it seems darker and more ominous than when it had followed Kaiser Overall's version of the aria.

Throughout the text of the opera we can already begin to see that there are many textual nuances that reflect both the present reality of in Nazi Germany during World War II (particularly those within the ghettos and concentration camps) and the recent past, including imperial Germany and the Austro-Hungary Empire from before World War I. The numerous types of symbolism that can be drawn from the characters and the libretto are only further amplified when we take into consideration of the underlying music and musical forms used within the opera, as well as Ullmann's choice of performers for the planned Theresienstadt performance.

Vocal Scoring and Instrumentation

Der Kaiser von Atlantis comprises a small cast as well as a moderately sized orchestra. Though circumstances in Theresienstadt were less than ideal for the production of elaborate musical works, the caliber of musicians in the camp would have been sufficient for its production had it not been stopped by the Nazi officials of

¹⁰⁰ "The war is over, so you say with pride. Only this war, only this war is over, [is it] the last one? The fire was only dampened, not extinguished! Before long the blaze will be high again, soon the blaze will be high again, afresh with murder raging, and I long for the peace of the grave!" Ullmann, *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*: vocal score, 93-96 [my translation].

Theresienstadt. The performances that Ullmann critiqued in the camp (refer to Table 2) testify to the level of musicianship and the ambitions of Theresienstadt artists. A key point we need to consider regarding the composition of *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* is the singers and performers for whom Ullmann had written the parts.

The instrumental requirements in the score (see Table 6) suggest that the opera can be performed with a minimum of fifteen performers. For the performances within Theresienstadt, this would have been ideal due to the frequent need to replace performers lost in the transports to Auschwitz. In the early years of Theresienstadt's musical period, instruments were few and far between; however, by 1944, when Ullmann began composing *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, the *Freizeitgestaltung* had made arrangements to have instruments brought into the camp.¹⁰¹

Table 6: Vocal and Instrumental composition of *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*

Characters		Orchestra	
Kaiser Overall	Baritone	Flute	(doubling Piccolo)
Der Lautsprecher	Bass	Oboe	
Der Tod	Bass	Clarinet in B ^b	
Harlekin	Tenor	Alto-Saxophone	
Ein Soldat	Tenor	Trumpet in C	
Bubikopf	Soprano	Tenor-Banjo	(doubling Guitar)
Der Trommler	Alto/Mezzosoprano	Harpichord	(doubling Piano)
		Harmonium	
		Percussion (2 players)	Small drum
			Cymbals (hanging)
			Triangle
			Tam-tam
		Violin 1	
		Violin 2	
		Viola	
		Violoncello	
		Double Bass (5 string)	

¹⁰¹ Karas, *Music in Terezín*.

Unlike the vocal casting, the list of chosen instrumentalists for whom Ullmann composed has been lost, although Ingo Schultz names the jazz performer Bedřich Weiss as the clarinetist in the rehearsals of *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*.¹⁰² Weiss was an active jazz performer before his transport to Theresienstadt, and was one of the founding members of the jazz group “Jazz Quintet-Weiss” whose members included Wolfi Lederer (piano), Pavel Libenský (double bass), Koko Schumann (percussion), and Franta Goldschmidt (guitar).¹⁰³ This was not the only jazz group to form in Theresienstadt; the group “The Ghetto Swingers” was formed in 1943 by the trumpeter Erich Vogel. As with many of the performing groups in Theresienstadt, the members were in a constant state of flux as new members joined or left the group (see Figure 2).¹⁰⁴ It is likely that members of this group were chosen participants in Ullmann’s opera *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* and influenced his choice of orchestration as well – particularly for more jazz-inspired sections in the opera (especially Harlekin’s songs).

Figure 2: Members of Ghetto Swingers 1943-1944¹⁰⁵

Dr. Brammer: Piano	Fr. Mautner: Trombone
Dr. Kurt Bauer: Percussion	Pavel Libenský: Double Bass
Fr. Goldschmidt: Guitar	Martin Roman: Conductor
Fasal: Bass	Langer: Tenor Sax and Clarinet
Ing. Erich Vogel: Trumpet	

It is tempting to suppose that the instrumentation of the opera was imposed on Ullmann by the limited availability of instruments in the camp; however, the orchestration from operas of the interwar era suggests that his choice of a small ensemble may have in fact been an aesthetic choice. The orchestration that most resembles Ullmann’s “restricted”

¹⁰² Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, 189.

¹⁰³ Karas, *Music in Terezín*, 149-151.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 151-152.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

orchestration could well be Kurt Weill's *Dreigroschenoper* (Three Penny Opera), which was composed to be performed by only seven multi-instrumentalists.¹⁰⁶ Table 7 shows the similarities between the orchestration of Weill's work and Ullmann's *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* (see Table 5), with instruments common to both indicated in bold-faced type.

Table 7: Vocal and Instrumental Composition of *Dreigroschenoper*

Main Characters		Orchestra	
Macheath	Tenor/Baritone	Alto Sax in Eb	(doubling: Flute, piccolo, Clarinet Bb , Soprano Sax Bb, Baritone Sax Eb)
Mr. Peachum	Baritone		
Mrs. Peachum	Mezzo Soprano	Tenor Sax Bb	(doubling: Clarinet Bb , Bassoon, Soprano Sax Bb)
Polly Peachum	Soprano		
Tiger Brown	Baritone	Trumpet C	
Jenny	Soprano	Trombone	(doubling: Double Bass)
Lucy Brown	Mezzo Soprano		
		Banjo	(doubling: Bandoneon, Violoncello, Guitar , Hawaiian Guitar, mandolin)
		Timpani	(doubling: Percussion , 2nd trumpet)
		Harmonium	(doubling: Piano , Celesta)

The main difference between these two works is that the orchestration for the *Dreigroschenoper* was meant to be closer to the jazz big band that had taken Europe by storm, so it does not include the standard string section that is found in *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*. When we look at Křenek's orchestration of *Jonny spielt auf*, we can find similar instrumentation, particularly with those onstage instruments, whose instrumentation is as follows:

Onstage: **Alto Sax in Eb**, Tenor Sax in B, **Trumpet in C**, Trombone,
Percussion, Piano, Banjo, 1st and 2nd Violin, Viola,
Violoncello, Contrabass, Solo-Violin

¹⁰⁶ The Influence of *Dreigroschenoper* on twentieth-century opera and Ullmann will be discussed in Chapter Four.

Behind the Scene: Glasharmonica or **Harmonium, Piano**

Paul Hindemith's *Neues vom Tage* (1929) also makes use of standard jazz instruments in its orchestration: alto sax in Eb, banjo, and mandolin. When examining the instrumentation of *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* in the context of standard jazz works as well as operas in the genre of the *Zeitoper*, Ullmann's choices seem less of a necessity than a choice. The connection between interwar operas and Ullmann's work informs our understanding of the style of *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*.

As far as the characters, text, and instrumentation of *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* is concerned, we can already begin to see that there is more to this opera than a depiction of conditions within Theresienstadt. Instead, there is also a connection with the time of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (before its dissolution at the conclusion of World War I), the atmosphere of new Republics, as well as satirical commentary on Nazi Germany. Many stunning moments of commentary can be read within the text of the libretto alone. These allusions become further augmented and distorted by the ways in which Ullmann sets the libretto. The marriage of text and music within this opera creates another element of sophistication that both highlights and undermines the meaning of the opera.

Chapter 3: Musical Quotation and Allusion in *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*

As shown in Chapter Two, the libretto provided by Peter Kien is rife with references that go beyond Theresienstadt. When the musical fabric of *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* is examined, however, we begin to see how Ullmann expanded and even subverted Kien's textual allusions. Ullmann achieves this by using a combination of musical quotations and juxtaposing musical styles. Throughout the scenes of the opera we can hear vestiges of quotations, such as the chorale *Ein' Feste Burg ist unser Gott* and the lullaby *Schlaf, Kindlein, schlaf*. While some of these excerpts are almost full statements of the tune, others appear as mere whispers. The ways in which Ullmann employs the use of quotations become an integral point to understanding the various elements of symbolism within the opera.

Musical Quotations

Throughout *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, Ullmann inserts quotations that have been integrated into the fabric of his opera, and are employed for ironic effect. They were meant to be recognized; some are substantial in length, while others are subtle and brief – more of an allusion than a quotation in some cases. The exploitation of quotations has had a long-standing role in music, beginning with medieval music and continuing through the centuries. In twentieth-century Europe, musical quotations were often used for satiric purposes (for example, in the *Kabarett* and *Revues* that become popular during World War I).¹⁰⁷ One of the two most prominent quotations found in *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* is *Gott erhalte Franz, den Kaiser* or the so-called “Kaiserhymne” (Figure 3), the

¹⁰⁷ The stylistic attributes of the *Kabarett* and *Revues* will be discussed Chapter Four, as well as the subsequent role they played in the change of opera in the interwar period.

music of which was composed by Joseph Haydn in 1797 with text by Lorenz Leopold Haschka (Table 8).¹⁰⁸ This hymn was used as a national anthem throughout the Austro-Hungarian empire until its dissolution at the end of World War I. Haydn's piece found new life as the national anthem *Deutschland über alles* for Germany in 1922-1945 and from 1950 to the present, with a different text added by August Heinrich Hoffmann von Fallersleben (1789-1874) in 1841 (Table 8).

Figure 3: The Music of Haydn's "Kaiserhymne"



Table 8: Text of the National Anthems *Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser* and *Deutschland über alles*¹⁰⁹

<i>Gott Erhalte Franz den Kaiser</i> ¹¹⁰	God Save Emperor Franz
Gott erhalte, Gott beschütze Unsern Kaiser, unser Land! Mächtig durch des Glaubens Stütze, Führt er uns mit weiser Hand! <i>Laßt uns seiner Väter Krone Schirmen wider jeden Feind! Innig bleibt mit Habsburgs Throne Österreichs Geschick vereint!</i>	God save, God protect Our Emperor, our land! Powerful through the support of the faith, He leads us with a wise hand! <i>Let the Crown of his fathers Shield against every foe! Austria's Destiny remains Intimately united with the Habsburg throne!</i>

¹⁰⁸ More information on the *Kaiserhymne* can be found in Otto Biba, *Gott erhalte!: Joseph Hadyn's Kaiserhymne* (Vienna: Döbbling, 1982).

¹⁰⁹ The changes in font style here show which line of text appears with each phrase of music in Figure 3: bold for A, italics for B, and unchanged for C.

¹¹⁰ I have used the 1854 text as this would have been the one that Ullmann and others who grew up in the Austro-Hungarian Empire would have known. The text of the original was altered to suit the newest descendant to take the throne [my translation].

<p>Fromm und bieder, wahr und offen Laßt für Recht und Pflicht uns stehn; Laßt, wenns gilt, mit frohem Hoffen Mutvoll in den Kampf uns gehn <i>Eingedenk der Lorbeerreiser Die das Heer so oft sich wand Gut und Blut für unsern Kaiser, Gut und Blut fürs Vaterland!</i></p>	<p>Pious and honest, true and open Let us stand for rights and responsibilities; Let us, when forced, go to battle Proudly with hope and courage <i>Mindful of the Laurels That the army so often meanders Blood and treasure for our Emperor, Blood and treasure for our country!</i></p>
<p>Was der Bürger Fleiß geschaffen Schütze treu des Kaisers Kraft; Mit des Geistes heitren Waffen Siege Kunst und Wissenschaft! <i>Segen sei dem Land beschieden Und sein Ruhm dem Segen gleich; Gottes Sonne strahl' in Frieden Auf ein glücklich Österreich!</i></p>	<p>What diligent citizens create Faithful gunman to the Emperors force; With High spirits weapons Victories Art and Science! <i>Blessings to the Land are destined And even blessings for Glory; God's sun beams peace On a happy Austria!</i></p>
<p>Laßt uns fest zusammenhalten, In der Eintracht liegt die Macht; Mit vereinter Kräfte Walten Wird das Schwere leicht vollbracht, <i>Laßt uns Eins durch Brüderbande Gleichem Ziel entgegengehn Heil dem Kaiser, Heil dem Lande, Österreich wird ewig stehn!</i></p>	<p>Let us stand strong together, For there is power in unity; With prevailing united forces Will the severity be easily overcome, <i>Let us meet as one as a band of Brothers at the same goal Hail to the Emperor, hail to the land, Austria will stand forever!</i></p>
<p><i>Deutschland über alles</i></p>	<p><i>Germany above everything</i></p>
<p>Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles, Über Alles in der Welt, Wenn es s'ets zu Schutz und Trutze Brüderlich zusammenhält, <i>Von der Maas bis an die Memel, Von der Etsch bis an den Belt, Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles, Über Alles in der Welt!</i></p>	<p>Germany, Germany above everything, Above Everything in the world, When, for protection and defense, it always Takes a brotherly stand together. <i>From the Meuse to the Memel, From the Adige to the Belt,¹¹¹ Germany, Germany above everything, Above everything in the World!</i></p>
<p>Deutsche Frauen, deutsche Treue, Deutscher Wein und deutscher Sang Sollen in der Welt behalten Ihren alten schönen Klang, Uns zu edler That begeistern Unser ganzes Leben lang Deutsche Frauen, deutsche Treue, Deutscher Wein und deutscher Sang!</p>	<p>German women, German loyalty, German wine and German song Shall retain in the world Their old beautiful chime And inspire us to noble deeds During all of our life. German women, German loyalty, German wine and German song</p>

¹¹¹ This verse represents one of the more controversial and expansionist ideals of the Nazi regime. It was also one of the reasons this verse was for a time banned and today is still not sung. To understand the extent of the occupation expressed in this verse, these rivers need to be geographically located: The Meuse River is located in Belgium and part of France and the Memel River is located near the western boarder of Lithuania. The Adige River is found in the northern tip of Italy and the Belt separates Germany and Denmark.

<p>Einigkeit und Recht und Freiheit Für das deutsche Vaterland! Danach laßt uns alle streben Brüderlich mit Herz und Hand! <i>Einigkeit und Recht und Freiheit</i> <i>Sind des Glückes Unterpfund</i> Blüh' im Glanze dieses Glückes, Blühe deutsches Vaterland!</p>	<p>Unity and justice and freedom For the German fatherland! For these let us all strive Brotherly with heart and hand! <i>Unity and justice and freedom</i> <i>Are the pledge of fortune;</i> Flourish in the fortune's blessing, Flourish German fatherland!</p>
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In Ullmann's opera, Haydn's music forms the basis for "Arie des Trommlers," (Figure 4). The music of this quotation and the historical context of the piece would have been known and quickly recognized by the audience members of Theresienstadt. With this quotation we already have a juxtaposition of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire with the Nazi Regime. At first glance, there is little rhythmic difference between the two melodic vocal lines seen in Figures 3 and 4. Where there are instances of rhythmic alteration it is done to suit the syllables of the libretto; however, the pitch still occupies the same intervallic space as the original piece. The audience is meant to recognize this piece, and to make the connections with its historical place as a national anthem.

Figure 4: Ullmann and Kien's "Arie des Trommlers" mm. 7- 22 Vocal Line¹¹²

Wir, zu Got - tes Gna - den O-ver-all der Ein - zige, Ruhm des Va - ter - lan - des,
 Se - gen der Mensch-heit... Kai-ser bei der In-di-en, Kai - ser von At - lan - tis, re-
 gie - ren der Her - zog von O - phir und wirk-li-cher Truch-seß der A - star - te,
 Ban von Hun - garn, Kar - di-nal-fürst von Ra - ven - na Kö-nig von Je - ru - sa - lem.

