EXPANDING THE DEFINITION:

A STUDY OF CONTRIBUTIONS TO JEWISH MUSIC

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Introduction

Erev Yom Kippur: the synagogue is at peak attendance and the penitential fast has begun. The sanctuary, normally a place of joyous music and prayer, becomes a somber space laden with self-reflection and evaluation. Before long, the sonorous tones of a solo cello and piano fills the hall. A deep, low, mournful, and ancient melody bypasses the introspection of the congregation and aims for the hippocampus, the locus of memory. Each listener suddenly recalls the last time he or she heard this Kol Nidrei hymn or perhaps thinks about a parent or relative on a Kol Nidrei night of yore. The spirited playing may move some to tears. For the brief moment, there is a suspense of time and space signaling the turn of the years.

This moment of prayer and recollection comes from the brilliant German composer, Max Bruch. While the eastern European variant of Kol Nidrei melody emanates from mixed sources, Bruch employs his own interpretation and harmonization to create a masterpiece. Liberal synagogues all over the world incorporate the work into their Erev Yom Kippur service, often in place of one of the three traditional recitations of the Aramaic text. Although Bruch nearly died a century ago, the legacy of his work has outlasted other musical traditions of Yom Kippur.

Many do not realize that Max Bruch was a Protestant Christian. He did not study the modes of the synagogue music nor aim to create a new addition for the compendium of synagogue music. The work represents his fascination with the lachrymose nature of Jewish tradition as well as his desire to extend the cello repertoire. Bruch writes:

> The two melodies are first-class—the first is an age-old Hebrew song of atonement, the second (D major) is the middle section of a moving and truly magnificent song "O weep for those that wept on Babel's stream (Byron)," equally old. I got to know both melodies in Berlin, where I had much to do with the children of Israel in the

> Choral Society. The success of Kol Nidrei is assured, because all the Jews in the world are for it *eo ipso*.[1]

He knew he was creating Jewish music that utilized the emotions and intentions of the texts of the piece even though he wrote it for cello and orchestra, no voices. He originally composed the cello version in 1880 but by request rearranged it for violin, viola, solo piano, and even solo organ editions. It remained a popular work and never went out of print.

Bruch also wrote another collection of Hebrew songs, this time for choir and orchestra. The work is based on the three Hebrew melodies by Isaac Nathan and poetry of Lord Bryon. According to Nathan, these melodies, "are proved to have been sung by the Hebrews before the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem."[2] This is impossible since there are no extant melodies from either Temple, but it makes for a nice myth. The Nathan-Byron collaboration was popular in Europe throughout the middle nineteenth century, but virtually disappeared by 1861. In 1880, Bruch arranged three songs from the collection, "She walks in beauty," "On Jordan's banks," and "O weep for those." Fifeld comments:

> Each is a hymn-like homophonic chorus of several verses, with the only variation at each repetition being a slightly more florid line for the inner parts or the bass. The middle chorus is scored for strings, solo flute, and solo clarinet until the last eight bars, when full wind, horns, trumpets and organ join, but the remaining choruses require full orchestra with organ.[3]

The collection made its debut in 1880 with "On Jordan's banks" as the most popular movement. The work was not published until 1888, and like most of Bruch's works, is out of print.

Bruch's association with these works of Jewish music, especially *Kol Nidrei*, led many to think he was Jewish. In 1889, he wrote a letter to Eduard Birnbaum stating, "Although *I am a*

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[1] Christopher Fifeld, *Max Bruch: His Life and Works* (Woodbridge, United Kingdom: The Boydell Press, 2005.) 169.

[2] *Ibid.*, 196.

[3] *Ibid.*, 197.

Protestant yet, as an artist, I fully appreciate the extraordinary beauty of these songs [Kol Nidrei and others], and have happily employed them in my compositions.[4] Still, in 1933 as the Nazis rose to power, the Third Reich attempted to label Bruch a Jew and considered him a degenerate composer. His surviving family sought to remove the label, but the damage was done. His works have virtually disappeared beyond two violin concertos and his *Kol Nidrei.* In other words, he is perhaps best known for his association with Jewish music, even as a non-Jewish composer.

This phenomenon of non-Jewish composers writing Jewish music raises the question: can these works truly be considered Jewish? To many, Bruch's *Kol Nidrei* is as Jewish as any "traditional" or "Mi Sinai" melody. This study will engage in this question, analyze music as necessary, and celebrate the lives of the composers in their context. First, in order to consider these works "Jewish music," the study needs to create a definition of Jewish music.

[4] Charles Haywood, "The Gentile Note in Jewish Music," *The Chicago Forum,* 4:3 (Spring 1946): 169.

Chapter One: Wanted, a Definition

While valuable for scientific study, a working definition sets a political tone and an agenda in the social sciences. Defining a term for a topic of study provides a gift and a curse: what to include and what to exclude. Inclusion seems obvious—the concrete material for examination—but it also exposes unavoidable hurdles that must be covered in the study. Exclusion limits the framework, but it also eliminates potentially interesting subjects now deemed irrelevant for the study.

The term "Jewish music" has two discrete elements of wide array. "Jewish" as a term has sparked national, religious, and economic debates. Further, when one group of people controls the definition of Jewish, it sets the agenda for everything related to "Jewish." For instance, in order to claim birthright and make *Aliyah* to Israel one must appease the demands of the state rabbis who decide who is and who is not Jewish. A self-declared Jew needs proof and documentation to satisfy the state rabbis. Even then, they may reject the self-declared Jew if the proof is invalid simply because the rabbis control the parameters and may say the documentation has insufficient proof to their standards.

Here is an example of controlling definitions to demonstrate power from Rabbinic texts. In Mishna Rosh Hashana 2:9 Rabban Gamliel forces Rabbi Joshua ben Chananiah to accept his calendar and his definition of when Yom Kippur occurs. Rabbi Joshua, who believed Yom Kippur to be the day in question, should be observing Yom Kippur rather than appear in Rabban Gamliel's court. By arriving in the court of Gamliel instead of fulfilling the mitzvot of Yom Kippur, Joshua has yielded to Gamliel's definition of the calendar and how and when to observe Yom Kippur. Rabban Gamliel not only possessed the authority but also would set the course regarding all calendrical issues of his day. Further the crystallization of this story in Mishna,

whether it is myth, legend, or has shades of truth, established the published legacy of his authority over the Jewish calendar as a legal precedence or proof text for subsequent dilemmas.

This study does not intend on adding to the many and varied problems surrounding the definition of "Jewish." While an important point in terms of admitting biases and preconceived notions, this work will assume "Jewish" as a self-determined definition. The composers examined, through their own writings or life circumstances, will define themselves as "Jewish" or "not Jewish." This study will not assess the degree of "Jewishness" or "non-Jewishness." This is a matter of discussion for the composers and theologians to decide.

While a definition of "Jewish" presents sociological problems, a definition of "music" augments those problems by exposing cultural and aesthetic considerations. Simply, what sounds like music to one might sound like noise to another. One will say, "everything has pitch and rhythm and is therefore music" while another will prefer for a narrower spectrum. This does not even cover questions of style, taste, nostalgia, or cultural mores. This study has no intention of struggling with the label of "music" or not. Further, the study does not concern with evaluating music as "better" or "worse" with regard to aesthetic variables.

However, the intention of the music will dominate and define music in this study. The music reviewed and analyzed in this study, as well as their composers, must have the intention and purpose of being music. Freeform pitches and rhythms, though perhaps the inspiring force of the intentional music, will not have value for this study. The music presented will have a composer who sets the goal of creating music to be performed, heard, and replicated for future performances. In other words, the composers notated their works for preservation, and it was published for future study and performance.

Separately, these terms “Jewish” and “music” present complications. Therefore, compounding them as “Jewish music” presents many conflicting interests. By calling music “Jewish” does that only mean religious music, only mean cultural music, or only mean stereotypes of a Jewish sound? Does “Jewish” function as an adjective to describe “music” or are they two discrete nouns functioning as a compound word or phrase? Another rhetorical point: should the term be “Jewish music,” “music that is Jewish,” or “music that Jews use?”

In order to create the working definition for this study, all these rhetorical questions must be addressed. By examining a number of famous examples of definitions of Jewish music, clear commonalities will appear, and the definition for this study must address them. The famous examples must also be analyzed within their historical periods in light of the evolution of tastes and aesthetics. Further, one must question differences between examples either as by-products of history or by examining the sociology and politics behind the definition.

As such, the following questions must be considered in analyzing the definitions: who wrote it? What was the agenda? Who supported the position and why? Who preserved the position and why? To the best of the ability of the extant information and the abilities of the author of this study, these questions will shape and refine the definition of Jewish music which forms the basis of the study.

The genesis of Jewish musicology, the study of Jewish music, began in tandem with the study of national identity in the Enlightenment and Romantic Eras of the nineteenth century. As emancipated Jews studied at public universities, they learned about philology, the study of words, ethnography, the study of cultures, musicology, the study of music, and the fields of

history and sociology. Many scholars applied these fields to Jewish subject matters thus creating a science of Judaism. Moses Mendelssohn combined contemporary philosophy with Jewish rational thought to begin the next evolution of Jewish theology. Leopold Zunz and Solomon Buber used the techniques of philology to offer revisionist interpretations of the liturgies and rabbinic texts of the Jewish literary canon. Solomon Schechter amassed collections of manuscripts and fragments from sources around the world to preserve the historical literary culture of the Jewish people. Gershon Scholem created a systematic and scientific approach to the study of Jewish mysticism. All of these great scholars sparked the new wave of Jewish scholarship which continues to this day. While advances in technologies and discovered of archaeology and new manuscripts have challenged the status quo of the theories of these men, their methodologies remain and serve as the basis for further innovations in their fields.

So, too, in the realm of Jewish musicology. Before the Enlightenment and Romantic Eras, there was no field of Jewish musicology. Musicologist Jonathan L. Friedmann collected and compiled an anthology of quotations about Jewish music in his book *Quotations on Jewish Sacred Music.* In his anthology, only five quotations predate these eras, and these five primarily concern the separation of holy, religious music and secular, profane music. None of these early quotations inform the early stages of a scientific approach to Jewish musicology. Friedmann's anthology is not exhaustive, but it outlines some of the thoughts about music important to pre-Enlightenment thinkers.

Why is so little written before the Age of Enlightenment about the study of Jewish music? Perhaps musicology was of little concern to the Jewish world. A quick survey of traditional texts will support this notion. The word for music in Hebrew, מוזיקה (muzika), is a direct cognate of the English term which derives from the Latin *musica* and the Greek μουσική

(mousike) referring to the art of the Muses. As this word did not exist in biblical Hebrew, the closest equivalent is קול (kol) often meaning "voice" or "sound." This word appears in various forms 505 times in the Bible. Another related word is שיר (shir), which as a verb means "to sing" and as a noun means "song." This word appears 176 times. A third word נגן (nagan) meaning "to play an instrument" appears 15 times in numerous grammatical forms. This list of synonyms is not complete, but the point is that "music" as a collective term did not exist in biblical times.

Musicologist Philip V. Bohlman noted that Jewish music as a form came into being with the European Age of Discovery during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Before that time, "'Music' was largely vague as an aesthetically autonomous object in Jewish society."[5] One of the first major Jewish composers, Salamone Rossi 1570-1628, combined contemporary aesthetics and forms with Hebrew texts. Rossi lived in Italy and wrote Jewish music using secular styles such as madrigals and chamber voice ensembles. These were popular forms in Rossi's era which was typical of early Baroque music. Bohlman wrote, "…Rossi's works provided a necessary metonym for the beginnings of modern Jewish music."[6] While the majority of Rossi's compositions, works such as Italian song cycles and numerous instrumental pieces, were not for the synagogue, his Jewish music remains in today's accepted canon of Jewish music, thanks to its revival by Samuel Naumbourg and Eduard Birnbaum in the late nineteenth century.

Bohlman offered no criteria for separating Rossi's secular and Jewish music. The implicit understanding is that his Jewish music fit the liturgy of the Italian rite. All of his extant Jewish music is in Hebrew and ranges from settings of Psalms to contemporary פיוטים (*piyyutim*,

[5] Philip V. Bohlman, *Jewish Music and Modernity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), xix.
[6] *Ibid.,* xxix.

or religiously inspired poetry). Neither Bohlman nor Naumbourg and Birnbaum debate the jewish musical motifs and modes, or quality of the music. Bohlman writes, "the Jewishness of Salamone Rossi's music is not simply an aesthetic or theological question, but a historiographic one."[7] This effectively implies that Rossi's Jewish music is Jewish music because other people had bestowed that label on it. Even though he employs the musical standards of his era that might not have originated in Jewish music, the music remains Jewish.

As such, could similar sounding music by Rossi's contemporaries also quality as Jewish music? As part of the rediscovery of Baroque music in the twentieth century, the Israeli musicologist Israel Adler, 1925-2009, reconstructed Baroque compositions for the synagogue. Among the composers whose works he revived are a number of non-Jewish composers commissioned by major metropolitan synagogues. For instance, Louis Saladin wrote for the Provençal Jewry in southern France and Cristiano Giuseppe Lidarti wrote for the Amsterdam Jewish community.

The manuscript score of "Canticum Hebraicum" is preserved at the Bibliothèque National of Paris in the hand of Louis, or Ludovico, Saladin sometime between 1680 and 1700, an unknown noble in Provençal commissioned the relatively unknown Christian composer to write a cantata celebrating a circumcision. The score was popular, being formally published in Avignon in 1764-65, many years after its debut. According to notes in Adler's score, "Half a century after the composition of the work, it became a traditional heritage, anonymous, of these communities."[8]

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[7] *Ibid.*

[8] Ludovico Saladin, *Canticum Hebraicum*. Edited from the manuscripts by Israel Adler (Tel Aviv: Israeli Music Publications, 1965) Introductory notes to octavo.

Lidarti, composer of numerous concerti and sonatas, lived in Vienna from 1730-1795, at the end of the Baroque period. In the early 1770's, Lidarti wrote a number of arias for a singer with instrumentation, often harpsichord, strings, and bass continuo. Adler resurrected two Jewish pieces from the library of Jewish composer Abraham Cáceres. These two pieces "Col Aneshama" and "Boi Veshalom" stand out due to their applicability in liturgy. This situation parallels the music of Rossi, whose Jewish music also employs liturgical texts. According to Bohlman, this means these two pieces are considered Jewish music. Further, since the musical style of Lidarti's and Rossi's music is similar, one could not find discrete motifs or mannerisms that make the music sound more or less Jewish.

If Bohlman's criterion that there be text in Hebrew, Lidarti wrote a unique entry to widen the scope of Jewish music. In 1774, he wrote an oratorio called *Esther* with a libretto in Hebrew. Since Lidarti did not understand Hebrew, he worked with Cáceres to understand the text. Cáceres, in turn, translated the text of the British librettist Samuel Humphreys used in George Frederich Handel's own *Esther* oratorio from 1720.

The Age of Modernity in Europe, marking gradual emancipation of the Jews throughout Eastern Europe, saw the rise of the modern cantorate. Beginning with Salomon Sulzer, 1804-1890, in Vienna, new Jewish musical styles became widely spread and reproduced. In his introduction to *Schir Zion*, Sulzer wrote, "I set it as my duty…to consider, as far as possible, the traditional tunes bequeathed to us, to cleanse the ancient and dignified type from the later accretions of tasteless embellishments, to bring them back to the original purity, and to reconstruct them in accordance with the text and with the rules of harmony."[9]

[9] Salomon Sulzer, *Schir Zion*, (Vienna: Artaria and Co, 1839), Introduction pages.

This introduction polemicized against the so-called fantasia style described by musicologist Hanoch Avenary. The cantorial fantasia featured only three singers: a young male soprano called the *singer*, the cantor, and a bass. As there are no recordings from the period nor published scores, the sound and style can only be reproduced from handwritten manuscripts which offer little help. However, the manuscripts indicated that the singers chanted extended, intricate solos that would seem like etudes by today's standards. The settings of liturgy span several pages, often with one word sung over many staves. Such embellishments showed the bravura of the singers while making the synagogue a concert hall. Avenary wrote of the melismas, "The Talmudic authorities did not admit even the repetition of words by the precentor…only wordless melisms or melodies were allowed to interrupt the flow of words, and were even welcomed as a token of the desired concentration and devotion of mind."[10] These embellishments covered the commonly known motifs often to a point of being unrecognized.

Sulzer's work he strives to streamline the complicated fioratura to the essential components. These components or motifs serve as formulae for cantors to know "correct" melodies for particular holidays. He composed harmonies sung by a professional choir to accompany the cantor as his synagogue did not yet allow instrumental accompaniment. As his music gained popularity in Europe and the Americas, cantors called themselves "Sulzer cantors" to demonstrate they knew his style of music.

The main problem of Sulzer's introduction: who is to say what was the pure form of the music? Sulzer's answer would be that he and his supporters and publishers declared what is pure and what is embellished. Bohlman would argue that Sulzer responded to the changes in aesthetics of his day—the cantorial fantasia mimics the coloratura of Baroque music while

[10] Hanoch Avenary, "The Cantorial Fantasia," *Yuval* I (1968): 77.

Sulzer's music best matches the lyricism of the music of the late Classical and early Romantic periods like the works of Ludwig van Beethoven and Felix Mendelssohn.

Ultimately, Sulzer's aesthetic prevailed over the cantorial fantasia music. Sulzer had the advantage of financial backing, publishing firms in Vienna, which was a major center of Jewish material culture in his day, and preservation of his works for future generations. The music from the cantorial fantasia was never published and its main supporters would change alliances as music like Sulzer's gained popularity. Meanwhile, cantorial fantasias disappeared from the synagogue by the middle of the nineteenth century.

With little popularity for the music of the cantorial fantasia and Sulzer's strong polemic against it, is this music Jewish? Even though aesthetics changed, this music still had a Jewish purpose. It once filled the synagogue walls even if it does not now. Just so with the works of Rossi, Saladin, and Lidarti—their Jewish music still is Jewish even if considered old fashioned.

With so many styles and aesthetics of Jewish music in Europe, the fledgling field of Jewish musicology of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries needed to form a definition of Jewish music. The question of "original form" though still a curiosity, proved to be an insufficient basis of study. There was a need to not only identify forms of liturgical music but also folk songs. As with Béla Bartók with Romanian folk melodies, Johannes Brahms with Hungarian folk melodies, and Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov with Russian folk melodies, musicologist Abraham Zvi Idelsohn, 1882-1938, collected and published collections of Jewish liturgical and folk music from all over the world. His collection, *Hebräisch-orientalischer Melodienschatz* in ten volumes, shows a wide range of Jewish music organized by region of the world.

Idelsohn is credited as the first musicologist to study Jewish music—the "father of Jewish musicology." His magnum opus, *Jewish Music in Its Historical Development*, traces biblical references of music to the characteristics of different aesthetics of Jewish music. In his tome, he defines "Jewish music" vaguely in order to cover the wide range of musical styles. According to Idelsohn, "Jewish music is the song of Judaism through the lips of the Jew."[11] To dissect this definition, Jewish music is oral, conveys the spirit and soul of Judaism, and its words are sung by a Jewish person. The vocal nature of Jewish music is critical to this definition.

This definition minimizes the role of the keyboard beginning in nineteenth century synagogues. Organ meditations were common as preludes to the service. It was also common to hear somber organ playing during silent prayer and to set the mood for the Mourner's Kaddish at the end of the service. To emphasize the vocal nature of Jewish music rejects other forms of instrumental music as Jewish. Also, this definition would reject works of Swiss composer Ernest Bloch (1880-1959), such as *Schelomo: Rhapsodie Hébraïque* and *Baal Shem*, and Russian composer Joseph Achron (1886-1943), such as *Hebrew Melody* and *Hazzan*, all works for either solo cello or solo violin with orchestra. It would also reject the rich history of klezmer music. Finally, it would reject the tradition of King David playing a lyre as a way to praise God in Psalm 150 and other places.

Another criticism of Idelsohn's work is its orientalist perspective. Idelsohn looked to Middle Eastern Jewry as a source of all the motifs and modes of Jewish music. He studied the مقامات(*maqamat*) the traditional modes of Arabic music, to find commonalities with European Jewish melodies. He called these characteristics "Semitic-Oriental Characteristics." The "Semitic" label stemmed from the linguistic and cultural connection of Judaism and Hebrew to

[11] Abraham Z. Idelsohn, *Jewish Music in Its Historical Development* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1929), 24.

other Semitic cultures. The "Oriental" moniker is out of date, and as historian Edward Said (1935-2003) would argue in his book *Orientalism*, a politically charged term. In his definition of orientalism, Said called "the Orient" a label given by Europe to other parts of the world. "The Orient was Orientalized not only because it was discovered to be 'Oriental' in all those ways considered commonplace by an average nineteenth century European, but also because it *could be*—that is, submitted to being—*made* Oriental."[12] Idelsohn, an educated, Ashkenazi Jew born in Latvia, certainly found non-Ashkenazi Jewish music disorienting and found beauty in a "primitive" form in the Middle East. While the music originated in the Middle East, Idelsohn would say it blossomed and developed in Europe. The general belief among orientalists of his day was that while there was high art, culture, and education in the Middle East, this culture and education grew exponentially in Europe since the Europeans were the superior people. While Idelsohn does not explicitly say this in his writings, his work demonstrates this idea. He looked to the *maqamat* as the purest form of music which Jews brought with them in the Diaspora. Idelsohn used some terminology from Arabic music like the names of the scales, but he preferred to use European terms to describe other musical phenomena. Arguably, his target audience related better to the Italian and German musical terms. However, his preference for the European words demonstrated power of the Arabic terms as a sign of superiority over the primitive, Oriental music. As Said wrote, "It fairly stands for the pattern of relative strength between East and West, and the discourse about the Orient that it enabled."[13]

While oriental in nature, the nine characteristics of "Semitic-Oriental" may offer some basis in understanding whether something sounds Jewish or not. The features are: the mode, the ornamentation, the free rhythm, the temperament including quarter tones, the improvisation, the

[12] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 5-6.
[13] *Ibid., 6.*

minimal to no harmony, a folk character, and an oral tradition.[14] Indeed, much Jewish music encompasses these characteristics. However, is this list an absolute criteria list or a list of possible qualities of Jewish music? This study has already scrutinized each of the listed characteristics in some fashion. Given the preeminence of Idelsohn as the "father of Jewish musicology," this list will not vanish from the discussion of "what is Jewish music?" The rejection of the list raises the point: it is impossible to label Jewish music merely by sound. The mere potential "Jewishness" of music does not make the music Jewish.

Musicologist Eric Werner (1901-1988) also rejected the idea of something "sounding" Jewish as a way to define Jewish music. He observed that other musicologists of his time debated if there is "Jewish musical substance," which defined "aspects which can be analysed."[15] Werner called the substance, "a certain musical force" but this is not the only element of Jewish music. While Galician Jewish melodies may be loosely traced to Middle Eastern Jewish scales, "everything is rather in a state of constant flux and development, and often one feels the melody to be a living thing gradually taking shape."[16] Werner drew a parallel to Jewish literature: there are a number of themes and principles of form among the writings, but these do not create a lynchpin to determine what is or is not Jewish music. For Werner, "how is Jewish music?" is the more scientific question as opposed to "what is Jewish music?" which he found superficial and unscientific.

Composer Herbert Fromm (1905-1995) arrived at a similar conclusion. He noted, "Jewish music today is a mixture of many ingredients, and thus a true mirror of Jewish

[14] Idelsohn, 24-27.
[15] Eric Werner, "Wanted: A Definition" *Musica Hebraica* 1-2 (1938): 7.
[16] *Ibid.*

history."[17] This hearkens to the notion of multiple aesthetics of Jewish music. He also rejects some quixotic idea of the "pure Jewish sound" as irrelevant and ignorant to the richness of Jewish music.

Similar to Werner, Fromm thought discrete elements of Jewish music, like "a certain inflection, a particular turn of phrase, or even in a negative way, the avoidance of certain chords or cadences," merit study. This would correspond to Werner's notion of "how" rather than "what." His point applies to instrumental music, "where the absence of a text robs the listener of the more obvious connections."[18] In this way, Fromm agreed that Jewish music can be instrumental and having a specific text does not need to be a defining trait.

Fromm concluded that, "there is no infallible yardstick of stylistic criteria by which to measure Jewish music. It is a matter of spirit responding to spirit, or—if you will—the unconscious recognition of origins which shun the light of analytic search."[19] To create a criteria checklist as a method of labeling music Jewish is, by Fromm's reasoning, impossible given its array of styles.

Another potential qualification left of Idelsohn's list is the language of the text. Naturally, instrumental Jewish music need not concern this potential criterion. Does the text need to be in a particular language in order for the music to be considered Jewish? Hebrew is the holy tongue of the Jewish people, but other languages have a revered status in rabbinic texts and liturgy. Other than borrowed words from Greek and Latin, rabbinic texts and liturgy contain entire portions originally in Aramaic, Arabic, Ladino, Yiddish, and English, among others. While some might argue these texts are less holy than the Hebrew texts, they are still holy.

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[17] Herbert Fromm, "What is Jewish Music?" in *On Jewish Music: A Composer's View* (New York: Bloch Publishing, 1978), 5.
[18] *Ibid.*
[19] *Ibid.*

Likewise, the revival of Hebrew as a spoken, secular language has created new secular literature. Is this work automatically holy by virtue of its language? For example, in Mishna Sota 7:1, one is permitted to recite Sh'ma and the Amidah in any language. This suggests that the "holy language of Hebrew" does not overrule the ability to understand important texts and pray honestly.

In the case of Jewish music, to only call music with Hebrew lyrics "Jewish" rejects the many cultures of Jews in the Diaspora. This would exclude the rich Ladino and Yiddish folk songs, the Judeo-Arabic poetry chanted in Syrian בקשות (*baqashot*), as well as English hymns part of the foundations of American Reform worship. Therefore, the language of the text should not be a criterion for Jewish music.

Having eliminated the qualities and characters of the music and the need for lyrics, there are few variables remaining that could define "Jewish music." One factor is the performer of the music. Should the performer be Jewish in order for the music to be considered Jewish? This brings in the difficult question of authenticity. One could point to struggles of pronunciation—Hebrew is an unusual language in the realm of classical music. Stumbling over guttural sounds is common in performance, and non-Jewish performers need to work hard to understand the language.

To that end, Hollywood has seen Jewish roles played by non-Jewish actors, such as James Woods, Rosemary Harris, and other leads in the *Holocaust* miniseries from 1978 and Ben Kingsley in the 2001 miniseries *Anne Frank: The Whole Story*. Their award-winning performances demonstrate that one does not need to be Jewish to portray a Jewish character. This reflects Fromm's idea that the message from the characters goes beyond identity to become

international. Consider the converse: does a Jewish actor lose his or her "Jewishness" by performing a non-Jewish role? Of course not—this is an absurd notion.

Ernest Bloch's *Baal Shem*, a concerto for violin and orchestra, emulates Hasidic Dances. Bloch's *Schelomo: Rhapsodie Hébraïque*, eploys shofar-life qualities as well as the cello serving as the voice of King Solomon. These works are jewels in the crown of classical Jewish music. Further, they are standard pieces performed all over the world often by non-Jewish soloists. The Dutch-born, non-Jewish cellist Hans Kindler debuted *Schelomo* to acclaim. Other cellists, like the Russian Mstislav Rostropovich and the Japanese Yo Yo Ma, continue to perform and record the piece today despite not being Jewish. These performers do not reduce the "Jewishness" of the music.

Many of the greatest violinists of the twentieth century were Jewish. Performers like Itzkah Perlman, Pinchas Zuckerman, and Isaac Stern, among others, have played "Jewish" and "non-Jewish" music in concert settings. Should Stern's acclaimed work in the 1946 movie *Humoresque* be considered as Jewish as his work for the 1971 film *Fiddler on the Roof*? Of course not. The religion or ethnicity of the performer should not quality music as Jewish or not.

The remaining possible qualifier of Jewish music, the composer's identity, will serve as the majority of the discussion in this study. According to the so-called "legendary" definition of Jewish music proposed by the musicologist Curt Sachs in 1957, Jewish music is "made by Jews, for Jews, as Jews."[20] Sachs offered this definition at the First International Congress of Jewish Music in Paris. This simplistic yet problematic definition comes with baggage. While many sources refer to it, no transcript of the congress preceding has been published. Subsequent

[20] Edwin Seroussi, "Jewish music: Introduction" In *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed. Vol 13 (London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001): 24.

congress minutes exist in libraries around the world in multiple languages. Why were these minutes never published even thouh this legendary definition emanated from it? Perhaps the other scholars recognized its numerous flaws, and rejected Sachs's definition.

First, not all Jewish music has a known original composer. The wide realm of folk melodies exists in all Jewish cultures and are no less Jewish music than music for the synagogue. Even synagogue music has "traditional" elements with what Abraham Idelsohn called "Mi Sinai melodies." Idelsohn defined Mi Sinai melodies as tunes "received by Moses at Mt. Sinai."[21] Should the lack of a known composer remove Mi Sinai melodies like the Ashkenazi Kol Nidrei or Neila Kaddish from the category of Jewish music?

Musicologists using Sachs's definition would be less interested in folk melodies as that is a complicated realm. Many folk melodies are borrowed or shared among cultures, so to find the pure, original form is quite difficult. Idelsohn famously tried to analyze the origins of the melody of Ashkenazi Kol Nidrei but had few references to support his findings. He noted the recurring motifs in the music "are employed in various tunes common in the Minnesong which flourished in Germany during the eleventh through the fifteenth centuries."[22] However, he did not have specific examples in his analysis, nor did he mention specific composers. Having a known composer would aid the analysis of a piece for followers of Sachs.

This is not foolproof—the so-called Leoni Yidgal popularized in 1770 in London did not develop in a vaccuum. Cantor Meir Leoni, 1750-1797, wrote the popular tune which nearly replicates tunes heard in other European cultures. Idelsohn laid many of them on one page as a comparison. While there are no documents of the exact genesis of the Leoni Yidgal, perhaps he knew this popular folk tune and applied it to Yidgal. Either way, the tune is called the Leoni

[21] Idelsohn, 136.
[22] Abraham Z. Idelsohn, "The Kol Nidre Tune" *Hebrew Union College Annual* 8-9 (1931-1932): 499.

Yigdal and labelled Jewish music even though it closely resembles a Bavarian folk tune arranged by Bedřich Smetana as *Die Moldau*.

Jews borrowing melodies from other cultures happens throughout the world—this is not an unrecognized phenomenon. Naturally, the dominant culture influences styles and aesthetics of smaller subcultures. While there were some responsa against applying foreign music for Jewish purposes, it still happened. Chemjo Vinaver (1895-1973), a music collector and enthusiast studied responses to his phenomenon in the Hasidic world. "Chassidim considered it a *mitzvah* to take secular melodies and sanctify them by re-shaping and re-working them in order to make them fit for devotional purposes. They called this 'zurickfiehren a nigun tzu zein shoiresh' to return a melody to its origin."[23] For the Hasidim, the process of using the non-Jewish melody and retrofitting it for Jewish purposes makes it holy, and would therefore be part of the Jewish musical canon.

As part of the Syrian בקשות (*bakashot*) tradition, the congregation may adopt a popular Arabic song to a פיוט (*piyyut*, or faith-inspired poem). On Saturday mornings in the winter before Shabbat morning prayers, Syrian Jews will recite a series of poetry during the night before dawn. They rearrange the chairs in the sanctuary in the round so all the men can see each other. One or two leaders dole out small solos or an entire piyyut to men of the assembly. They learn the melodies in their youth in special classes. The biggest honors, meaning the most difficult solos, go to the most accomplished. While the soloists sing, sometimes elders sing "back up" parts akin to "oohs" in a collegiate a cappella group or glee club.

The melodies passed down often have unknown sources. Some collections of the poetry will list the type of song for the *piyyut* based on the *maqam*. Some books will publish the name

[23] Chemjo Vinaver. "Synagogue Music—Traditional and Modern: Traditional" *Journal of Synagogue Music* IV: 1-2 (April 1972): 4-9.

of the song retrofitted for the *piyyut*: many were songs popularized by Umm Kulthum, the great female, Egyptian singer of the mid-twentieth century. This idea corresponds to a responsum by Rabbi Ovadia Yosef endorsing the use of popular Arabic tunes to fit Jewish liturgy. Musicologist Mark Kligman studied baqashot and the melodies used by Syrian Jews of Brooklyn. Among the melodies of non-Jewish origin fit for the baqashot is "America the Beautiful."[24] While the music has secular origin, it becomes Jewish music when used as part of the baqashot.

Another curious case is Jewish composers writing non-Jewish music. Jewish composers like Irving Berlin, George Gershwin, and Jerome Kern wrote for Hollywood, the theatre, and the concert stage. While one could label some harmonic structures in their works as Jewish, the overwhelming intention of the composers was to write a popular tune, not a Jewish melody. For instance, Berlin wrote "White Christmas" and "Easter Parade," two songs with Christian themes. Some Jewish composers wrote *some* Jewish music. Park Avenue Synagogue commissioned Leonard Bernstein and Kurt Weill to write liturgical music which certainly are part of the Jewish music canon. Ernest Bloch and French composer Darius Milhaud wrote sacred services in Hebrew of the same high art caliber as any of their other works.

However, this does not mean that these composers' entire musical output can be considered Jewish. As Eric Werner plainly stated, "Music written by Jews is not necessarily Jewish music." Berlin's "White Christmas" is a classic Christmas song that happens to have a Jewish songwriter. However, Berlin's early songs "Yiddisha Eyes," "Yiddisha Nightingale" and "Yiddle on Your Fiddle Play Some Ragtime" would be considered Jewish music since they deal with Jewish characters within a larger subject. The musical *West Side Story* by Leonard

[24] Mark Kligman, *Maqām and Liturgy: Ritual, Music, and Aesthetics of Syrian Jews in Brooklyn,* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2009) 49.

Bernstein happens to have a Jewish composer but is not considered Jewish music. However, his setting of "Hashkiveinu" is a masterpiece of the Jewish liturgical canon. Giacomo Meyerbeer's opera *Les Huguenots* is not Jewish music even though Meyerbeer was a Jewish composer. But, Meyerbeer's setting of "Uv'nucho Yomar" for the High Holidays is a Jewish music gem written for his friend, Samuel Naumbourg.

The only remaining permutation in the conversation about composers is non-Jewish composers writing Jewish music. Some musicologists do not think the music of non-Jewish composers can be considered Jewish music. Curt Sachs's definition would exclude such music. Composer Kurt List also rejected such pieces. "There may be a noble gesture in such fraternal enterprises [inviting a non-Jewish composer to write Jewish music] but hardly anything worthwhile to contribute to the solution of the problem…only composers who write as a matter of their nature *ad majorem gloriam dei* can fulfill the task with which the liturgy confronts them."[25] How ironic that List needs to use a Latin term to express his dissatisfaction with non-Jewish composers writing Jewish music!

Idelsohn also rejected contributions to Jewish music from non-Jewish composers. Idelsohn wrote:

> Often have our pages recounted of musicians of foreign origin as well as of Jews without knowledge of Jewish music, who were unable to create music genuinely Jewish. That great song, born of Jews, preserved by them, and in the course of centuries developed by them, can continue to grow only through musicians, born Jews, reared in Jewish environment, steeped in Jewish folklore and folk-song, vibrant with Jewish emotion, sensitive to Jewish sorrows, joys, hopes, and connections—faithful sons of Israel.[26]

[25] Kurt List, "Synagogue Music—Traditional and Modern: Modern" *Journal of Synagogue Music* IV: 1-2 (April 1972): 10.

[26] Idelsohn, *Jewish Music in its Historical Development*, 492.

The first critique of his idea: what of anything he lists is uniquely Jewish? Are not the sorrows of Jews, the suffering, the joys of Jews, or the convictions universalist in their schemes? If there are multiple Jewish environments, how can there by a collective or general Jewish environment to base a musical culture? Would these environments recognize each other and consider the others "Jewish?" Idelsohn shows pride in his people and perhaps intended for his scholarship to show the richness that is Jewish music. By rejecting what he perceived as alien or foreign to Jewish music, he protected the richness from infiltration or sanitization. Idelsohn criticized supposedly Jewish music from non-Jewish composers like Max Bruch and Maurice Ravel. This study will evaluate those comments elsewhere.

Another attack of non-Jewish composers writing Jewish music comes from musicologist Charles Haywood. His approach reviewed the historical connection of Jews and non-Jews throughout the last few centuries in Europe beginning with non-Jewish musicians and composers of the emancipated Jews of Germany. As aesthetics evolved, so did tastes in synagogue music. In order to have "good" music in the synagogue, Jewish composers needed training at conservatories or by tutors. As there were few adequately trained Jewish composers, synagogues invited non-Jewish composers to write music. Haywood asserted the result of these commissions was mediocrity. He compiled a list of composers Israel Jacobsen commissioned on behalf of the Seesen Temple in the 1810's—mostly forgotten names: Staewing, Methfessel, Heinroth, Lutgert, Groenlan, Demuth, Schink, and Schwenke. Noting the mediocrity of these composers as well as the fact that their names have been virtually forgotten perhaps speaks less about the quality of their Jewish music as opposed to their entire opus.[27] Haywood also looked at the works of non-

[27] Haywood, 167.

Jewish composers commissioned by Salomon Sulzer in Vienna as well as works of Russian composers in the conservatory. This study will look into these subjects deeper elsewhere.

In his conclusion, Haywood writes, "With very few and rare exceptions Gentile composers have been unable to give a musical expression truly representative of Jewish sentiment and spirit…the mere use of an authentic Jewish mode, though that is obviously important, does not of itself make the composition as a whole Jewish."[28] Haywood does not factor in the universal ideas related to Jewish sentiment and spirit. Since he claimed the existence of an authentic, Jewish mode, he suggested that Jewish music and culture developed in a vacuum free of outside influences. He hearkened to the "inviolate continuity of national spirit and cultural entity" believed to be in the Jewish people. Such a conclusion not only rejects history, but also reflects a limited understanding of change and polemics in rabbinic literature.

Haywood argued, "One must feel the inherent spirit of Jewish melody…in one's heart and soul,"[29] paraphrasing Bloch. Haywood does not use the full quotation from Bloch, ignoring what would be a freer notion of what Jewish music means. Bloch wrote, "I do not propose or desire to attempt a reconstruction of the music of the Jews, and to base my works on melodies more or less authentic. I believe that the most important thing is to write good and sincere music—*my own music*."[30] In other words, while the Jewish spirit is a motivation, he also composed from his own nature and style.

With the understanding of Bloch's complete statement, who is to say that a composer might want to emulate Jewish music because of the desire to articulate the Jewish spirit in his or her way? How can the music produced from this spirit not be considered Jewish? Haywood

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[28] *Ibid.,* 172.
[29] *Ibid.,* 173.
[30] Klára Móricz, *Jewish Identities: Nationalism, Racism, and Utopianism in Twentieth-Century Music.* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2008): 159.

pointed to the example of Igor Stravinsky's "Ragtime for Twelve Instruments" as "but a diluted American jazz idiom,"[31] but does the work try to recreate the jazz effect? As such, can Max Bruch's "Kol Nidrei" played in many synagogues by cello and piano as a prelude to Erev Yom Kippur be removed from the Jewish music canon due to the inconvenience of its composer's Protestant religion? This work is often synonymous with Erev Yom Kippur and an irreplaceable niche in the service. To reject the music based on the composer's religion rejects Jewish history, the diversity and richness of Jewish music, and infers limited understanding of the universal nature of the Jewish spirit.

Who were advocates of non-Jewish composers writing Jewish music? Among them were members of a 1907 Committee on Synagogue Music part of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, the CCAR. The report of the committee primarily the debate between using "traditional" Jewish music like hazzanut or using contemporary styles. In the report, the committee chairman, Alois Kaiser, wrote, "*Jewish music, as generally understood*, embraces the traditional melodies (which are of modern origin and have been taking into the synagogue by adoption) and that especially composed for the service by Jews and non-Jews."[32] He added that the works by Jewish composers should retain precedence but does not outright reject non-Jewish composers' works. Curiously, the committee generally rejected hazzanut, calling the "occasional passionate outburst of poverty-stricken Hazanim"[33] not functional in American Reform worship.

The end of the report recorded a dialogue of a number of leading rabbis of the CCAR on the subject of non-Jewish composers. The entirety of this dialogue appears as an appendix to this survey, but there are a few points worth mentioning here. Rabbi Maurice Harris of New

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[31] Haywood, 172.

[32] Alois Kaiser, "Report of the Committee on Synagogue Music." *Year Book of the Central Conference of American Rabbis*. Ed. Tobias Schanfarber, Samuel Hirschberg, and Joseph Stolz. 7 (1908): 103.

[33] *Ibid.,* 105.

York City mentioned a situation common in synagogues of his day: most synagogue musicians are not Jewish besides the cantor. The non-Jewish, professional choirs dominated the music of the synagogue. Rabbi Louis Wolsey of Little Rock, AR acknowledged that organists of synagogues often belonged to local churches and played there, too. He described the profile of one. "I know an organist who is a Baptist by religion. He understands thoroughly, not only Jewish music, but the spirit of Jewish music. He has consecrated himself to the study of Jewish music. He studied Hebrew in order that he might be able to understand Jewish music more thoroughly, and that man is competent to compose Jewish music."[34] Of course, knowledge of Hebrew should not be a big factor, but Wolsey mentioned this to show the organist's passion for Jewish music as a subject of study. He concluded, "We ought to invite such men as he to write our music." This endorsement of non-Jewish composers commissioned to write Jewish music demonstrated the desire to develop Jewish music while recognizing the talents of local composers, regardless of religion.

Rabbi Max Heller of New Orleans said, "It seems to me that music, whether written by a Christian for Jewish services, or by a Jew for Christian services, or by a Jew for Jewish services, approves itself…Sulzer's music was objected to as non-Jewish, but the fact that it has approved itself to Judaism all over the world, that fact alone is satisfactory proof that it is Jewish."[35] Heller recognized the changes in musical aesthetics, the questions of definition and labeling as well as the political impact behind it, and the value of intention in his acceptance of non-Jewish composers of Jewish music. His points, generally seconded by others, show that neither the quality of the music nor the composer's identity are determined by the Jewishness of the music. He adopted an expanded definition of Jewish music where intention becomes the only criterion.

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[34] *Ibid.*, 107.
[35] *Ibid.*, 106.

Intention as the only criterion for Jewish music has support from the composer Hugo D. Weisgall. "It is contended that there are no specific, objective qualities which make a piece Jewish or not. On the other hand, a composer's intentions (freely expressed, but often to be assumed) are considered primary determining factors in the classification of a work."[36] He applied this definition to a number of well-known pieces of music. First, he noted that the popular melody for "Maoz Tzur" among Ashkenazi Jews had possible origins in a German folk song. However, since Jews use it for a Jewish intent, there is no doubt of its Jewishness. Next, Darius Milhaud's opera *Esther de Carpentras* is Jewish music due to its story telling of the Purim tale. However, George Gershwin's opera *Porgy and Bess* and Arnold Schönberg's *Opus* 11, while great works of art, do not fall in the category of Jewish music due to their lack of intent of being Jewish.

Weisgall noted the advantages of his definition of Jewish music. The intent of being Jewish music marks a distinct separation between this music and the general field of music. While Jewish music can be a broad category with subdivisions, like chamber Jewish music and French Jewish music, the intent of being Jewish music is the only factor to unify it all. Only after receiving the label of "Jewish music," it "can be subjected to rigorous aesthetic judgment, and if desired, the additional criterion of 'suitability for Jewish purposes' also can be applied."[37] For Weisgall, the more intriguing question about the music is its value as Jewish music rather than the identity of its composer or the qualities of the style.

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[36] Hugo Weisgall, "Jewish Music in America" *Judaism: A Quarterly Journal of Jewish Life and Thought* 3:4 (Fall 1954): 427.

[37] *Ibid.*

Creating a definition of "Jewish music" for purposes of this study has the aim of showing the possibility of non-Jewish composers writing Jewish music. Each composer brings his or her unique style to the compositions. By showing the value of these composers and their works in the art of Jewish music, the hope is to glorify their contributions to Jewish music. Further, the hope is to take inspiration from Rabbi Louis Wolsey and encourage non-Jewish composers to help expand the art. Each work in its own way expands the definition of Jewish music.

The secondary hope of this study is that the definition of "Jewish music" employed will serve as a guide for future studies in the field of Jewish musicology. There are renowned attempts to define "Jewish music," such as Abraham Idelsohn's *Jewish Music in its Historical Development* and Curt Sachs's one-liner summary. Famous as these are, they are flawed. Perhaps musicologists obsessed too much with the question of "what is Jewish music?" as opposed to "how is Jewish music?" as Eric Werner suggested. The obvious answer, which is music that intends on being Jewish, would stun musicologists who look to analyze chords and musical aesthetics rather than intangible intentions. The richness of Jewish music shines in the diversity across cultures, the "sharing" and "borrowing" of motifs, and the evolution throughout the millennia. Jewish music is folk, traditional, formal, composed, improvised, vocal, instrumental, secular, holy, memorable, contemporary, tonal, atonal, rhythmic, and every combination and permutation from this list.

Scholar Marsha Bryan Edelman assessed the difficulty of defining Jewish music. She writes, "perhaps it is a mistake to define 'Jewish music,' but there has always been 'music of the Jews.'"[38] May her words remind Jewish musicologists that the music of the Jews serves as an outlet of Jewish expression and emotion. Any research into the field should aim to glorify and

[38] Marsha Bryan Edelman, *Discovering Jewish Music*. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 2003): 10.

celebrate the music. May this be the conscience for the remainder of this study as it honors the works of non-Jewish composers writing Jewish music.

Chapter Two: Schubert—the Case of the Missing Score

Salomon Sulzer, *obercantor* of Seitenstettengasse in Vienna, worked with Rabbi Isaac Mannheimer, to initiate moderate reform in the Viennese Jewish circles. Sulzer, only 22 at his appointment, studied composition with Ignaz von Seyfried, a friend of Ludwig van Beethoven, and wanted to flex his compositional skills in addition to his vocal skill.

He learned the so-called traditional melodies as a choir boy, but there is a great legend concerning his destiny as a cantor. While fetching his coat at the local synagogue, the nearby stream overflowed its banks sweeping the six-year-old Sulzer by the current. He would have drowned had Karl Hugler, a farmer, had not rescued him. Sulzer repaid Hugler with a generous pension. When Sulzer saw his mother, he told her he did not fear his fate because he saw a bright light overheard while floundering in the water. His mother decided he should dedicate his life to a holy office. Sulzer scholar Tina Frühauf observes variants in Sulzer's story by his own admission. One letter in 1832 claimed his being rescued from the stream gave his "fantasies a religious impetus." In another text dated 1876, "Sulzer remembers that it was the voice of God that had summoned him."[39] In either case, his parents recognized his natural musical talents and encouraged him to pursue the cantorate. After several years traveling from town to town, he received an appointment in 1825 to replace Jacob Koppel Markbreiter as cantor of Seitenstettengasse in Vienna.

Seitenstettengasse had a rich history of music given its location in Vienna. Vienna was the center of the European musical world during this time thanks to the "Enlightened despots" like Emperor Joseph II reigning in the city. Vienna is where composers like von Seyfried, Franz Liszt, and Franz Schubert achieved fame in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

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[39] Tina Frühauf, *Salomon Sulzer: Reformer, Cantor, Icon*, Ed. Hermann Simon. (Berlin: Hentrich and Hentrich Verlag, 2012): 9.

The Jews of the *haskala*, the Jewish enlightenment, earned emancipation and demanded musical reforms in the liturgy. They wanted music like they heard in the concert halls for the first time. In early 1825, Markbreiter contact Ludwig van Beethoven for a commission of an inauguration cantata, but he did not follow through with the offer.[40]

In Vienna, Sulzer flourished as a composer, befriending the greats of the Romantic era. Of the aforementioned composers, Sulzer got particularly close to Schubert. Sulzer was one of Schubert's favorite song interpreters, known for Schubert's "Die Allmacht" and possibly "Der Wanderer."[41] In 1846, Sulzer performed "Die Allmacht" for Emperor Ferdinand I with Liszt at piano. Joseph Sulzer, one of Salomon Sulzer's sons, claimed this performance inspired Liszt's orchestration of the *lied* in 1871.[42] Sulzer performed in a number of other secular settings and hid his performances from his synagogue employers. In 1856 on the thirteenth anniversary of his appointment as cantor, he received a note, "You preferred service to God over worldly service. Please accept our congratulations for having withstood the temptation."[43] Perhaps he did not hide his performances as well has he hoped. Still, he remained cantor until his retirement in 1881.

Sulzer established the new trends in synagogue music as cantor in Vienna. If Vienna was the center of the musical world, Sulzer's music was the center of the Jewish musical world. While he was not the first to incorporate a choir, he established the choir as the voice of the congregation. His compositions in *Schir Zion* reflect the Romantic style popular in his time. The cantorial recitatives imitate the *parlando*, or speaking, style found in *lied*. The choral responses reflect the congregational voices as well as the traditional melodies established by his

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[40] *Ibid.,* 15.
[41] *Ibid.*, 53.
[42] *Ibid.*, 54.
[43] *Ibid.*, 55.

predecessors. He formally wrote down his compositions, and there was no official publication until the first volume of *Schir Zion* appeared in 1840. Before then, Sulzer's music only spread orally or by his own autographed copies sent to friends. Initially, Sulzer only wanted his works to be sung in Berlin and Vienna, but his international reputation preceded him and other synagogue cantors wanted to sing his works.[44] The first volume of *Schir Zion* contains 159 cantorial solos and choral pieces for all major holidays and some life cycle events. A second volume appeared in 1865 featuring more compositions for the whole year.

37 of the pieces from the first volume were composed by his composer-friends in Vienna, most of whom were not Jewish. Of them, only Joseph Fischhof and Julius Sulzer, another of Sulzer's sons, were Jewish. The non-Jewish composers whose works appeared in *Schir Zion* were Ignaz von Seyfried, Joseph Drechsler, Wenzel Wilhelm Würfel, Franz Volkert, and Franz Schubert. As they were not Jewish, Sulzer worked with them to understand the texts and often edited them for publication. This study will briefly cover each of these composers' contributions to Jewish music.

Ignaz Ritter von Seyfried was born in 1776 in Vienna and died in 1841 in Vienna. He studied music with Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Johann Albrechtsberger, another Viennese composer. He became the musical director of the Theatre auf der Wieden conducting operas for the general public. He was a close friend of Ludwig van Beethoven, conducting the premier performances of Beethoven's *Fidelio*. His compositions have mostly remained obscure, but he wrote many operas, oratorios, and re-orchestrations of Baroque music. As the *Grove Dictionary*

[44] *Ibid*., 28.

writes, "his versatility won him a unique place in Vienna's musical life; however, almost none of his music is marked by real originality or distinction."[45]

Von Seyfried wrote two pieces for Sulzer, "L'cha Dodi" and a partial setting of Psalm 111. The score of "L'cha Dodi" indicates two soprano parts, tenor, bass, and baritone meaning the cantor. For modern performance, the altos would sing the second soprano part. The score uses clefs of the period which are unused today. All parts sing a relatively simple refrain twice with the cantor solo vocalizing between repetitions. Each verse of L'cha Dodi appears in the score often with a solo cantor singing when the choir does not. Interesting, the cantor and choir sing two verses before returning to the refrain. Typically, the refrain is sung after each verse. So, instead of nine verse, there are five verses. Another interesting point is that each verse is in a different key than the refrain, and each verse modifies keys to return to the same refrain key. In other words, the chorus is always in D major while the separate verses are in different keys. This allows for some musical diversity and different styles of text painting with different colors and pitches.

Von Seyfried's Psalm 111 does not utilize the full text, just verses 1-5 and 9-10. The score indicates verses 6-8 *wird gespräch* meaning "will be spoken." This means the congregation speaks those verses, but the cantor and choir resume singing at verse 9. The solo cantor leads a psalmody, singing one verse while the choir follows singing the next verse. The choir opens and concludes the piece with a triumphant "Halleluyah!"

Joseph Drechsler was born in 1782 in Wällischbirken, Böhmen and died in 1852 in Vienna. He was a composer and organist in Prague and Vienna. He wrote sacred works for the

[45] Peter Branscombe. "Seyfried, Ignaz" in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* 2nd edition. Vol 23 (London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001): 184.

Church and numerous operas for the stage. Drechsler also taught a number of students a Kapellmeister in churches and theatres.

Drechsler wrote 14 pieces for Sulzer: an all occasion "Yigdal," "Ein Kamocha" and "S-u Sh'arim" for a Torah service, "Adir Adireinu," for a Festival musaf, "B'sefer Chayim" and "Avinu Malkeinu" for Rosh Hashana evening, "Ya'ale," "Kaper Chata-einu," and "Sarnu" for Yom Kippur evening, "Gash L'talotecha" for Neila, and "Sason V'simcha" for Tisha B'av. These pieces were all relatively short, mostly choral, and musically consistent with Sulzer's Romantic style.

Wenzel Wilhelm Würfel was a Czech-Polish composer born in 1791 in Plaňary and died in 1832 in Vienna. He first studied piano with his mother and then in Prague. After a brief tenure as a professor at the Warsaw Conservatory, he toured Europe as a concert pianist. In 1826 he finally settled in Vienna where he stayed until he died. He composed two operas and numerous piano solos and concertos.

Perhaps his biggest claim to fame is the rumor that he was an important piano teacher for pianist Frédéric Chopin during his time in Warsaw. There is not quite enough evidence to suggest this. Würfel certainly knew the Chopin family and likely gave him advice in his career. However, this was the extent of his relationship with Chopin.[46]

Würfel wrote three compositions for Sulzer. They are an "Adon Olam," a setting of Psalm 29 for the Torah service, and an interesting fugue for "Chadeish Yameinu" for a Festival Torah service. His "Adon Olam" demonstrates knowledge of hum choirs in the cantorial tradition; while the cantor sings "v'hu echad" the tenors and basses sing *brummstimmen*,

[46] Adam Zamoyski, *Chopin: A new biography.* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1979): 72.

meaning "closed mouth." The setting of Psalm 29 is mostly choral, but the cantor sings two soli. In the fugue setting of "Chadeish Yameinu," the conclusion of the Torah service, each voice part enters at different beats singing the same musical pattern and the same words like a canon. This could perhaps evoke memory and history—the only time the parts are in unison is on the word *k'kedem* meaning "before."

Franz Volkert was born in Friedland, Böhem in 1776 and died in Vienna in 1845. He was an organist as well as a conductor of the Leopoldstadt in Vienna. His compositions include works for the stage, songs, and chamber pieces. He tended to write comedies and parodies which were successful in their day.[47]

Volkert wrote eight pieces for Sulzer: "L'cha Adonai" and "Ein Kamocha" for a Festival Torah service, "Ein Kitzvah" and "Hayom T'amtzeinu" for Rosh Hashana Musaf, and "Ki Anu Amecha" for Yom Kippur. *Schir Zion* also lists a setting of Rosh Hashana Musaf "Avot," "Misod," and a "Kedusha" response. However, the scores do not attribute the pieces to these composers, and Sulzer was meticulous about proper recognition in his music. Since these three works are primarily chants and not formally set compositions, it is a fair conclusion that this is an error in the table of contents. Sulzer wrote all the chants in his volumes.

Franz Schubert was born in 1797 in Vienna and died there in 1828. For someone who only lived 32 years, he was prolific as a composer. One of Schubert's teachers, Antonio Salieri, once retorted, "why, that man can do anything; he composes opera, *lieder*, quartets, symphonies

[47] Peter Branscombe. "Volkert, Franz" in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* 2nd edition. Vol 26 (London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001): 882.

and whatever one could want!"[48] His music education began at age six when his father taught him some violin technique and his brother taught him basic piano skills. By age seven, he learned organ and viola and composed his first works for his musical family. By 1804, he began his thirteen-year relationship with Salieri, the leading authority of music in Vienna. Ten years later, he was the toast of the town and high in demand as a composer, especially for his *lieder*. He hosted parties of artists, students, and friends called *Schubertiaden* where he played his works with the greatest talents of his day. Sulzer likely attended the *Schubertiaden* as he gained recognition as a great singer and composer. Schubert's untimely death shortened a career that was perhaps more productive and influential than some who lived longer. Among his students and regulars of *Schubertiaden* were Felix Mendelssohn, Franz Liszt, and Johannes Brahms. To this day, *Schubertiaden* continue as tributes to Schubert's impressive body of work.

Sulzer and Schubert first met at the home of a physician named Herz in 1828. Sulzer was only 24 but developed a reputation in Vienna quickly as a *lieder* singer, especially "Die Allmacht." Schubert heard Sulzer sing his song, who supposedly had the best interpretation in town.[49] After this meeting, Sulzer asked Schubert to compose for him for the synagogue—a setting of Psalm 92.

There is no extant knowledge of Schubert's compositional process for this piece beyond Sulzer's acknowledgement of the work. A more interesting and unfortunate note is that the original manuscript seems to be lost. This may perhaps be the reason for such little historical documentation on the piece. Eduard Birnbaum, collector of Jewish music manuscripts, reported on the little known status of Schubert's manuscript on the occasion of Schubert's centennial. An

[48] Eduard Birnbaum, "Franz Schubert As a Composer of Synagogue Music," in *Contributions to A Historical Study of Jewish Music*, ed. Eric Werner. (Ktav Publishing House: 1976): 228.
[49] *Ibid.*, 230.

1874 report of Schubert's entire collection of compositions observed that the piece was written in July 1828 "for the Jewish *Kultusgemeinde* of Vienna, 'which also has the autograph in its possession.'"[50] As of 1874, the autographed manuscript existed, but since then it had disappeared. This will forever leave certain mysteries about the piece.

