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Robert Cooper April 17, 2013

Musical Austrian Jewish Exiles: Examining the Jewish-Austrian Identities of Hermann Leopoldi and Georg Kreisler through Music

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Abstract

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Vienna owes its reputation as the rich and vibrant cultural center of Europe to renowned musicians, writers, artists, and intellectuals, including Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Arthur Schnitzler, Gustav Klimt, and Sigmund Freud. However, Vienna's history also contains darker moments, particularly the anti-Semitism exhibited by Austrian society following the *Anschluss* of Austria in 1938. Despite an incalculable amount of trauma inflicted on the Viennese Jews by the Holocaust, two prominent Viennese Jewish musicians, Hermann Leopoldi and Georg Kreisler, returned to Vienna after the end of World War II. This thesis examines the existence of the conflicted Viennese and Jewish identities of Leopoldi and Kreisler through a textual and musical analysis of four songs: the first two exemplify their attitudes towards Vienna, and the latter two illustrate their sentiments towards being Jewish. The analysis of each song coupled with a presentation of the conditions faced by Jews in Vienna from *fin de Siecle* to the Waldheim Affair aims to offer insight into Leopoldi's and Kreisler's places in Jewish Viennese musical culture.

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Introduction

Vienna, Austria owes its fame to iconic historical figures such as Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Sigmund Freud. Whereas the former stands for the rich musical culture of Vienna, the latter represents the contribution of Jews to Vienna's intellectual palette. Vienna lies directly in the center of Europe, and therefore has a history enriched by immigrants from both western and Eastern Europe. Known fondly as the "city of music," Vienna holds a significant place in the world's musical history, including countless musical premiers in the two famous Viennese opera houses, the *Staatsoper* and *Volksoper*, and the allure to composers including Ludwig Von Beethoven and Franz Schubert. The contributions of Viennese Jews to the world's musical history is best epitomized by Gustav Mahler and Arnold Schönberg, both of whom became victims of anti-Semitism. During the Nazi rise to power, the vast majority of Austrians either turned a blind eye to or assisted in the persecution of the Viennese Jewry, illustrated by the smooth *Anschluss* (annexation) of Austria into the Third Reich on March 13, 1938.[1] After the end of World War II, the Austrians portrayed themselves as the victims of the Nazis, refusing to acknowledge that they played any sort of role in the persecution and extermination of Jews during the Holocaust. While a large portion of Viennese Jews were rounded up and brought to concentrations camps, others were lucky enough to escape and live in various regions around the globe, including North America, China, South America, and the Middle East. Although the majority of Viennese Jews in exile accepted survival as their primary goal, a small minority had enlightening experiences that lead to success in later life. Notably, two Austrian Jewish musicians, Hermann Leopoldi and Georg Kreisler, and Austrian Jewish music critic Marcel Prawy all spent their exile in the United States, but unlike the majority of Jewish exiles, returned

[1] Unless otherwise indicated, all German words and passages were translated into English by the author

to their city of expulsion after World War II, Vienna. In both realms during exile in the United States and the return to Vienna, all three led prominent musical careers and were crucial in their additions to the musical landscape of Vienna in the latter half of the twentieth century.

While the vast majority of Jews did not return to Vienna, somehow Leopoldi, Kreisler, and Prawy returned despite the devastating effects of the Nazi era on Vienna, making them outliers and therefore particularly interesting to examine. Although they were expelled from Vienna and constantly discriminated against for being Jewish, somehow Leopoldi, Kreisler, and Prawy could not help but return to Vienna, the city they grew up in, the city they apparently could not live without- an occurrence that contributed greatly to the decision to write this Senior Honors Thesis. This paper demonstrates how Leopoldi, Kreisler, and Prawy are paradigms of the ways in which Austrian Jews expressed or internalized their Jewish identities, and in the case of Leopoldi and Kreisler, how they illustrate their identities as both Austrians and Jews in their music. This approach to highlight the experiences of the very few Jews that re-emigrated to Vienna after World War II through Leopoldi and Kreisler is threefold.

The first chapter provides a brief history of the Jewish encounter from *fin de Siecle* Vienna to the Kurt Waldheim Affair and focuses on how Leopoldi and Kreisler relate to the rest of the Austrian Jews of their time. In addition, in this section Marcel Prawy is presented as a paradigmatic representation of the integrated Austrian Jew, one who seldom thought of himself as being Jewish, rather the identity of being Jewish was imposed on him by the Nuremburg Race Laws of 1935. In addition, a historical section about the lives of Leopoldi and Kreisler demonstrates how their experiences before and after World War II shaped their identities as Austrian Jews. Even though Leopoldi, Kreisler, and Prawy were all involved in the Jewish

musical culture of Vienna in pre and post World War II Vienna, they represent varying degrees of association with their Jewish identities, despite having analogous upbringings.

To further highlight the divided and somewhat conflicting identities of Leopoldi and Kreisler as both Austrian and Jewish, the second chapter analyzes two pieces of music on a textual and musical level: one *Wienerlied* from both Leopoldi and Kreisler. An examination of both the text and music illustrates how the thematic material within the lyrics relates to the Viennese identities of Leopoldi and Kreisler, and for the music, whether it carries. Firstly, to illustrate the relationship that Leopoldi and Kreisler had to Vienna, the two Wienerlieder "In einem kleinen Café in Hernals" and "Der Tod, das muss ein Wiener sein" were selected (composed by Leopoldi and Kreisler, respectively) because these songs are a staple of Vienna's historical and musical culture, precisely because the texts exhibit the unique characteristics that one associates with Vienna.

The third chapter sheds light on the Jewish identity of both Leopoldi and Kreisler, by examining a song from each of them that best represents their connection and feelings toward being Jewish; "Die Novaks aus Prag" from Leopoldi and "Ich fühl mich nicht zu Hause" by Kreisler. While examining the lyrics of the verses and refrains as they relate to Jewish topics seems certainly a more straightforward task, analyzing the musical notation and harmonic content and how it relates to Jewishness might seem more challenging. This section looks at whether or not the pieces adhere to the established models of the *Wiener Waltz* and other models that are from the Viennese musical repertoire, or whether the harmonies, melodies, and phrasing reflect those found in Yiddish and Jewish songs.

A history of the Jewish encounter in pre and post World War II Vienna places the examination of the text and music of Hermann Leopoldi's and Georg Kreisler's songs in a

historical context. The presentation of the overall Jewish encounter illustrates the fact that Leopoldi and Kreisler were two of the very few to survive and return to Vienna. In examining the texts of all four songs, the sentiments felt by both Leopoldi and Kreisler towards Vienna as well as the relationship to their own identities as Jews living in Vienna are highlighted. Overall, bringing forth the historical context of Jews in pre and post World War II Vienna alongside a textual and musical analysis of four songs by Leopoldi and Kreisler shows that, through the medium of song, they are able to illustrate their relationships to Vienna and their Jewish identities, as Jews who were forced out of Vienna but returned after World War II.[2]

[2] Copies of the lyrics were procured for all of the songs analyzed, although in all cases, books with the lyrics had slightly different versions, but only in terms of spelling certain words and punctuation. Prior to the textual and musical analyses, the text in both the original German versions along with personal translations of the texts into English are provided. In regards to the music, unfortunately a printed version of the music to "Ich fühl mich nicht zu Hause" does not exist, but all of the other pieces had published scores. For "Ich fühl mich nicht zu Hause," in lieu of a score, repeated listenings resulted in the recreation of the harmonic structure and the content of the melodies.

Chapter I: History of Jews in Vienna from *fin de Siecle* to the Waldheim Affair

Hermann Leopoldi (August 15th, 1888-June 28th, 1959), Georg Kreisler (July 18th, 1922-November 22, 2011), and Marcel Prawy (December 29, 1911-February 23rd, 2003) were three of the very few Viennese Jews who returned back to Vienna after the end of World War II. Due to the unbearable anti-Semitic environment perpetuated by the Nazis, Leopoldi, Kreisler, and Prawy were forced to leave Vienna in 1939, entering exile in America. However, after the end of World War II, they returned to Austria at various points; Leopoldi in 1947, and Prawy and Kreisler in 1955, after the signing of the *Österreichischer Staatsvertrag* (Austrian State Treaty). Therefore, Leopoldi, Kreisler, and Prawy serves as appropriate lens with which to examine the Austro-German Jewish encounter within Vienna before and after the Nazi Regime, and the success and failure of the Jewish search for universality within the musical culture of Vienna. Specifically, the content of this chapter focuses on illustrating the historical context of Leopoldi's, Kreisler's, and Prawy's lives as a Jews living in pre- and post-World War II Vienna, highlighting the existence of deep-seated anti-Semitism within the culture of 20th Century Vienna, and illuminating and interpreting the attitudes and experiences of other Austro-German Jewish exiles.

In 1910, Vienna had the highest population of its history, roughly 2 million, and the largest number of Jews, estimated at 175,000 (Wistrich, *The Jews* 42). However, Karl Lueger's influential presence in Viennese politics as a member of the Vienna City Council (1878-1910) and mayor of Vienna (1897-1910) perpetuated the anti-Semitic slandering of Jews within Vienna. For example, by the turn of the 20th Century, the University of Vienna had become a consistent location for *die Judenhetze* (the slandering of Jews), with students chanting *"Juden raus"* (Jews get out) until the Jewish students packed up their belongings and left (Berkley,

Vienna 107). As a result, the percentage of Jewish students enrolled in the University of Vienna declined from 34 percent in 1890 to 25 percent in 1900 (Botstein 47). However, relative to their population percentage, Jews still possessed an incommensurable representation within academia. Furthermore, in an attempt to find different avenues of assimilation within the changing cultural landscape of Vienna, Jews continued to maintain a "strikingly disproportionate" involvement in the Viennese musical scene, precisely because many of them believed that music lent itself to a common and universal language (Botstein 18). Leopoldi's, Kreisler's, and Prawy's involvement in music and academia reflect the cultural trends established during *fin de siècle* Vienna and the "significant convergences of Jewishness and musicality (Steinberg 228). While Leopoldi had already established himself as a popular and well-respected *Klavierhumorist*, playing *Wienerlieder* and other Viennese standards, Kreisler was busy taking violin and piano lessons, and music theory, and Prawy began frequenting the Vienna *Staatsoper* at the age of fourteen and became a familiar face to the opera performers. Unfortunately, the disproportionate involvement of Jews like Leopoldi, Kreisler, and Prawy within academia, media, business and the arts, and their success in the aforementioned fields, created discontent within the Austro-German Gentile population of Vienna.

Consequently, when the American stock market crashed suddenly in 1929, the Viennese and overall Austrian economy suffered terribly and Jews were viewed as the ones responsible because they owned a significant amount of Vienna's businesses. Austria's financial dependence on exports, tourism, and luxury items caused the economy to suffer greatly from the American Stock Market Crash of 1929. Due to the resulting establishment of tariff boundaries by its neighboring countries and sharp reduction in disposable income, Austria's economical strengths were drastically reduced. In 1932, the unemployment rate had doubled, and bank after bank

crumbled beneath the weight of the depression. Therefore, when Hitler became the Chancellor of Germany on January 30, 1933, the National Socialist movement in Vienna gained a considerable amount of momentum and following because Hitler offered the Austrians a chance to feel unity and a sense of belonging under one leader and nation. An official census of Jews living in Austria conducted on March 22, 1934, recorded 191,481 Jews in Austria, 3% of the total Austrian population, of whom 176,034 lived in Vienna, 10% of the Viennese population (Gilbert 22). After comparing these statistics to the census of 1910, the time in which there were the most Jews living in Vienna (roughly 2 million), one could argue that many Jews may have recognized the danger of the growing anti-Semitism and decided to emigrate. One of very few to recognize the coming danger was the Viennese-Jewish writer Stefan Zweig. After 144 Nazi extremists assassinated Austrian dictator Engelbert Dollfuss on July 24, 1934 in a failed *Putsch* (coup), Zweig wrote a letter of caution to his friend Carl Zuckmayer, a German Jewish writer and playwright who had planned on returning to Vienna from London. In his letter to Zuckmayer in the fall of 1934 Zweig writes, "You are returning to a trap and sooner or later it is going to be sprung. There can't be any other outcome" (Berkley, *Vienna* 220). Based on this correspondence, one might conclude that Zweig had recognized not only the brutality of the Nazis, but more importantly, their capability. Zweig was not the only one to observe the looming danger; Austro-German Jewish exile Edith Sekules experienced a similar feeling after Kurt Schuschnigg's abdication speech on March 11, 1938. In her memoir, *Surviving the Nazis, Exile and Siberia*, Sekules comments on the aftermath of Schuschnigg's speech, "we knew that normal life had ended for us Jews" (Sekules 40). Only a small group of Jews such as Zweig and Sekules were able to detect the Nazi intentions because based on statistical evidence concerning the Jewish

population of Vienna in the 1930's, the majority of Jews living in Vienna were likely unaware of the end result of the Nazi rise to power.

