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# Music and Heroisation in the Mauthausen Liberation Celebrations

New Perspectives on Holocaust Remembrance and Commemoration in Austria

## Abstract

This article reconstructs the role of heroisation in the context of coming to terms with the Holocaust. It does so by looking at verbal discourse and music in the context of Holocaust remembrance in the years around the turn of the millennium. It focusses on two compositions that were premiered during the annual liberation celebrations at the Mauthausen concentration camp memorial site: Helmut Rogl's *Memento* (1995) and Helmut Schmidinger's *Drei Momente – über Motive aus dem Lied 'Die Moorsoldaten'* (2005). The focus on musical works results from the fact that music – sound events, texts set to music, explanations in programme notes, and its performance contexts – is well suited for researching heroic ideas. This is so because, since the Baroque period, music has served as 'accompaniment' for events with a heroic character, and listeners ascribe a 'heroic expression' to some musical styles. On this basis, the article shows that heroic thinking has always played a complex role in the Holocaust, ranging from auto-psychotherapy to the formation of moral identity to the propaganda of political ideologies, albeit the latter is to be distinguished from the actual confrontation with the murder of the European Jews.

The analysis, theory, and historiography of Holocaust remembrance and commemoration, politics,[1] and education has long become a field of scholarly study in its own right.[2] Regarding Austria, it is well known that, in the course of the Waldheim affair from 1986 to 1992 and the end of the Cold War in 1989/1990, the approach to coping with the Holocaust changed significantly. Authors on Austrian remembrance and commemoration culture – first and foremost Bertrand Perz, Heidemarie Uhl, and Alexander Prenninger – emphasised that since the 1990s, Austria has stopped repressing the historical truth and accepted its co-responsibility in the crimes committed under National Socialism. Thus, despite Austria's comparatively late efforts to come to terms with its role in the murder of the European Jews, Austria's approach now complies with the circumstance, as Daniel Levy and Natan

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1 John K. Roth defined Holocaust politics as "the ways, often conflicting, in which the Holocaust informs and affects human belief, organization and strategy on the one hand, and in which human belief, organization, and strategy inform and affect the status and understanding of the Holocaust on the other". John K. Roth, Holocaust Politics, London 2002, 5.

2 Scholars only began investigating the history of concentration camp memorial sites in the 1980s. Alexander Prenninger, Riten des Gedenkens. Befreiungsfeiern in der KZ-Gedenkstätte Mauthausen, in: Ralph Gabriel et al. (ed.), Lagersystem und Repräsentation. Interdisziplinäre Studien zur Geschichte der Konzentrationslager (=Studien zum Nationalsozialismus 10), Tübingen 2004, 183-205, here 186.

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Sznaider pointed out, that after 1989 the Holocaust has become a "moral compass" and "global point of reference for memory", a "moral imperative",[3] and, as Uhl put it, a "victim narrative".[4]

## Heroic Pathos and Victim Narrative – A Mutually Exclusive Opposite?

There is, however, a significant aspect of remembrance culture in Austria that has been neglected thus far and therefore requires clarification: the discourse on heroisation and hero-worship. Seen in this way, Austria performs a cultural practice that is associated with the glorification of winners and martial fighters. In the context of the Holocaust, however, a history of unimaginable suffering and victimisation, a heroic discourse appears rather out of place and inappropriate.

The only scholar on Austrian post-1945 history who has addressed this issue is Heidemarie Uhl. Strikingly, however, she has done so only on the sidelines. Summarising Tony Judt's article on political myths in post-war Europe,[5] she wrote:

> "after 1945, the [intent of the] official historical narrative about the recent past in practically all European countries, even communist […] was to present their 'own people' as an innocent victim of cruel suppression by a hostile external aggressor [and] to honour *heroic* national resistance […, that hid] issues of collaboration. […] Jewish victims of the Nazi extermination policy only played a minor role in the heroic master narrative of post-war myths."[6]

However, since the development in the 1980s of a "post-modern, post-utopian, neo-liberal and globalizing world […] the need for commemoration could no longer be fulfilled by the traditional narrative of a glorious and *heroic* history of the nation".[7]

Referring to Aleida Assmann and Snyder[8], she claimed that "a paradigm shift from a *heroic* to a victim narrative would prevail" instead. In Austria and Germany,

> "[t]he overwhelming response to the 'Holocaust' […] demonstrated new memory needs that obviously could not be fulfilled by the *heroic* pathos of post-war myths. 'Holocaust' led to empathy for the fate of the victims to a royal moral imperative: the obligation to remember the victims."[9]

In brief, Uhl suggested that, in the past, a "traditional", today unacceptable "narrative of a glorious and heroic history of the [Austrian] nation" prevailed that, after 1945, was complemented by a – likewise unacceptable – post-war myth revolving around "heroic national resistance" during the Nazi era. According to Uhl, however, this dishonest heroic master narrative terminated when a "paradigm shift from a *heroic* to a victim narrative" took place in the 1980s.

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3   Daniel Levy/Natan Sznaider, Holocaust and Memory in the Global Age, Philadelphia 2006, 131, 132, and 44. As Heidemarie Uhl remarked: "The Nazi past and other past genocides pose the question to each person of how he would have acted." Heidemarie Uhl, Holocaust Memory and the Logic of Comparison, in: Remembrance and Solidarity. Studies in 20th Century European History 5 (2016): Holocaust/Shoah, 227-256, here 245.

4   Uhl, Holocaust Memory, 232.

5   Tony Judt, Die Vergangenheit ist ein anderes Land. Politische Mythen im Nachkriegseuropa, in: Transit 6 (1993), 87-120.

6   Uhl, Holocaust Memory, 231. My emphasis.

7   Ibid., 230. My emphasis.

8   Aleida Assmann, Das neue Unbehagen an der Erinnerungskultur. Eine Intervention, Munich 2013; Timothy Snyder, Kommemorative Kausalität. Gedenkkultur vs. Geschichtsschreibung, in: Transit 46 (Winter 2014/2015), 131-156.

9   Uhl, Holocaust Memory, 232. My emphasis.

Several counterexamples immediately come to mind – not only with respect to Austria and Germany, but to Europe in general, North America and Israel. The memorial site Yad Vashem in Jerusalem has explicitly heroised individuals since its foundation in 1953. The English name (not an exact translation) of Yom Hazicharon Lashoah Velagevura (literally "Day of Remembrance for the Shoah and for Heroism") used by Yad Vashem, namely "The Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Day", does not specify through which deeds and attitudes individuals are to be classified as heroes and heroines.[10] Monographs by European and North American authors on Jewish resistance fighters and non-Jewish helpers, the so-called "unsung heroes [and heroines]" or "heroes [and heroines] of conscience", did not stop being published in the 1980s, as Uhl claimed. André Stein's *Quiet Heroes. True Stories of the Rescue of Jews by Christians in Nazi-Occupied Holland*, Arnold Geier's *Heroes of the Holocaust. Extraordinary True Accounts of Triumph*, Martin Gilbert's *The Righteous. The Unsung Heroes of the Holocaust*, and Rebecca Love Fishkin's *Heroes of the Holocaust* were all published between 1988 and 2011.[11]

Thus, two questions arise: First, to what degree is it accurate to state that, in Europe, an anti-heroic discourse after the 1980s replaced the heroic discourse before the 1980s? Second, especially regarding Austria: Is the presence or absence of heroisation a suitable means to distinguish between the pre- and post-1989 phases of Austria's coming to terms with the Holocaust?