Translation:

**We, by the grace of God Überall
 The Only, pride of the Fatherland
 Blessing to mankind...Emperor of both
 Indies,
 Emperor of Atlantis,
 Imperial Duke in the lands of Ophir.
 High priest of Astarte,
 Lord of Hungary, Cardinal prince of Ravenna,
 King of Jerusalem.**

In Ullmann's "Trommlers Aria," the main change that can be noticed is that the melodic line of the quote has been transposed up and shifted to the Phrygian mode to begin on F in the key of D-flat. This change of modality creates an eerie and distorted feeling that replaces the regal nature of Haydn's original setting. Haydn's piece was written to honour Kaiser Franz, whereas Ullmann has created a sense of illegitimacy to Kaiser Overall's reign by employing an exotic mode. The change in tonality and mode is

¹¹² Ullmann, *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*: vocal score 36-38 [my translation].

noticeable in the first few notes and would have felt wrong to the listeners more so than the change of text. The minor interval inflections that are produced throughout the quotation with the change into the Phrygian mode create points where listeners expect a major movement. Within the opera the hymn has been changed to begin on the downbeat of the measure rather than the upbeat, as in the original. This allows Ullmann to better emphasize the particular titles given to Kaiser Overall by the Trommler, as many now fall on the strongest beat of the measure. This change also places the large intervallic leaps on the downbeats, giving them increased emphasis than in the original version of Haydn's "Kaiserhymne". The titles claimed by Kaiser Overall are important for the representation of both the fictional and real world in the opera – and the shift of the stress further highlights them. There is one other consideration for the change of stress in the Trommler's aria is the placement of Overall. The name aligns with *überalles* in Hoffmann's text; however it is de-emphasized by its placement on beat three of the measure – Ullmann here is making a strong connection to Hitler and occupied German. When the texts of Haschka and Hoffmann's text settings are further compared to Ullmann and Kien's aria, we can see how modal inflections of the Phrygian mode serve to undermine the grandiose titles given to Kaiser Overall by the Trommler, and the extent of his reign (see Table 8). Kaiser Overall's titles describe him as ruling over several different worlds, including biblical (Ophir, Jerusalem, and Astarte¹¹³), mythological (Atlantis and Astarte), and historical (Hungary, the Indies, and Ravenna) locales.¹¹⁴ The connection of these titles to those held by the Austro-Hungarian Emperor has already

¹¹³ Astarte is the Goddess of fertility, sexuality, and war. References to her can be found in the Bible. She was also adopted by the Greeks and became known as the deity Aphrodite. For this reason I have included her in both mythological and Biblical worlds.

¹¹⁴ Also refer to Table 4 for the relation of the titles to those of the Austrian Emperor.

been shown within the discussion of the Overall's character in Chapter Two: these titles also identify Kaiser Overall with Hitler and the Nazi occupation.¹¹⁵

By 1944, Germany had occupied much of Europe, including Hungary, Greece, and much of Italy, and, as can be seen on the map in Appendix 6, some of the places alluded to by Kaiser Overall were under Nazi administration. Thus the titles given to Kaiser Overall as High Priest of Astarte (Phoenicians), Lord of Hungary, and Cardinal Prince of Ravenna (Italy) were also held by Hitler. By setting the beginning portion of "Arie des Trommlers" to that of Haydn's "Kaiserhymne," Ullmann and Kien have committed themselves to the idea that Kaiser Overall is not restricted to one interpretation. The connections to Hitler, Führer of the Third Reich as well as the Austro-Hungarian emperors are both valid sources for Kaiser Overall's character. By allowing dual personalities to be present in *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, there are greater interpretations and commentary that audience members were meant to perceive in the opera. The libretto represents a fictional world while the music evokes the real world, one of the many ironic juxtapositions found throughout the opera.

The next large-scale quotation found in *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* is the full statement of the Lutheran hymn *Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott*. Based on part of Psalm 46, the text and music for the chorale were created by Martin Luther in the early sixteenth century (see Figure 5). The Hymn is closely linked to the reformations that were taking place during this period.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵ This information is found in Chapter Two, Table 5.

¹¹⁶ It has been theorized that the hymn was composed in connection with either the 1521 Diet of Worms or the 1529 Diet of Speyer, where the Roman Catholic Church challenged Martin Luther and the Protestant Reformation.

Figure 5: Martin Luther *Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott* text and four part chorale¹¹⁷

Martin Luther's German Text ¹¹⁸	English Translation ¹¹⁹
Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott, ein gute Wehr und Waffen. Er hilft uns frei aus aller Not, die uns jetzt hat betroffen. Der alte böse Feind Mit Ernst er's jetzt meint; Groß Macht und viel List Sein grausam Rüstung ist, auf Erd ist nicht sein gleichen.	A mighty fortress is our God, A good defense and weapon. He helps us willingly within our need, That affects us now. The ancient evil enemy Seeks to do us harm; Mighty power and much cunning Is his cruel armor, On earth none is his equal.

The hymn has become a popular tune and has been set and quoted throughout the centuries (see Table 9). In 1940 *Ein' feste Burg* was also used in the popular wartime

¹¹⁷ Martin Luther, "Ein feste Berg ist unser Gott," *The Hymns of Martin Luther: Set to their Original Melodies*. Edited by Leonard Woolsey Bacon (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1884), 52.

¹¹⁸ The full text of *Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott* can be seen in Appendix 7.

¹¹⁹ This is my translation.

propaganda film *Wunschkonzert* (Request Concert) by Eduard von Borsody (1898-1970).¹²⁰ This quotation of the hymn appears at a crucial moment in the propaganda film in which the German soldiers invading Poland have gotten lost in the fog. They are rallied back together by a soldier who begins playing the chorale on an abandoned church organ. The lost men safely find their way back to the church; however, while playing the organ, the church is bombed and the soldier is killed while saving all the others. The use of the Lutheran hymn here was to inspire resolve and to idealize self sacrifice for the sake of country. In the opera, Ullmann and Kien have re-appropriated the tune as a means to convey resistance and hope to its listeners. There are several types of internal forms of resistance that can be found within the quotation of *Ein' feste Burg*, which would have entered the hearts of the people in Theresienstadt.¹²¹

The music of this chorale appears at the closing of *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* as the finale “Komm Tod, du unser werter Gast” (Come Death and be our Honored Guest) and is styled as a baroque four-part chorale sung by Bubikopf, the Trommler, Harlekin, and the Lautsprecher. Like the quotation of *Deutschland über alles*, the quotation of *Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott* is also altered. When we look at Ullmann's use of the chorale hymn (see Figure 6) the most notable change is that the work has been placed into a triple, rather than the original duple meter.

¹²⁰ I wish to thank Dr. Elena Pnevmonidou for sharing this information with me. The propaganda film was the fifth-highest grossing Germanfilm during World War II.

¹²¹ Many prisoners of Jewish parentage who found themselves uprooted to Theresienstadt did not identify with the Jewish religion; many families had converted to other religions including Lutheranism and Catholicism (as did Ullmann's family). It was not until they became isolated as Jews that many began to identify with Jewish traditions.

Table 9: Musical Settings and Quotations of Martin Luther's *Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott* by other composers

Composer	Work	Date
Dieterich Buxtehude	Organ Chorale Setting, BuxWV 184	n.d
Johann Pachelbel	Ein Feste Burg	n.d
Johann Sebastian Bach	Chorale Canata <i>Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott</i> , BWV 80	1727
	<i>Weihnachtsoratorium</i> , BWV 248	1734
	<i>Choralgesänge</i> , BWV 302 and 303	n.d
	Chorale Prelude BWV 720	n.d
Georg Friedrich Handel	An Occasional Oratoria, HWV 62	1746
Felix Mendelssohn	4th Movement of Symphony no. 5, op. 107	1830
Giacomo Meyerbeer	Quoted in opera <i>Les Huguenots</i>	1836
Richard Wagner	Motive in <i>Kaisermarsch</i> , WWV 104	1871

This metrical alteration allows Ullmann to set the strong syllable stress on the downbeat of each measure. There is a sense of resignation within the text of the libretto as seen in Figure 6; however, the textual sense of resistance in *Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott* undermines the acknowledgment of acceptance of death by the characters.¹²² The tune of the chorale has also been simplified, with the passing tones seen in the original tune being removed (refer to Figure 5 and 6). When it comes to the harmonization of “Komm Tod, du unser werter Gast,” we find that the tune has been radically changed and is conflicted between the accompaniment and the vocal chorale. Looking only at the four-part voice lines in Figure 6, the opening harmony is an unsettled and warped F major tonality. Stability for the harmony is found in the bass line of the instrumental accompaniment, with octave F, which create a tonic pedal, giving the piece its haunting qualities (Figure 7) in the opening four measures. In measure 16, the finale turns into a 3-voice a cappella canon between the soprano, alto and tenor voices in the key of C major. When the chorale returns to a homophonic texture in measure 28, it is in the key of D minor.

¹²² At the conclusion of the opera it is not clear whether the other characters have also died alongside Kaiser Overall.

Figure 6: Musical Quotation and Text of the Finale “Komm Tod, du unser werter Gast”

Komm Tod, du un - ser wer - ter Gast, _____
Nimm von uns Le - bens - leid_ und Last, _____

in un - sers zur Her - zen nach Kam - - und
führ uns zur Rast nach Schmerz - und

mer. _____
Jam - mer. Lehr uns Le - bens Lust und Not in _____

un - sem Brü - dem_ eh - ren. Lehr

uns das hei - lig - ste Ge - bot: _____

Translation:

Come Death and be our honoured guest,
 Our hearts for you are waiting.
 Free us from life's tormenting test,
 Lead us to rest from all our suffering.
 Teach us never to ignore
 The yearnings of our brothers.
 Teach us to keep your holiest law.

The unsettled nature of F major in the opening measures could represent conflicted emotions of resistance and resignation that are apparent within the text of the chorale. Ullmann inserts additional musical moments of resistance with the use of melodies not associated with *Ein' feste Burg is unser Gott*. The first is the insertion of Harlekin's motive at measure 5, heard in the violin and banjo (refer to Figure 7). This thematic material intrudes once again in the three measures before the repeat sign, mm 13-15. The playful character of the melodic fragment associated with Harlekin is unmistakable, disrupting the solemn nature of the chorale.

Figure 7: Accompaniment of "Komm Tod, du unser werter Gast" m. 1-7.

The musical score for the accompaniment of "Komm Tod, du unser werter Gast" measures 1-7 is presented in two systems. The first system shows the piano accompaniment (treble and bass clefs) and the violin part (Viol.) starting at measure 5. The second system shows the piano accompaniment and the banjo part (Banjo) starting at measure 6. The piano part consists of chords in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand. The violin part plays a melodic line starting at measure 5. The banjo part plays a rhythmic pattern starting at measure 6.

These interjections of the Harlekin motive can be seen as a representation of the underlying wish to remain in the living world; they suggest that, though Tod is a welcomed guest, there are still elements of life to which the characters continue to cling. The last half of the finale for *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* no longer quotes *Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott*; however, the concluding five measures are of interest to the sense of resignation in the opening text. In the postlude of the "Komm Tod, du unser werter Gast" there is a sense of timelessness added to the final measures which creates the illusion that all can be peaceful again. The unsettled and twisted nature of the opening measures has been resolved, and a clear F major tonality is established. However, this resolution is disrupted in the last measure when we hear the return of the drum roll, which has been closely associated with war in the opera (see Figure 8). It raises questions about the end of Kaiser Overall's war: how long will it be until the next ruler calls for the people to take up arms to fight his war?¹²³

¹²³ This could also be seen as a commentary with regards to the two World Wars that were separated only by twenty years.

Figure 8: Full score Instrumentation of the last 5 measures of “Komm Tod du werter Gest” and the conclusion to *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*¹²⁴

The curtain falls

The score shows the following instrumentation and dynamics:

- Fl.**: *pp* in the final measure.
- Ob.**: *pp* in the final measure.
- Clar.**: *pp* in the final measure.
- Alt-sax**: *pp* in the final measure.
- Tr.**: *pp* in the final measure.
- S.Dr.**: *fp* in the final measure, highlighted in a box.
- Horn**: *ppp* in the final measure.
- VI I**: *pp* in the final measure.
- VI II**: *pp* in the final measure.
- Vla.**: *pp* in the final measure.
- Vc.**: *pp* in the final measure.
- Cb.**: *pp* in the final measure.

The quotations from *Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott* and the anthem *Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser*, if the strongest and most represented in research, are not the only

¹²⁴ Ullmann, *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*: full score, 151.

examples of quotation found in Ullmann’s opera. The following section examines the smaller quotations that are injected throughout the opera with ironic intent.

“Morgenlied von den Schäfchen” (Morning Song of the Sheep), also known as *Schlaf, Kindlein, schlaf* (Sleep, Baby, Sleep) (Figure 9), is a popular lullaby and folk tune taken from *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*. It appears in the opening portion of Scene Four and is sung by Harlekin, who is having a song battle with the Trommler – who is trying to change the mood of Kaiser Overall.

Figure 9: Melodic vocal line and text of *Schlaf, Kindlein, schlaf*



Schlaf, Kindlein, schlaf, Der Vater hüt die Schaaf, Die Mutter schüttelt Bäumlein, Da fällt herab ein Träumelein, Schlaf, Kindlein, schlaf.	Sleep, baby, sleep! Thy father’s watching the sheep, Thy mother’s shaking the dreamland tree, And down drops a little dream for thee. Sleep, baby, sleep.
Schlaf, Kindlein, schlaf, Am Himmel ziehn die Schaf, Die Sternlein sind die Lämmerlein, Der Mond der ist das Schäferlein, Schlaf, Kindlein, schlaf.	Sleep, baby, sleep! The large stars are the sheep, The little stars are lambs, I guess, The bright moon is the shepherdess. Sleep, baby, sleep!
Schlaf, Kindlein, schlaf, Christkindlein hat ein Schaaf, Ist selbst das liebe Gotteslamm, Das um uns all zu Tode kam, Schlaf, Kindlein, schlaf!	Sleep, baby, sleep! The Saviour loves his sheep; He is the Lamb of God on high, Who for our sakes came down to die, Sleep, baby, sleep!
Schlaf, Kindlein, schlaf, Geh fort und hüt die Schaaf, Geh fort du schwarzes Hündelein, Und weck mir nicht mein Kindelein, Schlaf, Kindlein, schlaf.	Sleep, baby, sleep! Away, to tend the sheep, Away thou sheepdog, fierce and wild, And do not harm my sleeping child! Sleep, baby, Sleep! ¹²⁵

¹²⁵ Elizabeth Prentiss, trans. “Des Knaben Wunderhorn: Morgenlied von den Schäfchen,” *The Lied, Art Song, and Choral Texts Archive*, http://www.recmusic.org/lieder/get_text.html?TextId=88454 (Accessed August 7, 2013).

Titled the same, Harlekin's version of *Schlaf, Kindlein, schlaf* follows the melodic line of the original folk tune; however, the text is darker in nature – representing a grotesque nightmare rather than the dreamland of the original (Figure 10). This darkness is a distortion of the third stanza, which references the sacrifice of Christ for the sake of humanity.

