

## Chapter 15: Listening to Ethnographic Holocaust musical testimony through the 'Ears' of Jean-Luc Nancy

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What truly betrays music and diverts or perverts the movement of its modern history is the extent to which it is indexed to a mode of signification and not to a mode of sensibility (Jean-Luc Nancy)<sup>1</sup>

For the past seventeen years I have been researching music and memory in Jewish Holocaust survivors, discussing what part music plays in their lives. In this essay, I will use a critical approach based on listening to revisit the material of my original research, drawing on a model of listening proposed by the French philosopher, Jean-Luc Nancy.<sup>2</sup> According to Nancy, the habituated practices of listening in philosophy are not really acts of listening at all. They are acts of hearing for understanding. In this sense, we listen to understand. The default position in the activity of hearing, then, is to emphasise the meaning of what is said rather than to think about how listening in and of itself – which comes to us by way of the sonorous – has the potential to generate new ways of hearing. Bronwyn Davies goes further to suggest that what we usually think of as listening is hierarchically constituted: “we listen in order to fit what we hear into what we already know.”<sup>3</sup> The inference is that what we already know is superior to what we do not know yet.

I will suggest that Nancy's work, like that of Davies, posits a kind of non-hierarchical emergent listening. Whereas Davies is interested in how listeners emerge through the process of listening – both as listeners and as those who are listened to – Nancy's philosophical meditation ponders the relationship of sound to the human body. He argues that as a phenomenon of the human body, sound, more than vision, envelops and enters the body in ways that cannot be ignored. Because sound engulfs all of our being, it produces powerful effects long after its sounding ends, living on in the memory. I will suggest that this idea is demonstrated by my work on Holocaust-survivor testimonies: survivors recall the music from their time in camps and ghettos as if it is being heard for the first time. It resounds as a powerful memory in their lives in the present day.

Nancy's work is interested in how listening differs from hearing, and how listening differs from seeing. He questions whether it is possible to hear and understand at the same time. His meditation explores a deeper sense of what is entailed in listening, suggesting that it is a sensibility that is produced by the connections between our whole beings and the sounding phenomena resounding inside and outside our beings. Listening

might begin with what is already known but it also opens up the possibility of the unknown. Thinking about listening in this way prompted me to revisit my research, and to consider the musical testimonies I had collected it as sonorous material. It is with this mode of sensibility that I bring to bear on my work and in which I imagine the site of listening as an act of care within the scholarly space.

I will begin with a brief account of the normative modes of listening to the musical experience in the context of Holocaust studies. These dominant narratives have used music to serve as archival documentary, to garnish the historical narrative, and to perform the work of ‘reconstruction’ in order to ‘understand’ the ‘truth’ of experience. These are top-down modes of listening, which emphasise hearing as understanding, privileging the researcher rather than allowing the voices of the participants to be ‘heard’ and listened to as emergent with the voice of the researcher. I will then propose that Nancy’s mode of listening generates an emergent sonorous space in the re-reading of my earlier research. In so doing, I will demonstrate that when listening is conceived as emergent and resonant it becomes a mode of sensibility.

## **I Music in the Holocaust: the limits of signifying complicity and resistance**

In order to understand the normative modes of signification that music has been assigned in Holocaust testimony, I will begin by addressing the place of testimony itself. Individual survivor testimony did not receive public imprimatur until the 1961 trial of Adolf Eichmann. Deborah Lipstadt argues that one of most the significant historical developments of this trial was the first substantial inclusion of Holocaust survivor testimony.<sup>4</sup> After the conclusion of the Second World War and the completion of the Nuremberg Trials, almost an entire generation of individual voices of survivors were finally heard publicly in a juridical setting. Around the same time, the first literary testimonies to capture the imagination of the public emerged in English translation: Primo Levi’s *If this is A Man* and Elie Wiesel’s *Night*.<sup>5</sup> In their original forms neither works were successful,<sup>6</sup> and nor did they find publishers willing to distribute beyond a small run. The prominence, however, of the Eichmann trial initiated larger public awareness, translation, and eventually an enthusiastic reading audience. Together with Jean Amery and the poet Paul Celan, these writers test what Leigh Gilmore refers to as the limit of representation in which the “compulsory inflation of the self to stand for others” muddies notions of clarity between a singular and shared perspective.<sup>7</sup> In Levi’s narrative, the banality of the camp band playing the popular song *Rosamunde*<sup>8</sup> provides a momentary point of amusement on arrival in Auschwitz, before the writer returns to his relentlessly dispassionate description of the grey anti-life of camp existence.<sup>9</sup> In even pithier fashion, Wiesel describes the musical accompaniment for the workers in and out of Monowitz, a forced labour satellite camp of Auschwitz.<sup>10</sup> For each of these authors, music is a descriptive tool of narrative, rather than a testimony in its own right: a mockery of a beloved art-form, perverted by the Nazi death camp system.

