נוסדיע שטודיעס הײַנט Jiddistik heute

Yiddish Studies Today

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ײִדיש 🗞 אױסגאַבעס און פֿאָרשונג 🏷

Jiddistik Edition & Forschung

Yiddish Editions & Research

Herausgegeben von Marion Aptroot, Efrat Gal-Ed, Roland Gruschka und Simon Neuberg

Band 1

לקט & ייִדישע שטודיעס הײַנט Jiddistik heute Yiddish Studies Today

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Yidish: oysgabes un forshung Jiddistik: Edition & Forschung Yiddish: Editions & Research

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From Der tsirk to Erev mayn farbrenung

The Transformation of Experience in Two Poems by Avrom Sutzkever

Every literary treatment of an experience involves a process of transformation, and the theme of the אורבן (the Holocaust) is one of the key strands in Sutzkever's work that constantly undergoes development and metamorphosis throughout his poetry and prose, from his contemporaneous treatment of it until the end of his creative life.¹ A significant early example of this can be seen in three works based on an ordeal which Sutzkever endured in the Vilna ghetto in the summer of 1941. Together with an elderly rabbi and a boy, he was seized by a German stormtrooper and forced to dance naked round a fire, singing Russian songs and tearing up and burning Torah scrolls in front of a crowd of spectators. Eventually the victims were allowed to dress and escape.

This traumatic event gave rise to two poems and a prose account. The poem דער צירק (The Circus), written shortly after the event, in July 1941,² was not published until 1978, when it appeared together with other previously unpublished ghetto poems.³ The prose description is contained in Sutzkever's memoir עווילנער געטאָ (Vilna Ghetto), written between 1944 and 1946.⁴ In 1949 Sutzkever wrote a second poem arising from this incident, ערבֿ מײַן פֿאַרברענונג (Before My Burning), publishing it in the volume אין פֿײַער־װאָגן (In the Fiery Chariot),⁵ his first collection of poetry published in Israel.

In a talk given to launch the book, Sutzkever focussed specifically on ארבֿ מײַן פֿאַרברענוג, saying:⁶

די ביאָגראַפֿיע פֿון אַ ליד איז אַ סך לענגער און עלטער ווי די דאַטע ווען ס׳ווערט אָנגעשריבן. אַ ליד ווערט אויסגעשפּיגלט און אויסגעטיגלט לאַנגע יאָרן, אַ מאָל אַ גאַנץ לעבן [...] אָבער כּדי

The biography of a poem is much longer and older than the date when it was written. The image and form of a poem evolve over a long period of years, some-

5 Sutzkever 1952: 115-117.

¹ Cf. Valencia 2004: 217-239.

² There is a discrepancy about the date of the actual event: in אנאנא Sutzkever states that it took place in August 1941, whereas the inscription at the end of the poem דער reads 1941 אנשריבן אין אַ באַהעלטעניש, אָנהײב יולי Written in a hideout, beginning of July 1941).

^{3 96/95} די גאָלדענע קייט. The poems then appeared in book form: Sutzkever 1978.

⁴ Sutzkever 1947.

⁶ Novershtern 1983: 177. All translations are by the author.

דאָס ליד זאָל זיך געבױרן, מוז עס באַפֿרוכפּערט ווערן מיט אַ "קלייניקייט" – די קלייניקייט קען זײַן די באַוועגונג פֿון אַ צווײַגל, אַ בליק פֿון אַ חיה [...] צי אַ רעגן־טראָפּן אױפֿן פּנים פֿון אַ שױב. אָבער אָן אָט דער געבענטשטער "קלייניקייט", וואָס פֿאַרוואַנדלט ווערטער אין געזאַנג, כאַאָס אין האַרמאָניע, טרערן אין אויסלייזונג [...] קען דאָס ליד ניט געבוירן ווערן. און סע טרעפֿט אַז ערשט מיטן אָטעם פֿון טויט בלאָזט אַרײַן דער דיכטער אין זײַן געזאַנג – לעבן. times a whole lifetime [...] But in order for the poem to be born, its seed must be fertilised by a 'trifle' – the trifle can be the movement of a twig, the glance of an animal [...] or a raindrop on the face of a window-pane. Without this blessed 'trifle,' which transforms words into song, chaos into harmony, tears into redemption [...] the poem cannot come into being. And it may well happen that only with the breath of death does the poet breathe life into his song.

His singling out of this poem as a paradigm of the poetic process, coupled with the final sentence of these remarks – that the life of a poem can emerge from the אָטעם פֿון טויט – as well as the intriguing fact that the poem דער צירק was withheld from publication for so many years, are indicators that this incident and the works arising from it were of particular significance to the poet. A study of the evolution of אַרערנוג ערבֿ מײַן taking into account the two earlier stages in its biography – the poem דער צירק and the prose description of the incident – affords insights into Sutzkever's poetic process of transformation.

אווילנער געטאָ, written while Sutzkever was in Moscow between 1944 and 1946, bears witness to the atrocities inflicted on the Jews of Vilna by the Nazis and their collaborators. Its purpose is to give factual information, and Sutzkever's description of this ordeal is very detailed. The stormtrooper's mocking words of "comfort" to his victim, in which the origin of the title of the 1941 poem can be seen, are reproduced:⁷

ן דיר [...] I will not do you any harm. I swear it [...] I will not do you any harm. I swear it שווער בײַ היטלערן! דו וועסט בלויז בײַ מיר by Hitler! You're simply going to perform שפּילן אין אַ צירק, מער גאָרנישט.

The poet describes his fear, his attempts to bribe his captor with a watch, the appearance of the old rabbi, the boy's terror. We witness the way their clothes were neatly laid in a pile and covered by the rabbi's prayer-shawl, the tire marks all over the scattered Torah scrolls, the frail old man's difficulty tearing the stiff parchment, and his suffering when pushed near the fire by the Nazis:⁸

- 7 Sutzkever 1947: 28.
- 8 Ibid.

