A STRANGER HERE MYSELF:
The Postcard Project as an Exploration of Twentieth-Century Jewish Musical Identity

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INTRODUCTION:

The Jewish people have always known what it is like to be strangers – after all, the Torah reminds us no less than four times that we were strangers in the land of Egypt: כי גרים חייתם בערץ מצרים (Exodus 22:21, Exodus 23:9, Leviticus 19:34, and Deuteronomy 10:19). Although our plight as strangers has brought our people much oppression and exclusion, it has also contributed to the uniqueness of Jewish culture, music, and art. In exile, we were spread amongst communities across the globe. This allowed us to combine our Jewish identities and customs alongside regional influences. We see these elements in both the secular and religious works of many of the great Jewish composers.

When the Zionist movement took root in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Jews from all over Europe began to settle in what was known at the time as Palestine. With the convergence of Jews from so many different backgrounds, new cultural idioms developed. In particular, folk songs began to emerge as a manifestation of the bold and carefree pioneering spirit of *Eretz Yisrael*. Although some of these folk songs incorporated elements of popular European musical styles, the Zionists sought to create a musical genre that was different from what anyone had ever heard before. Collaborative communities, known as *Kibbutzim*, developed, many of which were united by the spirited melodies that declared their inhabitants' love for the land, their struggle to earn a living, and their fear of the unknown.

These folk songs became such an integral part of early Zionistic culture that they were used as promotional tools for encouraging Jewish resettlement of Palestine. They also had an impact far beyond *Eretz Yisrael*. In the 1920s and 1930s, *Keren Kayemet* (the

Jewish National Fund, or JNF) began publishing small collections of this new music. The goal was to make Jews in the Diaspora aware of burgeoning opportunities for freedom and discovery in the new Palestine. "Although the JNF had initially entered the field of music publication on a limited scale, it rapidly found itself the world's largest publisher of Hebrew songs," writes Natan Shahar.[1] Shahar calculates that at least 4,073 songs in this genre were composed during the period between 1920 and 1950, crediting the prolific production with their representation of "a culture which would be entirely new," but which "would also be a renewal stemming from ancient foundations."[2]

The JNF songbooks and pamphlets became so popular that the organization broadened its base by distributing postcards with some of these folk melodies embossed on them. The postcards were not necessarily created with performance purposes in mind; rather, the likely hope was that they would serve as a tangible representation of new cultural developments in *Eretz Yisrael*. The melodies themselves were less important than the themes and ideals they represented. "You can't play music from a postcard," notes musicologist Edwin Seroussi, who also acknowledged that the songs served as a major vehicle for teaching Hebrew.[3]

The success of the postcards is likely a result of the fact that they create the illusion of oral tradition in a land that has been experiencing growth over mere decades, as opposed to generations. Bohlman writes:

> …[The postcards] acquire the power to create and mass-produce a form of history, one straddling the timelessness of a musical tradition that has always been a part of Palestine and the timelessness of a musical

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[1] Natan Shahar, "The Eretz Israeli Song and the Jewish National Fund," in *Studies in Contemporary Jewry: IX: Modern Jews and Their Musical Agendas*, ed. Ezra Mendelson. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 85.

2 Natan Shahar, "The Eretz Israeli Song 1920-1950: Socio Musical and Musical Aspects" (Ph.D. diss, Hebrew University, 1989), viii.

[3] Edwin Seroussi, Personal Interview, 14 June 2012.

> tradition that represents a nation on the eve of its birth. The postcards invite those who receive them to join in that history and to take part in the cultural performance that will make it a reality.[4]

Indeed, the simple method of mailing a single sheet of paper proved to be a very effective way of disseminating Zionist ideals to a wide audience. JNF followed a model created by Mizmor Publications in 1930, in which twelve songs edited by the composer Menashe Rabinowitz (1899-1968) were printed in a series called *Zemirot HaAm* (Melodies of the People). In March of 1932, Rabinowitz, who became known by the name Ravina after assimilating into Israeli culture, edited a similar series for JNF. By the end of that year the entire printing of 4,690 sets was sold out, and JNF issued four additional sets by June 1933. Hundreds of new melodies were being composed during this tremendously active period of Israeli music. Approximately fifty-two songs were printed on postcards by JNF, twenty-two of which were edited or composed by Rabinowitz. Dozens of other songs likely appeared on postcards produced by other distributers. Shahar writes:

> Appearing on the front side of each postcard was music, the Hebrew text with vowels and a transliteration, plus the tag line, '*Songs of the Homeland [Mishirei hamoledet]*, dedicated to Jewish youth from the Jewish National Fund, Jerusalem.' Two months after publication, almost the entire series of some 5,000 sets had been sold out. Buoyed by its success, JNF officials asked Rabinowitz to edit two additional series of ten postcards each, "Popular Tunes" and "Children's Songs." By the beginning of 1935, a total of five "songs on postcards" series had been published, consisting of fifty-two new songs. Another four series of postcards, compiled by Rabinowitz but printed in Poland met with far more limited success.[5]

The postcards attracted the attention of German musicologist Hans Nathan (1910-1989), who was a member of Berlin's *Jüdischer Kulturbund* (the Jewish Cultural League). This organization was founded to support Jewish musicians and artists amidst

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[4] Hans Nathan and Philip Bohlman, *Israeli Folk Music: Songs of the Early Pioneers.* (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 1994), 49.
[5] Shahar "JNF," 86.

rising anti-Semitism. In its very formation, the *Kulturbund* helped German Jews to recognize that Jewish music went beyond *shtetl* and synagogue life. *Keren Kayemet's* postcards provided further evidence of new cultural developments in Palestine. With the hopes of formally preserving some of these emerging musical representations of the Jewish homeland, Nathan sent letters to several of the most distinguished Jewish composers of his time, hoping that they would arrange several of these pieces for piano and voice. Composers like Kurt Weill (1900-1950), Darius Milhaud (1892-1974), Stefan Wolpe (1902-1972), Aaron Copland (1900-1990), Paul Dessau (1894-1979), Erich Walter Sternberg (1891-1974) and Ernst Toch (1887-1964) were each commissioned to write one or more compositions for what became known as the Postcard Project.

Klara Móricz describes the process of distributing the folk melodies as follows:

> The songs Nathan sent to his arrangers for selection originated in Middle Eastern and European traditions, the latter represented by songs of early Polish and Russian immigrants to Palestine… Nathan distributed the tunes "according to what [he] thought (or hoped) would meet the musical language o the composers." Composers' reactions, as well as their arrangements, varied according to their temperaments and persuasions.[6]

As each composer placed his personal stamp on these distinctively Israeli pieces, he thereby demonstrates his own relationship with Israel and with Judaism. Many of these composers went on to travel to Palestine. Some, such as Wolpe and Sternberg, even lived there for an extended period of time. As musicologist Philip V. Bohlman writes:

> Each composer understood the individual songs from his own perspective and the circumstances of his own transition. Each identified himself with the pioneer settlers in the songs in an individual way, though by no means a simplistic way. Each drew upon a different knowledge of Jewish music and had a different opinion about how the music of a new Jewish nation should sound… These voices, even as the emanated from Berlin, Paris, and New York on the eve of the most tragic moment in modern Jewish history, also formed the context of a new history, from which the modern nation-state of Israel would

[6] Klara Móricz, *Jewish Identities: Nationalism, Racism, and Utopianism in Twentieth-Century Music*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 238.

> emerge. In sum, the songs represent the end of one Jewish era and the beginning of another.[7]

The arrangements that these composers created for the Postcard Project, as well as their other compositions – both secular and Jewish – offer insights into the varying attitudes towards Zionism in Europe, America, and in Palestine itself. The pages that follow will use the Postcard Project as a lens for exploring several important concepts: The fusion of music and religious identity amongst Jewish composers, the differing attitudes towards the resettlement of *Eretz Yisrael*, and the continued development of Israel's national culture. Some of the issues that will be explored include the influence of folk music on Israeli nationalism, the impact that the Postcard Project had on early immigration to Palestine, and the folk song as a manifestation of the pioneering spirit.

In addition, the folk song arrangements will be examined alongside other sacred and secular works by the composers represented in the Postcard Project. This will demonstrate the ways in which the choices made in the folk song arrangements were rooted in a given composers' religious identity. Exploring other works by these composers will offer a more complete sense of their compositional techniques. Of particular interest will be how their position as "strangers" in their countries of origin affected their rise to artistic prominence. Oftentimes, these composers incorporated Jewish themes and messages into their work even when they did not intend to. Although they made every attempt to assimilate into the melting pot of American or European musical culture, their compositions remained inherently Jewish.

The postcards produced by JNF represent a unique cultural engagement between Israel and the Diaspora that subsequently made a significant impact on composers and

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[7] Nathan and Bohlman, *Israeli Folk Music*, 39-40.

musicians in both regions. Exploring in detail the arrangements for the Postcard Project demonstrate the ways in which the composers engaged with Judaism and Israel, illustrating how nationalism leads to the cultivation of ethnic identity.

Chapter One will explore the earliest Zionist folk songs and the poems and themes on which they were based. The establishment of a national musical identity through this medium was a critical factor in the transformation that turned *Eretz Yisrael* (the Land of Israel) into *Medinat Yisrael* (the State of Israel). Chapter Two will examine what happened when these folk songs were disseminated to European communities via postcard and the ways in which Jewish music beyond the *shtetl* and the synagogue affected the European musical climate. Chapter Three will focus on the places where the Jews took refuge when rising anti-Semitism forced them out of Europe, such as the United States and Israel. It is interesting that more composers chose to come to the United States as opposed to Israel; this had to do with varying attitudes towards the establishment of a formalized Jewish homeland. It is also significant that these composers were often commissioned to write music that was specifically Jewish in nature, sometimes willingly but more often reluctantly. The Fourth and final chapter will highlight the ways in which Israeli folk songs play a prominent role in Israeli society today as well as the continued development of Israel's national musical identity.

Overall, this research will examine the ways in which the Postcard Project demonstrates several important concepts: The fusion of religious and secular identity amongst Jewish composers, the differing attitudes towards the resettlement of *Eretz Yisrael*, and the continued development of Israeli music and culture.

CHAPTER 1 – *HAVU L'VANIM* (BRING THE BRICKS):

Joel Engel, Menashe Ravina, and Mordechai Zeira as Pioneers of Israeli Song

Amidst rising anti-Semitism, failing economies, and the threat of Communism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many European Jews sought asylum in places such as the United States and Palestine. For some, the decision to emigrate and where to eventually settle was based on personal or family connections in a given location. For others, the pull to Palestine was directly related to their ardent support of the burgeoning development of cultural Zionism and their desire to be a part of a spirited movement of pioneers. The first mass immigration movement began in 1882; historians count six major immigration movements between then until the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948. These movements became known as *Aliyot*, a Hebrew term that means "moving upwards." (When referring to the actions of one unit, the proper word is *Aliyah*).

The fourth *Aliyah*, which is often delineated as having occurred between 1924 and 1928, brought with it the arrival of, what became, many of Israel's first popular composers and poets. Up until this time, the musical landscape of Palestine was colored by folk songs from the Old Country, Middle Eastern melodies heard by the new immigrants, and Hebrew translations of Eastern European music. The texts of the songs that the new immigrants would sing in the fields changed before the music did, largely because they needed to solidify their personal relationships with *Eretz Yisrael* before crafting new musical genres to match. New poems by the likes of Chaim Nachman Bialik (1897-1934) and Shaul Tchernichovsky (1875-1943) – who immigrated to Israel in 1924

and 1931, respectively – slowly began to replace lyrics written in foreign languages. Michal Smoira-Roll describes these early Israeli songs as follows:

> The first songs to be sung here were obviously not of local origin, since all the needs and values of that period were supplied from afar. However the words of the songs were new, taken from the unique experiences of those days. The old words, were used only if their content was completely in harmony with the life of the new country, and only if they had been written in Hebrew.
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> This shows that the songs had to have a purpose, their melody a message. They were required to serve the grand ideal, buttress will power, inspire enthusiasm and reinforce the ties between the individual and society and between society and its new values. They were labour songs, national songs, or paeans to the beauty of the new country.[8]

Although the texts of these songs conveyed innovation and vision, the melodies were simplistic and, at times, notes Smoira-Roll, "a mockery, a hotchpotch of tunes from many different sources."[9] These songs were successful because they evoked memories of the past and helped the new immigrants feel comfortable amidst their new surroundings. However, they did not serve to unify the numerous groups of people who immigrated to Palestine from different parts of Europe. The collection of settlements became known as the *Yishuv*, and the musicians who lived there tended to arrange new versions of melodies that had been passed down via oral tradition.

As the population of Palestine increased, so too did the need for a more formalized development of a national musical identity. It is fortunate, then, that the fifth and sixth *Aliyot* included even more prominent musicians. Many of these musicians took part in the establishment of the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra in 1936. "In the 1930s the search for a national music became vitally important, for it responded to a nation in the process of achieving its integrity," writes Bohlman. "The attempts to compose Israeli

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[8] Michal Smoira-Roll, *Folk Song in Israel: An Analysis Attempted* (Tel Aviv: Israeli Music Institute, 1965), 14.
[9] Ibid.

music, therefore, unleashed passionate and polemical debates, which in turn further undergirded the significance of the competing nationalist projects."[10] The Postcard Project is an example of a method for disseminating the songs of Palestine from this time period. The composers involved in creating the original melodies that were subsequently sent off to Europe have unique stories and relationships with Zionism. This represents a transition from what was once primarily oral tradition to one that became preserved in print for posterity. "That the songs…began their lives on postcards, then, situates them in a tradition of oral/written interaction with which many concerned with creating the modern nation-state of Israel may well have been familiar," writes Bohlman.[11]

It is interesting to note that in most cultures, the original composers of folk melodies are often unknown. However, the songs on the JNF postcards are, for the most part, credited to specific composers. This has a lot to do with the relatively young age of Israel as a nation. "As a result of this comparatively recent date, the composers of Israeli folk songs are known, and there are extremely few 'anonymous' tunes. Apparently the composers have not as yet 'had time' to be forgotten," writes Zvi Keren. "Another point of interest in this connection is that a large number of composers of Israeli art music are also composers of popular folk tunes."[12] Joel Engel, Menasha Rabinowitz (Ravina), and Mordechai Zeira are three composers who helped shape Israeli national song by narrowing the gap between folk traditions and high art. Their experiences as immigrants and their love of the land shaped not only their own compositions but also allowed diverse influences from the Diaspora to be fused into a uniquely Israeli style.

[10] Nathan and Bohlman, *Israeli Folk Music*, 47.
[11] Ibid., 41.
[12] Keren, Zvi, *Contemporary Israeli Music*, (Israel: Bar Ilan Press, 1980), 55.