In the spirit of celebration of the Jewish music of non-Jewish composers, it is incumbent upon this study to analyze Schubert's work further to add literature on this important piece. The original scoring calls for a solo cantor, first and second soprano, tenor, and bass parts. As noted elsewhere, altos would sing second soprano in modern performances. The choral parts also feature a solo quartet throughout the piece. The score in *Schir Zion* uses the original clefs of the day—reprints edited by Isadore Freed and Joshua Jacobson replace the clefs with modern clefs. In the appendix, the score is from the original source with the original clefs. The piece's tempo is "Andante" meaning a walking, moderate pace. The time signature is 4/4, and the key is C major.

Schubert chose not to set the first verse of Psalm 92, which attributes the psalm to Shabbat. There are a few potential reasons: this first verse, called the superscription, is often not considered a full verse but a title in Christian bibles' editions of Psalms. In Ashkenazi tradition on Shabbat, sometimes the cantor will chant this verse before transitioning to a tune for the other verses. In either case, the solo quartet sings the first phrase, verse two, in a straight forward harmony, alternating between C major, F major, and G major. For a little bit of text painting, all but the bass parts sing higher pitches on "nai" of *Adonai*, showing God's place on high. On the word *elyon* meaning "high," the quartet returns to C major, the home key. At measure 5, the

[50] *Ibid*., 229.

entire choir almost repeats the opening phrase identically—same words, notes, and rhythms. The phrase ends with the soprano and alto parts singing in parallel thirds.

The solo quartet introduces verse three with a tonality shift to E major noted by the added G sharp. In measure 8, the soprano sings a somewhat elaborate phrase on *boker*, and the alto and tenor echo this phrase somewhat on *chasdecha.* The next half of the phrase, noted by a *piano* dynamic mark, is subtler. This could be a contrast of excitement of morning, *boker*, with the lassitude of evening, *lailot*. The entire choir repeats the phrase, "but the elaborate phrases are simplified. This is purely technical—it is easier for a large choir to sing together with less elaborate parts. As with the solo quartet, the choir contrasts the two halves of the phrase with a dynamic contrast.

Returning to the stable C major in measure 17, the solo quartet introduces a new theme for verse four. The tenor introduces text painting in the music depicting different types of instruments to praise God. The soprano follows the tenor's lead, repeating the same words. In near unison, the four parts close the verse. Once again, the entire choir repeats the phrase almost exactly. The only interesting change is that the tenors enter on *piano*, but the solo tenor entered on *forte.* This is simply a dynamic contrast, but it is odd in this moment.

Measure 29 marks a major shift in the piece. The key shifts to F major, one flat. The tempo becomes "Un poco più mosso," meaning "a little more motion." The choir sings in rhythmic unison between F major and C major. The solo cantor repeats the choir singing the same words, verse five. This change, most clearly marked by the cantor's first solo, reflects the text's shift to first person: *ki simachtani*, "for I was gladdened." The choir cuts out when the cantor beings, but then begins the second half of the verse while the cantor finishes. Once again, the cantor sings the second half of the verse after the choir. In measure 39, the choir leads the

cantor, briefly in verse six, but soon they are in unison by the end of the half-verse. This pattern repeats for the second half of the verse.

In measure 45, the drama begins. The cantor boldly declares, *Ish ba'ar lo yeida*, "a boor will not understand." The cantor initiates a shift to D flat major with the choir following. But in the second half of the phrase, the cantor followed by the choir, outline B flat minor. This is text painting—the first shift to minor when referring to the boors and fools who do not know God's glory. In measure 50, the cantor quietly refers to the wicked who grow like weedy grass. Ashamed to admit their numbers in contrast to the few righteous, the choir repeats, in an F major seven chord, the sentiments of the cantors.

After a pregnant pause in measure 56, both the cantor and choir declare that ese wicked evildoers will be destroyed. The singers repeat these words four times—this is a focal point of the piece. The singers shift to different minor key chords. By measure 64, the singers quietly state this text for the last time while the cantor softly sings in a mid-range. This perhaps offers hope that the righteous will prevail over the wicked.

In measure 72, the tempo, key, and melody return to the original theme from the beginning. Singing verse 9, the solo quartet reintroduces the first theme followed by the full choir. In measure 80, the tenor re-introduces the theme of the instruments but stings the words of verse 9. The entire choir sings th second half of the phrase rather than a full solo repetition. The basses get a brief moment of glory in the pick-up to measure 84 reintroducing the theme, but the choir sings over the basses immediately ending the solo.

The last four measures melodically shift to a nice ending cadence in C major as a 5-1 ending, F major to C major. The choir repeats the word *l'olam* showing that God's power will

last forever. This repetition of the word is a positive ending to contrast the repetition of the wicked who will be destroyed.

Schubert's piece ends at verse 9. Perhaps this is exactly what Sulzer requested in his commission. Birnbaum suggested the cantor would follow this Schubert setting with a chant of the rest of the psalm. One of the early published copies of *Schir Zion* published a recitative of Sulzer's which could complement the Schubert piece.[51]

Beyond this analysis, there is little to note of this work. Birnbaum wrote, "the style of Schubert's musical setting for Psalm 92 is such that, notwithstanding Sulzer's annotation that it should be sung on particularly festive occasions, the work never became popular in the synagogue."[52] Frühauf noted, "this [commission] was apparently done without the necessary permission of the community board, which sent him an admonishing note in May 1828."[53] Frühauf's comment reflects a different compositional date than Birnbaum's research indicated. Without the manuscript, this will remain a mystery.

Salomon Sulzer, in attempting to purify the traditional melodies, created a new standard of Jewish music for the synagogue. He demonstrated that Jewish music reflects the popular styles of music of the day. Each composition in *Schir Zion* shows the balance and structure of Romantic music. Sulzer worked with great composers of his day, including his teacher, Ignaz von Seyfried, and his friend, Franz Schubert. Sulzer set a precedent of commissioning composers to create the greatest music for the synagogue. Schubert's interpretation of the text of Psalm 92 shows contrasts, wide emotions, and values the call-and-response of "traditional"

[51] *Ibid.*, 230.
[52] *Ibid*,. 231.
[53] Frühauf, 17.

Jewish music. This work deserves to be chanted every Shabbat, and the other Sulzer commissions deserve their rightful place among Jewish music.

Chapter Three: Ravel's Trois Mélodies Hébraïques

Jews have probably lived in modern-day France since the Roman times. They were important allies against the Gauls and Barbarian tribes which threatened Roman sovereignty. In the eleventh century, Rabbi Shlomo Yitzhaki of Troyes, better known as Rashi, became a major figure in Judaism, known for his commentaries on Talmud and Torah. After several expulsions, Jews settled in Provençe, Alsace and Lorraine, Marseilles, Bordeaux, and eventually Paris.

Paris in the modern period was very much like Vienna. As a cosmopolitan city, the citizens enjoyed high culture, wealth and affluence, and was the political and economic center of France. With emancipation in 1791, Jews were able to go to schools, build synagogues, and become leaders in business. Many Jews intermarried and became secular or non-practicing. They felt like they were French citizens in the same way as their Christian neighbors.

However, anti-Semitism remained despite the cultural advances. In 1894, Alfred Dreyfus, a soldier of Alsatian Jewish heritage, was accused of treason and sharing military secrets. In a great display of legal breakdown and rampant anti-Semitism, the courts convicted Dreyfus and sentenced him to a lifelong term in a penal colony in French Guiana. In 1898, writer Émile Zola famously critized the French government and its president of anti-Semitism in his newspaper article, "J'acusse." The "Dreyfus Affair" came to an end in 1906 when a new trial exonerated him and repatriated him to France.

Anti-Semitism more or less disappeared after World War I when the French felt Jews earned their place by fighting and dying in the battle. By this point, the majority of France's Jews lived in Paris. There were over 300,000 Jews in France until the invasion of the Nazis in 1940. The Vichy Government, a puppet government supported by the Nazis, instituted many

laws akin to the Nuremberg Laws. Many French Jews perished in the Holocaust. By the end of World War II, there were less than 200,000 Jews in France, many refugees of eastern Europe.

With the founding of the state of Israel, French Jewry experienced growth and contraction. In the early 1950's, Jews of former French colonies in north Africa, Syria, and Lebanon migrated to France after rising tensions in these Islam-dominated nations. The population of Jews in France more than doubled to over 500,000 in the 1960's. Today, France has the third largest Jewish population after Israel and the United State. However, with the rise in terrorism and anti-Semitism in France, especially during the last five years, many French Jews are leaving for Israel. France may lose its ranking as the third largest Jewish population in the next ten years.

Jewish music in Paris first developed under Cantor Israel Lovy. Born in 1773 in Schottland near Danzig, Lovy studied the works of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Joseph Haydn. He once sang the tenor solo in Haydn's *Creation* by invitation of a local duke.[54] While serving as cantor in Fürth, he composed synagogue music in a style similar to Mozart and Haydn's music. Idelson writes, "In those tunes he shows no originality, but walks rather in the path of his colleagues."[55] In 1818 he arrived at Paris to become the cantor of the Great Synagogue of Paris. He created a four-part choir and wrote new music for the whole liturgical year. Lovy died in 1832 with most of his works unpublished. As a result, Salomon Sulzer in

[54] Idelsohn *Jewish Music in its Historical Development*, 227.
[55] *Ibid.*, 228.

Vienna and Louis Lewandowski in Berlin, whose works were published in their lifetimes, take credit for some of the musical reforms Lovy began.[56]

The next great cantor in Paris was Samuel Naumbourg. After Lovy's death, there was no cantor in Paris until 1845 with Naumbourg's appointment. Naumbourg had the support of the government and Jacques Fromental Halévy, a Jewish composer known for his operas. Naumbourg reinvigorated the choir in Paris with new compositions, including a setting of Psalm 118 by Halévy. Naumbourg worked with Giacomo Meyerbeer, another Jewish opera composer, in adopting one of his melodies for a Torah service for the text "Uv'nucho Yomar."[57]

Jewish music under Naumbourg became like French grand opera. Halévy and Meyerbeer were among the great composers of French grand opera which Naumbourg imitated in his compositions for the synagogue. Idelsohn noted, "Every branch of music, even sacred song, was influenced by that operatic style. MUSIC became synonymous with OPERA. Hence the operatic flavor in Naumbourg's compositions!"[58]

Around Naumbourg's death, the Romantic period of art gave way to Impressionism. The term "Impressionism" emanates from an 1874 painting by Claude Monet "*Impression, soleil levant"* meaning "Impression, Sunrise." Like the painting, impressionistic music utilizes colors to convey moods and emotions of the subjects. Rather than strict compositional forms, composers emulated blur effects in the paintings they saw. They explored new chords,

[56] *Ibid.*, 229.
[57] *Ibid.*, 264.
[58] *Ibid.*

ambiguous or open tonalities, and non-Western modes to convey these emotions. Among the leading Impressionist composers were Claude Debussy, Paul Dukas, and Maurice Ravel.

Debussy had little to deal with Jews other than the fact that his second wife, Emma Bardac, was Jewish. Given the scandal of their meeting and the attempted suicide of Debussy's first wife, Bardac's family disowned her. This likely also terminated her contact with the Jewish world therefore Debussy's contact as well.

Dukas was born in a Parisian Jewish family, son of a banker and pianist. By age 14 he demonstrated his compositional skills and earned a spot in the Paris Conservatory two years later. His most famous piece, *The Sorcerer's Apprentice*, overshadowed his other works thanks to its inclusion in Walt Disney's *Fantasia* in 1940. Dukas famously destroyed his works, typically due to his dissatisfaction with them. While there is no known record of Dukas writing Jewish music, his lost works only keep open the possibility of its existence.

Joseph Maurice Ravel was born in Ciboure, France, a Basque town near the Spanish border on March 7, 1875. A few months after his birth his family moved to Paris where he lived most of his life. His family background was Basque-Swiss and Catholic. "Although born of Catholic parents and baptized as an infant, Ravel was not a practicing Catholic and did not accept the last rites of the Church. He apparently was an agnostic, relying upon his inner conscience and moral sensitivity."[59] As such, Ravel approached all subject matters and musical styles. On December 28, 1937 after suffering from illness, Ravel died in Paris. Among the

[59] Maurice Ravel, *A Ravel Reader*, ed. Arbie Orenstein, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990.): 17.

mourners was French Jewish composer Darius Milhaud whose work Ravel supported in the face of criticism.

In 1910, Ravel had his first chance to experiment with Jewish music. The Moscow-based Maison du Lied sponsored an international competition to welcome composers to arrange and harmonize traditional folk songs of different cultures. The co-founder of Maison du Lied, Madame Marie Olénine d'Alheim, a noted singer of Russian opera and folk songs, sponsored the contest for her to perform the songs. She would choose the best seven and sing them in concert. Of the seven winners, ravel won four spots, "Chanson espangole," "Chanson française," "Chanson itelienne," and "Chanson hébraïque." Each song comes from traditional sources with unknown original composers, and Ravel set the songs for voice and piano. The song cycle was well-received at its performance later in 1910.

His "Chanson hébraïque" is an arrangement of a Yiddish folk song, "Mayerke main zuhn" as collected by Joel Engel in Vilna in 1909.[60] The father asks his song a series of questions in strophic melody similar to a chant study mode. The first question: Do you know before whom you stand? The son responds, "Before the King of Kings, my dear father." Then, the father asks a second question, "What will you pray for before God?" The son replies, "For sons, life, and sustenance, my dear father." Each question of the father builds on the son's previous answer. The father questions why the boy wants sons, life, and sustenance. Each time, the son has an answer. He needs sons to study Torah. The boy needs life to praise God. The boy needs sustainance referring to Deuteronomy 8:10: "You will eat, you will be satiated, and you will bless God."

[60] Arbie Orenstein, *Ravel: Man and Musician*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968.): 174.

Both the father's questions and the son's responses are musically the same each time. The father chants his study melody while the piano taps an even, steady rhythm underneath. The notes are fairly simple and repetitive. By the end of the question, the piano's harmonies increase tension, rising in pitch. This further shows the question in musical form. The son's responses are somewhat cantorial, with melismas at the ends of the phrases in increasingly difficulty. The piano harmonization is simple—rolled chords every measure. This allows the singer to take time with each passage, unlike the even meter of the father's questions.

Ravel published his four winners in 1911 under the title *Chansons populaires*. The published version also had a sing-able French translation provided by Maison du Lied. Of the songs, Ravel only fully orchestrated his "Chanson hébraïque" in 1923.[61] This orchestration was never published. Of the entire collection, Ravel received much praise for emulating the styles. Of "Chanson hébraïque" historian Roger Nichols writes, "the hypnotic rhythms of the Hebrew setting that penchant for monotony which runs through his whole oeuvre, not to mention persuasive grounds for the rumour, unfounded, that he had Jewish blood."[62] Even though Nichols mislabels the language of the song, he acknowledges its strong case as a piece of Jewish music.

Ravel's other great works of Jewish music is his "Deux chansons hébraïques." Inspired by his previous work with Jewish music, Madame Alvina-Alvi, a soprano in Saint Petersburg, commissioned Ravel to harmonize two pieces of Jewish music, "Kaddisch" in Aramaic, and "L'enigme éternelle" or "Die alte kashe" in Yiddish. This collection would be his final work

[61] *Ibid.,* 230.
[62] Roger Nichols, *Ravel*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011.): 116.

with folk songs. He composed the works in April and May of 1914 and performed them with Alvina-Alvi later that year in recital.

Despite the title, this is a tale of three musical pieces. Each of the two vocal lines has its own character stemming from traditional Jewish modes and motifs while composer Maurice Ravel's piano setting employs his signature French impressionist style. While the arrangement does not necessarily reflect the standard harmonization of the Jewish modes, Ravel creates a piece which brought Jewish music to his contemporary concert hall. Now, it is among his most studied works for the voice.

The first movement, "Kaddisch," opens with an exposed, piano G octave. On one hand, this serves as the starting pitch for the opening vocal phrase. The note also serves as a pedal tone throughout the movement. The pedal tone fades underneath an exposed vocal line emulating an Ahava Rabba mode. Its signature element is a raised third and a lowered second in the scale outline. Ravel immediately establishes the mode by the extended B natural and A flat in the second and third measures. After hovering around the G, the singer begins to modulate toward C minor, which becomes clear by the word *rabba.* This creates a pausal moment almost like a cadence, but as there is no harmonization, this is merely setting up the end of a phrase. C minor is often called the "relative minor" of G Ahava Rabba as it is a common key shift. Ravel follows the tradition of arranging music in Ahava Rabba by putting the key signature in the relative minor, but there is no indication whether Ravel knew this tradition. The phrase closes with the returning G octave motif, this time an octave higher than the first time. Further, the octaves repeat. This is strikingly similar to the traditional "Amen" response which would also end the phrase.

This repetition sets up the progression of the double pedal tone G octaves which slowly adds dissonant notes to add tension. While the vocal line temporarily sings in B flat major, noted by the A natural as well as contour hovering around B flat, the piano part slowly adds harmony to the G octave pedal, one note at a time descending the scale. At first, the pedal fills the silence in the middle of a phrase after *be'olmâ,* but the pedal increases with frequency and at inconsistent moments. For instance, it interrupts silence after the B flat of *'khire'outhé,* and the C of *mal'khouté*. Otherwise it interrupts the vocal line during runs. Perhaps this serves to increase the tension underneath the relatively lyrical vocal line. This tension would come from the dissonant clash of the vocal line with the new pedal note other than the octave Gs. However, this is not consistent as sometimes the added note creates a third with the vocal line, so this would not be a clash. It is interesting to note that by the time the added note is A flat, the lowered second degree of a G minor scale, Ravel does not resolve to the G, the tonic, until after the vocal line descends a C minor triad. The descending triad is a common pausal phrase in Jewish modes but often would not be used on *behayyé'khon* which is not a typical end of a phrase.

Slowly, the added note to the pedal tone has descended the G minor scale, and the pedal becomes three octave Gs. At this point, the vocal line becomes less lyrical with increased melismatic phrases. To counter the increased motion, Ravel's arrangement builds on the pedal tones with increased octaves. In addition to the three Gs, he reintroduces an ascending scale but also in octaves. These pedals last a consistent two beats in the score, likely to allow for the singer to pace the melismas as his or her pace. Unlike the first descending G minor scale in the pedal tone, this time there are A naturals in octaves. While this could be seen as an attempt to

return to the Ahava Rabba idea, this is short lived—the vocal line restores the A flat in the following measure.

When the pedal tone returns to three octave Gs underneath the B flat of *ba'agalà*, the descending octave G minor scales resume, this time with three Fs, E flats, and so forth. The even rhythm established in the previous set of scales continues until the fermata on the word *qariw*. The pedal sustains Cs and Gs while the singer ascends on a harmonic C minor run on *weimrou*. In a synagogue context, the word calls for the congregation to respond with "Amen" after the leader. The arrangement builds tension before "Amen" as would be the case in the synagogue. Indeed, the pedal tone responds "Amen" in even half notes after the singer while finishing the G minor scale in the left hand. The right hand maintains the Cs and Gs as that would harmonize easily with the singer's C. The "Amen" signals the end of a major portion of the text, skipping a short verse said congregationally.

The beginning of the next section, beginning with *Yithbara'kh*, sets a completely different tone than the previous section. Now, Ravel divides the G pedal into beats one and two, left hand first then right hand, and fills the beat with a flourish. In the first four measures, this new motif either features a B natural or an A flat, seemingly depending on what would fill the vocal line more smoothly. For instance, in the first measure the singer holds a G over the piano, so the B flat flourish fits better. No matter the flourish, the second half of the pedal clashed an A flat against the G, and sometimes the B flat. This is a simple tone cluster. In the sixth through eighth measures, the flourish pattern changes slightly but still maintains the divided G pedals. Suddenly, in the tenth measure of this section, the piano part jumps an octave lower but maintains a similar harmonic progression established at the beginning of the section.

Over the flourish and pedal of the piano is the vocal line at its most even and lyrical. In the text, the singer lists different verbs to offer praise to God. The singer seems to be singing in E flat major descending to the E flat in the vocal contour. With the flourish and pedal underneath frequently clashing with the singer, there is no firmly established key at this point. As with before, the singer delays the pause before a typical congregational response with a six-note scale in *deqoudschá* followed by a simple *beri'kh hou*. Unlike before, the piano does not imitate *beri'kh hou* but merely concludes the flourish pattern. It is interesting to note that the pedal notes change with an F in the left hand and Gs still in the right hand.

The next few measures emulates the flourish and pedal tone motif, but the flourish is more controlled with even triplets. Further, the left hand pedal note descends from an F to a C with each successive measure. The vocal line seems to be in harmonic C minor through these three measures with the descending pedal tone serving as merely a walking bass to a low C.

The next section shows color changes beginning with the vocal line returning to G Ahava Rabba. The singer establishes the augmented second with the B natural and A flat. This modal shift returns the singer back to C minor. The singer's line is as exposed as at the beginning with the slower, triplet flourish pausing underneath the Ahava Rabba detour. After the detour, an even slower flourish of just one set of triplets resumes. The walking bass slowly descends to a G. Meanwhile, the singer meanders down the scale to a low C to end the phrase.

The final page of the score pits the singer in a melismatic fury against mostly low tone clusters in the piano. Each tone cluster contains three parts. The first: octave E flats and Cs. The second: octave Gs in the right hand half a beat later. The third: ascending octave harmonies in both hands half a beat later. These tone clusters precede the vocal line's melismas. The first melisma begins on C and would seem to be closest to G Ahava Rabba since it ends on G and has

an A flat. However, the second melisma, with the A natural and B natural suggests to be the continuation of a harmonic C minor scale. By the third and fourth shorter melismas, the G becomes more firmly established as a dominant tone, first building tension on the sustained F then the G followed by the triplet minor scale down a lower G. For the singer, these passages emulate the cantorial style of coloratura between sections often to press tension on the subsequent passages.

The final passage marked by the words *weïmrou Amen* concludes the work. The singer is firmly in C minor as noted by the final descending triad at the end. This triad motif is appropriate here as it is best used to signal the end. The tone cluster with its three parts continues in the piano part, but takes on a slightly different form in the final three measures. First, the antepenultimate measure adds an additional note to the third section of the cluster. Perhaps this is meant to follow the second note of the triad as though the piano is acting like a congregational response. The second part of the cluster responds to the first note of the triad while the entire ending responds to the final note of the triad. The final measure has an incomplete cluster, only having the first and second parts. The second part, the octave Gs, are the exact same notes as in the beginning.

The second song, "L'enigme éternelle" is based on a poem that revolves around the question *tra la la*. The question, simple non-word syllables, could represent a wide range of questions, but the text provides no definitive direction. The singer offers two answers, which are different forms of *tra la la*. The answer contains the same non-word syllables as the question, but begs the question if the answers, merely repeating the question, actually answer the question! Ravel chooses to return to the initial statement, showing that the old question remains and lingers.

Unlike the first movement in which the piano part is relatively open and fluid, the piano in this piece is very even and metric. The left hand rolls a low E, B, and F sharp, which could be an open E9 without the third, a G. The right hand offers a different progression, descending fourths: the first, a perfect fourth with A sharp and D sharp, the second, an augmented fourth or tritone, G and C sharp. Now, there is the G to complete the E9 roll of the left hand, but the D sharp clashes. Likewise, the tritone clashes with the F sharp in the bass part. This creates an unstable harmony pattern contrasted by the fact that it serves as an ostinato under the singer who is about to propose the question. The repetition creates a rocking effect perhaps to counter the unstable harmony.

Meanwhile, the singer opens in arguably F sharp Ahava Rabba. The first interval, an augmented second, is the signature feature of this mode, and this interval is prominent in the opening vocal line. The singer centers around F sharp, but also dips to the E below. This could be an indication of a shift to Ukrainian Dorian, a transitional motif within the Ahava Rabba mode. However, with an unstable harmony underneath the singer, there can be no clear conclusion. Usually a shift to Ukrainian Dorian helps the singer to transition to another mode, but this is not the immediate case for the singer. Disregarding the accompaniment, the singer seems to be in F sharp Ahava Rabba, and the E is merely a color.

When the singer first asks the question, the ostinato changes. The Cs harp becomes a C natural. Further, there is a sustained D natural every two measures. This effect maintains the dissonant harmonies, but even the little change carries importance. The ear will tune to the differences as is part of the intent of minimalist music later in the twentieth century.

As the singer offers the first answer in *Entfernt men*, there is the first significant harmony shift. The open roll of the left hand slowly walks up from E, B, F sharp to E, C, F sharp, then E,

C sharp, G, and F sharp, E, G or F sharp. As before, this clashes with the downward motion of the right hand and maintains the rocking rhythm. The major change in this section is in the vocal line which seems to shift to B minor. The A sharp from the Ahava Rabba shifts the center to B. According to the standard moves of Jewish modes, Ahava Rabba will often move to its relative minor, which is a fourth from the tonic. Therefore, B, the fourth of F sharp, follows the mold. The B minor is clear as the singer extends to a high D. Again, the singer has little support from the piano line as it shifts between D natural, D sharp, and general clashes with the part.

The first "satisfying" chord, the A Major 9 beginning at *Un as men* ends the clash between the piano and vocal lines. While the left hand maintains the same rhythm as before, the right hand plays an inverse. It is also interesting to note in this section that both hands shift from the bass to treble clefs further brightening the tone. Previously, the tone was dark and murky at the lower register of the piano. Perhaps this is a "happier" color by Ravel or more hopeful in finding the answer to the question.

Underneath the *tra la la,* the piano rhythm changes briefly. The right hand has even quarter notes from a high F sharp to a low F sharp with a D sharp harmony. The left hand sustains a D natural while filling in the eighth notes to counter the even quarter notes of the right hand. Meanwhile, the vocal line briefly extends to a high F sharp as though to have a playful spirit.

This hopeful shift is brief—the opening harmonies, words, and musical lines return from the beginning. The initial question and situation returns as though to create a cycle. One could say this creates and ABA form to the music, and this section is a recapitulation of the beginning. The major difference in this recapitulation is the ending. As the singer sustains the Fsharp, presumably the tonic of the Ahava Rabba pattern, the piano repeats the ostinato but slows the

rhythm toward the end. The music indicates *perdendo* or "dying." Again, the piano shifts registers, suddenly moving to the treble with an octave A sharp. This does not change the harmonies—there is an A sharp in the ostinato. But, the color shift changes attention. Then, there are octave Cs and Ds, a simple major second that ruptures the ostinato harmony. The work closes with the high G octaves, the same way the first movement of the work concludes. Perhaps this is a midrash of Ravel to suggest the question and answer of the poem stem from the praises of God offered in the text of "Kaddisch."

Idelsohn does not particularly like these two settings. He wrote, "…the composer's lack of familiarity with the spirit of the songs and the atmosphere out of which they sprang precluded the possibility of his offering appropriate arrangements."[63] He even criticized "L'enigme éternelle" as ultramodern. Considering he wrote this in 1929, his standards for ultramodern do not match today's idea, and Ravel's piece taps into the emotions and labyrinth of the unanswered question. These two works are part of the Jewish music canon, played in concert halls around the world. Even Ravel's "Kaddisch" is part of synagogue worship, often used to set the mood for Selichot services.

[63] Idelsohn, *Jewish Music in its Historical Development*, 465.

Chapter Four: Shostakovich and Other Russians

Many of today's Jews trace heritage to Russia. Regardless of the recognized borders, the variety of Jews is striking: Orthodox, progressive, Hasidic, Mitnagdim, Ashkenazi, Bukharan, cultural elite, poor "Tevye" type farmers, city-folk, and *shtetl* dwellers. While many are leaving Russia to practice Judaism freely in Israel and the United States, the story of Russian Jewry still has life. Chabad and the World Union of Progressive Judaism, WUPJ, have rebuilt communities throughout Russian and the former Soviet republics. There are many Russians only recently discovering their Jewish heritage often in death bed confessions by older relatives. The WUPJ continues to support the small communities by connecting them with rabbis for life cycle events and sending rabbinical and cantorial students to help lead Passover sedarim. There are now numerous copies of the Torah, siddur, machzor, and rabbinical texts translated in Russian. The renaissance of Russian Jewish culture is imminent.

"Russia" has a complicated history regarding borders and identities. The majority of this chapter will concern Soviet history of the twentieth century, and as such "Russia" and "Soviet' have different political baggage. This study is not interested in that political discourse but will make the effort to not confuse the two. With borders changing frequently in the last two centuries and different nationalist movements ebbing and flowing, this study will attempt to use names of cities and regions as what would be correct in the time relevant.

This complex understanding of Russian history sets the backdrop for an understanding Jewish history in Russia. Jews may have come to Russia as early as the Crusades beginning in 1096. In the spirit of religious fervor, Crusaders murdered thousands of Jews in the Rhineland, forced conversion, and initiated pogroms. This anti-Semitic activity led many to flee the Rhineland and headed east into Russia. They brought their Ashkenazi culture, including rites,

Yiddish language, and their music. While most of their Jewish music of that time no longer exists, what remains are the so-called Mi Sinai melodies as defined by Abraham Idelsohn.

In an effort to control the Jewish population and stabilize the economy, Czarina Catherine the great of the Russian Empire forced Russia's Jews to move to the Pale of Settlement in 1791. Having conquered the areas of modern-day Poland, the Baltic states, Belarus, and Ukraine, the Russian Empire saw an increase in Jews and Catholics. Wishing to maintain the status quo and a Russian Orthodox majority, Catherine forced Jews elsewhere in her domain to settle in the newly conquered territory. This edict remained in effect with limited exceptions until the fall of the Russian Empire in 1917.

In *Fiddler on the Roof*, Tevye commented on relations with non-Jews, "We don't' bother them, and they don't bother us." Indeed, until the nineteenth century there was limited contact between *shtetl* Jews and non-Jewish Russians. However, by the mid-nineteenth century and the slow relaxation of anti-semitic laws, Jews settled and established businesses in major cities like Odessa and Vilnius. Each of these cities would have great a cultural impact on Russian Jews whose affects persist today.

Vilnius was the capital of the Mitnagdim culture which follows the rulings of the Vilna Gaon. The Vilna Gaon, Eliyahu ben Shlomo Zalman, 1720-1797, studied music and felt it was the gateway to understanding. Vilnius is also where the YIVO, the *Yidisher Visnshaftlekher Institut* was founded. YIVO collects and preserves Yiddish culture materials and history. Odessa, a port city on the Black Sea, had a mix of many types of Jews. Notably, several cantors and Jewish composers emanated from that city—composers like David Novakowsky and Samuel Alman published their works in Odessa. This music spread throughout the Western Jewish world as Russian Jews left through the port in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Saint Petersburg from its founding in 1703 by Czar Peter the Great became the cultural and political capital of Russia. When the Soviets reestablished Moscow as the central city of the Soviet Union in 1917, Saint Petersburg still had the reputation of being the most Western city of Russia. In terms of culture, Saint Petersburg boasts the Marinsky Theatre, where numerous Jewish musicians, ballet dancers, and composers made their debuts, and the Hermitage, where Jewish artists like Marc Chagall have their works in the permanent collection. Saint Petersburg was an important city for the increasingly cosmopolitan life of the Jews. Even though emancipation for Jews did not come until 1917 with the rise of the Soviet Union, Jews in Saint Petersburg enjoyed nearly full rights as Russian citizens during this time. They had a legal status as *inorodsty*, or legal aliens, which put them between *prirodnye*, native, and *inostratsy,* foreigners.[64]

As such, Saint Petersburg became the hotbed of music not only for Russians but for Jews, too. In 1862, pianist Anton Rubenstein founded the Saint Petersburg Conservatory aimed at developing the nationalist Russian sound. According to its 1861 charter, the school "allowed for the admission of both men and women 'of all estates,' provided they were above the age of fourteen, literate, and knew basic arithmetic and musical notation."[65]

Despite his religion, Rubenstein took greater pride in his Russian heritage, and thus hoped the conservatory would bolster Russian music in the classical realm. "…There is no evidence that Rubenstein initially viewed the conservatory as an a priori agent of Jewish sociopolitical integration and acculturation. His focus was rather the opposite, that of

[64] James Loeffler, *The Most Musical Nation: Jews and Culture in the Late Russian Empire*. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010): 21.
[65] *Ibid.*, 31.

legitimizing his institution as suitably Russian."[66] In 1865, only 8 of the 299 students at the conservatory were Jewish. While Rubenstein did not reject students due to their religion, Jewish students needed special permission to leave the Pale of Settlement in order to attend the conservatory.

Two early graduates of the conservatory were major Jewish figured in their fields. Boruk Leyb Rosowsky (1841-1919) studied at the school to become a Jewish cantor. Rosowsky studied composition alongside Peter Tchaikovsky, but primarily focused on "תפילות און זמירות" (*tefiles* or prayers and *zmires* or songs)[67] as he said in Yiddish at his interview with Rubenstein. He served as the Chief Cantor of Riga toward the end of his life.

The other graduate, Jacob Bachmann (1846-1905) grew up in Berdichev, the same town as Rubenstein. Initially working as a choir member at a synagogue, he studied composition and performance at the conservatory. He briefly considered an opera career before pursuing the cantorate. "He went on to achieve the status of a star cantor, moving from pulpit to pulpit for decades across eastern Europe as Jewish communities zealously competed for his talents."[68] Rubenstein took pride in Bachmann's gifts in Westernizing synagogue music for the eastern European synagogue.

Rubenstein's goal of creating the Russian sound in classical music succeeded. Although Rubenstein considered the Russian sound to be more Western than "Oriental," his contemporaries and fellow teachers at the conservatory approached the richness of Russian music from the exotic, Oriental attributes. "…The Russian Oriental idiom often featured a number of musical stereotypes, exaggerated aesthetic devices designed to evoke the sounds of

[66] *Ibid.*, 32.
[67] *Ibid.*, 33.
[68] *Ibid.*, 34.

the East."[69] Composers like Mikhail Glinka, Modest Mussorgsky, and Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, among others, looked to the folk songs and musical motifs of minorities in Russia, like Caucasians, Tatars, and peoples of central Asia.

For these composers, Jewish music counted as an extension of this Eastern Russian musical idiom. Charles Haywood wrote, "Of all Gentile composers the Russians showed greatest sympathy and understanding of the Jewish melody…such music was accepted by the nationalist composers as an indigenous part of their own heritage, and not something esoteric and foreign."[70] Glinka composed "Evreisakia pesnia" (Hebrew Song) in 1839 based on "real and imagined" Jewish melodies.[71] When Lord Byron's 1806 poetry cycle *Hebrew Melodies* appeared in Russian translation by Mikhail Lermontov, composers looked to its themes as universal for a Russian identity. Rubenstein, Mussorgsky, Rimsky-Korsakov all took on the poetry as a text and wrote the songs called either "Evreiskaia pesnia" or "Evreiskaia melodia" (Hebrew Melody). Mussorgsky applied Hasidic nigunim to his "Evreiskaia pesnia" in 1867 and *Joshua* cantata in 1877. He also stereotyped the Jewish sound in the piano work, *Pictures at an Exhibition* in the movement "Samuel Goldenburg and Schmuyle." Loeffler observed musical stereotypes of Jewish sound, augmented seconds, a minor key tonality, and "a caricatured Oriental effect that alternates between bass rumblings and twittering high-pitched flights of notes, both suggesting coded acoustical stereotypes of modern-day Jews."[72]

Such characterization of his work would possibly label Mussorgsky as an anti-Semite. In Richard Taruskin he observed that this label served as part of a political agenda of the Soviets. Compared to other composers like Glinka, his use of the pejorative *zhid* for Jew was not excised

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[69] *Ibid.*, 36.
[70] Haywood, 170.
[71] Loeffler, 36.
[72] *Ibid.*, 37.

by Soviets in published letters. While the use of the word "was too widespread and accepted among Russians at the time to count as a mark of anti-Semitism,"[73] it appears in his published writing. His antisemitism was actually surpassed by fellow composer Mikhail Balakirev, but Balakirev's published works contain no references as such.

However anti-Semitic he was, Mussorgsky appreciated the music of the synagogue. He called this the music of *yevrei*, referring to a sanitized notion of "the biblical Hebrews or Israelites, who symbolized proud archaic manliness and nationhood."[74] Mussorgsky felt those who he called *zhid* to be the uncouth, unsophisticated, greedy, weak Diaspora Jews.

Haywood observed the characterization of these two types of Jews in "Samuel Goldenburg and Schmuyle." The entire work is based on a series of paintings by Victor Hartman, and this movement depicts a scene of two Jews. "The melodies breathe the very essence of Jewish life. One melody, representing Goldenburg, is of pompous gravity, authoritative, the very essence of Rabbinical austerity; the other, Schmuyle, is nervous, pleading, embellished with Chassidic inflections."[75] According to Haywood, Goldenburg would be the *yevrei* while Schmuyle would be the *zhid.* While Haywood would not consider this work to be Jewish since Mussorgsky was Russian Orthodox, he applauded the work as well as Mussorgsky's "Evreiskaia pesnia."

Compared to the anti-Semitic composers writing Jewish music in his day, Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov would be a hero for Jewish music. He, too, wrote a setting of Evreiskaia pesnia in 1867 celebrating the *yevrei*. He was an agnostic and supported Jewish students his tenure as professor of the Saint Petersburg Conservatory. He encouraged his students to create

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[73] Richard Taruskin, *Mussorgsky: Eight Essays and an Epilogue* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993): 379.
[74] *Ibid*., 380.
[75] Haywood 171.

Jewish art music from folk songs, which inspired Joel Engel to found the St. Petersburg Society for Jewish Folk Music in 1908. Rimsky-Korsakov's trust with Jewish students "elevated him to the role of Jewish music's spiritual forefather."[76] His philosemitism countered the antisemitism of Musorgsky and others.

Given the anti-Semitic opinions of these Russian composers, can their relevant works be considered Jewish? Most of the composers emulated Jewish musical styles, even utilizing Hassidic-like elements in their compositions for these works, the composers might believe their own music to be Jewish, if not Russian nationalistic. Indeed, the use of the Jewish musical modes would satisfy Idelsohn's notion of Jewish music. However, he would reject the compositions as authentically Jewish since the composers were not Jewish. Indeed, Rimsky-Korsakov felt his work was not Jewish in terms of Idelsohn's definition. "He might compose a 'Jewish song' (*evreiskaia pesnia*) as an exercise in Russian national 'Orientalism' but this was not synonymous with an authentic Jewish music. 'For me, my East is rather in my head…a speculative thing.'"[77] Rimsky-Korsakov would not consider his own music Jewish because his idea of Jewish music was theoretical, reconstructed, and inauthentic.

With due respect to the great composer, his relevant work, as well as that of Rubenstein, Mussorgsky, and others, follows the definition of Jewish music as defined by this study. The composers set out to create Jewish music even if it was to build the national Russian musical idiom. The question of authenticity or evaluation of the quality of the results does not affect these works as part of the Jewish musical canon. These compositions actually help to expand the notion of Jewish music because they incorporate instrumental music as well as the Russian language as a text.

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[76] Loeffler, 106.
[77] *Ibid.*, 107.

The works of these composers also helped to encourage Jewish composers of Russian heritage to explore Jewish music. They inspired the composers of the St. Petersburg Society of Jewish Folk Music to create Jewish art music just as their conservatory teachers. The products of the Society bolstered Russian musical idiom, too, since their compositional training incorporated lessons from the Russian teachers. Just as these Jewish art songs are celebrated, so should the Jewish works of Glinka, Mussorgsky, Rimsky-Korsakov, and others.

Dmitri Dmitriyevich Shostakovich was a later Russian composer inspired by Jewish elements heard in the Saint Petersburg Conservatory. His Jewish music, as well as his life, served as metaphors for struggles he faced in his career. His reputation as a composer and teacher became a target of Soviet criticism. As such, Shostakovich studies divide in two camps. The first suggested that Shostakovich led a dual life—one: an official and ideologically correct life, and two: a clandestine and reserved life. This camp is supported by Shostakovich's friend late in his life, Solomon Volkov. The other camp believes Shostakovich lived in the context of history. This idea is led by biographers Laurel Fay and Elizabeth Wilson. While this study will not take a stance on this issue, such back information offers perspectives on the evaluation of some of Shotakovich's music as Jewish music.

Dmitri Shostakovich was born on September 12, 1906, the second child of Dmitri and Sofiya Shostakovich. Sofiya taught Dmitri and his siblings to play piano. "Mitya" as his friends and family called him, started his lessons at age nine but was quickly noted for his prodigious skill. As a sickly child, Shostakovich spent most of his free time practicing at the piano instead of playing outside the house.

His parents were both highly educated and they entertained people of all faiths and political backgrounds in their modest home. Shostakovich's youngest sister, Zoya, recalled meeting communists, anti-Semitic Chernosotintsy or "Black Hundreds," and Jews.[78] All the while, their house was a safe environment considering the precarious situation for Russia in the 1910's.

At the age of thirteen, Shostakovich entered the St. Petersburg Conservatory, then called the Petrograd Conservatory, in 1919. While his family suffered food shortages and the death of his father Dmitri in 1922, he studied the great works for the piano and composition with Alexander Glazunov. Glazunov was inspired by Rimsky-Korsakov and likely took interest in ethnic music from this heritage. By the time of Shostakovich's graduation in 1925, his music already achieved recognition in concert halls throughout Europe.

Joseph Stalin became the Secretary General of the Soviet Union in 1922, and by 1924 with Vladimir Lenin's death, virtually controlled all authority. With his support, an organization called the Russian Association of Proletarian Musicians, the RAPM, controlled all musical output. The RAPM supported music with a social message and mass appeal while rejecting decadent and experimental, modern music as "formalist." While completing post-graduate studies at the now Leningrad Conservatory in 1929, Shostakovich needed to conform to the demands of the RAPM or risk musical obscurity in the Soviet Union.

Over the next few decades under Stalin's and the RAPM's dominance, Shostakovich found himself in and out of favor. At times, he seemed to reject Stalin's authority surreptitiously through operas like *The Nose* and *Lady Macbeth of Mtsenk.* In January 1936, the Russian propaganda newspaper *Pravda* accused his music of being "muddle instead of music." Some of

[78] Elizabeth Wilson, *Shostakovich: A Life Remembered.* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006): 6.

Shostakovich's "false friends" predicted the end of his career despite his youth.[79] Due to political pressure, Shostakovich's Fourth Symphony, written in 1936, did not make its debut until 1961.

However, by 1937 his fortunes reversed. Shostakovich "towed the line," by recommendation of his best friend, Ivan Sollertinsky, and conformed to the RAPM with his Fifth and Sixth Symphonies. In 1940, he was named to the Order of the Red Banner of Labor, a sign that he was in good favor with the Soviet powers. His Seventh Symphony, which debuted in December 1941, was hailed as the ultimate example of "Patriotic Art."[80] The piece, indeed, celebrated Soviet power, a necessity in early World War II.

World War II was a difficult time for Shostakovich and all Russians. A rise in patriotism led many to enlist in the war effort, especially after June 1941 when Adolf Hitler invaded the Soviet Union. Shostakovich was fortunate to keep his professorship at the Leningrad Conservatory, but the school suffered as its young men joined the Soviet army. Shostakovich learned that many of his students died and knew that he needed to reflect his sorrows in music.

One of his first tributes was to complete and orchestrate an opera of one of his beloved students, Veniamin Fleishman. According to Solomon Volkov's *Testimony*:

> Fleishman sketched out the opera but then he volunteered for the army. He was killed. He went into the People's Volunteer Guard. They were all candidates for corpsehood. They were barely trained and poorly armed, and thrown into the most dangerous areas. A soldier could entertain hopes of survival, but a volunteer guardsman, no. The guard of the Kubyshev District, which was the one Fleishman joined, perished almost completely. Rest in peace.[81]

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[79] *Ibid*., 110-111.
[80] *Ibid*., 174.
[81] Dmitri Shostakovich, *Testimony: The Memoirs of Dmitri* Shostakovich. As told to Solomon Volkov, Translated by Antonina W. Bouis, (New York: Harper and Row, 1979): 225

Shostakovich expressed deep sorrow and a sense of tragedy over the unnecessary loss of his pupil, as well as the lives lost of others. However, he did not take on the continuation of any compositions of his other students—only this one-act opera, *Rothschild's Violin*. Volokov noted in his introduction that this was the only composition left by Fleishman after his death.[82]

The opera is the musicalization of the short story "Rothschild's Fiddle" by Anton Chekhov. Fleishman wrote the music and libretto at the suggestion of Shostakovich. The story takes place in a *shtetl* in the Pale of Settlement. A local merchant is hosting a wedding and invites all the town musicians to play. Yaakov Ivanov, a coffin-maker and violin player, gets into an argument with a young flautist, Rothschild, and leaves the merriment bitter and angry. Ivanov, also known as Bronza meaning "bronze," laments his troubles on his way home and the feeling of disrespect from his fellow musicians. He returns home to tragedy: his wife, Marfa, collapses at her home after a long day of labor. While in her exhaustion, she recalls the death of their daughter who died many years before the opera began. Bronza realizes the terrible tragedy that he will have to make a coffin for his wife as he did for his daughter. Rothschild shows up at Bronza's door to bring him back to the wedding only for Bronza to send him back. Rothschild returns to the party with taunts by the town's children, "Jew! Jew!" Bronza realizes his folly and feels he is ashamed of his treatment of Rothschild. He vows never to play the violin again and hopes it will sing a new life when he dies. Rothschild returns one last time to convince Bronza to play once more. Instead, Bronza gives Rothschild the violin to play happy Jewish tunes. The opera ends as Rothschild plays the violin merrily on this way back to the wedding.

This opera treatment served well for Fleishman. Volkov wrote in *Testimony*, "Fleishman was a sensitive spirit and he had a fine rapport with Chekhov. But he had a hard life. Fleishman

[82] *Ibid*., xiii.

had a tendency to write sad music rather than happy music…"[83] Perhaps Shostakovich meant for the assignment to be as a cathartic way for Fleishman to express his sadness and anxiety while accepting the challenge of writing an upbeat melody for the wedding scenes. Fleishman worked on the opera from 1939 until he left for the People's Volunteer Guard in 1941 where he died. During the evacuation of Leningrad, Shostakovich arranged to have the manuscript sent to him and completed it in 1944.

Due to the war and difficult political environment, *Rothschild's Violin* did not have a public performance until June 1960 by the Moscow Composers' Union. A few years later, in 1968, Volkov rediscovered the opera and arranged to have it performed in a full production. Shostakovich's son, Maxim, conducted the work to acclaim. Shostakovich advised the production but was not present for the performances. However, the acclaim was short lived. "The official administrators of culture accused us all of Zionism… 'the staging of the opera pours water on the enemy's mill.'"[84] Shostakovich felt defeated especially since he felt this was a second loss after losing his pupil. Even though Shostakovich arranged for the score to be published, it remains obscure in the opera canon today.

Is this opera considered Jewish music? Using the guidelines of this study, it has intentions of being Jewish due to its subject matter. It deals with the tragedies of life contrasted to the joys of weddings and renewal. Many characters are Jewish, namely Rothschild and Bronza. If that is not enough, musicologist Joachim Braun notes Fleishman's and Shotakovich's use of traditional Eastern European modes and the klezmer "um-pa" in the orchestration. He wrote, "In Fleishman's opera can be found in embryo most of the devices which set

[83] *Ibid.*, 225.
[84] *Ibid*., xiii.

Shostakovich's Jewish style."[85] Indeed, his work on this opera marked the beginning of the "Jewish music" period in Shostakovich's career. Further, his connection to the piece and Fleishman, "played a crucial part in sensitising Shostakovich to Jews and Jewish plight."[86]

His sensitivity to the Jewish plight came at a time of deep personal tragedy. While working on the orchestration of *Rothschild's Violin* in 1944, Ivan Sollertinsky suddenly died. Sollertinsky was his closest friend from his early career. He was an advisor to the Shostakovich family on all matters and helped them to navigate the early Soviet political environment. Shostakovich decided to dedicate his nearly complete Piano Trio Number 2 in E minor, opus 67 to Sollertinsky's memory. The final movement, Allegretto, has elements of a funeral dirge.

While thinking about making the piece a tribute to his lost friend, Shostakovich would have only just begun reading about the atrocities of the Holocaust. As the Soviet army liberated camp after camp in eastern Europe, newspapers published stories of the army's findings. "None were more moving than Vassily Grossman's disturbing account of the ruins of the Treblinka Concentration Camp…and Grossman's harrowing description of Jewish victims being forced to dance on the graves that they had just dug."[87] Shostakovich was not anti-Semitic, having been raised in an educated home, and he felt these deaths to be in vain. He wanted his work to demonstrate his anguish and offer the emotional experience of this macabre scene.

What follows is an analysis of the fourth movement of the trio. The trio features piano, violin, and cello. The complete score appears as an appendix of this study. This analysis will

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[85] Joachim Braun, "On the Double Meaning of Jewish Elements in Dimitri Shostakovich's Music" in *On Jewish Music: Past and Present.* (Frankfurt, Germany: Peter Lang, 2006): 267.

[86] Timothy L. Jackson, "Dmitry Shostakovich: The Composer as Jew" in *Shostakovich Reconsidered*, edited by Allan B. Ho and Dmitry Feofanov, (Toccata Press, 1998): 606.

[87] Wilson, 225.

look at some of the functions of its Jewishness as well as to offer interpretations of musical sections.

The tempo marking is Allegretto, which literally translates as "a little happy." Typically, Allegretto is a somewhat fast tempo, noted with a mark that there are 144 eighth notes per minute. However, the precise tempo is of little concern. Shostakovich one said, "I use this rickety old metronome, and I know I should have thrown it out years ago, as it's completely unreliable, but I have got so attached to it that I keep it…take no notice of those markings."[88] For Shostakovich, the emotions of the musicians in the piece prevail over the written note. Ironically the "Allegretto" marking precedes this work full of sorrowful melodies.

The meter, 2/4, will change throughout the piece. 2/4 allows for an even feel, perfect for a dance or a klezmer "um-pa." The meter changes will disorient the listener as though to make the dance erratic.

Also to note is the key signature of four sharps. While the entire trio is in e minor, one sharp, the four sharps may suggest a switch to the relative major, E Major, four sharps. Sometimes in Jewish music, the key signature is the relative fourth if the piece is in Ahava Rabba, or *freigish*. The signature of the Ahava Rabba mode is a lowered second degree and a raise third degree in the scale. If this is the relative fourth, then the piece begins in B Ahava Rabba.

The piano beings on even, staccato eighth notes in octave Bs. This ostinato pattern will repeat in the bass hand underneath the violin's solo from measures 5-16. The piano part builds in the right hand with some harmony in measure 5 with the G sharp and B. this is a minor third. In measure 6, the left hand shifts to a diminished fifth with an F double sharp and C natural in

[88] *Ibid*., 354.

the second beat. This is the new pattern for the next ten measures while the violin part begins. This repeating ostinato will return throughout the piece.

The violin solo begins the first motif, the dance. The violin plays the notes as a pizzicato which has a playful, plucking tone. This contrasts the somber mood in the same fashion as the Allegretto tempo mark. The violin sings a pattern in E Ahava Rabba, further destabilizing the sense of key with the piano in B Ahava Rabba. The dance effect is in the rhythm in the violin's pizzicato marked with the second beat as a quarter note to make the dance even. The exciting major seventh leap down from an F natural to the E and don a minor ninth shows perhaps elaborate leaps in the dance.

This dance motif is the Jew dancing on the grave. As a violin solo, perhaps is this one of the Holocaust victims being forced to do the dance alone. The even pulse from the piano could represent the even marching of the prisoners on the side of the road. The dance builds in measure 13 but quickly dies in 14 and 15 marking the end of the first dance.

Finally, the cello enters to restart the dance with a low G natural, also using pizzicato technique. The violin repeats the same dance motif as the cello and piano alternate "um-pas." However, the sustained B disappears as the cello alternates on an E and D sharp. This removes the question of the key—the piece feels in E Ahava Rabba. This repetition of the dance begins on measure 17 and ends on measure 28, feeling less forced and more playful than the first dance.

At measure 29, a new dance is heard. The cello and violin, still playing pizzicato, alternate C minor quadruple stops. They repeat this pattern through measure 58. Meanwhile, beginning with measure 31, the piano sings in treble double octaves a new dance that seems to be in an open C mode. This dance marks a dynamic shift from the soft *piano* to a strong, loud *forte*. The piano wails like a klezmer clarinet from F sharp to G to C natural to set up the frenzy

beginning at measure 36. Suddenly, the piano repeats fast notes which build in repetition. This could be an expressive dance, a new dance compared to the first one. This is a more emotionally intense dance that suddenly dies at measure 44 with a dynamic shift to piano. Perhaps one of the guards has noticed the dancer's sorrowful emotions and so the dancer hides and tones it down. The dance repeats through measure 58 with each note louder than the last in all instruments.

The dancer has lost control of the frenzy and the instruments shift parts. Now, the cello and piano are on the "um-pa" while the violin takes the dance solo. The violin changes from playful pizzicato to bowed, held out phrases. However, this loss of control is short, and by measure 62 the parts have returned t othe theme of the first dance in E Ahava Rabba. This time, the violin bows the staccato melody. In addition to sustaining the notes longer wthi a bow, even with staccato, the notes resonate louder than with pizzicato. Even though the frenzy died down and the dynamics are piano, the violin dance is naturally louder. Once again, this dance plays twice—measures 62-73 and 74-83.

At the end of the repetition, there is a new frenzy. The violin sings in a high register, and the cello leaps a minor seventh. At measure 84, Shostakovich marked *appassionato* meaning the music should swell and have rich colors. All three instruments play their rhythmic patterns from measures 84-88.

At measure 89, the feel of the meter begins to change. Each part plays an eighth note pattern of different rhythms in canon until measure 92 when the meter becomes 3/8. This unusual tempo shows instability compared to the even dance of 2/4. Perhaps the dancers have lost their rhythm from the explosion of the frenzy in the preceding measures.

By measure 98, the tempo speeds up to 168 eighth notes per minute. The meter shifts to 5/8 for an uneven feel. The piano sustains low octave Bs with an arpeggio beginning on b in the

treble. The cello begins a bowed wail at measure 100. By bowing the notes, the cello can truly cry its part. This wail is the mourning and crying of the families as they dance on the graves of their loved ones. The wail is in four notes: two sustained quarter notes followed by two short sixteenth notes.

The wail of the cello contrasts a new, short dance motif beginning at measure 109. The violin takes the lead as the cello and piano "um-pa." The meter returns briefly to the even 2/4. In measure 13, the wail of the cello and piano returns for a measure only to be replaced by the new dance at measure 114. This alternation between the wail and dance carries through measure 131. Sometimes the violin joins in the wail, and sometimes the cello leads the dance. Meanwhile, the piano provides steady arpeggios underneath the strings.

In measure 133, the original dance returns in a low bass in the piano in octaves. The tonality shifts with the key seeming to be in E flat Ahava Rabba. The piano's dance revolves around E flat. The official key signature eliminates all four sharps leaving the tonality open. While the piano quietly sings the theme, the strings are in parallel off-beats which mimics the "um-pa."

In measure 141, the piano, still in low octaves, modulates to the third dance. The strings now change to quiet, high pitched parallel rhythms primarily in tenth intervals. This is a new theme, perhaps as a descant for the dance motifs. By measure 147, the piano returns to the first dance motif. In measure 151, the descant melody repeats for the violin and cello. The violin picks up on the third dance motif at measure 157 while the cello resumes its wail and the piano its "um-pa." This builds to a rhythmic frenzy at measure 167 marked *fortissimo* and *appassionato*. The violin repeats part of the first dance motif while the cello and piano play eighth notes underneath.

The frenzy erupts in measure 172. The piano arpeggiates in low bass octaves while the treble plays off-beat eighth notes for three beats. Then, for two beats it plays even eighth notes in moving thirds. Meanwhile in those two beats, the violin and cello wail in fast, chromatic tones in their high registers in tenth intervals. This five beat pattern repeats identically. In measure 176, while the piano bass repeats the same arpeggios, the piano treble and violin and cello play a mixture of the three dance motifs and the wails. The treble piano and cello play the same rhythms only in parallel sixth intervals.

In measure 180, the five beat pattern repeats, but at higher pitches. Except for the bass arpeggios, the treble piano, violin, and cello play the five beat pattern a full step higher than the last iteration. The mixture of dance motifs also repeats a full step higher this time in the same rhythms and intervals.

By measure 188, the violin and cello are nearly in canon one half beat from each other. This creates a call and response—when one has an eighth note the other has two sixteenth notes. Meanwhile, the piano builds the tension. The bass arpeggios become eighth notes and increasingly raise in pitch with repeating patterns. The treble piano play tight, dissonant harmonies, major seconds and tritons, building toward the next section.

In measure 193, the cello begins a solo similar to the wailing motif. The piano "um-pa"s under the solo. In measure 197, the violin sneaks in to grab some attention, repeating part of the cello's wail. In measure 200, the piece shifts to 3/8 and the cello is in the lead. The cello plays half of the first dance in a growing tension in its high register. The cello plays *appassionato* and *fortissimo*, the loudest dynamic thus far in the piece. Meanwhile, the piano plays softly in low octaves. These octaves gradually become louder underneath the cello solo. In measure 215, the violin plays *martellato*, meaning hammered and heavy with the bow as the cello repeats its fast

notes from the dance. The low pattern from the piano repeats in octaves, but now the treble piano a new rhythm, playing the same notes for six measures.