דער רויך האָט פֿאַרמאַבט די אויגן. דער רויך האָט The rabbi closed his eyes. The smoke אים אַרומגעקנוילט. ס׳האָט זיך אַרױסגעריסן wreathed around him. Out of his mouth מון זײַן מױל אַן "אוי".

Finally Sutzkever gives dispassionate details of the end of the ordeal:9

דער רבֿ איז אַרײַן אין דער חרובֿער קלױז און זיך דער רבֿ איז אַרײַן אין דער חרובֿער קלױז און זיך אַנטלאָפֿן, דאָס ײִנגל איז אַנטלאָפֿן, אין געשטעלט דאַווענען. דאָס יינגל איז אַנטלאָפֿן, איך בין אויך אין קלױז אַרײַן, זיך אַוועקגעלײגט אין אַ ווינקל, אין דערוואַרטונג אױפֿן מאָרגנדיקן טאָג.

In this report, there is no suggestion of the existential questioning which underpins both poems, but several specific similarities and discrepancies between the prose account and the poems should be mentioned. Sutzkever comments on the comfort he derived from the old man's composure:¹⁰

איך האָב אַ קוק געטאָן אױפֿן זקן, און זײַן בליק I looked at the old man and the look on האָט אָפּגעטײט מײַן מורא. his face conquered my fear.

The character of the old rabbi is of seminal significance in ערב מײַן אַרברענונג. Absent from the prose account is any comment on the behavior of the crowd, or on the writer's emotions after the ordeal. In דער דער however, these two aspects are very important.

As in all his prose writing, Sutzkever uses poetic strategies to arouse emotional responses. The image of the rabbi begins its transformation from human individual to the symbolic figure he becomes in the poems:ⁿ

אַ נידעריקער, [...], ווײַס ווי שניי, די שוואַרצע לאַנגע קאַפּאָטע מאַכט אים נאָך נידעריקער. מיר דאַכט, ער איז אַ קינד פֿאַרגרימירט פֿאַר אַ זקן. A small figure [...] white as snow, his long black gaberdine makes him even smaller. To me he seems like a child disguised as an old man.

9 Ibid.: 28.
10 Ibid.: 27.
11 Ibid.: 26.

This is a dramatic visual image of contrasting black and white, and the idea of the child conveys the helplessness of the victim. He acquires stronger symbolic status during the enforced dance:¹²

זײַן דאַרער אײַנגעשרומפּענער גוף, אין שײַן פֿון אויסגייענדיקן שײַטער, האָט אויסגעזען ווי אַ וואַקסענע יאָרצײַטליכט אויסגעבויגן און געל. וואַקסענע יאָרצײַטליכט אויסגעבויגן און געל.

The image of the melting memorial candle links the rabbi to the idea of death but also to that of hallowed memory. A similar juxtaposition of Nazi desecration with Jewish holiness and beauty is present in the description of the defiled Torah scrolls:¹³

אַ הויפֿן ספֿר־תּורות [] מיט צעריסענע פֿאַר־	A heap of Torah scrolls [] with torn,
בלוטיקטע מענטעלעך, דורכגעזוימט מיט זיל-	bloodstained mantles bordered with sil-
בערנע פֿעדעם.	ver thread.

Sutzkever also introduces one of his key images, the sunset, in the description of the bonfire:¹⁴

שפּעטער האָט דער פֿלאַקער מיט מער קראַפֿט	Later the flames burst more powerfully
זיך אַדורכגעריסן דורכן פּאַרמעט און מיט אַ	through the parchment and with a crack-
קנאַק אַ פֿלײץ געטאָן אין דער הױך צו דעם	ling sound surged upwards to the fire of
פֿײַער פֿון זונפֿאַרגאַנג.	the sunset.

As well as contributing to the visual power of the scene, this image brings together symbolically the iniquitous fire of the violators and that of the natural universe, the sunset, which emphasizes the grotesque dichotomy between the two, intensifying the desecration. The sunset image recurs at the beginning of אָרברענונג.

It is clear, therefore, that although Sutzkever's prose narrative is detailed and factual, he subtly employs poetic devices to engage the reader and suggest moral issues, which are indeed the central focus of both the poems.

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12 Ibid.: 28.
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13 Ibid.: 27.
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14 Ibid.: 28.

The most important study of דער צירק to date is Yechiel Szeintuch's essay ¹⁵ ", דער צירק, דער צירק, די ביאָגראַפֿיע פֿון ליד, דער צירק, in which he assesses the poem's significance within Sutzkever's ghetto poetry. He maintains that in all previous poems the lyrical איך had been an individual, personal איך whereas here,¹⁶

[...] איז עס אַ לירישער קאָלעקטיווער איך, וואָס רעדט ס׳רובֿ אין נאָמען פֿון אַ מיר – בפֿרט אין דער ערשטער העלפֿט פֿון דער שאַפֿונג. אין דער צווייטער העלפֿט רעדט אויך דער פּערזענלע־ כער איך, אָבער דורכאויס אין פֿאַרבינדונג מיט אַ היסטאָרישן כּלל, צו וועמענס מדרגה ער שטרעבט צו דערגרייכן, אָבער ער איז צו דעם ניט מסוגל. [...] it is a lyrical collective I which generally speaks in the name of a we – especially in the first half of the work. In the second half the personal I also speaks, but always in connection with a historical collective, whose level he is striving to reach, but cannot.

Szeintuch analyses the struggle of the איך in terms of four interlinked themes which run through the poem: the relationship between the individual and the collective, the motif of the גאַלדענע קײט (The Golden Chain), the desecration of the Torah scroll, and the theme of קידוש השם (martyrdom). The attempt of the individual איך to become a link in the chain which represents א טראדיציע פֿון לעבעדיקער המשכדיקייט, פֿון עוגעבונדנקייט צום כּלל פֿון אַ יחיד (a tradition of living continuity, of the attachment of the individual to the community)¹⁷ is for him the central theme of the poem. The poem's speaker fails to achieve this, first, by his act of tearing up the Torah scroll, which for Szeintuch represents the destruction of דעם יידישן אויסטייטש פֿון מענטשלעכער עקסיסטענץ (the Jewish interpretation of human existence),¹⁸ and second, by his inability to choose death rather than betrayal of Jewish belief and honor. Paradoxically, in a situation where the moral foundations of Jewish life are being destroyed, the only way to keep the chain unbroken may be voluntary death: קידוש־השם.