In this article, I will investigate these questions by reconstructing the key Holocaust commemoration event in Austria, namely the annual liberation celebrations organised in the former concentration camp of Mauthausen since 1947.[12] This article not only examines the verbal discourse referring to the history of Mauthausen before and after its liberation in May 1945, but also analyses music: music that was performed and, more importantly, composed for the Mauthausen liberation celebrations. This article focusses on music because it provides significant insight into this matter. We cannot, however, identify heroisations in music simply by searching for the word "heroic" or "hero/heroine" in the notes of the score or in the sounds, as I did in Uhl's publications above. Despite music's natural 'ambiguity' and 'opacity' as a semiotic system – in other words: despite the difficulty that musical signs, unlike verbal signs, do no refer to 'life world', or extra-musical content[13] – music does

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10  Yad Vashem, The Holocaust Martyrs' and Heroes' Remembrance Day 2019, https://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/remembrance/2019/overview.asp (21 February 2020).

11  André Stein, Quiet Heroes. True Stories of the Rescue of Jews by Christians in Nazi-Occupied Holland, New York 1988. André Stein survived the Holocaust in Hungary as a child of eight years. He later moved to Canada where he taught sociology at the University of Toronto and then became a psychotherapist specialising in victims of torture and survivors of the Holocaust. André Stein, Versteckt und vergessen, Vienna/Munich 1995, blurb. Arnold Geier, Heroes of the Holocaust. Extraordinary True Accounts of Triumph, Miami 1993. Geier survived the Holocaust because he fled with his family at the age of twelve from Germany to the Netherlands. Dovid Hoffman, Heroes of Spirit. 100 Rabbinic Tales of the Holocaust, Lakewood 2009, 39. Martin Gilbert, The Righteous. The Unsung Heroes of the Holocaust, New York 2002. Rebecca Love Fishkin, Heroes of the Holocaust, Stevens Point 2011.

12  The Mauthausen liberation celebrations are the largest of the concentration camp ceremonies. Prenninger, Riten des Gedenkens, 184. Since 2013, this event has been complemented by the Fest der Freude at the Heldenplatz in Vienna. Commemorating the end of the Second World War and the Holocaust, it has also served to prevent right-wing student fraternity members from interpreting this as a day of shame. Katharina Schmidt, Die Decke der Zivilisation ist dünn, in: Wiener Zeitung, 7 May 2014, 9. The Fest der Freude is co-organised by the Mauthausen Komittee Österreich (MKÖ), under the direction of its managing director Christa Bauer.

13  Like verbal language, music is a sign system, although in this respect it operates differently from verbal language. In verbal language, the meaning of words – the referential relationship between the signifier and the signified – is based on conventions that determine (on the basis of practice and repetition) which signifier refers to which signified(s) in the view of the community of sign users. Therefore, different words considered signs in different languages can refer to the same object(s) or concept(s) such as the object 'house' and the concept of houses. The concrete 'shape' of a word, the grapheme (or sound) – such as "house", "maison", "дом",

refer to heroic issues. This is because, as I will demonstrate in what follows, music has a long tradition of heroic idioms that can be traced back to Beethoven and beyond.

## Music in Mauthausen after 1945

The annual liberation celebrations in Mauthausen usually take place on one of the Sundays around 5 May, the anniversary of the camp's liberation by American troops in 1945. As in many concentration camps whose inmates were composed of diverse groups – emigrants, so-called asocials, convicts, homosexuals, Jehovah's Witnesses, Jews, and political prisoners – the respective sizes of these groups were unequal. In Mauthausen, the majority of internees were political prisoners.[14] Therefore, after 1945, the liberation celebrations were initiated and shaped primarily by this group. Only thirty years ago, in the 1990s, did Mauthausen also become a place for commemorating other groups – homosexuals and Sinti and Roma, for instance – and the Holocaust in the narrow sense, meaning the murder of the European Jews. This



**Image 1: The liberation ceremony of 1995; wreaths at the sarcophagus.**

or "房屋" – is irrelevant to the word's meaning as long as a convention has been established according to which this grapheme is supposed to refer to this or that object or concept. By contrast, compositional configurations in music function as signifiers more often on the basis of similarity than on the basis of conventions. Musical signifiers are similar to the signified(s) to which they refer. Because of similarity, listeners might relate the wave-like scalar series of tones in measures 14-15 of the first movement of Smetana's *Moldau – The spring of the Moldau* to a similar sound configuration in measures 5-6, and also mountain streams, and – perhaps – music of other composers with similar subjects such as the Scherzo of Mahler's Second Symphony. See: Beate Kutschke, Music and Other Sign Systems, esp. § 46, in: Music Theory Online, 2014, http://www.mtosmt.org/issues/mto.14.20.4/mto.14.20.4.kutschke.html (21 February 2020); Beate Kutschke, Wann und warum ist Musik Ideologem? Vier Thesen aus semiotischer Perspektive, in: Wolfgang Auhagen and Wolfgang Hirschmann (ed.), Beitragsarchiv zur Jahrestagung der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung Halle/Saale 2015 – Musikwissenschaft. Die Teildisziplinen im Dialog, Mainz 2016, (urn:nbn:de:101:1-20160905626).

14   Between 1938 and 1945, only 15 per cent of the inmates were Jews on average. I base this average on the numbers cited in Hans Marsalek, Die Geschichte des Konzentrationslagers Mauthausen, Vienna/Linz 1995, 290, and Andreas Kranebitter, Zahlen als Zeugen (=Mauthausen-Studien 9), Vienna 2014, 235.

**Image 2: The liberation ceremony of 1995; military band.**

change in the Mauthausen commemoration culture was closely connected with Austria's increasing acknowledgement of its co-responsibility in the crimes of National Socialism.[15] Which group of former internees took part in the organisation of the liberation celebrations may also have had a decisive influence on the organisation – the content, dramaturgy, and music – of the celebrations, which had hardly changed by 2015.[16] In sum, in reconstructing the history of the liberation celebrations and their music, we have to be aware that the history of concentration camps, specifically their so-called 'second history' as memorial sites on the one hand and the history of the Holocaust before and after 1945 on the other, are two different issues that can be, but need not be identical with each other.

The Mauthausen liberation celebrations consisted mostly of two parts: a parade and speeches, which lasted altogether up to two hours. In the first part, the various survivor associations – communists, socialists, Christian socials, Catholics, and Jews, as well as Polish, Soviet, French, Italian, and Spanish,[17] several thousand people

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15 Like other countries, Austria's government and people had little interest in acknowledging and empathetically coping with the suffering of Jews and other persecuted groups in the 'Third Reich'. Only after the Waldheim affair from 1986 to 1992 did the Austrian government start to address its National Socialist past and its co-responsibility for the crimes and, in 1995, it established the National Fund dedicated to paying symbolic compensation to the victims of National Socialism.

16 In 2016, the current organiser of the liberation celebrations, Andreas Baumgartner, decided to fundamentally change the dramaturgy of the celebrations by omitting the entry parade of the survivor associations. Andreas Baumgartner, interview with the author, Vienna, 10 December 2018.

