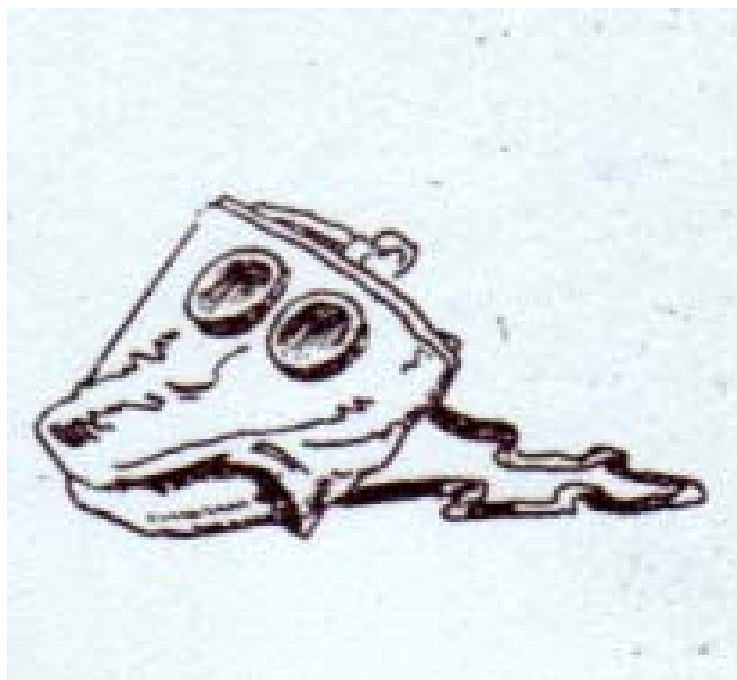


HERBERT GANTSCHACHER



# VIKTOR ULLMANN

Witness and Victim of the Apocalypse

Testimone e vittima dell'Apocalisse

Prič in žrtev apokalipse

Svěd ek a oběť apokalypsy

Informations in English, Italian, Slovenian and Czech Language

English (Viktor Ullmann)

English (Viktor Ullmann, Georg Friedrich Nicolai, Andreas Latzko)

Italian (Viktor Ullmann)

Slovenian (Viktor Ullmann)

Czech (Viktor Ullmann)

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## Herbert Gantschacher "Viktor Ullmann - Witness and Victim of the Apocalypse"

The Austrian composer Viktor Ullmann in The Great War as an artillery observer and musician before, during and after the twelfth campaign in the theatre of war in the valley of the river Isonzo (September - October 1917) and in Barcola Riviera nearby the city of Trieste (November 1917 - April 1918) and as well as a composer and musician in the ghetto and concentration camp of the former imperial and royal fortress of Terezín (1942 - 1944), deportation to Auschwitz on 16th of October 1944, being murdered there on 18th of October 1944.

Victor Ullmann (1898 - 1944) is one of the most important composers of the 20th century. His most well known work is the opera "The Emperor of Atlantis or The Disobedience of Death" composed 1943/44 in the ghetto and concentration camp of Terezín.

A neglected chapter of his life have been the years from 1916 to 1918. During that time he has served as a one year volunteer in the First World War (such as the composer Ernst Krenek) as an artillery observer. Some years ago letters have been coming to the public, which Ullmann wrote from 1917 to 1918 from the theatre of war to his girlfriend Anny Wottitz. This war correspondence documented that Ullmann participates in the twelfth battle at the valley of the river Isonzo serving as an artillery observer of a battery of a 38cm Škoda howitzer, and after the battle the battery is transferred to Barcola Riviera near Trieste. Recent research work done in archives and libraries in Vienna and Berlin as well as on original locations in Hungary (Győr, Hajmáskér, Veszprém), in Slovenia (in the valleys of the rivers of Isonzo and Baza) and in today's Italy (Coccau nearby of the city of Tarvisio, the street towards the mountain of Predil, Trieste, Duino, Spilimbergo, Cividale) give now a clear view to his activities before, during and after the twelfth battle in the valley of the river Isonzo.

The biggest surprise of this research work, however, is that Ullmann uses in some of his in Terezín composed works his personal experience of war from the First World War as in the opera "The Emperor of Atlantis or The Disobedience of Death" as well as in the melodrama "The Lay of Love Death of Cornet Christoph Rilke". That fact is especially in the opera detectable both in libretto and music, can be seen in the libretto and can be heard in the music.

The sources for these facts documented in the letters of Ullmann himself and the literature read by Ullmann himself in the theatre of war from 1916 to 1918 and original documents from archives and libraries.

About the start of the campaign Ullmann writes to Anny Wottitz: "From the position of the observer we saw also on 24<sup>th</sup> of October at 2 am in the night the start of the heavy gas attack. This attack was to the introduction to our action. We could observe the shooting of our battery. At the third day the combat zone was far far away from our position. I think, this push war a big step forward to peace. We were going down from our observing position. Everything was like a sigh of relief, the landscape was freed from the horror brought by shells."

In this letter, references to the libretto of the opera can already be found. In the theatre of war of the battlefield in the opera there we see the lines: "Is it true that there are landscapes, which have not been laid waste by shell-holes? ... Is it true that there are meadows full of bright colors and sweet fragrance? Is it true that there are mountains which glow blue against the radiant air?" And such words in the libretto are a description of the mountains surrounding the upper valley of the river Isonzo. That seems immediately obvious to anyone who has ever seen this amazing valley.

One of the musical elements Ullmann works with in the opera are musical military signals from the troops of the imperial and royal army in The Great War by transforming them in opera on an extraordinary artistic level or by using the choral "A Fortress is Our God", which is also used as a soldier's song during The Great War 1914-1918 and is part of song books for soldiers, which has been also known by Ullmann, that

song dates back to a chorale of Martin Luther, in Ullmann's opera it is one of the main musical motifs. For the trumpet and the drum are musical signals in score of the opera. In the libretto there can be found other examples as "The Captain of The Band Guard" (Hauptmann der "Scharwache"). That Band Guard means a soldier being on an observing station (as Ullmann himself was an artillery observer during the twelfth battle in the valley of the river Isonzo) and "To Beat The Band Guard" ("die Scharwache schlagen") means to perform on a small drum a four-stroke beat, that musical element Ullmann uses in the composition before in the opera the theatre of war the battle starts, a literary expression of the twelfth battle in the valley of the river Isonzo. Such elements are evident in the libretto and the music and found in original documents. The opera starts with a trumpet signal. The original source of that signal is the musical military signal of storm for all of the imperial and royal Wehrmacht being used also in The Great War.

In research work about Viktor Ullmann and his experiences with war his father Maximilian Ullmann and his function during The Great War has been a more or less neglected. Colonel General Maximilian Ullmann is in The Great War in the ranking of the imperial and royal Wehrmacht the number 41 down from the commander in chief. In 1917 before, during and after the last battle in the valley of the river Isonzo Maximilian Ullmann plays a major part in that theatre of war, he and his forces are responsible for the safety of the Hapsburg monarch Charles, because Charles as the commander in chief is personally present at the front during the last victory of the imperial and royal armed forces in The Great War. For that service Maximilian Ullmann has raised to peerage by the last ruler of the multiple Hapsburg monarchy. Son Viktor Ullmann visits his father Maximilian in autumn 1917 at the theatre of war of Isonzo twice, before and after the battle. Such a visit is only possible, because his father Maximilian is the protector of the emperor and king Charles and responsible for the safety of the Hapsburg monarch.

The themes of the original book and exhibition:

**00-00-00 "WITNESS AND VICTIM OF THE APOCALYPSE"** Overview about the research work of the military service of Viktor Ullmann and his father Maximilian Ullmann in The Great War with overview of the results of the research work.

**00-01-01 "Natural Right versus Human Rights"** The end of the ruling dynasty of the Hapsburg family and the dynasties in Russia and Germany marks also the end of the era of natural right (the divine power of the "Gottesgnadentum"). Only democracy creates opportunities for participation of all people in the common public life.