Joel Engel (1868-1927):

Although The Postcard Project was among the earliest attempts to formalize and Zionist folk music, it was not the first collection of Jewish folksongs. In 1894, Joel Engel, then a student at the Moscow Conservatory, developed a scholarly interest in Jewish music. "It was not that I collected, arranged and studied the tunes because I was a Jew, but on the contrary: the more I studied and loved them, the more Jewish I became."[13] The research that Engel and his colleagues completed led to the creation of the Society for Jewish Folk Music in 1908. Their collection was first presented in concert in St. Petersburg on April 12, 1909. Five years later, fellow composer Leonard Saminsky recalled the impact this concert had in transitioning Jewish folk melodies into high art:

> The young Jewish composers of St. Petersburg heard for the first time Engels's artistic arrangements of Jewish folksongs [...] and were greatly surprised that such cultural and national value could result from such an enterprise. This concert stimulated the young Petersburg composers in the following period to the creation and performance of a whole series of Jewish song settings.[14]

Although the work of the Society for Jewish Folk Music was rooted in the Jewish communities of Eastern Europe, several prominent musicians began conducting concert tours in Palestine. Engel moved to Palestine permanently in 1924 with the hopes of cultivating it as a center for the research and publication of Jewish music. "How can we sing the song of the Diaspora in the promised land?" he wrote in a letter,[15] noting his desire to create a new musical culture for *Eretz Yisrael*. This statement is in line with the fact that a new nation, born out of a desire for freedom from the oppression that the Jews faced in Europe, must develop its own unique means of expressing its goals and beliefs –

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[13] Jehoash Hirshberg, *Music in the Jewish Community of Palestine 1880-1948* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 79.
[14] Leonard Saminsky, *Об еврейской музике* (1914), cited in Schröder-Nauenberg (2007), 43.
[15] Menashe Ravina, *Joel Engel and the Jewish Music* (Tel Aviv: The Music Institute, 1947), 107.

a mission statement, so to speak. Engel did not consider himself an ardent Zionist, but he believed strongly in the need to develop a national culture. “I am no Zionist, but I regard the national element in general and in human creation in particular as of supreme importance, and this brings me closer to Zionism,”[16] the composer wrote in a letter on July 24, 1924. Engel left Russia in order to escape oppression, not out of an active desire to settle in the Jewish homeland. However, he found his niche as one of the primary creators of Israeli national music, which helped him to embody Zionist goals.

It is no surprise, then, that Engel was among the first to realize that Jewish music was not based on a major-minor tonal system. “Most Jewish songs are built on the ancient modes (Aeolian, Dorian, Mixolydian, and so on)," he wrote in 1900. “Occasionally, one encounters major or minor; but more common are modes that are not written in our modern text books, and could be called 'eastern'.”[17]

Engel contributed several melodies to JNF endeavors. In 1926, he wrote the very first song specifically geared for a JNF publication. This song, “*Shirat HaEmek*” (“Song of the Valley” – not to be confused by the later song “*Shir HaEmek*” by Daniel Sambursky), is a strophic arrangement in two parts. Printing the music for this piece in a publication by the Society of Writers and Literature in *Eretz Israel* was a somewhat unprecedented feat. “Although the book’s planners had not originally thought of publishing the music to the songs, not to do so in Engel’s case would have been an affront,” writes Shahar.[18] Indeed, not everyone could read music. However, printing the music offered a visual depiction of what was being created in the Jewish homeland.

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[16] Printed posthumously in *Theater and Art*, 8 (1927), 4. In Hirschberg *Music in the Jewish Community*, 87.
[17] Ravina, *Joel Engel*, 48.
[18] Shahar “JNF,” 79.

The songs collected by Engel were largely based in the oral traditions of the *Yishuv* and were not necessarily original compositions. Regardless, they were representative of the cultural melting pot that Israel was quickly becoming. "Engel's songs which swept the country in dozens were a wonderful combination of the East-European Jewish tradition, of completely alien influences belonging with the music of the fine arts, an of some sort of a new element which strikes one as unnatural and contrived, as though introduced deliberately," writes Smoira-Roll.[19]

One of Engel's most famous melodies is a lullaby called "*Numi, Numi*" ("Sleep, Sleep"). Written in Warsaw in the 1920s, this piece is a quintessential example of the ways in which the composer was influenced by various European styles. It was eventually printed on one of the JNF postcards (see Appendix A). Originally titled "*Shir Eres*" (Hebrew for "Lullaby"), Engel based the melody on a Yiddish lullaby but set it to Hebrew words by Yekhil Halperin (1880-1942). The strophic structure of the song is evocative of a *piyyut*, a Jewish liturgical poem usually designed for religious services. The bucolic refrain alternates with declamatory verses that highlight the fact that the greatest stability and comfort to the early settlers in Palestine was the land itself. In each verse, a little girl is being lulled to sleep with the reassurance that her father is working to bring her gifts from the land. References to the biblical *Shivat HaMinim* (Seven Species) are also included; the father promises grapes from the vineyard and wheat from the field. This is evocative of the tendency of Israeli folksongs to reference Biblical, though not necessarily religious, ideas. Interestingly enough, in the original Yiddish text, the father

[19] Smoira-Roll, *Folk Song*, 14.

promises to bring a flower from the field as opposed to wheat.[20] "Upon arrival in Palestine, Halperin changed some of the words to suit the new environment: 'Market' changed to field and 'vineyard'; the 'shoes' and 'socks' that Father would have brought from the market changed to 'sheaves' and 'grapes,'" writes Marsha Bryan Edelman. [21]

Although "*Numi, Numi*" is, for the most part, set in a western harmonic minor mode, it incorporates touches of the modal influences that Engel describes as being the hallmark for Jewish music. In the refrain, the melody deviates slightly to the lowered second that characterizes the *Ahava Rabah* mode (also known as *Freygish*). This sound was likely jarring to those used to hearing music that was purely western in nature. The song's verse evokes the intervals of a shofar blast, which is historically considered to be one of the most classically Jewish sounds. Even with the inclusion of these themes, however, Engel does not deviate from the original European melody that he likely heard as a child in Russia; he merely adapts the song so that it represents themes important to the development of *Eretz Yisrael*. This very much fits with his methodology as an Israeli composer and his adaptation of folk music into art music. Some of Engel's folk songs incorporate Arabic and Yemenite music, he leaves it to subsequent composers to blend the varying musical traditions together into a distinctive Israeli sound.

Although Engel died in 1927, before JNF launched its Postcard Project endeavor, he laid the foundation for establishing national art song by creating formalized arrangements of preexisting folk melodies. This is evidenced by the fact that "*Numi Numi*" is included amongst the JNF postcards that were printed. Engel also wrote the

[20] "Yiddish Song of the Week," YIVO, accessed January 7, 2013, http://yiddishsong.wordpress.com/tag/yivo/.
[21] Marsha Bryan Edelman, *Discovering Jewish Music*, (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 2003), 318.

very first piece of Israeli music to appear in a JNF musical anthology. In addition, many of the Israeli composers whose melodies were printed on *Keren Kayemet*'s postcards were colleagues and students of Engel's.

Menashe Rabinowitz (1899-1968):

After Engel's death, David Schor and Menashe Rabinowitz took over his work and encouraged Jewish artists to take an interest in Palestine. "This is a land not only for Zionists, but for all Jews," wrote Schor in a letter in 1928.[22] Upon making *aliyah* in 1924, the Russian-born Rabinowitz was appointed as the regular music critic for *Davar*, which was one of the three Hebrew daily newspapers of the time. As a choral conductor, teacher, theorist, and composer, Rabinowitz was deeply involved in all musical aspects in Palestine.

In the July 21, 1927 edition of *Davar*, Rabinowitz noted three stages necessary for the establishment of national music: The first is the recognition of folk music; the second the research and compilation of such folk music, and the third and final stage is the creation of art music.[23] Many of the members of the Society for Jewish Folk Music worked backwards, in the sense that they commenced their work in Palestine directly with the third stage. They composed art music immediately upon arrival to Palestine, without first developing a personal attachment to the land or a knowledge of the melodies that were beginning to color its musical culture. Rabinowitz, on the other hand, maintained true to this theory. He composed and/or notated several of the basic folk melodies that were subsequently arranged in the Postcard Project. In fact, Rabinowitz's

[22] Hirshberg, *Music in the Jewish Community*, 87.
[23] Ibid., 86.

solicitation of folk arrangements likely served as a model for Nathan. "It is noteworthy that the most common names found in Rabinowitz's collections, especially his own, would also turn up again frequently in Nathan's project," writes Bohlman.[24]

In addition to his work as a composer and critic, Rabinowitz worked with Schor on establishing regular courses for the training of instructors for the visionary academy designed specifically for the cultivation of Palestinian music and musicians. Rabinowitz worked with a network of choruses to model a concept he witnessed in Germany in 1927:

> 2000 people learned five folksongs. Had we attained this stage, had we been able to teach the immigrants from Europe Yemenite and Arabic songs for several evenings, it would have been a step towards the fulfillment of our wish to create the Hebrew music, in which such songs would have undoubtedly constituted an important and significant element.[25]

Finally, Rabinowitz advocated for the adoption of the British tonic system in order to facilitate music education and the dissemination of these melodies. He cautioned that the biggest challenge in establishing a new national music was lack of enthusiasm about music in general: "…Music is in danger, because the fountain which has fertilized the creators of music is being dried up, and the common people who placed words into the mouths of their poets are mute."[26]

One of the ways Rabinowitz sought to increase interest in developing a national musical identity was through the establishment of organized choral groups. By 1930, Palestine had 20 active choruses performing and disseminating this distinctly Palestinian music. Around the same time, the Palestinian Institute of Musical Sciences was inaugurated with support from the New York-based society for the Advancement of Music in Palestine. Despite his work in the initial stages of the development of this

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[24] Nathan and Bohlman, *Israeli Folk Music*, 49.
[25] Hirshberg, *Music in the Jewish Community*, 89.
[26] Ibid., 89.

institution, Rabinowitz was not involved in the final execution. He considered the project to be, as Hirshberg notes, "an old-fashioned urban conservatory directed by Americans, which he contrasted with the innovative Institute for the Promotion of Music among the People with its net spread all over the country." [27]

Despite these challenges, Rabinowitz never gave up on his vision of creating Palestinian national music. The great Israeli poet Chaim Nachum Bialik organized a series of public gatherings on Shabbat that incorporated lectures and discussions on Jewish religion and liturgy. Bialik asked Rabinowitz to organize a choir in order to inspire group singing. However, the audience merely listened and applauded. Rabinowitz theorized that the lack of interest in spirited group singing might have been because the attendees were all made up of very different backgrounds. There was no cohesion with regards to musical knowledge, style, and pride:

> It is nice to stroll with a large group in the moonlight from the beach… and to sing aloud, together… What to sing? Will a Russian peasant ask his friend what to sing?... Will a German woman wait to be asked, and what will he friend refrain from accompanying her in fifths and thirds? And what about us? Often I happened to join a group of people who wished to sing, and after a long search gave up. One would start a Hasidic Nigun or folksong, but with no response from his friends he would stop. All of a sudden they would all start a powerful, expressive Russian song. But the sounds would suffocate among the flat-roof houses, and with no echo would return tasteless and colourless to the singers and shut them up. It is nice to stroll with a large group in the moonlight. But something is missing. No singing. No sounds. [28]

Rabinowitz was not a particularly ardent Zionist when he first left Russia in the early 1920s. His escape to Palestine was more likely a measure of personal safety and protection rather than a specific desire to settle in the Jewish homeland. Nevertheless, his work towards building Israel's national musical identity allowed him to develop a unique

[27] Ibid., 91.
[28] Ibid., 92.

relationship with *Eretz Yisrael*, giving the diverse Palestinian community common ground and common hopes through the unique sounds of its new folk songs.

Many of Rabinowitz's songs are extremely popular even to this day, such as "*Hashkediya Porachat*" ("The Almond Tree is Blooming") for *Tu B'shevat* and "*Mi Yimaleil*" for Chanukah (see Appendix B and C). Both of these songs, which incorporate playful, simple, and memorable melodies that clearly delineate the themes of the holidays that they represent, were printed on postcards by JNF. Many of the postcard melodies composed by Rabinowitz were geared especially for Jewish holiday celebrations. This was likely because such festivals offered active occasions and obvious reasons for singing and performing such folk songs.

"*Mi Yimaleil*" fuses sacred and secular texts in a way that demonstrates an interesting relationship between Jewish folk music and Jewish liturgical music. When the JNF musical postcards arrived in European Jewish communities, they represented the first time that many people saw secular music written in Hebrew. However, while these folk songs were not designed with specifically religious purposes in mind, they drew upon Biblical sources such as Psalms:

> [Ravina] begins by reworking the verse "Who can recount the mighty acts of the Lord, recite all His praises?" (Psalms 106:2) into this: "Who can recount the mighty acts of [the people] Israel? Who can count them? In every generation a hero arises, redeemer of the people." Praise of God has yielded to praise of military victors, and the title of "redeemer" (*go'el*) is now applied to a human rescuer, not a divine one… Using the Maccabees as his model, he advocates that the Jewish people take their fate into their own hands and, rather than responding with flight, adaptation, or martyrdom, instead take up arms against their oppressors.[29]

[29] "A Zionist Hanukkah: Modern Hebrew culture made of Hanukkah a celebration of the new, self-reliant Jew," My Jewish Learning, accessed May 16, 2012, http://www.myjewishlearning.com/holidays/Jewish_Holidays/Hanukkah/History/Modern_Observances/Zionist.shtml.

Not unlike the Maccabees, Rabinowitz took the fate of the establishment of national Palestinian Jewish identity into his own hands. He foresaw potential challenges, such as the fact that the cultural climate in *Eretz Yisrael* was very different than what he knew in Europe and what was being developed in the United States. He knew that musical training facilities in Palestine needed to be uniquely suited to the diversity of the Jewish homeland. Rabinowitz also saw music as a way of bringing people together and established choirs to facilitate connections amongst diverse groups of people. He remained true to this idea in his compositions, his critiques, and his teaching; developing a love of the land that left a legacy for many generations to come. He even changed his name to Ravina, which is likely a derivation of the biblical name "Reuven." It is also a Hebraic equivalent of his given name. The fact that we still sing Rabinowitz's music to mark our Jewish holiday celebrations is a testament to the timelessness of his work and his relationship with *Eretz Yisrael*.

