LIBRARY COPYRIGHT NOTICE

www.huc.edu/libraries

Regulated Warning

See Code of Federal Regulations, Title 37, Volume 1, Section 201.14:

The copyright law of the United States (title 17, United States Code) governs the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material.

Under certain conditions specified in the law, libraries and archives are authorized to furnish a photocopy or other reproduction. One of these specific conditions is that the photocopy or reproduction is not to be “used for any purpose other than private study, scholarship, or research.” If a user makes a request for, or later uses, a photocopy or reproduction for purposes in excess of “fair use,” that user may be liable for copyright infringement.

This institution reserves the right to refuse to accept a copying order if, in its judgment, fulfillment of the order would involve violation of copyright law.

Kurt Weill's *The Eternal Road*: A Musical and Dramatic Story of the Jewish People

Stefanie Greene

Senior Project Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of Cantorial Ordination and Master of Sacred Music Degree

Hebrew Union College- Jewish Institute of Religion
Debbie Friedman School of Sacred Music
New York, New York

Written Advisor: Cantor David Berger

Acknowledgements

There are so many dear friends, family and mentors to thank in helping bring my vision for this project to life.

First, immense gratitude to the whole team at the Kurt Weill Foundation, without whom this project would not have been possible:

To Dr. Kim Kowalke: It was such a surprise that over 10 years after my graduation from the University of Rochester (where you were my Music History professor), we ended up re-connecting over this project. Thank you for your support!

To Dr. Edward Harsh: Thank you for the time you took over the past year to answer all of my questions about Weill and The Eternal Road, read my writing, brainstorm, and more! Your support in helping me find my niche within The Eternal Road scholarship is so greatly appreciated.

To Brady Sansone: Thank you for your assistance in securing the rights to reproduce excerpts of the Road of Promise score in this paper.

To Dave Stein: Thank you for your prompt replies and support in sending me PDFs of articles and answering questions during the pandemic, and for sharing invaluable original sources when I visited the KWF offices and archives.

Cantor David Berger, thank you for serving as my written thesis advisor. You pushed me to dive deeper into this content and be confident in my analysis and research. Your ideas, comments, and edits are so deeply appreciated, and played a large role in crafting this paper.

Cantor Benjie Ellen Schiller & Cantor Richard Cohn, thank you for your regular check-ins to keep me on track with my project, and for your heartfelt support over the last five years.

DFSSM 2022: I couldn't have made it through the last five years without all your support. It's been an honor and privilege to learn from and with all of you.

The Greene Family: Thank you for always being just a phone call away, reading excerpts of my writing in moments when this felt like a lonely pursuit, and always bringing a smile to my face.

My fiancé, Barry: Your support means the world. Thank you for the sweet reminders to keep working hard, for delivering food and kisses at my desk while I was writing, and for always being my biggest cheerleader. I love you!

Introduction

The Eternal Road is a musical biblio-drama composed by Kurt Weill. Dramatically, it takes the form of a play-within-a-play; the story follows a Rabbi "during the timeless night of Israel's persecution"[1], thought to be the beginnings of the Nazi regime. The Rabbi counsels congregants who come to the synagogue and are seeking refuge from the world around them. Many of them struggle with aspects of their own Judaism. The Rabbi counsels them by sharing stories from Tanakh, and the Biblical characters come to life on stage. The Eternal Road was a pivotal work both in its time and today for several reasons. First, it transcends any one genre; scholars have debated whether it is a pageant, an opera, musical theater, or an oratorio. This ambiguity, while also detrimental, ultimately allows the work great potential to play in a great variety of venues and for the story of the Jewish people to be shared widely. Second, it played an important role in bringing several important Jewish narratives to wider audiences in America. Seeing so many Biblical narratives and congregational life experiences played out simultaneously on stage was groundbreaking. Third, the themes of Zionism and Anti-Semitism woven both into the work/ production itself and in the individual artistic and religio-political agendas of the creative team added another layer of poignancy. In this article, I will frame the unique moment in Jewish and world history and politics that this piece occupied, analyze significant musical and dramatic moments, and explore some of the reasons why and how this piece should re-enter the canon for professional musical ensembles of all kinds.

[1] Franz Werfel, *The Eternal Road: A New Play* (New York, 1935).

An Evolution of Jewish Theater: from the Purim Spiel to American Jewish Pageantry

One of the earliest representations of Jewish theater is the Purim spiel. Still a staple of Purim[2] festival observances all around the world today, the Purim spiel and traditional reading of Megillat Esther (Scroll of Esther) each year have roots in the Talmud[3]. In this rabbinic text, the importance of a public reading of the Megillah is emphasized. A Purim spiel is a dramatic re-enactment of the megillah. One of the earliest known Purim spiels dates to Italy in 1555. The Purim spiel evolved into two forms; the first was most like the comic, parody-nature of spiels we know today, based specifically on Megillat Esther. The second evolved into a biblical drama form. The Akhashveyresh-shpil developed in the late 17th/ early 18th century in Germany as response to a more serious request from Rabbis and Church authorities to censor risqué and popular content. The focus of these dramas was primarily on other Biblical characters from Tanakh. [4] The Purim spiel was a seed for Yiddish theater and operetta in the 19th-20th centuries.[5] Beginning in 1900 until World War II, Yiddish operetta productions toured in America as well. These dates interestingly coincided with the rise of Jewish American pageants.

"The Romance of a People" (1933); "We Will Never Die" (1943); and the smaller pageants of the American Jewish Tercentenary (1954-1955) are prominent examples of the Pageant genre which had taken hold in America. American historical pageant scholar David Glassberg defines these pageants as follows:

---

[2] Purim is a Jewish festival in which the story of Esther is retold, commemorating how Esther and her cousin Mordechai prevented Haman from killing the Jews.
[3] A Rabbinic text from the 1st-2nd century; Megilla 9a-b
[4] Jean Baumgarten, n.d., accessed January 2022.
[5] Nina Warnke, n.d., accessed February 2022.

"Pageants are hybrids of art and propaganda which often evoke the past in order to affect public opinion and to stimulate communal cohesion; not primarily motivated by commerce, such aesthetic events are really political gestures." [6] American pageants peaked in the wake of the Civil War, as a unifying force for all migrants in affirming American identity.[7] The Jewish-American pageants served a political agenda of the community. The role of the Jewish-American pageant shifted over the years, and became more persuasive in the 20th century, reflecting the changing perceptions of Jews throughout the world and assimilation of Jews in America.

Dramaturgs Rachel Merrill Moss and Gary Fine "use twentieth-century Jewish pageants to argue that the pageant form of theater is an ideal forum by which to make claims about citizenship and political engagement"[8]. Compared to the traditional play, pageants generally consisted of a more fluid script with room for improvisation in the moment, were performed on a larger scale (i.e. *Romance of a People* performed in Chicago's Soldier Field with 150,000 spectators), and lasted a shorter run. What the traditional play and pageants have in common are the dramatic elements of storytelling, the audience- actor relationship, and an element of spectacle.

Romance of a People (1934, henceforth as RoaP) was a piece of epic proportions, spanning over "four thousand years of colorful history".[9] The work included over 3,500 singers and dancers local to Chicago, most of whom comprised a Greek Chorus. This production is

---

[6] David Glassberg, in *American Historical Pageantry: The Uses of Tradition in the Early Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), p. 4.
[7] For a more detailed history of pageantry, see Glassberg, ibid.
[8] Rachel Merrill Moss and Gary Fine, "Pageants and Patriots: Jewish Spectacles as Performances of Belonging," *Journal of American Drama and Theater* 31, no. 1 (2018), https://jadtjournal.org/2018/11/07/pageants-and-patriots-jewish-spectacles-as-performances-of-belonging/. Pg. 2.
[9] Ibid. page 4

credited as being one of the first examples of a professionally amplified theatrical production.[10] The pageant was meant as a spectacle to promote Zionist ideals and causes. A smaller pageant was put up in Chicago six months prior to RoaP, entitled *Israel Reborn*. The success of this smaller scale production gave the producer (Meyer Weisgal, who later became the producer for *The Eternal Road*, as well) a glimpse of the great success that RoaP would come to have. Though the work was intended to cater to the Zionist efforts, it also drew in many Christians as well. An essential message of this work was that it sought community unity, bringing Jews and non-Jews alike together in support of the formation of the state of Israel, and for Jews within America and abroad. July 3rd, 1933 was Jewish Day at the World's Fair, and RoaP was the concluding event of the day celebrating Jewish history and culture. The success of RoaP was what led Weisgal to develop a similar production on an even grander scale. This production became *The Eternal Road*.

Image 1[11]

[10] Ibid. page 4. This production first used professional sound amplification, which evolved into the technology we use in theaters, synagogues, and other performative spaces today.

[11] Photo from the Production of "Romance of a People" at Soldier Field during the Chicago World's Fair in 1933, June 17, 2021, *Chicago Tribune*, June 17, 2021, https://www.chicagotribune.com/visuals/vintage/ct-viz-soldier-field-vintage-photos-20210617-tqrqargw5jdmdpkuebqmyb7unm-photogallery.html .

Though it can be argued that The Eternal Road was a form of pageant, its precise genre is debated. Nonetheless, it is important to include TER in this chronology of American Jewish pageants. Following TER, the next major American Jewish pageant was *We Will Never Die* (henceforth as WWND), which was performed ten years after RoaP in 1944. WWND premiered in New York at Madison Square Garden, and was subsequently performed in Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Boston, and Washington, D.C. WWND engaged the talent of many celebrities and popular actors and singers at the time, such as Edward G. Robinson, Edward Arnold, John Garfield, Sam Levene, Paul Stewart, Sylvia Sidney and Paul Muni. WWND and RoaP portrayed essential Jewish narratives, but the decade that separated the two works led to two very different story lines. RoaP portrayed a hopeful narrative about restoring a Jewish state and celebrating the history of the Jewish people, whereas WWND was about a plea for Jewish safety and security in the wake of the Holocaust. The narrative thread these productions share is the claim that Jewish interests and American interests were one in the same.

Given growing concern in America about Jews as communists, the Tercentenary plays of 1955 were smaller in scale and served a new purpose. Though they were small, they played an important role in establishing and reinforcing a solid, assimilated, and proud American-Jewish identity throughout the country. These more intimate plays allowed them to take these productions to the Jewish communities in smaller cities like Detroit and Washington D.C. The Tercentenary pageants strove to integrate Jewish historical presence in the United States in the grander American narrative, therefore establishing loyal Jewish "Americanness" in the post-war period.

"With the existential threat to Jewish life resolved in Europe, the next challenge for American Jewry was to demonstrate to fellow citizens questioning their patriotism that Jews had long been integral to American life. American-Jewish pageantry turned to its local soil to advance a narrative

of Jewish 'Americanness,' which became further emphasized as the Cold War tensions increased and questions of loyalty became salient. Post-war Jewish-American pageantry presented a narrative of long-standing Jewish commitment to America since its founding, no longer suggesting that the United States must do something for Jews, but instead that Jews have done something for America. The culmination of this assimilationist, hybrid-identity of Jewish-American status was the year-long American Jewish Tercentenary celebration, occurring from September 1954 through May 1955. Celebrated nationwide, the 300th anniversary of Jewish American presence was memorialized through publications, celebratory events, television and radio formats, and pageant spectacles"[12]

Romance of a People and *We Will Never Die* promoted Jewish differences to assert their message, while the Tercentenary proudly supported assimilationist narratives in altering the perception and inclusion of Jews in communities all over the United States, not only the large cities.