Finally, in measure 221 comes a hallmark of Shostakovich's compositions: power chords in octaves.[89] The piano plays four notes simultaneously in octaves, two per hand. Such a powerful skill and display of bravura puts the piano as the center while the violin and cello repeat B flat major triple stops for eight measures. The piano plays parts of the third dance motif in B flat Ahava Rabba. Having the B flat major chords for the B flat Ahava Rabba follows the "standard" harmonization of Ahava Rabba in which the tonic chord is major. In measure 230, the three instruments shift to E flat Ahava Rabba. The piano plays the same dance motifs a fourth higher in the treble, but the bass leaps, still in octaves, allowing for more diversity in rhythm. The violin and cello play E flat major quadruple stops in even eighth notes for ten measures. In measure 245, while the piano repeats the rhythmic ending to the dance in a high treble, the violin and cello shift to chromatic, parallel tenths. The tempo slows down in anticipation of the next section five measures later in the work.

The new section notes a key change, back to four sharps, a time signature change, 5/8, and a tempo change, 144 eighth notes per minute like at the beginning. The effect returns to the tonality and feel of the beginning of the piece. However, the meter marking is reminiscent of the change at measure 98 with the arpeggios in the piano and the cello wail. Indeed, this is the correct feel—the piano arpeggiates in octaves throughout its registers underneath the violin and cello wail in parallel tenth intervals. This continues through measure 253 when the third dance returns for four measures. By measure 257, the piece returns to the 5/8 wails and arpeggios in octaves. This time, the wails are even higher in both stringed instruments. The dance returns at

[89] Wilson, 25.

267 and lasts for thirteen measures. The cello is in treble clef for the first time, meaning it is wailing and dancing in its highest registers. During this section, the piano octaves and arpeggios simplify for a tighter accompaniment. By measure 279, there is a *ritard* to slow down in a dramatic shift. The strings play three dramatic notes in octaves in measure 281 to prepare for this shift.

While the violin and cello sustain Es in octaves, the piano plays a series of sextuplets and septuplets in fast, chromatic nature beginning in measure 282. These rhythms are reminiscent of impressionist music of Claude Debussy or Maurice Ravel, who used a similar color in his "Kaddisch." While there is no clear pattern in this section, the piano rapidly descends from its treble to its bass registers.

In measure 286, the violin takes the lead singing a mournful melody which will be called the fourth dance. The piece changes key to one sharp, which is E minor. It plays with a *sordino*, or a mute which prevents the bridge on the instrument to vibrate. The sound quality becomes compromised, and the violin sounds quieter. This effect could help to make the instrument sound more distant. Perhaps the dancing of the graves is more distant, and the families are returning to their barracks at the camps. This fourth dance starts later in the cello, also muted, beginning in measure 292. Both strings will remain muted through the end of the trio. The piano completes the canon, beginning the dance in low bass octaves in measure 298. During the piano's version of the dance, the violin and cello ascend to their highest notes in the piece in measures 313-317. Quickly, both instruments return to a mid-range playing the introduction of the fourth dance in canon beginning in measure 325.

The tapping of the nails on the coffin stops the dance. In measure 330, both the violin and cello play short, staccato, even eighth notes. The tempo returns to 144 eighth notes per

minute—the same as the beginning. In measure 333, the piano plays the first dance in low bass in parallel twelfths, quietly, *pianissimo*. In 344, the strings create a "sigh" effect by playing artificial harmonics in high E octaves sliding down to the low, tapping pitches, again. This technique, *glissando*, should play all pitches between two notes. When it returns to the tapping in measure 345, the strings actually tap with the wood side of their bows, *col legno*. This chilling sound truly imitate the tapping of the nails in the coffins. The piano repeats the first dance quietly under the tapping.

By measure 354, the strings passionately play the second dance theme in octaves. The piano accompanies in steady "um-pa" playing the same notes from measures 354-376. Meanwhile the strings play the second dance then hint at the frenzy from measures 58-61. This time, the frenzy dies down to a repetition of the tapping in measure 377 with the piano hinting at the first dance.

This chilling juxtaposition of the dance and the tapping returns the dancer, the survivor, to reality—the families have died, and there is no joy or even time for emotion. The survivor must bury the dead and move on or risk his own life. However, the survivor should not *forget* the dead. Now, the first dance motif serves as a faint reminder of the dead. It is distant yet still with the survivor.

As the survivor attempts to return to normalcy, there are too many painful memories. The instruments, as a call and response, accompany the survivor to the barracks. First, the piano in low, bass octaves leads the march with the strings following in artificial harmonics. This begins in measure 384. The harmonics show the distance with both strings creating an airy, distant, muted sound in high registers.

The end of the piece gives the survivor one last chance to cry. The tempo changes to "Adagio," with 69 quarter notes per minute. All three instruments sustain half-notes changing pitch together almost every measure. The notes slowly descend to a sustained E major in the piano. In measure 401, the violin recalls the theme from the first dance. In measure 403, the cello echoes the violin's recall. The last three measures, the instruments stagger in E major chords with the strings plucking. In the final measure, all three instruments roll an E major chord. The dancer has returned to the barracks with the brutal memory of the day.

After the war, Shostakovich fell out of favor with the Soviet powers and could not have his works performed. During this period, 1948-1950, Shostakovich supported himself by writing the scores to several films. He returned to favor in late 1949 with his patriotic work, *The Song of the Forests*, a celebration of Stalin as a farmer planting seeds in the nation. During this period, Shostakovich composed a number of pieces with Jewish musical elements, his *Concerto for Violin*, opus 77 in 1948, *From Jewish Folk Poetry*, opus 79 in 1948, and selections from *Twenty-Four Preludes and Fugues*, opus 87 in 1950 and 1951.[90]

In 1948, Shostakovich acquired a poetry collection called *Jewish Folk Poetry*. The collection translated some Yiddish poetry into Russian. Y.M. Dobrushin and A.D. Yuditsky provided the translations and Y.M. Sokolov edited the collection for publication. The collection was published in late 1947.[91] According to the dates of manuscripts of Shostakovich, he wrote his song cycle from August to late autumn of 1948.[92]

[90] Braun, 269.
[91] Braun, 279.
[92] Wilson, 268.

While working on the collection, Shostakovich consulted Natalia Mikhoels, daughter of the Jewish actor Salomon Mikhoels. Shostakovich visited Mikhoels to learn about "the pronunciation of certain Yiddish words and about the rhythmic flow of the original folk texts, which Shostakovich knew only in Russian translation."[93] Just as Schubert worked with Sulzer, Shostakovich worked with Natalia Mikhoels in order to truly get at the heart of the text. She would be present at the work's unveiling at his birthday party later that year.

Some of the grand themes of the collection fit into genres of Jewish songs: laments, songs 1 and 8, lullabies, songs 2 and 3, joy and jubilation, songs 4 and 7, and family situations in songs 5 and 6. The last song, "Winter" is "an expression of chilling despair and fearful anxiety that reigned not just in the miserable hut of the poor Jewish family but throughout the Soviet Union of the day."[94] Of his collection, Dobrushin wrote, "Here [in *Jewish Folk Songs*] maximal concreteness and exactness often turn into reticence. When two persons talk on things well known to them, they can speak in hints."[95] In other words, the songs have context of communicating one world, the Jewish world, to another.

The value of this work as Jewish music is most evident to modern audiences by its content, but the political backdrop makes the case even clearer. In 1947 and 1948, the Soviet Union experienced two extremes: a rise in anti-Semitism and the Soviet Union's support of Israel, the first major world power to recognize the young State. In moments of anxiety, Joseph Stalin accused Jews of espionage. Relatives of Stalin's wife and their scholar friends, all Jewish, were arrested. Even actor Salomon Mikhoels was "taken away" in January 1948, a euphemism for murdered by the state. After the Soviet Union recognized Israel, the official story of these

[93] Braun, 280.
[94] Wilson, 268.
[95] Braun, 288.

arrests changed. They were accused of "Zionist sympathies and of the intention to leave the U.S.S.R. for Israel."[96] Even Dobrushin and Yiditsky, compilers of the Yiddish poetry, were arrested. The Jewish Theatre was shut down, the only Yiddish newspaper *Der Emes* was banned, and even the portrait of composer Felix Mendelssohn, who converted to Christianity as a child, was taken down from the Moscow Conservatory walls.

Then came the Zhdanov Decree. Andrei Zhdanov, a spokesperson for Stalin, attacked literature and formalist music. This decree, called *Zhdanovshchina* had a veiled attempt to suppress Western influence and remove the "bourgeois degeneracy" of art. Svetlana Alliluyeva, Stalin's daughter, confessed, "the struggle bore an openly anti-Semitic character."[97] Zhdanov was murdered in 1949, and in 1953 the so-called "Doctor's Plot allowed for Stalin to extend his anti-Semitic rhetoric. According to the press, a terrorist organization of assassins in white coats planned the murder of Zhdanov and also plotted to murder Stalin, himself. Shortly after this, Shostakovich's work *From Jewish Folk Poetry* debuted at the Moscow Composers' Union. The words of the last song, "Doctors, doctors are what our sons have become!" stung the audience.[98]

Shostakovich studies divide on the power and importance of the song cycle. The official public performance of the work was not until 1955, after Stalin's death when the decree relaxed. Shostakovich could not oversee the work's performance before due to the ban on his music and the criticism of Jewish culture over nationalist Russian culture.

As such, the camp that follows Solomon Volkov and his *Testimony* account believes Shostakovich's works during this period were an act of defiance, bravery, and anti-Stalin. He willingly supported Jewish artists and protests against legalized anti-Semitism. Considering the

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[96] Braun 281.
[97] *Ibid*.
[98] Allan B. Ho and Dmitry Feofanov, *Shostakovich Reconsidered*. (Toccata Press, 1998): 223.

dangerous position he was in, his career should have ended. Natalia Mikhoels said, "the cycle voiced what we dared not ever express in conversations. It was an open protest by Shostakovich against the handling of the Jews in this last five-year plan of Stalin's."[99]

The camp that follow Laurel Fay views *From Jewish Folk Poetry* as an expression of art that conformed to the Zhdanov Decree. "*From Jewish Folk Poetry* is an example of stylized urban folk art; its texts are genuine folk texts, its melodic writing is simple and highly accessible."[100] She also noted Shostakovich felt pressure to create music that connected with the people and to redeem his public status. He wrote the work for the public, according to Fay.

As previously stated, this work does not take a stance on which camp is correct, but these schools of thought offer interesting sociological perspectives into this work and its context. The question at hand: is this song cycle Jewish? Without question, this collection represents a fine example of Jewish folk songs as art, according to the definition of Jewish music in this study. It sets an intention of covering Jewish topics and emotions, which happen to be appealing to Shostakovich as Russian ideas, too. Fay wrote of the Jewishness of his work:

> …the deeply aesthetic nature of his engagement with Jewish folklore and music should not be underestimated. The inflected modes of Jewish music went hand in hand with his own gravitation toward modes with flattened scale degrees. Shostakovich was attracted by the ambiguities in Jewish music, its ability to project radically different motions simultaneously.[101]

Fay observed that the emotions dictated the artistry of Shostakovich, and this allowed for him to create Jewish music.

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[99] Ho and Feofanov, 223.
[100] Laurel E. Fay, *Shostakovich: A Life* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2000), 169.
[101] *Ibid.*.

The last great work of Jewish music by Shostakovich is the first movement of his Thirteenth Symphony known as "Babi Yar." Babi Yar was the site of a great massacre of Jews in Ukraine in 1941. On September 29-30, over 30,000 Jews of Kiev were rounded up, murdered, and left to rot in the ravine of Babi Yar. The Nazis had assistance from many Ukrainians in this plot. There were less than fifty survivors from the massacre. Yad Vashem has actively tried to collect names and stories of the victims but has only gathered about 3,000 names.

The young and controversial Yevgeni Yevtushenko wrote a poem about the massacre in *Literaturnaya gazela*. His text and a translation appears as an appendix to this study. The 1961 poem notes there is no monument to the dead as the Soviets did not allow one. The text is dark, tracing the listener through Jewish history contemporary times. The narrator feels like the Jews who suffered throughout time: slavery in Egypt, wars against the Philistines, the Dreyfus Affair, and now the Holocaust. Yevtushenko even mentions Anne Frank whose story captured hearts in the 1950's and 1960's. He contrasts her optimism with the fears of the Nazis to collect her and her family. She thinks the breaking down of her door is the cracking of the winter ice. The narrator concludes:

> There is no Jewish blood that's the blood of mine
> But, hated with a passion that's corrosive
> Am I by anti-Semites like a Jew.
> And that is why I call myself a Russian!

Yevtushenko uses his poem as a call to Russians to seek the truth and be proud of a heritage that should defend all people, not just a Russian nationalist spirit.

In Volkov's *Testimony*, he noted that Shostakovich was astounded by the poem:

> It astounded thousands of people. Many had heard about Babi Yar, but it took Yevtushenko's poem to make them aware of it. They tried to destroy the memory of Babi Yar, first the Germans and then the Ukrainian government. But after Yevtushenko's

> poem it became clear that it would never be forgotten. That is the power of art…the silence was broken. Art destroys silence.[102]

Shostakovich knew he needed to musicalize the poem to spite the controversy surrounding the poet. By March 1962, he finished the piano score for the poem. Only after he finished did he ask for permission from the poet. Yevtushenko said of their first meeting, "I was in seventh heaven. Not only because such a request from Shostakovich was the most remarkable token of support at a difficult moment when I was being attacked from every side; I would still have been delighted if somebody just praised the poem. But Shostakovich himself was asking my permission to set my poem to music!"[103] Hearing the piano score, Yevtushenko saw Shostakovich cry as he played the lyricism of the Anne Frank optimism. Working with Yevtushenko, they expanded the work from a one movement cantata to a full symphony. Shostakovich set four other poems of Yevtushenko for bass solo, male choir, and full orchestra in his Thirteenth Symphony. Shostakovich noted, "in the Thirteenth Symphony I dealt with the problem of civic, precisely 'civic,' morality."[104]

Of the music of Babi Yar movement, Braun wrote:

> The "Jewishness" of Shostakovich's music increased with the heightening of the abstractness of the musical form and the deepening of its esoteric meaning. The more hidden the meaning, the stronger is the ethnic coloring of the music, and the more intense is the Jewish musical idiom. Conversely, the more open and direct the meaning of the text, the less Jewish is the music, and the more doubtful is its ethnic provenance.[105]

Shostakovich moves away from sounding "Jewish" in Babi Yar to a modern style of music. He conveys the deeps emotions of Jews and a Russian spirit in it. This makes sense since the

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[102] Shostakovich, 158-159.
[103] Wilson, 412.
[104] Fay, 228.
[105] Braun, 272.

narrator of the poem is supposed to be Russian and an observer's feelings about Babi Yar. Braun observed, "the idiom is Russian: Russian chimes, Russian modes, the Russian vocal bass singing."[106]

Indeed, the presentation contains deep Jewish emotions and colors. Wilson wrote:

> The theatrical element is achieved by graphic illustration; for instance, mockery of the imprisoned Dreyfus by ladies poking umbrellas at him through the prison gate can be heard in the accented pair of quavers of mocking brass. The following grotesque G minor episode vividly depicts the Jewish boy's terror. Kicked to the floor by the perpetrators of the pogrom, his futile pleas for mercy only goad them on further violence committed under the slogan "Beat the Yids and Save Russia."[107]

When the solo bass takes on the role of Anne Frank, he sings lyrically and dreamily just as the text depicts. He conveys her youthful spirit and optimism in the musical line. Shostakovich brilliantly countered this lyricism with the staccato interruptions of the male choir trying to bring the narrator to reality. "They're coming!" This juxtaposition of the solo against the choir demonstrates the loneliness and fear of the solo against the nationalist, collective spirit of the masses.

With the work completed, Shostakovich turned to his friend, Evgeni Mravinsky of the Leningrad Philharmonic, to conduct the debut performance. Mravinsky conducted all of the major symphonic debuts of Shostakovich since the Fifth Symphony in 1937. However, Mravinsky refused this symphony due to its controversial content, thinking it risky for his own career. "…Shostakovich felt deeply hurt and betrayed by the unanticipated defection of Mravinsky. Eventually, the two would be able to reestablish professional conduct, but the loss of

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[106] *Ibid.*
[107] Wilson, 401.

trust was never repaired."[108] Instead, Shostakovich invited Kirill Kondrashin to conduct, who had no reservations. The work premiered in December 1962.

Its debut met success and criticism. "…Extroverted poet and introverted composer were enveloped in a tumultuous ovation with the unmistakable overtones of a political demonstration."[109] While the performance and composition were hailed, critics took to the lyrics of the Babi Yar as an insult. According to the official story of the massacre, Russians and Ukrainians died at Babi Yar alongside Jews. Faced with seeing the work disappear, Shostakovich and Yevtushenko had to change a few of the words. The references to the wandering Jew became verses about Russians and Ukrainians lying in the ravine with Jews. Another stanza changed to reflect Russia as the antifascist hero rather than the despair as one of the thousands dead. Shostakovich did not need to adjust the music for the new, official words and, "did not inscribe the new text in his manuscript score."[110] Kondrashin conducted the altered revision in February 1963, but when Shostakovich oversaw future performances, he reinstated the original texts.

Dmitri Shostakovich died August 9, 1975, and was hailed as a great Soviet teacher, composer, and comrade. With the rise of Shostakovich studies, the fall of the Iron Curtain, and his recent centennial, his music continues to be studied and performed around the world. He desired to demonstrate the greatest virtue as a Russian composer, and in doing so wrote some of the greatest Jewish music, too. He tapped into the emotions of Jewish life and history and tried to live up to a high standard of art. He also related to Judaism. In his Eighth String Quartet, often considered an autobiography in music, he quotes the first dance from the Piano Trio as an

[108] Fay, 233.
[109] *Ibid.,* 235.
[110] *Ibid.,* 236.

expression of his relationship with Judaism. Timothy Jackson wrote, "The meaning is unequivocal; in this 'autobiographical' work, he identifies himself as a Jew, and as a Jew who expresses his Jewishness in his music. In the final analysis, the fact of this irrational self-definition by a non-Jew as a Jewish composer remains, Shostakovich believed himself to participate in the collective Jewish psyche."[111] In this regard, Shostakovich might have a great reputation as a composer of Jewish music that should be celebrated along with the Jewish composers.

Shostakovich was not the only twentieth century non-Jewish Russian composer to write Jewish music. Sergei Prokofiev, another graduate of the St. Petersburg Conservatory, wrote his *Overture on Hebrew Themes*, opus 34 in 1919. The orchestration is unusual—a string quartet with piano and clarinet. The original performers, the Zimro Ensemble, who commissioned the work, were all Soviet ex-patriots touring the world with the support of the Russian Zionist Organization. Their mission was to raise funds for a conservatory in Jerusalem, a prospect Prokofiev doubted would come to fruition.[112] However, the sextet had talent, led by clarinetist Simeon Bellison, formerly Principal Clarinet of the Marinsky Theatre and would be Principal Clarinet of the New York Philharmonic.

Bellison gave Prokofiev a notebook of Hebrew melodies and asked him to create a piece for the ensemble using them. However, the Hebrew themes have never been trace to "authentic" or traditional melodies. It is likely Bellison composed them, himself. The two main melodies Prokofiev employed take on a nostalgia of the Eastern European Jewish sound. One melody

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[111] Jackson, 599.
[112] David Nice, *Prokofiev: From Russia to the West 1891-1935*. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003): 161.

conjures the klezmer tradition with the clarinet jumping between its high and low registers in a wide dynamic contrast. The second melody, led by the strings, conjures a more romantic sound like a lullaby.

Prokofiev thought very little of his work. According to Prokofiev's friend, Nikolay Myakovsky, Prokofiev only wrote the piece in a day in a half and did not want to issue an opus number.[113] In other words, the piece was so insignificant to Prokofiev, it did not deserve to be in the catalogue with his other works. Prokofiev said, "from the musical point of view, the only worthwhile part, if you please, if the final section, and that, I think, is probably the result of my sweetness and diatonicism."[114] Another critic, Andrew Fraser, said, "its technique is conventional, its form is bad."[115] However, according to Prokofiev, "it has turned out to be a more interesting piece than I expected, and I suppose it deserves to be given an opus number."[116]

The Zimro Ensemble debuted the work in January 1920 to rave reviews and an immediate encore. They performed it at every concert over the next few years until Bellison accepted his position at the New York Philharmonic, and the ensemble disbanded. In 1924, the Zimro Ensemble played the piece in the Soviet Union for the first time. The piece's Soviet life depended on the national sentiment toward Jews, and sometimes appeared on a program simply as "Overture."[117] In 1934, Prokofiev revisited the work rearranging it for a chamber orchestra, but the original sextet remains the popular version.

With its klezmer theme, unusual orchestration, and intention of being Jewish music, this piece is a solid member of the Jewish music canon. The source material might be considered

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[113] *Ibid*., 163.
[114] *Ibid*., 161.
[115] *Ibid*., 163.
[116] Sergey Prokofiev, *Sergey Prokofiev Diaries, 1915-1925: Behind the Mask*. Translated by Anthony Phillips. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press): 430.
[117] Nice, 163.

inauthentic and even the composer had little regard for it, but this study does not evaluate musical quality. The work has a Jewish character and deserves its place among other Jewish music even though the composer was not Jewish.

Igor Stravinsky, another contemporary of Shostakovich and Prokofiev, also wrote exactly one piece that qualifies as Jewish music. In 1962, Stravinsky wrote a sacred ballad for baritone and chamber ensemble called *Abraham and Isaac*. This is not the first of Stravinsky's biblically-inspired works. In 1930, he composed the neoclassical *Symphony of Psalms* which features Latin and Vulgate selections from Psalms 38 and 39 and all of Psalm 150. This composition took inspiration from his own personal Russian Orthodox revival in the late 1920's. While the work was not meant to be his statement of faith, he clearly felt moved by the words of the Psalms. This piece inspired others—even Shostakovich arranged his own version of Stravinsky's work for piano and four hands.[118] On interesting critique about the piece after its debut, "Has the composer attempted to be Hebrew in his music—Hebrew in spirit, after the manner of Ernst Bloch, but without too much that is reminiscent of the synagogue?"[119] Stravinsky replied to his critics, "All these misunderstanding arise from the fact that people will always insist upon looking in music for something that is not there."[120] Stravinsky also wrote a number of biblical cantatas like *The Flood* in 1961, *Babel* in 1944, and *Threni* in 1958.

Abraham and Isaac is different than the other works. He dedicated the work to the state of Israel upon its premiere. The Israel Festival Committee commissioned him to write a new piece as long as it was in Hebrew. He settled on the nineteen verses of the sacrifice of Isaac,

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[118] Fay 109.
[119] Eric Walter White, *Stravinsky: The Composer and his Works*, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1966): 326.
[120] *Ibid*., 327.

Genesis 22:1-19. Stravinsky did not know Hebrew before this work so he worked with his friend, British philosopher Sir Isaiah Berlin, to understand the language, its sounds and functions. Before the work's debut in Jerusalem, Stravinsky said in an interview, "Although I do not understand Hebrew, I have fallen in love with the language, which I have translated into music in my *Abraham and Isaac*. The only Hebrew word I know is 'shalom' and it is the idea expressed in this word that my new work voices."[121]

Stravinsky wrote the music in a serial style, or "twelve tone" music. Serial music follows patterns and forms to determine order of pitch and length. In a twelve tone pattern, all twelve pitches in a Western scale are part of the pattern without repetition. This creates a very modern style of music contrasting his early ballets in an Impressionist style or his neoclassical period. This serial style emulates Arnold Schönberg and Alan Berg.

The baritone tells the whole story acting as narrator, Abraham, Isaac, and the voice of God. In the program notes, Stravinsky wrote, "my setting does not impersonate the protagonists but tells the whole story through the baritone-narrator, underlining a change of speaker by changes in dynamics."[122] Stravinsky uses the colors of the voice and the orchestra to show the scene and convey the emotions.

Stravinsky deflected critics looking for hidden meaning in the piece. "I do not wish the listener any luck in discovering musical descriptions or illustrations of the text. To my knowledge none were composed."[123] AS such, this study will not analyze Stravinsky's score except to say it qualifies as Jewish music. It had intentions of being Jewish music in its biblical subject matter and its intended Israeli audience. While not a determining factor, Stravinsky

[121] *Ibid*. 489.
[122] *Ibid*.
[123] *Ibid*.

wrote the piece for Hebrew and intentionally did not want to have the texts translated into other languages after the performance to preserve its Jewishness. This piece has been sung by great cantors like Ephraim Biran which should further show its added value to the Jewish music canon.

The final Russian, non-Jewish composer writing Jewish music to be analyzed is Alexandre Gretchaninoff, 1864-1956. Born in Kaluga, Russia, Gretchaninoff did not begin his formal music studies until he was fourteen. He began at the Moscow Conservatory before transferring to the St. Petersburg Conservatory in 1890. Initially studying piano, Gretchaninoff switched to composition working with Rimsky-Korsakov. He quickly earned fame by writing for the Russian Orthodox Church in Moscow. This earned him a state pension granted by the Czar. With this financial backing he wrote operas, symphonies, and concertos along with his sacred works. With the fall of the Russian Empire, Gretchaninoff struggled financially, and resettled in France in 1925 and then New York in 1939. Unfortunately, most of his works remain dusting in libraries due to disuse, and he is mostly forgotten.

Cantor David Putterman of Park Avenue Synagogue commissioned Gretchaninoff in 1943 to write new music for the synagogue. Putterman's commissions gathered the brightest talents of his time to create exciting, contemporary works for his cosmopolitan synagogue. In a published anthology of his commissions, Putterman wrote:

> The music contained in this volume is not meant to replace the traditional fixed prayer modes, but is rather intended to enrich the music of our time. It was commissioned for the purpose of enhancing Jewish worship; to encourage many composers to write for the Synagogue who otherwise never have done so; and to contribute to the main stream of contemporary music.[124]

[124] David Putterman, *Synagogue Music by Contemporary Composers* (New York: G. Schirmer, Inc., 1951): v.

Apart from Gretchnaninoff, the collection includes Kurt Weill's "Kiddush" and Leonard Bernstein's "Hashkiveinu."

Gretchaninoff stands out in this published edition as the only non-Jewish composer Putterman worked with on a composition. Gretchaninoff wrote two pieces for a Shabbat evening service, a setting of Psalm 97 and Psalm 92. Each work premiered in 1944 with Putterman as the soloist and composer Max Helfman conducting a choir of eight and organ. The works are likely not sung in synagogues today due to their grandeur, difficulty, and the obscurity of the composer. Even the publisher, Transcontinental Music Press, no longer sells the works. They remain a distant memory to the few lucky to hear them in their glory at Park Avenue Synagogue.

Charles Haywood had a few comments on the two pieces. They were the most recent compositions mentioned in his 1946 article—Shostakovich's Jewish music had not been heard in the United States at that time. Haywood applauded Gretchaninoff for attempting a "Jewish style." He observed three elements: "(1) motives that have a clear archaic structure, (2) harmonies in which may be heard certain echoes of the most primitive tonal combinations, and (3) rhythms that bear undoubted prosaic traces of the Hebrew language."[125] Haywood, who rejected non-Jewish composers' attempts to write Jewish music, almost offered an approval of Gretchaninoff's work.

Ultimately, these two settings have intention of being Jewish music. Their inclusion in book *Synagogue Music* would suggest the Jewish community of Park Avenue Synagogue considered them Jewish. Further, this publication celebrates the works with the hopes of future performance. In that spirit and in lieu of a formal analysis of the scores, the works appear as appendices to this study in order to promote their usage.

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[125] Haywood, 172.

Thanks to the tolerant spirit of Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov as composition professor at St. Petersburg Conservatory, Jewish art music grew out of Saint Petersburg, Russia. While primarily the product of Jewish composers, numerous non-Jewish composers also wrote great works of Jewish music. Some did so purely for art, like Rubenstein, Mussorgsky, and Rimsky-Korsakov. Shostakovich did so during times of personal and professional distress. Prokofiev, Stravinsky, and Gretchaninoff wrote their Jewish works as commissions. Each celebrated work expands the definition of Jewish music, crossing styles and instrumentation. The composers mentioned likely is just the beginning, but the next task is to preserve the music for the next generation. With Gretchnaninoff's works nearly forgotten, whose music will be next?

Conclusion

In most American synagogues since the nineteenth century, paid musicians are not Jewish. The men and women who help uplift the music and spirit of a service with a rabbi and a cantor are not Jewish, did not grow up with Hebrew or "traditional" Jewish melodies, and perhaps never attended synagogue worship. While some would see this as a detraction from the authenticity of their performance, the fact remains that their artistry raises the quality of the service. Some, especially organists and pianists, have composed synagogue music for their cantors and choirs and published them through Jewish publishing firms. There are too many such composers to list who have done so.

However, in order to complete the message of this study and celebrate the non-Jewish composers writing Jewish music, the next step must be to honor those writing for the synagogue today. In this way, one could take a page from Sulzer's example—commissioning the best composers of the day to enrich Jewish worship music. Today's Jewish leaders need to honor the works of musicians on staff in the synagogue and recognize that they bring their background to each song in each service.

This could also be a way to celebrate the mixed families in the synagogue. So often the worship mentioned welcoming the stranger but does little to show that one should love a neighbor as oneself. In other words, a service of music by non-Jewish composers written for the synagogue would demonstrate the community's welcoming policy of non-Jewish spouses and family as extended members of the community. It would also honor the non-Jewish musicians and other staff who make the synagogue operate.

While this study focused on nineteenth and twentieth century composers in Europe, the celebration should continue to today's music. The hope is that this study has inspired the reader

to think more broadly about the possibilities of Jewish music beyond the narrow definitions of Idelsohn, Haywood, and Sachs. May this be the journey and mission of all Jews to continue to expand the definition of Jewish music and take pride in its many facets.

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Appendix A: Report of the Committee on Synagogue Music

These are the highlights of the report to the CCAR by its Committee on Synagogue Music in 1907. The author of this study has added a few supplementary details such as first names of rabbis and where they lived. The additions appear in brackets.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SYNAGOGUE MUSIC

To the President and Members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis:

On April 3, 1907, the chairman of the above committee addressed a circular letter to the individual members of the committee from which the following extract is here given:

"I have been designated by President [Joseph] Stolz as the medium through which the members of the committee on 'Synagogue Music' are to exchange views on that portion of his message which deals with traditional music.

"The suggestions of the president may be found in the Year Book of 1906 on pages 232 and 233, and the action of the Conference thereon on pages 181, 184, and 185.

"In formulating your views it might be well to bear in mind that examples of *Jewish* music, *as such* are only to be found in certain portions of traditional chants, Chasanuth, which, with but rare exceptions, cannot be utilized in the reform service.

"*Jewish music, as generally understood,* embraces the traditional melodies (which are of modern origin and have been taken into the synagogue by adoption) and that especially composed for the service by Jews and non-Jews.

"Traditional melodies have to some extent been utilized in the reform synagogue, but their use could and should be made more general.

"Of music especially composed for the service, that by Jews should receive the preference over that by non-Jews, because there is a decided difference between the two in favor of the former. It is the same difference which is discernible in works of Jewish and non-Jewish authors and artists, when treating of Jewish subjects. In the former, that distinguishing characteristic of our people which is the product of its long, checkered and marvelous career, and which has impressed itself upon the individuality of every Jew, whether he is conscious of it or not, must needs be reflected; while in the latter this peculiar but highly important coloring is entirely lacking. Would we permit our prayers and sermons to be written for us by strangers to our faith, even though they were couched in language ever so fervent, chaste and beautiful? Why then permit it to be done in the case of our music, which is but another vehicle for the expression of our devotion in public worship?

"There are many excellent Jewish composers besides the well-known pioneers, whose compositions could be adjusted to the Union Prayer Book."

Replies were received from all members in due course, and the following are the portions bearing on the subject under consideration:

"Non-Jewish music ought to be banished from our temples; rather have the simplest hymn that is Jewish than the greatest compositions taken from Masses and Oratorios. I favor the use of traditional Jewish music for the chief responses. Simplicity ought to be striven after, not operatic effect. Jewish singers ought to be employed exclusively, and congregational singing be

more generally introduced. I am in hearty accord with any movement that will tend to make our music *Jewish* and *simple.*"

DR. [RUDOLPH] GROSSMAN, [New York City]

"More traditional music should be employed in the reform service. There are at present many works which contain traditional themes. The melodies contained in these works cannot be used altogether in their present form, but must be adapted to the words and needs of the Union Prayer Book. I think a book of traditional themes applied to the Union Prayer Book would be a good thing."

DR. [JUDAH LEON] MAGNES, [New York City]

"I hate church music in the synagogue. I would like to see that the old Jewish melodies—to be sure in a somewhat modern garment, should be used in the synagogue."

DR. [ADOLPH M.] RADIN, [New York City]

"I am heartily in favor of traditional music, if suitable to our needs and if attainable. The more melodic of the compositions should be collected and published in handy and inexpensive volumes, so that they be in reach of the scanty budgets and financial conditions of rising communities. When published, English words should immediately be set thereto. A movement should be made to have modern Jewish synagogue compositions reprinted in octavo sheets accompanied by and set to the corresponding English words."

DR. [NATHAN] STERN, [Trenton, NJ]

"Let the Central Conference of American Rabbis issue monthly or periodically a pamphlet containing two or more original compositions or arrangements. Thus a constant supply of authoritative music for every congregation within the reach of the Central Conference of American Rabbis will in time secure the uniformity so much desired."

REV. WILLIAM LOEWENBERG, [Philadelphia]

"The music, mainly by Jewish composers, that has been sung in the synagogues for the last fifty years has become Jewish traditional music, except such that has been borrowed from Christian sources. Melodies Slavic in origin, Orientalized by the monotonous plain and occasional passionate outburst of poverty-stricken Hazanim should be kept out of any collection of tunes intended for Israel in America."

DR. [ISAAC] S. MOSES, [New York City]

"It is high time that our temple music should be composed by Jewish composers, just as our hymns should be written by Jewish poets. The trouble is that the composer great in technique and deeply imbued with the spirit that gave rise to our movement has yet to come. Nor has the poet come that has written down in living verse the innermost thoughts of the modern pious Jew. Whenever these twin brothers will be born, Jewish music may become a living reality. We need men, who are few at best, enthusiastic, devoted to their calling, that will study and be able to draw from our ancient music the very soul and breathe it, if even unconsciously, onto their modern conception of things. All attempts that are begin made now to reinstate the Jewish melody will fail, and must fail. It will live for some time in the Ghetto, where the Russian song may be—even is—the echo of a tragedy, and where the old Chasanuth

recalls the pain of suffering and exile. I know that there it needs no urging whatsoever; they will sing the old songs until the memory of times gone by has pales in the consciousness of the living generation."

DR. [ISAAC] L. LEUCHT, [New Orleans]

The opinion is unanimous that a desire exists for Jewish music in the American synagogue. Your committee therefore recommends:

1. That a committee of this Conference be appointed with power to select a board of editors, consisting of three Jewish musicians of international reputation (and there are such) whose duty it shall be:
    a. To adapt from existing works of Jewish composers dignified settings of traditional themes to the texts of the Union Prayer Book.
    b. To adapt from existing works of Jewish composers their best and most melodic compositions to the texts of the Union Prayer Book.
    c. To engage American and European composers of reputation to write original compositions for texts of the Union Prayer Book.
2. That this conference publish the music thus obtained in handy and inexpensive form, monthly or semi-monthly, each publication to contain one or two compositions

Respectfully submitted, ALOIS KAISER, *Chairman*
[ISAAC] L. LEUCHT,
[ISAAC] S. MOSES,
[JUDAH LEON] MAGNES,
[WILLIAM] LOWENBERG,
[ADOLPH] M. RADIN,
NATHAN STERN.

Rabbi [Jacob] Kaplan, [Jackson, MS]—Would you call music written for the Jewish services by non-News, Jewish music?

Rabbi [David] Philipson, [Cincinnati, OH]—I suppose when Jewish music is spoken of, the spirit of the music is understood. Every one will consider Sulzer an authority; and it is very well known that when Sulzer wrote his "Shir Ziyyon" for the synagogue, which has become almost the classical opus of Jewish music, he enlisted the co-operation of men like Schubert, and Hiller, and some other Christian composers. And I believe music composed by any religiously gifted composer that penetrates into the spirit of the psalm which he sets to music may be sung in the synagogue.

Rabbi Max Heller, [New Orleans]—It seems to me that music, whether written by a Christian for Jewish services, or by a Jew for Christian services, or by a Jew for Jewish services, approves itself, not by the nationality of the man, but by the quality of the music, and will finally approve itself only by its adoption and assimilation to the religion for which it is intended. What Dr. Philipson has said is correct, as Sulzer's music was objected to as non-Jewish, but the fact alone is satisfactory proof that it is Jewish. Therefore, it seems to me not at all impossible that music written by a Christian for the synagogue may prove to be music congenial to the Jewish spirit, and may be assimilated to Judaism,—allow me to add the word "actively," not passively

assimilated to Judaism,—as it is found congenial to the Jewish consciousness, with many other things which have been actively assimilated. While, on the other hand, music written even by a Jew for the synagogue may not be so approved.

Rabbi Kaplan—I agree with Dr. Philipson and Dr. Heller, and for that reason I feel that the recommendations of the committee are not altogether just; that only such music is Jewish as is written by Jewish composers.

Rabbi [Maurice] Harris, [New York City]—You know we reform Rabbis are accused of introducing the opera in the synagogue services, when it is really our cantors. I do not know what your experience is, gentlemen, but I find it very difficult to get Jewish choirs. We want Jewish music; but this whole matter of synagogal music is really not in our hands, it is in the hands of the cantor. I would like to have the Conference put itself on record that an effect be made to introduce the traditional Jewish music, and an appeal be made to the cantors of the country, to this effect.

Professor S. Mannheimer, [Cincinnati, OH]—I fully agree with what Dr. Heller has said, that the character of the music is to be considered in determining whether music is Jewish or not, and not the composer, or the religious standing of the composer. If my memory serves me right, in Sulzer's and other Jewish collections, there is also music from non-Jewish writers. We may admit the music of non-Jewish composers, if the character of the music is Jewish.

Rabbi [Louis] Wolsey, [Little Rock, AR]—I heartily agree with Brother Heller as to the character of Jewish music; not thoroughly understanding this fact leads many to believe that because music is written by a non-Jew that it is therefore un-Jewish. Everyone of us has music sung by the choir that is written by non-Jews, and a great deal of it may be in acceptable form, and thoroughly Jewish, and I do not think we ought to have any prejudice whatever against non-Jews writing our music. I know an organist who is a Baptist by religion. He understands thoroughly, not only Jewish music, by the spirit of Jewish music. He has consecrated himself to the study of Jewish music. He studied Hebrew in order that he might be able to understand Jewish music more thoroughly, and that man is competent to compose Jewish music. We ought to invite such men as he to write our music. Another thing: You have given out the proof sheets for a Ministers' Handbook, and at the conclusion you have in big type a bibliography of music. What we need is a catalogue of music written by Jews and by non-Jews for the purposes of the synagogue, and all of us ought to co-operate to perfect this bibliography.

Rabbi [Jonah] Wise, [Portland, OR]—I move the recommendations of the committee be adopted, relating to sections *a*, *b*, and *c*, subject to the approval of the Executive Board.

Sub-sections *a, b,* and *c*, were put to a vote and carried….

Kaiser, Alois. "Report of the Committee on Synagogue Music." *Year Book of the Central Conference of American Rabbis*. Ed. Tobias Schanfarber, Samuel Hirschberg, and Joseph Stolz. 7 (1908): 103-107.

Appendix B: *Testimony: The Memoirs of Dmitri Shostakovich*

This is a selection from Shostakovich's memoirs as related to Solomon Volkov. The selection concerns his thoughts about anti-Semitism and Jewish music. Shostakovich explores the political implications of his music.

Is a musical concept bon consciously or unconsciously? It's difficult to explain. The process of writing a new work is long and complicated. Sometimes you start writing and then change your mind. It doesn't always work the way you thought it would. If it's not working, leave the composition the way it is—and try to avoid your earlier mistakes in the next one. That's my personal point of view, my manner of working. Perhaps it stems from a desire to do as much as possible. When I hear that a composer has eleven versions of one symphony, I think involuntarily, How many new works could he have composed in that time?

No, naturally I sometimes return to an old work; for instance, I made many changes in the score of my opera *Katerine Izmailova*.

I wrote my Seventh Symphony, the "Leningrad," very quickly. I couldn't not write it. War was all around. I had to be with the people, I wanted to create the image of our country at war, capture in it music. From the first days of the war, I saw down at the piano and started work. I worked intensely. I wanted to write about our time, about my contemporaries who spared neither strength nor life in the name of Victory Over the Enemy.

I've hear so much nonsense about the Seventh and Eight Symphonies. It's amazing how long-lived these stupidities are. I'm astounded sometimes by how lazy people are when it comes to thinking. Everything that was written about those symphonies in the first few days is repeated without any changes to this very day even though there has been time to do some thinking. After all, the war ended a long time-ago, almost thirty years.

Thirty years ago you could say that they were military symphonies, but symphonies are rarely written to order, that is, if they are worthy to be called symphonies.

I do write quickly, it's true, but I think about my music for a comparatively long time, and until it's complete in my head I don't begin setting it down. Of course, I do make mistakes. Say, I imagine that the composition will have one movement, and then I see that it must be continued. That happened with the Seventh, as a matter of fact, and with the Thirteenth. And sometimes it's the reverse. I think that I've started a new symphony, when actually things come to a half after one movement. That happened with *The Execution of Stepan Razin*, which is now performed as a symphonic poem.

The Seventh Symphony had been planned before the war and consequently it simply cannot be seen as a reaction to Hitler's attack. The "invasion theme" has nothing to do with the attack. I was thinking of other enemies of humanity when I composed the theme.

Naturally, fascism is repugnant to me, but not only German fascism, any form of it is repugnant. Nowadays people like to recall the prewar period as an idyllic time, saying that everything was fine until Hitler bothered us. Hitler is a criminal, that's clear, but so is Stalin.

I feel eternal pain for those who were killed by Hitler, but I feel no less pain for those killed on Stalin's orders. I suffer for everyone who was tortured, shot, or starved to death. There were millions of them in our country before the war with Hitler began.

The war brought much new sorrow and much new destruction, but I haven't forgotten the terrible prewar years. That is what all my symphonies, beginning with the Fourth, are about, including the Seventh and Eighth.

Actually, I have nothing against calling the Seventh the Leningrad Symphony, but it's not about Leningrad under siege, it's about the Leningrad that Stalin destroyed and that Hitler merely finished off.

The majority of my symphonies are tombstones. Too many of our people died and were buried in places unknown to anyone, not even their relatives. It happened to many of my friends. Where do you put the tombstones for Meyerhold or Tukhachevsky? Only music can do that for them. I'm willing to write a composition for each of the victims, but that's impossible, and that's why I dedicate my music to them all.

I think constantly of those people, and in almost every major work I try to remind others of them. The conditions of the war years were conducive to that, because the authorities were less strict about music and didn't care if the music was too gloomy. And later all the misery was put down to the war, as though it was only during the war that people were tortured and killed. Thus the Seventh and Eighth are "war symphonies."

This is a well-rooted tradition. When I wrote the Eighth Quartet, it was also assigned to the department of "exposing fascism." You have to be blind and deaf to do that, because everything in the quartet is as clear as a primer. I quote *Lady Macbeth*, the First and Fifth Symphonies. What does fascism have to do with these? The Eighth is an autobiographical quartet, it quotes a song known to all Russians: "Exhausted by the hardships of prison."

And there is also the Jewish theme from the Piano Trio in this quartet. I think, if we speak of musical impressions, that Jewish folk music has made a most powerful impression on me. I never tired of delighting in it, it's multifaceted, it can appear to be happy while it is tragic. It's almost always laughter through tears.

This quality of Jewish folk music is close to my ideas of what music should be. There should always be two layers in music. Jews were tormented for so long, that they learned to hide their despair. They express despair in dance music.

All folk music is lovely, but I can say that Jewish folk music is unique. Many composers listened to it, including Russian composers, Mussorgsky, for instance. He carefully set down Jewish folk songs. Many of my works reflect my impressions of Jewish music.

This is not a purely musical issue, this is also a moral issue. I often test a person by his attitude toward Jews. In our day and age, any person with pretensions of decency cannot be anti-Semitic. This seems so obvious that it doesn't need saying, but I've had to argue the point for at least thirty years. Once after the war I was passing a bookstore and saw a volume with Jewish songs. I was always interested in Jewish folklore, and I thought the book would give the melodies, but it contained only the texts. It seemed to me that if I picked out several texts and set them to music, I would be able to tell about the fate of the Jewish people. It seemed an important thing to do, because I could see anti-Semitism growing all around me. But I couldn't have the cycle performed then, it was played for the first time much later, and later still I did an orchestra version of the work.

My parents considered anti-Semitism a shameful superstition, and in that sense I was given a singular upbringing. In my youth I came across anti-Semitism among my peers, who thought that Jews were getting preferential treatment. They didn't remember the pogroms, the ghettos, or the quotas. In those years it was almost a mark of sangfroid to speak of Jews with a mocking laugh. It was a kind of opposition to the authorities.

I never condoned an anti-Semitic tone, even then, and I didn't repeat anti-Semitic jokes that were popular then. But I was much gentler about this unworthy trait than I am now. Later I broke with even good friends if I saw that they had any anti-Semitic tendencies.

But even before the war, the attitude toward Jews had changed drastically. It turned out that we had far to go to achieve brotherhood. The Jews became the most persecuted and defenseless people of Europe. It was a return to the Middle Ages. Jews became a symbol for me. All of man's defenselessness was concentrated in them. It was a bad time for Jews then. In fact, it's always a bad time for them.

Despite all the Jews who perished in the camps, all I heard people saying was, "The kikes went to Tashkent to fight." And if they saw a Jew with military decorations, they called after him, "Kike, where did you buy the medals?" That's when I wrote the Violin Concerto, the Jewish Cycle, and the Fourth Quartet.

Not one of these works could be performed then. They were heard only after Stalin's death. I still can't get used to it. The Fourth Symphony was played twenty-five years after I wrote it. There are compositions that have yet to be performed, and no one knows when they will be heard.

I'm very heartened by the reaction among young people to my feelings on the Jewish question. And I see that the Russian intelligentsia remains intractably opposed to anti-Semitism, and that the many years of trying to enforce anti-Semitism from above have not had any visible results. This holds for the simple folk as well. Recently I went to the Repino station to buy a lemonade. There's a little store, a stall really, that sells everything. There was a line, and a woman in the line, who looked very Jewish and had an accent, began to complain out loud. Why is there such a line, and why are canned peas only sold with something else, and so on.

And the young salesman answered along these lines: "If you're unhappy here, citizeness, why do you go to Israel? There are no lines there and you can probably buy peas just like that."

So Israel was pictured in a positive way, as a country without lines and with canned peas. And that's a dream for the Soviet consumer, and the line looked with interest at the citizeness who could go to a country where there are no lines and more peas than you could want.

That last time I was in America I saw the film *Fiddler on the Roof* and here's what astounded me about it: the primary emotion is homesickness, you sense it in the music, the dancing, the color. Even though the motherland is a so-and-so, a bad, unloving country, more a stepmother than a mother. But people still miss her, and that loneliness made itself felt. I feel lthat the loneliness was the most important aspect. It would be good if Jews could live peacefully and happily in Russia, where they were born. But we must never forget about the dangers of anti-Semitism and keep reminding others of it, because the infection is alive and who knows if it will ever disappear.

That's why I was overjoyed when I read Yevtushenko's "Babi Yar"; the poem astounded me. It astounded thousands of people. Many had heard about Babi Yar, but it took Yevtushenko's poem to make them aware of it. They tried to destroy the memory of Babi Yar, first the German and then the Ukrainian government. But after Yetushenko's poem, it became clear that it would never be forgotten. That is the power of art.

People knew about Babi Yar before Yevtushenko's poem, but they were silent. And when they read the poem, the silence was broken. Art destroys silence.

I know that many will not agree with me and will point out other, more noble aims of art. They'll talk about beauty, grace, and other high qualities. But you won't catch me with that bait. 'Im like Sobakevich in *Dead Souls*: you can sugar-coat a frog, and I still won't put it in my mouth. Zhdanov, a great specialist in the musical arts, also stood fast for beautiful and graceful music. Let anything at all go on around you, but serve high art, and nothing but, at the table.

It's amusing to see how pronouncements on art from people who consider themselves to be in opposite camps correspond. For example: "If music becomes ungainly, ugly, vulgar, it stops satisfying those demands for the sake of which it exists, and it ceases being music."

Now wouldn't any aesthete who campaigns for high art be willing to sign his name to that excerpt? And yet this was said by that brilliant music critic Zhdanov. Both he and the aesthetes are equally against music reminding people about life, about tragedies, about the victims, the dead. Let music be beautiful and graceful and let composers think only about purely musical problems. It'll be quieter that way.

I've always protested harshly against this point of view and I strove for the reverse. I always wanted music to be an active force. That is the Russian tradition.

There is another notable phenomenon that is characteristic of Russia. It is so notable that I would like to dwell on it, it needs to be detailed to make it more understandable. In one of Rimsky-Korsakov's letters I found words to which I have returned many times. They make one think. The words are: "Many things have aged and faded before our eyes and much that seems obsolete I think will eventually seem fresh and strong and eternal, if anything can be."

I'm delighted once more by the soundness and wisdom of that man. Of course we all, while still of sound mind, have our doubts about eternity. I'll be frank: I don't have much faith in eternity.

Shostakovich, Dmitri. *Testimony: The Memoirs of Dmitri Shostakovich* Related to and edited by Solomon Volkov. Translated by Antonina W. Bouis. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1979.

Appendix C: *Babi Yar*

This is the English and Russian text of Yevgeni Yevtushenko's poem *Babi Yar* in its original form. This is the text for Dmitri Shostakovich's first movement of the Thirteenth Symphony.

Над Бабьим Яром памятников нет.
Крутой обрыв, как грубое надгробье.
Мне страшно.
Мне сегодня столько лет,
как самому еврейскому народу.
Мне кажется сейчас -я иудей.
Вот я бреду по древнему Египту.
А вот я, на кресте распятый, гибну,
и до сих пор на мне - следы гвоздей.
Мне кажется, что Дрейфус -это я.

Over Babiy Yar
There are no memorials.
The steep hillside like a rough inscription.
I am frightened.
Today I am as old as the Jewish race.
I seem to myself a Jew at this moment.
I, wandering in Egypt.
I, crucified. I perishing.
Even today the mark of the nails.
I think also of Dreyfus, I am he.

Мещанство -мой доносчик и судья.
Я за решеткой.
Я попал в кольцо.
Затравленный, оплеванный, оболганный.
И дамочки с брюссельскими оборками,
визжа, зонтами тычут мне в лицо.
Мне кажется -я мальчик в Белостоке.
Кровь льется, растекаясь по полам.

The Philistine my judge and my accuser.
Cut off by bars and cornered,
Ringed round, spat at, lied about;
The screaming ladies with the Brussels lace
Poke me in the face with parasols.
I am also a boy in Belostok,
The dropping blood spreads across the floor,
The public-bar heroes are rioting
In an equal stench of garlic and of drink.

Бесчинствуют вожди трактирной стойки
и пахнут водкой с луком пополам.
Я, сапогом отброшенный, бессилен.
Напрасно я погромщиков молю.
Под гогот:
"Бей жидов, спасай Россию!"-
насилует лабазник мать мою.
О, русский мой народ! -
Я знаю -ты
По сущности интернационален.
Но часто те, чьи руки нечисты,
твоим чистейшим именем бряцали.
Я знаю доброту твоей земли.
Как подло,

что, и жилочкой не дрогнув,
антисемиты пышно нарекли
себя "Союзом русского народа"!
Мне кажется -
я - это Анна Франк,
прозрачная, как веточка в апреле.
И я люблю.
И мне не надо фраз.
Мне надо,
чтоб друг в друга мы смотрели.
Как мало можно видеть, обонять!
Нельзя нам листьев
и нельзя нам неба.
Но можно очень много -
это нежно
друг друга в темной комнате обнять.
Сюда идут?
Не бойся — это гулы самой весны -
она сюда идет. Иди ко мне.
Дай мне скорее губы.
Ломают дверь?
Нет - это ледоход...

I have no strength, go spinning from a boot,
Shriek useless prayers that they don't listen to;
With a cackle of "Thrash the kikes and save Russia!"
The corn-chandler is beating up my mother.
I seem to myself like Anna Frank
To be transparent as an April twig
And am in love, I have no need for words,
I need for us to look at one another.
How little we have to see or to smell
Separated from foliage and the sky,
How much, how much in the dark room
Gently embracing each other.
They're coming. Don't be afraid.
The booming and banging of the spring.
It's coming this way. Come to me.
Quickly, give me your lips.
They're battering in the door. Roar of the ice.

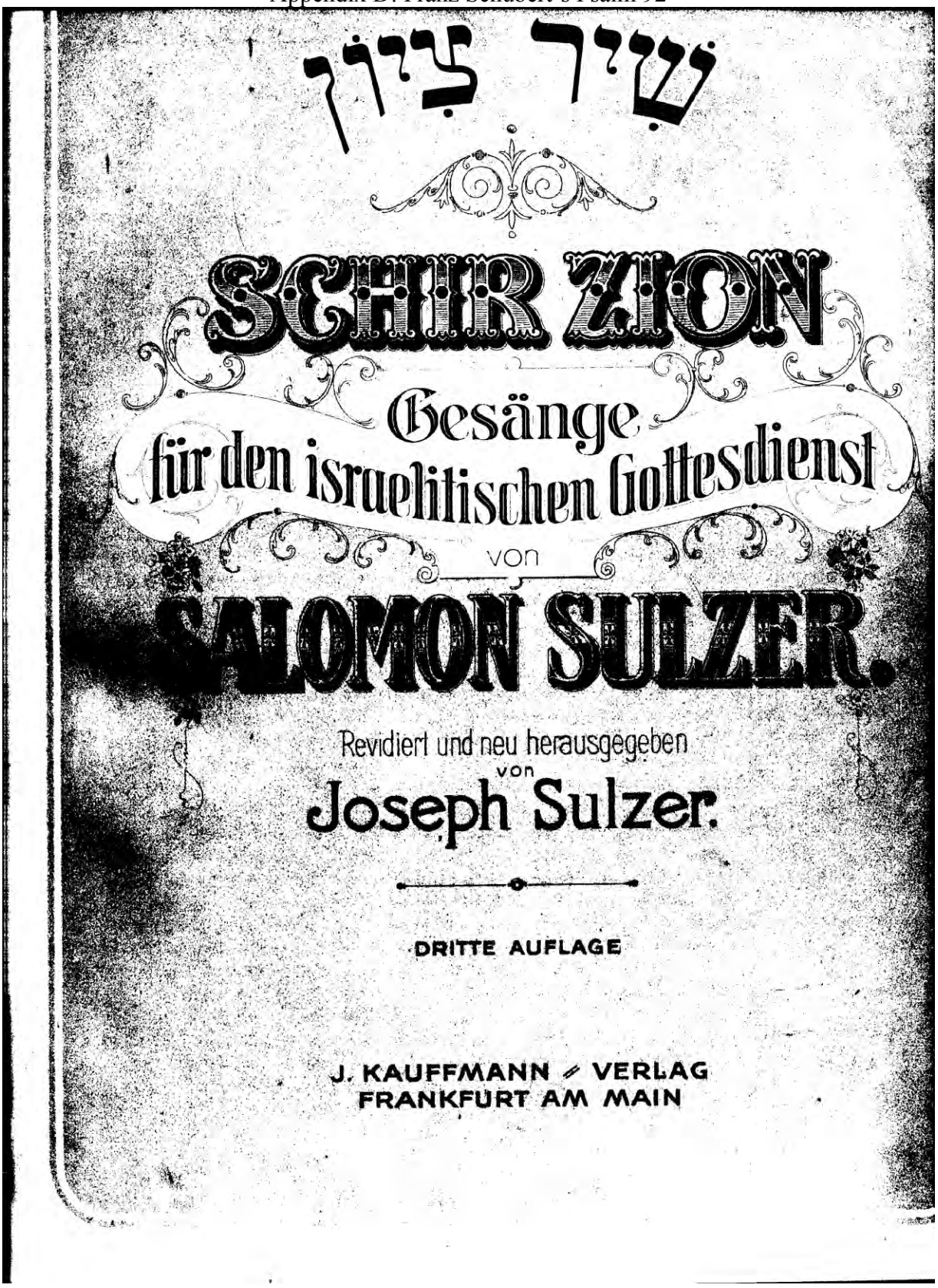
Над Бабьим Яром шелест диких трав.
Деревья смотрят грозно,
по-судейски.
Все молча здесь кричит,
и, шапку сняв,
я чувствую,
как медленно седею.
И сам я,
как сплошной беззвучный крик,
над тысячами тысяч погребенных.
Я -
каждый здесь расстрелянный старик.
Я -
каждый здесь расстрелянный ребенок.
Ничто во мне
про это не забудет!
"Интернационал"
пусть прогремит,
когда навеки похоронен будет
последний на земле антисемит.
Еврейской крови нет в крови моей.
Но ненавистен злобой заскорузлой

Over Babiy Yar
Rustle of the wild grass.
The trees look threatening, look like judges.
And everything is one silent cry.
Taking my hat off
I feel myself slowly going grey.
And I am one silent cry
Over the many thousands of the buried;
Am every old man killed here,
Every child killed here.
O my Russian people, I know you.
Your nature is international.
Foul hands rattle your clean name.
I know the goodness of my country.
How horrible it is that pompous title
The anti-Semites calmly call themselves,
Society of the Russian race.
No part of me can ever forget it.
When the last anti-Semite on the earth
Is buried for ever
Let the International ring out.
No Jewish blood runs among my blood
But I am as bitterly and hardly hated

я всем антисемитам,	By every anti-Semite
как еврей, и потому -	As if I were a Jew. By this
я настоящий русский!	I am a Russian.