Although the dissemination of Rabinowitz's folk songs via postcards and pamphlets was largely a result of JNF-based endeavors, the organization itself was mentioned in just one of these songs. In Rabinowitz's song "*Dunam po, dunam sham*" ("A *Dunam* [quarter-acre] Here, a *Dunam* there"), the text by Yehoshua Friedman reads as follows: "On the wall there hangs a box -- the blue-and-white box – every coin put into it redeems the land" (see Appendix D). The song, which was included in JNF's series of postcards based on children's songs, was subsequently arranged by composer Frederick Jacobi as part of Nathan's initiative. Although Rabinowitz composed many children's songs that were printed on postcards, it is interesting to note that "*Dunam po*" is one of

the few in this genre that Nathan chose to include in his own collection. Nathan's decision to include this piece likely had to do with its connection to JNF.

The simple words of this song demonstrate the integral role that JNF had in shaping the resettlement of *Eretz Yisrael* and the establishment of a Jewish homeland through its fundraising effort and through its publication of Israeli folk music. Along these lines, it is interesting to note that the introduction to one of the organization's musical pamphlets includes the following:

> [When] the JNF gives its faithful, wherever they are, programs for festivals and holidays and devotes them to the redemption of the land, it is not pushing itself into something alien but is fulfilling one of its direct tasks. It is providing material to its workers, who must each day add bricks to our buildings, [and it] places material in the hands of the generation that to a large degree has forsaken the national experience.[30]

By printing these pamphlets and postcards, JNF provided tangible representations of the burgeoning ideals of cultural Zionism. Rabinowitz's instincts to integrate various folk idioms and to capture the essential issues that the settlers were facing in the establishing a new Jewish homeland contributed greatly to the establishment of Israeli national song. His partnership with JNF in preserving these songs on postcards and influencing Jewish communities outside of Israel played a huge role in broadening the impact of the Zionist movement.

Mordechai Zeira (1905-1968):

In addition to Rabinowitz, the other name to appear most frequently on the JNF postcards was that of Mordechai Zeira. Zeira was born in Kiev, Ukraine and made *aliyah*

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[30] *Lahanukah hagim umo'adim – tokhniyot lahagigot uneshafim bishvil batei hasefer, vehistadruyot hano'ar vegam bishvil 'askanei hakeren hakayemet* (Jerusalem: 1929), introduction, in *Studies in Contemporary Jewry: IX: Modern Jews and their Musical Agendas.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 87-88.

in 1924. Upon arrival in *Eretz Yisrael*, he settled in and served as one of the founders of *Kibbutz* Afikim in the Jordan Valley. He worked with Engel in the *Ohel* Workers' theater. Upon Engel's passing, Zeira continued to study music with Shlomo Rozovsky. Although his primary passions were music and theater, Zeira worked in road building, construction, and other manual tasks as a way of supporting his musical endeavors. This was not uncommon amongst the young pioneers. After all, they needed to work towards cultivating the infrastructure of the Jewish homeland.

By 1939, the year when Nathan began to commission his folk song arrangements, 57 of Zeira's songs had already appeared in various publications and many more were known (and widely sung) in the *Yishuv*.[31] Rabinowitz had great respect for Zeira, which was likely the reason why he chose so many of his songs to be included on the JNF postcards. "Noted critic Menashe Ravina later described Zeira as a troubadour who traveled the length and breadth of Israel, attempting to capture the spirit of his generation and to translate the experiences of his era into sound," writes Edelman. [32]

Zeira's compositions are contrasting in style. However, what links them together is the fact that they capture a unique combination of the sounds and emotions that the early settlers experienced in *Eretz Yisrael*. They are also extremely timely with respect to the historical events taking place during their time of composition. His very first song, "*Le-Moladeti*" ("To My Homeland"), recalls the rocking waves of the ships that brought them from Europe to the Promised Land. The poet, Hillel Avichanan (1897-1978), incorporates a nod to Psalm 133: "How pleasant for brothers to dwell together." This once again illustrates the tendency to incorporate Biblical texts into ostensibly secular

[31] Shahar "JNF," 92.
[32] Edelman, *Discovering Jewish Music*, 318.

folk music. A later song, "*Shir LaKotel*" (1967), which was written in the last year of Zeira's life, was composed to commemorate the liberation of the Western Wall during the Six Day War of 1967. The text, written by Ya'alov Orland, captures the sensory pride of being able to stand by the *Kotel* and to physically touch it after so many years of struggle.

Zeira's song "*Ah, bene hagalil*," with text by S. Shalom, was composed specifically for a JNF musical project called "Project Galilee-Bound." This endeavor was a large-scale fundraising campaign so that JNF could purchase and cultivate land in the Galil. JNF invied five prominent poets, including Avraham Shlonsky, Natan Alterman, Yaakov Cahan, Avigdor Hamieri, and Shalom, to write a poem in honor of this project. The parameters were as follows:

> The theme of the song should be the Galilee, and the poem was to consist of three or four short stanzas. Moreover, the word "Galilee" (*Galil*) was to appear recurrently. The text should be easily translatable, and the basic themes were to be the splendor of the Galilee, anticipation of its redemption, and mention of the feats of heroism connected with the area in past and present times.[33]

Shalom won the commission, which was the first time he wrote a poem "to order," noting the following: "The Galilee, where I lived for a number of years and about which I have also written a book, courses so strongly in my blood that I thought to adapt an old theme of mine that should suit your wishes, particularly regarding the melodic composition…"[34] Rozovsky, who was serving as a musical advisor to JNF at the time, chose Zeira for the task of setting Shalom's poem to music. "The melody should be of an explicitly Israeli character, simple and popular," wrote Rosovsky to Zeira on January 23, 1939. "We want to have it sung by young people and all sectors of the nation…"[35]

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[33] Shahar, "JNF," 87.
[34] S. Shalom to Bistritsky, 20 January 1939, CZA/KKL 9170. In Shahar, "JNF," 92.
[35] Shahar, "JNF," 87.

Although "*Ah, bene hagalil*" was translated into English, French, and Yiddish to maximize its promotion of JNF's efferts in the *Galil*, the song was not successful in achieving its goal. Shahar notes the following as reasons for its failure:

> The problems began with Shalom's text: far from being "easily translatable," it was not easily understood even in the original Hebrew (the first line, for example, reads "In the dark, the din of years past glowing, with an obscure Hebrew word, *ba'ayam*, used for "glowing"). In addition, it had an uneven meter and lack of refrain, which caused Zeira to opt for a through-composed melody that shifted with each verse. The lack of any repetitive melodic or rhythmic structure made it both difficult to learn and unsuitable for communal singing. [36]

Another reason why Zeira struggled with Rosovsky's charge to make the piece distinctively Israeli was the fact there was a new compositional style emerging in *Eretz Yisrael*. He referred to his inability to write in the new style as "the Russian disease."[37]

Indeed, those compositions of Zeira's that ended up on postcards were often based on melodies he had heard in Eastern Europe. Many of these songs, such as "*Havu L'vanim*," were labor songs that were sung by the settlers as they worked the fields. "The resonant, rugged tones characteristic of rough and hard work, and the tender, exquisite melodies of softer moods, both express essential aspects of the young pioneers, now shouting to one another to speed up the work, now quietly listening to the soft reverberations of the plains at night," writes Nathan.[38] The European feel of "*Havu L'venim*" in particular comes from the fact that it incorporates a more structured and rhythmical interpretation of the study mode that Russian and Polish Jews used while reading Talmud. These passages are built on octaves and fifths and have what Nathan describes as a "Yiddish folksong flavor."[39]

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[36] Ibid.
[37] Eliyahu Hacohen, *Laila Laila: Mordechai Zeira Anthology* (Tel Aviv: Modan, 1998).
[38] Hans Nathan, *Folk Songs of the New Palestine*, "The Builders."
[39] Ibid.

Zeira's "*Havu L'venim*" was one of the pieces Nathan chose to have arranged as part of the Postcard Project. The piece was assigned to Kurt Weill, who was born in Dessau, Germany to a prominent cantor. His childhood informed his knowledge of Jewish musical themes, which he incorporated into both of his Postcard Project arrangements (the other is Daniel Sambursky's "*Ba'a M'nucha*" – "There Comes Peace" – which is also known as "*Shir HaEmek*" – "Song of the Valley.") David Stein of the Kurt Weill Foundation for Music describes Weill's treatment of Zeira's "*Havu L'venim*" as "a characteristic, almost aggressive, march rhythm, as if urging the settlers to hasten to build a new society in Palestine."[40] This was certainly in line with Weill's personal goals with regards to this piece. He wrote the following to Nathan in a letter on May 30, 1938:

> *Havu L'venim* has been provided with a brief introduction, and the whole song has been based on a restrained march rhythm which seems to me quite effective. The entire song can be repeated, the *prima volta* directly leading into the introduction.[41]

Zeira's other contributions to the Postcard Project include "*Hine Achal'la Bachalili*" ("Lo, I Play Upon My Flute," which was arranged by Paul Dessau) and "*Holem Tza'adi*" ("My Step Resounds," which was arranged by Darius Milhaud). Both of these songs feature text by Jacob Schoenberg (see Appendix E and F).

"*Holem Tza'adi*" is also known as "*Shirat HaShomer*" ("The Watchman's Song"). Zeira's melody is considered by Bohlman to be among "the most explicitly 'orientalist' songs to appear on the postcards."[42] Nathan asserts that Zeira likely based his melody for the verses on a well-known Arab tune, although Bohlman argues that the melody might have also been an example of burgeoning European orientalism. It is

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[40] Kurt Weill, *Two Folksongs of the New Palestine*, (New York: European American Music Corporation, 2008), Foreword.
[41] Nathan and Bohlman, *Israeli Folk Music*, xii.
[42] Ibid., 51.

unclear whether Zeira knew the melody from his time in Europe or whether it was something he learned upon arrival in Palestine. Regardless, it is demonstrative of his attempts to experiment with new genres of music without explicitly developing his own style. The juxtaposition of this melody with a more lyrical chorus illustrates several qualities of music from the Levant. It is interesting that the theme that is more stylistically familiar to the settlers is given to the more hopeful section of the song, where the lyrics speak of the impending dawn and reassurance of safety. The more exotic Arab melody is given to the verses, which speak of unexpected encounters of the night, such as storms and wild animals. Bohlman further delineates this relationship:

> The melodic references to Arabic music assume even more complex meanings when considered against these juxtaposed themes. On the one hand, the two parts of the song may suggest two musical worlds, one representing the settler, the other the Arab residents of Palestine. On the other, the song represents a musical reconciliation, two musical styles whose differences eventually must accommodate each other.[43]

Zeira's overall compositional style was aided by his keen ability to hear music in his travels and to assemble them into new melodic conglomerations. He was not as successful in writing uniquely original melodies. The trade-off, however, was that transforming folk music and applying it to the newly developing culture of *Eretz Yisrael* allowed for the creation of tunes that were accessible to the masses. Zeira continued this work as a way of uplifting his fellow soldiers during World War II, where he served in the British Army, and during Israel's 1948 War of Independence. He would organize singing among the soldiers, lifting their spirits with the words and melodies of their homeland. This helped to remind them what they were fighting for in the first place.

Engel, Rabinowitz, and Zeira were all provided with a solid basis of poetry and music from their upbringing in Europe. Upon arrival in *Eretz Yisrael*, they were able to

[43] Ibid.

fuse this knowledge with the new sounds that they heard, leading to the emergence of a distinctly Israeli folk style. The folk tradition of *Eretz Yisrael* developed unusually quickly, thanks in part to the fact that developing such music was seen as a crucial step towards developing national identity. Engel began formalizing this endeavor through his creation of the Society of Jewish Folk Music in 1908. Rabinowitz continued this work by finessing the Israeli folk style and working with organizations like JNF to teach Jewish communities in the Diaspora about the newly developing opportunities for freedom and creativity in *Eretz Yisrael.* Zeira had an ear for adapting and arranging catchy melodies and leading large groups of people in song, whether they be working in the fields or hiding in the trenches during war. By combining musical themes from both Palestine and Europe, he made important contributions to the development of new musical idioms.

The compositions of Engel, Rabinowitz, Zeira, and the other folk composers of this time were heavily rooted in their love for *Eretz Yisrael*, their desire to build communities, and their talent for capturing every day experiences in song. Each folk song told an important story about life in the Jewish homeland. When these melodies found their way to Europe *vis-à-vis* postcards, they instilled this passion for innovation into other composers. For many European composers, the postcards marked the first time that they were seeing music written in Hebrew that was not necessarily part of a liturgical service. This newfound knowledge, which had a profound effect on their subsequent compositions in sacred and secular fields, will be discussed at length in Chapter Two.

CHAPTER 2 – *CHANT DU SION* (SONG OF ZION)

Darius Milhaud, Kurt Weill, and Stefan Wolpe Encounter

Israeli Music in the Diaspora

Jewish composers in the Diaspora made an impact in both religious and secular spheres as the roots for musical nationalism were being laid in the Jewish homeland. Although many of these composers, like Kurt Weill, Stefan Wolpe, and Darius Milhaud, incorporated Jewish themes into their early works, there was no real precedent for singing and performing Hebrew art music in Europe. Hebrew texts were sung frequently in the synagogue and for Jewish home rituals, but not in the concert hall. Hebrew language was generally restricted to Jewish communal gatherings and did not reach beyond the *shtetl* walls, likely because explicitly Jewish pursuits were not often received positively amidst rising anti-Semitism. As such, composers like Weill and Milhaud based many of their works on Jewish texts and teachings, but translated the words into their respective vernacular tongues of German and French. This chapter will examine what happened when these folk songs were disseminated to European communities via postcard and the ways in which Jewish music beyond the *shtetl* and the synagogue affected the European musical climate.

When the JNF postcards arrived from *Eretz Yisrael*, Jewish communities in Europe encountered songs in Hebrew that were quite different than the ones that had been passed down by oral tradition. In addition, scholarly interest in Jewish music was beginning to increase thanks to the Engel's establishment of the Society of Jewish Folk Music. Bohlman writes:

> The number of Jewish musical organizations grew steadily after World War I, and by the 1930s most urban Jewish communities could claim a sort of musical self-sufficiency. Despite worsening political conditions, many Jewish communities actually witnessed a burgeoning of their musical life…[44]

Hirshberg calls the dissemination of the songs through postcards "ingenious," in that they were able to reach a wide audience both in Israel and the Diaspora. He writes:

> The intensive correspondence between the immigrants and their families and friends abroad assured the dissemination of the new songs in the Jewish Diaspora, whereas post inside the country was almost the sole method of communication in a period when the primitive telephone network was limited to official administration and major businesses. [45]

There were several other reasons why postcards were a particularly significant means of communication during this time. Aside from the lack of technological advances in Palestine at the time, it was much cheaper to send postcards than to post things by airmail. In addition, postcards did not customarily include return addresses, which meant that Jews escaping persecution could send brief messages to family and friends without being traced. Postcards were such a vital means of communication during this age of emigration, and the fact that many of them were embossed with new musical creations from the Jewish homeland added impetus for many Jews thinking of escaping Europe to choose Palestine as their destination.