In my analysis of this poem, I am indebted to Szeintuch's insights, but my interpretation diverges from his in one significant respect. For the speaker's failure to achieve קירוש־השם, Szeintuch concludes, he accepts punishment, but at the same time acquires a mission:¹⁹

- 16 Ibid.: 258.
- 17 Ibid.: 267.
- 18 Ibid.: 265.
- 19 Ibid.: 269.

¹⁵ Szeintuch 1983: 258–279.

דער מדרגה האָט דער פּאָעט ניט דער־ דער מדרגה האָט דער פּאָעט ניט דער־ דער מקור (...] דער מקור איז גרייבט און דאָס ווערט דערפֿאַר (...] דער מקור הוא failure therefore becomes (...] the source of a guilt feeling, but at the same time a source of his strength to carry on creating, and to take upon himself the punishment – to be a living witness of the annihilation through his poems (lines 88–89).

The final lines of the poem (lines 88–91) read:²⁰

איז דאָס דײַן שטראָף צו זשיפּען האַלב געטייט	That is your punishment, to gasp half dead
און פֿרעסן גסיסה־כאָרכל פֿון די ברידער.	and gobble down the death-throes of
ווײַל דו האָסט ניט פֿאַרדינט די לעצטע פֿרייד	your brothers.
. פֿון ווערן אויס – דאָס מיינט: פֿון ווערן ווידער	Because you have not earned the last joy
	of dying – which means: of being reborn.

Szeintuch's analysis implies that there is, implicitly, an optimistic note in these final lines, the idea of expiation and poetic mission. In my view this is not the case: this poem ends in despair, and the sense of poetic mission is not realised until Sutzkever reworks the material eight years later in ערבֿ מײַן פֿאַרברענונג אַרָר מײַן פֿאַרברענונג later in גערבֿ מײַן פֿאַרברענונג, אַ תּיקון (In the poem *"Erev mayn farbrenung"* the poem *"Der tsirk"* attains completion) but he does not develop this. However, by comparing and contrasting both poems, it becomes clear that דער צירק is only the first stage in a complex process of metamorphosis through which Sutzkever transforms concrete experience into poetry.

דער צירק is divided into three sections. The first of these consists of four unequal parts, dealing with the question of collective and individual guilt and introducing the central moment of the poem, the "circus" in which the איך and the two other Jews were forced to perform. In the first three parts, which are in free verse with varying rhythms, the speaker questions himself and his fellow Jews. Here, as Szeintuch points out, the איך sees himself as part of the collective, and therefore he addresses his questions to a ברודער who stands for the Jewish people.

The poem opens with the first question:²¹

זאָג מיר, ברודער מײַנער, זאָג, Tell me, my brother, tell וואָס איז ער, וואָס באַטײַט ער, אונדזער הינטישער געראנגל? הינטישער געראנגל?

- 20 Sutzkever 1978: 9.
- 21 Ibid.: 6.

The derogatory adjective הינטיש is repeated in the second part, and recurs, also in the context of guilt and self-loathing, in the 1942 poem מַיָּר מִיַן (My mother), in which the poet castigates himself for his absence when his mother was murdered.²² In the latter poem it expresses the individual's self-loathing, but here it encompasses the moral degradation of the Jewish people. In his attempt to answer his own question, the poet depicts a state of madness – איז דול (the heart is mad) – in which even words have fled איז דול (the heart is mad) – in which even words have fled איז דול (like bees from a beehive wreathed in smoke). Here one of Sutzkever's early metapoetic images, poetic words as bees,²³ has been adapted to fit the dark times. The introductory section contains no answer to the poet's initial question, but ends with the observation that even *in extremis* the will to live asserts itself:²⁴

נאָר ערגעץ אין אַ הינטערגעסל פֿון באַוווּסטזײַן שלאָגט נאָך שלאָגט נאָר שלאָגט נאָר שלאָגט נאָר שלאָגט נאָר אַ צוקנדיקער פּיצל נערוו געראַטעוועט פֿון חורבן, אַ לעצטער קרעבץ וואָס ווידערשפּעניקט יענע בלינדע שטילקייט וואָס ווערט פֿאַרחתמעט מיט אַ הויפֿן ערד.

The imagery of these four lines precludes interpretation as a positive evaluation of the life-urge; its animalistic, instinctive nature places it within the negative category of the earlier epithet הינטיש.

Two further questions to the מיר of the Jewish people open the second section: $^{\scriptscriptstyle 25}$

ווער זענען מיר? Who are we? וואָס איז דער זין פֿון אַלע אונדזערע לײַדן? What is the meaning of all our sufferings?

Instead of an answer, the speaker can give only a nihilistic description of Jewish history, poetically conveyed through the reversal of positive motifs of Jewish life and faith into their negative mirror-image: if, in contrast to the Divine promise to the Jews, they are merely א בלוטדאָרשטיקן האַר קרבנות פֿון (victims of a bloodthirsty master), then instead of human beings they should have been born as frogs – the cold-blooded frog suggesting the furthest extreme from the human essence. The second reversal is the rejection of Isaiah's promise of a messianic age

23 Cf. אָט בין איך דאָך, Sutzkever 1963: 27.

24 Sutzkever 1978: 6.

25 Ibid.

²² Sutzkever 1945: 33–37.

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when "the wolf also shall dwell with the lamb" $^{\rm 26}$ as a lie that blisters the tongue: $^{\rm 27}$

Our tongues are blistered by the דיצונג איז אויפֿגעבלעטערט פֿון דער זשאַווערדיקער טרייסט, אַז וואָלף און לאַם זאָל הויערן צוזאַמען. that wolf and lamb shall crouch down together.