The official census of March 13, 1938, the day that the legislation of the *Anschluss* (annexation) of Austria was passed, registered 206,000 Jews living in Austria, of whom 167,249 lived in Vienna ("Demography of Austrian Jews"). In comparison to the 1934 statistics (176,034 Jews in Vienna), one could draw the conclusion that the majority of Jews within Austria and specifically within Vienna were either unaware of the impending danger, or refused to accept their peril. Several reasons could have contributed to the lack of emigration. For example, Hitler's loosening of his anti-Semitic policies during the 1936 Olympics in Berlin and his less severe treatment of Austro-Jewish war veterans, or Austrian Chancellor Kurt Schuschnigg's polices aimed at curbing the Nazi influence and growth in Vienna. Others, including Sigmund Freud, were reluctant to leave Austria because of their deep ties to their homeland. Sigmund Freud remained in Vienna until he had no other choice and finally emigrated on June 4, 1938. Freud's remained in Vienna even after Hitler's controlled plebiscite of April 10, 1938 had garnered 4,270,000 "*Ja*" votes with less than 12,000 "*Nein*" votes, a majority of 99.75% (Berkley, *Vienna* 302). However, the voting process contained several notable flaws, including the fact that the ballot booths contained wide enough slits that the election officials could see how each voter had voted, and Jews were not allowed to vote in the poll. Nevertheless, the staggering landslide result supplemented the overarching and already present anti-Semitic attitude of Austria.

Prior to the *Anschluss* in 1938, Austria had far more Nazis underneath the surface of society than were seen. As a case in point, virtually overnight, Austria experienced the "fastest and fullest mass conversion in history" with millions of Austrians committing to the new regime

(Berkley, *Vienna* 303). However, the manner in which Hitler was received in Vienna would seem to suggest that the ratification of the *Anschluss* simply gave hidden Nazis license to publicly display their Nazi affiliation. In fact, while Austria represented 8.5% of the total population of Nazi Germany, 14% of the soldiers in the Nazi *Schutzstaffel* (SS), were Austrian (Berkley, *Vienna* 315). The SS consisted of 1,100,000 soldiers, of whom 150,000 were Austrians.

As a witness to Hitler's return to Austria on March 11, 1938, 26-year-old Marcel Prawy noticed the drastic reduction in Jewish involvement within the fields of academia, media, business and the arts. After the Nazis promoted one of his friends, Robert Valberg, to be head of all the actors in the new assembly in the Theater in Josefstadt, Prawy commented, "*Ich hätte in ihm nie einen illegalen Nazi vermutet*" (I would have never presumed that he was an illegal Nazi) (Prawy, *Marcel Prawy erzählt* 74). Prawy cites this painful realization, as the first time that "[he] was able to mentally come to terms with [his] relationship to Judaism or Jewishness" (Prawy, *Marcel Prawy erzählt* 74). Yet Prawy was not the only Jew in Austria to experience this horrifying recognition. Austrian Jewish writer George Clare experienced the same phenomena through his experience with the effects of the *Anschluss*. In his memoir, *Last Waltz in Vienna*, Clare noted that on the day of the *Anschluss*, he looked out his window and saw an Austrian policeman wearing a swastika armband beating a man in the street. Stunned, Clare remarked that he had known the policeman all his life and that he had had many pleasant conversations with him. Clare commented, "yesterday's protector had been transformed into tomorrow's prosecutor and tormentor," and "nothing could have driven home more clearly what had happened" (Clare 178). In connection to Clare's experience, yet another Austro-German Jew, Edith Sekules, who spent her exile in Siberia, observed the *Anschluss* with similar conviction. When remembering a

speech Hitler gave on March 11, 1938 to the Austrian public from the balcony of the Hotel Imperial, in her memoir *Surviving the Nazis, Exile, and Siberia*, Sekules noted, "the welcome was unprecedented, even for the Hapsburg emperors" (Sekules 40). Based on these eyewitness accounts, one could further affirm the argument that overt anti-Semitism in Austria was simply underplayed until given the proper opportunity to publicly display such views. As further evidence, six weeks after the *Anschluss*, the SS Journal, *Das Schwarze Korps* remarked, "the Viennese have managed to do overnight what we have failed to achieve in the flow-moving, ponderous north up to this day. In Austria, a boycott of the Jews does not need organizing- the people themselves have initiated it" (Berkley, *Vienna* 306).

On March 11, 1938, Leopoldi embarked on a train to Czechoslovakia for a performance. Unfortunately the Czech border guards turned the train back because it was overflowing with refugees. On April 26, he was transported to Dachau on the "*Prominententransport*" (transport for people who were well-known) and then later to Buchenwald, where he published the *Buchenwaldlied*, a song about eventual freedom that gave hope to the Jews in the concentration camps. The camp officer Arthur Rödl liked to dance to the melody, and the song was soon known throughout Thüringen because the interned prisoners sung the march day and night. While many of his friends including cabarettist Fritz Grünbaum and librettist Fritz Löhner-Beda and his brother Ferdinand were killed, after 9 months of incarceration in Buchenwald Leopoldi was able to flee Buchenwald because of an affidavit procured by his wife Eugine Kraus, and her parents. Once he made it to the American consulate, when asked what he would do once he made it to America, Leopoldi replied,

> In diesem Moment dachte ich an das Konzentrationslager und all die Scheußlichkeiten, die ich dort gesehen und erlebt hatte, und gleich wieder an das beglückende Gefühl, das ich haben würde, wenn ich endlich in New York ankommen würde, und antwortete: »Vor allem anderen den Erdboden küssen.«

> In this moment I thought of the concentration camp and all of the atrocities that I had witnessed and survived there, and immediately to the happy feeling that I would have, if I were to finally arrive in New York, and answered: "Above all else, kiss the ground."

(Kraska 201)

In the spring of 1939, the unbearable anti-Semitic atmosphere of Vienna forced Prawy and Kreisler to emigrate from Austria to the United States. Since both had contacts in America - Kreisler had a cousin Walter Reisch in Los Angeles and Prawy a friend Jan Kiepura in New York - they were able to acquire the necessary documents to escape from Vienna. Both Prawy and Kreisler soon enlisted in the United States Army in 1943 and also acquired US citizenship. From then on until the end of World War II, Kreisler worked as an entertainer for the troops and a translator of Nazis prisoners, including Hermann Goering, Julius Streicher, and Ernst Kaltenbrunner (Kreisler, *Lola Und Das* 110-111). While Kreisler was busy entertaining the troops, Prawy spent his time in the military teaching languages, history, and the customs of European countries to new recruits so they would be prepared when they entered Europe. Meanwhile, Leopoldi had made it to New York and became a regular performer at the exile cafes scattered throughout New York, a city that had around 60,000 German speaking exiles. Although Leopoldi's, Kreisler's, and Prawy's exiles yielded positive results in the creation of promising connections in the musical world, many Austro-German Jewish exiles had different experiences.

After the official *Anschluss* of Austria on March 13, 1938, about 130,000 Austrian Jews successfully emigrated and about 65,000 were murdered, deported, or committed suicide (Reinprecht 205). After *Reichspogromnacht* (attack against Jews and their stores, buildings, and synagogues) on November 9, 1938, the situation for Jews living in Austria worsened considerably, and more looked to emigrate from Vienna to other foreign countries, including the

United States, Israel, China, and England. In certain cases some Viennese Jews even travelled to northern cities in Germany because Nazism's influence was most firmly anchored in southern Germany, specifically Bayern. For example, one testimony from Austro-German Jewish writer George Clare in *Last Waltz in Vienna*, offers evidence to suggest that the anti-Semitism in Berlin was in fact less extreme than in Vienna. In describing his arrival from Vienna to Berlin in the fall of 1938, Clare commented that he registered his family in a nice hotel in Berlin without any problems, and even passed by a uniformed party of *Sturmabteilung* (SA) officials without eliciting a single rude remark whatsoever (in his description of this event Clare made it clear that he and his family looked noticeably very Jewish). Throughout his stay in Berlin, Clare noticed that unlike Vienna, most of the small businesses were still run by their Jewish owners and Jews were still allowed to frequent places of entertainment locations such as the cinema or theater. "With every additional day" Clare wrote, "my impression grew stronger, and it was shared by my parents, that after Nazi Vienna one felt in Berlin almost as if one had emigrated and escaped from Hitler's rule" (Clare 209). As Alfred Polgar, an Austro-German Jewish writer, so eloquently wrote, "the Austrians make lousy Nazis, but what first-class anti-Semites they are" (Berkley, *Jews* 178). Clare's testimony suggests that in some way, Berlin may have been more Nazi than Vienna but not necessarily more anti-Semitic. Although his account makes a clear distinction between the two, Nazism and anti-Semitism are more often than not viewed as one in the same. However, many Jews did not have the chance to experience the revelations that George Clare and his family did.

According to historian Jonny Moser, "approximately 1,200 Viennese Jews killed themselves during the Nazi era" (Berkley, *Vienna* 265). However, Jonny's figures omit those who committed suicide outside of Austria in, for example, China, South America, Eastern

Europe, Palestine or Israel. On February 23, 1942 the Austro-German Jewish writer Stefan Zweig and his wife committed suicide in Brazil after battling serious bouts of depression. Although many successful Jewish artists like Stefan Zweig had escaped Nazi occupied Europe, the suicides of several prominent Austro-German Jewish artists in exile suggest that they felt as though the Germany or Austria they once knew would never again exist again in the future.

After the end of World War II, the Allies treated Austria as if they had been invaded by Germany and liberated, which perpetuated the Austrian *Lebenslüge* (life-lie), that they had been the first victim of Nazi Germany. In contrast to the Allies' de-Nazification policy in Germany, the Allies assumed a supervisory role in Austria's creation of the *Zweite Republik* (second republic) with the installation of Karl Renner as the first president. During the span of World War II, the 770 Jewish communities living in Austria in 1938 comprising of some 200,000 Jews were drastically reduced to a mere 5,000 ("Demography of Austrian Jews"). Very few Austrian Jews returned from their countries of exile back to Austria after World War II, about 0.5% (Primavera 17). Renner's new government did not make an effort to invite Austrian Jews in exile to return, but instead established several policies that made it difficult for them to come back.

For example, although the expatriation of the Jews by Nazi law was revoked, the Citizenship Law of 1925 was reenacted, which disallowed dual citizenship. Many of the Jews in exile had acquired the citizenship of their country of exile out of necessity, and were therefore unable to reclaim their rightful Austrian citizenship. Additionally, with the Nuremberg Race Laws of 1935, the Nazis had decided to clearly and deliberately impose a 'Jewish identity' upon all Jews, whether or not they themselves actually felt Jewish or not. For Kreisler, he was only 16 at the time of the *Anschluss*, but he remembered that 1938 was "*ein besonderes ungutes Jahr für Juden in Österreich, und ich musste Jude üben, statt Klavier*" (a particularly bad year for Jews in

Austria and I had to practice how to be a Jew instead of piano) (Kreisler, *Letzte Lieder* 10). Kreisler's testimony, albeit sarcastic, suggests that many Jews had not given much thought, or maybe none at all, to their Jewish identity before 1938. So, when the small number of Jews returned to Austria and Vienna, they were already classified as a distinctly separate group from the Austrians. This upheld dichotomy prevented Jews from acquiring a distinct Austrian identity, resulting in a detachment from Viennese culture. To make matters worse, "Jewish emigrants who returned from their countries of exile were confronted with the slogan 'Rückkehr *unerwünscht—no* place for emigrants'. Newspapers related to emigrants as an 'evil'" (Reinprecht 206). Furthermore, foreign minister Leopold Figl, in order to justify the refusal to permit and support the return of Austrian Jews, "expressed in public that it had been more comfortable for the emigrants to sit in their 'cosy' leather seats than to fight for the country" (Reinprecht 206). Based on Austria's policies toward returning Jews one might infer that anti-Semitism remained prevalent within the Austria and its government after the end of World War II.

After the signing of the *Österreichischer Staatsvertrag* in 1955, the lack of Allies present in Austria and specifically Vienna permitted a public resurgence of outward anti-Semitism. As an extreme example, the handling of Franz Novak corroborates the conclusion that anti-Semitism remained publicly visible within Vienna's culture after the *Österreichischer Staatsvertrag* of 1955. Franz Novak, Adolf Eichmann's transportation coordinator who was responsible for sending 1.7 Million Jews to concentration camps, came out of hiding after living under an alias in Vienna (Berkley, *Vienna* 349). After his outing, Novak lived a double life as a manager of a printing plant, and an executive member of a SS veteran's organization. In 1960 West Germany's War Crimes Prosecution Office issued a warrant for his arrest. In 1964, a bare majority of an eight-member jury found him guilty of "public violence" and sentenced him to

eight years in prison. However, the presiding judge, a former public prosecutor for the Nazis, overturned the verdict and released him. He is reported to have said that the Jews were only supposed to be exterminated through hard work, which was justified because it was not fair that Germans were dying on the front. The outcome of Novak's situation highlights not only the remaining Nazi influence in Viennese politics, but also the fallacy of the post-World War II Austrian myth that they were not partners with Nazi Germany. In *Last Waltz in Vienna*, upon a visit to Vienna in 1947, Clare experienced the Austrians' determination to distance themselves from Nazi Germany. One Jewish re-emigrant, Hilde Zaloscer commented on a similar encounter she experienced upon her return to Vienna in her book, *Eine Heimkehr gibt es nicht*, "however difficult to bear at times, exile was altogether an enriching experience; it was not the exile, but returning to Austria which broke me down" (Reinprecht 208).

