SHIR HANODED,
THE WANDERER'S SONG:
THE LIVES AND MUSIC OF ÉMIGRÉ COMPOSERS HEINRICH SCHALIT AND PAUL BEN-HAIM

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Introduction

Heinrich Schalit and Paul Ben-Haim were two of the most influential Jewish composers of Jewish music of the twentieth century. They belonged to a larger group of émigré composers who fled Germany and Poland in the mid-1930s as the Nazis and Hitler rose to power. Displaced and dispossessed, these composers were thrown out of their home countries and left to attempt to start their lives anew in foreign lands. The task was daunting but ultimately led many of them to revolutionize Jewish music in their new communities. Examining the lives and careers of Schalit and Ben-Haim is particularly interesting. Both composers came from similar backgrounds having trained and composed in Munich. They worked together and were even close friends, sharing the same dedication to hard work and love of music, specifically a love of lieder. The War and their subsequent exile led to a divergence in their lives that resulted in the different expressions of Judaism in music: Schalit left his mark on the music of the American synagogue and Ben-Haim devoted himself to composing Israeli music, helping to solidify the fledgling country's music culture.

Schalit and Ben-Haim both lived, worked, and earned strong reputations as composers and musicians in Munich prior to the 1930s. Munich was their home. Schalit, while having grown up in Vienna, moved to Munich as a young adult and was married and began his family in this city. Ben-Haim had been born and raised in Munich and took great pride in having been trained in Germany's music capital. Before their exile, both were firmly established in their roles as composers, conductors, and music teachers in the community and had formed and maintained strong professional and social relationships

with members of their community, both Jewish and non-Jewish. Most importantly the two had found friendship and mentorship in each other.

It is hard to imagine the devastation felt by both men as it became clear that they were no longer welcome in the their beloved city, or anywhere in Germany for that matter. Faced with the increasingly intense anti-Semitism that was surrounding them, and their dwindling prospects for continuing their craft and making a living in Munich, Schalit and Ben-Haim both reluctantly decided to leave the city in 1933, hoping to find a more welcoming place to call home.

Both composers found new countries in which to settle and lead fairly successful lives: Schalit in America and Ben-Haim in Palestine. They raised families, worked hard, and prospered, earning reputations as accomplished composers in their new countries. What is most significant about both of these composers' journeys is the intense focus of their compositions: Jewish music.

Schalit found his new home in America and made a name for himself composing music for the American Reform synagogue, bringing to the congregations the synchrony of Western harmony with the Jewish melodies inspired by or directly sourced from the research of A.Z. Idelsohn. While Schalit was already composing settings of Yehuda Halevi poetry and synagogue music in Germany, he intensified his output upon reaching America. He dedicated himself to providing the congregations of the United States with new music to revitalize their worship and bring them closer to what he believed was the "authentic" Jewish sound.

Ben-Haim, on the other hand, was a fully assimilated Jew in Germany. He rarely, if ever, attended synagogue. He focused on composing secular works, both vocal and

instrumental, despite Schalit's attempts to coerce him to lend his voice to the song of their people. This attitude completely changed after Ben-Haim was pushed out of Germany. Surprisingly he immigrated to Palestine, divested himself of his German identity, and embraced his new identity as a Jew in Palestine, and eventually became an Israeli citizen. His compositions also transformed. After studying the folk songs of Palestine through colleagues and friends, most notably the singer Bracha Zephira, Ben-Haim spent his life creating a sound that synthesized Western compositional techniques with Middle Eastern melodies and modes. His influence was so strong that Peter Gradenwitz, a noted musicologist and scholar of Israeli music, labels Ben-Haim as one of the founding fathers of Israeli music culture.

While their Jewish identity was expressed in different ways, specifically through sacred and cultural content, the dedication of both composers to the preservation and creation of Jewish culture is clear. Through a thorough analysis of the lives and careers of these two composers, I will demonstrate how their exile from Germany shaped their careers – inspiring them to become transmitters of tradition and culture. Their exile from Germany, which ultimately saved their lives, left a significant psychological impact on both of them. Grappling with the feelings of betrayal and loss of their homeland, and later attempting to grasp the reality of what they had escaped, were nearly insurmountable feats. Whether their decisions were made with this conscious intent, it is clear that these composers took their lives and talents which had been spared from the Holocaust and dedicated them to the protection of all that had nearly been lost: their people, their prayers, and their stories.

In this thesis I will present biographic information on each composer, combined with short analyses of their actions and thought processes during significant moments in their lives. These will mark key moments of transition or transformation in their way of thinking. In doing so, I offer insight into the manner in which both composers made the physical and psychological journey to fulfilling their roles in shaping Jewish culture and sustaining Jewish livelihood and enthusiasm through their music. Chapters 1-3 will focus on the life and music of Schalit and chapter 4-6 will focus on that of Ben-Haim. In the conclusion I will compare and contrast the different trajectories of each composer's life after their exile and will focus on the discussion of the type of Jewish music they produced.

Schalit and Ben-Haim's lives are fascinating: the journeys of exiled composers finding their destiny in new lands and making meaning out of their salvaged lives. It is hard to imagine the emotional turmoil experienced by these two as they were forced to leave their homes, reputations, and livelihoods behind. Then they were faced with the stark reality of what would have befallen them had they remained in Germany. The significance of their work is only made clear when examining their compositional output in this context. Schalit and Ben-Haim left Germany and were laden with the burden of being survivors. This defined their identity as Jewish composers. It pushed them to dedicate their lives to the perpetuation and preservation of Jewish culture through music. Most importantly, it inspired generations of musicians after them to continue to do the same. Their impact was extraordinary and their music continues to be upheld as some of the most beautiful and unique examples of Jewish art music of the Twentieth-Century.

Part 1: Heinrich Schalit

Chapter 1: From Classical Foundation to "Spiritual Conversion"

Musical Foundation – Youth and Training in Vienna

Heinrich Schalit was born on January 2, 1886 in Vienna, Austria into an established middle-class family. Given its history and influence, Vienna was widely regarded as the music capital of Europe. Schalit's childhood in this city unquestionably afforded him incredible opportunities for musical training, laying the impeccable foundation in classical music composition that would define his career.

The Schalit household was one of great intelligence and enthusiasm for personal study and growth. The family was no stranger to the delights of music. At the time of Heinrich's birth, his older sister Bertha was already an accomplished musician, often "filling the apartment with the sound of her piano music."[1] Despite his bloodline's obvious tendency towards music, the conditions of young Heinrich's physique presented a few unique challenges to his ability to study music. Due to ambiopia, a congenital condition causing double vision and blindness in one eye, and an additional childhood accident, Heinrich Schalit was nearly blind for the majority of his life.[2] From an early age he was quite taken with music, and with composition in particular. Heinrich himself recalled, "Even at the age of ten I was already composing. And none of it was taught to me. It was all self-taught."[3] He had tremendous potential and was ready to fulfill it.

It was in 1898, at the age of twelve, that Schalit's talent was recognized outside the family and the issue of how he would be formerly trained was addressed. Adolf Rebner, an internationally known violinist, was a family friend of the Schalits.[4] During a

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[1] Michael Schalit, *Heinrich Schalit: The Man and His Music* (Livermore, CA, 1979), 19.
[2] ibid.
[3] ibid., 20.
[4] ibid.

visit with the family, one of Heinrich's family members–either his father or sister–suggested that he present one of his compositions to Adolf. The violinist was impressed and immediately helped Heinrich to secure a formal teacher. Given his skill and fame, Rebner had connections with many important musicians in Vienna including Alexander Zemlinsky, Arnold Schoenberg's brother-in-law.[5] It was Zemlinsky who suggested that Heinrich be enrolled in the Jewish Institute for the Blind and be instructed by Josef Labor, the renowned blind organist.

As previously stated, Heinrich was already composing at the time he began his studies with Labor, although Schalit does not include any of these early compositions in his official or personal catalogue of works.[6] At their first meeting, Schalit played one of these early compositions for his teacher–a simple piece, probably for piano, entitled "At Midnight" which Heinrich himself later claimed was "all sorts of foolishness,"[7]–that impressed Labor enough that he agreed to teach him. With this, Heinrich took his first steps towards realizing his potential as a musician and composer.

The legacy upheld by Labor says much about the quality of music knowledge that was passed on to his students, including young Heinrich. Labor had studied theory and counterpoint from Simon Sechter, a skilled master of these subjects.[8] Additional students of Sechter included Eduard Marxsen (who taught counterpoint to Johannes Brahms),

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[5] Eliott Paul Kahn, "The Choral Music of Heinrich Schalit," (PhD diss., University of Iowa, 1999), 2.
[6] M. Schalit, *Heinrich Schalit: The Man and His Music*, 87-100; Handwritten Catalogue, "Werkverzeichnis (List of Compositions)" [1936], Box 2, Folder 14, The Heinrich Schalit Collection, The Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, JTS, New York City, NY.
[7] M. Schalit, *Heinrich Schalit: The Man and His Music*, 20.
[8] George Grove and J. A. Fuller-Maitland, *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 4 (Philadelphia: T. Presser Col, 1908), 405.

Franz Schubert, and Anton Bruckner.[9] Needless to say, the counterpoint and theory taught to Schalit was the same that shaped the musical skill and foundations of some of the greatest and most influential composers of his day. Schalit was the beneficiary of the very German music pedagogy system that trained some of the most important figures in nineteenth and twentieth century classical music.

In the end, Schalit's time at the Jewish Institute for the Blind was short-lived, possibly only a few years. It is unclear why, but apparently the fact that Schalit was only *mostly* blind was not common knowledge to his teachers and fellow students. Perhaps his parents misled the school in order to have Schalit granted admission. Unfortunately, the students at the institute slowly realized that Schalit was not completely blind and this was eventually revealed to his professors, including Josef Labor. Labor, who felt that he should only teach those who were completely blind, dropped Schalit as a student and Schalit was pressured to leave the Institute.[10] Despite his relatively short tenure, Schalit's time at the Institute served him very well. His rigorous studies with Labor and choral training with the Vienna Oberkantor Josef Singer–successor to Solomon Sulzer–had sufficiently prepared him to enter to the *Konservatorium für Musik und darstellende Kunst*, the world-famous Vienna Music Conservatory.[11] The Vienna Conservatory had earned its reputation as one of the best music schools in Europe. It was known to produce musicians of excellent caliber and the faculty and students took this reputation seriously. "The students there lived music. They ate and drank it. They even dreamed of it."[12] Some

[9] George Grove and J. A. Fuller-Maitland, *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* vol. 1 (Philadelphia: T. Presser Col, 1904), 382; Grove and Fuller-Maitland, *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 4, 316; 405-6.
[10] M. Schalit, *Heinrich Schalit: The Man and His Music*, 21.
[11] Kahn, "The Choral Music of Heinrich Schalit," 3.
[12] M. Schalit, *Heinrich Schalit: The Man and His Music*, 21.

of the best musicians of Western Europe were professors there, and they pushed their students to extraordinary lengths in order to produce future generations of excellent musicians. Thus, Schalit's education at the *Konservatorium* ensured that his raw talent would be sharpened, strengthened, and molded into that of a world-class musician.

Schalit's piano teacher was the famed Polish pianist Theodor Leschetizky who was loved not only for his talent but also for the care and dedication he brought to the training of his students.[13] His tendency to develop a teaching style for the individual needs of each student was undoubtedly vital to Schalit's success at the school and mastery of the instrument.

Given his eventual fame as a composer, special attention should be paid to the training he received in composition and related areas. Schalit was provided a first class music education, studying music theory and composition under Robert Fuchs, a well-known Austrian composer who also taught Gustav Mahler and Jan Sibelius.[14] Fuchs was such an important influence on Schalit that he dedicated his first published work, Op. 1, *Vier Charakterstücke für das Pianoforte* (Four Character Pieces for Pianoforte), to him.[15] He composed that work in 1906, the year he completed his studies at the Konservatorium and graduated with honors.[16]

In her master's thesis, Cantor Lori Salzman produces a brilliant and thorough analysis of the development of Schalit's music style as influenced by both the historical musical and cultural influences that surrounded him during his formative years in school and his transformation in style as he left the confines of the strict Romantic Era musical

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[13] ibid., 65, 22.
[14] ibid., 65.
[15] ibid., 22.
[16] Kahn, "The Choral Music of Heinrich Schalit," 3: A reference to Schalit's Diploma which is stored in *The Heinrich Schalit Collection*, located in Box 2, Folder 5 of the archived materials.

philosophy of the Konservatorium and began to explore and experiment with the new emerging ideas of the post-Romantic, early expressionist movement. At the time of his graduation in 1906, Schalit, who had spent years under the tutelage of the great musical masters of the time, had been trained to compose in a very specific style. Schalit's early compositions such as his Op. 1 discussed above, heavily reflected this, as Cantor Lori Salzman presents in her master's thesis: "Schalit was a good student. His early compositions directly reflected music of composers from the early Romantic period such as Schumann, and later Romantic composers such as Wagner…"[17]

This was not to say that Schalit's compositions were unoriginal. Though he may have followed certain musical stylings and techniques, his own unique compositional voice was quickly recognized. Less than a year after graduating from the Konservatorium he composed his second major work, *Klavierquartett in E moll für Klavier, Violine, Viola und Cello*, Op. 2 (Piano Quartet in E Minor for Klavier, Violin, Viola, and Cello), and entered it into an annual composition competition and was awarded the extremely prestigious Austrian State Prize for Composition in 1907.[18] At the age of twenty-one, Schalit had distinguished himself as a composer of note in the self-proclaimed musical capital of the world.

The significance of Schalit's musical foundation and training during his formative years in Vienna cannot be overstated. From his self-taught beginnings to his graduation from the most elite music school in Western Europe, Schalit's musical pedigree comes from a legacy of some of the most important, transformative, and influential composers from the 18th century on–from Brahms, to Schumann, to Mahler, to Wagner, to Arnold

[17] Lori Salzman, "Heinrich Schalit: Hamavdil Bein Chol L'Kodesh," (Master's Thesis, Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, New York, 1996), 23.
[18] Kahn, "The Choral Music of Heinrich Schalit," 4.

Schoenberg. At the time of his graduation from the Konservatorium, and especially after receiving the Austrian State Prize, Schalit was well-positioned to join the ranks of his compositional predecessors.

Over the next decade, Schalit would begin to realize his potential, however the path he chose to do this was unique among any of those great composers–Schalit chose to fulfill his destiny by embracing the Jewish identity that most composers abandoned, Mendelssohn and Mahler included, and deciding to dedicate his career to transforming Jewish music. In 1907, Schalit took his first step towards this transformation by leaving the only city he had ever called home to make a name for himself out in the world. With great care, he decided that his new home would be Munich, capital and cultural center of the German State of Bavaria.

First Steps: Musical Success in Munich

Several different factors contributed to Schalit's move to Munich. First, much of his family had left Vienna. Bertha, his sister and musical role model, had recently married her husband and relocated. His older brothers had similarly left the country as they had aged and moved forward with careers and building families. Finally, his father, who had been ill for some time, died in the winter of 1907. Beyond this, Michael Schalit, Heinrich's biographer (and son), reflects that there was a deeper underlying ambition that drove his father to leave Vienna. Even before the death of his father, "Heinrich had probably already decided to leave Vienna at this time. There was little opportunity for him there."[19]

[19] M. Schalit, *Heinrich Schalit: The Man and His Music*, 22.

Vienna was, for all intents and purposes, the city of music. Musicians from all over the world came there to study, to perform, and to live. Even with his distinguished status as a recipient of the Austrian State Prize for Composition, he was still very much a small fish in a very large ocean. Munich, while it was a city very similar to Vienna with a strong appreciation for music and a strong music conservatory, was a lesser known bastion of musical innovation. Schalit felt that his talents would be appreciated there and that he could easily make a name for himself as a composer and musician of influence and note. So after a fruitful summer spent as musician in residence at the Castle Itter Estate in the Tyrolean Alps, Schalit packed up everything he owned and arrived in Munich in the fall of 1907.[20]

Schalit's intuition was correct. His skill was immediately recognized and appreciated in Munich. His capacity for performance, composition, and teaching quickly attracted the attention of the music community in Munich. His creative voice was inspired and active. Compositions flowed from his pen between 1907 and 1916. Schalit published fifteen substantial compositions from multi-movement solo and chamber instrumental works to cycles of lieder. They were beloved by his audiences, winning him awards at various music festivals.[21] He focused on composing chamber works, usually for piano or small ensembles, and honoring the time-honored German tradition of composing vocal lieder. Some of his most famous secular works were composed during this time including *Jugenland* (Land of Youth), op. 6, a collection of solo piano pieces and his first song cycle *Sechs Frühlingslieder* (Six Songs of Spring), op. 12.[22]

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[20] ibid., 25.
[21] Salzman, "Hamavdil ben Chol l'Kodeish," 8.
[22] Kahn, "The Choral Music of Heinrich Schalit," 4.

Spiritual Conversion: Schalit's Awakening Passion for Jewish Music

With such abundant success as a composer of secular music, it is a wonder that Schalit's career came to center around the creation, innovation, and appreciation of Jewish Music. Examining the life and career of Heinrich Schalit makes one thing clear to those who study him: Schalit's shift to composing Jewish music was the result of a change in compositional focus, informed by personal alterations in character, passion, and conviction. It was such a sudden, strong, and deliberate shift, that his son refers to it as a "spiritual conversion."[23] This transformation took place in 1916, where Schalit notes in his personal catalogue of works, "NB: 1916 Beginn der Schaffenspriode der Musik jüdischen Inhalts u. jüdischen Characters" (beginning of the creative period of music of Jewish content and character).[24] With the exception of a song cycle of love poems set for his new wife in 1921, *Sechs Liebeslieder* (Six Songs of Love) op. 17, the rest of the compositions he produced in the sixty additional years that he lived were Jewish, either liturgical or art music.[25]

Schalit's career shifted in this direction in spite of the fact that he was composing during a time of increasing anti-Semitism. Several factors contributed to this dramatic shift in focus. From his youth, Schalit was surrounded by Judaism. His father had been a passionate Hebraist and his brothers were fervent Zionists; Isidor Schalit, Heinrich's oldest brother, had even worked for and befriended Theodore Herzl. Additionally Schalit's early education in the Jewish Institute for the Blind and his studies under Obekantor Josef Singer undoubtedly fueled Schalit's passion for his culture and faith.

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[23] M. Schalit, *Heinrich Schalit*, 27-28.
[24] Kahn, "The Choral Music of Heinrich Schalit," 4; The Heinrich Schalit Collection, Jewish Theological Seminary, [Box 2, Folder 14].
[25] Kahn, "The Choral Music of Heinrich Schalit," 4-7.

While those were certainly strong influences for Schalit, the instigation for this shift came from the first great tragedy he experienced–World War I.

Upon reflection Schalit commented to his friend Dr. Gerhard Herz, that World War I and post-war depression had a profound psychological effect on him and led to a "decisive turning point in his creative work."[26] At this point, he claimed, his personal romantic era, during which he composed music for the sake of showing off his musical talent and skill, came to end. It is clear that the experience of World War I had a traumatic effect on the young man. "His mind and soul were overwrought by the tragic events of the war."[27] The realities of war stunned and depressed him; the only solace he found was in clinging to his faith. He found great passion and inspiration from his "conviction of being Jewish" and was "reminded of his responsibility."[28] What he specifically meant by his responsibility is unclear but, as I will show in the next two chapters, the subsequent unfolding of his compositional career reveals that Schalit was referring to a revitalization of Jewish music. Undoubtedly, later in his life, in the wake of his exile from Germany and after the horrors of the Holocaust, this sense of responsibility shifted from a desire to revitalize to a drive to protect, preserve, and pass on Jewish music and by extension a love of Jewish liturgy and literature to the surviving generations. His conviction was immutable and he would dedicate the rest of his life to this task.

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[26] Jehoash Hirshberg, "Heinrich Schalit and Paul Ben-Haim in Munich," *Yuval: Studies of the Jewish Music Research Center vol. 4,* ed. Israel Adler and Bathja Bayer, (Jerusalem, Israel: The Magnes Press/ The Hebrew University, 1982), 135.
[27] M. Schalit, *Heinrich Schalit,* 28.
[28] Hirshberg, "Heinrich Schalit and Paul Ben-Haim in Munich," 135.

Chapter 2: Forging the Path: Schalit as a Visionary for Jewish Music in (Western) Europe

Exploring Composing Jewish Music in Munich

The certainty with which Schalit declared his intention to compose Jewish music was reflected in the urgency he brought to the task. He immediately got to work on launching his new creative period and began creating Jewish music. Throughout 1916-1917 he composed several sacred pieces including two of his "most frequently performed compositions:" a set of five songs for baritone and piano entitled *Seelenlieder* (Songs of the Soul) Op. 16 and a set of two art songs entitled *2 Hymnische Gesänge* (2 Hymns).[29] Both of these compositions, and many subsequent compositions of Heinrich were based on the poetry of Spanish poet and philosopher Yehuda Halevi. Halevi is widely considered one of the greatest Hebrew poets and his works both sacred and secular are beloved, being used in liturgy throughout history into the present day. Discovering the works of Halevi was a revelatory moment for Schalit and they were a constant inspiration for his compositions throughout his life.

