The French-Jewish Song: Music as Prayer, Social Currency, Resistance, and Survival in France

Emma Goldin Lutz

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

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Advisor: Dr. Lillian Wohl

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Introduction

I can still feel my mother tapping the tip of my nose lightly, and I hear her voice reminding me: "*Le nez!*" I repeated after her, beaming with pride at this new knowledge. I now had not one, but *two* words for this funny smelling-instrument that stuck out from the middle of my face: nose and *nez*. When I was this little girl, my mother was an extremely capable French teacher turned excellent, entertaining stay-at-home mother. In our earliest days at home together, my mother would speak French to my brother and me, and we grew up with those sweet, musical words in our ears. Starting at age eleven, I spent every other summer visiting France with my family, falling deeper in love with the language and the captivating country itself.

Early visits to the *Marais* district in Paris and glimpses into the kosher bakeries and Jewish ritual object shops showed me that the Jewish community had a home in France, as well. And yet, despite these demonstrations of Jewish culture and life, something about my love for this romantic place always felt dissonant with my Jewishness. I wondered how I could feel so passionately about a place emanating such strong Catholic and secularist religious and ideological traditions, and I was uncertain as to how the lives of French Jews fit into the greater story of French history and culture.

Ever since these formative visits, I have searched for places to connect my love of France and the French language to my own American-Jewish identity, yearning to hear the voices of French Jews and to understand their story. My mother—a Jew-by-choice and a French teacher and linguist by trade who returned to work after our early years at home together—continued to instill in me this love of language, which furthered my interest in French, as well as Hebrew and the ever-more mysterious Yiddish. This

combination of my deep passion for language, my strong Jewish affiliation, and my increasing obsession with all things musical led me to this project. As a result of my own questions involving my personal identity as Jew and cantor, as well as my increasing interest of Jewish musical life in France, I feel compelled to ask questions about Jewish music and how it has contributed to identity formation for the Jews of France.

The following thesis explores how varied expressions of music in France contributed to identity formation for French Jews in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as well as today. Music has served (and continues to serve) as a means of social currency, religious expression, resistance and survival over the past two hundred years for the emancipated Jews of France as well as contemporary Jews. All Jewish music is intrinsically Jewish if it is composed, played, sung, or heard by Jews, and this undoubtedly includes the music created, performed, written about, discussed, and heard by the Jews of France. And yet, the Jews of France have been uniquely influenced by the music and history of their nation.

Living in the Diaspora (or outside of the land of Israel), Jews the world over developed unique relationships to their host cultures, giving an exclusive quality to Jewish music of a region. Perhaps the earliest and most well-known Jewish music scholar, Abraham Zvi Idelsohn, wrote on the subject: "We try to point out the influence that the foreign music of the environment exerted upon Jewish music, and seek to explain the principles according to which certain foreign elements were incorporated until they became organic parts of the [Jewish] musical body" (Idelsohn 1929, iii). Indeed, the Jews in France were influenced by the sounds and songs of their nation. Furthermore, the Jewish music of France is unique because of the particular confluence of events that have

affected the Jewish community within the country's borders, including the French Revolution and subsequent emancipation of the Jews of France, the Dreyfus Affair, German and Vichy occupation during World War II, and recent events such as the *Charlie Hebdo* and *Hyper Cacher* attacks that have posed existential questions for the Jewish communities in France today.

Why is the story of French-Jewish music important, and for what purpose other than enjoying its beauty should we take a closer look at the music that contributes to shaping the identity of French Jews? By exploring their music, we will see that French Jews have found a compromise between adaptation, survival, and cultural acclimation that balances the preservation of their unique voice and heritage. They have created a unique brand of Jewish identity and culture, all the while participating in cultural reciprocity with their non-Jewish French neighbors. What happened in France over the past two hundred years in regards to French-Jewish music is not unique because it is a fusion of Jewish and host identity, because we know that this has happened in many other locales with Jewish music and surrounding musical cultures. Rather, the unique series of crises and events that have occurred in France (i.e. early emancipation, Dreyfus affair, and World War II) in relation to its Jewish community have allowed for this hybrid community to develop a singular voice that is uniquely French Jewish.

In the following pages I will unravel how French culture—beautiful, funny, and sexy as it is—has had a unique influence on its Jewish community and the formation of her unparalleled Jewish music, as well as how this small minority community influenced the story of its host nation of France. My thesis will examine the lives of French Jewish musicians from the establishment of the First Republic of France (1792) to the Dreyfus

years (1894-1906), to the French Jewish citizens and Jewish refugees living in Vichy and German-occupied France (1940-1944), with a concluding discussion of varied contemporary musical expressions of French Jews from the post-war years to today. Each chapter will explore in detail the works of a few paradigmatic Jewish musicians and music advocates who each contributed significantly to the French musical scene in areas of prayer music, classical composition, *chanson*, Yiddish folk, and contemporary popular and rock music. Chapter One focuses on the life and work of Samuel Naumbourg and his contemporaries. Chapter Two will focus on the role of music in late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century France, with emphasis on spoken, written, and musical responses to the Dreyfus affair. Chapter Three will highlight the contributions of composers Michel Emer and Norbert Glanzburg who both composed for France's most famous songstress, Edith Piaf. Finally, Chapter Four will explore the broad contributions of French-Jewish musicians in areas of Yiddish revival and popular music, with emphasis on Jacques Grober and Barbara. Through a closer examination of the contributions of a few musicians from each time period, I will examine how each contributed to and helped model their own French Jewish identity.

Chapter One: Jewish Communal and Musical Roots in France and the Golden Age of Synagogue Music

Jewish Music Tradition in France Prior to the French Revolution of 1789

Jewish life within the borders of contemporary France can be traced back hundreds of years before the Common Era. The French city of Marseille was established on the banks of the Mediterranean, and Jews came to France as traders and settled throughout the Rhone Valley. Between the third and eight centuries, with the advent of Christianity, French Jews were frequently victims of forced conversion. However, according to A.Z. Idelsohn in his book *Jewish Music and Its Historical Development,* a new era of Jewish tradition and learning was welcomed by the 8th century Catholic ruler Charlemange. During this time, both France and Germany became important centers of Jewish learning. In one of his many power-plays, Charlemange moved the leading Italian-Jewish Kalonymous family to Mayence, France, and he also brought scholars of Judaism from as far off as Baghdad (Idelsohn, 1967, 129). Charlemange planted perhaps the earliest seeds for cultural mixing that has come and gone in waves throughout France to this very day.

According to Idelsohn, before the year 1000 C.E. there was virtually no difference between the German and French Jewish musical traditions (Idelsohn 1967, 129), and both of these Ashkenazi strains were highly influenced by the Eastern Babylonian tradition. In addition, under Charlemagne's rule, French Jews were more engaged with their non-Jewish neighbors than ever before: "The close relations between Jews and Gentiles…especially during the reign of Charlemange and his son Louis the Pious

brought about a cultural reciprocity in which at first the Jews were more frequently those to exert the influence than those to be influenced" (ibid., 130).

At the same time that the Jews of France were being influenced by their Jewish brethren in the east, they were having musical and cultural influences on their non-Jewish neighbors throughout the Franco-Germanic lands. According to Idelsohn, during the eighth and ninth centuries Christians frequently attended Jewish services and some even changed their Sabbath observance to Saturday (ibid., 130). Jewish modal characteristic of this Franco-Germanic or Ashkenazic musical tradition are major, minor, and specific to holidays.[1] There was a clear blending of French-Jewish and Eastern traditions, and this evolving rich tradition began to have a surprising influence on the surrounding non-Jewish French population and its varied forms of cultural expression, including ritual music.

By the year 825 C.E., public letters circulated expressing fears that the Jewish influence on Christian population had "endangered Christian faith" (ibid., 130). After the circulation of these letters, Jewish and Christian relations become more limited, reverting back to the limitations and restrictions on Jews from the fourth through seventh centuries and before Charlemagne's rule. A cultural shift occurred from this point on: "The civil and human rights of the Jews [of France] were reduced until the Jews were declared strangers and dangerous individuals" (ibid., 131). In the ninth and tenth centuries, fear of unfamiliar Jewish ritual and music amongst majority Christian population in France and Germany led to an increase in anti-Semitism.

[1] (See Idelsohn for specific musical examples (ibid. 138-141).

In the tenth and eleventh centuries, a number of rabbis relocated to France (e.g. Rashi), bringing their Eastern- and Rhine-influenced thought, music and culture with them. After the territory officially came under the jurisdiction of the papacy after the Second Council of Lyon in 1274, Jews lived in relative comfort and stability within France's borders (Milhaud 1952, 4). However, continued bouts of forced conversion, persecution, and numerous decrees of expulsion (enforced in varying degrees against varying local populations from time to time, but never amounting to a total expulsion) made life capricious and unsettling for the Jews of France for several hundred years.

Amid twelfth century Jewish persecution in France, Idelsohn mentions that those martyred made use of the Olenu as their final song (Idelsohn 1967, 157). While it is uncertain whether this melody was chanted in its familiar major tonality as is done in many Jewish sub-traditions today, it is clear that as early as the twelfth century, music and liturgy played a significant role in the French-Jewish resistance to religious persecution, cultural suppression, and threats of expulsion or death, and in the formation and perpetuation of a separate and distinct French Jewish identity.

By the seventeenth century, after years of expulsions, and mass migrations throughout Europe and North Africa, Jews began to resettle in France en masse. French Jews observed Ashkenazic and Sephardic ritualistic rites, depending on and differing from locale to locale, as well as their varied countries of origin. Throughout the Middle Ages, although they often lived within the gates of a separate Jewish quarter, France's Jews appropriated the use of the French language. Specifically, this was a dialect of Old French that was commonly employed at that time by Frenchmen and women, and which had been used by both medieval French Jews and Rhenish Jewry. For the most part, this

Old or Medieval French was used by the Jews of France rather than Hebrew: "They spoke it [French] at home, in the market, at the synagogue, and at school."[2] Even rabbinic teachings and learning sessions were conducted in French, and several hundred translations of the Jewish Bible exist in French from the medieval period.

As they did in other host countries (e.g. Spain and Germany), the French Jews developed their own unique French-Hebrew dialect, or Judeo-French.[3] Judeo-French was most commonly used for study or writing purposes, and there is no evidence that it was an entirely functioning spoken dialect. Judeo-French (sometimes referred to as Provençale French as it was most commonly used in the Provençale or southern region) was a Gallicized or "Frenchified" version of Hebrew that was commonly used in prayer. Many folk songs from the Medieval to the Early Modern period use this Judeo-French dialect, including a setting of "*Had Gadya*" or "*Un Cabri*" in the Judeo-French, (see below for Judeo-French, Hebrew, and English translation provided by Eléonor Biezunski)[4].

Un cabri, un cabri	Un chevreau un chevreau	*A kid, a kid*
Qu'avié acheta moun paire	Qu'avait acheté mon père	*Which my father bought*
Un escut dous escut	Un écu, deux écus	*One crown, two crowns*
Had gadia ! had gadia !	Had gadia ! had gadia !	*Had gadia ! had gadia !*
Es vengu lou cat	Il est venu le chat	*Came the cat*
Qu'a manja lou cabri	Qui a mangé le chevreau	*Which ate the kid*

[2] *Encyclopedia Judaica*. (Detroit: Keter Publishing House, 2007). 11.545.
[3] In Spain, Jews cultivated a similar dialect called Ladino, which was a unique combination of Hebrew and Spanish. Similarly along the Rhine, Jews developed the use of the Yiddish language, a combination of German with Hebrew, Aramic, Slavic languages, and even some traces of French. Indeed, some Old French words even made their way into Yiddish dialects. For example the Old French "*chalant*" or literally being warm became the word "*cholent,*" a Yiddish word commonly referred to this day to refer to a warm Sabbath stew. *Encyclopedia Judaica*. (Detroit: Keter Publishing House, 2007). 11.545.
[4] Also see Appendices I-III for Crémieu's published version of *Un Cabri*.

Qu'avié acheta moun paire Un escut dous escut Had gadia ! had gadia !	Qu'avait acheté mon père Un écu, deux écus Had gadia ! had gadia !	*My father bought* *One crown, two crowns* *Had gadia ! had gadia !*
Es vengu lou chin Qu'a mourdu lou cat…	Il est venu le chien Qui a mordu le chat…	*Came the dog* *Which bit the cat…*
Es vengu lou bastoun Qu'a batu lou chin…	Il est venu le bâton Qui a battu le chien…	*Came the stick* *Which beat the dog…*
Es vengu lou fiò Qu'a brula lou bastoun…	Il est venu le feu Qui a brûlé le bâton…	*Came the fire* *Which burned the stick…*
Es vengu l'aigo Qu'a amoussa lou fiò…	Il est venu l'eau Qui a éteint le feu…	*Came the water* *To extinguish the fire…*
Es vengu lou bioou Qu'a begu l'aigo…	Il est venu le bœuf Qui a bu l'eau…	*Then came the ox* *And drank the water…*
Es vengu lou schorrheth Qu'a scharrhatha lou bioou…	Il est venu le sacrificateur Qui a sacrifié le bœuf…	*And came the butcher* *Who slaughtered the ox…*
Es vengut lou malach hammavet Qu'a scharrhatha lou schorrheth…	Il est venu l'ange de la mort Qui a sacrifié le sacrificateur…	*Then came the angel of Death* *Who sacrified the butcher…*
Es vengu Hakkadoch barouch hou Qu'a scharrhatha lou malach hammavet Qu'avié scharrhatha lou schorrheth Qu'avié scharrhatha lou bioou Qu'avié begu l'aigo Qu'avié amoussa lou fiò Qu'avié brula lou bastoun Qu'avié battu lou chin Qu'avié mourdu lou cat Qu'avié manja lou cabri Qu'avié acheta moun paire Un escut dous escut Had gadia ! had gadia !	Il est venu le « saint béni soit-il » Qui a sacrifié l'ange de la mort Qu'avait sacrifié le sacrificateur Qu'avait sacrifié le bœuf Qu'avait bu l'eau Qu'avait éteint le feu Qu'avait brûlé le bâton Qu'avait battu le chien Qu'avait mordu le chat Qu'avait mangé le cabri Qu'avait acheté mon père Un écu, deux écus Had gadia ! had gadia !	*He came the Almighty* *Who sacrificed the angel of Death* *Who had sacrificed the butcher* *Who had slaughtered the ox* *Which had drunk the water* *Having extinguished the fire* *Which has burned the stick* *Which had beaten the dog* *Which had bitten the cat* *Which had eaten the kid* *My father had bought* *One crown, two crowns* *Had gadia ! had gadia !*

According to Jules Salomon Cremieu's *Zemirot Yisrael: suivant le rite des Communautés Israelites de l'ancien Comtat Venaissian* ("Songs of Israel: following the rites of the Jewish Communities of the Ancient Catalans"):

> *Les Israelites du Midi sont dans l'usage de chanter cet hymne en langue Provençale; nous croyons donc utile de transcrire cette traduction naïve, qui remonte probablement au XIVme siècle, et qui s'est transmise de bouche a bouche jusqu'a nous*.
> ("The Jews [Israelites] of the Middle Ages were in usage of singing this hymn in the Provençale [Judeo-French] language; we therefore believe it is useful to transcribe this native translation that likely arises from the sixteenth century, and was transmitted mouth to mouth [orally] down to us.")

The melody of this "Had Gadya*"* is a simple major tune that begins with a major fourth from the dominant directly to the tonic, and following, only outlines four notes from the tonic to the rising subdominant. This melody is arguably written in the Jewish major-sounding mode Adonai Malach, although there is no token lowered seventh degree in the melody to affirm this. The simplicity of the melody likely allowed for harmonizing around the seder table, as this is a Passover tune. The elementariness of the melody also suggests that any seder leader might be able to lead this tune and a *baal tefillah* or learned prayer leader was not needed to lead this modest tune. The use of Judeo-French in this folk melody for seder also affirms the use of Judeo-French for in-home ritual, as the Passover seder is held in the home rather than in the synagogue.

Melodies such as this *Un Cabri* were common throughout the Middle Ages, and the oral tradition helped coalesce traditions of communities even as they traveled from region to region or land to land. Both this uniquely French Jewish language and song helped to bind the French Jewish community during happy times like the holiday season

of Passover, as well as the more difficult times of rising anti-Semitism, persecution, or expulsion. Despite numerous periods of persecution and a number of expulsions, by the time of the French Revolution, Jews had been steadily present France for some twenty-four hundred years.

The Golden Age of Synagogue Music: 1820-1865

There is no doubt that the radical events of the French Revolution (1789-1799) changed the course of the history of Europe forever by uprooting the monarchical system and planting the seeds for constitutional democracy and eventually universal emancipation. The flames of the revolution in France were ignited by the seventeenth century Age of Reason, in which philosophers—from France and all throughout Europe—arrived at the conclusion that all human beings are essentially equal as we all share the ability to use reason. French revolutionary emphasis on the core values of *liberté, égalite, et fraternité* (liberty, equality, and brotherhood) and parallel Enlightenment schools of thought in Germany inspired a new outlook and spirit throughout Europe, both within and in regard to Jewish communities (Idelsohn 1967, 232-233). By 1789, the newly drafted French constitution stated the following in Article 1:10:

> Article I. All men are born and remain, free and equal in rights: social distinctions cannot be found…10. No person shall be molested for his opinions, even such as are religious, provided that the manifestation of these opinions does not disturb the public order established by the law (Mendez-Flohr 1995, 123).

While women were excluded from the revolutionary's principled vocabulary, it would seem that the Jewish [male] occupants of France were not. In debates that took place at

the French National Assembly in December of 1789, assembly members argued that Judaism was indeed a "moral religion" and that "the Jews should be denied everything as a nation, but granted everything as individuals" (ibid., 124). In other words, the individual Jew would be recognized by France as an individual member of society, so long as he served France before [or as much as] the Jewish people.

Although the Jews of France were not emancipated overnight (and Ashkenazi Jews were in fact emancipated 18 months prior to Sephardim), by 1791 the French National Assembly recognized French Jews as citizens (ibid., 127). Emperor Napoléon even went so far as to give Jews power within his empire by calling for the establishment of an assembly of Jewish notables as early as May of 1806. In 1808, French Emperor Napoléon Bonaparte officially emancipated France's Jews, and the process to mainstream assimilation of France's Jews proceeded (Baron 1999, 133). Napoleon feared that the Jewish community as a whole would gain power in France, and yet he was in favor of their assimilation and encouraged their loyalty to greater France. In other words, keep your friends close, and your Jews closer!

Idelsohn argues that the Enlightenment values born of the French revolution led many French and German Jews to turn away from their faith and ritual practices: "The same ritual which, a half-century before, had had the power to inspire their ancestors became obnoxious to them (Idelsohn 1928, 233)". After Napoléon's proclamation of Jewish citizenship in the first decade of the nineteenth century, Jews migrated *en masse* from their former safe-havens in the gated ghettos to France's larger cities like Paris and Marseille. While some abandoned their Jewish tradition outwardly or entirely, others remained strongly committed to the synagogue and their Jewish identity. Political

historian Pierre Birnbaum claims that over time, Jews could even serve in government, even high up, and still remain Jews: "They gave their hearts and souls to their jobs" (Birnbaum, 1996, 2). Even in the early decades of the nineteenth century, one could be as fully committed to his identity as a Frenchman as he was to his identity as a Jew.

While there was less emphasis on ideological reform than in the German synagogues, the nineteenth century welcomed a new era of musical innovation in France's synagogues. Further on in Chapter One, I will address the unique style of music that developed in the nineteenth century French synagogue, just one example of the differences between the French- and German-Jewish communities in the nineteenth century. These differences resulted, in part, from the fact that French Jews were emancipated before those in Germany, and French Jewry had developed a strong loyalty to the French secular government by the time a similar—yet distinct—process began in Germany.

Why did the Reform movement begin in Germany instead of in France? While Germany was the home of many early Enlightenment thinkers, including Jewish philosopher and Enlightenment thinker Moses Mendelssohn, as well as the scientific study of Judaism or *Wissenchaft des Judentums*, it is in France that these emerging ideals were first put into action and where the revolution took place. Why then, did the greatest revolution in synagogue ritual and music of the early Reform movement take place in Germany and not France?

The proclamations of the French assembly, as well as the official emancipation and call to gather of the Jewish assembly in France by Napoléon gave the French-Jewish community an unprecedented safety in their Jewishness. Many Jews in France, as

Idelsohn argues, were turning away from their faith as a result of their emancipation. If all men were created equal, French Jews surmised, then they were free to leave their ghettos and pursue a secular lifestyle (cultural, economic, and religious) like any other Frenchman. Those who stayed within the Jewish community were less concerned with reforming it ideologically. As citizens of France, they were free to practice their "moral religion" while otherwise participating fully in mainstream French society. As we will see, many musical changes were made in the French synagogue as a result of cultural reciprocity and the influence of French musical styles. However, these changes were more aesthetically and less ideologically—at least on a large scale—prompted than they were in the German Reform school. While emancipation did not happen overnight in France, it occurred relatively early and swiftly in comparison to Germany and other European territories. Thanks to Napoléon and the French National Assembly, French Jews were both freer than ever to leave Judaism and also to practice in safety while, at the same time, claiming the benefits enjoyed by all Frenchmen.