**01-01-27 "Political and Military Alliances - Balkan Wars - The Great War"** In 1917 and 1918 monarchies in Europe are imploding. The fight of dynasties and monarchies in Europe against each other has stopped also the fight of the European emperors against democracy and human rights. According to that process this chapter proposes the bow from the American Declaration of Independence, the French Revolution, the Revolution of 1848 up to The Great War. With the annexation of the Ottoman provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the Vienna Administration in 1908 (both provinces are since 1878 under the military administration of the imperial and royal armed forces called "k.u.k. Wehrmacht") both provinces are under the direct mandate of the Court of the Archduke of Hapsburg family. In 1912 and 1913 the first two Balkan wars have happened without any military engagement of the Viennese Multiple Monarchy. The political goal of the Hapsburg Monarchy is to get compensation for the losses of Northern Italy in the 19th century ("Lombardy Project"). The military goal of the Hapsburg multiple monarchy during the first two Balkan wars does not work. The monarch of the German empire already gave on 23rd of March 1914 an unlimited guarantee for backing the policy of the Hapsburg monarchy at the Balkans. The double murder of 28th June 1914 in Sarajevo is taken by the Vienna and Budapest administration as a pretext to become war party at the Balkans and to lead the Third Balkan War. The European powers agree that the administration of the multiple Hapsburg monarchy can conduct the Third Balkan War as a compensation for the double murder of Sarajevo. As a red line for Great Britain and the triple entente applies a campaign of the central powers against Belgium. Research work and new detected original documents from archives now prove that the Viennese administration has no interest in a limited action. Instead of such an action against Serbia the Viennese government supports the campaign of the German empire against France. For that action the troops of the German empire and the Hapsburg Wehrmacht choose the route via Belgium. In that case the Viennese administration broke the international law and their troops march into Belgium without any declaration of war. All mediation efforts by Britain, Russia, Romania and the United States

have been rejected. For Great Britain and the triple entente the conservation of Belgian sovereignty and neutrality applies as a red line, which has thus been exceeded. From now in Europe the Great War has started. The central powers represented by the dynasties of the families of Hohenzollern and Hapsburg look for a division of Europe under their domination. For that goal the ruler of the German empire wants to force France down to their knees with support from the Viennese ruler. The habitat in the East of Europe shall be divided between the dynasty of Hohenzollern and Hapsburg. The Great War 1914-1918 leads to build up large theatres of war in Europe in the world of the 20th century. The Hapsburg administration accumulates a debt for warfare of 43.061 million crowns. The road to war has been deliberately chosen by the dynasty of Hapsburg and their willing executing administration in cooperation with the dynasty of Hohenzollern of the German empire. The responsibility for the start of The Great War is located first in Vienna and second in Berlin.

**02-01-04 “1915 - The South-Western Front against Italy is staged“** In July 1914 the theatre of war between Italy and its allies in Vienna, Budapest and Berlin is staged, the double murder of Sarajevo is no alliance case for war. The government in Rome remains therefore in the Third Balkan War between the imperial and royal monarchy and Serbia neutral. So in 1914 Italy is not involved in The Great War. But in 1915 Italy leaves the position of neutrality. On 23rd of May 1915 the government in Rome hands over the declaration of war to the government of the imperial and royal monarchy in Vienna and Budapest, the theatre of war on the south-western front is staged in the valley of the river Isonzo, a few kilometers behind the border to Italy in the mountains. Hundreds of thousands of people are killed, either by the cruel war or natural disasters such as snow avalanches, rock falls, mud floods. The front in the valley of the river Isonzo persists until the twelfth and last battle in the valley of the river Isonzo, which has started on 24th of October 1917 under the personal command of the emperor and king Charles with a poison gas attack in the upper valley of the river Isonzo near the town Bovec / Flitsch / Plezzo. The Italian troops are thrown back to the river Piave near Venice. The royal and imperial forces called "k.u.k. Wehrmacht" are celebrating their last victory.

**03-01-01 “The Industrialized Mass War“** The Great War of 1914-1918 is the first major industrialized mass war in history with all "modern" military equipment, "only" nuclear weapons are still "missing", but the work on the development of such weapons is intensively also during the Great War.

**04-01-05 “Propaganda“** With lurid actions media reports about other countries and people in all times. Such reports are "helpful" for political and military leaders to initiate war. Propaganda trivializes the horrors of war. This chapter gives a brief overview of war and propaganda.

**05-01-03 “Artists at War“** The "enthusiasm" for The Great War has been increased by media and a lot of artists too. The movement of Futurism in Italy is such an example. A variety of artists operating in The Great War in all countries: Jean Cocteau, Kasimir Malevich, Wilfred Owen, Paul Klee, Oskar Kokoschka, Anton Kolig, Arnold Schoenberg, Stefan Zweig ... In Vienna at the imperial and royal war ministry a war press office is established with departments of literature, music, theatre and visual arts. The music department is conducted by three prominent musicians: Bela Bartók and his adviser Zoltan Kodaly at Budapest and Bernhard Paumgartner in Vienna (later in The Great War in 1917 he becomes to be the artistic director of the Mozarteum in Salzburg too and since 1959 he has been the president of the Salzburg Festival). Also at the war front art and entertainment is important for the amusement of the soldiers. Artists works as war painter behind the theatre of war as Albin Egger-Lienz. In the paintings of Egger-Lienz from the war front no horrors of war can be seen, war is like an idyll. But in his painting for the war memorial chapel in the city of Lienz the horrors of war are evident. These paintings of Egger-Lienz has been scandalized over decades. The visual artist Egon Schiele also applies for the work as a war painter in the department for visual arts of the war press office of the imperial and royal war ministry in Vienna, the application of Schiele is turned down.

**06-01-08 “Against the War“** Until 1914 there is in Europe a powerful peace movement. With the start of the Great War a lot of their activities is shifted into the neutral Switzerland. The Nobel Peace Laureate from Vienna Bertha v. Suttner dies on 21st of June 1914. In August 1914 the international movement of modern socialism does not work. The Social Democratic Party in the German Imperial Empire votes for the war credits of the dynasty of the Hohenzollern.

Alfred Fried and Romain Rolland and other activists of the peace movements are continuing their resistance against the war. Bold people as the Czech Vladimir Rajda even disobey any military service. The deaf-blind writer and human rights activist Helen Keller writes her keynote speech "Strike Against The War!" Philosophers such as Wilhelm Jerusalem or physicians as Georg Friedrich Nicolai are pacifists or become war opponents, they recognize the horrors of war. In 1917 the book "The Biology of War" by Nicolai has been published in Zurich. And about that book in Europe a big debate has been started. Viktor Ullmann read that book at the war front. The book is banned in the German imperial empire.

**07-01-02 "Biographical note of the composer Victor Ullmann"**

\* 1898 Teschen, + 1944 Auschwitz.

**08-01-02 "Viktor Ullmann, one-year volunteer in the Imperial and Royal Wehrmacht"**

Ullmann

as a volunteer for the army and a contracted one-year volunteer.

**09-01-08 "Viktor Ullmann - the Škoda 38cm Howitzer"**

This gun is the latest development of Škoda during The Great War for the imperial and royal forces and is the most advanced artillery weapon of its time.

**10-01-11 "The Last Victory - 24/10/1917 ... we saw the gas attack ..."**

As an artillery observer Ullmann has seen in the upper valley of the Isonzo river the start of the last campaign, which ends with the last victory of armed forces of Austria. The commander in chief is emperor and king Charles himself. The breakdown of the battle begins with a poison gas attack at Bovec / Flitsch / Plezzo. Against the attack with poison gas Italian soldiers are defenseless with their gas masks. Today the use of poison gas is a clear war crime. The emperor and king Charles has been beatified in 2005 that means that profound religiosity and mass murder are not mutually exclusive.

**11-01-04 "Viktor Ullmann - Music Officer - Composer - Pianist"**

During The Great War Ullmann is the music officer of his bataillon. He composes during his service at the front and at Barcola near the city of Trieste he performs also in public concerts, which are acclaimed in a newspaper with a brilliant critique of a concert.

**12-01-04 "Father Maximilian Ullmann + 1938 - Viktor Ullmann + 1944"**

Father Maximilian

Ullmann is of Jewish origin. Jews in the lands of the imperial and royal empire of the dynasty of Hapsburg cannot make a career on a higher level. They have had two options, to become an atheist or to be baptized. Maximilian Ullmann is being baptized Roman Catholic. Without that action he cannot start a career as an officer on a higher rank in the armed forces of the imperial and royal Wehrmacht. He becomes a staff officer and colonel general ranked as number 41 among the 130 highest ranked officers of the imperial and royal forces. Before, during and after the last battle at the valley of the river Isonzo he and his regiment is also responsible for the safety of the highest commander, the emperor and king Charles. In gratitude Maximilian Ullmann has been elevated to the peerage.

**13-01-16 "The Emperor of Atlantis or The Disobedience of Death"**

Being composed in the ghetto and concentration camp of Terezin Ullmann is using his war and military experience of the 12th battle at the valley of the river Isonzo in World War I. The libretto of the opera - written by Viktor Ullmann himself and Peter Kien - is based on the unique experiences of the last battle in the valley of the river Isonzo. In music Ullmann uses military signals of the imperial and royal Wehrmacht and songs from The Great War or the imperial anthem.

**14-01-09 "Consequences of War"**

Romain Rolland and Georg Friedrich Nicolai demands a fair peace for all countries of Europe. The manifesto of Rolland and Nicolai is signed by thousands of people among them Albert Einstein, Bertrand Russell, Frans Masereel, Rabindranath Tagore, Andreas Latzko, Benedetto Croce, Selma Lagerlöf Arnold Rosé, Wilhelm Jerusalem. The consequences of the Great War 1914-1918 have not been overcome until now. Problem areas such as for example Iraq, Syria, the conflict in Palestine and Israel are one of the results of the First Great War. In the Second Great War the German Reich of the Nazis and the Japanese empire trying to correct the results of 1914-1918 and to annihilate the Jews of Europe, minorities and political dissents. Fortunately that German and Japanese project does not succeed. Otherwise there will be no democracy!

**15-01-05 “Art - War - Resistance“** During the Great War 1914-1918 a large number of artists are side on side with the belligerents, some have not (including Charles Chaplin). More artists are against the Nazis and their war. Chaplin is creating his masterpiece "The Great Dictator" in 1940. Until today artists practice resistance against wars. There are still some entertainers as Tina Karol (Ukrainian Eurovision Song Contest participant 2006) performing for Ukrainian armed forces in Iraq or Julia Fischer at Heiligendamm performing for Angela Merkel and George W. Bush or doing front theatre in Afghanistan ... A majority of artists is against the de-democratization of society and the privatization of democracy!