Another way of connecting the Jewish community in Europe with the musical life in Palestine during this time period was through the establishment of the *Jüdischer Kulturbund* in 1933. This organization, which had branches in every major city in Germany, ensured employment for Jewish musicians who were struggling to find work in secular spheres. It was established after the Nazis forbid Germans of Jewish descent from

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[44] Philip Vilas Bohlman, *The World Centre for Jewish Music in Palestine, 1936-1940: Jewish Musical Life on the Eve of World War II.* (Oxford [England]: Clarendon Press, 1992), 5.
[45] Hirshberg, *Music in the Jewish Community*, 153.

participating in public events in order to produce concerts and attract visiting Jewish artists and teachers. Bohlman describes the *Kulturbund* as follows:

> The *Kulturbund* offered an alternative cultural life, one which necessarily had to combine elements from Jewish culture, including the arts and music, with the urbane undertakings of the highly educated Jewish communities resident in the cities of Germany. Within the *Kulturbund*, many German Jews recognized for the first time that a Jewish aesthetic need not be limited to the religious practices of the synagogue or to the orthodox life in the Eastern European *shtetl*, rather that there were new sources for that aesthetic. One of those sources was Palestine, with its rapidly growing settlements and burgeoning cultural life.[46]

As a member of the *Kulturbund*, Hans Nathan, a musicologist and active music critic, coordinated many of these lectures and projects. Nathan received his doctorate in psychology from Berlin University in 1934, and relocated to Boston in 1936 to pursue postgraduate study at Harvard. His fascination with the JNF postcards stemmed from the fact that the melodies seemed to embody new musical idioms. "Among their features are new scale patterns and, along with them, a melodic style marked by stepwise motion; larger intervals rarely have harmonic implications," he writes.[47]

Nathan hoped to stimulate a nationalist music project by asking several renowned composers to write piano accompaniments for the folk song melodies. "My task as an editor was to distribute the tunes according to what I thought (or hoped) would meet the musical language of the composers. Nevertheless, the results were bound to be unexpected and unconventional," he writes.[48]

Upon his move to Boston in 1936, Nathan was often approached by organizations such as the World Centre for Jewish Music in Palestine (WCJMP) to write about musical life in America. However, he did not believe that he was a qualified expert in this subject

[46] Nathan and Bohlman, *Israeli Folk Music*, 39.
[47] Ibid, Preface.
[48] Ibid.

because he did not live in New York City, which he perceived to be the center of American musical development. Nathan countered these requests by writing instead about his postcard arrangements, which he subsequently published in 1938 and 1939 as *Folk Songs of the New Palestine* with Nigun Press. Instead of publishing the songs in one cohesive volume, Nathan chose to use separate folders, each of which would contain two or three songs. The folios were divided into categories such as "Dances of Palestine," "Children's Songs," and "Songs in Summertime" (see Appendix H). "Sold in this way, the songs would respect the integrity of the individual composers, who had worked totally independently from each other," writes Bohlman. "The differences that characterized the songs, then, would mean that each composer would speak for himself."[49]

Unfortunately, extenuating circumstances prevented all of the arrangements from being published. Nathan writes:

> Because of the approaching war, the project had to be discontinued. The rest of the musical material has remained in manuscript until this day. In 1947, twenty manuscripts, including arrangements of the compositions contained in this volume [by A-R Editions] and several others, were sent from New York to the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem. Due to wartime conditions, they never arrived and must be considered lost.

It is interesting to note that many of the composers Nathan asked to contribute to the Postcard Project were already involved in writing and arranging both sacred and secular Jewish music. Some even created folksong arrangements of their own. In 1925, Darius Milhaud adapted and arranged Ukrainian and Polish folksongs to create the song cycle *Chants Populaires Hebraiques*. The first song in the set, "*La Separation*," is a French translation of a popular melody for *Havdalah* that is commonly sung in Hebrew

[49] Ibid., X.

today. Kurt Weill did not borrow directly from Jewish folk melodies, although he was heavily influenced by synagogue modalities and based one of his earliest compositions the work of the renowned Jewish medieval poet Yehuda Halevi. Stefan Wolpe also took an interest in Jewish folklore; between 1923 and 1925, the composer arranged Yiddish folk melodies for medium voice and piano. These pieces collectively became known as *Sechs Bearbeitungen Ostjüdischer*.

The fact that all three of these composers were inspired by music from their Jewish heritage is representative of their generation's increasing interest in nationalism and cultural identity. More specifically, the creation of Engel's Society for Jewish Folk Music also played a role in the preservation of Jewish folk melodies as art music. Wolpe's collection, for example, was inspired directly by works in the Society's publications.[50] Although Weill, Milhaud, and Wolpe were living in various places in Europe, Palestine, and eventually the United States, the Society of Jewish Folk Music helped to expose all three composers to Jewish ethnic traditions other than their own. Exploring the lives and work of Milhaud, Weill, and Wolpe alongside their contributions to the Postcard Project will offer insights into the struggles that the Jews in Europe faced in the years leading up to World War II.

Darius Milhaud (1892-1974):

In his autobiography, *Notes without Music*, Darius Milhaud describes Judaism as being a most central part of his identity in the very first sentence: "I am a Frenchman

[50] Austin Clarkson, "*Bearbeitungen Ostjüdische Volkslieder*: Stefan Wolpe, 1925" (unpublished manuscript, anticipated publication spring 2013, last modified November 9, 2012), Microsoft Word file.

from Provence, and by religion a Jew."[51] To contextualize his compositional style, he offers a brief history of the Jews in France and the unique liturgy of the *Comtat Venaissin*, the region in which he was raised. When King René, Count of Provence, threatened to exile all French Jews during the 12th century, many Jews escaped to this region, which came under papal protection beginning in 1274. Their language consisted of a mixture of Hebrew and Provencal. Its liturgy resembled that of the Sephardim, but the services themselves were different. For one, prayers were said for the Pope in synagogue to offer gratitude for the fact that the community survived under his protection.

Milhaud was influenced by other cultures as well, such as Sephardic traditions. His own mother had spent time in Salonika and Turkey before settling and raising her family in Aix-en-Provence. Jews from this region – even in France – still sing parts of the liturgy in Spanish. One particular tradition that stands out is the reading of the story of Esther in Spanish during Purim. Inspired by this phenomenon, Milhaud eventually composed the opera *Esther de Carpentras* (1925-26).

Milhaud's Jewish and musical identities developed in tandem, and were certainly influenced by the colorful traditions that he experienced during his childhood in Aix-en-Provence. Paul Collear describes his well-known 1916 song cycle, *Poèmes juifs,* as coming from the "deep recesses of Milhaud's soul and is a true profession of faith." Collear writes:

> Intense yet tranquil, a secure, affirmative expression of inner joy without a trace of lamentation, this music imparts a feeling of passionate conviction and a vision of hope for all that gives life meaning: hope for better days ahead, for the Promised Land, and for abounding faith that will impart energy to all daily pursuits. There is

[51] Darius Milhaud, *Notes Without Music: An Autobiography* (New York: Knopf, 1953), 3.

> such urgency and sincerity in these songs that they provide us with a key to understanding the composer's entire life and thought.[52]

Milhaud found the anonymous texts on which the songs were based in what he describes as a "review," likely in a magazine of sorts.[53] Although the melodies evoke a folk-like quality, they are ostensibly Milhaud's original compositions. The second song in the set, "*Chant de Sion*," bears a striking familiarity to the melody that many contemporary synagogues identify as the French Sephardic setting of "*Adon Olam*." Cantor Neil Schwartz theorizes that the melody holds roots in *Mi Sinai nusach* motives, specifically High Holiday *Maariv* and a cantillation motif from *Eicha* (Lamentations).[54] While the melody does have lyrical yet playful warmth that is similar in style to the *nusach* for High Holiday *Maariv*, the folk song does not appear to have been born out of this motive. Given the unique *Nusach Comtadine* of Milhaud's community, it is likely that any references to other liturgical melodies are purely coincidental.

On the contrary, Milhaud's *Chants populaires hebraiques*, dated February-March 1925, were adapted directly from liturgical prayer settings and Jewish folk motives, namely those of Polish or Ukrainian origins. Three of the pieces were originally set in Yiddish and Hebrew before they were eventually translated into French. These pieces – two liturgical ("*La Separation*" and "*Chant Hasidique*" and one secular ("*Berceuse*") – remain in manuscript form, while the French versions were published with the complete set.[55] "*La Separation*" is a traditional melody for *Havdalah*, distinguishing the holiness of Shabbat from the rest of the week. The same melody is still used in Jewish homes and

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[52] Paul Collaer and Jane Hohfeld Galante, *Darius Milhaud* (San Francisco: San Francisco Press, 1988),170.
[53] Milhaud, *Notes Without Music*, 68.
[54] Neil Schwartz, "Tunes of Engagement: Using Congregational Melodies to Combat Alienation in Conservative Worship," *Journal of Synagogue Music*, Vol. 30 No. 1 (2005), 136.
[55] Barbara L. Kelly, *Tradition and Style in the Works of Darius Milhaud 1912-1939* (Aldershot, Hants [UK]: Ashgae, 2003), 132.

synagogues today. "*Chant Hasidique*" is adapted from the Passover song, "*Echad Mi Yodeah?*" ("Who Knows One?"). "Milhaud has distilled their latent strength and discarded all traces of rhythmic or harmonic banality," writes Collaer. "…They are the produce of an emotional climate dominated by unending struggle and fear for an uncertain future."[56]

Milhaud's other early liturgical settings include *Prières journalières à l'usage des Juifs du Comtat Venaissin,* Op. 96 (1927) and *Liturgie comtadine, Op. 125* (1933). These works were based on the liturgical music he heard while growing up in Provence. In *Liturgie comtadine*, based on prayers for the High Holy Days, Milhaud sets the text in French but offers a Hebrew alternative above the staff. Barbara L. Kelly notes that he did this because he was more familiar with the French language, and setting the music this way afforded the composer more integrity in his musical choices. She writes:

> That Milhaud frequently felt the need to set parallel texts rather than merely add translations reveals the deep interest he had in the nuances of language and suggests that he did not like contrived translations made to fit existing music. Moreover, he seemed to have a clear notion of the rhythmic potential of a particular language… Milhaud was willing to work out the accentuation for a particular foreign language, seeking the advice of those who were experts when necessary, because of the rich musical opportunities such challenges offered him. The care he took with language challenges again the popular perception that he wrote too quickly and uncritically; it also shows him eager to experiment with varied and different texts.[57]

Given his diverse musical upbringing, it comes as no surprise that Milhaud was initially put off by the comparatively simplistic folk songs that Hans Nathan asked him to arrange. He writes the following in a letter, dated L'Enclos, Aix-en-Provence, 11 August 1938:

> I have rarely seen such a poorly constructed melody; it constantly returns to the same tone and it lacks character. I have done my best to

[56] Collaer, *Darius Milhaud*, 171.
[57] Kelly, *Tradition and Style*, 135.

> breathe life into it. If you wish to entrust me with other arrangements, try to select melodies that are more logical, more clearly defined. Perhaps Sephardic texts.[58]

It is unclear which song he is talking about "*Gam Hayom*" ("Also Today") or "*Holem Tsaadi*" ("My Step Resounds" – also known as "*Shirat HaShomer*"). Based on Bohlman's description of Milhaud's subsequent arrangement of "*Gam Hayom*," it is likely that this is the song that he referred to in his letter (see Appendix I). Bohlman writes:

> No song in this edition journeys farther from the original postcard melody than Milhaud's "*Gam Hayom*." Indeed, it is in appropriate to describe Milhaud's version as an arrangement, for he has in many cases departed entirely from the spirit and substance of the original to create a song of his own. The original version is extraordinarily complex, mixing melodic styles, and stretching over one of the most serpentine shapes of all the postcard songs. The Hebrew text, too, fails to lend itself well to simple prosodic and melodic treatment, utilizing rather long phrases and considerable internal rhyme. The melody expresses these poetic components, although it relies fairly extensively on intricate rhythmic figures and the insertion of small melismatic gestures to do so. No single style of Jewish folk song predominates, although the melodic shape is suggestive of cantillation, a possibility supported further by the Dorian feeling of several phrases, particularly those that frame the sections and the song as a whole. The style of cantillation, however, is more characteristic of the Ashkenazic synagogue than of the Sephardic synagogue, with which Milhaud would have been familiar.[59]

"*Gam Hayom*," which is often subtitled as "*Shir Halutzim*" ("Song of the Pioneers"), is based on a poem by Levi Ben-Amitai (1901-1980) and features a melody originally composed by Shalom Postolsky (see Appendix I). Upon arrival in *Eretz Yisrael*, Ben-Amitai was one of the founders of Degania Bet, one of the earliest *Kibbutz* collectives. Historically, his poetry served to exalt the workers struggling to build the

[58] Nathan and Bohlman, *Israeli Folk Music*, xii.
[59] Ibid, 54.

Jewish homeland. Postolksy was also committed to enhancing *kibbutz* festivals and celebrations.[60] The text for "*Gam Hayom*" suggests this theme:

> Day after day, in the selfsame way,
> The youths are standing on the shore.
> No fields have they, no house, no store.
>
> Who bade them pause from work?
> Who bade them to stand by?
> Up, up, brave youths! The day is yet high.
> Bring clay, bring sand, to build our land.

When Milhaud received this text and basic melody on a postcard, his interpretation of the pioneers' struggles was not quite as optimistic as the original. "As a composer with conscious ties to the Sephardic Mediterranean might do, Darius Milhaud transforms the postcard version he had in front of him, and he changes it to minor mode,"[61] writes Michael Berkowitz. Bohlman suggests that Milhaud's shift to minor was because he heard the struggle of the workers more strongly than he heard a love and hope for the future of *Eretz Yisrael*. He writes:

> The symbolic language, both of the text and of Milhaud's piano accompaniment, strips away the metaphors of Palestine as romanticized for European consumers. The thick texture and crossing internal voices in the middle range of the piano represents the relentless, heavy labor faced by the young workers portrayed in the text.[62]

Milhaud's other arrangement, "*Holem Tza'adi*," which is based on the same Zeira song that was discussed at length in Chapter One, was also arranged by Stefan Wolpe (see Appendix F for original melody). Bohlman believes that Milhaud's attraction to this particular melody, with text by Jacob Schoenberg, was because of its oriental qualities. He writes:

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[60] "Songs: Pioneers for a Cure," Songs to Fight Cancer, Pioneers for a Cure, accessed November 2, 2012, http://pioneersforacure.org/song/gam-hayom.
[61] Michael Berkowitz, *Nationalism, Zionism, and Ethnic Mobilization of the Jews in 1900 and Beyond* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 41.
[62] Bohlman, *Israeli Folk Music,* 54.

