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THE JEWISH EXPERIENCE IN THE CONCERT HALL: REFLECTIONS ON LEONARD BERNSTEIN AND DARIUS MILHAUD

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Chapter 1: "Introduction"

A number of celebrated composers of Classical Music of Jewish descent in the 20^{th} century created compositions in which they set Jewish themes and elements. Leonard Bernstein (1918-1990), Arnold Schoenberg (1874-1951), Darius Milhaud (1892-1974), Mario Castelnuovo Tedesco (1895-1968), Kurt Weill (1900-1950), and Ernest Bloch (1880-1959), are just a few of the composers who have set aspects of "Jewishness" in their music. These composers brought Jewish music into a realm separate from where it usually was performed and heard. They moved Jewish music from Jewish homes, schools and synagogues into the concert hall. In doing so, these composers produced a radical break with the traditional function of Jewish music.[1] Jewish music, which had been used in Jewish rituals, prayers, celebrations, and commemorations were suddenly held out instead as "objets d'art" in the concert hall. These composers wittingly or unwittingly challenged the very nature of Jewish music. Could this music be labeled as Jewish, once it is stripped of its functionality? Could this music be labeled as Jewish when it only had elements of Jewishness incorporated within European Classical music?

Much ink has been spilt over this topic. In looking at the discussions surrounding Jewish art in post emancipation, an underlying polemic is revealed concerning whether or not such works can be considered "Jewish." For example, Joseph Guttman, in his article

[1] Members of the Russian Society for Jewish Folk Music such as Joel Engel, Joseph Achron, Michael Fabianovich Gneissin, Alexander Abramovich Krein, Moses Michael Milner, Solomon Rosowsky, Lazare Saminsky, and Ephraim Skliar also experimented with creating art music from Jewish folk tunes. The society did not exist for a long period, as with the outbreak of WWI, the society was unable to continue its work. However, the influence of these Artistic settings of music was far reaching, and influenced Jewish composers in Berlin, Palestine, and America.

"Is There a Jewish Art?" (1993), calls into question whether or not there is "Jewish art" after the 19th Century. He concludes that before the 19th Century, the term "Jewish art" is warranted in a religio-communal sense because although Jewish artists adapted their creations from that of the dominant contemporary non-Jewish society, the art of Jews was "inseparable part of the specific, legally constituted Jewish community that produced it. It expressed a distinctive Jewish life and tradition; it reflected the collective Jewish thought, feeling, and symbolism of that community" (Guttman, 14). Guttman claims that after emancipation, one could no longer call a work "Jewish" in that it could not been understood as representing the collective beliefs and symbols of the community, as the community itself was fractured. Gutmann states, "Even the occasional use of Jewish subject matter in an artist's work expressed his individuality rather than his religio-communal background. The manifestation of religious feeling was personal, not communal" (Guttman, 15).

According to Guttman, Jewish art cannot exist in the modern reality of open cultural boarders for Jews. Yet, many others would disagree, as evidenced by the plethora of discussions of "Jewishness" in works by 20th century Jewish artists. For instance, Irene Heskes's book, *Passport to Jewish Music: Its History, Traditions, and Culture* (1994), provides information about many Jewish composers, focusing on how composers' works related to their Jewish identities. Other examples can be found in articles, such as Robert Matthew-Walker's, "Milhaud's Jewish Consciousness" (1992), and Peter Gradenwitz's "Gustav Mahler and Arnold Schoenberg" (1976). Both of these authors claim that the composers' works are expressions of Jewishness. Critics, scholars and writers on popular culture, such as Heskes, Walker, and Gradenwitz, have paid great attention to the incorporation of "Jewishness" into classical music. The subject of the Jewishness of works of Classical music has been featured in articles in scholarly journals, in doctoral theses, as well as in popular culture magazine and newspaper articles.[2]

Though there are many exceptions, scholars, critics and writers have taken different approaches to explaining what makes music Jewish. Popular culture writers, such as critics and magazine reporters, in general, tend to take for granted that Bernstein infuses his Jewishness into his compositions, and even his conducting. For example, when reviewing a recording of Bernstein's *Jeremiah Symphony, The Age of Anxiety Symphony*, and *Divertimento* conducted by Leonard Slatkin (2002), critic James H. North without explanation claims that Jeremiah sounds "less Jewish" in this recording than when conducted by the Jewish composer.

By contrast to the sorts of assumptive statements found in writings by critics and magazine reporters, as exemplified by critic James H. North, musicologists and ethnomusicologists generally give a more developed account of specific sources of Jewishness within music. They explore how composers, such as Bernstein, Schoenberg, Milhaud, Castelnuovo Tedesco, Weill and Bloch achieved musical expressions of Jewishness by pointing out Jewish elements within their music. In doing so, these scholars define "Jewish elements." Within the scholarly discourse, "Jewish elements"

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[2] The following are examples of writings from each of the named categories above: Joachim Braun, "The Double Meaning of Jewish Elements in Dimitri Shostakovich's Music," *The Musical Quarterly* 71 (1985): 68-80; Deborah Netanel, "The Kaddish: A Jewish Prayer in Western Art Music" (Ph.D. diss., University of Cincinnati, 2003); Eric Levin, "A Frank Biography Finds That Leonard Bernstein's Passions, Like His Talents, Are Boundless," *People Weekly Magazine*, 4 May1987, 48-50; J.R. Oestreich, "Conflict, as a ghost lurks sadly at the podium (Leonard Bernstein's Jeremiah evokes Mideast tragedy)," *The New York Times*, 14 October 2000, 17(A).

can be understood as falling into three broad categories, namely, Jewish texts, Jewish melodic elements, and abstract Jewish sonorities. The first category of composers' usage of Jewish texts is defined by scholars to include liturgical texts, secular Jewish folk poetry, Hebrew texts, hidden textual codes within music and even Jewishly associated titles of works as in Bernstein's *Kaddish Symphony* (1963).[3]

The second category of composers' usage of Jewish melodic elements is defined by scholars to mean the usage of identifiable oral phenomenon such as nusach associated with specific liturgy, or time of the year, biblical cantillation, and Jewish folk melodies. For example, musicologist Jack Gottlieb details Bernstein's use of Jewish melodic elements in his book, *Funny, It Doesn't Sound Jewish: How Yiddish Songs and Synagogue Melodies Influenced Tin Pan Alley, Broadway, and Hollywood.* Gottlieb details Bernstein's usage of cantorial modes in 'Maria' from *West Side Story* (1957), imitations of shofar blasts in *Candide* (1956), 'Symphonic Dances' from *West Side Story*, and *Jubilee Games* (1989) and High Holy Day nusach in his *Jeremiah Symphony* (1943).[4]

The third category of examples of composers' usage of abstract Jewish sonorities, which only applies to composers of Jewish origins, is more problematic. These kinds of descriptions are vague, often pointing to musical qualities that are in no way exclusively tied to Jewishness. They are perhaps the most pervasive depictions of Jewish composers' music, as they occur in both scholarly and non-scholarly writings. They rely on extra-

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[3] An example of a description of a composer's usage of hidden textual codes can be found in musicologist and composer Jack Gottlieb's work in which he points out concealed tetragrammatons spelling out the Hebrew name for God. See, Jack Gottlieb, "Symbols of Faith in the Music of Leonard Bernstein," *The Musical Quarterly* 66, no. 2 (April 1980): 290.

[4] Jack Gottlieb, *Funny, It Doesn't Sound Jewish: How Yiddish Songs and Synagogue Melodies Influenced Tin Pan Alley, Broadway, and Hollywood* (New York: State University of New York, 2004), 179-180.

musical information to understand the composer's music as Jewish. In such readings, a composer's works are understood to be an expression of Jewishness simply because the composer was born a Jew (even after converting out of Judaism, as was the case with Gustav Mahler). For example, musicologist Peter Gradenwitz, suggests Mahler's music has a "sad, longing quality, in part because of his Jewish upbringing" (Gradenwitz, 268). This sort of claim is similar to what we see as taken for granted in many non-scholarly descriptions of a Jewish composer's works.

There is an assumption that "Jewishness" is written in, simply because the composer is Jewish. For example, when describing the music of Milhaud for an article in the magazine *Musical Opinion*, a former student of Milhaud, Robert Matthew-Walker broadly claims that Milhaud "wrote in" what he calls "his [Milhaud's] melodic Jewish consciousness," which Matthew-Walker defines as "strong melodic lines" (Matthew-Walker, 354). Clearly, "strong melodic lines" are not only an aspect of Jewish music. Although Milhaud is known for setting Jewish folk melodies from Southern France, Matthew-Walker abstractly describes the Jewishness in Milhaud's music as an organic expression of his Jewish identity in his melodies.

Many claim that Jewish composers write Jewish music, simply because they are Jews. In doing so, there is an unselfconscious implication on the part of the writer that Jewishness is racially determined. One needs to question the agenda of scholars and critics who make the essentialist claim that Jewish composers wrote their Jewish identities into the fabric of their compositions, regardless of whether they did so deliberately or unconsciously. Once one looks more closely at such claims, it is revealed that the enormous emphasis on these claims of Jewishness is not in balance with the rest of the elements that make up a work. Why is there such emphasis on the Jewishness of a piece of music? The claims of Jewishness of pieces of Classical music are in some ways more significant that the actual Jewish themes and elements that are in use in the music in that it seems there is a political agenda driving this search for representations of Jewishness in mainstream culture. In such readings, extra musical information about a composer's Jewish background becomes critical in forming an understanding of a composer's music.

Musicologist Klára Móricz's Ph.D. dissertation, "Jewish Nationalism in Twentieth-Century Art Music" (1999), addresses the essentialization of Jewish composers. Móricz provides a good model for looking to the broader cultural context to understand this occurrence. Móricz ties the essentialization of Jewish composers to the context of the emergence of nationalism in Europe in the 19th Century. In this context, Móricz asserts that the Jewish community sought to define its own "national" movement. Within the realm of music, a nationalistic agenda lead to claims that there is a recognizable "Jewish essence" that all Jewish composers put into their music – consciously, or (more often) unconsciously. Móricz's work is helpful in providing a detailed discussion of how various theorists described Jewish music in sweeping and ambiguous terms. For example, Móricz notes David Ewen's essentialist claim in 1931 that, "Hebrew music is the audible expression of something that is in the heart of every Jew" (Ewen, found in Móricz, 6).

Móricz's work is also helpful in pointing out the perils of such essentialist claims. She states that although nationalism began as a "liberating intellectual movement," it lead to prejudices, xenophobia, racism, and genocide. The sort of derogatory beliefs about

Jews which Móricz points out have had a long lasting impact on how some view Jewish artists. For example, in the 1920s, Darius Milhaud experienced such prejudice against his work as a young composer in France. Vincent D'Indy, a contemporary of Milhaud's, claimed Jewish composers, by nature, impeded the progress of French music with their contributions.[5]

Móricz's theories are very useful in providing insight into why the essentialization of Jewish composers' works happened historically by placing this occurrence within the context of nationalism. One can see a similar kind of essentialization of Jewish composers in America in the 20th century as those in Europe in the 19th century described by Móricz. One might question why these sorts of limiting statements are so pervasive in a different context and time, namely, in America throughout the 20th century to the present. Móricz's work shows that these sorts of limiting claims usually point to an underlying political agenda on the part of those describing the composers. By focusing on the Jewish elements in compositions, scholars and writers brought forth a political agenda that may or may not have been part of composers' intentions. In the context of America in the 20th century, I believe the drive to show how the Jewishness of a work is indicative of a quest for empowering Jewish tradition, ethics, beliefs.

The statements which emphasize Jewishness reflect how some want to view musical works, and even the composers themselves, as fitting into Jewish tradition. Many celebrated Classical composers who are Jewish may be claimed by some as

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[5] This will be discussed in more detail in chapter three. Also see Barbara Kelly, *Tradition and Style in the Works of Darius Milhaud 1912-1939* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2003), 28.

representing Jewishness in their personas and works in a way in which they had not intended. Classical composers, whose compositions brought Jewish music to the foreground in mainstream culture, gave voice to a subverted group of people in dominant culture. Regardless of the composers' intentions, they had an enormous impact in breaking through cultural boundaries which traditionally did not empower Jewish figures within dominant culture. Composers, like Leonard Bernstein, and Darius Milhaud became icons of empowerment for the Jewish community.[6]

Leonard Bernstein is an example of a Jewish composer who had an almost heroic status among the Jewish community. As an enormously successful Jew in dominant culture, he broke subversive boundaries for Jews. This was all the more powerful in that he did not try to hide his Judaism. Although he was not religious, he strongly identified himself as a Jew. He was quoted referring to himself as a "chip off the old Tenach."[7]

Milhaud famously said of himself, "I am a Frenchman from Provence and by religion a Jew" (Milhaud 1953, 3). Milhaud's compositions can be seen as showing the blend of both of these parts of his identity. In many of his works, he used both Jewish elements and melodic material based on French folk melodies. He used innovative musical techniques in his works such as polytonality. Darius Milhaud came of age as a composer in Aix-en-Provence in a social climate which was kind to Jews. His ease

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[6] Bernstein was much more broadly an icon of empowerment for the Jewish community, as I will describe in more detail in the next chapter. However, Milhaud was also claimed by composers and scholars as a great Jewish figure of the 20th century.

[7] See Jack Gottlieb, *Leonard Bernstein: A Jewish Legacy*, taken from booklet accompanying recording of *Leonard Bernstein: A Jewish Legacy*. Naxos, 2003. Catalog #8.559407. One Compact Disc (55:47 duration). Booklet (19 pages), 5.

within dominant French culture came to an abrupt end with WWII when he was forced to leave France for America.

Both Bernstein and Milhaud composed a great number of works. They were both extremely versatile, composing in a wide range of styles. Bernstein used Jewish texts and Jewish melodic elements (as defined earlier) in many of his works, for example, *Symphony no. 1 'Jeremiah'* (1943), *Hashkiveinu* (1945), *Symphony No. 2 'The Age of Anxiety'* (1949, rev. 1965), *Yigdal* (1950), *Symphony No. 3 'Kaddish'* (1963), *Chichester Psalms* (1965), *Mass* (1971), and individual pieces such as *Halil* (1981). Many of Milhaud's works included Jewish elements. He used Jewish melodic themes and subject matter in many song cycles for piano and voice, or orchestra and voice, such as, *Poèmes Juifs* (1916), *Six Chants Populaires Hébraïques* (1925), *Deux Hymnes* (1925), *Prieres Journalieres a l'usage des Juifs du Comtat Venaissin* (1927), *Liturgie Comtadine* (1933), *Cantate Nuptiale* (1937), *Ode to Jerusalem* (1972), as well as in his Opera, *David (1952).* He wrote a number of liturgical compositions, for example, *Kaddisch* (1945), *Service Sacré* (1947), *L'chah Dodi* (1948). Many of his works for orchestra used Jewish elements and were given titles with Jewish references, such as *Saul* (1954), and *Ode to Jerusalem* (1972), which he dedicated to the State of Israel.

Both Milhaud's and Bernstein's works have been essentialized as "Jewish" simply because they were born Jews. Some even claimed that Jewish composers, such as Bernstein and Milhaud wrote their Jewishness into their own works unconsciously, and in a sense, uncontrollably. An example of this can be seen in the work of Jack Gottlieb, who writes, "Did Leonard Bernstein create any or all of these [Jewish] musical symbols purposely…? For the answer, one has only to refer to his own words from the preface to *The Age of Anxiety*: '…I trust the unconscious implicitly'" (Gottlieb 1980, 295).

We see with this essentialization of the composers the opposite extreme view from Guttman, namely, Jewish artists by definition create Jewish art. By contrast, Guttman understands these creations as highly individual representations of the many facets of the artists' personal identities, that cannot be entitled as Jewish. However, one might want to question the definition of Jewish art post-emancipation. In 19th and 20th centuries, Jews as individuals, and as a collective needed to deal with integrating competing influences, and overlapping identifiers (for example, national, religious and cultural identities). Jewish art, as Guttman claims, was more readily defined before this new context for Jews of open cultural borders. However, in looking to how works are described as incorporating Jewishness post emancipation, perhaps we can learn about the lives of Jews during that time period. It is possible that works of Jewish artists, such as Bernstein and Milhaud, can give us insight into how artists deal with the dilemma of overlapping identifiers in their personal works of art, and what that might imply in terms of how the broader community integrated the many influences in their lives.[8]

Overall, the definitions of Jewish elements as described by scholars above are helpful in providing criteria by which compositions can be understood as expressing aspects of Jewishness. However, I believe that simply pointing to these Jewish themes and elements in order to show the pieces expressive of Jewishness is not enough. It is important to explore how the Jewishness within a piece of music is in conversation with other aspects of a composer's identity, such as the particular historical, social and

[8] I will develop and build on these ideas throughout this study.

political context in which the composer lived. How did geographical locations, dominant ideologies, personal circumstances, musical trends and major events, such as the Holocaust, have an impact on how composers related to and expressed Jewishness in their compositions?

Recent scholarly work, such as that of musicologists David Schiller, and Klara Móricz, look at a combination of musical influences, biographical particulars and a broader social historical context to understand the music of a specific artist. I will model my approach after Móricz and Schiller, in looking at how these social, political and religious structures affected composers' creations of sound structures. For example, in his book, *Bloch, Schoenberg, and Bernstein: Assimilating Jewish Music* (2003), Schiller compared and contrasted the social and political contexts in which Bernstein, Bloch and Schoenberg lived, and suggested ways in which this had a strong influence on how they integrated Jewish musical elements into their compositions. Schiller wrote that though the composers lived in overlapping time periods, their "solutions" in integrating their religious, national, and ethnic identities into their music were drastically different from each other, in part because of the great amount of social change in the years proceeding, during and following the Shoah. Schiller's work is helpful in providing a model for exploring how broad social circumstances impact a composer's integration of Jewishness into his work.

Móricz, like Schiller, provides the historical context in which each composer emerges, providing descriptions of "interrelated social, political and personal components of which their 'Jewishness' was only one" (Móricz, 23).

As a case study, I will explore the contexts in which Bernstein and Milhaud lived, providing a historical context for their works. I will look at how both Bernstein and Milhaud express aspects of Jewishness and other cultural influences within their works.

Jewish Music Redefined

How can one define Jewish music in the 20th Century? Liturgical music does not need to be defined, as it is understood to be Jewish. However, where the context does not define it, such as with Bernstein's and Milhaud's Classical works that incorporate Jewishness, what are the Jewish elements of it? Where the traditional context defines Jewish music, the modern period is about renegotiating those limits.