> The unreliability of a promise from the תנך (Tanakh) signifies the collapse of the essence of Judaism, and as faith in the word is central to Sutzkever's poetic credo, this negation of the holy word, as with the flight of אַלע שײנע װערטער (all beautiful words) in the first part, is a powerful image of despair.

> The concept of the גאָלדענע קייט, the chain of Jewish tradition and continuity, is introduced as the third image which is turned on its head: instead of focussing on the proud aspects of Jewish tradition, the speaker sees only the tragedy and despair of Jewish fate:²⁸

	And, as a child inherits similar qualities
– און ווי עס ירשנט ענלעכקייט דאָס קינד פֿון טאַטע־מאַמע	· · ·
ירשען מיר די ענלעכקייט פֿון דורותדיקער פּלאָג,	from his parents
פֿון זײַן פֿאַרקנעכטע קעלנערס בײַ דער װעלטס	so we inherit the curse of generations
געגרייטן טיש	of being enslaved waiters at the world's
און הינטיש דאַנקען פֿאַר דער צוגעוואָרפֿענער מטבע.	set table
ראָס איז די קייט די גאָלדענע וואָס בינדט צוויי טויזנט יאָר,	and, like a servile dog, thanking for
די טרערן־קייט אויף אונדזערע נשמות.	the coin thrown down for us
	That is the golden chain that links
	two thousand years,
	the chain of tears upon our souls.
	-

These lines encompass the whole history of persecution; reflecting the speaker's bitter despair, the גאָלדענע קײט has become a טרערן־קײט through generations of humiliation and enslavement.

The third section continues the train of thought which castigates the collective מיר, bringing the focus onto the more recent history of the Jews. Sutzkever criticizes the Jewish people for the foolish political optimism of the נעכטן (yesterday), which one could interpret as the period which began with the Haskala. The participation of Jews in Europe's wars and revolutions led them into an illusory dream of acceptance; Sutzkever uses the image of soldiers who believe they have an equal entitlement to a share of the booty:²⁹

29 Ibid.: 7.

²⁶ Isaiah 11:6.

²⁷ Sutzkever 1978: 6.

²⁸ Ibid.

אָקרױב, אין דעם חלום־זאַקרױב, – − Ho ho! we also have a share in the dream-booty, מיר צאַלן אויכעט צינדז מיט אונדזער בלוט די רעוואָלוציעס!

we also contribute to the revolutions with our blood!

But the Jewish people have not learned from history; false hopes have concealed די ניט באַרוטע שאַרבנס פֿון די דורות (the skulls of generations that have not come to rest), and the lion does not see the trap beneath its paws.

After this initial existential enquiry into the historical role and fate of the Jewish people in light of the present catastrophe, the fourth part of the first section of the poem brings an abrupt change of focus. The general becomes the personal: the broad נעכטן becomes the precise (today) of the central event, and the collective מיר among whom the poet had sought refuge becomes the specific מיר, namely the three participants in the 'circus.' It is as if the איך, initially unable to contemplate the horror of the event he had just experienced, had taken refuge in general speculations about the Jewish people, but is now forced to confront his own individual guilt and the shocking event itself. The pause in the first line of the section: און הײַנט – – ערבֿ נאַכט, אין אַן עיגול (And today – – before night, in a circle) creates the impression of a momentary hesitation, before the writer can bring himself to plunge into the painful description. The און הײַנט parallels the אט נעכטן (just yesterday) of the previous section, and the reader expects a continuation of the historical, reflective mode; the switch to the personal plight of the איך is dramatic.

A further important marker for this change in perspective is the striking alteration in form and meter. The first three parts each consisted of between nine and twelve lines in free verse, with different line lengths. This gives way in the fourth part to a series of rhyming couplets, mainly of dactyls and trochees: a nervous, jumpy rhythm, evoking the insane dance of the victims. At the end, there is a broken line, a pause, and then a line standing on its own, without a rhyme:³⁰

און ווײַטער, אויף קנוילן הויכע,	And further, in high smoke spirals
רײַסט זיך אַרױף דער אָנכי	surges upwards the <i>onoykhi</i>
פֿון גיריק פֿאַרשלונגענעם פּאַרמעט	from the parchment that is being
– און גאָרניט	greedily consumed
אויך ער איז דערווייַטערט.	and there's nothing –
	it too has disappeared.

30 Ibid.

This dramatic pause, marked by the dash, creates an instant of suspense, followed by the final, tragic disappearance of the sacred word.

Here a motif which is merely mentioned in the prose account attains central significance: the tearing and burning of the Torah scrolls and pages of the Talmud. These writings represent the very being of the Jewish people, so that when the poet destroys them he is destroying himself: אייגענע גלידער (my own limbs). In his description of their disappearance in the smoke, he uses images resonant with meaning: disappearance in the smoke, he uses images resonant with meaning: (letters of the Babylonian Talmud) and, most significantly, אָנכי לוע פון גן־עדן with which God identifies Himself at the giving of the Ten Commandments; the אָנכי therefore represents the living presence of God and the essence of Judaism. In Sutzkever's depiction the אָנכי the last lines, quoted above, instead suggest that the sacred אָנכי has departed from them (דערווייַטערט).

The second section of the poem is characterized by further changes of form. The biographical איך disappears, as if the poet cannot bear to contemplate his involvement in this degradation, and the central section depicts a macabre dance of death where the speaker addresses a די whom he exhorts: האָסט נאָך אַ געפֿיל – פֿאַרברען אים (If you still have a feeling – burn it). The new rhythm dramatically evokes the frenetic dance; the regular four-line stanzas of trochaic tetrameter with the rhyme scheme ABBA provides a monotonous rhythm for this inexorable קאָראָהאָך (circular dance).³¹

The grotesque atmosphere is heightened by the description of the sadistic behavior of the onlookers. In contrast to the prose account, which simply mentions a המון, וועלכן די דײַטשן האָבן בײַ צײַטנס צונױפֿגעטריבן (crowd that the Germans had rounded up in good time for the spectacle), here we witness a peasant woman rejoicing, a prostitute sniggering at the victims' nakedness, and stones being thrown which, it is implied, kill the old rabbi, who in the prose account had in fact gone back to the prayer-house after the ordeal. The indifference of heaven to his final prayer intensifies the pessimism of the poem:³²

פֿאַלן שטײנער. פֿאַלט דער רבֿ	Stones fall. The rabbi falls
קושנדיק אין אַש די פֿונקען.	kissing the sparks in the ash.
און זײַן שמע ווערט אויך פֿאַרזונקען	And his Shema also sinks down
.אין דער קאַלטקייט פֿון אין־סוף	into the coldness of infinity.