Leopoldi and his wife Helly Möslein were invited by Mayor Theodor Körner in 1947 to perform at concerts as part of the "*wieder auferstehenden Österreichs*" (once again resurrected Austria), and were met by the press with much praise. During his time back in Vienna, Leopoldi continued to perform his old standards and *Wienerlieder*, and did not experience any significant trouble entering back into Vienna's musical scene. Nonetheless, Leopoldi's Jewish heritage, the reason for his expulsion and almost death, was nowhere to be found in a single newspaper article about him from the 1950s or even 1960s. For Leopoldi, for years he lived in a hotel room in order to be ready to escape the Nazis at anytime. At the same time, however, he could not speak out to the Austrian public about being hunted down by the Nazis and Austria's role in the Nazi crimes, in accordance with the silence of offenders and victims, which characterized the entire postwar period in Austria until the 1970s. An article in *Kurier* about Leopoldi accurately described his attitude as a Jew in post World War II Vienna:

> Er teilte dieses Schweigen mit fast allen Holocaust-Überlebenden und jüdischen Remigranten bis weit in die 1970er- und 80er-Jahre. Dieses Schweigen – und damit auch ein Hinunterwürgen der Tränen, die Sie vermissen – ist immer noch schwer zu begreifen. Es war ein seltsames Gemisch aus ganz verschiedenen Motiven: Traumatisierung; eine Angst, das Zusammenleben in der österreichischen Gesellschaft und mit all den darin unbehelligt gebliebenen ehemaligen Nationalsozialisten und der Heerschar der Mitläufer zu gefährden; und dann gab es auch die "Schuldgefühle der Überlebenden," das "Warum ich und nicht die anderen."
>
> He shared this silence with almost all Holocaust survivors and Jewish returnees until well into the 1970s and '80s. This silence - and with it also a swallowing of the tears that they were missing- is still difficult to comprehend. It was a strange mixture of very different motives: trauma, a fear of living together in Austrian society and feeling endangered by the unchecked remaining former Nazis and their legion of followers, and then there was also the "guilt of the survivors," the "why me and not the others."

(Kurier 2012)

Like Leopoldi, the Jews that had returned to Vienna were “discreet and quiet and did not emphasize their Jewish identity,” Marcel Prawy included (Lorenz xii). Prawy achieved great success in introducing the genre of the American musical to Vienna, and in the documents from Prawy’s archive in the *Wienbibliothek* in Vienna, there was no mention of his feelings towards being a Jew in postwar Vienna. One might expect that Prawy would have broached the subject of being Jewish and surviving the Holocaust in the correspondence he had with other Jews including Leonard Bernstein or Erich Wolfgang Korngold, but there was no evidence of any such discussions in these letters. For this reason, one could draw the conclusion that Prawy’s professional career and aim to develop Vienna’s musical culture after World War II outweighed raising the issue of his Jewish identity in a society where anti-Semitism still existed.

Upon his return to Vienna in 1955, Prawy was appointed as the dramaturg for the Vienna *Volksoper* and from 1972 as the chief-dramaturg for the Vienna *Staatsoper*. As one of the more tangible results of these positions, he brought the musical *Kiss Me Kate* (1956) from America,

one of the first American musicals brought to Europe. Additionally, Prawy's fascination with Leonard Bernstein's musicals during his time in America prompted Prawy to initiate the first production of *Westside Story* (1968) in German at the Vienna *Volksoper.* Considering that the Viennese Operetta typically performed traditional pieces, Prawy's introduction of American musicals into the Viennese cultural landscape broke with convention and signified a transnational exchange between Austria and the United States. Although many of the Viennese received Prawy's German adaptations of American musicals with reservation because they feared an end of the Viennese operetta, his shows achieved great success, and caught the attention of Leonard Bernstein, who had already enjoyed enormous success in Vienna as a conductor. Between 1976 and 1982 Prawy was a professor at the *Universität für Musik und darstellende Kunst Wien* (Viennese College of Music) and a lecturer in the field of theatre at the University of Vienna. During these years Prawy became widely known and highly respected due to the humorous commentary he provided on Viennese operetta and the Vienna opera, which was broadcasted on television and radio. He was awarded numerous awards and honors by Austria and the United States, including becoming an honorary citizen of Miami. Prawy's paramount importance to the continued viewing and appreciation of Opera in Vienna led to him become Austria's *Opernführer der Nation* (Opera leader of the nation).

In contrast to Leopoldi and Prawy, Kreisler did not achieve the success in Vienna he had hoped for, and I would argue that this lack of recognition was due partially to the residual anti-Semitism in Vienna, but also because of his intentionally provocative songs. In 1955, Kreisler returned to Vienna and played his songs primarily in the "Marietta-Bar," where he worked as a musician comedian. There, he met other Jewish exiles, including Hans Weigel, Gerhard Bronner, Peter Wehle, and Helmut Qualtinger. He continued to write poems, songs, plays, Cabaret pieces,

theater texts, and musicals while in Vienna, including an opera that premiered in 2000 entitled "Der Aufstand der Schmetterlinge" ("The Rise of the Butterflies"). With his cynical and provocative humor, Kreisler excited the critics and was also often boycotted and censored. Unfortunately, as the texts of his songs at the end of the 1960s became more political, he lost his position on the cabaret TV series *Die heiße Viertelstunde*, and was also seldom to be heard on the radio. Kreisler's situation in Vienna caused him to move around between Berlin, Switzerland, and Vienna. He once said, in reference to Vienna, "*Ich bin mehr weggebissen als zugelassen*" (I have been sent away more times than I have been admitted), a statement that encapsulates Kreisler's bitterness towards Vienna (Spiegel 2011). One could conclude that Kreisler's failure to re-enter Viennese society reflects the conditions many Jews faced in postwar Vienna caused by the lingering anti-Semitism in Austria, a troubling reality most notably illustrated by the Waldheim Affair.

For the Jews of Vienna, the Waldheim Affair was incredibly traumatizing experience because it unearthed the latent levels of anti-Semitism in Vienna, and undermined their feeling of acceptance within Vienna's culture. From 1986-1992 Kurt Waldheim served as the President of Austria, and was previously the Secretary General of the United Nations. Beginning in 1987 while he was President, he faced countless accusations concerning his role as an officer in the German *Wehrmacht*. Waldheim had purposely concealed his involvement a former member of the *Sturmabteilung* Cavalry Corps and the National Socialist Student League. Additionally it was discovered than in his official biography, he omitted the fact that he had been transferred to a division of the German army in Saloniki, which had played a role in the deportation of Jews from Greece. One would think that even being suspected of partaking in the murder of Jews during the Holocaust would be grounds for a removal from office, but Waldheim served out his full

presidential term. In the wake of the affair, many Jews felt as though they were living in a totally German culture, but could no longer "pass" as German or Austrian authors because the Holocaust had marked them as Jews whether they identified with the Jewish faith or not (Wistrich, *Austria* 50). Although this stigma was already established directly after the end of World War II, based on the recentness of the Waldheim Affair, one might infer that this stigma was alive and well 40 years after the War.

In examining the Jewish encounter during prewar and postwar Vienna, one might conclude that Hermann Leopoldi and Marcel Prawy were two of the very few to experience success upon their return to Vienna. The testimonies of Austro-German Jewish exiles including George Clare, Edith Sekules, Stefan Zweig, Marcel Prawy, Hermann Leopoldi, and Georg Kreisler strongly suggest that anti-Semitism was deeply embedded in Austria before the Nazi rise to power. Moreover, their eyewitness accounts combined with statistical analyses of figures concerning the Austrian reaction to the *Anschluss* contradict the notion that Austria was Nazi Germany's first victim. Their testimonies corroborate the conclusion that the *Anschluss* of Austria by Nazi Germany simply gave Nazis living in Vienna the excuse they needed to publicly display their anti-Semitism, instead of keeping in under wraps. The way in which Hitler was venerated upon his return the Vienna dispels the *Lebenslüge* ideal that Austria's role in World War II should not place them in the same category as Germany. Today, some 1.8 million people live in Vienna, of whom only 10,000 are Jewish, a mere 0.5% of the Vienna's total population (Reinprecht 205). In comparison to the population statistics of Jews living in Vienna in the 1900's, in particular the census of 1910, the minute Jewish populous in Vienna today reflects an ongoing inability both to achieve modern integration of Jews and Austrians in present day Vienna and to dismantle the dichotomy of possessing a distinctly Jewish or Austrian identity.

The identity of being Jewish forced upon Jews with no regard of their actual Jewish faith during the Holocaust appears to have created a wide chasm between the Austrian Jews and Austrian Gentiles living in present day Vienna.

Chapter II: Austrian Identity in Leopoldi's and Kreisler's *Wienerlieder*

A. History of the *Wienerlied*

Das Wienerlied is a song that is, *"aus, über und für Wien"* (from, about, and for Vienna) (Hein 99). There are an estimated 60,000-70,000 *Wienerlieder* in existence, and it is in "hundreds of mainstream songs celebrating local patriotism that the Viennese character is most vividly portrayed- self-indulgent yet self-ironizing, fatalistic yet hedonistic, self-pitying yet generous-hearted" (Parsons 67). The *Wienerlieder* reached their zenith in the 19th Century, which can be partially attributed to the rise of popular entertainment in Vienna, including the inns and restaurants in the Prater gardens, nightclubs, *Singspiel* halls, and *Heuriger* (wine taverns), the latter of which are significant venues for entertainment in Vienna, and staples of Viennese culture. Additionally, the popularity of *Volkssänger* (Viennese folk singers) mirrored an increase in the status of the *Wienerlieder* throughout the countryside.

The roots of the *Wienerlied* exist in a number of places; there is not one specific genre or style of song that led to the creation of the *Wienerlied*. In a rare CD dedicated to the *Wienerlieder* of *fin de Siecle* Vienna cited several influences on the *Wienerlied*, including the following:

i. Medieval ballads and folk songs (Bavarian, Slavic, Hungarian, etc.) from the Viennese *Residenzstädte* (Vienna's incrementally incorporated villages)
ii. The repertoire of singing harpists
iii. Bohemian polkas, together with Gypsy laments from the Pannonian plain
iv. Traditional music of the Alpine Rivermen and Styrian yodelers
v. Market cries from the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and the march tempos of the old *Kaiserlich und Königlich* (Imperial and Royal) military
vi. Dance music from the Austrian Crown Lands and beyond (especially *Ländler*, a folk dance from the latter half of the 18th Century and the ancestor of the *Wiener Walzer*)
vii. Theater songs, such as the *Wiener Couplet* (Viennese comedic songs performed in the *Volkstheater*; the songs have repeating refrains, and verses constructed of similar length and sung to the same melody)

(Parsons 64)

The songs are traditionally written in *Wienerisch* (the Viennese dialect of German), a "colorful and witty step-sister of High German, to a widely distributed *oberdeutsch* (Upper of Southern German) of the medieval period" (Parsons 57). In addition to the use of *Wienerisch*, and important aspect of the *Wienerlieder* is the use of typical "*Wiener schmäh,"* a unique Viennese charm characterized exemplified by the use of humor with quick, and witty remarks, which at times are sarcastic and melancholy, but expressed with a smile. Max Mayr, an Austrian writer and linguist commented on the tendency of *Wienerisch* to have more words and expressions for the "unpleasant than for the good," where the intonation often sounds like complaining to the untrained ear- *rauzen* (grumbling) and *nörgeln* (carping) are prominent features in *Wienerisch* (Parsons 58). The thematic elements of the *Wienerlied* have become characteristics that distinguish the genre; patriotism, nostalgia, the celebration of drinking, the pretty Viennese women, and the ephemeral nature of life- these are the motifs that occur again and again in the *Wienerlieder*. Harry Zohn commented in his essay titled, "*Und's klingt halt doch so voller Poesie: Versuch über das Wienerlied*" – "*Das Wienerlied ist schlechthin das Psychogramm einer Bevölkerung und [...][repräsentiert die] weiterverbreiteten Klischees über Wien und seine Bewohner*" (The *Wienerlied* is plainly a psychological profile of the population, and all of the widespread clichés about Vienna and its people) (Zohn 1).