Yevtushenko, Yevgeni. “Babiy Yar” from *Selected Poems: Yevtushenko*. Translated by Robin Milner-Guilland and Peter Levi. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1962. 82-84.

Appendix D: Franz Schubert's Psalm 92

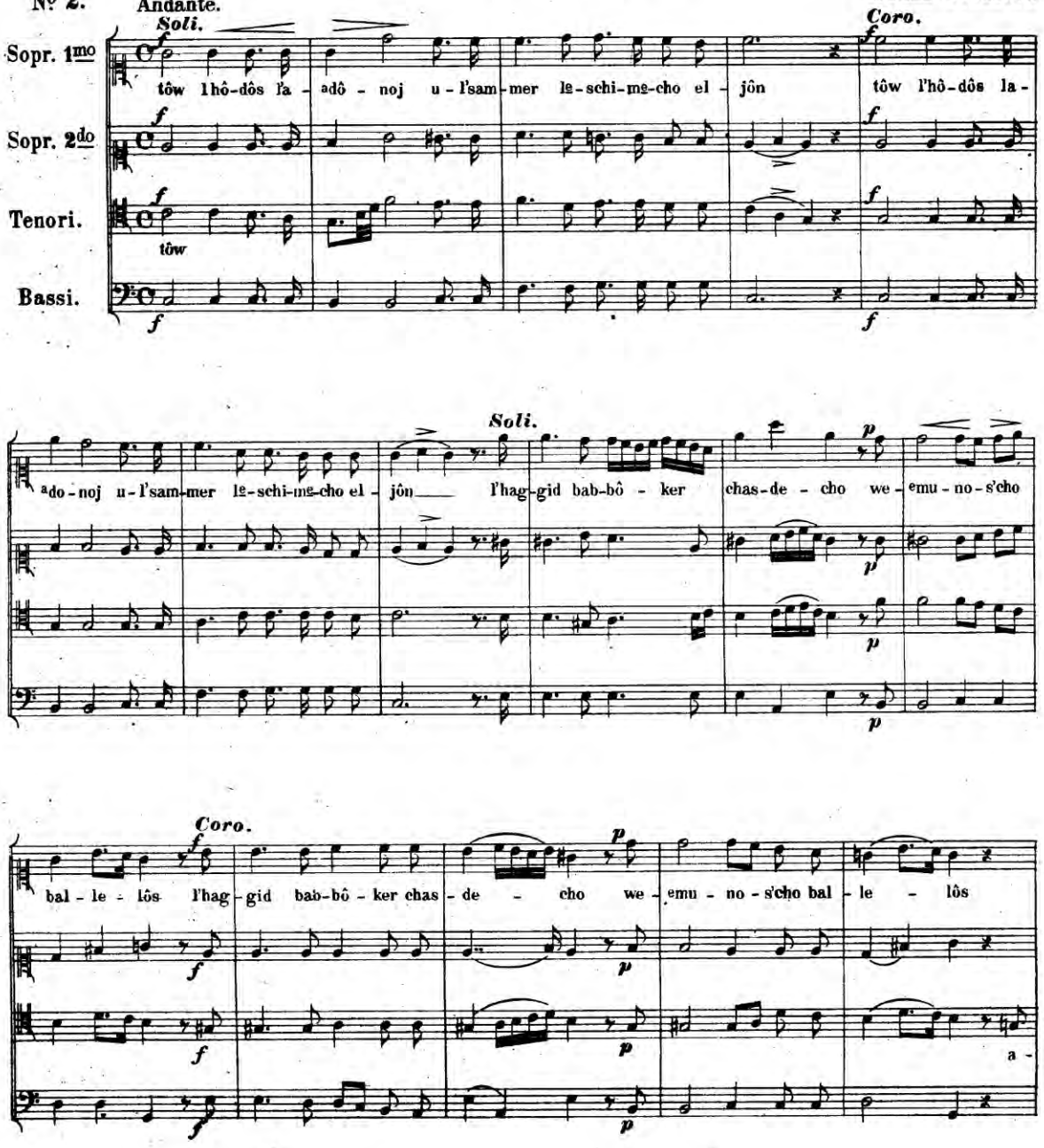


(✱ טוב להודות Psalm 92. 2. 10.

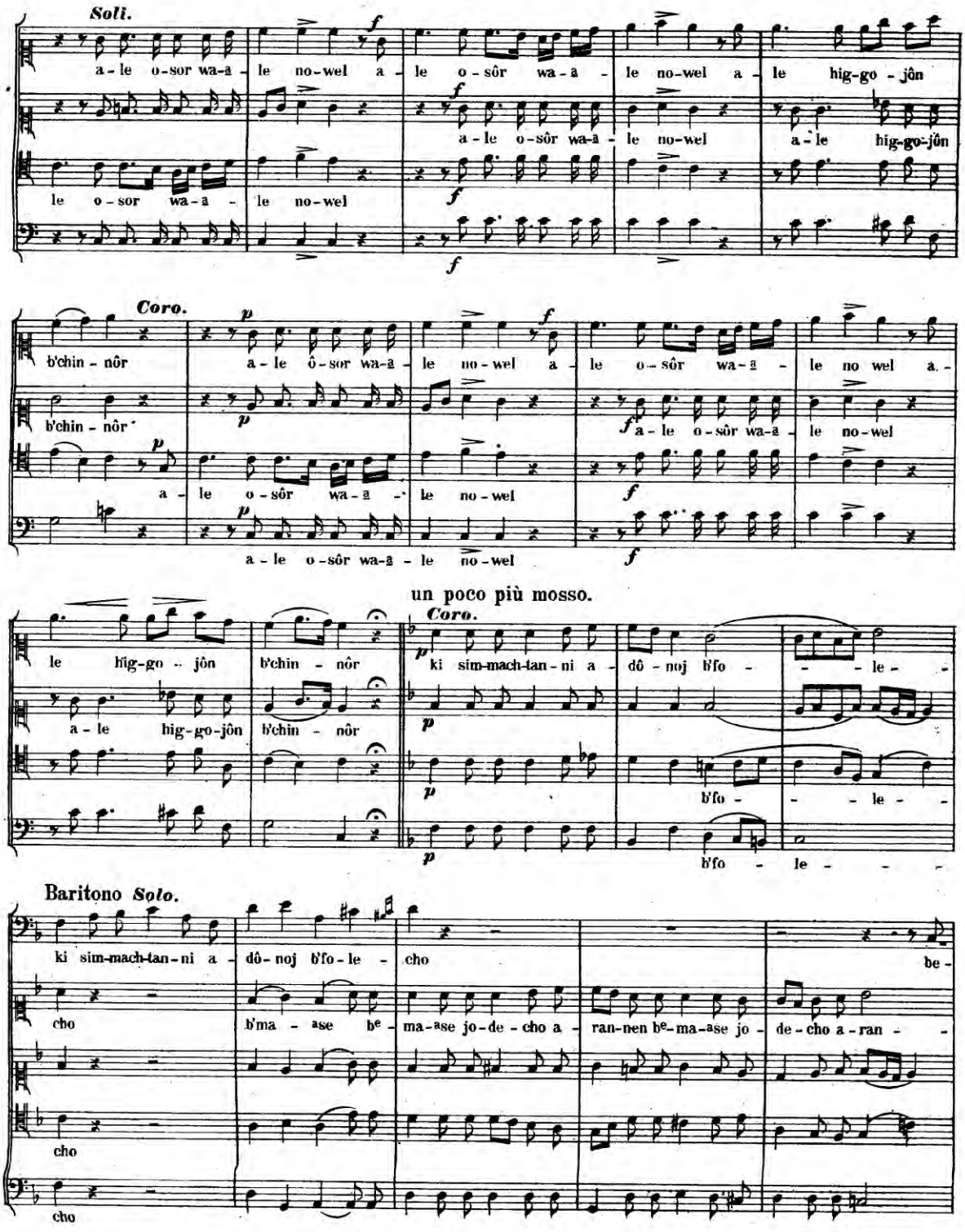
Sch.Z.I.
Nº 2.

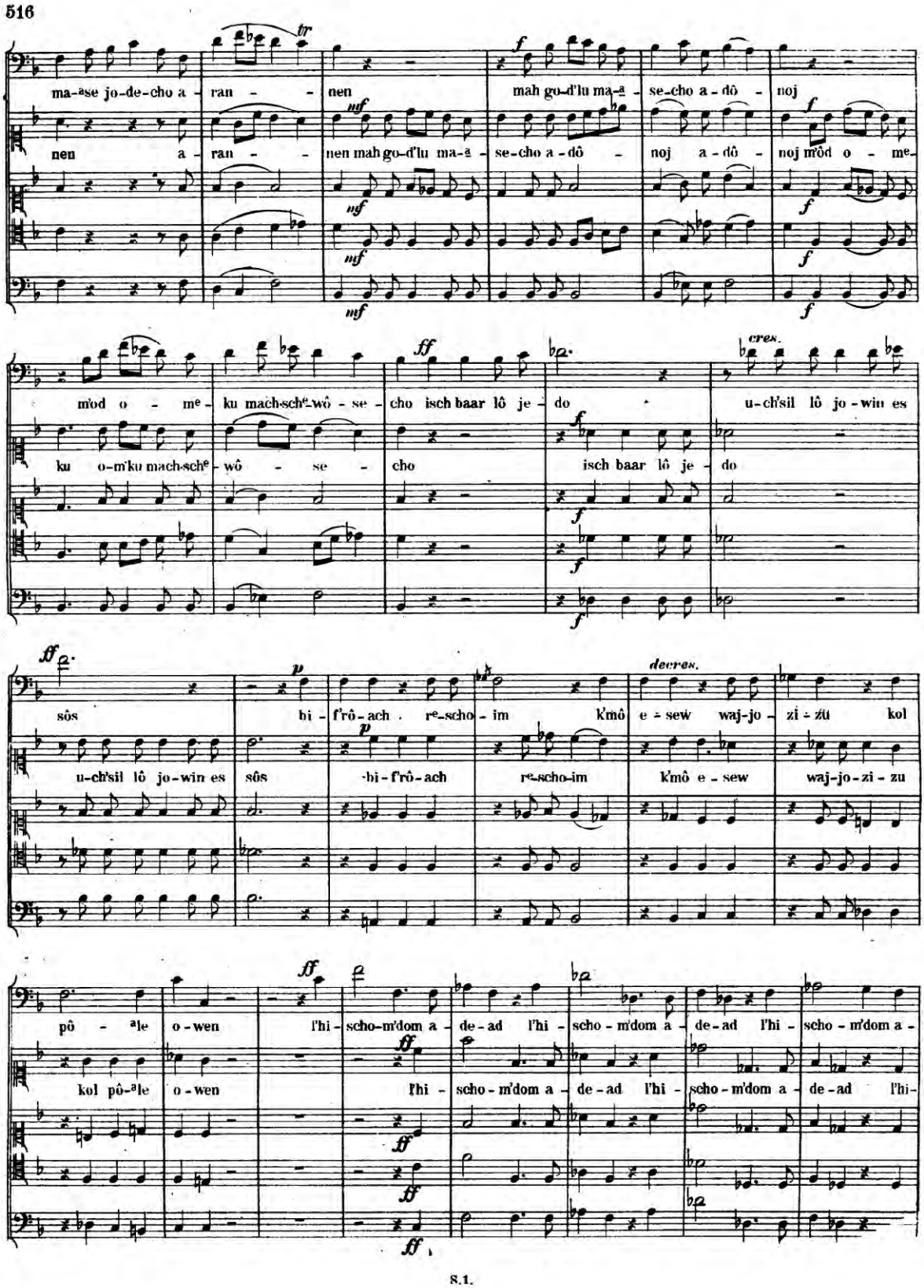
Andante.

Franz Schubert.

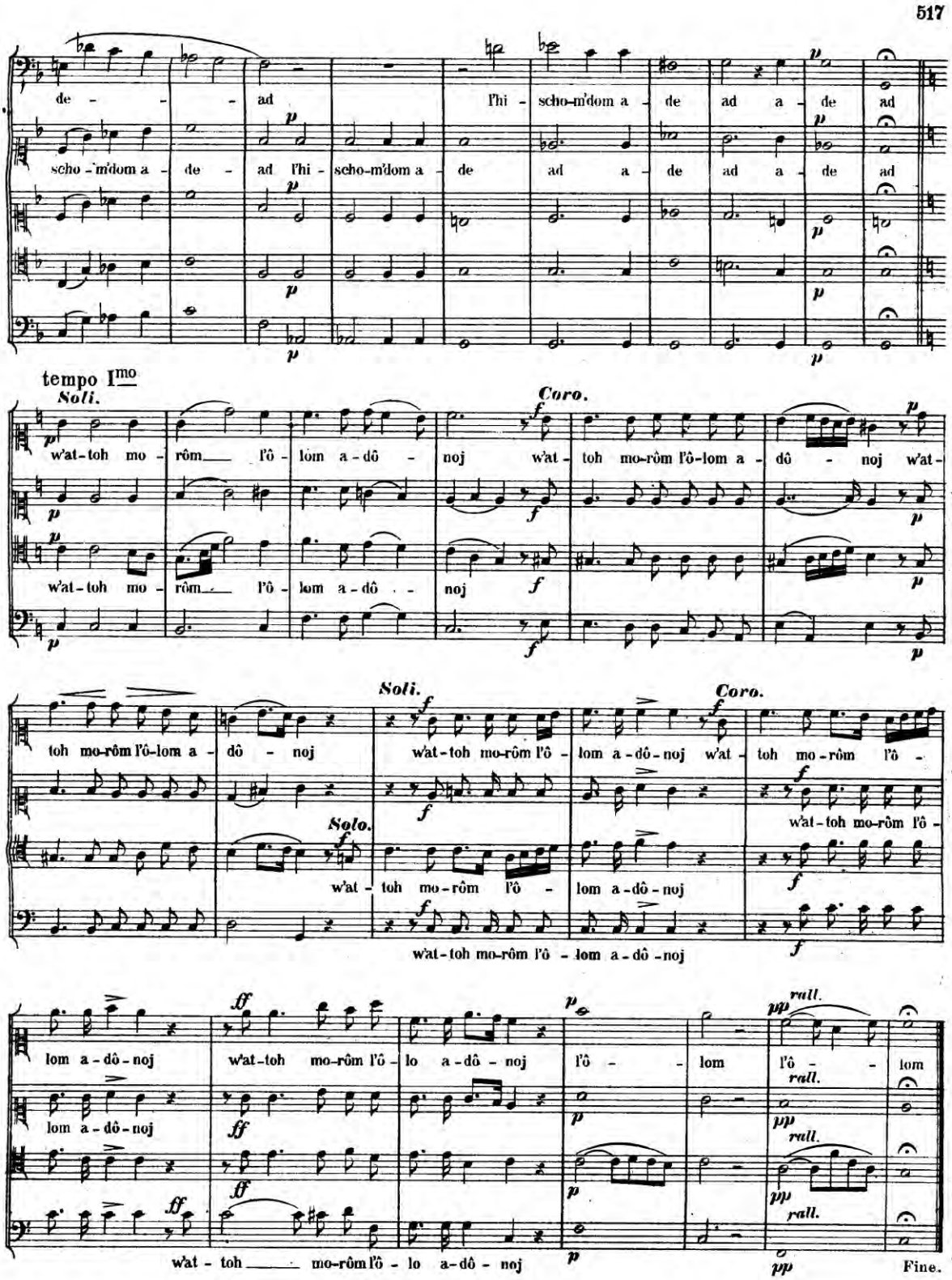


(✱ *bei besonders feierlichen Gelegenheiten.*


Soli.
a - le o - sor wa - â - le no - wel a - le o - sôr wa - â - le no - wel a - le hig - go - jôn
a - le o - sôr wa - â - le no - wel a - le hig - go - jôn
le o - sor wa - â - le no - wel
Coro.
b'chin - nôr a - le ô - sor wa - â - le no - wel a - le o - sôr wa - â - le no wel a -
b'chin - nôr
a - le o - sôr wa - â - le no - wel
a - le o - sôr wa - â - le no - wel
a - le o - sôr wa - â - le no - wel
un poco più mosso.
Coro.
le hig - go - jôn b'chin - nôr
a - le hig - go - jôn b'chin - nôr
ki sim - mach - tan - ni a - dô - noj b'fo - - - le - -
b'fo - - - le - -
b'fo - le - - -
Baritono Solo.
ki sim - mach - tan - ni a - dô - noj b'fo - le - cho be -
cho
b'ma - ase be - ma - ase jo - de - cho a - ran - nen be - ma - ase jo - de - cho a - ran - -
cho
cho

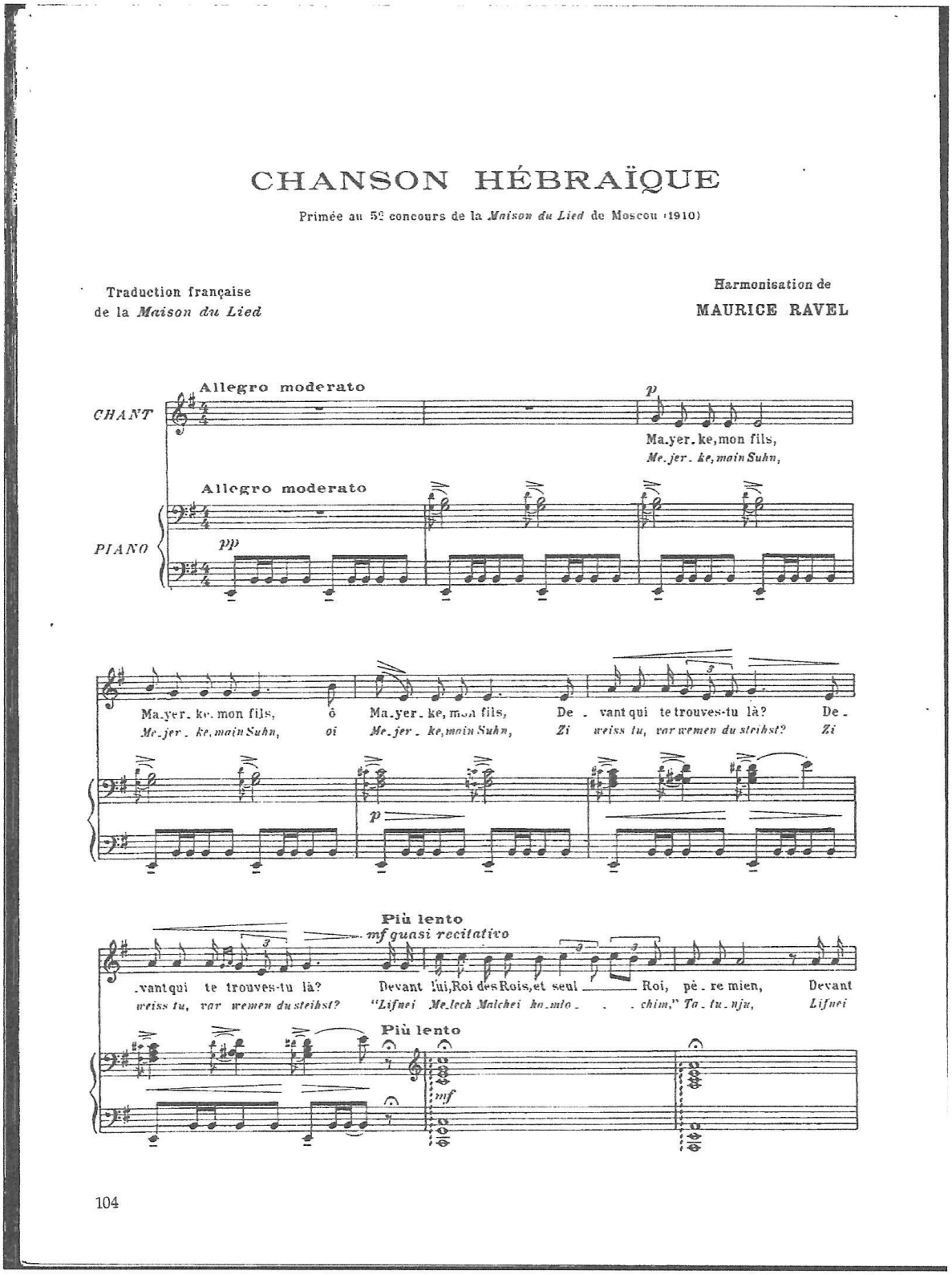

516
ma-ase jo-de-cho a - ran - - nen mah go-d'lu ma-ase-cho a-dô - noj
nen a - ran - - nen mah go-d'lu ma-ase-cho a-dô - noj a-dô - noj m'ôd o - me-
m'od o - me- ku mach-sche-wô - se - cho isch baar lô je - do u-ch'sil lô jo-win es
ku o-m'ku mach-sche- wô - se - cho isch baar lô je - do
sôs bi - f'rô-ach re-scho - im k'mô e - sew waj-jo - zi - zu kol
u-ch'sil lô jo-win es sôs -bi-f'rô-ach re-scho-im k'mô e - sew waj-jo-zi - zu
pô - ale o-wen l'hi - scho-m'dom a - de-ad l'hi - scho - m'dom a - de-ad l'hi - scho - m'dom a -
kol pô-ale o-wen l'hi - scho - m'dom a - de-ad l'hi - scho - m'dom a - de-ad l'hi-

S.1.


517
de - - - ad l'hi - scho-m'dom a - de ad a - de ad
scho - m'dom a - de - ad l'hi - scho-m'dom a - de ad a - de ad a - de ad
tempo I^mo
Soli.
Coro.
w'at-toh mo - rôm l'ô - lom a-dô - noj w'at - toh mo-rôm l'ô-lom a - dô - noj w'at-
w'at-toh mo - rôm l'ô - lom a-dô - noj
Soli.
Coro.
toh mo-rôm l'ô-lom a - dô - noj w'at-toh mo-rôm l'ô - lom a-dô-noj w'at - toh mo-rôm l'ô -
Solo.
w'at - toh mo-rôm l'ô - lom a-dô-noj
w'at-toh mo-rôm l'ô - lom a-dô-noj
lom a-dô-noj w'at-toh mo-rôm l'ô - lo a-dô-noj l'ô - - lom l'ô - - lom
lom a-dô-noj
rall.
w'at - toh mo-rôm l'ô - lo a-dô - noj
Fine.

S. t.

Appendix E: Maurice Ravel's "Chanson hébraïque"



CHANSON HÉBRAÏQUE

Primée au 5e concours de la *Maison du Lied* de Moscou (1910)

Traduction française
de la *Maison du Lied*

Harmonisation de
MAURICE RAVEL

Allegro moderato

CHANT

Ma.yer.ke, mon fils,
Me.jer.ke, main Suhn,

Allegro moderato

PIANO

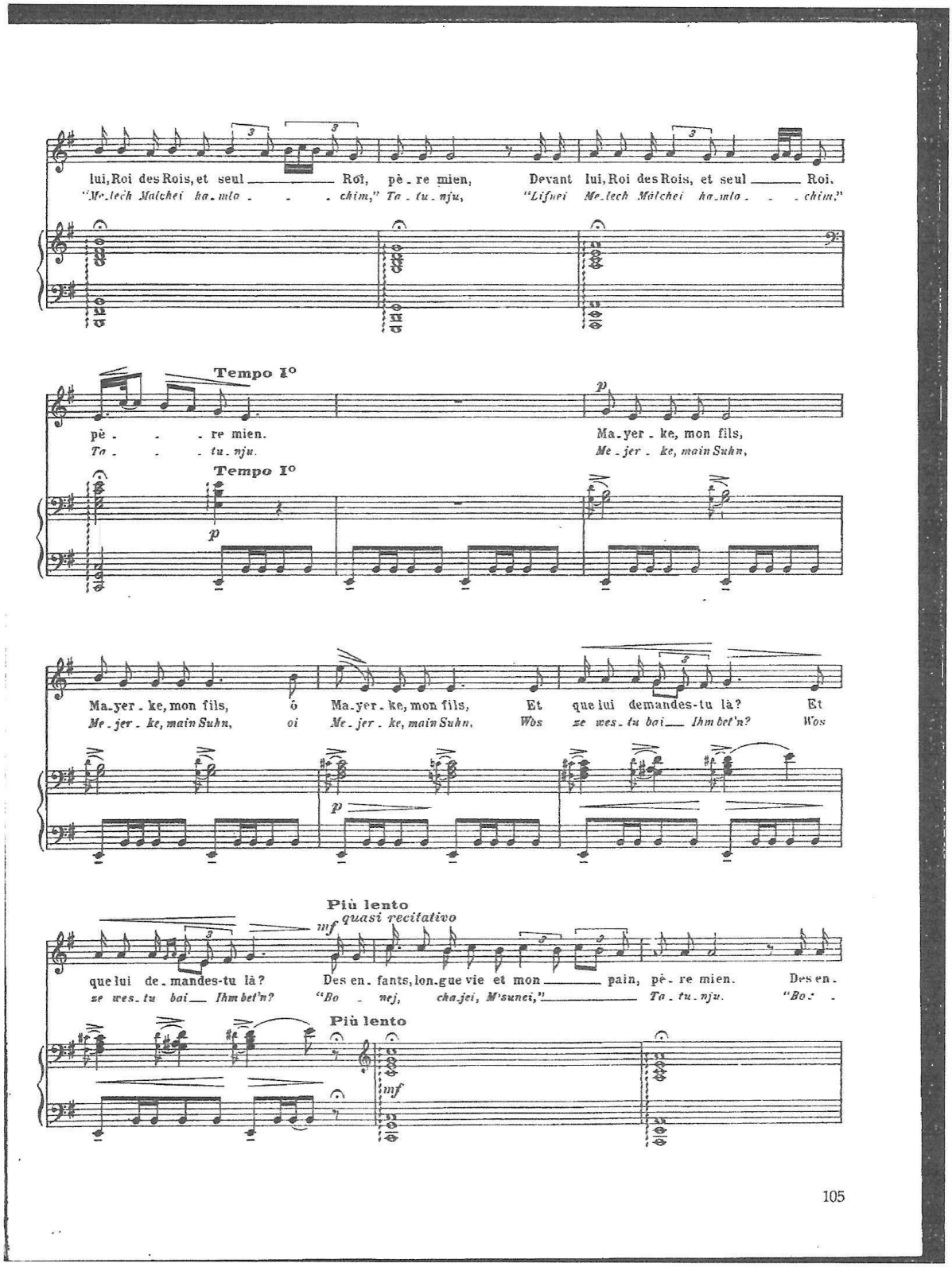
Ma.yer.ke, mon fils, ô Ma.yer.ke, mon fils, De.vant qui te trouves-tu là? De.
Me.jer.ke, main Suhn, oi Me.jer.ke, main Suhn, Zi weiss tu, var wemen du steihst? Zi

Più lento
mf quasi recitativo

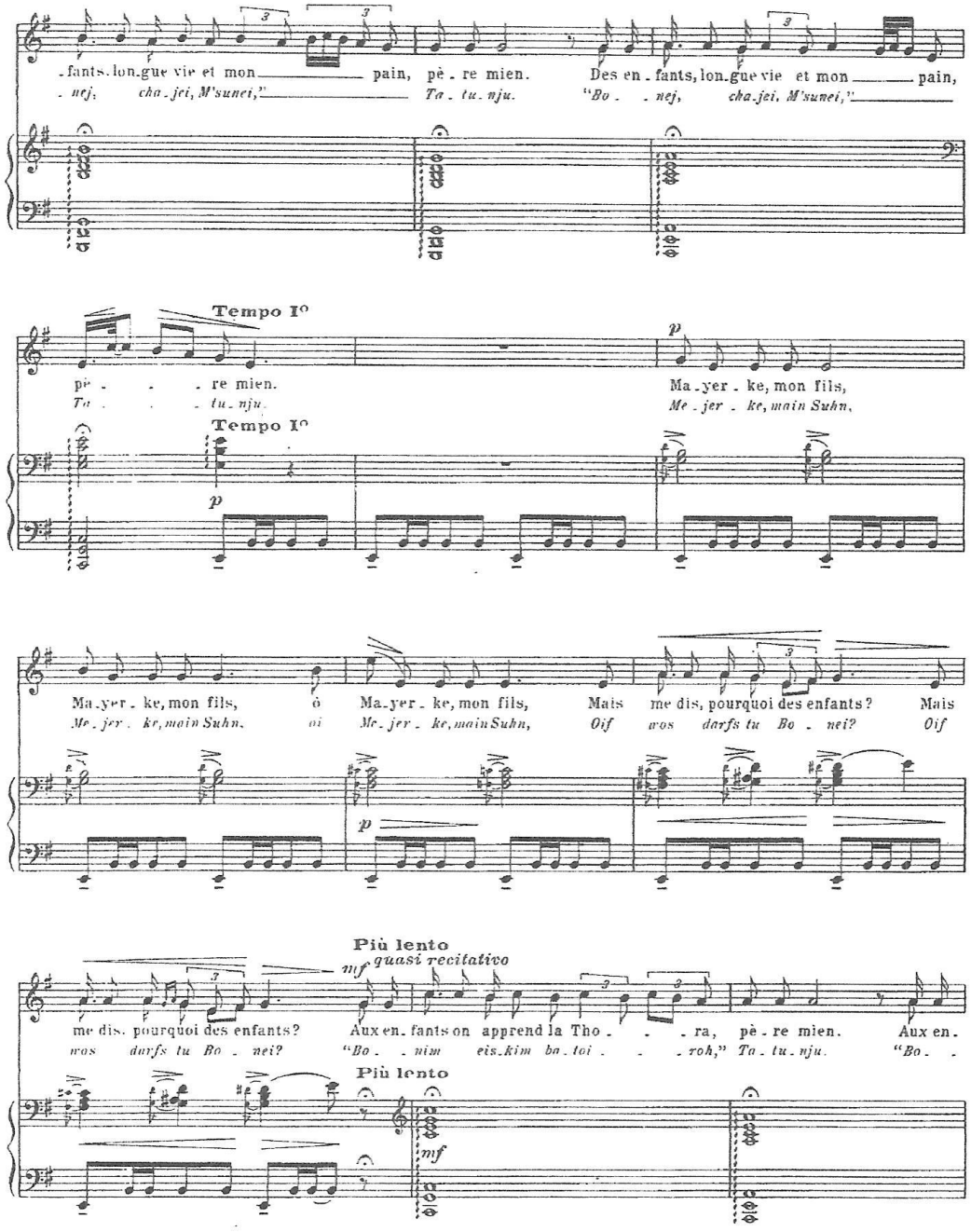
.vant qui te trouves-tu là? Devant l'lui, Roi des Rois, et seul Roi, pè.re mien, Devant
weiss tu, var wemen du steihst? "Lifnei Me.lech Malchei ha.mlo. . . chim," Ta.tu.nju, Lifnei

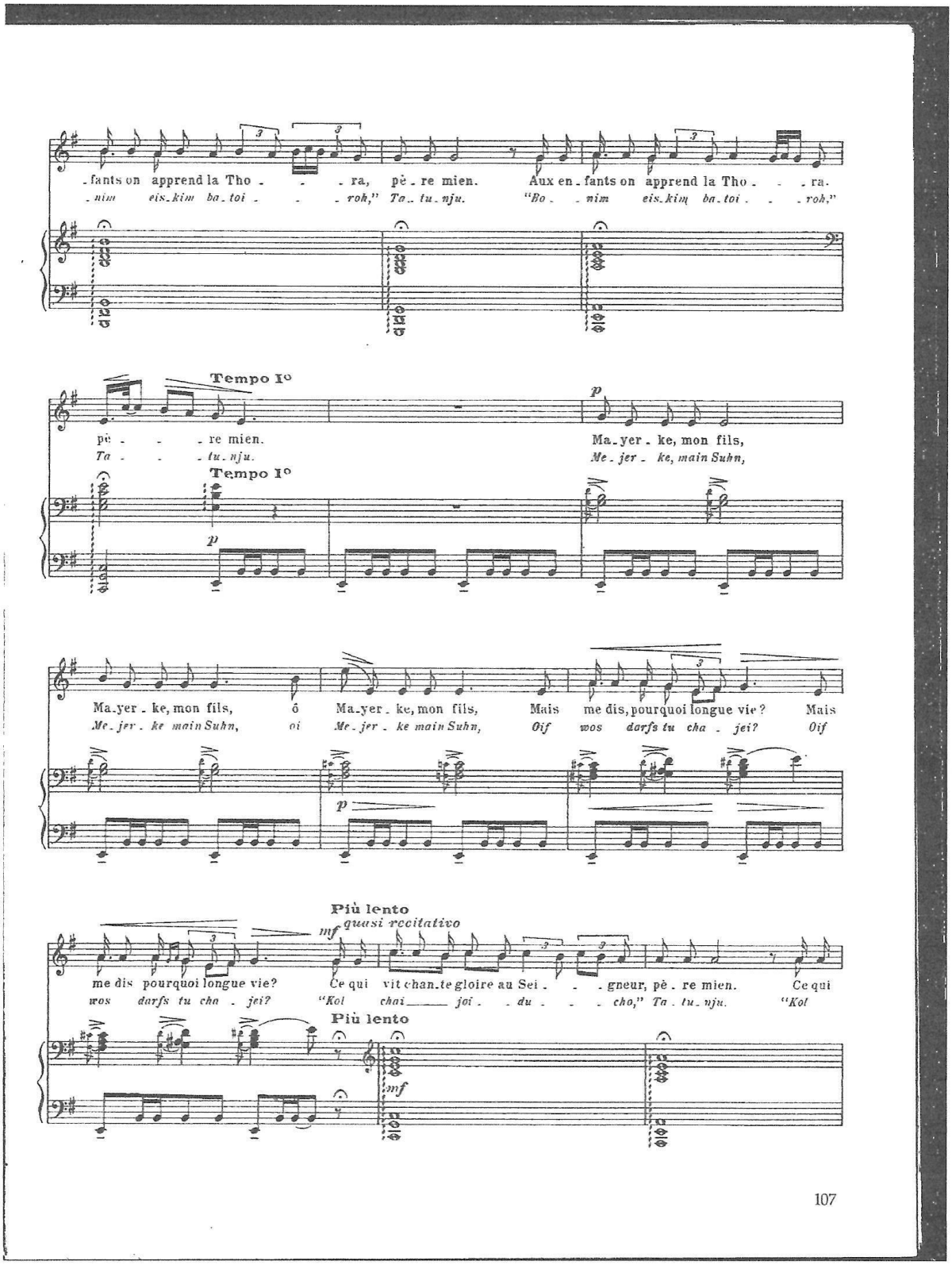
Più lento

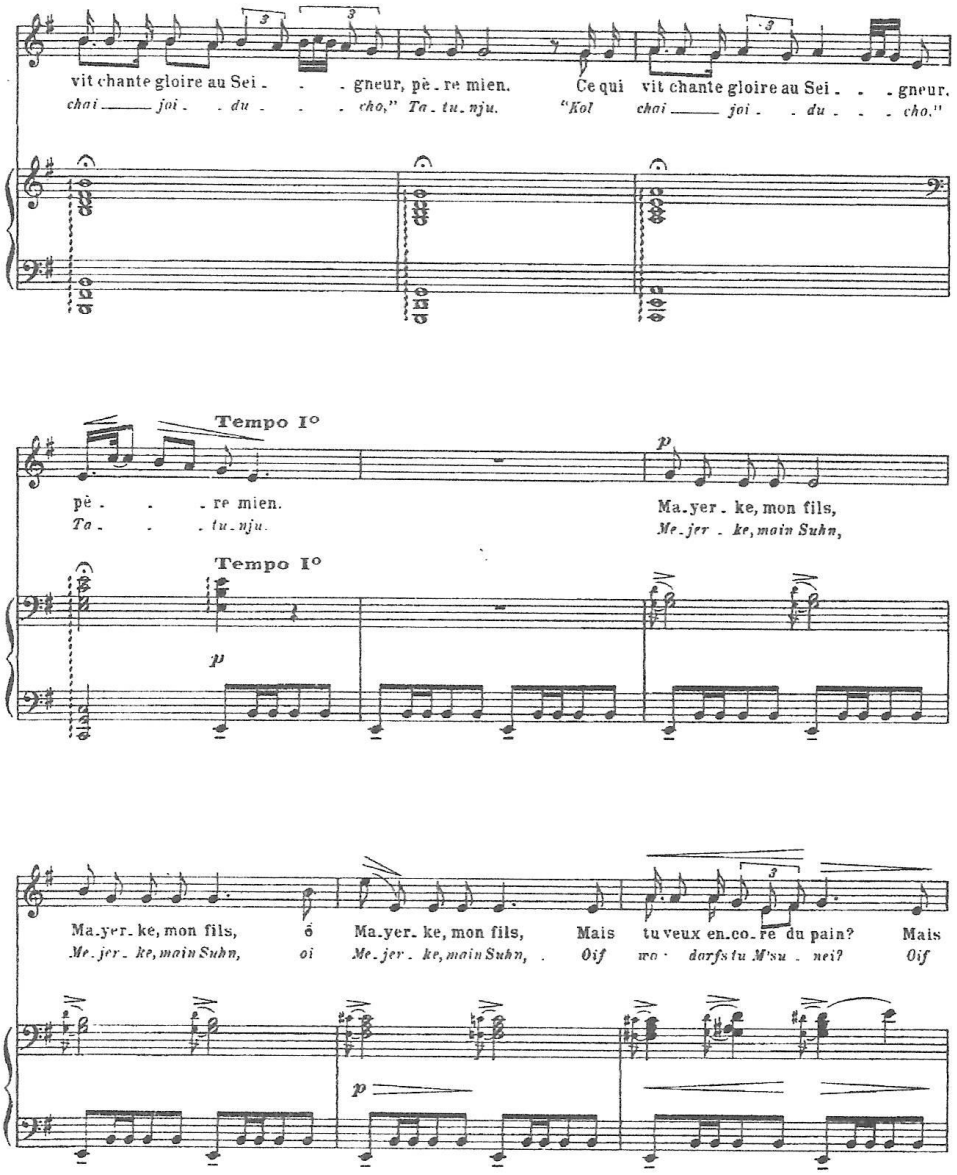
mf

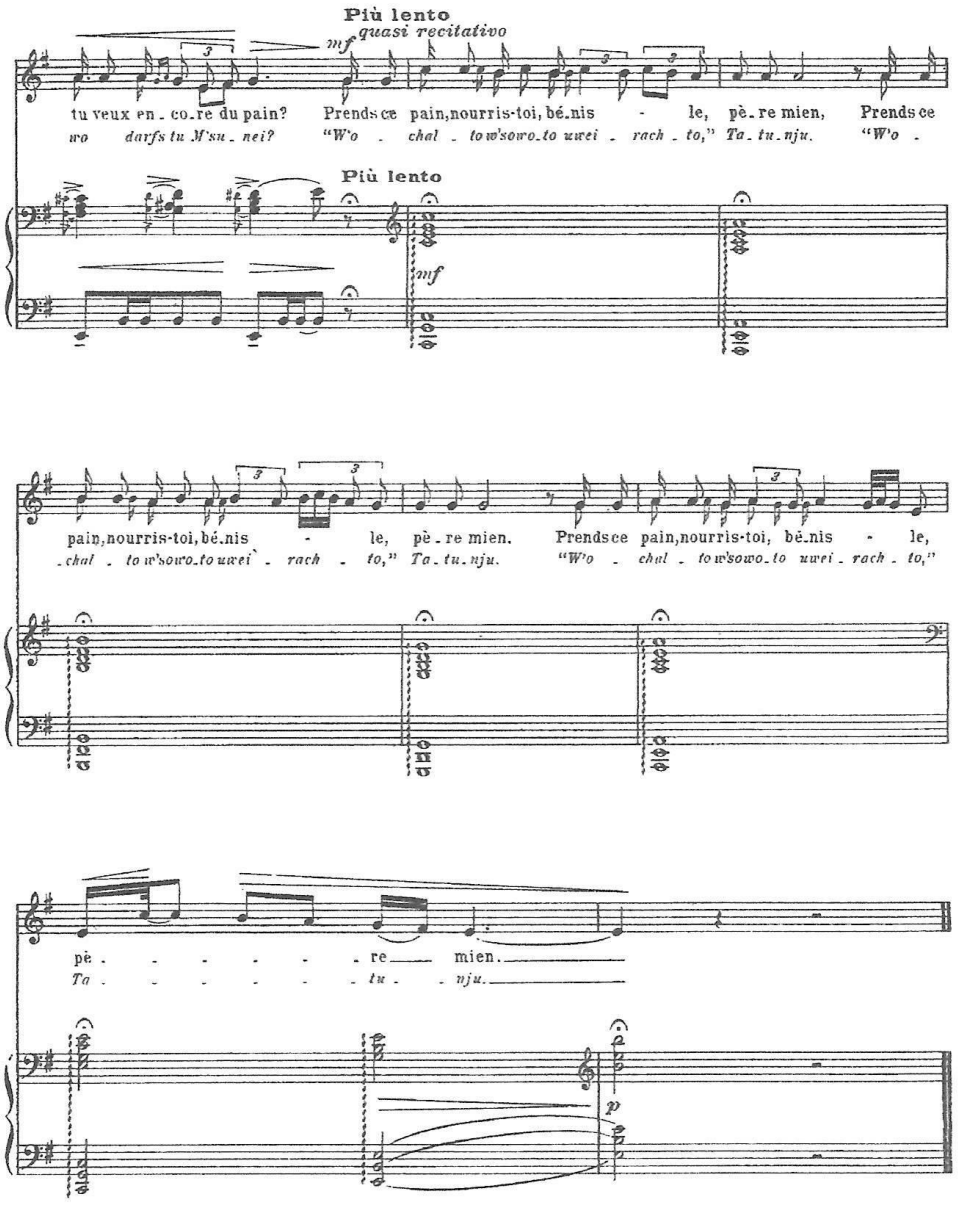

lui, Roi des Rois, et seul Roî, pè - re mien, Devant lui, Roi des Rois, et seul Roi.
"Me-lech Malchei ha-mlo - - - chim," Ta - tu - nju, "Lifnei Me-lech Malchei ha-mlo - - - chim,"
Tempo I°
pè - - - re mien.
Ta - - - tu - nju.
Ma-yer - ke, mon fils,
Me - jer - ke, main Suhn,
Tempo I°
p
Ma-yer - ke, mon fils, ô Ma-yer - ke, mon fils, Et que lui demandes-tu là? Et
Me - jer - ke, main Suhn, oi Me - jer - ke, main Suhn, Wos ze wes - tu bai Ihm bet'n? Wos
p
Più lento
quasi recitativo
mf
que lui de - mandes-tu là? Des en - fants, lon-gue vie et mon pain, pè - re mien. Des en -
ze wes - tu bai Ihm bet'n? "Bo - nej, cha-jei, M'sunei," Ta - tu - nju. "Bo - -
Più lento
mf

105

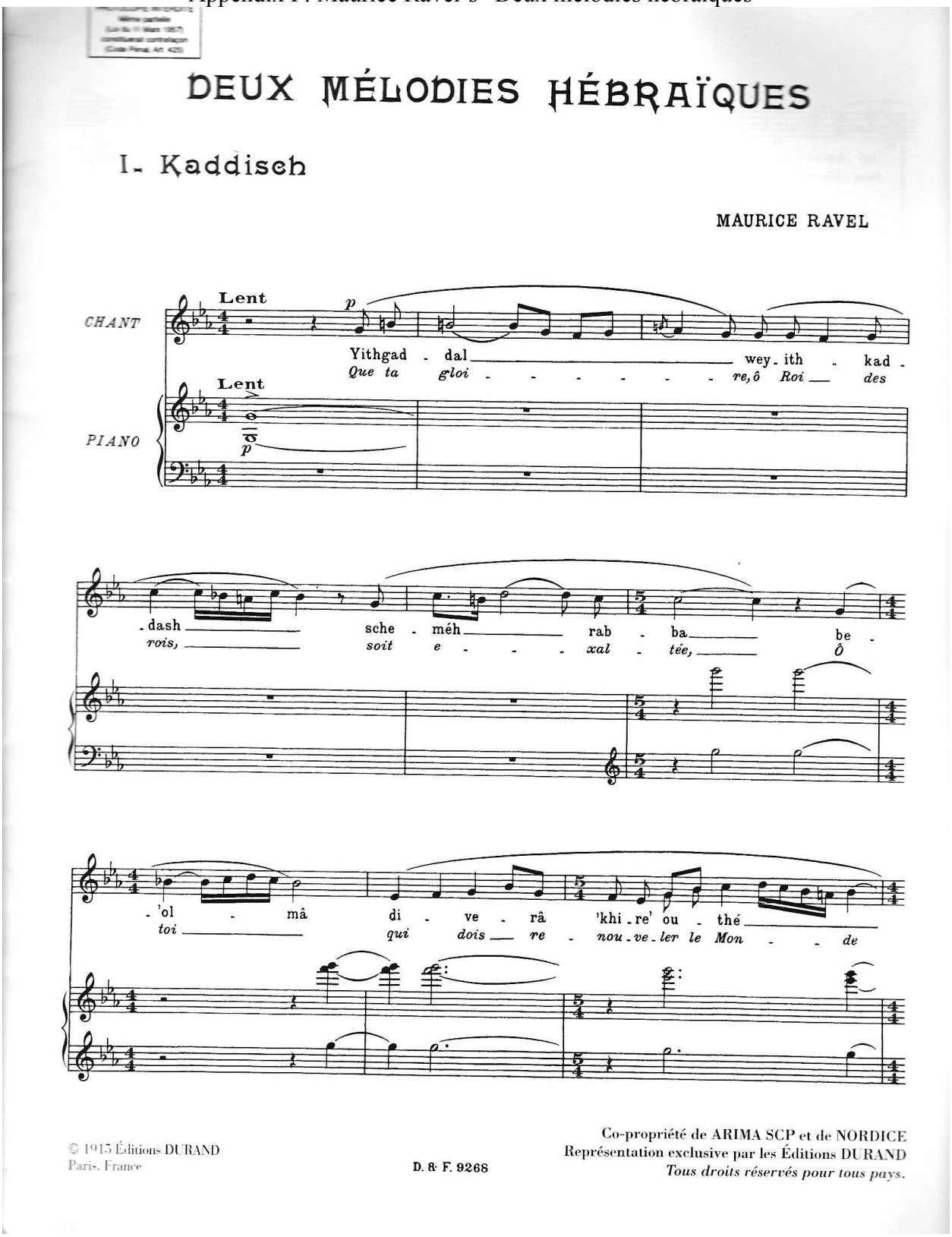

fants. lon.gue vie et mon pain, pè. re mien. Des en. fants, lon.gue vie et mon pain,
. nej, cha. jei, M'sunei," Ta. tu. nju. "Bo. . nej, cha. jei, M'sunei,"
Tempo I°
pè. re mien.
Ta. tu. nju.
Ma. yer. ke, mon fils,
Me. jer. ke, main Suhn,
Tempo I°
p
Ma. yer. ke, mon fils, ó Ma. yer. ke, mon fils, Mais me dis, pourquoi des enfants? Mais
Me. jer. ke, main Suhn, oi Me. jer. ke, main Suhn, Oif wos darfs tu Bo. nei? Oif
Più lento
mf quasi recitativo
me dis, pourquoi des enfants? Aux en. fants on apprend la Tho. ra, pè. re mien. Aux en.
wos darfs tu Bo. nei? "Bo. nim eis. kim ba. toi. roh," Ta. tu. nju. "Bo.
Più lento
mf

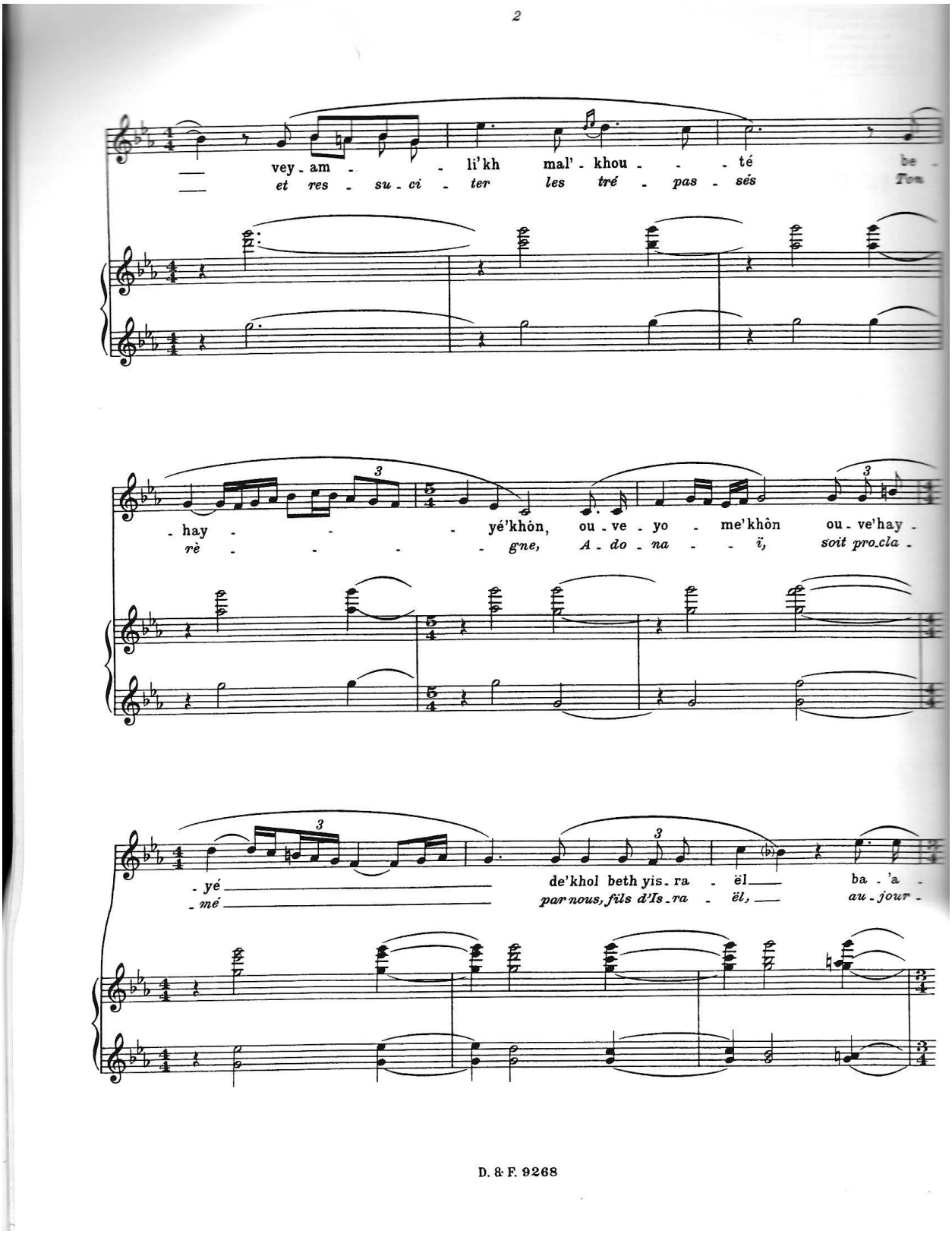

fants on apprend la Tho - - - ra, pè - re mien. Aux en - fants on apprend la Tho - - - ra.
- nim eis - kim ba - toi - - - roh," Ta - tu - nju. "Bo - - nim eis - kim ba - toi - - - roh,"
Tempo I°
p
pè - - - re mien.
Ta - - - tu - nju.
Ma - yer - ke, mon fils,
Me - jer - ke, main Suhn,
Tempo I°
p
Ma - yer - ke, mon fils, ô Ma - yer - ke, mon fils, Mais me dis, pourquoi longue vie? Mais
Me - jer - ke main Suhn, oi Me - jer - ke main Suhn, Oif wos darfs tu cha - jei? Oif
p
Più lento
mf quasi recitativo
me dis pourquoi longue vie? Ce qui vit chan - te gloire au Sei - - - gneur, pè - re mien. Ce qui
wos darfs tu cha - jei? "Kol chai joi - du - - - cho," Ta - tu - nju. "Kol
Più lento
mf

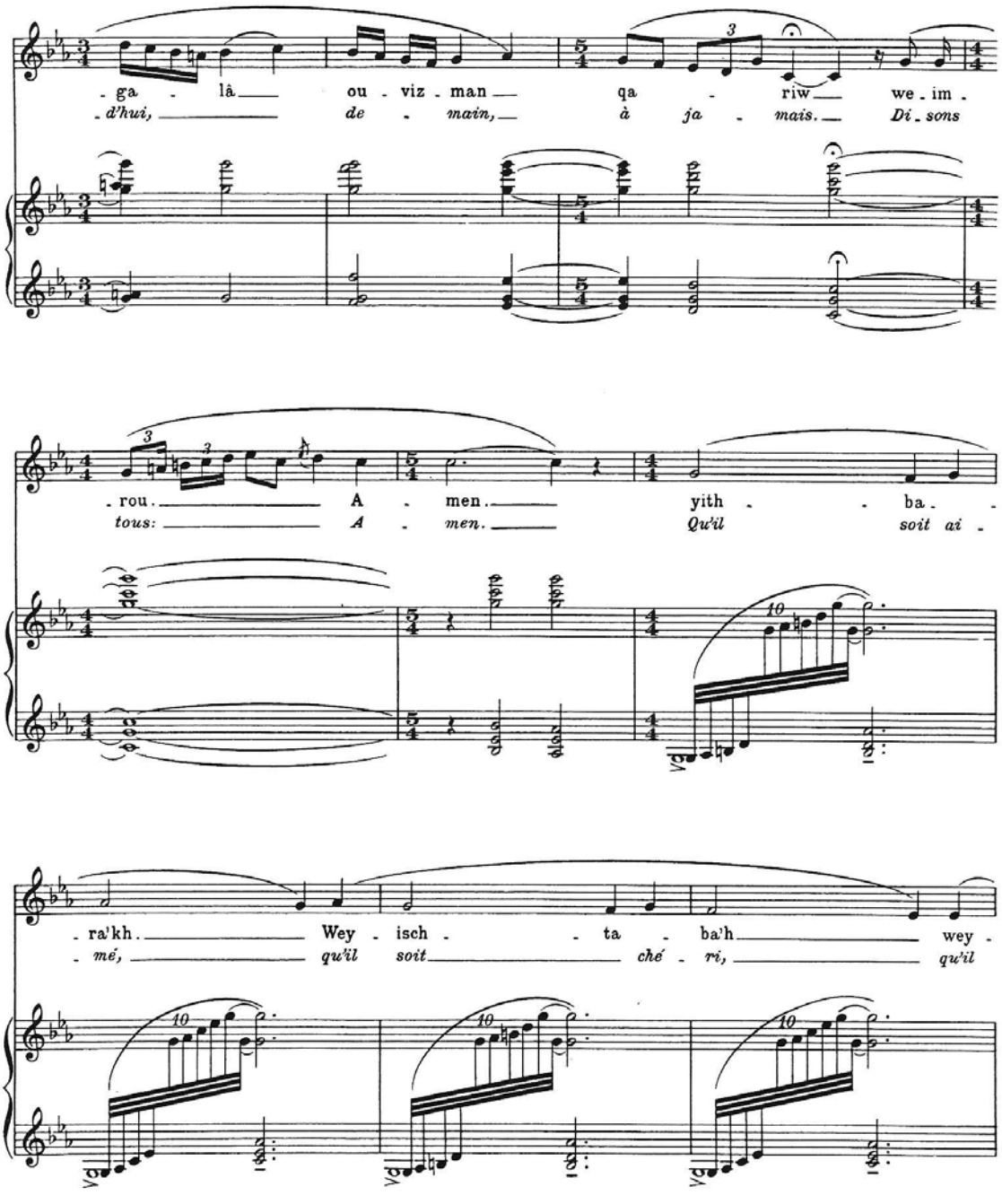

vit chante gloire au Sei - - - gneur, pè - re mien. Ce qui vit chante gloire au Sei - - - gneur.
chai — joi - - du - - - cho," Ta - tu - nju. "Kol chai — joi - - du - - - cho."
Tempo I°
p
pè - - - re mien.
Ta - - - tu - nju.
Ma - yer - ke, mon fils,
Me - jer - ke, main Suhn,
Tempo I°
p
Ma - yer - ke, mon fils, ô Ma - yer - ke, mon fils, Mais tu veux en - co - re du pain? Mais
Me - jer - ke, main Suhn, oi Me - jer - ke, main Suhn, Oif wo - darfs tu M'su - nei? Oif
p

