

OK. Today's Wednesday, February 21. We're in Denver, and I'm delighted to be talking with Hedda Graab-Evans after all that I read about during the Psychiasis book and heard about you from colleagues such as Edith Kraus, that you performed together with her in Terezin. Oh, are you OK?

And Hedda, what I would like to do-- I've heard the interview that was-- the bit from the video that was done, which covers really your whole life. It's a wonderful interview. But I would like to concentrate today on Terezin, and I would like to do it not so much that I have a list of 25 questions. I would like just to talk freely.

But let me, before we start, just tell you the kinds of things which interest me especially. Of course, it would be nice to say something about whatever you like, of the transport from Prague, and the arrival in Terezin, and your living quarters, and the conditions, and then, of course, your involvement in the Freizeitgestaltung.

And then what interests me, which I don't believe is really that documented, is your interaction with the performers and the performances with composers whom you certainly knew very well, with the audiences, and Theresienstadt works which you perhaps performed or maybe were written for you. These are questions which will come up very shortly, Terezin works which you heard, original works, arrangements of Yiddish and Hebrew songs which were done, solo songs and for choir, your feeling from those songs written in Terezin which you knew about the texts, the texts.

There were texts by Dr. Adler which were written there. There were texts by Holderlin, and Francois Villon, and all kinds of other international literature which had tremendous meaning to the composers and certainly to the audiences if they heard.

A question which I'm very, very curious about is, to what extent, if you know, that the Germans were aware of these texts. We know that the Germans were very, very angry whenever they discovered the drawings of Terezin by Leo Ungar and Leo Haas.

We know one case especially that an SS was screaming at the artist. He says, how can you draw a picture? The picture was of a man crawling over a heap of garbage to find a rotten potato. He says, no one is hungry in Terezin! And we know they paid dearly for that.

But I don't know and have never read if they were aware of the texts of the music. Maybe they didn't go so close. These are some of the kinds of things. Along the way, there's some specific songs that I'll ask you about to see if you knew. So why don't we begin?

And just perhaps you'd like to say, Hedda, something about from the time-- it was already after the occupation-- when you yourself got your notice to go to the railroad station in Prague and to bring your 50 kilos of belongings and to go to Theresienstadt.

It was shortly-- it was in December, beginning of December, and it was maybe 10:30, and I baked some cookies for Christmas.

1941?

1941. And there was a knock on the door. It was maybe 10:30, 11 o'clock. And there were two men, and they said, we are from the JÃ¼dische Kultusgemeinde, and we bring you a notice that you have to go into the transport to Terezin. Your number is N999, and you have to go to on this place, and you have to bring everything that refers to your life like papers, every silver, and gold, and everything that you have as jewels, and leave it there.

And then you get another notification where you-- and what time you should go to the big mess hall in Prague that keeps 1,000 people. You had to have a sleeping bag and all together 50 kilo of your possessions. So then they left.

And I asked them, why do you come so late? It was maybe 11:30 by that time. They said, because at night we know that everybody is at home. The Jews had a curfew. They had to be-- about 8 o'clock in the evening they had to be at home.

So then I went to the appointed place. I was foolish enough to bring all my papers, and I had my birth certificate, everything that referred to me, my divorce certificate, and my silver spoons, and my rings.

And I stood in line maybe two hours, and then they came in front of one of the SS or whatever they there, and they took the things and said, you have to report at 8 o'clock in the morning to the mess hall on December the 11. And from there, you will go to Terezin.

So I had maybe a week to get a sleeping bag and some walking shoes, and nobody wanted money. Said, for the walking shoes, you have a wonderful painting here. I want this painting, said the shoemaker. So he made me the shoes, and I gave him the painting.

And then I packed, and then I-- on the appointed day, my brother, and my sister-in-law, a boyfriend of mine-- they all took me to the mess hall. And there we embraced and said goodbye, and I went into the mess hall.

Did you-- excuse me. Did you know already about Terezin and that people were going? Or was this is your first time that you heard of it?