Figure 10: Harlekin's melodic line and text for *Schlaf, Kindlein, schlaf*



<p>Schlaf, Kindlein, schlaf: Ich bin ein Epitaph. Dein Vater ging im Krieg zugrund. Dein' Mutter fraß ihr roter Mund, Schlaf, Kindlein, schlaf.</p>	<p>Sleep, baby, sleep: I am an epitaph. Your father has perished in the war, Your mother was eaten by her red mouth, Sleep, baby, sleep.</p>
<p>Spät, Kindlein, spät, der Mann im Monde mäht. Er mäht das Glück, er mäht es fort, und kommt die Sonne, ist's verdorrt. Dann ziehst du's rote Kleidchen an Und fängst das Lied von vorne an</p>	<p>Late, baby, late, The man in the moon reaps, He takes your happiness, he takes it away And come Sun[rise], it's [all] withered. Then put your little red dress on And begin this song from the beginning¹²⁶</p>

The soothing characteristics of the original melody of *Schlaf, Kindlein, schlaf* are only distantly felt here, as Ullmann's setting quickens the tempo and embellishes the melodic

¹²⁶ Ullmann, *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*: vocal score, 82-83 [my translation]

line. In Harlekin's version of the lullaby it voices the horror of the everyday and attests to the shared experiences of the people of Theresienstadt. In the original lullaby the text represents the innocence, safety and release from the concerns of the everyday in sleep. In the opera the text represents the exact opposite; there is no safety or escape to be found in sleep. The text of Kien and Ullmann's lullaby is a direct contradiction to the ideals of the lullaby with the line "Ich bin ein Epitaph," implying that it is a memorial to the dead. The text thereby suggests that it will serve as witness and remembrance of the events in Theresienstadt, and becomes a testament to the lost works of Jewish artists – including Ullmann and Kien's works. This quotation in the opera captures not only the memories and experiences of the fictional world of Atlantis in the opera, but also those of Theresienstadt and occupied Europe as a whole.

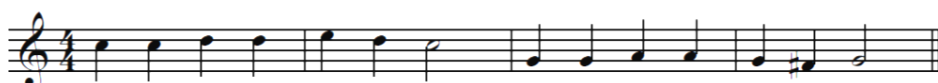
Another quotation meant to be recognized by listeners in the music of *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* is the Polish Christmas Carol *Aniol pasterzom mówił* (Shepherds Heard the Angels Say), as shown in Figure 11a.¹²⁷ We find this quotation first sung by the Soldier at the end of the opening Scene Three recitative and trio. It is then used again in the closing duet "Schau die Wolken" (Figure 11b) of Scene Three between Bubikopf and the Soldier, after their hearts have turned away from war. Whereas in the quotation of *Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott*, Ullmann removed embellishing notes, here we find the exact reverse: the melodic line has been altered with the addition of passing tones. The allegorical meaning that is captured in this quotation has strong religious connotations; the darkness that covers the world can only be released by allowing the light (God) into

¹²⁷ This is my own analysis of the quotation found in *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*. It is likely that this carol would have been known to Ullmann from his early childhood in the Garrison town on the borders of Czechoslovakia and Poland. Another source could also be from within the Theresienstadt, which housed inmates from a variety of neighbouring countries.

their hearts. What we also find in the duet is the quotation of Harlekin's theme in the last three measures of the duet, as was also discussed with regard to "Komm Tod, du unser werter Gast."

Figure 11: Comparison of *Aniół pasterzom mówił* and Scene 3 duet "Schau die Wolken"

A) Aniół pasterzom mówił melodic line



<p>Aniół pasterzom mówił: Chrystus się wam narodził w Betlejem, nie bardzo podłym mieście, narodził się w ubóstwie Pan wszego stworzenia.</p>	<p>Shepherds heard the angel say Christ is born to you this day Bethlehem is His lowly place of birth Born so humbly to this earth Lord of all creation.</p>
<p>Jaki Pan chwały wielkiej uniżył się Wysoki; pałacu kosztownego żadnego nie miał zbudowanego Pan wszego stworzenia.</p>	<p>Thus the Lord through his great love Came from heaven up above No great place, grand costly had he here But a manger cold and drear Lord of all creation.</p>

B) "Schau die Wolken" melodic line of Bubikopf



<p>Schau, die Wolken sind vergangen, die den Blick uns lang vergällt, und die Landschaft, grau verhangen, ist mit einem Mal erhellt.</p>	<p>Look, the clouds are passing, Clouds that have long poisoned the view, And the landscape, misty gray, Is suddenly lit up.</p>
<p>Tiefe Schatten werden lichter, wenn die Sonne golden scheint, und es wird der Tod zum Dichter, wenn er sich mit Liebe eint.</p>	<p>Deepest shadows will become lighter, When the sun golden rays shine, And becomes a death for the poet, When he is uniting with love.¹²⁸</p>

¹²⁸ Ullmann, *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*: vocal score, 74-75 [my translation].

With these quotations we can already see that Ullmann has created points in the opera where the audience is required to understand the deeper implications of the text. By using quotations that are already full of inherent meaning, he further heightens and expands the various connotations found in the libretto. The sense of hope and faith inherent in the chorales *Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott* and *Anioł pasterzom mówil*, implore the audience to fight for humanity and the good that is hidden behind all the darkness in the world.

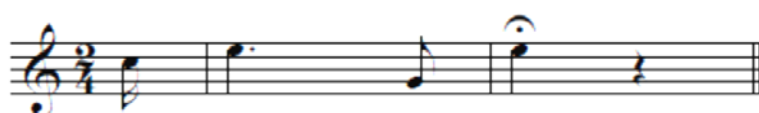
In addition, small fragmentary quotations of a subversive nature and uncertain source are also to be found within *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*. The first quotation introduces the opera and is heard throughout in association with the Lautsprecher character (see Figure 12a). Associated with the trumpet, this four-note progression is a quotation whose identity is related to two different sources. The first is the standard military bugle call “Call to Attention,” which is shown in Figure 12b. Here we can see that there is a similar rhythmic structure to the call heard in the opera. Ullmann further supports this military reference by using the trumpet as the primary instrument that plays this motive.

Figure 12: Quotation sources for the Lautsprecher’s motive in *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*

A) Lautsprecher:



B) Call to Attention:



C) Joseph Suk “Asrael” Symphony no.2 1st movement, Bass Clarinet measure 3-4:

As the opera is also based in a military setting, this call to attention, first heard in the trumpet then echoed in the Lautsprecher’s “Hello! Hello,” serves the same function as the bugle call shown in figure 12b.

The military context of this reference has been overshadowed by many researchers, who have favoured the second connection of this fragment with the motive heard in the second symphony, op. 27 (“Asrael”) by Czech composer Josef Suk (1874-1935) shown in figure 12c.¹²⁹ Composed in 1905-6, the symphony was written in memory of both Antonín Dvořák, who died in 1904, and Suk’s wife Otilie Suková (Dvořák’s daughter), who died in 1905.¹³⁰ As can be seen in Figure 12, there is a strong similarity in the melodic contour between the call and the theme of Suk’s symphony. The association with Suk’s “Asrael” symphony for the source of Ullmann’s Lautsprecher theme is one that can be considered as a “concealed quotation,” as it is not as easily recognized by everyone. Sometimes heard at Czech funerals, this piece would have been known by many of the detainees at Theresienstadt. The close association to the military adds further depth to the meaning of this quotation.¹³¹

¹²⁹ Sources that reference the association the Suk’s “Asrael” symphony include: Rachel Bergman “Creativity in Captivity: Viktor Ullmans *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*,” *Opera Journal* 38/2 (June 2005), 3-19; Linda Hutcheon and Paul Hutcheon, “Death, where is Thy Sting? *The Emperor of Atlantis*,” *The Opera Quarterly* 16/2 (2000): 224-239; Hugh R. Ross, *Aesthetic Reflections on Viktor Ullmann’s Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, (Masters Thesis: California State University 2011); Joža Karas, *Music in Terezín: 1941-1945*(Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon Press, 2008); Robert Rollin, “Viktor Ullman’s “The Emperor of Atlantis” 1943: an Opera composed in Terezin Concentration Camp,” *Ex Tempore* 12/1 (Spring/Summer 2004): 38-46.

¹³⁰ John Tyrrell, “Josef Suk,” *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online* http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/subscriber/article/grove/music/27094?q=Josef+Suk&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit (Accessed June 12, 2013).

¹³¹ In the sources stated in footnote 133, none of these scholars link the quotation with regards to the bugle call’s “Call to Attention” that would also have been a strong association with the prisoners of

There is another element within the Lautsprecher's motive, that of the double tritone, that is built into the line – G to D-flat and E-flat to A. The evil connotations of the tritone go back to medieval times, where this dissonance was known as the “devil in music,” and its use in compositions was avoided. Over the centuries the acceptance of the tritone increased in tonal music, particularly in twentieth-century music where the tritone became a key interval for avoiding or subverting tonality within a piece.¹³²

Many passages in the opera that cannot be considered quotations are rather suggestions, reminiscences, or homage's paid to other composers of the interwar period. Throughout the opera, particularly in the songs of Harlekin, we find references that can be linked to several composers and their works. In Harlekin's Scene One song, “Der Mond geht auf,” recollections of “V: The Drunken One in Spring” and “VI: The Departure” from *Song of the Earth* by Gustav Mahler (1860-1911) can be heard.¹³³ Harlekin's opening song is also strongly rooted in the expressionistic style that is similar to that of Schoenberg's *Pierrot lunaire*, as well as Berg's tavern scene in *Wozzeck*.¹³⁴ With the character of the Trommler we find suggestions of *An der schönen blauen Donau*, op. 314 composed by Johann Strauss II (1825-1899) in her scene three aria “Die Trommel,” where she uses sexual innuendos to try to sway the soldier back to the Emperor's war. Connections can also be made to Richard Wagner's *Tristan and Isolde*

Theresienstadt. Many Jewish people who fought in World War I for Germany were transferred to Theresienstadt allegedly as a sign of gratitude, along with many of the other Jewish people of distinction.

¹³² The use of tritones can be seen throughout Ullmann's compositional output, particularly within his *Variationen und Doppelfuge über ein kleines Klavierstück von Schönberg*, where each subsequent variation increases the use of tritones to maintain the atonal quality of Schoenberg's piece.

¹³³ Robert Rollin, “Viktor Ullmann's “The Emperor of Atlantis,” 1943: an Opera Composed in Terezin Concentration Camp, *Ex Tempore* 12/1 (Spring/Summer 2004), 43-44.

¹³⁴ Linda Hutcheon, “Death, Where is thy Sting?: The Emperor of Atlantis,” *The Opera Quarterly* 16/2 (2000), 229.

within Scene Two's "O sink hernieder, Nacht der Liebe" to the finale duet "Schau die Wolken" (See the clouds) between Bubikopf and the Soldier.¹³⁵

The musical quotations that are found throughout *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* are only one part of the musical make-up of Ullmann's Theresienstadt opera. Woven within his musical styles that embrace the expressionistic characteristics of the Schoenberg circle, jazz, and neoclassical tendencies, the quotations provide some of the framework for Ullmann's multi-genre opera.

Musical Styles

When it comes to examining the musical styles that are seen within *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, we discover that Ullmann uses an eclectic mixture of genres and styles juxtaposed against one another. These juxtapositions can be found within a single movement, between movements, and associated with particular characters. We also find that Ullmann has combined and mixed genres to fit within the musical context of each section. The expressive nature of the opera is further expanded with the use of specific instruments – particularly those that are not traditional.

The first amalgamation of genre and style can be found in the instrumental prelude and the three interludes. Stylized with a jazz character the opening "Präludium" is an invention on Harlekin's theme (shown in Chapter Two, Figure 1), which focuses on the flute, oboe, clarinet, alto sax, and banjo for its instrumentation. The jazz mood in the piece is further accentuated by the obscurity of the down beat that is a feature of

¹³⁵ In Wagner's drama, the lovers turn their backs to the light and embrace darkness to heighten their love for each other. A similar ideal is found in Ullmann's lover's duet; however they turn their backs to darkness and to embrace light which is seen on the horizon.

Harlekin's theme.¹³⁶ The "Präludium" is also reminiscent of free-form preludes from the Baroque period, making use of canonic techniques and invention with the thematic materials. Between the serious nature of the opening Prologue and the light, playful, jazz-like character of the "Präludium", these two different pieces represent the two inherent characteristics of resistance and acceptance (life and death) in *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*.

The three intermezzos of the opera that separate each scene create a continued juxtaposition of a baroque genre with a jazz style. Ullmann labels each of the intermezzos as a "Totentanz" (Dance of Death), which evokes an image that is strongly rooted in the medieval period, particularly in the visual arts.¹³⁷ Throughout the centuries it would eventually make its way into the musical world, particularly during the Romantic era where interest in the spiritual and macabre increased.¹³⁸

Within *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* the evocation of the "Dance of Death" becomes a symbol for the living dead who continue to fight in Kaiser Overall's war. Musically the "Totentänze" retain similar, but darker tonal jazz characteristics from the opening "Präludium," with the flute, oboe, clarinet, alto sax, and trumpet as the primary instruments throughout them. We find that the lighter tonal character of the banjo in Nr. VII "Totentanz" between Scene One and Two has been removed from the other two

¹³⁶ The obscurity of the downbeat is created by a G3/2 dissonance (using Harald Krebs' terminology) that is created between the thematic material and the walking accompaniment line in the banjo and lower strings. See Harald Krebs, *Fantasy Pieces: Metrical Dissonances in the Music of Robert Schumann* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

¹³⁷ Representing the universality of death, the "Totentanz" was frequently represented in paintings and woodcuts in the medieval period. They show that whatever your station in life is, Death is equal to everyone, and there is no special treatment in death. Malcolm Boyd, "Dance of death," in *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*
http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/subscriber/article/grove/music/07153?q=macabre&search=quick&pos=3&_start=1#firsthit (Accessed April 8, 2013).

¹³⁸ Important works of the Romantic period that use the "Totentanz" include: Franz Liszt's *Totentanz* for piano and orchestra from 1849, Saint-Saëns' symphonic poem *Danse macabre*, and – closer to Ullmann's time – Arnold Schoenberg's *Totentanz der Prinzipien* of 1914. Goethe's writings, particularly *Faust* from 1808, also helped to spur interest in the supernatural and death in the arts.

intermezzos. The darker jazz character of the intermezzos is amplified in the remaining two “Totentänze,” and the string section and the harpsichord/piano take on a greater role within the pieces. The tonalities of these pieces are fairly static in nature, and many passages lack a clear sense of tonal center. The Nr. VII “Totentanz” is structured around a first inversion G-minor chord (B-flat, D, G), alternating with a chord built on a diminished third and fifth (F#, A-flat, C). With the entrance of the second Nr. IXa “Totentanz,” Ullmann uses the same rhythmic and melodic fragments from the first one. It opens with the cello playing a rhythm that is similar to the drum in the opening of “Wie spät ist es?” from Scene Two (see Figure 13). Comparing Figure 13a and b, we can see that these two figures are matched quite closely. The downbeat, though articulated, gives the impression of a pickup to the measure, particularly in the cello line from the second “Totentanz.” Obscuring the downbeat in this manner creates a sense of lost time; we know that it has passed, but how much time is unknown. After this introduction the music continues to move on to other known material. In measure 10 of the second “Totentanz” we hear the trumpet entering on the solo melodic line that was heard first in the alto sax in measure 14 of the first intermezzo. The second “Totentanz” also ends with the same harmonic and melodic figuration that opened the first. It can be assumed that between the period of the first and second intermezzo little time has passed; Tod’s abdication has not been discovered by the common people.

