



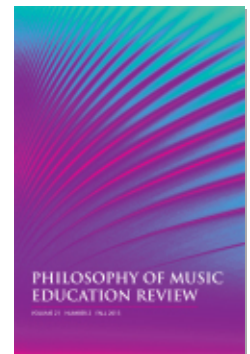
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REMEMBERING THE SINGING OF SILENCED VOICES BRUNDIBÁR AND PROBLEMS OF PEDAGOGY

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In this essay I explore problems of pedagogy related to Hans Krása's Brundibár by drawing heavily upon the thinking of two divergent theoretical perspectives regarding Holocaust testimony as advanced by Giorgio Agamben (2002) and Shoshana Felman (1992). I theorize that lodged within a space of difficult knowledge coalesced through violence, trauma, complicity, memory, and music lies a rupture at the heart of the Brundibár experience. This space is created yet not altogether embraced by contemporary musical experiences of Brundibár in the most extensive and all-encompassing comprehension of its musicking: experiencing the operetta allows its participants to hear those whom it is impossible to hear. I claim that the musical experience as inhered within and enabled by the operetta serves a testimonial and therefore pedagogical function. This function, figuratively hearing and being present to Brundibár's present absences, implies an empathic walking-beside-in-solidarity and is a position that I suggest allows participants to engage with the operetta more fully.

“*At’ křičím sebevíc, neslyší nikdo nic.*”
 [No matter how loud we sing, nobody hears anything.]¹

In 1975, Joža Karas introduced Hans Krása’s children’s operetta, *Brundibár*, to United States’ audiences,² a charming work performed in the Theresienstadt ghetto during the Holocaust. For decades the work laid mute, its silence as well as the silencing of the voices that sang it being the intentional result of state-sanctioned terror and murder.

Since its rediscovery, *Brundibár* has experienced a renaissance, enjoying wide popularity in North America and abroad. As the result of collaboration between Tony Kushner and Maurice Sendak,³ its most spectacular incarnation culminated in a 2005 off-Broadway run. *Brundibár* connotes significantly more than the sum of its musically allegorical parts: the operetta is swathed within connotations of trauma, mourning, and remembrance rooted in its historical narrative. From the operetta’s premiere in Prague’s Hagibor orphanage to its overwhelming popularity during the *Shoah*⁴ as a staple of Theresienstadt’s musical culture, *Brundibár* has achieved iconic status as a salvific symbol of spiritual resistance: that good will triumph over evil through the redemption of a happy ending. But the *Shoah* informs us otherwise, that evil triumphed over good horrifically and repeatedly, its catastrophic ruptures resonating across time and space. It is this resonance that mesmerizes artists, scholars, teachers, audiences, and remnants of countless families with infinite variations on a single theme: Why?

In this essay I explore a slice of this question relating to children’s music learning and making via *Brundibár*. I lodge my query within in an imaginary space of difficult knowledge⁵ coalesced through violence, trauma, complicity, memory, and music. My inquiry responds to my conceptualization of a metaphorical rupture created, yet not altogether embraced by, contemporary musical experiences of *Brundibár* in an all-encompassing comprehension of its musicking.⁶ I wrestle with the experiencing of the operetta and the problematics of those experiences and consequently propose alternative pedagogical approaches to the work. Drawing heavily upon the thinking of Shoshana Felman⁷ and Giorgio Agamben,⁸ I argue that at the heart of *Brundibár*’s traumatic, experiential space lies an interstice of difficult knowledge, in which experiencing the operetta allows us the possibility to figuratively recall the singing of those whom it is impossible to hear.

To suggest “recalling” or “hearing” the singing of silenced voices is to imagine the impossible as possible, and I claim that the musical experience enabled by *Brundibár* might serve pedagogically as memorial and testimonial functions. As a memorial, the operetta’s late 20th and contemporary 21st century performances act as commemorative events where multiple aspects as well as victims of the *Shoah* are brought to mind and metaphorically summoned into our presence.

Testimonially, *Brundibár* does not serve juridical, declaratory, or evidentiary purposes but rather figuratively. The operetta-as-testimony is allegorical in that by experiencing it we are sonically reminded of its silenced voices—through its music, we hear the same notes that were once sung by the dead. *Brundibár* serves as a type of sonic/sung testimony in the stead of those for whom it is impossible to testify. Hence, *Brundibár's* memorial and testimonial functions converge, opening up possibilities for its participants to engage in a type of post-memorial or secondary witnessing:⁹ hearing and being attuned to a present absence.

[I]t is a question of the continuity of a community of memory, the delay or absence of closure, the questioning of received assumptions, a working through of trauma that leads, if not to a totalized understanding, to a greater incorporation of the holes in understanding and, to varying degrees, an assertion or resistance, that is, a recognition of and refusal to be subsumed by the abyss.¹⁰

Engaging with *Brundibár* as an act of secondary witnessing is similar to what Dori Laub alludes to as intersubjectivity. This stance requires the listener-witness to be a fellow traveler in uncharted territory, one who listens to and hears the silence, both in silence and in speech.¹¹

Experiencing *Brundibár* musically, with careful attention to pedagogical planning and scaffolding, presents possibilities as a site of resistance in which participants might develop the type of intersubjectivity that Laub proposes. The Shoah and in this instance, *Brundibár*, must be placed

in relation to the circumstances of its representation in the present. . . [to recognize] the altered ideological contexts of the present, the fragmented and conflicted nature of experience and subjectivity, and the difficulty of retrieving knowledge from the past, while using the events of the past to produce new knowledge and greater awareness in the present, that is, as sites of resistance.¹²

To develop an intersubjective relationship between *Brundibár* and its participants akin to secondary witnessing, I return to the interstice of difficult knowledge lying at the core of the *Brundibár* experience. This imaginary space offers up a site of resistance, a lacuna with which the operetta's participants engage intersubjectively as secondary witnesses.

Within this lacuna, it is the memory of the sound of the silenced voices' singing that bids us to engage with *Brundibár*. This elusive "it" compels theater and opera companies to produce the operetta, draws music educators to embrace this work into their teaching, and provides participants with opportunities to draw near to hear the voices of those rendered voiceless. In this manner, *Brundibár*

potentially serves as memorial, testimony, and hence pedagogically so that we might “listen to what is unsaid.”¹³ By doing so, we open ourselves to listen to the silenced voices that once sang—and to interrogate our desires for doing so. It means to listen in solidarity with the silenced without presuming to imagine their pain. To do so steals the pain¹⁴ that belongs only to those erased in the Shoah.