**16-01-12 “Sources - Myths - Legends“** About Truth and Lies in history.



**Herbert Gantschacher**

**"The Limits of Virtual Reality or Our deal with the past and future"**

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**10.5. Forms of Life: Theatre Forms as an Articulated Way of Life**

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in: "Das Verbindende der Kulturen / The Unifying Aspects of Cultures / Les points communs des cultures" including essays of Noam Chomsky, Tschingis Aitmatov, Knut Ove Arntzen, Ulf Birbaumer, Herbert Arlt, Hubert Steiner, Jean-Jacques Van Vlasselaer, Katharina Rostock, Brenda Harker, Marjan Bevk, Herbert Gantschacher a.o.; edited by Penka Angelova • Charles I. Armstrong • Knut Ove Arntzen • Albena Bakratcheva • András F. Balogh • Heiner Benking • Jeff Bernard • Anil Bhatti • Susanne Binder • Ulf Birbaumer • Mikhail Blumenkrantz • Axel Borsdorf • Fawzi Boubia • Wolfgang Coy • Larissa Cybenko • Donald G. Daviau • Jeroen Dewulf • Giuseppe Dolei • Gertrude Durusoy • George Echu • Diana Ehrenwerth • Klaus-Dieter Ertler • Gisela Fehrmann • Tamara Fessenko • Fatima Festic • Gerald Ganglbauer • Herbert Gantschacher • Wolfgang Gombócz • Simone Griesmayr • George Gutu • Arne Haselbach • Christa Hassfurther • Sabine Helmers • Ursula Hentschläger • Klaus-J. Hermanik • Ernest W.B. Hess-Lüttich • Gabriella Hima • Peter Horn • Andrea Horváth • Christoph Hubig • Erhabor Sunday Idemudia • Naoji Kimura • Fritz Peter Kirsch • Maria Klanska • Nonna Kopystianska • Dagmar Kostalova • Ludmilla Kostova • Maurits Kwee • Pascal Lardellier • Monika Leisch-Kiesel • Tamás Lichtmann • Erika Linz • Mikael Luciak • Zalina A. Mardanova • Vera Mayer • Mirela Moldoveanu • Ingo Mörth • Juri Mosidze • Rudolf Muhr • Franz Nahrada • Agata S. Nalborczyk • Eszter Pabis • Josephine Papst • Zrinjka Peruško • Heinrich Pfandl • Helmut F. Pfanner • Hermann Reichert • Olga Rösch • Alessandra Schininà • Reinhold Schrappeneder • Munira Shahidi • David Simo • Michael Strähle • Katja Sturm-Schnabl • Walerij Susmann • Kathleen Thorpe • Gregor Thuswaldner • Gennady Uzilevsky • Walter Weyers • Klaus Wiegerling • Zelko Wiener • **LIT 2004, ISBN 3-8258-7616-0**

Today newspapers are reporting in a few lines about the disobedience of pilots of the Air Force of Israel to bomb cities, villages, camps, cars and people in the land of the Palestine Authority. But newspapers need a lot of lines for their news reports about the marriage of the son or a daughter of a king or a queen.

In August 1914 "Serbien muss sterben" announced the newspaper "Illustrierte Kronen Zeitung" after the assassination of the Austro-Hungarian Archduke Franz-Ferdinand on 28th of June 1914 in Sarajevo and on the eve of the big apocalypse of the 20th century World War I and World War II. The translation of "Serbien muss sterben" means "Serbia must die" which means the total annihilation of a nation and culture by war.

But that means also that this announcement on the front page of this newspaper in 1914 did not inform the people but tried to influence them for the propaganda of a preventive war on the eve of World War I.

So the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy initiated the first Total War in History with all elements of a modern war in the air, on the water and on the ground in big battlefields. The Austro-Hungarian Empire and the General chief in staff of the military forces, Franz Conrad von Hötzendorf were full responsible for starting this preventive war against Serbia which became "Der Große Krieg / La Grande Guerra / The Great War" and the responsibility to create this apocalypse.

Official history often denied and denies this responsibility. As in 2003 politicians were often speaking about a "Reunion of Europe" as we know from history Europe in the past never was united. So we have to learn from Hidden History and Hidden Art in the past and the present.

One of the examples for Hidden History and Hidden Art is The Hidden Years Archive Music Project in South Africa by David Marks, which is in the process of restoring, transferring, cataloguing and issuing 35 years of music (on CD, Radio and perhaps TV) that was ignored, banned, or restricted during the Apartheid Area in South Africa. Much of the musical past, like the political past, is hard to access. Just as people and books during the time of the Apartheid Area were banned and censored, so too were musicians and their music.

So this project is a powerful documentary of the art of a civilized world and also a history of a civilized world. This is one example that Hidden Art is a witness of Hidden History. It is also a document for the survival of humanity.

Monuments of war are not reflecting peace and humanity. Monuments remembering the Holocaust are trying to reflect memory. But who takes the profits ? In general the economy and especially constructions of companies. The companies who produced the gas "Blaukreuz / Blue Cross" for WW I were the same who produced the gas for the industrial annihilation of people in the concentration camps. Before World War I and after World War II these companies produced so called "civilized" products for prevention of "Unkraut". And after World War II these companies produced again so called "civilized" products after supporting the Holocaust essentially. These companies are producing and selling so called anti-sprayer products. Such an anti-sprayer product was used in building the monument of the Holocaust in Berlin. So monuments do rarely reflecting memory. But what could be reflected, what could be seen, what question in all is about such happenings ? It's the economy, stupid.

The "monuments" reflecting war, peace, humanity, memory has to be found in the hidden history and hidden art. Such hidden projects are real "monuments". But if we would try to find "monuments" about that kind of history and art, we would find no "monuments", because these "monuments" are not industrial works. They are written books or composed music. Friedrich Georg Nicolai, Andreas Latzko and Viktor Ullmann are three examples from the 20th century for the existence of hidden history and hidden art.

Friedrich Georg Nicolai was a doctor of medicine and a specialist for physiology. He was born in 1874. In the world of arts the name of his uncle is better known. Otto Nicolai was a composer and musician, he composed the opera "The Merry Wives of Windsor" and he was the founder of the Viennese Philharmonic Orchestra.

In summer of the year 1915 during the World War I Friedrich Georg Nicolai was at the fortress of Graudenz near Königsberg (today in the district of Kaliningrad of the Russian Federation). This Prussian fortress was near Königsberg. In Königsberg the philosopher Immanuel Kant lived from 1724 to 1804 and there he published a lot of essential works among them "What is the Enlightenment ?" (1784) or "The Perpetual Peace" (1795). And in 1798 in his book "The Metaphysics of the Morality" Kant published an essential concept for international law. In Graudenz Nicolai had to work as a military doctor of medicine in the fortress. But Nicolai was not there in Graudenz by a free decision. He



was forced to work there although he refused before in Berlin the military service and the soldier's oath. Nicolai was a physiologist and worked at the hospital of the Charité and the medical faculty of the university. And sometimes he had given medical advice to the wife of the German Emperor Wilhelm II. At the beginning of World War I in August 1914 he was not as enthusiastic for starting the war as the majority of people of the German-Prussian and Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Nicolai started to look behind the propaganda of war. In October 1914 an "Appeal to the World of Culture" was published and signed by 93 German intellectuals among them the theatre director Max Reinhardt. So this so called intellectuals defended in a way of propaganda the warfare of the German Empire. Nicolai published few days later an "Appeal to the European" where he described also a vision of a Union of Europe in the future. This appeal he had worked out together with Albert Einstein, Otto Buek and Wilhelm Förster. So four intellectuals living in the German Empire understood the importance of history and memory, so they were able to write essential words about the present and future time of Europe in 1914. They had a vision of an emerging Europe as the only possibility of a peaceful development. And Nicolai started giving lectures under the title "War as a Biological Factor in the Development of Mankind" about the warfare and the reality of war, about the losses of people, energy and money for the people. These lectures he enlarged more and more and in 1915 he finished at Graudenz the first version of "The Biology of War". The case of Nicolai was also discussed at the 41st session of the German parliament in April 1916. In 1917 the first version of "The Biology of War" was published in Zürich. So this book for an essential peace was written during the war. And immediately this book was in Europe well known. The staff of the army of German Army wanted to bring Nicolai to a military court. But in spring 1918 Nicolai could flee from the German Empire with a military plane to Denmark. But his book was also read at the front. The soldier and composer Viktor Ullmann who served at the Austro-Hungarian Army read the book together with comrades at the front of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy against Italy. On 22nd of February 1918 Ullmann sent a letter to his girlfriend Anny Wottitz from the front. About Nicolai Ullmann wrote in this letter: "I would feel well, if I could work. Reading a good book would be something like this. Or Mischi could read from the marvellous book 'The Biology of War' written by Dr. Nicolai, Berlin (in Germany this book is forbidden by censorship - the book is available in the bookshop of Glanig. Please present the book in the window of your shop !!)". Nicolai's philosophy and his book should have an essential influence to one of the musical masterpieces Ullmann composed later. The opera "The Emperor of Atlantis or The Death-Refusal" is deeply influenced by "The Biology of War". And Ullmann put Nicolai also in the opera as the character of the doctor (who never appears on stage), for whom the Emperor in the opera is calling through his loudspeaker. In August 1918 Friedrich Georg Nicolai wrote: "Now I understand war; and now I know what a horrible demon tortured mankind in the past and modern time. And now I hate war - the war of the 20th century". The book "The Biology of War" was translated into nine languages. After the war he started again teaching at the university, but his colleagues and the students boycotted him. And in 1922 he was forced to leave Germany (eleven years before the start of the dictatorship of the Nazis). He started working and teaching in Southern America first in Argentina and later in Chile. In the mid-1930's he worked also on a book with the title "Das Natzenbuch - A Natural History of National Socialist Movement and of Nationalism in General". The "Natzenbuch" is, therefore, "antinational as such", identifying nationalism as "one of the greatest, possibly greatest danger to the further development of the human race". 1964 Nicolai died in Chile. Today the life and work of Friedrich Georg Nicolai is not well known to the public. It is more or less hidden history. But that fact must be changed.