The events and ramifications of the French Revolution, including the official Emancipation of French Jewry (1791 in writing by the French National Assembly and again in 1808 by Emperor Napoléon), shifted social and political norms throughout France and the Western world. Both the Ashkenazim and Sephardim—the latter seeking assimilation earlier and the former generally more married to tradition—were eventually emancipated in France. However, the Sephardim were officially emancipated in 1790 while the Ashkenazim were emancipated a year later being less assimilated. Each had unique musical traditions, both with a wide repertoire of folk melodies. By the early 1800s, Jews from both French-Sephardi and French-Ashkenazi communities flocked to

large cities, particularly Paris. In addition, once citizenship was re-affirmed by Napoleon in 1809, Jews from all over Europe came en masse to France (Baron 1999:154). As I discuss in the following chapters, this decree of Emancipation would lead to the first of many waves of Jewish immigration to France from all over to Europe over the course of the next century and a half.

In the first decade of the nineteenth century, French Jews enrolled in public universities, including the world-renowned Paris conservatory. Indeed, music students—both Jewish and non-Jewish alike—came from all over Europe to study at the Paris Conservatory. According to ethnomusicologist Dr. Mark Kligman, the prestigious Cantor Isaac Offenbach of Cologne, Germany encouraged his son Jacques to study music in Paris at a young age.[5] By the 1820s, there existed in France an entirely new generation of educated Jews, learned in music, religion, and secular studies. French Jews were involved in their Jewish communities but socialized in circles of educated (Baron 1999:154)

Jewish citizens moved out of their gated townships into the cities, particularly to Paris, where Jewish music flourished. Music scholar John H. Baron refers to the years between 1820-1865 as the Golden Age for Jewish musicians in Paris and throughout France. Jewish and French composers alike appreciated the musical composition and unprecedented singing of cantors such as Israel Lovy and the musical reforms of Samuel Naumbourg. Indeed, an entire thesis or book could be written on the life and works of the extraordinary chazzan, Samuel Naumbourg, or any of the key French-Jewish musicians of the nineteenth century. For the purposes of our discussion, I will review key points that

[5] Dr. Mark Kligman, e-mail message to author on October 19, 2015.

relate to the overarching theme of how emancipation affected the music and lives of French-Jewish musicians, with particular focus on Samuel Naumbourg as he was singer, musical director, and composer at the Paris synagogue during much of this "Golden Era."

Samuel Naumbourg was born in 1817. He was the contemporary of Solomon Sulzer (Vienna 1804-1891) and Louis Lewandowski (Berlin 1821-1894), and like they did for their respective cities, Naumbourg revolutionized the music of the Paris synagogue. Cantor and musicologist Eliyahu Schleifer claims that of the three, Naumbourg was considered "the most melodious composer and his music was widely sung in synagogues throughout Europe" (Schleifer 2012, 7). By "melodious" Schleifer implies that his music was easy to sing and the lines were lyrical and light, thus fitting into the 19th century French musical sensibility. Sadly, Naumbourg's music is not commonly performed today. Indeed, it is verging on miraculous that his compositions were saved during World War II, even if they were not permitted to be performed. According to Schleifer, Naumbourg's most popular works are *S'u She'arim* for Torah service and *Ono Tovo* from the Yom Kippur liturgy (ibid., 8).

Naumbourg was born to a long line of cantors less than a decade after Napoleon's Emancipation of Jews in France. He was well-learned in Torah and Talmud, ritual slaughter, and he served as a boy soprano for his father's synagogue (ibid., 9). His family had not left the Jewish faith, nor did they ascribe to the ideological changes of the Reform movement occurring in Germany. However, as was fitting for an emancipated French Jew, Naumbourg received a Jewish religious education and also pursued secular musical leaning. According to Schleifer, Naumbourg first served a synagogue in Besancon, France, and then worked as a choir master in Strasbourg.

In 1832, at the age of only fifteen he left for Munich to serve in the newly established Munich Choir Institute. It was in Munich that he learned the cantorial tradition of Southern Germany and was influenced by European classical music trends. Naumbourg studied with Cantor Low Sanger and learned the embellished cantorial tradition of the 18th century that was rapidly going out of style. His ears were witness to four-part choral harmonies in his Munich choir led by a Jesuit church musician, and he learned much from secular contemporary composers, including a deep study of music theory and composition, as well. In the spirit of Emancipation, Naumbourg was able to continue his traditional Jewish practice while also pursing his modern secular musical study.

It is worth noting that upon the death of Louis XVII in 1830 and the resulting changes in French government, Jewish participation in mainstream French life began to increase at a rapid pace. During the 1830s and 1840s, scholars make only one-line mentions of anti-Semitism. Indeed, historical records show little evidence of anti-Semitism in France during this period, and Jews thrived both within their own personal communities and in cultural and political positions.

The two most significant cantors of this period were Israel Lovy (1773-1832) and of course, Samuel Naumbourg. Lovy's voice was beloved by opera composers including Haydn and Rossini, but "he was not prepared to forsake his religion for the glamour of opera" (Baron 1999, 135). Lovy was not interested in the reforms that were going on in neighboring Germany with the use of vernacular language in prayer and moving prayer services to Sunday. While there were some radical Frenchman who advocated religious reforms and others who called for an extreme orthodox practice, Lowy as cantor, Jew,

and leader was a moderate and more concerned with worship. An organ was installed in 1852, but was used on Friday evenings and not Saturday mornings or holidays (Baron 1999: 135).[6]

By 1843, Naumbourg had returned to Paris with all that he had learned from his musical studies abroad. Cantor Israel Lovy had begun reforming the music of the Paris synagogue in the early 19th century by starting a large choir, "perhaps the first modern choir in a synagogue" (Schleifer 2012, 15). Some of Lovy's works were published after his death by his son in the compilation *Chants religieux composés pour les priers hébraiques, par Israel Lovy* (ibid., 16). After Lovy's death, there was no cantor of equal talent to be found to take his place for eleven years, and his choir music was little used during this time. After Lovy's death and before Naumbourg's arrival in Paris, two less notable cantors, Isaac David and Alfred Picard, served the Paris synagogue. According to Schleifer Lovy's musical reforms did not endure, partially because there was no one to lead in their application and partially because the congregation was not sufficiently interested in institutional or musical reform (ibid., 16).

Naumbourg was equally vocally talented and more learned as *baal tefillah* than Lovy had been, and maintained the moderate stance of Lowy. He modernized the music, including the works of secular composers, without altering the synagogue tradition completely. Naumbourg employed *nusach* economically without the outdated embellishments of cantors of prior centuries. Naumbourg was establishing a new chapter in French-Jewish music. This was not the ideological revolution of the Reformers in Germany: Naumbourg's was a musical revolution. It was Naumbourg's

[6] The same organ still resides in the Great Synagogue in Paris to this day, although it is rarely—if ever— used.

emancipated status as a Frenchman that allowed for his varied musical education. In addition, however, his study in Germany allowed for him to bring some of its musical innovations back home to Paris. Schleifer says that while there is no record evidence of Naumbourg's goals for musical change, "it stands to reason that he knew of this void [of musical reform] and aspired to fill it" (ibid., 16).

Upon his arrival in Paris, Naumbourg befriended composer Fromenthal HaLevy; HaLevy was past his compositional prime (eight years after his successful opera *La Juive*) but was still involved in Jewish communal affairs. Following the revolution, Napoleon sanctioned the *consistoires israelites*, or the Jewish local councils. Each region of France, including greater Paris, had its own local governing body for the Jewish community, and HaLevy was actively involved in the Paris *consistoire* or consistory. Under the advisement and encouragement of HaLevy, Naumbourg wrote to the French government on the topic of Jewish musical affairs, "describing the nature of synagogue music, its deterioration through the ages and the need to improve it according to the enlightened spirit of the time" (ibid., 18). Naumbourg worked alongside Adoplphe Cremieux, a lawyer who had previously worked to have cantors officially recognized as a profession in 1823. Naumbourg's proposal for a government-endorsed program to improve synagogue music was supported by HaLevy and Cremieux and was approved by the Paris Académie des Beaux-Arts and "entrusted" to Naumbourg himself! He was officially made first cantor of the Paris synagogue on Rue Notre Dame de Nazareth in 1845. Government funding and support of the music of the Paris synagogue could not have taken place if the Jews of Paris had not been also seen as contributing to the city as full citizens. In addition, the funding was for musical or

aesthetic purposes, and therefore appealed to the French sensibility of cultural beautification. This was not the ideological change of the German synagogue, but rather, an aesthetic move that coincided with French cultural ideals.

In just two years, Naumbourg completed and published his first edition of *Zemirot Yisrael,* or Songs for the Sabbath, with an edition for festivals following five years later (19), and government support of his synagogue and his work helped make these rapid contributions possible. Naumbourg's *Zemirot Israel*, including in OOPC, included works by a variety of non-Jewish and Jewish French composers of the era, all of which were leading composers on Paris' musical scene. The set is in three volumes published in 1847, 1857, 1864) Naumbourg's idea to compile books of liturgical compositions was not original as it had been done by Sulzer in Vienna as early as 1839 (Baron 1999: 132). However, while most of the composers in Sulzer's books were Catholic, non-Jewish musicians (excluding the publisher himself), many of the composers' names in Naumbourg's publication were the names of Jewish composers like Giacomo Meyerbeer (1791-184), Jacques-Francois-Fromenthal-Elie HaLevy (1779-1862), and Charles-Valentin Alkan (1813-1888).

While in Germany, the name of the acclaimed, non-Jewish composer Franz Schubert in Sulzer's *Schir Zion* may have out lauded his Jewish contemporaries, the French liturgies were made equally beautiful by the likes of Chopin and HaLevy, who had studied at the Paris Conservatory together. According to Baron, Meyerbeer, HaLevy and Alkan all:

> Took pride in their Jewish identity and were committed to other practice of Judaism in their own personal lives. They participated enthusiastically in Naumbourg's project and contributed in other ways to Jewish communal and cultural life. At no

> time previously in European history had Jews participated alongside their non-Jewish co-residents as equals in European musical life, and nowhere during the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century as fully and visibly as in Paris (Baron 1999, 133).

Naumbourg's commission of *Zemiroth Yisrael* gave these French-Jewish composers (all of whom will be discussed below) a means of exploring their Jewish identity, a unique outlet for their Jewish heritage and French musical training.

According to a letter written by HaLevy, Naumbourg's own compositions preserved traditional chants in Naumbourg's own good style (Schleifer 2012, 20). His compositional works excluded the embellishment tradition of the previous century, seeking to incorporate all that he had learned in Munich with his knowledge of traditional chant and the Ashkenazic modes. Of these new works, some were set for choral, some for solo cantor, other for trio voices, mostly in polyphonic setting (again, in contrast with the previous century solo cantorial mode). Naumbourg wrote mostly in meter (usually 4/4) rather than in free meters often employed by seventeenth century cantors. His simple masterpiece V'shamru for Sabbath Eve is an excellent example of this evenly metered, unembellished writing. The chants and solo works preserved their traditional sound but were, as Schleifer puts it, "restrained" and written in a more "civilized" manner as befitting the emancipated Jew (ibid., 22).

Naumbourg also wrote works in French, including his superb setting of *Adon Olam*.[7] Louis Ratisbonne translated the prayer from Hebrew, and the poetic Hebrew original is quite faithfully translated to the stunning French. The musical setting is metered, composed in 3/4 rather than his more common 4/4 or cut time, suggested a

[7] Samuel Naumbourg. *Zemirot Yisrael* (New York: Sacred Music Press, 1954. See following pages for music.

lighter, dance-like quality. Unlike the previous century of solo or trio works, the lines are simple although still requiring great range of the singer. Naumbourg portrays a clear understanding of the lyrics and a distinct vision for the setting, which features frequent dynamic changes and singing suggestions. He repeats the line "*Il vient quand je prie*" (He comes when I pray) and advises the singer "*avec force*" (with force) on the second recitation of the line, thus suggesting a yearning for G-d in the music that parallels the certain and hopeful words of the text. Both the vocal direction and the light lyric quality of the vocal line suggest that Naumbourg was influenced by contemporary French opera. Throughout the piece, Naumbourg also plays with lowering and raising the seventh scale degree. In the traditional *Adonai Malach* scale, the seventh scale degree would be lowered. Perhaps by playing with this sharpened or natural note, Naumbourg also suggests a tension between the traditional mode and the Western major scale. As a true Frenchman and faithful Jew, Naumbourg has his compositional pen dipped in the musical world of his people and his Western understanding of music.