17 The multitude of survivor associations and the diversity of the 'requirements' their members are expected to fulfil manifests itself not only in the international, but also the national landscape of survivor associations. The Comité International de Mauthausen (International Mauthausen Committee) was already established in 1944, before the defeat of National Socialism. https://www.mkoe.at/en/about/comite-international-de-mauthausen (21 February 2020). In Austria, the survivors were organised in the communist KZ-Verband, the Sozialistische Freiheitskämpfer, the ÖVP-Kameradschaft, and the Jüdische Lagergemeinschaft Mauthausen. From 1964 onwards, the newly founded Österreichische Lagergemeinschaft Mauthausen assumed the task of organising the celebrations. See: https://www.mkoe.at/ueber-uns/oesterreichische-lagergemeinschaft-mauthausen (21 February 2020). The Mauthausen Komitee Österreich (MKÖ) was established in 1998. From 1998 onwards, the MKÖ organised the international liberation celebrations jointly with the Jüdische Lagergemeinschaft and the Internationales Mauthausen Komitee. Andreas Baumgartner, interview with the author, Vienna, 10 December 2018.

in sum – solemnly marched on the *Appellplatz* and laid wreaths at the so-called sar-cophagus, a monument in the centre of the *Appellplatz* that was erected in 1949 (image 1).[18]

Musical ensembles accompanied the parades and the laying of wreaths. This part was followed by speeches, again complemented by music performed in between. In and around 1950, regional choirs and wind bands such as the choir union of the railway choral society Flugrad Wien and Bahnfrei Nord, the choir of the Free Austrian Youth, the band of the Vienna professional fire brigade, the factory band of the company Voith, and the wind band of the City of Vienna performed the *Dachau Song*, the song *Immortal Sacrifices* of the European workers' movement, the song *Memento mori!* by the Austrian composer Hans Schmid, as well as Beethoven's Egmont Overture and the funeral march from the Eroica.[19] From 1965 onwards, the band Militärmusik Oberösterreich (Military Music Upper Austria) became an integral component of the celebration's music programme (image 2).[20] The band performed primarily funeral music on request of the Mauthausen camp community.[21] This was complemented by the Austrian National Anthem and, after Austria's accession to the European Union in 1995, by the Anthem of Europe, namely the *Ode to Joy* arranged by Herbert von Karajan.[22]

These continuities in the liberation celebrations over seven decades raise various questions: Why do survivors of concentration camps voluntarily return to the place where they experienced murder, torture, and humiliation? Why do they stage this return as a strictly ordered parade and let it be accompanied by music (image 3)? Why do they choose a dramaturgy that resembles the one the Nazis themselves used in the camps?[23]

I propose to interpret the survivors' parade as an essentially heroic act. If we understand heroism not only in terms of the extroverted use of physical power and courage

18  Nationalheiligtum Mauthausen, in: Der neue Mahnruf 2 (15 May 1949) 5, 4; Das Gelöbnis von Mauthausen: Niemals wieder Krieg und Faschismus, in: Der neue Mahnruf 3 (May 1950) 5, 3; Wir dürfen nicht passiv sein, in: Der neue Mahnruf 5 (June 1952) 6, 6.

19  Befreiungsfeier in Mauthausen, in: Der neue Mahnruf 2 (15 April 1949) 4, 3, http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-plus?aid=dnm&datum=1949&size=35&teil=0105&page=76; Niemals wieder Krieg und Faschismus, in: Der neue Mahnruf 3 (May 1950) 5, 3, http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-plus?aid=dnm&datum=1950&page=67&size=35; Niemals wieder Mauthausen. Niemals wieder Krieg!, in: Der neue Mahnruf 5 (June 1952) 6, 3, http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-plus?aid=dnm&datum=1952&page=86&size=35 (all links above: 21 March 2019).

20  Since 2006, bands performing popular music complement that of the Militärmusik Oberösterreich. Andreas Baumgartner, interview with the author, Vienna, 10 December 2018.

21  Josef Strasser, current music master of Militärmusik Oberösterreich, email to the author, 8 January 2019. According to Strasser, the band performed the following pieces during the liberation celebrations occasionally or regularly: Julius Fucik, Requiem, op. 283 (1915) and the funeral march Pax Vobis; Handel Parker, Deep Harmony (1900); Gaetano Donizetti, Dom Sébastien, Roi de Portugal (1845), funeral march; Pietro Mascagni, Cavalleria rusticana (1890), Intermezzo sinfonico; Sepp Thaler, Requiem für Blasorchester, Sanctus, and two funeral marches; Emil Rameis, Requiem aeternam; Frédéric Chopin, Piano Sonata, no. 2, op. 35 (1839/1840), Marche funèbre; Ludwig van Beethoven, Third Symphony (1802/03), Marche funèbre; Beethoven/Herbert v. Karajan, Anthem of Europe (1824/1927); Josef Vancura, Trauermarsch Salvator; Erwin Trojan, Trauermarsch Dein gedenk ich; Hans Schmid, funeral marches Memento Mori and Abschiedsglocken; Enya, Only Time (2000, Roma and Nicky Ryan); Edvard Grieg, funeral march in Memory of Rikard Nordraak (1866).

22  Andreas Baumgartner, interview with the author, Vienna, 10 December 2018. See also: Prenninger, Riten des Gedenkens, 199. A thorough reconstruction of the musical programme since 1947 is not possible because the organisers did not write programme leaflets and only rarely kept the notes they used to lead the event. Andreas Baumgartner, phone interview with the author, 16 October 2018, and interview with the author, 6 December 2018.

23  See the photos that SS-Oberscharführer Fritz Kornatz shot of the Mauthausen prisoners' orchestra accompanying a prisoner to his execution on 30 July 1942: https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/H%C3%A4ftlingsorchester#/media/File:Musikkapelle_Mauthausen.jpg; https://www.belltower.news/klaenge-des-verschweigens-musik-an-der-grenze-zum-tod-36572/ (21 February 2020).

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**Image 3: The liberation ceremony of 1995; entry of the Polish Pfadfinder.**

in order to master life-threatening situations, especially by supporting other individuals, but allow inward-oriented modes of behaviour to be classified as heroic behaviour, the parade becomes visible as a strategy to overcome traumatic experiences.

By means of the parade, the survivors conquered the space of their former tormentors and aggressors[24] – not, however, in the sense of a masochist or sadist, that is destructive identification with the aggressor as described by Sigmund and Anna Freud, but in a constructive way.[25] By voluntarily re-entering and also leaving the place of suffering, torture, and the complete loss of autonomy, they granted themselves the restitution of self-determination. By organising the liberation celebrations, they superseded the destructive power of the Nazis with a constructive, future-oriented activity: the transformation of this place of unlimited violence into a place of mourning, concern, and reflection.

The chosen music complement the survivors' socio-psychological strategies: While songs such as the *Dachau Lied* and *Moorsoldaten* mostly revitalise the dreadful past and while the funeral music commemorates the countless victims, the compositions from Beethoven's heroic middle period as well as his *Ode to Joy* articulate the experience of triumph 'over evil' in general (measured by the meanings that the majority of listeners ascribe to the music) and in particular in the context of the liberation ceremonies at the former Mauthausen concentration camp. Similarly, the presence of a military band – a musical ensemble that traditionally represents state and military power and is also closely related to hero-worship – underscores the heroic/triumphant spiritual climate.