Another case is the life of the Austrian-Hungarian poet Andreas Latzko. He was born in 1876 in Budapest and he died in 1943 as a poor emigrant in New York. During the World War I he served as a soldier in the Austro-Hungarian Army. There at the front he saw the real life of the soldiers. From this experience he wrote some very important novels against the war among them "People at War" and "The Peace Court". In both novels there we see faces of common soldier destroyed by war and not the faces of emperors or generals. And Latzko is asking in these novels why these common people are fighting each other. And one answer he found is the terror of the propaganda by ministries and newspapers. In 1918 33000 books of the novel "People at War" and 14000 books of the novel "The Peace Court" were sold. Also soldiers at the front read these novels among them the musician and composer Viktor Ullmann who served as Latzko at the front against Italy. Karl Kraus wrote in October 1917 in his magazine "Die Fackel" about the novel "People at War": "As a document about the war this most important book influences also important sections in the government. Some people know that in near future the official Austria will be proud to be involved in the World War by the fact of the existence of this novel." But till today we are waiting for the fulfilling of this vision of Karl Kraus. Today Andreas Latzko is nearly forgotten and unknown to a bigger audience.

Another example is the life of the musician and composer Viktor Ullmann. He was born on 1st of January 1898 in Teschen in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (today Teschen is parted in a Polish and Czech city as a result of World War I). His father Maximilian Ullmann was a regular soldier and in the ranking system of the Austro-Hungarian Army among the one hundred most important officers. During World War I in 1916 Viktor Ullmann finished the school in Vienna and started serving as a one-year voluntary soldier in the army of the Austro-Hungarian Army. A lot of young men did the same as for example the composer Ernst Krenek. Viktor Ullmann got training at the battery of a 38 cm howitzer. This weapon was one of the most modern batteries of World War I. It was constructed for a mobile war; this kind of war became later famous under the name "Blitzkrieg". The existence of this howitzer was not known in the public, the censorship did not allow publishing articles and photos about that howitzer. And the communication in the team of the howitzer was absolutely modern. They used telecommunication systems like telephone and radio. The job of Ullmann in the battery was the work of an observer, to find out aims in the front line of the enemies. So in September 1917 the battery "K.u.k. 38 cm. Hb. Bt. Nr. 4 B. 5" where Ullmann served became part of the elite troops of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The battery was transferred to the Soca Frontline into the First Corps of General Krauss for the preparation of the 12th Battle at the Soca Front. The whole battery was transported by train from the shooting school at Hajmasker near Veszprem in Hungary to the frontline crossing the cities of Pragerhof (Pragersko), Klagenfurt (Celovec), Villach (Beljak). In the night from 22nd to 23rd of September 1917 at Thörl-Maglern near Arnoldstein (Podkloster) the battery stopped. Arnoldstein was an important train station during World War I for providing the southern frontlines against Italy with soldiers, weapons and food. For the transport this colossus of a howitzer with a weight of 182,2 tons was well prepared. It could be transported directly on the tracks by removing wheels. The cars and transporting systems of the howitzer had two different wheels, one for the transport on the street and one for the transport on tracks. So this howitzer could be transported independently from the traffic situation in the war. That was sometimes more than chaos. This type of car and transporting system was constructed by Ferdinand Porsche at the factories in Wiener Neustadt near Vienna (Porsche later constructed the "KdF-Wagen" for the Nazi-government which was named later and after World War II the "Volkswagen" VW). Skoda constructed the howitzer. In all the composition of the battery consisted of five

trucks including trailers and a car for the command. So in Thörl-Maglern the battery "K.u.k. 38 cm. Hb. Bt. Nr. 4 B. 5" was removed from the tracks to the street. In the night the 5 trucks and the car of the command of the battery were driven through the mountains of the Julian Alps to the Soca Valley. There the Battery Nr. 4 was involved in the preparation of the 12th battle at the Soca front. About the start of the battle Ullmann wrote to Anny Wottitz: "From the position of the observer we saw also on 24th of October at 2 am in the night the start of the heavy gas attack. This attack was to the introduction to our action. We could observe the shooting of our battery. At the third day the combat zone was far far away from our position. I think, this push war a big step forward to peace. We were going down from our observing position. Everything was like a sigh of relief, the landscape was freed from the horror brought by shells." This letter Ullmann sent on 9th of November to his girlfriend in Vienna. In a few words he characterised the horror of war and the desire for peace of a common soldier. This last battle at the Soca river later was named as "The Miracle of Karfreit / Kobarid / Caporetto". But there was real no miracle. It was the horror of weapons of mass destruction that managed the battle under the high command of Emperor Karl of the house of Habsburg. The battle was started with a massive gas attack against the Italian soldiers. This gas "Blue Cross" was produced by the same companies, which supplied later the concentration camps like Auschwitz with gas for the mass murder. So Ullmann became a witness of the apocalypse and later by himself a victim of the apocalypse in Auschwitz. Viktor Ullmann and his artistic work later were deeply influenced by his personal experience during World War I. One example for that is the composition of "Autumn". For that song he used a poem by the Austrian composer Georg Trakl, who became a victim of World War I. Trakl died in 1914 after having seen the heavy battle of Grodek and being as a first aid attendant alone at the battlefield with a lot of wounded and dead soldiers. Ullmann finished the composition of this song on 24th of January 1943 in the concentration camp of Theresienstadt / Terezín. Here under the conditions of a concentration camp his memory went deeply back to World War I. And here he composed the melodrama of "The Lay Of The Love And Death Of Cornet Christoph Rilke" remembering his work as an observer during World War I near the castle of Duino in 1918. And a "Cornet" was in the military rank a sergeant like Ullmann named historical as a standard-bearer. He could see the castle and in a letter he kindly asked Anny Wottitz to send her this poem written by Rainer Maria Rilke, who lived in 1912 at the castle of Duino. But much more Ullmann used his memory to World War I in the opera "The Emperor of Atlantis or The Disobedience of Death". This piece he composed at Theresienstadt / Terezín from 1943 to 1944. In the story of the opera Death (dressed as a retired soldier of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy) refuses to collaborate with the Emperor in the pre-emptive total war. Ullmann served in the battery "K.u.k. 38 cm. Hb. Bt. Nr. 4 B. 5" as an observer. In the artillery handbook of the Austro-Hungarian Army the function of an observer is clear defined. The observer works in cooperation with the command of the battery. And for his work the observer uses telephone or radio or other optical sign. And if the observer uses the telephone or the radio, he always must start the message with following words: "Hallo! Hallo!". And the first two words in the opera "The Emperor of Atlantis or The Disobedience of Death" are "Hallo, Hallo !" used by the character of the "Loudspeaker", who describes himself as "a not real existence like the radio". So there we have now one character coming out from Ullmann's memory to World War I. But also the other characters of the opera are remembering to the battlefield experience of Ullmann. The character of the "Death" is clothed like an officer, not high ranked, but something like a lieutenant. That was the rank of Ullmann, when he left the army. The "Emperor" is Emperor Karl, the last emperor of Austria-Hungary responsible for the gas attack at the 12th Isonzo battle,