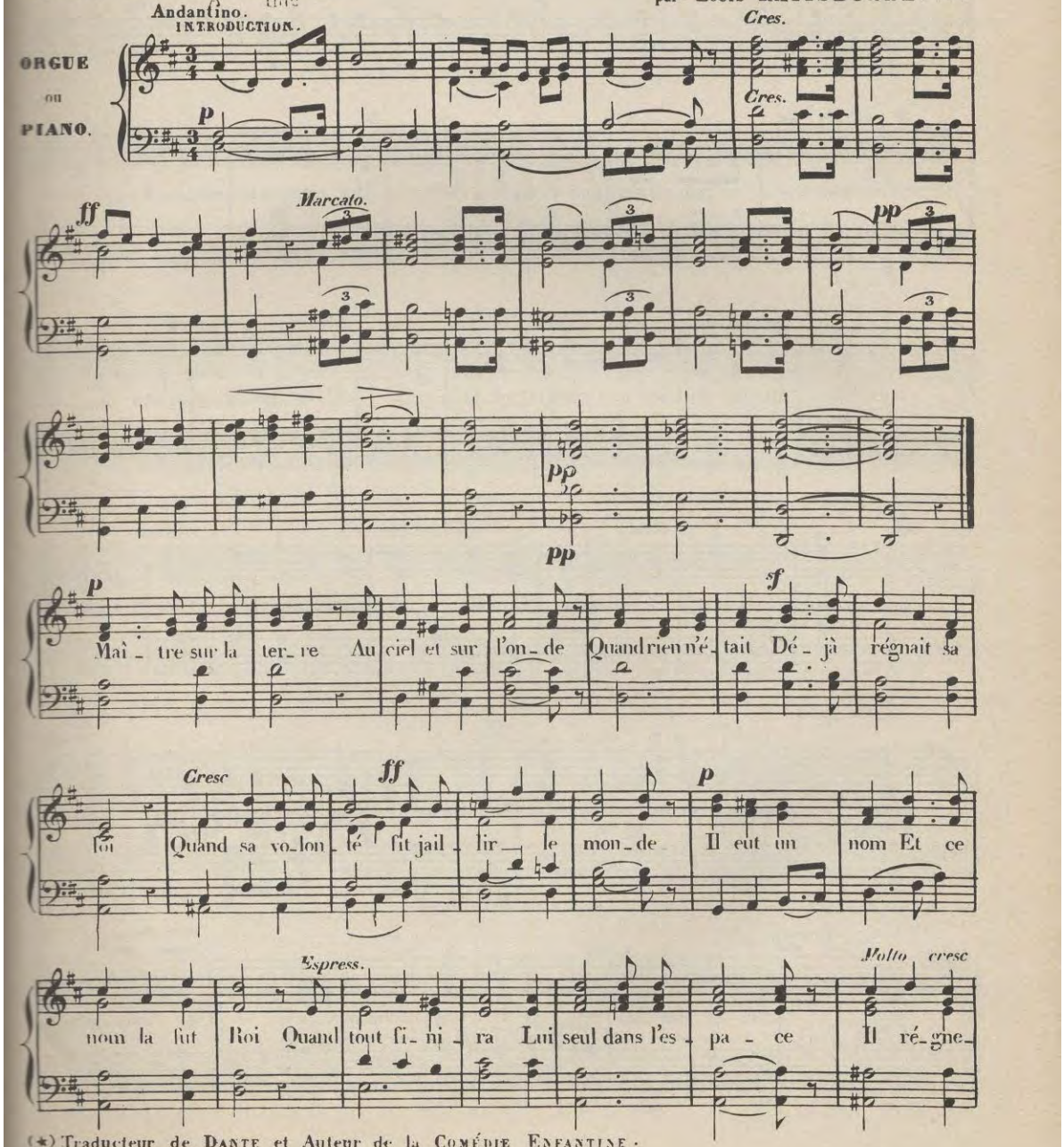
אדון עולם

ADON OLAM

traduit de l'Hébreu

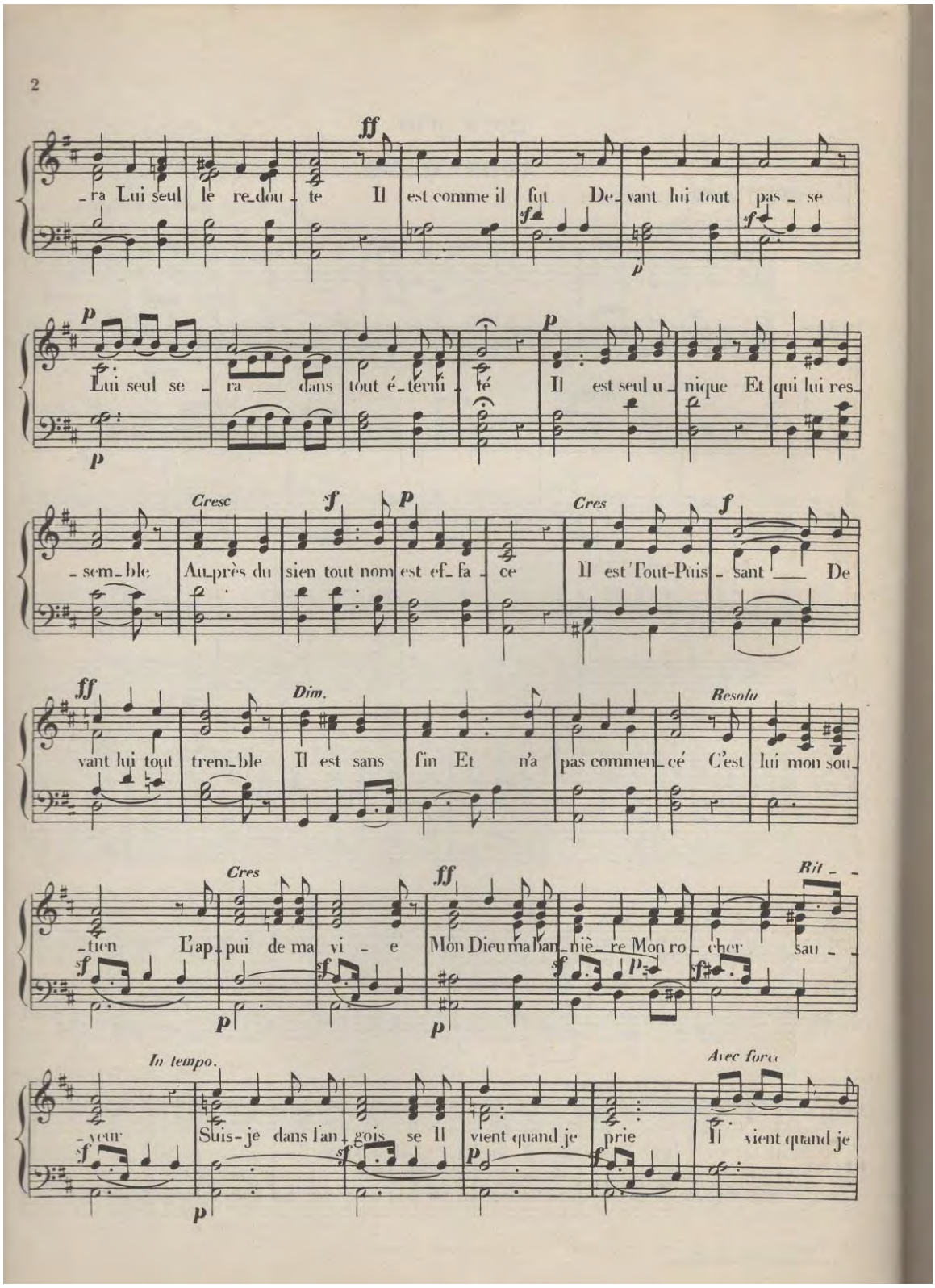
HYMNE A L'ÊTRE SUPRÈME

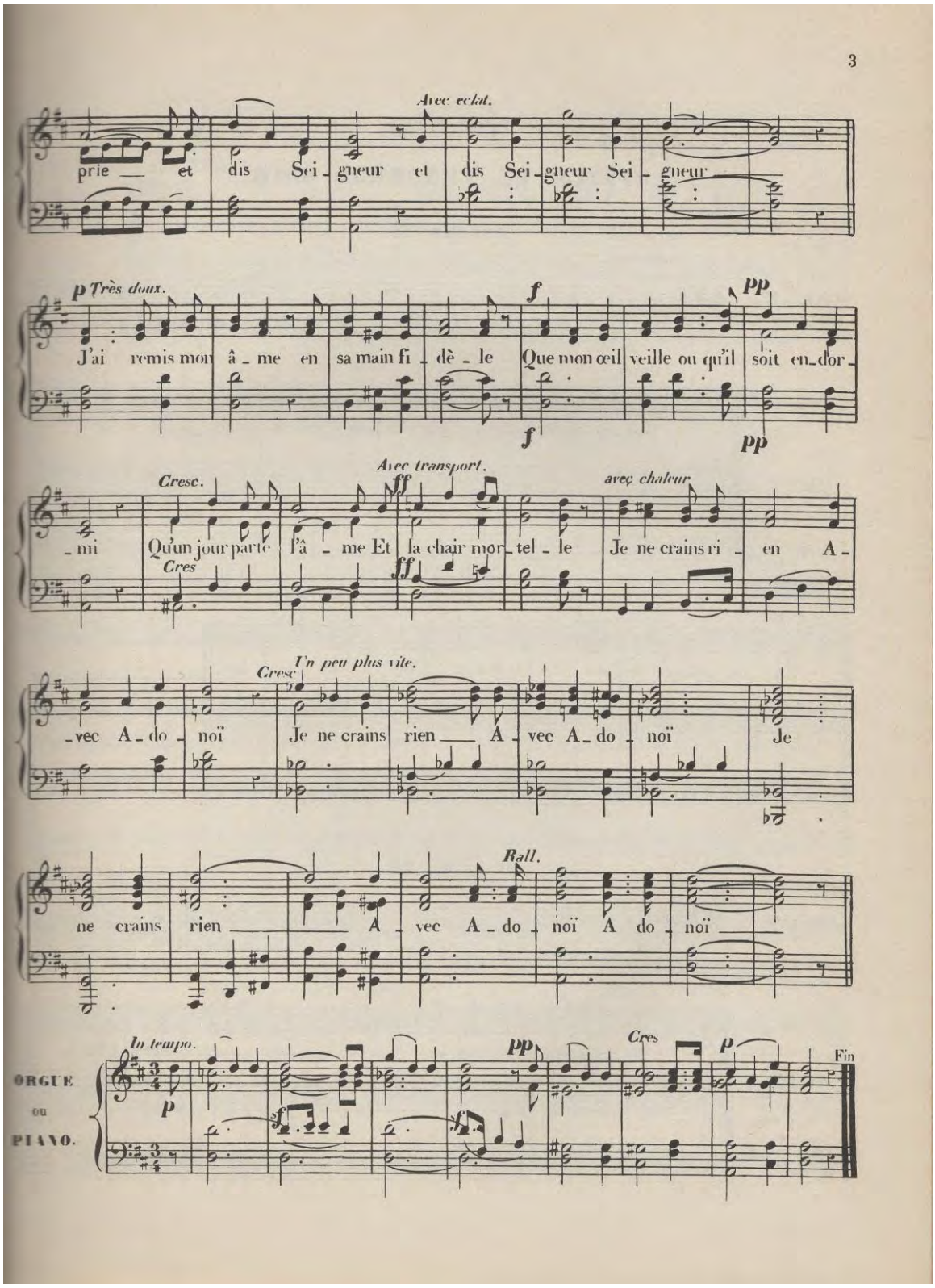
par LOUIS **RATISBONNE**. (★)



(★) Traducteur de DANTE et Auteur de la COMÉDIE ENFANTINE.

Druck von Breitkopf & Härtel in Leipzig.


ff
ra Lui seul le re-dou-te Il est comme il fut De-vant lui tout pas-se
p
Lui seul se-ra dans tout é-ter-ni-té Il est seul u-nique Et qui lui res-
Cresc
sf
Cres
f
-sem-ble Au-près du sien tout nom est ef-fa-ce Il est Tout-Puis-sant De
ff
Dim.
Resolu
vant lui tout trem-ble Il est sans fin Et n'a pas commen-cé C'est lui mon sou-
Cres
ff
Rit
-tien L'ap-pui de ma vi-e Mon Dieu ma ban-niè-re Mon ro-cher sau-
In tempo.
Avec force
-veur Suis-je dans l'an-gois-se Il vient quand je prie Il vient quand je


Avec eclat.
prie — et dis Sei - gneur et dis Sei - gneur Sei - gneur
p Très doux.
J'ai remis mon â - me en sa main fi - dè - le
f
Que mon œil veille ou qu'il soit en - dor -
pp
Avec transport.
Cresc.
ff
avec chaleur
- mi Qu'un jour parte l'â - me Et la chair mor - tel - le Je ne crains ri - en A -
Cres
Un peu plus vite.
Cresc
- vec A - do - noï Je ne crains rien — A - vec A - do - noï Je
Rall.
ne crains rien — A - vec A - do - noï A do - noï —
In tempo.
p
pp
Cres
p
Fin
ORGUE ou PIANO.

With all of his musical reforms, Naumbourg disagreed with the use of organ in the synagogue. Schleifer writes that an organ was indeed installed in the Paris synagogue a year before Naumbourg became its hazzan, but he claims that Naumbourg objected to its use during prayer. Musical innovation in composition was inspiring and encouraged, but precisely because the French Jews were emancipated citizens already, they did not need to reinvent the wheel when it came to worship. Naumbourg wished to keep the traditional "charm" (as Sulzer called it) of prayer that could only be heard with a capella singing.

As Schleifer so eloquently writes, "Naumbourg was both a traditionalist and an innovator at the same time" (Schleifer 2012, 54). As the paradigmatic composer of the Golden Era of French Synagogue music, Naumbourg introduced musical change through secular musical influence while maintaining many of the core musical traditions such as modal influence and a capella singing. In addition, Naumbourg conversed with French statesmen and worked to receive government funding for his synagogue. His music was engaging and pleasing, appealing to many. He did not abandon the cantorial tradition but rather redefined it through metered writing and the rejection of antiquated modes of embellishment. In what would have been paradoxical in prior centuries, Naumbourg was both an openly observant Jew and a full citizen of the French Republic. His approach to the history and theory of Jewish music was heavily influenced by his position as a child of the Emancipation: "His writing expresses pride in being a free Jew and a citizen with equal rights…His music and his writings are both true representations of the man of the French Emancipation" (ibid., 54).

Naumbourg was indeed the quintessential cantor of Emancipated Jewry in France. While there are virtually no well-known cantors or musicians from the Jewish community in the 18th century, the 19th century offers a significant list of people who influenced Jewish and non-Jewish French music. Jews were able to participate openly in society more than ever before, and increased access to education provides them a more comfortable economic status. Aside from Naumbourg, a few other significant French-Jewish composers from this Golden Age are worth noting, include the aforementioned Fromenthal HaLevy, Giacomo Meyerbeer, Charles-Valentin Alkan, and Jacques Offenbach[8].

Of these composers, the most well-known composer today—and certainly the most strongly identified Jewish Frenchman—is opera and liturgical composer Fromenthal HaLevy (1799-1862). HaLevy grew up with great pride as both Frenchman and Jew. During his youth in the early nineteenth century, HaLevy's father wrote a Hebrew poem that was translated into French went on to be widely used by non-Jewish French clergy (Baron 138). The relative freedom of cultural mixing brought on by universal emancipation in France allowed for the appropriation of Jewish ideas into French culture, (which was primarily Catholic). This was the world that HaLevy was privileged to be born into, and he would continue to be in awe of this beneficial status for the rest of his life.

[8] Offenbach's father Jacques had been a famous *chazzan* and composer in Cologne and encouraged young Jacques to attend the Paris Conservatory. In 1843, Offenbach married a Catholic woman and converted to Catholicism. For some Jewish musicians, the appeal of the Enlightenment was too to inspire their composition of Jewish works or to keep them within the faith.

As early as age 10, HaLevy was already a student at the Paris Conservatory (Heskes 1994, 266). He was likely (though this cannot be shown with certainty) one of the first (if not the first) Jewish men to attend the conservatory. In 1819 at only twenty years of age, HaLevy won the *Grand Prix de Rome*, a prestigious prize in the arts, notably the first Jew ever to win this award (ibid., 266). That very same year, HaLevy composed his famous setting to *Min HaMetzar*. His father, a cantor, sang this piece often and Naumbourg also popularized the piece at the Paris synagogue only a few decades later.

Like Naumbourg's work, HaLevy was involved for many years with the Paris consistory, serving as a liaison between the Jewish community and the local government. In addition to the socio-political causes he committed himself to, HaLevy was a highly prolific composer. His contribution of both opera and liturgical works speak to his involvement in both the French-Jewish and greater French communities. Although he wrote almost two dozen operas, HaLevy's most famous and significant work both, *La Juive*, is a tragic five-act opera about a love between a Jewish woman and a Christian man and the political dealings of the woman's father, Eléazar. Not insignificantly, Eléazar refuses to convert to Christianity in the fourth act, and he and his daughter are both killed in a public burning during the final scene. Musicologist John Baron argues that HaLevy knew that only during his day, a time of tolerance and mainstream Jewish acceptance in French society could the French people confront France's history of anti-Semitism, and HaLevy felt that as a friend of non-Jews and an advocate for the Jewish community, it was his responsibility to help tell this story.

Over a century later HaLevy's opera became a vehicle for world-famous singers like Richard Tucker performing in the role of Eléazar, and Jewish soprano Rosa Raisa, who performed the role of Rachel, among a number of other notable singers. The opera is still performed to this day on stages across the world. Interestingly, the only piece of *La Juive* that is Jewish in content (other than having Jewish characters) is the seder scene in Act II. There is little to nothing modal in regards to the music, even though HaLevy was educated in traditional Jewish prayer modes as the son of a cantor. However, perhaps HaLevy did not think the inclusion of Jewish prayer modes would be a significant addition to a work that was geared toward the French upper class, still mostly comprised of non-Jews. The direct confrontation with anti-Semitism in the text and the inclusion of the seder scene were nothing short of groundbreaking in nineteenth century Paris opera.

As noted above, HaLevy was arguably one of the first Jews of France who was able to be equally committed to his Jewish and secular lives. Perhaps just as importantly, he worked to connect the social circles that he moved in, both Jewish and non-Jewish, without bifurcating his life completely. HaLevy wrote secular-sounding opera about Jewish characters in the same years that he was involved with the local Jewish council and served as liaison to other local committees. He gained membership to the French Institute and even wrote music for the church. On HaLevy, Baron writes: "He moved freely in non-Jewish circles as in Jewish circles, and his general acceptance signified the dissolution of the traditional barriers to Jewish musicians" (Baron 199: 140). Although he did not choose his father's path of the cantorate, HaLevy contributed a great deal both musically and socially to the Jewish as well as the greater musical community of Paris.

Giacomo Meyerbeer was born in Germany in 1791 but is "associated with French music more than with that of any other country" (ibid.,140) because he spent thirty plus years living and composing in Paris. Meyerbeer was not involved with the consistory or local socio-political affairs like HaLevy, but he and was arguably the most famous Jewish musician in Paris during his lifetime. It is interesting to note that his lack of involvement in the Jewish community allowed for more exposure and involvement in the secular musical scene of the city. While *La Juive* brought HaLevy great fame, he was not as prominent in non-Jewish circles as Meyerbeer (although HaLevy is more famous today, arguably as a result of his composing *La Juive*).

Meyerbeer's Jewish roots were in the early reform movement of Berlin, and as a child, he attended services conducted in German (rather than Hebrew). Meyerbeer confronted a great deal of anti-Semitism in the Germany (then Prussia) of his youth. By the time his first opera *Robert le Diablo* opened in Paris in 1831, Meyerbeer no longer had any interest in Jewish composition (ibid., 141). Arguably, his Reform roots gave him less of a Jewish foundation to hold on to, or perhaps he was so enamored with his new success and wealth that he was simply not interested in writing Jewish music. However, Meyerbeer maintained relationships with Jewish friends and contributed to Naumbourg's *Zemirot Yisrael* compilation. In addition, Meyerbeer wrote for some cantors who were interesting in singing opera, but perhaps his most famous relationship was with his former student Wagner who then turned on him publicly. Meyerbeer's generation was the first to study alongside non-Jews in France and Germany, and there were many bonds formed between Jews and their non-Jewish colleagues. However, anti-Semitism would—in some cases such as this—win over the bonds of collegiality and fraternity.

Another contributor to Naumbourg's *Zemirot Yisrael* was Charles-Valentin Alkan who was born in 1813. Stories of Alkan's youth include tales that he was a musical savant and taught solfege to boys in the Jewish Quarter, including one non-Jewish student who went on to be professor at the National Conservatory fifty years later Alkan was more of a pianist than a composer, although he did write instrumental works for both the Paris synagogue and secular ensembles. Chopin was Alkan's dearest friend, and upon his death, Alkan retreated somewhat from society. Baron writes that Alkan turned to his faith during this period and even translated the Bible from Hebrew to French (ibid., 145).

In addition, one of Alkan's life goals was to set the entire Bible to music (ibid., 145). While Alkan was committed to his faith and to his Jewish studies, the majority of his music was not religiously oriented. At one point, he was offered the position of organ player at the Paris Synagogue under Naumbourg, but he turned down the opportunity. Perhaps his music would have become more influenced by Jewish modes and style had he accepted this position. In any case, in the latter years of his life Alkan was as committed to his music as he was to his Jewish studies. Again, the freedoms of the emancipation offered Alkan an environment in which he could write secular works for French pianists one afternoon and muse freely over the Tanakh.

The foregoing analysis of the music of French Jewish composers from Naumbourg to Alkan demonstrates the forces, freedoms, and fusions that the French revolution and the post-emancipation world brought to bear on the evolution of French Jewish song. For the first time in the Common Era, Jews were free to live, work, study, and otherwise fully participate in, secular society without having to abandon, hide, or compromise their Jewish identity and religious practices. These conditions would lay the foundation for a

Golden Age of Jewish music that, though at the time seemed without end, would last until almost the later part of the nineteenth century, when other (most seen before) forces would coalesce to bring it to an end.

Chapter Two: Jewish Music and Identity in the Third Republic (1870-1940)

Music as Public Utility in France

Musicologist Jann Pasler understands music as having social utility in French culture.[9] Both the French government and the body politic understood music as culturally enhancing, as the example of Naumbourg's governmental support for his musical endeavors show. The French people perceive music to be highly meaningful, rich in gesture and innuendo, and for centuries the French—both Jewish and non-Jewish—have marked their history through architecture, art, music, and various forms of cultural expressions. In addition, Jewish culture has always strongly valued musical expression. Their experiences are often best expressed through prayer, ritualistic, as well as folk and popular music. Unlike the Jews throughout ancient and Medieval history, Pasler argues that in general the French do not see themselves as a traditionally musical people, even though they value music very highly. In general, the French have been much more interested in physical beauty (Pasler 1, 2009). In Paris in particular, French culture is beautifully displayed. The art and architecture tells the story of this city's past, present, and future: "Paris has served for centuries as a visual demonstration of the harmonious beauty of reason and power" (ibid., 1). On the other hand, Jews are religiously positioned to value music over physical manifestations of beauty because of their commandment not to use any graven images. Jews value beauty, but because of their historically strict observance of the third commandment against graven images, they have been in a distinct position to utilize music to make beauty and meaning and to shape their identity. Full

[9] Jann Pasler, *Composing the Citizen: Music as Public Utility in Third Republic France* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2009), 1.

emancipation offered the Jews of France a unique opportunity to syncretize this French cultural passion with their own Jewish musicality. French Jews could be fully French while also religiously observant (or not observant at all, and their Jewish religious and cultural past could enhance their contributions to French society and culture. Indeed, the uniquely strong emphasis on music in Jewish tradition allowed for the newly emancipated French Jews to contribute much to the artistic arena of France. It is precisely through music that many Frenchman of the Jewish faith were able to add their voice to the dynamic artistic culture of nineteenth century France.

The French-Jews of the Third Republic (1870-1940) were no exception. They employed music as a means of shaping identity and telling their communal history, and for the French during this time period, music was more of a cultural commodity or a means to communicate shared values. Music and conversation around it could serve a public function for the French, but there was not the same higher, shared, or lasting meaning associated with it as there was for Jews. And yet, being a Jewish musician in the Third Republic was a unique opportunity to employ one's own unique understanding of music and participate in French culture. In this chapter, I will continue to explore this tension between cultural values, social utility, and currency, as well as the complex relation between music and French culture as it played out in the Third Republic, leading up to the occupation by Vichy and Germany.

Aligning with the end of the Golden Era of French synagogue music, France experienced another episode of political upheaval. The period of 1870-1940 is commonly referred to as the Third Republic of France by historians. By 1870, the French were working hard to create a lasting democracy based on the values introduced the century

prior, those same values that granted the Jews of France their full citizenship. Music in general played an important role in helping to establish these shared democratic values. For example, the French national anthem served a significant role in perpetuating the ideology of the revolution (Pasler 2009, xi). A century later in the late nineteenth century, there was a great deal of public funding for musical projects in France. The French, Pasler argues, understand music as a democratizing tool useful in helping to create shared cultural imagination and identity.

As mentioned previously, the Jews are a highly musical people. If French Jews were living in a host culture that did not particularly view itself as musical but highly valued music, then music was an excellent way for France's Jewish citizens to tap into French culture. The more Jews could contribute to this artistic arena, the more they could help with this building of national identity, thus finding a niche for French Jews in greater society and proving themselves to be Frenchmen first![10]

Performance opportunities throughout France became widespread in the 1870 and 1880ss. Public performances were paid for by the French government and were both free and open to the public. Orchestras were frequently performing new works, and showcasing new composers. Not only did these performances helped create more opportunities for Frenchmen—Jews and non-Jews alike—to be professional musicians but Jews were listening to and writing the same music as their French counterparts, at least outside of the synagogue (Pasler 2009, 473). This late 19th century-democratization

[10] Interestingly, in Pasler's book examining the role of music in the Third Republic, she never makes explicit mention of the Jewishness of any musician. In context, as a scholar of Jewish music, I recognized names like Jacques Offenbach (composer and son of a cantor) as Jewish. However, in reading her book, the Jewish musicians are discussed in the same manner as any other Frenchman.

of theatre and cabaret gave voice to a wide variety of music that was available to the masses and often had a liberal social agenda (ibid., 477). Political songs were performed in cafes and under the new government in the 1870s and 1880s, there was a decreased level of censorship in musical expression. Jewish musicians were permitted to play in these performances, and just as importantly, they were sitting in the audience alongside their non-Jewish French brethren.

While there were fewer well-known Jewish composers in the latter part of the nineteenth century, French-Jews were able to work consistently as musicians. As more educational and professional occupations became available to French Jewish musicians, so did other opportunities present themselves to French-Jewish citizens. Jews—as well as their Protestant brethren—were able to serve in government and other public jobs while also remaining Jews. There was a sense of gratitude to France for allowing full citizenship without a requirement of religious abdication. Of Jews serving in government in the Third Republic, historian Pierre Birnbaum writes: “They gave their hearts and souls to their jobs" (Birnbaum 1996, 2). One could be fully both a Frenchman and Jew in the nineteenth century. Of course, Frenchwomen, both Jewish and non-Jewish, were not granted the same equalities as their male counterparts. However, a few paradigmatic French-Jewish women found ways to exert control and claim their own uniquely French-Jewish identity.

In 1884, the French draft was reinstituted, thus "democratizing the army," including Jews (ibid, 493). This open liberalism was popular amongst many in the country, but social tension existed amongst the new bourgeoisie. Many felt threatened by the opening of classes, the democratization of the army, an increase in wages for lower

classes, and rising opportunities for education and jobs amongst immigrant and minority groups like the Jews. In 1889, France's world exhibition of the forever-famous Eiffel Tower demonstrates France's commitment to change, advancement, and modernity. And yet, rising political conflict and war brought many new stresses to the French government and people. The tension between increasing opportunities for lower classes and minority groups with bubbling conservatism lead to increasing prejudice—including anti-Semitism—in France.

In 1889 at the *Rue de la Victoire* synagogue in Paris, a large gathering of French Jews convened in celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the French Revolution, expressing gratitude and pride in their standing as French citizens. The chief rabbi of Paris commemorated the anniversary: "The Jews, through their devotion to the French nation and their eagerness to take on all careers, have justified the enlightened generosity of the men of 1789" (ibid., 116). France's Jews were culturally and linguistically French, contributing to all strata of society, from orchestras to universities the French army. Some were committed to their Jewish religious identity, while many others were less traditional religiously but were proud of both their French and Jewish cultural heritages. However, in the late-nineteenth century, with the arrival of Jewish immigrants and the increase of religious Jews from Eastern Europe, the assimilation attempts of France's Jews were met with new and great challenges (Hyman 1979, 1). These waves of immigration of Orthodox Jews from Russia and Eastern Europe—Jews who were unwilling or perhaps unable to assimilate—were generally unwelcome by those who were in power in France.