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24  The survivors consider their survival a kind of victory over the Nazis. As Judith Hassan put it: "The triumph of celebration gives some sense of victory over Nazis." Judith Hassan, A House Next Door to Trauma. Learning from Holocaust Survivors How to Respond to Atrocity, London/Philadelphia 2003, 85.

25  Mathias Hirsch, Psychoanalytische Traumatologie. Das Trauma in der Familie, Stuttgart/New York 2004; Daniela Haas, Folter und Trauma. Therapieansätze für Betroffene, Oldenburg 1997; Anna Freud, Das Ich und die Abwehrmechanismen (1936), Frankfurt am Main 1991.

The heroisation of the camp's transformation towards a new, socio-politically constructive function, however, is only one facet of the heroic in the context of the Mauthausen liberation celebrations.

### "Never Again" – Helmut Rogl's *Memento*

*Memento,* a cantata by the Austrian contemporary composer Helmut Rogl that premiered on the eve of the annual liberation celebration on 6 May 1995, the fiftieth anniversary of Mauthausen's liberation, is a good example of another kind of heroisation in the context of coming to terms with the Holocaust.[26]

1995 was an important year for Holocaust remembrance and politics in Austria. First, the Austrian state could finally bring itself to establish the National Fund for Victims of National Socialism and pay some symbolic compensation.[27] Second, regarding the liberation celebrations at the memorial site in Mauthausen, the survivor associations handed over the responsibility for organising the celebrations to the successor organisation Mauthausen Komittee Österreich (MKÖ).[28] Third, from 1995 until 2005, Helmut Edelmayr, a member of the MKÖ, lobbied unusually fervently for the performance of compositions, including contemporary music, in the context of the celebrations.[29] The commission and performance of Rogl's cantata is an offspring of these activities.[30]

While the majority of the cantata's text consists of devotional lyrics written by the Austrian poet and sociologist Hans Dieter Mairinger,[31] the last of the six musical numbers[32] is notable because it draws on the famous invocation "never again war, never again fascism". Mairinger wrote:

> „Nie wieder, hört es, Menschen, hört!
> Nie wieder Tod, Verderben! Nie!
> Nie wieder darf durch Menschenhand der Mensch
> unschuldig sterben!
> Nie! Nie! Nie!"

For these lyrics, Rogl set music with an explicit, almost intrusive heroic expression that emerges from the combination of the following features. First, more or less from the beginning of this number to its end, the composer uses brass instruments (trumpets and trombones), so typical heroic instruments, as the phrase "mit Pauken und Trompeten" (with tympani and trumpets) indicates, as these instruments are typi-

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26   Helmut Rogl, Memento, op. 26, cantata based on a text by Hans Dieter Mairinger, for two choirs, reciter, oboe, trumpets, trombone, percussion, timpani, strings, and synthesiser, 1995 (unpublished). On Rogl and his compositional work, see: https://www.helmutrogl.at (21 February 2020).

27   Tatiana Zhurzhenko, The Soviet War Memorial in Vienna. Geopolitics of Memory and the New Russian Diaspora in Post-Cold War Europe, in Patrick Finney (ed.), Remembering the Second World War, London/New York 2017, 91-114, here 94.

28   Andreas Baumgartner, phone interview with the author, 16 October 2018, and Prenninger, Riten des Gedenkens, 196. The liberation celebration of 1995 aimed to bring together as many survivors as possible for the last time. Prenninger, Riten des Gedenkens, 196.

29   The liberation celebrations stopped serving as a forum for contemporary music on the Holocaust when Baumgartner assumed the role of principal organiser of the celebrations in 2006.

30   Edelmayr supported the performance of music, including more extensive compositions, because he believed that music would increase the attention of larger amounts of Austrians and their interest in the celebrations and sensitise them to Austria's involvement in the Holocaust. Helmut Edelmayr, interview with the author, 18 December 2018.

31   Between the musical passages, a reciter presents lyrical sermons.

32   Herr – nie wieder, in: Rogl, Memento, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XwwjEkC26yA (21 February 2020). The passage "Nie wieder" begins at 2:58.

cally only employed on special occasions such as glorifications and the celebration of triumph (music example 1).[33]

Another typical heroic idiom is the dotted rhythm, here played by the brass instruments. The dotted rhythm became a heroic musical means throughout a comparatively long compositional history: from music at the court praising Louis XIV,[34] over French revolutionary anthems[35] and Beethoven's symphonies incorporating those revolutionary characteristics,[36] to the Hungarian *verbunkos* dances[37] representing the courageous, Hungarian fighters in the war of independence against Habsburg oppression in 1848/1849[38] and, finally, Liszt's virtuoso piano pieces *alla ongarese* such as his *Hungarian Rhapsodies*.[39]

In Rogl's cantata, the third heroic compositional idiom is a deep pedal tone, a very long tone in the contra octave performed by organ and double bass, which lasts from measure 17 over 27 measures till the end of the piece (music example 2).[40] In combination with other features, pedal tones that usually serve to (re)establish the composition's tonality are suited to bestow upon music a powerful, firm, grounded character that can naturally be related to analogous behavioural modes of heroes and and heroines.[41]

A composer can achieve harmonic stability (operating as an analogy to the hero's stoic attitude) not only by means of pedal tones, but also circular or oscillating harmonic motion with the tonic as endpoint. The heroic effect of harmonic stability is usually based on a musical dramaturgy that emphasises instability and development in the first sections of the composition, which then contrasts to the stability in the composition's final, triumphant section. Beethoven's heroic *Egmont Overture*, which was performed during the Mauthausen liberation celebration in 1949, is a good example of such a from-dark-to-light dramaturgy. It starts gloomily in minor and leads, after various fights with antagonistic musical personas,[42] to the triumphant final section in major, an extensive cadential passage that basically consists of a I-VI-ii-V loop (with two dominant tonic pairs: VI-ii, V[7]-I, mm. 307 ff) and the oscillation between tonic and dominant (mm. 317 ff).[43] After the intense turmoil, when the hero has overcome all challenges and adversaries, the harmonic rotation on the spot ar-

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33  Listen at 2:58, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XwwjEkC26yA (21 February 2020).

34  Lawrence M. Zbikowski, Design Principles for the Musical Heroic, in: Beate Kutschke/Katherine Butler (ed.), The Heroic in Music, in preparation. For an example, see: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lLsFCIU5xw4 (21 February 2020).

35  For an impression of this musical style, see: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M8bIir8dv7U (21 February 2020).

36  Eroica, fourth movement, from measure 211 onwards; Ninth Symphony, fourth movement, "Alla Marcia": https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IJ1xqShTQCc at 4:11; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QDViACDYxnQ at 11:38 (21 February 2020).

37  https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hm8ELdbW4O4 (21 February 2020).

38  Csilla Pethő-Vernet, Music, Content and Context: the Case of Nineteenth-Century Hungarian Music in the Light of the Romantic Heroic Vision, in: Kutschke/Butler (ed.), The Heroic in Music, in preparation.

39  https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LdH1hSWGFGU (21 February 2020).