Jewish Creatives telling the Jewish Story

The story of the creation of *The Eternal Road* begins with producer Meyer Weisgal (1894 -1977). Weisgal was primarily an activist and advocate for the Zionist cause. He had direct ties to Chaim Weizsmann and was highly involved in the Zionist Organization of America from 1915 to 1930, holding numerous leadership positions during his tenure.[13] By all accounts, he was a "master showman", and directed this energy toward producing RoaP. RoaP was a huge success. It engaged local artists on stage to tell the story of the Jewish people.[14] This folk vibe combined with the amateur performers allowed this production to draw large crowds; performers invited their friends and family, and ticket deals were made with local Jewish and Christian organizations.[15]

---

[12] Moss and Fine, "Pageants and Patriots: Jewish Spectacles as Performances of Belonging," pg 9

[13] "Meyer W. Weisgal, 82, A Key Zionist Leader," *New York Times*, September 30, 1977, www.nytimes.com/1977/09/30/archives/meyer-wweisgal-82-a-key-zionist-leader-founder-of-weizmann.html

[14] Moss and Fine 5

[15] Helmut Loos, Guy Stern, and Atay Citron, "Art and Propaganda in the Original Production of The Eternal Road," in *Kurt Weill: Auf Dem Weg Zum "Weg Der Verheissung"* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Rombach, 2001), pp. 203-218.

As RoaP was in development, Weisgal knew this Jewish pageant would be an impactful work in furthering the Zionist cause and dreamt of an even bigger spectacle on a high artistic level. In 1933, Weisgal had his first meeting in Paris with renowned and imaginative stage director Max Reinhardt.

"Weisgal began by outlining the idea of a biblical drama that would for the first time evoke the Old Testament in all its breadth rather than in isolated episodes… 'But who will be the author of this biblical play and who will write the music?' 'You are the master', I [Weisgal] said, 'It is up to you to select them'. Again there was a long uncomfortable pause and Reinhardt said that he would ask Franz Werfel and Kurt Weill to collaborate with him"[16]

This work would come to be The Eternal Road (henceforth referred to as TER). Whereas RoaP engaged local artists and was a large production with a grassroots movement, TER "was to be 'the project of some of the greatest artists of our time', it should unite world Jewry in a campaign for the victims of Nazi persecution. This spectacle must be our answer to Hitler"[17]. This set high expectations for TER, and set the stage for *We Will Never Die*, the aforementioned Jewish pageant following TER which utilized some of Weill's material from TER, repurposed.

Author Franz Werfel (1890- 1945) was an acclaimed Austrian writer and playwright. He is best known for his novels "The Forty Days of Musa Dagh", a graphic novel based on events of the Armenian genocide in 1915, and "The Song of Bernadette", which was later made into a big-budget Hollywood film. Weisgal was born and raised Jewish but was very attracted to Christianity. He abandoned his Jewish faith in his younger years, well before he met Alma Mahler in 1918. Werfel was married to Alma Mahler, who had previously been married to composer Gustav Mahler, an influential figure for Kurt Weill. Werfel had a great knowledge of Hebrew, Bible, and Talmud, but was uncomfortable and embarrassed by his Jewish identity.

---

[16] Helmut Loos, Guy Stern, and Drew David, "Reinhardt's Choice: Some Alternatives to Weill?" ," in *Kurt Weill: Auf Dem Weg Zum "Weg Der Verheißung"* (Freiburg, Germany: Rombach, 2000), pp. 237.

[17] Loos and Stern/ Citron, "Art and Propaganda in the Original Production of The Eternal Road," pg. 213

Alma had influenced him to convert to Catholicism, but he stopped when Hitler came to power. Werfel was expelled from the Prussian Academy of Art during the early days of Nazi Germany and his books (namely *Musa Dagh*, and all his writings prior to 1933) were publicly burned. As a result of his research for *Musa* and this circumstance, Werfel spoke out and became known as a voice of conscience and love for all mankind.[18] Following this episode, he and Alma escaped to France, then Spain before heading to the United States. Werfel was proud of his Jewish experiences, even including with Antisemitism. However, unlike Weisgal, he was not a Zionist. After a visit to Palestine, he wrote, "No one is Israel's friend, not even Israel"[19]. In TER there is a spoken dialogue character, the Adversary, who repeatedly questions the Rabbi's claims of Jewish ideology. Though not confirmed in any literature, the character of the Adversary in TER is likely inspired by Werfel's anti-Zionist beliefs. Werfel had been looking for an opportunity to collaborate with a composer on an epic work. He wrote a novel on Verdi, which he regarded as his finest work, and was looking for "the next Verdi", which he thought to have found in Weill. He wrote all of these works in German, and only prior to the New York premiere of TER was his libretto translated into English.

Kurt Weill (1900- 1950) was the son of Albert Weill, a longtime cantor of the Dessau Jewish community. This same community also claimed composer Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy and Jewish theologian, Moses Mendelssohn, as its own[20]. Albert Weill wrote a set of melodies for the synagogue in a contemporary classical style for a four-part men's chorus called "Kol

[18] David Drew, "Der Weg Der Verheißung: Weill at the Crossroads," *Tempo*, no. 208 (April 1999): pp. 34
[19] Ibid. p. 35
[20] Alexander Ringer, "Kurt Weill – The Cantor's Son," *Unpublished, Obtained from Kurt Weill Foundation Archives*, 1987. Pg 1

Avraham".[21] His works were intended to be performed by all men, though they were in a German Protestant musical style of the early German Classical Reformers.

Kurt Weill's earliest preserved composition is a setting of "Mi Adir", from the Jewish wedding liturgy, which remains incomplete. His first composition teacher was Albert Bing in Dessau in 1915.[22] Kurt Weill notes the composers who were most inspiring to him were Felix Mendelssohn, Jacques Offenbach, Gustav Mahler, and George Gershwin. Weill briefly corresponded with Albert Schonberg and thought about studying with him in his early twenties, but those plans never panned out. Darius Milhaud was Weill's closest composer friend and contemporary, with whom he likely shared compositional inspiration.[23] All of these composers cited as Weill's biggest influences are all Jewish or have significant Jewish connections. As a result of his upbringing both personally and compositionally, Weill set several additional Jewish texts during his career in addition to TER. His first significant composition in 1916 was "Ofrah's Lieder", a song cycle set to texts by Israeli poet Yehuda HaLevi, translated into German. Weill composed his own arrangements for two well-known Israeli folk songs in "Two Folksongs of the New Palestine" (1938). This set includes "Baa menucha", which is also known as the Israeli folk song "Shir HaEmek" with words by Nathan Alterman and music by Daniel Sambursky. He also composed "Recordare", an a capella choral setting of texts from chapter 5 of the Lamentations of Jeremiah, which is a surprising departure from his typical compositional style. The second song is "Havu l'venim", originally written my Mordecai Seira. Weill's arrangement of Hatikvah (the Israeli national anthem) (1947) has been performed world-wide. His composition of the Kiddush

---

[21] Albert Weill, *Kol Avraham: Synagogen-Gesange Fur Cantor u Mannerchor*, 1893.

[22] *Kurt Weill's Musical Formation*, *Kurt Weill's Musical Formation* (Kurt Weill Foundation), accessed February 2022, Kurt Weill's Musical Formation.

[23] Ringer , "A Cantor's Son", pg. 3, 8-9

commissioned for Cantor David Putterman at Park Avenue Synagogue in New York in 1946 is still one of his most-performed works in both Jewish concert and prayer services today.

Weisgal, Reinhardt, Weill, and Werfel were the four main creatives who truly shaped what the work itself came to be, however others had great influence over the production as it moved to the stage. Benjamin Zemach (1901- 1997), the choreographer, was a Yiddish speaker, from a "shtetl" background, and a proud religious Zionist. He danced with Martha Graham and Doris Humphrey, and also worked in Hollywood. For TER, he incorporated Jewish ritual customs and prayer movements into the choreography. Norman Bel Geddes (b. 1893, d. 1958) was the stage designer, who was given free reign by Reinhardt to completely tear out the Manhattan Opera House[24] to create a five-story Biblical/ Synagogue set that extended into the audience seats. Ludwig Lewisohn (b. 1882, d. 1955) translated Werfel's German into English for the New York premiere production. The work was never performed in Werfel's original German until a revival in Chemnitz, Germany in 1999. While Lewisohn provided most of the translation into English, "Weill occasionally had to supply an English text or a more singable phrase in supplementing the quite serviceable translation by Ludwig Lewisohn. Here he managed to stay very close to the spirit of Werfel's German original".[25] [26] Examination of Weill's personal piano-vocal score used in rehearsals for the 1937 premiere reveals some textual edits Weill made in the moment to accommodate the singer-actors and provide more continuous and clear storytelling.

[24] The Manhattan Opera House is still standing and is an active theater today, located at 311 W. 34th Street in Manhattan.
[25] Kowalke & Stern, "The Road to the Eternal Road", pg. 274-278
[26] Dr. Edward Harsh adds, "It's probably that some of the English fixes were by Weill, but there are other names listed in the 1937 program as well… I'm sure this was a group job, as theater works in rehearsal tend to be… Serviceability is in the eye of the beholder. I find Lewisohn's translation to be very faithful to Werfel's text but not at all sensitive to Weill's music. (I imagine it was done as a literary translation without ever consulting the score".

Creative Differences of Opinion

The individual identities, experiences, political stances, and creative energy of this production team played an essential role in how TER was written and brought to life. Even more intriguing than their individual identities, however, was how these personalities navigated core differences of opinion and priorities in biblical drama, music, depictions of synagogue life, antisemitism, and Zionism. The history of scholarship of TER has generated divergent opinions on the impact and significance of these conflicts amongst the creative team behind TER and in the ways those conflicts are reflected in the work itself.

A fitting place to begin an exploration of these creative relationships is with the mastermind of TER, Meyer Weisgal. In his autobiography "So Far", Weisgal writes:

"I spent a whole night walking with Werfel in the garden, explaining to him, as well as I could, that this was a Jewish play-- that and nothing else. It was our history, the history of his and my people, that had to be portrayed-- not some alien or abstract concept… Kurt Weill was a quite different kettle of fish. Like myself, he was the son of a chazzan, the descendant of a long-line of rabbis; but unlike me he had shaken himself free of Jewish life… He did not appear to me the most suitable choice of a composer for the score of a Biblical pageant but I had given Reinhardt a free hand, and his instinct turned out to be right"[27]

While, as previously mentioned, Weisgal had empowered Reinhardt to choose the other creative collaborators for TER, he remained intimately involved in the creative process and evolution of TER. Weisgal was frustrated with explaining to Werfel the exact Jewishness he sought to encompass in TER. Weisgal was a staunch Zionist, whereas Werfel was a known anti-Zionist, as mentioned above. Weisgal and Weill had a similar upbringing, yet Weill did not share the same Zionist views with Weisgal either.

At the time of his first meeting with Werfel, Reinhardt was working with the Jewish composer, Erich Korngold, on a musical production in Theater de Pigalle. Weill was not the first

[27] Ringer, "A Cantor's Son", pg. 1

composer who came to mind when Reinhardt was chosen as stage director for the project, and he was given "free reign" by Weisgal to choose the rest of the creative team. Ultimately, Reinhardt weighed his choice by debating the importance of choosing a religious Jew versus a composer of non-religious, cultural Jewish descent.

> [Reinhardt] decided against Korngold because "there was no evidence in Korngold's work of any predisposition towards either the sacred or the contemporary subject-matter Weisgal was proposing. Although Korngold's musical language was one that approximated almost exactly to Reinhardt's own musical tastes, the same could be said of many other composers of the day who had failed to attract, or no longer enjoyed, international attention."[28][29]

When he was not offered the job as composer of TER, Korngold decided to move to America on his own accord in 1934, and began writing music for film scores and settled in Los Angeles. And yet, Weill was not far-and-away the clear first choice at the time:

> "With hindsight it is a little too easy to argue that Weill was the obvious and outstanding choice for Reinhardt in the circumstances of November 1933, and Werfel likewise. Only if Reinhardt understood more about Weill than most of his contemporaries did… does the final choice of composer acquire the distinction its sheer audacity calls out for… Weill was simply a more fashionable if rather less malleable alternative."[30]

Would relations between Werfel and another composer possibly have been more amenable? Possibly. Choosing a composer just because they are the "fashionable" choice may have helped the outside appearances of a stellar creative team. And yet, not carefully considering the personal, creative, and Jewish compatibility of the composer and the librettist could have serious consequences.