Shifts in political power within France throughout the nineteenth century, as well as defeat by Germany in 1870-1871 during the Franco-Prussian War, caused increased

tension within the French politic. Corruption scandals within the government induced feelings of vulnerability to the French national army and the greater political arena. In addition, an increase in spying—and what was amateur espionage compared to larger Germany and Russia—also increased a sense of paranoia throughout the army (Harris 2010. 61). These precarious circumstances planted seeds for a new wave of anti-Semitism in France in the late nineteenth century. In her book *Dreyfus*, historian Ruth Harris writes that "The unique condition and history of Jews in France threw up peculiar tensions: nowhere else in Europe did Jews make such progress, but nowhere else did their visibility excite such a national crisis" (Harris 2010, 65). Jews were given the privilege to move about freely in French society, and yet their successes and increasing presence on the French musical venues and other public arenas were unwelcome to many non-Jewish French citizens. Many believed that Jews were stealing their positions and gaining good jobs and top military positions at a disproportionate ratio to their overall population (ibid., 66). Fresh prejudice in the last decade of the nineteenth century peaked with the events of the Dreyfus Affair in 1896.

The Dreyfus Affair

Alfred Dreyfus was born on October 9, 1859. Although he had a privileged childhood and grew up in a successful Jewish family, Dreyfus had no way of knowing then that he would later become "one of the best-known men of Europe, if not in the world" (Begley 2009, 2). Dreyfus and his wife were both from wealthy Jewish families—his family in textiles and hers in the diamond business—and they were happily married with two young children when disaster struck. The Dreyfus Affair affected the

lives and evolving identities of its contemporary Jewish musicians and salonierres and was a significant event that served as means of inspiration for Jewish music around the world.

In the 1890s, French officer Ferdinand Walsin Esterhazy sold French military secrets to Germany. However, in December of 1894, news traveled to the innocent French-Jewish captain Alfred Dreyfus that he would be the one on trial for treason against his country for what would later come out as the aforementioned crimes committed by Esterhazy (ibid., 1). On January 5, 1895 Dreyfus was publicly shamed at a function in the courtyard of *École Militaire, t*he French military school that he had previously attended. His peers shouted: "Death to Judas, death to Jew, coward!" while his clothes were violently torn from his body and his sword was broken into two pieces. According to Harris, this public shaming was more exciting to the French soldiers than the guillotine had been to French throngs one hundred years prior because here they had a live victim to publicly shame, blame, and ridicule for their problems (ibid., 1).

At the time, Harris writes, no one thought that the verdict would be denounced or that Dreyfus would be vindicated almost twelve long years later. As previously mentioned, Dreyfus' and his wife's families were established Frenchmen with wealth and connections. However, their circle was afraid that "anti-Semites would accuse them of using their influence and money to subvert justice and free the guilty" (ibid.,). In his biography, French President Leon Blum would later write that Jews did not speak out against Dreyfus because they chose to suffer in silence, both to wait out the worst of this

bout of anti-Semitism and to hope for a better future.[11] And so, the long and painful battle against Dreyfus went on. Dreyfus was imprisoned on Devil's Island off the coast of France for nearly 5 years (ibid., 2). The conditions the Jewish officer lived in were horrific: he was often strapped to his bed in small, hot chambers and fed rotten food. However, despite his circumstances, Dreyfus' letters home to his wife expressed his love for her as well as his enduring faith. While it was Dreyfus' Jewishness that condemned him to this fate, it was the very same Jewishness that filled him with hope, constancy, and conviction throughout his imprisonment.

Dreyfus' false accusation prompted French writer Emile Zola's famous "*J'accuse*" ("I accuse"), his open letter accusing political and military officials of the wrongful accusation of Dreyfus in this public and farcical display of anti-Semitism. While Zola was neither a Jew nor a composer himself, much of his popular writing had been set to music and was highly influential in the French musical scene of the 1890s. Indeed, it was this letter published by Zola that transformed these events of Dreyfus' wrongful accusation and imprisonment into "The Affair":

> The effect was sensational-the newspaper containing his letter sold some three hundred thousand copies and the provoked army charged Zola with criminal libel...Zola went into exile in England to avoid prison, but the furor only increased. The Affair was now fully in the public domain, and for the next few years it overshadowed all other national business (Harris 2012, 2).

[11] President Blum eloquently added that Jews were paralyzed with the same passivity in the 1930s leading up to World War II. On Blum's stance, Begley eloquently writes, "The desire to be above all else and at times French had another consequence: the tendency of French Jews to minimize the importance of anti-Semitism, remain passive, and avoid speaking out against outrageous behavior, a tendency that was replicated in Germany during the years immediately preceding Hitler's coming to power and afterward, during the short period when he was still vulnerable to international pressure." Louis Begley *Why the Dreyfus Affair Matters* (Yale University Press: New Haven, 2009), 73-4.

Intellectuals, politicians, writers, artists, and musicians across the world were completely engrossed in the Dreyfus affair and its implications for rising prejudice and anti-Semitism in post-Emancipation Europe.

Dreyfus was found guilty once more in a trial in in 1899, although he was allowed to return home to France, but it wasn't until 1906 that Dreyfus was fully publicly exonerated. Throughout the Affair and until his full exoneration, France was divided in two between the Dreyfusards and the anti-Dreyfusards, or those who believed Dreyfus the Jew to be innocent of any crime against France and those who presumed him a guilty traitor. What endures as the most poignant aspect of this Dreyfus affair is not the display of anti-Semitism, but rather, the French national (as well as international) response to the affair, particularly amongst artists and writers like Zola in the French musical community. Not only was this Jewish citizen of France arguably the most famous (or infamous) man the world over, but writers, artists, and musicians were infatuated with the scandal and all that it represented at the turn of the twentieth century in regards to identity and prejudice.

The French musical scene was also torn after the Dreyfus affair. In general, French artists and musicians did not usually speak out politically, but the events of surrounding the French-Jewish captain prompted a strong division in the French musical community that was highly representative of a greater division in France. While some anti-Dreyfusards like composer Camille Saint-Saens were outspoken anti-Semites, French composer Alfred Bruneau stood by his writing-partner, the outspoken Dreyfusard Emile Zola. Even when he was under criminal accusation, Bruneau continued to work with Zola and set his texts to music. While the most famous French musicians at the turn

of the twentieth century were not Jewish, the conversation of Dreyfus and increasing anti-Semitism in France dominated conversation among French musicians during this period.

While writers like Zola were perhaps the most outspoken Dreyfusards, both French and French-Jewish musicians and salonierres alike played an important role in the conversation surrounding the Dreyfus Affair. A century after the revolution, the French salon was home for provocative conversation, emblematic of France's deep value of freedom. The French women who hosted salon parties for artists, writers, intellectuals had social power and played a part in the conversation of Dreyfus on both sides (Harris 2010, 274). While women were denied the vote in France, wealthy women could exert their opinions in these salons, in their homes, holding great social power over course of conversation. For many Frenchwomen, this Jew represented the underdog in society with whom they could strongly identify. Madame de Loynes and Madame Arman de Vaillavet had a unique rivalry in Paris salons, the latter proudly hosting the Dreyfusards on the French musical scene who supported Captain Dreyfus' innocence (ibid., 277). In these salons, Frenchmen and –women, Jew and non-Jew alike, discussed the Dreyfus Affair amidst conversations of French music, art, and culture.

Genevieve Strays, the Jewish widow of George Bizet (composer of *Carmen*) and the daughter of Leonie and the famous 19th century French-Jewish composer Fromenthal HaLevy was deeply involved in this salon scene: "She [Strays] was thoroughly familiar with the theatrical and musical world and knew well the philo-Semitic stereotypes that her father had done so much to create; she was also accustomed to salon life" (ibid., 283). Growing up in the household of the man who composed *La Juive*, Strays was raised to be a defender of the public image of the Jew—artist or captain—in French society. Although

not traditionally religious, Stray's Jewish heritage was a part of her public persona, and perhaps even more so than her pocketbook, her knowledge of and talent with music was her most powerful social currency. As a wealthy Frenchwoman and an outspoken defender of Jewish equality, Stray helped shape a new brand of French-Jewish identity: an educated Jewish woman proud of both her Jewish and French heritage. She preserved her cultural Jewish identity while assimilating into a scene of Jewish artists, intellectuals, and musicians.

Stray's short marriage to Bizet before his untimely death left her wealthy off of the proceeds of *Carmen*, leaving her in a unique position of power and social influence in the French musical and salon scene. She later re-married the wealthy banker Emile Straus. Harris writes that her beauty and excited, nervous energy, as well as her own musical talent and knowledge of music put this Jewess at the center of the salon scene in the 1890s. The Dreyfus Affair shook her to her core:

> The HaLevys were a clan famous for their religious tolerance, who had married Protestants and Catholics according to their romantic preferences, and who raised their children in all the major religious confessions. Their name declared their Jewish origins, but their French identity was based on openness towards religious and artistic freedom, a stance that condemned them in anti-Dreyfusard eyes (ibid., 285).

Not only was Madame Stray a public advocate for Dreyfus, she also represented a new assimilated Jew in France, one who could intermarry and chose to express her Judaism culturally and socially if not religiously. While she was central in the conversation around Dreyfus, particularly in the Dreyfusard camp, she is rarely written about. Her unique position as Bizet's widow and HaLevy's daughter, as well as her own musical talent, made her opinion one of great distinction in the salon movement of her

day. Even as an upsetter within a minority as a female musician and a Jew, she wielded great power in the conversation around Jewish identity France at the turn of the twentieth century.

The Dreyfus Affair took place during a period when France, and particularly Paris, was at the center of international culture. The world-famous Eiffel Tower, which is still France's most well-known monument, was built only a few years prior. Artists like Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec and Claude Monet dominated the Paris art scene, and musicians like Camille Saint-Saens, Gabriel Fauré, and others were some of the most accomplished and well-known composers of their time. Dreyfusards, artists, and liberals in France (as well as the international community throughout the world) were shocked that such an event could take place in such a forward-thinking nation like France, in the home of the revolution and the earliest Jewish emancipation. The Dreyfus Affair also took on religious meaning. Dreyfus was portrayed as Christ or Judas depending on who was talking about him (Harris 2010, 371). While intellectuals and anti-intellectuals, including many musicians, were at the forefront of the conversation, the events of the Dreyfus Affair were not just conversation of the elite.

It is arguable that upon his exoneration, it was the burned anti-Dreyfusards who had "lost" the battle that formed the extreme right of French politics in the first decade of the nineteenth century. Musicologist Jane Fulcher writes, "having legally lost their battle in the Dreyfus affair, French nationalists proceeded to target the arts as a realm through which to further their traditionalist interpretations of essential French values" (Fulcher 2005, 10). In a backlash against the democratization of music of the 1870s and 1880s, these traditionalists employed music as a means of exploring true or "authentic" French

identity. French composers like Camille Saint-Saens were commissioned by conservative traditionalists in this period to express the mythic French spirit, a new patriotism through French musical classicism (ibid., 12). For traditionalists and non-traditionalists alike, the events of the Dreyfus Affair—a century after the French Revolution and Jewish Emancipation—put into question who was legitimately French and who was not, and music played an important role in this struggle for French identity.

Certainly, questions of identity amongst French Jews were sparked by the Affair. Some French Jews followed Zionist philosopher Theodor Herzl and "rejected Franco-Judaism and adopted Zionism instead" (Harris 2010, 379). However, many others more strongly embraced their French identity, clinging to the hope ushered in by Dreyfus' exoneration. While the Dreyfus Affair stirred much conversation in musical circles in France, it also inspired the creation of music and art across the globe for decades after Captain Dreyfus' wrongful accusation. The Dreyfus Affair and the tragedy of the Jewish captain's false accusation in France inspired musical laments and lullabies, particularly in the Yiddish-speaking world. While Jewish emancipation in France provided hope for Jews who lived in the less accommodating lands of Eastern Europe and Russia, the events of the Dreyfus Affair were shocking and heartbreaking to world Jewry. Two Yiddish folk melodies, "Klugt Un Veynt Ir Yidishe Kinder" (Weep and Mourn Jewish Chidlren) and "Drayfusl Mayn Kind*"* (Dreyfus My Child) represent the music of European Jewry that was inspired by the Dreyfus Affair.

In a compilation published through the Ruth Rubin Archive of the YIVO Institute of European Jewry, ethnomusicologist Mark Slobin writes of the Yiddish lament "Klugt Un Veynt Ir Yidishe Kinder":

> The cruel miscarriage of justice and the personal tragedy of the young French Jewish captain in 'far-away democratic France' deeply shocked East European Jews in autocratic Russia. This popular ballad has the flavor and style of the broadside and the street singers of that period (Rubin and Slobin 2007, 229).

The three first verses of the lament emphasize the need for Jewish children to understand this tragic event of anti-Semitism

Klugt un veynt, ir Yidishe kinder. Klugt on veynt, gor on a tsol. Klugt un veynt, a yederer bazinder. Far dem umshildikn man, Dreyfus. Di fargfolgn fun, dem Yidishn Kapitan. Hot ayden mentshn, gerirt zayn harts. Afile in Shpanyen bay der Inkvizitsyon. Hot men nit gelitn keyn ergern, shmerts. Men hot dokh im far avalt, far dem nomen Yid. Vos ken den nokh etvos, ergers zayn? Dreyfus is farurteylt, far im zist. Vayl er iz a Yid, a graf, a kapitan. [12]	Weep and mourn, you Jewish children, weep and mourn without end. Weep and mourn, every one of you, for the innocent man Dreyfus. The conviction of the Jewish captain, touched every person's heart. Even in Spain during the Inquisition, they didn't suffer more than this. They humbled him because he was a Jew. What can be worse than that! Dreyfus was sentenced without any reason, Only because he was a Jew, a count and a captain.

The song's lyrics are brief yet striking. The singer proclaims that the events of the Dreyfus Affair were worse than even the horrors of the Spanish Inquisition. The song demonstrates not only the belief in Dreyfus' innocence but the understanding that this wrongful accusation is a tragedy for the entire Jewish people. Although the Jews of France were emancipated, full citizens of their nation, there is a sense of Jewish solidarity

[12] Yiddish was taken from the Ruth Rubin Collection and adapted by Emma Goldin Lutz with the help of Joyce Rosenzweig for this thesis and its accompanying recital.

in the words of this lullaby from Russian brethren. The lyrics send the message that to be a Jew anywhere in the world is to be a part of the Jewish people as a whole. The minor melody has a sad, longing quality, and the unexpected emphasis on the downbeat in the last line leaves the listener unsettled. The 6/8 meter is less commonly used in Yiddish folk melodies and may have been used to disturb and fluster the listener. And yet, the same melody repeats on every verse, as if to emphasize that there is an underlying constant in the situation, perhaps an underlying anti-Semitism that will plague the Jewish people wherever they go.

Another Yiddish folk melody inspired by the Dreyfus Affair, "Drayfusl Mayn Kind," was recorded by singer Lifshe Schaechter-Widman as she heard it on the streets of Zvinyetchke, Bukovina as a child in the early twentieth century. The song was originally played on an organ grinder as the words were proclaimed by a street singer (Gottesman 2011). In this unique musical expression of the Affair, Dreyfus is not the wrongfully accused captain, but rather, a baby still nestled in his crib:

In mayne oyern tit mir klingen, Hay-da lu lu lu, Vus mayn mame fleyg mir zingen bay mayn vigele. Hay-ly la-lu la, di gantse velt zingt ekh dos lidele. Hob mayn moyre Drayfusl mayn kind, farges nisht as di bist a yidele. Vus in Frankraykh hot ist pasirt veyst a yeder gants git. Men hot farurteylt Kapitan Drayfus nor derfar vayl er iz a yid. Hay-ly la-lu la, di gantse velt zingt ekh dos lidele.	In my ears it still rings, Ay li lu lu lu, What my mother used to sing to me at my crib. Hay de la lu lu, the whole world is singing this song. Fear not my Dreyfus, don't forget that you are a Jew. What happened in France, ay li lu lu lu, everyone knows too well. Captain Dreyfus was convicted only because he was a Jew. Hay de la lu lu, the whole world is singing this song.

Hob mayn moyre Drayfusl mayn kind, farges nisht as di bist a yidele.	Fear not Dreyfus, my child, don't forget that you are a Jew.

Again, what is most striking about this lullaby is the theme of Jewish solidarity from the other side of Europe. The singer, in the voice of Dreyfus, hears his mother's voice telling him not to forget that he is, first and foremost, a Jew, and that this tragic and wrongful accusation came about solely based on his Jewish identity. The lullaby is more comforting than the previous lament, with interspersed wordless vocables, like a coo to calm a fussy baby in its crib. However, the minor tune is sung at a faster pace, as if the mother is in a hurry to quiet the child, perhaps demonstrating the underlying, subconscious fear of being Jewish in such an anti-Semitic world. However, the message that one should not fear persists throughout the lullaby, and the baby is comforted with the knowledge that the whole world understands that Dreyfus is innocent, even if they do not acknowledge this innocence openly.

Indeed, music served a strong public utility in France and throughout the world at the turn of the twentieth century. Musicians gained social power in French salons and music written in France and around the world was used to tell the unfolding Jewish story after the Dreyfus Affair of the 1890s and early 1900s. Jewish artists and musical elite like Emile Zola and Madame Genevieve Stray used their influence to advocate for Dreyfus' innocence, and a unique hybrid brand of French-Jewish identity continued to evolve amongst the educated French-Jewish elite and a new generation of Jewish immigrants to France. While Jews were full citizens of France in the Third Republic and many more

Jews from Eastern Europe longed to immigrate to France, anti-Semitism still pervaded French society.

Darius Milhaud and *Les Six*

Into the 1910s and 1920, music continued to serve as a means of building shared identity and consciousness in France. According to Fulcher, French concert music and opera "were expected to propagate the dominant myth of a pure, collective, and unified tradition that had its basis in a hierarchical orderly classicism" (Fulcher 2005, 26-7). French operas were favored in music halls over those of German composers. French composers Vincent D'Indy and Camille Saint-Saens were perhaps the most well-known nationalist composers during this period. D'Indy was both anti-German and anti-Semitic in his opera *La legende de Saint-Christophe* (The Legend of Saint Christopher), and he had been strongly anti-Dreyfusard in his second symphony (ibid., 49). Composers like D'Indy viewed French traditionalism as the ancient, mythic, "united" France, while others wanted to defend France as a protector of universal values, rights of individual. During the 1910s and 1920s, this paradox continued to persist on the musical as well as the political stage. Counter-acting the musical conservatives like D'Indy and Saint-Saens were the French-Jewish composer Darius Milhaud and his band of liberal composer friends, or *Le Six* (the Six). Milhaud and his friends contributed significantly to this post-Dreyfus French musical scene.

Throughout Milhaud's autobiography, *Notes Without* Music, the musician writes with grace, humor, and a deep but humble self-awareness of own talents and influence. He begins the book with the powerful statement: "I am a Frenchman from Provence, and by religion, a Jew" (Milhaud 1953, 3). Milhaud states that he is a Frenchman first, but his

Jewish identity was of no less consequence to him. In depth, he proudly traces his family genealogy as far back as the Middle Ages in Provence. Milhaud writes with great knowledge and understanding of the Provencal French musical tradition as well as an awareness of history of the locals including their synagogues and religious rites.[13] Milhaud, born in 1892 just a few years before the beginning of the Dreyfus Affair, had a rich awareness of sound as a child. His nerves often dominated his days and at night he was an insomniac. In the early hours of the morning, he would hear the church bells as well as the synagogue singing of early *daveners* or prayers (ibid., 10). The major 6th of the church bells rung in his ears for years to come.

Darius Milhaud came from a family of musicians and was trained from an early age in Western music and harmony. He took private lessons in violin and was an accomplished piano player and singer. Highly influenced by French classical music, young Milhaud often went to concerts in Marseille with his family. Ironically, he was dazzled by the music of Saint-Saens in his youth, who in Milhaud's opinion was both a great composer and an outspoken anti-Semite. Milhaud was influenced by synagogue music and wrote of wonderful memories of the *seder* table (at which he would always play for friends of the family who came for Passover) and Shabbat meals. Simultaneously, he was also fascinated by the music of Saint-Saens, Thibaud, Kubelik, and others.

Of his *bar mitzvah* (literally son of commandment, or his coming of age ritual) in 1905, Milhaud writes, "What a great day it was!" (ibid., 18). He could say the Hebrew prayers, although he expresses regret and sadness in never having learned Hebrew

[13] His paternal ancestors observed the *Venaissin Comtat* (southern rite), from which he later wrote his musical settings for *Rosh Hashana,* the Jewish new year.

fluently. On the day of his bar mitzvah, Milhaud's grandmother was too ill to attend, but she sat at her window and listened to his chanting at the service. Soon after his bar mitzvah, Milhaud began his formal harmony training with a private teacher; even then, he was developing his own unique style as a composer: "I was quite unable to grasp the connection between the study of harmony and the music I wrote, for in the latter I made use of harmonic sequences absolutely different from those I was making such efforts to learn" (ibid., 19). Throughout his career, Milhaud developed his own unique harmonic style, a new musical sound that battled the neo-classicism of his conservative rivals in the 1920s.