One needs to take a holistic approach to evaluating Jewishness in compositions. In scholarship from the mid-20th century, it might have been enough to label a piece "Jewish" if it simply had some Jewish elements in it, such as a title, or a text. Today, we want a more nuanced view of this music. This is particularly true in the second part of the 20th century, during post-modernist times when many things are reexamined. In this study, I will contextualize Jewish music to include concrete information such as the context in which the music develops and is performed, including information about the melodies and texts used. I will also include how this music functions as a symbol or serves as a metaphor for the individual who composed it, and how it is culturally represented. My task is to explore music as a reflection of society in addition to examining the concrete elements of the music.

In the following two chapters, I will explore how a number of factors working together impacted how Bernstein and Milhaud related to and expressed Jewishness in their compositions. For example, I will examine the composers' Jewish backgrounds as well as the other factors that had a great influence on the composers. What specific Jewish elements did the composers' use in their music? How did the multivalent musical culture in which they lived (France and America) influence their compositions? I will look at how the particulars of their life experiences factored into their creative works. For example, I will explore how the composers dealt with issues of assimilation and anti-Semitism. I will also explore the reactions and depictions of their music and images by scholars and popular writers. These pieces can be understood as representations of Jews fitting in or not fitting into long established gentile society. This can be seen in the way that these "Jewish" pieces function as music within greater society. It can also be seen within the music itself by examining how musically, the Jewishness within a piece functions and plays off other elements. The label "Jewish music" needs to be expanded to include a full consideration of the Jewish experience.

In chapter two I will explore the music and image of Leonard Bernstein within the context of the experience of Jews in America. In chapter three I will look to the image and music of Darius Milhaud as providing insight into the cultural, social and political situation that faced Jews in Paris during the time period in which he lived. In the conclusion, I compare and contrast the music and public images of the two composers. I will describe how my work can provide a framework for looking to other Jewish composers and their works as providing depictions of Jewish experiences.

Chapter 2: "Leonard Bernstein"

The image of Leonard Bernstein, as revealed through photos, pictures, cartoon caricatures, stories, and other media is one of opposites existing together. The word "eclectic" is used over and over when detailing both his personality and artistic creations. He is described as at once moody, passionate, focused and meditative, ingenious, crass, and refined. For example, Helen Epstein, in an article on Bernstein's tenure as a teacher of music at Tanglewood, describes Bernstein's face as that indicating this mixture of opposing ways of being and moods. "It is a face [Bernstein's] which at 63 requires a Rembrandt to render its tremendous world-weariness and paradoxical curiosity: its arrogance and vulnerability: its quick intelligence and heavy sensuality."[9]

Bernstein's music is also frequently described as "eclectic." Bernstein himself declares, "I proudly accept the epithet 'eclectic,' because that puts me right smack in the grandest company of all, which is Stravinsky and Beethoven and everybody else."[10]

In this chapter, I will examine parts of Leonard Bernstein's life in greater detail, with an emphasis on his connection with Jewishness, as well as the important cultural and musical influences that had an impact on his works. I will explore how Bernstein is portrayed by the media and by scholars. I will show how Bernstein is characterized as a hero in the Jewish community, and explore the reasons why this is so. I will discuss how Bernstein is essentialized as a writer of Jewishness by many, and the political agenda which I understand as driving this portrayal of Bernstein. Finally, I will examine the

[9] Helen Epstein, "The Lenny They Love to Hate," *The Soho News*, 1 September 1981, 8.
[10] Bernstein, found in "Leonard Bernstein: an Exclusive Interview" New York Public Library (NYPL) "clippings" file, no other information available.

third movement of Bernstein's *Jeremiah Symphony*, 'Lamentation' in detail. I will focus on what others have written about 'Lamentation' and provide my own analysis of the Jewish elements and other influences which Bernstein integrated into this piece. I will provide a reading of this work as a metaphor for the varied influences which faced the American Jewish community during the time of its composition.

Bernstein was born in 1918 in Lawrence, Massachusetts. As a boy, he attended Boston Latin school, and then continued his education at Harvard University. At Harvard he studied with Ballantine, Edward Burlingame Hill, A. Tillman Merrit and Pison. He began composing and conducting at Harvard. He studied conducting with Serge Koussevitzky at Tangelwood, Massachusetts. He took the post of conductor of the New York Philharmonic in 1943. In 1958, he became the first American born person to hold the position of director and conductor of the New York Philharmonic. He worked in this capacity until 1969, when he decided to devote his time exclusively to composing. Bernstein wrote many celebrated works for a variety of venues, for example, Broadway shows, Orchestral works, and choral works. Bernstein's excellence as a conductor was recognized internationally. In addition to performing and writing music, Bernstein sought to teach about music. He gave a series of lectures on music that were televised. He published some of this lecture series in his book on music entitled, *The Joy of Music* (1959). Bernstein received many prizes and honors for his contribution to music, such as the Kennedy Center Honor for Lifetime of Contributions to American Culture Through the Performing Arts, the Lifetime achievement Grammy Award and eleven Emmy Awards from the National Academy of Recording Arts and Sciences. Bernstein died in New York in 1990.

The Music and Image of Bernstein

Bernstein's music combines multiple traditions, as he blends Jewish music with Jazz, Classical and Folk. One can trace Bernstein's exposure to different musical influences to his childhood. As a child in Lawrence, Massachusetts in the 1920s, Bernstein was exposed to different strains of American, Classical and Jewish music. Bernstein grew up hearing traditional Jewish cantillation and chant in synagogue. His parents were somewhat traditional Jews, and provided a Jewish education for Bernstein. He studied at religious school and became a bar mitzvah. His father taught him Jewish texts. From a young age, Bernstein took interest in music from the European Classical tradition. It was apparent from the time he was a boy that he was a talented pianist. Being brought up in America, he had all of the surrounding musical influences, such as Jazz, and Tin Pan Alley.

He studied music at Harvard University, the Curtis Institute of Music in Philadelphia and at Tanglewood. His entrée in to such elite institutions was itself impressive, as during the 1930s, when he was a student, there was a quota at such schools as to how many Jews could be a part of the student body. His great talent was obvious to his teachers and colleagues at each institution. At both Harvard and Curtis, he was given the coveted opportunities to conduct the student orchestras. At Tanglewood, he studied closely under the great Russian conductor, Serge Koussevitzky. Koussevitzky became an important role model and mentor to the young conductor, eventually offering him one of his first semi-professional opportunity as his assistant conductor at Tangelwood.

Bernstein's professional debut conducting the New York City Symphony Orchestra on November 14, 1943 is so remarkable, it takes on a sort of mythical resonance. The great European conductor Bruno Walter had become ill, and was unable to conduct the Orchestra's performance Carnegie Hall, which was also to be broadcast nationally on the radio. Bernstein, who had been Walter's assistant, was called in to replace him just hours before the concert. Bernstein was an enormous success, as described on the first page of the New York Times the day after the concert:

> There are many variations of one of the six best stories in the world: the young corporal takes over the platoon when all the officers are down; the captain, with the dead admiral at his side signals the fleet to go ahead; the young actress, fresh from Corinth or Ashtabula, steps into the star's role; the junior clerk, alone in the office, makes the instantaneous decision that saves the firm from ruin. The adventure of Leonard Bernstein, 25-year-old assistant conductor of the Philharmonic, who blithely mounted the podium at Carnegie Sunday afternoon when Conductor Bruno Walter became ill, belongs in the list...Mr. Bernstein had to have something approaching genius to make full use of this opportunity" (found in Burton xvi-ii).

This was a defining moment in Bernstein's career. He became enormously popular.

While it is undeniable that he was extremely talented, part of his initial success can be understood as due to what one might term as excellent timing. Until Bernstein began conducting, all of the famous conductors were European. Americans were eager to see a young American "take the wand," so to speak.

Within two years of the incident, he was hired as the New York City Symphony Orchestra's conductor. Under his direction, the orchestra received international critical acclaim. He also directed the orchestra and conducting departments of Tanglewood after Koussevitzky's death in 1951. He became involved in Brandeis University, a secular University with Jewish roots, in the early 1950s, teaching music as a visiting music professor. Bernstein was sought after to conduct internationally. He lead orchestras in London, Tel Aviv, Prague and Milan. Starting in the late 1950s, Bernstein became the conductor of the New York Philharmonic. During his eleven year tenure with the philharmonic, Bernstein took on the role of conductor of the Vienna State Orchestra as well.

Bernstein's career was surprising in that he excelled in so many different venues. In addition to conducting, he composed for both Broadway and the Concert Hall, and he also created television programs to teach about music. Through his televised music series *Omnibus* and *Young People's Concerts with the New York Philharmonic*, he educated many Americans about music. He was extremely charismatic and had a lot of attention in the media, which only furthered his popularity. In addition to conducting, and teaching about music as a television personality, Bernstein had a rich career as a composer. He received a certain degree of critical acclaim for both his Broadway and Classical compositions. However, much to his own disappointment, it was his Broadway musicals that received the most critical and popular praise.

He was awarded with some of the highest markers of achievement in the arts in America, winning multiple Emmy's, Tony's and a Grammy, as well as many international prizes. Bernstein was clearly a success in the mainstream. Leon Botstein, a book reviewer for the New York Times, writes about Bernstein as representing "young America, the hope of the future" in the 1940s because of he took over from European émigré conductors.[11] He also said that in the 60s "Bernstein looked like the John F.

[11] Loen Botstein, "Psychobiography of a Maestro," *New York Times*, 10 May 1987, 3(7).

Kennedy of culture."[12] The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians labels Leonard Bernstein, "the most famous and successful native-born figure in the history of classical music in the USA."[13] Biographer, Joan Peyser wrote,

> What Bernstein did above everything else, was to prove to the world that an American, and one who had not studied abroad, could be not only well trained but also a remarkable and exciting musician...The totality of admiration, adulation, and love that have been poured onto him is unparalleled, outside of the superstars of popular culture (Peyser, found in Lehmann-Haupt).[14]

Through such romanticized descriptions, Bernstein became an American icon. As an icon, he became a symbol of success and excellence in America. People idealized him as handsome and full of potential to do great things, as described above.

To the Jewish community, Bernstein was a hero. In understanding why there seems to be so much of an emphasis on Bernstein's success in mainstream America, it is important to unpack the historical context for Jews in America. In Bernstein's grandparents' generation, Jews in America struggled for mere survival, with the need for work, shelter and food. In his parents' generation, many Jews tried to emulate Protestant America by taking on their aesthetical values and social constructions within Jewish clubs, homes and houses of worship. In Bernstein's generation, many Jews in America tried to integrate into the general American society.

America presented religious and cultural freedom to Jews previously unavailable to them. Jews gained empowerment by having a "voice" in greater American society. There were many Jewish politicians and artists that were celebrated by Jews and non-

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[12] Ibid., 27.

[13] *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2d ed., s.v. "Bernstein, Leonard," by David Schiff, 444.

[14] Christopher Lehmann-Haupt, "Book of the Times," *New York Times*, 7 May 1987, 25(N).

Jews alike. The ability to "make it" in the American mainstream symbolized the long awaited freedom for Jews of acceptance into dominant culture. Recognition of Jews in the public sphere spoke of not mere acceptance of Jews in America, but celebration of them. This meant a great deal to the American Jewish community, as evidenced by books such as Stephen Birmingham's *"Our Crowd": The Great Jewish Families of New York* (1967), which reified Jews who gained success in America, such as the Schiff's, Lehmann's, Loew's and the Saks.

Historian Jeffrey Shandler wrote about the impact of some of famous American Jews who did not hide their Jewish identities in the public sphere in his article "American Jews and Politics" (2004).

> The years following World War II also witnessed important changes in Jewish visibility in the American public sphere, especially within popular culture venues. The crowning of Bess Myerson as Miss America in 1945, amid reports that she resisted pressure to change her last name to obscure her Jewish identity, became a landmark event in postwar American' Jews dynamic sense of self. Myerson's triumph echoed the acclaim of baseball players Hank Greenberg and Sandy Koufax and their refusal to play in World Series games that coincided with Yom Kippur. All three were heroes of mid-twentieth-century American popular culture who had triumphed in nationwide competitions that valorized physical superiority and talent as a public performer, contests in which their being Jewish was essentially irrelevant; however, they had done so *as Jews* (Shandler, 202).

Like Myerson, Bernstein resisted pressure to change his Jewish sounding last name in order to more easily achieve acceptance by mainstream Americans. Bernstein was lauded in the Jewish press for having strong ties to Israel. In America, he was involved in the Jewish community. As previously mentioned, he taught at Brandeis University, and gave a concert at its inception. He gave concerts and talks for Jewish organizations. He spoke openly about his Jewish identity, referring to it frequently in interviews.

Bernstein was claimed by American Jews as a Jewish hero for bringing a strong Jewish presence to the mainstream. Bernstein gave hope to his generation that Jews could have acceptance in the mainstream without hiding their Jewish identities. Through his actions and creations, Bernstein represented a kind of freedom for Jews that was unheard of only a few generations before this time. Bernstein showed Jews that almost no place was taboo for Jews, no matter how dark a history it held for Jews. For example, in the New York Times, June 30th, 1973, on the topic of his concert at the Vatican in honor of Pope Paul's 10th anniversary of his accession to the papacy Bernstein brashly claimed, "A Jew will be at the podium in the center of the Roman Catholic Church."[15] Bernstein's work as the beloved conductor of the Vienna State Orchestra is also an example of his presence in a sphere that previously unwelcome to Jews.

Bernstein was described in heroic terms in both scholarly and popular culture publications that focused on Jewishness. The following are a couple of examples of Bernstein described in this way.

In her book *Passport to Jewish Music: Its History, Traditions, and Culture*, Irene Heskes writes:

> In 1947, Bernstein toured Palestine during the difficult period following the end of the British mandate. He returned the following year, and while the new State of Israel was fighting a critical war of survival, traveled throughout that country, performing and meeting with the young people whose musical idol he had become. One must realize how important music has always been to the Jewish people to understand why Bernstein

[15] *New York Times*, 30 June, 1973. Found in NYPL clippings file, no additional information available.

was considered a hero of that war without ever carrying a gun (Heskes, 301).

In a Jewish periodical, Judith Eisenstein discusses Bernstein's presentation of his work *Jeremiah* at a monthly Jewish Music Forum meeting at New York's 92nd Street Y in March of 1994. Eisenstein gives an unabashedly admiring account of the composer, describing him as a quasi movie star. "Before long, his pleasant appearance, his self-depreciatory little grin, and his informal speech tinged with Bostonese had quite conquered the small audience" (Eisenstein, 21).

I think it is important to look at the two statements quoted above by Eisenstein and that by Heskes in understanding Bernstein's importance. Eisenstein comments on Bernstein's appearance, describing him in the way one would a celebrity. Similarly, Heskes points out his celebrity. Bernstein's image as a celebrated *American* composer and conductor informs Eisenstein's and Heskes's reactions to Bernstein. In these descriptions, Bernstein's image is primary.

What was special about Bernstein, in comparison with the other famous Jews named by Shandler, (Myerson, Koufax and Greenberg), was that he not only presented his own Jewish identity within American mainstream culture, but he also created art in which Jewishness was represented.[16] He wrote music in which he set Jewish elements. With his symphony, *Jeremiah*, he brought nusach and biblical chant into the concert hall. He presented Jewish music as something to be admired as a great aesthetic art. Bernstein

[16] A more apt comparison could be made between Bernstein and other creative artists, like Marc Chagall. There are many books and websites that discuss Chagall's Jewish background and accomplishments. For example, two of such resources see Jean Rosensaft, *Chagall and the Bible* (New York: Universe Books, 1987); http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/biography/chagall.html, (date accessed, 23 December, 2005).

was an antidote to the Jewish stereotypes, such as fiddlers, gypsies, buffoons and other media perpetrated Jewish caricatures.

Eisenstein credits Bernstein with bringing Jewish heritage to life through his music. After describing Bernstein's performance of the Jeremiah symphony, she writes,

> ...it was a beautiful and stimulating experience...which we carried along with us to the "speech" end of a diner in honor of the dedication of the new building of the Herzliah Hebrew Academy. There, as one speaker after another stressed the importance, the value, the creative potentiality of a thorough Hebraic education...we had to control an overpowering urge to rise and shout, "Listen to them, you people. It's the truth they're telling you. It isn't just theory,--it isn't just idealistic dreaming, it's the truth, and we can prove it. Our great Hebrew heritage is alive. When it is planted in soil,--good honest soil of a land,--or good honest human soil, it takes root again and flowers (Eisenstein, 21).

Eisenstein's impassioned claim that Hebrew heritage is alive, and not "idealistic dreaming" is a direct result of her having heard Bernstein play and sing through his *Jeremiah Symphony*. To Eisenstein, Bernstein's work represented the new grounding in which Jewish tradition could evolve and flourish. For many like Eisenstein, Bernstein provided a new image of a Jew in dominant culture. Bernstein's success as a towering force in the arts in America made him a Jewish hero.

Musicologist, Abraham Lubin explores some of the Jewish content of Bernstein's symphony *Jeremiah* in his article, "The Influence of Jewish Music and Thought in the Works of Leonard Bernstein" (1991). For the majority of Lubin's article, he examines the Jewishness of Bernstein's work. However, Lubin shifts focus in a surprising way in his summation.

> ...finally it is worth noting that..the *Jeremiah Symphony* received the New York Music Critics Circle Award as "the outstanding orchestral work by an American composer" introduced that season. This last fact reaffirms our contention that in the final analysis the worth of any creative expression must be judged solely by the inner qualities of strength and

> beauty which is may or may not possess. Any other consideration such as we have pursued here, is significant only insomuch as it was our purpose to study the work from a musicological or ethnomusicological point of view (Lubin, 22).

Lubin's thesis throughout the article seems to be that *Jeremiah* is a work which highlights Jewishness through its incorporation of Jewish elements. He builds his argument around the Jewishness of the piece, and Bernstein's Jewish background, only to conclude by saying that the Jewishness in *Jeremiah* is an extra-musical interest. This is jarring, as it seems to be against his entire thesis. However, I believe that Lubin's determination that the Jewish content of the piece is only significant in terms of its extra-musical interest to musicologists and ethnomusicologists is telling about the values at the time which he writes this article. Once again, it seems that Bernstein's success in the mainstream is what makes him a hero amongst Jews. Lubin's line of reasoning is symptomatic of an ideology that adheres to romantic notions of great Classical music being defined by its ability to transcend its cultural origins. Thus, in order for Bernstein's work to be viewed as great, it had to be stripped of its worldly elements in the concert hall. Thus, Lubin's "undoing" of his own thesis, is an attempt to empower Bernstein in the non-Jewish arena.