Conflict arose between Weill and Werfel as the piece was beginning to take shape. Although they were quite fond of each other's work, Weill and Werfel had core differences in the manner in which they would bring the Jewish story to life on stage. Werfel didn't want to

---

[28] Loos/ Stern & Drew, "Reinhardt's Choice", pg. 239-240
[29] See Appendix B for further explanation of how Weill integrated Korngold's compositional style into TER.
[30] Ibid. pg. 252

sacrifice his text and storytelling, whereas Weill wanted to include more through-composed passages and recitatives.

> "'For the sake of brevity… I [Werfel] have deleted a hundred beautiful ideas….' He then enjoined Weill to confine himself to 'melodies, melodies, melodies' in order to avoid liturgical monotony and excessive recitatives, especially in the readings of the rabbi… 'For God's sake, the playing time per se must not exceed 3.5 hours by a single breath of air. With intermissions that would make it a 3.75-4 hour performance.' To oversimplify the content of Werfel's letter: music, yes, but it must not protract the evening to the point where I, the dramatist, must further pare my text".[31]

Weill and Werfel had different views of how to best tell the story. Kurt Weill Foundation scholar Dr. Edward Harsh notes that Werfel even mentioned in another letter that this work belonged in a "black box theater" and not on the world's stage, as Weisgal had envisioned it.[32] Weill "knew that music in a modern musical drama must be integral. Contrary to Werfel, he felt that the text itself stood in danger of dissolving and that only music could provide it with a firm scaffolding".[33] By "dissolving", Weill implied that Werfel's text would fall flat without his music to organize and elevate it for the stage.

Another failure in creative collaboration which led to the production's downfall was between Bel Geddes, the set designer, and Reinhardt. Reinhardt wanted to bring Weisgal's epic, all-encompassing vision to life on stage. As I mentioned earlier, Bel Geddes was given freedom without a budget to completely transform the New York Opera House into a combined synagogue and biblical set that extended out into the audience. Reinhardt and Bel Geddes should have served as checks on one another in production development, and Reinhardt should have been more closely monitoring fundraising dollars and the production budget. Instead, they reinforced each other's tendencies toward extravagance, by continually adding elements and

---

[31] Kowalke & Stern, pg. 279
[32] Dr. Edward Harsh Interview Feb 2021
[33] Kowalke & Stern p 279

making the stage and scenery even more over-the-top[34]. These expenses combined with the exorbitant cost of compensating over 300 cast, crew and musicians for every performance sadly led to TER closing after just 153 performances. If this were any other performance of Jewish music, 500 performances would be quite an accomplishment. However, given the immense investment of time and effort into this production, 500 performances was a disappointment as the creative team anticipated a greater return on their efforts.

What *is* the Eternal Road, exactly?

Four main disagreements amongst the creatives- genre of the work, venue for presentation[35], religious and political opinions- eventually came to reveal themselves not only in their relationships but in the work product itself. Authors and scholars refer to TER as part of a musical-dramatic patchwork of various genres at different times. It's been called opera, musical theater, oratorio, pageant, and bibliodrama. These categories are not mutually exclusive, and yet the lack of clarity made it difficult to find a niche for TER. These disagreements in the early creative stages about what it "should" be played out on stage. To this day, scholars still debate what TER "is". This genre ambiguity makes it challenging to program on stages that focus on specific musical-dramatic genres.

In an interview with TER and Kurt Weill scholar Dr. Edward Harsh, he noted:

"Scholars have debated this for years and continue to debate it, but there is no final answer. I remember particularly there was a symposium in Chemnitz in 1999 of German and British and American scholars. There was a very passionate discussion about what people think the genre of the piece is. There were people saying 'it's an opera, it's totally an opera.' Then there were people saying it's a pageant. There were people saying it's a 'play with music', which is a pretty weak argument. And then there are people saying it's an oratorio 'it's really oratorio'. The German word Weill would often use to describe his works was *'Zwischengottung'*, or 'between genres' or 'mixed

[34] Kowalke & Stern 274

[35] A large consideration for the venue was due to the deteriorating circumstances in Europe due to the rise of the Nazi regime.

genres'. Der Weg [36]is definitely in that world. It's got a little bit of this, a little bit of that. That lack of generic clarity certainly works against it today, just because institutions are built for certain genres and there is no institution built for this genre. We haven't even talked about the fact that the subject matter puts it outside of your average Broadway show… so the answer to that question is 'Who knows?!'" (Interview with Edward Harsh, February 25th, 2021).

The genre ambiguities of TER, combined with the institutional world of musical performance, stand in the way of continuing performances of TER. TER is a time capsule of 20th century European and American Jewry, antisemitism, and Zionism. It preserves the culture and personalities of a marginalized Jewish community and congregation in Germany during the early stages of the Nazi regime. It brings our sacred Tanakh texts and characters to life. Despite creative disagreements and personal opinions, the show is steeped in Zionism, and depicts the pure hope for the Land of Israel before it became a state. It uniquely and intriguingly integrates cantorial melodies and nusach with 17th-19th century baroque and classical styles, with Kurt Weill's twist on a contemporary and multifaceted sound. This combination of unique elements alone begs for more frequent performances, with thoughtful audiences and discussion; there is so much this work can teach us about Jewish narratives- cultural, historical, and Biblical.

In contemplating what to "do" with this beautiful and complex work, there are several important questions that must be addressed and explored before moving forward with a performance and/or contemplating how excerpts could be best presented for Jewish and secular audiences. In his chapter "The Road to The Eternal Road", Guy Stern ponders whether Kurt Weill's efforts to revise the work (which were trumped by Werfel) based on his new knowledge of the American public would have allowed the work to be more successful with American audiences. Werfel believed that the piece was fine as is and extra edits would prove futile.

[36] Short for the German title of The Eternal Road, "Der Weg der Veisshung"

Letters between Weill and Werfel in August/ September 1936 reveal Weill's desire to make edits based on what he observed in the theater scene in America upon his arrival. He details wanting to make the Biblical scenes and synagogue scenes more through-composed and continuous. Werfel believed that the piece as it was already written would "arouse sufficient empathy" with the American public. [37] In the end, Stern ponders, "With Weill and Werfel having beaten out a new form- and their American exile [from Europe to America] … isn't it time for a revival of The Eternal Road?"[38]. Given Kurt Weill's great American success on Broadway following TER, one wonders what a Weill/ Werfel revision would have looked like. Would it have taken a form that fit more into a particular genre, and thus, made it more performable? Stern also wonders whether other contemporary musicals with biblical or Jewish themes (i.e., Children of Eden, Joseph and the Amazing Technicolor Dream Coat, etc.) have paved the way for a revival of TER.

Beyond musicals with Jewish or Biblical themes, one must also consider the Zionist message in TER. Atay Citron asks,

"Can it [TER] be perceived and appreciated today merely as an opera, devoid of historical and political context? Should the present staging adhere to Werfel's ending of the play, which fuses a Messianic vision with a prediction of continuous life in exile for the Jews, or should it take into account the fifty years of existence of the independent State of Israel?"[39]

In his edit of the shortened oratorio version of the work, known as The Road of Promise (henceforth referred to as RoP), Edward Harsh edits this ending slightly to lean more towards the Zionist hope for a state of Israel and a Messiah, ending with a grand March to Zion[40]. Dr. Edward Harsh notes that this concluding march is a familiar motif from a moment of wandering

---

[37] Kowalke & Stern pg. 283
[39] Ibid. pg. 284
[39] Loos/Stern & Citron, pg. 218
[40] It was never referred to as the March to Zion by Werfel or Weill, but rather was later called that in the popular song collection published around the time of the premiere. From Dr. Ed Harsh, editor of RoP: "What I did in RoP was take an earlier appearance of the march and use it to lengthen the final appearance, which I found impossibly short to carry the dramatic weight the piece's ending requires".

in exile depicted earlier in the work. Harsh observed that the march is transposed from A major to C major, and the theme is inverted from a descending dotted-rhythm motif into an ascending dotted-rhythm motif.[41] In the original TER, the dialogue between the Thirteen-Year-Old-Boy and the Rabbi in the final scene is representative of divergent opinions of a Messianic vision (Rabbi/ God) and hope or vision for 'something' (Thirteen-Year-Old Boy). What exactly that 'something' is has been debated. On the ending, Harsh notes,

> "The original ending was banishment of the Congregation, with the Thirteen-Year-Old leading the way onwards (to where? To the wilderness? To zion? It's not clear) on the basis of his vision. The only tweak I made was to leave it open as to whether the boy's vision was an inner one or an overt public one that anyone standing with him would have shared too. That's not too far from the original, because it's not clear that the Rabbi actually hears or sees what the boy does. So I made it just a little more explicit with the Rabbi's line, 'I may not have heard what you heard'".[42]

In Harsh's edited ending, the Rabbi then suggests that all shall follow the Thirteen-Year-Old-Boy's hope and trust his hearing of God's call even though others may not have heard God's call in that way.[43] It is possible for a future version of the work to include either ending, with the understanding that this piece is preserving a very particular religio-political stance of a mid- 20th century moment in time. Thoughtful program notes and introduction to frame the work would allow the piece to be successfully received by all audiences.

TER served as a central pivot point in bringing Jewish composers to America. As previously mentioned, Korngold's loss of this gig is what perpetuated his moves to Los Angeles to write film music, for which he gained much acclaim. Weill moved to America about one year before the premiere of TER and stayed. TER was also revolutionary in its scope, by including (almost) the entirety of the Torah, and significant portions of Prophets and Megillot, on stage in one continuous work. TER also provides a unique combination of depictions of congregational

---

[41] Loos/ Stern & Harsh, pg. 185
[42] Email correspondence with Dr. Edward Harsh, February 8th 2022
[43] Loos/Stern & Harsh, pg. 186

life in Nazi Germany tied to Zionist and Messianic messaging. This has inspired questions for further research: How could TER be presented to today's Jewish communities in a way that is eye-opening, educational, enjoyable, contemplative and engaging? What are some ways we can take "golden nuggets" of biblical drama and music from TER and infuse them into our teaching of adults and children alike in congregations today?

Telling the Jewish Story

Scholars such as Edward Harsh and David Drew have analyzed this work in great depth, though they are not of Jewish descent or faith themselves. Other scholars of Jewish descent such as Atay Citron, Alexander Ringer, and Guy Stern have taken an interest in the work because it is inherently Jewish, though did not direct their research towards the specificities of the Jewish content Biblically, congregationally, or musically. And yet, there is much in this work both musically and dramatically which serves as midrash[44] on these texts, Jewish theology, and Jewish culture. This rich tapestry of interpretive biblical narrative, musical interpretation, and theological statements (both implied and implicit) cultivated a unique portrait of Jewish text, tradition, and culture for all audience members, both Jews and non-Jews alike.

The Voice of God

Inherent in a work that retells Biblical stories is a representation of God and God's voice. For thousands of years, Jews have pondered what God sounded like. *Kol Adonai* (translated in Hebrew to "the voice of God") appears in much of our Jewish liturgy, perhaps most recognizably in Psalm 29 which is also part of the Kabbalat Shabbat (Friday evening) liturgy. Though not

[44] Midrash is ancient commentary from the Rabbis on texts from the Tanakh (which consists of the Old Testament, Prophets, and Writings).

explicit in TER, this concept of *Kol Adonai* is prevalent throughout Tanakh. Another recurring theme surrounding God in Tanakh is the concept of facing God "*panim el panim*", or face-to-face, most notably with Moses, but also Avraham, Jacob, and Joseph (amongst other Biblical characters not included in TER, i.e., Noah).[45] Some examples of God showing God's self to these Biblical characters include through *m'lachim* (angels) as in the Binding of Isaac[46], a burning bush[47], and a pillar of smoke[48]. God never meets any of these Biblical characters truly face-to-face, until he finally meets Moses face-to-face, and he dies soon after.[49] Rabbinically, the voice of God is also identified as a *Bat Kol* and is described as sounding like the cooing of a dove.[50]

Just as there are many names for God in rabbinic and biblical texts, there are also many names for God in TER. Weill and Werfel represent God through The Voice, Angels 1 & 2 (messengers of God), Beam, and the Soul.[51] Though God is referenced by the other characters, God is not referenced directly as a named character in the score nor libretto.[52] Part 1, Scene 2a retells the story of the Binding of Isaac. In the biblical narrative God instructs Abraham to sacrifice his only son, Isaac.[53] Abraham follows God's instruction to show his faith in God. An angel stops Abraham right as he is about to sacrifice his son. The Biblical angel is represented in

---

[45] Exodus 33
[46] Genesis 21
[47] Exodus 3
[48] Exodus 13
[49] Exodus 33
[50] Berakhot 3a:14
[51] In 21st century liberal Judaism, it is widely accepted that God could be a woman or other genders. The characters of God in TER (beam, voice, angels etc) are all sung by Tenors, male voices. Future productions of RoP could include women or treble voices singing at least some of the roles that represent God. This casting shift would make the work more relatable for modern audiences.
[52] In an email correspondence from Feburary 8th 2022, Dr. Harsh notes, "I think all these different identities, and the way they appear written/ scribbled/ edited into various sources speaks to a number of instabilities. My guess is that many of the decisions were made under pressure of time with the usual conflicting [creative] visions in play and probably not driven too much by thoughtful theology".
[53] Genesis 21-22

TER by the unaccompanied SAATB chorus.[54] Depicting the singular angelic character from the Bible as a multi vocalic chorus adds to the magnitude of God's voice.