Figure 13: Comparison of drum line in scene 2 “Wie spät ist es?” and the cello line in the second Nr. IX^a “Totentanz”

A) Opening four measures of the drum line in “Wie spät ist es?”



B) Opening four measures of the Cello line in Nr. IXa "Totentanz"



With the entrance of the third Nr. XIII "Totentanz" at the end of scene three, we find that the piece is very different in character. Much like the opening "Präludium," the final intermezzo, "Die Lebenden Toten," is an invention on a theme that has been expanded from its appearance in the previous two "Totentänze" (see Figure 14). This theme is an amalgamation of the bass line and the main woodwind instruments from the first "Totentanz." Continuously in a state of modulation, there is no resolution within the piece, as we heard in the previous two intermezzos. The music captures the characters longing for a peaceful resolution in death that has been denied to them.

Figure 14: Melodic source from the theme in third "Die lebenden Toten" intermezzo

A) Melodic source material from the first "Totentanz," measure 3-4

Musical notation for melodic source material from the first "Totentanz," measure 3-4. It shows two staves: Flute (top, treble clef) and Cello (bottom, bass clef). The Flute part has a melodic line with a slur over the first two measures and a dynamic marking. The Cello part has a bass line with a slur over the first two measures.

B) Melodic theme in "Die Lebenden Toten," measure 1-2

Musical notation for the melodic theme in "Die Lebenden Toten," measure 1-2. It shows a single staff for Flute (treble clef) with a melodic line spanning two measures, indicated by a slur.

Within the vocal numbers of the opera we find what could be considered an eclectic assortment of styles and genres. Harlekin's opening song "Der Mond geht auf" suits the structure of the *Lied* with an AABA¹+ codetta form.¹³⁹ This is followed by a "Rezitativo alla secco" in the manner of *Opera seria* with both Harlekin and Tod, which leads as a transition to their driving duet "Tage, Tage."¹⁴⁰ This duet moves the listeners back to the style of parody on current events that was a mainstay in the genres of Cabaret, and will be discussed further in Chapter Four. Within the various arias of the opera, only one falls into the style of the *da capo arias* (ABA) that were popular during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Tod's *Arie des Todes*, "Das waren Kriege," in the first act reminisces on the honors and glories that past battles had given on him. Ullmann's use of an older style of aria pairs perfectly with the antiquity of Tod's memories. Within the accompaniment we find that Ullmann has made use of a blues tonality and feeling to the piece, and is not strictly in the style of the *da capo* aria. When the aria returns to the A section, Tod has returned to his melodic line; however, the accompaniment does not strictly follow its original A material. In the music of "Das waren Kriege" a sense of a lament is created, as Tod is longing for wars long past that he could keep up with.¹⁴¹

When we hear Tod's first aria in Scene Four, "Ich bin der Tod," Ullmann uses a more expressive and grave style of aria. In the first part we find that Tod is only supported by the string section of the orchestra, with a soulful solo viola line and

¹³⁹ Each of the A sections in Harlekin's song is slightly varied, though the first two are very close together. The return of A¹ respells the note enharmonically.

¹⁴⁰ The Neoclassical nature of these pieces will be discussed in Chapter Four.

¹⁴¹ The advancement of the industrial revolution after World War I led to massive innovations in weaponry, vehicles and machines that were employed during World War II. It is likely these were the innovations that Tod can no longer keep up with.

tremolos in the other strings (see Figure 15). At rehearsal marking 20 (measure 20), Ullmann changes the accompaniment to only the harpsichord playing block chords. Here the libretto becomes the focal point rather than the music:

Bin der, der von der Pest befreit, und nicht die Pest.	I am he, he who frees you from the plague, And not the plague.
Bin, der Erlösung bringt von Leid, nicht, der euch leiden läßt.	He, who brings salvation from misfortune, Not he who lets you suffer.
Ich bin das wohlig warme Nest, wohin das angstgehetzte Leben flieht.	I am the cozy warm nest, To whom the victimized being flees.
Ich bin das größte Freiheitsfest.	I am the greatest freedom feast.
Ich bin das letzte Schlummerlied.	I am the last lullaby.
Still ist und friedevoll mein gastlich Haus! Kommt, ruhet aus!	Quiet and peaceful is my welcoming House! Come, rest here! ¹⁴²

Figure 15: Orchestration of "Ich bin der Tod," mm. 1-4.

The musical score for 'Ich bin der Tod,' mm. 1-4, features the following parts and dynamics:

- Tod (Vocal):** Bass clef, 4/4 time. Lyrics: "Ich bin der Tod, der Gärt - ner Tod, und sä - e".
- Viol. I:** Treble clef, 4/4 time. Dynamic: *fp*. Plays block chords.
- Viol. II:** Treble clef, 4/4 time. Dynamic: *fp*. Plays block chords.
- Vla.:** Alto clef, 4/4 time. Dynamic: *mf* (measures 1-2), *p* (measures 3-4). Plays a melodic line.
- Vcl.:** Bass clef, 4/4 time. Dynamic: *fp*. Plays block chords.
- Kb.:** Bass clef, 4/4 time. Dynamic: *fp*. Plays block chords.

This is a striking moment within the piece, particularly following the chaotic trio “Fünf, sechs, sieben, acht, neun, zehn, hundert, tausend Bomben” between Harlekin, the Trommler, and Kaiser Overall. This trio is permeated with altered entries of the

¹⁴² Ullmann, *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*: vocal score, 90-92 [my translation].

Lautsprecher's motive. Representing the breaking point of Kaiser Overall, the piece is where he questions all that he has done, and whether "Bin ich denn noch ein Mensch oder die Rechenmaschine Gottes?"¹⁴³

There are many types of quotations in *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* – full, partial, and suggestive – that would evoke different associations for the occupants of Theresienstadt. There is a message of resistance that makes itself felt in various degrees in the opera through these musical quotations. At times it is overtly obvious, particularly in Scene Three between the soldier and Bubikopf, whose choice to accept love and turn their backs to the war opens their eyes to the light on the horizon. This resistance is also found in Scene Four, where Kaiser Overall gets the report of which radio stations are now under Rebel control. This point in the opera can be seen as representing the current events within the war: the advancing united forces and the retreat of the Nazi army.¹⁴⁴ We also find in the opera that Tod is not to be feared, he should be embraced, and that there may be suffering now but it will be peaceful in the end. The opera as a whole is a skillfully crafted work that blends and juxtaposes various genres and styles together, many finding their origins in the artistic and experimental interwar period.

¹⁴³ "Am I still a man or just the adding machine of God?" Ullmann, *Der Kaiser von Atlantis: vocal score*, 87 [my translation].

¹⁴⁴ As new prisoners were transported into Theresienstadt, the news of the outside world traveled with them. Beginning in 1942, the Soviet and allied forces were advancing on occupied Europe until the surrender on May 7 and 9th 1945.

Chapter 4: *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* in the Context of Twentieth-Century German Opera

Throughout Chapters Two and Three, I have argued that *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* is a work saturated with political, social, and musical elements that can be enriched by a perspective that is sensitive to contexts that extend beyond the boundaries of Theresienstadt. As detailed in Chapter One, Ullmann was immersed in the cultural and musical atmosphere of the interwar period, and many of the elements that shaped his opera emerged from the artistic freedom of this time. Before the turn of the century, composers had already begun to experiment with tonality and to move away from the aesthetics of Romantic music. By the conclusion of the war, the people of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire were faced with the prospect of rediscovering their national identity within a new political and social configuration. Within musical aesthetics, Neoclassicism and Neo-baroque formalism became significant alternatives for composers of the early twentieth century as a way to combat the chaos that was felt after World War I.¹⁴⁵ During World War I, several genres and forms of entertainment became popular, which directly influenced the innovative developments of opera within the newly established Republics, including *Kabarette*, *Revue*, and *Kabarettrevue*, which continued to thrive and develop after the war. American jazz was also introduced to Europe during the war through the influx of North American soldiers fighting on European battlefields and became an instant fad in European Society. After the war, however, Germanic countries became isolated from direct influences of jazz and began to form their own

¹⁴⁵ Neoclassicism and Neobaroque music borrows formal structures and aesthetics used in classical and baroque periods, and recasts them within modern composition trends.

style and character.¹⁴⁶ These forms, combined with the freedom of expression that composers felt, allowed new styles and artistic independence to arise, including *Neue Sachlichkeit*, *Gebrauchsmusik*, *Zeitoper/Zeittheater*, and Brechtian *Epic Theater*, concepts that will be explored further in this chapter. Composers and librettists used modern themes and events within their works that reflected the contemporary condition of humanity. Viktor Ullmann was an up-and-coming composer within this period of artistic innovation, and is shown in his opera. By examining the motivation and stylization of the popular forms of entertainment from the new Republics, we can begin to understand the intricate and innovative aspects of *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*.

Neue Sachlichkeit, Gebrauchsmusik, and Neoclassicism

As with many movements in music, *Neue Sachlichkeit* (New Objectivity) first arose in the visual arts before influencing musical compositions.¹⁴⁷ The impressionistic and expressive works that defined the Romantic era gave way to realistic topics and clean lines found in the visual vocabulary of painters and photographers of the first decades of the twentieth century. In music, *Neue Sachlichkeit* went hand in hand with composers such as Igor Stravinsky and Alban Berg re-interpreting formal structures from the Baroque and Classical eras (Neo-baroque and Neoclassicism) with modern compositional techniques. Opera libretti also experienced changes in the choice of subject matter. The new focus for characters and the plot lines changed from historical, mythological, and

¹⁴⁶ A detailed history and response to Jazz in Germany during this period is beyond the scope of this thesis; however the isolation and inclusion of jazz in Germany can be read in Susan C. Cook, "Jazz: The Sound of the New World," *Opera for a New Republic: The Zeitoper of Krenek, Weill, and Hindemith*; J. Bradford Robinson, "Jazz reception in Weimar: In Search of the Shimmy Figure," in *Music and Performance during the Weimar Republic*.

¹⁴⁷ For further information on *Neue Sachlichkeit* see Helmut Lethen, *Neue Sachlichkeit: 1924-1932* (Stuttgart, Metzler, 1970); Dennis Crockett, *German Post-Expressionism: the Art of Great Disorder: 1918-1924* (University Park: Pennsylvania State Press, 1999).

fictional aspects to center on everyday life, events, and subjects. This shift in representation of subject matter began prior to World War I, and can be seen in Schoenberg's operas *Erwartung* (1909) and *Die glückliche Hand* (1910-13).¹⁴⁸ Another influential opera in the early stages of *Neue Sachlichkeit* and Neoclassicism's development is Berg's *Wozzeck* (1914-22), which has found a secure place in opera history since its premiere in 1925.¹⁴⁹ Other composers who fit within the ideals of this new movement include Kurt Weill, Hanns Eisler, and Paul Hindemith – particularly with their respective collaborations with Bertolt Brecht – and Ernst Křenek. These composers all influenced the trajectory of opera between the wars and their compositions became the focus of various musicological journals that were established in the first half of the twentieth century.¹⁵⁰

Gebrauchsmusik was another category for the new ideals that were being upheld in some genres of music after the war. Translated into English, the term means “music for use” or “utility music;” essentially, the music has a social function beyond its use as pure concert music.¹⁵¹ As new technology such as the radio became accessible to the general public, music was able to reach people who previously did not have access to live musical performances. Music was no longer the sole domain of the upper class; anyone

¹⁴⁸ Though composed before World War I, these works were not premiered until 1924. They were performed frequently throughout the interwar period, until Schoenberg was labeled as an “entartete” (degenerate) composer in the eyes of the Nazis.

¹⁴⁹ In *Wozzeck*, the Neoclassical elements can be seen throughout the structure of the work: it is structured as an overarching ABA ternary form. Berg also meticulously structures each act and scene, including the use of dance suites, Sonata Allegro form, Fantasia and Fugue, and inventions throughout the work. (Andrew Clements, “Wozzeck,” *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, *Oxford Music Online* http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/subscriber/article/grove/music/O005360?q=Wozzeck&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit (Accessed October 1, 2012).

¹⁵⁰ These journals include: *Melos* in Berlin from 1920-1934, *Musikblätter des Anbruch* in Vienna from 1919 to 1937, the *Allgemeine Musikzeitung* that formed in Vienna in 1813, as well as the American *Modern Music* which was issued in New York from 1924 to 1946.

¹⁵¹ Stephen Hinton, “Gebrauchsmusik,” In *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online* http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/subscriber/article/grove/music/10804?q=gebrauchsmusik&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit (Accessed August 27, 2012).

could now enjoy performances broadcast live in their homes.¹⁵² Bertolt Brecht, a major figure in developments of theatre and opera in the Weimar Republic, utilized the new medium of radio with his genre of the *Lehrstück* (teaching piece).¹⁵³ The collaborative piece *Der Lindbergflug* (1929) by Weill, Brecht, and Hindemith was written with the intent that it would be performed over the radio, soliciting participation from the listening audience. Brecht continually sought to transcend the boundaries that separated opera and theatre, creating hybrid works that greatly influenced opera composers working between the world wars.¹⁵⁴ The principles of both *Neue Sachlichkeit* and *Gebrauchsmusik* changed the way in which opera was conceived, leading to the development of new genres of opera including *Zeitoper* and *Epic Opera*.

When *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* is viewed within the context of the ideals of *Neue Sachlichkeit*, we can better understand many of the stylistic choices made by Ullmann and Kien. These include the libretto representing current events, the inserting of neoclassicism, and the inclusion of jazz tonal characteristics. The libretto features many realistic representations of contemporaneous living conditions in Theresienstadt. Everyday life's monotony as experienced in the camp is particularly highlighted in Tod and Harlekin's recitative "Laß sein" in Scene One:

Tod: Laß sein. Was singst du da?
 Harlekin: Ich singe so.
 Tod: Was haben wir heu' für ein Tag?

¹⁵² Public radio stations debuted in Germany in 1923 and by 1924 there were nine regional stations: Berlin, Leipzig, Munich, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Stuttgart, Breslau, Königsberg, and Münster (later moved to Cologne).

¹⁵³ The *Lehrstück* works were part of Brecht's experimentation with audience interaction within his works. Further reading can be done through the various essays and writing of Brecht, as well as Erika Hughes "Brecht's Lehrstücke and Drama Education," in *Key Concepts in Theatre/Drama Education*, ed. by Shifra Schonmann (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2011), 197-201.

¹⁵⁴ The impact that Brecht had on opera will be discussed later in the chapter with respect to his innovations and development of *Epic Theater*.

Harlekin: Ich wechsele die Tage nicht mehr täglich, seit ich's mit dem Hemd nicht tun kann und nehme nur einen neuen, wenn ich frische Wäsche anziehe.

Tod: Dann müßt du ja tief im vorigen Jahr stecken.

Harlekin: Vielleicht Dienstag? Mittwoch? Freitag? Einer wie der andre.¹⁵⁵

This short dialogue includes several key references to Theresienstadt, where 'Each day is like the other.' Work duties, meals, and free time in the camp were highly structured into an enforced and unvaried routine to obtain optimum productivity of the inmates.¹⁵⁶ When deportees were transferred to Theresienstadt, they were restricted in the items they were able to bring with them. These meager belongings further dwindled when they arrived at the gates and were admitted into the camp. Once inside the camp, the inmates of Theresienstadt had limited access to facilities for the upkeep of their personal hygiene. Harlekin evokes the mundane and very real issue of hygiene when he refuses at one point to change the days unless provided with clean laundry.