No, I heard that there was Terezin, a ghetto where the Jews will go, and there were 1,000 men-- they were called the Aufbau-- when they are first to prepare. So that was-- first transport was Aufbau.

Aufbaukommando.

The second transport was in, and I had-- just one short of 1,000, 1,000 people. And we were all lying there on our suitcases, and I looked down. And I thought to myself, it's unbelievable. The people are told to do that, and they go like lambs. Of course, there were no real toilet facilities. They dug some-- like in the army what today-- latrines.

And in the morning, we could go on the latrine, all in public, more or less, no privacy. And then came the SS guys, and there was a Jewish guy. I forgot his name. He went with the SS, and we were loaded into the trains. And we came to Terezin, and from there we had to walk.

The railway station was maybe 20 minutes to walk. With our suitcases we had to walk into Terezin. There were all the men already lined up to welcome us, so I met so many, like Freilich, the violinist, and--

Oh, he was already there? He went with the Aufbaukommando?

Yeah, he went with the Aufbaukommando, yeah. So we went, and they put us into our camp. And then everything was abandoned. The whole city was cleared out. There was nobody there because that was prepared for the Jews. That will be the Jewish ghetto.

Yes. There was no Czech population left? I was told that when the first transports came there were still some Czechs, and until they left, the Jews had to stay into their living quarters even for several months.

Well, when we came there was nobody.

By December, I can understand it.

Yeah, by December the whole city was empty. So we were put into a schoolhouse, into big classrooms, and there was straw on the floor. And that's where we spent our first, I'll say-- first two nights, just on the straw on the floor.

So I went into my sleeping bag, and then the next day, we-- they divided-- men were separate. Women were separate. Children were separate. The men went into the Magdeburger Kaserne. The women went into the Hamburger Kaserne, and where the children-- there was so much crying, and the women didn't want to let go of the husbands. The children were taken away.

So we went into the Hamburger Kaserne. I was there, and we were 10 in one room. The room of mine was-- you see me here in my easy chair?

Yes.

So just imagine that you can-- I put two suitcases down, and that was my room. That was--

That was your space.

That was my space. And then in the morning, due to the fact that it was-- here it's called barracks, but-- the kaserne. It was about four stories high, and there-- and I don't know how many rooms there were. And they used-- soldier used to be there.

So we went to the washroom. There was absolute no privacy. I had a basin there, and you undressed. We were women, all women, and there were all men. So I lost myself from head to toe.

And then when we went back to our rooms, when we had to go, we got some-- we had to have a long-- I don't know what it is called, something to-- how the soldiers when with a bit of pot for a soup, and then part was something for the entree, so-called entree.

And in the morning, we went into line, and we got some brew that was kind of black that they called coffee, and of course, everybody had something brought with him. I had some cake made, like-- what do you call it-- like coffee cake that they baked for me and gave me a long-- and bread, some bread.

And my relatives told me, keep this to yourself. Don't give it away. But when I saw this man-- they were so-- so I cut up a whole piece of cake and gave everybody when we arrived, and they ate it like starved.

Of course. Of course.

So that was the breakfast. Then at noon we went there, and we got some soup-- I don't know what it was-- and maybe one or two potatoes. That was-- then the next day there, they came-- today is bread day, so we got a piece of bread. I don't know how much it was, maybe six slices, one slice per day.

So some people ate it immediately, and then they didn't have anything. And then in the evening, we got some soup or whatever and maybe another one or two potatoes, and that was it. And once a week, we got meat, horse meat, a little piece of horse meat with some gravy. And that was--

And that's what you had to live on.

That what we had to live on.

Yes. What was the first work? I understood also that people had to do the so-called "Hundertschaft" before they were assigned a regular job, 100 hours of work, and then they were assigned to a regular job.

Yeah, but I didn't do anything. I just was-- I didn't really work there. There was nothing to do. I mean, some people were assigned to clean up or do the lavatories, but shortly after I arrived, there was a Jewish mayor. That was-- his name--

Edelstein.