> As a Sephardic Jew, whose family had long lived in the Sephardic culture of Provence, Milhaud claimed a familiarity with Sephardic musical traditions, as well as an affinity with music of the Mediterranean. The Levantine qualities of the melody, moreover, may also have seemed more compatible to Milhaud's compositional approach, for he treats them because of the broad spectrum of colors they provide…. Milhaud imbues the accompaniment with a triumphant, almost martial sound, diffusing considerably the "orientalist" color of the melody in the original. He seems, nevertheless, to exploit the potential of the contrasts that are evident in the song on the postcard, juxtaposing the piano (A Western instrument) against the orientalism conveyed by the vocal style.[63]

The juxtaposition between the urgency of the verse and the calm of the refrain in Milhaud's setting of "*Holem Tza'adi*" is quite interesting (see Appendix G). The punctuated syncopations that Milhaud includes in the accompaniment provide intense contrast with the melismatic chromaticism of the oriental melody. This helps to highlight the dangers inherent in the text; plagues that were not uncommon for the early settlers in *Eretz Yisrael*. The piano simultaneously represents the prowl of the jackal that the poem alludes to, as well as the roaring tempest. On the contrary, the lyrical refrain, which discusses hope, safety, and a devotion to protect the land, is imbued with a sense of sanctity, hope, and security. The refrain signifies the calm after the storm, but as soon as it resolves, the frantic verse returns again. In this sense, "*Holem Tza'adi"* is wholly representative of the tumult that the early pioneers faced on a daily basis.

Milhaud's Jewish identity continued to play a role in his later works, many of which demonstrated a strong connection to *Eretz Yisrael*. His travels around the world were also significant in the development of his musical style. One of the Frenchman's earliest journeys was to Brazil, where he lived from 1917-1919. He also spent time in London, where he discovered a passion for jazz, and also visited Russia and Hungary.

[63] Ibid.

"…Milhaud was aware of the racial implications of American jazz and perceived a deep affinity between blacks and Jews as racially persecuted groups," writes Jane F. Fulcher.[64]

When Milhaud discovered that his name was on the Germans' wanted list of prominent Jewish artists, the composer immigrated to the United States in 1940. Milhaud's career in the US involved several teaching posts, at Mills College in Oakland, CA and at the Music Academy of the West in Santa Barbara. He also received several requests to compose commissioned works, many of which centered on Jewish themes. Between 1944 and 1945, Milhaud composed three pieces at the request of Cantor David Putterman for Park Avenue Synagogue in New York. These pieces included a *Barechu,* a *Shema,* and a setting of the *Kaddish* dedicated to the memory of his parents. Perhaps the most significant of these pieces is his *Service sacré,* commissioned in 1947 by Temple Emanu-El in San Franscisco. This prominent Reform congregation, which had earlier commissioned Bloch's *Avodath HaKodesh,* had a reputation for producing and performing new and innovative Jewish music. Composer Henri Barraud calls the service "magnetic," and describes Milhaud's success with the piece as follows:

> What he attempted, and superbly succeeded in accomplishing, was to uphold traditional stylistic purity, while using the broadly expanded resources of his own vocabulary, which is itself a composite of a long spiritual heritage and the dynamic, innovative influences of our present century. Only he could have met the challenge so well. I am struck by his imaginative use of ornaments and inflections, by his augmentation and diminution of motivic material, all serving to enhance a basically modal, rather than tonal, melodic line, and by his alternate use of syllabification and vocalize on the one hand, while, on the other, certain of the cantor's cantillations appear to be completely authentic and free of alien influences. That is why I sense in his harmonic writing not only a frequent tendency to avoid tonal references that might interfere with the direction of his melodies, but also a need for these textbook sonorities that have somehow come to stand for spirituality. Notable also is the way his linear writing superimposes various melodic

[64] Jane F. Fulcher, "The Preparation for Vichy: Anti-Semitism in French Musical Culture Between the Two World Wars." *The Musical Quarterly* Vol. 79, No. 3 (Autumn 1995), 471.

> designs, each one carrying with it and maintaining inviolate its own special aura.[65]

Milhaud's wife, Madeleine (1902-2008), feels that Milhaud's *Service sacré* demonstrates his spirituality and faith in a very personal way. In a 1991 interview, she notes:

> He had a blind faith... I mean that he was faithful to the religion of his ancestors without ever posing the slightest question. His religious feelings come out very clearly, I think, if you listen to his religious works. If you listen closely to his Sacred Service I feel his humility comes out, his relationship with his Creator.[66]

Indeed, Milhaud enjoyed religiously-themed commissions because they returned him to the roots of his spiritual heritage. A few years after the premiere of his *Service sacré*, Milhaud was asked by Serge Koussevitzky to compose a piece for the three-thousandth anniversary of the founding of Jerusalem that would be premiered in the Israel Festival in 1952. This developed into his opera David, based on the life and leadership of its eponymous hero King David. Milhaud writes:

> Commissions always stimulate a composer's imagination; this is the kind of discipline to which only a well-developed technique can respond to without constraint. In this case I was fortunate in being able to work with a musical format that I liked; in addition, the responsibility of composing for such an occasion filled me with prride, not-withstanding considerable anxiety.[67]

Milhaud chose Armand Lunel (1892-1977) as his librettist, a childhood friend of his whom he had previously worked with on *Esther de Carpentras*. Upon completion of the libretto, Milhaud and Lunel were asked to submit it for approval by Israeli authorities. Milhaud and Lunel traveled to Israel seeking this approval. Madeline Milhaud notes that her husband also had a great desire to travel to Israel to "absorb the atmosphere of the

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[65] Collaer , *Darius Milhaud*, 181.
[66] Madeleine Milhaud and Roger Nichols, *Conversations with Madeleine Milhaud* (London: Farber and Farber, 1996), 96.
[67] Collaer, *Darius Milhaud,* 149.

country."[68] The composer also sought to cast his opera with Israeli singers, and part of the time he spent in *Eretz Yisrael* was devoted to hearing auditions. Nevertheless, the government approval was necessary, notes Madeline, because the Milhaud's were received in Israel with a certain distrust: "...Our names did not strike the Israelis as being properly Jewish; they were use d to Polish or German names," she recounts. "Moreover they had been shocked by an American film, Henry King's 1951 epic David and Bathsheba, starring Gregory Peck and Susan Hayward, which went into great detail about David's love affairs with Bathsheba, and they were afraid of an opera written by two Frenchmen!"[69]

Milhaud describes his own impressions of the Promised Land as follows, including the ways in which they directly influenced some of the musical choices he made in the composition of *David*:

> The minister of Education and Culture had assigned two young men to show us around the country, an assignment that they executed with utmost fervor, pointing out the places made famous by Holy Scripture, as well as those where they themselves had fought four years earlier. The story of their stubborn, glorious struggle implied such a strong bond between their heroism and that of their ancestors that we were inspired to draw a similar parallel in the opera by using two choruses: one associated with the action taking place, and the other, composed of modern Israelis, to comment on the situation and make a comparison between ancient and modern times. For example, just as David had faced Goliath, so had their small state confronted the armies of five countries. I used neither popular not liturgical melodies in the score, although I heard many beautiful ones.
>
> The writing of a libretto for *David* required great delicacy, given the diverse characteristics of the man. It had to show David as poet, patriarch, and lover... and it had to portray Bathsheba without offending any religious sensitivities. Lunel succeeded admirably. My score presents no performance problems.[70]

Madeline offers her own account of the Milhaud's experience in *Eretz Yisrael*:

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[68] Milhaud and Nichols, *Conversations*, 95.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Collaer, *Darius Milhaud*, 150.

> It made a great impression of Darius to be composing an opera in honor of a hero whose memory was constantly present in Israel. In travelling around the country, we were struck by the fact that many of the places mentioned in the biblical story of David were also places where the Israelis and British had fought in the recent conflict. It was this that gave Darius the idea of having two choruses in the opera, one representing the Israelites of old, the other present-day Israelis.
>
> The performance in Jerusalem was unforgettable for us. We had the impression the public became one with the action. It was their history that was being sung, their Jerusalem that was being celebrated. When we left Jerusalem the next morning, Darius was hailed and feted as he arrived at the airport. We realized then that most Israelis had heard the opera on the radio.[71]

*David'*s premiere in Jerusalem was in stark contrast with its subsequent performance at La Scala in Milan. Madeline notes:

> Several months later, at La Scala in Milan, the atmosphere was quite different. It became an admirably staged opera in a real theatre, with the usual audience of season-ticket holders who had come to see whatever spectacle was being proposed that evening. A year later *David* took on the character of a pageant. It was staged in the open-air theatre of the Hollywood Bowl before 20,000 spectators![72]

Milhaud continued to maintain a strong relationship with Israel up until his death. In 1961, the composer was commissioned to write a cantata in honor of the *Bar Mitzvah* anniversary of Israel's statehood. This piece, called *Cantate de L'initiation: Bar Mitzvah Israel*, utilized texts from the *haftarah* portion that Milhaud chanted at his own *Bar Mitzvah* ceremony. In 1972, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the central body of Reform Jewish Synagogues in America (now the Union for Reform Judaism) asked him to write a piece in honor of its Centennial anniversary. This piece, *Ani Maamin: Un Chant Perdu et Retrouvé* (*I Believe: A Song Lost and Found*), used a libretto by renowned author and *Shoah* survivor Elie Wiesel. This piece was a fitting finale to Milhaud's prolific career, and it returned full circle to the memories of the European communities that nurtured him in his early years as a composer. The importance of

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[71] Milhaud and Nichols, *Conversations*, 95.
[72] Ibid.

Milhaud's Sephardic heritage comes across in his postcard arrangements, while his Jewish identity as a whole colors the entire span of his compositional career. Milhaud's childhood experience with Jewish music was limited to the somewhat exotic melodies of the *Comtat Venaissin* community, coupled with Sephardic melodies he learned from his mother. He intentionally chose to arrange postcard melodies that were representative of this style and continued to showcase these influences in his later liturgical works.

Kurt Weill (1900-1950):

A large percentage of Kurt Weill's compositions, particularly his earliest works, show evidence of his Jewish upbringing. His father, Albert Weill, who was the cantor at the synagogue in Dessau, Germany and the composer's first piano teacher, imbued Weill's childhood with parallel influences of music and Judaism. Among the younger Weill's early pieces were a setting of "*Mi Addir*" from the wedding liturgy, a piece called "*Gebet*" written for his sister Ruth's confirmation in 1915 (when the composer was just 15 years old), and *Ofrah's Lieder*, written a year later when Kurt was 16. These five songs were among a collection of the composer's early manuscripts that were previously only seen by members of his family until 1983, when his sister Ruth released them to the public.

Ofrah's Lieder's connection with Judaism is that it uses German translations of medieval Hebrew texts by Yehuda Halevi (1080-1145). A Sephardic poet who lived during the Golden Age of Spanish Jewry, Halevi wrote about both secular and religious subjects. He is said to have been among the first poets to use Hebrew in non-liturgical writing. Like many of Halevi's secular works, the texts that Weill sets are highly

erotic, using imagery from the animal kingdom to represent love and lust. Weill captures this sentiment by choosing to title the cycle *Ofrah's Lieder*, which means "Fawn's songs."

In addition to showing evidence of his strong relationship with Judaism and Hebrew texts, *Ofrah's Lieder* demonstrates the ways in which Weill was heavily influenced by the music he listened to as a child. As pianist Steven Blier , artistic director and founder of the New York Festival of Song, writes:

> Musically speaking, the sweetness of Mendelssohn and Schubert co-exist with the grandeur of Strauss and Wagner in these short songs, combining moments of transparent lyricism with heroic climaxes. Weill used the voice in a full-throated traditional way – he certainly knew how to launch an effective high note.[73]

In her book, *Kurt Weill in Europe*, Kim H. Kowalke affirms the direct links between Weill's Jewish and musical development. She writes:

> Without concrete documentary evidence it is often difficult and sometimes misleading to evaluate the role of cultural environment, family heritage, personal experiences and religious orientation in the evolution of the composer's style – especially in so cosmopolitan a period as the twentieth century… In the case of Kurt Weill, it is essential to note at the outset of this chronicle that the course and nature of his career is inextricably linked to his German-Jewish heritage, which his father could proudly trace back to the fourteenth century. Although in early adulthood Kurt abandoned his parents' orthodox faith, the explicit religious preoccupation evident in the works dating from 1920-1925 and the subsequent commitment in his music to social and moral activism must stem from his early familial and cultural environment.[74]

Many musicologists argue that Weill's abandonment of Orthodoxy demonstrates a rejection of his religious roots. This is partly because of his collaborations with Bertolt Brecht. "In short, religion may have attracted the cantor's son less and less," writes Alexander L. Ringer. "Religiosity persisted and eventually brought him together with a

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[73] New York Festival of Song (Musical group), William Sharp, Steven Blier, Kurt Weill, Hanns Eisler, Richard Strauss, Richard Strauss, et al. *Unquiet Peace: The Lied Between the Wars,* (Westbury, N.Y.: Koch International Classics, 2009), liner notes.