As the Israelites are wandering in the desert (Part 1, Scene 7), God speaks to Moses. However, the character representing God is referred to here as "Beam". "Beam" is not included in the table of contents cast of characters. This is the first moment this character name appears and is written for tenor. Beam is likely a reference to God appearing as a pillar of smoke as the Israelites wander through the desert. Musically, they share a plainchant style which includes a motif reminiscent of the second Kyrie B-A-C-H motif[55], which was prevalent throughout Johann Sebastian Bach's works most notably in his Art of Fugue (for organ)[56] and his B minor Mass. Weill's musical nod is just one example of how the use of the B-A-C-H motif was also prevalent in the writing of other 20th century composers at the time, such as Arnold Schoenberg and other composers in the Second Viennese School, to whom this palette of chromaticism was natural.[57] Weill's overlay of Christian sounds of God through the B-A-C-H motif onto the Jewish narrative in these stories of the Old Testament presents a depiction of God's one-ness, as recognized by both Jews and Christians.

Interestingly, the third time the B-A-C-H motif appears is in the penultimate scene, immediately preceding the fall of the First Temple (9th of the Jewish month of Av[58], 586 BC).

---

[54] Kurt Weill, *Road of Promise*, ed. Edward Harsh, 2012. p. 30, m. 84-92

[55] B-A-C-H represents the musical notes of Bach's signature motif, corresponding to Bb-A-C-B natural. In German musical nomenclature, the H represents B natural, and the B represents Bb. The motif has often been inverted as well. For more on the B-A-C-H motif, see Barber, Elinore. "Bach and the B-A-C-H Motive." Bach 2, no. 2 (1971): 3–5. http://www.jstor.org/stable/24026092.

[56] See Image 2

[57] Schoenberg, Arnold. *Arnold Schoenberg Letters*. Edited by Erwin Stein, Translated by Eithne Wilkins and Ernst Kaiser, University of California Press, 1992. P. 1-3

[58] Today, this date is commemorated as Tisha b'Av (9th of Av), and is a Fast day in memory of mourning the falling of the First Temple in 586 BC)

This time, it appears as the Israelites cry for the Messiah, and the pattern appears inverted, as JS Bach did in his second Kyrie in his B Minor Mass.

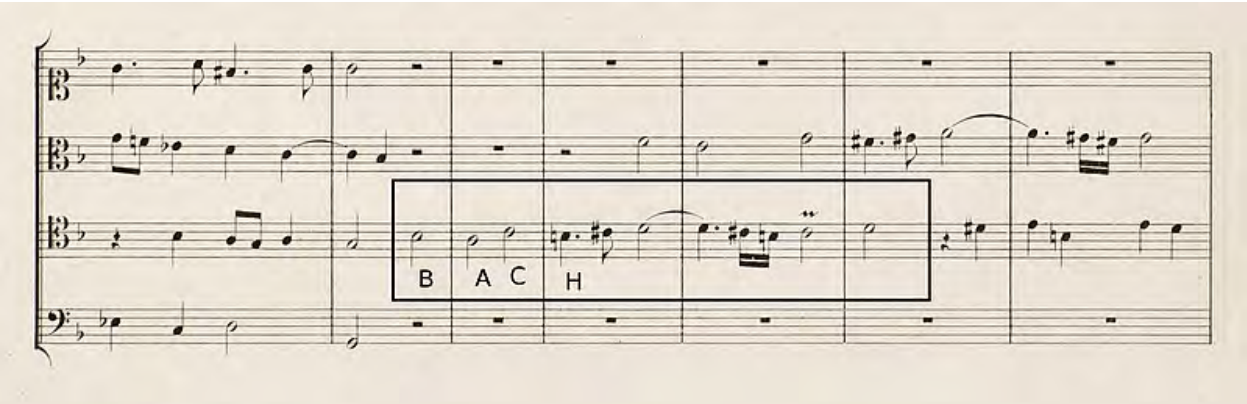

Image 2 [59]

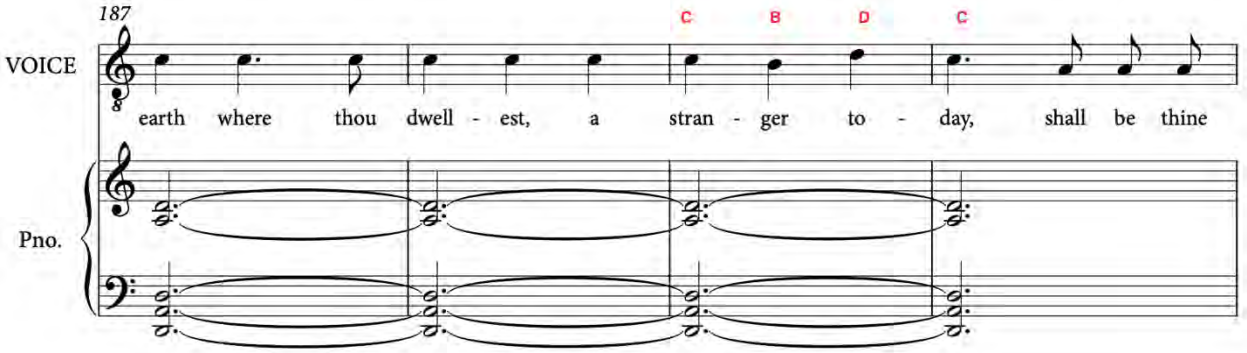

Image 3 [60]

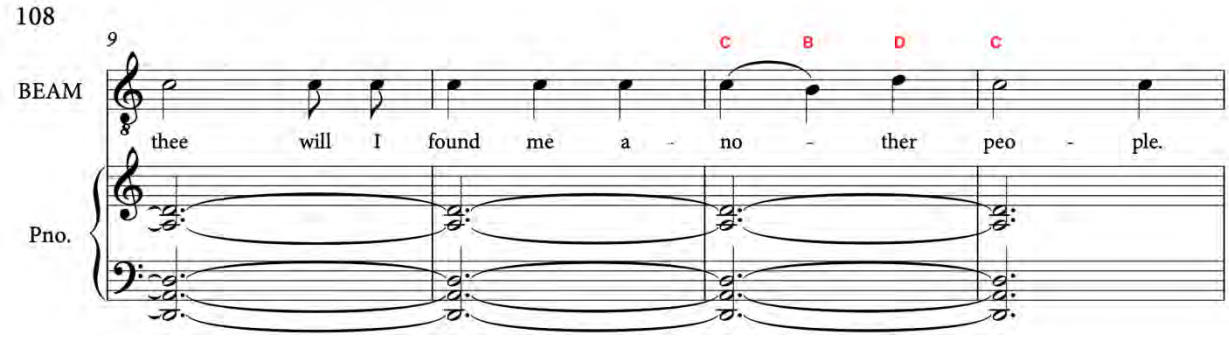

Image 4 [61]

[59] J.S. Bach, *Werke 25,1: Die Kunst Der Fuge* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1875). Pg. 100, introduction of the third subject of the unfinished fugue of the Art of Fugue.
[60] Kurt Weill, *Road of Promise*, ed. Edward Harsh, 2012. P. 19, m. 189-190. Note that the B-A-C-H motif is transposed up one step.
[61] Ibid., An example of the voice of God in RoP Piano-Vocal Score, p. 108 m. 9

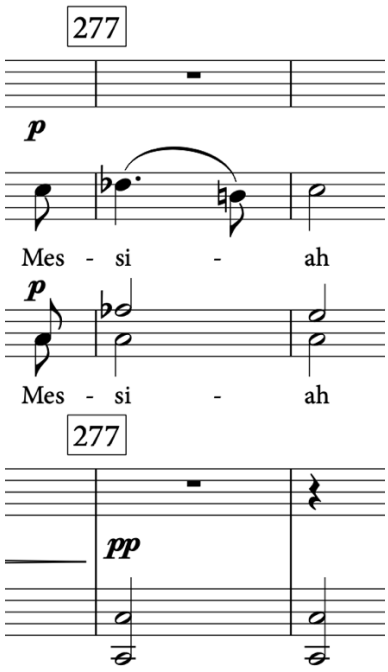

Image 5 [62]

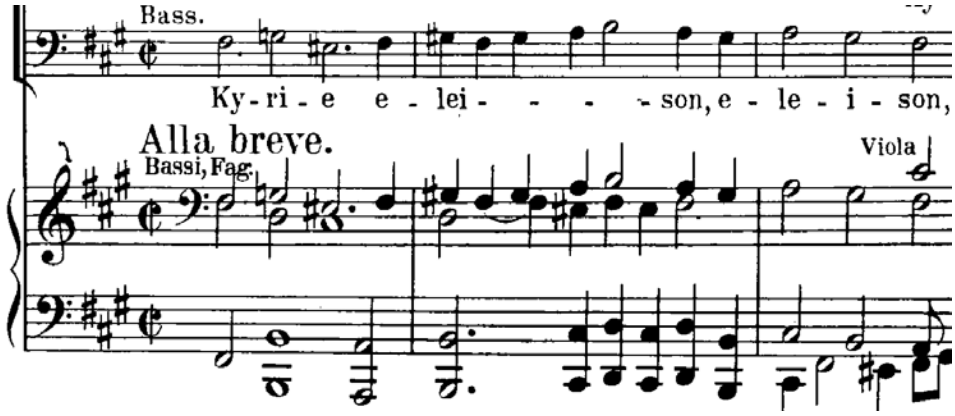

Image 6 [63]

Additionally, there is commentary throughout both the spoken dialogue and sung sections which highlights a Messianic (God as Messiah, redeemer of Israel) narrative. As mentioned previously, the premiere production in 1937 was largely supported and produced by the American Zionist Organization (AZO), supporting Israel's right to exist as a sovereign country

[62] Ibid., p. 260 m. 277
[63] J.S. Bach, *Mass in B Minor, BWV 232*, ed. Friedrich Smend (Germany: Barenreiter-Verlag)

as the homeland of the Jewish people. Two of the prominent spoken characters in RoP demonstrate the divide between American Zionists and those who were anti-Zionist and/or anti-Semitic at the time. Throughout the work, the Adversary[64] is the doubter, always questioning the Rabbi's teaching, while the 13-year-old boy discovers Judaism for the first time with wonder, hope, and awe represents the Zionist and Messianic narrative. The Adversary is depicted as sarcastic and cynical, representative of the anti-Zionist movement or atheists. The Adversary's text includes lines of dialogue throughout such as, "Jacob was a dreamer! What are dreamers good for?[65]... Jacob and his dreams! He imagined he saw angels going up and down from heaven. Where are those angels now?"[66] [67] and "You can keep your prophets and your nostalgia. I'm going to meet my destiny with those angry people outside [Nazis]- the real ones, not some imaginary ones"[68] [69], clearly crafted by Werfel to represent a congregant who is a doubter of God and religion.