Edelstein. And he got us together, and he had a talk. And he said, we are doing everything else, and we will have our own police. And we will have our own cleanup. And then he said, and where is-- are there any people that can perform, or sing, or dance, or recite? We want to make something like-- and I was the only one there that was a singer.

So I said, I am a former opera singer. I even brought some notes with me. I think the Biblical Songs by Dvorak I had

with me and some aria. So I said to-- they said, can you put together a performance? I said yes. So I said, I need an accompanist.

Somebody took his-- what do you call it-- accordion--

Accordion.

--accordion along. So I said, can somebody recite? Somebody new some poems, and somebody knew how to dance. And so I said, I will do-- he will do some music on the accordion, and I will do the singing. And that was the first time that we did this.

In the attic-- in the attic of the Hamburger Kaserne we did the first performance. And then he said, you are so good at organizing this. You will be the head of the Freizeitgestaltung, and that was in early 1942.

And so then he said, that was so wonderful. Maybe you should go and do it in the Magdeburger Kaserne for the men.

--for the men.

And so that's how the Freizeitgestaltung start. And then he said, whenever there will come a new singer or somebody that has anything to do with art or with a stage appearance, you will listen to him or to her. And then slowly, more singers came.

So you were put in charge, in a way, of--

--of the Freizeit--

--of the Freizeitgestaltung.

Yes. And then after a while or after more months, they came a lot of people like singers. Then Schachter came, Rafael Schachter, and then Gideon Klein, and then Ada Hecht, and Ada Schwarz, all the-- and then they came all the men that were in the first chairs in orchestras. Then Ancerl came. What was his first name?

Karel.

Karel--

Karel Ancerl.

Karel Ancerl.

And you-- I assume that you had known these people in Prague before the war.

Yes.

Now tell me one thing-- when there were some-- after it was not permitted for Jewish musicians to perform in public in Prague, there were these private gatherings.

Oh, yeah. I was on there.

You were involved in those?

I was involved in them. And then there was-- once, Viktor Ullmann-- is this is his name?

Yes.

He said, we will make an alliance buy Handel, and we will do it in Hebrew. And we will have a Jewish orchestra. And I was in the Elias.

This was before the-- in Prague?

Yeah, but in Prague.

You mean Mendelssohn's?

Yeah, Mendelssohn. Yeah, yeah. So I was in there. And we had Symphony Hall in Prague, and it was completely sold out because-- of course then there were so many Jewish rich people that had-- so we sang, went to their apartments and sang on the-- Schachter was already there.

And we did the Magnificat by--

--Bach.

--by Bach, yeah. And so-- but we had to be home before 8 o'clock, so it was always in the afternoon, around 2:00 or 3:00. And then, all of a sudden, there were so many singers and musicians in Terezin, so Schachter and Gideon Klein more or less took over the Freizeitgestaltung.

And then we had the-- he said we should put up an opera together, Schachter said. So he said, we will do The Bartered Bride.

--The Bartered Bride of Smetana.

Smetana. And we'll do it in Czech. No, did we-- yeah. No, we do it in-- I think we had to do it--

I think it was in Czech.

Yeah, it was in Czech. And of course then we had Rigoletto. Yeah, first we had-- in concert were the Mozart--

Marriage of Figaro.

Marriage of-- Marriage of Figaro.

And these were all with piano accompaniments, I assume.

That was-- right. The piano was later. There was on harmonium. What do you call a little--

Harmonium. Yeah, harmonium. Yeah.

On harmonium.

A Fuss organ.

Yeah, yeah, yeah, Fuss organ. That was discovered. So it was-- and that was kind of, more or less, like an orchestra. So we had it with a organ, [GERMAN]. And we did-- we also did The Magic Flute, and we did the-- was it The Marriage of Figaro that we did? I think The Countess.

Now, when did you do the rehearsals? You had to--

Oh!