Two assumptions underlie my conceptualization of *Brundibár*'s interstitial caesura—the memory of the sound of silenced voices who once sang: (1) *Brundibár*'s reception by both cast and audiences in the Theresienstadt ghetto often signified (and is deployed to signify) spiritual resistance to oppression; (2) resultantly, *Brundibár* is entwined irrevocably with its traumatic universe. The operetta was enormously important to its Theresienstadt participants; Ela W., states that the operetta's “Victory Song” indicated their symbolic overcoming of Hitler:

the role of *Brundibár* . . . it was a mean man. I always say, that first of all, music was part of our lives there, it was part of the resistance against the Germans. We couldn't fight differently, but we wanted to show them that we would one day win this war against them.¹⁵

Brundibár continues to beguile its publics, perhaps not so much as a musical work but because of its exceptional context. Yet without the necessary philosophical guideposts to navigate the difficult knowledge embedded within its traumatic universe as well as the rupture at its center, participants' interactions with *Brundibár* risk being superficial, manipulated, and coerced. Grounding my thinking in that of Agamben's and Felman's, I grapple to establish philosophical markers that point to a different way of pedagogical engagement with this operetta. I present a brief background of *Brundibár* and follow with discussions of how the work is currently approached. I conclude by proposing an alternative approach to musically engaging with *Brundibár* and its implications for music education.

BRUNDIBÁR'S CONTEXT: A CONSTELLATION OF TRAUMA

A key feature of Theresienstadt's cultural life, *Brundibár* was one of a myriad of cultural activities flourishing within the ghetto. As a so-called model camp of the Nazi concentration and extermination system, Theresienstadt warehoused prominent Jewish internees including musicians, artists, and intelligentsia from the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, and later from across Europe. The ghetto's infamy is largely due to its comprising a highly unusual yet vibrant art world.¹⁶ Saul Friedländer chronicles the “dual face” of Theresienstadt: as a transit/assembly camp for the transport of “deportees” marked for almost certain murder in the East—notably Auschwitz and Treblinka, and as a Potemkin village

that successfully fooled the world.¹⁷ The masquerade involved presenting cultural activities such as *Brundibár* to visiting delegations, including the infamous 1944 visit by the International Red Cross,¹⁸ which was seduced by the charade and required no further inquiry into the treatment of Jews by the Nazis.¹⁹ To further insure against outside inquiry, the Nazis produced “The Führer Gives a Town to the Jews,” a propaganda film portraying Theresienstadt as a place of parks, swimming pools, active cultural life, and happy faces—including footage of *Brundibár*.²⁰

While a site of extreme deprivation, Theresienstadt immediately became a site of clandestine and ultimately SS-sanctioned outlets for organized cultural activities. Internees presented academic lectures, produced multiple theatrical and musical performances, and both children and adults created visual art works. Alice S., a concert pianist, described it as “amazing. The musical activities, lectures about philosophy, mathematics, literature, languages, theater, whatever you want, you could listen to it.”²¹ Anna B. declared that Theresienstadt’s cultural activities were “Quite fantastic—concerts, operas, choirs, theatre, and reviews, everything.”²² One of *Brundibár*’s singers, Anita S. summed up her experience there, “That it was marvelous, that in an atmosphere of killing and fear, and, and...destruction, people created art.”²³

Karas describes the musical life of Theresienstadt in his text, *Music in Terezín 1941–1945* (1985), devoting an entire chapter to *Brundibár*:

Of all the musical activities in Terezín, *Brundibár* easily became the top attraction. Although there was no charge, admission was by tickets only, and these were not easy to obtain, since the demand was tremendous. There are stories about barter of the tickets . . . It became almost a status symbol in the concentration camp to attend this particular opera. The children represented the hope for the future, while the story itself acquired a political connotation. The mean *Brundibár* personified Evil.²⁴

The operetta was performed repeatedly by children, and most were eventually murdered in Auschwitz. I suspect that *Brundibár* performed a key role in the ghetto’s art world largely due to its presentation by an appealing cast of child singers of its allegorical subject matter: the usurping of the wicked organ grinder, *Brundibár*, by a sister and brother with the aid of their animal friends. Survivor testimonies indicate that the operetta resonated powerfully within the ghetto, speaking directly to their longing for social impact²⁵ on their untenable situation and barely existent resources—for survival. This desire to impact, to demand subjectivity while simultaneously experiencing state-sanctioned systemic objectification, reverberates within our post-Shoah present and devolves into a discursive reliance on the trope of spiritual resistance.²⁶

PROBLEMATIZING CURRENT APPROACHES TO TEACHING BRUNDIBÁR

“Flašinetář hraje dál svou píseň a všichni broukají do taktu. Děti nikdo neslyší.”

*[The organ-grinder goes on playing, all are humming. Nobody listens to the children.]*²⁷

A good deal of *Brundibár's* broad popularity and increasingly global reach, particularly in North American discourse and culture, can be attributed to the prominent cultural role that the Shoah occupies. Within the United States, we often look to the Shoah for universal lessons made palatable by their presenting quick fixes, particularly those that salve our consciences by papering over the micro-aggressions perpetuated in daily life against the other—in which we are complicit. *Brundibár* is frequently deployed by a growing industry of sorts, chief among them being the production of curriculum guides, presentations of workshops geared toward music educators, and productions of live, in-school performances²⁸ typically occurring in conjunction with professional and/or semi-professional theatre/opera outreach activities. *Brundibár's* popularity is problematic: its combination of children, music, and connotative tragedy make for a recipe that translates into ticket sales, the marketing and sales of scores and recordings, and consultants' and workshop fees. The consumption of *Brundibár* as a profitable musical commodity must be acknowledged.