In the opera, one of the main lines of commentary among the characters pertains to the current events of World War II, beginning in the "Prolog" just after the Lautsprecher has introduced the characters of Tod and Harlekin.¹⁵⁷ Within the context of the passage, we can reason that the world the two characters are watching could be Theresienstadt, and it is the audience who become the "living dead" of the opera. Kien and Ullmann in this short commentary are establishing parallels to the world that has been surrounding them and the residents of camp.¹⁵⁸ The bleak conditions and the turmoil

¹⁵⁵ D: Let it be. What is there to sing about? H: I sing so. D: What have we now for a day? H: I no longer change the days every day, since I cannot [change] my shirt and take a new one, [I change the day] when I can put on clean laundry. D: Then you must be deeply stuck in last year. H: perhaps Tuesday? Wednesday? Friday? Each day is like the other. Ullmann, *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*: vocal score, 21-23 [my translation].

¹⁵⁶ Types of forced labour within Theresienstadt included working in the Mica splitting factory and farming for the Nazis.

¹⁵⁷ Refer to Chapter Two page 37 for the text of passage.

¹⁵⁸ The conditions and atmosphere of the people within Theresienstadt, and the various Concentration Camps and Ghettos throughout Europe, can be read in the several biographies and memoirs of those persecuted.

of war that engulfed Europe provided the ideal source material for the basis of Ullmann's opera. Theresienstadt in particular provided a wealth of contemporary situations in which Kien and Ullmann could represent in *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*.

On the topic of *Gebrauchsmusik*, the utility of Ullmann's opera is as a message of comfort, serving to remind the audience that though times may be rough, there will be release – either with the conclusion of the war or in the embrace of death. This is represented in Scenes Three and Four, where the libretto strongly advises the audiences to keep hatred out of their hearts, leaving room for God and love. This can be heard particularly in the broadcast of the proclamation of the “rebels” on the apprehended radio station in Scene Four.¹⁵⁹ Although it is likely that no working radio would have been available for the planned performance of the opera in Theresienstadt, the effect is still striking when it is heard in the opera. The combined effect of the radio and unsung speech causes the text to stand out from the rest of the opera; this message was clearly meant to provide hope and encouragement.

As seen in Chapter Three, there are many moments in *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* that are representative of the Neoclassical and Neobaroque styles of the interwar period.¹⁶⁰ This is most notably found in the use of musical quotations such as the “Kaiserhymne” and *Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott* being recomposed with modern harmonies. The use of Neoclassicism however, is not just restricted to the quotations and the forms used throughout the opera; Ullmann also makes use of various neoclassical

With regards to Theresienstadt these include: Massachusetts College of Art, *Seeing Through “Paradise”:* *Artists and the Terezin Concentration Camp*; Norbert Troller, *Theresienstadt: Hitler's Gift to the Jews*, translated by Susan E. Cernyak-Spatz; Melissa Müller and Reinhard Piechocki, *A Garden of Eden in Hell: The Life of Alice Herz-Sommer*, Translated by Giles MacDonogh; and H.G Adler *Theresienstadt, 1941-1945*.

¹⁵⁹ The text of this radio excerpt can be found on page 44 of Chapter Two.

¹⁶⁰ From this point onward I will use the blanket term ‘Neoclassicism’ as representing both Neoclassical and Neobaroque trends within the opera.

procedures.¹⁶¹ He employs canons throughout the opera, with one of the most striking examples in the opening 10 measures of “Des Kaisers Abschied” (The Emperor’s Farewell) in Scene Four (see Figure 16).

Figure 16: The use of Canon in the opening of "Des Kaisers Abschied" mm. 1-10.

The musical score for the opening of "Des Kaisers Abschied" (mm. 1-10) is presented in three systems. The first system includes the Oboe (Ob.), Overall (bass clef), Violin I (Viol. I), Viola (Vla.), Violoncello (Vcl.), and Contrabass (Kb.). The second system includes the Oboe (Ob.) and Bassoon (O.). The third system includes Violin I (Vln. I), Viola (Vla.), Violoncello (Vcl.), and Contrabass (Cb.). The tempo is marked "Andante moderato" with the instruction "(Reinig. doch niemals schleppend)". Dynamics include *pp*, *p*, and *pp dolce*. The score illustrates a canon between the Oboe and Bassoon parts.

¹⁶¹ He utilized many of these procedures with finesse in his *Variationen und Doppelfuge über ein kleines Klavierstück von Schönberg* op 3.

The use of the oboe as the first entry answering the vocal line that Kaiser Overall has just sung is both chilling and sorrowful, due to the tone colour and timbre of the instrument. This ten-measure section shows the skill in counterpoint that Ullmann possessed in creating a four-voice canon at the unison that is six measures in length.¹⁶²

Another striking example of canon is found within the second half of “Arie des Trommlers” from scene one, after the quotation of *Deutschland über alles*. This second section is labeled Passacaglia, a musical form from the seventeenth century consisting of a ground bass or ostinato, with the Trommler beginning a four-measure theme that is stated a total of five times (see Figure 17). Unlike the canon in “Des Kaisers Abschied,” the theme is given in full in the vocal line before the next entries come in. The first instrument is the alto sax, followed by trumpet, viola, and then a final statement by the Trommler.

Figure 17: Canon theme in the Passacaglia section of "Arie des Trommler"



There is a haunting beauty to this canon, as well as simplicity in the vocal line that highlights the fact that everyone is affected by Kaiser Overall’s war. This four-measure theme is also the source of the material for the melodic retort from Tod over Overall’s declaration at the end of Scene One.

These moments in *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* highlight the use of Neoclassicism, the Neobaroque, and the movement of *Neue Sachlichkeit* of the interwar period. However,

¹⁶² Ullmann’s skill in counterpoint was likely acquired during his studies with Schoenberg.

we begin to understand further elements within the opera when we look at other genres of entertainment of this period of change that contributed to the opera.

Zeitoper and Kabarett

During World War I, several new forms of entertainment became very popular with the public, and continued to be fashionable well into the establishment of the new Republics. *Kabarett*, *Revue*, and the hybrid form *Kabarettrevue* provided light entertainment that fit within the new social dynamic of post-war Europe and created a challenge that opera was forced to confront. The *Revue*s were generally a middle-class form of entertainment in which the material typically contained a connective thread between otherwise unrelated scenes.¹⁶³ A variety of popular forms of entertainment could be found within *Revue* performances, including dramatic sketches, dances, and jazz. The *Kabarett* developed from its pre-World War I form of entertainment to the one that emerged in Berlin of the 1920s. Political commentary found its way into the material of the sketches, with music to separate them.¹⁶⁴ *Kabarettrevue* was a fusion of these two forms of entertainment, with plot lines that were stronger than those found within the *Revue*.¹⁶⁵

Though jazz originated in the United States, it exerted a substantial influence on Western European music between the wars. Falling into the category of popular music, the new style of American dance music spread quickly throughout the populace.¹⁶⁶ One of the responses to these forms of entertainment in the German operatic world was *Zeitoper* (opera of the time). This new genre featured subject matter that focused on the

¹⁶³ Cook, *Opera for a New Republic: The Zeitoper of Krenek, Weill, and Hindemith*, 34.

¹⁶⁴ Bertolt Brecht wrote many sketches to be performed in *Kabarett* during the interwar period.

¹⁶⁵ Cook, *Opera for the New Republic: The Zeitoper of Krenek, Weill and Hindemith*, 34-35.

¹⁶⁶ The popularity of jazz in Europe is vividly described in Susan Cook's *Opera for a New Republic: The Zeitoper of Krenek, Weill and Hindemith*; and *Music and Performance during the Weimar Republic*.

current social, political, and economic situations affecting society. Like the more theatrical forms of entertainment, *Zeitoper* took on elements that were fashionable at the time and fused them together with an allegorical, moralistic story within the aesthetics of opera. The insertion of popular styles and trends allowed for the inclusion of jazz and jazz instruments into the framework of the opera. Many of the influential composers of the interwar period attempted this new genre, including Schoenberg, Weill, Křenek, and Hindemith. New developments and experiments in German opera during this period were accessible to a large majority of the public, with performances taking place throughout the German-speaking world. The fusion of art forms took flight in the interwar period, and it was this developing world of new opera in which Ullmann was immersed.

Approaching *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* through the lens of *Zeitoper*, we can begin to understand the representation of the political and every day events in the work. Throughout the opera there are moments of light forms of entertainment, which suit the stylistic characteristics of cabaret material. In Scene One of the opera we find the driving duet “Tage, Tage,” which is sung between Harlekin and Tod to ridicule the monotony of the passing time (see Table 9). This duet, and the recitatives that surround it, use an economic metaphor to comment on the hopelessness that reigned within Theresienstadt.

Table 9: Text of scene one duet “Tage, Tage”¹⁶⁷

Tage, Tage, wer kauft Tage? Schöne, neue, unbekannte.	[Days, Days!] Who [wants] to buy days? Beautiful, New, unknown ones.
Tage, Tage, wer kauft Tage? Einer wie der andre.	[Days, Days!] Who [wants] to buy days? Each just like the other.
Tage, Tage, wer kauft Tage? Vielleicht steckt in einem, das Glück, dann wirst du König.	[Days, Days!] Who [wants] to buy days? Perhaps one of them will bring you luck, Then you’ll be a king.
Tage, Tage, wer kauft Tage? Alte, billige Tage!	[Days, Days!] Who [wants] to buy days? Old days, bargain days!

¹⁶⁷ Ullmann, *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*: vocal score, 23-26 [my translation].

Within the dynamic of daily life in Theresienstadt, the word “days” can be understood as having various meanings – in the context of everyday life. On the one hand, each passing day within the camp was monotonous and the passage of time could be seen as blurring together – as it is in the opera for Harlekin and Tod. On the other, each day that was survived was one more day closer to the possibility of rescue (or death). The currency and value of days was at the same time reduced to nothing, yet made precious as the time for transports to Auschwitz began. There is also an additional underlying, and unspoken, view that if they want change they need to do it for themselves – they cannot rely on luck. Within the duet we find these various commentaries on the days in the way in which Ullmann composed the piece. Throughout most of the duet, there is a driving eighth note pulse, which can be seen as representing the passage of time, with little harmonic change. When we come to the line referring to the possibility that one day will bring good luck, the driving force of the piece is slowed and there is almost a breath of anticipation for the day that will not be like all the others.

In Scene Two, when we are introduced to Kaiser Overall, we find Ullmann thematizing the importance of communication technologies in World War II. Here we see how people are able to disconnect themselves from the events that are going around them. Kaiser Overall has removed himself from the world (and reality) by relying on the radio and Lautsprecher for information – he only knows what he is told.¹⁶⁸ The general nature of the scene is dry and informative; however, Ullmann and Kien insert a grotesque comedic interaction between Kaiser Overall and Lautsprecher’s response to the hanging of the rebel: “Der Tod muß jeden Augenblick eintreten” (Death’s bound to arrive any

¹⁶⁸ This runs parallel to the isolation and disconnection to the outside world that the people of Theresienstadt would have felt. They relied on the rumours and gossip of events from the newest transports to the camp as well as highly restricted broadcast (in the Nazi favor) from radio broadcasts.

moment now!).¹⁶⁹ Stated four times within the recitative, the text is delivered in a matter-of-fact, disconnected manner, which is in stark contrast to Kaiser Overall's increasingly emotional questions as to why the terrorist has not died. The exchanges between the Kaiser and the Lautsprecher are representative of the disconnection that both characters have in regards to the events. The Lautsprecher is not directly involved in the event and holds no responsibility to the results, he is only the messenger. Overall, on the other hand, wants to be directly involved and in control of events; however, due to his choice to remove himself from the world, he truthfully has relinquished part of his power.

Musically the disconnected nature of the Lautsprecher is represented within his four statements of "Der Tod muß jeden Augenblick eintreten" (see Figure 18). Three of the four declarations of Tod's expected arrival are closely related to each other in regards to the melodic line, with only a few alterations. By the second and third statements, Ullmann has changed time signatures to 4/4 from the previous 3/4, changing the metrical emphasis of the text. The vocal line has also been augmented to double the value of each note from the original first statement. Melodically the statements are very similar; however, we find slight alterations at the end of the phrase with the text "Augenblick eintreten." The final statement contains the greatest degree of variation with respect to the original melodic line, rhythmic values, and metrical placement of the text. Here, the emphasis is placed on the words "Tod" and "eintreten;" the Lautsprecher is simply relaying the message.

¹⁶⁹ The situation itself is extreme and amplifies the suffering of the rebel who has been hanged and shot, yet still cannot die; however, the way in which the characters are played off of each other, combined with the music, creates a morbid type of humour.

Figure 18: The four statements of Loudspeaker's "Der Tod muß jeden Augenblick eintreten" within the recitative of Scene Two

A) First Statement

Der Tod muß je - den Au - gen - blick ein - tre - ten.

B) Second Statement

Der Tod muß je - den Au - gen - blick ein - tre - ten.

C) Third Statement

Der Tod muß je - den - Au - gen - blick ein - tre - ten.

D) Final Statement

Der Tod _____ muß je - den Au - gen - blick ein _____ tre - ten.

With regards to their placement and function in the movements, the first three statements are heard within the first twenty measures and have to do with questions regarding the initial hanging. Overall, believing his hangman has failed in his duties, orders the prisoner to be shot. It is after this order, following an interlude of the opening drum and harmonium line that represents the passage of time, that we hear the final utterance: Death will arrive any moment. The interaction between these two characters creates a humorous interaction that is amplified by the musical setting, and stands in stark contrast

to the events that surround it. Tod, with his refusal to collect souls, has made Kaiser Overall a ridiculous bystander in his own war – unable to control events.

In Scene Three, another piece that would not be out of place within the genre of *Zeitoper* is the duet “Komm fort von hier, komm geh mit mir!” between the Trommler and Bubikopf. This duet, which could easily have been performed in the *Kabarett*, can be seen as a vocal battle between the characters – the alto voice of the Trommler cannot hope to overcome the soprano Bubikopf. Where Bubikopf is comfortable in her vocal range, the Trommler is nearing the top of her tessitura to compete for the Soldier’s attention. Unable to compete vocally, the Trommler moves to her sexually suggestive aria “Die Trommel”, returning to a register that is better suited for the alto voice, to seduce the Soldier. This attempt fails as the Soldier and Bubikopf overtake the end of the aria creating a trio that shows the futility of the Trommler’s attempts.

These selections are some of the moments within *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* that exemplify the connections that Ullmann’s opera has to the interwar period. The characteristics of the *Neue Sachlichkeit* movement and the elements of *Zeitoper* are fused together to create multiple forms of representation and commentary on the everyday life within Theresienstadt. These are not the only influences on the stylization of *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*. There is one more important form of entertainment that is important to understanding the elements of Ullmann’s opera – Brechtian *Epic Theatre*. The developments and experiments of Bertolt Brecht had a profound impact on theatre in the later part of the interwar period. By including Brecht’s theories on theatre and opera, we can further uncover different modes of representation that are found throughout *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*.