Similarly, Bernstein himself attempts to deemphasize the depiction of Jewishness in the *Jeremiah Symphony,* by denying any usage of specific Jewish musical content. Instead, Bernstein refers to this music as falling into the category of using abstract Jewish sonorities. For example, Eisenstein quoted Bernstein's discussion of the *Jeremiah* symphony when he gave a presentation to the Jewish Music Forum at the 92nd Street Y. "People say it sounds very Jewish. He doesn't know exactly why. Mood, probably. It is not derived from Jewish melody, as a whole. However, certain germs of Jewish melody serve as basic material" (Bernstein, found in Eisenstadt, 21). Bernstein's strategy in blurring the direct Jewish source of the melodic material he uses, is ironically similar to Lubin's in that both strive to prove this music as belonging to the great works in the Western Classical tradition. Like Lubin's final analysis of a great work of art being great by way of its own merits, I believe Bernstein's agenda in referring to an abstract Jewish sonority, rather than a concrete source, is to claim his music as falling within the romantic ideal as "universal." Universality is defined in the *Dictionary of World Literary Terms* as "That quality of a work of art whereby its significance is made to exceed the limits of the particular (incident, situation, place, time, person) and to extend itself throughout the universe. The effect of this quality is to make the work of art tend to stir the souls of all men of all time."[17] Universalism was a goal which composers of music for the concert hall sought to reach. It was the ultimate mark of greatness, in that a composer's music, if termed universal, was understood to be universally significant and moving. Moreover, a composer's ability to make a universal statement through the product of his own creative imagination is highly valued since the late 18th century. In a discussion on romanticism, in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, the following is written:

> ...above all, that concept [of creativity] highlighted the privilege attaching to the individual creative genius. Characteristics that had already been attributed to art in general within philosophical aesthetics of the late 18th century – its capacity to access a plane beyond the real (variously characterized as the transcendental, the inexpressible or the infinite), its power to arouse the strongest emotions, and its value as a mode of intuitive knowledge of the world – were now particularized, referring to the individual creator and the individual (original and 'great') work of art.[18]

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[17] *Dictionary of World Literary Terms*, 1970 ed., s.v. "Universality," 349.
[18] *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2d ed., s.v. "Romanticism," by Jim Samson, 598.

Although this description is referring to Romantic Era ideology, I believe such ideals still had a strong hold on the Classical music community during Bernstein's lifetime, and even into today.[19] I believe Bernstein's attempt to blur the particular origins of the melody he uses in 'Lamentation,' is indicative of a strategy he may have had of claiming that his music is universal music. Ironically, in doing so, he further empowers the Jewish community, as the more of a genius he is, the more pride the Jewish community can take in his identity.

Bernstein's usage of Jewish musical material fits in with an early 20th century musical trend of incorporating folk melodies into works for the concert hall. Other composers, such as Igor Stravinsky and Béla Bartók also incorporated folk or quasi-folk music into their works. Musicologist Richard Taruskin names this trend "export nationalism" stating that Stravinsky's music, which incorporated a Russian folk sound into large scale works for the concert hall, gained popularity away from Russia, in France.

> ...the style of Stravinsky's music...was 'export nationalism'. For a while, the more cosmopolitan Stravinsky's career became the more Russian his music had to seem...Stravinsky was the first Russian composer, and the only important one, to follow the painters and use folk music as a means of liberating his music from academic routine. His example had little resonance in Russia, partly because his music, composed in Paris, was little played at home. But Stravinsky's success in achieving and authenticating his modern idiom through the use of folklore was a powerful inspiration to Bartók, who tended to exaggerate Stravinsky's reliance on genuine individual folk artifacts (just as Stravinsky, in later life, was mendaciously at pains to disavow it).[20]

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[19] Although there has been some backlash against the idea of "music" as ever being able to be universal, and stripped of its earthly origins, or portraying the same meaning for all people who hear it. For more on this, see Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1998).
[20] *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2d ed., s.v. "Nationalism," by Richard Taruskin, 701.

Like Bernstein, Stravinsky also tried to throw some doubt on the actual source of his folk music. Again, I believe this is part of an agenda to distance the music from a distinctly particular source, in order to stress its universalism. It also could be reflective of sort of prejudice against folk music as primitive and low culturally. This sort of music was typically not viewed as high art. Musicologist Donald Webster provides an interesting discussion of folk music versus art music in his article, "Folk Music and Art Music in the Eighteenth Century." He discusses these two musical forms and how they have progressed from the 18th Century until the 20th century. Webster stated that social attitudes towards these two musical forms deemed folk songs "low" art, and art song "high" art. Webster brings out the idea that folk songs were thought of as "primitive," and in need of "civilizing," to be appropriate for the Concert Hall.[21] Directly quoting Jewish content is problematic in that it is tied down to earthly usage, and to a notion of "low" art, or folk music.

<u>The Essentializion of Bernstein: A Political Agenda Unveiled</u>

Jews claimed Bernstein as a model for the greatness that Jews in America could achieve. However, the need to claim of Bernstein as a Jewish hero, lead some to focus on his Jewish identity in such a way that it was essentializing. Many questions arise in regard to how Bernstein's Jewishness is described in Jewish publications. The lauding of Bernstein as an exemplary Jew indicates a political agenda on the part of the writers, for example, Irene Heskes describes Bernstein in the following way:

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[21]For more on this, see Donald Webster, "Folk Music and Art Music in the Eighteenth Century." *Musical Opinion* 104 (July 1981): 377-80.

> He was a man whose enormous talents and great versatility sent him off in many directions at the same time. He had too many exceptional capabilities to enjoy inner serenity. Such a complex career very likely created artistic conflicts for Bernstein, personally and with his associates. As a Jew, however, he seemed to have fulfilled himself most completely (Heskes, 302).

Heskes's statement is curious to me. How can she possibly assess Bernstein's personal fulfillment as a Jew? I believe, that Heskes's statement reveals more about the Jewish community's need to claim Bernstein as a committed Jew, than about Bernstein's own Jewish identity. One might replace the word "himself" in the above statement with "the Jewish community."

Lubin also adheres to an essentialist view that places emphasis on Bernstein's Jewish identity. Lubin claims that if one is born into a Jewish family, and is exposed to Jewish music and Jewish ideas, one is likely to write such influences into one's creative works.

> It is a truism that the earliest experiences and environmental background of any creative person, would almost inevitably reflect themselves sooner or later in at least some of the artistic expressions of that person. In the case of ...Leonard Bernstein, this fact holds true at least in regard to several of his major orchestral works. Bernstein was greatly influenced by Jewish musical materials as well as Jewish thought and theology (Lubin, 3).

Lubin claims that both Jewish music and Jewish thought has a great impact on Bernstein, however, he does not prove the latter to be true. He simply refers to Bernstein's Jewish education and the influence of Bernstein's father, who was well educated in Jewish texts, upon him.

A similar theme arises in the work of musicologist, composer, and close associate of Bernstein, Jack Gottlieb. Gottlieb did a considerable amount of work uncovering and describing Jewishness in Bernstein's image and work. However, I find it troubling that he rejects some aspects of Bernstein that do not fit into this Jewish mold. For example, when quoting Bernstein speaking about God in a non-Jewish way, Gottlieb argues against Bernstein's words.

> Faith…turns out to be in your own backyard, where you least look for it, as in this glass of orange juice I am holding in my hand. There is God in the orange juice, for sunshine is there, earth, vitamins….It's really a Buddhistic idea. God in everything (Bernstein, found in Gottlieb 1980, 287).

Gottlieb responds to this statement by writing, "[this quote] does not totally ring true, given the composer's non-Oriental background" (Gottlieb 1980, 287). Gottlieb goes even further as to recontextualize Bernstein's thoughts to fit into a Jewish ideology. Gottlieb writes, "The concept of the omniscient and omnipresent God may be a Buddhistic idea, but it is also deeply embedded in Jewish theology" (Gottlieb 1980, 289). In other words, Gottlieb claims that Bernstein uses the term "Buddhist," for something that is in reality a Jewish concept.

Gottlieb searches for Jewish themes in texts used and in musical writing of Bernstein. His agenda is clear: to prove that Bernstein's music has his Judaism written into it.

As an iconic figure, Bernstein may be claimed by some as representing Jewishness in his persona and works in a way in which he had not intended. However, meaning is also constructed away from the original context of the composition through a combination of a composer's creation and image, and a listener's perception.
Part of our understanding of the Jewishness of Bernstein's music and image is constructed by our subconscious mapping of our own ideas of Jewishness. I believe that

part of what accounts for Bernstein's fame is precisely this ambivalent and eclectic self. It allows for more people to connect with different aspects of his image. Many complained that his "eclecticism" was his greatest drawback, in that he was not able to focus on a specific task. I believe however, that his eclecticism accounted for some of the reason why he was such a powerful and exciting presence in American life. We could connect with Bernstein because he represented so much. Like a poem, people read onto it their own lives and connect to different parts in making the picture complete, so is the case with Bernstein.

Jeremiah

Like the eclecticism that we see in Bernstein's image, Bernstein's first symphony, *Jeremiah*, represents an eclectic mix of influences and identifiers. For some, such as editor and writer on Jewish music, Israel Rabinovitch, and music critic Arthur Holde, the representation of Jewishness in *Jeremiah* as an expression of Bernstein's connection to Jewishness was a focal point.

> It is worthy of note, too, that right from the beginning, Bernstein submitted to the fascination which Jewish themes held for him (Israel Rabinovitch, found in Lubin, 22).

> In his symphonic poem, *Jeremiah*, he expressed a fervor which seemed to spring from a powerful religious impulse (Arthur Holde, found in Lubin, 22).

Both Holde and Rabinovitch claim that *Jeremiah* is a testament to Bernstein's religious identity. What I find perhaps more compelling than exploring how *Jeremiah* is a personal statement about Bernstein's own Jewishness, is how we can look at it as a comment on the American Jewish community. How does the soundscape Bernstein produces in his constructed world of *Jeremiah* represent the earthly realities of Jewish life in America? This symphony can be powerful when looking at it as an analogy for the varied influences and identifiers of American Jews.

The stories of American Jewry are diverse, as the voluminous meanings that each identifying label implies. What is it to be Jewish? Judaism in America is marked by idiosyncrasy, as individuals and communities integrate different mixtures of Jewish traditions, cultural and folk traditions, Americanisms and other factors. What is it to be American? This identity is perhaps even broader than the last. What about the other labels that we American Jews take on to our identities? Our political, professional, sexual, and gender identities have surely shaped how we view and express our Jewish and American selves. One thing is certain, the diverse ways in which individuals and communities integrate their Jewish and American identities have lead to a multivalent American Jewry.

In 'Lamentations,' the final of three movements of the *Jeremiah Symphony*, one can readily hear Bernstein's integration of Jewish musical elements with other musical influences, such as Classical conventions, symbolist trends, and Jazz. I believe that essentialist readings of this symphony that focus solely on the Jewish elements miss a great deal. However, taking a nuanced view of the Jewish and other influences can tell us about the issues that Bernstein and others were dealing with during the time of its creation. In this piece, Bernstein creates a musical universe that is very much reflective of the cultural and historical time in which he lived.

It has been well documented that 'Lamentations' carries easily identifiable Jewish melodic and textual materials. Musicologist, Abraham Lubin quotes

Cantor Max Helfman's explanation of the Jewish melodic materials used in the *Jeremiah Symphony.*

> [the Jeremiah Symphony draws on] two basic sources of genuine Hebraic music: the cantillation of the Bible and liturgical chant of the synagogue...Jeremiah is fashioned almost exclusively on the Ashkenazic cantillation used for chanting the prophetic portion on the Sabbath, the mode of chanting 'Lamentation' on 'Tisha B'av' in commemoration of the destruction of the Temple, and finally, on general 'Nusach' motives for festival and penitential prayers (Helfman, found in Lubin 5-6).

Helfman described Bernstein's usage of Jewish musical material as coming from two sources, namely, cantillation and nusach.

Musicologist Jack Gottlieb explored Bernstein's usage of nusach in greater detail by documenting a specific melodic motive from Rosh Hashana nusach that Bernstein used in *Jeremiah.*

> An observant Jew would recognize this [motive] as coming from the Rosh Hashana liturgy, heard for the first time as a part of the prayer section called the Amidah. This compilation of fixed benedictions, recited at all services with varying interpolations, probably constitutes the second most important Jewish prayer after the creed of Sh'ma Yisrael (Gottlieb 1980, 292-93).

Gottlieb described this motive as composed of the melodic intervals of a fourth followed by a second. He provided an example of this motive's occurrence in 'Lamentation' near end of the piece on the word, "eilecha" (see appendix A, example 1). As Gottlieb noted, this motive, is well known to many Jews, as it frequently sung during Rosh Hashana services (see appendix A, example 2). In many cases, the cantor sings this motive as an ending to a prayer, and the congregation responds by echoing the melody on the word "amen."

Lubin explored Bernstein's incorporation of cantillation into 'Lamentation' by pointing out a specific melodic motive that Bernstein took from this Jewish musical source. Lubin described Bernstein's use of three successive notes moving downward as coming from "Eicha" trope, that is, cantillation of the bible as chanted on T'isha B'av.[22] However, Lubin did not name the specific trope that Bernstein used. Instead, Lubin indicated the use of trope by simply outlining the occurrences of the falling three note figure in the vocal line (see appendix B, example 1). Lubin tried to support his point by also outlining all of the occurrences of this three note falling figure in a transcription of the chant used for the biblical cantillation of "Eicha" (see appendix B, example 2). However, Lubin does not explain to which trope figures he attributes the various three note motives which he points out in his analysis. Lubin's analysis is not really helpful in tying Bernstein's work in with trope, as a three note falling figure can occur within trope and non-trope related melodic motives. As a result, Lubin's examples of Bernstein's usage of this motive as indicative of cantillation are sometimes correct, and sometimes incorrect. For example, Lubin outlined parts of the words *"rodeféha," "hishigûha"* and *"hamitzorim"* to indicate their usage of the three note falling figure as coming from trope motives. However, these examples are not related to any specific trope motives.

Some of Lubin's examples of the three-note figure, however, do point to Bernstein's usage of specific trope motives. For example, Lubin outlined the three note figure as occurring on part of the word *"k'almana"* (see asterisk marked in appendix B, example 1). If one includes the music from most of the measure before where Lubin has

[22] T'isha B'av is a day on which Jews commemorate many terrible events in Jewish history, such as the destruction of both the first, and second Temples, and the expulsion from Spain.

placed this outline, which occurs on the text *"Hay'ta k'almana,"* one can see that this musical motive suggests the trope figure "munach etnachta" (see appendix B, example 3). Bernstein's usage of the trope "etnachta" on the text *"k'almana"* in this example, matches the biblical cantillation of this text. In the biblical cantillation of this text, the same trope figure is called for on this word.

Another example of Bernstein's use of a specific trope figure occurs in mm.8-10 of 'Lamentation' (see askterisk in mm.8 of appendix C). Bernstein sets a melodic figure which loosely parallels the trope clause "mercha tipcha munach sof pasuch" on the text *"hay'ta lamas, hay'ta lamas."* One can see the similarity in the overall contour of the melody (compare mm.8-10 with appendix B, example 3).

Bernstein's strategy of using of melodic motives associated with biblical chant material, and then using a part this material represented in the three note falling motive as material for his own creative development, is one that I believe takes on symbolic value when viewed as a metaphor for Jewish Americans, integrating into America, and searching for how to be Jewish in this new and open society. This three note falling motive is composed of a half step and a whole step. Bernstein reverses the order of this motive and uses it in the vocal line throughout the piece in different configurations, for example, in mm.2, mm.15-16, mm. 19-20, mm.22, mm58, and mm.102. This can be seen as an analogy of Jewish Americans using their heritage and reconfiguring it in different ways as they sort out how their Judaism integrates with their other identifiers in America. Bernstein has large passages without materials that would be easily classified as Jewish, for example, mm.39-55, and mm.60-87. However, this material is not sung. Perhaps this could be understood as representing the other cultural influences which the American Jew faces. The texture of the accompaniment can be interpreted as reinforcing this reading. The texture in the opening section where the cantillation motives are used is sparse. In mm.39-55, and mm.60-87 the texture is much thicker, perhaps representing the plethora of cultural influences the Jew comes into contact with in America.

In mm.88, the melody that comes in no longer uses any direct trope figures, rather, it is related by contour and register to the melodic material that is written in the right hand of the piano part in mm.82-85. It is as if symbolically, at this point, the speaker in the song has integrated her identity enough to use this non-Jewish language. Yet, at the end of the singer's vocal part, she returns to using her Jewish language by first using the reconfigured half-step, whole step (from the original three note falling motive) in mm.101-103, and finally, ending with a melodic motive from the High Holiday nusach (as noted in appendix A). This return to Jewish melodic material is all the more powerful when considering the text, "why forever you forget us? Forever forsake us? Return us, O God, to You." It is as if the searching American Jew is asking God to return her to a way of being Jewish in this new atmosphere.

In addition to the use of Jewish melodic material, Bernstein sets the vocal line in a way that can be seen as falling into the tradition of Eastern European chazzanut. Bernstein sets the chant incorporating a technique that is traditionally used for settings of Jewish prayers in which held, open chords are used as accompaniment. In Eastern European chazzanut, this was called the "meshorerim" tradition. A cantor would sing a melodic text accompanied by other singers holding chordal tones supporting the harmony of the tune. In Bernstein's case, he gives this setting a modern twist by making the chords dissonant, often clashing with the vocal line on the strong beats, creating an appoggiatura effect. For example, in mm.2, the vocalist begins on a "C#" over a "D#" and "F#" in the accompaniment. The "C#" clashes with the "D#" in the accompaniment, creating dissonance. However, this is quickly resolved as the singer moves down to the note "B", creating a major chord.

Bernstein's setting is also nontraditional in that cantillation of the bible is never accompanied when performed as part of the ritual of chanting from the Torah during a synagogue service. The "meshorerim" would only participate in liturgical prayers, not as accompaniment to biblical chant. However, Bernstein's piece takes on a traditional "feel" because of the familiar idiom of Jewish melodic motives being sung over static harmonic chords.[23]

Traditionally, cantors needed to express an enormous range of emotions vocally. They did not have musical instruments to help them. They used their voices in many different ways to convey texts. For example, they would use varying degrees of vibrato, and dynamics. Improvisatory ability was highly valued, as it was a way for cantors to infuse vitality into long recited texts. Cantors would add long melismatic lines on certain texts, and sing plainly, without covering large intervallic space in others. They would push the tempo or slow it down, depending on what they were trying to convey emotionally. Musicologist, Mark Slobin, in his book *Chosen Voices: The Story of the American Cantorate* (2002), describes the function of the cantor as both the keeper of fixed sacred texts, and the interpreter of these texts.