Schalit was first exposed to the poetry of Halevi when he discovered the German translations of many of his poems published by German poet and playright Rabbi Emil Bernhard and German Jewish Philosopher Franz Rosenzweig. He found the Bernhard translations adequate but ultimately preferred the translations of Rosenzweig. The texts in Seelenlieder are based on the translations of Bernhard as Rosenzweig's anthology of translations of ninety-two of Halevi's poems was not published until 1927.[30]. Heinrich

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[29] Hirshberg, "Heinrich Schalit and Paul Ben-Haim in Munich," 135; While these pieces were composed in 1916-1917, they were not published for some time after: *Seelenlieder* in 1921 by Universal Edition and *2 Hymnische Gesänge* remained a manuscript until they were published as a part of Schalit's song cycle *Visions of Yehuda Halevi*.

[30] Franz Rosenzweig, *Ninety-Two Poems and Hymns by Yehuda Halevi*, translated by Thomas Kovach, Eva Jospe, and Gilya Gerda Schmidt, (State University of New York Press, 2000]), iv.

was very impressed with Rosenzweig's translation and felt that the "original Hebrew idiom could be felt throughout the translated text."[31] Although it is unclear when it began, this admiration eventually turned into a friendship that, had it not been for Rosenzweig's untimely death in 1929, may have lasted many decades. The two of them sent several letters back and forth between 1928-1929, emphatically discussing poetry and translations.[32] Both Schalit and Rosenzweig were inspired by Halevi's passionate verses and found them to be very articulate expressions of authentic Jewish thought.

Yehuda Halevi's poetry often centered around a "yearning for God and a longing to return to Zion."[33] Given that Franz's philosophical focus was on theology and Judaism, it is unsurprising that he would be drawn to Halevi's poetry. Schalit's attraction to the poet was two-fold. First, Schalit was fascinated and inspired by the poet's passionate language and expression of his love for God. Second, Schalit had been influenced by the ideals of Zionism since his childhood. His family was responsible for this. Both his father's passion for the Hebrew language (he was the only man to attempt to produce an all-Hebrew newspaper in 19th century Vienna) and his older brother Isidor who befriended and worked closely with Theodor Herzl instilled in young Schalit a passionate sense of pride and love of his culture and a longing for the state of Israel. Given the rising tide of anti-Semitism, which will be discussed later in this chapter, present in Munich during the early twentieth century it is unsurprising that Schalit would start gravitating towards his deep-rooted Zionist tendencies and finding comfort in the longing-for-Jerusalem-filled worlds of this 12th century Spanish poet.

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[31] M. Schalit, *Heinrich Schalit: The Man and His Music*, 31.
[32] Various Correspondence from Franz Rosenzeig to Heinrich Schalit, Box 1, Folder 33, *The Heinrich Schalit Collection*, JTS.
[33] Kahn, "The Choral Music of Heinrich Schalit," 7.

Through Yehuda Halevi's poetry, Schalit found his entry point into composing Jewish music and with this music "found a genuine, personal musical style."[34] In addition to the significant influence Halevi's poetry had on Schalit's composition of Jewish music, there was one other significant factor that must be mentioned–the research of Abraham Zvi Idelsohn. Widely considered to be "the pioneer of Jewish ethnomusicological research,",[35] Idelsohn's revolutionary research completely transformed Schalit's idea of Jewish music and gave him the ability to fill his music with a truly Jewish idiom.[36] A.Z. Idelsohn devoted his life to the "collection and codification of Jewish folk melodies."[37] He traveled throughout Europe and the Middle East visiting Jewish communities and notating their melodies. He published these in a thesaurus that was ten volumes long and included content from ten regions/topics: Yemen, Babylonia, Persia, Oriental Sephardim, Morocco, Germany, Poland and Lithuania, the Hassidim, Judeo-German folk song, and the European Sephardim.[38] This was the first exposure Schalit had to music of Jews from other regions in the world. The richness of the melodies, the uniqueness of the tonal colors, and the expression of the text resonated with Schalit who found the music of the German liberal synagogue boring and not representative of the Jewish people or history.

In addition to his professional life developing quite rapidly, Schalit's personal life entered a new phase at this time. During his summer holiday in 1920, Schalit met Hilda Schork, the love of his life. She approached him after listening to him perform at the resort she had been staying at with her family. From this point on the two quickly fell in

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[34] M. Schalit, *Heinrich Schalit*, 29.
[35] Amnon Shiloah, *Jewish Musical Traditions*, (Detroit, Michigan: Wayne State University Press, 1992) 21.
[36] M. Schalit, *Heinrich Schalit*, 28 and 66; Salzman, "Hamavdil bein Chol l'Kodesh," 11.
[37] Holly Dalrymple, "From Germany to Palestine: A Comparison of Two Choral Works by Paul Ben-Haim - *Joram* and *Kabbalat Shabbat*" (PhD diss., University of North Texas, 2013), 19.
[38] ibid.

love and were married within the year. With a new bride and the prospect of a new family, Schalit began looking for ways to expand his income. Fortunately, soon a position at the Great Synagogue in Munich would open up, serendipitously providing opportunity for professional and financial growth.

It is interesting to note that, up to this point, despite the fact that Schalit's desire was to create authentic Jewish music, he had only set German settings of Jewish texts. It was in 1927 that Schalit's opportunity to fully explore all aspects of Jewish music would arrive. At this point, the German economy had started to recover from the post-war depression and the Great Synagogue of Munich had an opening for an organist and music director. Schalit, who had studied organ at the Munich Conservatory in 1909, and another organist, who was not Jewish, applied for the job. Despite the calls from prominent members of the congregation like Dr. Elias Straus, to hire a Jewish organist, the decision was not automatically in Schalit's favor. Instead, a competition was organized between the two applicants and Schalit was the victor. He assumed his role as organist and music director at the end of 1927 and made the acquaintance of one of the most important teachers and colleagues to touch his life–Cantor Emanuel Kirschner.

Cantor Kirschner was an institution in the Jewish community of Munich. He was in his early seventies and had served the in his post as First Cantor of the Great Synagogue for forty-six years at the time of Schalit's appointment.[39] Michael Schalit's record of Schalit's relationship with Kirschner is interesting. It was rocky at the beginning. Kirschner, who was a composer himself, was likely threatened by the presence of a younger talented Jewish composer. This jealousy quickly faded as the two bonded over mutual interests and became good friends. Michael Schalit's label of

[39] Hirshberg, "Heinrich Schalit and Paul Ben-Haim in Munich," 131.

Kirschner as a "conservative proponent of the music of Lewandowski," is almost fiction.[40] While it is true that much of the music of the Great Synagogue remained under the strong influence of that great composer, it was only because his attempts to change the music had been too drastic and his community had resisted them. In actuality, Schalit and Kirschner shared the belief that the music of Lewandowski and his contemporaries was "the very kind of music which was least expressive of Jewish spirit and identity."[41]

Jehoash Hirshberg, in an examination of Jewish music in Munich at the time of Schalit and Paul Ben-Haim references Hugo Adler (a contemporary of both Schalit and Ben-Haim) who presents Kirschner as the first person to "overcome the enormous prestige of Lewandowski which had paralyzed and inhibited all subsequent forms of Jewish liturgical music."[42] Kirschner was a good friend of A.Z. Idelsohn and shared Schalilt's fascination with his research. Kirschner deeply desired to bring Jewish liturgical music closer to the "oriental origins of Jewish liturgy."[43]

Kirschner's and Schalit's ideologies were virtually in sync with each other, however Kirschner found it very difficult to manifest immediate change in the direction he desired. Throughout his career, Kirschner composed a four volume compilation of liturgical settings, *Tehiloth l'El Elyon.* The progression of the work reveals how Kirschner eventually yielded to public pressure and composed primarily in the old style. While his first, third, and fourth volumes were composed primarily in the operatic-romantic style of Lewandowski and Sulzer, his second volume demonstrates a significant effort for change, avoiding organ accompaniment and basing the recitatives "completely

[40] M. Schalit, *Heinrich Schalit,* 33.
[41] ibid.
[42] Hirshberg, "Heinrich Schalit and Paul Ben-Haim," 131.
[43] ibid., 132.

on the ancient tradition."[44] He declared outright that the purpose of this volume was "to contribute to the fight against corrupted style..."[45] The fact that his style reverted back to romantic, organ accompanied chant paints the picture that the revolutionary vision of his new style was not readily accepted by the Munich Jewish community. Fortunately, at the end of Kirschner's career at the Great Synagogue, Schalit arrived to carry on this work.

Schalit's personal opposition of the music of Lewandowski and Sulzer was similar to Kirschner's. He believed that the western sound and the harmonic texture of the romantic style was not representative to the authentic Jewish sound – modally based and unique in texture - described by Idelsohn. In addition, Schalit felt that the music of these two composers was dated. It reflected the time during which Lewandowski and Sulzer lived, and in the most criminal sense had "romanticized and operatized Jewish music at the expense of the text."[46] As he began to compose for the synagogue, it became Schalit's mission to utilize his contemporary musicianship to create music that would inspire a sense of spirituality that was rooted in authentic Jewish sound and enhanced the text.[47]

Up to this point Schalit's primary mode of composition was to compose for solo voice and piano. As Schalit began to compose for a Liberal German synagogue which required the heavy use of a choir, he began exploring composing for mixed voices. Choral singing, a staple of the Classical Reform service, was not a practice that would be easily changed. In fact, one of Cantor Kirschner's biggest opponents to change was the Jüdische Gesangverein, a Jewish community choir that was founded in 1921 with the

[44] ibid.
[45] ibid., 132-133.
[46] Salzman, "Hamavdil Chol bein L'Kodesh," 11.
[47] ibid.

"formal aim of cultivating synagogue and secular song."[48] Schalit quickly began exploring this new medium and set to work bringing the Jewish sound inspired by Idelsohn's research into the choral music of the synagogue – attempting to smooth the transition by combining the old and new mediums.

His first choral work was entitled *In Ewigkeit* (In Eternity), Op. 23. It was composed for 5-part chorus, organ, harp and two solo violins. The text was a setting of another Yehuda Halevi poem. While this was a commissioned work, written for Irma Lindheim, a good friend of Schalit's, his aspirations for the sound and authenticity of the piece were exactly the same as the ones he held for his liturgical music. In this work he utilizes "simple, unified rhythmic structure, heavy chordal blocks, alternation of dissonant diatonic chords and open fifth chords, enriched by added sixths or fourths."[49]" All of these harmonic textures were inspired by the analytical research of Idelsohn of the Jewish prayer modes. Schalit was a talented composer and intended to use his full skill set when composing. Therefore traces of fugal counterpoint and other romantic compositional styling are present but scattered throughout the piece, creating a sophisticated hybrid of many styles and sounds.

After this first choral work was completed, Schalit became driven to compose new choir music for the synagogue and begin to replace the music of Lewandowski and Sulzer. He worked tirelessly to familiarize himself with the liturgy of the liberal synagogue and began composing for it. He composed based both on his shared ideology with Kirshner and on his passions as a composer of the twentieth century:

> Heinrich felt that the renovation of Jewish religious music must stem from genuine religious sources and must be based on

[48] Hirshberg, "Heinrich Schalit and Paul Ben-Haim in Munich," 134.
[49] ibid.,138-139.

> authentic musical tradition. Moreover, he felt that modern synagogue music must be adequate for the worship service and must likewise satisfy the highest standards of musical art just as it did in the Middle Ages or in Bach's time. Heinrich knew that these were necessary conditions for serious music of a spiritual nature.[50]

Over the next six years, the time that Schalit had left in Germany, he was a prolific composer of sacred works both for choir and solo voice. Every single composition was an attempt to achieve this complex balance of ancient and contemporary, but more importantly, every composition was designed to stir the soul and inspire the spirit.

Schalit's most significant work during his time in Germany came directly out of this desire: his composition of a full Shabbat evening service. *Eine Freitagabend Liturgie* (A Friday Evening Liturgy), Op. 29, was composed for the Lützowstrasse Synagogue in Berlin. The composition marked a milestone in his career. It was a significant challenge for him as he had never written a large through-composed work before, especially with so much Hebrew text. The challenge to create this service was given by Alexander Weinbaum, a well-known choir director and music teacher in Berlin. When he met Schalit in 1931 he was on vacation in the Austrian Alps, from his post as choir director of the Lützowstrasse Synagogue. Schalit was also vacationing there with his family. The two bonded over their mutual dislike of the "heavy Germanic style of most of the music then in use, especially that of Lewandowski" and agreed that there was a great need for a new musical service.[51] Weinbaum, impressed by Schalit's talent and passion, suggested that he take up the task.

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[50] M. Schalit, *Heinrich Schalit,* 34.
[51] ibid., 36.

Schalit already possessed a copy of the Berlin siddur and immediately set to the creation of this new service. Within six weeks he produced the full service composed for organ, cantor, and choir. It was performed at the Lützostrasse Synagogue on September 16, 1932 with none other than Max Janowski at the organ.[52] Because the increased anti-Jewish sentiment and influence of the Nazi party ensured that no commercial publisher would publish the service, Schalit published it himself. His efforts and the efforts of his friends and colleagues, including Rabbi Bernstein the man who would eventually bring Schalit to America, ensured that many copies were sold and the service was performed in many liberal synagogues in Germany and abroad.[53]

As Schalit began to realize his dream of creating synagogue music that captured what he considered to be a more "authentic" Jewish sound and combined it with the complex sophistication of German musicianship, he began to wonder if others were also working toward this goal. As it turns out, Schalit was not alone in his ambition and is actually one of a generation of composers who sought to revolutionize synagogue music. Many of them, including Hugo "Chaim" Adler, Isadore Freed, and Herbert Fromm were based in Western Europe and would join Schalit in the ranks of "émigré composers" who fled their home countries to avoid Nazi persecution. While these composers came to be familiar with each other's works, of this group two composers were especially close to Schalit: Herbert Fromm and Paul Ben-Haim.

As will be expanded upon in Chapter 4, Schalit's relationship with Paul Ben-Haim (who was originally named Paul Frankenburger and changed his name after immigration to Palestine) was one of deep respect for each other's talent and a close

[52] ibid.
[53] ibid.

friendship that would survive the chaos of exile and the separation of oceans. Schalit's fascination with Ben-Haim was immediate and almost obsessive and it was ultimately his efforts that guided Ben-Haim to a career of composing Jewish music and shaping Israeli music culture. He was deeply impressed by the young composer's skillful and mature sound and was desperate to get Ben-Haim to join him in creating Jewish music. He took much of the credit for Ben-Haim's eventual career shift and blossoming as a giant of Jewish music and Hebrew art song in Israel. His description of their first meeting expresses this sentiment clearly:

> …[between] 1928 and 1932, when there was no composer of Jewish birth who could have even thought of writing music with a consciously Jewish heartbeat, I was already a well-known composer of Jewish religious music. When I heard the compositions of Paul Frankenburger for the first time, I was greatly impressed by the maturity of his technique and style; he wrote in a contemporary vein – but with no trace of our ancestral Jewish heritage. As a conscious Jewish musician and Zionist I considered it my duty to convince him of the necessity of devoting his talent to Jewish music and culture. I met Paul Frankenburger and we became friends. He became acquainted with my music and its Jewish idioms. He was deeply impressed and conducted my *Hymnische Gesänge für Bariton* with much success in concert. Thus the Jewish spark was ignited…[54]

This initial meeting took place sometime in 1928 and Schalit immediately set to work introducing Ben-Haim to his music and more than likely to research of Idelsohn. The two presented several joint concerts and continued to work together until the rise of the Third Reich forced them both to leave Munich for good. It was Schalit who convinced Ben-Haim to move to Palestine with the hope that his talents would help shape the music of the new Jewish communities settling there.

As the political situation in Germany continued to deteriorate, the situation of Jewish life and prosperity in Munich became increasingly unstable and many people

[54] Hirshberg, "Heinrich Schalit and Paul Ben-Haim in Munich," 142.

began to consider leaving. Given his Zionist leanings, Schalit's first instinct was to move to Palestine but he was quickly dissuaded by his brother Isidor who had already made the journey with his family. Those who moved to Palestine had to be prepared for hard and intense labor on kibbutzim and settlements. Given Schalit's handicaps, this was not the ideal situation for him. Instead, Schalit and his family found their eventual salvation through Irma Lindheim, the woman for whom he had composed *In Ewigkeit*. Through her work with Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America, she became acquainted with Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein of Temple B'rith Kodesh of Rochester, New York: the man who would work tirelessly over the next *decade* to bring Schalit and his family to America.

Rabbi Bernstein first met Schalit in the summer of 1930 during a vacation in Europe. Having heard all of the praise of Schalit from Irma Lindheim, he made a special trip to Munich to attend a service at the Great Synagogue.[55] Greatly impressed, he approached Schalit after the service and a lifelong friendship was forged.

Rabbi Bernstein was deeply moved by this music and was determined to bring Schalit to come and work for his congregation. He began this effort by convincing his congregation to contract Heinrich as a composer-in-residence for four months beginning on November 1, 1930. Schalit enthusiastically took advantage of this opportunity. He spent his time in America becoming acquainted with the liturgy of the American Reform Synagogue and composing for it. During the few months he was there he composed many settings for the choir of B'rith Kodesh and additionally penned four sacred songs which became so popular that they were included in the updated *Union Hymnal* published in 1932, two years later. Though he was loved, in the light of the recent stock market crash

[55] M. Schalit, *Heinrich Schalit,* 34.

and economic depression early attempts to secure him permanent employment failed. Schalit returned to Munich and resumed his duties at the Great Synagogue. It would be another ten years before he would set foot in the sanctuary of Temple B'rith Kodesh again.

Despite the fact that Schalit had a very successful position at the Great Synagogue in Munich, it is not surprising that he left everything, including two young children and his pregnant wife behind and jumped at the opportunity to visit Rabbi Bernstein's Temple. Given the growing anti-Semitic climate in Germany, the chance to explore potential job opportunities and make new professional contacts outside of Germany was invaluable. Munich was, in fact, the birth place of the Nazi Party which was founded in 1919 and would continue to be the seat of operations for the Nazi party until the Third Reich was established in 1933.[56] Anti-Semitism, while a constant presence in most of Western Europe, was not always a rabid feature of German society. Anti-Semitism ebbed and flowed with the rise and fall of socio-economic crises in the State. As the twentieth century progressed, the German economy became increasingly unstable. Civil unrest rose and the Nazi Party took advantage of a scared and unstable population who were looking for the magical answer to solve their problems and restore Germany to the glory and strength is possessed before the First World War. Relying on the age-old tradition of scapegoating the Jewish people, The Nazi party continued to gain strength and hatred of the Jews continued to increase. In 1933, Hitler was elected chancellor and soon transformed Germany into a totalitarian state and enacted sweeping anti-Jewish

[56] Elliot Kahn, Heinrich Schalit and Weimar Jewish Music, Iowa City: University of Iowa, 1999) 43.

policies.[57] Shortly after, the first concentration camp was constructed in Dachau, a suburb of Munich.

Schalit and his family had withstood the rising tide of anti-Semitism with strength and confidence. They had great pride in their city and their heritage. In 1931, Schalit and his family were evicted from their house by their downstairs neighbor who was a member of the Nazi Party. Instead of leaving the country they simply moved to the other side of town. However, when in 1933 Schalit was threatened by a member of the community with "spending his next vacation in Dachau," Schalit knew that it was no longer safe for his family to remain. Rabbi Bernstein was quick to offer up employment at Temple B'rith Kodesh but due to his near-blindness Schalit was unable to secure a visa to work in the United States, Schalit went in search of other opportunities. Serendipitously, the position of choir director had opened up at the Tempio Israelitico, the Great Synagogue of Rome, and was offered to him. Schalit immediately filled the positon and moved his family to Rome in December 1933. While history tells us that Rome would be no friendlier to Jews than Germany in a few years, for now Schalit and his family had escaped immediate danger and had begun their wandering journey, their modern exile.

Rome – A Strange Sanctuary

The six years (1933-1939) Schalit and his family spent in Rome were both fruitful and frustrating. Both the city and the local Jewish culture were completely foreign to this small German family and while Schalit had a gift for cultural flexibility, not every member of his family adapted as easily. The cultural environment was "something of a shock…The language was different, the Italian people had a different attitude to most

[57] M. Schalit, *Heinrich Schalit*, 37.

things than did Germans and the standard of living was considerably lower."[58] Hilda especially suffered with the language and felt isolated during their time in Italy. The children seemed to have fared well.

While Schalit may have adapted to the language challenges better than his family, he had his own set of adjustments to make upon becoming acquainted with the Jewish community of Rome and the culture of its synagogue. The Great Synagogue of Rome was large and imposing, a stately structure made of white marble. The Jewish community of Rome was traditional. Men and women were separated during services, with the women sitting above behind a lattice. While the building did have an organ, it was not used on Shabbat. This was a stark change from the integrated services of the liberal synagogues of Munich, Berlin and even Rochester, NY. Schalit had been fortunate to have had the opportunity to become flexible with liturgical styles as he had now composed for those three aforementioned communities. Despite his acquired skill in adapting to new liturgy, it took "considerable effort" to understand the liturgy of the Italian Jewish Community, most likely because it was much more traditional, using a completely different siddur, that the liturgy of his previous congregations.[59] However, as soon as he could, he began composing for this new community, creating new settings for their prayers, hymns, and responses.