Tangled within *Brundibár's* mélange of popularity, social messaging, and commodification, the operetta's contemporary pedagogical praxis rests on traditional music listening and performance experiences. Student learning is sometimes extended through transdisciplinary connections outside the music classroom, such as literacy initiatives, visual art, language arts, and social studies.²⁹ However, current instructional foci incorporating the operetta increasingly revolve around extramural goals that forefront character education and anti-bullying campaigns, thereby relegating musical engagement to the margins. Without requisite care, such goals risk becoming manipulative, particularly when deployed in an extension of the trope, “never again.” Educational endeavors in the United States provide fertile ground for this injunction, particularly when deployed for moralistic and political purposes. Roger Simon, Sharon Rosenberg, and Claudia Eppert define these practices as strategic pedagogies, gestures that are

aligned with the anticipation of a reconciled future in which one hopes that justice and harmonious social relations might be secured. This is a hope that anxiously attends to a horrific past in expectation of the promise that, by investing attention in narratives that sustain moral lessons, there will be a

better tomorrow . . . The hope enacted in and through such remembrance is dependent on a moralizing pedagogy: the provision of images and narratives against which the future is defined as different, a time in which the past “must never happen again.”³⁰

Teaching strategies grounded in notions of salvation all too often fail, and I detect a reliance on the parts of music educators, administrators, and theater professionals to deploy *Brundibár* similarly: salvifically in the service of socio-political efforts to teach leadership, moral character, and tolerance. Such actions might appear benign yet skirt the Shoah’s difficult knowledge, avoiding meaningful engagements with *Brundibár* that support understanding its place within the Catastrophe. Moralistic and politically motivated praxes fail profoundly to change the socio-political landscape in which our children live³¹ and become ineffective bulwarks against social indifference. Moralizing and socio-politically motivated pedagogies rarely if ever safeguard against continuing local and global violence, including the bullying of too many children in places where all children should be safe. We are implored to never forget and implore our children to do the same in the hope of never again yet clearly, the lessons of the past continue to elude us.

SENTIMENTALIZING, ELICITING, AND MANIPULATING EMOTIONS

Teaching discourses rooted in never again intend to engage students in types of historical consciousness, presumably to preempt hate. However, these discursive practices all too often rely on oversimplifications or forced choices between a pair of bipolar opposites when approaching the Shoah: (1) either as a reductive, decontextualized collection of facts, actions, and deaths, or (2) as a sacralized event that is unknowable, unimaginable, unspeakable, and . . . unsingable in its awfulness. Pedagogical practices that ascribe exclusively to one position or the other, realist or antirealist, miss the mark.³² A solution lies somewhere in between: a pedagogical space capable of accommodating both the extraordinariness and the ordinariness of the Shoah.

Contemporary pedagogical approaches to *Brundibár* often serve to sentimentalize, elicit emotions, and manipulate imaginations as part of goals purporting to arouse empathy toward the implied other. In preparation for their interactions with *Brundibár*, children typically engage in activities intended to scaffold their understanding of and enhance their affective musical engagement with the operetta.³³ A desirable component of these experiences includes a Shoah survivor, preferably an individual who as a child sang in Theresienstadt’s productions of *Brundibár*, to speak at performances and lectures. This practice is emotionally compelling; we are approaching a time when Shoah survivors will no longer be

alive to speak their truths. However, deployed in combination with the activities I note above, survivor testimony accompanying *Brundibár* performances is easily manipulated, holding potential for emotion-laden experiences that might harm if not approached with care.

Teaching and performance practices that have as goals to open hearts and inculcate empathy are problematic:

To be receptive to the difficulties of the other is not the same as feeling another's pain, itself impossible, because at first, when confronted with expressions of pain, one tries to attach by imagining how one would feel in similar conditions. This imaginary move [is] sometimes mistaken as empathy ... and ... within the confines of the narcissistic impulse to control and judge.³⁴

Hence, utmost care must be taken. Pedagogical practices encouraging *Brundibár's* contemporary participants to imagine their walking and singing in the shoes of those who have gone before them bear potential harm. Not only do such practices collude in denying the possibility of participants' becoming attuned to *Brundibár's* interstitial silence, they also preclude them from connecting with the lacuna lying at the operetta's core. Sherene Razack's work interrogating empathy with the other is key: to teach the operetta with the express purpose of cultivating empathy is a slippery business. Requesting students to empathize with those whose voices were assaultively silenced is profoundly troubling as imagining another's pain or trauma is impossible. What emerges is a simulacrum belonging only to the imaginer while simultaneously erasing the other. Empathy as such is psychically and ethically bankrupt, obliterating again those annihilated in the Shoah. Such practices continue the silencing of *Brundibár's* others, perpetuating their erasure.

SACRALIZATION AND SENTIMENTALIZATION

Brundibár, nestled within its chrysalis of traumatic connotations, is easily deployed for salvific and moralistic discourses; such positioning implies a so-called higher purpose, a sanctification of *Brundibár*. Doing so seals it and the experiencing of it off from critical inquiry. Sentimentalizing *Brundibár's* child singers and venerating their experiences perpetuates the violent muting of their voices, colluding with the Nazi project begun in the last century. Like the materiality of Theresienstadt itself, strategic practices that disallow critical engagement with the operetta serve to imprison it discursively, ghetto-izing it. In Agamben's discussion of euphemein, he takes up the issue of silencing in relation to the Shoah—constructing it as unsayable, unspeakable, and by extension incomprehensible, unimaginable—by posing the question, “Why confer on extermination the prestige of the mystical?”³⁵ Similarly, sacralizing and sentimentalizing *Brundibár* re-

quires that we regard the operetta and our experiences with it iconically—from a position of euphemein—that we similarly “adore” *Brundibár* behind a scrim of silence:

The verb that we have translated “to adore in silence” is, in the Greek text, euphemein. Euphemein, which originally means “to observe religious silence,” is the origin of the modern word “euphemism,” which denotes those terms that are substituted for other terms that cannot be uttered for reasons on modesty or civility. To say that Auschwitz is “unsayable” or “incomprehensible is equivalent to euphemein, to adoring in silence, as one does with a god. Regardless of one’s intentions, this contributes to its glory.³⁶

Brundibár, cloaked in its difficult knowledge and stalked by its traumatic universe, lends itself to such treatment; those participating within the operetta’s milieu risk being seduced by its trauma and silenced through adoration into unquestioning voicelessness. This prefiguring of *Brundibár* as a pseudo-religious object perpetuates the violence of silencing upon the voiceless as well transforms *Brundibár* into an unknowable, sacred memento mori. In the face of such reverence, a danger lies in the potential for fetishizing the operetta through discourses of veneration, which in turn enjoin the inquirer from becoming attuned to the memory of voiceless voices that I argue sing at the core of the *Brundibár* experience.