40  https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XwwjEkC26yA at 3:57 (21 February 2020). The contra-E flat requires the double bass to be retuned, as its orchestral tuning is usually not deeper than contra E.

41  See for instance the first fourteen measures of *Also sprach Zarathustra* (1896), performed by an organ, a double bass, and a drum roll. Beate Kutschke, Zwischen Heroismus und Antiheroismus. Ligetis Mikropolyphonie in 2001 revisited, in: Volker Helbing/Stefan Weiss (ed.), Studia Musicologica 57 (June 2016) 1-2, 73-90. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dfe8tCcHnKY (21 February 2020). The score can be downloaded via https://imslp.org/wiki/Also_sprach_Zarathustra,_Op.30_(Strauss,_Richard) (21 February 2020).

42  Edward Cone, Persona, Protagonist, and Characters, in: Edward Cone, The Composer's Voice, Berkeley 1974, 22. Coining the term "musical persona", he pointed to the phenomenon that listeners attribute a persona to the music that resembles the protagonist of a narrative, but is identical neither with the composer nor with the listener or the performer.

43  Ludwig van Beethoven, Overture to Egmont, op. 84, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ChcrZX2rZ1M (21 February 2020). The transition to the triumphant passage begins at 8:50.

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ticulates stability, perseverance, firmness, resoluteness, and fortitude – the characteristics of a hero according to stoic ethics – but also fulfilment and redemption.

No. 6 of Rogl's *Memento* emulates this principle.[44] The chords that achieve the stepping on the spot are variants of E-flat major with dissonant 'teasing tones' (ninth, seventh) that bestow the music with an archaic, majestic flavour. The association between the archaic, majesty, and heroism can be traced back to the rediscovery and idealisation of medieval life and culture in the romantic era.[45]



**Musical example 1: Rogl, Memento, 91.**

Last, but not least, Rogl intensified the heroic, superhuman character of the music by emulating the orchestral texture by means of a synthesiser whose artificial timbres affected a likewise superhuman or non-human atmosphere. Because *Memento* was premiered in the quarry of the former concentration camp on the eve of 8 May, the official concentration camp liberation day and annual liberation ceremony, the difficult acoustics in this place required amplification.[46]

Additionally, as is often the case in the field of classical contemporary music, the limited budget did not allow the commissioning of a full orchestra.[47] Therefore, Rogl

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44 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XwwjEkC26yA, beginning at 3:57 (21 February 2020).

45 Julia Stehle, Moderne Literatur und die Philosophie des Mittelalters. Joyce, Beckett, Andersch, Marburg 2012, 62; Mathias Herweg/Stefan Keppler-Tasaki (ed.), Rezeptionskulturen. Fünfhundert Jahre literarischer Mittelalterrezeption zwischen Kanon und Populärkultur, Berlin/Boston 2012; R. R. Agrawal, The Medieval Revival and Its Influence on the Romantic Movement, New Delhi 1990, esp. chapters 2 and 3.

46 The Singkreis Mauthausen and its conductor Kurt Lettner commissioned Rogl through the mediation of the regional studio Upper Austria of the Austrian Broadcasting Station ORF. Helmut Rogl, email to the author, 11 December 2018; A. Blöchl, Memento im Steinbruch, in: Volksblatt, 8 May 1995, pagination unknown, by courtesy of the composer. The cantata was a programme section of the fiftieth anniversary commemoration weekend. Helmut Rogl, email to the author, 11 December 2018.

47 Although the Austrian state started in the early 1990s to support Holocaust commemoration activities more intensely, subsidies for music have usually been rare. Andreas Baumgartner, phone interview with the author, 6 December 2018.

**Musical example 2: Rogl, Memento, 95.**

replaced the orchestra with the synthesiser. While the superhuman, artificial sound character was initially owed to Rogl's pragmatism, it eventually suited the music's overall spirit.

Why did Rogl choose such hyper-heroic properties for the cantata's final number revolving around the phrase "Nie wieder"? Mairinger's lyrics "Nie wieder", like "No more", "Never again", "jamais plus", "nigdy więcej", and „больше никогда",[48] is an ellipsis of a variety of political maxims. Those maxims call people to make efforts that proficiently avoid the repetition of catastrophic events caused by human action. It is characteristic for this maxim that the definition of the catastrophic historical event to be prevented can be interchanged depending on the current historical situation and the danger people experience. Since the 1920s, for instance, "Nie wieder Krieg" has been very popular.[49]

Since the late 1950s, the phrase "Nie wieder Faschismus" was disseminated via printed books and newspapers.[50] In Germany, "Nie wieder Auschwitz" temporarily

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48  The versions in Polish, Russian, German, French, and English were presented as a final exhibition 'object' in the concentration camp memorial site Auschwitz in the 1950s. For a photo of this 'object', see: Imke Hansen, "Nie wieder Auschwitz!" die Entstehung eines Symbols und der Alltag einer Gedenkstätte 1945–1955, Göttingen 2015, 270, https://books.google.at/books?id=Xwt4DwAAQBAJ&pg=PA270&dq=hansen+%22deren+konsequenzen+wurden+allerdings%22&hl=de&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwiXse3lvPrgAhVrsYsKHRamD1wQ6AEIKDAA#v=onepage&q=hansen%20%22deren%20konsequenzen%20wurden%20allerdings%22&f=false (11 March 2019).

49  Google books Ngram Viewer, https://books.google.com/ngrams/graph?content=nie+wieder+krieg&case_insensitive=on&year_start=1900&year_end=2000&corpus=20&smoothing=0&share=&direct_url=t4%3B%2Cnie%20wieder%20krieg%3B%2Cc0%3B%2Cs0%3B%3BNie%20wieder%20Krieg%3B%2Cc0%3B%3Bnie%20wieder%20Krieg%3B%2Cc0%3B%3BNIE%20WIEDER%20KRIEG%3B%2Cc0 (21 February 2020).

50  The earliest primary source listed on google books is "No more tyranny – no more war – no more conscription – no more vexatious taxes", ascribed to Louis Antoine, Duke of Angoulême, in: Hewson Clarke, An Impartial History of the Naval Military and Political Events in Europe From the Commencement of the French Revolution to the Entrance of the Allies into Paris, History of the Wars of the French Revolution, Vol. 3, [place of publication unknown] 1816, 942.

attracted attention when the then German Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer[51] used this slogan to advocate for Germany's participation in the NATO intervention in the Kosovo conflict. Since this was the first war Germany engaged in after the Second World War, his 1999 speech provoked a hefty reaction, with some of his Green Party comrades throwing paint bombs in the party congress.[52]

In Austria, by contrast, the audience of Rogl and Mairinger's cantata in the Mauthausen quarry in 1995 most likely related "Never again" to the slogan's long history in the context of the Mauthausen liberation celebrations.