The musical elements of the *Wienerlied* mirror the influence of its precursors- "*Die Themen, Stile und Formen sind vielfältig. Ähnliches gilt für die Musik. Auch deren Melodien und Weisen entstammen verschiedenen Einflüssen*" (The themes, styles, and forms are varied. The same goes for the music. Also, their melodies and tunes stem from various influences) (Hein 103). The *Wienerlieder* appear in a diverse amount of key signatures and explore harmonies outside of the Western Classical Tradition. However, the *Wienerlieder* typically stay within the

diatonic spectrum, a trait that reflects the harmonies of the songs that influenced the *Wienerlied*. The wide range of influences also affects the melodies; many are borrowed or build upon traditional folk melodies. In regards to tempo and meter, the majority of the *Wienerlieder* appear in 3/4 time, a time signature characteristic of several well-known musical styles that emerged from Vienna throughout history, the most famous of which is the Viennese Waltz, epitomized by Johann Strauss II's "The Blue Danube Waltz." However, in contrast to the somewhat rigid time signature of the Viennese Waltz, many *Wienerlieder* often contain changes in tempo, such as switching from 3/4 time to 2/4 time or 4/4 time, and increasing or decreasing the tempo itself. These various variations in tempo and time signature most commonly appear in order to add emphasis to certain phrases.

The general structure of the *Wienerlied* stems primarily from the *Wiener Couplet* songs, and it "*lebt in Kontrafaktur und Parodie oder auch in ungebrochener Wiederholung weiter"*(exists in contrafact and parody, or also in an unbroken repetition) (Hein 101). Like the *Wiener Couplet*, the *Wienerlied* contains a refrain and several verses, whose varied melodies often appear over in similar or identical harmonic progressions (an aspect of *Wienerlieder* that define many of them contrafacts). In examining the *Wienerlieder* from the 20th Century, it becomes clear that Jazz chords, harmonies, and style found their way into the harmonic language of the *Wienerlieder* composed between the turn of the 20th Century and the present day.

B. Textual and Musical Analysis of "In einem kleinen Cafe in Hernals"

"In einem kleinen Café in Hernals" (1932)

Text von Peter Herz, Musik von Hermann Leopoldi

Vers 1:
Ein kleines, gemütliches Vorstadtlokal,
Das hab' ich da neulich entdeckt.
Fauteuils hab'n kein Samt und's Klavier kein Pedal,

Und »Kracherl« so heißt dort der Sekt!
Im Grandhotel ist es mondäner,
Doch hier ist es tausendmal schöner!

Refrain 1:
In einem kleinen Café in Hernals
Spielt's Grammophon mit leisem Ton an English-Waltz!
Dort genügen zwei Mocca allein,
Um ein paar Stunden so glücklich zu sein!
In einem kleinen Café in Hernals
Klopft manches Herzerl hinauf bis zum Hals,
Und geb'n zwei Verliebte sich dort Rendezvous,
Drückt der Herr Ober ganz diskret ein Auge zu!

Vers 2:
Die Tassen, die sind dort aus dickem Porz'llan,
Zerbrechlich so leicht sind sie nicht;
Die Herzen dagegen sind sehr filigran,
Und oft kommt es vor, daß ein's bricht!
An Zeitungen hab'n s' keine Spesen:
Dort wird in den Augen gelesen!

Refrain 2:
In einem kleinen Café in Hernals
Spielt's Grammophon mit leisem Ton an English-Waltz!
Dort genügen zwei Mocca allein,
Um ein paar Stunden so glücklich zu sein!
In einem kleinen Café in Hernals
Klopft manches Herzerl hinauf bis zum Hals,
Und geb'n zwei Verliebte sich dort Rendezvous,
Drückt der Herr Ober ganz diskret ein Auge zu!

Vers 3:
Dort steht auf drei Füßen ein altes Billard,
Man weiß nicht, wozu überhaupt,
Nur dann und wann spielt Carambol dort ein Paar,
Masséstöße sind nicht erlaubt.
Beim Schach fehlt ein Turm und der König,
Das kümmert die Leut draußen wenig!

Refrain 3:
In einem kleinen Café in Hernals
Spielt's Grammophon mit leisem Ton an English-Waltz!
Dort genügen zwei Mocca allein,
Um ein paar Stunden so glücklich zu sein!
In einem kleinen Café in Hernals

Klopft manches Herzerl hinauf bis zum Hals,
Und geb'n zwei Verliebte sich dort Rendezvous,
Drückt der Herr Ober alle beide Augen zu!

(Leopoldi, *Leopoldiana* 334-5)

"In A Little Café In Hernals" (1932)

English Rendition by Robert Cooper

Verse 1:
There is a small but comfortable place, on the outskirts of town,
That, I recently discovered.
The Armchairs have no velvet, and the piano no pedal,
And there, the champagne is called soda!
Although it's not as sophisticated as a Grand Hotel,
Here, it is so much more wonderful!

Refrain 1:
In a little café in Hernals,
A Gramophon is playing a soft-toned English-Waltz!
There, two people are enjoying their *Moccas* alone,
How happy they will feel after a few hours!
In a little café in Hernals,
Beats many a nervous heart,
And while two lovers make their rendezvous,
The waiter discreetly turns a blind eye!

Verse 2:
The cups here are made of thick porcelain,
And by no means are they fragile.
But in contrast, a heart is a very delicate thing,
And often, one happens to break!
Newspapers here are free of charge:
There, everything is read in the eyes!

Refrain 2:
In a little café in Hernals,
A Gramophon is playing a soft-toned English-Waltz!
There, two people are enjoying their *Moccas* alone,
How happy they will feel after a few hours!
In a little café in Hernals,
Beats many a nervous heart,
And while two lovers make their rendezvous,
The waiter discreetly turns a blind eye!

Verse 3:
There, a Billard table stands on only three legs,
And no one knows how the table is still standing,
Only then, and when, a pair plays Caram,
Massé Shots are not allowed.
Although the chessboard is missing the Rook and the King,
The people really could care less!

Refrain 3:
In a little café in Hernals,
A Gramophon is playing a soft-toned English-Waltz!
There, two people are enjoying their *Moccas* alone,
How happy they will feel after a few hours!
In a little café in Hernals,
Beats many a nervous heart,
And while two lovers make their rendezvous,
The waiter discreetly turns both blind eyes!

"In einem kleinen Café in Hernals" (1932) garnered Hermann Leopoldi international recognition, when his wife Helly Möslein translated the German text into English and released it in America under the title, "The Little Café Down The Street" (1939). Soon, Leopoldi's *Wienerlied* received radio airtime in New York and in the rest of America. Leopoldi was a regular performer at the 'exile' cafes in New York, including Eberhardt's Café Grinzing, Café Vienna, Lublo's Palmgarden, and Café Old Europe. All of these cafes "*annoncierten auf Deutsch im »Aufbau« (der wichtigsten deutsch-jüdischen Exilantenzeitung New Yorks)*" (advertised in German in *Aufbau*, the most important German-Jewish exile newspaper in New York); one particular article labeled Leopoldi the most popular Viennese artist (Kraska 221).

Leopoldi's relationship to the *Wienerlieder* never faltered, for he continued to perform *Wienerlieder* in his exile in America, and also after his remigration to Vienna. For example, in 1955, he wrote a *Wienerlied*, titled "Sie trafen sich wieder in Wien an der Donau" (They met again in Vienna near the Danube). Leopoldi wanted to compose *Wienerlieder* that were not in the style of the "*bloßen Parodie*" (white-knuckled parodies) but rather songs, "*die das Wiener Genre*

musikalisch erfreulich erfüllen" (that musically and gratifyingly fulfill the Viennese Genre) (Kraska 179). In general, Leopoldi did not compose any *Wienerlieder* that had strong elements of satire.

When Leopoldi composed the music to "In einem kleinen Café in Hernals," he used a text written by Peter Herz, a Jewish Austrian writer and librettist. Nevertheless, as stated in the introduction, the text of "In einem kleinen Café in Hernals" was analyzed in the context of belonging to Hermann Leopoldi. The text of "In einem kleinen Café in Hernals" describes "*einer zärtlichen Wiener Romanze*" (a tender Viennese romance), set in a café tucked away on the outskirts of town (Weiss 114). Composed in the *Wienerlied* paradigm, "In einem kleinen Café in Hernals" contains the following words from *Wienerisch*:

i. *Fauteuils* (armchair)
ii. *Kracherl* (carbonated soda)
iii. *Hernals* (Viennese suburb)
iv. *Mokka* (strong black coffee as either '*einfach*' or '*doppelter*')
v. *Herzerl* (diminutive of heart)
vi. *Ober* (waiter)
vii. *Carambol* (variation on billiards)
viii. *Massé-Stoß* (curved shot in billiards)

In addition to a display of words from *Wienerisch*, "In einem kleinen Café in Hernals" also exhibits another speech variation in *Wienerisch*: the practice of dropping 'e' and other vowels. For example, in the first verse, the word *habe* is notated as *hab,'* and further on in the verse, *haben* is notated *hab'n*. The lyrics read alongside the music evoke the image of a Viennese *Kaffeehaus* (café), where one can relax and read the newspaper free of charge (*An Zeitungen hab'n s' keine Spesen*). "In einem kleinen Café in Hernals" displays a lack of emphasis on material goods (the armchair is missing its velvet, the piano has no pedal); the song puts emphasis on the experience and the moment itself instead.

"In einem kleinen Café in Hernals" illustrates multiple musical aspects that characterize the *Wienerlieder* genre. At first glance, the score indicates that the song should be played with the feeling of a "*Langsamer, inniger Walzer*" (slower, intimate Waltz), a marking that immediately sets up certain expectations for the appearance of a musical style closely related to the traditional *Wiener Waltz* (Leopoldi, *Leopoldiana* 334). The song appears in G Major and 3/4 time, and neither modulation nor a change in meter occurs. The left hand figures are exclusively quarter and half notes that appear as either single notes, or dyads and triads. The right hand, in contrast, mirrors the vocal line in both note duration and harmonic content, but whereas the vocal line is monophonic, the right hand is polyphonic, containing dyads, triads and tetrads. A harmonic analysis of "In einem kleinen Café in Hernals" revealed that I (tonic), ii (supertonic), and V and V^7 (dominant) and their inversions chords constitute the bulk of the harmonic structure, once again paralleling the harmonic structure of the *Wiener Waltz*. Essentially, the chords move I to V several times, and two bars before the end of a phrase, a ii appears, driving the harmony to the V and then back to I.

However, Leopoldi makes ample use of chromatic harmonies, using leading tones to signify cadences back to the tonic. For example, in the 1st bar of the refrain after the pick-up notes, a C# follows an E, which encircle the D that comes after the two notes, setting up the dominant harmony that leads the listener back to the tonic, G. In addition to his use of leading tones, Leopoldi also uses a chromatic line in the pick-up notes leading into the second half of the refrain are D, C#, and C, all of which move down half-steps to B, the third of the tonic. When Leopoldi sings the figures with chromatic stepwise motion, he crescendos his voice towards the target note (the B in the previous example), and also sings the notes legato so that the notes move fluidly. When listening to "In einem kleinen Café in Hernals," it becomes clear that in this case,

there are elements of performance practice, meaning that certain musical techniques are employed during the execution of the piece that may not necessarily be notated on the score. For instance, the right and left hand figures for the piano part, which are mainly quarter notes, are notated as straight quarter notes with no indication of adding swinging. However, in the recording of Leopoldi playing "In einem kleinen Café in Hernals," he heavily syncopates the aforementioned quarter note figures, and it almost sounds as if the note durations are eighth note, dotted quarter note, quarter note. By playing the accompaniment in a varied manner, Leopoldi keeps the music from becoming stagnant. Lastly, in the final four bars of the piece, Leopoldi consciously slows the tempo of the piece, emphasizing the final arrival at the G major chord. Leopoldi's use of musical harmonies that conform to those of the *Wiener Waltz* alongside a charming portrayal of the traditional Viennese themes of café culture and romance suggest that Leopoldi aimed to venerate Vienna in "In einem kleinen Café in Hernals."

C. Textual and Musical Analysis of "Der Tod, das muss ein Wiener sein"

"Der Tod, das muss ein Wiener sein" (1969)

Text von Georg Kreisler und Topsy Küppers, Musik von Georg Kreisler

Vers 1:
Da droben auf der goldenen Himmelbastei,
Da sitzt unser Herrgott ganz munter
Und trinkt ein Glas Wein oder zwei oder drei
Und schaut auf die Wienerstadt runter.
Die Geister, die geistern bei ihm umeinand,
Er hat's in der Hand jederzeit,
Das Glück und das Unglück, den Tod und die Schand,
Und die Lieb und den Zorn und den Neid
Und den Geiz und die Gier und die Gall und die Gicht –
Ja, da gibt's eine sehr große Schar.
Wie die Geister dort ausschaun, also das weiß ich nicht,
Aber eines ist mir völlig klar:

Refrain 1:
Der Tod, das muss ein Wiener sein,

Genau wie die Lieb a Französin.
Denn wer bringt dich pünktlich zur Himmelstür?
Ja, da hat nur ein Wiener das G'spür dafür.
Der Tod, das muss ein Wiener sein.
Nur er trifft den richtigen Ton:
Geh Schatzerl, geh Katzerl,
Was sperrst dich denn ein?
Der Tod muss a Wiener sein.