where Ullmann was involved. The character of the "drummer" is the announcer of the war in the opera as it happened in reality on the eve of World War I and during the Great War. The character of the "Soldier" on the battlefield comes up also from the experience of Ullmann during the 12th battle on the river Isonzo. And in the opera the "Soldier" meets a "Bubikopf" from the army of the enemy in a combat man to man. But this "Bubikopf" is not a man it is a "Girl". And they fell in love and the resistance against the pre-emptive total war of the "Emperor" during love starts. By research work I found out, that the name "Bubikopf" was one of the nicknames of the women called suffragettes, who fought for the equal rights of women at the turn from the 19th to 20th century. And in a total war everybody is involved also women. There are letters from women existing, who wants to fight in World War I. And in the army of the German Empire the closest ally of Austria-Hungary some women served really, some of the in the rank of an officer like a captain. So all characters of the opera based on the personal experience of Ullmann during World War I. But Ullmann is not celebrating the war in the opera; during the words of the libretto and his music he called and calls also nowadays for resistance against any form of despotism or misuse of democratic rules. And this opera he composed in the concentration camp of Theresienstadt. And there the prisoners of the camp knew all this meanings, because a lot of them were involved in the battlefields of World War I like the father of the musician and poet Herbert Thomas Mandl. Mandl's father was a close friend to Ullmann and served like Ullmann in a battery of the Austro-Hungarian army. Or we have to remember the name of Johann Friedlaender, who was an officer in World War I and became later the general of the high command of the army of the first Austrian republic named as a "Feldmarschall". The Nazi Authority also sent Friedlaender to the concentration camp of Theresienstadt. So the potential audience for the opera in the camp would know what are the meanings of the words and the music. The opera was on rehearsal in the camp as part of the free-time organisation "Freizeitgestaltung". To some prisoners in the camp it was allowed to do after work some performances, lectures or concerts. That permission was given also to Ullmann. So the opera was rehearsed there but never performed there in the camp. It took 51 years for the first performance in Theresienstadt in 1995 by the performance of ARBOS - Company for Music and Theatre. Ullmann survived the 12th battle at the river Soca. The 38 cm howitzer got a barrel burst during the battle. And so Ullmann got his first and last experience at the front in World War I. Maybe this barrel burst saved his life. But unfortunately he could not survive World War I. He was deported to the concentration camp of Theresienstadt on 8th of September 1942. Here he created only in 24 months 22 musical works, he wrote a lot of reviews about other concerts and performances, he taught music, he played piano, he worked as a conductor. That all he has done under the conditions of a concentration camp. In one of his last essays he wrote: "It is here, in Theresienstadt, when in our daily existence we had to vanquish matter with the help of the power of form, when everything that was related to the muses contrasted extraordinarily with the environment which was ours, that was the true school of mastery." And so Theresienstadt was also the only place, where such masterpieces of music could be created during the Third Reich. It was under the condition of a concentration camp also a place of liberty. Such liberty did not exist for the German people, because more and more of them were following since the end of World War I a certain propaganda, which changed in the thirties to the dictatorship of Hitler. And as we learned from Ullmann, Hitler is not the emperor in the opera "The Emperor of Atlantis or The Disobedience of Death". Everybody could be it or any kind of despotism or misuse of democratic rules or of international law. On 16th of October 1994 Ullmann was deported from Theresienstadt to Auschwitz. There he was murdered on 18th of October 1944 by gas, produced by the same

company, who produced the gas "Blue Cross" used at the start of the 12th battle on the river Soca on 24th of October 1917. So Ullmann became of witness and victim of the apocalypse of the 20th century. But Ullmann left to us with his music and especially with his opera "The Emperor of Atlantis or The Disobedience of Death" an important message for humanity created as a masterpiece of music.

So Nicolai, Lutzko and Ullmann are three examples for a certain believe in humanity and human dignity. These three names are only representative for a lot of more others like the poet Theodor Kramer, who served in World War I as a soldier, survived World War II in the exile of London, and died as a poor man in Vienna on 3rd of April 1958. Theodor Kramer was a close friend to Viktor Ullmann. Or the name of Peter Kien (a friend of the German poet Peter Weiss), who was a young painter and poet. Kien was the co-author of Ullmann in writing the libretto for the opera "The Emperor of Atlantis or The Disobedience of Death" in the camp from 1943 to 1944. Kien as Ullmann did not survive. So I mentioned two more names. I could add now a long list of hidden art in the past. From these scientists, philosophers, poets, composers or artists we can learn the history of a Civilized World and not from daily newspapers and official history, because art reflects the reality. The politics and the economy are not able to do it.

We are only able to manage the present, if we remember on our history. With this memory we could look through the present time to the future to a civilized world with a triumph of humanity.

But today: Old fortresses are deconstructed to castles, and museums are presenting the "marvellous" fights of troops like the "Kaiserliche Garde". And so they are praising the mass murder of a total war.

And at any time a war could only be organised by the rich, by emperors, by politician and especially by businessmen today. Poor people are unable to manage a war.

The Roman-Catholic Church sanctions and protects the transformation of cemeteries of died soldiers from all nations to national "Sacraios" of Fascism with graves for Italian soldiers only. So the cemetery of Redipuglia could be changed from an Anti-War-Cemetery to the fascistic cemetery monument of Benito Mussolini. The whole monument is arranged like an army with hundreds of soldiers in their tombs inscribed with the call of the fascists "Presente". And it is also a symbol for the existing racism protected by the Roman-Catholic Church. As today the thesis of Mr. Samuel P. Huntington of some kind of clash of civilizations is nothing more than racism. As also the genocide on the Inuit society happened in 40s and 50s of the 20th century protected by governments and churches was nothing more than racism organized with a little help from the military.

And Emperor Karl, the Last Emperor of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, is on the way to his beatification.

But time and nature works. Nature destroyed a lot of streets and bunkers, which were used in World War I.

And I will bring this lecture to an end with the "Farewell - Aria" of the "Emperor" from the opera "The Emperor of Atlantis or The Disobedience of Death". This are the last words of the "Emperor" before he would leave for ever: "Freed from the pressure of human ties, the land will stretch out in unharvested fields under the sun and the wind. Under the debris of the cities reigns the snow and in the moulded ruins play the hare and the foam. Ah, if only we had withered ! The woods would grow freely, woods, which we only hinder; no one would prevent the water from following its course. Death return ! Hunger, Love, Life. Death has returned. Hunger, Love, Life. Often clouds, often lightning, but murder never again. Our lives are in your hands ! Take them. Take them away !"

## **Herbert Gantschacher "Viktor Ullmann - Testimone e vittima dell'Apocalisse"**

Nella sua opera „*Der Kaiser von Atlantis oder Die Todt-Verweigerung*” Viktor Ullmann utilizza la sua esperienza come soldato dell'esercito austro-ungarico durante La Grande Guerra. Le esperienze fatte da Ullmann al fronte nella Prima Guerra Mondiale, sull'Isonzo, costituiscono l'impalcatura del libretto per l'opera e si ritrovano anche nella musica.

Viktor Ullmann nacque il 1 Gennaio 1898 in Teschen, nella doppia monarchia austro-ungarica. Suo padre Maximilian era ufficiale di professione e tra i cento ufficiali più importanti nella graduatoria della *Wehrmacht* (forza di difesa). Durante La Grande Guerra, nel maggio 1916, Ullmann termina il ginnasio con la maturità di guerra e si impegna a prestare servizio come soldato volontario per un anno. Molti giovani assunsero l'impegno di entrare nell'esercito in qualità di volontari per un anno, come anche il compositore Ernst Krenek. Viktor Ullmann fu assegnato all'artiglieria e istruito come osservatore sull'obice da 38 cm. Questa arma fu uno dei più moderni pezzi d'artiglieria della prima guerra mondiale (era stata progettata e costruita per una guerra mobile) e questo tipo di gestione della guerra ottenne in seguito il nome di “guerra lampo”. L'opinione pubblica ne sapeva poco o niente sull'esistenza di questo obice. La censura proibiva la pubblicazione di relazioni sui giornali e di foto dell'obice da 38 cm. La comunicazione all'interno della batteria era altamente moderna poiché sono stati utilizzati sistemi di comunicazione come telefono e radiocomunicazioni (radio).

Ullmann prestava servizio nella batteria dell'obice da 38 cm in qualità di osservatore per trovare obiettivi da bombardare attraverso l'artiglieria nelle file del nemico. Nel settembre 1917 la batteria „K.u.k. 38 cm Hb. Bt. Nr.4 B. 5” fu consegnata ai gruppi d'élite della forza di difesa austro-ungarica. La batteria fu trasportata sulla linea di frontiera dell'Isonzo e messa al servizio del primo corpo del generale Krauss per la battaglia sull'Isonzo. L'intera batteria dalla scuola di tiro dell'artiglieria Hajmáskér nei pressi di Veszprém, in Ungheria, fu trasportata su rotaie sulla linea di frontiera attraversando le città di Pragerhof (Pragersko), Klagenfurt (Celovec) e Villach (Beljak). Nella notte tra il 22 e il 23 settembre 1917 la batteria si fermò nei pressi di Coccau (che si trova tra Arnoldstein/Podkloster e Tarvis/Tarvisio/Trvis). L'obice, nonostante un peso complessivo di 182 tonnellate, era preparato al meglio sia per il trasporto su strada sia per le rotaie, poiché possedeva due diverse ruote. Togliendo le ruote gommate l'obice poteva essere messo immediatamente sui binari con le sue ruote per binari. Ciò lo rese indipendente dalla situazione di traffico durante la guerra. I veicoli per il trasporto dell'obice sono stati costruiti ed edificati da Ferdinand Porsche nelle fabbriche della città di Wiener Neustadt (Porsche costruì in seguito l'automobile utilitaria “*Kdf-Wagen*” per i nazionalsocialisti che dopo il 1945 è stata prodotta in tutto il mondo come “Volkswagen” delle fabbriche VW). L'intero parco vetture dell'obice consisteva di cinque veicoli da rimorchio (dotati di un generatore motore diesel, un precursore dei moderni motori ibridi), cinque rimorchi e un veicolo di comando. Nei pressi di Coccau la batteria “K.u.k. 38 cm. Hb. Bt. Nr. 4 B. 5” fu portata dalle rotaie alla strada. Nella notte l'intera batteria si diresse attraverso il Predilpass, nelle alpi Giulie, sul fronte, nella valle superiore dell'Isonzo.