Brundibár’s arc of traumatic connotations lends the operetta exceedingly well to the strategic deployment of the pedagogical objectives that I discuss above. The discursive tropes surrounding the operetta’s performances often embrace a thinly veiled salvific ethos with overtones of redemption. Discourses of spiritual resistance on the parts of the operetta’s silenced singers are often invoked through contemporary pedagogical practices that rely upon and perpetuate *Brundibár*’s sacralization. The result positions *Brundibár* as a memorial that resists critical interrogation, sealed off from deep, meaningful engagements through attitudes and practices of silent veneration. Hence, the muting of *Brundibár*’s voices continues, perpetuating the violences against the silenced. This attitude toward the operetta, congruent with Agamben’s wrestling with euphemein, not only encourages the objectification of *Brundibár* and the desubjectification of its voiceless voices, it also starves the experience of deep subjective engagements.

Brundibár’s sacralization invokes Luke Howard’s discussion of the myth-making surrounding Górecki’s *Symphony No. 3*:³⁷ the present-day treatment of the operetta as sacred object disallows broader possibilities for alternate perspectives and experiences of it, cultivating a mythology that, hewing to a particular ideology, limits future generations’ understanding of it. Pedagogical practices that do so serve strategic moralistic and political purposes, particularly in which “never again” occupies a prime position in that constellation.³⁸ To place this burden of

meaning making on *Brundibár* exceeds its capabilities, yet the operetta is often manipulated toward these ends. Such intentions fail, obscuring possibilities for *Brundibár*'s participants to better understand themselves and others in their present-day relationships to the Shoah—we cry, “Never again,” out of a sense of powerlessness, yet what we cry out against continues.

APPROACHING BRUNDIBÁR DIFFERENTLY

The Idea of a Lacuna

Alternative pedagogical approaches to the *Brundibár* experience are needed that ultimately provide potential for attunement with the operetta's present absences. To accomplish this, the lacuna that I imagine lay at *Brundibár*'s core must be laid bare and theorized. As I claimed above, it is the memory of the sound of children's voices singing, the present absences who once sang, that I imagine at the heart of the operetta's interstitial rupture. Agamben maintains that a similar caesura inhabits survivor testimony, and he draws upon the survivor's voice as articulated by Primo Levi:

“There is another lacuna in every testimony: witnesses are by definition survivors and so all, to some degree, enjoyed a privilege. . . . No one has told the destiny of the common prisoner, since it was not materially possible for [him/her] to survive.”³⁹

In drawing upon Agamben to frame *Brundibár*'s lacuna, I submit that awareness to it, from the survivor who presents testimony at its performances to those participating within the operetta's experience, opens up pathways for empathic attunement. To do so, we must allow *Brundibár* to strike at our inner child in response to the Shoah's multiple violences: in hearing children's voices that through their singing breathe life into *Brundibár*, we are reminded that these voices recall those we will never hear: the child singers silenced as a direct result of state-sanctioned codifications of racial difference, terror, and murder.

Attunement with *Brundibár*'s present absences requires interrogating what it means to witness and therefore, the potentialities of testimony and memorial in relation to the operetta. If we and those we teach can become fully present to the figurative singing testimony of *Brundibár*'s caesura, the possibility exists for us to resonate in response to both the testimony and the voices of those made voiceless. Doing so depends on understanding how testimony is bound up in alternative pedagogies of musical remembrance that seek not to provide answers but rather to pose questions that critically interrogate how *Brundibár* is deployed.

BRUNDIBÁR: TESTIMONY, MEMORIAL, AND WITNESSING

I propose that the *Brundibár* experience, while not originally intended as testimony or such work, fulfills a purpose akin to that of testimony. Because of its intricate constellation of traumatic contextual connotations, issues of memory and post-memory, and the poignancy of children's music making, *Brundibár* might indeed function as a type of testimony. The greatest strength it offers for doing so is cocooned within its interstitial lacuna: the remembrance of the sound itself of singing voices, which cannot be articulated but, nonetheless, transmits meaning. However, testimony requires that a witness testify, and I turn to Agamben and Felman to address this complexity.

Agamben defers to Levi, theorizing that the so-called "true" or "complete" witness was the one who perished⁴⁰—during the Shoah surviving was the exception. Agamben tenders the impossibility of witnessing—something only the dead can accomplish; yet the dead cannot testify to their own deaths. The task falls instead to the incomplete witness, embodied by the survivor, to testify for the dead. Central to survivors' testimony is "what it lacks; at its center it contains something that cannot be borne witness to and that discharges the survivors of authority."⁴¹ This, according to Agamben, is the lacuna existing at the center of Shoah testimony. Survivors who participate as part of the *Brundibár* experience, by virtue of their material presence, attest to the missing testimony of their childhood friends: those children selected for transport to the East and denied opportunities for survival or a properly commemorated death. Because of this infinite loss, Agamben maintains that survivors' attestations are impossible: "Whoever assumes the charge of bearing witness in their name knows that he or she must bear witness in the name of the impossibility of bearing witness."⁴² In the matter of *Brundibár*, we are obliged to be present to the voices of those rendered voiceless.

Felman approaches testimony vis á vis the literal concept of voice as invoked in Claude Lanzmann's masterful film, *Shoah*, grappling with how voice performs in remembrance, testimony, and witnessing. Felman applies musical metaphors to her analysis of the film, noting its "refrain-like structure"⁴³ and suggests that testifying to the untestifiable is "transmitted by the signature of the voice."⁴⁴ I interpret Felman's concept of vocal signature to be the literal sound of the voice and consequently, the memory of the sound of the voice:

What makes the power of the testimony in the film and what constitutes in general the impact of the film is not the words but the equivocal, puzzling relation between words and voice, the interaction, that is, between words, voice, rhythm, melody, images, writing, and silence. Each testimony speaks to us beyond its words, beyond its melody, like the unique performance of a singing.⁴⁵

Agamben dissents with Felman's musical metaphor, asserting it aestheticizes Shoah testimony in her attempt to explain its paradox: the impossibility of bearing witness.⁴⁶ However, I suggest it is precisely Felman's notion of vocal signature that invites us in to *Brundibár's* caesura: the memory of the sound of silenced voices singing. *Brundibár's* vocal signature serves as a sonic "veteris vestigial flammae,"⁴⁷ residing in the memory of its survivors and possessing the potential to dwell in the memories of those involved in its contemporary experiences. Whereas present-day recollections consist of contiguous interactions with *Brundibár*, these experiences can powerfully evoke the voices of its earlier singers. This is not to say that engaging with *Brundibár* means to walk in the shoes of the children who sang in Theresienstadt; doing so steals the pain of those silenced others⁴⁸ and commits further violence by erasing again those denied their ethical subjectivity.