Considering the traditional nature of the Roman Synagogue, it is not terribly surprising that Schalit produced no new four-part choral works during his time in Italy. While the majority of his compositions for German synagogues, with the exception of *Eine Freitagabend Liturgie*, were set with German translations of sacred texts. A key

[58] M. Schalit, *Heinrich Schalit*, 40.
[59] ibid.

shift for his compositions in Rome was that they used Hebrew texts as opposed to praying in Italian. While Schalit was used to the liberal synagogues of Germany which utilized the vernacular for prayer, the more traditionally-centered culture of Rome maintained use of the sacred tongue. For example in 1934, he published settings of Psalms 12, 16, and 30 for choir and organ.[60] Despite composing a significant amount of liturgical music during this period, Schalit's most significant composition created in Italy was not liturgical but centered around a different aspect of Jewish music – the folk music of the Chasidic communities of Eastern Europe.

The *Chassidische Tänze* (Hasidic Dances) Op. 34 were composed in 1934. An instrumental dance suite, the piece was a seemingly bizarre addition to Schalit's catalogue, which was primarily made up of vocal works with accompaniment. He created two versions, one for violin and piano and the other for string orchestra. When the contents of the dance suite are analyzed, it is unsurprising where Schalit's passion and inspiration for this work came from. The music is based on traditional Hasidic melodies. It evokes images of life in the shtetls of Eastern Europe, both the celebrations and hard times. While Michael Schalit finds it ironic that his father would compose such a piece while the very communities that it evoked were being obliterated. I do not think this is ironic or a coincidence. Instead Schalit likely composed this Dance Suite with a mournful heart reflecting on the atrocities currently taking place in his homeland and beyond. Schalit took it upon himself to attempt to preserve some of the music tradition that was actively being extinguished by the Nazis.

[60] Handwritten catalogue of works, [Box 2, Folder 14], *The Heinrich Schalit Collection*, The Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary.

Within two years of this composition, the anti-Semitism of Germany had infected Rome. With the Rome-Berlin access established, the Schalits were facing deportation and had to figure where they would now go. Every two weeks the Italian police knocked on their door and threatened to arrest a member of the household if they did not leave soon. Israel was not an option, and despite several medical certificates guaranteeing that Schalit was not completely blind, he still could not secure a visa to work in the United States. A solution was found when Hilda suggested that Heinrich try to find asylum through the British embassy. Fortunately one of the officials stationed there, Major Hadley, was familiar with Heinrich's work, was also friendly with Bruno Walter, Schalit's good friend, and knew Schalit's brother Leon who had lived and worked in England for years. Immediately Hadley secured the family sponsorship through Major M. Gilbert Micholls in England. A few months later, in March of 1939, the Schalit family sold most of what they owned, except Heinrich's books and music, and traveled to England, narrowly escaping a fatal deportation by the Italian police.[61]

England – Limbo and Depression

The Schalits' stay in England was only for a short year, and unfortunately it was not a joyful year. The conditions for foreigners in England were oppressive. Those taken in as refugees were sponsored by wealthy members of society but were not allowed to seek employment. The economic depression of the 1930s was still affecting the British economy and priority for jobs went to English citizens. Matters only worsened halfway through the year when Britain declared war on Germany after the invasion of Poland. German Jewish refugees who had sought asylum in England were now given the status of

[61] M. Schalit, *Heinrich Schalit*, 43.

“enemy aliens” and in some cases they were rounded up into internment camps. While Heinrich and Hilda remained safe in their sponsored residence, their oldest son was arrested and shipped off to a labor camp in Canada. The family would be reunited many years later when Hilda and Heinrich were settled in Colorado in the 1960s.

Schalit was unhappy in Rome. He couldn’t work and was cooped up inside a house nearly every day. He had no piano and all of his previous works of music were in storage. Overall the year and a half spent in England was a dry spell for the composer. Depressed and bored, Schalit was ready to escape England and find opportunity to compose and create again. In August of 1940, his prayers were answered. Finally a thorough medical examination completed in Liverpool was enough to convince the U.S. government to allow Heinrich and his family entry to the country. Schalit joyfully accepted the job offer that Rabbi Bernstein and Temple B’rith Kodesh had reserved for him for ten years. The day after receiving medical clearance, the family boarded the S.S. Duchess of Atholl and set sail for America, ready to finally feel at home.

Chapter 3: Finding Haven, Harmony, and Home

Haven – Rochester, New York

Heinrich, Hilda, and their two younger sons Michael and Theodore (named after Theodore Herzl) arrived at the Port of Quebec on August 23, 1940, and within a week they were warmly welcomed in Rochester, New York by Benjamin Goldstein, executive secretary of Temple B'rith Kodesh. Within a day, the family had moved into their apartment on Shepard Street, which would be their home for the next three years.[62] Schalit was immediately hired as organist and music director of Temple B'rith Kodesh; Rabbi Bernstein's ten-year-long effort to bring Schalit over had succeeded and his vision for enhancing the music of his synagogue would soon be realized.

Schalit's arrival in Rochester at the end of the summer of 1940 allowed him no time to settle or to adjust. With the High Holy Days fast approaching, he immediately immersed himself in his work. Schalit's original trip to Rochester in the winter of 1930 had allowed him to briefly familiarize himself with the liturgy of the American Reform movement, however it had now been a decade since that visit and he had probably not explored the High Holy Day liturgy during that time. As such, Schalit's first priority was to familiarize himself with the *machzor* of the American Reform Movement.[63] While he did not compose any music for that first high holy day season, he composed at least two different pieces for the two subsequent High Holy Day seasons he spent there - in 1941 he composed *Al Tovo*, an anthem, and in 1942 he composed a setting of *El Mole Rachamim*.[64]

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[62] M. Schalit, *Heinrich Schalit*, 47.
[63] ibid., 48.
[64] ibid., 91.

The stability and security that life in the United States provided for Schalit and his family reignited the creative spark within Schalit that the stress and depression of life in England had extinguished. Outside of liturgical compositions Schalit produced several different works during this time. He became good friends with Dr. John Slater, a professor of English at the University of Rochester, and employed him with the task of translating several of the texts Schalit had already set in German, into English. Most notably, Schalit asked Slater to translate the set of Max Dauthenedy poems that comprised an early song cycle of his, *Frühlingslieder* (Songs of Spring), Op. 12. With these new translations, Schalit reset the texts and published the English version of the song cycle in 1942.[65] This publication was met with moderate success. One of the songs in particular, "May," became extremely popular when renowned classical singer, Marian Anderson, performed it repeatedly as part of her repertoire.[66] Dr. Slater would continue to be Schalit's source for English translation, including for many Yehuda Halevi poems, until his death in 1965.

The United States' entrance into World War II began to alter Schalit's situation in Rochester. As the war progressed, Rabbi Bernstein was asked to move to New York City and serve as the executive director of the Committee on Army and Navy Religious Activities of the Jewish Welfare Board. The departure of Schalit's good friend and spiritual leader was a difficult change for him. It is likely that this development along with the shifting economy were the main contributing factors to Schalit's departure from Rochester.

[65] ibid., 48.; Marer, "Forget Thy Affliction," 27.
[66] M. Schalit, *Heinrich Schalit*, 48.

While Schalit's music was loved at Temple B'rith Kodesh, his personality was not. It is widely known that Schalit was not the easiest person with whom to work. His drive for perfection and his "will of iron" made him a fairly unpleasant collaborator. The politics of the American synagogue were difficult for him to handle. He was not used to his job being dictated to him or the opinion of the congregation shaping his role. He was used to getting his way and would "throw temper tantrums" in public if he didn't get his way.[67] Rabbi Bernstein recalled two incidents where he blatantly went against the will of his employers–firing a beloved soloist who had been with the congregation for forty years and storming out of a wedding because he refused to play the "rubbish" piece, "Oh Promise Me" the couple wanted to accompany them while they processed.[68] His friendship and trust in Rabbi Bernstein allowed the Rabbi to serve as a buffer between the congregation and the ornery composer. The Rabbi's departure undoubtedly made things a bit more difficult for Schalit in Rochester.

In addition to that shift, the changing economy made things difficult for Schalit in his family. Wartime economy caused inflation to increase but the temple could not increase Schalit's salary to compensate for it. Hilda had to go to work as a housekeeper in order for the family to live well, a fact that bothered Schalit a great deal. As such, it was with reluctance that at the age of fifty-seven, Schalit began the search for a new position and prepared for yet another move.

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[67] ibid.
[68] M. Schalit, *Heinrich Schalit*, 3.

Harmony – Providence, Rhode Island

Providence, Rhode Island was a bustling city filled with people, history, and industry. The approximately quarter-of-a-million people who lived in the city worked in all fields from jewelry to scientific instruments to textiles to chemicals.[69] Even in the midst of a war, this city's economy was thriving and Temple Beth El's job offer to Schalit in the fall of 1943 was proof of this. The quality of life for Schalit and his family drastically improved in every aspect, except for Schalit's aversion to the pollution and humidity of the city that would eventually contribute to his departure.

The new position of music director and organist at Temple Beth El offered much more than just a steady paycheck – it offered him time and inspiration, and as a result his creative spark flared up into a steadily burning flame. Schalit was at the height of his career as a composer of Jewish sacred music during those years in Providence.[70] Not only did Schalit's catalogue of works expand greatly, he also took advantage of his new energy and financial independence to expand his self-publishing efforts. He was able to finance, publish, produce, and, with the help of his colleagues in the American Jewish Music world, distribute his works to Reform synagogues all over the country.

A particular admirer of Schalit's work was A.W. Binder. Binder was a renowned composer of American Jewish Music and was influential in the creation, critiquing, and teaching of the music of the American synagogue. He was highly regarded for his knowledge of Eastern and Western Chazzanut and was admired for his efforts at combining these traditional sounds with contemporary harmonies and composition techniques. In addition to those qualifications, later in the century, Binder's influence

[69] M. Schalit, *Heinrich Schalit*, 51.
[70] ibid., 52-53.

over American Jewish Music would increase after the founding of the School of Sacred Music, the cantorial training program of the American Reform Movement, where he was on faculty.[71] Binder described Schalit's music as "a guidepost to future synagogue music composers," revealing to them "the very high goals which may be attained."[72] He intended to make sure his students and synagogues across the country were aware of this emerging sound for the synagogue. Schalit's music in the hands of Binder was essential for its wide distribution and use.

The music Schalit produced during those years in Providence (1943-1948) was inspired and varied. Unsurprisingly, the events unfolding in Europe and in Palestine were a substantial influence on him. His Zionist sentiments were enlivened when, in 1943, efforts of armies in Palestine had successfully driven off Hitler's forces on the North African front, protecting Palestine from Nazi invasion. In response to these victories Schalit composed two celebratory cantatas: The first, entitled "Builders of Zion" was set for solo voices and unison or two-part choir and piano was published in 1944. The second, "The Pilgrims," set similarly, was published in 1945. The melodies of both cantatas were based on traditional Hebrew and Palestinian folk melodies.[73]

Despite the joyful victories and strength of the Jews in Palestine, there was great hurt plaguing the Jews of America in the light of the Holocaust. The news of the slaughter of millions in Europe had reached the U.S. and the worst fears of the Jews who had escaped their homelands for the United States had been confirmed. Family, friends, and whole communities no longer existed, wiped out by the insane cruelty of Hitler's

[71] Neil W. Levin, "Abraham Binder," Milken Archive, accessed Nov. 25, 2017, http://www.milkenarchive.org/artists/view/abraham-binder/.
[72] Kahn, "The Choral Music of Heinrich Schalit," 19.
[73] M. Schalit, *Heinrich Schalit,* 52; 91.

regime. The unimaginable death and destruction in Europe undoubtedly weighed heavily on the conscious of those who had escaped, Schalit included. Some of his compositions during this time reflected this anguish. In looking at the timeline of Schalit's compositions, I argue that the pieces discussed in the rest of this section are Schalit's musical and emotional response to learning of the horrors of the Holocaust. It seems that there is little chance of this being coincidental. These were not commissioned publications; these came from his own impulse and reaction to the near-destruction of European Jewry.

In 1946, the year after the end of the War, in the wake of the discovery of mass graves and concentration camps, Schalit penned his iconic "The 23rd Psalm." The text of the piece is an English translation of Psalm 23: a text associated strongly with death, whether comforting a person on their deathbed or the family of a deceased person at the funeral. Schalit's setting is beautiful and haunting and in many ways is a piece very distinct from Schalit's typical style. It is a purposeful shift in style, meant to mark the somber mood of the composer as he faced the news of the tragedies in Europe. It is a simple, homophonic, chorale setting. It has little flare, no accompaniment, no complex moving lines or evocative emotional vocal lines; all focus is on the clear enunciation of the text. I believe that it is in the most certain terms, a piece meant to try and make sense of the loss of so many of his kin–it is the brain numbly trying to digest the horror.

Schalit's reflection on these tragedies was unyielding. His compositions continued in this vein throughout 1946. Later in the year he composed a setting of Psalm 121, "I lift mine eyes to the hills," another typical text for funeral or yizkor memorial services, for baritone and SATB chorus. An instrumental setting of a traditional Jewish folksong of the

ghettos for violin and piano came next. Following this was a setting of "Adonoy Mo Odom," (O Lord! What is Man?) which Schalit himself labeled a "memorial anthem."[74] In addition, Schalit also recognized the humanitarian efforts of many people who tried to help the Jews of Europe escape. Being the recipient of such efforts, this was something near and dear to his heart. In 1947 he composed his "Psalm 98," (Sing unto the Lord a New Song), a setting of a much more joyous text for tenor solo and SATB chorus. With its publication he included the dedication "to the genius and humanitarian Albert Einstein, with reverence."[75] In a few years, the shock and awe over the revelations of the full scope of the tragedy of the Holocaust would fade and Schalit would start to come to terms with it, composing a piece specifically in memory of the six million Jews lost in the Holocaust.

Though his time in Providence was extremely productive, after five years, Schalit was ready to move on. There were several factors that contributed to the Schalit family leaving Rhode Island but the primary reason was that it seemed Schalit was simply tired of being there. The humid climate, which he had also hated in Rome, and polluted air of the city was always unappealing to Heinrich and every summer he escaped it for the more pleasant climbs of lake Placid. However in the summer of 1948, Schalit and his family vacationed in Denver, Colorado. While there he met Rabbi Herbert Friedman of Denver's Temple Emanu-El who might have implied that there could be a potential job for Schalit should he relocate. This was extremely appealing as Schalit was sick of the mugginess of Providence and the politics of the Temple Beth El board. He fell in love with the fresh

[74] M. Schalit, *Heinrich Schalit*, 92-93.
[75] ibid.

mountain air and on the whim of this vague promise, moved his family out to Denver that fall.

Home – Denver and Evergreen, Colorado

In November 1948, Heinrich and Hilda moved into their first house: a small abode on Steele Street. After so many years of wandering–different cities, apartments and jobs–the two were ecstatic to have a piece of property to their name. Despite the excitement of the new experience, things did not immediately go well in Denver. The vague offer of a job from Rabbi Friedman never materialized. Owning a house and having two sons in college ensured that income was a big issue. Immediately Schalit went to work finding other sources of income. Publishing and distributing his music, creating a small community choir, teaching piano and voice and performing in a few small concerts provided a small income, but it was not enough to keep Hilda from working. She took up a position as a bookkeeper.

A year later, things improved slightly and Schalit secured a one-year contract with Temple Israel of Hollywood and he and his wife moved out to California for one year. Schalit's compositions during this year centered on composing for Temple Israel and they "reflect the cycle of Jewish holidays" and reflect "his desire for appropriate music for those occasions."[76] For the cantor and choir at Temple Israel he composed several anthems including an "Adeer Hu" (God of Might) for Passover, an "Al Naharot Bavel," (By the Waters of Babylon), for Tisha B'Av, a "Sovevunee" (All around me) and "Tora

[76] M. Schalit, *Heinrich Schalit*, 56.

lanu" (Our Torah) for Shavuot and "Vee Yehuda L'olam Teshev," (Judah shall live forever).[77]

Schalit's contract was not renewed, and in November of 1950, Hilda and Heinrich returned to their house in Denver. Both resumed their previous methods of earning income. At this point Schalit was sixty-five years old and his life had taken on a distinctly settled feeling. This feeling of being grounded spurred Schalit's compositional energy especially with liturgical settings. In 1951 Schalit focused on reformatting the sacred service he had composed in Germany, *Eine Freitagabend Liturgie*, for the American Reform Synagogue. This involved a great deal of editing, including omitting, resetting and even adding some texts to match the siddur of the American Reform movement. His "Psalm 98" which he had composed during his years in Rhode Island was also added into this service. The completed project was published in 1951, entitled *Sabbath Eve Liturgy*. With the help of A.W. Binder, copies of this new service were distributed to synagogues around the country.

The following year Schalit published a set of sacred art songs entitled *Seven Sacred Songs*, this was a compilation of several songs he had composed over the years rather than a new composition. "The 23rd Psalm" was included in this publication. Schalit composed his third full service, *Sabbath Morning Liturgy*, for cantor, mixed voices, and organ in 1954. As opposed to *Sabbath Evening Liturgy*, this service was a set of completely new compositions based once again on the texts of the American Reform siddur. In 1956, he composed a sacred cantata entitled *The Visions* (not to be confused with his song cycle *The Visions of Yehudah Halevi* which would be published in 1970). *The Visions* (1956) was a compilation of some of what Schalit considered to be his most

[77] ibid.

meaningful sacred songs set for both solo and choir linked together with narration.[78] The cantata includes "All the Stars of Morning," "Listen unto Me, Coastlands," and "The Lord is My Strength and My Song," a setting of Psalm 118. Michael Schalit claims that this last piece was Heinrich's favorite composition.[79] Finally, at the end of 1956 Schalit set the text "Elohai N'shomo" in a Hebrew Anthem that he dedicated to the memory of his good friend and colleague Hugo Chaim Adler who had died the year before.

In 1958, Schalit and his wife decided to leave Denver and move permanently up to their mountain cabin in Evergreen, Colorado, settling down to enjoy their golden years in peace and quiet. Since their first meeting at a resort in Germany, Hilda and Heinrich had always been admirers of nature, of crisp mountain air and clear blue skies. Both were in their element and immensely enjoyed their new home. Schalit would enjoy the rest of his life up in those mountains composing, teaching whichever students (Herbert Fromm included) decided to make the long trip up to see him, and visiting with his three sons and nine grandchildren.

It was an idyllic retirement. In the eighteen years of his life that remained, Schalit spent much time publishing the majority of his life's work. Michael Schalit lists several of the works, most of them sacred, published during this time in his father's biography: "Psalm of Brotherhood" (1959) dedicated to Rabbi Bernstein, "Lest We Forget" (1961) which was an anthem dedicated to the six million Jews who died in the Holocaust of World War II, "The Sacred Covenant" (1963), which was written for the dedication of the new sanctuary of his first American congregation Temple B'rith Kodesh in Rochester, an Organ Prelude (1963) entitled "Eternal Light" for Congregation Emanu-El

[78] ibid.
[79] ibid., 57.

in New York City, and a collection of five anthems entitled "Songs of Glory" (1963), and an anthem entitled "Sing unto the Lord" (1964).[80]

There were two compositions that he penned in these final years that should be especially noted: his fourth full service "Hadrat Kodesh" (The Beauty of Holiness) and his song cycle "The Visions of Yehuda Halevi." Hadrat Kodesh, composed in 1966, was commissioned by "The Temple" in Cleveland, Ohio. It contains the liturgy of the morning service without a Torah service, which suggests that he set the liturgy for the weekday morning service, which was an unusual request for a Reform Congregation. Nevertheless, this composition was very warmly received and was considered one of his best works. It contains the finely honed counterpoint skills that marked Schalit's strong classical foundation combined in a delicate balance with "highly original Jewish melody and harmony."[81]

The "Visions of Yehuda Halevi," published in 1970, was a very different kind of composition. It is a song cycle comprised of five settings of Yehuda Halevi texts. It is a composition of extremely high caliber. The composition is Schalit's love letter to Halevi. The precision and care with which Schalit set the poet's texts is remarkable. The first two pieces: "Kalah l'cha chaltah" (The Bride that longeth for Thee) and "Galut" (In Exile), which he originally set in 1916 in German, then labeled as one of his *Hymnische Gesänge* sets, were reset with the original Hebrew. Schalit's priority on text expression is clear. Schalit, a known perfectionist, was rarely fully satisfied with his work and was constantly revising and editing. Despite this tendency, it is clear that he was quite proud of this song cycle as he dedicated it to "Jedidah," the pet name for his wife and the love of his life.

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[80] ibid., 59-60.
[81] Kahn, "The Choral Music of Heinrich Schalit," 18.

Michael Schalit also points out that the title of the song cycle was a very deliberate choice for a composer who was nearly blind for the majority of his life. This was not the first composition of his that included the word "visions." "Visions of Love" (1942) was the final song in his "Songs of Spring" cycle; "Visions," the cantata discussed before, and finally *Visions of Yehuda Halevi*. Schalit was fixated with his disability and worked hard to use his strengths and skills to take ownership of it. While this song cycle was not the last piece he ever composed (there would be four others before his death in 1976), it is considered to be one of the crowning achievements of his career. It is the epitome of everything he wanted to contribute to Jewish music – beautiful meaningful text, authentic Jewish sound, and sophisticated compositional technique. It was the sort of piece he was proud to have as his legacy.