Indeed, "Never again" has been a leitmotif in the Mauthausen commemorations. The journal of the communist faction of Mauthausen survivors with the meaningful title *Der neue Mahnruf* (The New Warning Call) far-sightedly propagated in 1949 already that Mauthausen "will become a place of pilgrimage for a thousand and from the 'Never Forget!' the cry of 'Never Again!' will sound out across the world".[53] A year later the journal preached:

> "Mauthausen – the epitome of the bestial time of horror, of mass exterminations and eradications, is a serious warning for all upright Austrians: never again to allow a development which again leads to war and fascism, which again leads to mass murder and hate of nations, which again leads to concentration camps, to racial hatred."[54]

In 1952, the motto of the liberation celebration on 4 May was "Never Mauthausen again. Never again war!"[55] In its next issue, *Der Mahnruf* reported that 8,000 visitors brought "banners with the combative slogans 'Never again Mauthausen – never again war!', 'Fighters against fascism – fighters against war!'"[56] On the occasion of the liberation celebration in 1960 or 1961, a banner spanning over the road that led to the concentration camp gate warned: "Never forget – never again!"[57] In the so-called legacy of the camp community Mauthausen, which was handed over to the MKÖ in the year 2000 when it officially took over the organisation of the liberation ceremonies, the survivors wrote: "We will fight as long as we are able to ensure that what happened to us will never happen to another human again."[58] In the same vein, during the liberation celebration of 1995 the then-president of the Mauthausen Committee Josef Hammelmann proclaimed: "Never again fanaticism and violence; never again war and killing!"[59]

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51  Fischer was foreign minister from 1998 to 2005.

52  The attention that Fischer's use of "Nie wieder Auschwitz" attracted manifests itself in the number of books referring to his speech and the phrase: https://books.google.com/ngrams/graph?content=nie+wieder+auschwitz&case_insensitive=on&year_start=1950&year_end=2019&corpus=20&smoothing=0&share=&direct_url=t4%3B%2Cnie%20wieder%20auschwitz%3B%2Cc0%3B%2Cs0%3B%3BNie%20wieder%20Auschwitz%3B%2Cc0%3B%3Bnie%20wieder%20Auschwitz%3B%2Cc0 (21 February 2020).

53  Befreiung von Mauthausen: 5. Mai 1945. Mauthausen – Mahnmal des Gewissens, in: Der neue Mahnruf 2 (15 April 1949) 4, 4, http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-plus?aid=dnm&datum=1949&page=52&size=35&qid=94YA9HL8O4VSAX5PPA0B82DU3BMPII. Another article in the same issue is captioned: "Niemals wieder", 1. Nationalheiligtum Mauthausen. Niemals wieder Faschismus und Krieg, in: Der neue Mahnruf 2 (15 May 1949) 5, 4.

54  Niemals wieder Krieg und Faschismus, in: Der neue Mahnruf 3 (May 1950) 5, 3.

55  The motto of the liberation celebration on 4 May 1952 was "Niemals wieder Mauthausen. Niemals wieder Krieg!", see: Niemals wieder Mauthausen. Niemals wieder Krieg!, in: Der neue Mahnruf 5 (May 1952) 5, 1.

56  Niemals wieder Mauthausen. Niemals wieder Krieg!, in: Der neue Mahnruf 5 (June 1952) 6, 3.

57  Photo accompanying the article Niemals vergessen – niemals wieder!, in: Der neue Mahnruf 14 (May 1961) 5, 1, http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno-plus?aid=dnm&datum=1961&page=25&size=45&qid=08MYUTUUI9S20AMPUFRRHLXYRCF3NR, last access: 30 March 2019. Because the photo has no caption and the May issue was published before the liberation celebration, it is not clear whether the photo was shot in 1961 or earlier.

58  https://docplayer.org/73865414-Vermaechtnis-praeambel.html (20 February 2020).

59  Private recording of the television broadcast of the liberation celebration in the Mauthausen concentration camp memorial on 8 May 1995 at approximately 1:08:10, ORF.

In light of the omnipresence of the phrase "Never again" at the memorial site of the former concentration camp Mauthausen,[60] Mairinger's lyrics obviously drew on this consolidated tradition. But to what extent is "Never again Mauthausen" related to the heroic discourse and heroicising practices in the context of coming to terms with the Holocaust, as I pointed out in the first part of the article? And does this reference explain Rogl's use of such openly heroic musical means of expression? In order to reconstruct the relationship between heroism and the "Never again" motto, it is necessary to deepen our understanding of the concept of the heroic. Even though "heroic" is often understood as a label to be attributed to individuals who courageously master life-threatening challenges, the term's spectrum of meaning in discursive practice is by no means limited to such deeds. On the contrary, the spectrum of meaning of the word "heroic" is huge, since it serves as a placeholder, a wild card not for behavioural modes and character traits, but for diverse moral ideas and imperatives.[61] In calling an individual a hero, the speaker, first and foremost, articulates her admiration for the specific behavioural modes and qualities of this individual.

Using the term "heroic", the speaker attributes a high value to their qualities and thus implicitly suggests or even demands that the hero or heroine's example be followed. In brief, not the concrete qualities of a heroine, but her functionality as a paradigm for moral imperatives in society is at the heart of the term "heroic". This peculiarity manifests itself in the fact that people have attributed the label "heroic" to diverse qualities and activities throughout history. While in American discourse, the firefighters of 9/11 are considered paradigmatic, tragically failing heroes and heroines – many more firefighters were killed than the amount of people they were able to rescue from the collapsing twin towers – the hijackers who steered the planes are equally considered heroes, not in the USA, but in the radicalised Islamic context. In brief, modifying Walter Laqueur's dictum, we can cynically declare that "[o]ne man's hero is another man's terrorist".[62]

Seen from this perspective, the phrase "Nie wieder Mauthausen!" appears as a moral imperative in the sense of heroic discourse. It basically says: "Engage in avoiding that Mauthausen (or Auschwitz, war, or fascism, according to the slogan's vari-

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60 The motto "Nie wieder" has also played a prominent role at the Auschwitz concentration camp memorial site, where the invocation was first used on 14 June 1947 during the opening address of the State Museum in Auschwitz by Józef Cyrankiewicz, since February 1947 prime minister of the People's Republic of Poland. He was said to have been a former political prisoner of the Auschwitz and Mauthausen concentration camps. Hansen, "Nie wieder Auschwitz", 11. Hansen, however, does not indicate the source. The phrase "Nie wieder Auschwitz" (nigdy więcej auschwitz/Oświęcim) thus belongs in the context of the heroisation of communist resistance fighters. It is an element of the heroic discourse notoriously stimulated by Soviet propaganda and practised by all states of the communist bloc up until the fall of the Iron Curtain. According to this heroic communist discourse, all political internees in concentration camps were resistance fighters while the other groups of prisoners did not receive any acknowledgment.

61 Although encyclopaedias and dictionaries usually give a list of properties that are assumed to characterise the hero, some of them also draw attention to the decisive role that the observer – an individual or a group of individuals – plays in the making of a hero. By introducing the term "observer" into this context, the editors hope to evoke the theory of the observer effect in the natural sciences. The observer necessarily influences the result of an experiment by observing (meaning: lighting or measuring it). See the entry *Hero and Heroine* in *The Encyclopedia Americana*, in which the author states that heroes and heroines are "held up as the embodiment of certain ideals or values *of the society or group* that honors" them. Leonard Mades, Hero and Heroine, in: The Encyclopedia Americana, International Edition, Vol. 14, Danbury 2003, 144. The last part of this quote is significant because it implies a hidden causal relationship. The society or group, honouring heroes or heroines, does so because it perceives them as the embodiment of its own ideals or values. In the same vein, the recent English Oxford Living Dictionaries defined the term "hero" as "[a] person who is admired for their courage, outstanding achievements, or noble qualities" that – one might complete – the admirer holds herself as important values. Anonymous, 2017 or earlier (my emphasis).