Brundibár shares an aspect in common with all musical works: each performance presents possibilities to re-populate and reproduce itself via the singing or listening to it of its melodies and rhythms—the same melodies and rhythms that Theresienstadt's children sang decades ago. No two performances of a work are identical, and the same holds true for contemporary performances of *Brundibár* in relation to those enacted in Theresienstadt, yet contemporary children sing and listen to the identical melodic and rhythmic pathways; in doing so, they recreate sonic incarnations of *Brundibár*. To sing, perform, or listen to this operetta in our post-Shoah present sonically brings it to life—albeit one that is multiply different—for the duration of a performance. Recalling the voices of Theresienstadt's child singers via the singing of *Brundibár* by 21st century children both evokes and invokes the memory of the voiceless. Hence, today's performances have the potential to elicit remembrances of those who were silenced via children's voices in the present. This as Felman suggests is *Brundibár's* vocal signature,⁴⁹ the aural-ity of singing children's voices, which summons the memories of those silenced voices. In this manner, *Brundibár* serves as a musical memorial.

If the vocal signature is that which is impossible to articulate and thus ineffable, I argue that Agamben's position complements that of Felman's. Agamben writes, "Testimony takes place in the non-place of articulation. In the non-place of the Voice stands not writing, but the witness."⁵⁰ Hence, it is in the actual sounds and silences of the witness' voice that testimony occurs, that is, the vocal signature of the witness. Extending Agamben's thinking to *Brundibár*, within it are literal sounds and silences that, through Krása's musical imagination, are woven together to create an expressive whole. Metaphorically, at the core of the operetta's experience exists a silence that by virtue of its traumatic context continues to sing in memories and imaginations. This lacuna is experienced figuratively as devoid of sound but which, upon close attunement, is realized as full, resonant, embracing a silence that not only is not silent but also refuses to be silenced.

John Cage maintained the impossibility of creating an absolute, literal silence—even in silence we hear the sounds of the environment, our breathing, and blood rushing in our ears. To Cage, music consisted of notated and non-notated sounds, the latter of which appeared in written music as literal silences, opening “the doors of the music to the sounds that happen[ed] to be in the environment.”⁵¹ I imagine similarly the interstice that lies at *Brundibár* innermost core as a full rather than empty space, one that refuses to be silenced and continues to sing.

Because *Brundibár* dwells within a musical, socio-culturally situated world as both a music composition and performance, literal silence serves as an integral component of that world. There is significance in the operetta’s actual silences—it is impossible to have music without silence and as such, the silences within music implore listeners to attend to them as well. Silence as such is “performative, enacted through sound rather than by the curtailment of sound.”⁵² Analogously, I imagine *Brundibár*’s literal musical silences as standing in for its figurative interstitial singing silences; they are interpretive rather than absolute, expressive, heightened by its musical sounds into something transformative. Silence then becomes contextual and serves multiple roles according to its musical situatedness, creating boundaries, interruptions, and communicating meaning.⁵³ Constructed in this way, silence retains active and relational roles, serving to articulate rather than to mute, adopting figurative connotations as in Györgi Ligeti’s music of silence;⁵⁴ Morton Feldman mused that silence is “a real thing, it’s a breathing thing.”⁵⁵ Silence literally frames *Brundibár* but as a result of its traumatic context, it haunts the operetta figuratively: the resonating silence of the Theresienstadt singers’ goneness.

Edward Cone speaks to the puzzle that literal silence affords music, addressing it in terms of framing music and as constitutive in and of the music itself. Silence offers up perceptible demarcations, serving our desire for it to frame both the beginning of a performance and its conclusion, allowing us the necessary “silence to cover our return to ordinary time.”⁵⁶ The boundary between sound and silence is sometimes so subtle as to be almost imperceptible, the edges of sound so blurred and indistinct that, as in Cone’s discussion of Debussy’s *Brouillards*, the periphery between sound and silence is indistinguishable, therefore arbitrary: “Here the score, and therefore what we actually hear, comes to an end before the final resolution of the tonic. If we are to hear it at all, we must supply it in our own imaginations.”⁵⁷ Similarly, the traumatic connotations embracing *Brundibár* flicker at the edges of our imaginations during our engagements with it, as do the palpable present absences that inhabit the operetta’s liminal space, overlapping sound and silence.

Given the invisibility of sound and silence, we are afforded musical experi-

ences where perception allows both sound and silence to become part of each other; each requires the other. Felman's analysis of *Shoah* implies a kindred perspective in regard to testimony, alleging that Lanzman's work renders visible what is invisible—the voice, “and on the invisibility it renders tangible, of silence.”⁵⁸ Testimony is not merely composed of what is said but also of what is unsaid; in those extraordinarily full silences sing those voices reduced to silence, “The film, as a chorus of performances and testimonies, does create, within the framework of its structure, a communality of singing, an odd community of testimonial incommensurate which, held together, have an overwhelming testimonial impact.”⁵⁹

Taken together, Agamben's theories of lacuna and Felman's notions of testimony and voice provide philosophical underpinnings to imagine alternative pedagogies that embrace fuller, more contextualized musical experiences of *Brundibár*. Resultant engagements might tell the story of the telling of the story,⁶⁰ offering up multiple possibilities for both teachers and students to work through their memories of a memory—the retelling of the telling of *Brundibár* and its universe.

IMPLICATIONS OF AN ALTERNATIVE PEDAGOGICAL APPROACH

Engaging children with *Brundibár*, particularly in singing and performing it metaphorically makes the invisible visible—the voices of the silenced within its lacuna are evoked through the discursive tropes that swirl around the operetta; this is *Brundibár's* strength as well as its weakness. While the composition itself provides no insight into the Shoah, experiencing the operetta can push against the continuous erasure of its others. Through alternative approaches to praxis, we might create communities of post-witnesses, allowing theoretical spaces for the memory of silenced singers' singing. Linking the past while concomitantly reaching into the future, *Brundibár's* score can be conceptualized as a space where both meet, wherein present-day participants sing in solidarity with the silenced. The music comes to life through the vocal intentions of contemporary singers' singing the identical notes and rhythms once sung by the silenced. Hence, *Brundibár* is re-populated and re-animated through different bodies and voices. Pedagogically, this difference holds the key to what I suggest: present-day singers sing in solidarity while recalling the operetta's silenced singers, an empathic walking-beside across time and space rather than a cooptation of experience. Pedagogical strategies that do otherwise, encouraging students to walk psychically in the shoes of the operetta's silenced voices, thwarts students' construction of complex, meaningful engagements with the operetta. Musical engagements of empathic attunement⁶¹ hold potential to develop students' ethical imaginations and their senses of ethical subjectivity, something denied Theresienstadt's child singers:

Those who were murdered in the Shoah were murdered precisely because they could not be considered, by their neighbors, fellow citizens, jurisprudence, and the pedagogical imaginary, as ethical subjects. This loss of ethical imagination is part of what must be confronted, mourned, and reconstituted.⁶²

I imagine a musical parallel: those participating in the operetta's musical experience sing in solidarity with or next to the memory of the silenced singing voices as evoked by present-day singers. To do so engenders a sense of empathic attunement and has the potential to resist the erasure of *Brundibár's* silenced singers.