Conversely, the 13-year-old boy has lines of dialogue clearly representing the voice of a "young dreamer" [70]. In the final scene, the 13-year-old grapples with wanting God to hear our plea and prayers:

> "Messiah, where are you? Don't you hear our mother Rachel? She's mourning for her children. She has waited so long, so very long. Why does she get no answer? Why did the temple have to be burned? Why do WE have to suffer so? If you can't answer her, answer me!"[71]

---

[64] Tanakh = [Tanakh]: a New Translation of the Holy Scriptures According to the Traditional Hebrew Text. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1985. According to the 1985 JPS translation of the Book of Job, "Adversary" is a translation of Satan, in which the Adversary breaks apart the man's faith.
[65] Original text from Werfel
[66] Kurt Weill, Road of Promise, ed. Edward Harsh, 2012. p. 38
[67] Harsh's edit to the text in RoP
[68] Kurt Weill, Road of Promise, ed. Edward Harsh, 2012. p. 253
[69] Harsh's edit to the text in RoP
[70] Kurt Weill, Road of Promise, ed. Edward Harsh, 2012. p 212
[71] Ibid., p. 263

And later in that scene:

"13 y/o: Didn't you hear?
Rabbi: My son this is the familiar close of a thousand stories.
13 y/o: But I have my answer. I have heard his voice. Didn't you hear it too?
Rabbi: I… I may not have heard what you heard.
13 y/o: Well I heard it. And I'm not sad and I'm not tired. I know where we're headed. It's time to go [to the land of Zion].[72]

The Thirteen-year-old boy's connection with the Messiah, as expressed leading into the final jubilant March to Zion at the end of the work, represents the Zionist voice and message throughout the work. The Thirteen-year-old boy is not just a futile dreamer; he is able to contend with the tenuous issues of his time, yet also seeking faith in God.

Music as Midrash

Though other oratorios (i.e., Handel's Biblical oratorios, Mendelssohn's Elijah) and works of contemporary musical theater (i.e., Children of Eden, Fiddler on the Roof, Falsettos) have told either Biblical or contemporary Jewish stories on stage through music, The Eternal Road is unique because it blends biblical narrative with storytelling of contemporary (for its time) Jewish life in early Nazi Germany. Just as the composition and utilization of the Voice of God/ Messiah were choices that suggested a particular commentary/ midrash, so too does the portrayal of the Biblical characters.

The work opens with Abram[73] as narrated by the Rabbi and followed by a motif that I will call the Abraham Motif. Here is the first iteration of it in the score, an instrumental introduction:

[72] Ibid., p. 266
[73] To later become Abraham, as in Parashat Lech Lecha

Image 5 [74]

The Abraham Motif in RoP is over a G major pedal point. The E, F, and A natural at the peaks of the three-part sequence are accented non-harmonic tones in the melody. There is rising imitation in the inner voice (D-E-F#-G-G#-A) leading to an unstable A minor 6/4 over the G pedal bass.[75]

This motif recurs in reference to Abraham, but also resurfaces in Part 2 after Moses recites the Shema for the first time to the Israelites. In this iteration, the motif is in F, leading to B flat. The vocal line is in dialogue with a march-like figure in the orchestra, foreshadowing the March towards Israel a few measures later. The orchestra also completes the quote of the phrase to transition into the march material.

[74] Kurt Weill, *Road of Promise*, ed. Edward Harsh, 2012. p. 3 m. 32; Abraham Motif
[75] See Appendix B for an extended analysis of this Abraham motif, and connection to Korngold's *Die Tote stadt.*

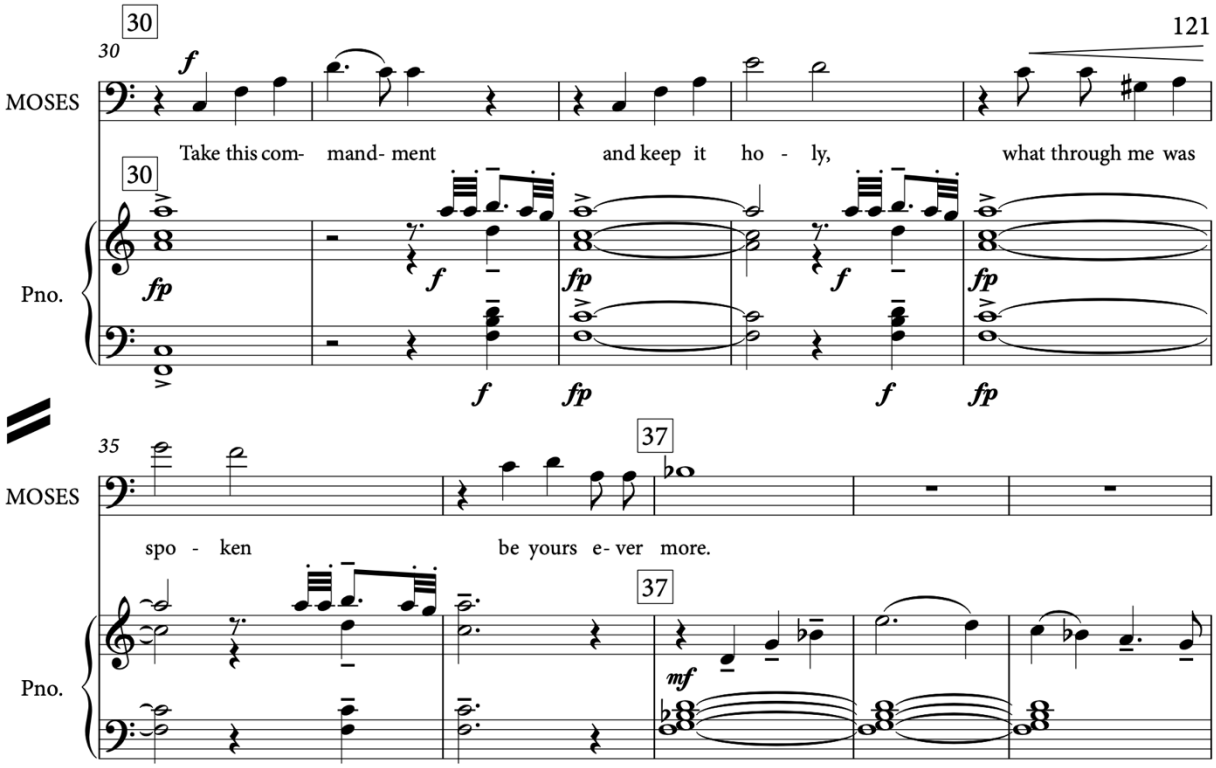

Image 6 [76]

What Abraham and Moses share is that they both were the recipients of divine revelation; Abraham in Lech Lecha and the Akeidah, and Moses as he receives the Ten Commandments. Sharing the same musical motif is commentary on the similar covenantal relationship they each had with God.

Like the Abraham Motif, Ruth has a recurring character motif as well. The Ruth Motif is a swung cabaret melody, written in a similar style to some of Weill's other works, such as "Stay Well" from *Lost in the Stars*. The theme first appears in the Ruth and Boaz duet[77], and Ruth herself returns to King David/ Solomon in a later scene. As Ruth was the mother of David, and thus grandmother of Solomon, the reappearance of Ruth (though not true to the Tanakh text) helps trace the family lineage for the audience.[78]

[76] Kurt Weill, *Road of Promise*, ed. Edward Harsh, 2012. Pg. 121 m. 30; Moses' iteration of Abraham Motif
[77] Ibid., Part 2, Scene 9
[78] Ibid., Part 2, Scene 11

Additionally, the Rabbi, who doubles as narrator, has a motif in recitative that he uses both in telling the story of Joseph and, later, in telling the story of Moses.

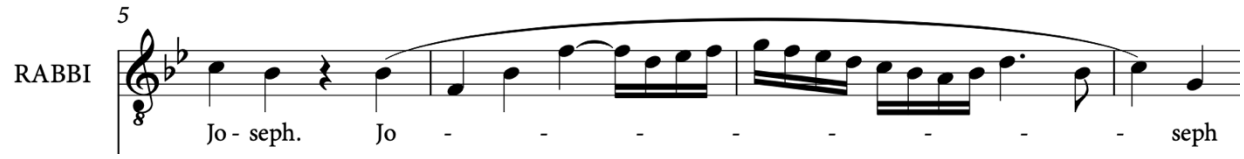

Image 7 [79]

The marcato and heroic I-V-I opening of this phrase followed by an extended melisma presents an interpretation (or commentary/ midrash) that both Joseph and Moses shared a certain strength and determination in their leadership and character.

Throughout TER, recurring musical motifs of Abraham/ Moses, Ruth, and Joseph/ Moses convey connections between Biblical characters and theological themes. While these isolated motives serve as clues into Weill's interpretation of the drama, there is also much to be gained from studying specific dramaturgical and musical choices that Weill and Werfel (translated by Ludwig Lewisohn) made. These choices present an intentionally tailored biblical narrative for audiences.

Dramaturgy and Biblical Narrative

Comparing the Biblical Narrative and the drama as it unfolds in the libretto is an essential study concerning this work which has not been significantly analyzed to date. Appendix A contains a chart comparing the libretto side by side with the original texts from Tanakh, and notes of any substantial dramatic liberties and notable musical and dramatic elements of each scene. This chart serves as a useful quick reference guide while listening to or studying the score

[79] Ibid., pg. 49 m. 5; Joseph/ Moses motif sung by Rabbi

of TER. While detailed analysis of the dramaturgical elements of the entirety of TER would prove beneficial, case studies of two specific scenes illustrate the interesting discrepancies taken.

The first notable example is the Akeidah (Binding of Isaac) scene in Part 1, Scene 2a. Dramatically, this scene stays mostly true to the original Tanakh text. However, the role of God versus the role of Abraham in this scene highlight chosen characterizations of the drama that diverge from the Torah text. Fascinatingly, Abraham rarely sings or speaks at all in this scene, but rather the action is narrated by the Rabbi and God (once again, marked as "Voice"). One of the most famous statements in the story of the Akeidah is when Abraham says to God "Hineni" (I am here).[80] Instead of making a large musical moment out of this very significant statement which displays the connection between God and Abraham, this line is simply spoken by Abraham. Abraham's second spoken line is in a state of awe as he summits Mount Moriah with Isaac and lays eyes on what God sent him there to do: "There, the wood, the fire, the knife!"[81]. Abraham's minimal voice in this scene, both literally and figuratively, is curious. It is clear from the Rabbi's narration and the Voice's dialogue that Abraham and Isaac would be physically acting out this scene on stage. Abraham's relative silence paired with instrumental music and storytelling in the Rabbi's recitative highlights the blind faith that Abraham displays in fulfilling God's prescribed actions. This dramatic interpretation conforms to the traditional biblical episode and its midrashim (commentaries). Regarding this verse, medieval Tanakh commentator Rashi notes: "הנני HERE AM I — Such is the answer of the pious: it is an expression of meekness and readiness (Midrash Tanchuma, Vayera 22)."[82] Though impossible to know if

[80] Ibid., Part 1 Scene 2 m. 51
[81] Ibid., Part 1 Scene 2 m. 78
[82] Rashi on Genesis 22:1

Weill and Werfel were aware of commentaries like Rashi's, their depiction of Abraham mirrors that of this traditional rabbinic interpretation.

One of the most perplexing dramatic moments in this work is what follows the Akeidah. Seemingly out of nowhere, without a transition, an a capella choral fugue in the style of Handel's Messiah in ⅜ erupts following God's declaration of Abraham's success in the test of faith. The fugue text, however, has nothing to do with the Akeidah, but rather harkens back to Bereshit, the story of Creation in Genesis 1, and the concept of B'tzelem Elohim- that God has created all of us in God's image. This material is extremely out of place; it is quite jarring both musically and dramatically as it not directly connected with what came before or comes after it. As it is presented here and in the original text itself, one of the main themes of the Akeidah (and other Biblical characters with whom their covenant with God is highlighted, such as Noah and Moses) is Abraham's blind faith in God. The ability to have faith in something is unique to humans. The unexpected choral interjection is commentary on the Akeidah, highlighting Abraham's simultaneous humanity and Godliness in the story of the Akeidah.