Schalit died in his sleep on February 3, 1976, at the age of ninety. He had lived a life full of triumphs and tribulations. He had suffered and succeeded. Through it all, it was his conviction, strength of will, and passion for re-imagining, producing, and protecting Jewish music that drove him forward. He firmly believed in the power of music to encompass and engage the Jewish spirit. It was his life's mission to be an agent of this tool and to use it. He believed to the very core of his soul that "music, the most affecting of all the arts, has the power to create and to express religious emotions which words alone cannot do."[82] He had an unshakeable belief in music and that lent itself to an unyielding faith in God, more than anything else, these two things define his music and the sentiment he hoped to inspire within all those who listen to his music.

[82] M. Schalit, *Heinrich Schalit,* 60.

Part 2: Paul Ben-Haim

Chapter 4: German Roots, German Pride, German Legacy—The Foundation of a Young Musician

Just over a decade after the birth of Heinrich Schalit and nearly three hundred miles west, Paul Frankenburger[83] was born in Munich on July 5, 1897. Paul was born into a fairly affluent family. His father, Heinrich Frankenburger, was a man from very humble means who established himself as a successful lawyer and later a much-admired and renowned professor of law.[84] Before his success, however, Heinrich Frankenburger came from a very poor but loving family. He was raised in a religious household, with a father who taught elementary school and also served as their community's cantor. Paul's mother Anna, on the other hand, was the daughter of the wealthy Munich banker Moritz Schulmann. Whereas Heinrich had come from a religious family, Anna's family was made up of Jews who were fully assimilated and non-practicing, or had converted to Christianity for social and professional gain.[85] Moritz and his children, including Anna, were all still Jewish but did not practice the faith at all.

Heinrich and Anna settled in Munich, and with the jumpstart of Anna's large dowry and then the extraordinary success of Heinrich's law practice, the family flourished and grew. They couple had five children, Ernst, Therese, Dora, Paul, and Karl. While Anna was completely uninterested in keeping Jewish observances at home, Heinrich's religious background and his own deeply held beliefs ensured that the children were raised with knowledge of their faith and a deep understanding of Jewish values.[86]

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[83] Paul Frankenburger changed his name to Ben-Haim after his immigration to Palestine in 1933. In this chapter, which primarily deals with his activities in Germany, he will be referred to as Frankenburger.
[84] "Paul Ben-Haim," (Tel-Aviv: Israel Music Publications, 1967), 4. This biography was published without credit to the author; the author is presumed to be Ben-Haim's publisher, Peter Gradnwitz; Jehoash Hirshberg, *Paul Ben-Haim: His Life and Works*. (Israel: Israel Music Institute, 1988), 12-13, citing an interview with Ben-Haim by Dr. Hans Lamm.
[85] Hirshberg, *Paul Ben-Haim*, 16-17.
[86] ibid.

These would eventually become extremely present and important in Paul's life, especially after his emigration to Palestine.

Heinrich was very involved with the Jewish community in Munich. He had been a member of the Munich *Akedemischer Gesandverein* (Academic Choral Society) and often played cards with his friends from that group. Additionally, he regularly attended services at the central synagogue in Munich. He also brought his children with him occasionally as they grew up; Frankenburger reflected that his father's influence was vital to his understanding of what it meant to be Jewish, not only in practice but also in character: "My father used to go to synagogue regularly, and often took me with him. Without him and what he taught me, I would have been completely ignorant of the Jewish tradition. But for all that, he was never dogmatic for he was tolerant and open-minded in every way."[87]

Paul's father embodied the spirit of the Jewish community of Munich which is considered by scholars to have been the "model of tolerance and cooperation between the different groups of which it was formed."[88] The Jewish population in Munich, which at the beginning of the century had been miniscule, had experienced a period of extreme growth thanks to the emancipation laws passed in the wake of the enlightenment. As referenced above, the Jewish population in Munich was varied, yet it functioned well as a large cohesive unit thanks to compromise. The largest percentage of the Jewish population was made up of Jews of the Liberal faction, the group to which the Frankenburger family belonged.

[87] ibid., 16.
[88] ibid., 15.

The majority of the assimilated Jews of Munich, if they desired to still maintain ties to a Jewish community, were a part of this faction as well as it was birthed by those Jews who had desired to reform Jewish tradition and practice so that it better aligned with assimilated culture. The members of this faction were primarily professionals with high profile careers in law, medicine and sometimes politics. Many of them had very active and strong ties with the Bavarian authorities, giving them significant influence over the functioning of the Jewish community at large. Despite this influence, they worked hard to compromise with the Orthodox members of their community, thus Liberal Jews in Munich observed the "ancient rituals – circumcision, bar mitzvah, wedding and funeral rites, the reciting of Kaddish – in their traditional forms,"[89] but also took the liberty of enhancing them with services in the Reform style which included the use of an organ and sermons and prayers in the vernacular. It was in this culture that Paul's Jewish identity and relationship with Jewish worship and especially with Jewish music developed.

Jewish music in Munich was primarily defined by the liturgical music heard during services. As mentioned above, Frankenburger grew up attending services with his father at the Great Synagogue in Munich, the same synagogue where Schalit would serve as organist and choirmaster decades later. As discussed in chapter 2, Cantor Emanuel Kirschner served as the cantor at the Great Synagogue for forty-seven years and was therefore the central figure guiding the development of Jewish music in the city. As previously discussed Kirschner was deeply enthusiastic about moving the trends in Jewish music away from the strong hold of the Western-influenced style of Lewandowski and Sulzer. He felt that the music of these composers, which had dominated Jewish music in Germany for several decades, had many issues. Specifically, it was based on a Western

[89] ibid., 16.

aesthetic that was set for beautiful harmony and sound and neglected representation of the text. Along with neglect of the text, the Western modality riddled the music with what Kirschner and Idelsohn considered to be "foreign" musical elements like German folk melodies, "the chromatic and dissonant elements of modern art music, and the Eastern European Jewish music popular in the Jewish communities of northern Germany."[90] While Kirschner aspired to compose music without these "foreign" elements for the synagogue, his attempts were lukewarm as he caved to public pressure. As previously discussed, Schalit would take up the mantle and make serious headway on this task. In a few decades, when Schalit and Frankenburger's paths cross, the influence of this mission and the energy and passion of Schalit would eventually transform Frankenburger's own compositional voice and purpose.

Frankenburger's musical training began early, although there was some question as to whether or not the musical talents of his father and grandfather had been passed on to him. After a sickly infancy, he was admitted into the Wilhelm-Gymnasium where he received excellent grades in all subjects with the exception of music, where he received a note from the teacher claiming he had no musical ear at all, as he refused to sing any note the teacher played for him.[91] Hardly dissuaded, his parents continued to provide him with music lessons, as was mostly standard for the children of wealthy families in such a cultured and music-centered city as Munich. Frankenburger decided to play the violin and very quickly his teacher discovered that he had perfect pitch and that he was extremely gifted, playing complex Mozart violin concertos after only two years of study.

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[90] Gurkiewicz, Liran. "Paul Ben-Haim: The Oratorio *Joram* and the Jewish Identity of a Composer." ***Min-Ad:*** *Israel Studies in Musicology Online*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (2013), 109. https://openmusiclibrary.org/article/245538/.

[91] Hirshberg, *Paul Ben-Haim*, 17.

At the age of eleven he began studying piano which attracted him because he was intrigued by the "possibility of playing several voices simultaneously."[92] Unsurprisingly, he also began his studies in harmony and counterpoint at this time.

Frankenburger's formal studies were cut short in 1915 when the outbreak of World War I cut courses short in most schools in Germany to allow those students who were of age to be drafted. Frankenburger graduated in that year, but since he was still underage he began to study music exclusively at the renowned *Akademie der Tonkunst* (Music Academy) in Munich. He continued to study piano and began his formal training in composition. His teacher Beer-Walbrun was a conservative who forced Frankenburger to focus on the composition styles and techniques of the foundational greats like Bach, Handel, and Mozart, despite Frankenburger's strengthening desire to explore modern music.

Although his formal training in composition did not begin until 1915, Frankenburger had discovered his passion for the craft several years before. He was a prolific composer even in his young age and composed constantly. According to his official catalogue of works, compiled by Jehoash Hirshberg, by the time he was called up to the draft in 1916 he had written over fifty compositions from instrumental trios, to several songs and song cycles for voice and piano.[93] The vast majority of his works during this period consisted of the latter, focusing on the form of the German *lied*. This work was influenced both by his love of German literature and by sister Dora who was studying singing. He often accompanied her, becoming well acquainted with the extensive repertoire of German lieder, specifically with the works of the great composers

[92] ibid.
[93] ibid., 383-390.

of this form: Brahms, Schumann, Wolf, Strauss, and Mahler. The latter two would become two of the strongest influences on his overall composition style for the rest of his life, though this would change after he emigrated.

Frankenburger's choice in poets reflects the maturation of a teenager into an adult dealing with the trauma of having served in the First World War. His early lieder set texts by the German poet Otto Bierbaum. These were highly emotional and sentimental texts that Frankenburger set using chromatic harmony, excessive and unresolved dissonances, and rapid shifts of register. The influence of Mahler and Strauss is strong in these early lieder. Frankenburger was lucky that his sister Dora provided an immediate and constant source of performance of these works allowing a rapid development in his compositional skills. He was able to examine the piece through its performance and diagnosis its strong and weak points. Even in settings of two similar Bierbaum poems composed months apart, *Letzte Bitte* in Oct. 1912 and *Letzter Wunsch* in April 1913, an analysis by Hirshberg reveals a marked development–a new restraint in the use of chromatic harmony shows a distinct maturation of the composer's style and understanding of how to set text.[94]

During his years composing before the War, Frankenburger set poems the emotional poems of Bierbaum and then moved on to the sophisticated texts of Hugo von Hofmannsthal (a favorite poet of Strauss). His first published works were two song-cycles of settings of Hofmannsthal texts. They were published in March 1916, a very high point for the young composer. A few months later, however, his life took a dark turn. He lost his oldest brother, Ernst, in the war and in August he himself was sent to the front.

[94] ibid., 19-20.

There is little to nothing written about Frankenburger's experiences as a soldier. History, of course, tells us that the War was brutal and horrific for almost everyone involved. Frankenburger's letters to his father and family which are characteristically extremely detailed, are eerily silent on the subject. It is clear, if not from the silence on the subject, then at least from his compositions during and after the War, that his time at the front deeply affected him. Additionally during his time at the front, the wake of hearing the traumatic news of his mother's death reached him. During the brief leave he was granted, he began setting the dark and reflective verses of surrealist poet Christian Morgenstern.[95] Most alarmingly, after the war he completely abandoned the composition of his first full-length symphony which he had begun just before being mobilized.

Frankenburger returned to Munich after the War and immediately threw himself into composing, his lifelong passion, to help him recover from his depression. He also renewed his studies at the Music Academy, continuing studies in both piano and composition. His new professor for composition was Walter Courvoisier who was greatly influenced by not only the strong foundations of Bach, Schubert, and Beethoven but who also placed great significance on the works of more modern composers like Wagner, Mahler, and Strauss.[96] The thorough analysis, orchestration and composition work that Frankenburger completed during his two final years in the academy helped define the modern, complex, and sophisticated composition style for which he would soon become widely recognized, and would be the foundation for the music he would create in Israel, setting the foundation for Israeli Art Music.

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[95] The Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica, comp., *Encyclopædia Britannica*, s.v. "Christian Morgenstern," July 20, 1998, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Christian-Morgenstern.
[96] Hirshberg, *Paul Ben-Haim*, 26-27.

Frankenburger graduated from the Academy in 1920 and immediately began to establish himself as a musician, both as a composer and a conductor, of note in Munich. His reputation as a composer, which will be expanded on later, had already begun to spread through various works he had published during his time at the Academy. His reputation as a conductor, however, was established when he was hired as the *Korrepetitor* (the choir coach and manager) at the Munich Opera House, arguably the most prestigious opera house in Germany, shortly after the completion of his studies. He held this position for four years, working under the esteemed conductor Bruno Walter and alongside great singers and musicians from whom he learned a great deal. Unfortunately the post-war economic depression cost Frankenburger his job in 1924 and he left his beloved post.

Frankenburger utilized all of the experience gained working in the Munich Opera House when he filled the role of Third Kapellmeister and choir conductor at the *Augsburg Stadttheater* (opera house) in Augsburg, a town just outside of Munich. This new post established conducting as Frankenburger's main occupation and for the next seven years that he worked there, it defined him. Despite being basically an assistant conductor in charge of grunt work and exhausting rehearsals, Frankenburger's skills at conducting, when he was allowed to conduct performances, were quickly noticed and praised. By the end of his time at Augsburg he had been promoted to First Kappelmeister and managed two extremely successful seasons for the company. Several press reviews filled with ecstatic praise for various performances throughout his term at Augsburg remain in the Ben-Haim (then Frankenburger) Archives at the National Library of Israel at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. The rise of anti-Semitism and the fact that a Nazi-

sympathizer bought the opera house forced Frankenburger, and many other members of the staff, out in 1931. It was a decision disliked by many in the community and was openly lamented by the press later that year.[97]

In the years between his graduation from the Academy and his move to Palestine in 1933, Frankenburger's compositional output was prolific. He composed many pieces of many different genres and those that were published and performed were met with favorable reviews. The majority of his compositions were still lieder but he explored different poets including Heinrich Lutensack, Heinrich Heine, and Stefan George, and continued to set Morgenstern's work. He began exploring choral composition, setting his first large-scale chorale work Psalm 22 (1922). He also greatly expanded his instrumental compositions, including composing many chamber works for small string ensembles, a full orchestration for a ballet, and a symphonic poem.

Frankenburger's output was clearly wide, varied, and impressive, but there are a few specific pieces that are important to note for the investigation of this thesis: his setting of the two "Storm Lieder" (1920), his setting of two "Lutensack Lieder" (1923), his "Drei Motetten für gemischten Chor" (1928), Psalm 126 (1929), and his "2 Arien für Sopran und Orgel" (1929, 1930). All of these pieces forecast in either tone or content the music that he would compose after his immigration to Palestine and the psychological, spiritual, and musical transformation that followed. The two sets of lieder, as pointed out by Hirshberg, exemplify marked deviations from Frankenburger's usual compositional voice for *lieder*. Specifically, Hirshberg points to the use of brief melodic motives, diatonic harmony, quartal and quintal harmonies and rhythmic dance motives.[98] The three

[97] ibid., 71.
[98] ibid., 29; 41; 50.

other compositions are the first instances, with the exception of the Bach-inspired setting of Psalm 22 in 1922, of Frankenburger working with and composing religious music. In order to examine the significance of these compositions, we have to explore Frankenburger's relationship with his close friend and mentor Heinrich Schalit. It was only after their meeting in 1928 and exposure to Schalit's music and influence Frankenburger decided to explore the texts of his faith and experiment with setting them to music. Moreover, it was at this point, with the gradual rise of anti-Semitism becoming more apparent, that Frankenburger began to struggle with his sense of identity–as a German and as a Jew.

Friendship, Fraternity, and Faith

As discussed in Chapter 2, Heinrich Schalit became aware of Frankenburger in 1928. The exact occasion of the meeting has not been recording, but we know from his own writings that Schalit was deeply impressed by Frankenburger's work and that he greatly desired to meet him (see Chapter 2) and undoubtedly orchestrated that meeting. The first indication of their friendship is a joint concert given in 1928 featuring Schalit's *Hymnische Gesänge* and Frankenburger's String Trio and some of his *lieder*.[99] Schalit's own words describe his desire to "ignite the Jewish spark"[100] in Frankenburger. It is curious, though, as to why Schalit's desire was so pressing. There were several other Jewish composers of note in Germany at the time including Hugo "Chayim" Adler, Isadore Freed, and Herbert Fromm. Of this group, Schalit was good friends with Hugo Adler and became a mentor to Hebert Fromm. Schalit's passion and urge to renew and

[99] Hirshberg, "Paul Ben-Haim and Heinrich Schalit," 143.
[100] Chapter 2; ibid., 142.

create Jewish music flared up so strongly at this time that it is hard not to see it as reactionary to the parallel rise in anti-Semitism surrounding him. Either way, it was this passion that drove him to guide Frankenburger to exploring Jewish music. Hirshberg specifically notes that Schalit saw potential in Frankenburger that he himself lacked–the ability to compose fully orchestrated, large-scale compositions. [101] Frankenburger was a composer of the highest caliber who could bring revolutionary change, which Schalit felt was desperately needed, to Jewish music and specifically music of the synagogue.[102]

The two composers' relationship grew and Schalit's influence on Frankenburger is evidenced by the works mentioned above, which he produced after their friendship began. In the five years following his first meeting with Schalit he composed the "Drei Motetten für gemischten Chor" (Three Motets), *Psalm 126*, and "2 Arien für Sopran und Orgel" (Two Liturgical Arias), all of which were settings of biblical texts – primarily settings of texts from Isaiah or the Book of Job. Some scholars claim that these settings are the distinctive beginnings of Frankenburger's composition of Jewish music—that that this music is distinctive in "Jewish content and character."[103] Alternatively, I believe that the composition of these works is not an embrace and expression of Jewish culture but is instead a reluctant and hesitant attempt at setting religious music, a first hesitant step towards recognizing and confronting his Jewish identity.

Several factors inform this interpretation. While Schalit's composition of Jewish music sets the poetry of Yehuda Halevi, specifically spiritual poetry of Jewish character or Jewish liturgical music, Frankenburger strictly sticks to setting texts from the bible,

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[101] M. Schalit, *Heinrich Schalit*, 28.
[102] Hirshberg, *Paul Ben-Haim*, 55-56; citing an article Heinrich Schalit wrote for the *B'nai Brith Magazine* during his first trip to the United States in 1931.
[103] Gurkiewicz, "Paul Ben-Haim: The Oratorio Joram," 112.

which are texts applicable to several different faiths. Additionally composing settings of biblical texts was a well-established trend in Western Music, with Bach being the German champion of the craft. In this same vein, the Motets and Psalm 126 are set in the style of a Renaissance motet, which is also typical of Western settings of sacred text and not at all uniquely Jewish. Most convincing, however, are Frankenburger's own words concerning both of these compositions: Commenting on *Psalm 126* Frankenburger wrote that he chose to compose this piece because he chose to "…revive the cultivation of the *Music Sacra*, unjustly neglected by many of the modern composers."[104] And in an "explanatory note" that he wrote for the premiere of the *Three Motets*, Frankenburger stated that the Motets were "religious music in the widest sense, without a specific liturgical purpose."[105] Twice, Frankenburger deliberately avoided designating these compositions as anything but general sacred or religious music. More than anything, at the time he avoided labeling them as specifically Jewish music.

The two *Liturgical Arias* are a bit different from the other two works but they only further support my hypothesis. Both arias, which are settings of texts from Psalm 139 (Aria I) and Isaiah 35 (Aria II) are similar to his settings of German lied. He sets the texts in German over organ, and light piano, accompaniment. It is true that the augmented second that defines the Jewish mode *ahavah rabbah* is present in one of the arias, however that is the extent of any unique coloring. He sets the German text, once again in line with German music tradition. The arias exist in manuscript in the archives in Jerusalem. It can be argued that the presence of the Hebrew text on these manuscripts indicates that Frankenburger was always intending to set the Hebrew, which would make

[104] Hirshberg, "Paul Ben-Haim and Heinrich Schalit," 143.
[105] Hirshberg, *Paul Ben-Haim*, 58.

this a distinctly Jewish work. Close examination of the manuscripts however (see Appendix A), shows that while the German text is neatly set and in-line with the notes, the Hebrew is squeezed in above the notes and in margins, grace notes are scribbled in to match the syllables of this other language. All of this indicates that Frankenburger added the Hebrew text to the score at a later date, more than likely after his immigration to Palestine. In an interview, Hirschberg validated this suggestion, confirming that Frankenburger did not set any of his music in Hebrew until he lived in Israel.[106]

Finally, Frankenburger's last composition in Germany exemplifies his struggle with his identity. His oratorio *Joram* is based on the book *Das Buch Joram* by Rudolf Borchardt. Its plot is a loose combination of the book of Job and the Passion. Hirshberg observes that, more than likely, Frankenburger did not "consider the oratorio a departure from Judaism, but rather a synthesis between Judaism and Christianity, where the characteristic element is human optimism."[107] In the face of the diminishing attitude towards Jews in Germany, it seems that Frankenburger was desperately trying to cling to the idea that he could continue to identify as German when that was being ripped away from him, leaving him only with the culture he had inherited but barely knew.

Frankenburger was a German. He was a highly assimilated Jew who only went to synagogue on the High Holy Days. He was trained in German schools, studied the German masters, composed music based on their iconic styles, worked in German opera houses, and conducted German choirs. Jewish culture, literature, and music were foreign to him. Yet, in the wake of rising hatred for him because of his faith from those he called his kin, and faced with the welcoming metaphorical embrace and strong persuasion of

[106] Interview with Jehoash Hirshberg by author on June 21, 2017.
[107] Hirshberg, *Paul Ben-Haim*, 91.

Heinrich Schalit, Frankenburger's entire identity was being called into question. This was the dilemma Frankenburger wrestled with as 1933 began and the Third Reich came to power.