Vers 2:
Die Mitzi, die Fritzi und die Leopoldin
Sind fesche und lustige Madeln
Hab'n Guckerln und Wuckerln wie a jede in Wien
Und Handerln und Zahnderlne und Wadeln.
Sie werden dem riesigsten Schnitzel gerecht
Und tanzen noch Walzer dabei
Und singen so hoch, wie die Callas gern möchte,
Und ihr Herz ist für jedermann frei.
Doch auch Wiener Madeln sterben, wenn der Herrgott es will
Und wenn das einem Madel geschieht,
Dann is's aus mit dem Tanzen, dann lächelt s' nur still
Und singt ganz versonnen das Lied:

Refrain 2:
Der Tod, das muss ein Wiener sein,
Genau wie die Lieb a Französin.
Denn wer bringt dich pünktlich zur Himmelstür?
Ja, da hat nur ein Wiener das G'spür dafür
Der Tod, das muss ein Wiener sein.
Nur er trifft den richtigen Ton:
Geh Schatzerl, geh Katzerl, was sperrst dich denn ein –
Der Tod muss a Wiener sein!
Geh Mopperl, du Tschopperl, komm brav mit'm Freund Hein!
(No kumm scho!)
Der Tod muss ein Wiener sein.

(Hein 90-91)

"Death, That Must Be A Viennese" (1969)

English Rendition by Robert Cooper

Verse 1:
Above on Heaven's golden bastion,
Our Lord sits very cheerfully,
And drinks a glass of wine - or two, or three,

And looks down at the city of Vienna.
The ghosts, the ghosts that wander around him,
He has is at all times omnipotent,
Luck and misfortune, death and dishonor,
And love, and anger, and envy.
And stinginess, and greed, and bile and gout-
Yes, there is a huge crowd!
How the ghosts are looking on, well, I don't know how,
But one thing is completely clear to me:

Refrain 1:
Death must be a Viennese,
Exactly how love must be a Frenchman.
Because who will bring you swiftly to Heaven's door?
Yes, only a Viennese has the right intuition and sense for that.
Death must be a Viennese,
Only he hits the right note.
Go sweetheart, go kitty, what have you locked up?
Death must be a Viennese.

Verse 2:
Little Mitzi, Fritzi, and Leopoldin,
Are dashing and merry girls,
Who have eyes and curls, like every girl in Vienna,
And hands, and teeth, and calves.
They are as appealing as a tantalizing Schnitzel,
And dance to Waltzes nearby,
And sing high, enough to please Maria Callas,
And her heart is free to everyone!
Yet even Viennese girls eventually die, if the Lord God wills it,
And when that happens to a girl,
Then she's off to go dance, and she smiles quietly,
And sings dreamily the following song:

Refrain 2:
Death must be a Viennese,
Exactly how love must be a Frenchman.
Because who will bring you swiftly to Heaven's door?
Yes, only a Viennese has the right intuition and sense for that.
Death must be a Viennese,
Only he hits the right note.
Go sweetheart, go kitty, what have you got there?
Death must be a Viennese.
Shoo dog, you fool, meet bravely with Death!
(Go ahead already!)
Death must be a Viennese.

"Der Tod, das muss ein Wiener sein" (1969) is one of Georg Kreisler's most famous pieces, a *Wienerlied* that exemplifies the Viennese clichés typically presented in the *Wienerlieder*. But in contrast to "In einem kleinen Café in Hernals," Kreisler highlights one of the more peculiar Viennese clichés, their fascination with death.

> Keine Stadt hat so ein inniges Verhältnis zum Tod wie das österreichische Wien. Er ist der Freund der Wiener: Sie besingen, feiern, zelebrieren ihn mit Inbrunst.
>
> No other city has such an inner relationship to death like the Austrian capital, Vienna. Death is the friend of the Viennese people: They sing, party, and celebrate him with great fervor

(Gerhard 2009)

The phrase, "Der Tod, das muss ein Wiener sein" (death itself has got to be a Viennese), is one of the most famous lines in all of the *Heurigen* songs, and encapsulates the peculiar relationship that the Viennese people have with death (Parsons 69). A proposed origin of the Viennese fascination and reverence of death comes from *Die Legende vom lieben Augustin* (the legend of beloved Augustin), a street musician named Marx Augustin (Aue 86). According to legend, Augustin got drunk one night and fell asleep in the gutter on the street. When the *Leichwagen* (cart for the dead plague bodies) patrol came by looking for dead bodies, they picked up Augustin and transported him to a pit filled with plague-ridden bodies outside of the city walls. When Augustin woke up, he began playing his bagpipes until citizens of Vienna rescued him, and it was discovered that he had not contracted the plague. *Die Legende vom lieben Augustin* became a symbol of hope for the people of Vienna during the Great Plague of Vienna, and so in 1679, a *Wienerlied* revering Augustin appeared with an anonymous composer titled, "Ei, du lieber Augustin" ("Oh you, dear Augustin") (Hein 9). "Ei, du lieber Augustin became one of the first *Wienerlieder* to be written down and regularly sung in the Viennese *Heurigen* (Hein 103).

This perpetuated the Viennese feeling that "death is omnipotent in Vienna, it is the intoxicated father of Viennese laughter. Dying, however, the dramatic foreplay; that is a vineyard tavern, a wine bar and its music" (Kaldori 17).

In "Der Tod, das muss ein Wiener sein," Kreisler uses a lot of *Wienerisch* words. The glossary in *Wienerlieder von Raimund bis Georg Kreisler* provided guidance in identifying the *Wienerisch*. For example, in verse two and refrain two Kreisler uses the '-ln' and '-erl' suffixes that often appear on the end nouns in *Wienerisch* when spoken. He also drops the 'e' from several of the words, consistently from *es* (it) and instead writing 's either on its own or after a verb. Below are words from the *Wienerisch* dialect:

i. *Schatzerl* (sweetheart)
ii. *Katzerl* (kitty cat)
iii. *Guckerln* (eyes)
iv. *Wuckerln* (curls)
v. *Handerln* (hands)
vi. *Zahnderln* (teeth)
vii. *Wadeln* (legs, specifically calves)
viii. *Madeln* (girls)
ix. *Mopperl* (motorbike, dog)
x. *Tshopperl* (fool, moron)

In the first verse of "Der Tod, das muss ein Wiener sein," Kreisler begins with a "*Postulierung des Themas von einer besonderen und notwendigen Beziehung des Wieners zum Tod [...] mit der Ausführung verschiedener typischer Bewältigungsformen des Todes und deren Entlarvung als inadäquate Klischees*" (postulation of the theme of a special and noteworthy relationship that the Viennese have to death […] with the implementation of several typical ways of dealing with death and their debunking as inadequate clichés (Aue 86). Kreisler trivializes the Viennese clichés about death by his use of humorous and hyperbolic phrases, such as evoking the image of God joyfully drinking wine and watching the Viennese people while they struggle with the negative aspects of human life; greed, anger, and dishonor, etc.

In the refrain Kreisler continues to satirize and play with the Viennese clichés. The third, fourth, and sixth lines of the refrain, which say that only a Viennese person could be death himself because death is so efficient, all humorize the stereotypical Viennese characteristic of timeliness and keeping things running efficiently and smoothly. The first two lines of the refrain most accurately support Kreisler's overall message in "Der Tod, das muss ein Wiener sein," arguing that love as a stereotypical association with French culture is analogous to the attribution of timeliness to Viennese people, and German-speaking people in general.

The musical elements of "Der Tod, das muss ein Wiener sein" are related to those of "In einem kleinen Café in Hernals," but Kreisler is a little more adventurous in his use of harmonies and chord progressions. Kreisler's *Wienerlied* used the music to convey his message in a much more deliberate way than Leopoldi. For example, the refrain almost sounds like a dirge or requiem in its tempo and melody even though it is written in the major mode. Knowing that Kreisler was quite keen on expressing his opinions in his music, more so than Leopoldi, one could draw the conclusion that Kreisler deliberately wrote the refrain in major so that he would subvert convention by writing happy sounding music to text about how the Grim Reaper has to be Viennese. In doing so, Kreisler makes the text that he wrote laughable, telling us that he wants us to recognize that he is making fun of the Viennese fascination with death, and stereotypical punctuality.

Similar to "In einem kleinen Café in Hernals," the score of "Der Tod, das muss ein Wiener sein" indicates that the piece should be played in *Wiener Waltz* tempo. Written in 3/4, the tempo slows down when the piece moves from the first half of the verse to the last four lines of the verse, and slows down even more once the refrain starts. To support the steady tempo, the left hand figures are rhythmically straightforward; the bass note sounds on the downbeat of the

first beat, followed by the rest of the chord tones sounding on the downbeat of the second beat and the downbeat of the third beat. However, although the left hand figures are written as straight quarter notes, Kreisler varies the duration of each note, often playing them almost as eighth note, dotted quarter note, quarter note, adding an element of syncopation and also performance practice. Since Kreisler was well aware of Hermann Leopoldi's style of playing *Wienerlieder*, having seen him play several times both in America and Vienna, it could be argued that Kreisler probably adopted the element of syncopation in the left hand quarter notes from him. Once the piece moves to the transition section at the last four lines of the first verse, Kreisler slows down the tempo and plays dotted half notes in order to smoothly move the piece to the refrain. Once the refrain comes, the score reads *Langsammer Waltz*, which slows down the tempo even more, and so Kreisler plays the left hand quarter notes as written.

The harmonic structure of "Der Tod, das muss ein Wiener sein" is more varied than that of "In einem kleinen Café in Hernals." The piece appears initially in F major, but modulates to A flat major after the first half of the first verse. At the word *Geiz*, an A flat major chord sounds, and the rest of the verse stays in A flat major; the key signature also changes from one flat to four. The entire refrain continues in A flat major, but after the last word of the refrain is spoken, the piece repeats the harmonic structure and moves back to F major. As far as use of chords, Kreisler, like the majority of *Wienerlieder*, primarily uses I, ii, and V chords, and their inversions, but in the refrain, he adds in some III chords and also a V° chord. Kreisler also brings an element of chromaticism in "Der Tod, das muss ein Wiener sein" by often raising the second scale degree so that it is a half step away from the third scale degree. For example, on the word *Stadt* in the first verse, he raises the G to a G# so that it leads up to A in the next bar. By raising the second scale degree, Kreisler creates an even stronger pull from the V chord to the I chord

because the listener wants the raised second scale degree and seventh scale degree to move up to the third and the tonic. Kreisler's use of musical harmonies that adhere to the Viennese *Wiener Waltz* creates the expectation that "Der Tod, das muss ein Wiener sein" is going to be a traditional *Wienerlied*, but his clever and satirical text indicates a conscious effort to reject and ridicule the Viennese clichés associated with the *Wienerlieder*.

Chapter III: Jewish Identity within the songs of Leopoldi and Kreisler

A. Historical Background of Jewish music

To preface this section it must be said: this thesis in no way states that there is a clear definition for Jewish music, nor does it make the claim that one could identify certain songs as "Jewish" pieces of music. The purpose of this section is to put the following textual and musical analyses into perspective by providing a presentation of certain characteristics that have historically existed in the text and music of songs by Jewish composers. Generally speaking, Jewish music encompasses the music and melodies that appear in the spiritual and worship songs of Judaism, or in secular works as well. However, "there never can be a consensus on what constitutes Jewish music," because the genre is so diverse and has evolved so much over time (Gottlieb 12). However, there are certain harmonies, melodies, and structures that have been identified consistently throughout the religious music of Judaism, as well as Yiddish songs, that developed primarily in Eastern Europe. In any case, as can be identified through history, the origins of music of Jewish people has been predominantly a monophonic vocal melody, which in part comes from the fact that instrumental music has been prohibited in the synagogue since ancient days (Gottlieb 12).

In Jewish music, "two [modes] stand out as conspicuous: the natural minor or Aeolian mode which is common to all the peoples of the Orient," and "another mode akin to the Hungarian Gypsy scale with two augmented intervals (C, D♭, E, F, G, A♭, B♭, C). The former is used mostly in religious chants, the latter is peculiar to the folksong and is more characteristically Jewish" (Friedmann 176). In regards to Friedmann's first assertion, she is not saying that every song written in the minor mode means it has an element of Jewishness, rather Jewish songs simply happen to predominantly appear in the minor mode more often than the

major mode. The second mode mentioned, the Phrygian dominant scale, often called the Freygish scale or even the Jewish scale, is used often in "Jewish liturgical and klezmer music" (Ball 84). For example, the Freygish scale is used in "Hava Nagila," the Jewish wedding and Bar/Bat Mitzvah song that became popular after Abraham Zvi Idelsohn produced a commercial release in 1922. Arguably, "Hava Nagila" is the most well known Jewish song today because it is played at Jewish weddings and Bar/Bat Mitzvahs, and because the media often includes the song in movies and shows with Jewish families.[3]

The Freygish scale uses a minor second and an unusually large step between the second and third scale degree, three half-steps. A similar leap appears in the Hungarian minor scale, often called the Gypsy scale, where the large leap appears between the third and fourth scale degree. For example, the F Hungarian minor scale would be (F, G, G#, B, C, C#, E). The placement and use of the large intervallic leap in combination with close half step harmonies alerts the listener to the song's potential origin because the Freygish and Hungarian minor scale are rather peculiar and do not often appear in the Western repertoire. Overall, "Yiddish songs are more often set in a minor key, with elements of the Phrygian mode and the unusual tonality known as the altered Dorian scale" (Ling 216). Ling asserts that over time, the Aeolian, Phrygian, and Dorian modes have become associated with Jewish and Yiddish music because they are the modes most often appear. One could argue not only that these modes primarily evoke the feelings of sadness and anxiety, much like the blues, but also, that perhaps the music written by Jewish composers that used these modes reflected the condition faced by Jews as a people historically persecuted and forced to migrate away from their homelands.