Paul Celan is more condemnatory of the complicity of music in this place. In the *Todesfuge* of 1948, music plays a role darker than that of accompaniment:

He calls play sweeter for death; Death is a Master from Germany  
He calls stroke the violins darker then you will rise as smoke into the air  
Then you will have a grave in the clouds where one has room to stretch<sup>11</sup>

In reading this, one hears a stark resonance with what Elaine Martin refers to as the aporetic tension at the heart of the thought of Theodor Adorno: the obligation to represent the Holocaust, and the impossibility of adequate representation.<sup>12</sup> Here are Adorno's own words of that terrible musical moment:

If thought is not measured by the extremity that eludes the concept, it is from the outset in the nature of the musical accompaniment, with which the SS drowned out the screams of its victims.<sup>13</sup>

The despair of the poet is not just for the murderous tragedy of the Holocaust itself, but also for the retrospective implications it has on the meaning of German culture. Adorno pronounces “[w]ord hasn’t yet got around that culture, in the traditional sense of the word, is dead”,<sup>14</sup> finally to conclude that

Auschwitz has demonstrated irrefutably that culture has failed. That it could happen in the midst of the philosophical traditions, the arts and the enlightening sciences says more than just that these failed to take hold of and change the people. All culture after Auschwitz, including its urgent critique, is rubbish.<sup>15</sup>

At this aporetic moment Adorno has nowhere to turn. The cultural past has failed miserably; he has already rejected popular forms with contempt, taking Siegfried Kracauer’s notion of the distraction industry to its end limit. For the philosopher, an aesthetic of irreconcilability was the only tenable solution. Only art that had the inbuilt potential to fail to reconcile the particular and the universal was worth pursuing; moreover, this art had to aspire to negotiate between freedom and social order, and provide an implicit critique of the conditions leading to its own production, thereby undermining itself in the process. As Terry Eagleton explains:

... every work of art pretends to be the totality it can never become; there is never any achieved mediation of particular and universal, mimetic and relational, but always a diremption [separation/disjunction] between them which the work will cover up as best it can.<sup>16</sup>

The placement of music at the complicit centre of the Nazi enterprise leaves no room for discussion of musical experiences of Holocaust survivors, no space for the resonance of musical testimony.

The other prime mode of signification can be found in the redemptive discourse of ‘spiritual resistance’.<sup>17</sup> We begin again with Elie Wiesel, whose initial encounter with music in the camps is countered by a moment of reprieve experienced on a death march back into Germany. The character Eliezer reunites with his friend Julie, a violinist from Warsaw, who manages to smuggle his instrument on the march. Here we read the first documented account in testimony of an act of free musical expression, one of the earliest instances in testimonial literature introducing a notion of spiritual resistance:

To this day, whenever I hear the Beethoven played my eyes close and out of the dark rises the sad, pale face of my Polish friend, as he said farewell on his violin to an audience of dying men.<sup>18</sup>