Part 1, Scene 3 depicts the narrative of Jacob and Rachel, originally told in Genesis Chapters 28-31.[83] In the Torah text, there is an extensive narrative of Jacob meeting Laban, Rachel and Leah's father, who is referenced, though not mentioned by name in TER. The seven years Jacob spent with Leah are merely an allusion. The dramatic arc of the scene is crafted to center on Rachel and Jacob from the moment they can finally be together and moves forward through their relationship over the course of the duet.

The scene begins with dialogue between the Thirteen-Year-Old, Adversary, and the Rabbi, underscored with a simple arpeggiated piano in the left hand, with open fifths. A clarinet

[83] See appendix for specific verses

solo with a pastoral motif enters, soon followed by a duet in counterpoint with a flute. This pastoral motif is represented by dotted rhythms. This section is marked Allegretto, but it could also be easily marked Andante, as these pastoral dotted rhythms represent the telling of the story. Suggesting a wandering and unfolding, the dotted rhythms accompany the Rabbi's explanation to the Thirteen-Year-Old of how the child's father left their community. The Rabbi takes the boy under his wing and encourages him to stay with the community as he tells the story of Jacob and Rachel.

At rehearsal 31, the Rabbi shifts from dialogue into recitative accompanied by chorus, reflecting the synagogue tradition of meshor'rim[84] at this moment. At rehearsal 42, the Adversary's dialogue doubting Jacob's dream of the angels on the ladder is accompanied with a mysteriously chromatic 6/8 waltz line in the cellos/ basses, accompanied with "oom-pah-pah's" in the upper strings. The pastoral theme from earlier returns for a brief musical dialogue between "voice" (thought to be the voice of God) and Jacob. This is all we get of Jacob's individual story in this work. The focus swiftly moves towards Rachel and Jacob and draws out their story. The Rabbi introduces Rachel with another brief line of recitative.

The Jacob and Rachel duet is written in ¾ and moves in and out of a defined waltz feel. Jacob's first entrance at rehearsal 68 is clearly a waltz. When Rachel enters, the music is still written in ¾, but the rhythm of her vocal line shifts to highlight the natural rhythm and dramatic arc of the text. This section is accompanied by light brass, harp, and pizzicato strings, and builds to tremolo in the strings as Jacob reiterates how he had to marry Leah. This waltz section perhaps mimics the "dance" of early courtship, as they navigate the challenging relationships.

[84] Meshor'rim are a chorus who traditionally would accompany a Cantor by sustaining the chord on an arrival of a phrase in a choral manner on "hum".

At rehearsal 102, there is a large shift as Rachel reckons with how she suffered being barren but in love with Jacob. Here, the music is marked "vivace assai" and returns to common time. The sense of 3 is still preserved within the 4/4 with a series of triplets. Rising and falling scalar outbursts in the vocal lines diametrically oppose the small yet steady half and full stepwise motion in the triplets in the orchestra, almost as if to represent a constant heartbeat until their outbursts of love and yearning. Much of their story is barely told, but the duet is a musically and dramatically magnified representation of their love story. In the construction of a narrative of Jewish foundations, Weill and Werfel focused on a love scene that felt modern, relatable and relevant, stripping away the complicated and seemingly primitive elements of the Biblical story.

Jewish Sounds telling the Jewish Story

There are only three overt examples of Jewish/ cantorial melodies used by Weill to evoke specific dramatic moments; it is curious why there are not more examples of specifically Jewish music in this inherently Jewish work. In an interview with the New York Times in 1936 prior to the TER world premiere, Weill himself notes:

> "Setting to work, in the Fall of 1934, I proceeded to put down all the Hebraic melodies I had learned from childhood on. I had an abundance of material. For my father, who is a cantor and composer, had set great store upon my learning this heritage. With about 200 songs, which I had written in several days' memory seeking, I began work at the Bibliothèque Nationale to trace their sources as far as possible.
>
> "Many I discovered had been written in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, some borrowed from the most surprising sources–from opera, 'hit-songs' of the time, street tunes, concert music, symphonies. Those I dismissed, retaining only the traditional music. With that as my guide, I attempted to create music that would communicate naturally and inevitably the stories of the Old Testament."[85]

[85] "Score for 'The Eternal Road,'" New York Times, December 27, 1936.

This explains why the only examples of obviously Jewish quotes are Mi Sinai tunes[86]; Weill wanted to be sure to highlight these Jewish melodies that had endured over time and were not overly flourished or modified by popular composers in the 18th and 19th centuries.

First, the end of Part 1 in the vignette where Moses receives the Torah in Part 2 about King David, Weill evokes Kol Nidre, first sung by David and repeated by men's chorus:

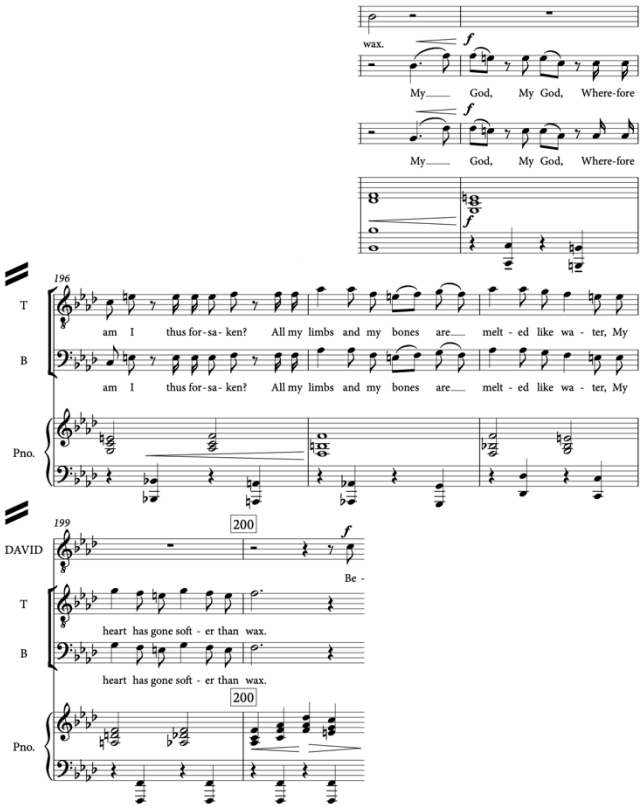

Image 8 [87]

[86] Mi sinai melodies are tunes that gained popularity in Rhineland in the 12th-15th centuries and became enduring melodies in Jewish communities throughout time still to the present day. "Mi Sinai" in Hebrew literally translates to "from Sinai", as if the melodies were given to the Jewish people on Mount Sinai, as was the Torah.
"Mi sinai tune," in *Encyclopedia Brittanica*, July 20, 1998, https://www.britannica.com/art/Mi-Sinai-tune.
[87] Kurt Weill, *Road of Promise*, ed. Edward Harsh, 2012. Pg. 174

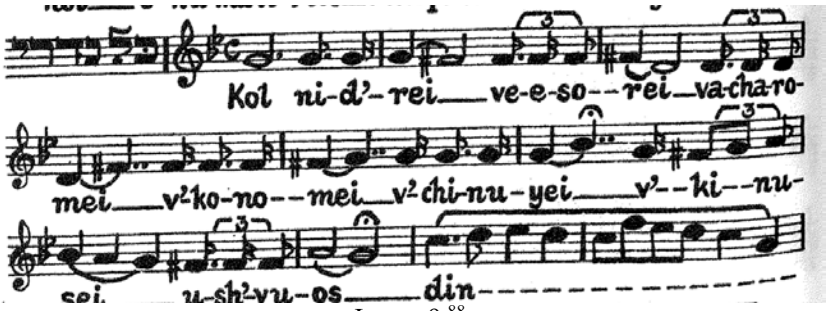

Image 9 [88]

Seen here side-by-side with Israel Alter's Kol Nidre *nusach*[89]*,* Weill did several things to make this motif work in this moment musically and dramatically in TER. Israel Alter (1901-1979) was one of the most renowned cantors of the Ashkenazi tradition, who's notated nusach (such as the excerpt above) preserved the 19th and 20th century cantorial chant. Shortened note values and adding in rests to interrupt the line provides built- in dramatic effect for this pivotal moment of King David mourning the loss of his son. These shortened note values create a panicked and mournful affect and a sense of pleading to God. The line becomes legato as David explains "All my limbs and my bones are melted like water. My heart has gone softer than wax", to paint this text. It's intriguing that Weill chose this Kol Nidre motif, a sacred text in Aramaic about a legalistic nullification of vows on Yom Kippur, to highlight this moment. Weill's orchestration is simple as David cries out, to highlight the vocal line. The chorus echo is punctuated by lower octave quarter notes on beats two and four to provide a bit more of a march feel. Surely this is a motif that Jewish audience members at the time might have been familiar with from Lewandowski's arrangement, which was also popular at the time. Weill's choice to use the Kol Nidre melody in this moment, where David learns of the death of his son is not particularly obvious when you consider the meaning of the Kol Nidre text. In this moment, David is in

[88] Israel Alter, *The High Holy Day Service* (New York, New York: Cantor's Assembly, 1971). Pg. 86

[89] Nusach is the musical-liturgical tradition of a Jewish community. Different communities (i.e. Ashkenazi, Sephardic, Iranian, Moroccan etc) have a different "sound" of their prayer service. Israel Alter's nusach is aligned with the Ashkenazi tradition.

mourning. The weeping half-step motif of the Kol Nidre melody beautifully paints David's sorrow in that moment. In this case, the prayer text likely was not the reason for Weill's use of the motif here. Rather, the match of the musical figure with the desired dramatic effect made the Kol Nidre the perfect melodic choice for this moment.

The next example is the use of Louis Lewandowski's[90] High Holiday Shema motif. Appropriately, Weill employs this musical theme when Moses recites the Shema for the community for the first time as he receives the Ten Commandments, and the male chorus sings it back in response with the same text. In the traditional liturgy, the response is a slightly different text, but the same idea of God as one remains. Unlike in the example of Kol Nidre, Weill's choice to use the Lewandowski High Holiday Shema motif to highlight the recitation of the Shema in TER emphasized the importance of preserving 19th century German cantorial tradition of his father's time. Weill's choice to quote Lewandowski here was likely his familiarity with the 19th century cantorial tradition from his father, then a specific choice to use this tune from Lewandowski. The iteration of the tune is nearly identical; Weill transposed the motif from Lewandowski's original in C minor to F minor.

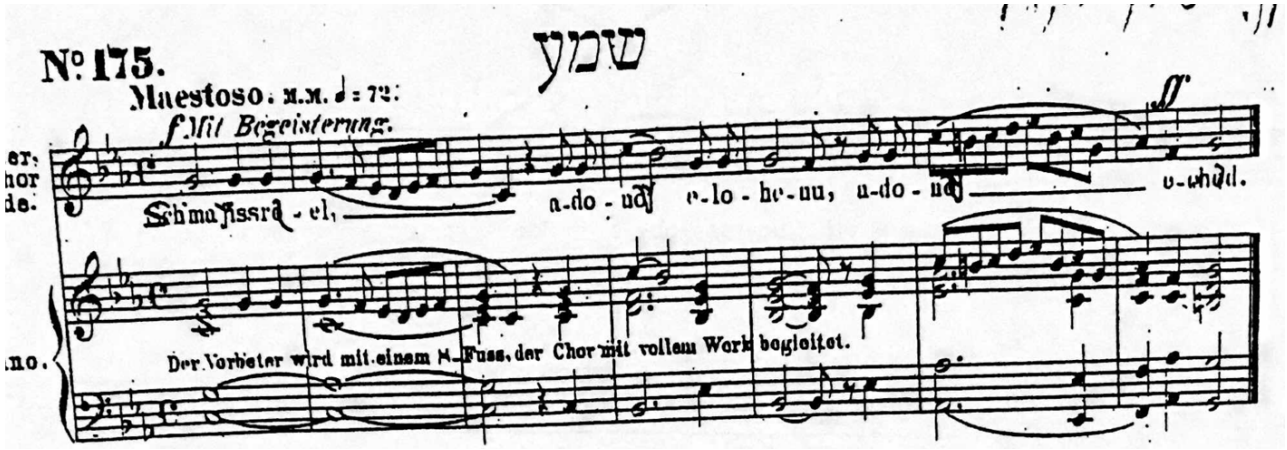

Image 10 [91]

[90] Louis Lewandowski (1821-1894) was one of the great German Cantors of the 19th century.