62 Walter Laqueur, The Age of Terrorism, Toronto 1987, 302.

ants) ever happens again!" In a kind of stoic, heroic manner, the phrase "Never again" articulates psychic determination and resolution. At the same time, it stimulates the emotion of elevation: excitement about one's own and one's fellow fighters' moral heroic objectives. Thus, choosing the heroic idiom for Mairinger's "Nie wieder" invocation, Rogl not only intuitively pointed out the maxim's inherent heroic quality, but also increased the maxim's degree of persuasiveness, which is supported by the positive emotions of elevation and resolution.

Rogl's way of dealing with the prominent heroic slogan, however, is not the only one. His colleague Joe Zawinul, who composed and performed in Jazz-related fields, alluded to it in a rather ironic, clearly anti-heroic manner. Three years after Rogl's cantata, his radio play-like work *Mauthausen – Vom großen Sterben hören/Chronicles from the Ashes* was performed on 8 August 1998, the 60th anniversary of the construction of the concentration camp. Like Rogl's cantata, the performance place was the quarry. Again towards the end of the piece, he referred to the maxim "Never again" in a number that, at the beginning, focusses on the problem of survivor guilt and then quotes "no more, no more" in a jazzy style. To what degree this passage – the text and the finger snapping – also refers to the refrain of "Hit the road Jack"[63] is unclear. This example, however, serves to demonstrate the wide spectrum of possible musical interpretations of the Holocaust. Heroisation is not the only way of musically coping with it and, therefore, it is significant if a composer uses heroic musical tropes.

### Martyr-Heroes and -Heroines in Christianity and Judaism. Helmut Schmidinger's *Momente*

The final part of this article focusses on a specific kind of heroism – the conflation of martyrdom and heroism – as it manifests itself in *Drei Momente über Motive aus dem Lied 'Die Moorsoldaten'* by the Austrian contemporary composer Helmut Schmidinger, which was premiered during the liberation celebration in 2005.[64]

It is well known in Holocaust studies that, after 1945, Jewish and Christian theologians, artists, and other intellectuals explained and understood the Holocaust in terms of martyrdom. For this interpretation, Jewish authors such as Menachem Mendel Schneerson, Elie Wiesel, and Albert Friedlander[65] could draw on Jewish martyrology. Jewish martyrology – which needs to be distinguished from Christian martyrology – can be traced back to the *Books of the Maccabees* written in the first century BCE and blossomed in the Middle Ages[66] when Christians had gained religious supremacy in Europe and often forced Jews to convert.[67] In contrast to the Jewish interpreters of the Holocaust, Christian writers such as the Catholic Jacques

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63  This song by Percy Mayfield became famous through Ray Charles's interpretation together with changing co-performers.

64  Helmut Schmidinger, Drei Momente über Motive aus dem Lied "Die Moorsoldaten", for mixed choir and piano, Frankfurt am Main 2005. On Schmidinger, see: http://www.helmutschmidinger.at (21 February 2020).

65  Menachem Mendel Schneerson, Every Jew Has a Silver Lining, 1991, https://www.chabad.org/therebbe/article_cdo/aid/2487536/jewish/Every-Jew-Has-a-Silver-Lining.htm (21 February 2020); Elie Wiesel/Albert H. Friedlander, A Liturgical Offering for Yom Ha-Shoah, in: The Six Days of Destruction, Oxford et al. 1988, 63-74, here 64.

66  Paul Middleton traced the idea(l) of martyrdom back to Maimonides. Paul Middleton, Martyrdom. A Guide for the Perplexed, London 2011, 150.

67  Martyrdom served Jews as a means to compete with Christianity. Daniel Boyarin, Dying for God Martyrdom and the Making of Christianity and Judaism, Stanford 1999, 105 for instance.

Maritain[68] and Jacques Madaule[69] constructed an analogy between the Passion of Jesus and the victims of the concentration camps and ghettos.[70] Not surprisingly, since members of related cultures usually engage in cultural exchange with each other, some intellectuals designed a mixture of Jewish and Christian martyrology. Marc Chagall's painting "White Crucifixion" of 1938 is illustrative of this direction.[71] It shows a crucified martyr with a Jewish prayer shawl in a surrounding that refers to various actual events in Nazi Germany.[72] Regarding Mauthausen, the 1947 plan to erect a huge cross on the *Appellplatz* after having razed the complex of buildings and the presence of members of the church during the liberation celebrations might also be connected with the – in this case, clearly Christian-oriented – martyrological view of the Holocaust.[73]

For the understanding of the role of heroism in coming to terms to the Holocaust – both in general and in Austria in particular – martyrological interpretations are of particular interest because martyrs and heroes – male and female – are often identi-fied with each other. This manifests itself in medieval Christian narratives in which the martyr is explicitly called a hero.[74] The religious scholar Shira Lander recently defined martyrs in the same vein:

> "People who demonstrated willingness to die for their faithfulness to God and the Law through their radical actions were considered martyrs, whether they actually died or not. By so doing, martyrs were heroes: they exemplified courage."[75]

Last, but not least, Yad Vashem refers to heroes and martyrs in the same breath, yet without specifying the relationship between the two groups. It is not clear whether the label "hero" refers to the survivors and "martyr" to the victims – or whether all prosecuted Jews are heroes and heroines just because they are martyrs.

Various scholars and intellectuals, such as Emil Fackenheim, Norman Lamm, and Paul Middleton, have voiced serious and convincing criticism of the martyro-logical interpretations of the Holocaust because, as Middleton stated, "Nazis were not principally attempting to convert Jews to Christianity, but to destroy them" and, unlike martyrs, "[m]any died not knowing they were going to their deaths, and very few died voluntarily".[76] Yet the martyrological interpretation continues to be pro-

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68  Jacques Maritain, La passion d'Israel [The Passion of Israel], in: La mystère d'Israel [The Mystery of Israel], Paris 1965.

69  Jacques Madaule, La tragédie juive et le mystère d'Israël [The Jewish Tragedy and the Mystery of Israel], in: Témoignage Chrétien, 2 (4 June 1948). For more on this issue, see: Daniel Cohen, Good Jews. Philosemitism in Post-Holocaust Europe, 1945 to Present, in preparation.

70  Tom Lawson, Shaping the Holocaust. The Influence of Christian Discourse on Perceptions of the European Jewish Tragedy, in: Holocaust and Genocide Studies 21 (Winter 2007) 3, 404-420. I am grateful to Daniel Cohen for having drawn my attention to this issue.

71  See: https://getcustomart.com/products/marc-chagall-white-crucifixion (21 February 2020).

72  On Chagall's interpretation of antisemitic pogroms and National Socialist persecution as Jewish martyrdom, see: Ziva Amishai-Maisels, Chagall's "White Crucifixion", in: Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies 17 (1991) 2, 138-153 and 180-181.

73  Bertrand Perz, Die KZ-Gedenkstätte Mauthausen 1945 bis zur Gegenwart, Innsbruck 2006, 61.

74  Roman Hankeln, Holy Heroes. On the Varieties of a Metaphor and its Musical Expression in the Medieval Historiae, in: Beate Kutschke/Katherine Butler (ed.), The Heroic in Music, forthcoming.