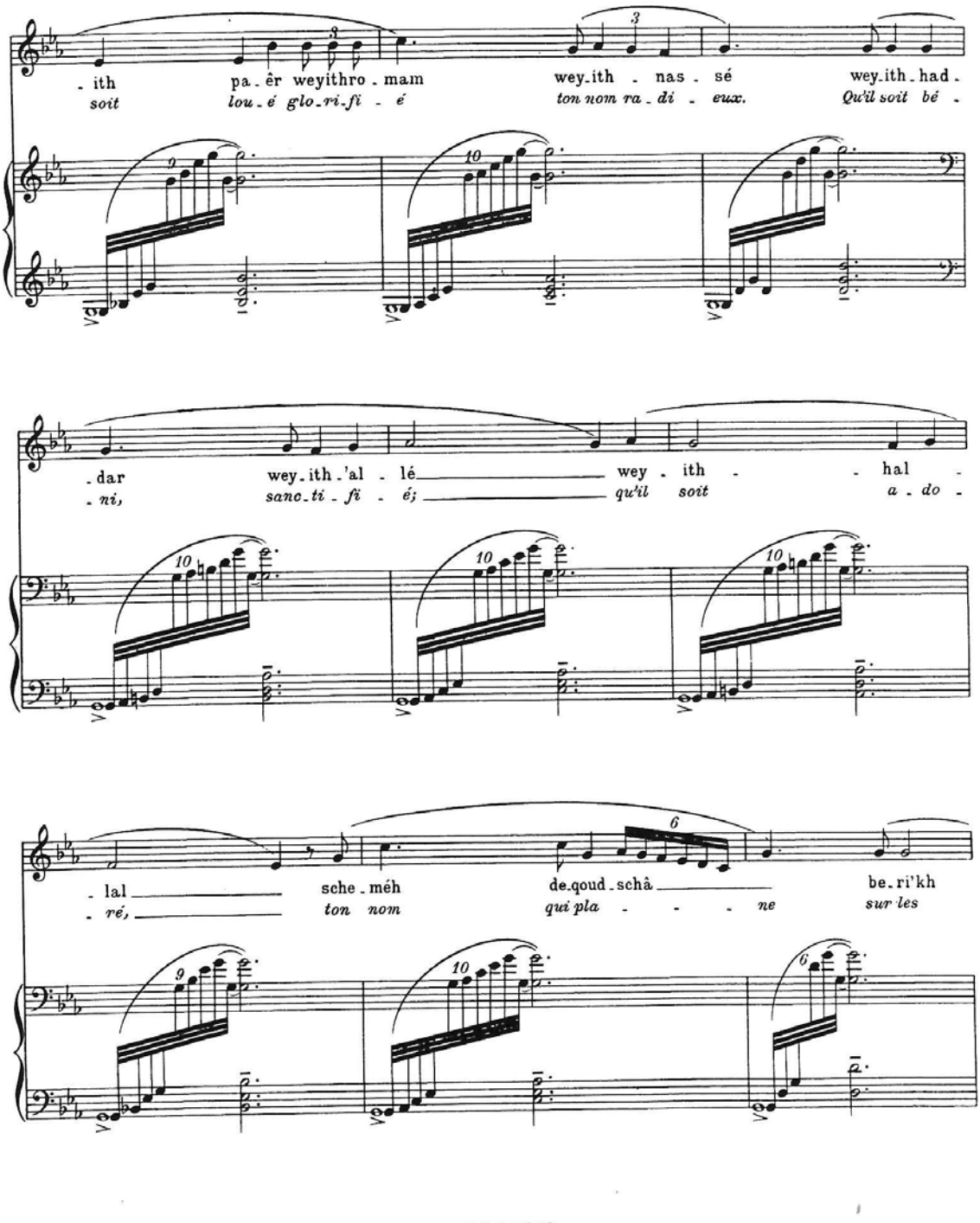

Più lento
quasi recitativo
mf
tu veux en - co-re du pain? Prends ce pain, nourris-toi, bé-nis - le, pè-re mien, Prends ce
wo darfs tu M'su - nei? "W'o - chal - tow'sowo-to uwei - rach - to," Ta-tu-nju. "W'o -
Più lento
mf
pain, nourris-toi, bé-nis - le, pè-re mien. Prends ce pain, nourris-toi, bé-nis - le,
-chal - tow'sowo-to uwei - rach - to," Ta-tu-nju. "W'o - chal - tow'sowo-to uwei - rach - to,"
pè - - - - - re mien.
Ta - - - - - tu - nju.
p

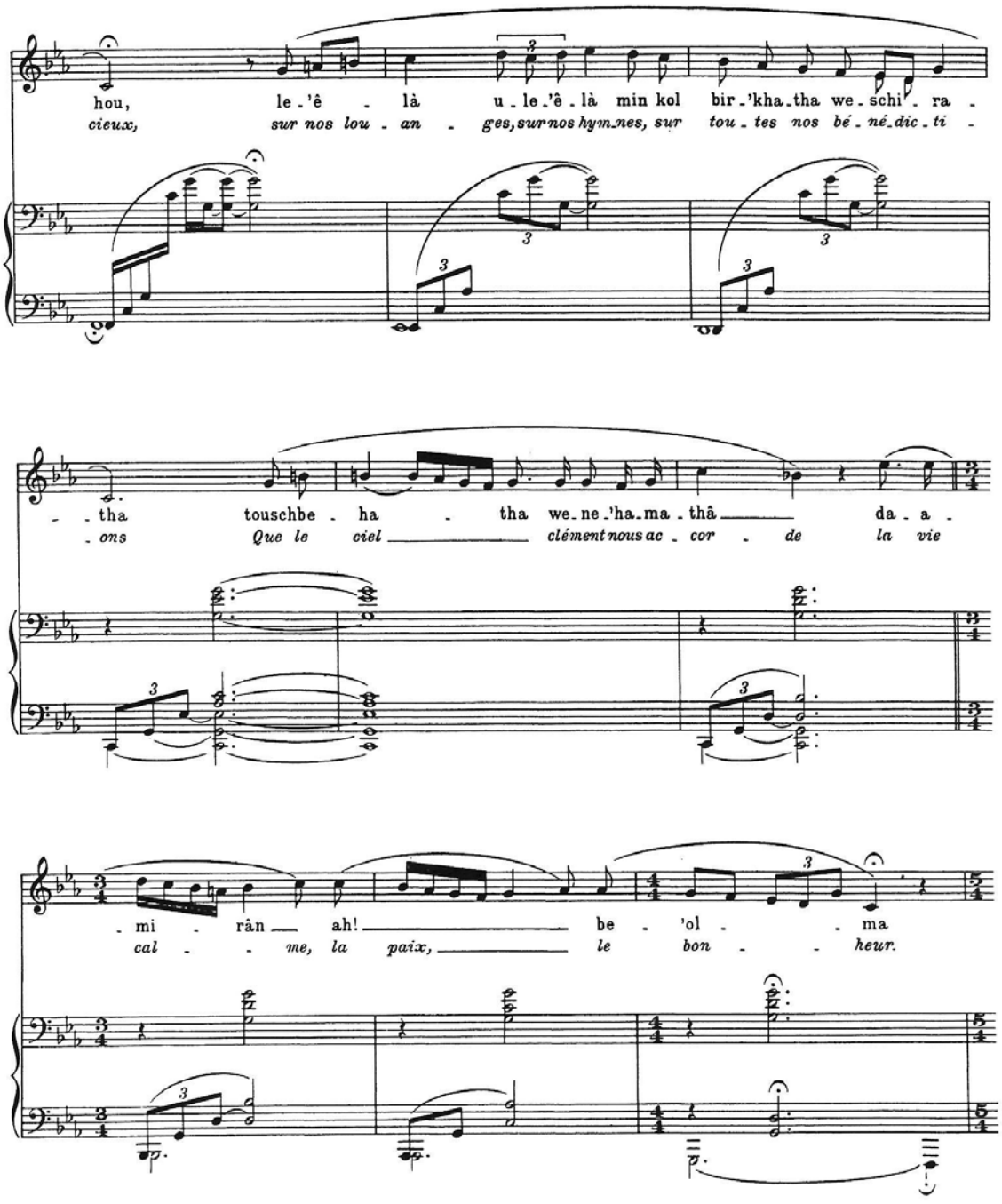
Appendix F: Maurice Ravel's "Deux mélodies hébraïques"

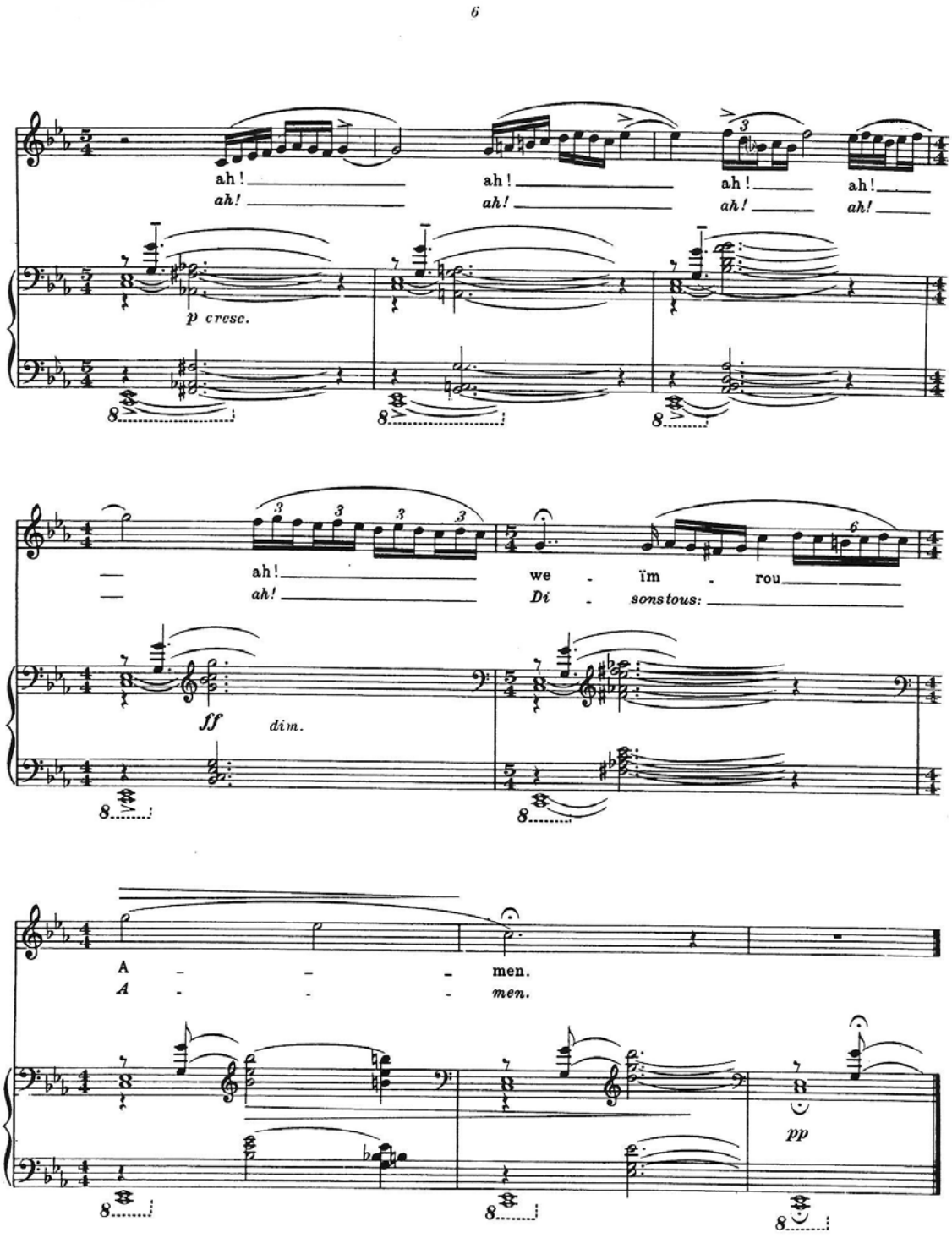



2
vey - am - - - li'kh mal' - khou - - - té be -
et res - su - ci - ter les tré - pas - sés Ton
- hay - - - - yé'khôn, ou - ve - yo - me'khôn ou - ve'hay -
rè - - - - gne, A - do - na - ï, soit pro-cla -
- yé
- mé
de'khol beth yis - ra - ël ba - 'a -
par nous, fils d'Is - ra - ël, au - jour -


- ga - là ou - viz - man qa - riw we - im -
- d'hui, de - main, à ja - mais. Di - sons
- rou - A - men yith - - ba - -
tous: A - men. Qu'il soit ai -
- ra'kh - Wey - isch - - ta - ba'h wey -
- mé, qu'il soit ché - ri, qu'il

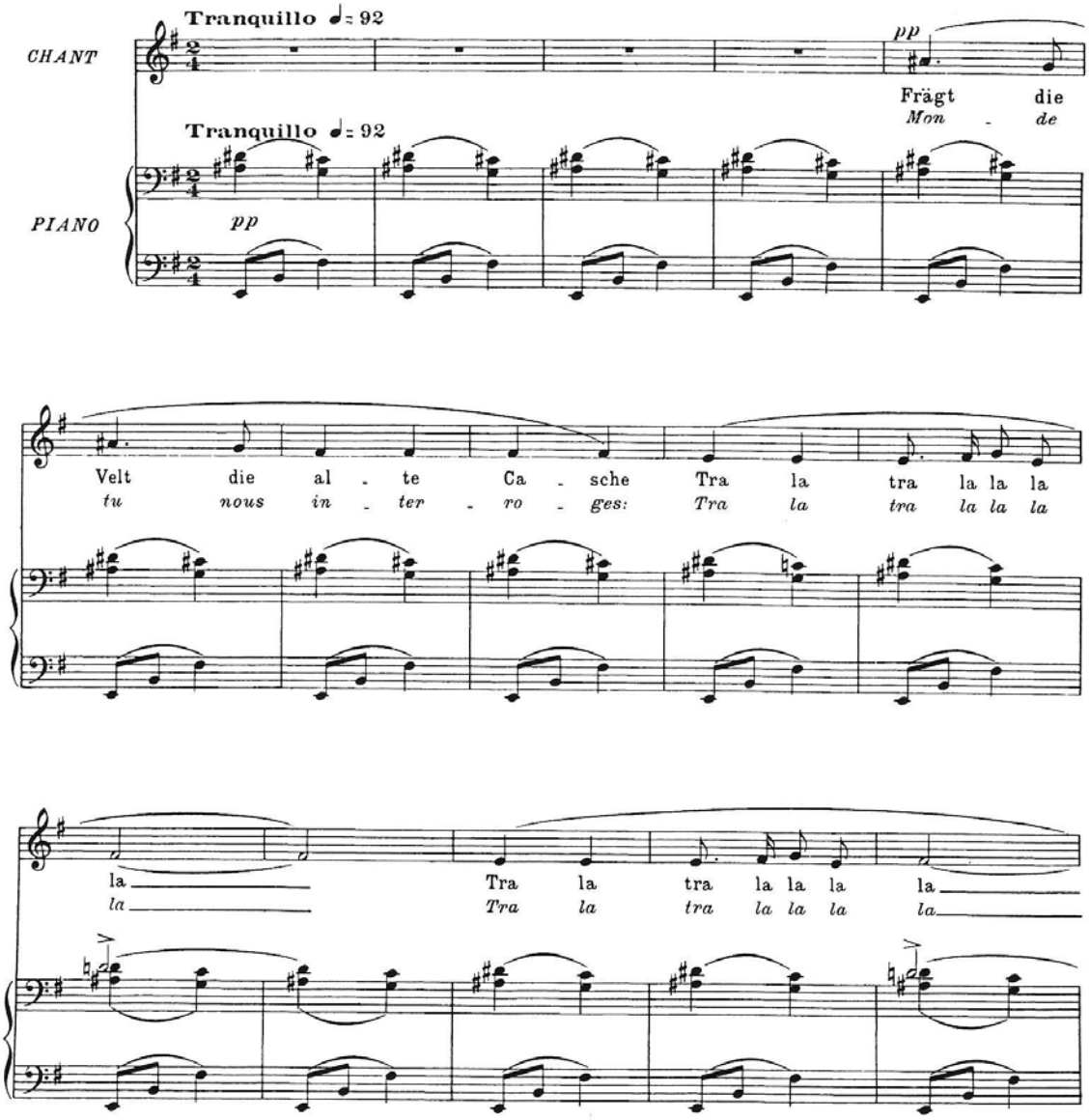

- ith pa - êr weyithro - mam wey - ith - nas - sé wey - ith - had -
soit lou - é glo - ri - fi - é ton nom ra - di - eux. Qu'il soit bé -
- dar wey - ith - 'al - lé wey - ith - hal -
- ni, sanc - ti - fi - éj qu'il soit a - do -
- lal sche - méh de - qoud - schâ be - ri'kh
- ré, ton nom qui pla - - - ne sur les


hou, le-'ê-là u-le-'ê-là min kol bir-'kha-tha we-schi-ra-
cieux, sur nos lou-an-ges, sur nos hym-nes, sur tou-tes nos bé-né-dic-ti-
-tha touschbe-ha-tha we-ne-'ha-ma-thâ da-a-
-ons Que le ciel clément nous ac-cor-de la vie
-mi-rân ah! be-'ol-ma
cal-me, la paix, le bon-heur.

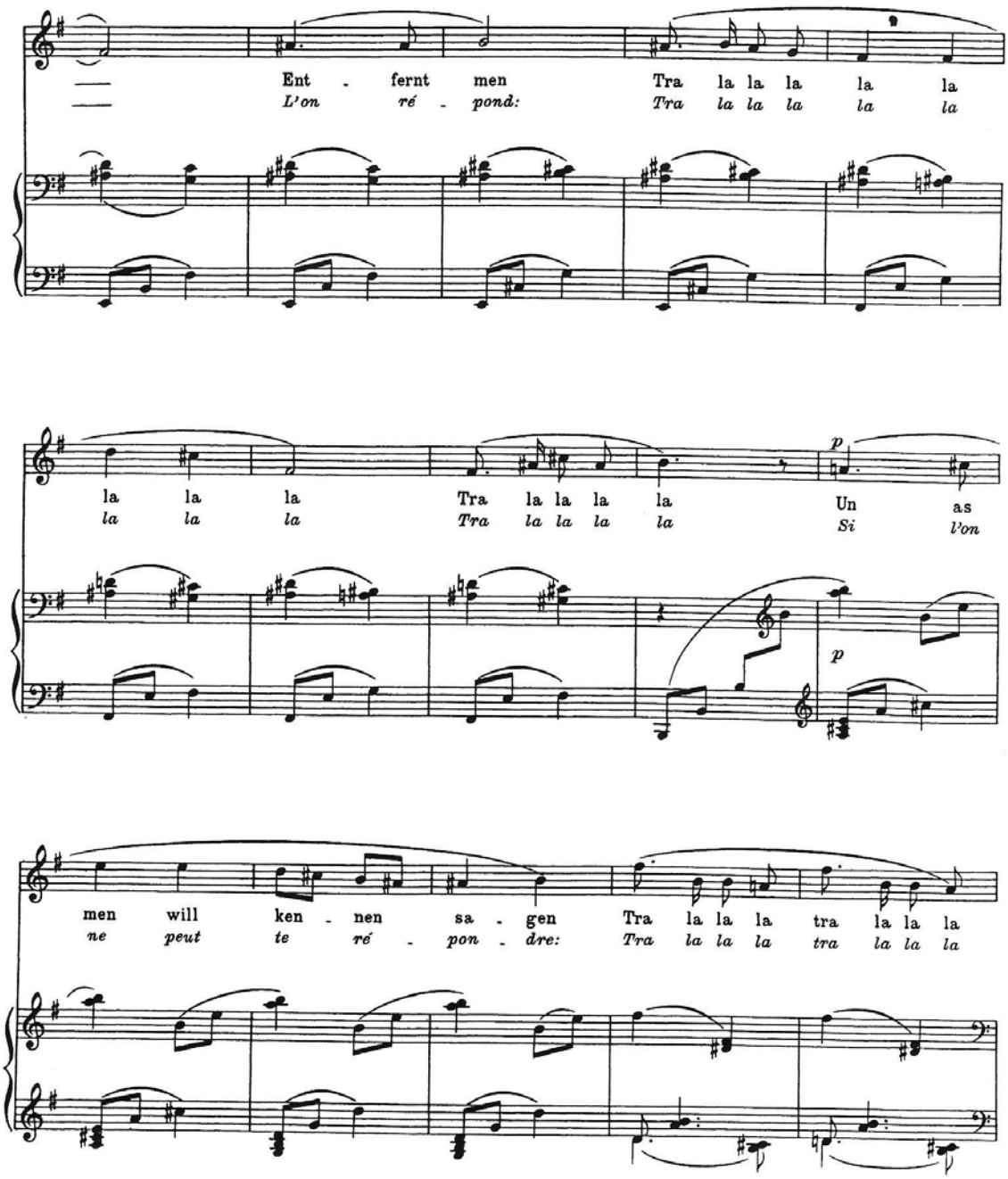

6
ah!
ah!
ah!
ah!
ah!
ah!
ah!
ah!
p cresc.
ah!
ah!
we - ïm - rou
Di - sonstous:
ff
dim.
A - - - men.
A - - - men.
pp
D. & F. 9268

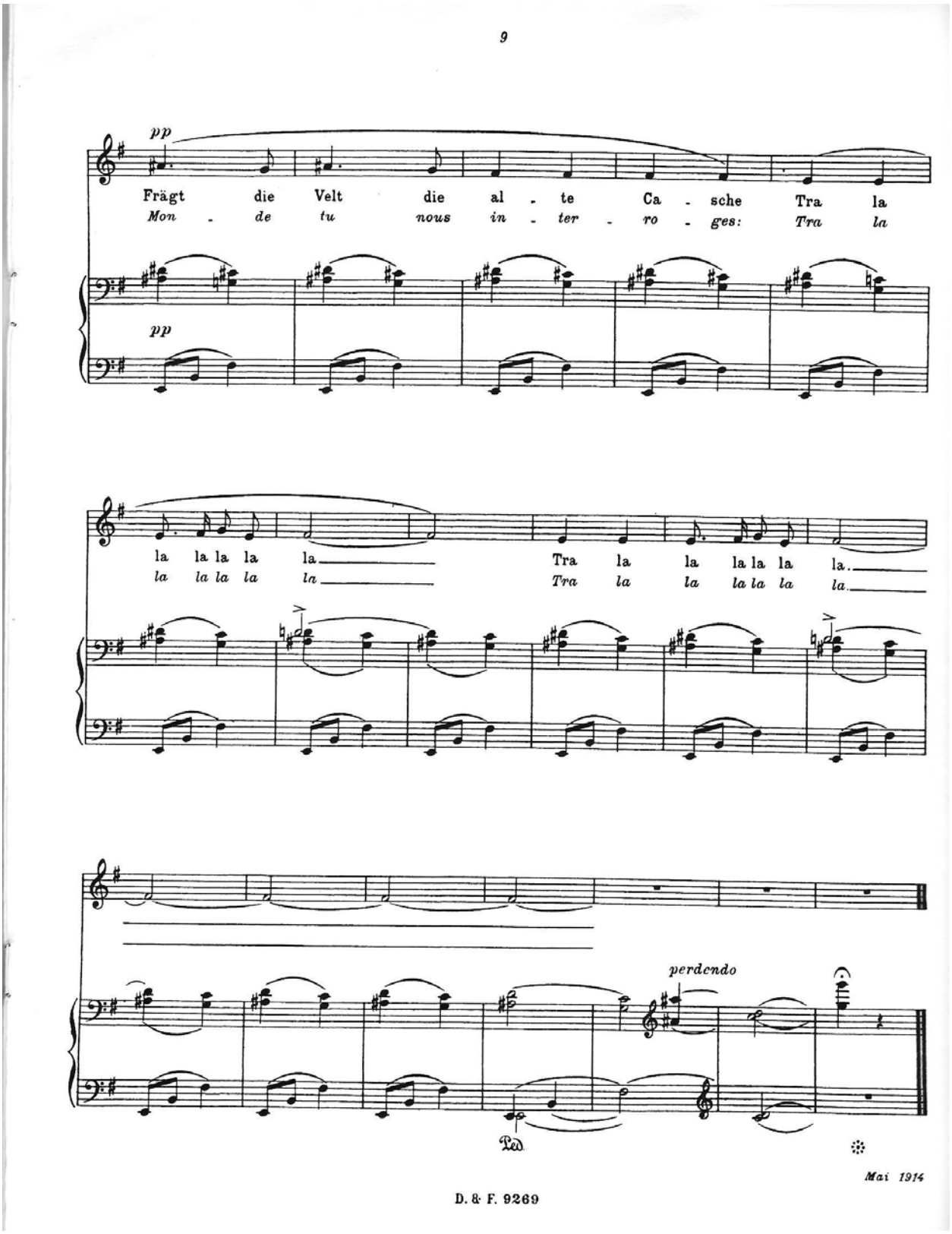
II. L'Enigme Eternelle

MAURICE RAVEL



D. & F. 9269


Ent - fernt men Tra la la la la la
L'on ré - pond: Tra la la la la la
la la la Tra la la la la Un as
la la la Tra la la la la Si l'on
p
p
men will ken - nen sa - gen Tra la la la tra la la la
ne peut te ré - pon - dre: Tra la la la tra la la la


9
pp
Frägt die Velt die al - te Ca - sche Tra la
Mon - de tu nous in - ter - ro - ges: Tra la
pp
la la la la la Tra la la la la la la.
la la la la la Tra la la la la la la.
perdendo
Ped
Mai 1914
D. & F. 9269

Appendix G: Dmitri Shostakovich's Piano Trio in E Minor, IV. Allegretto

SHOSTAKOVICH

TRIO

in E minor, Opus 67

FOR VIOLIN, CELLO AND PIANO

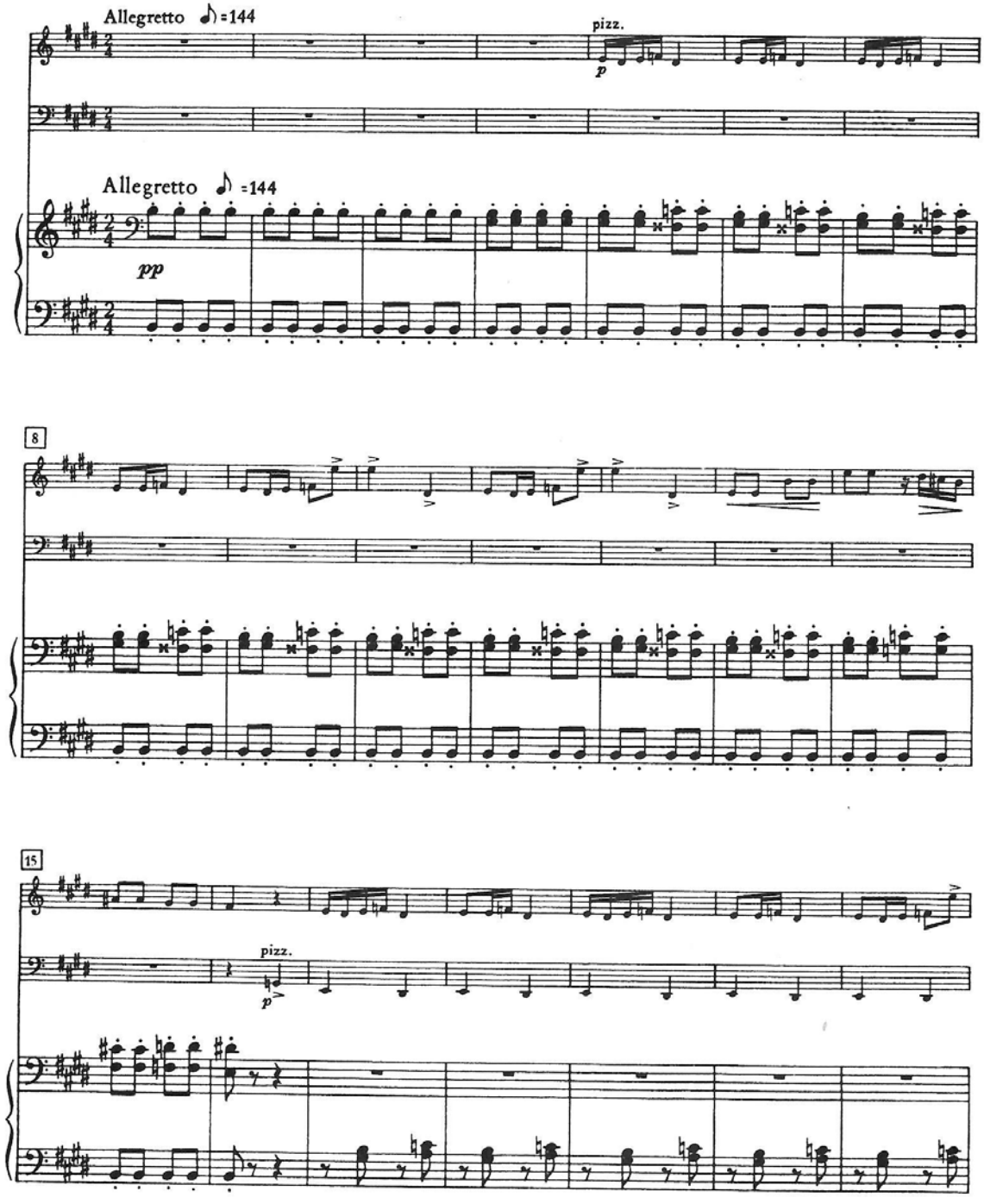
(ROBERT TAUB)

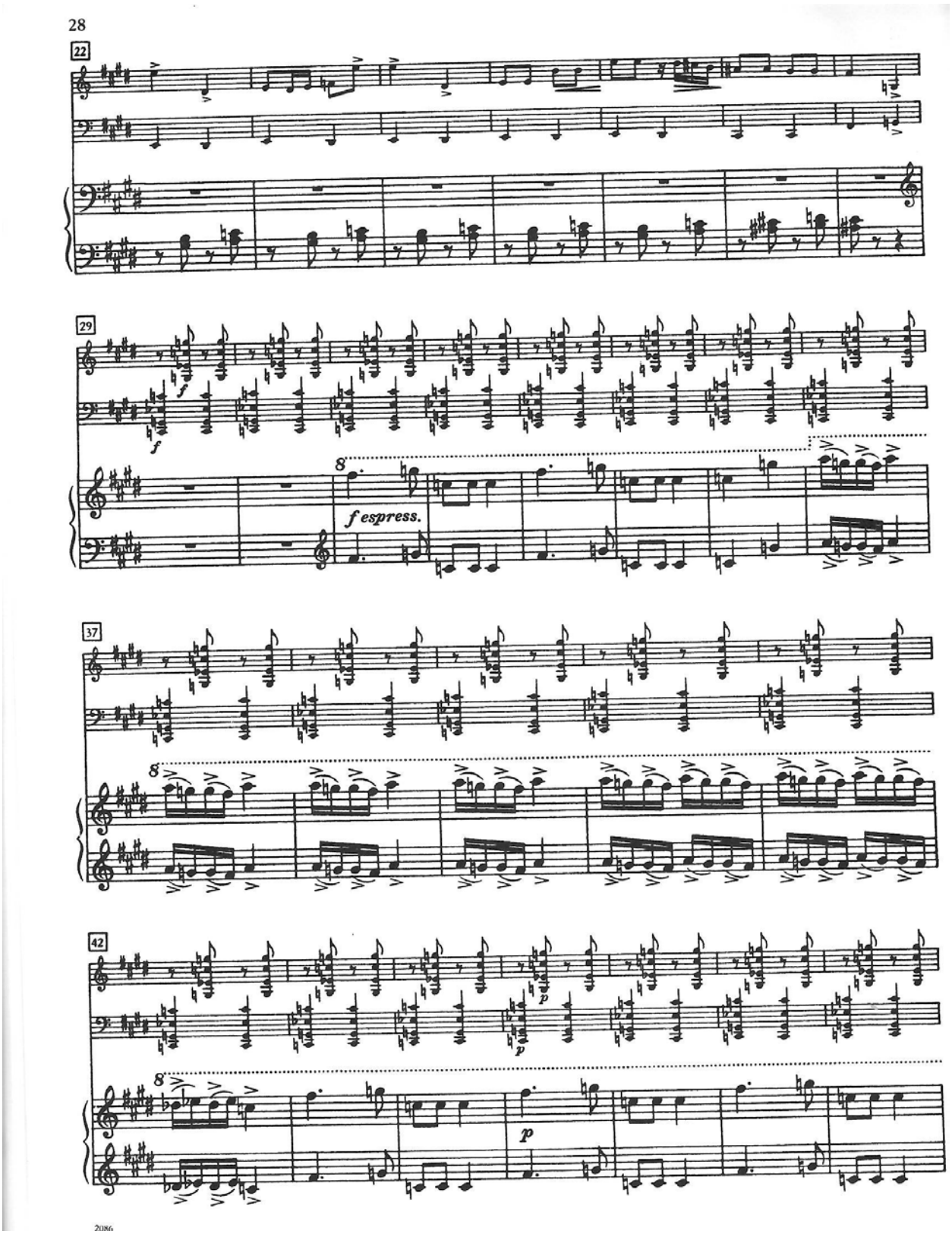
No. 2086

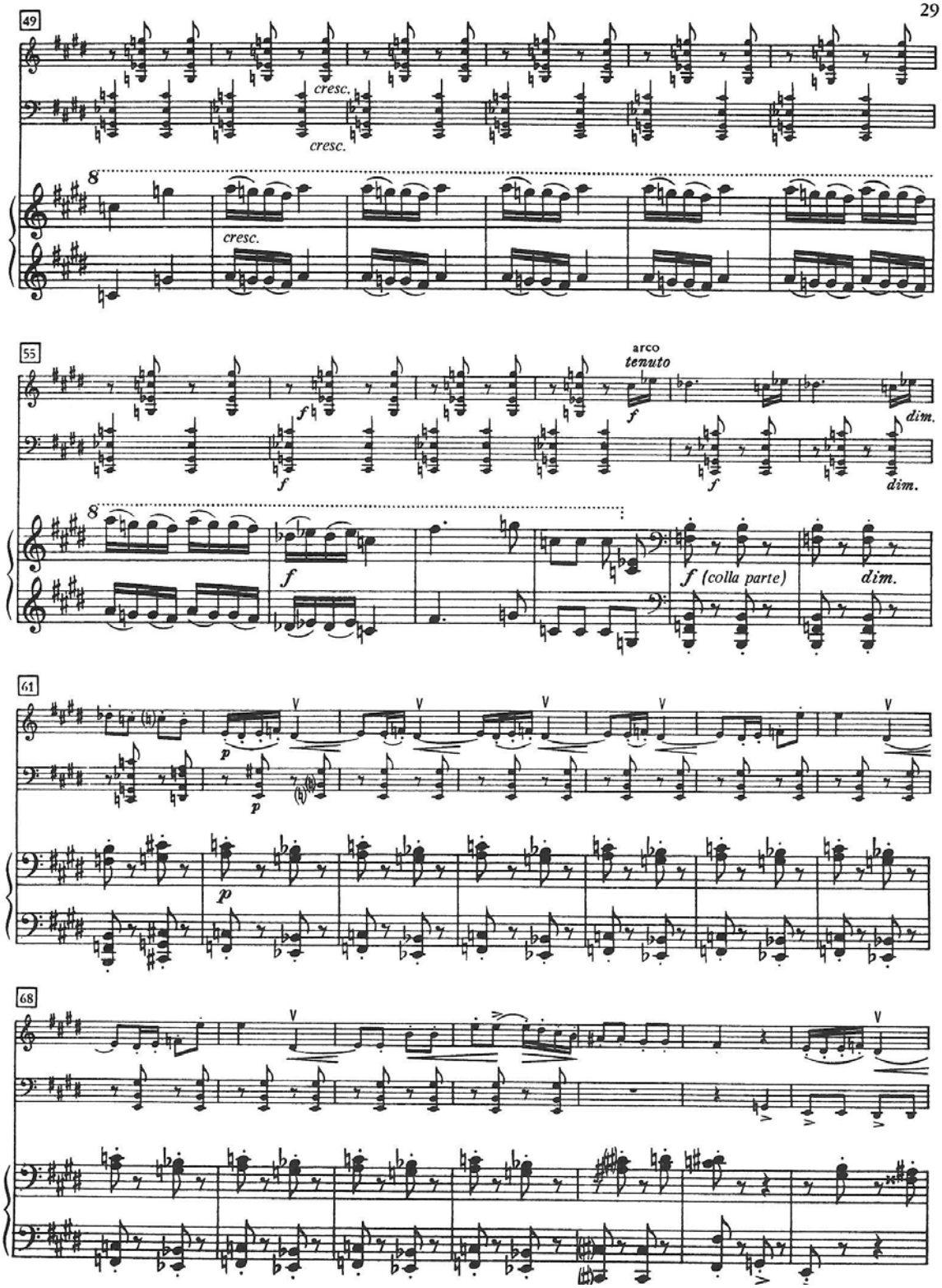
INTERNATIONAL MUSIC COMPANY
NEW YORK

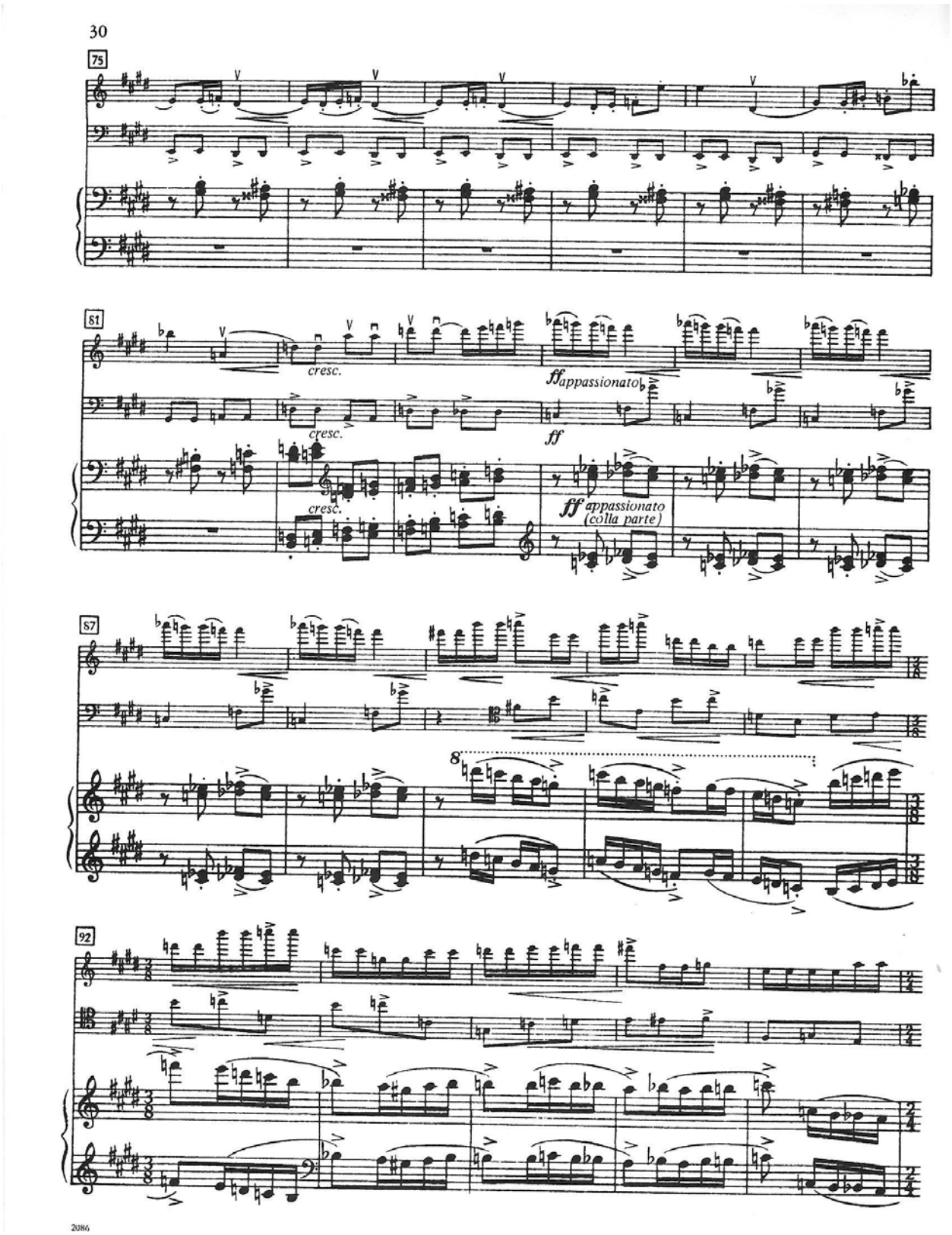
PRINTED IN U. S. A.

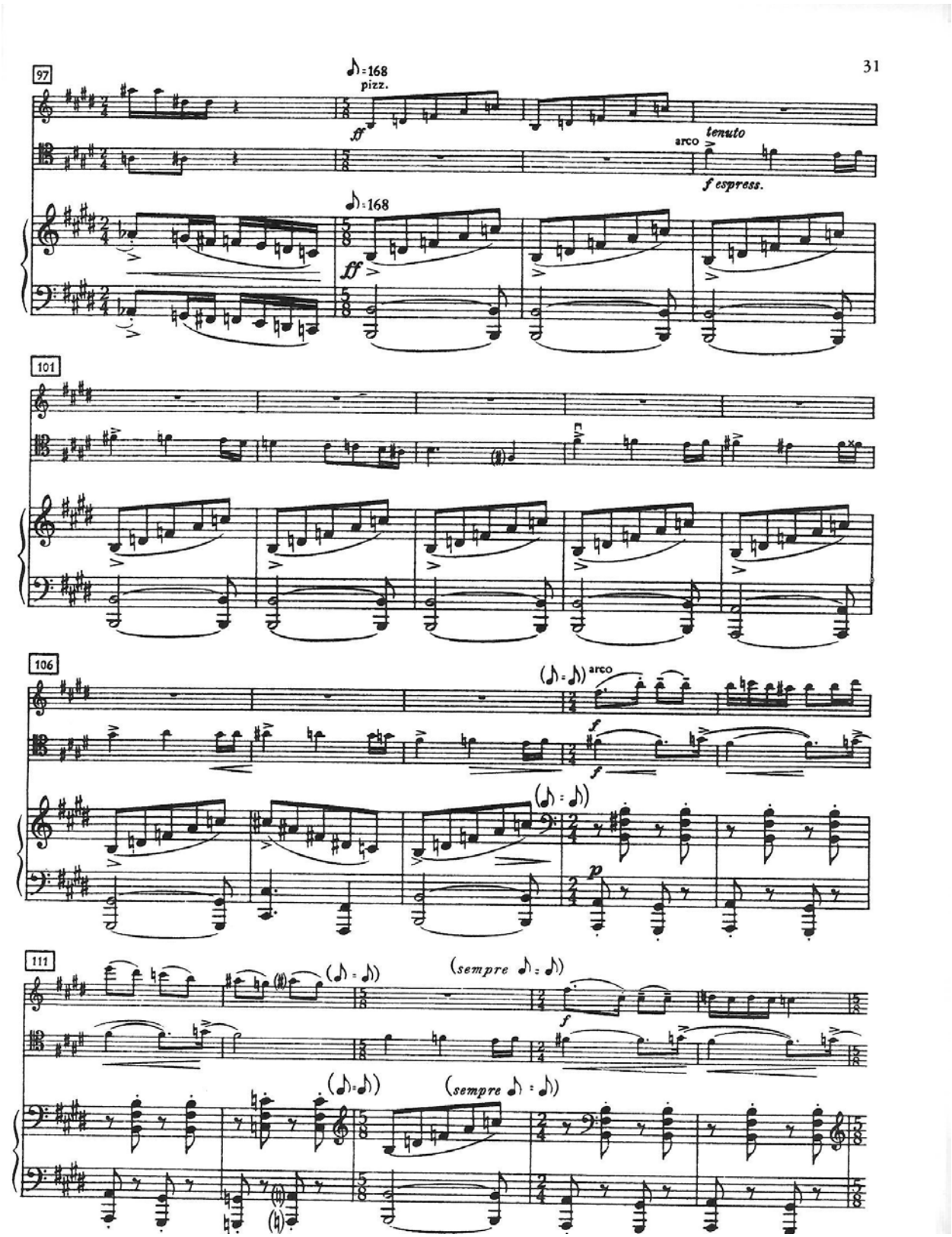
IV

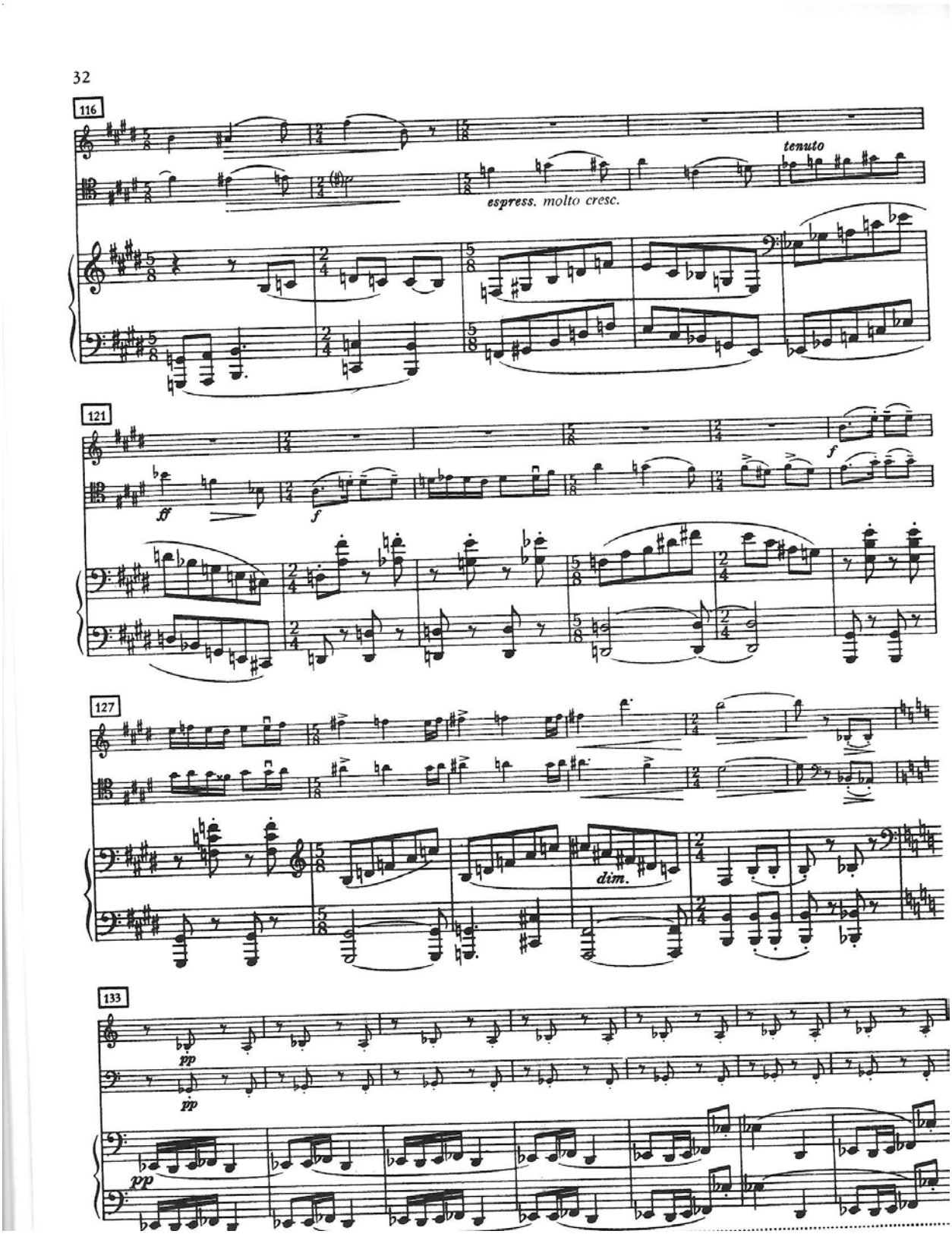


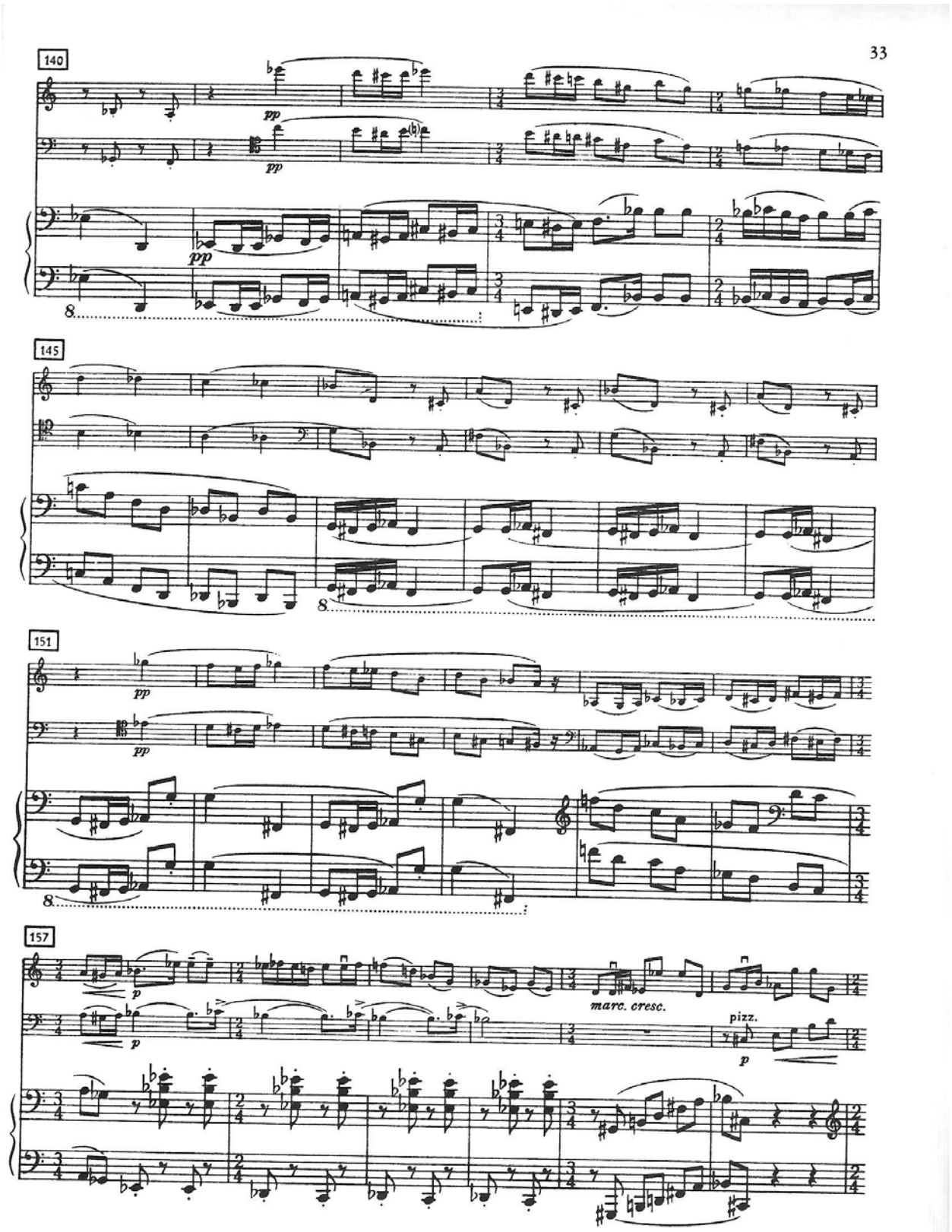

28
22
29
f
f
8
f espress.
37
8
42
p
p
8
p
2086

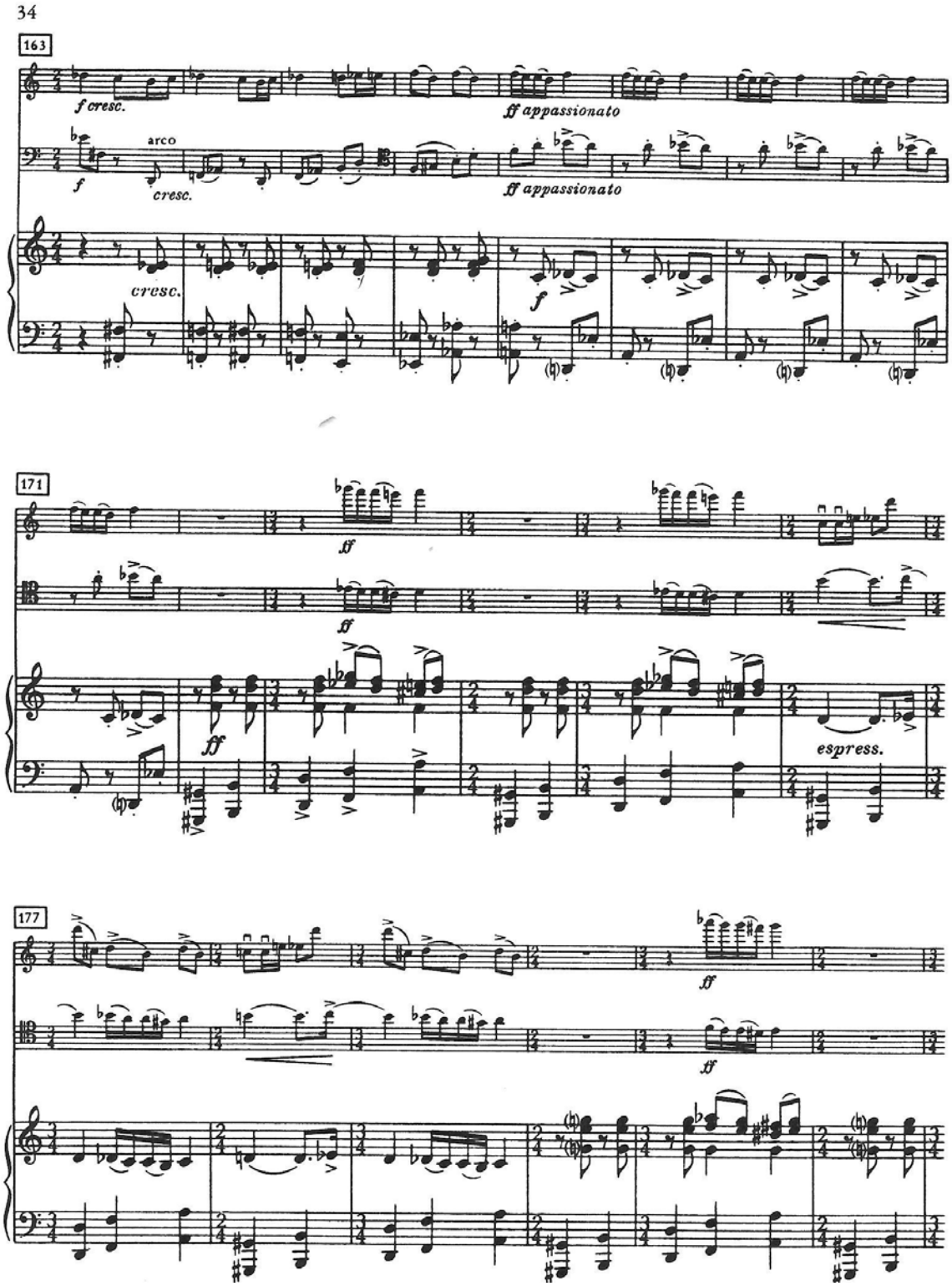

29
49
cresc.
cresc.
8
cresc.
55
arco
tenuto
f
f
f
dim.
dim.
8
f
f (colla parte)
dim.
61
p
p
p
68

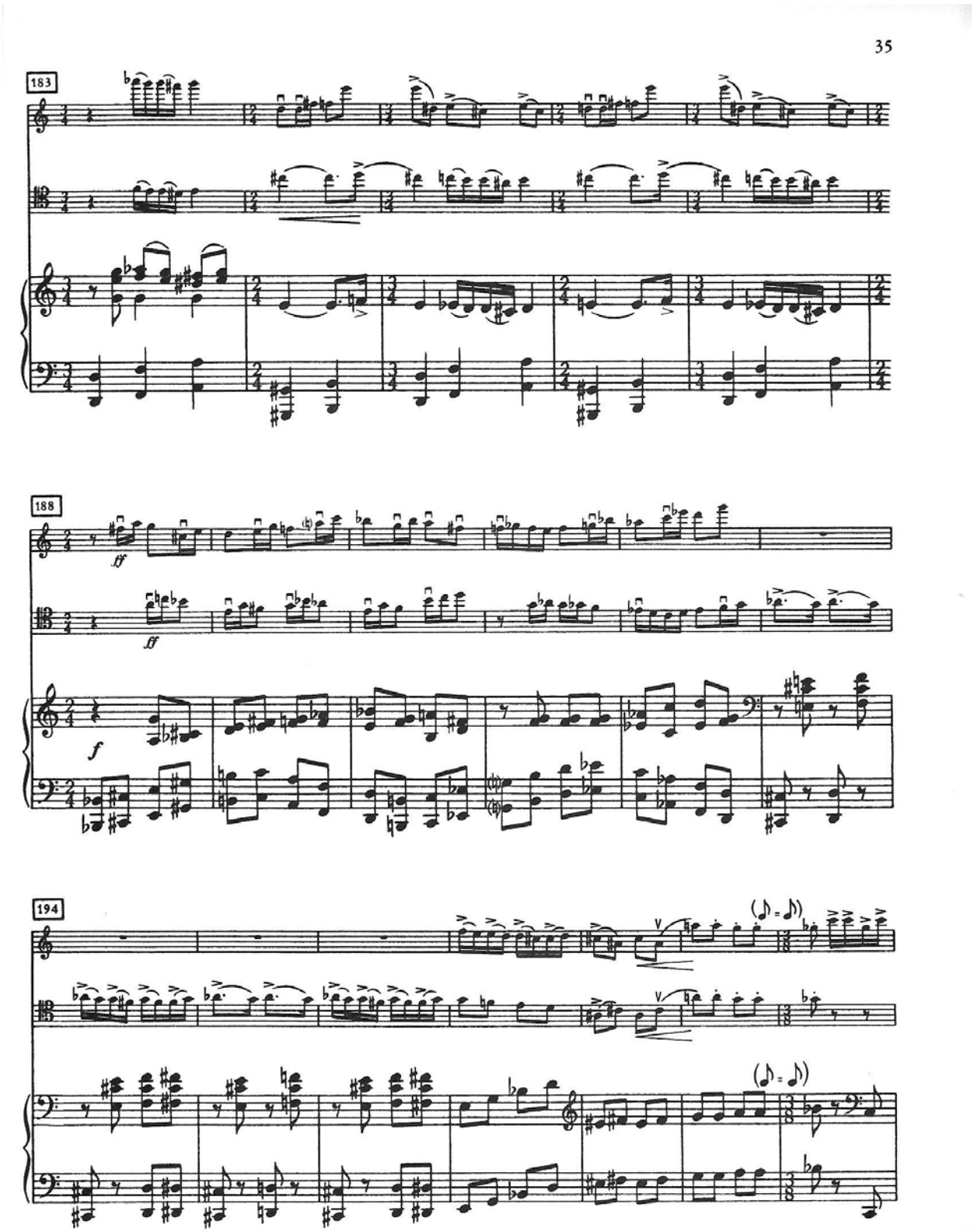

30
75
81
cresc.
cresc.
cresc.
ff appassionato
ff
ff appassionato
(colla parte)
87
8
92
2086