[91] Lewandowski, Lewis. "Todah w'Simrah". Classics of Synagogue Music, Vol 12. (Out of print), pg. 184

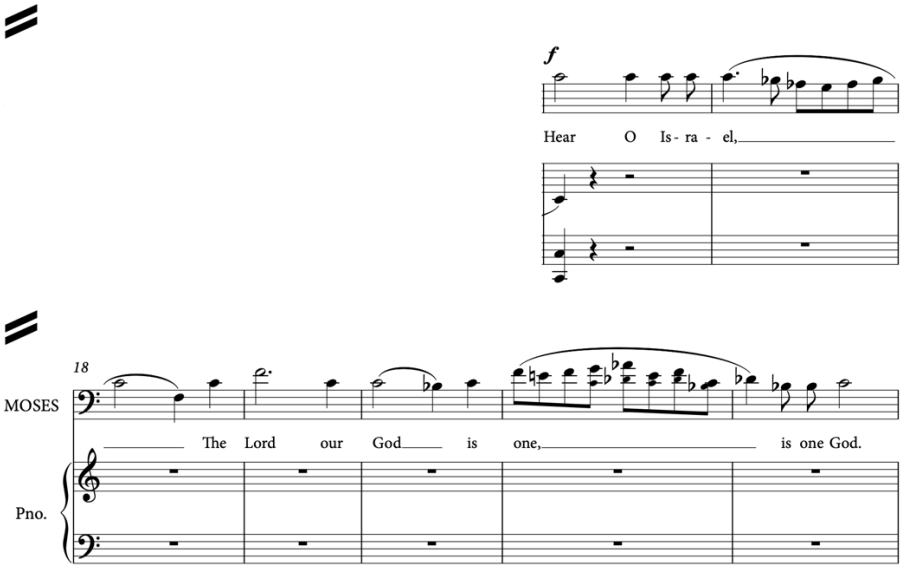

Image 11 [92]

Weill also quotes and slightly modifies the Mi chamocha Mi sinai tune for Sukkot in the scene of the Building of the Temple in Part 2 [93]. Though widely known as the Mi sinai tune for Sukkot, this melody originally comes from *na'anu'im*- the shaking of the lulav on Sukkot. Weill adds in some additional passing melismatic notes, and it appears in a different key, but the theme is the same. Weill's choral version here is first presented with SATB Chorus 2, and then becomes part of an expanded choral texture as the scene evolves, layered with another choral theme.[94] Sukkot was the most important and well attended holiday in the First Temple (prior to 586 B.C.). His use of this theme in the scene about building the Temple suggests Weill's knowledge of First Temple history.

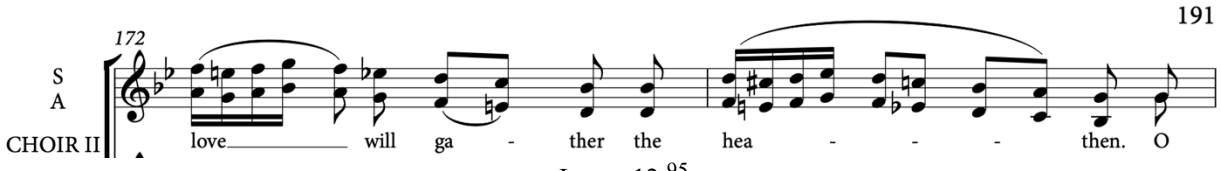

Image 12 [95]

[92] Kurt Weill, *Road of Promise*, ed. Edward Harsh, 2012. P. 119
[93] Ibid., p. 191
[94] Ibid., p. 201
[95] Ibid., p. 191

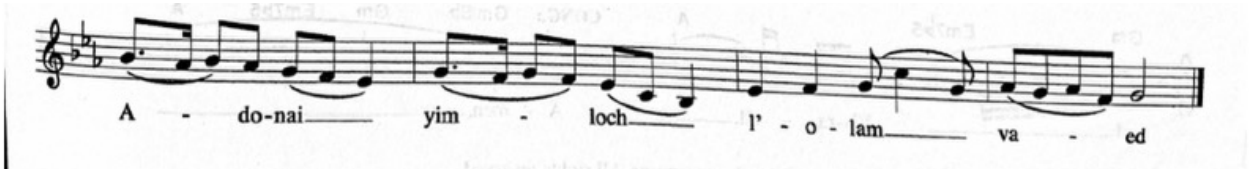

Image 13 [96]

These three examples are significant because they highlight some of the most celebrated literature and music in our Jewish history: the Mi Sinai melody for Kol Nidre on Yom Kippur, Lewandowski's High Holiday Shema (also typically sung on Yom Kippur), and the Mi Sinai tune for Sukkot. These tunes would all have been used by the great Cantors of Germany in the 18th and 19th centuries. As Weill's father was a Cantor, Weill likely heard many of these tunes while growing up in the synagogue. The way he placed them musically and dramatically in The Eternal Road demonstrates a level of musical-liturgical knowledge that only an educated and experienced Jew would be able to cite. Though Weill did explain why he narrowed his list from a possible 200 "Jewish" melodies to just these few, the question remains: Despite Weill's claims that he disposed works from popular composers of the 17th-19th centuries, why did Weill still employ the musical styles of so many other secular classical composers of this time, and his own unique compositional style much more significantly than other Jewish melodies in a work that tells the Jewish story? The entire creative team of TER were keenly aware of the quest for assimilation of Jews into American culture (and even in Europe) in the 20th century, largely inspired by the Jewish American pageants. As mentioned above, Weill grew up in the same Jewish community in Dessau, Germany as Moses Mendelssohn, "the herald of Jewish emancipation [and] universally admired Biblical scholar and translator"[97], so Weill was very

[96] "Mi Chamocha Traditional Melody for Sukkot," in *Zamru Lo: The Next Generation*, vol. iii (New York, NY: Cantor's Assembly, 2009), p. 159.
[97] Ringer, "A Cantor's Son". Pg. 2

familiar with the plight of Jewish assimilation and emancipation in Europe. Considerations for the reception of the work amongst diverse American audiences contributed to Weill's preference towards secular sounds in the majority of TER.

What's Next for TER/ RoP?

The Eternal Road is the most substantial musical and dramatic work that has been written which both depicts Jewish life in Germany before the Holocaust and Biblical Narrative. And yet, this work was largely lost for over 60 years. Even with the reduced and more performable oratorio version The Road of Promise (ed. Edward Harsh), it has still not been so widely performed. What is next for this work in the canon of classical music? What, if any, place does it have to be performed in synagogues today? To answer these questions, we must consider the current climate of today's concert hall and synagogue.

Whether in the concert hall or at a synagogue, this work should always be performed in its entirety in a concert experience. However, excerpts of TER could be meaningfully included as part of a service in a synagogue (i.e., the Song of Ruth on Shavuot, the holiday when the Book of Ruth is read). When examining other Jewish Choral-Orchestral works which have entered the classical music canon, Bernstein's Jeremiah Symphony and Chichester Psalms, and Ernest Bloch's Sacred Service most readily come to mind for most Jewish classical music concertgoers. Interestingly, all these works utilize texts written in the original Hebrew, whereas TER is completely translated into English (from Werfel's German). If anything, TER should make the Jewish story even more accessible to audiences since it is in English!

As with the Jewish- American pageants of the 20th century, TER is an expanded pageant idiom in that it can still serve as a performative teaching tool for both Jewish and non- Jewish

concert goers alike. And yet, unlike at the time of the premiere in 1937, American Jews are not seeking the same kind of assimilation as they sought in the late 19th and early- mid 20th centuries. Today's Jewish-American plight is more centered on an argument for a greater awareness of an end to antisemitism and antisemitic hate crimes in America, support of Israel, and cultivation of Jewish communities. TER would be an excellent artistic teaching tool in that vein. TER premiered in 1937; Weill and Werfel were writing about the beginnings of Nazi Germany as they were living it. Today's audiences will see this work through the lens of an additional 85 years of the Jewish story in America, Europe, and beyond.

Ultimately, TER (by means of RoP) is an extremely impactful work musically, dramatically, historically, socio-culturally, and religiously. It deserves and needs to be performed more often in our concert halls, and in special performances in our synagogues. When one experiences TER (or RoP), one leaves the performance with increased pride for Jewish history and a new understanding or contemplation of the role of God in Judaism and to themselves as individuals. In a world where antisemitism is still rampant today, we need a work like this. The goal of TER at its premiere and even today, is to impact even just one person's narrative of what it means to be a Jew in the world over the course of history; a story that needs to be told.

The history and musical analyses in this paper skim the surface of the depth of the musical and historical surprises in this work. While I focused primarily on the accuracy of the Jewish/ Biblical narrative, music as midrash, and Jewish sounds telling the Jewish story, there are more questions to consider in preparing a historically and textually informed presentation of this work. Hopefully, Jewish clergy, musicians, and directors will utilize my analyses to reimagine the The Eternal Road: the Road of Promise.

APPENDIX A

Note: To more deeply analyze the Biblical drama in the source text compared to the drama of the libretto in TER and significant musical moments, I created this chart as a quick reference for musicians and scholars. The source text, notable dramatic diversions, and relevant motifs are outline here.

Scene	**Page #**	**Characters**	**Biblical Moment/ Text**	**Musical/ Dramatic Features**
Part 1, Scene 1	P. 1-21	Rabbi, SATB choir, Abraham	Genesis 12:1-3, 5-6, 13:18, 15:1-4 17:4 Lech Lecha- Abra(ha)m goes out with Sara(i)h, will become a great nation	- Chorus sings "Abraham" despite still being "Abram" at that point in biblical narrative (m. 101, 163) - Sarah (again, should be Sarai) mentioned, but does not appear- why? - Voice= God - Abraham motif m. 32- 38), a la Korngold Die Tote Stadt - Chorus as voice of the people/ voice of God - Verdi motif (m. 98) - Bach Kyrie motif (m. 189)
Part 1, Scene 2a	P. 22- 32	SATB Chorus, Voice, Rabbi, Abraham & Adversary (spoken)	Genesis 21: 1-3, 6, 11-12, 16-18 Akeidah- Binding of Isaac	- Abraham motif on organ (m. 38) - "Here am I" spoken - Voice changes between God and angel

Part 1, Scene 2b	P. 32- 35	SATB chorus	Genesis 1:1, 27 Bereshit- B'tzelem Elohim	- Why was this placed after the Akeidah & with such a sudden genre shift (a capella choral)? - Fugue on creation in the style of Handel
Part 1, Scene 3	P. 36- 48	Rabbi, SATB choir, Jacob, Rachel, Adversary & 13 y/o boy (spoken)	Genesis 28: 11-12, 25-30, 30:1-2, 31:4-7, 17-18 Vayeitzei- Jacob & Rachel	- Leah completely edited out of narrative, only vaguely alluded to in context of J&R's struggles - J&R's parting dramatized from actual text
Part 1, Scene 4a	P. 49-58	Rabbi, TB choir,	Genesis 35:18, 37:3-4, 37:23-28 Vayishlach/ Vayeshev- Joseph thrown in pit by brothers/ sold into Egypt	- SATB choir as meshor'rim under Rabbi's recit (m. 1-17)
Part 1, Scene 4b	P. 58-66	Rabbi, Angel 1 & 2, Jacob, Joseph, 13 y/o (spoken), Adversary (spoken)	Genesis 41:25-41 (condensed), 42:7-8, 45:4-5, 46:30 Miketz- Joseph becomes ruler in Egypt; Encounter w/ brothers; Revelation to father Jacob at his death	- Rabbi: " All of Israel is Joseph- (dreamers) after long and bitter parting we will embrace our father once again"- Father = Moshiach
Part 1, Scene 5	P. 67-78	Rabbi, Miriam, Moses, SATB choir	Exodus 1:6-10, 22, 2:4-6, 11-14 Shemot- baby Moses down the	- Song of Miriam- Miriam as the prominent voice in this