> Since the hazzan is to be the master of texts, the cantorate lies close to the core of the culture, particularly *expressive* culture, which roughly defined

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[23] However, there are many other examples of composers' setting biblical texts into accompanied musical pieces to be sung at concerts outside of the prayer setting, for example, those by Zavel Zillberts and Zavel Kwartin.

> means the aesthetics of everyday life. The aesthetic component enters the picture because mere routine performance of known texts is not enough; what this culture particularly values is commentary, interpretation.... This is worked out as a cultural pattern that involves two components. One is relatively fixed, timeless, spaceless: the sacred text. The other is improvisatory, current, locatable: a form of commentary that may be linguistic, musical (Slobin, 9).

Through his directives marked into the pieces, it seems clear that Bernstein had a cantorial sound in mind. He demands that the singer who performs 'Lamentation' uses many different vocal colors in bringing the text across – this is very much in line with what a traditional cantor would do. Some of the directions are counter to classical singing aesthetics, but fit in perfectly with the cantorial tradition. For example, in mm.56, Bernstein calls for a declamatory presentation by writing the directive "Senza ritmo, colore" (without rhythm or color) on the repetition of the text *"eicha yashva vadad ha'ir k'almana"* (Alas! Lonely sits the city like a widow). I believe that Bernstein asks for this in order to further express the emotion of grief. The singer strips her voice of vibrato and richness in order to follow his directives, just as a cantor might utter these devastating words.

Bernstein uses pedal tones in the first 32 measures, beginning with an "F#" pedal tone in mm.2. This also gives a suspended feeling to the accompaniment, allowing listeners to focus on the vocal line. Bernstein shifts these pedal tones, moving often by half step or step, for example, going from an "F#" pedal, to an "E" Pedal in mm.6, and moving from a "G#" pedal, to an "F#" pedal in mm.9. This technique helps build dramatic tension underlying the vocal line.

In 'Lamentation,' Bernstein incorporates a number of musical traditions. One can hear the influence of Jazz in this music, through the usage of seventh chords, and through the repetitions of basic melodic and rhythmic motives that have variations played over them. For example, the second half of mm.32 through the first half of mm.34 begins a melodic and rhythmical motive that then reappears in the second half of mm.39-mm.40, and then again in mm.48-mm.50 in the left hand of the piano part, with a variation played over it. Bernstein draws on seventh chord harmonies that, in addition to being popular in Jazz music, are also characteristic in music of the symbolists, such as Debussy and Ravel. Even his decision to set a vocal piece at the end of the symphony echoes great classical works, such as Mahler's *Symphony no. 2 "Resurrection"* (1894).

'Lamentation' was written during WWII. I think this piece can be understood as a metaphor for American Jews reacting to WWII. American Jews were at once suffering with the grief of knowing their fellow Jews in Europe going through the horrors of the Shoah, but also removed from it by being in America. Similarly, Bernstein's piece, is at once a characterization of suffering, but also removed enough from that suffering that he can stylize and craft it into a piece of art.

As discussed earlier, there is a polemic that emerges when one tries to categorize Classical compositions that use folk elements, such as 'Lamentation,' as particular or universal music. This polemic becomes sharply focused in Classical compositions which use Jewish elements because of the anti-Semitic notion that Jews were relegated to be minor in history that they succeeded to this point is remarkable. Bernstein's work is an answer to anti-Semitic beliefs that deemed Jews inferior, and unable to contribute art and culture. As we saw in the work of Lubin, this polemic guides the discussion of whether one should call 'Lamentation' a great "Jewish" work, or a great work? I believe one could give it both labels.

'Lamentation' is quintessentially post-modern in its blending of music of the particular with the universal, the past with the present. Bernstein's synthesis is at once a personal and communal depiction of life for Bernstein himself and for Jews in America. It is relevant to its own time in creating an eclectic soundscape that incorporates varied musical influences, representing different cultures and identifiers. American Jews decided for themselves which aspects of American and Jewish culture, religion and identity they would integrate into their own being. Bernstein provides one solution to how one might incorporate these different influences into a single work.

'Lamentation' is relevant beyond the time period of its conception. Bernstein's usage of the symphony represents a transcendent musical event. In other words, for some, within this symphonic context, this music took on a transcendent quality.

Bernstein's work provides one manifestation of some of the things that Jews post-emancipation identified with. In the following chapter, I will explore how Darius Milhaud provides a different solution of incorporating Jewish and non-Jewish influences into his music.

Chapter 3: "Darius Milhaud"

Darius Milhaud was an extremely prolific composer, writing over four hundred works for different venues, including works for orchestra, chamber music, film music, vocal song cycles, choral pieces, cantatas, piano suites, concerti and operas. Like Bernstein, Milhaud was known for incorporating an eclectic mix of musical influences into his music that reflect his exposure to different cultures and musical traditions, most notably Jewish music, European Classical music, American Jazz, Latin-American popular music and Folksongs from the South of France. In this chapter, I will look at Milhaud's biographical information and explore the development and impact of different influences on his works. I will discuss the social, political and historical context in which Milhaud rose to fame as a composer. I will examine how Jews were characterized by important figures in the world of music in Paris, and how this may have affected Milhaud. I will examine one of his works in detail, exploring it as an historical text representing the varied influences upon Milhaud during the time he wrote it. I will also look at this piece as a metaphor of Jewish experience.

Milhaud's Jewish Identity

Milhaud was born in Marseilles on September 4, 1892. Milhaud grew up in Aix-en-Provence in Comtat Venaissin, a region in which communities of Jews had been living since early antiquity.

> [Milhaud] was the descendant of Jews who came with the Phoenicians to Marseilles as traders around 650 B.C., and the Milhaud paternal lineage in

> Provençe has been traced back to the fifteenth century. Milhaud's ancestors were merchants and Talmudic scholars, concerned about the social welfare and religious observances of their fellow Jews (Rosen, 158).

Milhaud detailed the history of the Jews from the South of France in the first two chapters of his book *Notes Without Music* (1953). He notes, "The establishment of the Jews in the South of France dates back...six hundred years before Christ, when the city of Marseilles was founded. The Phoenicians, the Greeks, and the Jews set up...on the shores of Marseilles" (Milhaud, 3).[24] Milhaud was very conscious of his rich Jewish heritage. He wrote about his personal Jewish history, "My paternal ancestors came from the Vernaissin Comtat. I found among the family archives some old papers, stamped with the pontifical arms dating from the fifteenth century, in which mention is made of a Milhaud from Carpentras" (Milhaud, 6).

Milhaud's ancestors and their communities lived with privileges not often afforded Jews in other parts of Europe. For centuries, Jews from this area in the South of France lived under special protection of the Pope.[25] This protection allowed Jews to live peacefully with their non-Jewish neighbors, without the fear of persecution. Moreover, Jews were able to develop professional and personal relationships with the greater community to a certain extent. Milhaud's father's involvement within the Jewish and non-Jewish world was typical of Jews in the area. Milhaud's father's relationships within these different social communities, was influential in his son's identification with both Jewish and non-Jewish social circles as well. Milhaud's father was very involved in the Jewish community in Carpentras. Other parts of his life enabled him to have

[24] For more on this see, *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 1971 ed., s.v. "Marseilles."
[25] This situation is portrayed in the plot of Milhaud's opera *Esther de Carpentras* (1925-27).

relationships with people outside of the community, namely, his professional life, and his interest in European Classical music.

Although Milhaud's father was not halachically observant, he was a committed Jew who showed himself to be very devoted to the Jewish community. Both Milhaud's father and grandfather were presidents of the synagogue in Carpentras. Throughout his lifetime, Milhaud's own strong Jewish identity was evident in both his compositions, and his actions on behalf of the French Jewish community.

Milhaud used Jewish subject matter such as, Jewish texts, cantillation from the Judaic-Provençe tradition, and Jewish folk songs as material for his compositions.[26] From when he began composing in the early 1910s in Aix en Provençe, through his time in Paris in the 1920s and the 1930s, Milhaud wrote arrangements of Palestinian and Zionist folk songs, for example, *Chant de Zion* (1916). He also set numerous prayer texts, Psalms, and Jewish subject matter in works for chorus, instruments, piano, voice and string quartet.

The Jewish liturgical, ritual and musical tradition which Milhaud learned was somewhat unique to the South of France region. "The Provencal rite resembles, in its pronunciation of liturgical Hebrew, that of the Sephardim of Latin Jews, but the services are slightly different" (Milhaud, found in Heskes, 287). Milhaud used cantillation as a major source of musical material in his *Liturgie Comtadine: Cinq Chants de Rosch Haschanah* (1933). One can see the relationship between the cantillation and Milhaud's setting by comparing Milhaud's work against the chants and nusach notated in an

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[26] Harriet Mildred Rosen provides a listing of all of Milhaud's works that incorporate Jewish elements. See Rosen, 176-82.

anthology of Jewish nusach from Provençe compiled by Cremieu. Musicologist, Harriet Mildred Rosen shows some of these comparisons in her work (1991).[27]

Milhaud used Jewish elements and themes in his compositions consistently throughout his life. Upon leaving Paris in 1940 for a new life in America with the outbreak of Second World War, he continued to compose Jewish works. For example, in 1947, he was commissioned by the Park Avenue Synagogue of New York to write a Sacred Service. In the 1950s, he wrote different pieces on biblical themes, including, *David: Opera in 5 Acts* (1952), the orchestral works, *Samaël* (1953), and *Saul* (1953), and the chorus, *Trois Psaumes de David* (1954). In 1960, Milhaud was asked to write a special work commemorating Israel's thirteenth birthday, *Cantate de l'initiation de Bar Mitzvah Israël,* in which he used his own bar mitzvah haftarah as musical material. In the late 1960s, Milhaud moved to Switzerland for the duration of his life, where he continued to write music on Jewish themes.

Following in his father's and grandfather's footsteps, Milhaud's own lifelong commitment to the congregation in Carpentras was evident. For example, in 1940, he wrote a cantata *Couronne de Gloire* which set four texts from Ibn Gabirol's hymn *The Royal Crown*, and four texts taken from the Passover, Sukkot and Yom Kippur liturgy of the Comtadin Provencal Jewish community.[28] He intended to premiere this work at the centenary celebration of the synagogue. Due to the outbreak of the Second World War, the performance of Milhaud's piece never came to fruition. Milhaud's devotion to the Jewish community of Carpentras was not only exemplified through his creative works,

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[27] See Rosen, 186-209.

[28] Ibn Gabirol was an important Jewish poet, and philosopher. He was born in Malaga about 1021; died about 1058 in Valencia.

but also in his actions which belied his sense of personal responsibility to the Jewish community. For example, in 1970, Milhaud took it upon himself to pay for foundation stones that were needed to rebuild the synagogue in Carpentras, after the building had been sold to a Protestant church during the Second World War.

An Integration of Cultures

It is apparent that Milhaud's Jewish identity strongly impacted many of his works. However, other parts of his identity had a strong influence on his music as well. From the time he was a child he was exposed to different social circles and cultures, each with their own musical traditions. For example, professionally, Milhaud's father was a successful almond merchant. As a result, Milhaud grew up with a familiarity with French folk songs, which would later have an impact on his own compositions. "Milhaud was exposed to the songs of the amandières, the women who sorted the almonds on the ground floor of the house while singing Provençal airs and comic songs of the care-concerts."[29]

Through his parents, Milhaud was exposed to European Classical Music from a young age. Milhaud's parents were talented musicians; his father was an excellent amateur pianist who was very involved with the local musical community. His mother was an accomplished singer, though she never worked professionally in this capacity. Milhaud himself showed musical talent from a very young age, playing duets with his father from the age of three. Like Bernstein, Milhaud studied Classical music as a youngster. At nine years old, Milhaud was already an accomplished violinist. He gave

[29] *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2d ed., s.v. "Milhaud, Darius," by Jeremy Drake, 675.

solo public performances, as well as played second violin in his violin teacher's quartet between 1902-1907. He began studying at the Paris Conservatoire from the time he was seventeen in 1909. He honed his musical skills, such as his violin technique, orchestral playing, harmony, fugal composition, counterpoint composition, and orchestration, with some of the most celebrated composers and teachers in Paris during that time, for example, Bertherlier, Dukas, Leroux, Widor, Gédalge. He gained exposure to many musical styles through attending concerts in Paris of the music of composers such as Wagner, Stravinsky, Ravel, Koechlin, Satie, Bloch, Magnard and Fauré.

As a young man living on his own in Paris, Milhaud developed relationships which influenced his compositions. For example, in 1912, in Paris, Milhaud became very close friends with Paul Claudel, despite a twenty-four year age gap between the two men. Claudel was an important literary figure, who had a great impact on Milhaud's personal and professional life. Milhaud described his first encounter with Claudel as "the great stroke of luck in my life" (Milhaud, found in Drake, 676). Claudel wrote texts for many of Milhaud's compositions, for example, his Opera *Christophe Colomb* (1928). Milhaud finished his studies at the Conservatoire in 1915 during the outbreak of World War I.

In 1916, Paul Claudel was appointed as the French minister to Brazil. Upon his invitation, Milhaud became his secretary in Brazil from 1917-1918. Milhaud returned to Paris in the 1919, after traveling to the West Indies and New York.

Milhaud's music is reflective of the musical and cultural influences to which he was exposed throughout his life for example, in addition to the Jewish elements which he incorporated in his music, he also used elements of French folk songs, Brazilian music and American Jazz within his compositions.

He incorporated Brazilian music into a number of his works when he returned to Paris from Brazil, perhaps most notable into *Le Boeuf sur le toit* ("The Ox on the Roof") (1919). Milhaud writes of this work, "still haunted by memories of Brazil, I assembled a few popular melodies, tangos, maxises, sambas, and even a Portuguese fado, and transcribed them with a rondo-like theme recurring between each two of them. I called this fantasia *Le Boeuf sur le toit*, the title of a Brazilian popular song" (Milhaud, found in Watkins, 276).

During Milhaud's visit to America in 1918, he spent a great deal of time listening to Jazz in Harlem. He integrated Jazz music into a number of his compositions. Perhaps his most famous piece, *La Création du Monde* (1923) is one such example in which Milhaud uses American Jazz rhythms and paradigms.

> For his part, Milhaud adopted the same orchestra of seventeen solo instruments that he had heard in Harlem (2 fl, 2 cl, ob, hn, 2 tpt, tbn, pf, perc, two vn, vc, db, sax). Through timbral novelties such as saxophone and muted trumpet, flutter tonguing and glissandi, syncopated rhythms and blues, and the use of the piano and strings (possibly and imitation of banjos) to reinforce the rhythm section (Watkins, 266-7).

The French Cultural Landscape in the 1920s and Les Six

During the 1920s in Paris, a group of artists were trying to establish a new form of art, which challenged the dominant artistic hierarchy at the time. In the realm of visual art, figures such as Picasso and Léger, worked to brake down classical notions of beauty. For example, Picasso created radical depictions of nature scenes and the human form with his cubist and minimalist works. Similarly, in the music world, Stravinsky, with the premiere of his orchestral work *Le Sacre du Printemps* in 1913, radically challenged the strong hold that romanticism and impressionism had within the Classical music world.

Milhaud befriended many artists, poets and musicians, with whom he would spent a great deal of time exchanging ideas. For example, Milhaud forged friendships with important composers of the day such as Stravinsky, Charles Koechlin, and Arnold Schoenberg, who all wielded some influence on Milhaud's own writing. Although Milhaud never incorporated Schoenberg's serialist style into his own music, he greatly admired the creativity and radical nature of Schoenberg's system. According to Kelly, "In *Ma vie heureuse,* Milhaud admits that following the example of Stravinsky and Koechlin, he systematically explored all the harmonic possibilities of harmonic polytonality" (Kelly, 148). Stravinsky's and Koechlin's influences can be seen in Milhaud's usage of harmonic polytonality in works such as, *Les Choephores* (1915-16) and *Les Eumenides* (1917-23).[30]

A number of techniques were used by Milhaud and others towards implementing a new sound, for example, they moved away from Romantic paradigms by incorporating folk song, exoticism, chromaticism, dissonance, atonality, modal, pentatonic and whole-tone scales, and polytonality.[31]

In the early 1920s Milhaud, and a number of other young radical composers were influenced by the Italian futurist movement, in implementing sounds from every day life. They looked to break down established trends of art, using Dadaist techniques in some cases. Such techniques are described by musicologist, Glenn Watkins (1988), "The Dadaist message of Cocteau-Satie and some of the early works of Milhaud and Poulenc

[30] For more on this, see Kelly, 142-8.
[31] For more on this, see Goldstein, 2.

primarily as an expression of the absurdity of life, the straining at national identities as a natural but frequently self-conscious action of countries anxious for artistic self-esteem" (Watkins, 464).

It was during this cultural upheaval that Milhaud began to rise to fame as a composer. Milhaud was grouped with five other French composers with similar Avant Garde musical ideologies to his own. These composers won notoriety for challenging established musical hierarchy which lauded Debussy and German Romanticism. The group of young composers, Poulenc, Milhaud, Honegger, Durey, Auric and Tailleferre were named Les Six, by music critic, Henri Collet. Collet wrote an article on January 6, 1920 on the composers entitled, "The Five Russians and the Six Frenchmen." The title stuck with the young French composers, though the composers' works established that each individual in the group composed in a different style from one another. What seemed to group Les Six together were their political beliefs. They took a stance against Germanic musical influences, such as Wagnerian textures and harmonies, which had had a strong hold on the musical world. They also rejected France's beloved Debussy. They were influenced by the works and performances of Eric Satie, who can been seen as a sort of progenitor of the group in his usage of surrealism, as well as his musical parody of the long established musical trends of Debussy and Germanic music. Musicologist, Barbara Kelly, writes about the musical values of the group which bound them together:

> *Les Six* challenged the preoccupation with Debussy and the immediate past. Instead, the group identified with Satie's anti-establishment stance and his desire for constant renewal, and drew inspiration from 'l'esprit nouveau.'...Auric in 'Bonjour Paris' and 'Après la pluie le beau temps', announced that music had woken to a new era which could draw its inspiration from the everyday – in particular, the circus, the music hall, the fair at Montmartre and the jazz band...*Debussyisme* was finished and, in

> his view, 'to imitate Debussy today seems to me no more than the worst form of vulturism' (Kelly, 7).