Chapter 5: From Exile to Acclimation—A Leap of Faith

Frankenburger's immigration to Palestine was not an immediate or easy journey. From the time that he made the decision to leave Germany, it took nearly seven months to receive official permission from the British Consulate to relocate. It was a long and arduous process that stressed and depressed him, and after he arrived in his new homeland, the transition into his new life was an equally difficult uphill battle. Frankenburger ultimately found great success, both personally and professionally, in his ancestral homeland and developed a deep and ardent love for this country that would define his work. At the beginning of this journey, however, it is doubtful that he imagined such success could ever be achieved. On a wing and a prayer, in which he humorously would not have believed, Frankenburger began the strenuous journey to enter a country in its infancy, with no formally established music culture, hardly any resources for the arts, and a foreign language and culture. The potential for musical expression and creation, as he would discover, however, was unlimited. It would be a difficult but rewarding journey.

Despite the worsening conditions for Jews in Germany in 1933, the exit strategy for those who wished to leave was extremely difficult. Whether their destination was other countries in Europe, the United States, or Asia, the global depression caused by World War I, and the usual lingering anti-semitic wariness had most countries implement strict immigration quotas and procedures, especially for Jews. The situation for immigrating to British-mandated Palestine was no exception. Fortunately, Paul Frankenburger was an intelligent and thorough man, and immigrating to a new country, especially one as foreign and archaic as Palestine, was not a decision he would make

without thorough investigation and planning. He used the extra time forced on him by redundant bureaucratic process to make an informed decision.

The first step for Frankenburger was to travel to Palestine as a tourist to investigate the possibilities for employment and financial success for a professional musician, to survey the country, and to get a feel for the foreign culture. His decision to visit Palestine was made in March 1933 after an anti-Semitic critic revealed his opinions in a review of a performance of Frankenburger's Concerto Grosso. This process to obtain a tourist visa was difficult and it was only through resorting to personal connections that he finally obtained his tourist visa in May of that year. In his autobiographical sketch, published in 1971 for the Israeli journal *Tatzlil*, Frankenburger describes this complicated process:

> So I began with all my might to instigate my tourist trip to Palestine. At that time it was not at all simple. It depended on the receipt of a tourist visa registered in the passport by the English Consul in Munich. Because of the increasing immigration of German Jews, the English consuls were hampered by difficulties. One friend of our family, himself an Englishman, and the good friend of the English consul Mr. Taylor, expressed his willingness to accompany me and help me as best he could. So we went together to Mr. Taylor…[108]

This personal connection to the English official Mr. Taylor was essential to speeding up the process for Frankenburger. At this meeting, Mr. Taylor asked Frankenburger one simple question: What were his intentions for his visit to Palestine? Frankenburger replied that he was investigating the possibilities for his immigration. Taylor immediately granted him a tourist visa, however it had three very strict conditions:

1) He could only stay in Palestine for six weeks, "not a day more."
2) He could not look for any employment or accept any employment offered to him in Palestine.

[108] Paul Ben-Haim, "My Immigration to Palestine," *Tatzlil* 11, (1971): 185 (In Hebrew).Translation by Elizabeth Flynn.

3) He would leave a deposit for 1,000 pounds (10,000 German marks) with Mr. Taylor that would be forfeited were he to violate any of the other conditions.[109]

Needless to say, Frankenburger immediately accepted these conditions and with the help of his father, left the required amount of money at the British consul. A short while later, perhaps a week or so according to letters to his future wife, on May 14 Frankenburger and Schalit had a "farewell dinner" in Munich.[110] Frankenburger left the next day and traveled to Trieste where he boarded the *Italia*, an old steam liner. On May 16, the ship embarked on the five-day journey to Jaffa.[111]

The ship was old and his accommodations were meager but Frankenburger's initial trip to Palestine was extremely beneficial from the moment he stepped into the communal bunks on the ship. "…When I reached my bed I found a sick traveler. He asked me to grab the top bed, since he had an artificial leg and could not climb the ladder to the other. I, of course, agreed, and from a conversation that developed between us I learned that he was also a musician!"[112] That sickly passenger was a Jewish violinist named Simon Bakman. He had been invited by his uncle in Tel Aviv to visit and intended to perform while there. He had been connected to a manager, Moshe Hopenko who was to assist in organizing performances. Almost immediately the two musicians became friends and Bakman asked Frankenburger to accompany him for his performances. Frankenburger agreed happily and Bakman assured him that Mr. Hopenko would help

[109] ibid.
[110] Hirshberg, *Paul Ben-Haim*, 103.
[111] ibid., 104.
[112] Ben-Haim, "My Immigration to Palestine," 186.

with the visa restrictions. The two began their performance career together that night on the boat, using an old and "terribly out-of-tune piano." It was a huge success.[113]

Frankenburger's relationship with Bakman was instrumental in establishing his reputation in Palestine. It is thanks to Moshe Hopenko, and Bakman by extension, that Paul became known as Ben-Haim in Palestine. Upon landing in Jaffa, Bakman and Frankenburger met with Moshe Hopenko in Tel Aviv. Hopenko had a very simple solution to Frankenburger's desire to accompany Bakman and perform in Palestine and dilemma with his visa requirements–he would simply change his name! Apparently the officials at the British consulate had more crucial matters to deal with than policing the concerts in the country for illegally performing accompanists. At that meeting with Hopenko, after the suggestion that he change his name, Paul asked what he should choose. Hopenko asked what his father's name was, to which Paul replied that it was "Heinrich," or "Haim" in Hebrew. Therefore, Hopenko suggested that he should be called "Ben-Haim," and that was that.[114] While some might view Paul's choice of the new name "Ben-Haim," which means "son of life" to be a rather symbolic and transformative name, the truth behind this choice is rather mundane and a bit disappointing.

The majority of Ben-Haim's initial tour of Palestine is described in detail in the letters he wrote to his father, his sister Dora, and to Hely, his future wife, whom he had met while conducting in Augsburg several years prior. As he toured the country and surveyed the possibilities and potential, he wrote detailed accounts to all of them describing his awe-filled reactions to this new world. His description of disembarking

[113] Hirshberg, *Paul Ben-Haim*, 104.
[114] ibid., 108; Ben-Haim, "My Immigration to Palestine," 186.

from the boat includes being approached by "screaming Arabs," who helped them with their luggage and then being overwhelmed by the rush of "peddlers, beggars, coaches, children, etc." who awaited them off the docks.[115] Once arriving in Tel Aviv, he was deeply impressed with the growing city's metropolitan atmosphere, especially when compared with the nearby Old City of Jaffa. His description of the city in a letter to his father is characteristic of a cultured person from Western Europe who had never set foot off of his previous continent:

> …Thus I climbed happily into a motorcar and rode through the streets of Jaffa, which is completely oriental, with loaded camels and colorfully-garbed white-bearded *sheikhs* who crouch in front of their shops with crossed legs, and soon reached Tel Aviv, which is attached to Jaffa. This is the complete antithesis to Jaffa; a truly modern European city is being built here on sandy dunes with indescribable diligence and energy; a really impressive experience…[116]

Further letters to his friends and family describe the traveling he did, from Jerusalem to the Dead Sea to Tiberias. Each experience was detailed with similar awe and wonderment and occasional distaste, specifically for the Dead Sea which he described as "stinging and weird."[117] It is important to note that the word "oriental" which he uses to describe nearly anything of Middle Eastern origin becomes an essential adjective later when his compositional voice begins to adapt to his new homeland.

Regarding investigation of possible career opportunities and the potential to make a living in Palestine, Ben-Haim immediately set to work making reaching out to the contacts suggested to him by Schalit. As mentioned in previous chapters, Schalit was the prime influence guiding Ben-Haim to move to Palestine. Schalit had great admiration for Ben-Haim's musical skill and ardently believed that Ben-Haim could greatly contribute

[115] Hirshberg, *Paul Ben-Haim*, 105.
[116] ibid., 105-106.
[117] ibid., 113.

to the future of Jewish music. Schalit was an ardent Zionist and believed that the future of the Jewish people rested in Palestine. He would have also moved to Palestine had he not been too handicapped for success there (see Chapter 2). While Ben-Haim did not share Schalit's Zionist leanings, he was happy to explore the possibilities for success in this new land.

Professor David Schorr, a dedicated Zionist and talented concert pianist was a good friend of Schalit and an important figure in the early music life in Palestine. He warmly welcomed Ben-Haim into his home and introduced him to many of the musicians in the area, creating a support system that would be crucial for Ben-Haim once he immigrated.

> "Professor Schorr invited me very warmly to visit his house (Pinsker Street 8). We parted, and in my heart there was a feeling that I had known a pleasant, noble and kind man, such a precious gift in that lonely and alien period in which I was immersed. In fact, I was here, in this country, despite my successes and my position in Germany, absolute zero, standing on the threshold of an unknown road, obscure! (And this is the age of 35!)"[118]

Even at this point, Ben-Haim expressed his anxiety about starting over in a new foreign country where he had no reputation or recognition of his skill. The professor's impact was so strong that Ben-Haim even wrote to Schalit (See Figure 1), thanking him for the introduction. Dr. Schorr was a welcome source of warmth and comfort, ready to ease his transition.

[118] Ben-Haim, "My Immigration to Palestine," 187.

Figure 1A: Front of Postcard From Paul Ben-Haim to Heinrich Schalit, May 29, 1933

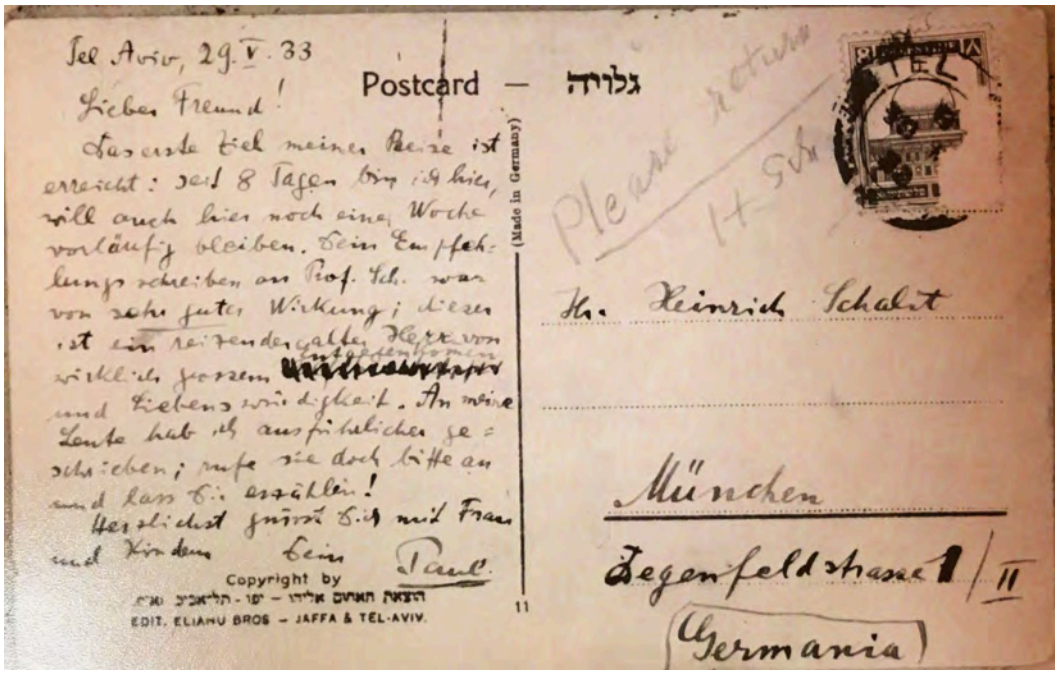

Figure 1B:Back of Postcard From Paul Ben-Haim to Heinrich Schalit, May 29, 1933[119]

[119] Heinrich Schalit Papers, The Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, N.Y., ARC.MUS.10, (Box 2, Folder 6). Printed with permission from the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary.

Translation:

> Tel Aviv, 5/29/33
>
> Dear Friend,
>
> I have reached the first destination of my journey: I have been here for 8 days, and for the moment would like to stay another week. Your recommendation to write to Prof. Sch. was to very good effect; he is a charming, old gentleman who is really very accommodating and gracious. I have written to my people in detail; please give them a call and let them tell you.
>
> Heartfelt greetings to you, your wife and children.
>
> Yours,
> Paul[120]

Mr. Hopenko and Simon Bakman, of course, also served to be valuable contacts for Ben-Haim. Bakman and Ben-Haim's first performance in Palestine took place on June 3 in Tel Aviv. Soon he became acquainted with many musicians in the area, many of whom were German, including Menashe Rabina, David Rosolio, Isaac Adele, Israela Lichtenstein (Margalit), Yariv Ezrachi, and Eli Kurz. Many of these new acquaintances requested Ben-Haim to accompany them on the piano for their performances as well.[121] He and Bakman performed in three other concerts during his remaining time in Palestine: one other in Tel Aviv, one in Jerusalem, and one in Haifa. Throughout all these he continued to be introduced to the small, but close, professional music community in Palestine. "In short, I was introduced to the public, of course, as 'Ben-Haim' and I felt at home."[122]

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[120] Translation by Amelia Lavranchuk.
[121] Ben-Haim, "My Immigration to Palestine," 187.
[122] ibid.

While Ben-Haim came to know and appreciate many important members of the music community in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem during this trip, there is no doubt that the music scene in Palestine was meager and left him deeply concerned. The music and cultural conditions of British mandate Palestine were vastly different from the rich and abundant conditions of Munich. Since the mid-1800s, waves of Jewish immigrants to Palestine had moved into the territory. Many of these immigrants had come to work the land, making it habitable by clearing swamps, building roads and establishing infrastructure.[123] Along with this intense work ethic and revolutionary effort they brought with them a wide variety of languages, customs, and music. It was not, however, until the "fifth Aliyah," the wave of mostly-German immigrants beginning in 1933, that any sort of formal classical music institution was formed.

This new wave of immigration brought with it not only a large influx of people but also a large influx of capital. These immigrants brought their music culture with them and set about investing in an infrastructure for European classical music, stimulating the formation of a community of professional musicians, organizations, and ensembles. Ben-Haim arrived in Palestine at the beginning of this wave and while he would experience this growth first-hand, in the beginning the situation looked bleak. In a letter to Hely he described the opera scene in Tel Aviv:

> Last night, I attended what passes here for Opera... Among the singers, at least those who were not already beyond their prime, there were quite a few good voices. Chorus good, but uncultivated. Conductor most mediocre... Orchestra unspeakable… Here everything is still stuck in the most primitive beginning and it is a big question whether anything can develop in the foreseeable future. I believe that it cannot! For these things and for symphony orchestra too, the main lack is money.[124]

[123] Holly Dalrymple, "From Germany to Palestine", 15.

[124] Hirshberg, *Paul Ben-Haim*, 110.

Despite his rather negative tone in the above letter, it would seem that Ben-Haim's growing relationship with the musical community in Palestine did not leave him completely without hope. He found the possibility of making a living through teaching and accompanying not completely unappealing, as it would give him ample time to compose. *What* he would compose continued to puzzle him, as resources for performing complicated works were not available to him in Palestine at this time. Near the end of his trip, on June 13, 1933 he wrote to his sister Dora expressing these thoughts:

> In spite of everything, when I ponder day and night on the question of settling here, the response is more and more in the affirmative. I believe that I could earn a reasonable living by accompanying at concerts (I have begun to make a very good name for myself) and by some teaching. Furthermore, conditions here offer me the peace of mind I need for artistic creation, which is the most important thing to me, even though I will have to recognize the fact that the fruits of this creation will be dependent on resources abroad for I can expect nothing here by way of orchestras and choral music: at most it will be possible *Lieder* (But only to Hebrew texts) fast and easy chamber music.[125]

Ben-Haim's optimism apparently won out, because after returning to Munich in mid-July, he immediately began preparations for his emigration. He gathered and organized all of his documents and compositions which he brought to Palestine and saved from destruction. He began inquiries to his contacts at the British consulate, enrolled in Hebrew language classes, and packed up his piano and apartment. He was methodical about his preparations but his impatience with the slow bureaucratic process was evident. He wrote to his sister and fiancée that Munich was "grey and lonely," and that all of his friends were leaving.[126] On October 31, 1933 Ben-Haim received final confirmation of his immigration visa from the British consulate and within a week he was on the train to

[125] ibid., 111.
[126] ibid., 115.

Trieste where he spent a week with Hely before boarding the ship to Palestine and leaving his life in Europe and his German identity behind.

Early Life in Palestine and Acclimation: Hebrew, Teaching, and Exposure to Culture.

Despite his relatively successful survey trip to Palestine months before—his development of friendships with many people and his promise of teaching and accompaniment work—Ben-Haim's adjustment to life in Palestine was not easy. His Hebrew, despite months of study was still mediocre, although he found it quite easy to communicate as most of the people with whom he was acquainted spoke German. He began to patch together different forms of employment: teaching piano and theory at the Shulamit conservatory in Tel Aviv (the first and only music school at the time), private piano lessons, and many different accompanying jobs for various performers throughout the country. It was difficult, though, to make ends meet as rent in Tel Aviv was very high. For the first three months that he lived in Tel Aviv, he split the rent of a new apartment on Pinsker Street with a doctor and his family. Ben-Haim's desire to feel settled is evident, however, in that as soon as he found an apartment he could afford on his own, he moved into it at 11 Abramovitch Street and lived there for the rest of his life with his soon-to-be wife who was to convert and move to Palestine within the year.

Hely, Ben-Haim's future wife was from a poor Christian family in Graz. The two had met during Ben-Haim's time in Augsburg and had maintained a long-distance relationship for several years. Before she would move to Palestine and they get married, it was important to Ben-Haim for her to convert. This was important to Ben-Haim because he knew that his father, with whom he was very close, would not approve of the

marriage otherwise. Hely contacted a rabbi in Austria who guided her through the conversion process. It was complete within the year and by 1934 she had joined Ben-Haim in Tel Aviv.

At first glance, it would seem that Ben-Haim was quickly able to sort out the major obstacles to immigration. His struggle to adapt is evident not in any of the major factors: employment, housing, or social connections. It is, however, in the most important area of his life where his struggle is most important: composition. From the years 1933 until late in 1937, Ben-Haim did not compose a note of music. For a musician whose life passion was the creation of music and whose previous composition career had been marked by constant and quick production of music, this cessation is startling. I argue that the difficulty he experienced in adjusting to life in this new country is represented by this abrupt halt in composition. His adaption to, and understanding of Palestine's drastically different culture was a substantial task, but like everything else in his life, it was one that Ben-Haim tackled thoroughly and methodically. The product of his years of adjustment was the exploration of the synthesis between Western and Middle-Eastern tonalities that defined his compositions and would set the foundation for the new Israeli sound.

Chapter 6: Finding Home and A New Sound—An Era of Discovery and Dedication

> I am of the west by birth and education, but I stem from the East and live in the East. I regard this as a great blessing indeed and it makes me feel grateful. The problem of a synthesis of East and West occupies musicians all over the world. If we—thanks to our living in a country that forms a bridge between East and West—can provide a modest contribution to such a synthesis in music, we shall be very happy.[127]

Esteemed Israeli musicologist Peter Gradenwitz labels Paul Ben-Haim as the first of five composers who are regarded as the "founding fathers of modern Israeli music."[128] While it is true that Ben-Haim's creativity and individuality in composition, and his strong influence on several generations of composers who followed him shaped the course of Israeli music substantially, his journey to making this impact had a slow beginning. Moving to Palestine was a culture shock of the most extreme sort for the conservative and cultured German composer. He was awed by the "orientalism" of life in the Middle East: from the everyday presence of camels in the *shuk* to the robes and turbans of the native Arabs. Most significant and challenging to Ben-Haim, however, was the foreign sound of the music of the Middle East: microtonal scales and embellishments, asymmetrical rhythms, and the improvisatory nature of performance. For the first three years of his time in Palestine, Ben-Haim did not compose music. While it is true that he had an extremely busy workload of teaching and accompanying various musicians, undoubtedly his unfamiliarity with these new sounds contributed to this break.

Ben-Haim took his time researching, listening, and experiencing the music of his new land, trying to understand how he could blend it with his own musical voice. There were many factors that contributed to his ultimate success, the two most important being

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[127] Peter Gradenwitz, *The Music of Israel: From Biblical Era to Modern Times*. 2nd ed., rev. and expanded., (Portland, Oregon: Amadeus Press, 1996) 351-352.
[128] ibid.

his study and familiarization of biblical texts and Hebrew folklore, and his friendship and close relationship with the famous Yemenite musician Bracha Zephira.