By the 1970s, spiritual resistance was an entrenched construct, driving interest in new music-specific testimonies,<sup>19</sup> research into musical activities in Terezín, and eventually the exploration of everyday musical life in the Łódź Ghetto by Gila Flam in 1992.<sup>20</sup> Flam declared her mission to determine meaning of the songs in terms of symbolic and aesthetic values attributed by survivors. In so doing, she propagated a redemptive discourse. It would take another thirteen years for this construct to be challenged by Gilbert who pointed out that the sentimental, mythologizing rhetoric surrounding the redemptive reading of musical activity in the Holocaust had the power and potential to silence opposing voices.<sup>21</sup> By limiting the discourse to that of an honorific, memorializing status, this mode of signification reduced the complexity of human existence in the camps and ghettos.<sup>22</sup> Gilbert, however, whose work accessed primary historical sources such as Yiddish song collections and testimony of musical activities from that time, argued for the reintroduction of complexity of human experience in the musical narrative, stating that:

Musical activities in many camps and ghettos were prolific and diverse, and afforded the victims temporary diversion, entertainment, and opportunities to process what was happening to them.<sup>23</sup>

Although the impact of Gilbert’s theoretical critique cannot be overestimated, her survey barely touched the surface of the body of historical musical material. Immediately after the war, Jewish historical commissions were established in Germany, Poland, the USSR and Hungary. These set out to collect thousands of written testimonies in the newly liberated East. Recordings of songs and poetry from camps and ghettos, such as the songbooks of Shmerke Kacerginski, complemented the Yiddish accounts of life in occupied Europe.<sup>24</sup> At the same time, the Latvian-born American psychologist, David Boder, captured the first audio recordings of survivor testimony.<sup>25</sup> Kacerginski’s songbooks remained untouched by researchers until Gilbert’s published work, and Boder’s musical recordings are only just being examined in detail. Modern responses to this musical material has seen Klezmer renditions of the music in Flam’s book,<sup>26</sup> and a controversial reconstruction of the performances of Verdi’s Requiem in the Terezín Ghetto, a project

known as *Defiant Requiem*. Using Nancy's model, I will now turn my attention to the music, focusing on the interpretation of musical memory in the recreation and reconstruction of this material.

### **Nancy and Listening**

Nancy's *Listening* begins with a confrontational question to philosophy. He asks whether philosophy is capable of listening (*écouter*) and suggests that it already superimposes an order of understanding (*entendre*) on that which is under examination.<sup>27</sup> Nancy uses the concept of sense (*sens*) to contrast the visual and the conceptual, and to argue that the sonorous is the excess of the visual and of form. He is interested in the differences thrown up by the senses, and the ways in which we perceive the senses in relation to meaning.<sup>28</sup> He suggests that the philosopher perceives the world through the ear. In this view, the ear is immersive: it is through the practice of listening that one is formed. My interview with Kitia Altman was held on a wet autumn day in 2008. For three hours I sat, entranced by her narrative that begins as a comfortable middle-class existence in Będzin, Poland, moves through the traumas of five years in camps and ghettos, and culminates in the story about her time trapped in a slave-labour munitions factory underground in which she witnessed a Roma girl sing a popular melody called *Mamatschi, kauf mir ein Pferchen*. Despite claiming that she is tone deaf, having no musical ability or interest, Altman sang an excerpt to me. Her rendition of the song gave such bodily resonance to that experience, drawing me into that world and allowing me the space as witness to her story.

For Nancy, the body is like an echo chamber. It responds to the forces of its interior and exterior. As an echo chamber, it resounds freely. When listening takes over the whole of our being, it opens a world in which sonority rather than the message becomes important. There is a feeling of secrecy and privacy embedded in the practice of listening: to listen is to 'literally to stretch the ear.'<sup>29</sup> Nancy suggests that there is a special relationship between the ear and sense, and to hear is to understand the sense. Listening must be delineated from the other senses. We thus strain towards a possible meaning that is not immediately accessible or apparent.<sup>30</sup> We listen to speech in order to understand. We listen to silence in order to hear what arises from it. We listen to music as background or foreground, and it produces a sense of listening that is of the whole, resonant body. To be listening thus is to be on the edge of meaning as if the sound to which one listens musically is emergent, not as an acoustic phenomenon, but as a resonant meaning whose sense is found only in resonance. Nancy refers to this as reference (*renvoi*) by which he means a totality of referrals, from signs to things, to states of things, qualities, and from subject to another subject.<sup>31</sup> Sound also operates in a state of referral, for to sound is 'to vibrate in itself or by itself. It is not only, for the sonorous body, to emit a sound, but it is also to stretch out, to carry itself and be resolved into vibrations that both return to itself and place it outside itself.'<sup>32</sup> Meaning and sound thus share the space of a referral. When one listens, one looks for something that is identified by a resonance from self to self, in itself, for itself, outside itself. And to be listening