[74] Kim H. Kowalke, *Kurt Weill in Europe* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1979), 16.

notorious Protestant heretic of his generation by name of Bertolt Brecht."[75] Although rising anti-Semitism was one reason why Weill fled Germany in 1933, Neil Levin notes that Weill's commitment to Judaism was not the preeminent reason for his departure. "When Weill's sense of artistic isolation drove him from Germany in 1933, it was probably less as a Jew at that stage and more for his unwillingness to reorient his work to an art devoid of social or political dimension," he writes.[76]

Weill's music for *The Eternal Road*, which officially premiered on January 7, 1937, is a quintessential example of the relationship between the composer's Jewish and musical roots. The musical drama, which is known in German, *Der Weg der Verheissung* ("The Path of the Promise") was first conceived in Europe in 1934 as a response to rising anti-Semitism and burgeoning Zionistic visions. The project was the brainchild of American journalist and entrepreneur Meyer Weisgal, who at the time was a fervent Zionist. Weisgal and stage director Max Reinhardt commissioned Austrian playwright Franz Wefel along with Weill to write the first-ever complete stage depiction of the Old Testament "in all its breadth rather than in isolated episodes."[77]

In order to achieve the most accurate and moving adaptation of the Old Testament through music, Weill carefully researched various Biblical musical constructs. As a result, the opera-oratorio incorporates trumpet calls to represent the Biblical penchant for shofar blasts and stringed instruments like the violin and harp at times of lament. Weill also includes aspects of Jewish liturgy and familiar prayer melodies in order to maximize the authenticity of his representation of the voice of the Jewish people. His goal was "to

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[75] Alexander L. Ringer, "Kurt Weill – the Cantor's Son." (Unpublished, obtained from Kurt Weill Foundation archives, 1987), 12.
[76] Neil Levin, "Kurt Weill: 1900-1950," Milken Archive of Jewish Music, accessed November 2, 2012, http://www.milkenarchive.org/people/view/all/597/Kurt+Weill.
[77] David Drew, "Der Weg der Verheissung: Weill at the Crossroads," *Tempo* 208, (Apr. 1999), 33.

bind speech and music into perfect fusion, to have the score an integral part of the play, so that the action would be more perfectly communicated and dramatically heightened by the power of music."[78]

Weill describes his creative process and methodology for including Jewish musical themes as follows:

> I set to work in the fall of 1934, putting to paper all the Hebreaic melodies I had learned from childhood. I had an abundance of material. For my father, who is a cantor and composer, had set great store upon my learning this heritage. In several days' memory seeking, I had written about two hundred songs, and then I began work at the *Bibliothèque Nationale* to trace their sources as far as possible. Many I discovered had been composed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, some borrowed from the most surprising sources, from opera, "hit-songs" of the time, street tunes, concert music, and symphonies. Those I dismissed, retaining only the old music, and wit that as my guide, I attempted to create music of the same mood that would communicate naturally and inevitably the stories of the Old Testament.[79]

In addition, Weill contacted his father to gain further insight into authentic music for Jewish worship. Albert Weill's synagogue compositions fashioned Jewish music in the style of the popular German Protestant image, but maintained "due regard for the liturgical tradition of male participation only" and incorporated what Ringer describes as "the hallowed practice of model improvisation which can still be traced in a number of much later, ostensibly secular works of his far more famous son."[80] David Drew, a musicologist who spent much of his life studying the works of Weill, writes:

> At the time of composition, Weill's parents were still living in Leipzig, where his father, the former Cantor in Dessau, was the Warden of the *B'nai B'rith* orphanage. No sooner had Weill reached an agreement with Weisgal, Reinhardt and Werfel than he wrote to his father outlining the project and asking whether he might borrow from him any material relating to music for Jewish worship – traditional music, he emphasized, rather than 19th or 20th century adaptations.[81]

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[78] "Protagonist of Music in the Theater," *The American Hebrew*, January 8, 1937, 757.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Ringer, "Cantor's Son," 3.
[81] Drew, "Crossroads," 43.

Weill's work on *The Eternal Road* is what eventually brought him to America. He had already fled Nazi Germany for the safety of Paris in 1933. Later, Weill journeyed to New York in 1935 for what was to be an early 1936 premiere, but the project was delayed until 1937 due to bankruptcy. Weill and his on-again-off-again lover, the famed singer Lotte Lenya (1898-1981), decided to settle in New York City indefinitely. He applied for US citizenship in 1937, at which point he arranged for Madeleine Milhaud to send his belongings from Loveciennes, France, where he had been living prior to immigration to America. It is interesting to note that Weill maintained this relationship, specifically because both he and Darius Milhaud shared a common Jewish identity and were both involved in the Postcard Project. However, Milhaud was ostensibly the only major composer with whom Weill shared a close personal friendship.[82]

As Weill began to establish a name for himself in both New York and in Hollywood, Weill's parents made *aliyah* to Palestine in 1936. Ringer writes:

> Weill's parents were among the relatively few German Jews permitted by the British to settle in the land of Zion shortly after he himself had followed his "Road of Promise" to the United States. Thus relieved of much worry and finally reconciled with his past, by his own creative effort, he eagerly embraced his personal new Zion with a veritable flood of songs of hope and happiness.[83]

A year later, the composer wrote to Dr. Salli Levi of the WCJMP, suggesting that *The Eternal Road* would be of interest to audiences in Palestine. He expressed interest in participating in the World Centre and perhaps traveling to Palestine himself. Surprisingly, Levi did not respond to this request. However, the letter that Weill wrote to him from Hollywood on April 8, 1937 shows evidence of his desire to help develop the musical climate of *Eretz Yisrael*. He writes:

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[82] Kurt Weill, Lys Symonette, and Kim H. Kowalke, *Speak Low (When You Speak Love): The Letters of Kurt Weill and Lotte Lenya* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 520.
[83] Ringer, "Cantor's Son," 16.

> It goes without saying that I am very interested in the movement that you are trying to bring to life and I shall gladly assist you in every possible way. Indeed, in my most recent work, *The Eternal Road*, I have, with considerable success, employed old synagogal music for the first time for a large theatrical work, already using this music actively in those ways that are related to your endeavors, and I believe it would be of the greatest importance and of special interest for audiences in Palestine, if one could somehow familiarize the customary Jewish officials with this music, its intent, and its background more than is usual. I believe that there is a basis here for my participation in the activities of the World Centre and perhaps even for a trip to Palestine.[84]

Weill received an opportunity to put his own stamp on the newly developing Palestinian folk idioms when Hans Nathan approached him to contribute to the Postcard Project. Weill's arrangements, "*Ba'a M'nucha"* ("There Comes Peace" – also known as "*Shir HaEmek*," or "Song of the Valley") and *"Havu L'venim"* ("Bring the Bricks") show an understanding of the struggles that the Jews faced upon working the fields in Palestine, coupled by the sense of love and determination that kept them going. Perhaps this mirrored his personal desire to visit *Eretz Yisrael* and to contribute to the newly developing music there (see Appendix J).

Upon completion of the arrangements, Weill wrote the following to Nathan in a letter dated May 30, 1938:

> Immediately after my return from Hollywood, I began the arrangement of the two folk songs. I have just finished them and sent them to "Masada" [the organization that supported the publication of *The Folk Songs of the New Palestine*].
>
> I believe the two arrangements have turned out well. *Havu L'venim* has been provided with a brief introduction, and the whole song has been based on a restrained march rhythm which seems to me quite effective. The entire song can be repeated, the *prima volta* directly leading into the introduction.
>
> For *Ba'a M'nucha* I have chosen a sort of through-composed form, without destroying the verse structure. The initial twelve measures in the three stanzas have been treated in diverse ways corresponding to the diverse character of the texts. The refrain remains the same in the three stanzas; only in the last stanza it has been treated freely in favor of the "night atmosphere."
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> I hope you like it. [85]

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[84] Bohlman, *WCJMP*, 28-29.
[85] Bohlman, *Israeli Folk Songs*, xii.

A subsequent letter from Weill to Nathan, dated May 12, 1939, suggests that Nathan requested that Weill make some edits to his arrangement of "*Ba'a M'nucha*." Weill politely declined Nathan's suggestion, and the piece was published as Weill had wished: "In regard to the ending of the "*Emek* Song" I would be very glad if you could leave it in its present form, since I consider this delayed resolution particularly good and don't think it is too complicated," Weill wrote.[86]

Weill's arrangement of this piece is not unlike the music he had begun to compose for the theater. There are definitive jazz influences, along with the fact that Weill chose to through-compose the accompaniment to an otherwise strophic melody, perhaps to give real character to the Jezreel Valley that the song speaks of. He begins by capturing the shear beauty of the land, continuing in the second verse with a definitive sense of pride and a desire. The final verse brings to light the threats the early Jewish settlers faced from Bedouins and Arabs that did not want them on their land. The last verse is mysterious and gloomy, while the final chorus is a quiet lament for what they have lost, laced with perseverance to keep going and maintain their dreams amidst the terror of the night.

Weill is a master storyteller, and this song is no exception. Bolhman describes these dramatic shifts as follows:

> This is one of the few through-composed songs in the edition, and Weill seizes the opportunity to explore different aspects of the melody, albeit in a German neoclassical manner. The two hands often pit two keyboard registers against one another, utilizing rhythmic, textural, and harmonic means to do so. Triads also contrast with clusters, still harmonic, but much richer and more dissonant than the austere triads. These contrasts reflect some of the qualities of transposition in the original melody… Weill also used the keyboard's timbre and color to great effect in the

[86] Ibid.

> concluding part of the song, searching for a sound that characterizes the land about which the song is written.[87]

Bohlman also discusses the fact that "*Ba'a M'nucha*" incorporates Hungarian folk elements, noting that it is interesting that Weill chose not to explore these influences in his accompaniment.

Both of Weill's postcard arrangements were included in a 1987 program that featured religious works by Weill. In a review of this concert, Michael Kimmelman of the *New York Times* wrote that "…the brassy, energetic swagger to the second folksong, *"Havu L'Venim*" staked out a far different terrain, one with its roots dug at least partly into the soil of the popular theater."[88]

Weill's contribution to the Zionist cause did not stop with his postcard arrangements. The composer was involved in two large-scale Jewish pageant plays, *We Will Never Die* (1943) and *A Flag is Born* (1946). The former was a rally that took place at Madison Square Garden in New York on March 9, 1943 to commemorate the mass murder of European Jewry. The project was the brainchild of Ben Hecht, who asked Weill to compose the music. The pageant includes some selections from *The Eternal Road* and other incidental music, but there was no formal score. Regardless, the performance, which incorporated singers from the Jewish Ministers Cantors Association as well as over twenty Rabbis, garnered repeat performances in Boston, Chicago, and the Hollywood Bowl. David Fameth explains that the work was highly political in nature, but that Weill's participation was likely based on an emotional desire to commemorate the destruction of the Jews in Europe.

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[87] Ibid., 52.

[88] Michael Kimmelman, "Music: Religious Works by Kurt Weill in Festival," *New York Times,* September 22, 1987, Arts Section, http://www.nytimes.com/1987/09/22/arts/music-religious-works-by-kurt-weill-at-festival.html?n=Top%2fReference%2fTimes%20Topics%2fPeople%2fW%2fWeill%2c%20Kurt.

> Although often characterized as a "political" composer because of his association in Germany with Bertolt Brecht, close analysis of his music and writings reveal him to be more concerned with the human condition than with political causes. His willingness to work on *We Will Never Die* was probably motivated more by the plight of the Jews in Europe than by a conviction to join Hecht in supporting Peter Bergson and the Committee for a Jewish Army of Stateless and Palestinian Jews.[89]

A Flag is Born was produced by the American League for a Free Palestine as a fundraiser to transport Jews to Israel at a time when the British were denying them entry. It premiered on September 5,1946, and can be described as "the most virulently anti-British play ever produced in the U.S."[90]

In *The Theatre Book of the Year* for 1946-1947, George Jean Nathan describes the piece as being somewhat similar to *The Eternal Road*, but on a smaller scale. He writes:

> In a display that runs for one hour and three-quarters without an intermission, Hecht – to the accompaniment of a Kurt Weill score which is often appropriate if sometimes constantly monotonous – seeks to tell in terms of strident political propaganda much the same basic story which Franz Werfel told in the ill-fated *Eternal Road* and which many, writers have told before him, to wit, the story of the wandering Jew.[91]

When Weill was first approached about being involved in *A Flag is Born*, he was heavily involved in the composition of *Street Scene.* As a result, he had very little time to devote to the music for the pageant, which Christian Kuhnt describes as a "marginal" work in his canon.[92] The music is derived from liturgical sources, anthems and chants, Yiddish folk songs, and direct references to *The Eternal Road*. Weill's involvement in this project, despite more high-profile compositional endeavors, is a testament to his

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[89] David Fameth, "Kurt Weill and *We Will Never Die," United States Holocaust Memorial Museum,* accessed November 2, 2012, http://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10007047.
[90] Edna Nahshon, "From Geopathology to Redemption: *A Flag is Born* on the Broadway Stage," *Kurt Weill Newsletter* 20.1 (Spring 2002), 8.
[91] George Jean Nathan, *The Theatre Book of the Year, 1946-1947: A Record and an Interpretation* (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1947), 55.
[92] Christian Kuhnt, "Approaching the Music for *A Flag is Born,*" *Kurt Weill Newsletter* 20.1 (Spring 2002),8.

desire to devote himself to social causes that were of important to him – in this case, helping displaced Jews to reach asylum in Palestine.

Less than a year later, Weill had an opportunity to visit the Holy Land for himself. He describes his first impressions of Palestine in a letter to Lenya dated May 22, 1947:

> So here I am in Naharia and I must say it is much nicer than we thought it would be… This is really a lovely place, very much like California, and beautifully built up by German Jews – the whole thing very impressive. Even more than in London and paris I am sorry that you are not with me… The parents are amazing – no lamenting or complaining, but sheer happiness to see me… There is a great feeling of happiness, of youth and gaity over this whole place [*sic*.].[93]

In a subsequent letter to Lenya dated May 31, 1947, Weill further described his experiences in Palestine:

> My trip through the country was very interesting but quite tiring because it was as hot as Needles, California. Those jewish settlements are very impressive indeed – but what fascinated me much more was the strangely beautiful, biblical landscape and the completely oriental character of life and people, the mixture of colorful Arabs on their horses or camels, monks and churches, Jewish farmers on their Ford tractors, ancient and new, christian, mohammedanian, jewish – three civilisations together in a small piece of land. We bathed in the sea of Galilei (Genezareth, where Jesus went) and sepnt the night in an ancient town, Safad, and went up to the Syrian border the next day [*sic*.].[94]

A final letter to Lenya, which Weill wrote two weeks later on June 4, 1947 from Geneva, describes his impressions of Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, and his overall experience in Palestine:

> Sunday morning the parents and I went to Tel-Aviv (a very ugly city with a jewish-fascist population that makes you want to vomit)… Monday we drove to Jerusalem and after we arrived I walked around for hours in this fascinating town where old and new are right next to each other – *moshees* [mosques], temples, churches, greek, roman, jewish, Turkish, camels and goats in the streets and always english tanks – and that beautiful "*Altstadt"* [old town], a Labyrinth of streets from Arabian Nights! I couldn't get enough of it… Gosh, I am glad to get home (and not to see jews in concentrated masses for awhile). [*sic*.] [95]

[93] Weill, Symonette, and Kowalke, *Speak Low*, 471.
[94] Ibid.,473.
[95] Ibid., 473-474.

Although Weill's compositions for the Postcard Project were written nearly a decade before he was able to experience Palestine for himself, his arrangements are fairly accurate representations of his subsequent impressions of *Eretz Yisrael*. These sentiments are confirmed in an article which appeared in the *Palestine Post* on June 2, 1947:

> Mr. Weill was also asked to compare attempts in the United States and Palestine to create original music. He said that Jewish music had made further progress toward a style of its own than American music and that he thought that, in style, Palestinian music had a labour spirit…. One of the main purposes of his trip to Palestine was to visit his parents whom he had not seen for 12 years.[96]

Weill's postcard arrangements are not the composer's only experience with folk songs. His 1945 folk opera, *Down in the Valley*, is made up of Weill's own arrangements of American folk songs**.** The work, which premiered soon after Rodgers and Hammerstein redefined American musical theater with *Oklahoma* in 1943, was created with the hopes of serving as a university training vehicle for future stars in this genre. Just as folksongs provided the basis for developing national art music in Israel, it helped to develop distinctively American works as well. In a *New York Times* Letter to the Editor dated June 5, 1949, Weill writes:

> In 1945 Olin Downes acquainted me with his concept of finding a new artistic form through which American composers might evolve a native art by the utilization for dramatic purposes of American folksong. He had been approached by Charles McArthur, a business man of exceptionally thoughtful and idealistic aims, who had asked him whether he thought he could build a series of musical plays around folk tunes for radio programs.[97]

While the majority of Weill's American compositions are on secular themes, they nevertheless incorporate aspects of his Jewish identity. *Street Scene* details the

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[96] "Palestine Music has 'Labour Spirit,'" *Palestine Post*, June 2 1947, accessed November 12, 2012, http://kwf.org/kurt-weill/for-further-reading/26-kw/writings/361-palestine-music.