Sull'inizio della battaglia Ullmann scrisse alla sua amica Anny Wottitz: “A partire dalla condizione di osservatori abbiamo visto anche il 24 ottobre alle 2 di notte il fuoco tambureggiante di gas che introduceva la nostra azione e abbiamo osservato gli spari della batteria propria. Il terzo giorno il campo di battaglia era già lontano, molto lontano da noi – io penso che questa offensiva sia stata un grande passo verso la pace. Siamo scesi dalla nostra condizione di osservatori – tutto ciò tirando un sospiro di sollievo, libero da grigiori di granate il paesaggio”. Ullmann spedì questa lettera il 9 Novembre alla sua amica a Vienna. Con poche parole caratterizzò il grigiore della guerra e la nostalgia della pace dal punto di vista di un semplice soldato. Quest'ultima battaglia sull'Isonzo fu anche definita “il miracolo di Karfreit / Kobarid / Caporetto”. Ma in realtà non fu affatto un miracolo. L'orrore delle armi di annientamento di massa sotto il comando superiore dell'imperatore e re Karl (Carlo) della Casa di Asburgo determinò il corso dei combattimenti. La battaglia è stata inaugurata con l'impiego massiccio di gas tossico contro i soldati italiani. Questo gas, denominato *Blaukreuz* (croce blu), è stato prodotto da quelle ditte che in seguito rifornirono anche i campi di concentramento,

come ad esempio Auschwitz, di gas per l'omicidio di massa. Così Ullmann fu un testimone e successivamente una vittima dell'apocalisse di Auschwitz del 1944.

In seguito Viktor Ullmann e il suo lavoro artistico sono stati altamente influenzati dall'esperienza personale avuta nella prima guerra mondiale. Ne è un esempio la composizione "*Herbst*" (autunno). Per questa composizione di canti egli utilizzò una poesia del poeta tedesco Georg Trakl, che è diventato una vittima della prima guerra mondiale. Trakl morì nel 1914 in seguito alla grande battaglia di Grodek quando, in qualità di sanitario, si trovò da solo sul campo di battaglia con molti soldati feriti e morti. Trakl non superò una tale esperienza di guerra. Ullmann terminò la composizione di questo canto il 24 Gennaio 1943 nel campo di concentramento di Theresienstadt. Nel lager si ricordò della prima guerra mondiale. Qui compose il melodramma "*Die Weise von Liebe und Tod des Cornets Christoph Rilke*" (Canto di amore e morte dell'alfiere Christoph Rilke) anche in ricordo del suo servizio prestato in guerra in qualità di osservatore durante la prima guerra mondiale nei pressi del castello Duino nel 1918. E un "*Cornet*" (alfiere) nell'ordine dei ranghi militari era definito storicamente un allievo ufficiale come Ullmann dopo il portabandiera. Egli, in qualità di osservatore, durante la sua attività poté vedere il castello Duino, in una lettera alla sua amica Anny Wottitz chiese di inviargli questa poesia di Rainer Maria Rilke, il quale nel 1912 visse e lavorò nel castello Duino.

Ma l'opera di Ullmann "*Der Kaiser von Atlantis oder Die Todt-Verweigerung*" (L'imperatore di Atlantide ovvero Il rifiuto della morte) non sarebbe pensabile senza il suo ricordo della prima guerra mondiale e la sua esperienza personale della guerra. Egli compose questo pezzo a Theresienstadt negli anni 1943 e 1944. Nella storia dell'opera, *der Tod* (la Morte - vestita come un soldato dimesso della forza di difesa k.u.k.) rifiutò all'imperatore di mettersi al servizio della sua guerra preventiva e totale. Ullmann aveva servito in qualità di osservatore nella batteria "K.u.k. 38 cm. Hb. Bt. Nr. 4 B. 5". Nel manuale dell'artiglieria della forza di difesa k.u.k. la funzione di osservatore è stata descritta in modo chiaro. L'osservatore lavora insieme al comando della batteria, per questo lavoro utilizza il telefono, la radio (=radiocomunicazioni) o altri segnali ottici. Quando l'osservatore utilizza il telefono o la radio per comunicare con il comando della batteria, deve iniziare sempre la sua segnalazione con le parole "Hallo! Hallo!". E le prime parole nel libretto dell'opera "*Der Kaiser von Atlantis oder Die Todt-Verweigerung*" sono "Hallo, Hallo!" (ciao), utilizzate dalla figura del "*Lautsprecher*" (altoparlante); prima delle prime parole, all'inizio dell'opera Ullmann mette un motivo musicale che da lì in poi accompagna la figura dell' "altoparlante" e che rielabora artisticamente e si rifà ad un segnale militare della forza di difesa k.u.k., utilizzato anche nella Grande Guerra. La figura dell' "altoparlante" si descrive da sola come uno che "non vede niente, ascolta soltanto". L' "altoparlante" è dunque la prima figura nell'opera che proviene dall'esperienza di guerra di Ullmann avuta nella prima guerra mondiale. Ma anche le altre figure nell'opera ricordano l'esperienza al fronte di Ullmann. La figura della morte ("*der Tod*") è vestita come un ufficiale della forza di difesa k.u.k., non proprio come un alto ufficiale, ma comunque nel rango di un sottotenente che corrisponde a quel rango con il quale Ullmann l'1 Dicembre 1920 si ritira definitivamente dalla forza di difesa della Repubblica. Il "*Kaiser*" (imperatore) è l'imperatore Franz Joseph (Francesco Giuseppe - egli dichiarò guerra e in questo modo mise in moto l'apocalisse del XX secolo) e l'imperatore Karl, il quale, in qualità di detentore del comando supremo della dodicesima e ultima battaglia dell'Isonzo, fu responsabile anche dell'intervento con il gas che Ullmann poté vedere con i propri occhi dal suo stato di osservatore nella valle superiore dell'Isonzo. La figura del "*Trommler*" (tamburino) è l'annunciatore della guerra, così come nella realtà era successo all'inizio e durante la guerra mondiale. La figura del "*Soldat*" (soldato) proviene dal campo di battaglia dell'Isonzo. E nell'opera la figura del "soldato" si scontra con quella del "*Bubikopf*" (caschetto) nel campo di battaglia in una lotta uomo contro uomo. Ma il "Caschetto" non è un uomo, "egli" è una "ragazza". Essi si innamorano e iniziano così la loro resistenza contro la guerra preventiva e totale del "*Kaiser*" (imperatore). Da lavori di ricerca a parte è emerso che il nome "*Bubikopf*" (caschetto) era stato uno dei soprannomi per le femministe che all'inizio del XX secolo lottarono per la parità di diritti delle donne. E in una guerra totale sono coinvolti tutti, anche le donne. E le donne prestarono servizio nella Grande Guerra del 1914-1918 nelle armate austro-ungariche, per il Reich tedesco, la Serbia e la Russia. Così tutte le figure dell'opera si basano sulle esperienze personali di guerra di Ullmann avute durante

la prima guerra mondiale. Anche le citazioni musicali di questo periodo si trovano nell'opera come segnali militari della forza di difesa k.u.k. (esse aprono e concludono l'opera anche dal punto di vista musicale), gli inni popolari della Casa di Asburgo citati nel testo e nella musica o anche il corale "*Eine feste Burg ist unser Gott*" (una solida fortezza è il nostro dio), che era stato utilizzato anche durante la Grande Guerra del 1914-1918 come canto dei soldati.

Ma Ullmann nella sua opera non rifiuta la guerra. Sia nel libretto sia nella musica incitava e incita ancora oggi alla resistenza contro ogni forma di dispotismo o abuso della democrazia. Ullmann compose questa opera nel campo di concentramento di Theresienstadt negli anni 1943 e 1944. Alcuni dei prigionieri conoscevano da sé la prima guerra mondiale dalle loro esperienze anche sul fronte perché molti di essi avevano combattuto nelle trincee della Grande Guerra. Il 16 Ottobre 1944 Ullmann fu deportato da Theresienstadt ad Auschwitz, dove fu ucciso il 18 Ottobre 1944 in una camera a gas.



## **Herbert Gantschacher " Viktor Ullmann - Prič in žrtev apokalipse"**

Ullmann je bil rojen 1. januarja 1898 v mestu Těšín (Teschen), pokrajini Šlezija v Avstro-Ogrski monarhiji. Njegov oče Maximilian Ullmann je bil profesionalni vojak in v hierarhiji Avstro-Ogrske vojske med stotimi najpomembnejšimi oficirji. Leta 1916, med prvo svetovno vojno, je Viktor Ullmann končal šolanje na Dunaju in je pričel služiti enoletno prostovoljno vojaščino v Avstro-Ogrski vojski. V tistem času je veliko mladih fantov storilo podobno, na primer skladatelj Ernst Krenek. Viktor Ullmann se je usposabljal v bateriji z 38cm havbicami (howitzer). To orožje je bilo eno najbolj izpopolnjenih v Prvi vojni, bilo je prilagojeno za mobilno vojskovanje, prav za princip vojskovanja, ki je kasneje dobil ime »Blitzkrieg«. Obstoj tega orožja javnosti ni bil znan, cenzura je tudi prepovedovala objavljane člankov in fotografij. Tudi komunikacija v ekipi, ki se je borila s havbicami, je bila zelo napredna, saj so uporabljali telekomunikacijske sisteme kot sta telefon in radio.