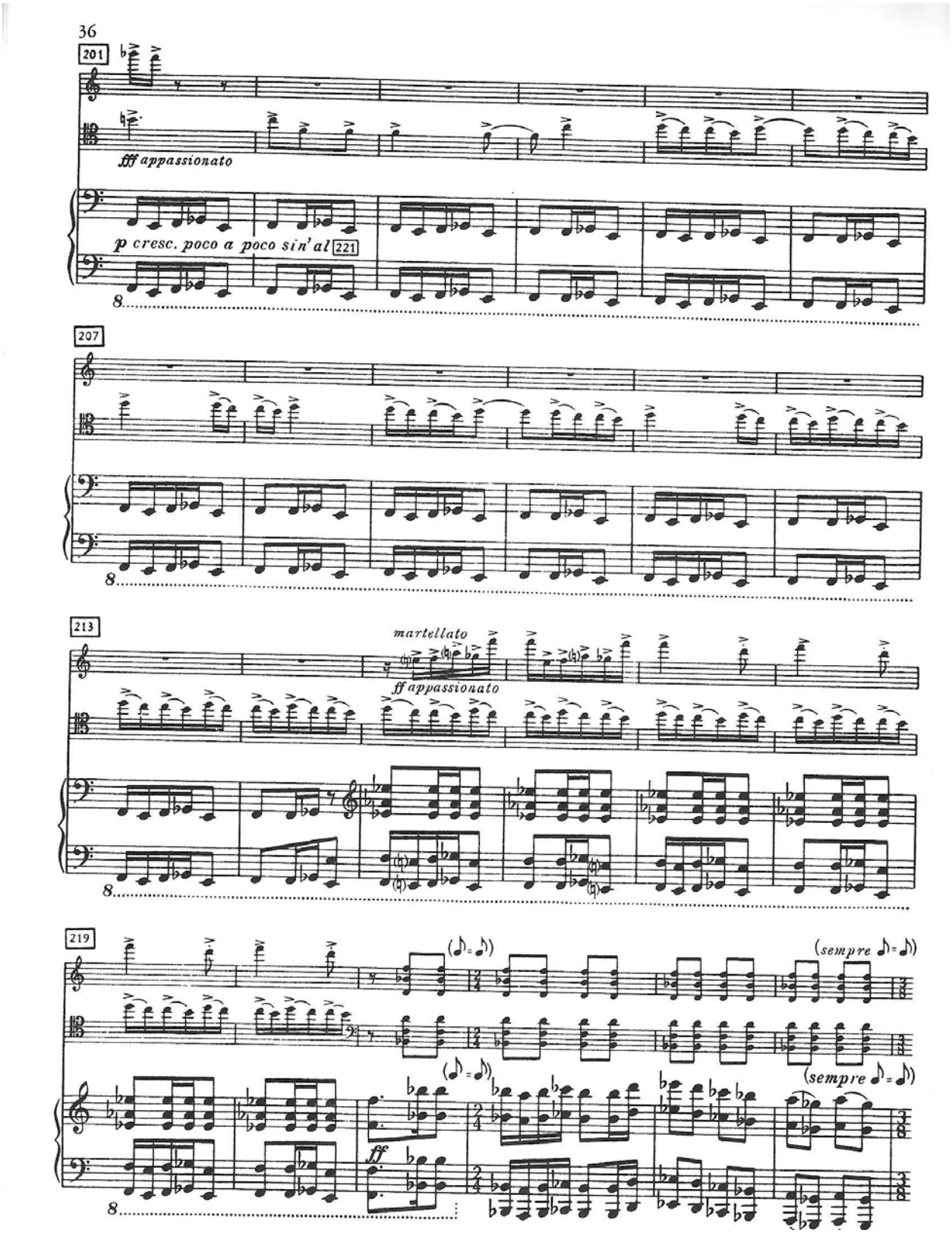

31
97
♪=168
pizz.
ff
arco
tenuto
f espress.
♪=168
ff
101
106
(♪=♪)
arco
f
f
(♪=♪)
p
111
(♪=♪)
(sempre ♪=♪)
f
(♪=♪)
(sempre ♪=♪)

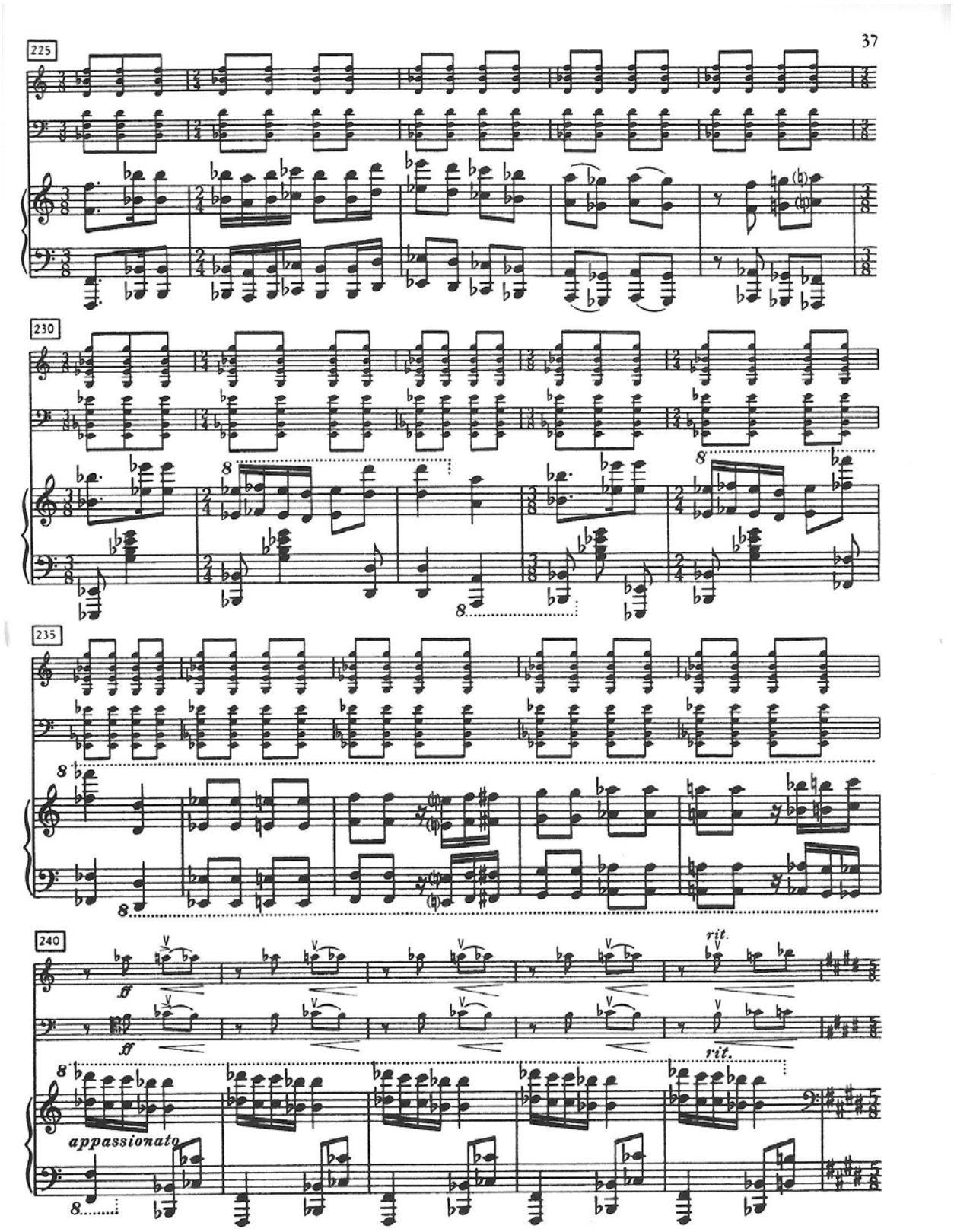

32
116
tenuto
espress. molto cresc.
121
ff
f
f
127
dim.
133
pp
pp
pp

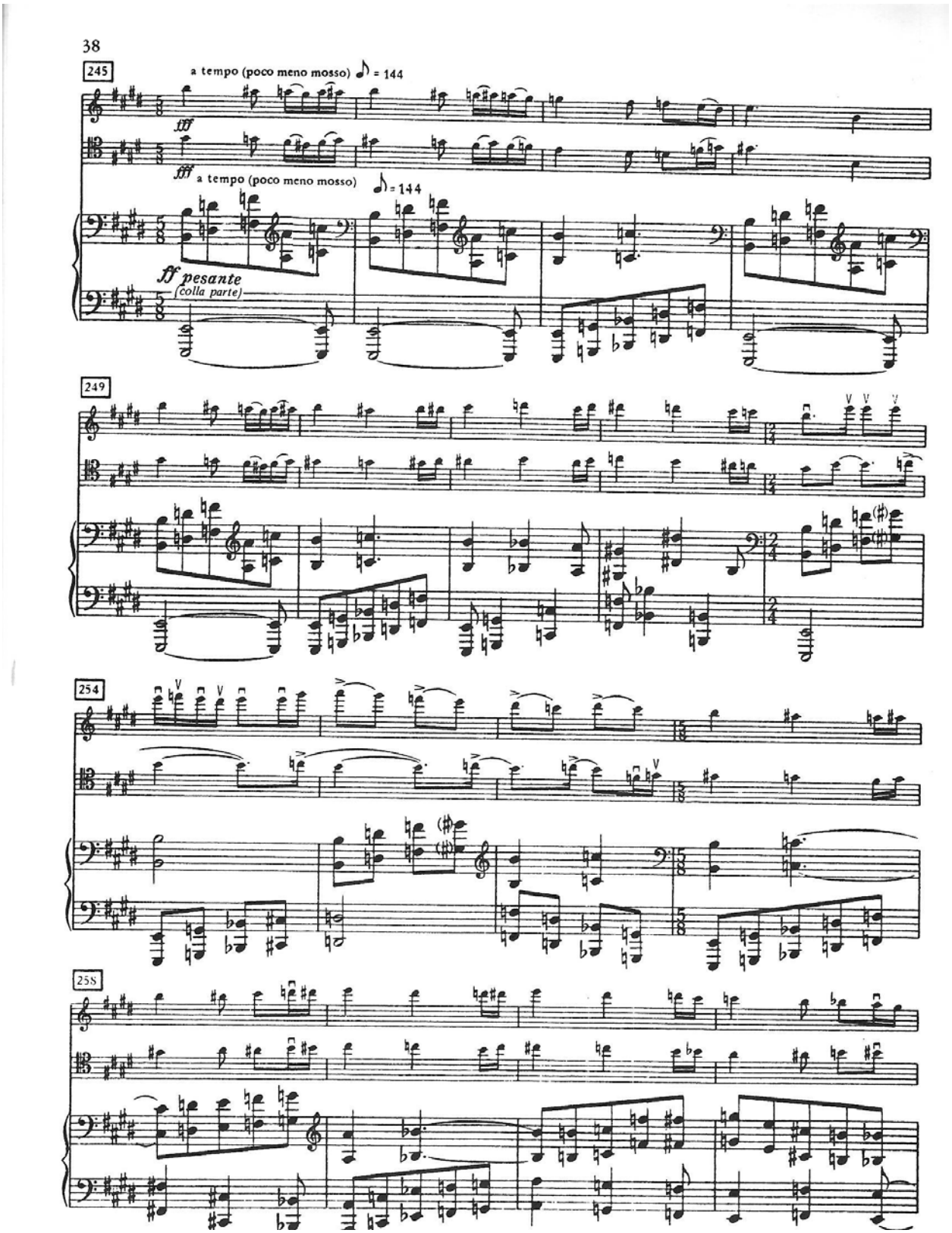

33
140
pp
pp
pp
8
145
8
151
pp
pp
8
157
p
p
marc. cresc.
pizz.
p

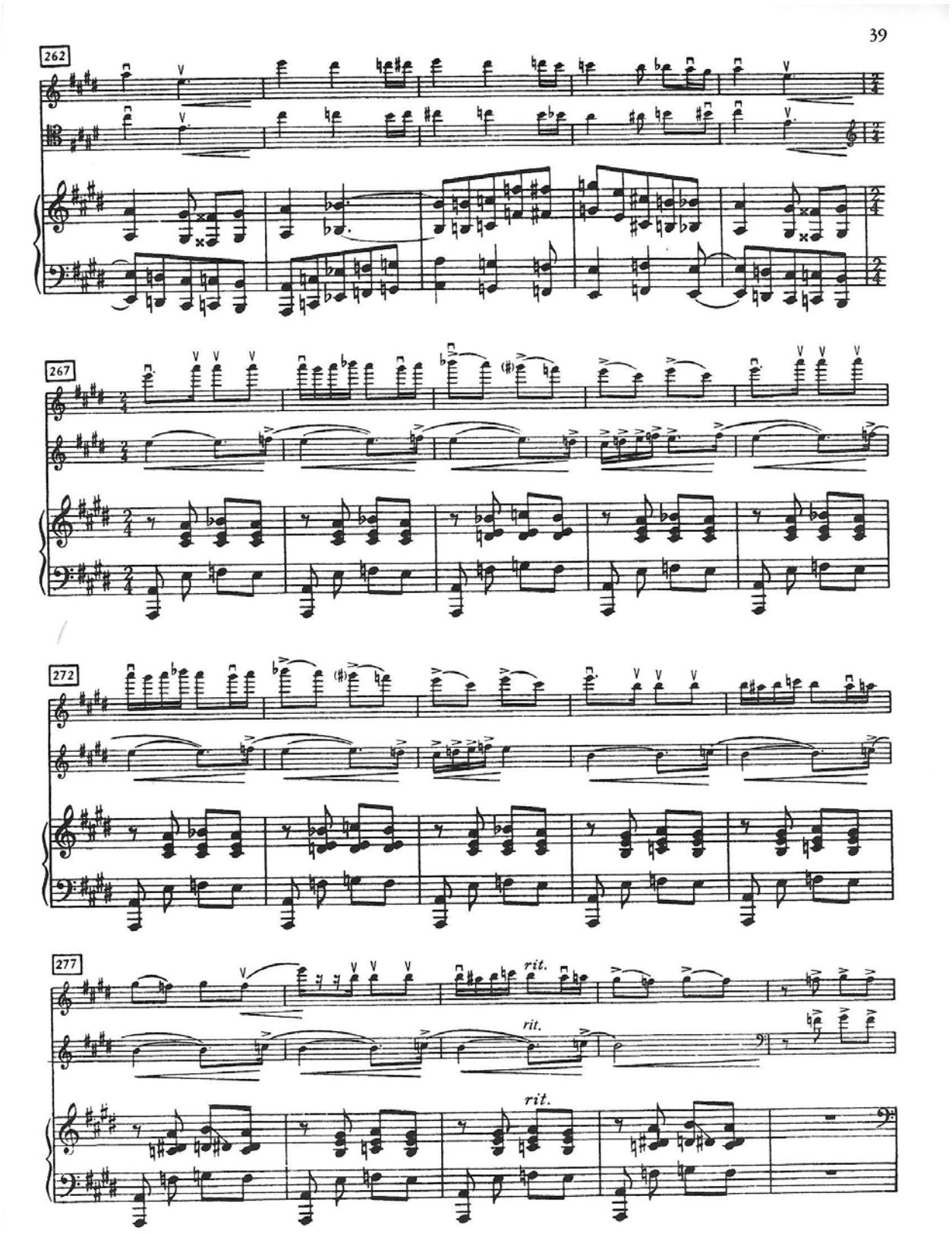

34
163
f cresc.
ff appassionato
arco
f
cresc.
ff appassionato
cresc.
f
171
ff
ff
ff
espress.
177
ff
ff

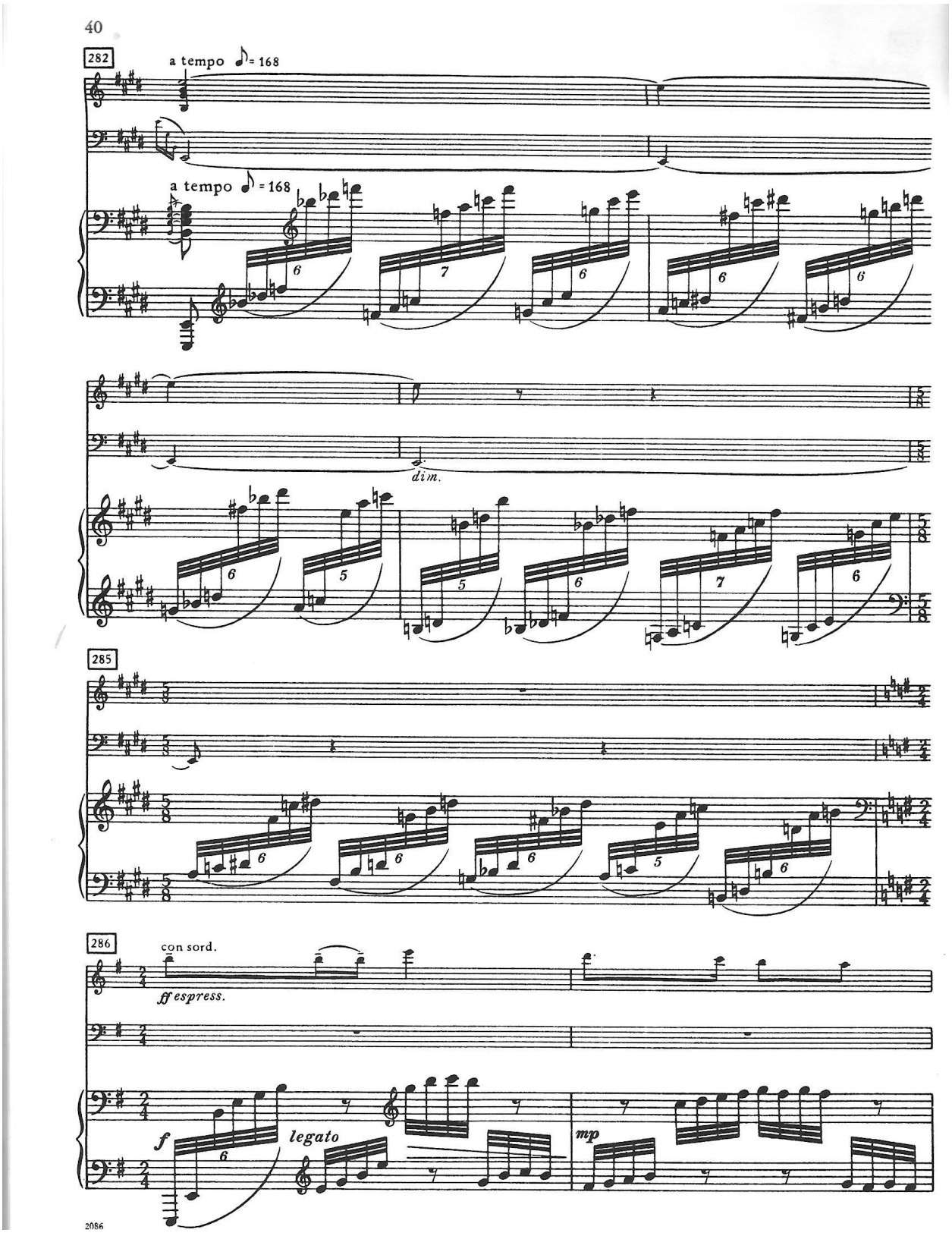

35
183
188
ff
ff
f
194

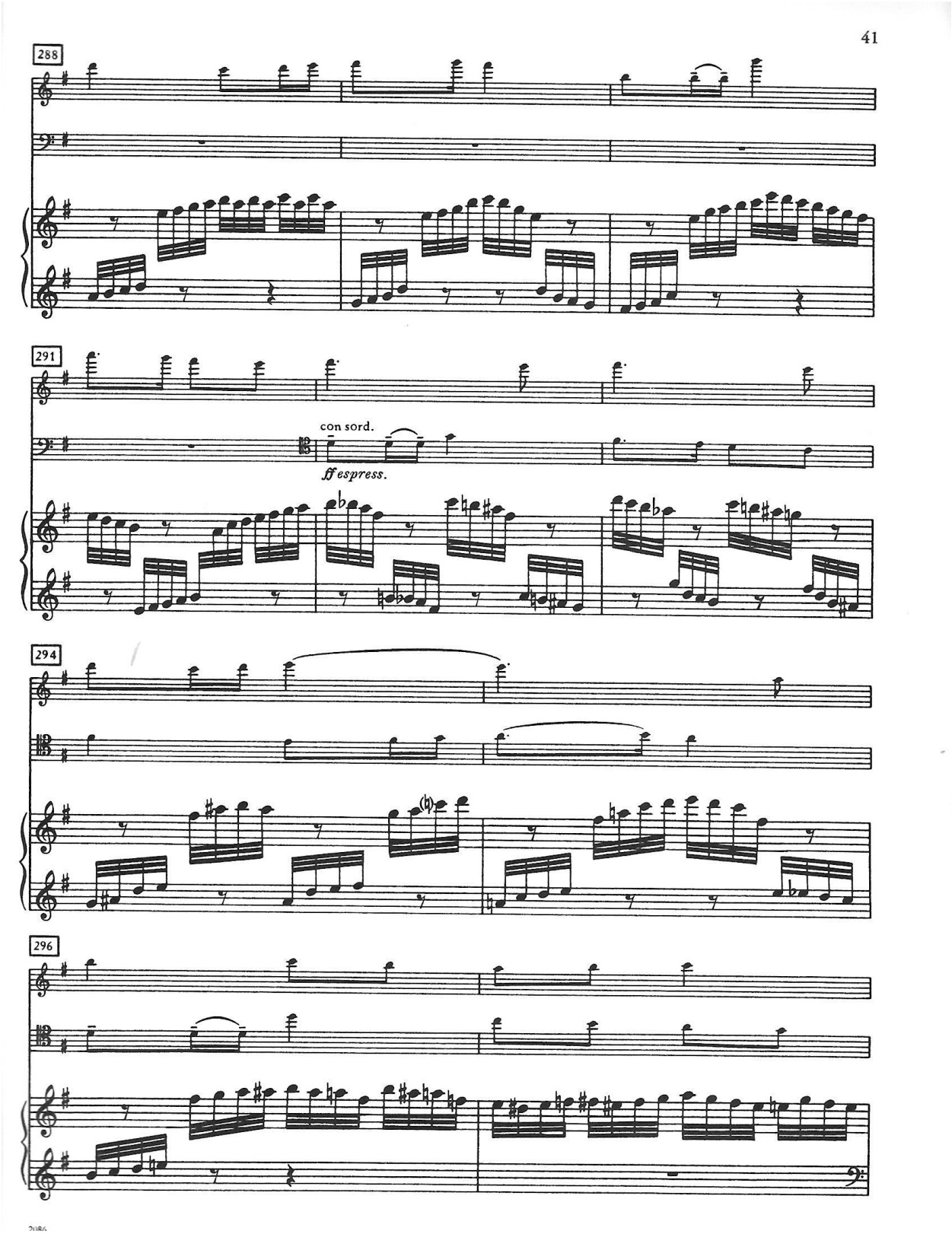

36
201
fff appassionato
p cresc. poco a poco sin' al
221
207
213
martellato
ff appassionato
219
(sempre)
fff

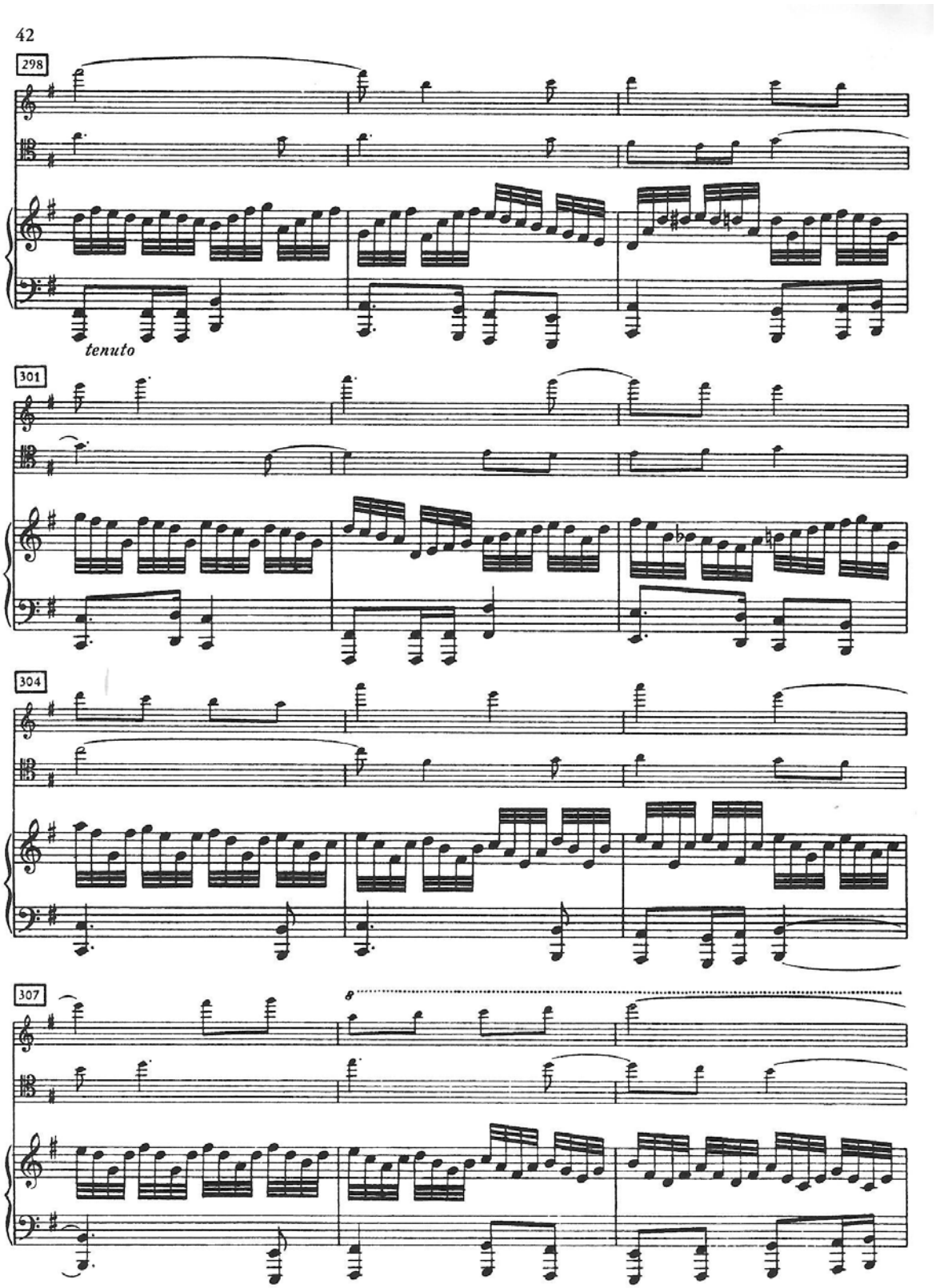

37
225
230
235
240
ff
ff
rit.
rit.
appassionato

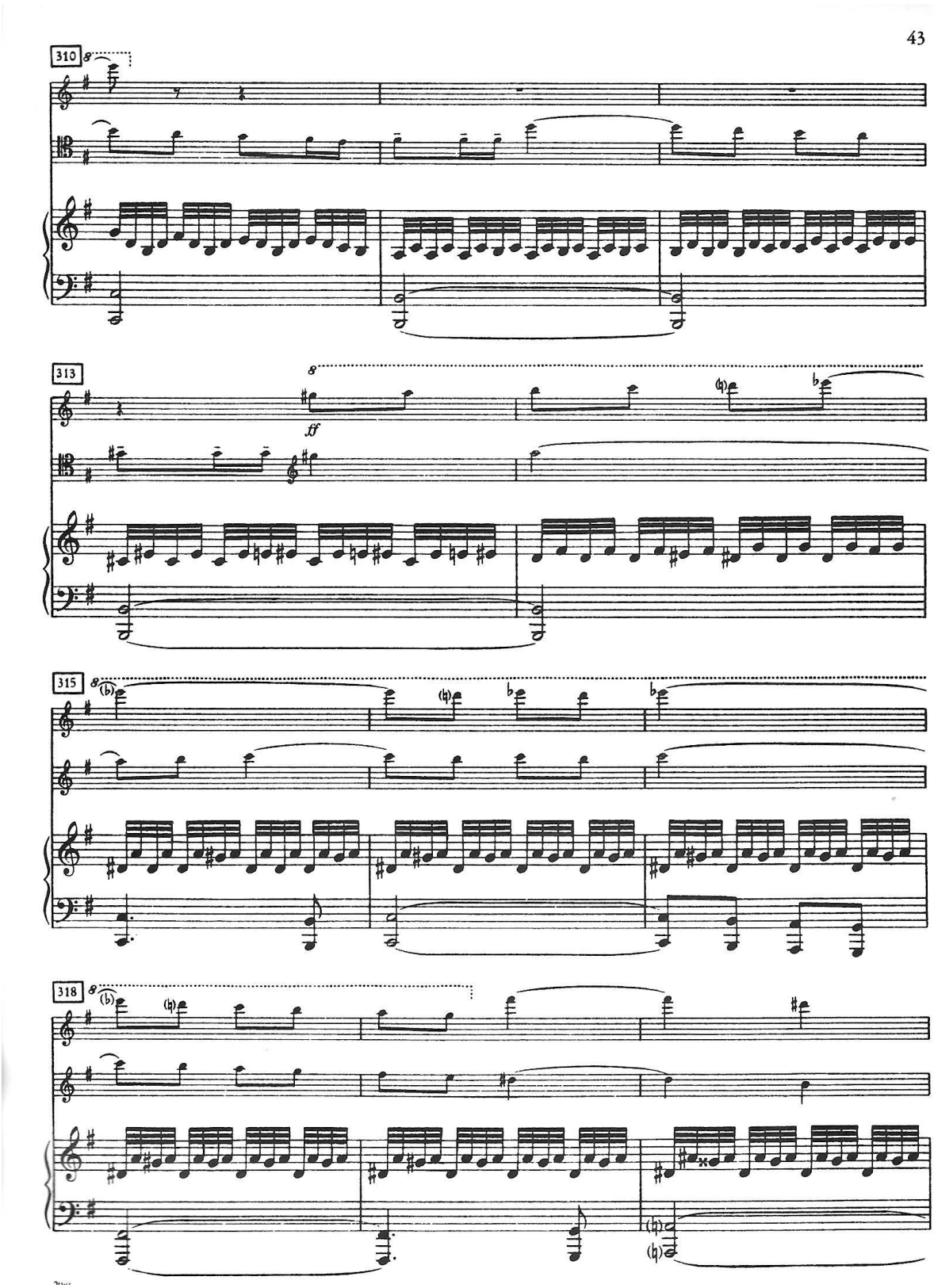

38
245
a tempo (poco meno mosso) ♪ = 144
fff
fff a tempo (poco meno mosso) ♪ = 144
ff pesante
(colla parte)
249
254
258

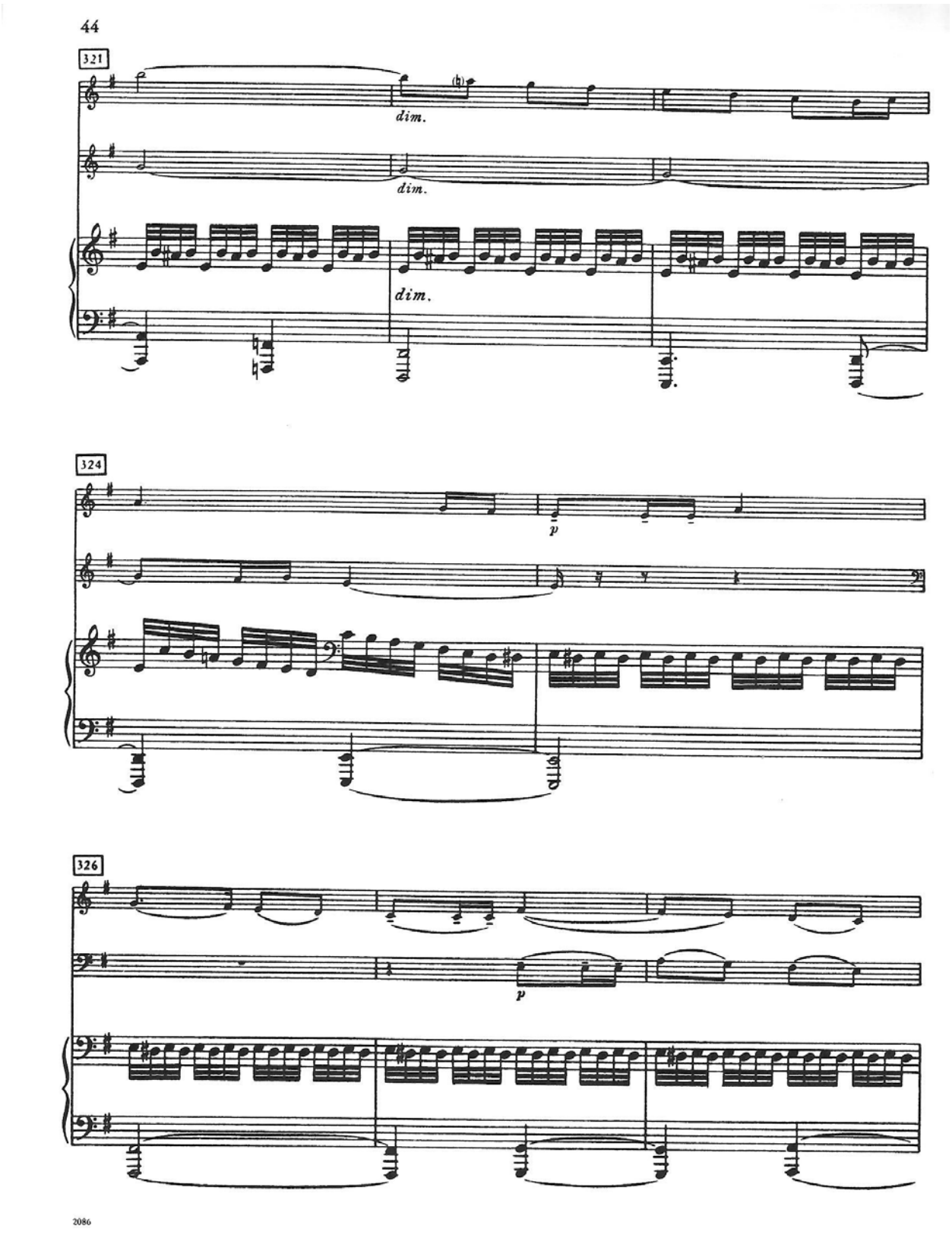

39
262
267
272
277
rit.
rit.
rit.

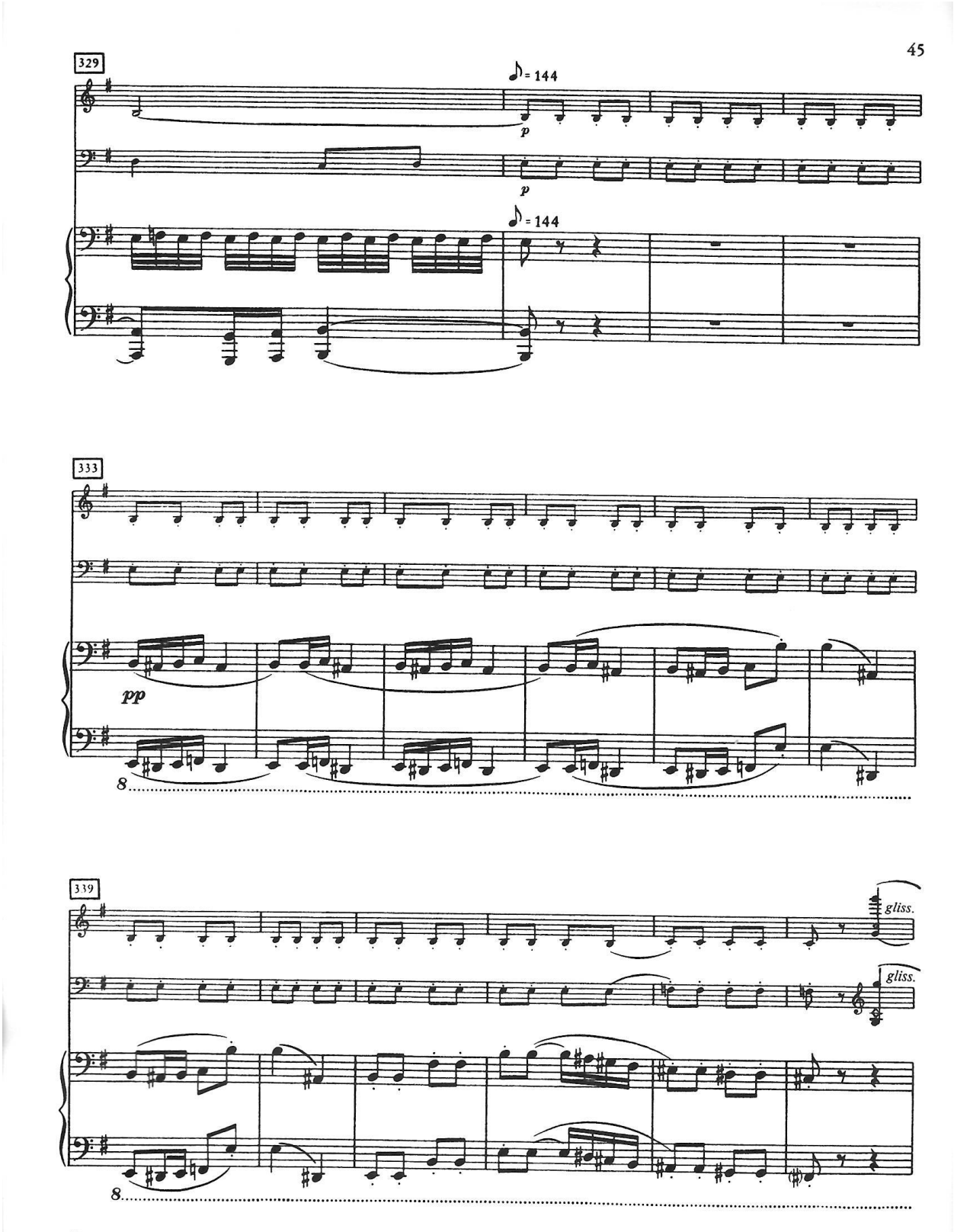

40
282
a tempo ♪= 168
a tempo ♪= 168
dim.
285
286
con sord.
ff espress.
f
legato
mp
2086

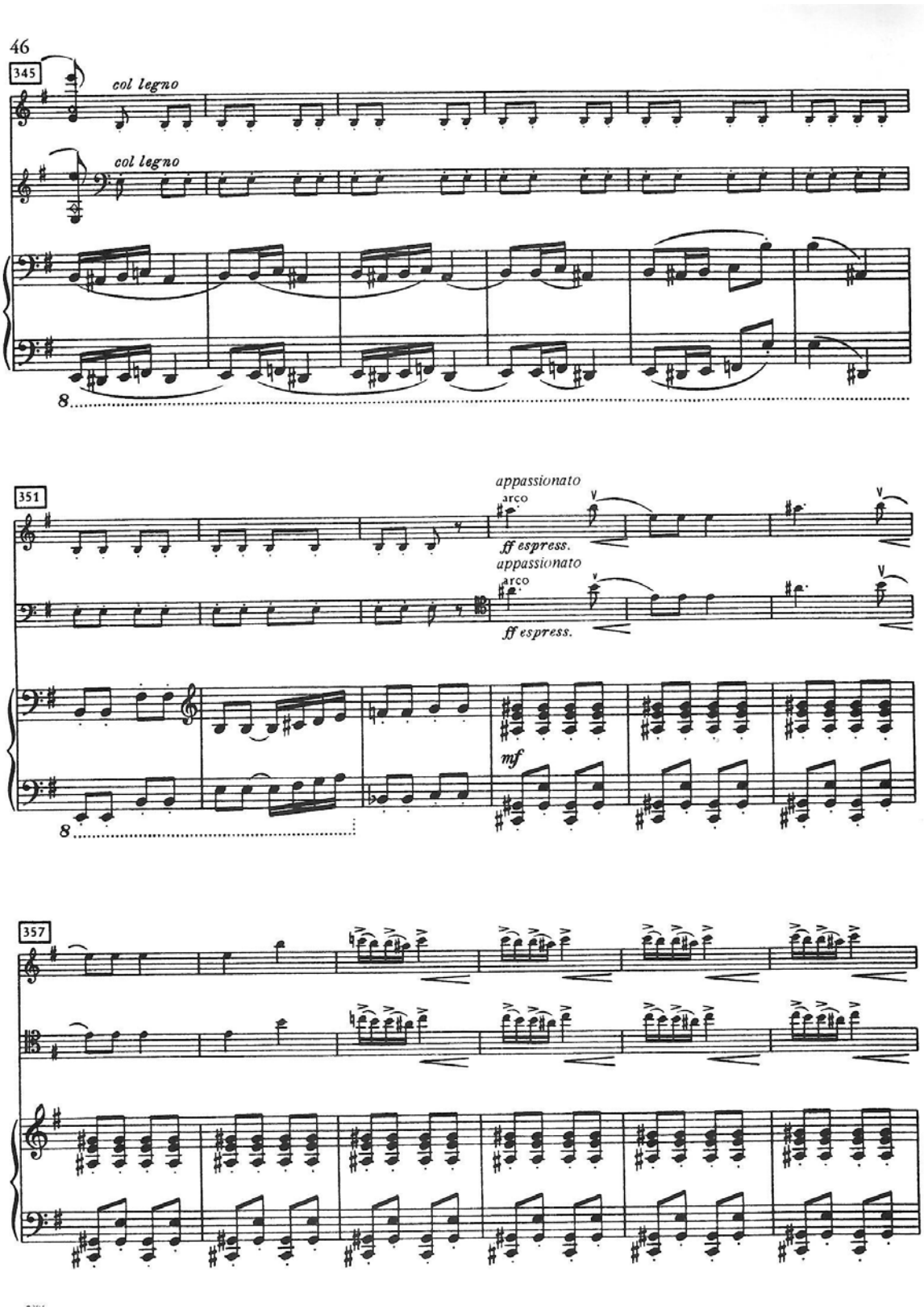

41
288
291
con sord.
ff espress.
294
296

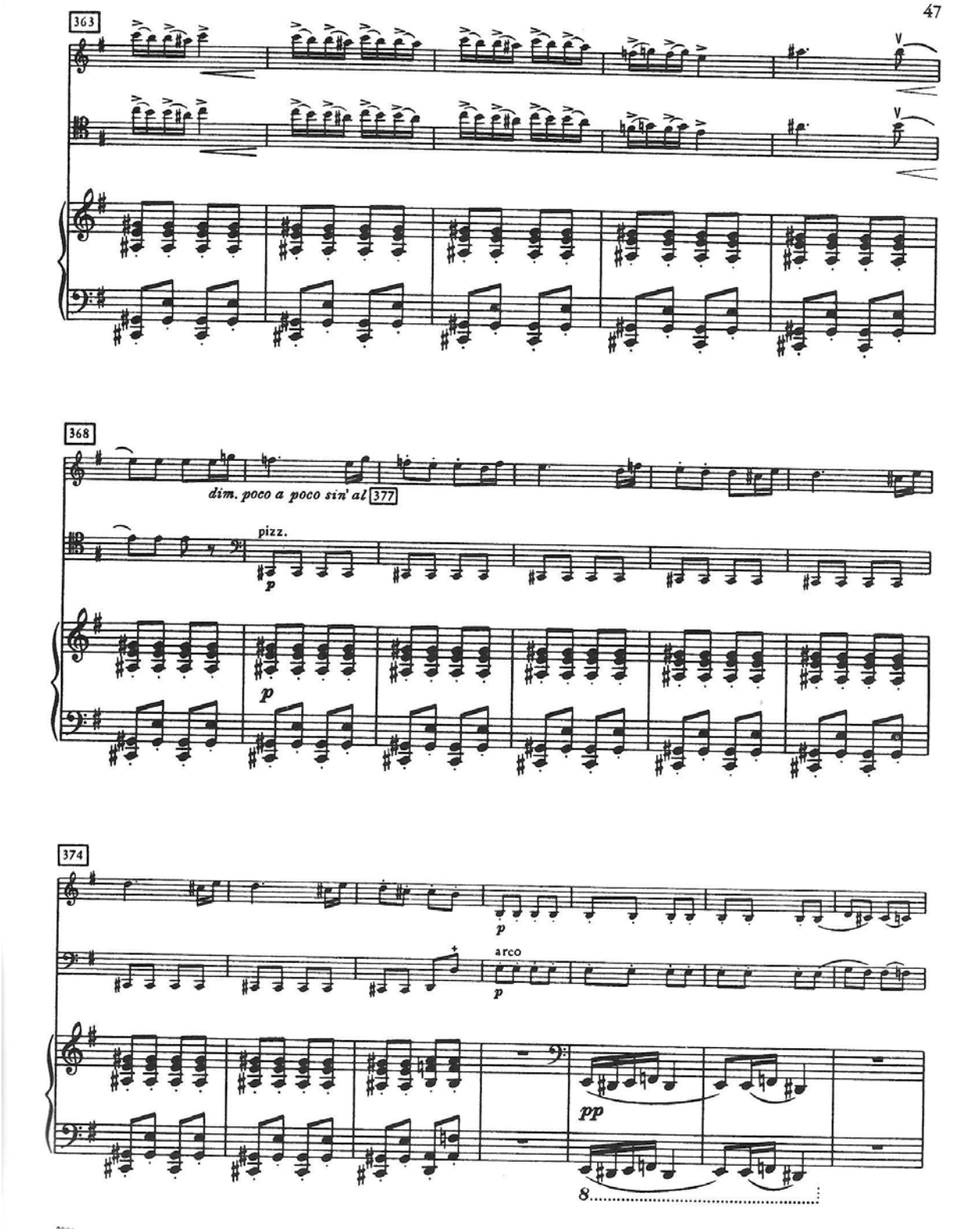

42
298
tenuto
301
304
307

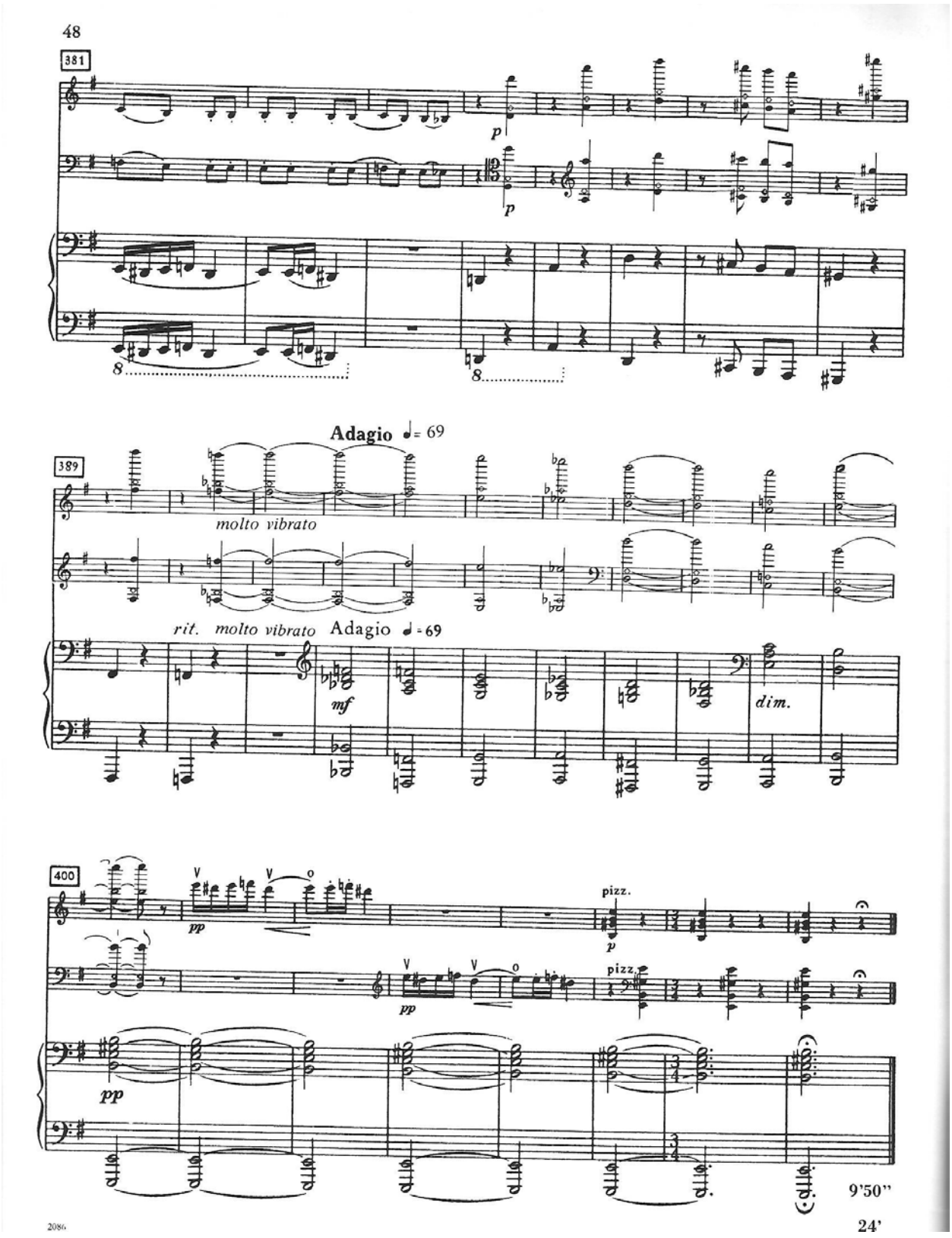

43
310
313
ff
315
318


44
321
dim.
dim.
dim.
324
p
326
p
2086

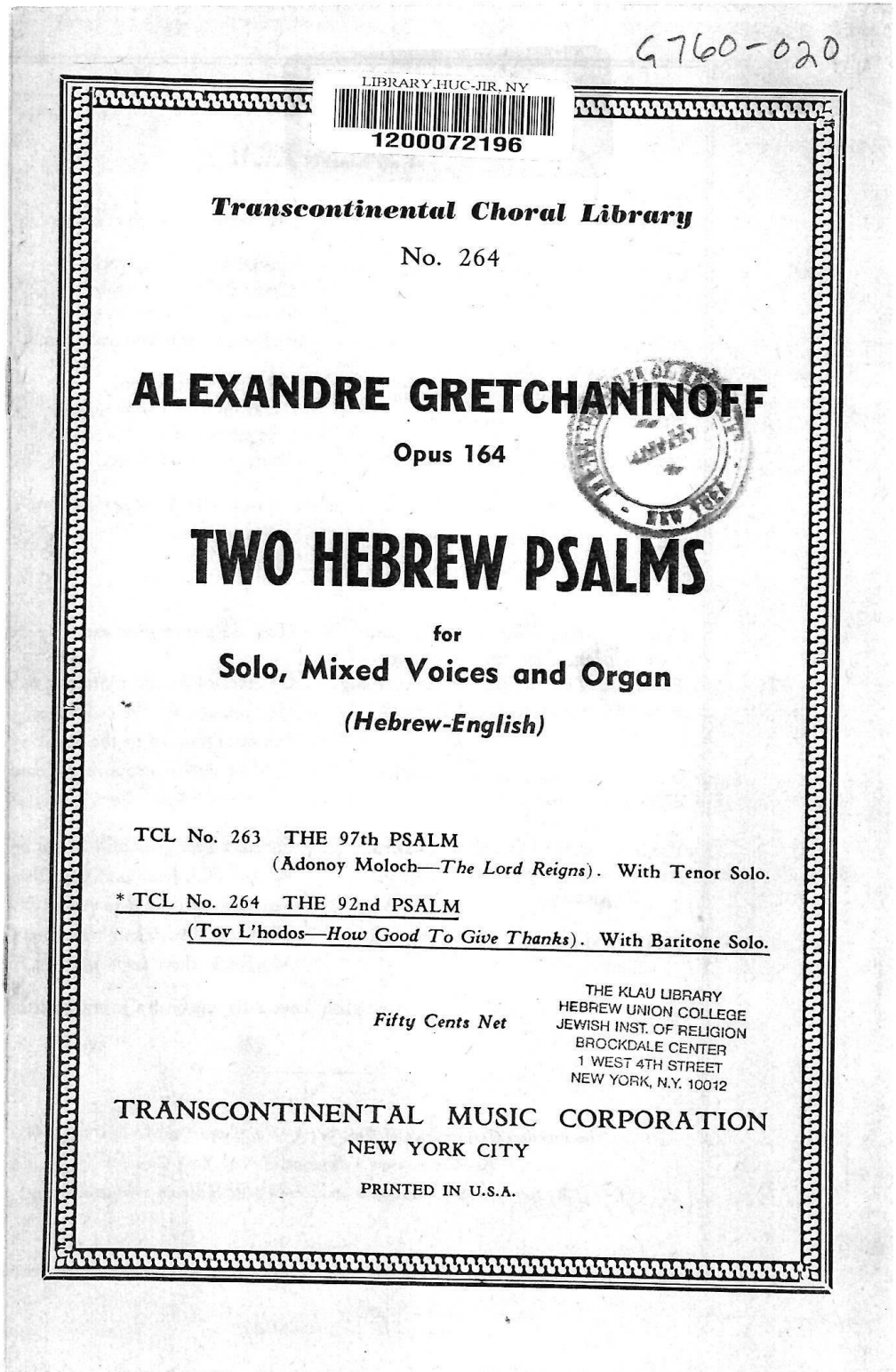

45
329
♪ = 144
p
p
♪ = 144
333
pp
8
339
gliss.
gliss.
8


46
345
col legno
col legno
8
351
appassionato
arco
ff espress.
appassionato
arco
ff espress.
mf
8
357


47
363
V
V
368
dim. poco a poco sin' al
377
pizz.
p
p
374
p
arco
p
pp
8


48
381
p
p
8
8
Adagio ♩= 69
389
molto vibrato
rit. molto vibrato
Adagio ♩= 69
mf
dim.
400
pp
pizz.
p
pizz.
pp
pp
9'50"
24'
2086

Appendix H: Alexandre Gretchaninoff's Psalm 92



Transcontinental Choral Library

No. 264

ALEXANDRE GRETCHANINOFF

Opus 164

TWO HEBREW PSALMS

for

Solo, Mixed Voices and Organ

(Hebrew-English)

TCL No. 263 THE 97th PSALM
(Adonoy Moloch—*The Lord Reigns*). With Tenor Solo.

* TCL No. 264 THE 92nd PSALM
(Tov L'hodos—*How Good To Give Thanks*). With Baritone Solo.

Fifty Cents Net

TRANSCONTINENTAL MUSIC CORPORATION
NEW YORK CITY

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

PSALM XCII

Tov l'hodos ladonoy
Ulzamër l'shimcho elyon;
L'hagid baboker chasdecho
Veemunoscho balëylos.

Alëy osor vaalëy novel,
Alëy higoyon b'chinor:
Ki simachtani, Adonoy, b'foolecho.
B'maasëy yodeycho aranën.

Mah godlu maasëycho, Adonoy!
M'od omku machsh'voseycho!

Tzadik katomor yifroch,
K'erez balvonon yisgeh;
Sh'sulim b'vëys Adonoy,
B'chatzros elohëynu yafrichu.

Od y'nuvun b'sëyvoh,
D'shënim v'raananim yihyu.
L'hagid ki yoshor Adonoy,
Tzuri, v'lo avlosoh bo.

Union Prayer Book - 1941 Edition - Page 8

How good to give thanks to the Lord
And to praise Thy name supreme;
To declare Thy kindness in the morning
And Thy truth and faithfulness at night.

Upon the harp and upon the psaltery,
With solemn song and with the zither's sound:
Yea, I rejoice at Thy works, O Lord.
And I will triumph in the deeds of Thy hands.

Truly great are Thy works, Eternal God!
How deep and wise are Thy decisions!

Oh, blessed be the righteous man,
He groweth like the cedar-tree;
For he is planted in the house of God
And he shall blossom in the courts of our Lord.

He shall bear fruit still in old age,
Resourceful, fresh and flourishing.
To show forth and to prove
That the Lord is our righteous God,
My Rock, there is no fault in Him.

English Text Adaptation by JOSEF FREUDENTHAL

The Premiere Performance of This Work Was Given On March 10th, 1944
At Park Avenue Synagogue of New York City
By Rev. David J. Putterman and Choir, Max Helfman conducting.

Transcontinental Choral Library

THE 92nd PSALM

TCL 264

TOV L'HODOS *HOW GOOD TO GIVE THANKS*

Duration: 4½ min.