As many of the other composers who immigrated to Palestine after being exiled from their countries in Europe, Ben-Haim sought common cultural ground on which to build his musical foundation. These composers, who hailed from both Western and Eastern Europe, reached far back in history to find the common elements that linked them all together–Jewish heritage, especially biblical texts, figures, and stories.[129] Additionally, as they grew more accustomed to the landscape of their new country, elements related to nature, weather, and local geography became common sources of inspiration for compositions as well. The *pastorale*, usually a slow and expansive movement in an instrumental work, was used by many of the composers in Palestine of the 1930s and 1940s, as its broad and tranquil quality was inspired by the open and expansive landscape of their new homeland.[130]

Ben-Haim's first composition in Palestine was his *Second Suite* for piano, published in 1936. It was perceived as a continuation of his *First Suite* which he composed while still in Munich for the express purpose of introducing himself as a composer to audiences in Palestine. Despite those intentions, the piece was not performed until it premiered with its sequel during a radio broadcast in 1938. The reason for the delay is unknown, but one could speculate that, perhaps, once Ben-Haim was fully submerged into Palestinian life, he began to feel slightly insecure about how his rather-European-sounding composition–despite an interwoven Yemenite folk melody[131] in the second movement–would be received by his new audience. While the two suites have

[129] Dalrymple, "From Germany to Palestine," 16-17.
[130] Hirshberg, *Paul Ben-Haim*, 142-151.
[131] ibid., 141.

much in common with each other, specifically the influence of Debussy and Ravel and the use of the pastorale style, a comparison of the works reveals a shift in Ben-Haim's compositional voice. In fact, it is interesting to note that all of his compositions form this early period in Palestine echo Ravel or Debussy, completely abandoning any of the previously loved influence of German composers like Mahler and Strauss.[132] As Ben-Haim begins his composition career in Palestine, he seemingly turns his back on the traditions of the country which had shunned and exiled him

Overall, Ben-Haim's compositional technique in Palestine "underwent a transformation of style, becoming more tonally conservative but adapting elements from the Middle East."[133] While this transformation developed over his fifty-year career in Israel, some of these changes can already be observed in some stylistic changes between the first and second piano suites.[134] Ben-Haim's style is considerably more restrained, limiting his use of motifs, both rhythmic and melodic, in the pastorale section of the second. Most notably, Ben-Haim eliminates the dissonant "blocks of seconds and the oriental arabesques"[135] which were also abundantly present in the pastorale section of the first suite. Both suites have movements defined by a march but while Hirshberg describes the march from the first suite as gaudy and "grotesque," the corresponding movement in the second suite is a clear and "festive fanfare."[136]

These reservations are reflective of Ben-Haim's acclimation and increasing understanding of Middle Eastern culture. While the first suite is sophisticated it might

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[132] Galit Cohen, "Alberto Hemsi and Paul Ben-Haim: Reinventing the Songs of the Sephardim," (Master's Thesis, Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, New York, 2010) 52.
[133] Philip V. Bohlman, *The World Centre for Jewish Music in Palestine 1936-1940: Jewish Musical Life on the Eve of World War II*, (England: Clarendon Press, 1992) 179.
[134] Hirshberg, *Paul Ben-Haim*, 139-151.
[135] ibid., 142.
[136] ibid.

also be seen and heard as *overly* oriental, a caricature of the Middle East. In the second suite however, Ben-Haim combined the archaic textures and modal ambiguity that were essential components of the first, and expanded them. Most notable innovations of his second suite are the expanded pastorale (first movement) and lyrical nocturne (third movement). His use of simplified harmonies, specifically surrounding a lyrical melodic line, is key in both of these movements. This melodic line, which in the nocturne is recitative-like, is decorated by ornamental embellishments, the beginning influence of Middle Eastern vocalization.

True to his nature, once Ben-Haim produced his *Second Piano Suite*, the floodgates were unleashed and his passion for composition was reignited. Over the next two years he composed five significant pieces: two chamber works, a *String Quartet* and a work for a string trio entitled *Variations on a Hebrew Tune,* and his first attempt at Hebrew *lied* or art song, a cycle of three settings of texts from Song of Songs, only one of which was published. All five of these compositions are significant because they further illustrate Ben-Haim's difficult struggle with finding his comfort in synthesizing East and West.

While both of the chamber works demonstrate significant developments in Ben-Haim's style, they are still distinctly European. As with the piano suites, he drew heavily on the inspiration and influence of Debussy and Ravel. There are shifts in his harmonization techniques, speaking to Ben-Haim's attempts to work with the modal tonality of the Middle East. He utilizes open chords, empty fifths, sevenths and ninths and distinctly avoids tonal cadences.[137] His final movement, which is a "folkloristic

[137] ibid., 157; Cohen, "Alberto Hemsi and Paul Ben-Haim," 52.

rondo with a modal dance theme at its center,"[138] demonstrates Ben-Haim's struggle with incorporating folklorism, a key component of identifying roots of a country's culture, into his music. His struggle echoes the different approaches to folk material taken by Brahms and Bartók. For Bartók, who like Kodály spent a great deal of his career researching and notating Hungarian folksongs, folk material was an important and natural element to his music. For Brahms, however, it was viewed as an exotic component, used to add a unique color to his compositions.[139]

Ben-Haim, being barely familiar with folk material of Palestine, approached integrating this material into his compositions with the latter perspective. His unfamiliarity with the material and his inexperience with this task made his first attempts a bit awkward. Hirshberg notes that the final movement of the quartet and his reluctance to publish two of his three Hebrew songs indicate Ben-Haim's discomfort with this medium.[140] The final movement of the quartet, as noted above was a lively dance movement, and was seemingly based on folksong material. The truth however is that the melody was not an actual folk tune but was an original creation by Ben-Haim to imitate folk melodies of his new home. He was still so uncomfortable with weaving in folk material that he synthesized something that he felt would fit a bit more naturally into his composition. Despite this effort, the attempt was only mildly successful and Ben-Haim was not satisfied with his attempt. Hirshberg notes that "a certain hesitation and embarrassment are indeed evident" in the movement as his use of both Middle Eastern rhythms and bi-tonal harmonies reminiscent of his early compositions in Germany are

[138] Hirshberg, *Paul Ben-Haim*, 156.
[139] ibid., 158.
[140] ibid,, 156-160.

awkwardly forced together.[141] Ben-Haim's early attempts at this fusion were definitively works in progress.

In addition to his unfamiliarity with the new sounds of the Middle East there was one other major factor which contributed to his discomfort–the language. This of course only became an issue when Ben-Haim began to explore continuing his favorite mode of composition in German, the *lied*. Despite the fact that Ben-Haim had the help of a private tutor in Palestine, his grasp of the language was still weak enough that he was not fully confident in his ability to set Hebrew texts. The manuscripts of his *Three Songs* show an abundance of cross-outs and re-set phrases, which was highly unusual for Ben-Haim's typical style.[142] Hardly any of his manuscripts of his German lied have edits like these.

After the songs' initial premiere, via radio broadcast in 1938, he was only happy enough with the first piece, *"Ani Havatzelet Hasharon"* (I am the Rose of Sharon), to have it published. Even this piece left Ben-Haim and Israeli music critics unsatisfied. With the exception of the language and slight changes to the texture of the accompaniment, it is apparent that this piece is a "direct continuation of his lied tradition."[143] It is very Western European inspired, with the only difference between Ben-Haim's works in Germany is that he draws his inspiration once again from the French composers Debussy and Ravel. The melody shows no trace of Eastern vocal embellishments or micro-tonality and the accompaniment has no culturally distinguishing aspects. It is clear that Ben-Haim was faltering in his attempts to find his new sound.

Undoubtedly he was self-conscious about many different aspects of these early compositions and felt that his attempts at synthesizing Western and Eastern music were

[141] ibid., 158.
[142] ibid.
[143] ibid., 159.

failing. It is a difficult task to attempt to learn and understand the culture of a foreign land when a person is a complete stranger. Ben-Haim's struggles during these first five years in Palestine is obvious proof of this. Ben-Haim had always been a determined and independent person and the thought of asking locals for help probably never occurred to him. As much as Ben-Haim needed a tutor to help him with his Hebrew, he needed a guide to help him understand the musical sounds of Palestine. As fate would have it, in 1939 Bracha Zephira, the legendary Yemenite singer and intermediary between Western and Eastern cultures, would enter his life and help transform Ben-Haim into the success he would become.

Bracha Zephira, arguably one of the most influential musicians in Palestine of the mid to late 20th century, was a fascinating individual. The unfortunate circumstance of being orphaned at the age of three set her on a unique journey, allowing her to grow up in several different Jewish communities in Jerusalem. "Listening to the living song of the Yemenite, Persian, Sephardi, and Turkish Jews in Palestine. She collected their folklore and transmitted their melodies which she remembered with astonishing precision, to local composers."[144] It was at a young age that she realized the thirst people had for these unique sounds. Her performance of a simple folk tune at her elementary school caught the rapt attention of her fellow classmates who were of European origin. From that point forward she delighted in "awakening the interest and enthusiasm" of European audiences to the culture of her communities.[145] It became her life's mission. She absorbed and collected music of all different genres–sacred and secular, elementary and complex–and

[144] Dalrymple, "From Germany to Palestine," 18; Citing Bracha Zephira and Rabin Kolot.
[145] Galit Cohen, "Alberto Hemsi and Paul Ben-Haim: Reinventing the Songs of the Sephardim," (Master's Thesis, Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, New York, 2010) 54.

brought them to the immigrant composers who were desperate for authentic sources of inspiration.

Zephira's association with Ben-Haim and many of the other composers in Palestine including Marc Lavry, Alexander Boskovitch, and Haim Alexander, came on the heels of the deterioration of her relationship with Russian Pianist Nachum Nardi with whom she had been performing for nearly nine years. Their performances, which took place both in Europe and in Palestine, featured Zephira's vast repertoire of music accompanied with the intricate stylings of Nardi. The two worked extremely well together as Nardi had a great talent for improvisation which matched the improvisational and ornamental style of Zephira's melodies. The experience of their concerts entranced audiences from all over the world. The improvisatory nature of their performances, while greatly successful in concert, caused issues when their relationship deteriorated as none of the pieces they performed were notated. It was with this task that Zephira approached Ben-Haim and his colleagues.

Zephira and Ben-Haim's partnership, which lasted from 1939 through 1956, was extremely fruitful and both benefited greatly from it. Zephira not only gained accessible and suitable arrangements for her music that she would utilize when publishing together her music collections, and an extremely talented accompanist for many years, she also helped forge a link between "Western-born composers and the Near-Eastern heritage, smoothing the way for the acceptance of this material" in the larger communities.[146] Ben-Haim, meanwhile not only gained exposure to the repertoire, tonalities, and stylization he was so desperately needing, he also got the same kind of developmental advantage to his compositions that he did when he first started composing lieder in Germany. In Germany

[146] Hirshberg, *Paul Ben-Haim*, 174.

Ben-Haim had his sister Dora to immediately sing his compositions so that he could assess the strengths and weaknesses. He had the exact same opportunity with his arrangements of Zephira's melodic material, and he had her as a coach to guide him to the correct tonality and harmonizations. Zephira was a rather bold person, never hesitating to give her opinion and more than happily provided the guidance Ben-Haim needed.

Transcribing Zephira's singing was a difficult task for Ben-Haim as it embodied all of the unfamiliar elements he was grasping to achieve. Most difficult for him to work out were the asymmetrical meters and microtones that defined much of this music. The obscure rhythms resulted from the fact that Arabic and Hebrew language, and therefore the vocal lines that are typically sung as recitatives with flexible meters, making the notation of their rhythms a difficult task. Ben-Haim took great care to transcribe Zephira's singing accurately which resulted in mixed meters throughout the arrangements. The music is primarily of folk-character and the text is supposed to be clear and easily understandable. The new modality was unique because Arabic music is based on a quartertone system, twenty-four pitches per octave, allowing vast scale possibilities.[147] Specifically, Arabic scales are made up of sections of eight pitches including combinations of semi-tones called *maqamot*. One of these, the *hijaz maqam* has the defining characteristic of the augmented second. These are the same intervals which define the *Ahavah Rabba* scale which is a distinguishing characteristic of Ashkenazi folk music.[148]

[147] Dalrymple, "From Germany to Palestine," 20-21.
[148] ibid., 21.

All of this knowledge and experience gave Ben-Haim the tools he needed to create a smooth and more natural synthesis between Middle Eastern and Western music. It is unsurprising to note that Ben-Haim had a preference for the Judeo-Spanish songs, sung in Ladino, that Bracha introduced him to, over the other genres, as these were overall more metrically similar and closer in culture to the music traditions in which he was trained.

Finally, the years that Ben-Haim and Zephira worked together provided the most obvious benefit: melodies that he could utilize in his own compositions. For the rest of his life, these melodies and others he gathered later through work with other singers like Zephira would be woven into his compositions. Art song settings, solos for instrumental chamber works, and whole movements in his symphonies would be based on these melodies.

It is clear that this partnership was the key that allowed Ben-Haim to unlock his new sound. Over the course of the fifteen years that Ben-Haim and Zephira worked together his output was abundant: nearly eighty different compositions, encompassing a wide variety of genres. He produced arrangements of Zephira's folk songs, art songs, choral arrangements, symphonies, chamber works, solo piano pieces, and his first large-scale sacred work: his Liturgical Cantata.

This style that Ben-Haim honed over those years is sometimes referred to as the "Eastern Mediterranean" style. It was the term used to describe the stylized synthesis of Middle Eastern and Western musical elements in the compositions of immigrant composers in Palestine during the 1930s and 1940s. There are debates between various music scholars as to whether or not this is an appropriate label. Neil Levin defines the

"Eastern Mediterranean" school as a group of composers who drew upon "Arabic, Druse, Turkish, and Bedouin wellsprings and the diverse traditions of North Africa, eastern Mediterranean, central Asian, and Near Eastern Jews who lived in Palestine."[149] Jehoash Hirshberg, however, argues that this is an incorrect corollary. The fact that several composers followed similar strategies when composing music for Israeli concerts and festivals does not mean that they worked together to form this plan. According to him, it is not a separate school of thought so much as it is a set of common compositional principles employed by colleagues in Palestine.

As World War II ended, and the *yishuv*[150] focused its energy on the fight for independence and transitioned into Israeli statehood, the importance of having a solidified national identity intensified. The role of the Israeli composer rose in importance. Not only was he responsible for helping to shape the music of the country, he was now viewed by the rest of the world as cultural representatives of their new country. After the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, this role was also acknowledged by the official administration of the country. In June of 1950, the Ministry of Education and Culture, the Ministry of Immigration, and the Department of Tourism took advantage of this role and arranged the first-ever festival of Jewish Music.[151] This was just the beginning of the role of music as cultural ambassador for Israel. Also in 1950, Ben-Haim's music premiered in New York, specifically the last movement of his second symphony, in a concert arranged by the America-Israel Cultural Foundation.

[149] Dalrymple, "From Germany to Palestine," 17.
[150] Term used to refer to the body of Jewish residents in the land of Israel before the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948.
[151] Hirshberg, *Paul Ben-Haim*, 269.

As the importance of Israeli music increased both locally and worldwide, a dilemma arose. The composers of Israel began to obsess and question whether or not they were being pigeonholed. Were they composers of Israeli music? Were they composers of Jewish music? Was Israeli music automatically considered Jewish music? Up to this point, in publications by Israeli press and local reviews, the labels given to music produced by pre-state Palestinian and post-state Israeli composers had been varied: Hebrew music, Jewish Music, Oriental music, etc. With the establishment of the state of Israel and the increasing attention being paid to the cultural and economic output of this country these labels became important.

Composers were concerned that the government's increased interest and protection of Israeli music would limit what they could produce. Now that the doors to Europe were open, many Western-born composers wished to renew their cultural ties and began composing mixed genres of music. Concerts organized for specifically Israeli music limited what composers were allowed to submit and this was frustrating. More concerning though was the question about what was considered "Jewish Music" as some concerts, and incentives given by the government to compose, were geared for specifically Jewish music. These are questions that are still relevant and these concepts are constantly in development.

Ben-Haim, like most of his colleagues, struggled with these questions, primarily with the question of Israeli and Jewish music. Though his father was religious, with the exception of attending services with his father during his youth, Ben-Haim had never identified with the sacred aspects of his Jewish heritage. As discussed in previous chapters, he struggled with the mere idea of composing purely Jewish works in Germany,

even despite his alienation from German society. Throughout his life, his Jewish identity was based on his family history and cultural inheritance. His identity as an Israeli composer was always based on the secular side. Composing Israeli music was about promoting the texts, sounds, and experiences of living in the land of Israel and with the exception of a few commissions, was never in the sacred vein.

Ben-Haim was strong in his identity as an Israeli composer. Despite his Western origins and his Western training, his music had developed into a unique sound that he felt was uniquely Israeli. I argue that he was also, by extension, a composer of Jewish music. The people of the State of Israel were Jews, therefore he was also composing Jewish music. I argue that all Israeli music is Jewish music, but not all Jewish music is Israeli. While Schalit's musical legacy affected all Jews, providing sacred music for use in services all over the world, Ben-Haim's musical legacy was that he defined the Israeli sound. He defined the sound that he had helped to nurture as "including a mixture of oriental sonorities," welcoming all Semitic influences of the region and an opposition of overt Western tonalities.[152] Most importantly, he held that it was the composer's intent that carried the most weight in whether or not the piece would be a successful representation of Israeli sound. While in the end the matter of defining Israeli sound is rather subjective, it is clear that Ben-Haim had gained respect and admiration from his colleagues and had earned the right to speak, lecture, and write with authority on the subject. He had found great satisfaction in the compositional experiments he had lead and the new sound he had helped inspire. Israel was his home and he had worked hard to find that place where he belonged.

[152] ibid., 303.

Shedding the German Identity of His Past: Ben-Haim's Will

1956 marks a pivotal moment in Ben-Haim's journey, when his transformation of identity from German composer and exile to proud Israeli citizen seemed to solidify. This moment is marked by a composition of his, although not a musical composition but a legal will. Tucked away in the Ben-Haim archives at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem is a folder, the catalogue number of which is not listed in the official catalogue. Most likely it was added after the official catalogue had been published. The folder contains a living will of Ben-Haim in which he instructed his wife, or in case of her death Ben-Zion Orgad, his first composition student in Israel and good friend, with two important tasks: First *to destroy all unpublished music which Ben-Haim had composed in Germany* with the exception of eight specific pieces, and second, to donate all manuscripts, writings, and documents of his that had not been destroyed in accordance with the first task, to the Hebrew University. (For full text and translation of this document, see Appendix B).

These instructions are intense and raise many questions. Why would he want to destroy over twenty years' worth of compositions? One could argue that this was simply a matter of pride. Perhaps he, a seasoned composer at the age of fifty-nine at the time of this will, might have seen his early compositions as immature, weak, and embarrassing examples of his skills and did not want them associated with him. I, however, think that the decision to have nearly all compositions which were created in his former homeland destroyed, was the result of much deeper feelings than pride. In his youth, Ben-Haim was a proud German. He was in love with the culture of his country, its history, and its heritage. He was a successful musician with a decent reputation as a conductor and an established career as a composer. Then his country betrayed him, hated him, and

threatened him with death or exile. Like a child cruelly abused and abandoned by his parent, Ben-Haim experienced feelings of betrayal, depression, and shame. He eventually found a loving a supportive home in Palestine where he was appreciated and celebrated. Upon contemplating his death he wanted to ensure that his legacy was a positive reflection on his life. He felt no love anymore for the country of his birth and wanted its presence obliterated from his life. From his perspective, he was Israeli and no other previous identity mattered anymore.

A second question about the will's instructions is, obviously, about the exception to the destruction order: Which pieces did he choose to save and why? The eight pieces that Ben-Haim deemed worthy to be saved were:

1) *Quintet* for two violins, two violas and cello (1919)
2) "Der Gärtner" (The Gardener's Song), lyrics by R. Tagura for soprano and baritone and orchestra (1921)
3) "Zwei Lieder für das altbayerisch Puppelspiel," Two songs of H. Lutzenack (1923)
4) *Trio* for violin, viola, and cello (1927)
5) *Drei Motetten*, three motets for mixed choir (1928)
6) *Concerto Grosso* (1931)
7) *Pan* for soprano and orchestra, symphonic poem (1931)
8) *Joram*, oratorio (1933)

Ben-Haim did not explain why he selected those pieces, however for some of the pieces it is not hard to figure out. The reasons behind some of these exceptions are most likely pragmatic, personal, and possibly Jewish. The last three pieces, the *Concerto Grosso* (which actually WAS published in Israel but not in Germany), his symphonic poem *Pan*, and his oratorio *Joram*, are the most obvious. Both *Pan* and the *Concerto Grosso* continued to be successful pieces for Ben-Haim after his immigration to Israel. They were performed throughout Europe both before and after the war and also in Israel.

They were pieces he was proud of and had established his reputation as a composer in Europe. His oratorio, while not given a suitable premiere until 1979, was a composition that was close to Ben-Haim's heart. He considered it his magnum opus and loved it so much that his son was named Joram after it. The fifth piece in the list, his *Three Motets* was one of his settings of biblical texts that was inspired by Schalit during their time together in Munich. It is possible that Ben-Haim wished to keep this in his collection to provide a comparison of his early attempts at setting biblical texts to how he would eventually master the form.

Ben-Haim's second request for the executor of his will is just as significant as the destruction clause. Ben-Haim requested that all of his manuscripts and other documents from his life be donated to The Hebrew University, to not only ensure that his legacy was kept alive in some capacity but more importantly so that students of music in Israel could learn from his work. Throughout his life in Israel, Ben-Haim taught multiple generations of composers. His influence was strong and far-reaching and he took great pride in the fact that he helped to shape the music of his homeland. Donating his manuscripts, materials, letters, and lectures to the National University would ensure that he could keep teaching and influencing students long after his death.

Ben-Zion Orgad, Ben-Haim's first composition student in Israel, agreed with this sentiment but disagreed that students had nothing to learn from his teacher's early works. His feelings on this were so strong that he petitioned the Israeli Court after Ben-Haim's death to be able to go *against* the composer's wishes and to save the music that was supposed to be destroyed. The court agreed and it was arranged that the manuscripts that had been designated for obliteration would instead also be donated to The Hebrew

University to be included in the archive. For all of these saved pieces however there was the contingency that they were to be perused *only for study and not for performance*. (See Appendix C for the text and translation of the amended sections of the will).