Ullmannova služba v bateriji je bila »opazovalec«, najti je moral cilje v sovražnikovi prvi liniji. V septembru leta 1917 je baterija »K.u.k. 38 cm. Hb. Bt. Nr. 4 B. 5«, kjer je služil Ullmann, postala del elitnih enot Avstro-Ogrske monarhije. Baterija je bila prestavljena na Soško fronto med prve enote generala Kraussa, vključena v pripravo na 12. Soško bitko. Cela enota se je prepeljala z vlakom iz Madžarske, kjer je bila strelska šola v mestu Hajmáskér blizu Veszpréma, preko mest Pragerhof (Pragersko), Klagenfurt (Celovec), Villach (Beljak) in se v noči iz 22. na 23. september 1917 ustavila v Kokovi (Coccau, Goggau) blizu Arnoldsteina (Podkloštra). Za transport orožja (havbic) v skupni teži 182,2 tone, so bili dobro pripravljeni, saj so ga lahko prepeljali tudi na tirih, če so odstranili kolesa. Havbica je imela dve različni vrsti koles, ena za cestni transport, druga za železnico. Tako so bile havbice lahko prepeljane neodvisno od prometnih razmer med vojno. Princip je razvil Ferdinand Porsche v tovarnah Neuerstadt blizu Dunaja (Porsche je kasneje razvil tudi KdF-Wagen za nacistično vlado, ki so ga kasneje poimenovali Volkswagen), Škoda pa je havbice proizvajala. V celotni sestavi baterije so havbice predstavljale pet tovornjakov s prikolicami in poseben avto za komando. Baterija »K.u.k. 38 cm. Hb. Bt. Nr. 4 B. 5« se je v Kokovi s tirov premaknila na cesto in ponoči se je pet tovornjakov z avtomobilom za komando, prek Julijskih alp, premaknilo v dolino Soče. Tam se je 4. baterija začela pripravljati na 12. Soško bitko.

O začetku bitke piše Ullmann Anny Wottitz: »S položaja za opazovalca smo v noči na 24. oktober, natančneje ob dveh ponoči, videli začetek velikega napada s plinom. Ta napad je bil samo uvod v našo akcijo. Opazovali smo streljanje naše baterije. Na tretji dan je bila frontna linija daleč proč od naših položajev. Mislim, da je ta premik bojišča naprej, velik korak k miru. Umikamo se z naših opazovalskih položajev. Vse se zdelo kot znak olajšanja, pokrajina je bila osvobodena groze, ki so jo trosile granate.«

To pismo je Ullmann 9. novembra poslal svojemu dekletu na Dunaj. V nekaj besedah navadnega vojaka je opisal vso grozo vojne in željo po miru. Zadnja soška bitka je imenovana »Čudež pri Kobaridu«, a zares ni bilo nobenega čudeža. Bila je groza orožja in velikega uničenja, ki je vodila vojsko pod velikim vodstvom cesarja Karla iz hiše Habsburžanov. Začelo se je z velikanskim napadom s plinom nad italijanske vojake. Plin »Blue Cross« (Blaukreutz) je bil proizveden v istih podjetjih, ki so kasneje zalagale koncentracijska taborišča, kot Auschwitz, s plinom za množično uničevanje. Ullmann je tako postal priča apokalipse in leta kasneje sam žrtev apokalipse v Auschwitzu.

Umetniško delo Viktoja Ullmanna je globoko zaznamovala osebna izkušnja prve svetovne vojne. Dober primer te izkušnje je njegova kompozicija z naslovom »Jesen«. Za to skladbo je uporabil besedilo avstrijskega pesnika Georga Trakla, ki je padel v Prvi vojni. Trakl je umrl leta 1914, ko je po veliki bitki pri Grodeku (zdaj: Horodok, Ukrajina) na bojišču ostal sam, kot bolničar med množico ranjenih in mrtvih vojakov. Ullman je skladbo dokončal 24. januarja 1943 v koncentracijskem taborišču Theresienstadt/Terezin. Nemogoče taboriščne razmere so obudile spomine na izkušnjo prve svetovne vojne. Prav tu je zložil tudi melodramo »Pesem o ljubezni in smrti korneta Krištofa Rilkeja«, ki ima izvor v njegovih podoživljanjih dela in opazovanja iz leta 1918 blizu Devinskega gradu. Kornet je v vojaški hierarhiji položaj narednika, kot je bil uradno nazivan tudi Ullmann v službi praporščaka. Od daleč je videl Devinski grad in v pismu svojemu

dekletu Anny Wottitz prosil, da mu pošlje pesem Rainer Maria Rilkeja, ki je v letu 1912 živel tam.

A še bolj očitno je Ullmann svoje spomine na vojno upodobil v operi »Cesar Atlantisa ali nepokorščina Smrti«. Komponiral ga je v letih 1943-1944 v taborišču Theresienstadt/Terezín.

V zgodbi Smrt (oblečen kot upokojeni vojak avstro-ogrske monarhije) zavrne sodelovanje s Cesarjem v totalni vojni. Ullmann je služil kot vojak v bateriji »K.u.k. 38 cm. Hb. Bt. Nr. 4 B. 5«, kot opazovalec. Funkcija opazovalca je v artilerijskem priročniku Avstro-Ogrske armade natančno določena. Opazovalec z uporabo telefona ali radia ali uporabo drugih optičnih znamenj deluje v sodelovanju s komando baterije. Če uporablja telefon ali radio, mora javljanje vedno začeti z besedama: »Halo! Halo!«. Zato sta tudi prvi dve besedi, ki ju v operi »Vladar Atlantisa ali nepokorščina Smrti« izreče Glasnik (Lautsprecher - Loudspeaker - Glasnogovornik): »Halo! Halo!«, a pred tem Ullmann prične svojo opero z glasbenim motivom, ki v celotnem delu označuje Glasnika. Gre za motiv, ki je parafraza vojaškega-glasbenega signala čet cesarske vojske. Glasnik sam sebe opiše, da »je slišen, a se ga ne vidi«. To je torej en lik, ki prihaja iz Ullmannovega spomina na prvo vojno. Tudi vsi preostali liki se nanašajo na njegov spomin bojišč. Smrt je tako oblečena kot vojak, ne visoko rangiran, nekje na položaju poročnika, kar je bil tudi Ullmann ob koncu vojne. Cesar pooseblja cesarja Franca Jožefa (ki je napovedal vojno in s tem pričel apokalipso 20. stoletja) in cesarja Karla, zadnjega vladarja Avstro-Ogrske monarhije, ki je bil odgovoren za napad s plinom med 12. Soško bitko, v kateri je bil oktobra 1917 udeležen tudi Ullmann. Bobnar je lik, ki v operi napoveduje vojno, kot so jo dejansko napovedovali v letu 1914. Lik Vojak, ki prav tako izhaja iz avtorjevega spomina na 12. Soško bitko, se na bojišču iz oči v oči sooči z Bubikopfom iz nasprotne vojske. A Bubikopf ni moški temveč Dekle, zaljubita se in skozi ljubezen poosebita nekakšen odpor proti Cesarjevi totalni vojni. Raziskave so pokazale, da bilo ime Bubikopf vzdevek za sufražetke, ki so se na prelomu stoletij borile za enakost spolov in pravice žensk. Ker gre za totalno vojno, ni iz nje izključen nihče, niti ženske. Ženske so služile v vojskah Avstro-Ogrske, Nemčije, Srbije in Rusije.

Vsi liki iz opere torej bazirajo na Ullmannovi osebni izkušnji iz prve svetovne vojne. To izkušnjo je moč čutiti tudi v glasbi, z glasbeno uporabo vojaških signalov (le-ti opero začnejo in končajo), z uporabo cesarske, Habsburške himne v besedilu in glasbi ali z zborovsko pesmijo »Bog je naša trdnjava«, ki je bila vojaška pesem na bojiščih Velike vojne.

A Ullmann v svojem delu ne slavi vojne, temveč skozi libreto in glasbo kliče, tudi v današnji čas, proti kakršnemu koli despotizmu ali zlorabi demokratičnih norm. V operi, ki jo je napisal v koncentracijskem taborišču Theresienstadt v letih 1943-1944, so mnogi taboriščniki prepoznali svojo izkušnjo Prve svetovne vojne. Dne 16. oktobra 1944, je bil Ullmann deportiran iz taborišča Theresienstadt/Terezín v Auschwitz in bil umorjen 18. oktobra 1944 v plinski celici.

## **Herbert Gantschacher "Viktor Ullmann - Svědek a oběť apokalypsy"**

Ve své opeře Císař z Atlantidy aneb Odpírání smrti využívá Ullmann svých zkušeností vojáka rakousko-uherské armády v 1. světové válce. Jeho zážitky z bojů na řece Soče (italské Isonzo) tvoří základní kostru libreta opery, ale lze je nalézt i v hudebním zpracování.