For Baritone Solo, Mixed Voices and Organ (or Piano)

English Text Adaptation by
Josef Freudenthal

ALEXANDRE GRETCHANINOFF
Op. 164, No. 2

Moderato ♩=58

SOPRANO
Tōv — l' - hō - dōs — la - dō - noy —
How good to give thanks to the Lord

ALTO
Tōv — l' - hō - dōs — la - dō - noy —
How good to give thanks to the Lord

TENOR
Tōv — l' - hō - dōs — la - dō - noy —
How good to give thanks to the Lord

BASS
Tōv — l' - hō - dōs — la - dō - noy —
How good to give thanks to the Lord

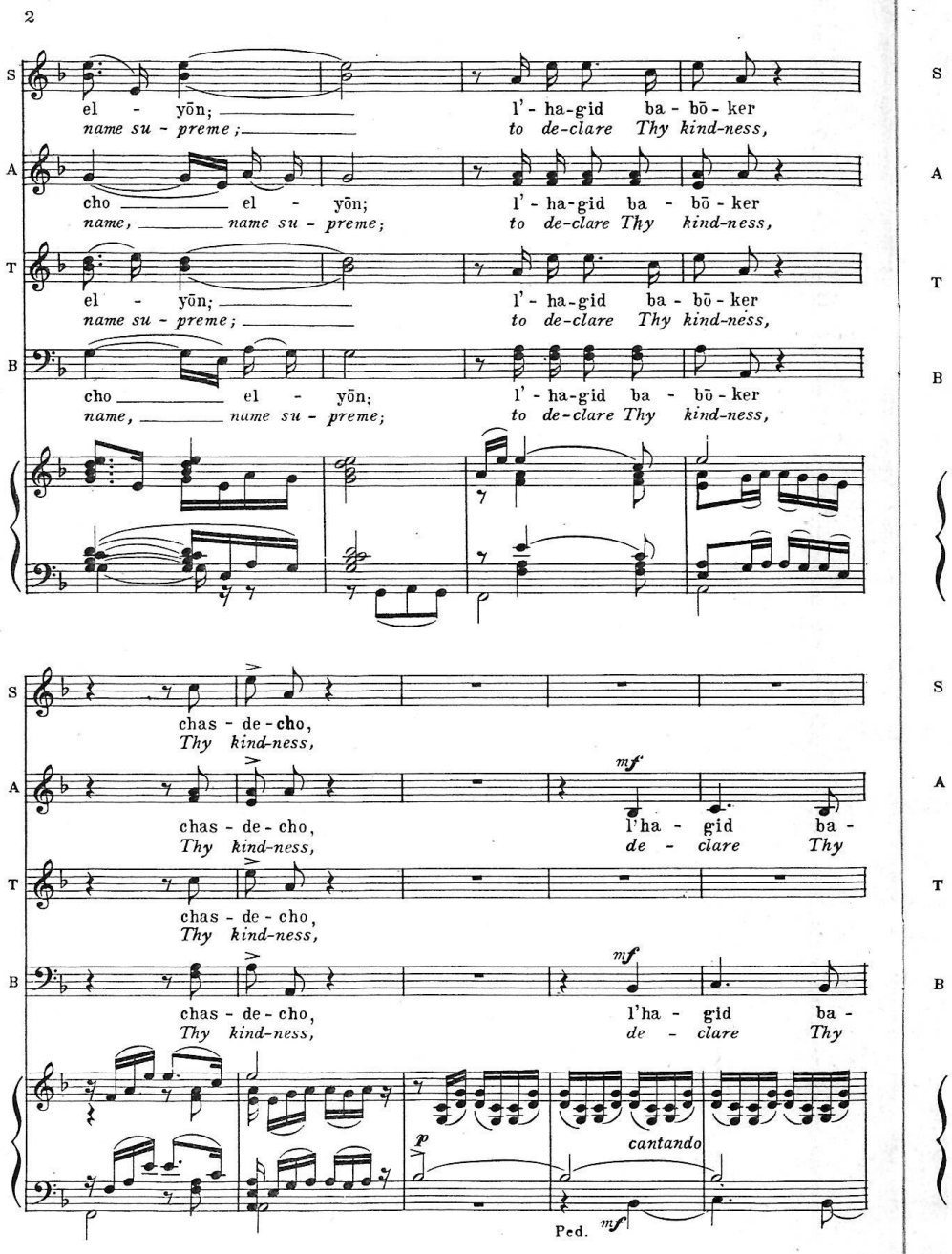
ORGAN

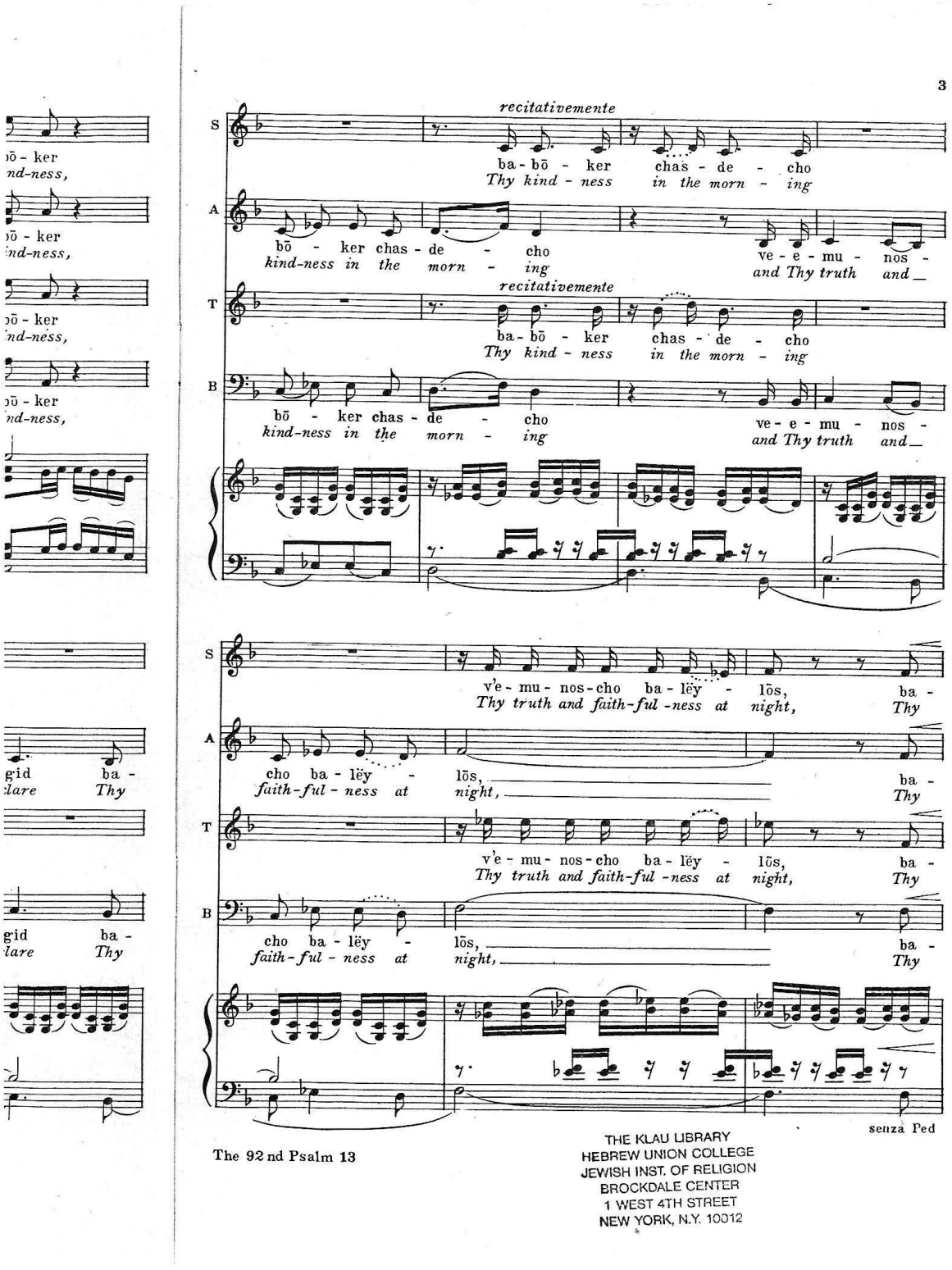
S
ul - za-mër, ul - za - mër — l' - shim - cho
and to praise and to praise, to praise Thy name,

A
ul - za - mër — l'-shim - cho, l' - shim -
and to praise Thy name, to praise Thy

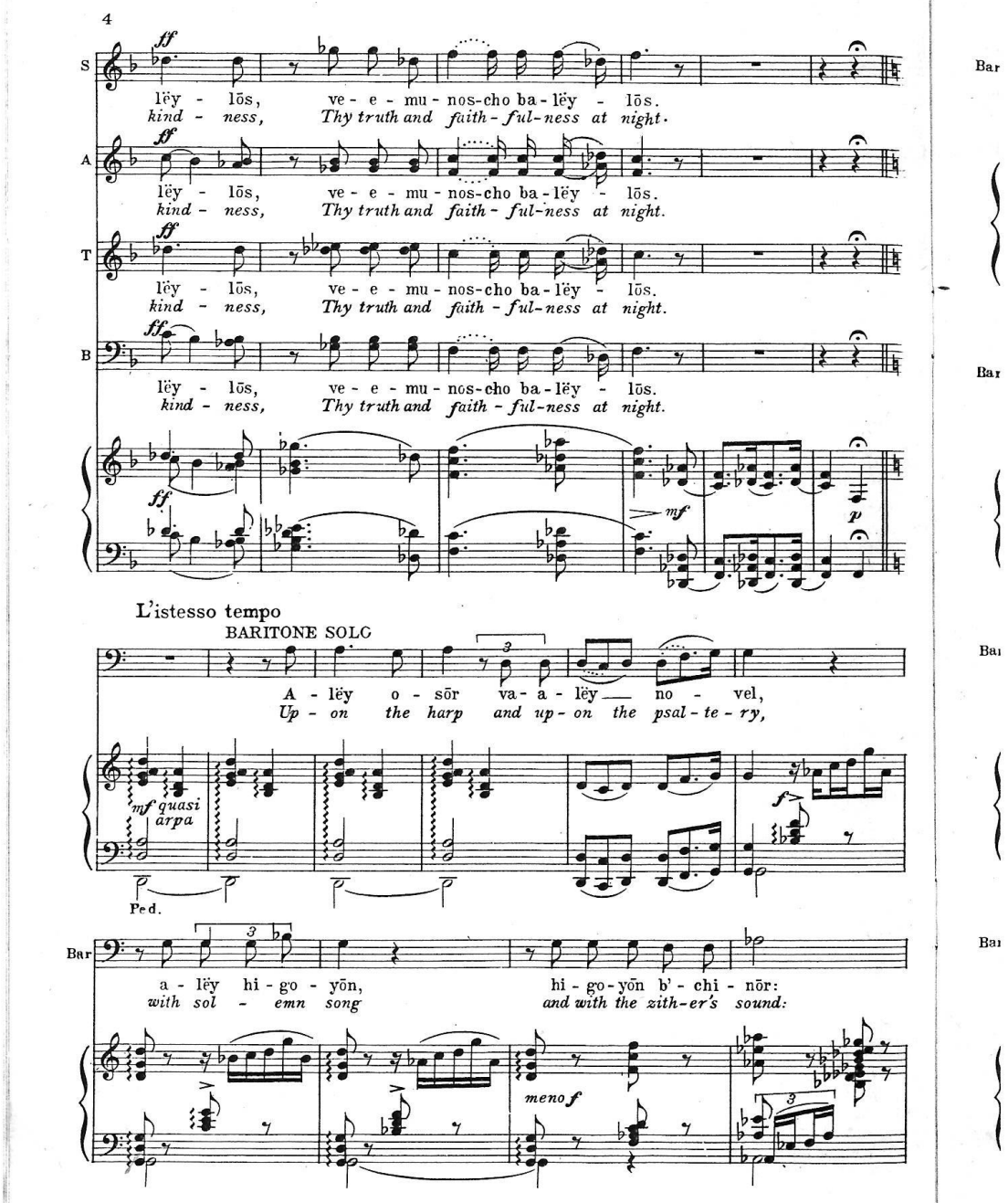
T
ul - za-mër, ul - za - mër — l' - shim - cho
and to praise and to praise, to praise Thy name,

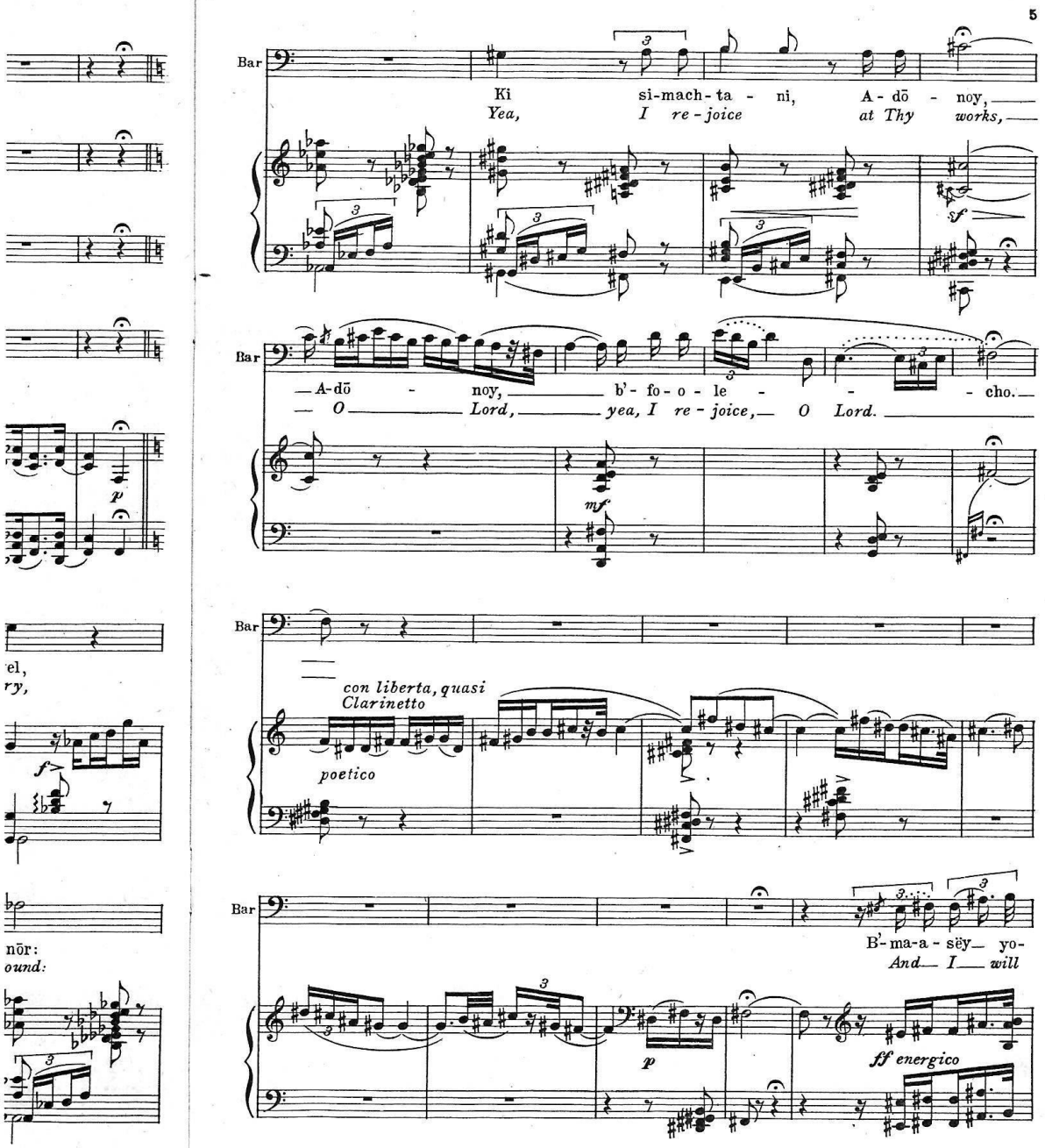
B
ul - za - mër — l'-shim - cho, l' - shim -
and to praise Thy name, to praise Thy

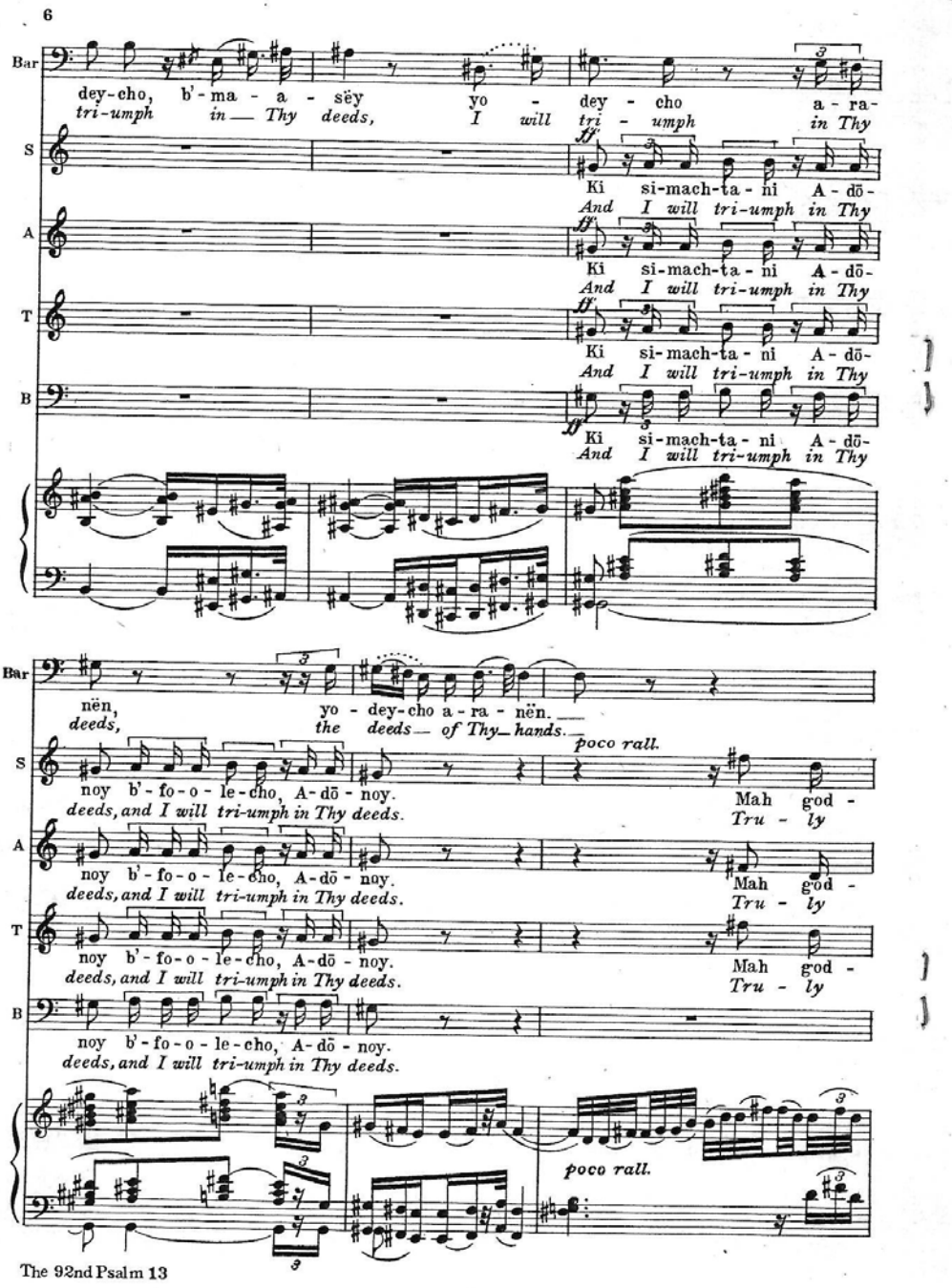

2
S
el - yōn;
name su - preme;
l' - ha-gid ba - bō - ker
to de-clare Thy kind-ness,
A
cho el - yōn;
name, name su - preme;
l' - ha-gid ba - bō - ker
to de-clare Thy kind-ness,
T
el - yōn;
name su - preme;
l' - ha-gid ba - bō - ker
to de-clare Thy kind-ness,
B
cho el - yōn;
name, name su - preme;
l' - ha-gid ba - bō - ker
to de-clare Thy kind-ness,
chas - de - cho,
Thy kind-ness,
mf
l'ha - gid ba -
de - clare Thy
p
cantando
Ped.
mf

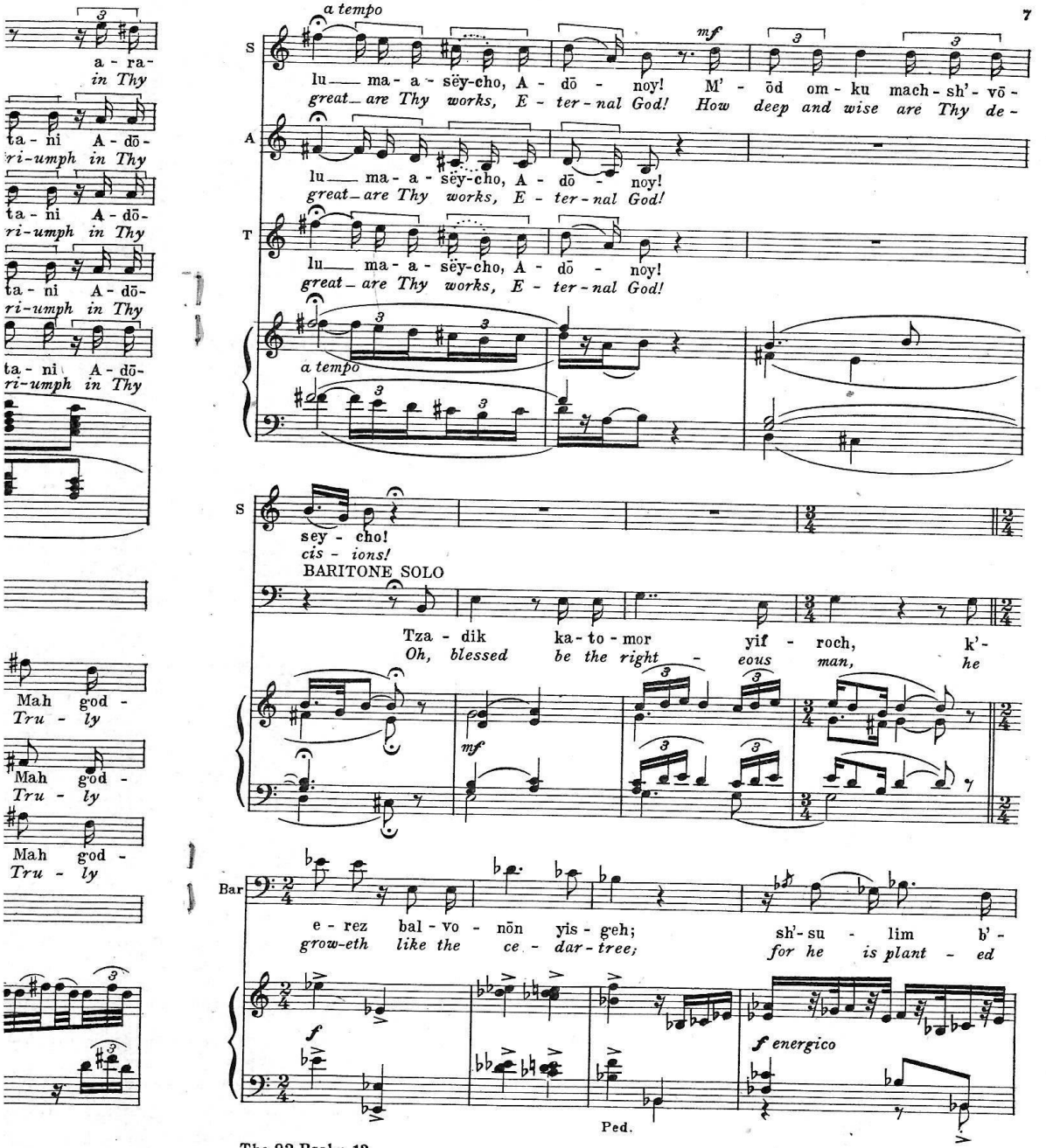


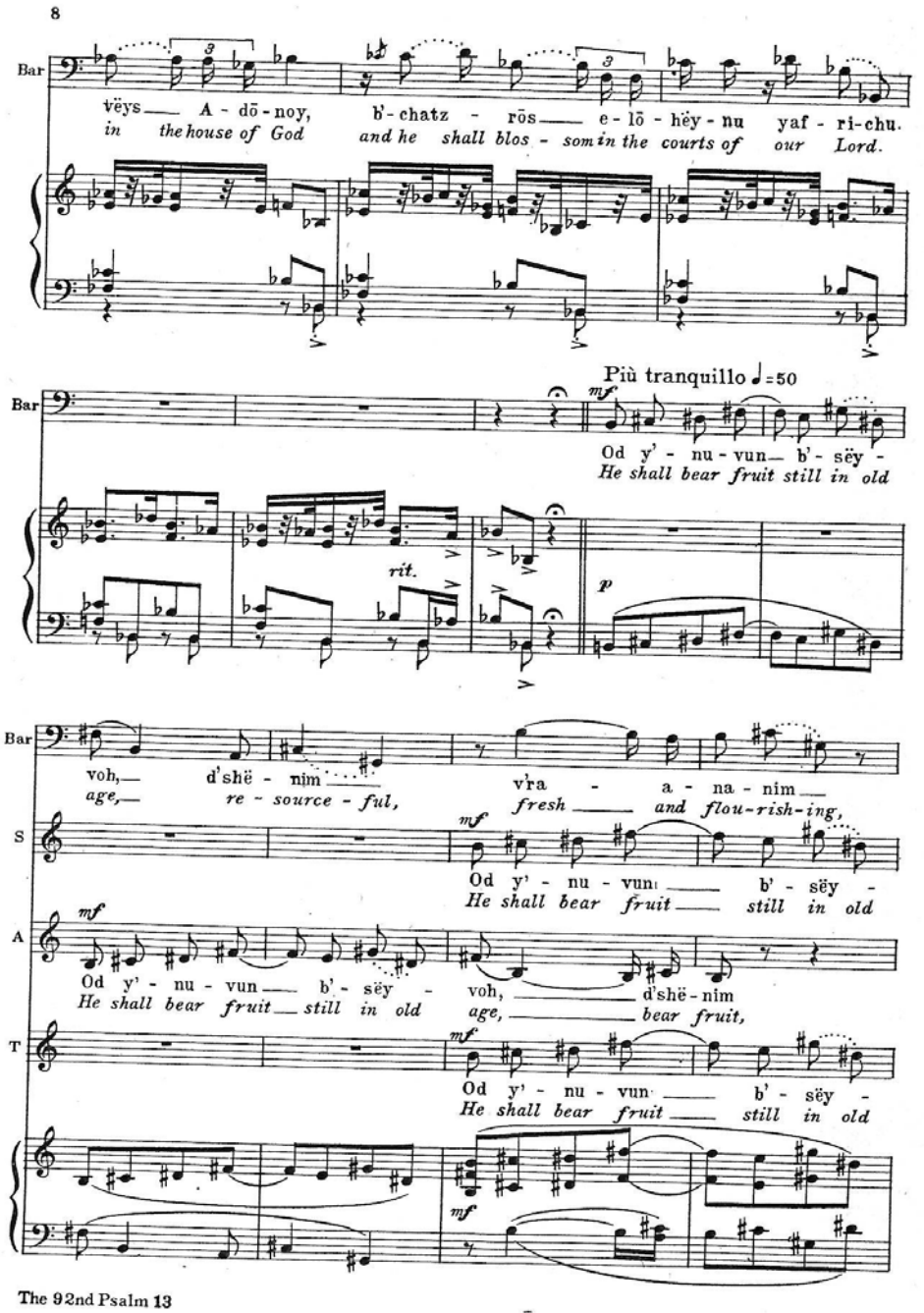
The 92nd Psalm 13

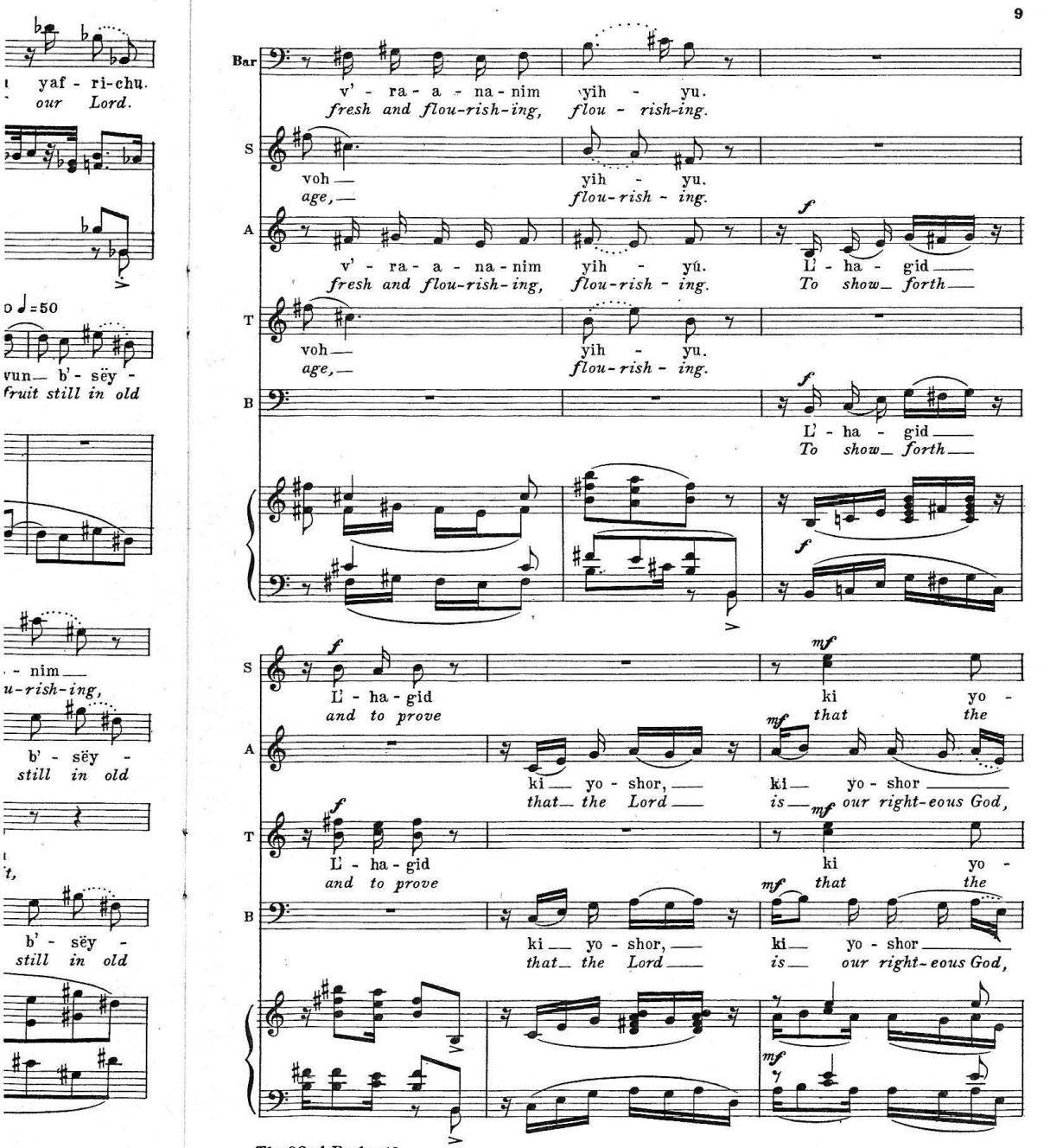

4
S
A
T
B
ff
lëy - lōs, ve - e - mu - nos-cho ba - lëy - lōs.
kind - ness, Thy truth and faith - ful-ness at night.
mf
p
L'istesso tempo
BARITONE SOLO
A - lëy o - sōr va - a - lëy no - vel,
Up - on the harp and up - on the psal - te - ry,
mf quasi arpa
f
Ped.
Bar
a - lëy hi - go - yōn, hi - go - yōn b' - chi - nōr:
with sol - emn song and with the zith-er's sound:
meno f
Bar
Bar
Bar
Bar



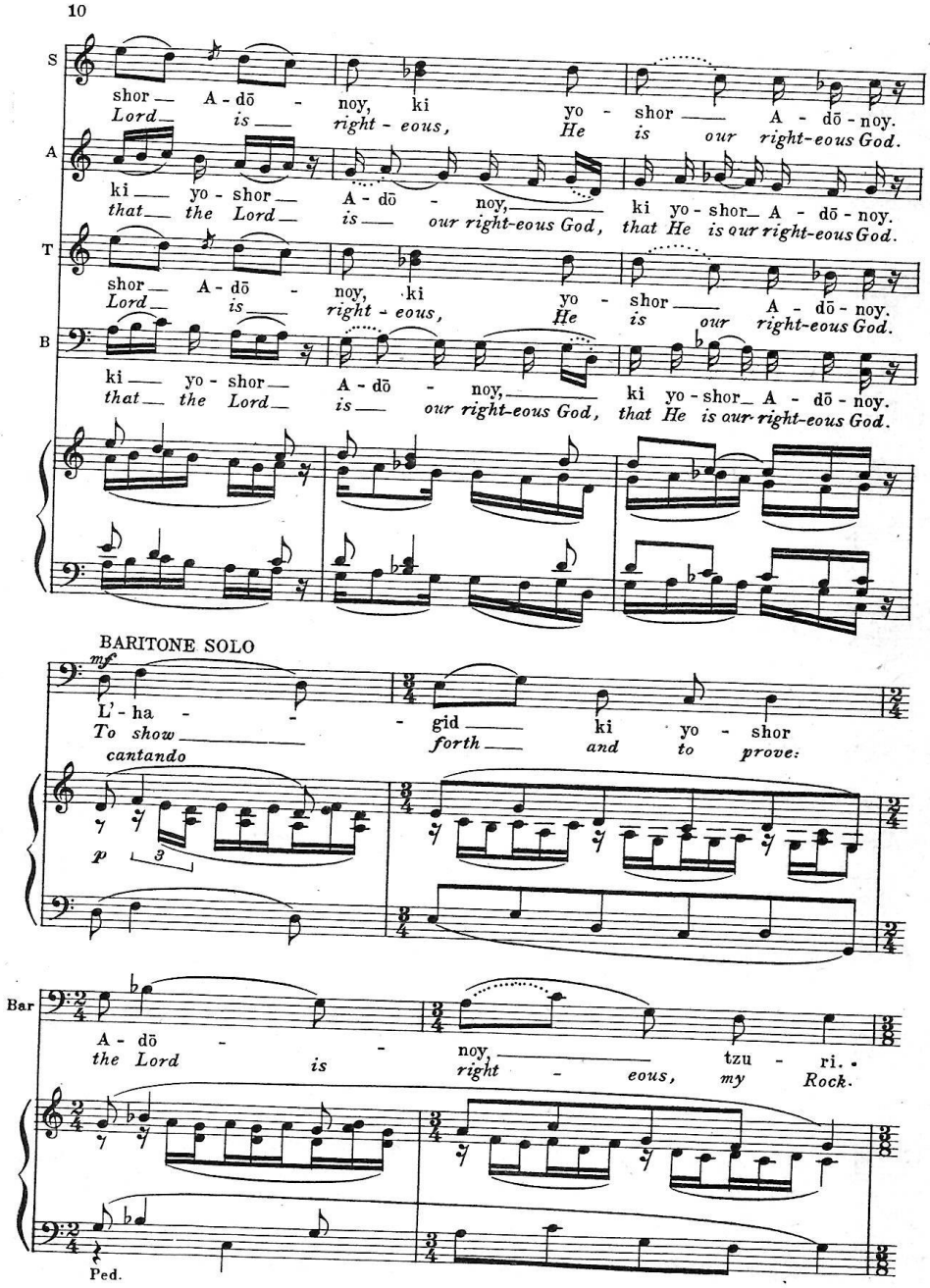

6
Bar
dey-cho, b'-ma - a - sëy yo - dey - cho a - ra-
tri-umph in Thy deeds, I will tri - umph in Thy
S
Ki si-mach-ta - ni A - dō-
And I will tri-umph in Thy
A
Ki si-mach-ta - ni A - dō-
And I will tri-umph in Thy
T
Ki si-mach-ta - ni A - dō-
And I will tri-umph in Thy
B
Ki si-mach-ta - ni A - dō-
And I will tri-umph in Thy
Bar
nën, yo - dey-cho a - ra - nën.
deeds, the deeds of Thy hands.
poco rall.
S
noy b'-fo-o - le-cho, A-dō - noy.
deeds, and I will tri-umph in Thy deeds.
Mah god -
Tru - ly
A
noy b'-fo-o - le-cho, A-dō - noy.
deeds, and I will tri-umph in Thy deeds.
Mah god -
Tru - ly
T
noy b'-fo-o - le-cho, A-dō - noy.
deeds, and I will tri-umph in Thy deeds.
Mah god -
Tru - ly
B
noy b'-fo-o - le-cho, A-dō - noy.
deeds, and I will tri-umph in Thy deeds.
poco rall.

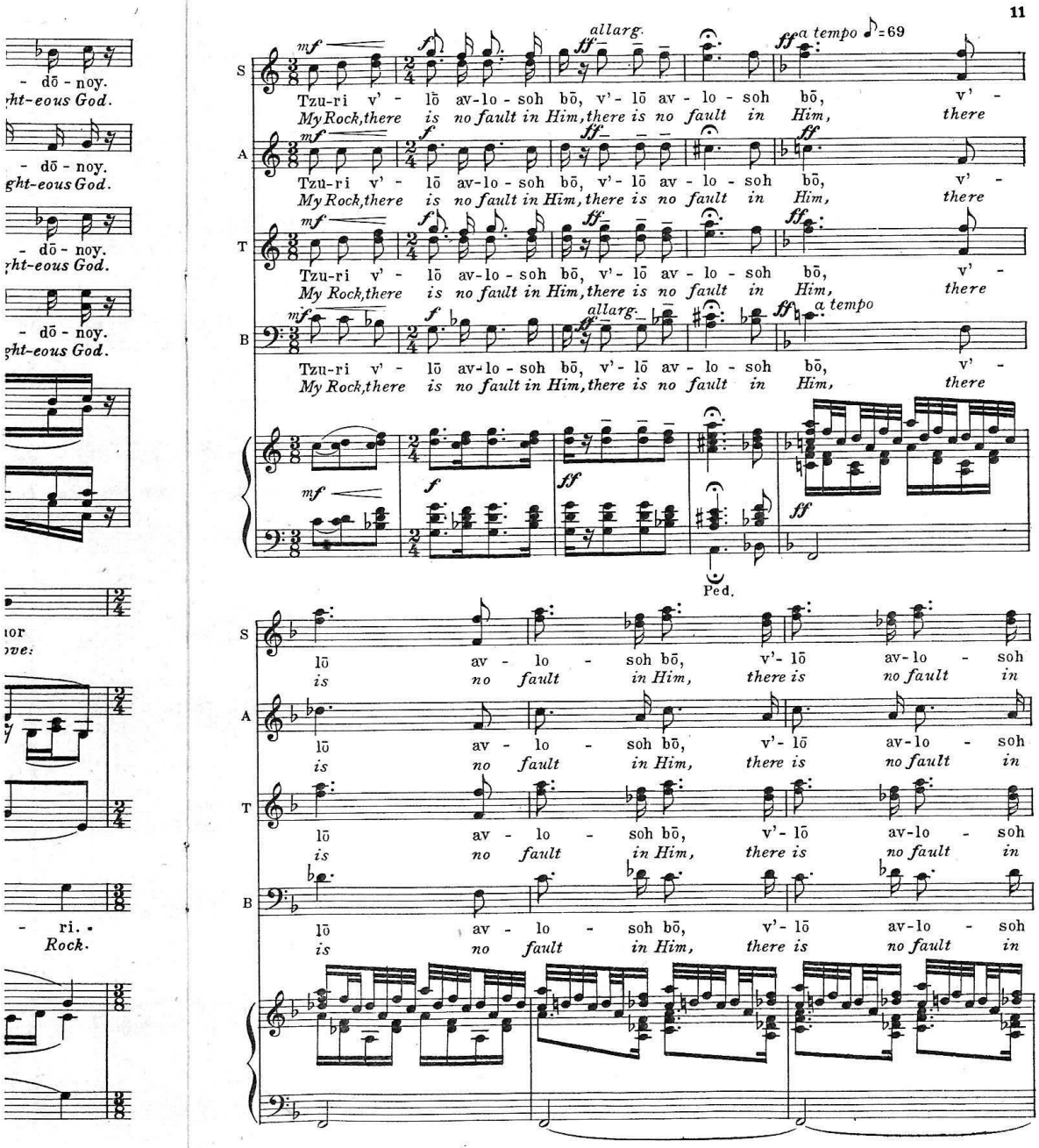


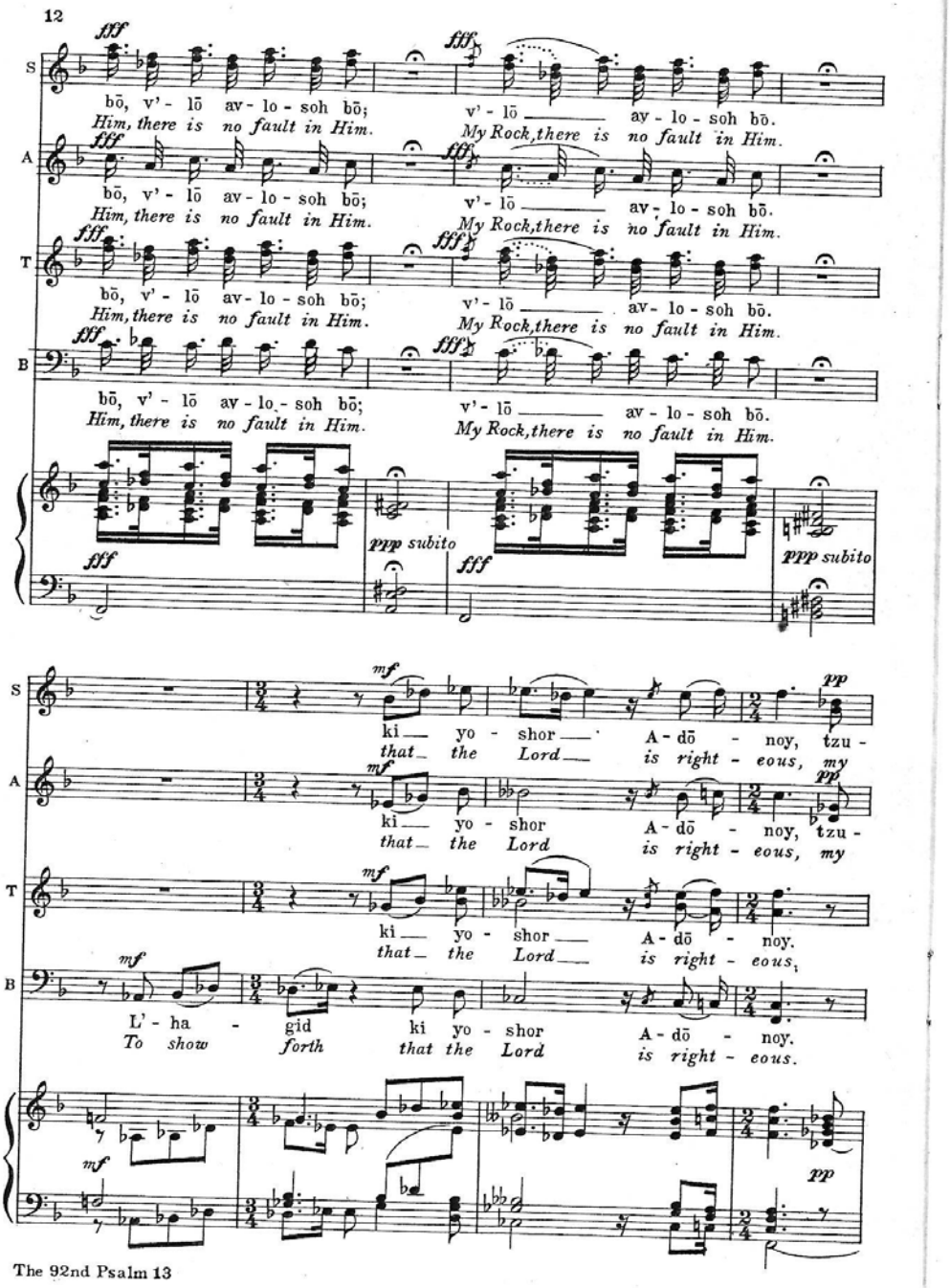

8
Bar
vëys — A - dō - noy,
in the house of God
b'-chatz - rōs — e-lō - hëy - nu yaf - ri-chu.
and he shall blos - som in the courts of our Lord.
Più tranquillo ♩=50
mf
Od y' - nu - vun — b' - sëy -
He shall bear fruit still in old
rit.
p
voh, — d'shë - nim —
age, — re - source - ful,
v'ra - a - na - nim —
fresh — and flou-rish-ing,
S
A
T
Od y' - nu - vun — b' - sëy -
He shall bear fruit — still in old
voh, — d'shë-nim
age, — bear fruit,



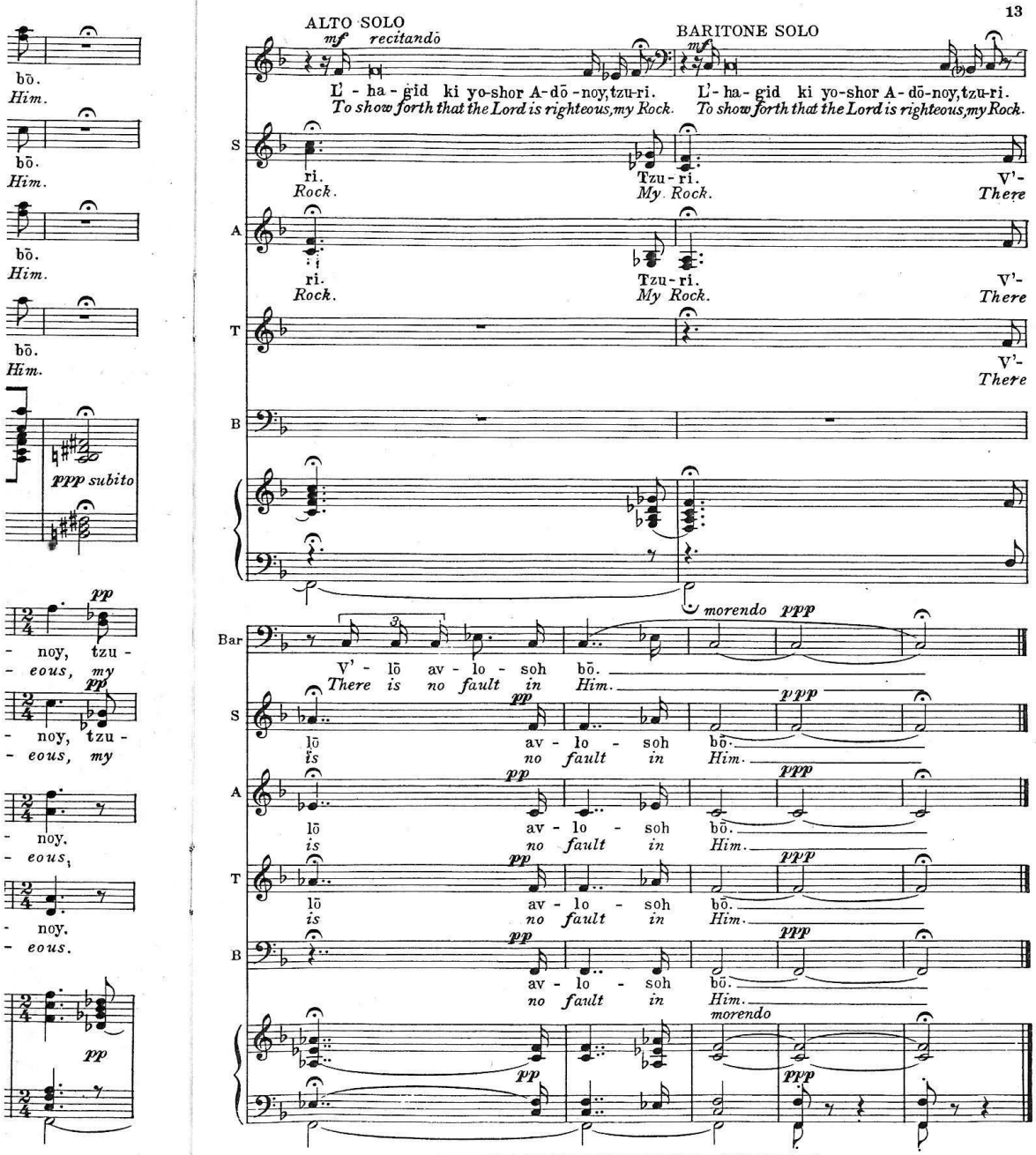
The 92nd Psalm 13


10
S
shor — A - dō - noy, ki yo - shor — A - dō - noy.
Lord — is — right - eous, He is our right-eous God.
A
ki — yo - shor — A - dō - noy, ki yo - shor — A - dō - noy.
that — the Lord — is — our right-eous God, that He is our right-eous God.
T
shor — A - dō - noy, ki yo - shor — A - dō - noy.
Lord — is — right - eous, He is our right-eous God.
B
ki — yo - shor — A - dō - noy, ki yo - shor — A - dō - noy.
that — the Lord — is — our right-eous God, that He is our right-eous God.
BARITONE SOLO
mf
L' - ha - - - gid — ki yo - shor
To show — forth — and to prove:
cantando
p
3
Bar
A - dō - - noy, tzu - ri.
the Lord is right - eous, my Rock.
Ped.

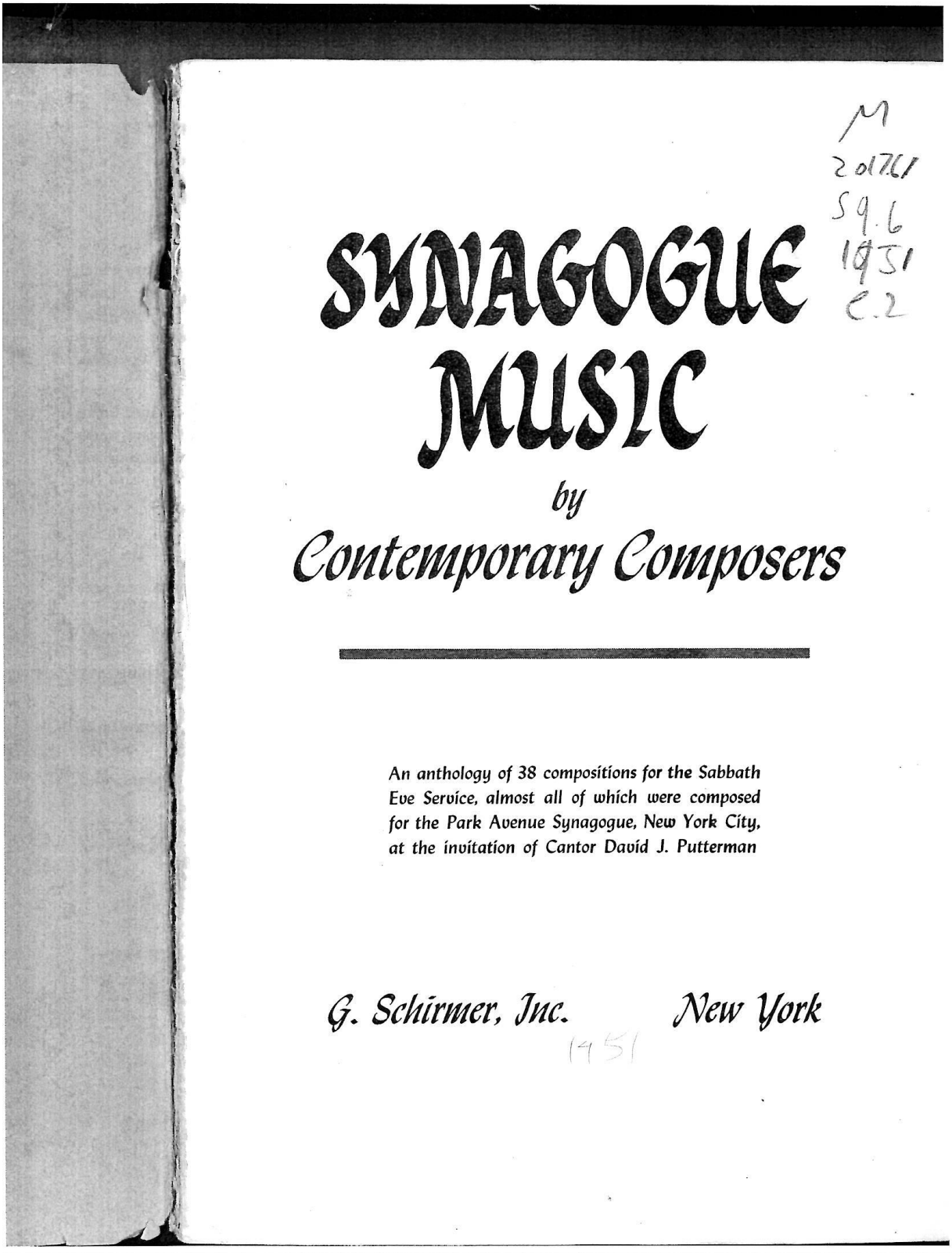




The 92nd Psalm 13



Appendix I: Alexandre Gretchaninoff's Psalm 97



SYNAGOGUE MUSIC

by

Contemporary Composers

An anthology of 38 compositions for the Sabbath Eve Service, almost all of which were composed for the Park Avenue Synagogue, New York City, at the invitation of Cantor David J. Putterman

G. Schirmer, Inc. New York

1951

FOREWORD

Religion is an aspect of civilization. It is that part of any culture which is self-conscious and which sees itself as set against reality as a whole. There are of course religious interests which are universal in the sense of belonging to no culture in particular. The philosophy of religion is one such, abstract ethics still another. But as a living experience a religion belongs to a particular group and its culture, it is rooted in some people and its group life.

If all religion is an aspect of civilization, the Jewish religion must be an aspect of the Jewish civilization. And since Jewish music is, in turn, so much associated with the Jewish religion, it follows that one cannot understand the problems of Jewish music without understanding first the problems of the Jewish civilization.

What then are these larger problems which when reduced to scale are the issues of Jewish music more specifically?

The challenge confronting Jewish life today is that of adapting an age-old tradition to a new and ever-changing scene.

More concretely this means:

First: —Preserving and recapturing out of the Jewish past everything in it which is good, true, and beautiful.

Second:—Modifying the past so that it conforms to the requirements of modern living.

Third: —Creating new Jewish things: books, ideas, customs, values, and what not.

These, more specifically applied, are the tasks of Jewish music:

The preservation and recapture of the past of Jewish music.
The adaptation of it to the musical present.
The stimulation of new Jewish musical creativity.

MILTON STEINBERG (1903-1950)
Rabbi, Park Avenue Synagogue
New York City

PREFACE

New songs will be created, breathing the love of God and echoing His mighty word. New and bright domains of culture will be discovered, tilled and fructified. The old will be renewed and the new will be sanctified.

Chief Rabbi Kuk, Jerusalem, 1943

Since Judaism is an evolving civilization it cannot possibly endure without new creativity. The Jewish prayer-book of today is the result of development through the ages and reflects the Jewish spirit of these ages; similarly, the music of the Synagogue is a veritable growing treasure from Biblical times to the present. The music contained in this volume is not meant to replace the traditional fixed prayer modes, but is rather intended to enrich the music of our time. It was commissioned for the purpose of enhancing Jewish worship; to encourage many composers to write for the Synagogue who otherwise may never have done so; and to contribute to the main stream of contemporary music.

This anthology of new music set to ancient prayers is dedicated to the enhancement of Jewish worship; to a wider diffusion and utilization of the resources of Jewish music; and to the encouragement of those who give of their lives and genius to the enrichment of that music.