It is fortunate that Ben-Haim's impact on Israel was well-recognized and celebrated before his life ended. It is rare that the legacy and influence of a composer can be fully acknowledged during the composer's lifetime but it is very clear that this *was* the case for Ben-Haim. His reputation was even so widely known that he received multiple commissions from communities in Europe and the United States who were deeply impressed with his work.

His most significant recognition came, of course, from Israel. He was widely appreciated, and given many different honors and awards throughout his career. Most notably, in 1957 he was awarded the Israel Prize for his orchestral work *The Sweet Psalmist of Israel.* This highly prestigious award is given once a year on Independence Day to scientists, scholars, and artists for "outstanding achievements in their field."[153] Ben-Haim was the second composer to win the prize. In 1983, the government sponsored a huge festival in honor of his "jubilee year," the 50th anniversary of his immigration. All of these honors show how deeply loved and respected Ben-Haim was to Israel and how important he was to the nation's development. The ultimate display of the respect and love that Israel holds for this man, however, came after his death. Following the explicit wishes of his will, he was to be buried in Israel. Arrangements were made by the Mayor of Jerusalem to have him buried in the Pantheon: "the burial place of the nation's greatest sons and daughters at the central Jerusalem cemetery."[154] This final honor bestowed upon

[153] ibid., 313.
[154] ibid., 367.

him was the ultimate act of respect that could have been given to the exiled composer, bitterly orphaned and discarded from his place of birth, finding peace and slumber in his ancestral homeland, which he had come to love so deeply.

Conclusion – Two Roads Diverged

Heinrich Schalit and Paul Ben-Haim were two of the most talented composers in Munich in the early 20th century. They were proud of their city and equally proud to be contributing to its esteemed reputation as one of the music capitals of Western Europe. In 1933 with the rise of the Nazi party, the Jewish community of Munich was targeted, expelled, and later killed. Schalit and Ben-Haim, along with many of their colleagues were betrayed by their beloved city and forced to leave for no other reason than their cultural heritage. With the rise in anti-Semitism, both composers were forced to leave the city they loved and in which they had built their careers, and move on to new lands and unknown futures.

It was a daunting task for both of these middle-aged and well-established musicians in Munich to have to uproot their entire lives and families and search for success in foreign lands. Somehow both managed this seemingly impossible task, finding hope, strength, and community in the United States and in Israel. Despite this however, they left in their wake a country that would go on to tear itself apart, and deport and destroy many of their kin. For every soul saved, it seemed hundreds were lost. The Jews who fled Europe and survived the Holocaust were left with the unimaginable burden of what to do with their lives, which now carried so much weight.

Both composers chose to dedicate the rest of their lives to composing Jewish music. Of course, this term “Jewish music” meant different things to each of them. For Schalit, Jewish music meant the music that set the liturgy and inspired congregants’ hearts to pray. For Ben-Haim, Jewish music was the arrangement of “Hatikvah” he composed or the settings of Yemenite folk songs he arranged–the music of the Israeli

people. In a way, the divide between Schalit and Ben-Haim's compositional careers can be echoed along the lines of the debate about whether or not "Jewish" is an ethnic or religious label.

Heinrich Schalit had already dedicated himself to composing music for the Jewish people early in his career. He shifted his focus from secular composition to Jewish composition after a spiritual awakening in 1916 with the setting of poems by his favorite Jewish poet, Yehudah Halevi. Nearly a decade later he began working for the Great Synagogue in Munich and, through his friendship with Emmanuel Kirshner and through studying the works of A.Z. Idelsohn, was inspired to compose music for the synagogue. These two modes—setting spiritual texts by Jewish poets or composing music for liturgy and other sacred tests—would define the majority of Schalit's compositional output for the rest of his career.

There are several factors that contributed to the specific lens through which Schalit understood Jewish music. After the Enlightenment, Jews began to become assimilated in many communities in Western Europe. As Jews became increasingly assimilated citizens of their countries, for many of them, their Jewish identities diminished or were compartmentalized, associated now only with worship, family customs, and the celebration of holidays.

It was this society that Schalit and Ben-Haim both grew up in and in which Schalit began composing Jewish music. Both of them grew up in families that, like many Central European Jews of the day, considered themselves to be fully German, with Judaism as a marginal component of their identity. Schalit's primary association with Jewish music was the music of the synagogue. Jewish music was religious music and in

coming closer to his faith, he dedicated his career to revitalizing Jewish sacred music, making it more spiritual and more “authentic” to the music of his ancestors.

Schalit settled in America, in a very similar society to the one he had just left. America was a Western country where the assimilated Jews of the American suburb associated their Judaism with the synagogue and the main customs of the holidays, like lighting the menorah. Composing music for the American Jewish liturgy was the best contribution he could make to the American Jewish community.

In Germany, Schalit had embarked on the quest to revitalize the sound of sacred music following the research and collections of A.Z. Idelsohn and the inspiration of Emmanuel Kirschner. After his immigration to America, his mission maintained the same objective but his efforts intensified and his motives changed. Whereas in Germany Schalit wished to breathe new life into the seemingly stale synagogue music of Lewandowski and Sulzer. In America, the reality of what was happening in the world around him transformed his purpose. As noted above, those who escaped Europe and the horrors of the Holocaust undoubtedly felt a significant burden on their shoulders – to preserve and protect the Jewish culture that had almost been erased. In addition, his recognition of the dwindling number of Jews in the world added to Schalit’s desire to engage more Jews in America, to help them connect to their faith and heritage. New music in the synagogue was one of the things that brought people into the synagogue, adding an extra pressure to Schalit’s work.

Since American Jews primarily connected to Judaism through the synagogue, it follows that Schalit’s inclination toward sacred music was a near perfect fit. Schalit spent his forty-year career in America dedicating himself to the mission of engaging and

revitalizing Jews in his new communities. He composed two full-length services, several sacred anthems, Zionist-inspired cantatas, settings of High Holiday liturgy and settings of life cycle liturgy.

Schalit's success in America undoubtedly made him proud and brought a sense of satisfaction but there are undertones of the grief he felt upon reflection on the tragedies he escaped in Europe. In the late 1940s, when the rest of the world learned the truth of the horrors of the Holocaust, he produced a series of compositions centered on funeral and *Yizkor* texts. In 1961 he published his only official musical reaction to the Holocaust, a choir piece for mixed voices: "Lest We Forget: In Memorium to Six Million Jews."[155] He turned his grief to grace, allowing it to fuel his passion for creating Jewish music and strengthening the Jewish legacy. Over the next two decades he had an outpouring of sacred music including his three services – Sabbath Evening, Sabbath Morning, and Hadrat Kodesh, – a song cycle of settings of texts by Jewish poets and religious texts entitled "Seven Sacred Songs" and several different anthems for synagogue choirs.

Ben-Haim also grew up in an assimilated Jewish community. While his father was religious and brought him along to synagogue during his childhood, Ben-Haim became increasingly distanced from his Judaism as he matured. It was not a part of his identity. His attempts to compose Jewish music, under the influence of Schalit were lukewarm. In his own words he would only refer to them as "religious works" unwilling to attribute the setting of Old Testament texts as a Jewish work. Ben-Haim only began to embrace his Jewish culture and heritage when he was abandoned by Germany, exiled, and it was all he had left. His Judaism was the key to his salvation, allowing him to

[155] M. Schalit, *Heinrich Schalit,* 93.

immigrate and make a home in Palestine. Being Jewish and being a citizen of the land of Israel were permanently linked in his psyche.

Ben-Haim's immigration, while slow and stressful, granted him a new lease on life. In Munich he had been a talented musician working in a city filled with talented musicians. He stayed at his post in Augsburg for so many years, despite it being a smaller and less notable theater, simply because the competition was so high and he could not find another post. While there were surmountable challenges to acclimation, in Israel he found himself to be the leading talent in this new land. It was a newly burgeoning society desperate to create a collective culture to help unite its heterogeneous population. It was an exciting challenge. Ben-Haim made it his life's mission to create this Israeli musical sound, a sound that bridged both Middle Eastern and Western musical styles, just as Israel itself was a bridge between people from Middle Eastern and Western countries.

There are some that might argue that given Ben-Haim's previous apathy towards his Jewish heritage that the idea of him choosing to move to Palestine in order dedicate his life to the perpetuation and renewal of Jewish culture seems far-fetched and that perhaps Ben-Haim made this decision to move to Palestine because it was the simplest solution to the complicated issue of exile. As we have seen, however, an analysis of his life and career proves this highly unlikely. While Ben-Haim might not have been a Zionist, he was looking for a new home where he felt he belonged. I argue that the idea of returning to the ancient homeland of his people, while a romanticized notion, spoke to him deeply as he faced being thrown out of the country he had called home for his entire life. He therefore made the conscious decision to move to Palestine and to make a home there, despite the difficulties that entailed.

The process for immigrating to Palestine was far from simple. Even with his connections to the British consulate he still waited extended periods of time to move, while his friends and colleagues emigrated elsewhere. He looked into immigration to the United States but never felt completely comfortable with the idea. Ben-Haim was looking for a home. He longed for something permanent and lasting, something that could fill the void that was left by the loss of his homeland—a place where he would fit in. Palestine was a country full of immigrants, especially Jewish ones, who were all struggling to find the same things as Paul. While they may not have all been able to comprehend each other's languages, they fully understood each other.

There was no guarantee that Ben-Haim's compositions would be successful in Palestine. His pursued financial stability through numerous teaching and accompanist jobs and later with a few conducting opportunities. His intense and impassioned efforts at composing Israeli music came purely from deep within himself, satiating a passion that had driven him since his first childhood lessons in music theory. Ben-Haim responded to his exile and the subsequent near extinction of his people by using his best asset, his musical ability, to help strengthen, celebrate and inspire the Jewish people.

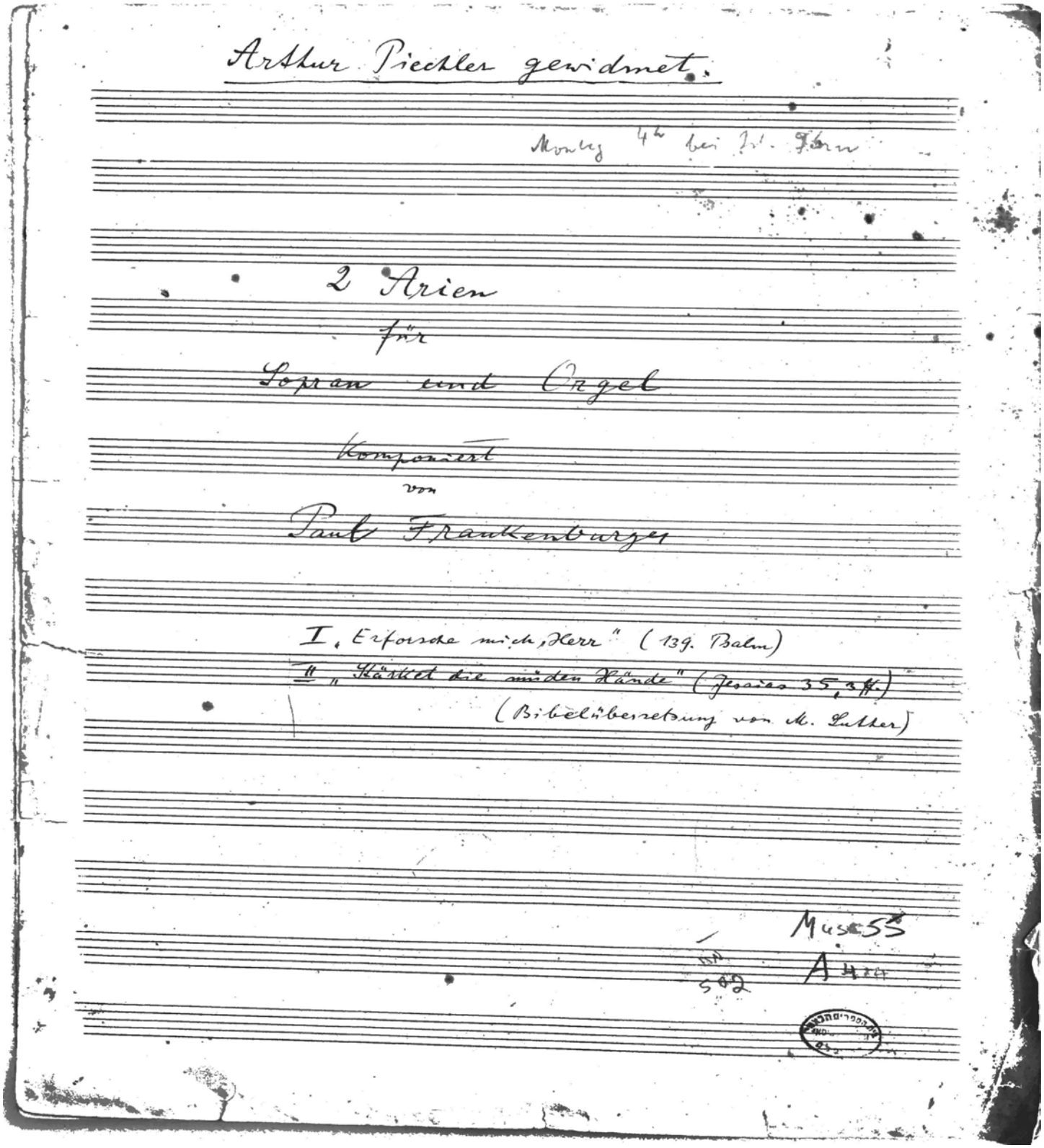
Ben-Haim produced hundreds of compositions written during his time in Israel. He composed volumes of Hebrew Art Songs. He transcribed and arranged hundreds of folk tunes which had previously only existed in oral tradition. He wrote two of the most significant Israeli symphonies of the period of early statehood. He was a proud Jew and Israeli, between which he drew no distinction. Therefore, while only a humble few of these compositions are sacred, all are distinctly Israeli and I argue that since Israel is the Jewish homeland, they are also Jewish. This claim can be made utilizing Ben-Haim's

own words. “Real cultural value belongs only to music striving to be Israeli.”[156] They are Jewish because Ben-Haim wrote them in order to invigorate and represent the spirit of people and of his new home.

Heinrich Schalit and Paul Ben-Haim were cut from the same cloth. They were classically trained musicians born and raised in the proud German and Viennese music traditions–the schools of Mozart, Beethoven, Strauss and Mahler. They found early inspiration in their musical ancestors but eventually found themselves abandoned by the country that had once inspired them. Their childhood homes were destroyed, families and friends were lost, and they had to find new identities. Both found new life in serving to protect, preserve, and proliferate Jewish culture through music. Schalit served this mission through reimagining and reinvigorating the Jewish sacred sound. Ben-Haim dedicated his life and career to the foundation of a strong and unique music culture for Israel, both composing many crucial pieces that helped to define the Israeli sound, and through training composers of the next generations. Their paths diverged but their friendship, passion for music, and shared experience of exile connected them throughout their lifetimes. Whether it was through sacred word or Hebrew poem, both used music to express what was singing in their souls: the eternal story of the Jewish people, the Wanderer’s song.

[156] Hirshberg, *Paul Ben-Haim*, 304.

2 Arien für Sopran und Orgel [Op. 12] (1930)
I. Erforsche mich, Herr (Psalm 139) – II. Stärket die müden Händen (Isaiah 35, 3-5; 10).



Printed with permission from the National Library of Israel.

2 Arien für Sopran und Orgel [Op. 12], Musical Score, Box A, Folder The Paul Ben–Haim (Frankenburger) Archives, Mus. 55, The Israel National Library, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Israel.


3
I (Balm 139)
Moderato
Singstimme
Orgel
Recit.
mf espressivo
Er-for-sche mich,
Tempo
Herr.
Recit.
und er-fah--re mein Herz,
Tempo
prü--fe mich und er-fah---re, und er-fah


4
Andante
re, wie ich's mei - ne.
sonor
u-re-eh, u-re-eh, im de- rech bi, im
und sie - he, und sie-he, ob ich auf bö- sem
de- rech bi, u-re-eh, im de- rech
We- ge bin, und sie- he, ob ich auf bö- sem


5
We--ge, auf bö--------- sem We---ge bin!
dolce,
Und
che------ ni — be- de-- rech o-- lani, — un' che- ni be- de-- rech o--
lei-- te mich auf e-- wi-gem Weg — und lei--- te mich — auf
P dolce
crescendo


nicht schleppen!
lam
be-de-rech o-- lam!
e---- wi-gem Weg, auf e-wi-gem Weg.
(Volles Werk)
Largo
Chok-re----ni, El, we--- da-le-wa-
Er-for--sche mich, Herr, und er-fah-re mein
sempre ff
wi!
Herz!
Fine
Augsburg
9.V.1929


7
II (Jesaias 35, 3 ff. n° 10)
Andante misterioso
Geprüft.
Genossenschaft Deutscher Tonsetz.
Singstimme
Orgel
pp
p
mf
Chas- - ku ja- da - - - jim ra- plot
u- vir-
Stär- - - ket die mü- - - den Hän- de und er-


quik - - - - ket — die Strau - - - - - - cheln - den Knie - - - e!
Sa - - - get den ver - zag - - - - - ten Her - - zen:
p dolce
Seid - ge -
Tempo!
trost, — fürch-tet euch nicht!
Seid - ge - trost, fürch - - - - - - tet euch
p dolce

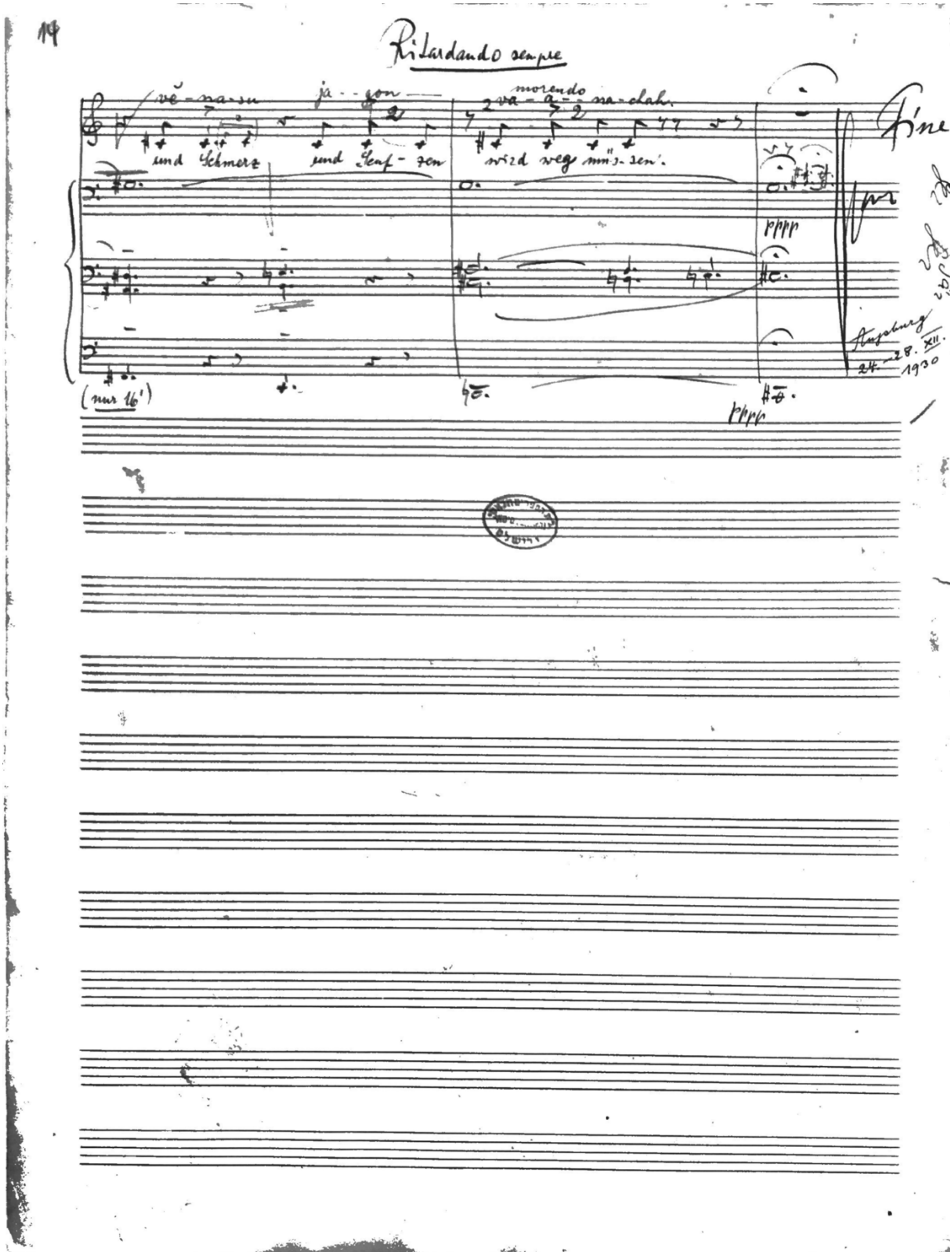

Poco accellerando
nicht!
Più mosso, ma non troppo
Sehet, euer Gott kommt zur Rache, Gott, der da vergilt, kommt und wird euch helfen.
forte


10
Einleiten
Più tranquillo
espressivo
Als dann wer - den der Blin - den Au - gen auf - ge - tan wer-den
Piano
und der Tau - ben Oh - ren ge - öff - net wer - den.
A tempo
Ye - let, en - er Gott kommt zur Ra -


11
ge-mul E-lo-him, hu-ja-vo vĕ jo-scha-a-chem, jo-scha-a-
che, Gott, der da vergilt, kommt und wird euch hel-fen, Gott
Ritardando
Largo
chem, jo-scha-a-chem
wird euch hel-fen!
Tempo Imo
Forte
uph-du-jei a-do-nai, uph-du-
Die Er-lö-se-ten des Herrn wer-den


12
jeï a-do-nai je-scha-vun, u va u Zi-on bĕ-ri
wie-der-kom men und gen Zi on kom-men mit
nah,
vĕ-sim-chat o-lam sim-
Jauch-zen.
E-wi-ge Freu-de
chat o-lam al ro-scham,
wird ü-ber ih-rem Haup-te sein;
mf dolce
Freu-de und
mf dolce


13
Won - ne wer - den sie er - grei - fen, und
Ritardando
Schmerz und Seuf - zen wird weg müs - sen.
Molto lento
senza misura
Ewi - ge Freu - de wird ü - ber ih - rem Haup - te sein,


14
Ritardando sempre
morendo
und Schmerz und Seuf- zen wird weg müs- sen.
pppp
(nur 16')
pppp
Fine
Augsburg 24.–28. XII. 1930

The Will of Paul Ben-Haim

צ ו ו א ה

אני החת"מ פאול המכונה גם שאול בן-חיים, כעת מתל-אביב, רחוב אהרונוביץ 11, נתין ישראל, מצווה בזה כדלקמן:-

1. אני מבטל בזה את כל הצוואות הקודמות שנעשו על ידי.