Viktor Ullmann se narodil 1. ledna 1898 ve slezském Těšíně na území tehdejší rakousko-uherské monarchie. Jeho otec Maximilian byl důstojníkem z povolání a v seznamu důstojníků c.a k. branné moci byl uveden mezi první stovkou nejdůležitějších důstojníků. V průběhu války ukončil Ullmann studium na gymnáziu urychlenou, tzv. válečnou maturitou a přihlásil se k vojenské službě jako jednoroční dobrovolník. Stejně rozhodnutí tehdy učinilo mnoho mladých mužů, ze skladatelů mj. také Ernst Krenek. Viktor Ullmann byl přidělen k dělostřelectvu a prodělal výcvik u 38 centimetrové houfnice. To byla v tehdejší Evropě jedna z nejmodernějších střelných zbraní. Byla vyvinuta a zkonstruována pro mobilní válku, jejíž způsob vedení byl později nazván válkou „bleskovou“. Existence této zbraně byla pro veřejnost přísně utajena a nesměly být o ní uveřejňovány žádné novinové články ani fotografie. Také komunikace uvnitř dělostřelecké baterie byla velmi moderní, protože se při ní už využíval telefon a radiové spojení. V dělostřelecké baterie sloužil Ullmann jako pozorovatel, jehož úkolem bylo vyhledávat v řadách protivníka cíle vhodné k dělostřeleckým útokům. V září 1917 se baterie, zvaná „K.u.k. 38 cm Hb. Bt. Nr.4 B. 5“, přidala k elitním jednotkám rakousko-uherské armády. Přesunula se na sočskou frontu a po započetí 12. bitvy na Soči byla podřízena velení generála Krausse. Celou baterii sem přepravili z dělostřelecké školy v maďarském Hajmaskéru (nedaleko Ostřihomi) po železnici přes města Pragerhof, Klagenfurt (Celovec) a Villach. V noci z 22. na 23. září 1917 se baterie zastavila v blízkosti Coccau, které leží mezi Arnoldsteinem a Tarvisiem.

I pro tuto dlouhou cestu byla houfnice, navzdory celkové váze 182 tun, velmi dobře vybavena, a to jak pro dopravu silniční, tak i železniční. Měla totiž dvoje různá kola – po sejmutí silničních kol, která byla vyměněna za vagónová, mohla být rovnou posazena i na železniční koleje. Tato „obojživelnost“ ji činila nezávislou na válečné dopravní situaci. Podvozky pro dopravu této houfnice v továrně ve Vídeňském Novém městě (Wiener Neustadt) zkonstruoval a jejich výrobu vedl Ferdinand Porsche (který později pro nacisty vytvořil osobní vůz „KdF“, který po válce automobilka Volkswagen rozšířila do celého světa jako známého „brouka“). Celý vozový park houfnice sestával z pěti tažných vozidel (opatřených diesel-generátorovým motorem, předchůdcem moderních hybridních motorů), pěti návěsů a velitelského vozidla. V blízkosti Coccau byla celá baterie převedena ze silnice na železnici a v noci se přemístila přes Predilský průsmyk v Julských Alpách na frontu v horní části sočského údolí.

O začátku bitvy psal Ullmann svojí přítelkyni Anně Wotitz: „Z naší pozorovatelny jsme viděli i 24. září ve 2 hodiny v noci bubnovou palbu plynovými granáty, který naše akce vyvolala, a také střelbu naší vlastní baterie. Třetí den se už od nás bojiště dosti vzdálilo. Myslím, že tento vojenský průlom nás velmi přiblížil k míru. Sestoupili jsme dolů z pozorovatelny – všechno kolem, celá krajina, se zdála volně dýchat, osvobozená od výbuchů granátů.“ Tento dopis poslal Ullmann svojí přítelkyni do Vídně 9. listopadu. Nemnoha slovy tu velmi trefně vyjádřil hrůzu války a touhu po míru z pohledu prostého vojáka. Tuto poslední bitvu na Soči později označovali jako „zázrak z Caporetta“. Ve skutečnosti to ale nebyl žádný zázrak, ale pouze další masové vraždění pod vrchním velením posledního habsburského císaře a krále Karla. Bitva byla zahájena masivním plynovým útokem proti italským vojákům. Tento bojový plyn, nazývaný „Modrý kříž“, vyrobily stejné firmy, které o pár desítek let později zásobovaly plynem i nacistické vyhlazovací komory v Osvětimi a v dalších táborech. A tak se Ullmann paradoxně stal nejprve svědkem a poté, v roce 1944, sám obětí plynové apokalypsy v Osvětimi.

Zážitky z první světové války silně ovlivnily další život i uměleckou tvorbu Viktora Ullmanna. Jako příklad může sloužit jeho skladba „Podzim“. Podkladem této písně byla báseň rakouského básníka Georga Trakla, jedné z obětí první světové války. Trakl zemřel v roce 1914 po velké bitvě u Grodeku, když jako sanitář zůstal sám na bojišti s mnoha mrtvými a raněnými vojáky. S tímto zážitkem se nedokázal psychicky vyrovnat a spáchal sebevraždu. Kompozici na jeho verše Ullmann dokončil v koncentračním táboře v Terezíně 24. ledna 1943. Zdejší pobyt vyvolal v Ullmannovi i další vzpomínky na první světovou válku a na jeho službu pozorovatele v blízkosti italského zámku Duino (nedaleko Terstu). Plodem těchto vzpomínek v Terezíně se pak

také stala kompozice melodramatu „Píseň o životě a smrti korneta Kryštofa Rilka“ na text pražského rodáka Rainera Marii Rilka, který v roce 1912 v zámku Duino žil a pracoval. Během služby v blízkosti zámku Ullmann svoji přítelkyni Annu Wottitz požádal o zaslání textu této epické básně.

Ani Ullmannova opera Císař z Atlantidy aneb Odpírání smrti by bez vzpomínek na první světovou válku nikdy nevznikla. Také toto dílo skladatel vytvořil v Terezíně v letech 1943 a 1944. V libretu opery postava Smrti (oblečená jako vysloužilý voják c. a k. armády) odepře Císaři poslušnost v jeho preventivní a totální válce. Skladatel se zde opět vrátil ke svým osobním zážitkům a službě pozorovatele v dělostřelecké baterii. V dělostřelecké příručce c. a k. branné moci je tato funkce jasně popsána. Pozorovatel spolupracuje s velitelstvím baterie a používá k tomu telefon, radiové spojení nebo optické signály. Ve většině případů tak jeho hlášení veliteli musí začínat slovy „Haló, haló“. A stejnými slovy začíná i libreto Ullmannovy opery. Zde je pronáší postava Tlampače (Lautsprecher). Než ale začne jeho text, uvede jej Ullmann hudebním motivem, který pak postavu provází celým dějem a který je umělecky stylizovaným vojenským signálem rakouské armády z první světové války. Postava Tlampače sama sebe popisuje jako někoho, koho „není vidět, jen slyšet“. Tlampač je tedy první postavou, která má původ v autorově zkušenosti z první světové války. Ale i další postavy opery pramení v Ullmannových zážitcích z fronty. Postava Smrti vystupuje v kostýmu důstojníka c.a.k. armády; sice ne nijak vysoké hodnosti, ale přece jen v ranku poručíka, tedy hodnosti, v které Ullmann 1. prosince 1920 definitivně armádu opustil. Postava Císaře v sobě spojuje oba poslední rakouské císaře – Františka Josefa I. (který vyhlásil válku Srbsku, a uvedl tak do chodu první velkou apokalypsu 20. století) i jeho nástupce, císaře Karla, který byl jako vrchní velitel 12. a poslední bitvy na Soče zodpovědný za vražedný plynový útok, jak se o tom Ullmann coby válečný pozorovatel mohl přesvědčit na vlastní oči. Postava Bubeníka je faktickým ohlašovatelem války a také vychází z reálné životní praxe na začátku a v průběhu 1. světové války. Postava Vojáka je pak přímo inspirována bitevním děním na Soče. A přímo na jevišti se také tato postava v boji muže proti muži utká s dalším vojákem, zvaným Hříbeček (Bubikopf). Tento voják ovšem není muž, ale Dívka (zpívaná sopránem). Ti dva se do sebe zamilují a společně zahájí boj proti totální válce, rozpoutané Císařem. Jméno „Bubikopf“ – tedy německý výraz pro „hříbeček“, typický hladký účes z 20. let - které se podle některých historiků také používalo jako jedna z přezdívek bojovnic za ženskou emancipaci, zase odkazuje ke skutečnosti, že účasti na totální válce nejsou ušetřeny ani ženy. A v 1. světové válce také ženy ve většině zúčastněných armád skutečně sloužily. Tak jsou všechny postavy opery jednoznačně zakotveny v osobních autorových zážitcích z války. Ty se ale do díla promítají i hudebně v podobě citátů – například hudebních znělek a signálů, používaných v rakouské císařské armádě (ty operu zahajují i uzavírají), oficiální habsburské hymny „Zachovej nám Hospodine..“ i slavného německého chorálu „Eine feste Burg ist unser Gott“, který se za války zpíval i jako vojenská píseň.

Ullmannovo dílo je ale vším jiným než oslavou války. Naopak, jak libreto, tak i hudba jsou jasným apelem proti jakékoliv despocii a zneužívání demokracie, který ani dnes nic nepozbyl na svojí aktuálnosti. Operu Ullmann složil během svojí deportace v Terezíně v letech 1943-44. Mnoho jeho spoluvězňů s ním jeho kruté zážitky z první světové války mohlo sdílet z vlastní zkušenosti.

16. října 1944 byl Viktor Ullmann odtransportován do Osvětimi a zde 18. října 1944 zavražděn v plynové komoře.