Writer, promoter, poet and cultural figure, Jean Cocteau, resonated with the group's ideology. Cocteau, promoted the works of these young composers in his writings, and became *Les Six*'s unofficial leader. He brought the group together through organizing performances of their music. However, *Les Six* only remained a unit for a handful of years, as their own developing styles took them in divergent directions.

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, Milhaud established himself as a prolific composer in Paris with a unique style. He was known for setting beautiful melodic lines, using polytonality, dissonant harmonic settings, syncopated rhythms and interesting instrumentation.

La Séparation

In the 1920s, Milhaud wrote works which were strictly secular, and others which incorporated Jewish elements. Milhaud's works that were celebrated in the mainstream during this time period did not include explicitly Jewish elements. His most critically acclaimed early works, such as *Le Boeuf sur le Toit* (1919), and *La Creation du Monde* (1923) did not use Jewish elements such as texts and melodies. However, this was just a matter of which works of Milhaud that ended up coming to the foreground as "great," because over the same time span as he composed the works named above, he also composed many works which included Jewish elements. For example, In 1925, during the rise of his compositional career in Paris, he wrote the Jewish song cycle *Six Chants Populaires Hébraïques*. The songs in this cycle were artistic settings of Yiddish folk tunes.[32] By looking at these pieces in depth, one can see a depiction of a combination of Milhaud's Jewish and French identities. As an example, I will examine the first song of the cycle, *'La Séparation'* in more detail in exploring the combination of these influences.

'La Séparation' includes both melodic and textual Jewish elements. *'La Séparation'* is a setting of the melody of the Hebrew folksong, *Hamavdil, Shavua Tov* (see appendix D). The original folksong is quite short, having an introduction section (mm.1-9) and a chorus (mm.10-17). The introduction section is usually sung freely without a strong adherence to meter. In some instances, this introductory section is left out all together, and the song begins right away with the text *"shavua tov."* In synagogues today, the introduction is often sung by a cantor or song leader, and the congregation joins in for the singing of the chorus of *Shavua Tov*. Milhaud's version of this folk tune, *'La Séparation,'* extends the length of the original folksong by using the melodic material from the introduction section of *Hamavdil* as the melody of the verses (see appendix E). This changes the flavor of the piece from the sparse, freely sung introduction of *Hamavdil,* to a verse that uses a stricter sense of meter by virtue of its being set by an accompaniment, and its being repeated before each chorus. Unlike in *Hamavdil*, this section of the melody of *'La Séparation'* could not be left out, as it is transformed into an integral part of the song, rather than an introduction to the song.

The title itself, *'La Séparation,'* is congruent with the folksong's function within Jewish life: it is used at the Jewish ceremony of "Havdalah" (separation). This is the

[32] Milhaud's *Poèmes Juifs* (1916), *Deux Hymnes* (1925), and songs *Holem Tsaudi* and *Gam Hayom* (1937) are other instances where composed artistic settings for Jewish folk tunes.

ritual which marks the ending of the Sabbath, and the beginning of the week. Through comparing the text of the original folksong to that used by Milhaud, it becomes clear that Milhaud's piece is not a straightforward rendering of the folksong (see appendix F). This is reinforced by the unusual setting which Milhaud creates for the folk tune. Milhaud's version works as a commentary on the state of life for the Jewish people.

The text Milhaud uses begins very much like that of the original folk tune, as a prayer to ask God to pardon our sins, and bless us with children, sustenance, and a good week ahead. However, Milhaud's setting of the melody gives it a somber, pessimistic feel right from the beginning. At the outset of the piece, the direction "Grave" is marked in, which sets the tone for what is to come. The accompaniment is plodding, and suspended, and does have a drive towards a cadence. There are various pedal points throughout the piece, which help achieve this effect. In the first four measures, there is a pedal chord in the left hand of the accompaniment, which changes to another chord that becomes a pedal point for mm.5-8. A "G" pedal begins in the second measure in the middle voice, and is carried into the left hand piano part in mm. 10. This "G" pedal lasts for the duration of the piece, with the exception of mm.18, mm.35, and mm.52 with the cadences on the lowered seventh chord. During the chorus, yet another pedal point begins, this time it occurs on two notes, moving between "F-sharp" and "E-flat." These pedal points create a static feeling. Perhaps this is supposed to musically depict the static, unchanging situation for the Jews as described in the text of the second and third verses of *'La Séparation.'* The text describes a situation of poverty and despair for the Jewish people singing this song. They have no money, and have difficulty finding enough food to feed themselves and their families. This song is strophic, with three iterations of the verses and three of the chorus. This could be interpreted as a metaphor for the repeating weekly cycle. The feeling that these people are "stuck" in a difficult life situation is emphasized by the repeating cycle of the verse and chorus.

Milhaud included other elements in the accompaniment, which add to the pessimistic, downtrodden atmosphere created in the piece. For example, low registration, dissonant tones and a syncopated echo of the melody which is not exact and seems "off kilter." The registration of the piano is low, especially in the chorus with the "F-sharp" and "E-flat" pedal. This gives the piece a dark, grumbling quality. Also, the "F-sharp" creates dissonance with the pedal point on "G" that is held throughout.

In mm.2-9 there is a countermelody in the right hand of the piano part. The contour of the first two measures and the counter melody in mm.2-4, and then mimics the rising melodic figure in the melody of the voice part. For example, the melody highlights a rising major third in the second measure on the word *"distingue,"* and in the third measure on the word profane. However, the accompaniment, instead of echoing the melody, uses different rising intervals than the major third in the melody, and occurs in syncopation to the voice part, creating the feel that something is amiss. In the second measure, the countermelody rises by half step and a step, rather than a third, and ends up creating dissonance when paired with the vocal line, because of the clash of the "C" against the "D."

Milhaud's setting is clearly indicative of a French impressionist and symbolist classical writing style of the late 19th-early 20th centuries. Like we find in the music of

Debussy and Ravel, the accompaniment is simple in style.[33] Milhaud does not include the complex harmonies of the German romanticists. Rather, he sets a mood, through static chords (for example, the first four repeated "G" chords), which repeat until they become a kind of color. His usage of very low piano tones is also something which places this piece in a French style, as these otherwise rarely used notes were explored by other French composers, such as Debussy for the color they added to the atmosphere of a piece. The usage of minor chords with an added major seventh, such as we find in mm.2-5 with the "G-minor" chord with an added "F" note, was favored by Debussy and other French composers.[34] The usage of open fifths, with the third above, which occurs with the "D-minor" chord at the opening of the piece, is reflective of a chordal voicing that was typically favored by French composers. Milhaud's cadences on "F Major" chords, the lowered seventh of the scale, indicate the usage of the Dorian mode. Modes and alternate scales were explored in the compositions of French composers of this time.

Milhaud's song seems to be at once an insider's expression of Jewishness, and an outsider's characterization of Jewishness through a cultural lens. It depicts Jewish life, and uses a Hebrew melody. However, *'La Séparation'* is also separated from its usual context through its language, sophisticated setting and separation from its original function. Milhaud creates a distance between himself and the Jews depicted in the folksong through his artistic interpretation of it. It is taken out of its functional context of

[33] "Though members of "Les Six" strove to differentiate themselves from the hold Debussy had over the French classical music world, Milhaud was said to have been a great admirer of Debussy's works. "[Mihaud] always had immense love and respect for Debussy's music…in 1916...he went to see Debussy for advice" (Drake, 675-6).
[34] For more on this, see Watkins, 94.

being used as a part of the Havdalah service, and instead is a piece of art for the concert hall. It is at once the original folksong, and an art piece.

The setting of a Jewish folk melody into an art piece links Milhaud's work with a larger trend happening during the late 1800s and early 1900s in Jewish music. In Russia, the members of the Jewish Folk Music Society collected Jewish folk songs and provided settings for them. Musicologist Marsha Bryan Edelman, in her book *Discovering Jewish Music* (2003), writes about the desire on the part of members of the Society to create Jewish art.

> The resulting use of the material by Society members betrayed the real source of their interest in it: the inspiration it could provide for the creation of secular Jewish art music. The earliest settings of these songs, while faithful to (at least one version of) the original melody, flirted shamelessly with becoming freestanding compositions. Strophic songs (those with a simple, repeating verse), which in their natural habitat would have been rendered either unaccompanied or with the most perfunctory of predictable harmonies, found themselves set in a sort of "theme and variations" treatment that only a trained composer could have envisioned or executed (Edelman, 180).

In *'La Séparation,'* Milhaud does not use the sort of sophisticated "theme and variation" technique that Edelman describes the Russian composers using, however, he clearly gives this folksong a sophisticated setting that only a trained composer could have achieved. In both examples, the determination of the composers to create a Jewish Art music through recontextualizing folksongs them can be seen as a reaction to the ideology of nationalism. Beginning in Europe in the late 18th century, nationalism had a great impact for the duration of the 19th century and well into the 20th century. Nationalism is defined in the New Grove Dictionary as "The doctrine or theory according to which the primary determinant of human character and destiny, and the primary object of social and political allegiance, is the particular nation to which an individual belongs" (Taruskin, 689). Jewish artists and intellectuals became immersed in this ideology as well, and worked to portray the rich cultural history of the Jewish people. For example, the Society members, who did not enjoy equal social status in Russia, primarily identified themselves as Jews, and thus tried to promote and further Jewish works of music.

Milhaud's personal identification was a little more divided, as he viewed himself as both a Jew and a Frenchman. It seemed that each identifier was equally significant to him. Milhaud expressed both his Jewish and French identities within his music, going between the two fluidly. He composed works using Jewish materials, and others without any Jewish elements during the same time period. This was likely because the Jewish community in the South of France, as having special status under the pope had enjoyed a certain degree of freedom, and acceptance from their host culture for generations.

Essentialism and the Uncovering of Politcal Agendas

It is misleading to say that Milhaud was totally accepted as a French composer in the mainstream. In fact, he experienced blatant anti-Semitism. Musicologist Barbara Kelly, in her 2003 study of Milhaud's early works discusses the anti-Semitism which Milhaud and other Jewish composers faced as they gained popularity in mainstream culture. Anti-Semitic slurs came in the form of overtly distaining comments about Jewish composers, as well as in comments that were intended as praise for the composers. For example, Kelly quotes a music critic speaking about Milhaud and Schoenberg in an article in 1925:

> Perhaps for the first time in the last few hundred years, two Jews seem to display gifts of true musical inspiration: Arnold Schoenberg and Darius

> Milhaud…If Jews appeared for a long time incapable of creating anything original, it certainly wasn't due to any real impotence on their part. But they made the mistake of ignoring the expectations of their race…Schoenberg and Milhaud are returning to the tastes of their ancestors (Landormy, found in Kelly, 26).

Kelly explains this quote as a kind of ignorant, and deeply rooted prejudice against Jews that is reflective of the time and culture. She notes that "identifying Milhaud's Jewishness was not in their view a slight, but a statement of fact; they clearly regarded Milhaud as one of the most important musical talents, but felt the need to separate him from the French mainstream" (Kelly, 26).

Kelly also describes some of the more vicious and overt anti-Semitic slurs that Milhaud faced as a Jewish composer. For example, in responding to composers like Meyerbeer and Offenbach, composer Vincent D'Indy who directed the Schola in France stated that the "Jewish school [of musicians] slowed down the progress of art for a large part of the 19th Century" (D'Indy, found in Kelly, 28).

When Landormy and others reacted to Milhaud's Jewishness, they assumed that it affected his writing in some way, simply because he was Jewish. As mentioned in the introduction, musicologist Klára Móricz describes such essentializating accusations as being like a prison for Jewish composers. Milhaud combated these kinds of accusations by declaring that his "race" was French and that he was a "link in a chain…a direct lineage from the line of French composers represented by Couperin, Rameau, Berlioz, and Chabrier" (Kelly, 29). Milhaud's identity as a Frenchman and inheriter of the French musical tradition was critical to him.

The famous quote that begins Milhaud's autobiography, *Notes on Music*, "I am a Frenchman from Provence and Jewish by religion," is cited as an example of Milhaud's pride in his Judaism. For example, David Goldstein, in his Master's thesis on *Les Six* (1986) writes, "...it is fair to allow Milhaud's opening statement in his autobiography stand as a testament to his Jewish commitment" (Goldstein, 35). However, Kelly brings out a different reading of Milhaud's statement. Kelly claims that Milhaud's statement is not so much an exclamation of Milhaud's pride in his Jewish identity, rather a defense against anti-Semitic critics, who insisted that the Jews are incapable of making any decent artistic contribution, or worse, pervert French music with their impure additions. Kelly points out that Milhaud's famous statement separates his Jewishness from his nationality. "Milhaud was attempting to redefine nationalist discourse to include himself and his generation" (Kelly, 30). Thus, with the statement "I am a Frenchman from Provençe and Jewish by religion," Milhaud spoke of his Jewish and national identities as separate from each other, in order to combat claims that he automatically wrote Jewishness into his works. These sorts of essentializing claims were indicative of a political agenda which sought to label the works of Jewish composers as integrally inferior.

Milhaud faced the challenge of balancing his love of Judaism and his commitment to the Jewish community with his desire to be viewed as a great Classical composer of the French tradition. Because of such anti-Semitic claims, he was forced into the position of speaking about these two parts of his identity as differentiated from each other. Yet, within many of his musical works, we can see these two aspects of his identity depicted musically, as described in detail in the piece '*La Séparation.*' I believe that exploring how these different influences take shape in his music can tell us a lot about his own personal integration of them, as well as teach us about some of the influences the larger French Jewish community dealt with in their own lives.

Milhaud did not have the same kind of impact in America as he did in France. Though he still wrote a great deal of music, and was a respected teacher and composer, he never achieved the kind of fame or status which he held in the 1920s in France. In looking for reasons why this is the case, it is helpful to draw comparisons between Milhaud and Bernstein. In the following chapter I will explore this further through a comparison of the images, works and public reactions to Milhaud and Bernstein. I will then reflect upon the issues that I have focused on with each composer in this study, including the essentialization they experienced and their creation of Jewishness in music post-emancipation.

Chapter 4: "Conclusion"

In this chapter I will compare the music and public receptions of Bernstein and Milhaud. I will provide a summary of the issues I have explored regarding each composer and his works. I will look at how their music reflects different Jewish experiences. I will touch upon current trends of how the music of the Jewish composers is examined. I will look at how my work can provide a framework in exploring other Jewish composers' works. Finally, I will argue for the redefinition of Jewish music to incorporate the greater breadth of Jewish experience.

Bernstein and Milhaud: A Comparison

It is interesting to compare and contrast the reactions to the music and images of Bernstein and Milhaud. As I have discussed in detail in the second and third chapters, both Milhaud and Bernstein were essentialized by scholars, music critics, popular writers. and the mainstream Jewish community as writing Jewishness into their compositions, simply because they were Jewish.

However, Bernstein was not openly criticized for his Jewish identity by non-Jewish scholars, writers and critics. In fact, he was often lauded as an American hero. Milhaud's Jewishness, unlike that of Bernstein, was discussed by some publicly as a potential set back to his ability as a composer. For example, in chapter three, I wrote about Landormy's characterization of Milhaud as a great composer, in spite of the fact that perhaps the Jewish people did not usually produce excellence in art, or value such a thing. In D'Indy's description, Jewish composers' contributions actually inhibit the progress of non-Jewish composers. However, if one looks further into reactions to Bernstein's music, one can see that Bernstein too was working against anti-Semitism, though this anti-Semitism was more hidden than what Milhaud faced. Bernstein's image as an American success, and a composer of universal Classical music by some Jewish writers, critics and scholars, seems to really be at the core a response to years of anti-Semitism against Jewish artists, which deemed them incapable of producing great works. By creating symphonies, Bernstein made a statement that Jews could succeed at creating the epitome of greatness, which all other music was measured against.

In comparing their reception by the American Jewish Community, we find that Milhaud's experience in America was very different than Bernstein's. He did not receive the kind of warm embracement by Americans that Bernstein experienced. In 1940, after the Nazis invaded France, Milhaud fled the country with his wife and son for the United States. However, he had a difficult time procuring a job in America. Milhaud's wife, Madeleine, described this frightening time in their lives, "Milhaud wrote to all his friends in the USA to announce our arrival and our desire to find work. We lost hope as the days went by" (Milhaud, found in Nichols, 58). Finally, a teaching position opened up at Mills College in California. Madeleine Milhaud exclaimed of this, "We were saved" (Milhaud, found in Nichols, 59).

During his time living in America, Milhaud experienced some of the same markers of success as Bernstein in terms of the conductors with whom he worked, the places where his music was played, the awards he received. Milhaud and Bernstein both worked with the most celebrated conductors of their time, such as Serge Koussevitsky.

Both played all over the world. However, Milhaud's success in the classical music world never parlayed into the sort of popular fame that Bernstein received. Milhaud never received the attention or critical acclaim that Bernstein did during his time in America. His career was never as celebrated as it was during the 1920s, in Europe.

One might ask, why Milhaud did not carry over to America as an important musical figure, and as a figure of empowerment for the Jewish community? Part of Bernstein's success was that he was an American born composer and conductor. Americans at the time of Bernstein's rise to fame were hungry for American representatives of great art. Milhaud, of course, was European. As a foreigner, he was unable to tap into the pulse of American culture in a successful way. This could have also been a reason for his difficulty gaining popularity in America.

Even though we have seen that Milhaud, like Bernstein, incorporated a blend of Jewish elements with other cultural representation into many of his works, many of the Jewish liturgical melodies which Milhaud incorporated into his works were unrecognizable to the Jews of America, as they were particular to Jews from South of France. Thus, I believe these melodies lost their potency for the American Jewish population. What other answers that also could account for Milhaud's lack of great impact on the American Jewish community?

Perhaps Milhaud's music simply did not hold the same kind of appeal for the general population as Bernstein's. Milhaud's composed using various styles. His early works, such as the song *'La Séparation,'* were often characterized by a kind of simplicity. Bernstein's style, as demonstrated in the *Jeremiah Symphony*, by comparison was very dramatic and exciting. Milhaud's later style of composition often incorporated polytonality, and dissonance. His music has been described overall as "inaccessible [though viable] in esoteric circles" (Goldstein, 50). Whereas Bernstein, to a large extend, wrote tonal music. Overall, Bernstein's music was extremely accessible. He had a great deal of success writing for popular venues, such as Broadway.