[3] For example, in the movie "The Harmonists," "Hava Nagila" plays during the wedding of Ari, one of the Jewish singers in the group.

B. Textual and Musical Analysis of "Die Novaks aus Prag"

"Die Novak's aus Prag" (1941)

Text von Kurt Robitschek, Musik von Hermann Leopoldi

Vers 1:
Sie kennen die Novak's, die Novak's aus Prag?
Sie haben sie sicher gekannt.
Ein Gansl bei Novak's am Sonntag in Prag
Berühmt war im Böhmischen Land.
Gewohnt hab'n die Novak's am Altstädter Ring.
Ihre Wohnung war stets aufgeräumt,
Der einzige Fehler den Novak's gehabt,
Sie waren so schrecklich verträumt:

Refrain 1:
Es träumte der Leo von Montevideo,
Von Damen, die flüstern: „Sennore,
Die Nacht ist gemacht für Amore."
Die Tante, die Anna, die träumt von Havanna,
Die Sehnsucht von Arthur, dem Jüngsten
War ein Stierkampf in Lisbon zu Pfingsten!
Die Köchin Marianka träumt von Casablanca.
Die Tochter die Mali träumt von Tänzen in Bali,
Von Schanghai und Bombay,
Wie schön ist die Welt!
Die Novak's, die träumen in den eigenen Räumen,
Von einer Sehnsucht der herrlichen Welt.

Vers 2:
Der Fußtritt der Zeit hat die Novaks gekickt,
Sie wurden aus Träumen geweckt.
Man hatte den Böhmischen Löwen verkauft,
Die Ganseln, die hab'n sich versteckt.
Marschierende Schritte, ein Führer, ein Volk...
Da hat man im Schnellzug geseh'n,
Die Wrbás, die Krejci's, die Bily's, die Krc's-
Doch was ist mit Novak's gescheh'n?

Refrain 2:
Es sitzt jetzt der Leo in Montevideo,
Er denkt nicht mehr an die Sennora's,
Er hat jetzt ganz andere Zoras!
Die Tante, die Anna, die sitzt in Havanna
Und wartet auf Artur den Jüngsten,

Denn der Dampfer von Lisbon kommt Pfingsten.
Die Köchin Marianka sitzt in Casablanca.
Die Tochter die Mali, hat kein Visum von Bali,
Nach Shanghai und Bombay,
Und lang wird der Tag!
Die Novak's, die träumen, in gemieteten Räumen von einem Ort nur,
Sie träumen von Prag.

(Leopoldi, *Leopoldiana* 166-8)

"The Novaks from Prague" (1941)

English Rendition by Robert Cooper

Verse 1:
You know the Novaks, the Novaks from Prague?
You certainly must have known them:
A crispy goose on Sunday at the Novaks' in Prague,
Was renowned in the Bohemian lands.
The Novaks lived in the Old Town Square.
Their flat was always neat and tidy,
And the only fault, that the Novak's had,
Was that they dreamed so often of far away places:

Refrain 1:
Leo dreamt of Montevideo,
Of women, who whisper: "Young man,
The night is made for love."
The aunt, Anna, she dreamt of Havanna,
And Arthur's desire, the youngest,
Was to be at a bullfight in Lisbon during Pentecost.
The cook, Marianka, dreamt of Casablanca,
And the daughter, Mali, dreamt of dancing in Bali,
Of Shanghai and Bombay,
Oh how beautiful is the world!
The Novaks, they dreamed in their own homes,
Of the wonderful world and faraway places.

Verse 2:
The goose-step of the time kicked the Novaks around,
They were rudely awoken from their dreams.
The Bohemian lions, they had been sold,
The geese, they had hid themselves.
The sound of marching steps, one leader, one people…
And those that were seen on the express train-
The Wrbás, the Krejci's, the Bily's, the Krc's,

But what happened to the Novaks?

Refrain 2:
Now Leo sits in Montevideo,
He does not think about the ladies anymore-
He now has very different troubles.
The aunt, Anna, she sits in Havanna,
And waits for Arthur the youngest,
Since the steamer from Lisbon is coming there for Pentecost.
The cook, Marianka, sits in Casablanca,
The daughter, Mali, does not have a Visa from Bali
To Shanghai and Bombay,
And the day getting longer!
The Novak's, they are all dreaming in rented places-
They are dreaming of Prague.

Hermann Leopoldi wrote "Die Novaks aus Prag" in 1941, two years after he fled to America following his internment in the Dachau and Buchenwald concentration camps. Leopoldi chose a text Kurt Robitschek, a Jewish Austrian Theater director born 1890 in Prague. His song "Die Novaks aus Prag" put "*die Fluchterfahrung der deutschsprachigen Juden einer Prager Familie in den Mund zu legen*" (the experience of escaping of a German-speaking Jewish family from Prague in the minds" of the public) (Kraska 109). Leopoldi's time spent in America forged a connection between his own experience as a Jew in exile, and the family described in "Die Novaks aus Prag." Although Leopoldi did not write the lyrics, he could fully identify with it by setting the text to his own musical composition. In the book titled *Hermann Leopoldi, Hersch Kohn: Eine Bildbiographie*, Traska astutely summarizes the content within "Die Novaks aus Prag":

> "Die Novaks aus Prag" handelt nicht nur von der seelischen Tragik des Exils, sondern auch mit einigen realistischen Details von den großen Aus-und Einreiseschwierigkeiten der Exilanten und von der Zerstreuung der Familien in alle erdenklichen Fluchtländer
>
> "Die Novaks aus Prag" deals with not only the emotional trauma inflicted by the time in exile, but also with realistic details about the difficulties associated with the departure from home and the entry into a foreign land that exiles experienced,

> and of the families distracting themselves with thoughts of every imaginable escape country

(Kraska 210)

Leopoldi certainly experienced a significant amount of emotional trauma as a person living in exile who had survived two internment camps, and would have likely been killed if his wife had not procured the necessary paperwork to rescue him. In reference to his experience in Buchenwald, Leopoldi said,

> Wenn ich heute darüber nachdenke, bin ich in gewissem Sinne eigentlich froh, all diese Scheußlichkeiten und Brutalitäten im KZ selbst miterlebt zu haben, denn ich hätte es meinem eigenen Bruder nicht geglaubt, dass Menschen von heute solcher Grausamkeit fähig seien.
>
> When I think about it today, I am actually happy in some sense, to have witnessed the atrocities and brutalities committed in the concentration camp, because I would not have even believed my own brother, if he told me that people in this modern day could be capable of such acts of cruelty.

(Kraska 197)

With the death of his brother Ferdinand, and his friends Fritz Grünbaum and Fritz Löhner-Beda in the concentration camps, "Die Novaks aus Prag" was one of the most significant pieces that Leopoldi composed during his exile. "Die Novak aus Prag" tells the story shared by so many Jewish families that had to flee Europe during the Nazi regime, and presents a disillusionment of exotic destinations for those in exile. Montevideo, Havanna, Shanghai, and Casablanca, four of the places discussed in "Die Novaks aus Prag," are no longer dream destinations; rather they became actual locations for Jews to escape the terrors of Europe. For the Jews in hiding, for Leo, Anna, and Marianka, the Holocaust forced them to prioritize survival, and moreover to cherish survival as a luxury unshared by the Jews who could not escape Europe in time. The stark contrast between refrains one and two illustrates the new state of mind and way of life that was forced onto Jews in exile by the Nazis. The line in the second refrain, *Er hat jetzt ganz andere*

Zoras (he now has much different worries) perfectly illustrates this shift in priories because Leo's love life pales in comparison to living day by day in what seemed once an exotic and desirable place. The word *Zoras* derived from Yiddish means to be unsettled by something and to have anxiety, and it is the only Yiddish word within the text of "Die Novaks aus Prag."

The first refrain describes the dreamlands of all the family members, and all the pleasures that one would enjoy in the exotic lands. However, once the second verse begins, and the family is rudely awakened by the rise of the Nazis, and the annexation of Prague, the mood of the piece changes significantly. The second verse contains explicit references to the Nazis with the words, *marschierende Schritte* (marching footsteps), *ein Führer* (one leader; Adolf Hitler), *ein Volk* (one people), and *Schnellzug* (express train), all of which Leopoldi puts vocal emphasis on. Each of the aforementioned words, is emphasized with a certain hardness to show the listener that he feels an adverse connection toward them. From the lack of elaboration on all of the words, one could infer that the text is emphasizing the swiftness in which the Nazis gained control of Germany, and later Austria and Czechoslovakia, and also the bewilderment felt by the Jews who had been forcibly expelled from the nations they called home. Also, an explicit reference is made to the trains that transported Jews to the concentration camps with the line that lists off eastern European Jewish surnames. The second refrain dispels everything from the first refrain, revealing the cold reality and the "*Adaptierunsschwierigkeiten der deutschsprachigen Exilanten*" (Difficulties associated with adaptation that the German-speaking exiles faced) (Kraska 252). The last important point in the text are the two second to last lines in the contrasting refrains, lines that display a certain element of irony. In the first refrain, the family, *träumen in den eigenen Räumen* (dreamed in their own homes) of far away places, while in the second refrain, the family *träumen in gemieteten Räumen* (they dreamed in rented places) of Prague. The irony

here is that while the Novak's are in Prague, they cannot wait to go on these exotic vacations, but once the Nazi regime held its grip it forces them to leave Prague. In their times of exile the family longs to be back in their home, even though their home no longer accepts them.

The musical content of "Die Novaks aus Prag" sounds similar to that of a *Wienerlied*. The song is written in 4/4 time, a divergence from the standard 3/4 time *Wiener Waltz*, but the tempo slows with the start of the refrain, which also occurred in the Leopoldi's and Kreisler's *Wienerlieder*. The figures in the left hand rhythmically mirror those in the *Wienerlieder*, and those in both "In einem kleinen Café in Hernals" and "Der Tod, das muss ein Wiener sein." Aside from the intro and outro of the piece, the left hand exclusively plays straight half and quarter notes the entire song, comprised of either single notes of chords, and plays the line as written. The right hand of the piano simply mirrors the vocal line, which contains a lot of triplet eighth note figures. These triplets function to drive the melody forward at beginning and end of each phrase, and also every time the word *Novak* appears a triplet line is written underneath. For example, in every measure before the beginning of the verses and refrains, the melody line is a descending triplet line that sets up the arrival at the tonic.

The harmonic structure of "Die Novaks aus Prag," written in D major, is relatively basic and closely related to that of the *Wienerlied*. The chords that appear are I, ii, and V and V^7 and their inversions, with alternating patterns of I to V and vice versa, and the occasional vii° coming in to transition to the V when needed. The vocal line contains a lot of chromaticism, with a lot of D#'s, whose function in this case is to lead the harmony to the ii chord. Many of the chromatic figures appear in phrases of conjunct motion, where the melody moves down in a stepwise fashion to move to either the I or V chord. For example, in the music that accompanies the first line of the first verse, there is a triplet descending line, C, B, G that leads to the F#, the third of

the I chord. In addition, in the music from the second line in the first verse, the another descending figure appears, D, C#, C that leads to A, the root of the V chord. Overall, in "Die Novaks aus Prag," Leopoldi created a song fully reminiscent of the *Wienerlieder*, but carries a much different message within the text than so typical for this genre.

C. Textual and Musical Analysis of "Ich fühl mich nicht zu Hause"

"Ich fühl mich nicht zu Hause" (1966)

Text von Georg Kreisler, Musik von Georg Kreisler

Vers 1:
Ich war bei meiner Schwester in Berlin.
Sie will ich soll auf immer zu ihr zieh'n.
Ihr Mann ist jetzt gestorben, a Schlemihl,
Und hat ihr hinterlassen viel zu viel.
Sie hat a Wohnung, da ist alles drin.
Sie kennt die allerbesten Leut'.
Doch ich sprach: "Schwester, wenn ich ehrlich bin
Mir macht das Leben hier ka Freud'.

Refrain 1:
Ich fühl mich nicht zu Hause, zu Hause, zu Hause.
Ich bin, soweit ich sehe,
Für dieses Leben zu primitiv.
Ich fühl mich nicht zu Hause, zu Hause, zu Hause.
Verzeih mir, wenn ich gehe,
Ich schreib dir bald ein' Brief!"