From early on, he had close friendships with boys in the village, particularly with two friends who were not Jewish (ibid., 21). In 1909 at just 17, he left for La Conservatoire to study music in Paris. Paul Dukas, a Jewish composer (most of his pieces written for piano and violin) was his most memorable teacher. Milhaud remembers this Jewish colleague, with great humor, as "a bad conductor and incapable of directing a rehearsal" (ibid., 31). However, despite his musical short-comings at school, Milhaud and Dukas had a good relationship, and Dukas wished him well upon Milhaud's graduation. They wrote to each other often, and Milhaud frequently sent him his printed or published music; Dukas would respond with suggestions and "very apt criticism" (ibid., 21). Throughout his studies, Milhaud's teachers told him that he had a musical language of his own. This unique brand of Milhaud music was a mix of the Jewish and Catholic sounds of his youth, his Western harmonic training, as well as his own unique offerings. Colleagues and admirers would say to him things like: "It sounds just like

Arab music," or "This is hot stuff" (ibid., 34). Milhaud's music was uniquely French and Jewish, never before heard.

Throughout his years in Paris in the 1910s, Milhaud claims that he attended synagogue from time to time and was also was a great lover of food and thus did not keep kosher. He always had one foot in his Jewish tradition, but he loved to go out with friends to enjoy mussels and all varieties of *treif (*non-Jewish food). He enjoyed the Parisian lifestyle but was also committed to his Jewish heritage.

Milhaud is the paradigmatic French-Jewish composer. He was a talented musician who brought all of his many influences into his work. He fully identified as religiously Jewish although not traditional, and he was a committed Frenchman and devotee of French music, heritage, and culture. After finishing at La Conservatoire, he traveled around Europe and even to the US, finding a love for jazz music (ibid., 116). In the 20s and 1930s, he wrote broadly on topics, from jazz to opera to ballet to Jewish music, music for the theatre and even for film.

In the 1920s, in particular, Milhaud became close to a group of young musicians who were seeking to rebrand the French musical style, a counter-movement in response to the classicism of Richard Wagner: the aforementioned D'Indy, Saint-Saens, and others. *Les Six* or this band of liberal French musicians, including George Auric, Louis Durey, Arthur Honegger, Francis Poulenc, Germaine Tailleferre and Darius Milhaud, came together, despite having different personalities and musical styles, because they had the same sensibilities and understood that French music needed to advance rather than return to classicism. While Milhaud was the only Jew, the group did include one woman, Germaine Tailleferre, and each composer had their own unique history and compositional

approach. *Les Six*, including Milhaud, related their own style and their own culture of concert-going, "one that was radically different from that of official French postwar culture...sought out new venues, new means of publicity, and new sectors of support (Fulcher 2005, 85). Fulcher calls these concerts of the 1920s "innovative" and also "independent of the state" (ibid., 95). Milhaud's collaboration with *Les Six* was a demonstration of his belief that French culture and music were universal and should be accessible to all.

Les Six engaged in postwar rebellion and the questions of identity left behind after the First World War. Unlike previous generations of musicians, they felt the need to engage as musicians directly in politics or commentary. The band of composers favored political writers and discussed their works often, and their music represented these tensions within French and growing intellectualism. George Auric, perhaps the most outspoken of the group, said that although they were all fairly successful and likeminded, each member of *Les Six* paved their own path. Fulcher goes on to talk about each (ibid., 173).

As the only Jewish member of Les Six, Milhaud "confronted a particular dilemma in defining it [tradition] as an assimilated French Jew from Provence…he came from an old French-Jewish tradition which maintained that while essential elements of Jewish religious identity should be preserved, those ethnic features inimical to French civilization should be jettisoned" (ibid., 175-6). Milhaud wanted to explore and harmonize both the difference and intersections of his French-Jewish identity. Throughout these years, Milhaud experimented with his own unique style, and he also "felt a conflicting need to both root himself in tradition and to explore avant-garde

alternatives to the dominant language" (ibid., 178). Interestingly, Milhaud wrote the piece “Hymne a la Justice”, about the Dreyfus affair. In this piece, Milhaud was able to express his affiliation with the Jews of France as well as his devotion to the radical French left.

The French left intellectuals, including Les Six, were indeed a product of the Dreyfus affair. These leftists fought against the radical Right and traditionalists from the Dreyfus Affair into in the late 1930s, and music was frequently used by musicians like Milhaud and his liberal colleagues as a means of counteracting pro-fascists and romantic flurries coming from the radical right. Into the 1930s, tension continued just as it did around the Dreyfus affair. Many attacks on liberal musicians, and *Les Six* in particular, came from the right and those who favored D'Indy. Many artists and musicians of the French left, were later imprisoned by Vichy (ibid., 287). From the tragic false accusation of Captain Alfred Dreyfus of treason to France’s increasingly disquieting political situation in the 1930s, anti-Semitism gained momentum and French enmity against its Jews citizens, immigrants, and refugees was more palpable than ever on the eve of World War II.

Chapter Three: Jewish Musical Life in Vichy- and German-Occupied France (1940-1944)

The French Musical Scene During World War II

Leading up to World War II, most French Jews were equally as committed to France as they were committed to their Jewish life. In contrast to many other countries in Europe and despite the rattling effects of the Dreyfus Affair only a few decades prior, French Jews were both maintaining their Jewish identity while committing themselves fully to French nationalism. French Jews were generally not what author and historian Lisa Leff refers to as Diaspora Nationalists who viewed all diaspora Jews as one nation.[14] Rather, Jewish soldiers continued to serve in the French legion, Jewish students attended the French National Conservatory in higher numbers than ever before, and all while, Jewish synagogue life continued to persist. French Jews were as committed to their religious tradition as their country, and despite the Dreyfus Affair, there is no evidence to suggest that France's Jews had any desire to leave France. And yet, by the early 1930s, the political and social climate in France amid the rise of the National Socialist Party in Germany—for both Jews and non-Jews alike—began to change.

By 1933, 1.3 million Frenchmen were out of work (Burke 2011:40). Particularly in France's bustling cities like Paris and Marseille, people were short on cash, hungry and the political climate was changing all over Europe. On July 14, 1935 approximately four hundred thousand French leftists from the Radical, Socialist, and Communist Parties

[14] "How One Zealous Looter Changed Jewish History in the Name of its Preservation." Sara Ivry. *Vox Tablet*. Aired July 22, 2015 on *Tablet Radio.* http://www.tabletmag.co/podcasts/192231/lisa-leff-archive-thief.

marched through Paris shouting: "*Pain, paix, et liberté*!" (Bread, peace, and liberty!). According to French historian Lisa Leff, the Jewish population of France doubled during the interwar years due to waves of immigration, particularly from Poland and Eastern Europe.[15] With the combination of the flow of immigration and the economic struggles plaguing France and the rest of Western Europe, a new wave of anti-Semitism appeared on the horizon. Right wing groups in France were modeling themselves after Hitler's Brownshirts and war was looming (Burke 2001, 40). The stale waft of anti-Semitism was blowing into France yet again, slowly but surely.

Despite much rising enmity against French Jews in the early part of the twentieth century, in the years before the Second World War, French cultural and musical expression varied and thrived throughout France. During the pre-war years, the music business in France was underwent exciting and radical changes. Despite a weak economy, music was newly available to the masses via radio waves and increased availability of records. A new brand of lyric-driven, polyphonic melody called *la chanson*, or simply "the song," became increasingly popularized during this period (and the form persists today in French musical culture). *La chanson*, or the popular song, was also made accessible in theatres and outdoor fairs throughout the cities of France (Burke 2001, 41). One could even pay a small fee to enter a sound booth and listen to *un chanson*, a popular song from a singer the likes of Josephine Baker, Maurice Chevalier, or rising star Edith Piaf. French-Jews had as much access as any French citizen to the popular music of the day.

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[15] "How One Zealous Looter Changed Jewish History in the Name of its Preservation." Sara Ivry. *Vox Tablet*. Aired July 22, 2015 on *Tablet Radio.* http://www.tabletmag.co/podcasts/192231/lisa-leff-archive-thief.

During the 1930s, French-Jewish musicians were actively participating in the French musical scene, from popular music venues to lyric theatre, cabarets, and orchestras, particularly in French cities. However, only months after the outset of the war in Europe, censorship, anti-Jewish task forces, and a low supply of food and resources within the borders of France expeditiously replaced this avant-garde cultural milieu. Music historian Yannick Simon argues, however, that Jewish musical composition and performance endured, and at times thrived throughout the war years despite tremendous challenges and opposition to resistance (Simon 2011, 339). According to Simon, the frequent "compromises and sacrifices" made by specific French musicians, Jewish composers and performers were concessions that present-day artists can only imagine (ibid., 339).

In March of 1939, Hitler and the Nazis invaded Austria, and not far off in France, two and a half million Frenchman donned their army uniforms and prepared themselves for imminent war (Burke 2011, 63). On September 1, 1939, Hitler invaded Poland, and two days later both England and France declared war on Germany. During this early period of the war in France, the war was known as *la drole guerre*, the funny or phony war, as if the French were afraid to admit to themselves what might be on the horizon. For the remainder of the year, life continued in France as it had before. Food was scarce and times and many were unemployed, but life had not altogether destabilized. Many musical hotspots and nightclubs closed after the announcement of war but reopened after only three weeks (ibid., 68). The musical scene, and particularly the nightlife of Paris, played an important role in normalizing life in France that year. French musician Maurice Chevalier spoke years later about the war years, remembering that he

> Understood that terrible things were happening in Poland and Austria, but Parisians don't really care about anything but Paris…I guess we feel that we are doing our share by giving laughter and gaiety to the nation (ibid., 68).

Musical life was central to Parisian identity, and neither economic struggles nor rising anti-Semitism could change that simple truth. And yet, by June of 1940, less than a year after the German invasion of Poland and the beginning of World War II, the Nazi forces moved in and occupied France (Herscho 2007, 339).

The occupation separated France into two partitioned territories. The northern part of France was under direct Nazi occupation, while the southern half of France was ruled by the purported as the "Free French Regime," also known as Vichy due to its newly established capital by the same name. The borders between the officially occupied German territory in the north and the Vichy-controlled lands in the south were from Bordeaux in the west and Geneva in the East (see Appendix V). Vichy-governed southern France was under the direction of Marshal Philippe Petain, who quickly became the area's Quisling leader under the direction of Nazi forces. In 1940, at the inception of this occupation era, some three hundred thousand Jews were living in France. During the war, some seventy-five thousand Jews would be deported to the camps, only three percent of whom would return after the war. In total, some two hundred thousand French Jewish citizens and Jewish refugees remained in France throughout World War II.

In 1940, Hitler appointed a special music task force in the occupied territories, the *Sonderstab Musik*.[16] This task force confiscated instruments, scores, and over 2,000

[16] Daisy Fancourt, "Jewish Musicians in Vichy France." Music and the Holocaust, accessed May 5, 2015. http://holocaustmusic.ort.org/resistance-and-exile/french-resistance/jewish-musicians-in-vichy-france.

pianos in Paris alone. While these limitations on music performance began to stifle French musical resistance efforts in general, for Jewish musicians in particular, this task force was just the beginning of stripping their rights and depriving them means for making their living. The performance of traditional Jewish compositions was banned throughout Vichy-governed areas. This Nazi task force implemented by Vichy was promulgated further through Vichy's own Commissariate General aux Questions Juives (General Commissariate on the Jewish Questions), through which they spied on Jewish composers and officially banned the performance of music written by all Jewish composers in Vichy France.[17] Perhaps the ultimate expression of this terrifying task force was the prohibition of Jewish musicians performing in the French National Orchestra. After living a century and a half in a country that publicly affirmed French Jews as citizens, French musicians were no longer permitted to serve in their nation's orchestra. In late 1941, this ban was a monumental turning point for Jewish musicians in France, who at the time were finally coming to realize just how precarious the stage was that they found themselves standing upon.

Making Important Friends: Edith Piaf and Lily Pastré

By 1941, Jewish musicians were not allowed to play in public venues, and established French-Jewish musicians like Darius Milhaud and Manuel Rosenthal were afforded no loyalties for the performance of their works (Chimenes 2001, 344). By 1942, Jewish music was banned from radio airways, although some Jewish musicians like composer Norbert Glanzburg found ways to evade these new rules by selling songs

[17] ibid.

directly to singers like famous French songstress Edith Piaf. Piaf's unique relationship with her Jewish friends, colleagues, and particularly her lover Norbert Glanzburg present an evocative paradigm and pose interesting questions about the relationship between French Jewish musicians and their non-Jewish counterparts during World War II.

Like many poorer French-Jewish emigrés, Piaf was a French citizen who loved France but lived on the outskirts of society. Piaf is known as one of the greatest songstresses of the twentieth century, both for her unique vocal instrument and her ability to tell a story through song. Beneath her powerful public persona, her friends knew her as a person who identified with "*le petit peuple*," or the little people (Burke 2011, xi). Piaf never fully acclimated to her fame and always associated herself with the underdog, likely due to her impoverished youth on the streets of Paris in the early twentieth century. It is interesting to consider whether or not Piaf's aid to her Jewish friends during the war (which will be described in detail below) was a result of this "underdog affiliation," or whether was she simply a woman who wanted to protect her nearest and dearest colleagues and friends? Or perhaps, a bit of both?

Like a cantor who puts their heart and soul into his or her *davening*, Piaf's singing was a "poignant mix of vulnerability and defiance," writes her biographer, Caroyln Burke (Burke 2011, xii). Listeners were drawn to her sensitive singing, her masterfully controlled vibrato, as well as her powerful diction and storytelling abilities. In addition to her audience, Piaf attracted many musicians and composers who wanted to play and write for her. Throughout her career, Piaf worked with many collaborators and had love affairs with several men. During the war years and beyond, two Jewish composers, Michel Emer and Norbert Glanzburg, captured her attention and contributed to her fame (See

Appendix VI and VII). Piaf remained loyal to these Jewish musicians throughout war, from 1940-1945, and it was their compositions that helped her reach a new height in her fame during the 1940s.

Michel Emer, although born in Russia, was a French-Jewish citizen and was living in Paris as a young songwriter in the 1930s. Though he would go on to compose over twenty songs for Piaf and a number of *chansons* for other famous French singers like Yves Montand, his first and most famous song for Piaf was "L'accordéoniste" or "The Accordionist." Emer sent a number of songs that he had collaborated on with friends Lucienne Boyer and Maurice Chevalier to Piaf, but her biographer writes that she thought these earlier pieces "too sentimental" (Burke 2011, 70). However, in 1940, just the night before he was leaving for the French arm, Emer brought to Piaf the music and lyrics of "L'accordéoniste*,"* which he had composed music and lyrics to solely on his own. Burke writes that Piaf "knew right away that she wanted the song" and it was incorporated into her next show at the Bobino Theater (ibid., 71).[18]

"L'accordéoniste" quickly became one of the most beloved and important pieces in Piaf's act. It was with this piece that she began a new style of musical storytelling, causing her to be more specific and intentional about her movement and choreography. Burke writes that Piaf used Emer's piece as "an opportunity to coordinate voice, hands, and stage presence to underline the song's pathos" (ibid., 71). Before he left for his army mobilization in the morning, Piaf and Emer rehearsed the song all evening, perfecting her gestures and taking extra time to consider how she might end the piece vocally. It was decided that she would stop and speak the final lines and then end singing them a capella

[18] The introduction of the piece by Emer to Piaf can be seen in the film *La Vie En Rose*, a movie based on the life of Edith Piaf.

for a more dramatic effect. The result of this collaboration can be seen and heard in any video or recording of Emer's piece as sung by Piaf.

The song, "L'accordéoniste", is the story of a young French prostitute whose lover, an accordion player, goes off to war, dies, and leaves her even more sad and destitute than when they were together. It is a song of loss, of pain, of sadness, but there are also glimmers of hope. The prostitute is a dreamer, hopeful for a better life for herself and her love. In addition, she is open to the idea that she might love again, even after her accordion player has been killed. This tension between the tragedy of the time and the hope for a better future was likely poignantly felt by both Emer and Piaf. Emer had come to France from Russia and fallen in love with the country. He was willing to serve in the French army, demonstrating devotion to his host country, and yet he was likely terrified at what his future would hold.[19]

La fille de joie est belle Au coin de la rue là-bas Elle a une clientèle Qui lui remplit son bas Quand son boulot s'achève Elle s'en va à son tour Chercher un peu de rêve Dans un bal du faubourg Son homme est un artiste C'est un drôle de petit gars Un accordéoniste Qui sait jouer la java Elle écoute la java Mais elle ne la danse pas Elle ne regarde même pas la piste Et ses yeux amoureux Suivent le jeu nerveux	The girl of pleasure is beautiful, Over there on the corner She has a client Who fills up her stockings (pays) When her job is done She goes on her way Looking for a bit of dreams In a dancehall in the suburbs Her man is an artist He's a strange little guy An accordion player Who knows how to play the java (a dance) She listens to the java But she doesn't dance She doesn't even look at the dancefloor And her loving eyes Following the vigorous playing And the wiry, long fingers of the artist	

[19] English translation by Emma Goldin Lutz.

Et les doigts secs et longues de l'artiste Ça lui rentre dans la peau Par le bas, par le haut Elle a envie de chanter c'est physique Tout son être est tendu Son souffle est suspendu C'est une oeuvre tordue de la musique La fille de joie est triste Au coin de la rue là-bas Son accordéoniste Il est parti soldat Quand y reviendra de la guerre Ils prendront une maison Elle sera la caissière Et lui, sera le patron Que la vie sera belle Ils seront de vrais pachas Et tous les soirs pour elle Il jouera la java Elle écoute la java Qu'elle fredonne tout bas Elle revoit son accordéoniste Et ses yeux amoureux Suivent le jeu nerveux Et les doigts secs et longs de l'artiste Ça lui rentre dans la peau Par le bas, par le haut Elle a envie pleurer c'est physique Tout son être est tendu Son souffle est suspendu C'est une vraie tordue de la musique La fille de joie est seule Au coin de la rue là-bas Les filles qui font la gueule Les hommes n'en veulent pas Et tant pis si elle crève Son homme ne reviendra plus Adieux tous les beaux rêves Sa vie elle est foutue Pourtant ses jambes tristes L'emmènent au boui-boui	It gets under her skin, From the bottom to the top She has a desire to sing, it's physical All of her is tense, Her breath is help, It's a work of art shaped by the music The girl of pleasure is sad, Over there on the corner Her accordion player Left to be a solider When he comes back from the war, They take a house She will be the cashier And he will be the boss Life will be beautiful They will be big shots And every night for her He will play the java She listens to the java She hums softly She sees her accordion player And her loving eyes Following the vigorous playing And the wiry, long fingers of the artist It gets under her skin, From the bottom to the top She has a desire to weep, it's physical All of her is tense, Her breath is help, It's a work of art shaped by the music The girl of pleasure is alone Over there on the corner The girls who sulk, The men don't want And, too bad if she dies Her man is never coming back Goodbye to all of those beautiful dreams Her life is ruined Nevertheless, her tired legs Take her to the dive (dancehall) Where there is another artist Who plays all night long She hears the java,	

Où y a un autre artiste Qui joue toute la nuit... Elle écoute la java Elle entend la java... Elle a fermé les yeux... Les doigts secs et nerveux Ça lui rentre dans la peau Par le bas, par le haut Elle a envie crier c'est physique Alors pour oublier Elle s'est mise à danser, à tourner Au son de la musique... ARRÊTEZ! Arrêtez la musique...	She listens to the java, She closes her eyes, The wiry, vigorous fingers It gets under her skin, From the bottom to the top She has a desire to scream, it's physical And so, to forget She begins to dance, To turn to the sound of the music… STOP! Stop the music…	

The music and lyrics clearly resonated with Piaf, and the song represented a shift in the songs that she would continue to choose from that point on. Burke writes about this turning point for Piaf: "Emer's tale of the prostate whose dream of starting afresh ends with the death of her lover (an accordionist turned soldier) marked a new, more deeply expressive, stage in her performances—an opportunity to coordinate voice, hands, and stage presence to underline the song's pathos (Burke 2011, 72). Piaf found a new mode of expression with this song composed by her Jewish friend. While there is nothing specifically musically Jewish about Emer's melody, the words distinctly portray the sadness felt by French—both Jewish and non-Jewish—as they lost loved ones to the war either in battle or from deportation. The composer was Jewish, but his message resonated with every Frenchman who heard the melody and words sung by Piaf throughout World War II. Although Emer himself was off to war, the two became close friends and he would continue to write many songs for her throughout her career.