DAVID J. PUTTERMAN
Cantor, Park Avenue Synagogue
New York City

Adonoy Moloch

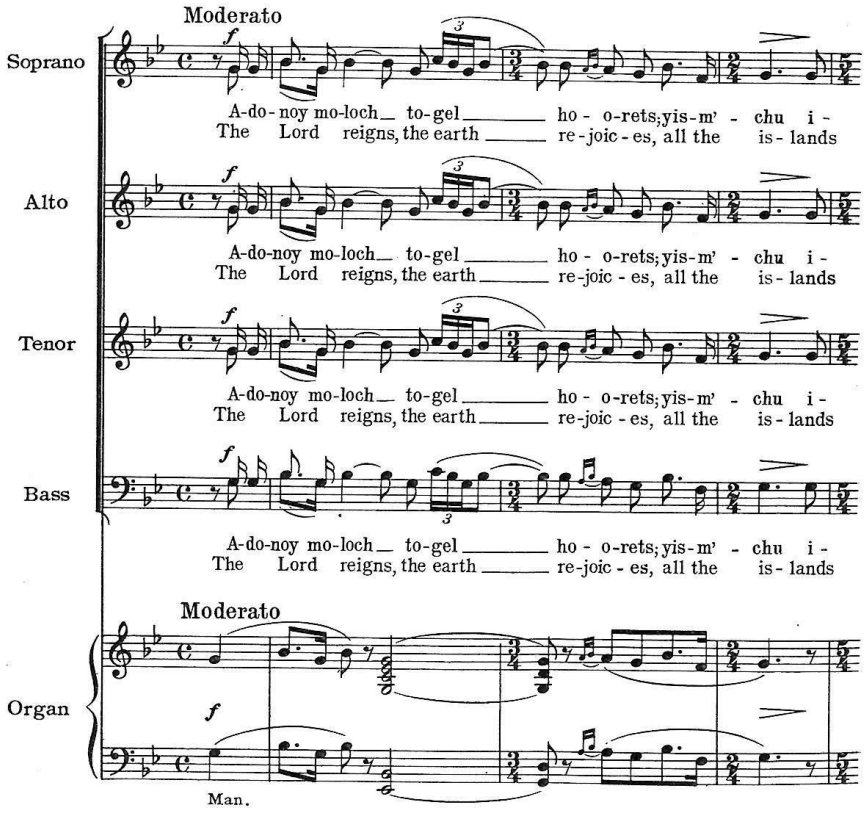
The Lord Reigns

(The 97th Psalm)

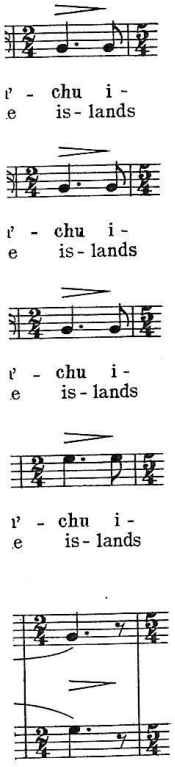
For Full Chorus of Mixed Voices and Organ
with Incidental Tenor or Baritone Solo

English text adaptation by
Esther Zweig and Josef Freudenthal

Alexandre Gretchaninoff,
Op.164, No.1



Gretchaninoff,
64, No.1



Profit

yim ra-bim. O - non va - a - ro-fel s'- vi - vov,
ring with joy. The fleecy clouds and vel-vet-y shad-ows sur- round Him.

yim ra-bim. O - non va - a - ro-fel s'- vi - vov,
ring with joy. The fleecy clouds and vel-vet-y shad-ows sur- round Him.

yim ra - bim. O-non va - a - ro-fel s'- vi - vov,
ring with joy. The clouds and vel-vet-y shad-ows sur- round Him.

yim ra - bim. O-non va - a - ro-fel s'- vi - vov,
ring with joy. The clouds and vel-vet-y shad-ows sur- round Him.

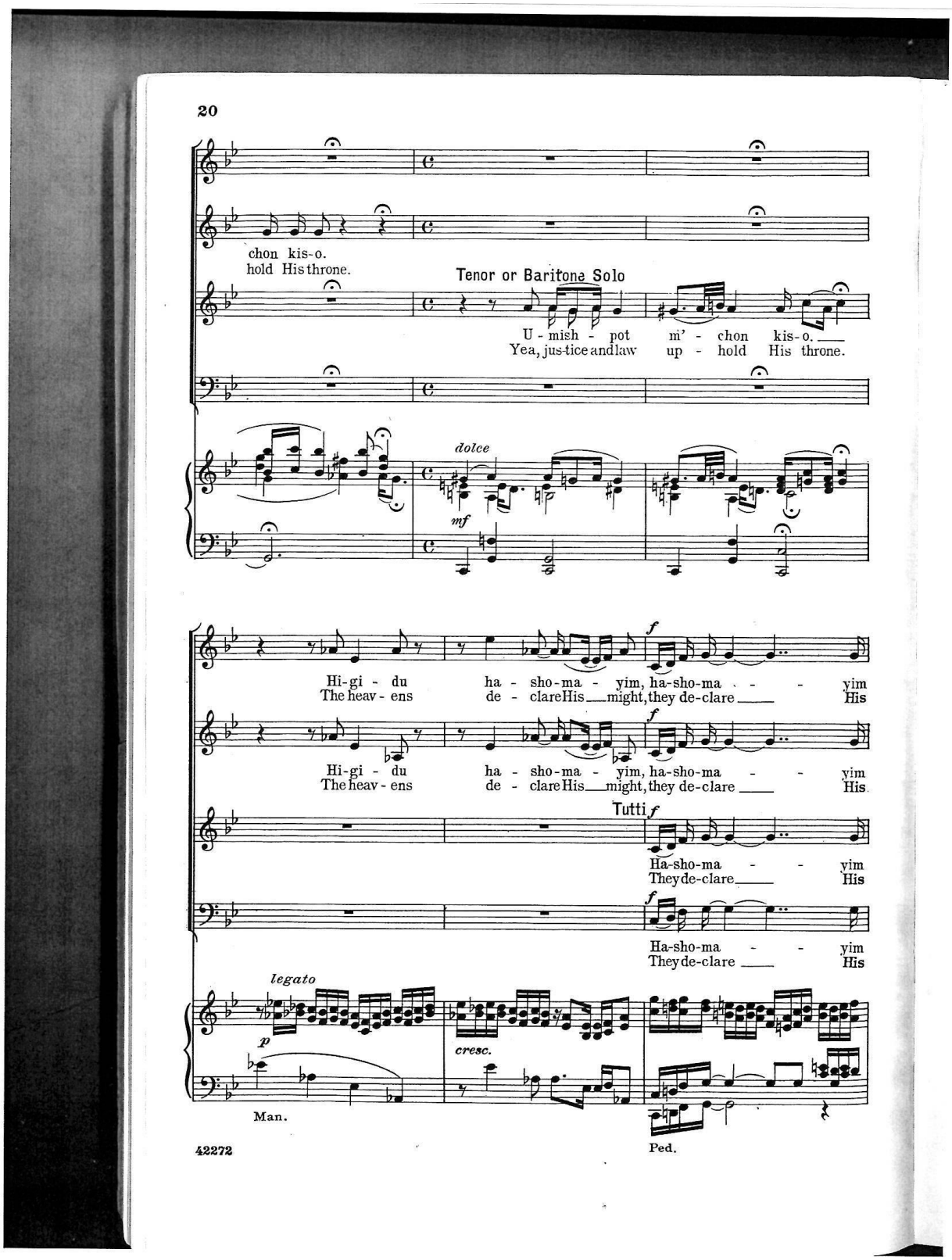
recitando

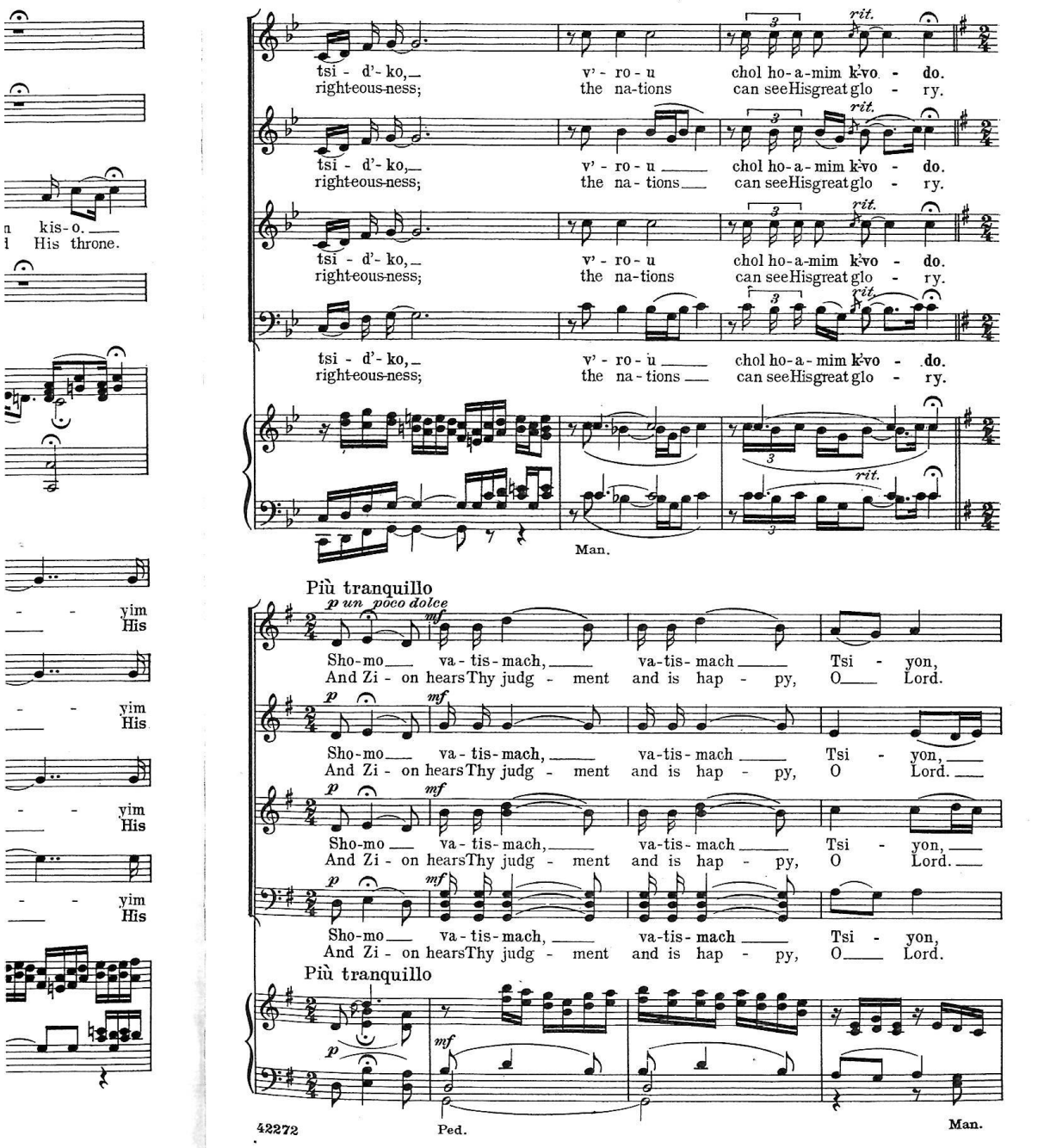
M'-
Up-

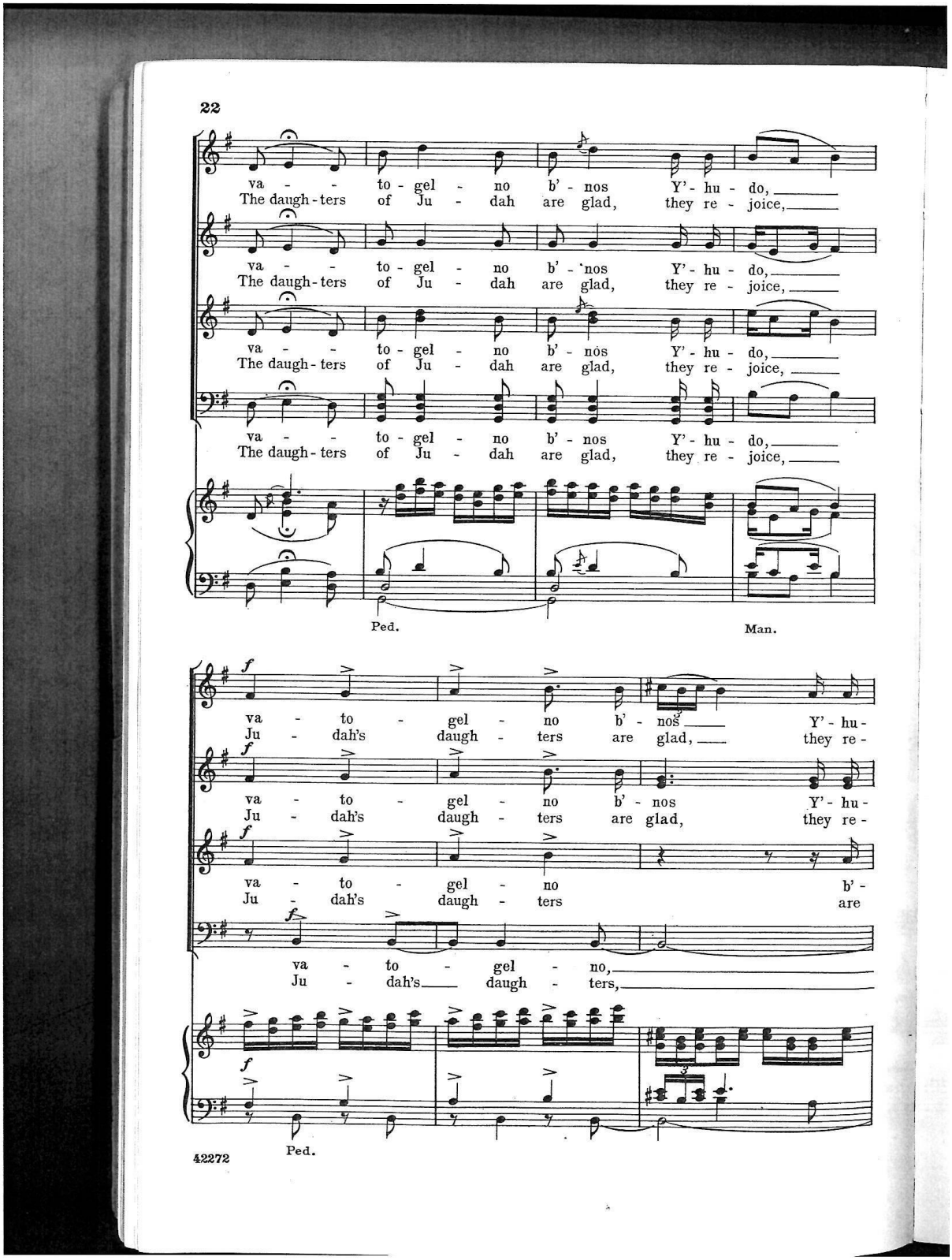
recitando

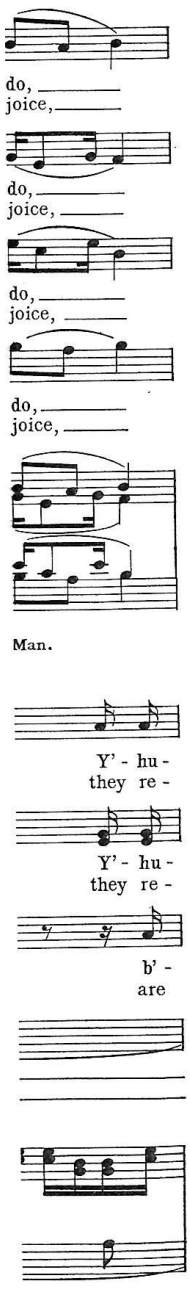
Tse-dek u-mish-pot m'-chon kis - o.
Right-eous-ness and law up-hold His throne.

Ped. 8', 16'


20
chon kis-o.
hold His throne.
Tenor or Baritone Solo
U - mish - pot m' - chon kis-o.
Yea, jus-tice and law up - hold His throne.
dolce
mf
Hi-gi - du ha - sho-ma - yim, ha-sho-ma - - yim
The heav - ens de - clare His might, they de-clare His
Hi-gi - du ha - sho-ma - yim, ha-sho-ma - - yim
The heav - ens de - clare His might, they de-clare His
Tutti
Ha-sho-ma - - yim
They de-clare His
Ha-sho-ma - - yim
They de-clare His
legato
cresc.
Man.
Ped.
42272


21
tsi - d'- ko,
right-eous-ness;
v' - ro - u
the na-tions
chol ho-a-mim k'vo - do.
can see His great glo - ry.
rit.
Man.
Più tranquillo
p un poco dolce
mf
Sho-mo va - tis-mach,
va-tis-mach
Tsi - yon,
And Zi - on hears Thy judg - ment
and is hap - py,
O Lord.
Più tranquillo
42272
Ped.
Man.


22
va - - to - gel - no b' - nos Y' - hu - do,
The daugh - ters of Ju - dah are glad, they re - joice,
va - - to - gel - no b' - nos Y' - hu - do,
The daugh - ters of Ju - dah are glad, they re - joice,
va - - to - gel - no b' - nos Y' - hu - do,
The daugh - ters of Ju - dah are glad, they re - joice,
va - - to - gel - no b' - nos Y' - hu - do,
The daugh - ters of Ju - dah are glad, they re - joice,
Ped.
Man.
f
va - to - gel - no b' - nos Y' - hu -
Ju - dah's daugh - ters are glad, they re -
f
va - to - gel - no b' - nos Y' - hu -
Ju - dah's daugh - ters are glad, they re -
f
va - to - gel - no b' -
Ju - dah's daugh - ters are
f
va - to - gel - no,
Ju - dah's daugh - ters,
f
Ped.
42272



do, l'-ma - an, l'-ma - an
joice at Thy judg - ment,

do, l'-ma - an, l'-ma - an
joice at Thy judg - ment,

nos Y' - hu - do, l'-ma - an, l'-ma - an
glad, they re - joice at Thy judg - ment,

l'-ma - an, l'ma - an, l'-ma - an
at Thy judg-ment, judg - ment,

Man.

mf

mish - po - te - cho, A - - do - noy.
at Thy judg - ment, Lord, our God.

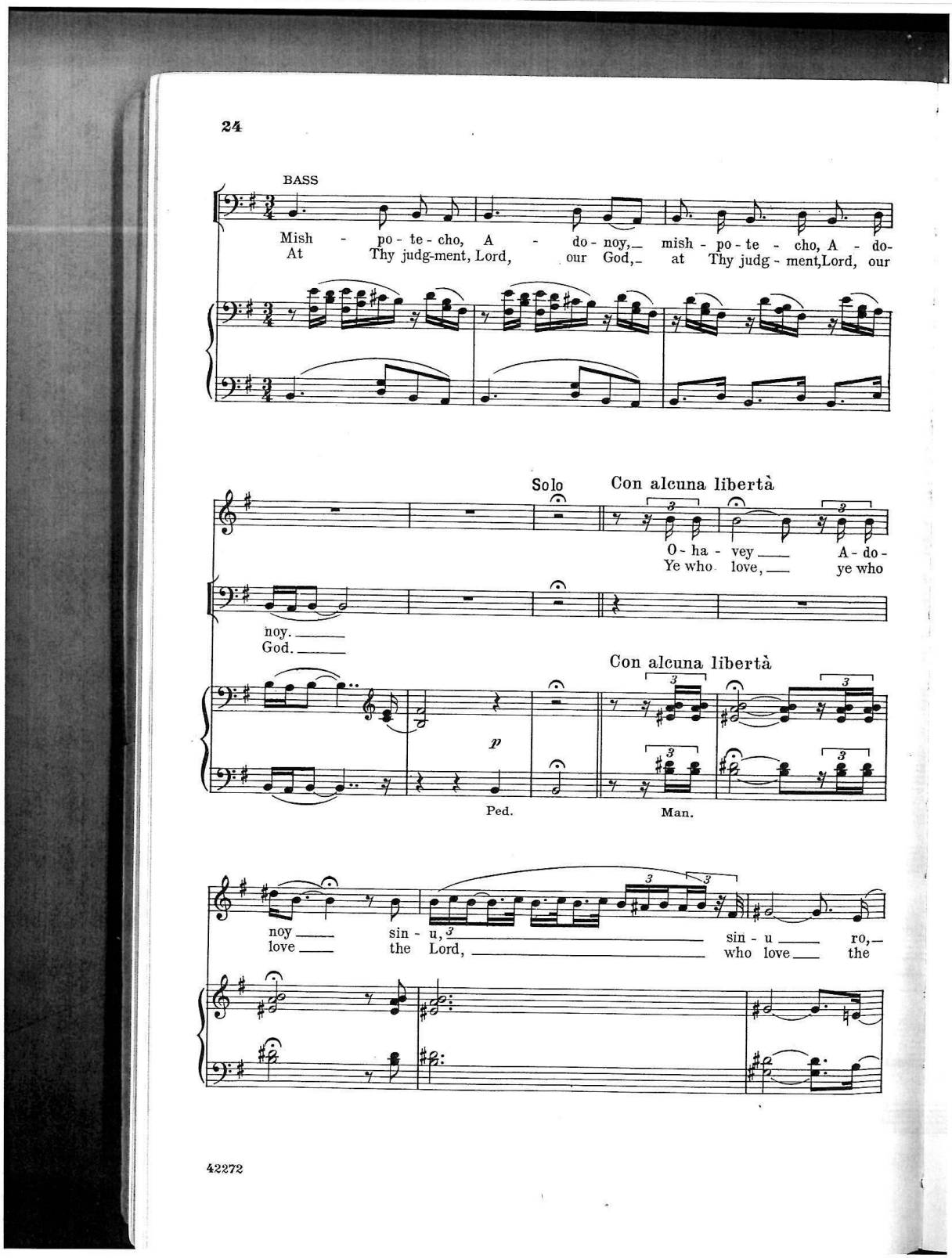
mf

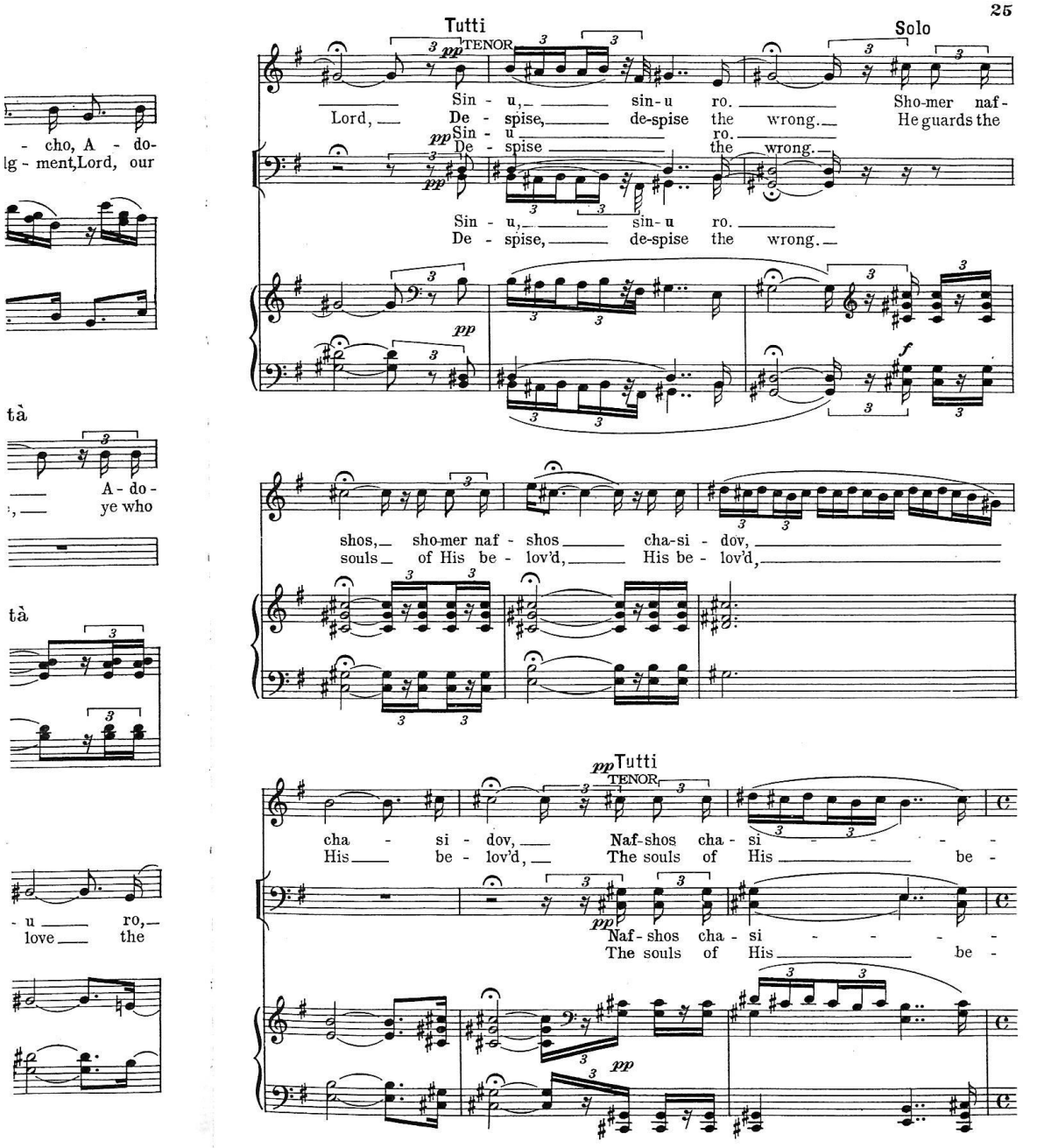
mish - po - te - cho, A - - do - noy.
at Thy judg - ment, Lord, our God.

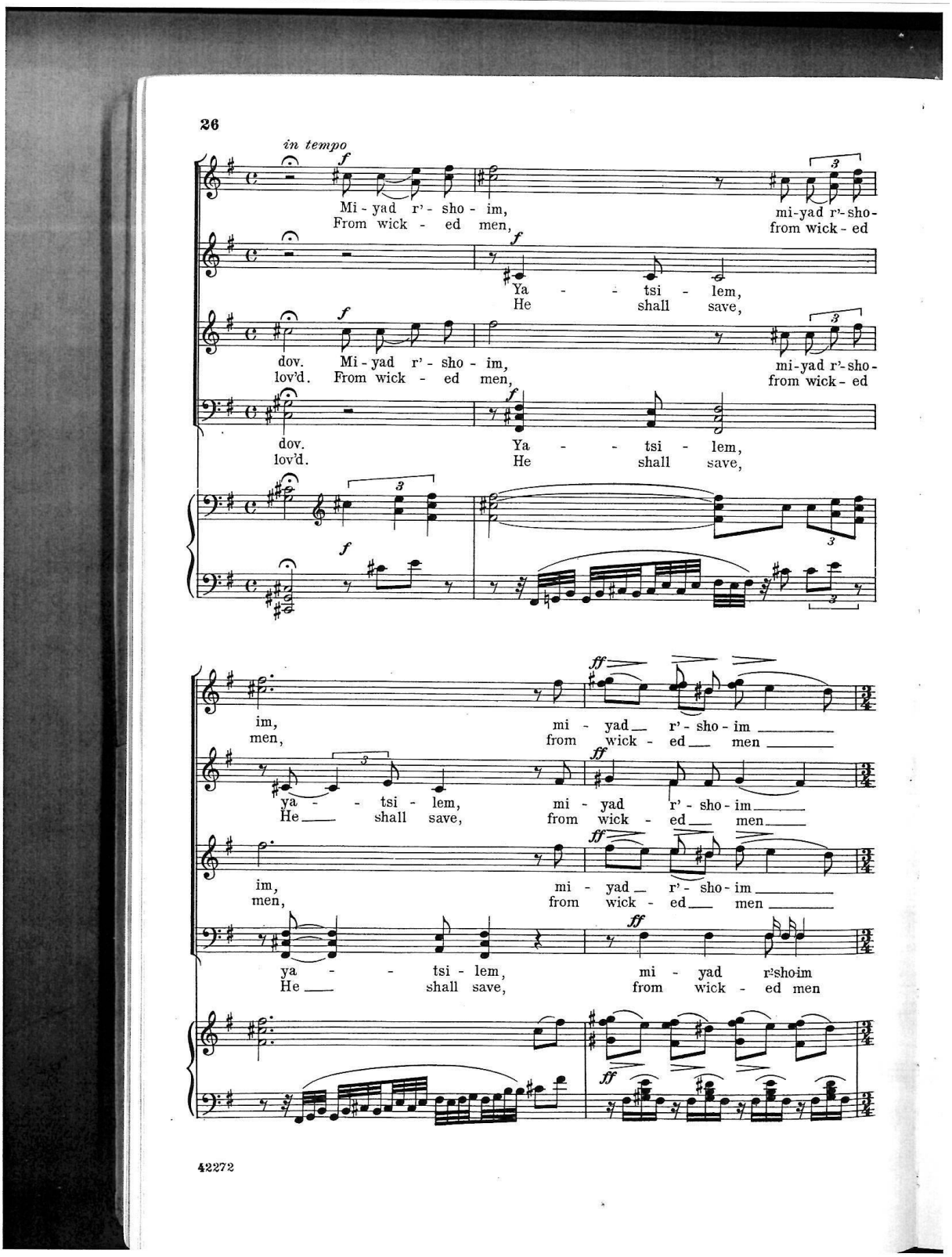
mf

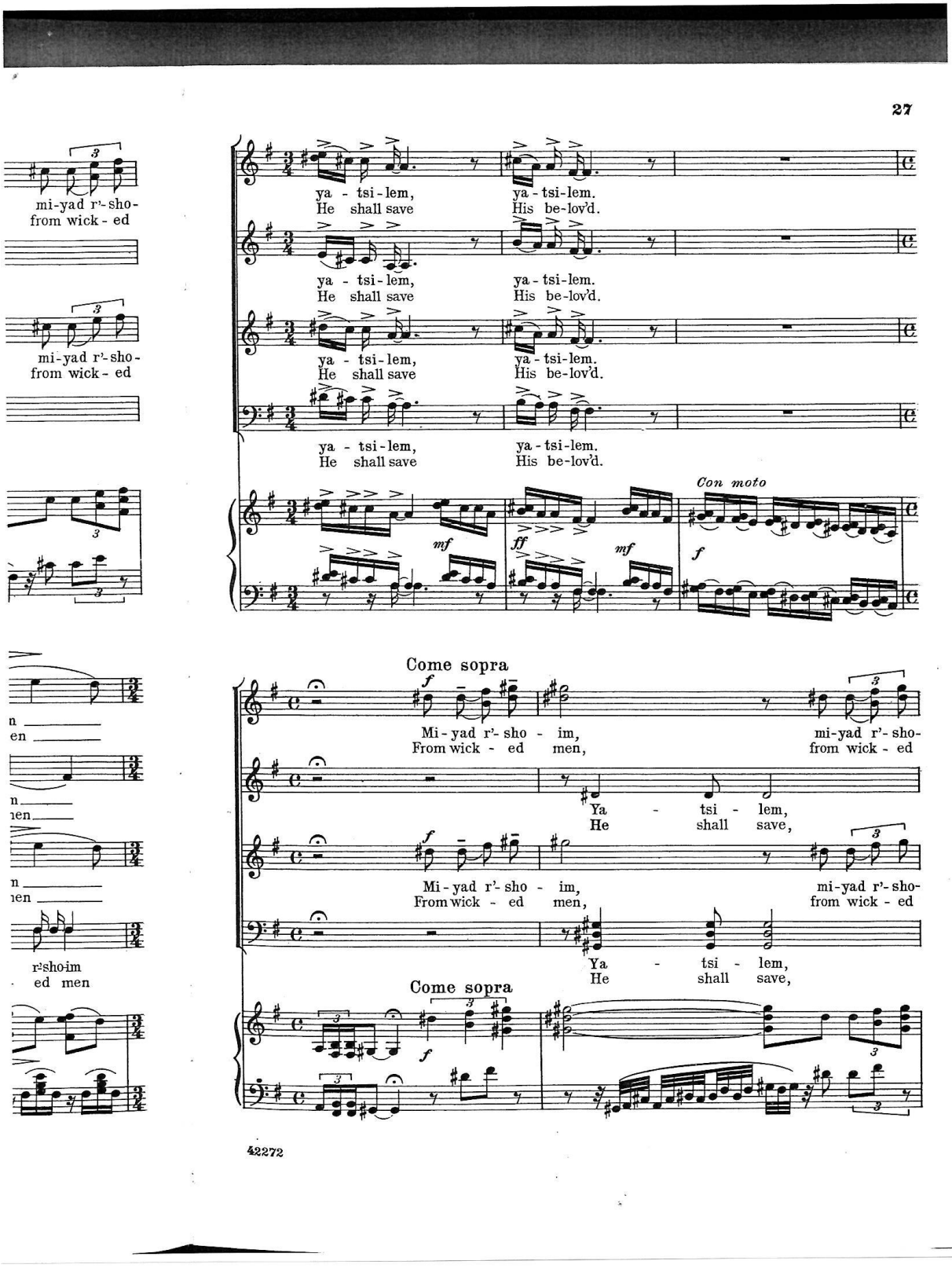
mish - po - te - cho, A - - do - noy.
at Thy judg - ment, Lord, our God.

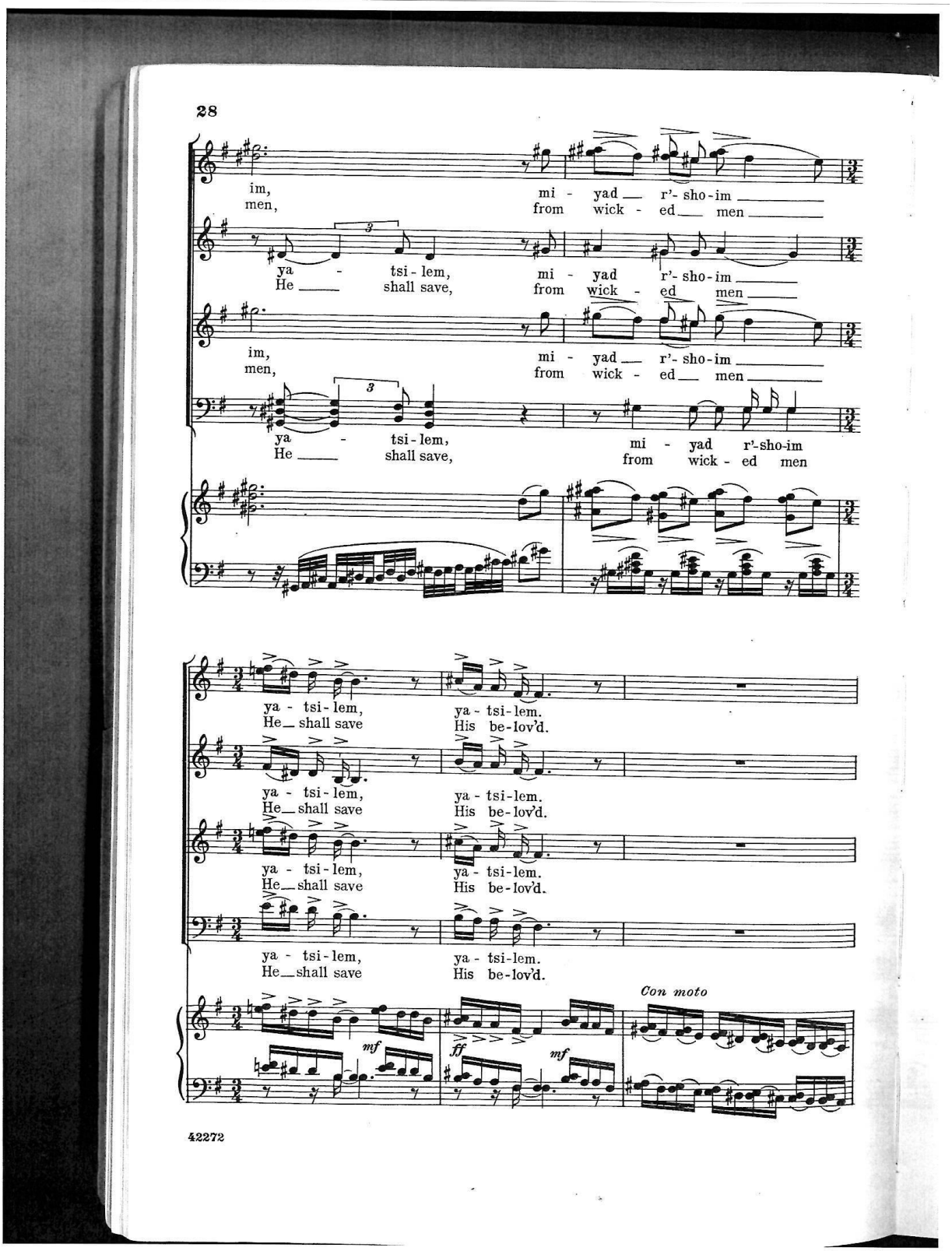
mish-po - te - cho.
at Thy judg-ment.

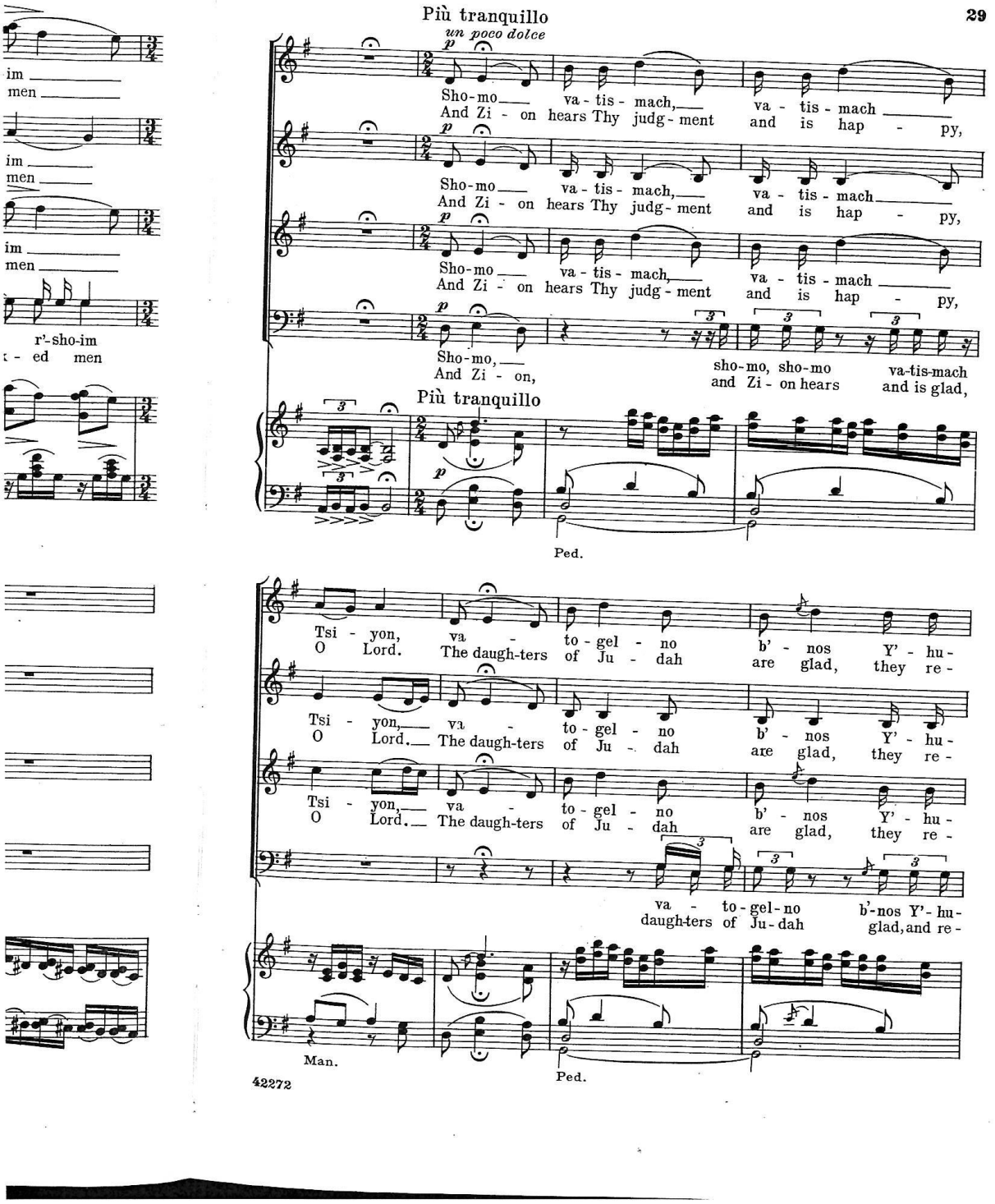

24
BASS
Mish - po - te - cho, A - do - noy, mish - po - te - cho, A - do-
At Thy judg-ment, Lord, our God, at Thy judg - ment, Lord, our
Solo
Con alcuna libertà
O - ha - vey A - do -
Ye who love, ye who
noy.
God.
Con alcuna libertà
p
Ped.
Man.
noy sin - u, sin - u ro,
love the Lord, who love the
42272

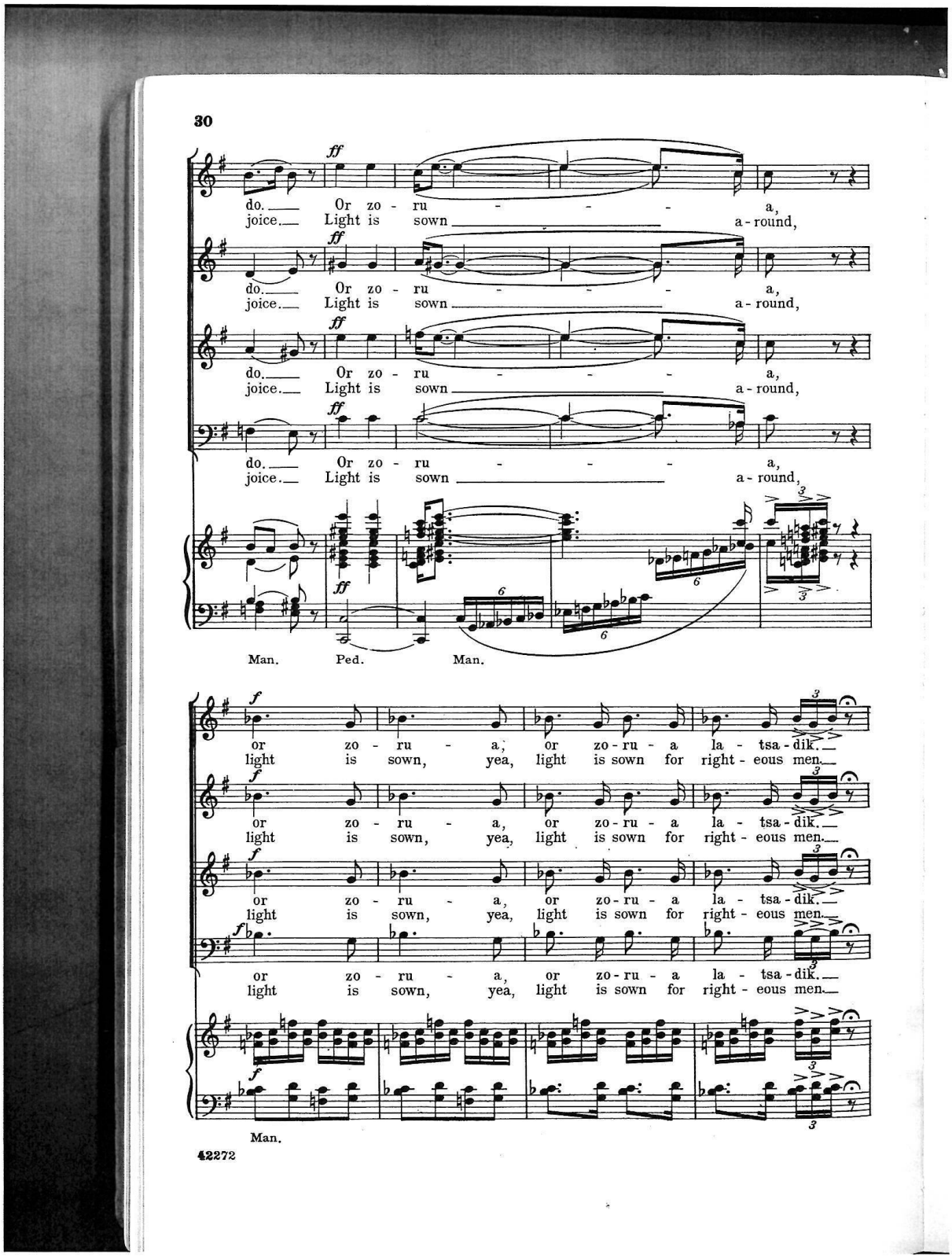

25
Tutti
TENOR
Solo
Sin - u, sin-u ro.
Lord, De - spise, de-spise the wrong.
Sho-mer naf-
He guards the
Sin - u ro.
De - spise the wrong.
Sin - u, sin-u ro.
De - spise, de-spise the wrong.
shos, sho-mer naf - shos cha-si - dov,
souls of His be - lov'd, His be - lov'd,
Tutti
TENOR
cha - si - dov, Naf-shos cha - si
His be - lov'd, The souls of His be -
Naf-shos cha - si
The souls of His be -
42272

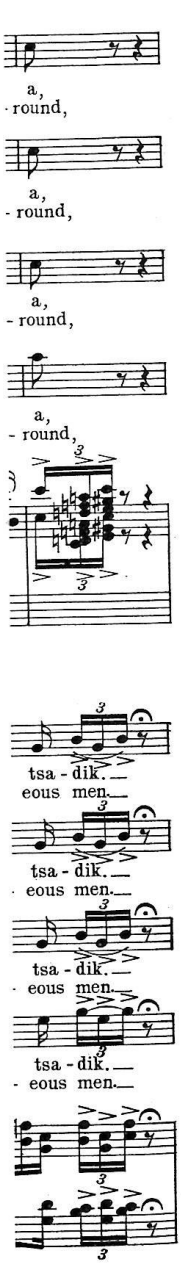

26
in tempo
Mi - yad r' - sho - im,
From wick - ed men,
mi-yad r'-sho-
from wick - ed
Ya - - tsi - lem,
He shall save,
dov. Mi - yad r' - sho - im,
lov'd. From wick - ed men,
dov.
lov'd.
Ya - - tsi - lem,
He shall save,
im,
men,
mi - yad r' - sho - im
from wick - ed men
ya - - tsi - lem,
He shall save,
mi - yad r' - sho - im
from wick - ed men
mi - yad r'shoim
from wick - ed men
42272


27
ya - tsi - lem,
He shall save
ya - tsi - lem.
His be - lov'd.
Con moto
mf
ff
f
Come sopra
Mi - yad r'- sho - im,
From wick - ed men,
mi - yad r'- sho -
from wick - ed
Ya - tsi - lem,
He shall save,
42272


28
im,
men,
mi - yad r'- sho - im
from wick - ed men
ya - tsi - lem,
He shall save,
mi - yad r'- sho - im
from wick - ed men
im,
men,
mi - yad r'- sho - im
from wick - ed men
ya - tsi - lem,
He shall save,
mi - yad r'-sho-im
from wick - ed men
ya - tsi - lem,
He shall save
ya - tsi - lem.
His be - lov'd.
ya - tsi - lem,
He shall save
ya - tsi - lem.
His be - lov'd.
ya - tsi - lem,
He shall save
ya - tsi - lem.
His be - lov'd.
ya - tsi - lem,
He shall save
ya - tsi - lem.
His be - lov'd.
Con moto
mf
ff
mf
42272


Più tranquillo
un poco dolce
29
Sho-mo va-tis-mach, va-tis-mach
And Zi-on hears Thy judg-ment and is hap-py,
Sho-mo va-tis-mach, va-tis-mach
And Zi-on hears Thy judg-ment and is hap-py,
Sho-mo va-tis-mach, va-tis-mach
And Zi-on hears Thy judg-ment and is hap-py,
Sho-mo,
And Zi-on,
sho-mo, sho-mo va-tis-mach
and Zi-on hears and is glad,
Più tranquillo
Ped.
Tsi-yon, va-to-gel-no b'-nos Y'-hu-
O Lord. The daugh-ters of Ju-dah are glad, they re-
Tsi-yon, va-to-gel-no b'-nos Y'-hu-
O Lord. The daugh-ters of Ju-dah are glad, they re-
Tsi-yon, va-to-gel-no b'-nos Y'-hu-
O Lord. The daugh-ters of Ju-dah are glad, they re-
va-to-gel-no b'-nos Y'-hu-
daugh-ters of Ju-dah glad, and re-
Man.
Ped.
42272


30
ff
do. Or zo - ru - - - a,
joice. Light is sown a - round,
Man. Ped. Man.
f
or zo - ru - a, or zo - ru - a la - tsa - dik.
light is sown, yea, light is sown for right - eous men.
Man.
42272



pochiss.allarg. *a tempo*

ff

Ul - yish - ray lev sim - cho.
To the sin-cere heart comes joy.

Ul - yish - ray lev sim - cho.
To the sin-cere heart comes joy.

Ul - yish - ray lev sim - cho. Sim-
To the sin-cere heart comes joy. Re-

Ul - yish - ray lev sim - cho. Sim-
To the sin-cere heart comes joy. Re-

Ped. Man.

TENOR I

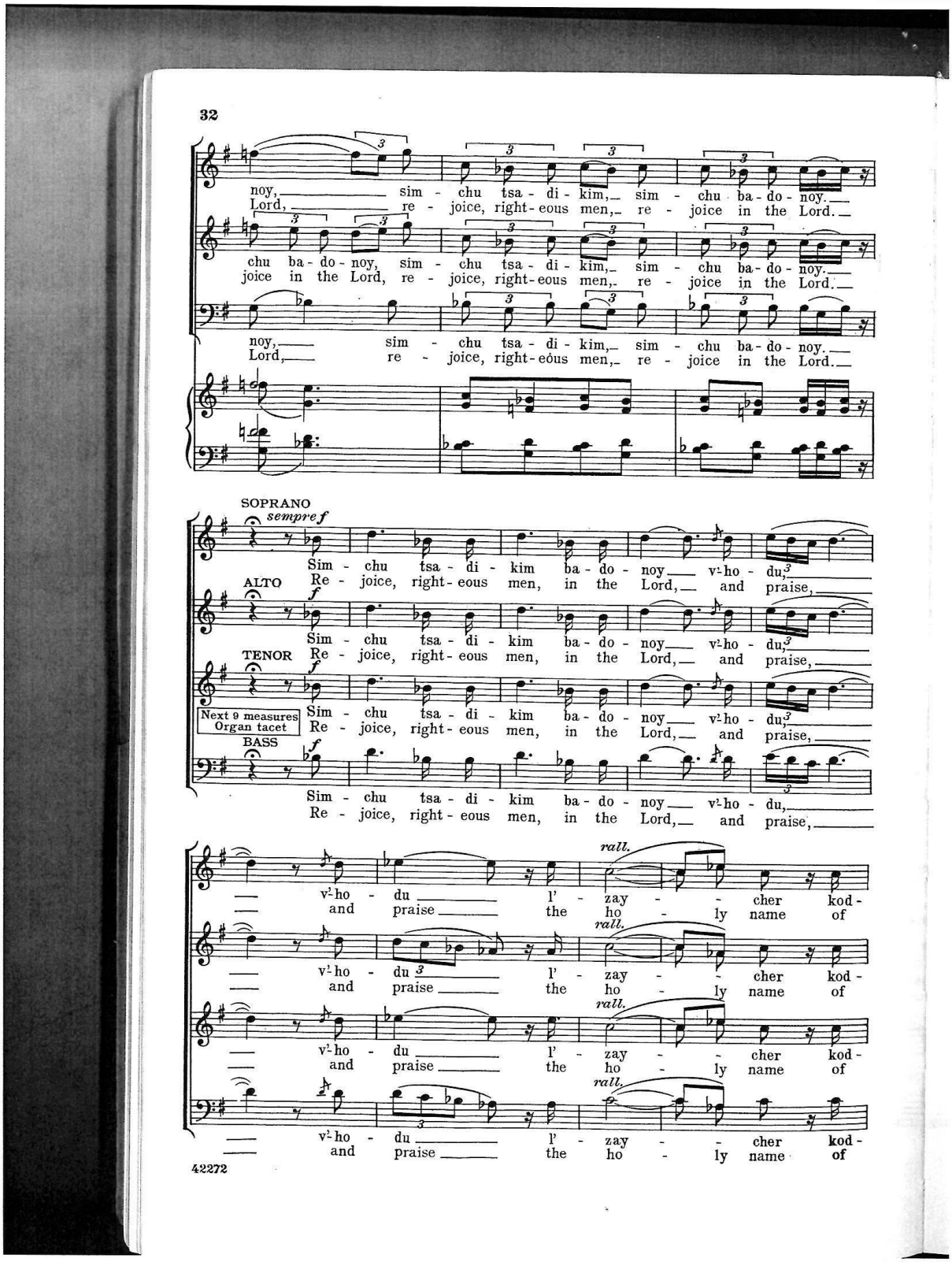
chu tsa - di - kim, sim - chu ba - do -
joice, right-eous men, re - joice in the

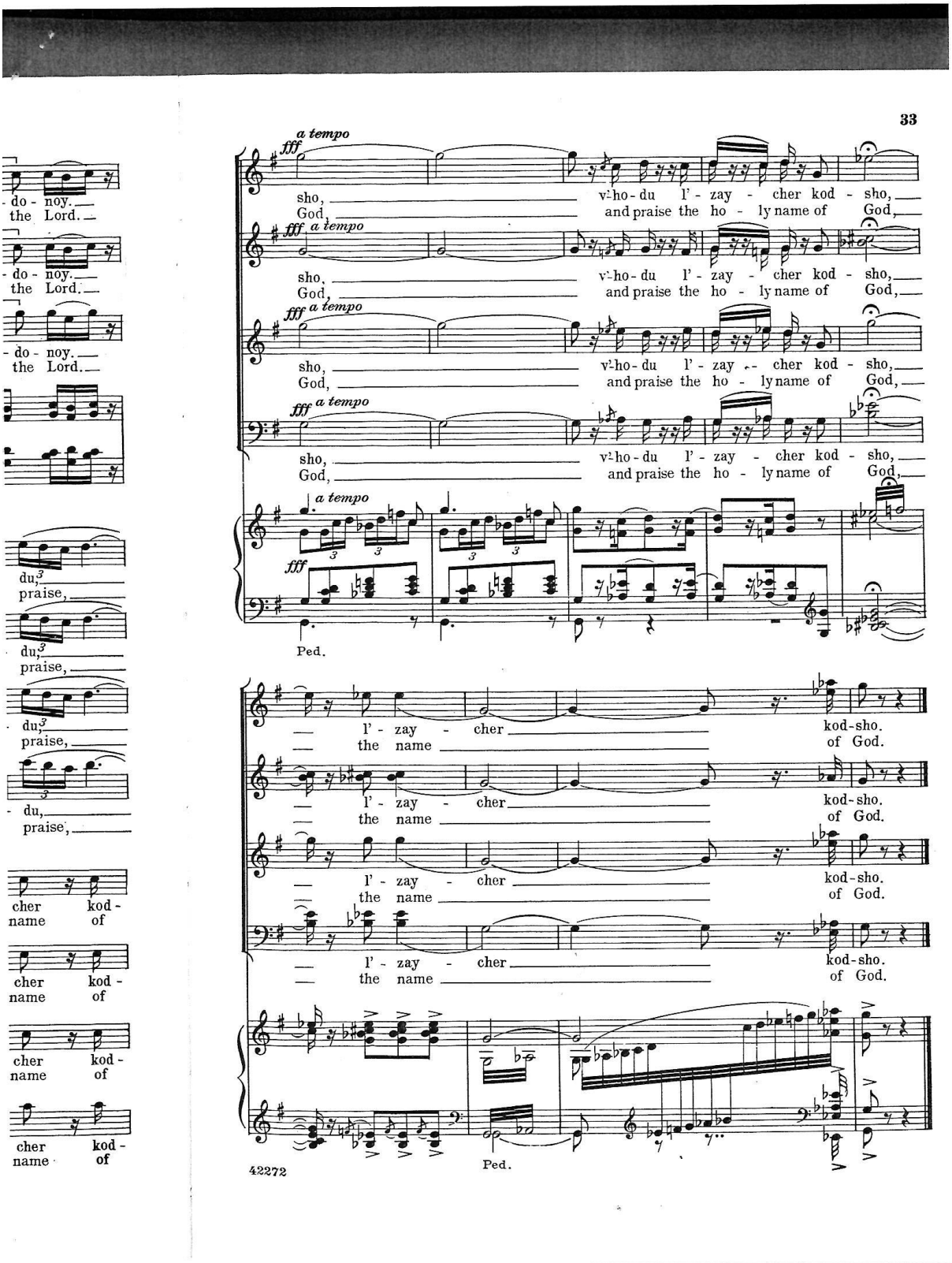
TENOR II

chu tsa - di - kim, ba - do - noy, sim - chu, sim - chu tsa - di - kim, sim -
joice, right-eous men, in the Lord, re - joice, re - joice, right-eous men, re -

BASS

chu tsa - di - kim, sim - chu ba - do -
joice, right-eous men, re - joice in the


32
noy, sim - chu tsa - di - kim, sim - chu ba - do - noy.
Lord, re - joice, right - eous men, re - joice in the Lord.
chu ba - do - noy, sim - chu tsa - di - kim, sim - chu ba - do - noy.
joice in the Lord, re - joice, right - eous men, re - joice in the Lord.
noy, sim - chu tsa - di - kim, sim - chu ba - do - noy.
Lord, re - joice, right - eous men, re - joice in the Lord.
SOPRANO
sempre f
Sim - chu tsa - di - kim ba - do - noy v'ho - du,
Re - joice, right - eous men, in the Lord, and praise,
ALTO
f
Sim - chu tsa - di - kim ba - do - noy v'ho - du,
Re - joice, right - eous men, in the Lord, and praise,
TENOR
f
Next 9 measures Organ tacet
Sim - chu tsa - di - kim ba - do - noy v'ho - du,
Re - joice, right - eous men, in the Lord, and praise,
BASS
f
Sim - chu tsa - di - kim ba - do - noy v'ho - du,
Re - joice, right - eous men, in the Lord, and praise,
rall.
v'ho - du l' - zay - cher kod -
and praise the ho - ly name of
rall.
v'ho - du l' - zay - cher kod -
and praise the ho - ly name of
rall.
v'ho - du l' - zay - cher kod -
and praise the ho - ly name of
rall.
v'ho - du l' - zay - cher kod -
and praise the ho - ly name of
42272


33
a tempo
fff
sho, God,
v'ho-du l'-zay-cher kod-sho,
and praise the ho-ly name of God,
Ped.
l'-zay-cher
the name
kod-sho.
of God.
42272
do-noy.
the Lord.
du, praise,
cher kod-
name of