Milhaud did not have the kind of charisma that Bernstein did, nor did he make his presence felt in such a strong way through television and popular culture events. This brings up the question of how much a composer's public image accounts for his success? Though certainly there cannot be any formula to answer this question, it seems that in the case of Bernstein, his public visibility had a great impact on his success.

In fact, Milhaud's French origins seemed to create challenges for him in Israel as well. Serge Koussevitsky promoted Milhaud to be chosen to write a piece for the celebration of Israel's thirteenth birthday. Madeleine Milhaud describes the initial reception the composer received in Israel when asked if Milhaud's music is performed in Israel often.

> Less that you might imagine! Israel is mainly associated in my mind with the first performance of his opera *David.* It was Koussevitzky who took the initiative of asking him to write a work for the celebration of the three thousandth anniversary of the founding of Jerusalem. Before setting to work Darius wished to visit Israel to absorb the atmosphere of the country....Interestingly we were received in Israel with a certain distrust as our names did not strike the Israelis as being properly Jewish; they were used to Polish or German names. Moreover...they were afraid of an opera written by two Frenchmen!" (Milhaud, found in Nichols, 95).

Milhaud's difficulty gaining the trust and affection of the Israeli people, is again striking when compared with Bernstein's heroic embracement in Israel.

Reclaiming Jewish Artists

Although Milhaud did not receive much attention from the American Jewish community during his lifetime, there seems to be a move to reclaim him as we search back through our history and look for Jewish representation in our past. For example, in David Goldstein's Master's thesis, he writes of Milhaud, "His Jewish commitment as seen through his music, can be traced to some of his earliest compositions and is as strong as can be expected from a composer who was not strictly tied to synagogue music.... It is to composers like Milhaud we [the Jewish people] can point with pride" (Goldstein, 50). I believe this sort of statement is reflective of a desire of many Jewish people to reclaim heroes in our past.

Currently, there seems to be a trend in culling such important Jewish figures, that is reflected in such projects as the Milken Archive of American Jewish Music. This project is described as:

> ...dedicated to discovering and preserving the rich body of sacred and secular American Jewish music of the past 350 years, strives to educate, entertain and inspire people of all faiths and cultures. The Milken Archive comprises the largest collection of American Jewish music ever assembled, with individual CDs being distributed to the public through Naxos American Classics. A major work in progress, the Archive will be complemented band academic works major work in progress, the Archive will be complemented by an American Jewish music curriculum, a book synthesizing the music and its history, and an oral history video collection.[35]

Other markers of this trend of searching for important Jewish musical figures from our past can be seen by the large amount of academic work done on Jewish music over the past two decades. Milhaud has been the subject of recent articles, a book, and doctoral

[35] See, http://www.mff.org/initiatives/initiatives.taf, (accessed December 23, 2005).

theses.[36] However, this work on Milhaud is reflective of the larger agenda of representing Jewish music and composers of our past, as is reflected in the large amount of work that has been done over the past couple of decades on the subject of Jewish music.[37] I believe this sort of work is as important for its ability to tell us about the context for Jews living at the same time and place of the composer, whose work is being examined, as it is for uncovering potentially important works and figures in our history.

The Jewish Experience in Classical Music

In the last two chapters, I explored how the works of Bernstein and Milhaud are reflective of an integration of their Jewish identities with other aspects of their identity. I examined specific Jewish elements that each composer used in their works. For example, Bernstein's use of biblical texts, cantillation and nusach in the *Jeremiah* Symphony, and Milhaud's usage of the Hebrew folk melody, and some of its original text in his Art song, *'La Séparation.'* I also discussed how both of these composers' music is reflective of the greater social, political and musical contexts in which they lived. In looking at the two pieces of music which I analyzed in chapter two and three, one can see that Milhaud and Bernstein chose very different solutions to integrating Jewish elements into their works with elements representing other cultural influences.

[36] For examples, please see the "works cited" listing of this thesis.
[37] The following are just a couple of many examples: Jack Gottlieb, *Funny, It Doesn't Sound Jewish: How Yiddish Songs and Synagogue Melodies Influenced Tin Pan Alley, Broadway, and Hollywood*, (New York: State University of New York, 2004); Klara Moricz, "The Confines of Judaism and the Illusiveness of Universality in Ernest Bloch's Avodath Hakodesh (Sacred Service)," *Repercussions* 5 (Spring - Fall 1996): 184-241.

In Milhaud's *'La Séparation,'* the Jewish and other cultural elements, are integrated as one homogenous whole right from the outset of the piece and throughout its entirety. Milhaud's usage of the Jewish melody from "*Hamavdil, Shavua Tov*" is consistent throughout. His piece sets up an atmosphere, and color which is consistent throughout. This is reflective of the context in which it was written. Milhaud's piece is a comfortable blend of French and Jewish cultural influences. Milhaud expressed the relative comfort Jews had had living in the South of France under special protection from the Pope for generations. *'La Séparation'* can be viewed as a symbol of how Jews may understand their Jewish heritage, as represented by the integration of a Hebrew folk song, and how they related to their heritage through updating this song using modern musical techniques and incorporating sounds associated with other cultures.

Bernstein, in contrast, uses Jewish elements mixed with other elements from Jazz, and Classical music in a less streamlined fashion. His piece dramatically changes textures and colors throughout. Bernstein wrote this work as a second generation Jew, at a time when Jews were still trying to understand what it meant to be Jewish in America. Moreover, he wrote the *Jeremiah* Symphony during WWII. Bernstein's 'Lamentation' from the *Jeremiah* Symphony can be viewed as a metaphor in a number of ways, for example, it is symbolic of American Jews' struggle to integrate Judaism with the other elements that impact their identities and everyday lives. It can be heard as the expression of horror at the atrocities of the Shoah. On a meta level, it is symbolic of a quest for empowerment through reaching for a universal quality.

By exploring the music and lives of Bernstein and Milhaud, I provide insight into the solutions each composer offers as to how to integrate various aspects of their identities and cultural influences into their music. Their works can tell us about the competing influences upon the identities of people in the Jewish communities in which they lived.

For my study, I chose to focus on the lives, persona, and works of Bernstein and Milhaud. However, the framework I have used to examine their work, and the implications and impact of their creations, can be applied to other composers. In examining how these issues of essentialization, and representations of Jewishness play out in the lives and works of other Jewish composers, one can only gain further insight into the some of the issues facing Jews who lived in similar contexts to these composers.

Exploring what is written about Jewish composers and their works, can also give insight into why these composers may have resonated, and may still resonate, with members of the Jewish communities. It can also give us a lens into how these composers were viewed by those outside the Jewish community, and speak about the relative acceptance or, on the other extreme, anti-Semitism they may have experienced. This tells us about the greater context for the Jewish people.

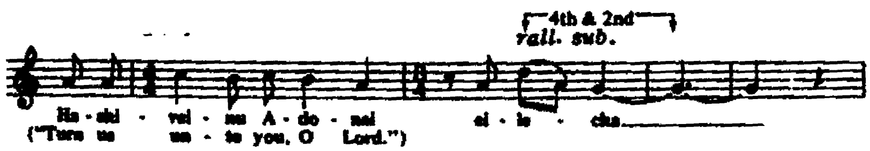
Some of these issues have been explored in detail, for example in the work of musicologists such as David Schiller, and Harriet Mildred Rosen, and Klara Móricz on figures such as those mentioned in the beginning of this work, including Arnold Schoenberg (1874-1951), and Ernest Bloch (1880-1959) Mario Castelnuovo Tedesco (1895-1968), and members of the Society for Jewish Folk Music. However, there are many other Jewish composers who would benefit from similar kinds of examination.

Some argue that art by Jews becomes highly individual post-emancipation, and therefore unable to represent a communal, Jewish experience. For example, Joseph

Guttman takes this view when discussing modern art by Jewish artists in his article "Is There a Jewish Art?" I believe that the definition of Jewish music needs to be much broader than what defined it pre-emancipation. Music is an expression of ourselves, our cultures, and our surroundings. We can learn a great deal about the context the composer lived in by looking at how composers integrated various competing cultural and religious influences. I agree with Guttman that the works of Jewish artists in the 20th Century reflect a combination of influences that cannot be globally entitled "Jewish," or represent concretely a Jewish communal experience. However, I feel that the very representation of a blend of influences in which Jewishness is highlighted, can represent a shared Jewish experience post-emancipation. This is not to say that this music is "Jewish," in that it expresses a uniquely Jewish identity, rather, it expresses a Jewish experience. In looking at how composers integrated different aspects of their identities into their works, I believe we learn about Jewish experiences in the 20th Century.

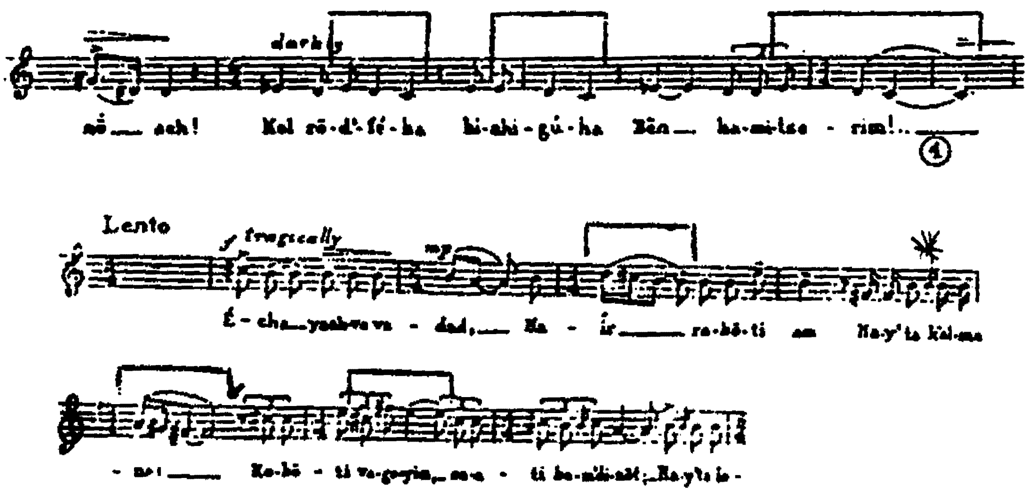
Appendix A

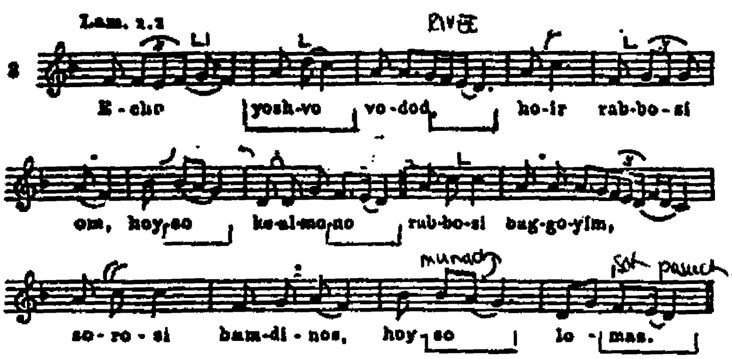
1. Gottlieb's outline of Bernstein's usage of a melodic motive taken from Rosh Hashana Nusach.



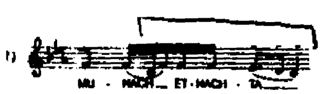
2. Gottlieb's example of this motive's occurrence within the *Amidah* section of Rosh Hashana.

Appendix B

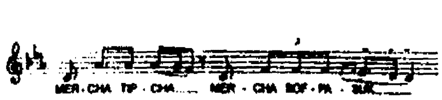
1. Lubin's analysis of Bernstein's 'Lamentation' vocal line as using cantillation.

2. Lubin's citing of Idelsohn's transcription of the cantillation for the beginning of the biblical text "Echo" or 'Lamentations.'



3. Musical notation for trope from biblical cantillation for 'Lamentations.'



מנח אתנחתא



מרכא טפחא מרכא סוף־פסוק:

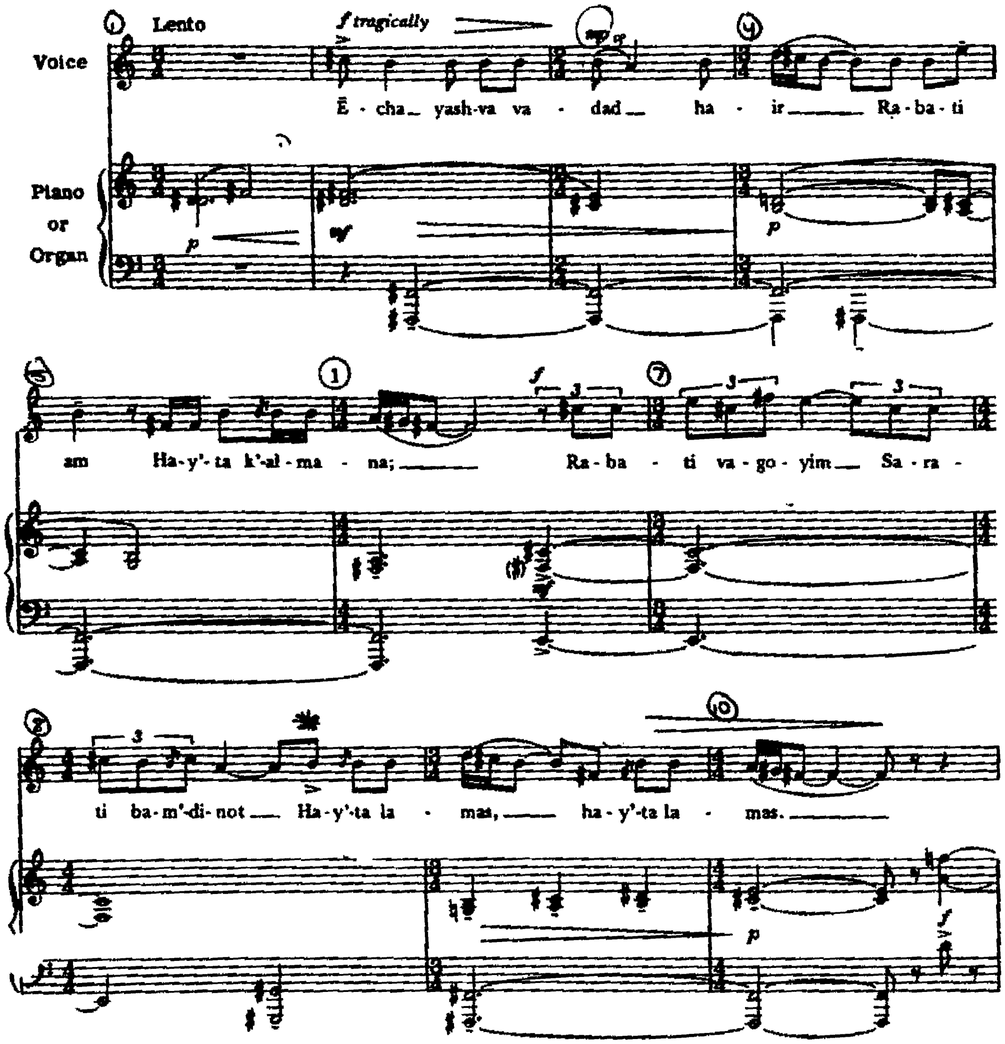
Appendix C

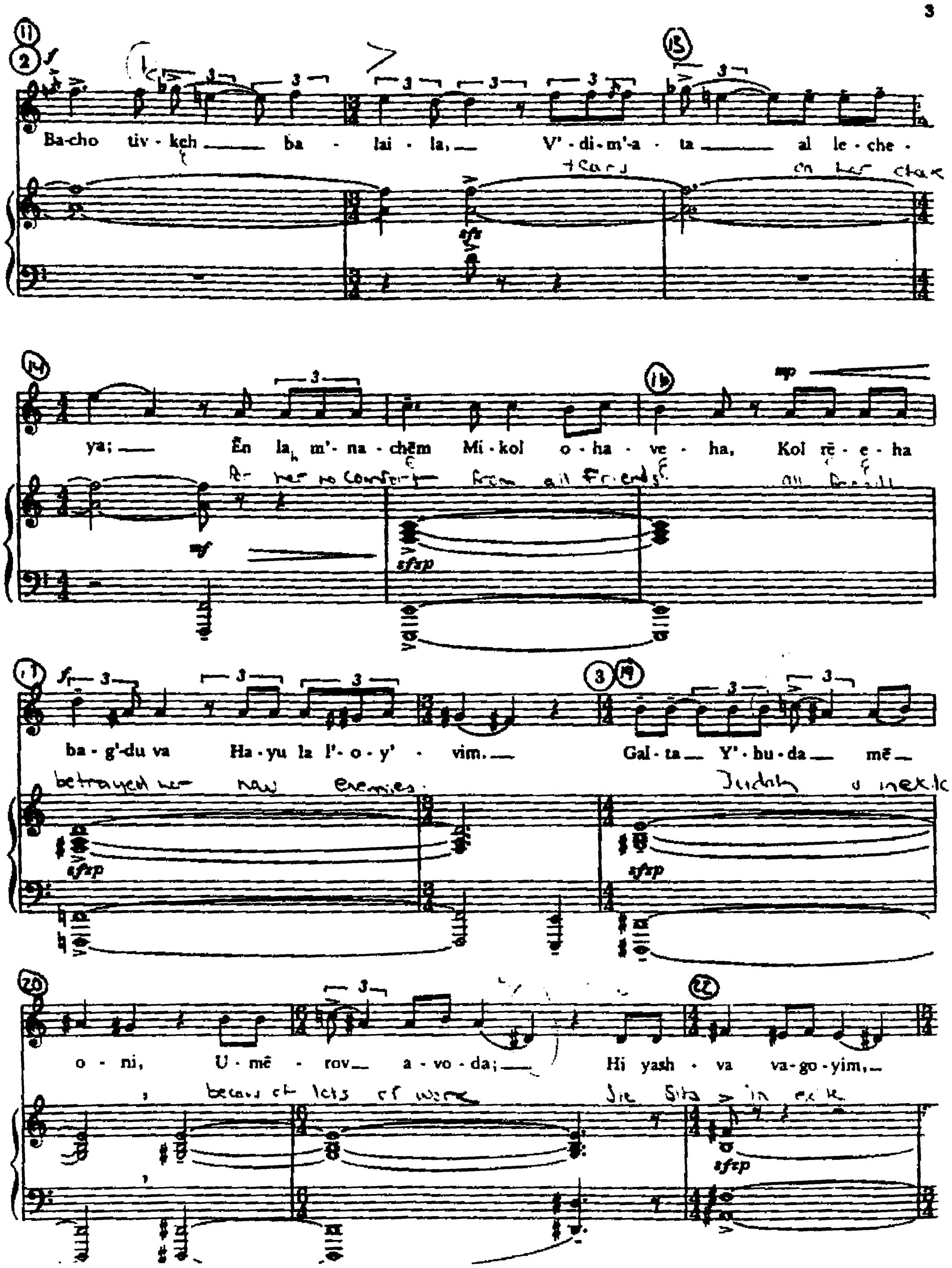
LAMENTATION
(Finale "JEREMIAH" Symphony)