The following month, in June of 1940, all places of public entertainment were shut down in Paris (ibid., 74). Soon after, France was divided between the Occupied and Vichy territories, and those who were able to, including Piaf, left Nazi-occupied Paris. Throughout the war, Piaf and other artists had to submit musical programs to local staff for censorship. Music performed or composed by Jewish musicians was forbidden. Upon her return to Paris in the fall of 1940, insisted on performing "L'accordéoniste." By this point, Emer had left the army and had gone into hiding for his safety. Although it was commonly known that the song had been written by a Jewish composer, the censors wrote down Piaf's performance but did not pursue further action. While German soldiers likely wanted to display normalcy, they kept a close eye on Piaf, sympathizer and friend of Jewish composers, throughout the war.

In 1941, Piaf toured to the Vichy-occupied territories by pianist and composer Norbert Glanzburg. Glanzburg was Jewish, and according to Burke, he knew he had to "watch his back" while traveling with a high-profile performer like Piaf (ibid., 79). Glanzburg's insistence on performing with Piaf, despite increasing insecurity for Jews in France, was a form of resistance. He insisted on continuing to perform despite restrictions placed on Jewish musicians. At the time, the twenty-five year old Piaf was battling addiction, and every day was a struggle between enjoying herself and maintaining her health. Burke writes that "Piaf and her new pianist shared little but a love of music and a gift for survival," (ibid., 80), but the singer was enchanted by Glanzburg.

Because of her fear of being alone (a product of her tumultuous childhood of poverty, blindness, and sickness), Piaf forced Glanzburg to stay up with her late at night. While Glanzburg claimed not to be in love with her, he knew that having such a powerful

friend would help him: “What could I do? It was Edith Piaf or Adolph Hitler” Glanzburg later told a reporter. Burke writes, “He did not love her, but made the best of the situation—a little less than a love affair, a little more than a fling” (ibid., 80). It would seem that Glanzburg was willing to undergo anything, even a false love affair, in order to stay protected and to continue to write and perform his music. While he often feared discovery because if his overtly Semitic looks, Glanzburg felt relatively safe with Piaf. Along with composers Alberta Nichols and Mann Holiner, he co-wrote “Padam, Padam,” another of Piaf’s greatest hits during the war years. Glanzburg continued to tour with Piaf for two years, until she became so concerned for his well-being that she insisted on helping him go into hiding.

In May of 1942, in a public act of defiance and resistance, Jewish musicians staged a violent protest against the performance of the Berlin Philharmonic in Lyon, France. After this protest, a series of underground concerts honoring the works of Jewish composers were held in French cities in occupied and Vichy territories. For example, non-Jewish composer Henri Dutilleux set up a clandestine performance of the works of his Jewish colleagues Darius Milhaud and Manuel Rosenthal in Provence. Even in the northern occupied territories, the Prince and Princess de Polignac hosted concerts showcasing the works of Milhaud and other French-Jewish musicians (Fancourt). Music became a symbol of resistance for French Jews as well as a means of collaborative defiance against France’s occupiers alongside French resistance fighters and righteous gentiles.

One such righteous gentile of Marseille was Countess Lily Pastré. During the war, many people flocked to Marseille—including a significant number of Jewish refugees—

with the hope of escaping Europe through Marseille's established ports. Countess Pastré was a French heiress of the Noilly Prat Vermouth Company, and like many natives of Marseille, she was a great lover of music. In 1940, Madame Pastré founded the musical society Pour que L'Ésprit Vive (For the Lively Spirit) in order to aid refugees and out of work musicians coming into Marseille. Not only were events and concerts were held nightly at her Chateau Montrédon (Castle Montredon), including programs of Jewish music, but she also transformed her home into a shelter and eventually a hiding place for artists, musicians, and Jewish refugees caught between occupation and freedom in her beloved Marseille. Non-Jewish composers like George Auric (friend of Darius Milhaud and former member of Les Six) frequented the cabarets at *Chateau Montrédon*, and the performance of Jewish music became a means of resistance for Jewish and non-Jewish composers alike.

Like Countess Pastré, other patrons like Marguerite Fournier housed Jewish musicians and gave concerts for the sake of promoting good spirits and raising money for refugee. French music scholar Daisy Fancourt writes: "All of these remarkable individuals provided a controlled freedom for Jews and refugees during the Occupation, protecting and ensuring the survival of Jewish music despite its censorship by the Nazis."[20] While righteous gentiles like Countess Pastré hosted these remarkable events, French-Jewish and Jewish refugee musicians gave the performances.

In 1943, Piaf's lover and pianist Norbert Glanzburg found shelter with Madame Pastré. Piaf knew her as a lover of music and a person who had kept good relations with

[20] Daisy Fancourt, "Jewish Musicians in Vichy France." Music and the Holocaust, accessed May 5, 2015. http://holocaustmusic.ort.org/resistance-and-exile/french-resistance/jewish-musicians-in-vichy-france.

local authorities throughout the occupation (Burke 2011, 81). Glanzburg was one of approximately forty Jewish composers and musicians that Madame Pastré was able to hide during the War. As a lover of music, she was extremely pleased to have a pianist as talented as Glanzburg in her home. Over the next year, Piaf came to visit Glanzburg at Chateau Montrédon, and perhaps she even sang there alongside him and other Jewish musicians in hiding during their evening concerts. These concerts were a unique exhibition of resistance for the musicians at Montrédon: they insisted on performing their music in private despite public bans on Jewish music.

While Glanzburg and other Jewish musicians were able to perform in the clandestine evening concerts at Montrédon, life in hiding was anything but easy. Day to day, these musicians survived in nearby caves and the countess left them food. They could not stay in the castle by day in case there were any visits from the "friendly" local authorities. While the evening concerts were powerful modes of resistance, each day consisted of mere survival. In speaking with French resistance fighter, Diana Wohl, she told me that those in hiding and working in resistance were often forced to exist in silence.[21] It is probable that during the days Glanzburg and the others were forced to stay as quiet as possible while hiding in caves. By night, these musicians were resistance fighters in their own right, using music as a means of private revolt. However, by day, mere survival was all that they could manage.

In 1944, Piaf's friend and former lover, Glanzburg, fled to Nice and was supported financially by Piaf until the end of the war. Because Piaf valued loyalty, she was willing to help the man who stayed up with her during the lonely war nights when

[21] Diana Wohl, telephone interview with author, April 28, 2015.

she struggled with her addictions and inner demons. While Piaf was a friend, lover, and aide to both Emer and Glanzburg during the Second World War, it would seem that her association and support of these two Jewish composers was more circumstantial than ideological. Piaf sung their songs and worked with them because they were good.

Although she did continue to perform their songs throughout the war despite bans on music by Jewish composers, it would seem that her resistance was more indirect than a utopian wish for a more inclusive musical society. Piaf hated the Nazis and was a devoutly Catholic woman, but her indirect resistance in supporting her Jewish friends was more likely simply driven by her loyalties to her friends rather than her desire to be a serious revolutionary. Even if resistance was not her primary intention, her support of the music and survival of her Jewish friends was certainly a powerful act of friendship, courage, and defiance. Piaf was a devoted friend to her Jewish colleague, and she continued her friendships with both Emer and Glanzburg until her death in 1963.

During the years of the Second World War, many people made music for political purposes, while others, made music as acts of love or works of the heart, completely outside of the political realm (Chimenes 2001, 25). Despite censorship, bans, and exclusion, many French-Jewish musicians found ways to continue performing their music throughout the years of war and occupation. Musicians like Michael Emer and Norbert Glanzburg found a powerful ally in Edith Piaf, who supported their compositions and went so far as to help Glanzburg find a safe place to hide (and even to continue to perform his music) during the war. In addition, righteous gentiles such as Madame Lily Pastré helped to hide Jewish musicians, both feeding them and providing them with musical and creative outlets as a form of both resistance and survival. While these

righteous gentiles aided French-Jewish musicians, it was the musicians themselves who committed the bravest acts of resistance and survival throughout the war. Although many were forced into hiding, many Jewish musicians remained in France during the war, creating and performing new music despite great danger.

Perhaps what is most shocking about Jewish life in France during the war and occupation is how terrifying and heartbreaking it was that France, the nation of Jews' earliest emancipation in Europe, gave up its Jewish citizens so willingly to the Nazis. In Paris, it was the French police and not their Nazi occupiers, who rounded up French-Jewish citizens. Perhaps more Jews did not flee France because they assumed their status as Frenchman had been secured upon emancipation, and if not then, then certainly after the success of the Dreyfusards not fifty years prior. And yet, even Jews who had been powerful members of society were rounded up and taken to the death camps. In 1940, French-Jewish composer Darius Milhaud was forced to leave his beloved France for his safety. Ironically, Milhaud, who only decades before had been able to practice both his Judaism and his music in France, left his homeland for the United States on Bastille Day, July 14th. Milhaud says his departure was a "gloomy crossing...filled with inconsolable grief" (Milhaud 1953, 277). Milhaud and his were greeted in New York City by his friend and fellow Jewish composer Kurt Weill.

To this day, the French have a difficult time talking about what happened during World War II. Seventy years later, the shame of occupation and of the abandonment of French Jews leaves a layer of shame on the French politic. On my own visits to France, I have noticed how poorly public memorials to the Holocaust in France are signed. When one is able to find the hidden Holocaust memorial in the *Marais* district, they are struck

by its sad beauty. And yet, the memorial is not easily seen from the busy public street of the third *arrondisement* (neighborhood). Perhaps the many Jewish bakeries and shops around the corner playing the music of Jewish cantors still exist as the symbolic legacy of resistance and survival of the French Jews during World War II. Maurice Chevalier was right when he said that the Parisian artists and musicians were blinded by the horrors that would come to pass in France during the Second World War. The joys of French culture and music, the success of universal emancipation, and the favorable outcome for the Dreyfusards left the French-Jews unprepared for their fate in France during the 1940s. And yet, the Jewish community of France was able to survive the war, and with the help of their non-Jewish friends, French Jews employed music as a unique—and arguably their most successful—form of resistance and survival during World War II.

Chapter Four: French Jewish Music from the Post-War Years to Today (1944-Present)

Yiddish Song Revival

On August 25, 1944, German forces in Paris surrendered to the Allies. Many of the French collaborators were put on trial and executed in the years following the war for their traitorous acts, as well as their involvement in the Final Solution and the deportation of thousands of Jews from France during the war.[22] However, as much as seventy five percent of France's Jews survived *La Shoah* or the Holocaust, the highest survival rate of all of European Jewry during World War II, according to French Jewish scholar, Lisa Leff.[23] While some important French Jewish composers like Darius Milhaud and Norbert Glanzburg left France for the United States, other Jewish musicians without the means or the desire to leave France remained to rebuild the French Jewish musical legacy after World War II. Milhaud and his contemporary, the French rabbi and musician Léon Algazi, went on to compose great services for the American Reform synagogue. Meanwhile in France, the Yiddish song revival, as well as a number of French Jewish pop singers captivated the French listener, Jewish and non-Jewish alike.

In the early twentieth century before the two world wars, approximately one hundred thousand Yiddish speaking Jews came to France from Russia and Eastern Europe.[24] The Yiddish language and culture was uniquely expressed in the homes of

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[22] "France," Holocaust Encyclopedia, accessed January 2, 2016. http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10005429.
[23] "How One Zealous Looter Changed Jewish History in the Name of its Preservation." Sara Ivry. *Vox Tablet*. Aired July 22, 2015 on *Tablet Radio.* http://www.tabletmag.co/podcasts/192231/lisa-leff-archive-thief.
[24] Cyril Robinson, Michael Aylward, and Hervé Roten. "Yiddish Song in France, History and Topography," (Paris: Buda Records, 2008).

these immigrants but also on the burgeoning French musical scene of the early twentieth century. A combination of nostalgia for their homelands and a passion driven by their inspiration from the French cabaret and theatre scene sparked a new Yiddish theatre scene in French cities. Between 1886 and 1904, over 800 performances of Yiddish Theatre took place in Paris, and by the 1930s, a number of theatres including Parizer Yidisher Arbeiter Teater (The Jewish Workers' Theatre of Paris) and the Parizer Yidisher Avant-Garde Theater (Jewish Avant-Garde Theatre of Paris or PYAT) performed anti-fascist plays as a form of resistance. In addition, a large Yiddish repertoire of new and old works were created, reworked, and performed.[25]

During World War II, all of the Yiddish theatres in France were closed. After the war, the Jews slowly returned to French cities from concentration camps and hiding places. By 1948, a number of Yiddish theatres in Paris reopened and held performances a few times a week.[26] In order to ensure the preservation of this music (in case any horrors such as the Holocaust and bans on Jewish music during World War II were ever to occur again), a few recording labels were set up to record Jewish music in France in Yiddish, French, and Hebrew: *Elesdisc*, *Le Disque Folklorique Yiddish*, and *Saturne* to name a few.[27] The opening of these recording studios and the recordings of hundreds of Jewish songs by French Jews throughout the 1940s and 1950s was a reflection of French Jewish survival. French Jews had returned to Paris after the war—either from the horrors of the East or the hiding places within their home country—and were determined to continue making music in France. In addition, the recording of this music was perhaps a unique

[25] Michael Aylward, Cyril Robinson, and Hervé Roten. "Yiddish Song in France, History and Topography," (Paris: Buda Records, 2008).
[26] ibid.
[27] ibid.

reconciliation with France. The Jewish people could not forget how France had abandoned them during the war, forcing them into caves like Glanzburg or shipping them off in waves of deportation. They were determined to record their own uniquely French and Jewish musical heritage, and they were going to do so in the French capital, ensuring that their voices would be reincorporated into the French musical landscape.

1961, Niousa Gold, a former PYAT player, founded the Jewish Theatrical Ensemble of Paris, which thrived in Paris for the next twenty years.[28]According to Yiddish music scholar Nicholas Underwood, Eva Golgevit also started the Yidisher folks-khor/Chorale Populaire Juive du Paris, a group that performed through the early 1980s.[29] However, by the 1970s, Yiddish music was less frequently performed in France: "The Jewish generation had its eyes turned toward Israel. In the [French Jewish] community centers, Hebrew supplanted Yiddish."[30] However, there were a few significant French Yiddish singers during this time—many of whom were the children of Holocaust survivors—who continued to perform and record Yiddish music in France: Sarah Gorby, Genia Fajerman, Lea Fischer, Volette, Szmajer, Talila, Ben Zimet, and Lionel Rocheman.

In the 1980s, many children of French Holocaust survivors began to be captivated by the tradition of Yiddish music and culture in France. The First Yiddish Festival took place in 1983. Although only 300 were expected, over 1000 people attended.[31] This high attendance demonstrated a desire to hear this reclaimed voice of French Jewish history.

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[28] ibid.
[29] Nicholas Underwood, e-mail message to author on August 12, 2015. Underwood also mentioned that Golgevit's son, Jean, is a composer and choral director in Paris and is dedicated to continuing his mother's work with various Jewish choirs in Paris.
[30] Michael Aylward, Cyril Robinson, and Hervé Roten. "Yiddish Song in France, History and Topography," (Paris: Buda Records, 2008).
[31] Michael Aylward, Cyril Robinson, and Hervé Roten. "Yiddish Song in France, History and Topography," (Paris: Buda Records, 2008).

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, many of the Yiddish choral groups that had thrived in the 1930s were revived, one by one. Today in France, there are at least 4 Yiddish choirs in Paris with up to 250 members: Didl dam, Jacinstas zingers, Mit a tam, and Tshiribim.[32] These choirs come together often for festivals and continue to be a unique expression of the Yiddish musical renaissance in France.

While many French Jewish musicians are committed to the revival of Yiddish song in France, French Jewish singer Jacques Grober was committed to creating new Yiddish music with a French twist. According to French music scholar and director of the *Institut Européen des Musiques Juives* (Europeon Institute of Jewish Music), Hervé Roten, Grober was "a man of many talents, a jack of all trades: artist, cabaret singer, poet above all."[33] Born in 1951, Grober died in 2006 after battling a long illness. However, for twenty years Grober led, cultivated, and inspired the Yiddish musical scene in France. He was a true revivalist of Yiddish music in France, committed to both the rejuvenation of existing Yiddish music as well as the composition of new works inspired by the Yiddish folksong in both French and Hebrew for the contemporary listener. French poet Charles Dobzynski wrote:

> Jacques Grober has given the popular Yiddish song...the changing color of the prism of our days...he has put the Yiddish song, in all its facets, back in the contemporary space...the boldness of Grober does not consist in resuscitating the popular or polemic song from its ashes, but in drawing inspiration from its tradition.[34]

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[32] Michael Aylward, Cyril Robinson, and Hervé Roten. "Yiddish Song in France, History and Topography," (Paris: Buda Records, 2008).
[33] Hervé Roten. "Jacques Grober: Author, Composer, and Performing Artist," (Paris: Buda Records, 2008).
[34] Hervé Roten. "Jacques Grober: Author, Composer, and Performing Artist," (Paris: Buda Records, 2008).

From the 1980s through the early 2000s, Grober composed and refreshed French Yiddish music. In addition, Grober taught workshops in Yiddish song and writing.[35] He did not teach or perform French Yiddish music merely as a treasured relic of the past, but he made it come to life through his new compositions and the unique intertwining of French and Yiddish phrases and musical expressions.

Grober's original Yiddish compositions come in many musical styles, but each song beautifully syncretizes French music or language with the Yiddish song. In his song, "Gogl mogl," Grober combines French and Yiddish words and brings both to life with a sense of humor and levity. The song is written in a 3/4 meter and has a swing-like quality. Another song, "Al Capone," about the American gangster, has a jazz-like quality but also employs a Dorian mode, giving it an Eastern European musical flavor. His piece "Tshiriboym" is sung completely in Yiddish, describing all of the songs of the Yiddish heritage. However, the featured accordion accompaniment on this piece gives it a distinctly French musical sound. Lastly, his song "Les Bains de Chelm," is sung entirely in French, but the words are based on the old Yiddish folk stories of the people of Chelm. The clarinet accompaniment gives this French song a klezmer-like flavor, a well-balanced French Yiddish combination. In the words of Roten, Grober's songs powerfully combine so many aspects of the French Jewish spirit:

> The songs were a sort of incantation permitting the voices of the past to let themselves be heard…to join up with one's past, one's childhood, one's nigunim, to attempt to reconstitute the puzzle of a broken personal and collective history, to be able to affirm one's identity…to sing in this martyrized language is to perform an act of resistance, to fling a challenge, to create life.[36]

[35] ibid.
[36] ibid.

Jacques Grober's commitment to reviving and reclaiming Yiddish music in France allowed for a unique and unprecedented syncretism of French and Jewish language and identity. Grober was an active force for change, encouraging the creation of new music by French Jews. Indeed, the reinterpretation and revitalization of Yiddish music in France after World War II by choirs and individual artists has added a uniquely French Jewish layer to diverse French musical landscape.

From Pop to Prayer

French Rabbi Léon Algazi founded the recording label Rinaphone in the 1930s in order to record popular and religious Jewish music in France.[37] However, soon after the founding of his label, German bans on Jewish music stopped all recording of Jewish artists in France. As early as 1948, Jewish recordings recommenced, and in the seventy some years since the war, French popular and prayer music continues to develop in France. In particular, a number of French Jewish popular music artists have been outspoken about their Jewish identity, incorporating their Jewish heritage into their music. In addition, contemporary liberal synagogues in France are employing music as a unique expression of prayer and identity.

Over the past seventy years, a number of French Jewish artists have risen to the top of the popular charts in France. Serge Gainsbourg was a classically trained musician whose music dominated the French music charts, and today his daughter Charlotte is a popular actress and recording artist. Enrico Macias, a French-Algerian musician, has composed

[37] Michael Aylward, Cyril Robinson, and Hervé Roten. "Yiddish Song in France, History and Topography," (Paris: Buda Records, 2008).

and sung many records of French song with an eastern or Mizrahi influence. Patrick Bruel has risen to international fame as both a popular film and music star. Mélanie Laurent achieved fame in her breakout role as a French Jew in the film "Inglorious Basterds" and has gone on to record multiple popular music albums. Egyptian-born French Jewish singer George Moustaki wrote about a longing for the Jewish homeland and the complication of having dual loyalties as both a Frenchman and a Jew in his song "Ma Liberté." While so many French Jews contributed to the contemporary French musical scene, Barbara (Monique Andrée Serf) incorporated her Jewish heritage into her music and public persona more than any other French Jewish artist.

Monique Andrée Serf, whose stagename is Barbara, was born in 1930 in Paris and spent her childhood in hiding throughout the Second World War.[38] After the war, Barbara went on to study at the Paris conservatory, and she rose to fame as a popular music singer in the 1960s. Her rich and melancholy voice holds some similarities to Edith Piaf, and it was this heavyhearted quality to her singing that helped her gain such popularity in France. While she was adored by Jews and non-Jews alike, Barbara was outspoken about her Jewish identity and spoke often about her childhood in hiding.[39]

In addition, she traveled to give concerts in Israel and publicly spoke about her support of the Jewish state. Indeed, her 1981 hit "L'Aigle Noir," or "The Black Eagle," came to influence the Israeli Ofra Haza's popular 1983 hit "Zemer Nugeh" or "Sorrowful Song." Both songs begin with three descending notes from the third to the tonic, followed by a leap in the second measure to the fifth. In "L'Aigle Noir," which came to be

[38] Alan Astro. "Barbara (Monique Andrée Serf)," Jewish Women's Archive, accessed December 25, 2015. http://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/barbara-monique-andree-serf.
[39] ibid.