Vers 2:
Ich fuhr zu meinem Bruder nach New York.
Der lebt dort schon seit Jahren ohne Sorg.
Sein Umsatz ist pro Anno a Million.
Und deshalb wollt er mich als Kompagnon.
Ja, den sein Business war so gut wie Gold,
Ich hätt's auch gern mit ihm geführt,
Doch als ich endlich unterschreiben sollt,
Da hab ich plötzlich klar gespürt:

Refrain 2:
Ich fühl mich nicht zu Hause, zu Hause, zu Hause.
Was geh'n mich an die Yankees?
Auch wenn ich dabei Geld verlier',

Ich fühl mich nicht zu Hause und deshalb, mein Bruder,
Auch wenn es ein Geschenk ist,
Ich lass' das Business dir!

Vers 3:
Dann fuhr ich zu meinem Schwager, Mojsche Grün,
Der wohnt in Buenos Aires, Argentin.
Er hat a Hazienda, sitzt am Pferd
Und pflanzt sich die Bananen in die Erd.
Und Señoritas gibt es schöne hier.
Ich hab mit vielen gleich frohlockt,
Doch als mein Schwager sagte: "Bleib bei mir!“
Da hab ich traurig ihm gesogt:

Refrain 3:
"Ich fühl mich nicht zu Hause, zu Hause, zu Hause.
Was solln mir Señoritas
Und Sonnenschein und blaues Meer?
Ich fühl mich nicht zu Hause, zu Hause, zu Hause,
Und jeder Cowboy sieht, dass
Ich hier nicht hingehör!“

Vers 4:
Doch plötzlich wusst ich, wo ich hingehör.
Ich nahm das nächste Schiff zum Mittelmeer
Und fuhr in großer Eile, sehr fidel,
In meine wahre Heimat Israel .
Doch das war leider überhaupt nicht schlau.
Hier gibt mir niemand ein’ Kredit.
Und was versteh denn ich vom Ackerbau?
Und alle reden nur Ivrith!

Refrain 4:
Ich fühl mich nicht zu Hause, zu Hause, zu Hause.
Ich spür's in allen Poren,
Auch wenn ich hier zu Hause bin,
Ich fühl mich nicht zu Hause, zu Hause, zu Hause,
Ich hab hier nichts verloren
Und wo soll ich denn hin?

Vers 5:
So kam ich voller Unglück und voll Glück
In mein geliebtes Stätel hier zurück.
Der Umgang ist mit mir zwar sehr verpönt,
Man hat sich an mein Wegsein schon gewöhnt.
Jetzt heißt es: Tiefgeduckt und Mißgetraut!

Und wer nicht mitmacht, der macht mit.
Jetzt werd' ich von der Seite angeschaut
Und krieg symbolisch einen Tritt.

Refrain 5:
Jetzt fühl ich mich zu Hause, zu Hause, zu Hause.
Im Ausland nur zu sitzen
War auf die Dauer ungesund,
Denn hier bin ich zu Hause, zu Hause, zu Hause.
Hier kann man mich benützen
Und hier geh ich zu Grund.

(Kreisler, *Nichtarische' Arien* 57-60)

"I do not feel at Home" (1966)

English Rendition by Robert Cooper

Verse 1:
I was with my sister in Berlin,
She always wants me to come to her.
Her husband is now deceased, an unlucky man,
And he left her behind too many times.
She has a flat, and everything she owns is in there.
She knows the best folks.
But I said: "Sister, if I'm being honest,
There is no joy for me here.

Refrain 1:
I do not feel at home here, at home, at home.
I am, as far as I can tell,
Too primitive for this life.
I do not feel at home here, at home, at home.
Forgive me, if I go,
I'll write you a letter soon!"

Verse 2:
I drove to my brother in New York,
He has been living there for years without any worries.
His yearly income is a million dollars,
And that's why he wanted me as a companion.
Yes, his business was as good as gold.
I would also have gladly managed it with him,
But when I was finally supposed to sign,
I suddenly was overcome with the sense that:

Refrain 2:
I do not feel at home here, at home, at home.
What do I care about the Yankees?
Also, if I lose money in this process.
I do not feel at home here, and as a result, my brother,
Even if it is a present,
I'll leave the business with you!

Verse 3:
Then I went to my brother-in-law, Mojsche Grün-
He lives in Buenos Aires, Argentina.
He has an estate, and sits on a horse,
And plants bananas in the ground.
There are plenty of beautiful women here-
I had a lot of fun with many of them,
But when my brother-in-law said: "Stay here with me!"
I sadly said to him:

Refrain 3:
"I do not feel at home here, at home, at home.
What should I do with beautiful women, and
Sunshine, and the blue ocean?
I do not feel at home here, at home, at home.
And every Cowboy sees, that
I do not belong here!"

Verse 4:
Then suddenly I knew, where I belong,
And I took the next ship to the Mediterranean.
And went in a great hurry- very happily-
To my true homeland Israel.
But unfortunately that was not very clever,
Since no one here gives credit to me.
And what do I know about agriculture?
And everyone here only speaks Modern Hebrew!

Refrain 4:
I don't feel at home here, at home, at home.
I feel it in every pore,
Even if I could be at home here.
I don't feel at home here, at home, at home.
I haven't lost anything here,
So where shall I go?

Verse 5:
So I came full of sorrow and happiness,

Here, back to my beloved town.
Making contact with me here is indeed frowned upon-
People got accustomed to my absence.
Now that means: deeply suppressed and mistrusted.
And whoever did not cooperate, he joined in.
Now I shall be viewed from the side,
And war symbolically as just a tread.

Refrain 5:
Now I feel at home, at home, at home.
To only stay abroad,
Was unhealthy in the long run.
Because here I am at home, at home, at home.
Here people can use me
And here I am going to die a slow and painful death.

"Ich fühl mich nicht zu Hause" comes from Kreisler's 1966 song cycle entitled, *Nichtarische' Arien* (non-Aryan arias), a provocative collection of songs with clear Jewish and Yiddish thematic content. In 1963, when Kreisler presented his idea of the *Nichtarische' Arien* to the *Westdeutschen Rundfunk* (West German radio station), the host replied, "*Darf man das jetzt wieder"*? (Is one allowed to do this again?) because he was so astonished at the lyrics (Wuliger 2011). When Kreisler released the *Nichtarische' Arien*, he was met with a lot of opposition from the Austrian people, and he lost his position on the cabaret TV series *Die heiße Viertelstunde,* and was also seldom heard on the radio because so many of his songs were either censored or removed from play completely. In the *Nichtarische' Arien*, the narrator laments the fact that he does not feel at home, neither with his sister in Berlin, his brother in New York, his brother-in-law in Buenos Aires, nor even in Israel. The narrator wanders from place to place until he finally decides that he feels at home in the place where he grew up, the Shtetl, the prototypical place for Jews in Eastern Europe which were ultimately destroyed during the Holocaust. To further add to the Jewishness of the piece, Kreisler uses many Yiddish words, apparently deliberately, to emphasize his intention for the piece to satirize the Nazi ideology that attempted to remove Jews

from their *Heimat*. For example, Kreisler uses the words *Schlemihl* and *Stätel*, Yiddish words meaning an unlucky man and small town, respectively, and also use the Hebrew word for Modern Hebrew, which is *Ivrith*.

The narrator in "Ich fühl mich nicht zu Hause" is somewhat analogous the family in "Die Novaks aus Prag." Leopoldi's story of exile and return and his constant change of living location mirrors the feelings of the narrator in "Ich fühl mich nicht zu Hause," who feels unsettled wherever he goes, despite the fact that three locations Kreisler lists, New York, Buenos Aires, and Israel, were and are historically safe havens for Jews in exile. In an interview with Sven Thielmann in *Die Weltwoche,* a weekly Swiss magazine, Kreisler commented on his own personal feelings toward his *Heimat*:

> Ich hab' nichts, was man Heimat nennen könnte. Ich halte das auch nicht für einen großen Nachteil. Ich hab' natürlich eine Heimat in der deutschen Sprache und natürlich mehr Affinität zu Österreich als zu Rumänien, auch eine gewisse Affinität zu Amerika, weil ich dort sehr viel Zeit verbracht habe. Ich bin auch immer noch amerikanischer Staatsbürger. Ich habe eine gewisse Affinität zum Staat lsrael, weil ich als Jude geboren wurde, obwohl ich religionsmäßig da nicht sehr viel mit anfange. Dadurch, dass man als Jude verfolgt wurde und wird, muss man gezwungenermaßen ein Interesse am Staat Israel entwickeln und vielleicht ein gewisses Heimatgefühl, wobei ich aber lsrael nicht als meine Heimat betrachte, überhaupt nicht.
>
> I have nothing, that one could call a home. I don't think that this is a major drawback though. Naturally I have a home in the German language and of course more affinity towards Austria in comparison to Romania, but also a certain love for America because I spent a lot of time there. I am also still an American citizen. I have an undeniable connection to the State of Israel because I was born a Jew, even though I did not start off as moderately religious. As a result of the fact that you were and are persecuted for being a Jew, one must develop an interest in the State of Israel, and perhaps a certain sense of home, but I still do not consider Israel my home, absolutely not.

(Kreisler, *Interview with Sven Thielmann* 1996)

It could be argued that Kreisler deliberately chose cities in which Jews were welcome during World War II to show that even after spending years in a safe haven, it could not replace the *Heimat* that the Jews lost in the Holocaust.

Furthermore, the final refrain of "Ich fühl mich nicht zu Hause" is the most powerful section in the entire song because the narrator's experience coming back to Vienna is so blatantly ironic, saying that he finally feels at home where he was and still is persecuted, and where "*man hat sich an die Auslöschung der Juden und jüdischen Kultur gewöhnt*" (people got accustomed to the extermination of the Jews and Jewish culture) in reference to the line "*Wegsein gewöhnt*" (people got used to the Jews being gone) (Höyng). Kreisler's own awareness of his surroundings upon his return to Vienna, and his unwillingness to conceal or try to forget his Jewish identity made him express his opinions about the Viennese people in such a satirical manner. In the following line, *Jetzt heißt es: Tiefgeduckt und Mißgetraut!* (now that means: deeply suppressed and mistrusted), Kreisler sums up the conditions that Jews faced upon their return to Austria, where being open about one's Jewish identity was considered taboo because they were not accepted back as Viennese; rather, they were labeled as Jewish and nothing else. Kreisler did not fall trap to the superficial notion that Jews had been reintegrated in Viennese society and that anti-Semitism died with Hitler, precisely what the Austrians would have liked him to believe. In the final refrain the narrator has a masochistic approach, as if the reason "*...der Erzähler fühlt sich zu Hause, weil man ihn ausnutzen könne, und weil er in der Heimat zu Grunde gehen könne*" (the narrator feels at home, *precisely* because people could exploit him, and *precisely* because he could die in his homeland) (Höyng).

In addition to a deliberate use of Yiddish words and satirical phrases, Kreisler also displays harmonies that are associated with Jewish music, including the Hungarian Minor Scale,

or often called the Hungarian Gypsy Scale or simply the Gypsy Scale. This scale in C would appear: C, D, E♭, F#, G, A♭, B; it is important to notice that there is an unusually large interval jump from the third scale degree (E♭) to the fourth scale degree (F#), which is three semitone. Although quantifying the Jewishness within a piece is a subjective task, on a musical level, the harmonies created in the Hungarian Minor Scale mirror those that sound in Yiddish and other Jewish songs from Europe, particularly Eastern Europe. Kreisler's use of the Hungarian Minor Scale showcases a common practice among composers during the latter half of the nineteenth century, called exoticism. Exoticism occurred when predominantly Western composers deliberately used foreign scales, and furthermore *recognizably* foreign scales in their music in order to evoke the image and culture of a certain foreign land, often the Middle East and Africa. In "Ich fühl mich nicht zu Hause," Kreisler deliberately uses the Hungarian Minor Scale in order to make the listener detect elements of Yiddish and Jewish music within the piece.

The verses are written in F minor, but in the second half of each verse, the F Hungarian Minor scale appears in the descending vocal line, which sounds to me like a wail of despair. In the recurring descending line, which appears in the second half of each verse, the narrator is lamenting the fact that he still does not feel at home. Afterwards, the piece modulates to A flat major for the entirety of the refrain. One could infer from the refrain appears in a major key that Kreisler deliberately made the refrain sound happy on a harmonic level, in order to subvert the expectations of the listener, and more importantly, to make a more direct and poignant critique with the lyrics. Like "Die Novaks aus Prag," "Ich fühl mich nicht zu Hause" is written in 4/4, and the left hand figures primarily play straight quarter notes. In contrast, however, the tempo of Kreisler's piece is much faster than that of Leopoldi's, which contributes to the intended comical nature of the piece. The overall feel of the song on a sonic level is one of happiness and joy,

which strongly contrasts with the text written; an effective means of creating a poignant message with the text and music together- that everything on the surface in Vienna seemed and was portrayed as if nothing was wrong, but truthfully, for the most part, Jews no longer felt as though they could call Vienna their home.