[97] Kurt Weill, "More Light on 'Valley': Kurt Weill Makes 'Correcting Remarks' about his Opera's Inception," *New York Times* (From the Mail Pouch), June 5, 1949, accessed November 26, 2012, http://www.kwf.org/more-light-on-qvalleyq40.

experiences of immigrants from the Old Country who settle in New York City, while *Lost in the Stars* (1949), based on Alan Paton's 1948 novel *Cry the Beloved Country*, details the struggle for racial equality in apartheid-era South Africa. In many ways, this parallels the social struggles that the Jews faced during the *Shoah* as well as racism in America. The themes are universal, and conductor Julius Rudel describes the process of creating an orchestral recording of the work in 1992 as "akin to a religious experience."[98] As Weill's final work, *Lost in the Stars* serves as a fitting capstone for a composer who valued his heritage and managed to make a name for himself while overcoming many obstacles.

Stefan Wolpe (1902-1972):

Stefan Wolpe had the unique privilege of spending his life in Europe, Palestine, and America, and can therefore represent aspects of the Zionist point of view in all three places. Like Rabinowitz, his original reason for leaving Germany in 1934 was not to fulfill his Zionist destiny. Like so many who came to Palestine between 1929 and 1939, Wolpe was displaced from his home and chose to come to Palestine because it was easy for him to get a passport to travel there. Bohlman refers to this period of Israeli history as the *Aliyah Germanit*, "the German Wave of Immigrants." Many of these German immigrants were highly trained musical professionals, and their arrival in Palestine subsequently transformed the musical life in *Eretz Yisrael*. "The acculturative response of the composer was closely related – if not bound – to the changes through which the entire Central European ethnic group passed during the immigrant generation," writes Bohlman. "Just as traditional music changed upon contact with the diverse ethnic groups in the

[98] Julius Rudel, "Conductor's Note," liner notes to *Lost in the Stars*, Nimbus Records NI 2543, Compact disc, 2009.

immigrant environment, so too was the work of the composer confronted by new aesthetic demands."[99]

Moving to Palestine proved to be a boon to Wolpe's musical pursuits. There, he discovered a new genre of "vernacular" music, which he called "oriental folklore."[100] Wolpe gave little thought to his Jewishness until he reached Palestine. This surely informed his process when commissioned to write arrangements for the Postcard Project. Wolpe studied Arab music and became familiar with the study of *Maqam*. He also studied Hebrew and was fascinated by the ways in which the Semitic language penetrated the music.

In the late 1930s, Wolpe used his experiences in Israel as inspiration for a set of art songs that he wrote to Hebrew texts from the Bible and also Israeli poets like Rachel. Known as "Ten Songs from the Hebrew," these pieces, written between 1936 and 1938, were inspired by Jewish and Arab Palestinian folklore but also combine elements of more structured art songs. Wolpe personally describes the songs as follows:

> [These songs] are not the result of analysis of the folklore of the country, but when I was in that country I felt the folklore which I heard there to be profoundly latent within me. The songs of the Yemenite Jews, the singing of the Coptic monks in a monastery near Jerusalem, and the Arabic songs filled me with enchantment. To this day I cannot forget how the cadences of the languages there struck me, how the light of the sky, the smell of the country, the stones and the hills around Jerusalem, the power and the sinewy beauty of the Hebrew's language, all turned into music which suddenly seemed to have a topographical character.[101]

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[99] Philip V. Bohlman, "The Immigrant Composer in Palestine, 1933-1948: Stranger in a Strange Land," *Asian Music* 17.2 (1986), 147.
[100] Austin E. Clarkson, "Stefan Wolpe in Conversation with Eric Salzman," *The Musical Quarterly* 83.3 (1999), 386.
[101] Bohlman, "The Immigrant Composer," 158-159.

Aaron Copland describes the first two songs in the series, set to poetry from *Song of Songs*, as being "intensely alive, deeply Jewish, and very personal."[102] Instead of bringing his unique style to Palestinian music, he let the Palestinian music influence his own work.

Although Wolpe's Hebrew Songs were very successful, they were not representative of his overall compositional style. Wolpe struggled to balance a "capitulation of modern music to the old heritage."[103] With this, he soon realized that the musical scene in Palestine was too small for a radical artist like himself. He had difficulty making a living and booking performances as the lone twelve-tone composer in Palestine. He set off for New York, where a more diverse musical scene was quickly burgeoning. Wolpe was one of the first of many composers in Palestine to observe first hand the opportunities in the United States. Many others followed his lead, although some – like Oskar Guttman – were eager to jump at the potential opportunity of filling Wolpe's teaching positions at the various musical conservatories in Palestine.

Upon his departure from Paletine in 1939, Wolpe wrote a letter to Dr. Salli Levi, the founder of the World Centre for Jewish Music in Palestine. In this letter, he discussed his simultaneous frustration with the music scene in Palestine alongside a tremendous desire to remain connected to both *Eretz Yisrael* and his Jewish identity:

> …I can no longer restrain my sense of belonging to Palestine and my feeling for the work there, and I find myself asking what has become of all that was begun there. I fear nothing and I wanted to divert you at the time from the misery of the eternal abstractions of the propaganda, urging you to think more concretely about the daily tasks demanded by the new land, to occupy yourselves more with specific problems themselves, and less obsessively with personal matters.[104]

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[102] Aaron Copland, Richard Kostelanetz, and Steven Silverstein, *Aaron Copland: A Reader – Selected Writings, 1923*-1972 (New York: Routledge, 2004), 215.
[103] Bohlman, "The Immigrant Composer," 159.
[104] Bohlman, *WCJMP*, 132.

This letter suggests that the musical community that Wolpe experienced in Palestine was unlike anything he had seen during his life in Europe. He expresses a deep curiosity of the musical activities of his colleagues back in Palestine as well as a fellowship with the other Jewish composers of his time, such as Darius Milhaud, Ernest Bloch, Lazar Weiner, and Aaron Copland.

Perhaps most interesting is the fact that Wolpe went from knowing very little about his Jewish identity to being asked to specifically write about and lecture on Jewish music. He notes that many of his compositions in the United States are based on commissions. One of these commissions was a large choral cantata based on biblical texts. This project fascinated Wolpe, who struggled to create a biblical representation that depicted "real" human emotions. He writes:

> One needs to re-examine this powerful book in its innermost realism and drive to the devil all the so-called 'sacred music,' which these texts feign and leave human beings in uncontrolled conditions, thereby transforming the music into a comfortable luxury. How I hate this. How the easy fogginess of the soul avoids all concrete forms; it is all music written from afar, but in the mean time the human being rots away.[105]

This statement suggests that the time Wolpe spent living in *Eretz Yisrael* gave him deeper ways of thinking about his personal religious identity. His arrangements for the Postcard Project further illustrate this point, especially since he was one of only two composers who actually wrote their arrangers while living in Palestine (the other was Eric Walter Sternberg). Wolpe was also fortunate enough to have known some of the original folk songs composers such as Zeira and Shalom Postolsky. In fact, Wolpe even gave Zeira composition lessons.

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[105] Ibid, 133.

Wolpe was among the more prolific arrangers of the folksongs that appeared on JNF postcards, despite the fact that his knowledge of Hebrew was quite minimal. Jehoash Hirshberg describes Wolpe's participation in the Postcard Project as "a partial realization of his socialist world-view."[106] The composer contributed at least four pieces to the endeavor: "*Salenu Al Ktefenu*" ("Our Baskets on Our Shoulders"), "*Ra'inu Amalenu*" ("We Beheld Our Toil"), "Tel Aviv [*Lamidbar*]" ("Tel Aviv ["To the Desert"]), and "*Holem Tza'adi*" ("My Step Resounds in in the Dead of Night" – also known as "*Shirat HaShomer*" ("The Watchman's Song"). This is the same Zeira song that was discussed at length in Chapter One that was also arranged by Milhaud (see Appendix F). Although the postcard melodies were relatively tonal and simplistic, Wolpe continued to employ his avant-garde compositional style. "Wolpe's arrangement of Gorochov's children's song, 'Our baskets on our shoulders' indicated that despite the simple, almost naïve style, Wolpe consistently avoided major-minor chords," writes Hirshberg.[107]

Wolpe offered his personal impressions on Palestinian folk music at the Fourth Public Meeting of the Jewish Music Forum on Feb. 18, 1946 at the Young Men's Hebrew Association, New York:

> All of you know, of course, there is much singing in Palestine, much composing, and much playing of music. The percentage of the people in Palestine who are in one or in another way interested in music is amazing. The enthusiasm is enormous. An inborn emotional fervor, a vivid sense for any kind of creative manifestations, are evidently great. These are facts. Why should I enlarge upon them? But about two facts I would like to talk. One is concerned with the relationship between the audience (which in Palestine, you must understand, is the people) and the composer. The other is concerned with the composer's attitude to writing music which deviates from what we call popular/folk music. In Palestine exists a closer cooperation between the composer and the people. The needs of the people for songs and choral music are the expression and the proof of an intense collective life. In songs sung together, in choral works studied together, a multitude of single

[106] Hirshberg, *Music in the Jewish Community*, 233.
[107] Ibid., 233-234.

> individualities is merged into one body. This being a frequent experience of these people creates a need for an increased repertoire, thereby making demands on the composer. An intense musical practice like this evokes dormant creative abilities among people themselves, which are evidenced in a great number of amateur composers in the cities and farms of Palestine. The professional composer, in his awareness of the musical needs of the community, willingly participates in ministering to these needs, thus himself becoming an active part of this community. His production having become organized, he no longer writes only for an undefined market. This contract between the professional and the people results in a reciprocal influence, wherein the composer reacts to the spontaneity and ability with which the people accept his work, and the people exert a subtle influence on the composer's formulation of his own ideas. Another result of this interrelation is that the composer becomes the guide of the amateurs, gradually lifting the musical values and preventing the stagnation of musical folklore. The composers, for example, like Zaira, Postolsky, Ben Haim, Gideon, whose songs you are familiar with, were (if I may mention it) pupils of mine when I was in Palestine. The coincidence of popular needs and the composer's astuteness abilities creates that which we call a folksong, which becomes so much the part and property of the people. And so complete is this union, that the seeming anonymous authorship of these folksongs becomes even a matter of pride to the composer. But this participation in the creation of the folksong is by no means the only manner of expression of a composer. His own personal needs often lead him in very different ways. In the same as people and things are the product of a historical development, so is the composer rooted in a heritage of musical history and evolution. His is a language of accumulated emotions, thoughts, and expressions, a language which is constantly changing in relation to a changed need for expression. This naturally requires a greater complexity in the presentation of ideas. In this language is embodied a world of forces and energies of its own, comparable to the forces in all the various manifestations of nature itself. In the same way as the composer reflects the time and world in which he lives, it is this world documented through the composer's everlasting search for an adequate and valued medium of expression.[108]

Interestingly enough, some of the melodies Wolpe selected were also arranged by other composers. This gives us insight into how Wolpe's style is unique to his personal relationship with Judaism and *Eretz Yisrael*. Some of Wolpe's arrangements were deemed by Nathan as too complicated for amateur musicians. His arrangement of "*Holem Tza'adi*" (which Milhaud also arranged) was ultimately rejected from the official folk

[108] Stefan Wolpe, "Program Notes," *Wople.org*, accessed November 2, 2012, http://www.wolpe.org/page27/page27.html.

song collection, although it was ultimately published and recorded separately by the Stefan Wolpe Society. The organization's website notes the following:

> Nathan accepted Wolpe's settings of "*Ra'inu amaleinu*," "Saleinu Al K'tefeinu," and "Tel Aviv," but returned "*Holem tza'adi*." Wolpe made a second arrangement, then a third, but Nathan rejected them all. The pedal sonorities, pointillistic, open textures and improvisatory style of the first part of the song mark Wolpe's attempt to transform these "folk songs: into a new language that addressed the historical moment. He avoided the ostinatos and heavy chording patterns of those who dressed Jewish folk music in European clothing in favor of spare settings inflected by ornamentation that evokes the indigenous music of the Middle East.[109]

Wolpe's arrangement of "*Holem Tza'adi*" has a sense of urgency that is not heard in Milhaud's setting of the same melody. Milhaud captures the exoticism and orientalism of the melody – most likely because he viewed Israel from afar as a bastion of carefree hope. Wolpe was personally ensconced in the dangers that the Palestinian faced. His verses are imbued with caution and mystery, while the chorus illustrates how quickly unexpected danger can arise – especially in the depths of night.

Wolpe's interpretation of "*Ra'inu Amalenu*" is punctuated with jarring chromatic dissonances, as is characteristic of his compositional style in general. This captures the toil and the distress the pioneers speak of in this song. Arthur Honegger (1892-1955), who is, incidentally, the only non-Jewish composer involved in the Postcard Project, offers a more tonal arrangement that incorporates arpeggiated waves to represent the workers' repetitive movements. It is thought that he spent time studying Jewish music in preparation for his oratorio *Le Roi David* (1922).[110]

When Wolpe arrived in New York in 1938, he attempted to start a cabaret based on the Palestinian music he had heard. The idea never caught on, likely because the

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[109] "Four Songs 1938," *Wolpe.org*, accessed November 2, 2012, http://www.wolpe.org/styled-2/page42/page28/.
[110] Halbreich, Harry and Pauly, Reinhard G, *Arthur Honegger*, (Portland, Or: Amadeus Press, 1999), 295.

cabaret movement in Weimar was part of the underground musical culture in a place that did not allow the explicit expressivity of Jewish artists. There was no need for such a niche in New York. Wolpe composed mostly secular music in America, with his last contribution to the Jewish music scene being a 1945 commission of his *Yigdal* cantata for the Park Avenue Synagogue.