75  Shira Lander, Martyrdom in Jewish Traditions, https://www.bc.edu/content/dam/files/research_sites/cjl/texts/cjrelations/resources/articles/Lander_martyrdom/index.html, (20 February 2020). Lander refers here to "the three young men of Daniel 3 who survived the furnace ordeal" and to whom "were continually referred to as martyrs in both Jewish and Christian tradition".

76  Middleton, Martyrdom, 151 and 150. Similarly, Stanislaw Krajewski argued: "The word [martyrdom] is not neutral. In both Jewish, and subsequently Christian traditions it means suffering for the sake of one's faith. For Jews, it has been observed many times, Auschwitz, or the Shoah in general, does not have this redemptive quality. It is an ultimate horror: Jews were condemned independently of their willingness to defend their faith, indeed independently of their behavior. For most believing Jews, Auschwitz must have meaning, but that

moted. Turning to the phenomenon of heroisation in music relating to the Holocaust, the question arises: Do musical styles and idioms exist that can be considered a reference to martyrological-heroic ideas? And, if so, does the music performed in the context of the liberation celebrations avail itself of those styles and idioms and thereby evoke the interpretation of the Holocaust as a martyrological-heroic event?

Musicians and musicologists involved in the performance or research of protest music have argued that the Protestant chorale that was introduced into church music in the course of the Lutheran reformation articulates a protest attitude, at least if its inherent stylistic features – a moderate range, a simple melody, a tendency to modal tonality, and homophony – are performed with iambic or trochaic rhythm and in march-like tempo.[77] Political activists have therefore used energetically performed chorale songs in order to communicate dissent and musically 'accompany' their protest.[78] Walter Mossmann, a German singer-songwriter and activist in the anti-nuclear movement of the 1970s, intentionally adopted the American union song *Which Side Are You On* for his *Die Wacht am Rhein* because, as he argued, it possesses the properties of the Protestant chorale:

> "Except for the activist cadence with a leading tone in g sharp [Mossmann finishes the song with a modern dominant-tonic cadence, characteristic of major-minor-tonality, instead of a typically Dorian minor dominant, as in Pete Seeger's version], the modified melody has become more clearly Dorian than the old version [of Seeger and before him Florence Reece]. […] In the church hymnbook, there are in fact numerous Dorian chorales […]. What do people associate with the memories of these melodies in the [Dorian] church mode? The avowal, the consciousness of the togetherness of the congregation, the feeling of a higher justice that is not taken into account in this vale of tears."[79]

Just as protest songs, workers' songs, and the Protestant chorale share compositional features with each other, all three have a similar extra-musical character.[80] Protest and protest music, Protestantism and the Protestant chorale, as well as unions' and workers' songs are naturally imbued with heroism and martyrdom. The dissenting protesters, Protestants, and workers behave heroically in that they confront the adversarial, much more powerful authorities – the state and state institutions, the Roman Catholic Church, and the employers of the workers respectively. They are martyrs in that they accept being punished for daring to confront the authorities. Therefore, the listeners attribute a martyrological-heroic character to protest songs, workers' songs, and the Protestant chorale.

The concentration camp song *Die Moorsoldaten*, which was written and composed by inmates of the Börgermoor concentration camp in 1933 and served

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meaning seems totally hidden. In contrast, from the Christian point of view, the redemptive interpretation is natural. Even Pope John Paul II, whose sensitivity to the Jewish fate is obvious, expressed remarks to the effect that so great a suffering must bring great fruits". Stanislaw Krajewski, The Controversy over Carmel at Auschwitz. A Personal Polish-Jewish Chronology, in: Carol Rittner/John K. Roth (ed.), Memory Offended. The Auschwitz Convent Controversy, New York et al. 1991, 117-134, here 121. Krajewski was here referring to a remark made by the pope during a meeting with Jewish representatives on 14 June 1987 on a visit to Poland.

77   Performed with an even, slow rhythm, the Protestant chorale has a more solemn character.

78   Beate Kutschke, Political Music and Protest Song, in: Kathrin Fahlenbrach/Martin Klimke/Joachim Scharloth (ed.), Protest Cultures. A Companion, New York/Oxford 2016, 264-272, here 268.

79   Walter Moßmann, Die Wacht am Rhein, in: Walter Moßmann/Peter Schleuning (ed.), Alte und neue politische Lieder, Reinbek 1978, 18-80, here 65-66.

80   Compare the energetic, combative performance of the Lutheran chorale *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott* with dotted rhythm and, in the second strophe, heroic trumpets, with Mossmann's *Wacht am Rhein*: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=spNUXzYYO8U; https://youtu.be/BsMeOFghsT4 (21 February 2020).

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**Music example 3:** Helmut Schmidinger, *Drei Momente über Motive aus dem Lied 'Die Moorsoldaten'.*

Schmidinger as musical material for variations in his composition, possesses all the characteristics of the Protestant-style protest/workers' song if performed in the march-like, combative version.[81]

In light of the heroic-martyrological character of the Protestant/protest/workers' song, it is not surprising that, for the final section of his *Drei Momente*, a kind of variation of *Die Moorsoldaten*, Helmut Schmidinger chose the setting of the romantic choral song, a genre that is distantly related to the Protestant chorale style: It is slow and homophonic, but uses a romantic major-minor tonal instead of modal tonality and, in this sense, is less combative and more emotional (music example 3). Schmidinger thereby maintained the associative field of political, religious and labour protest, heroism and martyrdom appropriate to the context of Mauthausen's 'first history' as a concentration camp for primarily political prisoners, but also added a sentimental flavour.

### Heroic Pathos and Victim Narrative. Two Sides of the Same Coin

Investigating music and its contextual discourses that was performed in the context of the Mauthausen liberation celebrations, this article has shed light on three different manifestations of heroic thinking in the context of coming to terms with the Holocaust: first, the triumphant transformation of Mauthausen as a place of torture and death into a place of commemoration and overcoming of 'evil'; second, the invocation "Never again", which functions as a heroic moral imperative; and third, the heroic-martyrological interpretation of suffering in Mauthausen that, as indicated in the preceding section, makes less sense for Jewish victims than for political victims. For, unlike the Jewish victims, whose classification as Jewish was imposed on them by Nazi racism and could not be changed even if they had wanted it to be, the politically persecuted individuals could theoretically give up their opposition and conform with the National Socialist political system if they were willing to betray their political values and convictions.

These examples demonstrate that the heroisation of the Holocaust, which critical historians consider characteristic of a discourse prevailing between 1945 and 1989, which focussed on the allegedly victorious side of the Holocaust and suppressed suffering in the concentration camps, did not stop with the turn to the victim narrative. On the contrary, the victim narrative needs heroisation in order to actualise itself – not with the purpose of heroising the victims, but because the heroisation of a sociopolitical attitude condemning the Holocaust encourages the 'descendants' of the historical event to adopt this attitude. Music plays an important role in this context. By non-verbal expressive means, it evokes the heroic emotions of triumph, elevation, and sacrifice and, thus, reinforces the moral imperative of "Never again!"

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81 For a mildly combative interpretation, see: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j2-hTItnpuU (21 February 2020).

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