31 Both Yitskhok Yanasovitsh (Yanasovitsh 1981: 66) and Avrom Novershtern (Novershtern 1983: 131) comment on affinities between דער צירק and Moyshe Leyb Halpern's apocalyptic poem צואַכט (A night). This comparison is particularly apt with respect to the nightmarish atmosphere of this second section of Sutzkever's poem.
 32 Sutzkever 1978: 8.

This central section could be seen as a kind of interlude where the poet has momentarily moved away from his own raw anguish into the "refuge" of a vision of hell in which he himself is not involved. However, in the final section, consisting of two parts, the whole issue is finally confronted. Returning to the free verse of the poem's beginning, the איך unequivocally admits his own guilt: using the circus image, he pictures himself as the $\gamma \prime$ (clown) – a personage without dignity and often with negative connotations. His shameful role consists of two failures to act and one dishonorable action which, together, destroy the אָלדענע האָלדענע גאָלדענע be the courage to curse his tormentors, nor could he summon up

[...] דעם כּוח זיך אַ וואָרף צו טאָן אין טויט, ווי מײַנע ברידער אין דער צײַט פֿון אַדריִאַן דעם רוימער בשעת דער גלויבן האַט דערשטיקט אין קערפּער די יסורים

[...] The strength to throw myself into death, like my brothers in the time of the Roman Hadrian, when their faith smothered the agony in their bodies.

Confronted by another Hadrian, he was not the equal of his forebears. These two failures to act honorably are compounded by the only action which the speaker was able to perform, namely his begging for mercy from those whom he describes as having אַעשענדט מײַן טאַטן אין וײַן קבֿר (defiled my father in his grave) – this image emphasises the disgracefulness of his action. Through these failures, he has broken the chain. In the first part of the poem the גאָלדענע קייט because of the two-thousand-year-long sufferings of the Jews. The reference to tears in this final section of the poem echoes this earlier image, but also contrasts with it: his own cowardly tears are שוואַרעע (black pocks), which he views with self-disgust.

In the final two four-line stanzas, the poem comes to its despairing conclusion, and in doing so returns to the relationship between the individual and the collective, but this time, in light of the event just depicted, the speaker gives a final judgment on his own inability to act as a true Jew. He calls himself פֿאַרשאָלטענער ā and in the first of the two stanzas questions his own identity:³³

פֿאַרשאָלטענער! וווּ איז דײַן אַלטע שילד	Accursed one! where is your ancient shield
וואָס האָט צעבױגן פֿעלקערלעכע שפּיזן?	which bent the spears of nations?
דערגרייכט דיר ניט קיין פֿאַרב פֿון יענעם בילד,	Does no single colour of that image reach you,
האָט קײן מאָל זיך דײַן אָפּשטאַם ניט באַוויזן?	has your lineage never revealed itself?

33 Ibid.: 9.

The questions are about the fitness of the איך to consider himself part of the Jewish people; the image is that of a hero who has lost his shield – the allusion to the מגן דוד is clear – and the implied answer to the second question is a negative one: he has also lost the vision of his noble lineage. For this he visualises his punishment:³⁴

איז דאָס דײַן שטראָף צו זשיפּען האַלב געטייט That is your punishment to gasp half dead און פֿרעסן גסיסה־כאָרכל פֿון די ברידער brothers.

> He is condemned to remain alive – though spiritually dead – by nourishing himself parasitically on the death-throes of the other, braver Jews, who achieved what he did not. The word ברידער מיינער ברודער מיינער of the first line, but whereas at the beginning of his enquiry he and the מיינער שרודער מיינער were part of a מיי האיות, now, having unflinchingly explored his role in the 'circus,' he realizes that he is separate and alienated from his brothers, surviving, as he sees it, at their expense.

The last two lines make the cause of his guilt absolutely clear:

ווײַל דו האָסט ניט פֿאַרדינט די לעצטע פֿרײד Because you have not earned the last joy פֿון ווערן װידער. סון אויס – דאָס מײנט: פֿון ווערן װידער. סון אויס שיינט: פֿון װערן װידער.

He is not permitted to become a link in the chain – he has not died, and so cannot be spiritually reborn.

The despair and lack of resolution in the poem may be the main reason why Sutzkever did not publish it until almost four decades later, as Novershtern also suggests:³⁵

ניט די שוידערלעכע איבערלעבונג האָט [...] גורם געווען דערצו אַז סוצקעווער זאָל גונז זײַן דאָס ליד אויף לאַנגע יאָרן, ווײַל דער זעלביקער עפּיזאָד האָט שפּעטער געדינט ווי אַ פֿאָן פֿאַר ערבֿ מײַן פֿאַרברענונג׳ (1949) וואָס איז גע־ רוקט געוואָרן אָן באַוואָרענישן. די אויסנאַמ־ לעכקייט פֿון ,דער צירק׳ באַשטייט אין דעם אַז די ספֿקות וועגן איבער זייער מעגלעכע פֿאַרענט־ פֿערונג און דער פּאָעט געפֿינט ניט קיין אופֿן ווי צו באַזיניקן די טראַוומאַטישע געשעענישן. [...] It was not the dreadful experience itself that led Sutzkever to hide the poem for many years, because the same episode later served as the background for *"Erev mayn farbrenung,"* (1949) which he published with no inhibitions. The exceptional nature of *"Der tsirk"* is that [in it] the doubts outweigh their possible resolution and the poet finds no way of coming to terms with the traumatic events.