Most of the people were working during the day.

Yeah, but the people that were in the Freizeitgestaltung did not do anything but go to rehearsals. We rehearse wherever. When I came there, he didn't have any-- I took a pitch pipe along, and I loaned it to Schachter.

So he-- when he had-- there were choruses. Wherever-- at one time, I lived in a cellar, really, next to the coal. On the night, the rats were crawling around me. And there was a-- there were room for maybe 50 people. So he had the chorus or rehearsing there or--

Did he did he audition people for the chorus, for example? I say that because last week I spoke with a man in Seattle who called after our Terezin concert in an article that was in the paper, and his name was-- oh my goodness. I've forgotten his name. It doesn't matter.

But he said he and his brother, for example-- they were young men. They auditioned for the opera, and they were not accepted. And he laughed, and he said they had very high standards, which I know.

They--

So I think that--

They were not accepted?

This young man and his brother were not accepted.

I don't know that. That was-- I didn't do anything involved--

You weren't involved in the auditions by that point?

No, I was only involved in the auditions for soloists.

I see.

But the chorus was his baby. Everybody wanted to be in the chorus.

Yes. But where was the music? Where did they have the notes for these--

Oh, the Germans said that Theresienstadt will be the wonder camp, the paradise camp.

Paradise ghetto.

Paradise ghetto because they wanted to show off when somebody came from the Red Cross or from the-- from Sweden or from--

Yes. But that was already quite late, in '44.

Yeah, all--

You're talking of performances back in '42, still quite some time before.

'42, they were not so many because there was not so many singers there. We had-- when Schachter was there, the soloist, we had The Marriage of Figaro in concert first. Then later, they put on The Bartered Bride and the Rigoletto, and that was more or less a stage.

But that was in one of the places where there was a little concert part. And then later, they opened up the Sokolovna for us. On that there was this piano, this grand piano without the legs, so I don't know what they did. But they put a grand piano. By then, we had already two pianos. When we did the Verdi Requiem, there were two pianos.

I understood that some of the so-called "Prominenten" were allowed to bring instruments finally from Prague, from Berlin.

Yeah. Then they-- yeah, everybody could take.

Yes.

The guy with the accordion could take it. The idea was to show that there is a fantastic ghetto where the Jews walk around freely. First, we couldn't walk-- we never could walk on the sidewalk. We had always to walk in the middle.

Were Germans present to see that you didn't? Who forbid it?

There was the ghetto police, and they were under the supervision of the Nazis. And whenever we put on a performance, we had to put it on first for the Nazis and their wives.

Oh, Really?

Yeah.

Most of the performances were like that?

Yeah.

Including recitals and chamber music?

No.

Or are you talking of bigger performances?

Bigger.

Big productions.

Like operas.

I see.

We had-- I know I sang Carmen, and there was-- there were about 12 or 15 of the Nazis sitting there. And they wanted to listen. And then it was allowed for the public.

Carmen, I understood, was only one performance.

No. Carmen was-- we had all about the Carmen. Ada Schwarz sang one performance, and then I sang the other one. And not too much later, they said the SS is going to come and listen to-- so they started-- at 9 o'clock in the morning they had to go there to the Sokolovna, where they expected to-- inspect everything in the camp.

And from 9:00 in the morning, we were-- the audience had to sit down. They were put in their-- nobody was allowed to leave, and we were there on the stage in costume. And then at 4:00 in the afternoon finally, they said, they are coming, they are coming.

So we started in the middle of it, you know?

Yes.

And then I saw on the gallery there were the SS guys coming and watching maybe for half an hour or for one hour. And then we were allowed to go home. It was all make-believe, Potemkin village.

Of course. Of course. How did the SS behave in the performance? Did they applaud? Did they just look silently and go?

No, no. They were sitting there on the gallery, or on the balcony, or whatever, and they didn't smile. They didn't applaud. They're just the audience, of course.

Yes, of course.

And then, but-- you know.