In supporting students in this process, it must be clear that they stand in only for themselves—not the silenced—as they sing *Brundibár* to life, regardless of the notes they sing or the roles they play. It is their voices that are heard regardless of their evocation of the silenced. Discursive practices work against this perspective: through its own survival *Brundibár* transgresses the erasure of its silenced singers yet because of its sanctification, refuses to set them free. The operetta does not tell what happened to its silenced singers—it was never intended to do so—but via its survival and subsequent incarnations, *Brundibár* is marked by those present absences. Returning to Felman, that the operetta survives indicates “the vanishing point” of its earlier voices: the not-so-hidden purposes of Theresienstadt, the trains carrying its singers to the East, and their annihilations “where everything disappeared and everything got quiet.”⁶³ *Brundibár*, through its performances, reminds us of inconceivable, inconsolable loss; engaging with it obliges us to take to become actively present to the memories it evokes of silenced singers' singing, to listen metaphorically for those voices.

My theorization of *Brundibár's* lacuna as a space filled with memories of silenced singing, its vocal signature, drives my pedagogical approach and provides a philosophical foundation for participants to construct their experiences transhistorically.⁶⁴ Through their *Brundibár* experiences, participants grow attuned to the silenced voices of both past and present, a process of transhistorical listening and walking-beside-in-solidarity that brings *Brundibár's* participants closer to its interstitial testimony—as sung by their own voices; this is how I imagine *Brundibár* itself serving as testimony. These goals are accomplished by allowing participants opportunities to be present to *Brundibár's* silenced voices and by doing so, they grow to understand their own ethical subjectivities and honor those of others and hence, gain meaning from *Brundibár* and the Shoah.

Accomplishing the above pedagogically implies an acknowledgment of what it is about *Brundibár* that compels many of us to teach it or produce it. It means interrogating what speaks or sings to us and our desires, our hopes, our fears, and what we wish to accomplish with it. Felman reminds us that we must communi-

cate the Shoah's lostness without becoming crushed by it, as well as visiting that harm upon our students. Perhaps the lostness is part of the resonating interstice at *Brundibár's* core, that as music educators we fear approaching it at a deep, sentient level. Doing so requires us to acknowledge the psychic and experiential boundaries that those of us outside the Shoah can never cross; it is all too easy to transgress such boundaries when teaching is driven by sentimentalization, sensationalization, and spectacularization.

CONCLUSION

In this essay I grappled with difficult issues that surround contemporary musical experiences with *Brundibár*, theorizing an interstitial lacuna to propose alternative pedagogical approaches to the operetta, particularly that of establishing an empathic attunement toward the other. I discussed how *Brundibár* itself might be construed as a musical memorial and its pedagogical-performative engagements as a type of testimony or post-memorial witnessing. Further, I interrogated current teaching practices that I suspect are strategically deployed in relation to *Brundibár*; as such I problematized the operetta's discursive positioning as a sacralized musical object of the Shoah. To accomplish these tasks I leaned heavily upon the work of Agamben and Felman, arguing that at the heart of *Brundibár's* traumatic musical experiential space lies a figurative silence that resists silence: a lacuna that sings with memories of the silenced singing of children's voices. Experiencing the operetta is an opportunity to recall figuratively those whom it is literally impossible to hear. In this manner, the musical experience as inherited within and enabled by *Brundibár* serves a post-memorial pedagogical function.

Bringing about what I propose acknowledges that *Brundibár* is enfolded within the Shoah's traumatic connotative universe. Through those connotations, we connect the operetta's difficult knowledge with an imagining of empathic pedagogies of musical remembrance—learning spaces that embrace the implicit yet unarticulated issues of trauma, mourning, empathy, and ethical representations that inhabit *Brundibár's* sonic world. By doing so, the operetta's participants potentially garner a sense of transhistorical understanding and in this way, *Brundibár* can be perceived as a site of contestation, a musical experience emerging from a world composed of choiceless choices.⁶⁵ Ensuring that this occurs requires the *Brundibár* experience to be stripped of all attempts to “adore [it] in silence;”⁶⁶ to continue doing so effectively colludes in the silencing. Alternative pedagogies as I envision them work to transgress, listen to, and make audible the figurative silences that lay at *Brundibár's* core, to listen to the resonating of its present absences. Doing so constitutes pedagogy that is simultaneous with mourning and remembrance.

As music educators, we understand that intentional, critical, and creative

music making is bound up in “feelings, perceptions, identifications, and the imaginative projection of human limits and possibilities.”⁶⁷ Because of its situatedness within the Shoah’s historical narrative, *Brundibár* is positioned to explore these attributes musically, pedagogically, and commemoratively. It is imperative however, to navigate such journeys with a keen eye on one’s philosophical bearings, and I have attempted to do so here due to my belief that current pedagogical practices regarding *Brundibár* lack the necessary philosophical landmarks. Difficult questions regarding the learning and teaching of music created or performed in extraordinarily traumatic circumstances such as *Brundibár* require careful attention to philosophical cartography.

As such, *Brundibár* presents abundant opportunities for further inquiries that enfold rich philosophical understanding within the confluences of pedagogical practices, musical representation, ethical subjectivity, remembrance, and empathic attunement. Because of its traumatic context and attendant connotations, the operetta—if critically approached—allows a space in which we and our students might wrestle with questions imploring us to interrogate notions of voice: who is heard, who is silenced and why, and why some voices are valued over others. *Brundibár*’s original singers were simultaneously valued and devalued, their voices cherished yet ultimately silenced. The operetta was phenomenally popular in Theresienstadt, so much so that the children were commanded to perform for the SS and visiting delegations. However, less than a handful of *Brundibár*’s singers were considered materially valuable to specific entities—the Nazi state and the ghetto’s Ältestenrat⁶⁸—to escape the transports to the East. The valuing and devaluing of particular voices and bodies continues unabated, within and outside the music classroom. Treating *Brundibár* as a site of pedagogical contestation and ambiguity has the potential to provoke students to engage critically with the operetta’s multiple worlds as well as their own.