34 Sutzkever 1978: 9.

35 Novershtern 1983: 132.

The eight years between דער צירק and ערבֿ מײַן פֿאַרברענונג took the poet from the immediate experience itself, through a period of wandering, mourning and reflection, to a new, optimistic beginning in Israel, evoked in the opening poems of the volume אין פֿײַער־װאָגן (In the Fiery Chariot), which appeared in 1952.³⁶ The book is divided into five sections, and most of the poems either celebrate Sutzkever's relationship with the land of Israel, or pursue his ever-present metapoetic theme. Though never absent from his mind or writing, the experiences of the poems specifically focussing on this theme in a separate section of the book, which he calls די קאַרש פֿון דערמאָנונג Among the poems of this section is a section of the section is the section is section is the section is section is section is the section is section is the section is secti

Formally there are significant differences between the two works: the first poem proceeds through a series of rapid, dramatic changes of meter and form, with rhyme and free verse, while the later poem consists of three sections of – with two significant exceptions – regular unrhymed trochaic heptameters, an unusual metre for Sutzkever.

Whereas מיר begins with the collective מיר of the Jewish people, this poem opens with the depiction of the איך in an imaginary landscape, a projection of his inner state, reflecting his isolation. This can be perceived in the opening image of the sunset, which, like all the other attributes of nature, emanates from the fantasy of the "³⁷

> It is not from the west that the sunset surges towards me every evening – but from my own heart, which no one sees. All the already disappeared suns flood out from the heart-spring, swallow and devour streets and people, and I alone remain in the world-secret, as in a flood a tree remains, lonely, with mad green eyes, which do not recognise time, or the old אייגז פּנים... familiar landscape. Ways and paths towards a field of corn do not exist. Only in the upside down of my reflection there appears my own face...

ניט פֿון מערבֿ קומט צו מיר דער זונפֿאַרגאַנג צו קוואַלן אַלע אָוונט, – נאָר פֿון אייגן האַרץ, וואָס קיינער זעט ניט. אַלע זונען, ביז-אים אָפּגעוועלטיקטע, זיי פֿלייצן פֿונעם האַרצקוואַל, שלינגען און פֿאַרשלינגען גאַסן, מענטשן,

און איך בלײַב אַלײן אין וועלט־סוד, ווי אין אַ פֿאַרפֿלײצונג ס׳בלײַבט אַ בױם שטאָק־עלנט מיט משוגע־גרינע אױגן, וואָס דערקענען ניט די צײַט, די אַלט באקאנטע לאנדשאפֿט.

וועגן־שטעגן, זאַנגענפֿעלד אַנטקעגן – ניט בנמצא. בלויז אין דער קאַפּויערקייט פֿון אָפּשפּיגל אַנטפּלעקט זיך אייגן פּנים...

36 Sutzkever 1952: 9, 10f.

37 Ibid.: 115.

In Sutzkever's ghetto- and later poetry, he often creates a dark atmosphere by turning normally positive images of nature into their opposite, making of them something disturbing or grotesque.³⁸ These could be called "images of reversal." Two of Sutzkever's key images of nature are trees and sunsets. Here suns from the past³⁹ flow out of his heart and devour all outer reality. The tree, the only discernible feature in this inner universe, has reversed its normal Sutzkeverian function as an image of life and regeneration, to become a symbol of the poet's isolation and disorientation: it has attributes of human madness (משוגע-גרינע אויגן). The motif of the flood, used with reference to the suns and the tree, has resonances of the biblical Flood with its connotations of guilt and punishment. This reversal of all normal reality is conveyed by the repeated word קאַפּױערקייט ("topsy-turvyness"), which introduces the idea of the איך as an anti-Narcissus who sees in his reflection an image of horror rather than of beauty. The abbreviated line אייגן פנים (my own face) – the only irregular line in the whole poem – conveys the shock of seeing the face, which is ageing before his eyes:⁴⁰

גאָרנישט זע איך. בלויז אין דער קאַפּויערקייט, פּאַוואָליע, רונצלט קדמונדיק מײַן פּנים, עלעהיי אין אורטרוים וואָלט איך אים געזען שוין ווי אַ מאַסקע פֿון מײַן שפּעטער. Nothing I see. Only in this topsy-turvyness, slowly my face wrinkles like the oldest human being, as if in a primordial dream I was looking at a mask of my later self.

Thus the surreal landscape of the first section evokes the isolation of the $\gamma\gamma$ from the outer world: His past reality is obliterated, his present is a flooded landscape without recognizable topographical or human features, and the ancient wrinkled face of a future without hope already exists within him.

The first section ends with a colon, the normal function of which is to suggest that what follows will explain or elaborate on what goes before it. The message given by this colon is that his state of mind in the opening section is to be explained by what is about to be described. Thus the expectation of a nihilistic ending is aroused. Sutzkever's achievement, however, is that in the course of the poem – that is, by means of the act of poetic creation itself – he reaches a resolution of the conflict.

³⁸ See footnote 30.

³⁹ The reader is confronted here with a Sutzkeverian neologism, אָפּגעװעלטיקט, Since the separable prefix אָפּגעװעלטי can mean a finishing or departing, the phrase suggests suns which have disappeared from the world before this sunset – all the suns of the poet's past.
40 Sutzkever 1952: 115.

The poem moves from the inner landscape to a dramatic recreation of the incident. As in דער צירק, the poet's reluctance to confront the trauma makes him use retarding techniques: in this case a description of nature, a real environment this time, which begins as a serene evocation of an autumn evening:⁴¹

אָט – אַ בלאָיער האַרבסט. געשפּונען פֿון די זעלבע שטאָפֿן,	And now – a blue autumn. Spun from the same stuff
וואָס פֿון זײ, מסתמא, שפּינט און העקלט די באַשאַפֿונג	with which, probably, Creation spins and crochets
בלאָ געבליץ פֿון קינדעראויגן, – פֿול מיט צער	the blue gleam of children's eyes – full of
.און צאַרטקייט	sad tenderness.