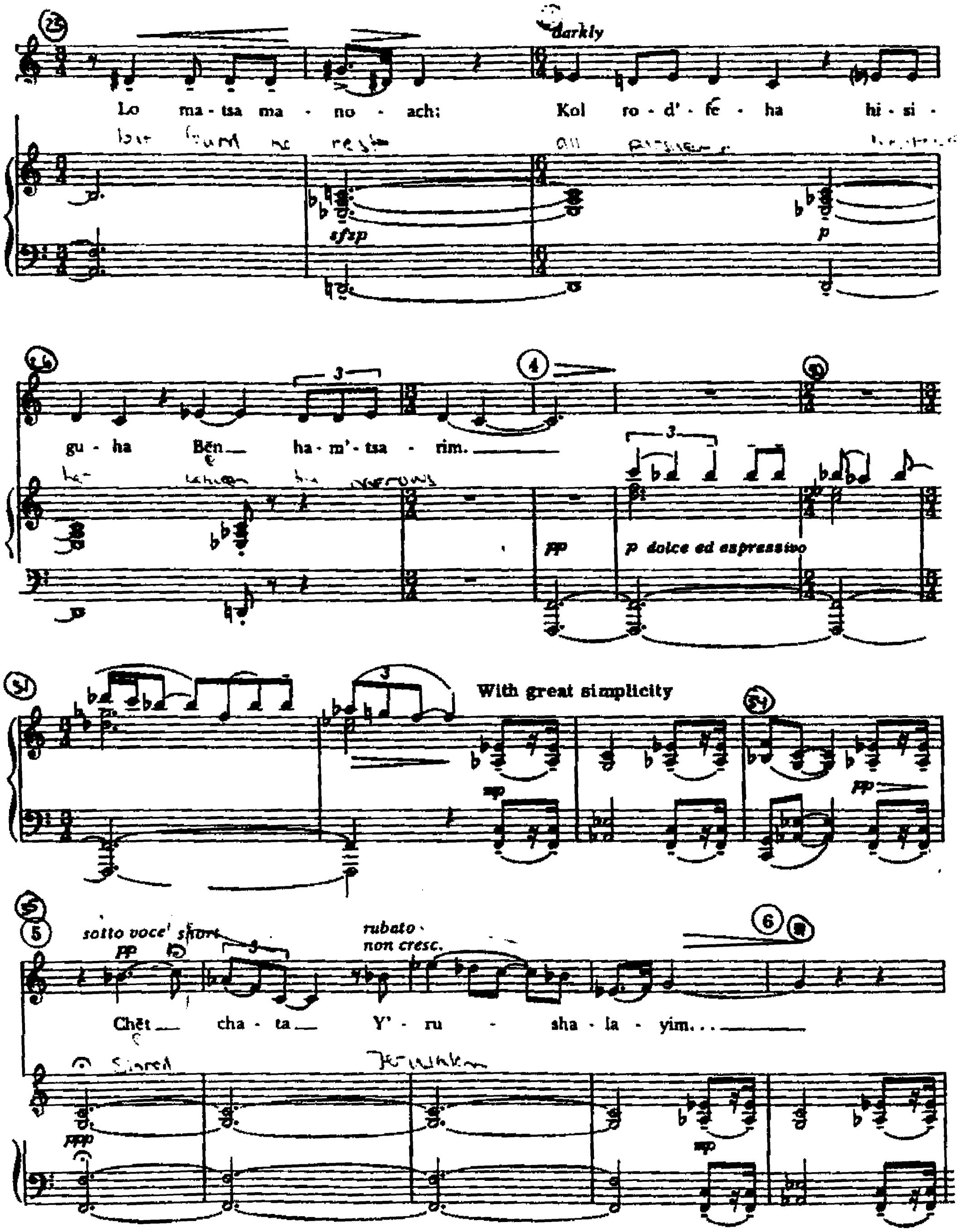
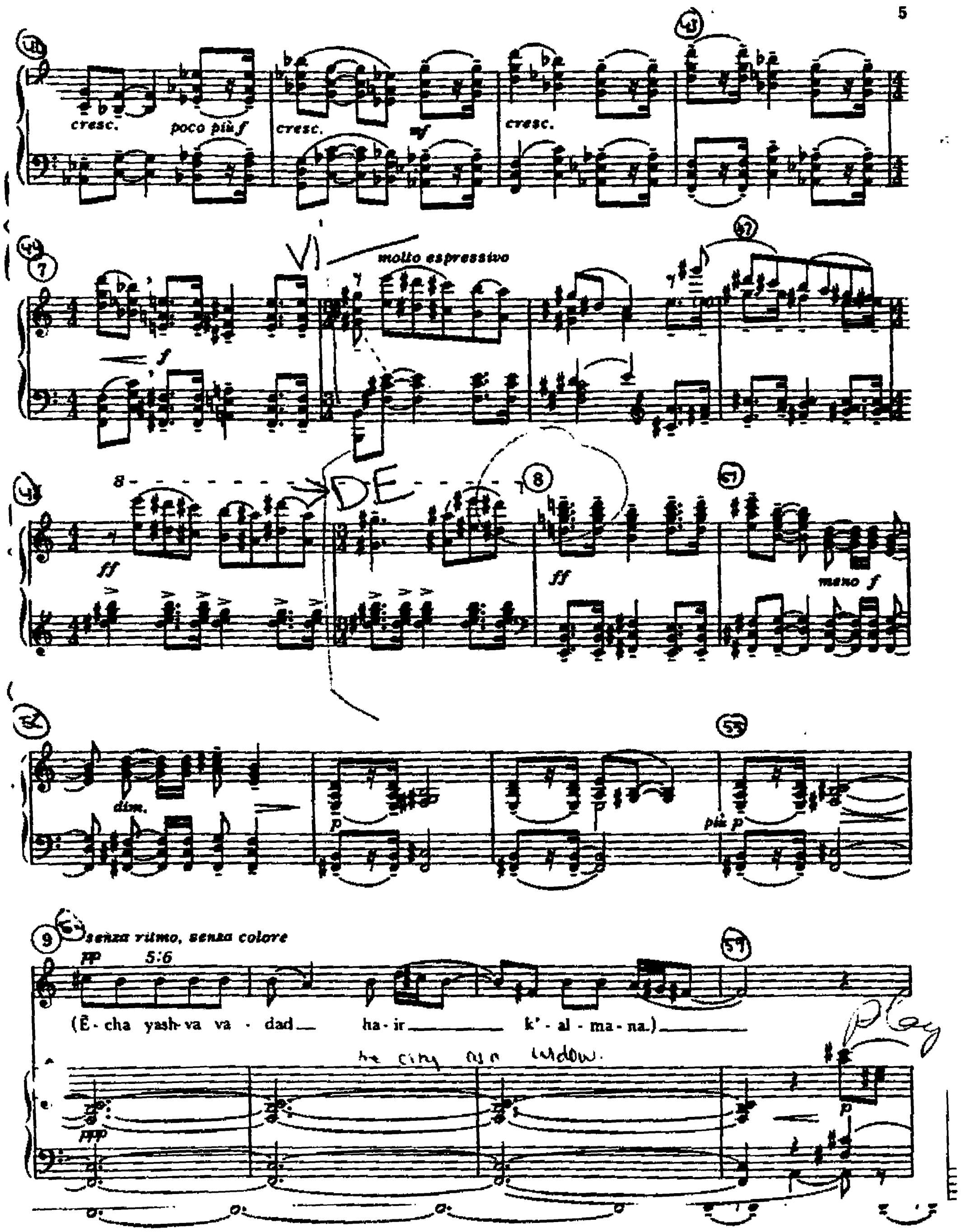
Hebrew text
For Mezzo Soprano with Piano
or Organ Accompaniment

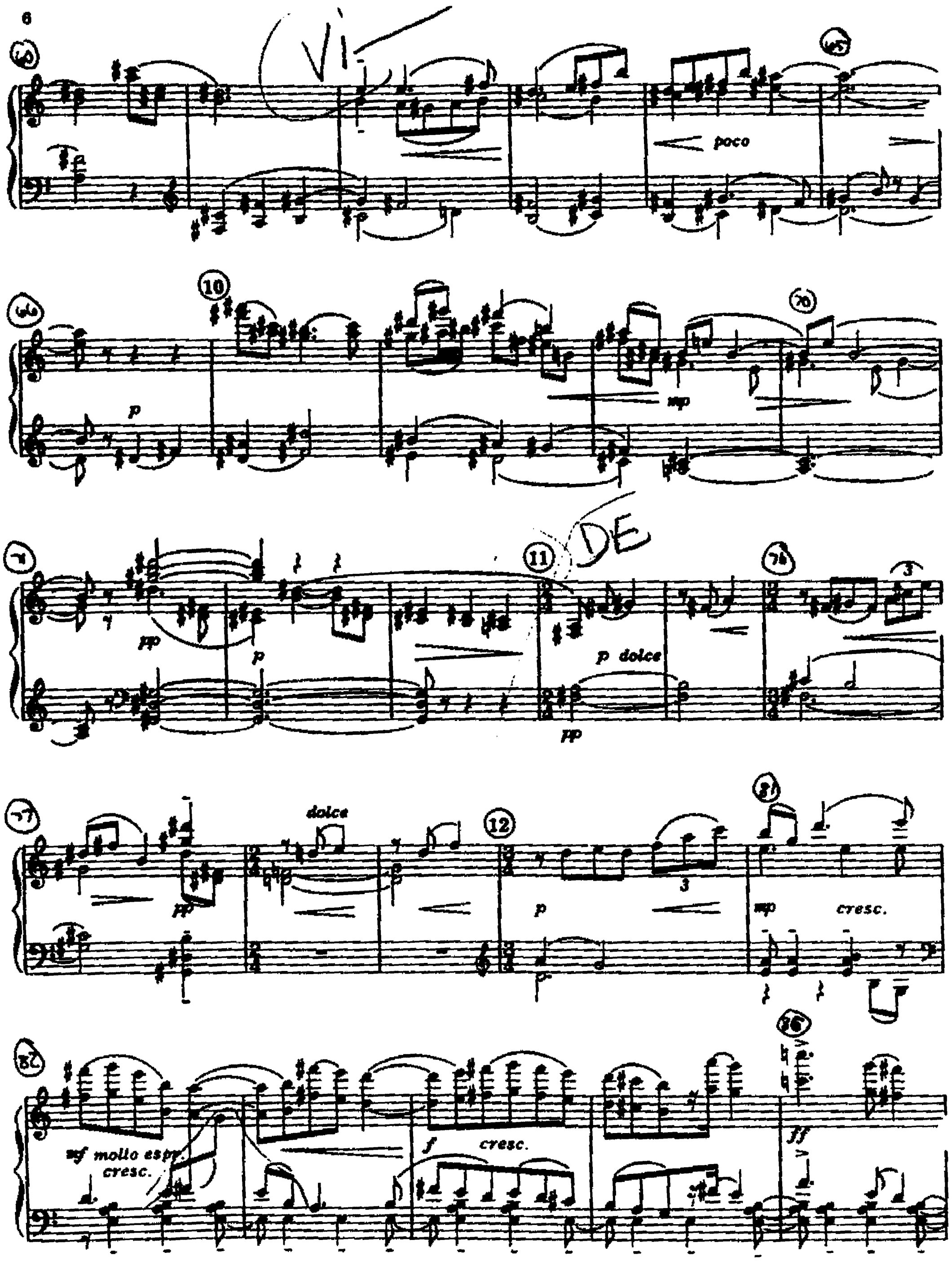
Book of Lamentations:
Cap. I Verses 1, 2, 3, 8
Cap. IV Verses 14, 15
Cap. V Verses 20, 21

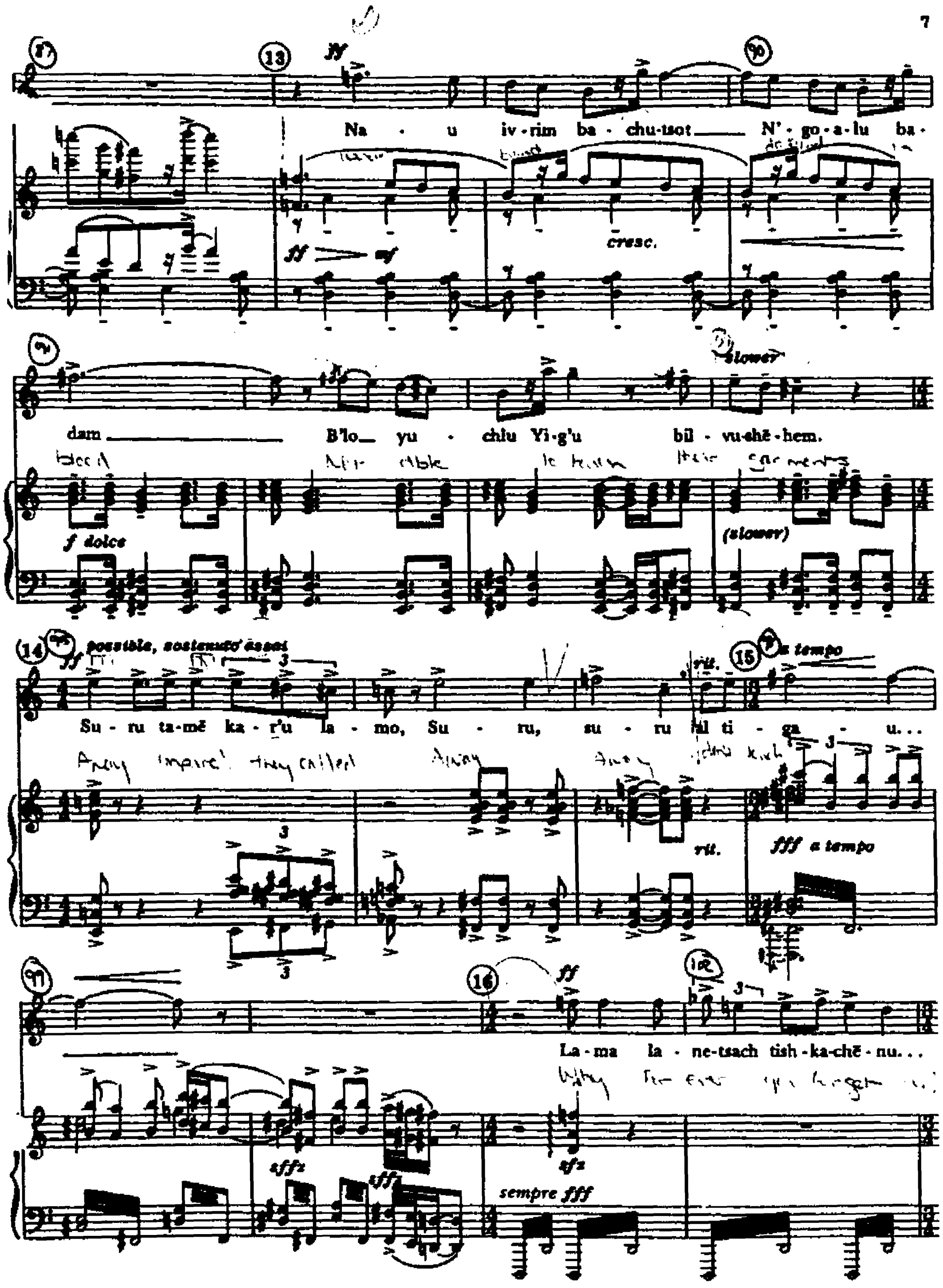
LEONARD BERNSTEIN
Adaptation by F. Campbell-Watson