Conclusion

This examination of the Jewish encounter from *fin de Siecle* Vienna up to the Waldheim Affair through the lives and music of Hermann Leopoldi, Georg Kreisler, and Marcel Prawy reveals that the Holocaust forever changed the concept of Jewish identity, an identity that in the case of these three Jewish Viennese musicians, was imposed on them by the Nazis and the Nuremberg Race Laws of 1935. The Holocaust "ended what little continuity there had been in Vienna's Jewish history – a history marked by persecution, expulsion, emigration, and remigration," which made returning to Vienna and re-entering society as an expressive Jew a near impossible task (Lorenz xii). For Jewish re-emigrants like Prawy and Leopoldi, who led successful lives in Vienna, one might infer that the only way they were able to live such "normal" lives was because of their concealment of their Jewish identity, which was partly because of the lingering anti-Semitism in Vienna, but also because of the incalculable trauma inflicted by the Holocaust. But still, they both accepted Viennese citizenship back, unlike Kreisler who refused to do so. In Leopoldi's case, it could be argued that his survival of Dachau and Buchenwald, being so close to death, and living while his friends and brother died, caused him to suppress his emotions and potential to express his identity as a Jew.

An analysis of the musical elements within all four songs by Leopoldi and Kreisler revealed that both *Wienerlieder* and "Die Novaks aus Prag" had simple harmonic progressions and structures so that they would be easily accessible to the Viennese public. With all of the developments on the harmonic language of music during *fin de Siecle* Vienna and the rest of the 20th century, including the advent of 12 tone technique and serialism, composers like Leopoldi and Kreisler recognized that simple harmonies would be easier to digest and capture the popular taste of their target audience. Thus, the music itself was composed simply so that the songs

would have the potential to become a part of mainstream culture, in contrast to the music that pushed the musical envelope by composers like Schönberg and Berg, which at the time was met with much opposition. With "Ich fühl mich nicht zu Hause," Kreisler composed the music with the specific attention of evoking an element of Jewishness within the song. His use of the Hungarian Minor Scale and descending melodic lines with both conjunct and disjunct motion grab the listener's attention and to a Western ear, places the listener in the frame of mind that they are listening to a Jewish song.

The analysis of the text of the *Wienerlieder* written by Leopoldi and Kreisler reached the conclusion that while "In einem kleinen Café in Hernals" fits the paradigm of the *Wienerlied* with its reverence of love and the Viennese café culture, "Der Tod, das muss ein Wiener sein" deliberately subverts the conventional *Wienerlied* by mocking and exposing the Viennese enthrallment with death, timeliness, and pretty girls as petty laughable clichés. One could argue, though, that the reason "In einem kleinen Café in Hernals" reflects the traditional *Wienerlieder* is because it was written in 1932, before the *Anschluss* of Austria, and hence reflects the popular taste of the day. However, there is no evidence in any of Leopoldi's *Wienerlieder* of harsh critique or satire that is clearly evident in Kreisler's works, even after the horrible events of World War II. Kreisler's *Wienerlied* "Der Tod, das muss ein Wiener sein," written in 1969, deliberately counters the tradition of the *Wienerlieder*. The listener's expectation for hearing a traditional *Wienerlied* is undermined because "Der Tod, das muss ein Wiener sein" illustrates a satire and mockery of the tradition. This critical adaptation faced some opposition, and even censure, signifying that postwar Austrian society was not ready for a *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* (coming to terms with the past). Kreisler was upset because the Viennese were listening to

Wienerlieder that revered the same Viennese clichés over and over rather than expanding their musical vocabulary.

The content of both "Die Novaks aus Prag" and "Ich fühl mich nicht zu Hause" illustrate the Jewish identities of Leopoldi and Kreisler, but while Leopoldi's illustrates the situation of Jews in exile, Kreisler's addresses the Jewish encounter in Vienna during postwar period. While one cannot decipher elements of Jewishness within the music of "Die Novaks aus Prag," the text mirrors Leopoldi's experience as an Austrian Jew who was forced into exile by the Nazi rise to power. "Ich fühl mich nicht zu Hause" perfectly encapsulates Kreisler's sentiments towards his *Heimat* and Austria after World War II. In an article in the *Südeutschen Zeitung*, Kreisler commented candidly about his critical and unforgiving relationship to Vienna:

> Aber auf keinen Fall bin ich Österreicher, denn im Jahre l945, nach Kriegsende, wurden die Österreicher, die 1938 Deutsche geworden waren, automatisch wieder Österreicher, aber diesmal nur diejenigen, die die Nazizeit mitgemacht hatten. Wer unter Lebensgefahr ins Ausland geflüchtet wurde, also auch ich, bekam seine österreichische Staatsbürgerschaft nicht mehr zurück. Ich habe mich genau erkundigt: Da ich kein Nazi war und mir überdies die Flucht vor den Nazis gelungen ist, müßte ich bei Gericht um meine österreichische Staatsbürgerschaft ansuchen, und Sie werden vielleicht verstehen, warum ich mich nicht in diese Situation begeben möchte. Es widerstrebt mir zutiefst, jemanden um die österreichische Staatsbürgerschaft bitten zu müssen. Ich bin seit l943 amerikanischer Staatsbürger, […].
>
> But in no way am I Austrian because in 1945, after the end of the war, the Austrians, who had become German in 1938 were automatically Austrians again, but this time only the ones who had served in the Nazi era. Those who fled abroad because of the risk to their lives, myself included, were not given their Austrian citizenships back. I enquired exactly: Since I was not a Nazi and had successfully escaped the Nazis, I would have to apply for a court hearing to discuss the chance of receiving my Austrian citizenship again, and perhaps you will not understand why I did not want to take action in this situation. I was deeply reluctant, to need to ask someone for my Austrian citizenship. Since 1943 I have been an American citizen,[…].

(Kreisler, 'Offener Brief nach Wien' 1996)

Like so many other Austrian Jews, Kreisler did not feel welcome in the place that was supposed to be his home because the Austrian government made no effort to invite Austrian Jews back to Vienna and reclaim their citizenships. Therefore, "most Austrian Jews readily disavow an Austrian identity, seeking instead to differentiate themselves from (imagined) Austrian traits. In doing so, Jews often use the term 'Austrian' in constitutive opposition to a Jewish self" (Lorenz xvii). This conflicted identity construction of being both Viennese and Jewish perpetuated the mentality that Jews living in Vienna could not be Viennese Jews and therefore could never truly function and find a sense of belonging in Viennese society because of persistent racist and anti-Semitic sentiments as Peter Herz emphasizes:

> Man kann die Summe des Elends, diese Rekordzahl von Tötungen, diese Hypertrophie von Untaten und Verbrechen, die das Naziregime verübte, nicht überblicken, überschauen. [...] Und doch! Ein alter Herr wie ich neigt eher dazu, mit den Jahren alles wegzuschieben, wegzudenken, was unvergessen bleiben muß, nie vergessen werden darf. [...] Aber leider ... In Wien wird es mir bei allem Vergessen wollen weiter noch zu Ohren gebracht, denn auch ein schwerhöriger Alter wie ich muß öfter Aussprüche von echten Wienern mit bekanntlich goldenem Herzen hören, wie zum Beispiel: ‚Viel zuwenig Juden hat man vergast', ‚Schon wieder ein Jud, der durch´n Rost g´fallen is', ‚Der Hitler hat schon recht g´habt, als er die Juden wie Ungeziefer behandelt und vernichten lassen hat.´
>
> One cannot overlook the sum of misery, this record number of killings, this hypertrophy of misdeeds and crimes that the Nazi regime carried out [...] And yet! An old man like me tends to be inclined to push aside and remove from thought all of those years, what must stay unforgettable, what can never be allowed to be forgotten. […] But unfortunately…In Vienna, it appears to me as though everyone wants to be and stay oblivious, for even an old man like me must often hear true Viennese with hearts of gold say, for example: 'Far too few Jews were gassed', 'Again a Jew, who fell through the cracks', 'Hitler was in the right, when he dealt with the Jews as if they were vermin and left them to be annihilated.'

(Herz 210)

For the Viennese Jews who returned to Vienna, the lingering anti-Semitism finally came to fruition with the Waldheim Affair, a traumatizing and saddening experience for Jews in Vienna

during the late 1980's and early 1990's. For Kreisler, the belated *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* was hardly a reprise since he responded with satirical and humorous songs that mocked the Viennese clichés and attacked the Viennese attitude towards Jews in Vienna after World War II. In contrast, Leopoldi and Prawy suppressed their traumatic experiences and decided that their musical career and success in Vienna would be preserved and maintained by not highlighting their Jewish identity in Vienna. Leopoldi and Prawy represent the Jews that returned to Vienna and were able to lead relatively successful lives because of the their concealment of their Jewish identities. Kreisler, however, epitomizes the miniscule group of Jews who returned to Vienna and not only emphasized their Jewish identity, but also became outspoken critics of postwar Austrian society through various mediums. For Kreisler, the only way he knew how to express his criticism was through song. Even though at times it was difficult to find concrete displays of a relationship to Vienna or to a Jewish identity within the four songs, it is hoped that the preceding textual and musical analysis of "In einem kleinen Café in Hernals," "Der Tod, das muss ein Wiener sein," "Die Novaks aus Prag," and "Ich fühl mich nicht zu Hause" offers a fresh perspective on a seldom discussed topic in Jewish Viennese musical culture.

Glossary of Terms

(All definitions provided by *The Musician's Guide to Theory and Analysis* unless otherwise indicated with *, which denotes a definition given by the author)

Anacrusis: occurs when a melody starts just before the first downbeat in a meter, also called a pick-up
Augmented interval: an interval one half step larger than a major or perfect interval
Basic phrase: a conclusive phrase that consists of an opening tonic area (T), an optional predominant area (PD), a dominant area (D), and tonic closure (T, a cadence on I)
Beat: the primary pulse in musical meter
Cadence: the end of a phrase, where harmonic, melodic, and rhythmic features articulate a complete musical thought
Chromatic: chromatic music includes pitches from outside the diatonic collection
Chromaticism: the use of chromatic harmonies *
Closely related key: any key whose tonic is a diatonic triad (major or minor) in the original key
Conjunct motion: melodic motion by step
Contrafact: a composition that lays a new melody over a familiar or identical harmony. For example, John Coltrane's "My Favorite Things" (1961) *
Chord: a group of pitches sounded together. In common practice harmony, chords are generally built in thirds
Chromatic neighbor tone: a non-diatonic half-step neighbor that embellishes a chord tone
Disjunct motion: melodic motion by skip or leap
Downbeat: beat 1 of a metrical pattern
Dyad: a collection of two distinct pitches or pitch classes
Diatonic: Made up of pitches belonging to a given diatonic collection
Dominant: fifth scale degree
Dynamics: the degree of loudness or softness in playing
Eighth note: a stemmed black note head with one flag
Fifth: the pitch in a triad that is five scale steps above the tonic
Leading tone: note or pitch that resolves to a note one semitone higher
Half note: a stemmed white note head; its duration is equivalent to two quarter notes
Half step: the musical space between a pitch and its next-closest pitch on the keyboard
Harmony: a progression of chords, usually implying common-practice principles of voice-leading
Interval: the musical space between two pitches or pitch classes
Inversion: a voicing in which a chord member other than the root is the lowest-sounding pitch
Key: the key of a tonal piece takes its name from the first scale degree of the major or minor tonality in which that piece is written
Key signature: located at the beginning of each line of a musical score after the clef, a key signature shows which pitches are to be sharped or flatted consistently throughout the piece or movement
Leading tone: scale-degree 7 of the major scale and harmonic or ascending-melodic minor scale; a half step below the tonic
Measure: a unit of grouped beats; generally, a measure begins and ends with notated bar lines
Melody: a sequence of pitches with a particular rhythm and contour; a tune

Meter: the grouping and divisions of beats in regular, recurring patterns
Mode: (1) rotations of the major (or natural minor) scale (e.g., the Dorian mode is a rotation of the C-Major scale beginning and ending on D). (2) term used to distinguish between major and minor keys (e.g., a piece in "the minor mode")
Motive: the smallest recognizable musical idea
Offbeat: a weak beat or weak portion of a beat
Phrase: a basic unit of musical thought, similar to a sentence in a language, with a beginning, middle, and end.
Pitch: a tone sounding in a particular octave
Polyphony: created when more than one pitch is sounding at once *
Quarter note: a stemmed black note head, equivalent in duration to two eighth notes
Refrain: the section of a song that recurs with same music and text
Rhythm: the patterns made by the durations of pitch and silence (notes and rests) in a piece
Root: a the lowest pitch of a triad or seventh chord when the chord is spelled in thirds
Scale degree: a name for each pitch class of the scale, showing its relationship to the tonic pitch. Scale-degree names may be number (1,2,3) or words (tonic, supertonic, dominant)
Step: the melodic interval of a half or whole step
Syncopation: off-beat rhythmic accents created by dots, ties, rests, dynamic markings, or accent marks
Tempo: how fast or slow music is played
Tetrad: a set of four notes of pitches
Tonic: first scale degree and tonal center of a piece
Triad: a set of three notes of pitches
Triplet: in simple meter, a division group borrowed from compound meters
Upbeat: occurs when a melody starts just before the first strong beat in a meter
Verse: the section of a song that returns with the same music but different text

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