Music teaching practices that avoid such complexities narrow our understandings of *Brundibár*’s silenced singers and effectively silence—figuratively and literally—participants’ voices, which might otherwise critically engage with the operetta. Pedagogically, the binary perspectives of realism and antirealism serve to erase their opposites as well as the more complex constructions that lay between those two poles. A mythologized, orthodox version of *Brundibár*’s narratology resultantly takes shape, one that is sanitized and simplified, silencing much-needed interrogations of its context and connotations.

Enshrining *Brundibár* as a sacred object bars its participants from digging beneath its surface to construct deeper and complex understandings of it, its context, and silenced singers. Rather than wading through the murk of the operetta’s state of exception,⁶⁹ the pedagogical tendency is to look to it for glib, urgent, universal lessons that imperil us if ignored. All involved in *Brundibár*’s milieu

are then impeded from engaging deeply and meaningfully with it, their voices silenced on multiple levels, including their framing of difficult questions. Laying bare the historical bones of the operetta's circumstances accomplishes a similar silencing: it and its singers are forever defined through the prism of trauma. Finding one's way through this pedagogical thicket is difficult: focusing exclusively on salvific attributes dilutes rich engagements with the operetta and its universe, whereas detailed attention on its historical circumstances risks voyeurism. Dichotomous pedagogical practices resting entirely on historical facts or treating the Shoah as unapproachable and unknowable erase the contradictions and ambiguities of the Catastrophe, its "grey zone."⁷⁰ The result consists of oversimplifications and stereotypes: the operetta's singers are reduced to two-dimensional images perpetually defined by tragedy rather than the full-throatedness of their very complex selves and lives.

As a site of resistance inviting us to consider complex approaches and receptions to it, *Brundibár* provides a space for its participants to interrogate their assumptions regarding ethical subjectivity and empathic attunement. Attention to both is required at learning's psychical level; engaging with *Brundibár* requires its participants to engage with the experiences of the other, construct their own meanings from those experiences, and interrogate their learning from suffering and injustice.⁷¹ The lacuna, which I theorize issues from that suffering and injustice at *Brundibár's* core, is shaped by the grievous losses of its singers and the intentional destruction of social bonds. Our work then is to assist *Brundibár's* participants as they receive and work through that difficult knowledge, helping them shape their relationships to those losses from their personal perspectives.

Working through *Brundibár's* difficult knowledge is precarious: the operetta presents us with an enigma in which we must somehow reconcile the seeming incongruity of music making within a specific locality of staggering life losses. The Shoah presents irreconcilable contradictions that necessitate us to examine ourselves and our relationships with the other as framed within the context of making music. In the matter of *Brundibár*, we are confronted with the cognitive dissonance of simultaneously experiencing delight and loss in our musical reception of a work emerging from trauma. The pedagogical danger lies in our forgetting the lost voices whose present absences haunt the lacuna at *Brundibár's* core and instrumentalizing those others' suffering through the emotional-psychic manipulation of its reception. Rather, the memory of *Brundibár's* silenced singers implores us to imagine them ethically, "not as means to an end but as ends in themselves."⁷² *Brundibár* and, by extension, music education can become a transformative space that encourages silenced voices to sing, and a space where those voices are heard.

NOTES

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¹Hans Krása, from “Song Two,” *Brundibár*, text by Adolf Hoffmeister, English trans. Joža Karas (Prague: TEMPO Praha, 1993; Berlin: Boosey & Hawkes—Bote & Bock, 2004), 28.

²Joža Karas, *Music in Terezín 1941–1945* (New York: Beaufort Books Publishers, 1985).

³Richard Connema, “A Stunning Production of *Comedy on the Bridge* and *Brundibár*,” *Talkin’ Broadway Regional News and Reviews: San Francisco*, December 2, 2005, <http://www.talkinbroadway.com/regional/sanfran/s714.html>

⁴In this postmodern era, the term, “holocaust,” is multiply fraught. Its Greek etiology (based on the Hebrew, *ola*) refers to the complete incineration of a burnt sacrificial offering made to G-d on behalf of the Hebrews by their priests, signifying ritualized actions integral to a specific faith practice made on behalf of the community for their spiritual well-being. I employ *shoah*, Hebrew for catastrophe, when I refer to the Nazi Judeocide. For a full exposition, see Giorgio Agamben, *Remnants of Auschwitz: The Witness and the Archive*, trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen (New York: Zone Books, 1999), 26–31.

⁵Roger Simon, Sharon Rosenberg, and Claudia Eppert, “Introduction: The Pedagogical Encounter of Historical Remembrance” in *Between Hope and Despair: Pedagogy and the Remembrance of Historical Trauma*, eds. Roger Simon, Sharon Rosenberg, and Claudia Eppert (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000).

⁶Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1998).

⁷Shoshana Felman, “The Return of the Voice: Claude Lanzmann’s *Shoah*” in *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History*, eds. Shoshana Felman and Dori Laub, M.D. (New York: Routledge, 1992): 204–283.

⁸Agamben, *Remnants of Auschwitz*.

⁹Dora Apel, *Memory Effects: The Holocaust and the Art of Secondary Witnessing* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002).

¹⁰Ibid, 4.

¹¹Felman and Laub, *Testimony: Crises of Witnessing in Literature, Psychoanalysis, and History*, p. 58.

¹²Apel, *Memory Effects*, 7.

¹³Agamben, *Remnants of Auschwitz*, 14.

¹⁴Sherene Razack, "Stealing the Pain of Others: Reflections on Canadian Humanitarian Responses," *The Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies* 29 (2007): 375–394.

¹⁵Ela W., Shoah Foundation Video History Archive, VHA 38501.

¹⁶Howard S. Becker, *Art Worlds* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1982).

¹⁷Saul Friedländer, *The Years of Extermination: Nazi Germany and the Jews 1939–1945* (New York: Harper Collins, 2007).

¹⁸Richard J. Evans, *The Third Reich at War* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2009), 302.

¹⁹Friedländer, *The Years of Extermination*.