Now, I ask that, Hedda, because Martin Roman who had the Ghetto Swingers in 1944 was called, actually, to the office of the commandant, Gustav Rahm.

Yeah?

And he asked him-- first of all, he told him how much he appreciated his music that he was doing at the cabaret, Karussell, they put together on. And I had the impression that he personally-- it was all fake, of course, but at least he made the impression on Martin that he really appreciated, he liked the music very much.

It was really a terrible, terrible lie. But I wondered to what extent were aware of any kind of appreciation from the Nazis. At any time, were they--

I will tell you. I had a concert planned, and I went up there to the place where there was a piano. And I sang, and I rehearsed for the concert. And the door opens, and this Jewish guy that was so hand-in-glove with the Nazis came in with two or three Nazi. And [SPEAKING GERMAN]? What does she do, this woman, this Jewess?

And he said, oh, she has a concert, and she's rehearsing. What is she going to sing? Let her sing for me. So I don't know what I sang, I think something by Brahms, some-- and I tell you I never in my whole life ever sang as good as this time when the Nazis were listening.

And he said very, very good. Go ahead. Go ahead. And they left. They appreciated music. There were-- it's not like in America that they never heard of neither.

That was-- yes. That was already with the piano, of course.

Yeah.

Who was playing?

No, I accompanied myself.

Oh when, you were practicing, right.

Yeah, sure. I mean I was-- I coached myself when I was at the opera. I never needed a coach. So they were appreciative. But who-- did someone-- Edith said that she remembers performing with you.

Yes.



She thought Schubert or something.

Yeah.

Do you call something about it, about working with Edith Kraus?

Yeah, sure. Yeah. Listen, I did so many concerts. I was never so busy in my whole life like these three and a half years. I sang almost every day. We sang in courtyards, in attics, in cellars, and of course in-- then later, when we had-- there were many places where we had-- where you could-- where you could appear where there was room for an audience. And what else shall I tell you?

Did anyone from the audience who perhaps you didn't know personally after these performances, as is done even today, all over the world-- did they come to you to express their appreciation?

Oh, I'm telling you, I walked on the street, and two or three women stopped and said, oh, Hedda, you are so wonderful. You gave us so much, much more than food. You keep our spirits alive. Oh, yeah.

Let me ask you another thing, Hedda. Opinions are a little divided. There are some survivors who feel that the most important thing of this music making and the cultural life was it gave an opportunity for a few precious hours to forget the misery of their surroundings.

There are others who feel that in some way it was a kind of deliberate spiritual resistance. How did you feel when you were--

Spiritual resistance to that?

Yes. Well, a kind of showing that you're dehumanizing us, and you're not going to take away our humanity, and we're going to show you that we still are able to express ourselves, and so on, and so on.

Yeah, that's what it was.

Did you have such a feeling?

Absolute. Right, listen, first--

In other words, beyond just enjoyment as a musician doing music, which anyway is always-- that's what I meant, a feeling of showing them that, despite everything you're trying to do to oppress us, look what kind of spiritual, cultural activity we can still do--

Yes, yes, sure. That was it. I tell you one thing-- when I came there, the first day, the second day, the third day, they said, we all have to gather everybody, and we are going to be shown something. So we all gathered. We were 2,000 people.

And they took us to the place, and there were large, big trees. And there were three corpses hanging, like improvised gallows, from the trees. And then one SS guy came and said, that is what happens to you if you try to escape, and don't forget it because three young men tried to run away. They are caught, and they are hanged. That was the first impression.

And I will tell you one thing-- if I was-- I froze mentally because, otherwise, I couldn't have made it. I really froze mentally. Nothing mattered.

Maybe you heard this already on the audio from the interview with the woman that I was in the line to go for my evening meal, and the men in front of me slumped over and lay dead on the floor. And I stepped over him and just went on with my business, didn't concern me at all. So if you wouldn't have mentally frozen, you couldn't have made it.

Of course.