Barbara's most popular song, the French Jewish songstress tells the story of a dream she had one night of a black eagle who invited her to return to the old country, but ultimately, she stays in the land of her birth. The song expresses Barbara's longing and love for Israel, but ultimately, her desire to make a life in her beloved France[40]:

Un beau jour ou peut-être une nuit	One beautiful day or maybe one night
Près d'un lac, je m'étais endormie	Near a lake, I fell asleep
Quand soudain, semblant crever le ciel	When suddenly, seeming to burst the sky
Et venant de nulle part	And coming from out of nowhere
Surgit un aigle noir	Arises a black eagle
Lentement, les ailes déployées	Slowly, the wings spread
Lentement, je le vis tournoyer	Slowly, I saw it spin
Près de moi, dans un bruissement d'ailes	Next to me, in a rustle of wings
Comme tombé du ciel	As if (like) fallen from the sky
L'oiseau vint se poser	The bird came to rest
Il avait les yeux couleur rubis	He had eyes the color ruby
Et des plumes couleur de la nuit	And feathers the color of the night
À son front, brillant de mille feux	On his forehead, shining like a thousand lights
L'oiseau roi couronné	The bird crowned king
Portait un diamant bleu	Wearing a blue diamond
De son bec, il a touché ma joue	From his beak, he touched my cheek
Dans ma main, il a glissé son cou	In my hand, he slipped his neck
C'est alors que je l'ai reconnu	It was then that I recognized
Surgissant du passé	Looming from the past
Il m'était revenue	It came back to me
Dis l'oiseau, ô dis, emmène-moi	Say bird, oh say, take me
Retournons au pays d'autrefois	Let us return to the old country
Comme avant, dans mes rêves d'enfant	Like before, in my childhood dreams
Pour cueillir en tremblant	For to gather in trembling
Des étoiles, des étoiles	The stars, the stars
Comme avant, dans mes rêves d'enfant	Like before, in my childhood dreams
Comme avant, sur un nuage blanc	Like before, on a white cloud
Comme avant, allumer le soleil	Like before, to light up the sun
Être faiseur de pluie	To be the maker of rain
Et faire des merveilles	And to make marvels
L'aigle noir dans un bruissement d'ailes	The black eagle in a rustle of wings
Prit son vol pour regagner le ciel	Took his flight for to regain the sky
Un beau jour, ou peut-être une nuit	One beautiful day or maybe one night
Près d'un lac je m'étais endormie	

[40] English translation by the author. See Appendix for music.

Quand soudain, semblant crever le ciel Et venant de nulle part Surgit un aigle noir Un beau jour, ou était-ce une nuit Près d'un lac je m'étais endormie Quand soudain, semblant crever le ciel Et venant de nulle part Surgit un aigle noir Un beau jour, une nuit Près d'un lac, endormie Quand soudain Surgissant de nulle part Surgit un aigle noir Un beau jour, une nuit Près d'un lac, endormie Quand soudain Il venait de nulle part Il surgit l'aigle noir Un beau jour, une nuit Près d'un lac, endormie Il venait de nulle part Il surgit l'aigle noir	Near a lake, I fell asleep When suddenly, seeming to burst the sky And coming from out of nowhere Arises a black eagle One beautiful day, or was it a night Near a lake, I fell asleep When suddenly, seeming to burst the sky And coming from out of nowhere Arises a black eagle One beautiful day, one night Near a lake, sleeping When suddenly Arising from out of nowhere Arises a black eagle One beautiful day, one night Near a lake, sleeping When suddenly It came from nowhere There arises the black eagle One beatiful day, one night Near a lake, sleeping It came from nowhere There arises the black eagle

Despite her public commitment and travels to Israel, Barbara also toured and sang in Germany. Indeed, as a French Jew, Barbara's performances in Germany in the 1980s served as a public reconciliation between France and Germany: "Barbara herself wrote of a 'profound desire for reconciliation, but not of forgetfulness.'"[41] Even as she was haunted by the memories of her childhood as a Jew in hiding, Barbara used her music and influence to create a sense of rapprochement and harmony between Germany in France. Today, Barbara is buried in Bagneux cemetery outside of Paris under a gravestone with a

[41] Alan Astro. "Barbara (Monique Andrée Serf)," Jewish Women's Archive, accessed December 25, 2015. http://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/barbara-monique-andree-serf.

large Jewish star.[42] Barbara was always outspoken about her Jewish identity and used her music as powerful and meaningful social currency in contemporary France.

As Jewish musicians continue to influence the French popular musical scene, liberal Jews in France are also developing their own unique expressions of prayer music. In particular, the liberal communities of French Rabbins Pauline Bebe and Delphine Horvilleur in Paris represent the wide variety of musical influence in the French liberal synagogue. According to Alexandre Cerveux, synagogue musician at Rabbin Bebe's synagogue in Paris, there is no distinctly French Jewish musical prayer style in the liberal synagogue today, but rather, the music of the French liberal synagogue represents a blending of Jewish rites: "Traditional music from both main rites [Ashkenazi and Sephardi] is sung, intertwined with new compositions from the liberal movement...nothing particularly French."[43] While there is perhaps nothing "particularly French" about the music of the weekly Shabbat service, Rabbin Delphine Horvilleur uses a combination of French popular music and Israeli song in the prayer ritual of her Paris synagogue.

Indeed, Rabbi Horvilleur employed this broad variety of prayer music as a form of spiritual healing in her Paris synagogue last January after the horrific attacks on Jews at *Hyper Cacher* supermarket in Paris:

> Less than a month after the killings, at a Tu B'Shevat ceremony for about 80 members of the congregation to which she belongs, the Jewish Liberal Movement of France, she [Horvilleur] led a singing of "Sheleg Al Iri" a song by the Israeli musician Naomi Shemer; only she and an Israeli Hebrew school teacher seemed to know the words or melody, though the other congregants hummed and mumbled gamely. Shortly afterward, she led the group in the singing of "Auprès

[42] ibid.
[43] Alexandre Cerveux, e-mail message to the author on September 8, 2015.

> de mon arbre," a minor song by the beloved French outcast-poet and musician Georges Brassens, which she presented jokingly as a 'traditional Jewish chant.' Here her congregants participated with far more self-assurance.[44]

It would seem that the prayer music of the French musical synagogue is not limited to traditional Hebrew chant, but rather, the musical landscape of the French liberal synagogue is inclusive and far-reaching. What resonates most is the fact that Jews in Paris flocking to the synagogue after traumatic events, finding comfort in the music of France (i.e. Brassens' non-Jewish song) that is most familiar to them. Through prayer, music has a unique opportunity to contribute to identity and religious formation for contemporary French Jews. As liberal Jews continue to struggle with and shape their religious identity in France today, it will be interesting to see the various forms that prayer music will take in the French liberal synagogues. The unique combination of popular and prayer music provides an interesting look at the multi-faceted and complex identity of Jews in contemporary France.

[44] Scott Sayare. "Is Delphine Horvilleur the Female Rabbi Who Will Save France?" Tablet, accessed January 14, 2015. http://www.tabletmag.com/jewish-news-and-politics/192415/delphine-horvilleur-france.

Conclusion: Enduring Questions of Music and Identity in Contemporary France

In January 2015, Amedy Coulibaly held fifteen Jews hostage at Hyper Cacher, a small kosher grocery store in Porte de Vincennes, the twentieth district of Paris, whose streets I have walked many times with my own two parents, husband and brother. There, Amedy Coulibaly murdered four other French Jews in cold blood. This terrorist attack occurred only two days after the already infamous attack on the French satirical newspaper, *Charlie Hebdo.* Amedy Coulibaly claimed to have been in contact with the Said and Cherif Kouachi brothers, the brothers who performed the first attack, all three claiming to have pledged allegiance to the Islamic State of Iraq, also known as ISIS. Not only were these attacks widely publicized in France, but they were well documented in international media from France, to Israel to the Middle East, as well as to my small apartment in New York City.

Day after day for weeks I cried, prayed, and read about these horrific attacks. Jewish magazines and forums like the newspaper, *The Forward* published many articles on the attacks, often with buzzworthy taglines on whether or not Jews should remain in France. On the Sunday following the attacks, a massive march was held in Paris to memorialize those who were murdered with over a million French filling the streets of France's capital. While many held signs with the words "*Je suis Charlie*" ("I am Charlie") in memory and support of the satirical journalists and cartoonists who were murdered, a smaller but substantial number of marchers also held signs with the words "*Je suis Juif*" ("I am a Jew") in support of the Jewish French citizens who died at Hyper Cacher. Pictures were shared with the hashtag or search tool #JesuisJuif by Jewish and

non-Jewish French alike, standing in solidarity with those held hostage and murdered by Coulibaly on January 7, 2015.

Politics of race, religion, and anti-Semitism in France today are convoluted. In the post-war years, racism was certainly conflated with anti-Semitism (Arkin 2014: 2). However, with increasing Arab population in France, the situation becomes much more complicated. Jews in France today are identified not just by their Jewishness and their devotion to France but also by their non-Arabness and their level of religiosity (Arkin 2014:240). In addition, Jews in France today are identified by their Sephardi or Ashkenazi heritage, and their relationship with Israel: "The determination of self and other is not just negative and differential but also deeply dialectical" (Arkin 2014:241). Jews in France are torn between their categories of belonging: between the synagogue and secular society, between their Jewish heritage and their love of French culture, between their loyalties to France and also to Israel. While many Jews are fighting to stay in France, others are immigrating to Israel en masse. Rabbi Audrey Korotkin writes, "It's no surprise that, out of 24,800 who made *aliyah* in 2014, well over 6,000 came from France, where anti-Semitism and deadly violence against Jews have grown exponentially."[45] Today, five hundred fifty thousand Jews live in France, making up the third largest population of Jews outside of Israel and America. The future of the French Jewish community remains uncertain.

And so, many enduring questions remain. What does this story of French Jewish music have to do with Reform Judaism in America? And, more specifically, why is it

[45]Audrey Korotkin. "A Jew is a Jew, No Matter How Far." Ten Minutes of Torah. September 12, 2015. Accessed September 12, 2015. http://www.reformjudaism.org/learning/torah-study/nitzavim/jew-jew-no-matter-how-far.

important for me as a French-speaking cantor to tell and to understand? Should French Jews stay in France? Should they leave for Israel? What would the world be like without this dynamic community, the third largest Jewish community in the world? First of all, I believe that the incredibly rich and diverse music of the French Jews documented in this thesis is what is at stake if the Jews were to leave France en masse. France has been a home for Jews for over two thousand years, and it would be a tragic loss to see this musically diverse community erased from French musical culture and conversation. As a French-speaking cantor, I believe it is my role to tell the story of French Jews and to share their music. As Reform Jews, I believe we have a great deal to learn from the unique history of survival, resistance, prayer, and social contribution of French Jews. As we have seen, one can be equally committed to one's nation and religion, and as American Jews, it is important to remember our own dual commitments and complex identities, and the value of each piece of our complex communal history.

What surprised and moved me most of all in my research and writing for this project was the significant role played by so many talented and strong women in French Jewish musical history: Stray, Piaf, Pastré, Barbara, and so many others. As a female cantor, I found inspiration in the passion and will of these women to advocate for Jewish music and to contribute to the musical landscape and history of France. I hope and pray that for generations to come, Jews and non-Jews alike will learn from the many unique musical contributions of French Jews to France and to the Jewish people.

The future of French Jews remains uncertain, and anti-Semitism in France in on the rise. However, there is so much to gain if the French Jewish legacy is able to persist in France. Jews have contributed to so much to French society and music, and without their

contributions, France would not have a full expression of its diverse, rich, and beautiful culture. In the words of French Prime Minister Manuel Valls, spoken after the attacks at *Charlie Hebdo* and *Hyper Cacher* in January 2015:

> The first subject we must deal with, clearly, is the fight against anti-Semitism. History has shown us that a reawakening of anti-Semitism is the symptom of a crisis of democracy, a crisis of the Republic. That's why we must address it powerfully...How can we accept that in France--the Jews' land of emancipation two centuries ago but also, seventy years ago, one of the lands of their agony--How can we accept that shouts of "Death to the Jews" can be heard in the streets? How can we accept that French people can be murdered because they are Jewish? It is not acceptable...this time we can't accept it. There's a new-anti-Semitism born in our neighborhood against the backdrop of the internet, satellite dishes, abject poverty and hatred of the State of Israel, advocating hatred of the Jew and of all Jews. We must utter the words to combat this unacceptable anti-Semitism. Let's say it directly to the world: without France's Jews, France would no longer be France![46]

I hope and pray that through my cantorate I can in even some small way contribute to telling the story of how French Jewish music has, since the enlightenment, been a part of dynamic change, rooted in tradition and serving as an active force in identity formation for French Jews.

[46] Manuel Valls. "French Prime Minister Manuel Valls on the 'Intolerable rise of anti-Semitism in France.'" YouTube. Posted February 17. 2015. Accessed November 26, 2015. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IU6xkFNfu24.

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APPENDIX I-Crémieu's *Chants Hébraiques* containing *Un Cabri*

זמרות ישראל

כמנהג קק קארפינטראן

Chants Hébraïques

suivant le rite des Communautés Israëlites
de l'ancien Comtat Venaissin,

Recueillis et publiés,

sous les auspices de Mr Le Grand Rabbin
et du Consistoire de Marseille

PAR

MM. JULES SALOMON CRÉMIEU

Avocat à la Cour d'appel d'Aix, Ancien Batonnier, Docteur en Droit,

ET

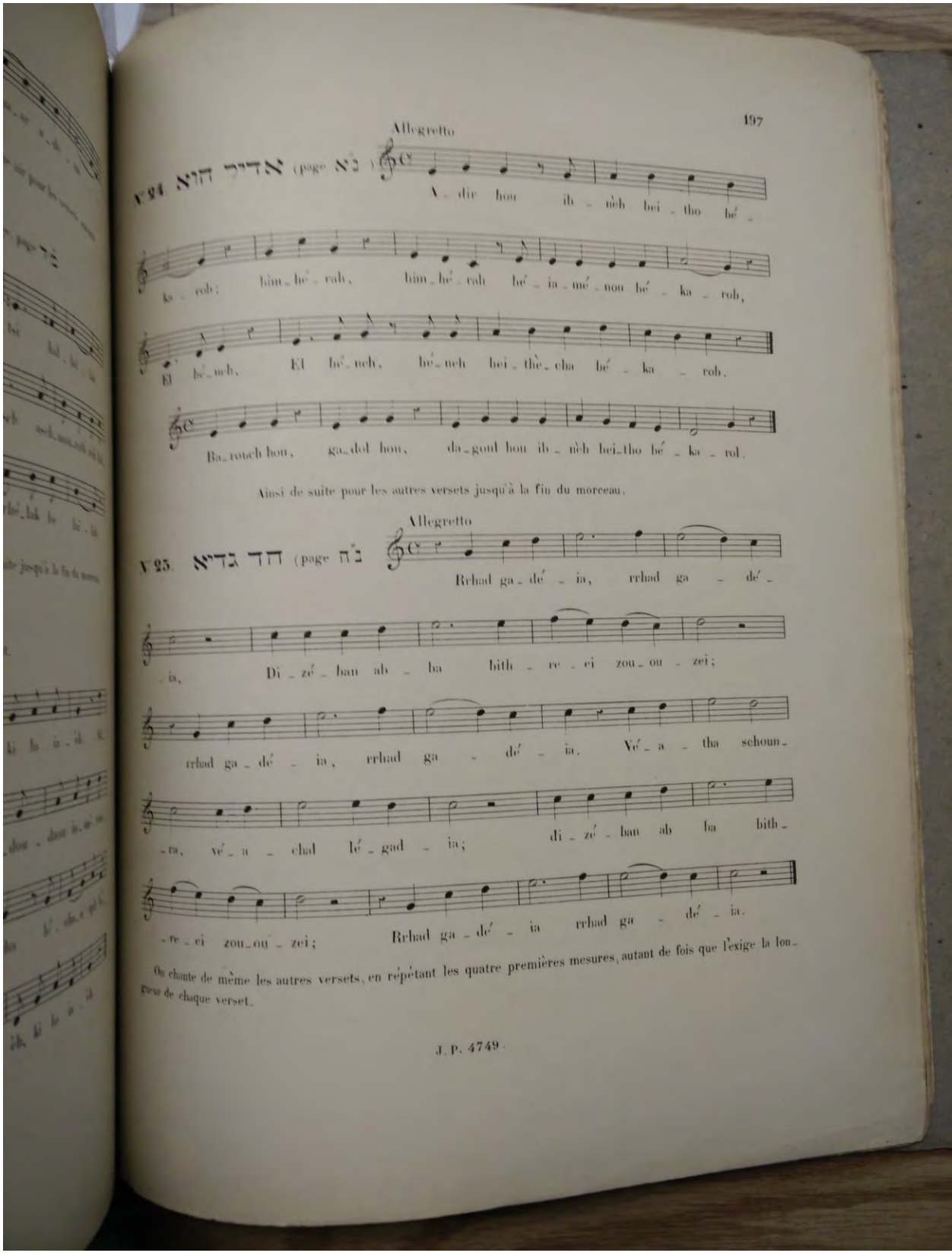
MARDOCHÉE CRÉMIEU

fils de HANANEL CRÉMIEU,

d'AIX (Bouches du Rhône)

Emmerique

APPENDIX II-Music for *Un Cabri*



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Allegretto

N° 24. אדיר הוא (page נ״א)

A - dir hou ib - nèh bei - tho bé -

ka - roh; bim - hé - rah, bim - hé - rah bé - ia - mé - nou bé - ka - roh,

El bé - neh, El bé - neh, bé - neh bei - thè - cha bé - ka - roh.

Ba - rouch hou, ga - del hou, da - goul hou ib - nèh bei - tho bé - ka - rol.

Ainsi de suite pour les autres versets jusqu'à la fin du morceau.

Allegretto

N° 25. חד גדיא (page נ״ה)

Rrhad ga - dé - ia, rrhad ga - dé -

- ia, Di - zé - ban ab - ba bith - re - ei zou - ou - zei;

rrhad ga - dé - ia, rrhad ga - dé - ia. Vé - a - tha schoun -

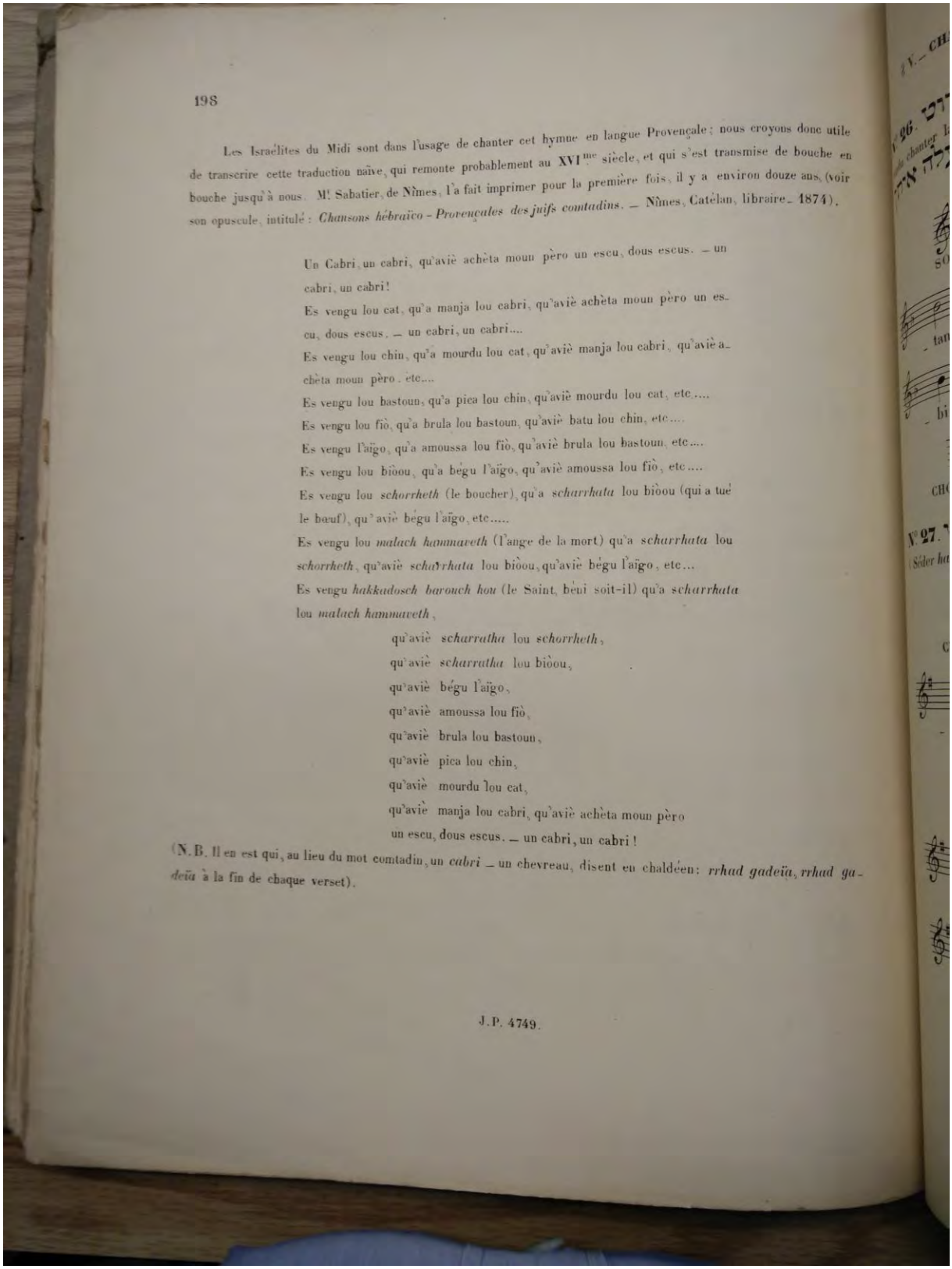
- ra, vé - a - chal lé - gad - ia; di - zé - ban ab ba bith -

- re - ei zou - ou - zei; Rrhad ga - dé - ia rrhad ga - dé - ia.