²⁰Evans, *The Third Reich at War*, 302. This film, which was never officially released, was directed by Kurt Gerron who sang part of Mack the Knife in its first recording of *The Threepenny Opera* and starred opposite Marlene Dietrich in *The Blue Angel*. Gerron was sent to Auschwitz on the last transport to leave Theresienstadt, and was gassed.

²¹Alice S., Shoah Foundation Video History Archive, VHA 20292.

²²Anna B., Shoah Foundation Video History Archive, VHA 28239.

²³Anita S., Fortunoff Archive for Holocaust Testimonies, T-2556.

²⁴Karas, *Music in Terezín 1941–45*, 102.

²⁵Bibb Latané, "The Psychology of Social Impact," *American Psychologist* 36, 4 (1981): 343–356.

²⁶Allusions to spiritual resistance in terms of the Shoah typically rely on narratives that imply the concept of hope.

²⁷Krásá, "Song Two": Director's notes, *Brundibár*, 28.

²⁸Amy Stricker, Arnold Stricker, and Diane McCulloch, *Brundibár: Study Guide for Teachers*, Opera Theatre of St. Louis. http://operastl.org/EducationAndOutreach_YouthEducationPrograms_YoungPeoplesOpera.aspx; Ruth Brittin and Dennis Wolfe, "Brundibár: A Catalyst for Engaging 4th–8th Grade Students and Teachers in Opera" (research poster session abstract, Biennial Music Educators National Conference, March 2010, Anaheim, CA, http://www.menc.org/v/higher_education_admin/2010-research-poster-session-abstracts)

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Simon, Rosenberg, and Eppert, eds., *Between Hope and Despair*, 4.

³¹See the discussion of the "politics of self-congratulation" in Juliet Hess, "Performing Tolerance and Curriculum: The Politics of Self-Congratulation, Identity Formation, and Pedagogy in World Music Education," *Philosophy of Music Education Review*, Spring 13 (21:1): 66–91,

³²Michael Rothberg, *Traumatic Realism: The Demands of Holocaust Representation* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000).

³³Stricker, Stricker, and McCulloch, *Brundibár: Study Guide for Teachers*, Opera Theatre of St. Louis. http://operastl.org/EducationAndOutreach_

³⁴Deborah Britzman, "If the Story Cannot End: Deferred Action, Ambivalence, and Difficult Knowledge," in *Between Hope and Despair: Pedagogy and the Remembrance of*

Historical Trauma, eds. Roger Simon, Sharon Rosenberg, and Claudia Eppert (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000), 38.

³⁵Agamben, *Remnants of Auschwitz*, 32.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Luke Howard, "Motherhood, Billboard, and the Holocaust: Perceptions and Receptions of Görecki's *Symphony No. 3*," *The Musical Quarterly* 82, 1 (1998): 131–159.

³⁸Simon, Rosenberg, and Eppert, *Between Hope and Despair*, 1–8.

³⁹As cited in Agamben, *Remnants of Auschwitz*. Primo Levi: *Conversazioni e interviste*, (Turin: Einaudi, 1997, 215–216).

⁴⁰Agamben, *Remnants of Auschwitz*.

⁴¹Agamben, *Remnants of Auschwitz: The Witness and the Archive*, 34.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Felman, "The Return of the Voice," in *Testimony*, 277.

⁴⁴Ibid, 278.

⁴⁵Ibid, 277-287.

⁴⁶Agamben, *Remnants of Auschwitz*.

⁴⁷ "Veteris vestigial flammae" from "Agnosco veteris vestigial flammae" — "I feel once more the scars of the old flame" from Virgil, retrieved from http://www.special-dictionary.com/latin/a/agnosco_veteris_vestigia_flammae.htm

⁴⁸Razack, "Stealing the Pain of Others," *The Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies* 29.

⁴⁹Felman, "The Return of the Voice," in *Testimony*.

⁵⁰Agamben, *Remnants of Auschwitz*, 130.

⁵¹John Cage, *Silences* (Middleton, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1961), 8.

⁵²Edward Pearsall: "Anti-Teleological Art: Articulating Meaning through Silence" in *Approaches to Meaning in Music*, eds. Byron Almén and Edward Pearsall (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2006), 43.

⁵³Elizabeth Margulis, "Moved by Nothing: Listening to Musical Silence," *Journal of Music Theory* 51, 2 (2007): 245–276.

⁵⁴Pearsall, "Anti-Teleological Art," 54.

⁵⁵Morton Feldman, "The Future of Local Music" in *Give My Regards to Eighth Street: Collected Writings of Morton Feldman*, ed. B. H. Freidman (Cambridge: Exact Change, 1984/2000), 181.

⁵⁶Edward Cone, *Musical Form and Musical Performance* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1968), 16.

⁵⁷Ibid, 19.

⁵⁸Felman, "The Return of the Voice" in *Testimony*, 278.

⁵⁹Ibid, 279.

⁶⁰Simon, Rosenberg, and Eppert, eds., *Between Hope and Despair*, 6.

⁶¹Crayton E. Rowe, Jr., and David S. MacIsaac, *Empathic Attunement: The "Technique" of Psychoanalytic Self Psychology*. (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004), 72.

⁶²Britzman, "If the Story Cannot End" in *Between Hope and Despair*, 38.

⁶³Felman, "Return of the Voice" in *Testimony*, 231.

⁶⁴Marianne Hirsch and Irene Kacandes, eds., *Teaching the Representation of the Holocaust* (New York: The Modern Language Association, 2004).

⁶⁵Lawrence Langer, *Versions of Survival: The Holocaust and the Human Spirit* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1982), 74.

⁶⁶Agamben, *Remnants of Auschwitz*, 32.

⁶⁷Simon, Rosenberg, and Eppert, eds., *Between Hope and Despair*, 2.

⁶⁸The Council of Elders ran the day-to-day operations within the Shoah's ghettos. These councils, exclusively comprised of Jewish men, were placed in the untenable position of drawing up the transport lists for deportations to extermination camps.

⁶⁹Giorgio Agamben, *State of Exception*, trans. Kevin Attell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

⁷⁰Primo Levi, *The Drowned and the Saved*, trans. Raymond Rosenthal (New York: Vintage International, 1989).

⁷¹Britzman, "If the Story Cannot End" in *Between Hope and Despair*, 31–32.

⁷²Maeve Cooke, "The Ethics of Post-Holocaust Art: Reflections on Redemption and Representation," *German Life and Letters*, 59, 2 (2006): 266–279, 268.