And of course, the way that I had-- that I sang so much-- it was marvelous for me, and I literally sang there for my life. But I don't know why I wasn't sent to Auschwitz. That I never will find out.

Your name never came on the list?

Never, never ever. But I was there also in the prison, in the Terezin prison.

You mean in the kind of fortress outside?

Yeah. Because-- no, not in-- there was a prison in--

Oh, within the ghetto.

--withing the ghetto. Because there were there-- two women went around that-- you had no privacy-- went through all your belongings. And I had a 20-crown bill, and money was forbidden to take. And I had a kind of half a letter that I started to write. And she found that, and the ghetto police came for me, and arrested me, and took me to the prison.

But I thought that people were allowed to write postcards.

That-- I don't know when then-- yeah, but the postcards never were sent. No, I started to write a letter-- I don't know-- to thank somebody for something or whatever. But they found these 20 crowns, and so I was put into the prison, ghetto prison.

And that was the most unbelievable thing, when the door closed behind you and there was nothing to open the door from the inside. And there were three other there. We had no facilities. There was a pot where you had to do your business, and in the morning-- we took turns-- somebody took the pot and emptied it. And the gendarmes watched us, and we washed. And we went back again, and the door was closed again.

And one evening, we were-- it was-- maybe it was in the middle of the night. The door opened, and there was a Nazi guy with a revolver and said, you Judische sauen-- that means, you Jewish--

Sow.

--sows-- I am going to kill you. And-- you know. So we just stood there, and then another SS guy came and took him away. So that was in the prison experience. And I was there three weeks, and one day, they said, you all have to go to the delousing. So they took us at 7:00 in the morning and marched us to the delousing, and there we had to undress completely and stand naked there.

And they scrubbed us, and I don't know what they did. And then they-- then we had to go through an inspection, stark naked, no food, nothing. And then we went to go into Entlausung into a little place. And there was-- it was dark there, and there was a doctor or whatever with a flashlight, looked you up. You have to spread your legs, and this, and that. And he says, oh, you are Hedda Graab Kernmeier, the good singer.

So then we went back--

This was a Jewish doctor?

Yeah, sure. That was all-- so then we went back and all day without food, from 9:00 in the morning until 6:00 in the afternoon. And then they cut off my hair, and that was the-- they left me just a little bit here and cut off my-- the whole hair. And that was the first time that I cried.

And the gendarme came and put his arm around my-- those are the Czech gendarmes-- and put my-- arms around my back and said, don't cry, don't cry. The hair will grow again.

So when I-- after I came back and asked for the wiedergutmachung-- I went to a psychiatrist who told him that, and he says this amounts to rape. If you shear off the hair of a woman, that amounts to rape. And that was when I broke down. I cried, and I cried.

And for six months, I had to-- I had a piece of--

A bandana.

A bandanna. I wore a turban until the hair grew. So what else do you want to know?

Did you continue to perform during that time?

Yeah, sure.

Yes?

We had The Marriage of Figaro. Then they said-- yeah, but then they said, you will have to go and confess. You will be-- the Nazis-- there will be kind of a-- what do you call it-- a court, like a court. They will ask you why you had the 20 crowns and what was the meaning of the letter that you started to write. But it never came to be.

That's very strange.

I never was called. And then, after three weeks, I was let out, and I came back. And then I pronounced was called. And whenever you were in prison, you went into the transfer automatically. So I thought I had to go, but I didn't know where, to the East.

So nothing happened. I think the mayor, who knew me-- the mayor must have-- the Jews took out the names, not the Nazis. But there was a Jewish legislator, more or less, the mayor--

The Judenrat.

The Judenrat, yeah. So they-- I never was called. So I was all prepared to go. Nobody [CROSS TALK]

Do you think that maybe your name wasn't put on the list because you were so valuable to them for the performances?