is to strain toward or to be in an approach to the self, not the singular self, nor the self of the other, but to the form, structure and movement of an infinite referral.<sup>33</sup>

In Nancy's view, the presence of sound is always within this return and encounter. It is a place *as* relation to self. Sound resounds in the sonorous place. The sonorous place is where a subject becomes a subject because of who it is as a subject. Perhaps the survivor, inured to a world of brutality, bereft of control, may hear or create sound in the same manner: to realize or reassert their own selves?

Through a reading of Gérard Granel, Nancy then suggests that sound is not a phenomenon, as it does not stem from a logic of manifestation. Instead, it is an evocation, a summoning presence to itself, "an impulsion".<sup>34</sup> Nancy then introduces the notion of silence as an arrangement of resonance, rather than a privation. He says that the subject of listening, the subject who is listening, or the one subject to listening, are all places of resonance in which infinite tensions exist and rebound. Resonance thus opens itself up to the self. It becomes the resonant body and its vibrations become a being. The ear stretches and is stretched by meaning (*sens*). From this he deduces that musical listening is, in itself, the listening of self, arranged according to the profundity of the resonant chamber, the body. Listening is thus ahead of signification. It is in a state of return for which the end of the return is not given. Music played is music sounded, but resonance gives sense to it. In order to exist, however, music must play on sonorous bodies. Music thus silences and interprets sounds and produces the body that sounds and senses its own resonance. So, within a text there is a musicality, a resonance that listens to itself, finds itself by this listening, and deviates from itself at the same time in order to resound.

### III Listening in aporetic moments

The year 1998 marked my first moment in the formal journey of survivor interviewing. At the time I had completed my Hospital chaplaincy training, and was on my way to become Cantor at Temple Emanuel, a non-Orthodox Synagogue in Sydney. Through pastoral work and personal friendships, I encountered musical life in concentration camps via Ida Ferson, a Polish survivor and music lover. Ferson entrusted me with a set of unedited facsimile manuscripts of music given to her from the survivor, pianist and sister of composer Gideon Klein, Eliška (Lisa) Kleinová. All the works had been composed in Terezín. Meanwhile, the curators of a special exhibition on Terezín at the Sydney Jewish Museum commissioned my vocal quintet to perform a work of music composed in the Ghetto. From the collection I chose a small, highly chromatic, dissonant setting of a Friedrich Hölderlin poem (translated into Czech) by Gideon Klein, *Madrigal (1943)*.<sup>35</sup> The text of the poem reads in translation:

The agreeable things of this world were mine to enjoy.  
 How long gone are the hours of my youth.  
 April, May and July are distant!  
 I'm nothing anymore, yet listlessly I live on.<sup>36</sup>

At the exhibition launch, a Terezín survivor approached me, identifying himself as Jerry (Jaroslav) Rind, a survivor of Terezín, Auschwitz and Gleiwitz, and a fifth-generation Jew from the small town of Sodoměřice in southern Bohemia. He asked why I had programmed such a discordant, unfamiliar, unknown work as Klein's *Madrigal*. My first aporetic moment was about to occur. Taken aback by his question, I explained that I had been asked to perform music that had been written in the camp. Rind spoke about the children's opera *Brundibár*, a work that contained for him many personal associations. He also spoke of other cultural activities that ghetto dwellers flocked to see – operas, cabaret, theatre, chamber music, and choral presentations. This encounter caused me to listen, to consider listening in a different manner, and changed the course of my research, extending it to include the cultural activities in Terezín. It captured what Adelaida Reyes refers to as the “expressive culture” in which “‘inside jokes’ [are] intelligible only to those who have an insider's knowledge of the culture. It is the kind of meaning that music conveys, over and above the meaning made accessible by the discovery of the internal logic that makes the music coherent.”<sup>37</sup>