			Nile/ raised in Egypt	moment, vs. narrative in Torah text
Yetziat Mitzrayim completely skipped (only in brief dialogue)?!				
Part 1, Scene 6	P. 78-106	Rabbi, Goet, SATB choir	Exodus 19:18-20, 23-24 Yitro- Moses receives the Ten Commandments; Golden Calf	- Who is Goet?? - "This is *A* God"/ "A God of *Gold*"- Golden Calf/ idol worship - Adversary: "at least it's a god you can see, who isn't changing his mind all the time"- suggestion of polytheism
Part 1, Scene 7	P. 107-117	Beam, SATB choir, Rabbi, Moses, Adversary (spoken)	Exodus ??? Numbers 33	- Joseph motif used for Moses (m. 78) - Is Beam also a voice of God- plain-chant style- Bach Kyrie (m. 6 & 11) - Edited plot- Moses knows he won't live to cross into the land of Israel
All of Leviticus skipped				
Part 1, Scene 8a	P. 118-124	Moses, SATB choir	Deuteronomy 6:4, 17-19 V'etchanan- Shema	- HHD Lewandowski Shema quoted (m. 16-29) - Abraham motif quoted (m. 30-45)

				- March toward Israel BbM (same as Final Messiah March, one step higher in C)
Part 1, Scene 8b	P. 125- 130	Moses, Voice, Rabbi	Deuteronomy 32:1-2, 9-11, 50-52 Ha'azinu- Song of Moses	- Swung jazz chromaticism - ABA song form - Voice of God?
Part 1, Scene 8c	P. 131-139	Moses, Angels 1 & 2, Voice, Soul, Rabbi, SATB Chorus, 13 year old & Adversary (spoken)	Deuteronomy 34:5 V'zot HaBracha- Death of Moses	- Moses' death over-dramatized - Angels appear, not present in Torah text - Soul of Moses- suggestion of afterlife - Adversary about child: "he's another dreamer"- alludes to Joseph/ Moses
Part 2, Scene 9	140-159	Ruth, Naomi, Boaz, SATB choir, Rabbi, Adversary (spoken)	Ruth 1:8, 16-17, 3:2-4, 4:10-13	- lots of connections to Ruth being in the line of Jacob, though not directly referenced that way in the text - "free was thy choice, thy faith sought no reward" - edits out most of Naomi's narrative - Ruth motif in orchestra under choral section

Part 2, Scene 10	160-175	David, SATB chorus, Rabbi, Dark Angel; Rabbi & 13 y/o (spoken)	II Samuel 11-12	-Kol Nidre motif sung by David as he learns of his child's death
Part 2, Scene 11	176- 214	Rabbi, David, Ruth, Salomon, SATB double chorus, Adversary, 13 y/o	II Samuel 12, I Kings 5-6	-Ruth Motif (m. 32); Ruth does not reappear in source text, added for drama and to connect the lineage - Sukkot Mi sinai tune (p 191, m 172)
Part 2, Scene 12	215- 231	Isaiah, Jeremiah, Voice from the crowd, Rabbi, Children's chorus, SATB chorus 13 y/o,	Isaiah 40 (*Nachamu, nachamu ami*); Isaiah 2:4; Jeremiah 15	-Isaiah Nachamu motif (p 218, m. 49-78)
Part 2, Scene 13	232-262	Chananjah, Zedekiah, SATB double chorus, Jeremiah, Rabbi, Adversary, 13 y/o, Rahel	Jeremiah 34	
Part 2, Scene 14	263-270	Voice, SATB Chorus, Invisible Voice of Authority (amplified by PA system), 13y/o, Rabbi,	Jeremiah 31:15	- March into Israel CM (same as wandering March in Part 1, Scene 8a, which was a whole step lower) - Voice of God enters with iteration of the Isaiah Nachamu motif

APPENDIX B- A study on Korngold and Weill in TER

It is worth noting that the Abraham motif bears a striking similarity to the opening lines of Pierrot's Tanzlied from Korngold's opera, *Die Tote Stadt* and found a similar motif and sequence:

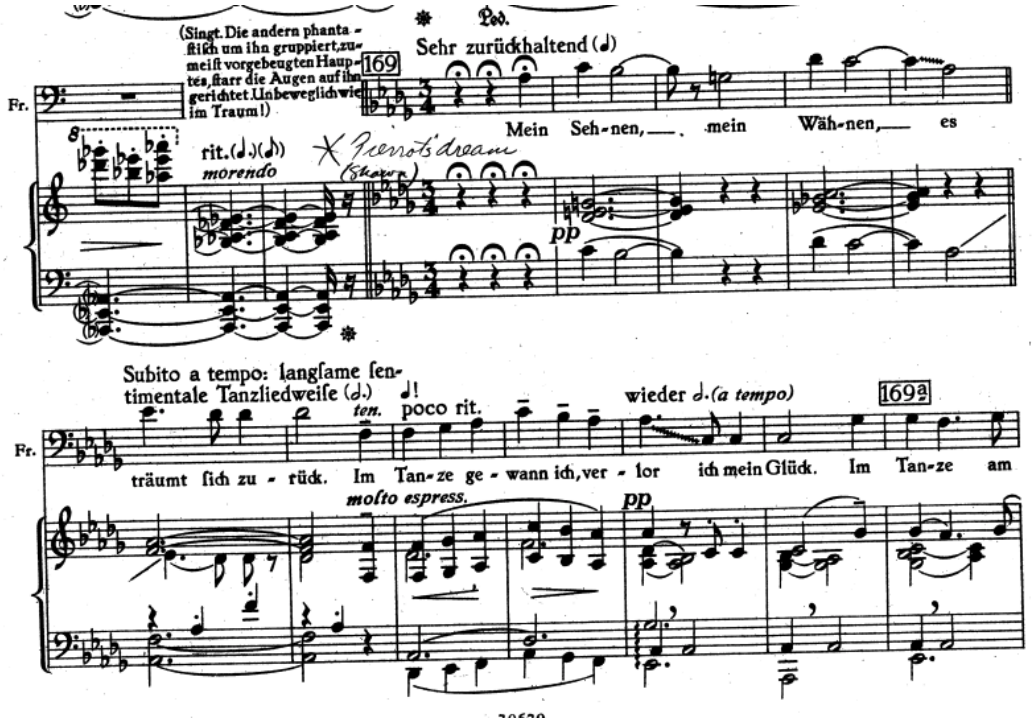

Image: Pierrot's Tanzlied from Korngold's opera *Die Tote Stadt*

Compared to Weill's Abraham motif, Korngold's excerpt is similar but more chromatic in Db major, as it is a sequence of diminished 7th chords. There is no pedal point but rather the bass moves parallel to the vocal line for the first two parts of the sequence, until the parallelism jumps to the inner voice. As Die Tote Stadt (1920) was composed before The Eternal Road (1937), it is reasonable to presume that Weill borrowed this motif from his contemporary and friend who, as described above, was another top contender in Reinhardt's eyes to compose this work.

Works Cited

Alter, Israel. *The High Holy Day Service*. New York, New York: Cantor's Assembly, 1971.

Bach, J.S. *Werke 25,1: Die Kunst Der Fuge*. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1875.

Bach, J.S., and Gottfried Muller. *Mass in B Minor, BWV 232*. Edited by Friedrich Smend. Germany: Barenreiter-Verlag, n.d.

Barber, Elinore. "Bach and the B-A-C-H Motive." *Bach* 2, no. 2 (1971): 3–5. http://www.jstor.org/stable/24026092.

Baumgarten, Jean. "Purim-Spil." Accessed January 2022. https://yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Purim-shpil.

Chart. *Kurt Weill's Musical Formation*. Kurt Weill Foundation. Accessed February 2022. https://www.kwf.org/timelines/musical-formation/.

Drew, David. "Der Weg Der Verheißung: Weill at the Crossroads." *Tempo*, no. 208 (April 1999): 33–50.

Glassberg, David. Essay. In *American Historical Pageantry: The Uses of Tradition in the Early Twentieth Century*, 4. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990.

Harsh, Edward, and Stefanie Greene. Interview with Dr. Edward Harsh. Personal, 2020/ 2021/2022.

Kowalke, Kim H., and Guy Stern. "The Road to The Eternal Road." Essay. In *A New Orpheus: Essays on Kurt Weill*, 269–84. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1986.

Lewandowski, Lewis. *Todah W'Simrah*, n.d.

Loos, Helmut, Guy Stern, and Atay Citron. "Art and Propaganda in the Original Production of The Eternal Road." Essay. In *Kurt Weill: Auf Dem Weg Zum "Weg Der Verheissung"*, 203–18. Freiburg im Breisgau: Rombach, 2001.

Loos, Helmut, Guy Stern, and Drew David. "Reinhardt's Choice: Some Alternatives to Weill?" ." Essay. In *Kurt Weill: Auf Dem Weg Zum "Weg Der Verheißung"*, 237–54. Freiburg, Germany: Rombach, 2000.

Loos, Helmut, Guy Stern, and Edward Harsh. "Some Observations on Compositional Aspects of Der Weg Der Verheissung." Essay. In *Kurt Weill: Auf Dem Weg Zum "Weg Der Verheissung*, 175–87. Freiburg im Breisgau: Rombach, 2001.

"Meyer W. Weisgal, 82, A Key Zionist Leader." *New York Times*. September 30, 1977. www.nytimes.com/1977/09/30/archives/meyer-wweisgal-82-a-key-zionist-leader-founder-of-weizmann.html.

"Mi Sinai Tune." In *Encyclopedia Brittanica*, July 20, 1998. https://www.britannica.com/art/Mi-Sinai-tune.

Moss, Rachel Merrill, and Gary Fine. "Pageants and Patriots: Jewish Spectacles as Performances of Belonging." *Journal of American Drama and Theater* 31, no. 1 (2018). https://jadtjournal.org/2018/11/07/pageants-and-patriots-jewish-spectacles-as-performances-of-belonging/.

Lewandowski, Lewis. "Todah w'Simrah". Classics of Synagogue Music, Vol 12. (Out of print)

Photo from the Production of "Romance of a People" at Soldier Field during the Chicago World's Fair in 1933. June 17, 2021. *Chicago Tribune*. https://www.chicagotribune.com/visuals/vintage/ct-viz-soldier-field-vintage-photos-20210617-tqrqargw5jdmdpkuebqmyb7unm-photogallery.html. .

Ringer, Alexander. "Kurt Weill – The Cantor's Son." *Unpublished, obtained from Kurt Weill Foundation Archives*, 1987.

Schoenberg, Arnold, and Erwin Stein. "To Olin Downes." Essay. In *Arnold Schoenberg: Letters*, 206. London: Faber, 1987.

Tanakh = [Tanakh]: a New Translation of the Holy Scriptures According to the Traditional Hebrew Text. Philadelphia :Jewish Publication Society, 1985

"Score for 'The Eternal Road.'" *New York Times*. December 27, 1936.

"Mi Chamocha Traditional Melody for Sukkot," in *Zamru Lo: The Next Generation*, vol. iii (New York, NY: Cantor's Assembly, 2009), p. 159.

Warnke, Nina. "Operetta." Accessed February 2022. https://yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Operetta.

Albert Weill, *Kol Avraham: Synagogen-Gesange Fur Cantor u Mannerchor*, 1893.

Weill, Kurt, Franz Werfel, Ed Harsh, Ludwig Lewisohn, William A. Drake, Charles Alan, Kelley Rourke, et al. *The Road of Promise*. MP3, n.d.

Weill, Kurt, Max Reinhardt, Ludwig Lewisohn, Constance Hauman, Barbara Rearick, Wollschläger Hanna, Ian Denolfo, et al. *The Eternal Road: (Highlights)*. MP3. Naxos, n.d.

Weill, Kurt. *Road of Promise*. Edited by Edward Harsh, 2012.

Werfel, Franz. *The Eternal Road: A New Play*. New York, 1935.