It must be because as long as the mayor was there, it seemed that I was protected because nobody went until in 1944, in November, when everybody went, and I didn't. Even the mayor went then. And at one time, there are so many transports, and they were there-- at the one time, there were 40,000 people in Terezin, old people. And they dressing. I saw--

Can you tell me-- let's go back to the music a little bit. Can you tell me something that you recall, details if possible, of your collaboration with other artists, with Edith, with other pianists, with other singers?

Yeah. We were always rehearsing.

Yes. Does anything stick in your memory of some rehearsal, or some incident, or some preparing of music or performing together with some of these people?

Well, we had the rehearsals all the time, and there were-- what was his name? Was it Haas?

Pavel Haas.

Pavel Haas?

Yes.

Was it Pavel Haas?

The composer.

Composer. I sang his songs.

Which songs did you sing of his?

I have no-- I cannot remember anymore. Wasn't he educated in France? Which--

No, no. That was Hans Krasa.

Hans Krasa, yeah.

Hans Krasa.

Hans Krasa. Hans Krasa.

Now, you sang songs which he composed in Terezin, or did he perhaps have some songs that he had written before the war? Because there are songs he wrote in the '20s published by Universal-Verlag. Perhaps he wrote something. That I'm not aware of.

No, that must have been it.

Some earlier songs.

Yeah, some earlier songs.

Maybe he brought some with him.

Yeah, some-- it must have been--

How was he as a person?

Very, very nice. Very nice. And then, of course, there was Viktor Ullmann.

Yes. Did you know him in Prague before the war?

Well, I met him when we had Elias. I was in his house. He played the cello.

No, he was a pianist.

He was a pianist? Who played the cello?

Well, Freddie Mark was one of the cellists in Prague.

Oh, yeah. Yeah, he played the piano.

Did you hear any of Ullmann's music, or did you sing any of Ullmann's music in Terezin? He wrote many, many songs.

No, I never did.

You didn't? He wrote three songs on texts of Friedrich Holderin. He wrote songs on poems of [GERMAN] of Frank Wedekind. He wrote two cycles of works on poems by Dr. Adler, Der Mensch und sein Tag. And then he also wrote a cycle, a cantata for mezzo soprano called Immer inmitten

I guess that's what I did.

And perhaps you did those songs, the Immer inmitten.

I guess I did.

I could play it for you afterwards. The first song was called Immer inmitten, and the second was Vor der Ewigkeit.

Vor der Ewigkeit.

And the third and fourth we never found, and perhaps he didn't write them. He may only have written the names on the title.

Now, he also, in 1944, made three arrangements of Yiddish songs. Presumably, someone asked him to do it. And he called the cycle Brezulinka, and the first song was called "Berjoskele." The second was "Margarithelech," Keller which is very well-known, and the third was "Ich bin schejn a Mejdél in die Johren." Do you have any recollection of those works?

No.

Or did you hear any of his piano? For example, Edith Kraus was approached by Ullmann one day in 1943. He had the manuscript of his 6th Piano Sonata. He said, would you play it? And she looked, and she said, OK. And she put it on an incredible recital, playing it between Schumann's Kreisleriana and the Brahms F Minor Piano Sonata. She did it five times, this recital.

Yeah, in Terezin.

Did you hear any of Edith's performances?

Listen, there was a performance by Edith, and there was a performance there, a concert of me, and there was--

I know.

There were three or four things--

Every day.

--going every day.

That's true. I know that. Yeah, yeah. Did you know of any of the actual music of Gideon Klein?

Gideon Klein?

Gideon Klein made an arrangement which he called Wiegenlied. It was a well-known Hebrew song called [NON-ENGLISH], "Lay Down, My Son." And he wrote it-- also, presumably, someone asked him to do it in the same way that there was a choir conductor, maybe the conductor of the Subak choir, which was doing especially Jewish material.

And Ullmann made some beautiful arrangements of Hebrew and Yiddish songs taken from the Judisches Makkabi Liederbuch in Berlin from 1930. Did you hear any of those choral performances?

No.

So perhaps those of you who were so active, were so busy with all--

These things--

--the things you were doing