In addition to my interviews with Czech survivors, I accessed the experience of Yiddish speakers in Melbourne. Attentive ‘listening’ to this material proved fruitful: in 2011, during a fellowship at the US Holocaust Museum, I examined the musical recordings of David Boder.<sup>38</sup> One of the songs embedded in Boder's testimonies was absent from the annals of Holocaust histories and songbooks. Originating from Buchenwald, it was sung to Boder by a 19-year-old, Israel Unikowski. Listening to the recording awakened a strange familiarity. I re-examined my own interview materials from 2007, and found the handwritten text of the same song, given to me by another survivor, Joe Szwarcberg. The song transmits in free-verse form a prosaic vision of the bleak existence in Buchenwald, while the simple, waltz-like chorus engenders the possibility of group participation. It is one of the most powerful moments in Unikowski's interview with Boder. In November 2011 I travelled to Melbourne to interview Israel Unikowski, now known as Jack. I played his song to him but he could not recall having heard it, and wondered how he could have blocked this particular part of his memory. Unikowski demonstrated his own lucidity and memory retention by reciting in Yiddish (by heart) the entire text of Moshe Shulshtayn's poem “We are the Shoes”. Once again, an aporetic moment allowed the space for listening, resulting in an extended dialogue between survivor and witness regarding worth and function of musical memory, and the value of everyday songs from ghettos and camps.

Writing about listening, Georgina Born demands that we focus on relations between the musical object and the listening subject. She says that the latter demands an analysis of the social and historical conditions, and the mediation of listening. It also asks us to pay attention to the changing forms of subjectivity brought to music.<sup>39</sup> Musical testimony as a form of listening opens up a new model of subjectivity through the resonance that it brings to the musical experience. Emmanuel Levinas asked us to reconceive of what it means to be a self, to have subjectivity, to consider oneself an active agent. Accordingly, he suggests that if we have subjectivity and agency by virtue of a dialogic relationship with others, then we are not opposed.<sup>40</sup> Kelly Oliver suggest that, instead, we are responsible

for their ability to respond, just as we are responsible to open ourselves to the responses that constitute us as subjects.<sup>41</sup> In first formulating the notion of musical testimony, I became preoccupied with an ethical hermeneutic dialogue of practice in the listening encounter with survivors.<sup>42</sup> I designated my subject the idea of its “musical testimony”, to give credence and voice to that aspect of testimonial memory that had been the province of only the most expert of musical witnesses. I wanted to show that audience or amateur participation, and incidental musical activities are as much a part of musical life in society as are the formal concert or recorded music listening experience. The text I was contemplating was survivor testimony of musical experience. At that time I defined it as Other in multivalent ways: it was essentially and assertively Other from my experience as a person who was two generations removed from the actual events; it was Other in that it was a musical experience not of my own; and it was Other in that it was situated within, perhaps the most Other of experience of the twentieth century, namely, that of the Holocaust. The failure of the Nazi mission to eradicate the Jewish Other echoes the Levinasian assertion that the destruction of the Other is unattainable. Approaching this Other experience (that of the Holocaust survivor) required a form of on-going dialogue, which enriched, corrected, modified and drew the Other into a collaborative approach that continued to inform aspects of the text produced and continued to refine the accounts that were presented. Applying this model of Self and Other constantly reinforced the approach taken by me as interviewer, and my subjects as interviewees. An intrinsic ethics was arrived at which resisted notions of “empathic understanding”. Rather, I aspired only to contemplation through dialogue, that is, through welcoming the Other by Me (the Self) into such an interaction, and vice-versa.