On chante de même les autres versets, en répétant les quatre premières mesures, autant de fois que l'exige la longueur de chaque verset.

J. P. 4749.

APPENDIX III-Judeo-French text for *Un Cabri*



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Les Israélites du Midi sont dans l'usage de chanter cet hymne en langue Provençale; nous croyons donc utile de transcrire cette traduction naïve, qui remonte probablement au XVI^me^ siècle, et qui s'est transmise de bouche en bouche jusqu'à nous. M. Sabatier, de Nîmes, l'a fait imprimer pour la première fois, il y a environ douze ans, (voir son opuscule, intitulé : *Chansons hébraïco-Provençales des juifs comtadins*. — Nîmes, Catélan, libraire- 1874).

Un Cabri, un cabri, qu'aviè achèta moun pèro un escu, dous escus. — un cabri, un cabri!

Es vengu lou cat, qu'a manja lou cabri, qu'aviè achèta moun pèro un escu, dous escus. — un cabri, un cabri....

Es vengu lou chin, qu'a mourdu lou cat, qu'aviè manja lou cabri, qu'aviè achèta moun pèro. etc....

Es vengu lou bastoun, qu'a pica lou chin, qu'aviè mourdu lou cat, etc....

Es vengu lou fiò, qu'a brula lou bastoun, qu'aviè batu lou chin, etc....

Es vengu l'aïgo, qu'a amoussa lou fiò, qu'aviè brula lou bastoun, etc....

Es vengu lou biòou, qu'a bégu l'aïgo, qu'aviè amoussa lou fiò, etc....

Es vengu lou *schorrheth* (le boucher), qu'a *scharrhata* lou biòou (qui a tué le bœuf), qu'aviè bégu l'aïgo, etc.....

Es vengu lou *malach hammaveth* (l'ange de la mort) qu'a *scharrhata* lou *schorrheth*, qu'aviè *scharrhata* lou biòou, qu'aviè bégu l'aïgo, etc...

Es vengu *hakkadosch barouch hou* (le Saint, béni soit-il) qu'a *scharrhata* lou *malach hammaveth*,

qu'aviè *scharratha* lou *schorrheth*,
qu'aviè *scharratha* lou biòou,
qu'aviè bégu l'aïgo,
qu'aviè amoussa lou fiò,
qu'aviè brula lou bastoun,
qu'aviè pica lou chin,
qu'aviè mourdu lou cat,
qu'aviè manja lou cabri, qu'aviè achèta moun pèro
un escu, dous escus. — un cabri, un cabri!

(N.B. Il en est qui, au lieu du mot comtadin, un *cabri* — un chevreau, disent en chaldéen: *rrhad gadeïa, rrhad gadeïa* à la fin de chaque verset).

J.P. 4749.

APPENDIX-Cantor Samuel Naumbourg

APPENDIX-Jacques Fromenthal HaLevy

APPENDIX-Captain Alfred Dreyfus

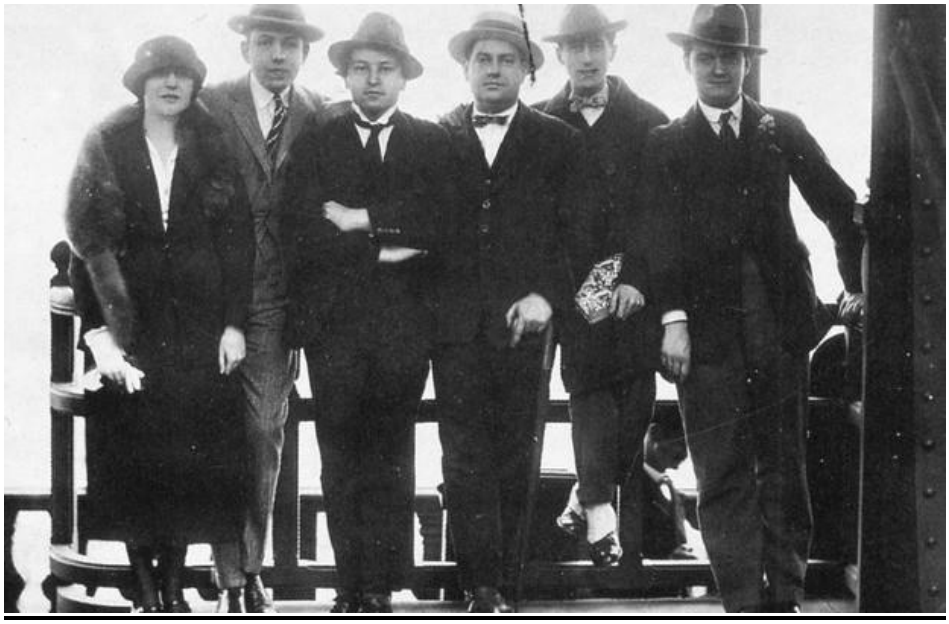
APPENDIX IV-Yiddish text for lullaby *Drayfusl Mayn Kind*

וואָס אין פֿראַנקרײַך האָט פּאַסירט,
ווייסט אַ יעדער גאַנץ גוט.
מ׳האָט פֿאַראורטיילט קאַפּיטאַן דרײַפֿוס,
נאָר דערפֿאַר וויל ער איז אַ יוד.

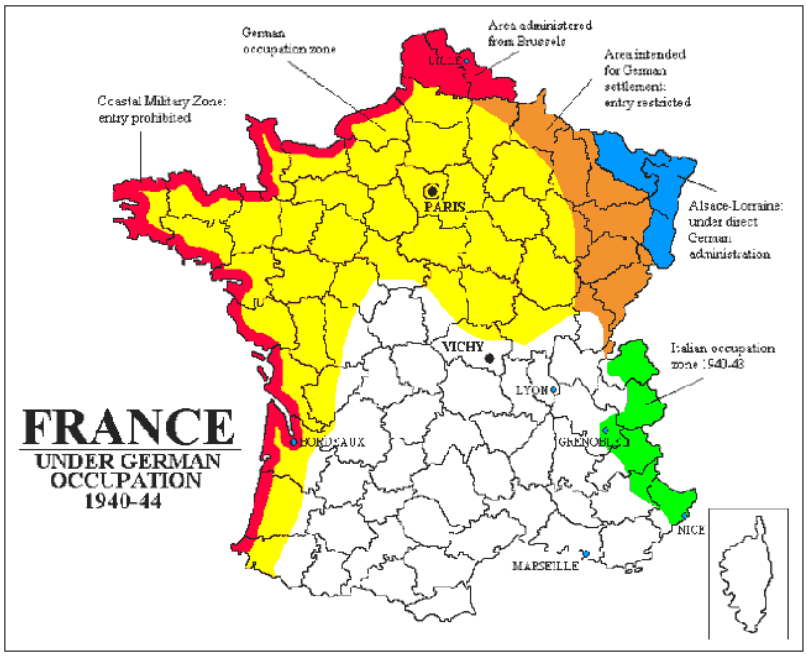
הַיי־דאַ־לאַ־לי־לאַ,
די גאַנצע וועלט זינגט דאָך דאָס לידעלע,
האָב קין מורא דרײַפֿוסל מײַן קינד,
פֿאַרגעס נישט, אַז דו ביסט אַ יידעלע.

APPENDIX-Darius Milhaud at his piano

APPENDIX-Darius Milhaud (third from right) and Les Six



APPENDIX V: France During World War

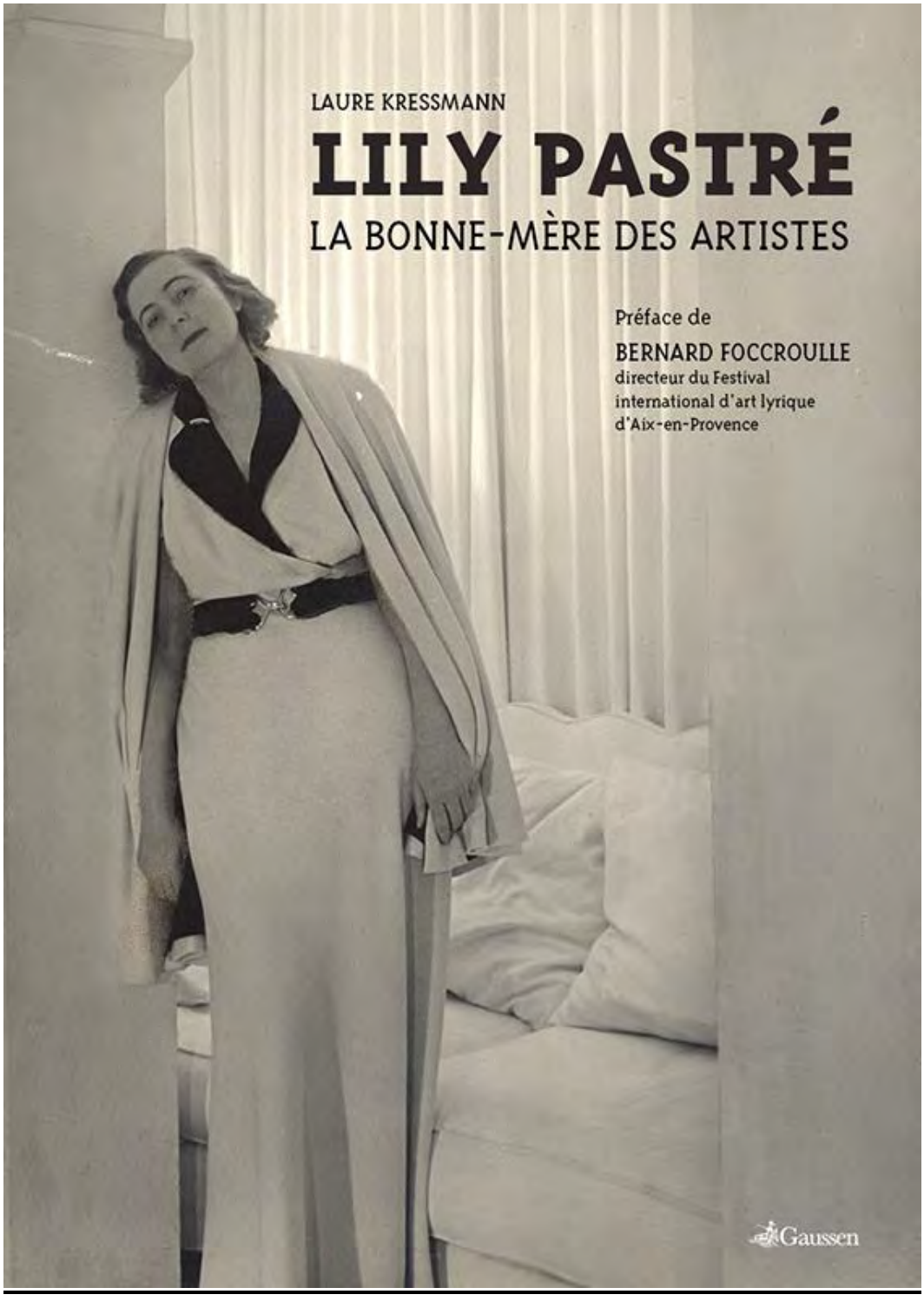


APPENDIX-MAP OF OCCUPATION

APPENDIX -Edith Piaf and Michel Emer

APPENDIX -Norbert Glanzburg and Edith Piaf

APPENDIX-Madame Lily Pastré



APPENDIX-"L'Aigle Noir" by Barbara

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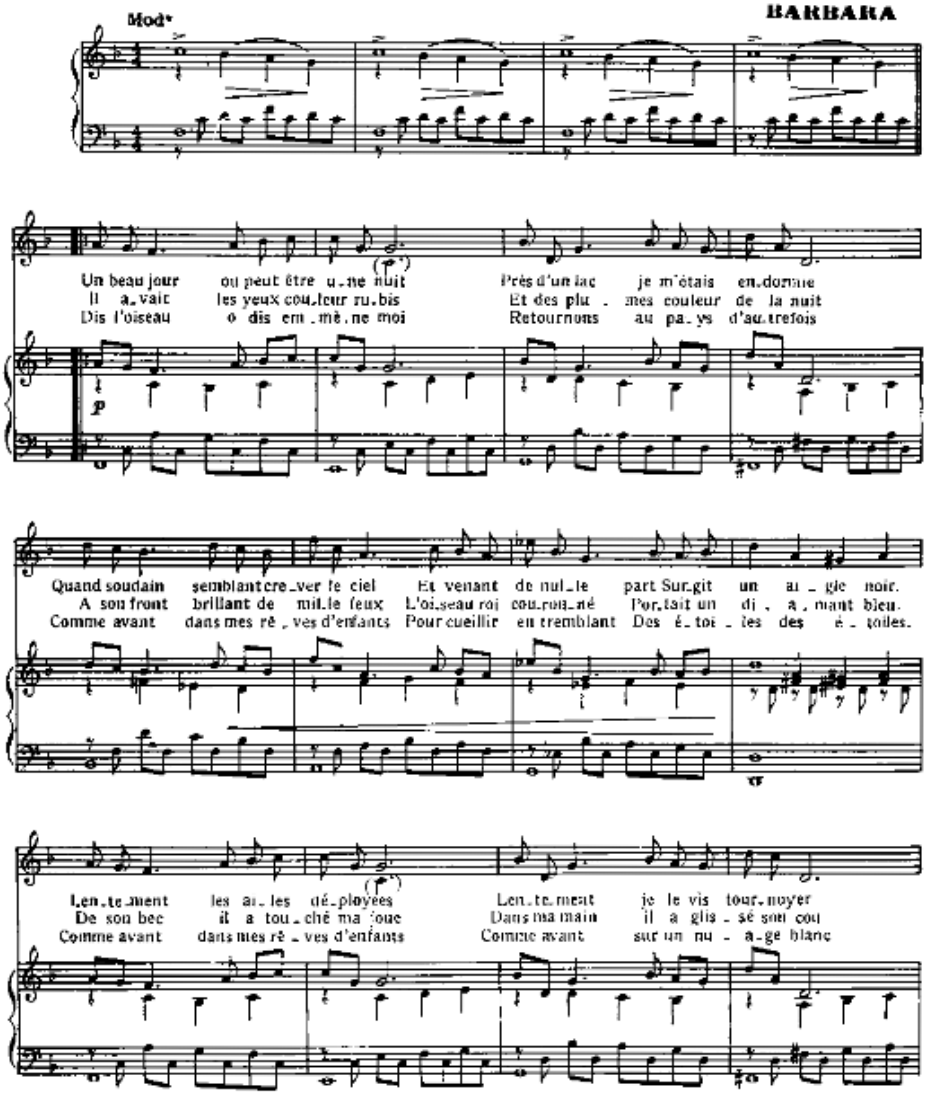
L'AIGLE NOIR

(DÉDIÉ A LAURENCE)

Paroles et Musique de

BARBARA

Mod*



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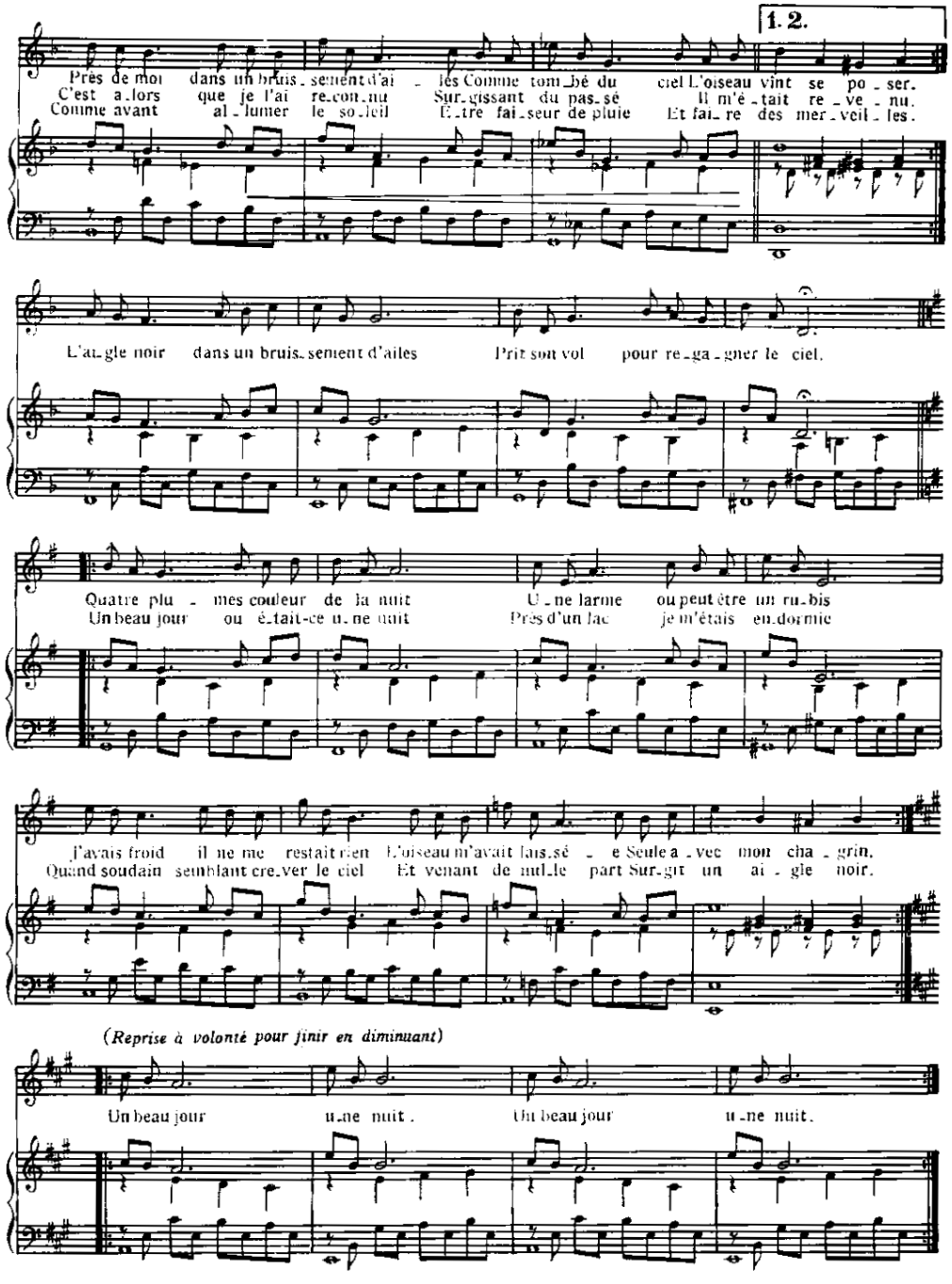
1. 2.
Près de moi dans un bruis_sement d'ai_les Comme tom_bé du ciel L'oiseau vint se po_ser.
C'est a_lors que je l'ai re_con_nu Sur_gissant du pas_sé Il m'é_tait re_ve_nu.
Comme avant al_lumer le so_leil Être fai_seur de pluie Et fai_re des mer_veil_les.
L'ai_gle noir dans un bruis_sement d'ailes Prit son vol pour re_ga_gner le ciel.
Quatre plu_mes couleur de la nuit U_ne larme ou peut être un ru_bis
Un beau jour ou é_tait-ce u_ne nuit Près d'un lac je m'étais en_dormie
J'avais froid il ne me restait rien L'oiseau m'avait lais_sé_e Seule a_vec mon cha_grin.
Quand soudain semblant cre_ver le ciel Et venant de nul_le part Sur_git un ai_gle noir.
(Reprise à volonté pour finir en diminuant)
Un beau jour u_ne nuit. Un beau jour u_ne nuit.

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