Bertolt Brecht's *Epic Theater* and *Verfremdungseffekt*

Brecht's contribution to the development of trends in all forms of popular theatre during the interwar period is substantial. His theoretical writings on theatre as well as the example of the theater he directed during this time provide a source for understanding his multifaceted talent in drama. The role of the audience became a point of interest for Brecht and features prominently in his discussion of the changes he was recommending for theater and opera. His works were purposefully created to allow the audience to make their own decisions regarding the information being presented to them:

I give the incidents badly so that the audience can think for itself. That's why I need a quick-witted audience that knows how to observe, and gets its enjoyment from setting its reason to work.¹⁷⁰

The audience for Brecht became an active participant in the work, and they were required to become involved with the materials presented. Changes in the theater were not "radical transformations" of "artistic whim," but rather corresponded to "radical transformation of the mentality of [the] time."¹⁷¹ For Brecht, the idea of *Epic Theatre* followed naturally from the changes in societal thinking that had begun at the conclusion of World War I. Appealing to the feelings of the audience members gave way to engaging their ability to reason. Brecht was challenging them to analyze the materials that were being presented on the stage; the dramas were not to be taken at face value. Brecht's innovations in the theater soon began to find their way into opera of the time, particularly in his collaborative works with composers.¹⁷² Continuing to uphold the ideals of *Neue*

¹⁷⁰ Bertolt Brecht, "Conversation with Bertolt Brecht," in *Brecht on Theatre: the Development of an Aesthetic*, Translated by John Willet (London: Methuen, 1964), 14.

¹⁷¹ These terms come from Brecht's essay "The Epic Theatre and its Difficulties," in *Brecht on Theatre: the Development of an Aesthetic*, 23.

¹⁷² The composers he worked closely with to adapt *Epic Theater* to opera include Kurt Weill, Paul Hindemith, and Hanns Eisler. The most influential opera of these collaborations is *Dreigroschenoper* with the music of Kurt Weill.

Sachlichkeit and *Gebrauchsmusik*, Brecht combined them with his own views on the opera. By working closely with composers such as Weill, Eisler and Hindemith, Brecht fused his developments in *Epic Theatre* with opera to create ‘*Epic Opera*’. Brecht disliked the idea that theatre and opera were a form of escape for the audience, to which they went to forget about everyday life and to escape reality.

Art is Merchandise, only to be manufactured by the means of production (apparati). An opera can only be written for the opera. ... Even if one wanted to start discussion of the opera as such (i.e., of its function), an opera would have to be written. Our existing opera is culinary opera. It was a means of pleasure long before it turned into merchandise. It furthers pleasure even where it requires, or promotes, a certain degree of education, for the education in question is education of taste. To every object it adopts a hedonistic approach. It ‘experiences’, and it ranks as an ‘experience’.¹⁷³

Brecht rejected the culinary [dramatic] nature that theatre and opera had adopted for the past centuries: the audience was not required to think during its presentation, but rather to enjoy the escape that it offered. His rejections of the dramatic theatre lead to his development of *Epic Theatre* and opera; changing the nature of the materials presented forced the audience to think critically about the materials presented. The contrast of Brecht’s *Epic Theatre* to that of dramatic can be seen in the table that he created in his writing “The Modern Theatre is the Epic Theatre: Opera- with Innovations!” reproduced in Table 10. Here Brecht provides an outline of the key differences between core elements upon which each type of drama is based. These include both those that are important to the work itself, as well as how the audience was expected to react to the drama and process the information that was presented to them. In the table of Brecht’s

¹⁷³ Brecht, “The Modern Theatre is the Epic Theatre: Opera- With Innovations!” in *Brecht on Theatre: the Development of an Aesthetic*, 35.

comparison, the italicized sections show the elements that pertain to the role of the audience in each type of theatre.¹⁷⁴

Table 10: Bertolt Brecht's comparison of core elements of dramatic and *Epic Theatre*¹⁷⁵

Dramatic Theatre	Epic Theatre
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Plot • <i>Implicates the spectator in a staged situation</i> • <i>Wears down his capacity for action</i> • <i>Provides him with sensations</i> • Experience • <i>The spectator is involved in something</i> • Suggestion • Instinctive feelings are preserved • <i>The spectator is in the thick of it, shares the experience</i> • The human being is taken for granted • He is unalterable • Eyes on the finish • One scene makes another • Growth • Linear development • Evolutionary determinism • Man as a fixed point • Thought determines being, feeling 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Narrative • <i>Turns the spectator into an observer, but</i> • <i>Arouses his capacity for action</i> • <i>Forces him to take decisions</i> • Picture of the world • <i>He is made to face something</i> • Argument • Brought to the point of recognition • <i>The spectator stands outside, studies [the experience]</i> • The human being is the object of the inquiry • He is alterable and able to alter • Eyes on the course • Each scene for itself • Montage • In curves • Jumps • Man as process • Social being determines thought, reason

When the libretto of *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* is examined with these criteria, we find that the opera exhibits characteristics of *Epic Theatre*. Kien and Ullmann's work focuses on the narrative of the opera; the catalyst is presented in Scene One when Tod breaks his sword, Scene Two and Three are the development of changes, and finally

¹⁷⁴ The italics here are my own.

¹⁷⁵ This is a replication of Brecht's chart as it appears in the text of Bertolt Brecht, "The Modern Theatre is the Epic Theatre: Opera- With Innovations!" in *Brecht on Theatre*, 37.

Scene Four is the resolution. As the opera develops in this way, other elements of *Epic Theatre* can be present. Each of the scenes is detached from the other – details connect the scenes together, but they can stand by alone and are not dependent on the previous to be understood. With the focus of each scene being on different aspects of the repercussions of Tod's choice, Kien and Ullmann could focus on different real world representations. This can be seen in Scene Three where death and destruction surrounds the world, yet there is still the capacity for love and happiness to be present. The real world links are woven throughout the drama; there are references to Theresienstadt, Nazism and the Austro-Hungarian Empire in each of the scenes. The characters in the opera are changeable; they are not fixed to their convictions, as is best shown in Scene Four when Kaiser Overall takes Tod's offer of sacrificing himself for humanity. For the involvement of the audience *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* arouses their capacity for action. They are meant to react to the events that are taking place on stage, and to understand that what they are watching is a reflection of their circumstances – they are made to face the repercussions of inaction and acceptance.

When Brecht began fusing his ideals of *Epic Theatre* to opera, another level of complexity that is not present in the world of theater emerged – the relationship of the music and the libretto. Wagner's *Gesamkunstwerk* had previously amalgamated together music, text, and setting in opera; however, twentieth-century composers had begun to turn away from this style of opera. Brecht added to his chart comparison of dramatic and *Epic Theater* to include the role of music, proposing five differences between them (see Table 11). The changed function of music within *Epic Opera* allows it to have its own character within the work; it does not need to support the views, feelings, or character

expressed in the libretto. Brecht's writings on the *Epic Theatre* transferring into the world of opera began after his collaboration with Weill for the opera *Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny* (The Rise and Fall of City Mahagonny) in 1930.

Table 11: Brecht's comparison of music in Dramatic and *Epic Opera*¹⁷⁶

Dramatic Opera	Epic Opera
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The music dishes up • Music which heightens the text • Music which proclaims the text • Music which illustrates • Music which paints the psychological situation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The music communicates • Music which sets forth the text • Music which takes the text for granted • Which takes up a position • Which gives the attitude

Epic Opera would find its fullest development in Brecht and Weill's collaboration on a modern adaptation of John Gay's *Beggar's Opera* (1728), known as *Dreigroschenoper* (1928). The adaptation of Gay's work contained the structural bones of the original – particularly the commentary on society at the time – with the characters and their place within society reflecting the new Republics. *Dreigroschenoper* was an instant hit and Europe was gripped with what was termed “Dreigroschen fever,” with approximately 400 performances taking place across the continent between 1928 and 1930.¹⁷⁷ Brecht's developments in theater were ever-changing, the evolution of which can be seen with each new collaboration with various composers (see Appendix 8).

When it comes to viewing the music characteristics of *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*, we can again make connections to the features of *Epic Opera*. The music communicates the views that are expressed within the text; it does not always serve to heighten the emotional context of the text. With the use of quotations in the opera, the text is set forth

¹⁷⁶ This is a replication of the table as it appears in Bertolt Brecht, “The Modern Theatre is the Epic Theatre: Opera- With Innovations!” In *Brecht on Theatre: the Development of an Aesthetic*, 38.

¹⁷⁷ Stephen Hinton, “Dreigroschenoper.” In *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online* http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.ezproxy.library.uvic.ca/subscriber/article/grove/music/O006155?q=threepenny+opera&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit (Accessed August 29, 2012).

to create additional underlying meaning. In the same regard the use of quotations also serves to take the text for granted, as the ingrained meaning and use of the original music must also be considered. The feelings and emotions that are instilled in the familiar tunes become questioned and skewed with the unfamiliar text and changed harmonies of the music. This estrangement of sentiments evoked by the juxtaposition of text and music can be seen in the quotation of the lullaby “Schlaf, Kindlein, schlaf” in Scene Four. In this excerpt the music continues to employ the sense of safety, security and peace; however the text represents fear, insecurity, and rebellion. Throughout *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* the music is able to voice sentiments that are not stated by the text.

Brecht’s *Epic Theatre* is not the only theory that can be seen in *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*. For Brecht, the audience was no longer a mindless, unthinking body that took in events on the stage without objection. They became thinking bodies that objectively sought to judge and reason with what was being presented to them. The “fourth wall” of the stage was removed, bringing the audience into the drama instead of being merely spectators. Brecht required the actors to separate themselves from their characters rather than fully embodying them, which helped keep the audience from completely identifying with the character.¹⁷⁸ This de-familiarization of characters and events became known as his *Verfremdungseffekt*, often translated as “Alienation Effect.”¹⁷⁹ The implementation of *V-Effekt* onstage allows the audience to become critically engaged with materials and ideals which are presented on stage. It creates lines of thought such as: ‘I wouldn’t have thought of that’; ‘people shouldn’t do things like that’; ‘that’s extremely odd, almost unbelievable’; ‘this has to stop’; ‘This person’s suffering shocks me, because there might

¹⁷⁸ Bertolt Brecht, “Theatre for Learning”, in *Brecht Sourcebook*, ed. Henry Bail, Carol Martin, trans. Edith Anderson (London: Routledge, 2000),24-26.

¹⁷⁹ From this point on I will use the abbreviation *V-effekt* for *Verfremdungseffekt*.

be a way out for him'; 'I laugh over the weeping, I weep over the laughing'.¹⁸⁰ Actors were not the only vessels in which the *V-Effekt* could be implemented within the work; music also became an effective tool for creating distance with the audience. With the theory of *V-Effekt* implemented and combined with those of *Epic Theatre* and *Epic Opera*, the function of entertainment in the interwar period changed – particularly in regards to the social and political instability of 1930s.

The use of *V-effekt* and *Epic Theatre* is found throughout the setting of the opera. Beginning with the opening “Prolog” where the background information for the opera and the characters are announced, the audience is already distanced from allowing themselves to being spectators. This is achieved by the Lautsprecher initially stating that the audience will be hearing “eine Art Oper in vier Bilden” (a kind of opera in four scenes) and concluding the “Prolog” with “Wir beginnen” (We start) *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* was not meant to be a distraction from reality and a means to forget the outside world, but rather, the audience was to grapple with and understand the deeper implications of the drama.

As mentioned above in connection with *Neue Sachlichkeit* at the end of the “Prolog”, we hear that Death and Harlekin are “sitting in the wings watching the world go by”. Being on stage, the world that they would have been facing is that of the audience – they are the “living dead” that Tod and Harlekin are watching go by. The audience is also reminded that they are watching a drama at the end of Tod and Harlekin’s recitatives before the “Arie des Todes”, with Tod’s comment:

¹⁸⁰ Brecht, “Theatre for Learning,” in *Brecht Sourcebook*, 26.

Es lächert mich, wenn ich du zuhöre. Du bist kaum dreihundert Jahre alt, und ich mache dieses Theater mit, seit die Welt steht. Jetzt bin ich alt und kann nicht mehr mit.¹⁸¹

Tod's statement creates a disassociation from the characters, which keeps the audience from empathizing with them – allowing the observers to keep an open mind. In the opera, the audience must reason out why Ullmann and Kien have chosen to portray these characters as old and frail, instead of their typical characteristics of being youthful for Harlekin and strong and assured for Tod.

V-effect is utilized to great effect at the end of the opera, when the idealized “happy ending” and resolution to an F major chord is shattered by the entry of the drum roll at a *forte* dynamic. This drum roll illustrates that the romanticized ending of the opera is only an idealistic thought and is not practical in the real world. Just because the main instigator of the war is gone, life does not automatically go back to the way things were – in reality it will never be the same. This last sounding of the drum in the opera brings the audience back to reality, shattering the dream of peace created in the final moments of the opera. It posits the question, though the war may be over, how long would it be before the next call to war is sounded by the drums?

Brecht's theories on theater and the opera had a profound effect on all areas of drama in the interwar period, and can be seen throughout Ullmann and Kien's collaboration in *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*. The implementation of Brecht's theories in Ullmann's work provides another level of understanding for the compositional and textual choices made in their work. In the opera, Kien and Ullmann leave the opposing forces as faceless enemies; nowhere throughout the work are the forces specifically

¹⁸¹ “It makes me laugh, when I listen to you. You are scarcely three hundred years old, and I have been part of this theater, since the world began. Now I am old and can no longer go on.” Ullmann, *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*: vocal score, 30 [my translation].

labeled, that is for the audience to decide. Throughout the opera the references of Hitler and the Austro-Hungarian Emperors are so closely intertwined, they represent different sides of the same coin.¹⁸² This is best amplified with the quotation of Haydn's "Kaiserhymne", which holds strong symbolizes for both the Nazi forces and the former The rulers of both administrations were responsible for leading their country into wars of great destruction and global involvement. There are ambiguous references throughout the opera where the war being referred to could be either World War I or World War II. In Scene One where Tod is described as wearing an old Austro-Hungarian imperial uniform, there is the implication that the war being waged could be that of World War I. In Tod's Act One Aria "Das waren Krieg," in the da capo A section with the comment *motorisierten Kohorten* (motorized cohorts), represents the new technological advancements to produce mass death that was part of both World Wars. .

Throughout the opera, there are moments when the inmates of Theresienstadt and their circumstances are being alluded to: they are the living who have forgotten how to laugh and the dying who cannot die that Harlekin and Tod watch as the opera commences. Just as Brecht used opera as a form of resistance against the impending rise of National Socialism and the end of the new Republics, we find that *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* is also a clear representation of resistance against the treatment and conditions in occupied Germany. The displacement of the Jews and other minorities in Europe should not be accepted, and giving in to defeat and acceptance of their circumstances was in its own way a type of death. Between the lines of the text in *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* we can see that both Ullmann and Kien were communicating to the audience that there were still

¹⁸² The coin here is Kaiser Overall.

some things that could not be taken away from them, and it is only through perseverance that they could overcome the darkness that surrounds them.