Revisiting this construct through my reading of Nancy, I see that I had previously been guilty of attempting to impose a mode of signification on my experience. Listening once again to my interviews, I come to the realisation that listening *is* the immediacy: in listening, I create an attentive space where the musical memories of Holocaust survivors are allowed to resound. In listening to my study in this manner, I approach my material in order to be on the edge of meaning, and to find in the material in its inherent resonance. As I listen to my survivors speak of musical experience, coloured by many years of memory and further experience, I listen to look out for a relationship within self, for a sense of access and a continual passing and coming. This places me not as “Other”, but as simultaneously outside and inside. In this sense, listening to the sonorous presence, made up of an extraordinarily complex set of returns, is listened to from both the side of reception and that of emission. In absorbing this experience of listening, my ear is stretched according to the meaning generated, but also to what is happening prior to signification. This music is encapsulated in sonorous bodies of those who care to share their experiences in this fashion and, in so sharing, making their own bodies resonate. Writing about these experiences in this fashion is challenging. However, what emerges is a non-neutral sense of these experiences with their own musicality. In turn, this produces a resonance that listens to itself, and finds, deviates, and resounds in the retelling.

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**NOTES**

- <sup>1</sup> Jean-Luc Nancy, *Listening*, trans. Charlotte Mandel (New York: Fordham University Press, 2007), 57.
- <sup>2</sup> Nancy, *Listening*.
- <sup>3</sup> Bronwyn Davies, *Listening to Children : Being and Becoming*, Contesting Early Childhood (London ; New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2014), 21.
- <sup>4</sup> See Deborah E. Lipstadt, *The Eichmann Trial* (New York: Nextbook/Schocken, 2011).
- <sup>5</sup> See Primo Levi, *Se Questo È Un Uomo* (Torino: F. de Silva, 1947); Elie Wiesel, *Un Di Velt Hot Geshvign* (Buenos Aires: Tsentral-farband fun poylische yidn in Argentine, 1956).
- <sup>6</sup> Levi originally published Primo Levi, *If This Is a Man* (New York,: Orion Press, 1959). in 1947 (see n. 5 above). The first English translation appeared in 1959.
- <sup>7</sup> Leigh Gilmore, *The Limits of Autobiography : Trauma and Testimony* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2001), 4.
- <sup>8</sup> Not to be confused with Schubert's incidental music D.797, this tune is better known in English-speaking countries as the *Beer-Barrel Polka*. The original song, *Škoda Lásky*, is Czech in origin. It belongs in the repertoire known as schlager (šlagr) –sentimental ballads with catchy, popular tunes.
- <sup>9</sup> Primo Levi, *If This Is a Man* (Sydney: Four Square Books and Horwitz, 1963), 20.
- <sup>10</sup> Elie Wiesel, *Night; Dawn; [and], the Accident : Three Tales*, trans. Stella Rodway, Frances Frenaye, and Anne Borchardt (London: Robson Books Ltd, 1974), 57.
- <sup>11</sup> Paul Celan 'Todesfuge' in Charlotte Melin, *German Poetry in Transition, 1945-1990* (Hanover, New Haven: University Press of New England, 1999), 85-7.
- <sup>12</sup> Elaine Martin, 'Art after Auschwitz: Adorno Revisited', in Alfred J. Drake, *New Essays on the Frankfurt School of Critical Theory* (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Pub., 2009).
- <sup>13</sup> Adorno translated and cited by Elaine Martin in 'Art after Auschwitz', 199; see the original German text in Theodor W. Adorno, *Negative Dialektik ; Jargon Der Eigentlichkeit*, Gesammelte Schriften Band 6 (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1973), 358.
- <sup>14</sup> Adorno translated and cited by Elaine Martin in 'Art after Auschwitz', 200; see the original German text in Theodor W. Adorno, *Kritik: Kleine Schriften Zur Gesellschaft* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1971), 23.
- <sup>15</sup> Adorno translated and cited by Martin, 'Art after Auschwitz', 200.
- <sup>16</sup> Terry Eagleton, *The Ideology of the Aesthetic* (Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 1990), 353.
- <sup>17</sup> According to Pnina Rosenberg, Miriam Novitch (survivor of the Vittel internment camp and first curator of the Ghetto Fighters' House) first coined the term 'spiritual resistance' in the 1950s (see Pnina Rosenberg, "Art of the Holocaust as Spiritual Resistance: The Ghetto Fighters' House Collection," Block Museum of Art, Northwestern University, <http://lastexpression.northwestern.edu/essays/rosenberg.pdf>.)
- <sup>18</sup> Wiesel, *Night; Dawn; [and], the Accident : Three Tales*, 101.
- <sup>19</sup> See Fania Fénelon and Marcelle Routier, *Sursis Pour L'orchestre* (Paris: Stock, 1976); Szymon Laks, *Music of Another World*, trans. Chester A. Kisiel (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1989); Anita Lasker-Wallfisch, *Inherit the Truth, 1939-1945 : The Documented Experiences of a Survivor of Auschwitz and Belsen* (London: Giles de la Mare, 1996); Melissa Müller and Reinhard Piechocki, *A Garden of Eden in Hell : The Life of Alice Herz-Sommer* (London: Pan Books, 2006).
- <sup>20</sup> Gila Flam, *Singing for Survival: Songs of the Lodz Ghetto, 1940-1945* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992).
- <sup>21</sup> Shirli Gilbert, *Music in the Holocaust : Confronting Life in the Nazi Ghettos and Camps* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 7.
- <sup>22</sup> Gilbert, *Music in the Holocaust*, 11.
- <sup>23</sup> Gilbert, *Music in the Holocaust*, 17.
- <sup>24</sup> See Szmerke Kaczerginski, *Dos Gezang Fun Vilner Geto* (Paris: Farband fun di vilner in frankraykh, 1947); *Undzer Gezang* (Centralny Komitet żydów Polskich. Wydział Kultury i Propagandy, 1947). and Szmerke Kaczerginski, Michl Gelbart, and H. Leivick, *Lider Fun Di Getos Un Lagern* (New York: Tsiko, 1948).
- <sup>25</sup> The testimonies have been streamed online with transcripts and translations available at [www.voices.iit.edu](http://www.voices.iit.edu) (accessed 10 December 2014). The most comprehensive account of Boder's mission is Alan Rosen, *The Wonder of Their Voices : The 1946 Holocaust Interviews of David Boder* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010). Rosen's work discusses the songs embedded in five or six testimonies, but does not address the recorded song sessions.