This gentle romantic description, with its image of children's eyes, suggests innocence and beauty; a serene world, created by a transcendental presence. The poet's own emotions, however, do not permit him to sustain this vision of an ordered universe, and elements of surrealism creep in, until gradually nature again reflects his own distressed self:⁴²

און די פֿייגל פּאַטשן הײַנט פּאַמעלעך מיט די פֿליגל, אַז מע זעט ווי יעדער פֿױגל פּאַטשט מיט צוויי פּאָר פֿליגל. פוסט די גאַס. ווי זאַנגען וואָלטן וואָקסן פֿון די שטיינער פוסט די גאַס. ווי זאַנגען וואָלטן וואָקסן פֿון די שטיינער און אַ קאָסע וואָלט זיי נאָר־וואָס אָפּגעשניטן אַלע. דhe street is empty. As if cornstalks had grown up from the paving stones and a scythe had just cut down every one. Bells ring out, leaving traps in the air for the floating birds with two pairs of wings.

The allusion to four-winged birds evokes Ezekiel's vision of living creatures with four faces and four wings.⁴³ The evening bells are a malignant force, setting traps in the air for the birds – perhaps a forewarning of the malice of the Christian neighbors. The image of the empty street is created through another of Sutzkever's 'images of reversal.' The initial neutral statement: היא שור איז יו assumes symbolic coloring through the metaphor by which the poet extends it: elsewhere in Sutzkever's poetry a symbol of life, cornstalks are a sign of emptiness and death when they are growing between the paving stones of a town. Only in a town where people do not walk on pavements does grass grow between the stones.⁴⁴ The poet then imagines these cornstalks themselves as having been ob-

43 Ezekiel 1: 4–6.

44 The same reversal of a normally positive metapoetic image is seen in the negative image of grass in the sixth poem of אָדע צו דער טויב (Ode to the Dove): באַשימלט מיט גראָז[...] באַשימלט מיט גראָז (...] באַשימלט מיט גראָז (...] מיט באַשימלט מיט גראָז (...] מיט באַשימלט מיט גראָז (...]

⁴¹ Ibid.: 115.

⁴² Ibid.

literated by a scythe, an image suggesting Death the Reaper. With this multi-layered image, Sutzkever suggests the foreboding of death.

So the apparently serene 'real' landscape, the בלויער האַרבסט, has gradually turned into a vision no less disturbing than that of the first section. Now, however, the poet must confront the central episode, which he does with a further moment of hesitation reminiscent of the earlier poem:

(דער צירק) [...] (דער נאַכט [...] (דער צירק) און הײַנט – – ערבֿ נאַכט [...] (*Der tsirk*) און – מע פֿירט אונדז [...] (ערבֿ מײַן פֿאַרברענונג) (ערבֿ מײַן פֿאַרברענונג)

In the depiction of the ordeal, there are significant differences between the two poems. The malice of the neighbors, dwelt on in painful detail in the earlier poem, is here reduced to three lines, and the poet's scornful attitude is conveyed merely by the quotation marks round "שכנים".⁴⁵

נאַקעט. נאַקעט. נאַקעט. און אַנטקעגן אויף די ווילדע	Naked. Naked. Naked. And opposite on the wild
, עקלדיקע עפּלביימער זיצן מײַנע "שכנים	disgusting apple trees sit my "neighbours,"
בײַסן עפּל, יאָגן אָפּ די פֿליִענדיקע פֿונקען.	bite into apples, chase away the flying sparks.

The speaker's humiliation is eloquently conveyed by the threefold גאַקעט, in contrast to the more direct description of the neighbors' taunts in דער צירק, and the message of the ironic "שכנים", is further intensified by the transferred epithet of the שכנים", whose apples they are enjoying as they watch. The economy of these images enables the poet to focus all attention on the central issue which forms the climactic final section.

Also for this reason, the figure of the boy has been omitted. The essence of the poem is the dialogue between the איך and the old man, and the symbolic importance of the parchment; the whole focus of the poem is the conflict between good and evil. This also explains the devil on the church spire, ringing the malevolent bells; he is the counterpoint to the old rabbi, who is transformed and elevated in this later poem. We have seen that in both the prose version and the earlier poem he was a human figure, albeit with an aura of sanctity, but here Sutzkever raises him above the purely human sphere: he is described as having a אַגעשאַנק sight from Sinai); like Moses, he carries the scroll as jery oru:

45 Ibid.: 116.

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as if on grass. When he goes into the fire, his body is transformed into a בלענדנדיקן גוף (dazzling body).
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His answers to the speaker's questions therefore have absolute authority. The questions in $\neg \neg \neg \neg$ were about the suffering of the Jewish people throughout history; in the final section of this poem the question is an urgent personal appeal about the speaker's own young life:⁴⁶

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קאָזינונג – – Grandfather, whisper my lips, is this the reward – – Grandfather, whisper my lips, is this the reward פֿאַר מײַן ניט דערלעבטן לעבן? האָט עס אַלץ אַ זינען?״ for my life not yet lived? Does this all have a meaning?
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The old man's answer draws the איך out of his private agony into the גאָלדענע קייט, into the collective מיר of the victims, who have an ethical framework for their actions, in contrast to the evil oppressors:⁴⁷

וואָלטסטו וועלן זײַן ווי יענע, []	Would you like to be like <i>those</i> people
אויפֿן עפּלבוים אַנטקעגן, אָדער ווי די שלעגער?	on the apple tree opposite, or like the persecutors?
זײַן אַ ייִד באַטײַט: זײַן שטענדיק גרייט אויף אַ נסיון,	To be a Jew means: always to be prepared for a trial,
אויף נסיון און אויף נס.״ []	for a trial and a miracle. []

In the earlier poem the איך gave in to the temptation of saving his life at the price of his honor, and thus forfeited being part of the miracle of the ever-regenerating גאָלדענע קייט. But in this poem the conflict is resolved through the symbolism of the scroll: in איך אדער צירק the yof destroying the scroll, but in גערבֿ מײַן פֿאַרברענונג the moral damage is repaired and the way shown towards the redemption of the איך איך איר איר it is through the scroll that the key motif of the poet's word is introduced as the essential factor in his salvation.