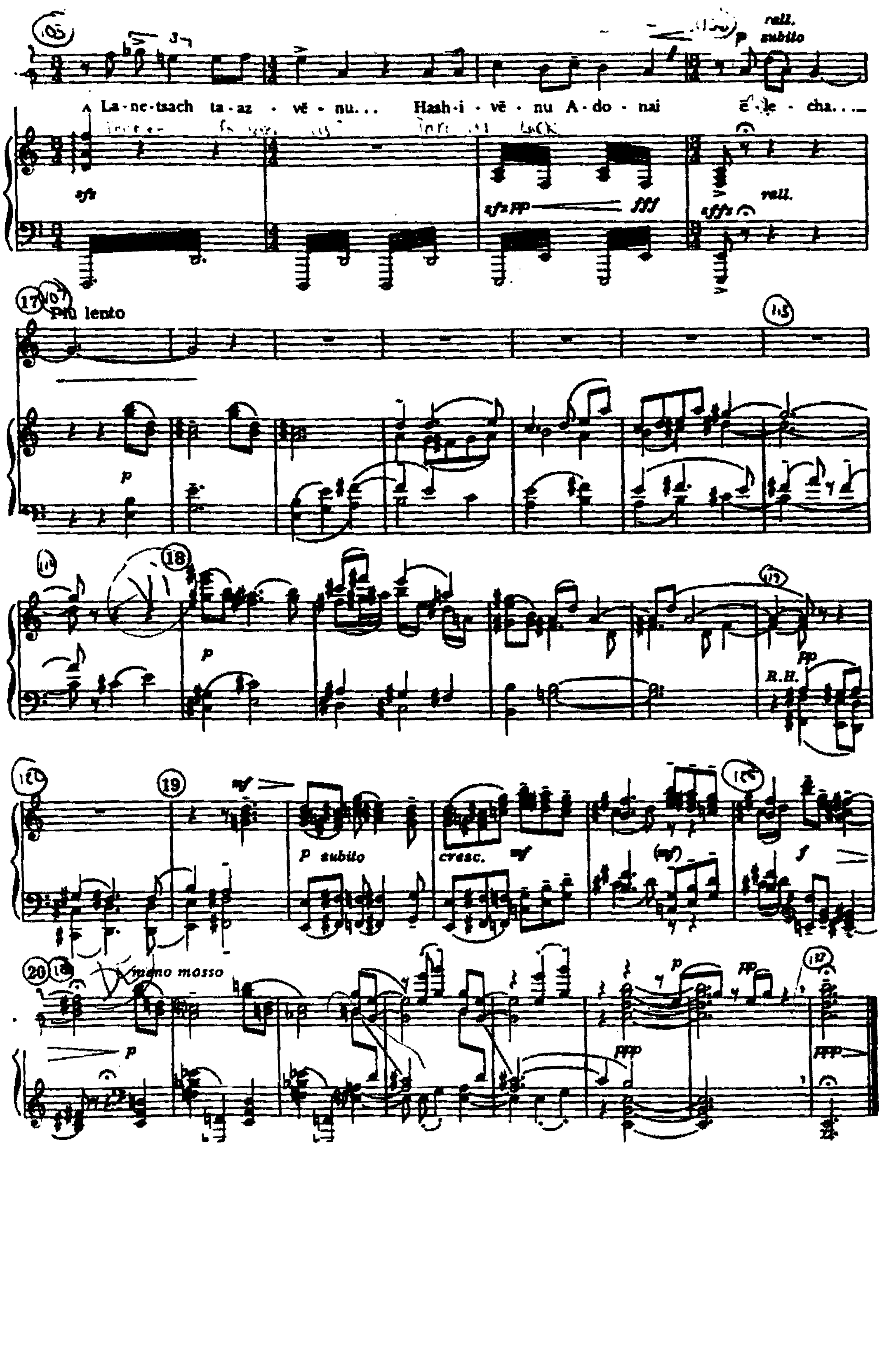



Ba-cho tiv-keh ba-lai-la, V'-di-m'-a-ta al le-che-
tears on her cheek
ya; Ēn la m'-na-chēm Mi-kol o-ha-ve-ha, Kol rē-e-ha
her no Comfort from all Friends
ba-g'-du va Ha-yu la l'-o-y'-vim.
betrayed her now enemies.
Gal-ta Y'-hu-da mē-
Judah
o-ni, U-mē-rov a-vo-da; Hi yash-va va-go-yim,
because of lots of work


darkly
Lo ma - tsa ma - no - ach; Kol ro - d' - fe - ha hi - si -
sfsp
p
gu - ha Bēn ha - m' - tsa - rim.
pp
p dolce ed espressivo
With great simplicity
mp
pp
sotto voce
rubato
non cresc.
Chēt cha - ta Y' - ru - sha - la - yim...
ppp
mp


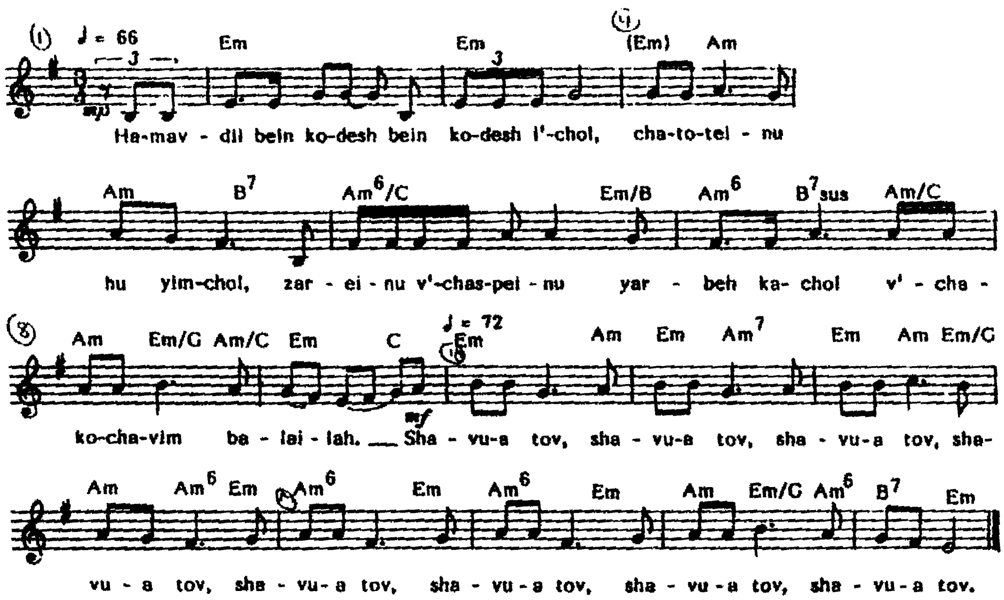
5
cresc.
poco più f
cresc.
mf
cresc.
f
VI
molto espressivo
8
DE
ff
ff
meno f
dim.
p
più p
senza ritmo, senza colore
pp
5:6
(Ê - cha yash-va va - dad ha - ir k' - al - ma - na.)
the city as a widow.
Play
ppp
p


VI
poco
10
p
mp
pp
11
DE
p dolce
dolce
12
mp
cresc.
mf molto espr.
f
ff


7
13
ff
Na - u iv-rim ba - chu-tsot N'-go-a-lu ba-
ff
mf
cresc.
slower
dam B'lo yu - chlu Yi-g'u bil - vu-shē-hem.
f dolce
(slower)
14
possible, sostenuto assai
ff
rit.
15
a tempo
Su-ru ta-mē ka-r'u la-mo, Su-ru, su-ru lil ti-ga-u...
rit.
fff a tempo
16
ff
La-ma la-ne-tsach tish-ka-chē-nu...
sffz
sfz
sempre fff


rall.
p subito
La-ne-tsach ta-az-vē-nu... Hash-i-vē-nu A-do-nai ē-le-cha....
Più lento
R.H.
p subito
cresc.
meno mosso

Appendix D

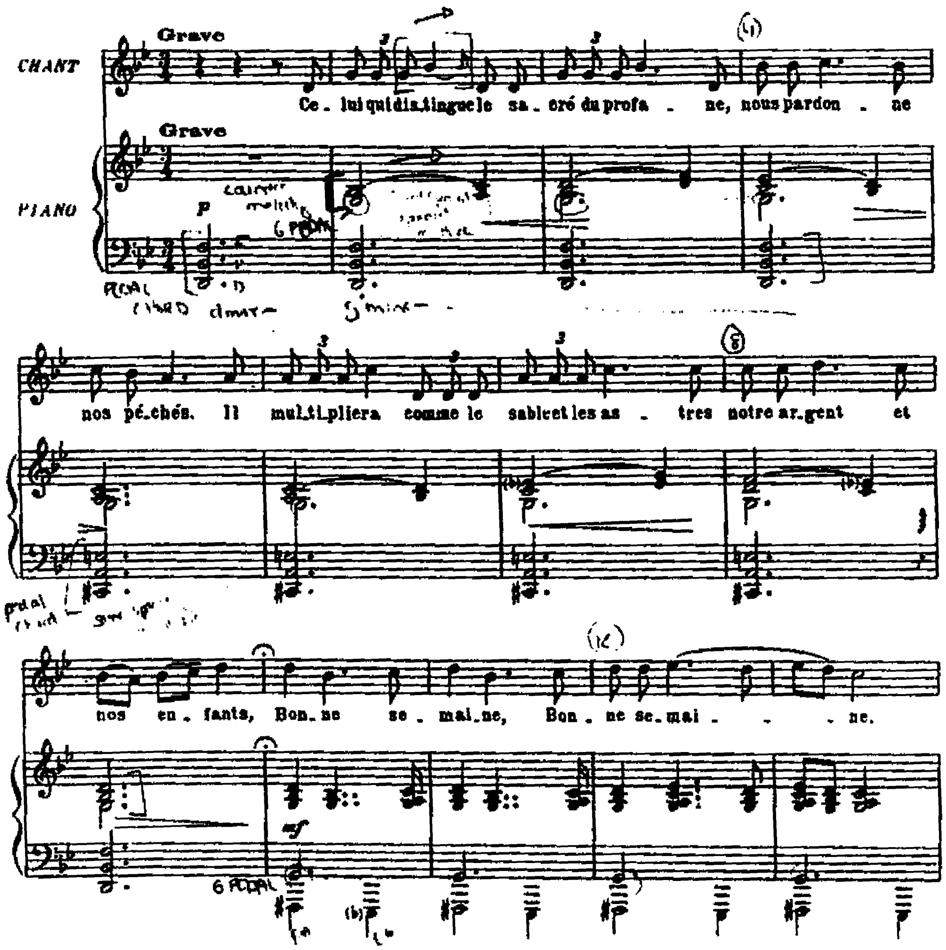
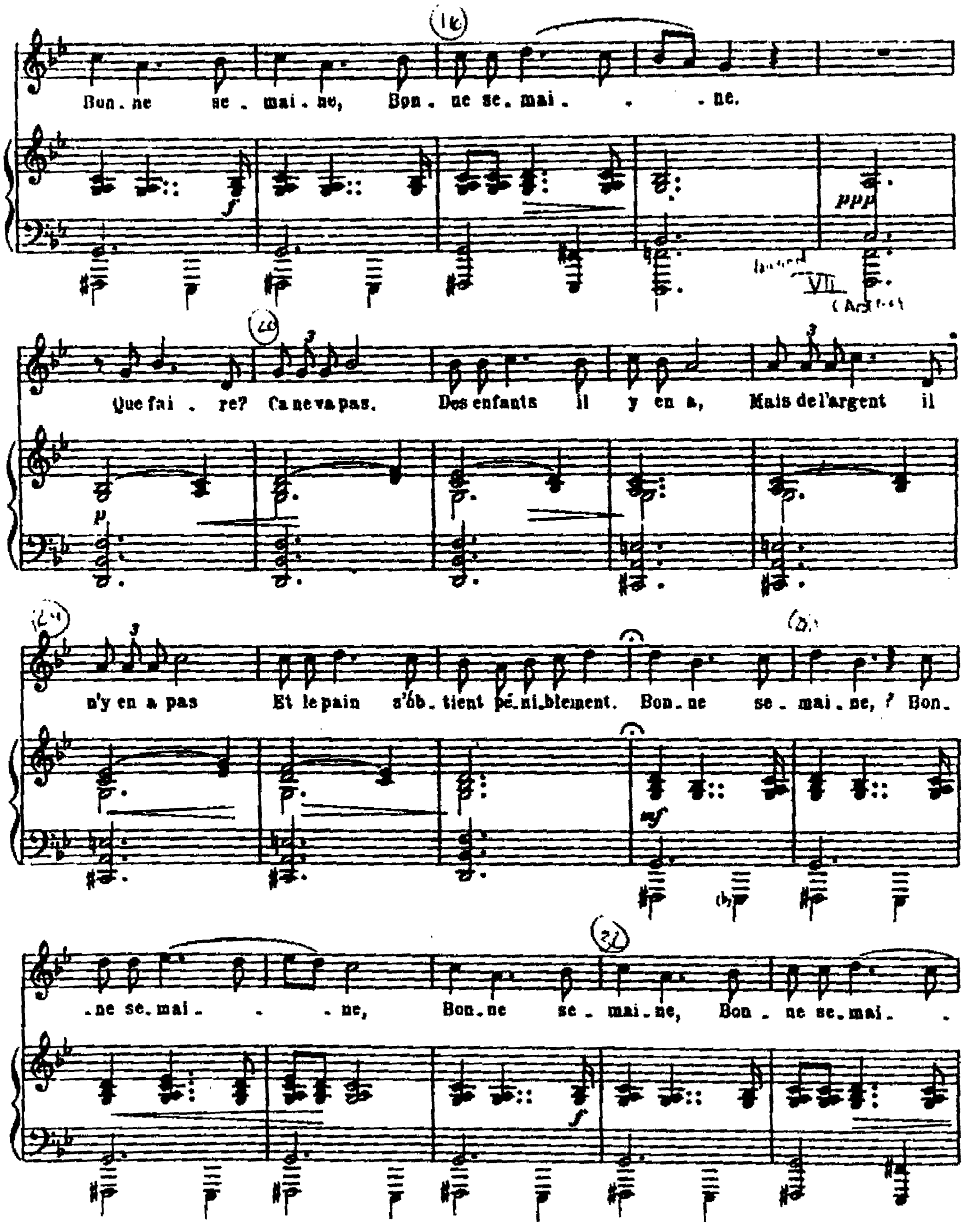
Hamavdil, Shavua Tov

Appendix E

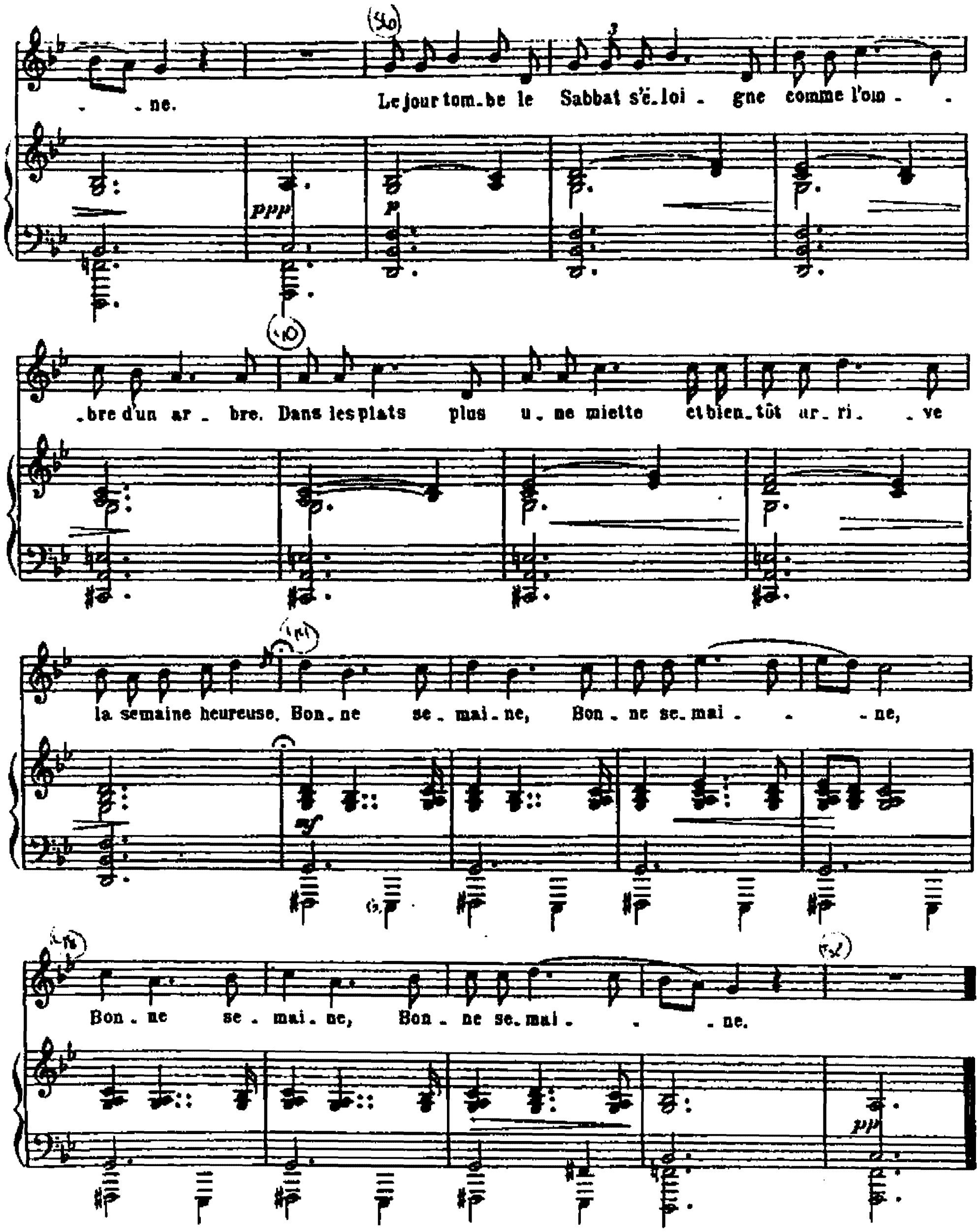
Milhaud's 'La Séparation'

A Madeleine GREY

CHANTS POPULAIRES HÉBRAÏQUES

I
LA SÉPARATION

MILHAUD

R. 20,040


Bon . ne se . mai . ne, Bon . ne se. mai . . . ne.
Que fai . re? Ça ne va pas. Des enfants il y en a, Mais de l'argent il
n'y en a pas Et le pain s'ob. tient pé.ni.blement. Bon . ne se . mai . ne, Bon.
. ne se. mai . . ne, Bon. ne se . mai. ne, Bon . ne se. mai . .


.ne. Le jour tom.be le Sabbat s'é.loi . gne comme l'om .
.bre d'un ar . bre. Dans les plats plus u.ne miette et bien.tôt ar.ri. .ve
la semaine heureuse. Bon.ne se.mai.ne, Bon.ne se.mai . . .ne,
Bon.ne se.mai.ne, Bon.ne se.mai . . .ne.

Appendix F

Texts and Translations for *Hamavdil, Shavua Tov* and *'La Séparation'*

Hamavdil, Shavua Tov

Introduction:	
Hamavdil bein kodesh	May the One who separates between sacred
Bein kodesh l'chol	between sacred and profane
Chatoteinu	pardon our sins,
hu yimchol Zareinu v'chaspeinu	increasing our descendents and our prosperity
Yarbeh kachol	as the sand
v'chakochavim balailah	and as the stars at night
Chorus:	
Shavua tov (repeats)	Have a good week.

La Séparation (translation based on that by Faith J. Cormier)

Celui qui distingue le sacré du profane,	He, who distinguishes the sacred from the profane,
nous pardonne nos péchés.	pardons us and our sins.
Il multipliera comme le sable et les astres	He will multiply, like the sand and the stars,
notre argent et nos enfants.	our money and our children.
Bonne semaine, Bonne semaine,	Good week, Good week,
Bonne semaine, Bonne semaine,	Good week, Good week.
Que faire? Ca ne va pas.	What shall we do? Something is all wrong.
Des enfants il y en a,	There are plenty of children,
Mais de l'argent il n'y en a pas	But there is no money.
Et le pain s'obtient péniblement.	And bread is difficult to obtain.
Bonne semaine.....	Good week.....
Le jour tombe le Sabbat s'éloigne,	The day falls, the Sabbath retreats,
comme l'ombre d'un arbre.	like the shadow of a tree.
Dans les plats plus une miette	On the plates, there is no more than a crumb.
et bientôt arrive ~~la semaine~~ heureuse	and soon the happy week will arrive.
Bonne semaine.....	Good week.....

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