Ullmann was a composer who was actively immersed in the developing world of music within the interwar period. His role in the production of concerts for the *Verein für musikalische Privataufführungen* and his position at the various opera houses place him as a composer of the interwar period. Theresienstadt allowed Ullmann to focus on music as a form of personal resistance, creating his most productive compositional period. However, this time period does not define Ullmann's artistic style, which developed and matured during the interwar period. *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* is a work defined by the situations of Theresienstadt and the politics of World War II. Nonetheless it is within the context of opera and theater from the interwar period that we can begin to understand the skilful ways in which this material is represented within Ullmann's work. Examining the framework of the *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* within the *Zeitoper* and *Epic Theater* reveals that there is more behind the context of the work, which moves it beyond the walls of Theresienstadt. It is easy to limit the examination of representation in Ullmann's opera to the events and times surrounding the work, including the association of the character Kaiser Overall to Hitler. As shown in Chapters Two and Three, this connection is valid, but there is more commentary that broadens it to also include the Emperors of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Within the opera the significance here is that both representations are valid; they are two sides of the same coin of Kaiser Overall. There are idyllic memories of how the period of the Austro-Hungarian Empire was so much better, but it must be remembered that it was one of the instigators during World War I.

Since the restoration of the piece for performance in 1975, the opera has found a regular performance life within the operatic world, particularly in Europe.¹⁸³ It is easy to reason that a large part of *Der Kaiser von Atlantis's* popularity can be linked to the circumstances in which the opera was composed. However, the intricate nature of the opera is another substantial link to the opera's popularity. The underlying complexity of representation makes this opera remarkable to watch and listen to repeatedly. In today's society the desire to limit the contents of the opera to the situation within Theresienstadt clouds our understanding of the opera. It is through the eyes of the intellectual currents of the interwar period that the multitude of representations in the opera is revealed. *Der Kaiser von Atlantis* is a continuation of the genre of opera from the interwar era, and its materials question and brings to light the consequences of choosing to turn a blind eye.¹⁸⁴ The elements of Brecht's theories partnered with the elements of *Zeitoper* create a point of understanding for the mastery of defiance and irony that is *Der Kaiser von Atlantis*.

¹⁸³ A full list of performances of the 1992 edition is found in Appendix 5.

¹⁸⁴ The reference here to turning a blind eye is not limited to inmates of Theresienstadt, but rather to those who saw what was happening yet chose not to interfere.

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Chronological List of Viktor Ullmann's first period works, 1918-1929

Opus	Title	Genre	Instrumentation	Composition date/location	Premiere	Publication	Dedication and status	Notes
	Drei Männerchöre a cappella	Vocal Music		1919			Lost	
	Lieder mit Orchester	Vocal Music		1921			Lost	
	Abendlied für Chor	Vocal Music	solī, Choir, orchestra	1922			Lost	
	Musik zu einem Märchenspiel	Stage		1922	Prague 1922		Lost	
	Sieben Lieder mit Klavier	Vocal Music	Soprano	1923	Prague 1923		Lost	
1	1. Streichquartett	Instrumental		1923	Prague 1923		Lost	
	Sieben Lieder mit Kammerorchester	Vocal Music	Soprano	1924	Prague 1924		Lost	
	Symphonische Phantasie	Instrumental	Tenor	1924	Prague 1925		Lost	
	Bühnenmusik zu "Der Keidekreis"	Stage		1924	Prague 1925		Lost	
2	Oktett(ino)	Instrumental	Oboe, Klarinette, Fagott, Horn, Violine, Viola, Cello, Klavier	1924	Prague 1926		Lost	

	Variationen (21) und Doppelfuge über ein kleines Klavierstück von Schönberg	Instrumental	Klavier	1925	Prague 1926		Lost	Schönberg's op. 19,4 is the source for the theme
	Trio für Holzbläser	Instrumental		1926			Lost	
4	Kozert für Orchestra	Instrumental		1928	Prague 1929		Lost	
	Variationen (5) und Doppelfuge	Klavier		1929	Prague 1929		Copy preserved	Rework of the 1925 Variationen und Doppelfuge
5	Sieben kleine Serenaden für Gesang und 12 Instrumente	Vocal Music	Soprano, und 12 Instruments	1929	Frankfurt 1931		Lost	
6	Peer Gynt	Oper		1927-1929, 1938			Lost	

Appendix 2: Chronological list of Viktor Ullmann's middle period works: 1933-1942

Opus	Title	Genre	Instrumentation	Composition date/location	Premiere	Publication	Dedication and status	Notes
3a	Variationen (9) und Doppelfuge	Instrumental	Piano	Prague 1933/34	Prague 1940	Self Published 1939	Dedicated to Dr. Josef Polnauer	
3b	Variationen, Phantasie and Doppelfuge	Instrumental	Orchestra	Prague 1933/34	Prague 1938	Prague 1939	remains as orchestra parts	Hertzka-Prize 1934
7	2. Striechquartett	Instrumental	string Quartet	Prague 1935	Prague 1936		Lost, dedicated to Annie Ullmann	Musikfest der IGNM London 1938
8	Sieben Elegien	Vocal	Soprano and Orchestra	Prague 1935	Prague 1936		Lost, dedicated to Albert Steffen	
9	Der Sturz des Antichrist	Opera		Prague 1935	Bielefeld 1995			Hertzka-Prize 1936
10	1. Klaviersonate	Instrumental	Piano	Prague 1936	Prague 1939	Self Published 1936	Dedicated to Franz Langer	Musikfest der IGNM New York 1941
11	Chinesische Melodramen	Vocal		Prague 1936	Prague 1936		Lost	
12	Huttens letzte Tage	Vocal	Tenor, Baritone, Orchestra	Prague 1936/37			Lost	
13	Missa symphonica	Vocal	Choir, Solo, Orchestra, and Organ	Prague 1936			Lost	also under the title "zu Ehren des Erzengels Michael"

14	Drei Chöre a cappella	Vocal		Prague 1936			Lost	also under the title "Rosenkreuzer-Kantate"
15	Oster-Kantate	Vocal	small mixed choir, 6 instruments	Prague 1936			Lost	
16	Sonate für Viertelton-Klarinette und Viertelton-Klavier	Instrumental		Prague 1936	Prague 1937		Klarinette part remains	
17	Sechs Lieder	Vocal	Soprano and piano	Prague 1936/37	Prague 1937	Self Published	dedication: Annie Ullmann	Re-premiered, 1994 in Utrecht
18	Lieder	Vocal		Prague 1937			Lost	also under the title "Liederzyklus II"
19	2. Klaviersonate	Instrumental		Prague 1938/39	Prague 1940	Self Published	Dedicated to Dr. Hans Büchenbacher	
3c	Variationen und Doppelfuge	Instrumental	string Quartet	Prague 1939	Stuttgard 1998		dedicated to the Kolisch-Quartet	Remains as a photocopy of the autograph copy
20	Geistliche Lieder	Vocal	high voice and piano	Prague 1939/40	Prague 1940	Self Published	Dedications: 1. Martha Ullmann, 2. Malwine Ullmann, 3. Karel Pokorný, Nell Urbach, 5. Max Ullmann, 6. none	
21	Lieder	Vocal		Prague 1929/39			Lost	
22	Kinderlieder	Vocal		1939/40			Lost	
23	Der Gott und die Bajadere	Vocal	Baritone and Piano	Prague 1940	Prague 1940		Lost	
24	Slawische Rhapsodie	Instrumental	Orchestra and Obligatory Saxophone	Prague 1939/40		Self Published	Dedicated to Sigued Rascher	

Appendix 3: Chronological list of Ullmann's last (Theresienstadt) period works: September 1942-1944

Opus	Title	Genre	Instrumentation	Composition date/location	Premiere	Publication	Dedication and status	Notes
	Drei Lieder für Bariton	Vocal	Baritone and Piano	Theresienstadt 1942	1943		Dedicated to Malwine Ullmann	Recomposition of op. 37 which was lost
46	3. Streichquartett	Instrumental		Theresienstadt 1943			Dedicated to Prof. Emil Utitz	
	Herbst	Vocal	Soprano and String trio	Theresienstadt 1943				
	Lieder der Tröstung	Vocal	deep voice and string trio	Theresienstadt 1943				2 Lieder
	Zehn jiddische und Herbräishe Chöre	Vocal	Women and mens choir, mixed choir	Theresienstadt 1943				
	Wendla im Garten	Vocal	Soprano and Piano	Theresienstadt 1943			Dedicated to Friedel Dicker	2 acts, 6 scenes
45	5. Klaviersonate	Instrumental		Theresienstadt 1943			Dedicated to Elisabeth Ullmann	
	Hölderlin-Lieder	Vocal	Soprano and Piano	Theresienstadt 1943/44				2 Lieder
	Immer inmitten	Vocal	Mezzo Soprano and Piano	Theresienstadt 1943	1943			2 Lieder
49	6. Klaviersonate	Instrumental		Theresienstadt 1943	1943		Dedicated to Julius Grünberger	Has the same opus no. as <i>Der Kaiser von Atlantis</i>
47	Der Mensch und sein Tag	Vocal	Baritone and Piano	Theresienstadt 1943			Dedicated to H.G. Alder	
	Chansons des enfants francaises	Vocal	Soprano and Piano	Theresienstadt 1943			Dedicated to Elisabeth Ullmann	also called "Little Cakewalk"

	Drei chinesische Lieder	Vocal	Alto and Piano	Theresienstadt 1943				2 Lieder
49B	Der Kaiser von Atlantis oder Die Tod- Verweigerung	Opera		Theresienstadt 1943/44	Amsterdam 1975			Remains in Manuscript copy
	Don Quixote Ouvertüre	Instrumental	Piano	Theresienstadt 1943	Luzern 1995		Partial	
	Der 30. Mai 1431	Opera Libretto		Theresienstadt 1944			Composition begun but never completed	Opera in 2 acts, 6 scenes
53	Drei jiddische Lieder	Vocal	Soprano and Piano	Theresienstadt 1944				
	Die Weise von Liebe und Tod des Cornets Christoph Rilke	Staged	Speaker, Piano or Orchestra	Theresienstadt 1944	1944		Dedicated to Elisabeth Ullmann	Re-constructed and performed in Prague 1995
	7. Klaviersonate	Instrumental		Theresienstadt 1944			Dedicated to his children: Max, Johannes, Felicia	
	Abendphantasie	Vocal	Soprano and Piano	Theresienstadt 1944				
54	Kadenzen zu Beethovens Klavierkonzerten 1 und 3	Instrumental		Theresienstadt 1944				
	Drei hebräische Knaben- Chöre	Vocal		Theresienstadt 1944				

Appendix 4: Letter by Viktor Ullmann addressed to Otto Zucker in March 1943

Sehr verehrter Herr Ingenieur! Verzeihen Sie, wenn ich einmal in eigener Sache nicht so sehr das Wort, als die Feder ergeife- ich glaube zugleich auch für die allgemeine Sache zu sprechen. Wir Künstler hören soviel von jüdischer Kultur, daß wir erwartet haben, daß die in Ghetto geschaffenen Werke ihr Bestimmung zugeführt werden. Ich lebe seit 9 Monaten im Ghetto und habe hier geschrieben: Musik zu Aeschylus' ›Prometheus‹, Musik zu ›Francois Villion‹, Steitchquartett Nr. III, 3 Lieder mit Klavier, ›Lieder der Tröstung‹ (mit Steichtrio), 10 jiddische und hebräische Chöre. In Arbeit habe ich Streichquatett Nr. IV und eine Sonatta für Clarinette u. Klavier. Von diesen Werken ist noch kein Ton im Ghetto erklingen.

Kürzlich kam die – gedruckte – Partitur meines Klavier-Konzertes. Die Künstlerin, die sich das Werk verschafft hatte, wollte freudig mit dem Studium beginnen – ich selbst sollte auf einem 2. Klavier den Orchesterpart spielen. Eben höre ich, daß man die Künstlerin nötigt, an Stelle der Uraufführung meines Klavierkonzertes – Mozart zu spoelen. So behält der ironische Vorwurf eines arischen Blattes freilich Recht: daß es Musik der Juden nicht gäbe oder daß wir sie mindestens nicht aufführen. Ich ziehe die Bilanz unserer Konzerte: ein Satz für Streichquartett von Herrn Krása, eine kleine Fuge von Gideon Klein, eine Klaviersuite von Hass und eine Gelegenheitsarbeit von Schul – das ist ungefähr Alles, was Theresienstädter Autoren – Musiker – bisher von sich haben hören lassen. Der Weg meiner Werke nach Genf, London, New York u.s.w. war kürzer als der von der Genie – in die Magdeburger Kaserne.

Darf ich noch bemerken, verehrter Herr Ingenieur, daß ich auch in Bezug auf meine Vertragstätigkeit auf das private Interesse – meist jugendlicher – Hörer angewiesen bin, die von mir Voträge wünschen. Ich habe wiederholt Vortragsthemen angeboten, bin aber bisher nur dreimal im kleinsten Rahmen – in der Genie-Kaserne – zu Worte gekommen: Ich sprach über ›Mahler und Schönberg‹ (zwei jüdische Meister), über die ›Entwicklung der Oper‹ und ›Musiker des XX. Jahrhunderts‹. Weder wurden diese voträge – trotz des großen Interesses und der Zustimmung – wiederholt, noch wurde ich zu neuen eingeladen. Man tötet unseren Aktivismus durch – Totschweigen.

Ich Bleibe in Verhrung Ihr ergebener Viktor Ullmann.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁵ Ingo Schultz, *Viktor Ullmann: Leben und Werk*, 201.

Appendix 5: Performance History of Schott's 1992 Performance Score Edition of Viktor Ullmann's *The Emperor of Atlantis*¹⁸⁶

Date	Theatre/Company	City, Country
April 22nd, 1992	Saarländisches Staatstheater	Saabrücken, Germany
October 19th-21st, 1995	Anne Mason Macbobert Arts Centre	Stirling, United Kingdom
June 5th-8th, 1997	Guildhall School of Music	London, United Kingdom
September 6th, 2001	M von Pagee North Melbourne Arts House	Melbourne, Australia
June 17th, 2002	Hallé Orchestra Imperial War Museum North	Manchester, United Kingdom
September 19th-21, 2002	Opera Theatre Company Kilmainham Gaol	Dublin, Ireland
March 15th-22nd, 2003	Opera Up Close St. Andrew's Church	London, United Kingdom
February 6, 10, 12 14th, 2004	Jonas Alber Staatstheater, Kleines Haus	Braunschweig, Germany
March 23rd, 2004	Krystian Bellière Wigmore Hall	London, United Kingdom
June 9th-22nd, 2004	Olivier Dejours Théâte de la manufacture	Nancy, France
June 24th, 26th, 2004	Cincinnati Opera's 2004 Summer Festival, PatrickSummers Music Hall	Cincinnati, OH, USA
June 27, 30; July 2, 4, 7,10, 11, 2004	Johannes Debus/Hogen Yun Bockenheimer Depot	Frankfurt/Main, Germany
July 8, 10, 11, 15, 16 2004	Festival dei Due Mondi 2004, James Conlon Teatro Ciao Melisso	Spoletto, Italy
July 14th, 2004	Royal Opera House	London, United Kingdom
September 5, 7, 8, 10, 12, 16, 2004	Lucerne Festival 2004, John Axelrod Schwimmdock der SGV	Luzern, Switzerland
October 22,-24th, 2004	Le IIIe Reich et la musique, Olivier Dejours Cité de la Musique, Salle des concerts	Paris, France
November 27, 29; December 1, 7, 9, 11, 2004	Marko Gaspersic Slovenian national Theater	Ljubljana, Slovenia
December 3, 10, 17, 21, 26, 2004	Christian Günther Concordia	Bremen, Germany
February, 18, 20; March 1, 4, 9; April 12; May 3,	Harald Siegel Theater	Biel, Switzerland

¹⁸⁶ Schott Music Online, "Viktor Ullmann: Der Kaiser von Atlantis." Schott Music Online http://www.schott-music.com/shop/hire_material/1000163/1/show,156526,s.html?showOldPerformances=true#top (Accessed November 13, 2013).