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<sup>26</sup> See Brave Old World (Musical group), *Dus Gezang Fin Geto Lodzh* (Ludwigsburg, Germany: Winter & Winter, 2004), CD, Red House Records CD 134.

<sup>27</sup> Nancy, 5-6.

<sup>28</sup> Nancy, *Listening*, 3.

<sup>29</sup> Nancy, *Listening*, 5.

<sup>30</sup> Nancy, *Listening*, 7.

<sup>31</sup> Nancy, *Listening*, 7.

<sup>32</sup> Nancy, *Listening*, 8.

<sup>33</sup> Nancy, *Listening*, 9.

<sup>34</sup> Nancy, *Listening*, 20.

<sup>35</sup> Gideon Klein, "Two Madrigals," ed. David Bloch (Berlin, Germany: Boosey & Hawkes, 2003).

<sup>36</sup> Original text of the setting: "Co příjemného dává svět/jsem měl, ach, ano. Let mladých radost je, ó, žel, jak dávno za mnou. Duben a máj a červen můj jsou kdepak! Už nejsem nic, už tady žiju nerad." Emil A. Saudek made the translation from German to Czech. Facsimile score obtained from the collection of E. Kleinová, 1981.

<sup>37</sup> Adelaida Reyes, "What Do Ethnomusicologists Do? An Old Question for a New Century," *Ethnomusicology* 53, no. 1: 14.

<sup>38</sup> See n.26 above.

<sup>39</sup> Georgina Born, "Listening, Mediation, Event: Anthropological and Sociological Perspectives," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 135, no. 1 (2010).

<sup>40</sup> Emmanuel Levinas, *Totality and Infinity; an Essay on Exteriority* (Pittsburgh,: Duquesne University Press, 1969).

<sup>41</sup> Oliver, 18-9; 18-19.

<sup>42</sup> I have taken this idea from Gary Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic : Toward a Historiography of Others* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993).

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