As the prophet-figure of the old man is consumed by fire, the word keeps from the parchment, as in דער צירק this time, however, the sacred word is not annihilated but gives the speaker the moment of illumination necessary to complete his redemption:⁴⁸

– מיט אַ פֿונק צוזאַמען יאָגט פֿון פּאַרמעט דער אָנכי,	Together with a spark the <i>onoykhi</i> leaps from
אָבער אינעם זקנס לײַב און לעבן איז צו זען אים.	the parchment,
וויל איך פֿאַנגען מײַן אָנכי, אַז ער זאָל באַצווינגען	but it can be seen in the old man's body and life.
אַלע פּײַנען, – פֿאַל איך אונטער אים אין סאַמע פֿלאַקער,	I want to catch my <i>onoykhi</i> , so that it
	conquers

all my sufferings – so I fall under him, into the heart of the flames,

46 Ibid.
 47 Ibid.
 48 Ibid.: 116f.

ווײַל באַשאַפֿן איז מײַן וואָרט אין אומבײַט פֿון די הײַ נטן, און אַ נאַריש פֿלעמל האָט אים אױסגעברענט פֿון צונג מיר. נעם איך מיט די ליפּן די צעביסענע פֿון ווייטיק איבערזאָגן טראַף נאָך טראַף די פּסוקים פֿונעם זקן, פּסוקים אַלט געבוירענע אין אייביקע אַמאָלן און מײַן לײַב ווערט אָנגעטאָן אין זינגענדיקן פּאַנצער. For my word is fashioned from the changing *todays*, and a stupid flame has burned it off my tongue. With my lips that are bitten in agony, I begin to whisper syllable for syllable the verses of the old man,

ancient verses born in eternal *yesterdays* and my body becomes clothed in singing armour.

This is the climactic moment of the poem: the old man is the embodiment of the immutable אָנכי, of the essential Word, and this leads the poet to consider the difference between his word and the אָנכי. The difference is epitomized by the two accentuated words אינכין and אַנכי the אַנכין of the poet's word represents transience and change, in contrast to the אייביקע אַמאָלן of the words of the Torah, embodied in the rabbi, which constitute the eternal גאַלדענע קייט.

Only through the transformation of his word into something eternal and sacred (פֿאַנגען מײַן אָנכי) can he become part of that continuity which eluded him in דער צירק. This is why he throws himself under the rabbi, into the fire. This striking image suggests a mystical union with the אָנכי, and the transfiguration of the דיר is achieved by his reciting the words of the אייביקע אַמאָלן of the Torah verses. It is significant that his final triumph is conveyed by what is clearly an echo of the armor metaphor of the earlier poem – there the symbol of his guilt was the loss of his shield:⁴⁹

פֿאַרשאָלטענער! װוּ איז דײַן אַלטע שילד Accursed one! where is your ancient shield אוואָס האָט צעבױגן פֿעלקערלעכע שפּיזן? which bent the spears of nations?

Now that the poet has found his אָנכי, that is, his word, which has achieved the status of eternity and continuity which the sacred verses embody, he is protected by a אינגענדיקן פאַנצער. The attribute אינגענדיק is an allusion to the poetic word: the verb וינגענדי (to sing) is always used by Sutzkever in a metapoetic context.⁵⁰ So the איך has now emerged, protected by his poetic word, which has achieved the eternity of the

ן...] To the fresh new stars [...] [...] To the fresh new stars שוועבט ער אין אַ פֿײַער־װאָגן, שוועבט ווי אליהו, he soars up in a fiery chariot, soars up like Elijah, און איך הייב זײַן שאָטן־מאַנטל ווי אַ מאָל אלישע. and I pick up his shadow-mantle, as did once Elisha.

אָנכי. This idea is cemented in the final lines of the poem, depicting the death of the rabbi:

Elisha took up Elijah's mantle and carried on his work; by using this image, the איך is affirming his place within Jewish tradition, not rejected and isolated, but a link in the גאָלדענע קייט. The two rhymes in the last three lines of the otherwise unrhymed poem give a sense of completion. The movement of ערבֿ מײַן פֿאַרברענונג the earlier poem begins with the attempt of the איך be part of the -מיר be part of the -מיר to be part of the attempt of the איך community); the second poem begins with the isolated איך (community); the second poem begins with the isolation of the איך and ends with his integration and a clear vision of his role within the community of the Jewish people. איך is the jewish people, and it is here, not in דער צירק that he finds the poetic word.

The two poems, considered together, are the first example in Sutzkever's work of a process which was to continue throughout his creative life: the constant poetic reworking and transfiguration of the חורבן within his monumental oeuvre. They are a confirmation of the transformative power of the poetic word itself. From the agony and guilt of the poem written just after the ordeal itself, Sutzkever is able to change the experience into a source of inspiration for his creative life. This happens during the course of the second poem itself: the disturbing imagery at the beginning of ערבֿ מײן פֿארברענונג evokes the poet's frame of mind as he begins the poem, and his bleak view of the future is conveyed through the image of the wrinkled face as a מאַסקע פֿון מײַן שפּעטער. But by the end of the poem this despairing vision has been transformed through the process of creating the poem: the Nazi bonfire, which was the cause of his degradation and isolation from the גאלדענע קייט in דער in גאלדענע קייט , צירק has become a symbol of purification in ערבֿ מײַן פֿאַרברענונג, exemplifying Sutzkever's conviction, expressed two years earlier in the epic געהיימשטאט (Clandestine City), that a central function of his poetic mission is to transform pain into beauty:51

איך לעב! מיר איז באַשערט געווען צו זײַן	I live! I have been destined to be
אַ גרויזיק־שטילער לאָקערדיקער עדות	a cruelly silent watchful witness
פֿון פּײַן, וואָס מוז פֿאַרוואַנדלען זיך אין שײַן	of pain, which must transform itself into light.

51 Sutzkever 1963: 443.

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