2. כפוף להוראות סעיף 8 דלהלן הנני ממנה בזה את אשתי הלנה בן-חיים למבצעת היחידה של צוואתי זו.

3. במקרה ומאיזו סיבה שהיא אשתי הנ"ל לא תהיה או תחדל מלהיות המבצעת ימנה בית המשפט המוסמך את האפוטרופוס של צוואתי זו אך גם מנויו יהיה כפוף להוראות סעיף 8 דלהלן.

4. אני משחרר את אשתי כמבצעת צוואתי זו ממתן דין וחשבון על נהול עזבוני וממסירת ערבות כל שהיא לבית המשפט או לאיזה מוסד ממשלתי או דתי.

5. במקרה ואשתי הנ"ל תהיה בחיים בעת פטירתי תחולנה ההוראות הבאות:

א. בני יורם יקבל את שעון הזהב שירשתי מסבי וכמו-כן נרתיק מזהב לסיגריות.

ב. כל כתבי היד שלי לקומפוזיציות אשר לא יושמדו אחרי פטירתי בהתאם להוראות סעיף 7 דלהלן ימסרו לספריה של האוניברסיטה העברית בירושלים.

ג. כל איש אשר בעת פטירתי יהיה יורשי החקי על פי דיני ישראל יקבל -.1 ל"י (לירה ישראלית אחת).

ד. אני נותן לאשתי הלנה את כל רכושי מאיזה סוג ובאיזה מקום שהוא שיהיה לי בעת פטירתי וישאר אחרי מלוי הוראות סעיפים קטנים א', ב' ו- ג' דלעיל באופן שהרכוש הנ"ל יהיה בבעלותה השלמה והמוחלטת של אשתי הנ"ל.

6. במקרה ואשתי הנ"ל לא תהיה בחיים בעת פטירתי תחולנה ההוראות הבאות:

א. כל כתבי היד של הקומפוזיציות אשלי אשר לא יושמדו בהתאם להוראות סעיף 7 דלהלן ימסרו לספריה של האוניברסיטה העברית בירושלים.

ב. כל הרכוש מאיזה סוג ובאיזה מקום שהוא שישאר בעת פטירתי מלבד כתבי היד הנזכרים בסעיף קטן א' דלעיל - אני מוריש לבני יורם ובמקרה והלזה לא יהיה בחיים בעת פטירתי, אני מוריש את הרכוש הזה ליורשיו החוקיים של בני יורם.

7. הנני מצווה כי כל הקומפוזיציות שחברתי אי פעם לפני שנת 1933 תושמדנה מיד אחרי פטירתי מלבד היצירות הבאות:

א. כל היצירות שהופיעו בדפוס בתקופה בין השנים 1915 ו- 1933.

ב. היצירות הבאות שטרם פורסמו:

(1) חמישיה לשני כנורות, שתי ויולות וצ'לו.

(2) שיר הגנן (המלים – ר. סבורה) לסופראן ובריטון ותזמורת.

(3) שני שירים על פי המלים של לאוסנזק.

(4) שלישיה לכנור, ויולה וצ'לו.

(5) שלש מוסטות למקהלה מעורבת.

(6) קונצ'רטו גרוסו.

(7) "פאן" לסופראן ולתזמורת.

(8) האוסטוריה "יורם".

8. הנני ממנה את מר בן-צירן אורגד, כעת מתל-אביב, רחוב דוד בלוך 14, קומה ג', לבצע את הוראות הסעיף 7 דלעיל וכמו-כן אני מטיל עליו להשתדל לפרסם ולהביא לבצוע את כל יצירותי שכתבתי אחרי שנת 1933 מלבד יצירות אלו שכתבתי בהזדמנות ואשר נאלצתי לכתבן על מנת לכלכל את משפחתי, כגון: יצירות לתאטרון, לרקדניות ולסרט. את היצירות האחרונות האלו אבקש ממר אורגד לא לפרסם.

כמו-כן אני מטיל על מר אורגד ליצג את האינטרסים של מבצעת צוואתי או של האפוטרופוס או של היורשים כלפי חברת "אקו"ם" ו"הוצאה המוסיקה הישראלית בע"מ" אשר שתיהן מחוייבות לתת מדי שנה בשנה דין וחשבון על התמלוגים, הסכומים שקבלו עבור מכירה והשאלה של יצירותי ולשלם למקבל עדבוני את הסכומים המגיעים לו לפי ההסכמים שנעשו או יעשו ביני ובין החברות הנ"ל בדבר נצול זכויות היוצר ביצירות הנ"ל.

הוראה זו מתיחסת גם ליצירות אשר אודותן תקבלנה החברות הנ"ל את הזכויות המקובלות אחרי פטירתי.

9. אני רוצה שקבורתי תערך בישראל אפילו אם אמות בנכר. בעת הלויתי איני רוצה שישאו הספדים, אלא אבקש רק לקבור אותי לפי מסורת אבותי. מצבתי תהיה פשוטה ועליה יחרט שמי פאול (שאול) בן-חיים באותיות עבריות ולטיניות ותאריך לידתי ופטירתי לפי הלוח העברי והאזרחי, ללא ציון שמי הקודם "פרנקנבורגר" וללא ציון נוסף אחר כל שהוא.

10. אני משאיר לעצמי את הזכות המלאה בכל עת שארצה לשנות את צוואתי זו כולה או מקצתה, להוסיף עליה או לגרוע ממנה, לבטל את הצוואה או בכלל לחזור בי באיזה אופן שהוא.

אני, פאול המכונה גם שאול בן-חיים, באתי על החתום בהיותי בדעה צלולה, ברצון טוב ובלי שום אונס, אחרי שקראתי את הצוואה והבינותי את כל תכנה.

יום 30 לחדש אוקטובר 1956.

פאול (שאול) בן-חיים

פאול (שאול) בן-חיים

אנו החתומים מטה:

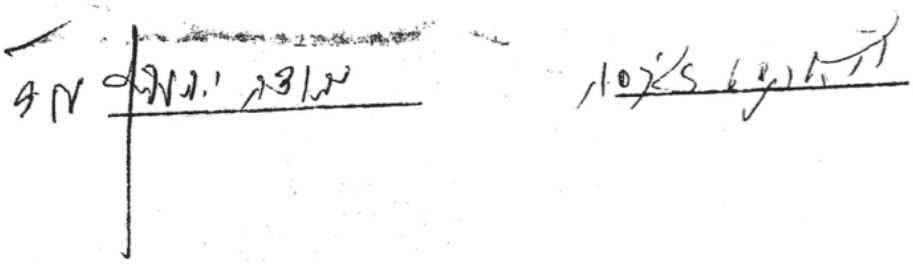
1) [illegible]

2) [illegible]

שהננו למעלה מבני 21 שנה ושאין אנו קרובים קרבת משפחה למצוה
הנ"ל חותמים ומאשרים בזה לפי בקשת מר פאול המכונה גם שאול בן-
חיים בנוכחותו ובנוכחות כל אחד מאתנו שמר פאול המכונה גם שאול
בן-חיים הנ"ל חתם בנוכחות כל אחד מאתנו בהיותו בדעה צלולה,
ברצון טוב ובלי שום אונס על הצוואה שמעבר לדף, אחרי שקרא אותה.

ואנו קנינו מאת המצוור הנ"ל לפי דיני ישראל
בקנין סודר גמור לטובת האנשים הנזכרים בצוואה הנ"ל באופן
שיהיה לצוואה זו תוקף מועיל ביותר.

יום 30 לחדש אוקטובר 1956.



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Will of Paul Ben-Haim, Box E, Folder 12a, The Paul Ben–Haim (Frankenburger) Archives, Mus. 55, The Israel National Library, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Israel.

English Translation of Appendix B
as Translated by Elizabeth Flynn

Will

I, the living Paul, also known as Saul Ben-Haim, now from Tel Aviv 11 Aharonovitz Street, Netilat Israel, hereby order as follows:

1. I hereby revoke all previous wills which were made by me.

2. Subject to the provisions of Article 8 below I hereby appoint my wife Helena Ben-Haim [as] the sole executor of this will.

3. In the event that for any reason my wife is not present or ceases to be the executive, the competent court shall appoint the guardian of this will, but also its subscribers shall be subject to the provisions of section 8 below.

4. I release my wife as my executor of this will by giving judgment as an account for the management of my estate and from giving any guarantee to the court or to some governmental or religious institution.

5. In the event that my wife is alive at the time of my death, the following will apply:

> A. My son Joram will receive the gold watch I inherited from my grandfather as well as a gold case for cigarettes.
>
> B. All my manuscripts for compositions which will not be destroyed after my death in accordance with the provisions of Article 7 shall be submitted to the library of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
>
> C. Any person who, at the time of my death, shall be the heir to the laws of Israel shall receive 1 IL (one Israeli pound).
>
> D. I give my wife Helena all my possessions of any kind and any place that I will have at the time of my death and shall remain after the fulfillment of the provisions of paragraphs a, b, and c above in such a way that such property shall be the sole and absolute property of my wife.

6. In the event that my wife is not alive at the time of my death, the following provisions shall apply:

> A. All manuscripts of my compositions which are not destroyed in accordance with the provisions of Article 7 below shall be delivered to the library of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

B. All the property of any kind and any place that will remain at the time of my death apart from the manuscripts mentioned in the above subsection a - I will bequeath to my son Joram and in [the] case [that] he will not be alive at the time of my death, I shall bequeath this inheritance to the legal heirs of Joram.

7. I hereby order that all compositions I have ever made before 1933 will be destroyed immediately after my death except for the following works:

A. All the works that appeared in print between 1915 and 1933.

B. The following unpublished works:

1. *Quintet* for two violins, two violas and cello.

2. “Der Gärtner” (The Gardener's Song) lyrics by R. Tagura for soprano and baritone and orchestra.

3. “Zwei Lieder für das altbayerisch Puppelspiel” (Two songs according to the words of Lutzenack).

4. *Trio* for violin, viola, and cello.

5. *Drei Motetten*, three Motets for mixed choir.

6. *Concerto Grosso*.

7. *Pan* for soprano and orchestra, symphonic poem.

8. *Joram*, oratorio.

8. I appoint Mr. Ben-Zion Orgad, now from Tel Aviv Street, to try to publish and perform all my works that I wrote after 1933, except for the works I wrote on the occasion, which I had to write in order to support my family, such as: theater works, dancers and film. I will ask Mr. Orgad not to publish these last works.

I also oblige Mr. Orgad to represent the interests of my executor, guardian or heirs to ECOM and the Israeli Music Publishing Company, both of which are obliged to give annual account of the royalties, the amounts that were received for sale and the rental of my pieces and to pay to Makral my estates the amounts due to him according to the agreements made between me and the aforementioned companies regarding the exploitation of the creator's rights in the aforesaid works.

9. I want my burial to take place in Israel even if I die in the diaspora. At the time of my funeral, I do not want them to recite eulogies, but rather I ask to be buried according to the traditions of my ancestors. My tomb will be simple and on it, my name, Paul Ben-Haim, will be inscribed in Hebrew and Latin letters the date of my birth and my death

and death according to the Jewish and Jewish calendar, without mentioning my previous name "Frankenburger" and without any other mention.

10. I leave myself the full right at any time that I wish to change my whole or part of my will, to add to or derogate from it, to revoke the will or in any way to retract it.

I, Paul, also known as Saul Ben-Haim, came to my signature when I was of clear mind, with good will and without any compulsion after reading the will and understanding all the contents.

October 30 1956.

Paul (Saul) Ben-Haim

I hereby declare that I am above 21 years of age and that we are not related to the aforementioned person, we hereby sign and confirm at the request of Mr. Paul, also known as Saul Ben-Haim, who signed in the presence of each one of us while he was of clear mind, with good will and without any rape on the will beyond the page, after reading it.

And we confirmed the above-mentioned will according to the laws of Israel in a complete order for the benefit of the people mentioned in the said will so that this will have legal effect.

October 30, 1956

Ben-Zion Orgad

מתוך צוואה של פאול בן-חיים

3. במקרה ומאיזו סיבה שהיא אשתי חנ"ל לא תהיה או תחדל מלהיות המבצעה, ימנה בית המשפט המוסמך את האפוטרופוס של צוואתי זו אך גם מנויו יהיה כפוף להוראות סעיף 8 דלהלן.

25. כל כתבי היד שלי לקומפוזיציות אשר לא יושמדו אחרי פטירתי בהונאם להוראות סעיף 7 דלהלן, ימסרו לספריה של האוניברסיטה העברית בירושלים.

7. הנני מצווה כי כל הקומפוזיציות שחיברתי אי פעם לפני לפני שנת 1933 תושמדנה מיד אחרי פטירתי מלבד היצירות הבאות:
   א. כל היצירות שהופיעו בדפוס בין השנים 1915 ו- 1933.
   ב. היצירות חבאות שטרם פורסמו:
      1. חמישיה לשני כינורות, שתי ויולות וצילו.
      2. שיר הגנן (מלים ר. טגורה) לסופראן, בריטון ותזמורת.
      3. שני שירים על פי המלים של לאוטנזק.
      4. שלישייה לכינור, ויולה וצילו.
      5. שלוש מוטטות למקהלה מעורבת.
      6. קונצירטו גרוסו.
      7. "פאן" לסופראן ותזמורת.
      8. חאורטוריה "יורם".

8 הנני ממנה את מר **בן-ציון אורגד** כעת מתל אביב, רחוב בלוך 14, קומה ג', לבצע את הוראות הסעיף דלעיל וכמו-כן אני מטיל עליו להשתדל לפרסם ולהביא לביצוע את כל יצירותי שכתבתי אחרי שנת 1933, מלבד יצירות אלו שכתבתי בהזדמנות ואשר נאלצתי לכתבם על מנת לכלכל את משפחתי, כגון: יצירות לתיאטרון, לרקדניות ולסרט. את היצירות האחרונות האלו אבקש ממר אורגד לא לפרסם.

כמו כן אני מטיל על מר אורגד ליצג את האינטרסים של מבצעת צוואתי או של האפוטרופוס או של היורשים כלפי "אקו"ם" ו"הוצאת המוסיקה הישראלית בע"מ", אשר שתיהן מחויבות לתת מדי שנה בשנה דין וחשבון על התמלוגים, הסכומים שקבלו עבור מכירה והשאלה של יצירותי ולשלם למקבל עזבוני את הסכומים המגיעים לו לפי החסכמים שנעשו או יעשו ביני ובין החברות הנ"ל בדבר ניצול זכויות היוצר ביצירות הנ"ל.

הוראה זו מתייחסת גם ליצירות אשר אודותן תקבלנה החברות הנ"ל את הזכויות אחרי פטירתי.

והערה של בן-ציון אורגד: היצירות שחוברו לפני 1933 ואשר צויה להשמידן, הועברו, באישור בית חמשפט, לגניזת באוניברסיטה העברית והן נתונות לעיונם של חוקרים בלבד (לא לפרסום ולא לביצוע).

APPENDIX C

Amendments to the Will of Paul Ben-Haim

ת צ ה י ר

אני החיים בן-ציון אורגד, לאחר שהוזהרתי כי עלי לומר את האמת וכי אהיה צפוי לענשים הקבועים בחוק אם לא אעשה כן, מצהיר בזה בכתב כדלקמן :-

1. היכרתי היטב את המנוח פאול (המכונה גם שאול) בן-חיים ז"ל במשך שנים רבות.

2. פאול (המכונה גם שאול) בן-חיים נפטר ב- י' שבט, תשמ"ד (14 בינואר, 1984).

3. לפי מיטב ידיעתי הצוואה המוגשת לקיום ע"י בית המשפט היא צוואתו האחרונה של המנוח הנ"ל.

4. אני מצהיר בזה, כי זהו שמי, זוהי חתימתי ותוכן האמור לעיל הוא אמת.

ב. כל כתבי היד שלי ללא מפוזיציות אשר לא יושמדו אחרי פטירתי בהתאם להוראות סעיף 7 דלהלן, ימסרו לספריה של האוניברסיטה העברית בירושלים.

____

בן-ציון אורגד

הנני מאשר בזה, כי ביום ______ הופיע בפני ______ עו"ד, מר בן-ציון אורגד המוכר לי באופן אישי ואחרי שהזהרתיו כי עליו לומר את האמת וכי אם לא יעשה כן יהיה צפוי לענשים הקבועים בחוק, אישר את נכונות התצהיר שלעיל וחתם עליו.

NOTE Added by Elizabeth Flynn: It is unclear why this document is not signed. It is possible that because the original will was signed, that was enough or this was just a copy received by the archive and the actual signed copy is filed elsewhere

Will of Paul Ben-Haim, Box E, Folder 12a, The Paul Ben–Haim (Frankenburger) Archives, Mus. 55, The Israel National Library, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Israel.

English Translation of Appendix C
Translated by Elizabeth Flynn

From the will of Paul Ben-Haim

3. In the event that for any reason my wife is not present or ceases to be the executive, the competent court shall appoint the guardian of this will, but also its subscribers shall be subject to the provisions of section 8 below.

5B. All my manuscripts for compositions which will not be destroyed after my death in accordance with the provisions of Article 7 shall be submitted to the library of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

7. I hereby order that all compositions I have ever made before 1933 will be destroyed immediately after my death except for the following works:

A. All the works that appeared in print between 1915 and 1933.
B. The following unpublished works:

1. Quintet for two violins, two violas and cello.
2. The gardener's song (the words - R. Tagura) for soprano and baritone and orchestra.
3. Two songs settings of works of Lutzenack.
4. Trio for violin, viola, and cello.
5. Three motets for mixed choir.
6. Concerto Grosso.
7. “Pan” for soprano and orchestra.
8. The Oratorio "Joram."

8. I hereby appoint Mr. Ben-Zion Orgad, now from Tel Aviv, 14 Bloch Street, on the third floor, to carry out the provisions of the above clause, and I also urge him to publish and bring to bear all my works that I wrote after 1933, On occasion and I had to write them to support my family, such as: works for theater, dancers and film. I will ask Mr. Orgad not to publish these last works.

I also oblige Mr. Orgad to represent the interests of my executor, guardian or heirs to ECOM and the Israeli Music Publishing Company, both of which are obliged to give annual account of the royalties, the amounts Who received the sale and the question of my work and to pay to Makral my estates the amounts due to him according to the agreements made between me and the aforementioned companies regarding the exploitation of the creator's rights in the aforesaid works.

This directive also refers to works for which the above companies shall grant the rights after my death.

Note by Ben-Zion Orgad: The compositions composed before 1933 and ordered to be destroyed were transferred, with the approval of the court of law, to the Genizah at the Hebrew University, and are given only to those who study them (not for publication or for performance).

Deposition

I am Chaim Ben-Zion Orgad, after I was warned that I must tell the truth and that I will be subject to the penalties prescribed outside if I do not do so, hereby declare in writing as follows:

1. I knew well the late Paul (also known as Saul) Ben-Haim z "l during many days.

2. Paul (also known as Saul) Ben-Haim died on January 14, 1984 (14 January 1984).

3. To the best of my knowledge, the will that is submitted for existence by the House of Judgment is the last will of the deceased.

4. I hereby declare that this is my name. This is my signature and the content of the above is true.

I hereby confirm that on _____

Appeared before _____ Attorney. Mr. Ben-Zion Orgad, who I am personally familiar with and after I warned him that he must tell the truth and that if he does not do so, he will be subject to the penalties prescribed in the law, confirm the accuracy of the above affidavit and sign it.

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