13, 29 2005		
February 25th; March 30th; April 14, 23; May 7, 2005	Harald Siegel Stadttheater	Solothurn, Switzerland
March 3rd, 2005	Indiana University School of Music	Bloomngton, IN, USA
March 12th, 2005	Harald Siegel Kurtheater	Baden Switzerland
April 16, 17, 2005	Harald Siegel Theater	Winterthur Switzerland
May 8th, 2005	Tomás Hanus Church	Terezin, Czech Republic
June 30th, 2005	Ravinia Festival 2005, James Conlon temple Sholom	Chicago, IL, USA
November 5-6, 2005		Flagstaff, AZ, USA
Novemeber 12th, 2005	Christian Fröhlich Hochschule für Musik	Berlin, Germany
November 28th, 2005	Christian Fröhlich Roxy	Praha, Czech Republic
January 10, 11, 2006	Graziella Contratto Espace Malraux	Chambéry, France
January 13th, 2006	Graziella Contratto Bonlieu Scèce nationale	Annecy, France
January 17th, 2006	Graziella Contratto Théâtre	Villefranche-sur-Sâone, France
January 20th, 2006	Graziella Contratto Maison des Arts	Thonon-les-Bains, France
January 26-27, 2006	Graziella Contratto Théâtre de la Renaissance	Oullins, France
February 16th, 2006	Graziella Contratto La Rampe	Echirolles, France
May 5-7 th, 2006	Yaacov Bergman Columbia City Theater	Seattle, WA, USA
May 6, 9, 11, 26; June 30; Novemeber 10; December 15, 29, 2006; January 17th, 2007	Marco Comin e-werk	Weimar, Germany
August 4-6th, 2006	Guillermo Brizzio Teatro Colón	Buenoa Aires, Argentine
October 14th, 2006	Portland Chamber orchestra Kaul Auditorim	Portland, OR, USA
November 2nd, 2006	James Conlon Temple Beth Isreal	Houston, TX, USA
November 11, 12, 2006	Dirk Ströter Kreuzkirche	Derendorf-Düsseldorf, Germany
February 15, 17, 18, 2007	Alexander Stessin Wartburg	Wiesbaden, Germany
March 7, 10th 2007	Recovered Voices James Conlon Dorothy Chandler Pavilion	Los Angeles, CA, USA
April 13, 16, 18, 23, 25, 28; May 2, 5, 7, 12, 2007	Arne Willimczik Theater am Haidplatz	Regensburg, Germany
April 29; May 3, 13, 15, 24, 26, 27, 2007	Peter maiser Städtische Bühnen, Kleines Haus	Münster, Germany

May 10, 11, 23, 24 2007	Christian Fröhlich Konzerhaus	Berlin, Germany
June 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 2007	Iakovos Konitopoulos Greek National Opera	Athens, Greece
June 6th, 2007	Hans-Christian hauser Gasteig	München, Germany
June 30th, 2007	James Conlon KUSC radio broadcast & internet streaming	USA
September 12; November 1-3, 2007	Budapest Festival Orchestra	Budapest, Hungary
November 15, 17, 2007	Daniel Grossmann Jüdisches Kulturzentrum	München, Germany
January 25, 26, 2008	Jordan Rodu OperaHub	Cambridge, MA, USA
April 4, 5, 11, 13, 20, 2007	Christopher Ward Schauspielhaus	Kassel, Germany
May 6, 7, 2008	Olivier Dejours Grand Théâtre	Luxembourg, Luxembourg
May 20, 21, 2008	Olivier Dejours Théâtre	Caen, France
May, 23, 29, 31; June 6, 2008	Christian Fröhlich Konzerhaus	Berlin, Germany
June 19-22, 2008	Iakovos Konitopoulos Pireos 199 Hall	Athens, Greece
September 12, 13, 2008	Convento dos Capuchos	Almada, Portugal
November 8, 9, 2008	Elisabeth Fuchs Festsaal der Rudolf Steiner Schule	Salzburg, Austria
November 20th, 21, 2008	Pabellón Euskaltebista	Bilbao, Spain
November 30th, 2008	Conservatorio de Música Jesús Guridi	Vitoria, Spain
February 1, 4, 7, 9, 11, 2009	Charles Barber Norman Rothstein Theatre	Vancouver, BC, Canada
February 7, 8, 2009	Centro Cultural de Belém	Lisboa, Portugal
February 13, 14, 17, 18, 19, 20, 2009	Judith Kubitz Stadttheater	Fürth, Germany
April 17, 19, 20, 2009	Tomasz Tokerczyk Opera	Kraków Poland
May 8, 17, 2009	Andreas Mitisek Queen Mary, Ship Hull	Long Beach, CA, USA
June 12, 14, 2009	St. Catherine of Siena Church	Riverside, CT, USA
June 12th, 2009	Kai Bumann Chamber Theatre International Opera Festival Miskolc 2009	Miskolc, Hungary
October 2, 30, 31, 2009	Christian Fröhlich Konzerthaus, Werner-Otto-Saal	Berlin, Germany
November 29; December 1, 3, 4, 7, 9, 2009	Bruno Merse Opera stabile	Hamburg Germanay
January 8, 9, 10, 2010	Amaury du Closel Théâtre Dejazet	Paris, France

January 17; February 6, 14; March 17, 28; April 11, 2010	Toshiaki Murakami Ballhof eins	Hannover, Germany
February 18, 23,25; March 4, 6, 10, 14, 22; April 16, 2010	Ingo Ingensand Kammerspiele	Linz, Austria
April 16, 17, 18, 2010	David Ripley Bratton Recital Hall	Durham, NH, USA
April, 28; May 14, 18, 22, 2010	Peter Meiser Städtische Bühnen, Klienes Haus	Münster, Germany
April 30; May 1, 2, 2010	Stretansky Concert Hall	Selinsgrove, PA, USA
July 19th, 2010	Dalia Stasevska Kontio School Kuhmo Chamber Music Festival 2010	Kuhmo, Finland
August 1st, 2010	Peter Tregear Iopera	VIC, Australia
September 4, 7, 13, 14, 15, 22; October 5, 21; November 6, 13, 20; December 1, 7, 2010	Karl Prokopetz Staatstheater, Kleines Haus	Oldenburg, Germany
February 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 2011	Steven Lipsitt Calderwood Pavilion	Boston, MA, USA
March, 10th, 2011	Amaury du Closel Arnold Schönberg Center	Wien, Austria
April 5, 6, 8, 9, 2011	Brian McMahon The Cello Factory	Waterloo, London, United Kingdom
April, 30th, 2011	Tapia Theatre	San Juan, PR, USA
June 3rd, 2011	Tomáš Netopil Rudolfinum	Praha, Czech Republic
August 17, 18, 2011	Brian McMahon The Arcola Theatre	London, United Kingdom
October 3rd, 2011	University of Texas Butler Opera Center	Austin, TX, USA
October 10th, 2011	Tomasz Tokarczyk Teatr Narodowy	Szeged, Hungary
January 20, 21, 22, 2012	James Conlon Zipper Hall, The Colburn School	Los Angeles, CA, USA
January 27th, 2012	Amaury du Closel Cité de la musique et de la danse, Festival Voix Etouffées, 2012	Strasbourg, France
January 29th, 2012	Amaury du Closel Auditorium Antonin Artaud, Festival Voix Etouffées 2012	Ivry sur Seine, France
February 6, 8, 10, 2012	Kai Bumann Warszawska Opera Kamernina Festival of chamber operas from the 20th and 21st centuries	Warszawa, Poland
May 30; June, 1, 2, 2012	University of California San Diego Conrad Prebys Music Center	La Jolla, CA, USA
August 29, 30, 2012	Max Hoehn Arcola Theatre	London, United Kingdom

September 10th, 2012	Titus Engel Theaterhaus Musikfest Stuttgart 2012	T2-Stuttgart, Germany
October 5, 12, 2012	Peter Selwyn Linbury Studio Theatre, Royal opera House	London, United Kingdom
October 18th, 2012	Peter Selwyn West Road Concert Hall	Cambridge, United Kingdom
October 26th, 2012	Peter Selwyn Exeter Northcott	Exeter, United Kingdom
October 29th, 2012	Peter Selwyn Assembly Hall	Tunbridge Well, United Kingdom
November 3rd, 2012	Peter Selwyn Harrogate Theatre	Harrogate, United Kingdom
November 11th, 2012	Peter Selwyn Snape Maltings Concert Hall	Snape, United Kingdom
November 14th, 2012	Peter Selwyn Malvern Priory	Malvern, United Kingdom
November 16, 17, 18 2012	Ransom Wilson Bohemian National Hall	New York, NY, USA
November 16, 18 2012	Music of Remembrance, Ludovic Morlot Benaroya Hall	Seattle, WA, USA
November 17th, 2012	Peter Selwyn Buxton Opera House	Buxton, United Kingdom
November 26, 27, 28, 29, 2012	Jean-Michaël Lavoie La Comédie	Valence, France
January 26, 29, 31; February 2, 5, 7, 9 2013	Felix Krieger Staatsoper Im Schillertheater	Berlin, Germany
February 1, 2, 2013	Facundo Agudin Forum St. georges	Delémont, Switzerland
February 3rd, 2013	Facundo Agudin Union	Basel, Switzerland
February 12, 13, 14, 16, 17, 2013	Jean-Michaël Lavoie Théâtre de la Croix-Rousse	Lyon, France
March 8, 10, 2013	Tomasz Tokarczyk Opera	Kraków, Poland
March 17, 18, 19, 2013	Kai Baumann Opera Kameraina	Warszawa, Poland
April 7, 12, 13, 19, 2013	Dirk Erdelkamp Musiktheater im Revier	Gelsenkirchen, Germany
April 26th 2013	Detmolder Kammerorchester	Osnabrück, Germany
April 28th, 2013	Detmolder Kammerorchester	Stadtlohn, Germany
May 24, 25, 2013	Kammersymphonie Berlin	Berlin, Germany
October 9, 11, 2013	Festival Internacional Cervantino 2013, Juan Carlos Lomónaco Teatro Cervantes	Guanajuato, Mexico
October 10, 11, 12, 13, 2013	Curtis Institute of Music	Philadelphia, USA
October 12th, 2013	Ensemble Voix Etouffées	Blois, France
October 17th, 2013	Israel Chamber Orchestra	Wien, Austria
October 24th, 2013	Orquesta Sinfónica Reino de Aragón	Zaragoza, Spain
November 23, 24, 2013	Ensemble of New England Conservatory Center for the Arts at the Armory	Somerville, USA

November 30, December 2, 3, 2013	Rossen Gergov Maria	Wien, Austria
January 10th, 2014	Ars Nova Ensemble Instrumental	Nanterre, France
January 17, 18, 2014	Ars Nova Ensemble Instrumental	Reims, France
January, 24, 25, 28, 29, 30, 2014	Ars Nova Ensemble Instrumental	Paris, France
February 11th, 2014	Ars Nova Ensemble Instrumental	Niort, France
February 13th, 2014	Ars Nova Ensemble Instrumental	Poitiers, France
April 5th, 2014	Ars Nova Ensemble Instrumental	Massy, France
April 9th, 2014	Ars Nova Ensemble Instrumental	Saint Quentin, France

Appendix 6: Map of German Occupied Europe in 1944¹⁸⁷



¹⁸⁷ Used with permission from the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, "Maps: German Administration of Europe, 1944" in *Holocaust Encyclopedia* http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/media_nm.php?MediaId=346 (Accessed April 18, 2013).

Appendix 7: Full German and English Text of *Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott*

<p>Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott, ein gute Wehr und Waffen. Er hilft uns frei aus aller Not, die uns jetzt hat betroffen. Der alt böse Feind Mit Ernst er's jetzt meint; Groß macht uns viel List Sin grausam Rüstung ist, auf Erd ist nicht seingleichen.</p>	<p>A mighty fortress is our God, A bulwark never failing; Our helper he, amid the flood Of mortal ills prevailing. For still our ancient foe Does seek to work us woe; His craft and power are great, And armed with cruel hate, On earth is not his equal.</p>
<p>Mit unser Macht ist nichts getan, wir sind gar bald verloren; es streit' für uns der rechte Mann, den Gott hat selbst erkoren. Fragst du, we der ist? Er heißt Jesus Christ, der Herr Zebaoth, und ist kein andrer Gott, das Feld muss er behalten.</p>	<p>Did we in our own strength confide, Our striving would be losing, Were not the right Man on our side, The Man of God's own choosing. You ask who that may be? Christ Jesus, it is he; Lord Sabaoth his name, From age to age the same; And he must win the battle.</p>
<p>Und wenn die Welt voll Teufel wär Und wollt uns gar verschlügen, so fürchten wir uns nicht so sehr, es soll uns doch gelingen. Der Fürst dieser Welt, wie sau'r er sich stellt, tut er uns doch nicht; das macht, er ist gericht': ein Wörtlein kann ihn fällen.</p>	<p>And though this world, with devils filled, Should threaten to undo us, We will not fear, for God has willed His truth to triumph through us. The prince of darkness grim, We tremble not for him; his rage we can endure; for lo! His doom is sure; one little word shall fell him.</p>
<p>Das Wort sie sollen lassen stahn Und kein' Dank dazu haben; Er ist bei unns wohl auf dem Plan Mit seinem Geist und Gaben. Nehmen sie den Leib, Get, Ehr, Kind, und Weib: Lass fahren dahin, sie haben's kein' Gewinn, das Reich muss uns doch bleiben.</p>	<p>That Word above all earthly powers No thanks to them abideth; The Spirit and the gifts are ours Through him who with us sideth. Let's goods and kindred go, This mortal life also; The body they may kill: God's truth abideth still; His kingdom is forever!</p>

Appendix 8: Bertolt Brecht's Musical and Operatic Collaborations 1927-1942

Kurt Weill	<i>Mahagonny</i> , Songspiel (1927) <i>Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny</i> , opera (1927-9) <i>Die Dreigroschenoper</i> , opera (1928) <i>Das Berliner Requiem</i> , cantata (1928) <i>Der Lindberghflug</i> , radio cantata (1929) <i>Happy End</i> (1929) <i>Der Jasager</i> , school opera (1930) <i>Die Sieben Todsünden</i> , ballet chanté (1933)
Paul Hindemith	<i>Lehrstück</i> (1929) <i>Der Lindberghflug</i> , radio Cantata (1929)
Hans Eisler	<i>Die Massnahme</i> , didactic play (1930) <i>Die Mutter</i> , opera (1930-32) <i>Die Rundköpfe und die Spitzköpfe</i> (1934) <i>Deutsche Sinfonie</i> , cantata (1936-7) <i>Hangman also Die</i> , film (1942) <i>Furcht und Elend des Dritten Reiches</i> (1935-41) <i>Leben des Galilei</i> (1938-9)
Paul Dessau	<i>Mutter Courage und ihre Kinder</i> (1941) <i>Furcht und Elend des Dritten Reiches</i> (1935-41)