Like Milhaud and Weill, Wolpe's journey took him from persecution in Europe to professional development and freedom of religious expression in the United States. Wolpe's path led him to embrace his Jewish roots in Palestine before making a name for himself in America, while Weill and Milhaud were already armed with a strong sense of Jewish identity. Although Milhaud and Weill did not experience the holiness of *Eretz Yisrael* until after they completed their commissions from Nathan, their impressions and Zionist points of view are nevertheless represented in their postcard arrangements. Milhaud viewed Palestine as a safe haven; imbued with the diverse cultures of his colorful inhabitants. Weill's setting of "*Ba'a M'nucha*" is a through-composed rendering of the changes and developments that take place on a daily basis in *Eretz Yisrael*. This was what impressed him most upon his subsequent visit there. Wolpe's settings are especially interesting because they demonstrate a real understanding of the folk song *ur texts* while also incorporating his penchant for atonal music. Through their involvement in the Postcard Project, all three composers tell stories of their individual relationships with Judaism and Israel, while their later compositions show evidence of American assimilation. The next chapters will explore the stylistic adaptations that the Postcard Project composers made upon arrival in the United States followed by the continued development of Israeli art music.

CHAPTER 3 – THE PROMISE OF LIVING:

Aaron Copland, Paul Dessau, Erich Walter Sternberg and Ernst Toch Find Opportunities in New Lands

Milhaud, Weill, and Wolpe were amongst many people, composers and musicians included, who were brave enough to escape persecution in Europe in favor of freedom and new opportunities in the United States. Their journey across the Atlantic Ocean to America in many ways mirrored the Israelites' crossing of the Red Sea into unknown territory, full of excitement and new beginnings. In the US, these composers were no longer strangers. They were among many others taking the same risk of starting over. Just as the Israelites endured forty years in the desert, European composers faced many challenges upon their arrival in America: earning a living, engaging commissions, and distinguishing themselves in a brand new market with a nationalistic style of music that was not quite fully developed.

Here I will explore the lives of the Postcard Project composers living in America and Israel. Composers like Paul Dessau and Ernst Toch directly parallel their escape from Europe with the Exodus from Egypt, creating new music to reframe a timeless story for a new generation. Additionally, much like the way that their postcard arrangements paved the way for the creation of Israeli national music, many composers in the United States utilized folk idioms and popular social themes in their quest to create meaningful music for and by Americans. Both Aaron Copland and Kurt Weill used American folk melodies to form the basis of works such as Copland's *Old American Songs* (1952) and Weill's opera, *Down in the Valley* (1948). Lastly, this chapter will explore the life of Erich

Walter Sternberg, the only postcard composer who chose to remain in Israel, and the continued development of Israeli art music in the years that followed World War II.

Haggadah Settings by Paul Dessau (1894-1979) and Ernst Toch (1887-1964):

As was discussed in Chapter Two, many of the Postcard Project composers endured significant social struggles in Europe. One representation of this is the fact that two of them, Ernst Toch and Paul Dessau, created large-scale works based on the Passover Haggadah. Dessau's *Haggadah shel Pesach* (1934-36/1962) was written as a protest against the anti-Semitism and political oppression of the Nazi regime. Born in Hamburg, Germany, Dessau began composing his *Haggadah* soon after he fled to Paris in 1933. "Through music, the talented young Dessau moved from the more insular world of Jewish life into the center of cosmopolitan culture," writes Leon Botstein of the American Symphony Orchestra.[111]

Dessau's *Haggadah* was not his first foray into writing music based on Jewish themes. His grandfather was a cantor and the composer spent his childhood singing in his synagogue choir. Early in his career, Dessau composed a few pieces based on Jewish themes, including a setting of *Adon Olam* (1927). Despite this background, however, Dessau purposefully avoided directly quoting Jewish music in his *Haggadah*. "I decided to have complete trust in my origins and create a work exclusively from my own music," he recalls.[112] Sections of the piece, such as the teachings sung by Rabbis Joshua, Tarfon,

[111] Leon Botstein, "Passover in Exile," American Symphony Orchestra, accessed November 26, 2012, http://www.americansymphony.org/concert_notes/passover-in-exile.
[112] Laura Silverberg, "Paul Dessau (1894-1979), Haggadah shel Pesach (1934-36/61)," American Symphony Orchestra, accessed November 26, 2012, http://www.americansymphony.org/concert_notes/paul-dessau-1894-1979-haggadah-shel-pesach-1934-36-61.

Eliezer, Akiva, and Eleazar are stylistically reminiscent, though not identical, to cantorial chants. They punctuate the story much in the way that the *Kaddish* divides sections of a typical Jewish worship service. In his dramatization of the parting of the Red Sea, Dessau incorporates a melody that is evocative of the *Shirat Hayam* melody used while chanting this section of the Torah. He also uses a series of musical motifs to unify the drama. Laura Silverberg of the Mosse/Weinstein Center for Jewish Studies at the University of Wisconsin-Madison writes:

> The music of the *Haggadah shel Pesach* reveals two main influences: on one hand, Dessau's childhood exposure to Jewish folksong and liturgical music; on the other, his considerable experience composing and conducting music for theater and film… While the music is mostly tonal and often reminiscent of Orff or Hindemith, Dessau varied the harmonic language for expressive purposes. Densely dissonant chords accompany the anguished cries of the Jews and G-d's rebuke of the angels, while static, modal sonorities describe the miracles in the Midnight Song Hymn.[113]

Soon after completing his *Haggadah*, Dessau immigrated to the United States in 1939. His life in America began in New York City and continued in Southern California, where he wrote for movies in Hollywood. But Dessau's Communist affiliations made it difficult for him to assimilate into American culture. In 1948, he decided to return to Berlin to continue collaborations with Bertolt Brecht. "[Dessau] had advocates neither in America, where he was derided as a Communist, or in Israel, where his distance from Zionism (rather than his left-wing politics) did not help his cause," writes Leon Botstein of the American Symphony Orchestra.

Regardless, continues Botstein, "…Jewish themes did not vanish entirely from his output during Dessau's American years." Although Dessau wrote his *Haggadah* before experiencing life in America, Botstein praises the oratorio for its inclusion of universal

[113] Ibid.

themes of freedom and liberation that are so relevant for Americans today. The piece, which had not been performed since its 1962 premier in Jerusalem and 1994 concert performance in Hamburg, was reconstructed by the American Symphony Orchestra in 2011 as an affirmation of its timeless significance. He writes:

> …The power of this work resides not in its link to religion but in the intersection between tradition and modernity, in its faith in the power of music, and the undiminished universal resonance of the story of Passover, the liberation of slaves and their journey to freedom. Dessau and Brod's *Haggadah* is at once heartbreaking and arresting. We need to imagine Brod and Dessau, two displaced artists, either threatened or stripped of their vocations, their homes, their communities, and their language, each struggling to make sense of a world that had come to an abrupt end. Exiled and isolated, both turned to their indelible identities as Jews – an identity that may once have been residual or secondary but had become dominant involuntarily through the events of history.[114]

Indeed, Dessau's work eventually garnered attention in the Netherlands, the United States, and the Rhine-Main and Berlin chapters of the *Judischer Kulturband* in Germany. Unfortunately, the *Judischer Kultudband* was disbanded by the Gestapo before the work was performed. Dessau enthusiastically accepted Nathan's invitation to compose music for the Postcard Project, contributing arrangements of the songs "*Alei giv'a sham begalil*" ("Atop a Hill in Galilee"); "*Hine acḥal'la bacḥalil*" ("Lo, I Play Upon My *ḥalil* [flute]") (see Appendix E); "*V'ulai*" ("Perhaps"); "*Ali b'er*" ("Ascend, My Well") (see Appendix K); "*Al s'fat yam kinneret*" ("On the Banks of the [lake] Kinneret"); and "*Gamal, gamali*" ("Camel, My Camel"). According to Neil Levin, Dessau's arrangement of "*Al s'fat yam kinneret*" was also published together with a setting of "*Shirat ro'e*" ("Song of the Shepherd") in Zagreb, Yugoslavia, in 1937 as *Zwei Palästinensische Volkslieder* (Edition Omanut) in a series of songs in the same vein.[115]

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[114] Botstein, "Passover in Exile."
[115] Neil Levin, "Paul Dessau," Milken Archive of Jewish Music: The American Experience, accessed November 26, 2012, http://www.milkenarchive.org/people/view/all/566/Dessau,+Paul.

Dessau's treatment of the shepherd songs demonstrates his depth and insight as a composer. Many of the composers of the Eastern Mediterranean School in the 1930s and 1940s took musical and dramatic folk song motifs and treated them directly, incorporating obvious harmonies and characterization. "*Ali b'er*" is an excellent example of Dessau's creativity and ability to take risks with his arrangements. Bohlman writes:

> Even though he has identified the smallest elements of the melody and combined them in a fairly complex way, Dessau does not destroy the simplicity of the song itself… The beauty of the song results from Dessau's ability to make the most of the minimal materials in the original melody, and at the same time he succeeds in enhancing its character as a folk song.[116]

Although Dessau wrote his postcard arrangements while living in the United States, and remained active in many Jewish cultural organizations such as the Society for the Advancement of Jewish Culture and the Jewish Music Forum (in collaboration with Stefan Wolpe), he is an anomaly amongst the composers involved in the project in the sense that he was the only one who returned to Europe after the war. Upon his return to Germany notes Silverberg, "Dessau downplayed his Jewish roots and any interest he had in Jewish-themed works." Levin counters this statement, explaining that Dessau had no problem embracing his Jewish identity so long as it did not get in the way of his stronger affiliation with Communism. Levin writes:

> During his years in East Germany, Dessau continued artistically and dramatically to explore Jewish or Judaically derived currents, especially insofar as they meshed—or did not conflict—with his and the state's perceived Communist principles of social and economic equity. In 1960–61 he collaborated with Blacher, Karl Amadeus Hartmann, and Rudolf Wagner-Régeny on a choral work, *Jüdische Chronik* (A Jewish Chronicle).[117]

Ernst Toch's adaptation of the Passover story, *Cantata of the Bitter Herbs*, is more indicative of the typical challenges that Americans faced as they balanced their

[116] Bohlman, *Israeli Folk Music*, 53.
[117] Levin, "Dessau."

religious and secular identities. Toch was born into a middle class merchant family in Vienna. He immigrated to America in 1934, where he struggled to find his stride because his music was not particularly accessible to the average American listener. "However fortunate in securing refuge in America, Toch was never to recover that lost sense of cultural resonance and buoyancy," recalls his grandson, Lawrence Weschler.[118]

Toch's adaptation of the Passover story, *Cantata of the Bitter Herbs*, was one of his more successful American compositions – a fact that is particularly notable given that its conception was based on a series of chance circumstances. In December of 1937, Toch received word of his mother's sudden death in Vienna. Since he was unable to attend the funeral and burial, Toch began saying *Kaddish* on a regular basis at Fairfax Temple, a Reform congregation in Los Angeles. Toch recalls the following:

> I had learned about my mother's sudden death in December 1937. She was a deeply religious being. Though she did not adhere to the full orthodoxy of the Jewish tradition, she clung very strongly to some of its rites and would never miss the ordained prayers for the dead. We were separated by 6000 miles when she died, and all I could do was to dedicate myself to her ways and her spirit in reaction to my loss.[119]

Fairfax Temple's spiritual leader, Rabbi Jacob Sonderling, felt immediate kinship with Toch, especially given his familiarity with Central European culture from his own early life in Germany. Although Toch declined Rabbi Sonderling's request for him to compose new music for the synagogue's Chanukah celebration, Toch remembered an idea that he had in the back of his mind from long ago: to adapt the Passover story into an oratorio or cantata. Like Dessau, he was drawn to the universality of the story and the fact

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[118] Neil Levin, liner notes, *Ernst Toch (1887-1964): Cantata of the Bitter Herbs and Jephta, Rhapsodic Poem* (Symphony no. 5), Milken Archive of Jewish Music 2004, Naxos 8.559417, Compact disc.
[119] Ernst Toch, "*The Cantata of the Bitter Herbs* and the Haggadah," *The Amor Artis Bulletin,* December 1962.

that it parallels the events that drew Toch and his contemporaries out of Europe. Toch writes:

> The simplicity of the *Haggada* story as I experienced it as a child, not part of a religious ceremony, but as part of a festive occasion, the reading of a breathtaking account of history, the impact of the strong emotions it carried along, stayed with me and made me welcome the task to convey with corresponding simplicity how this story had moved me at a time when we were as yet blissfully unaware of its pending revival in the fate of our generation.[120]

Rabbi Sonderling agreed to write the libretto, envisioning the piece's premiere to take place in conjunction with Fairfax Synagogue's communal *seder*. He consulted with Leopold Jessner, a theatrical director from Berlin, as well as Borris Morros, a music director at Paramount Studios who had immigrated to America from Eastern Europe. Although Toch initially had considered incorporating traditional Passover melodies into the cantata, he chose not to, seeking instead to attract a broader appeal. He writes:

> Obviously, it was implicitly assumed that I would turn to the store of extant, traditionally-established music in the Passover service and integrate some of it with mine. Strangely enough, that thought never occurred to me. My conception of the tale told in the Haggadah was quite different, was non-denominational and broadly universal. Such fate of an arbitrary compulsion as has been inflicted by men on men time and again, causing sufferings told and untold, arousing legendary powers of resistance, happened to the Jews and happened to others.[121]

Toch's openness and creativity in his ability to incorporate these themes of universality accounts for the success of his *Cantata of the Bitter Herbs*. Frederick Freedman of the New York Public Library writes:

> Toch has been able to secularize a Hebrew story in dramatic, universal, humanitarian terms. The narrated portions, which are very freely drawn from the Passover service, alternate with the musical selections, whose texts, sometimes free paraphrase, adhere more closely to that of the Haggadah. The composer, it will be recalled, indicated that he used no liturgical melodies, traditional or otherwise, so that the work is composed in a thoroughly secular musical framework. In addition, the sequence of the service is not followed at all; instead, ideas are drawn from various portions of the Haggadah… and rearranged in a manner

[120] Ibid.
[121] Ibid.

> which provides the cantata with a dramatically cogent concept within its own particular dimensions.[122]

Although Toch's early works in the United States were not particularly well received because they were deemed too challenging for American audiences, his arrangements for the Postcard Project were extremely playful and geared mostly for children. Nathan was hesitant to include Toch's setting of "*Tapuach Zahav*" ("An Orange") because it skirts the line between folk song and art song (see Appendix L). It is also not explicitly Zionistic in nature, although it does allude to the fact that agriculture is a prime example of the type of work that took place on the *kibbutzim*. The original melody by Rabinowitz evokes traits of old German folksongs, particularly because of its rising phrases. Toch preserves this idea in his arrangement. "He uses the melody precisely as printed on the postcard, embellishing it not at all for the voice part," writes Bohlman. "It is possible that Toch heard this as a shepherd's flute, a common motive in the symbolic vocabulary of Levantine music, and he consequently transformed it into the primary motive of the piano accompaniment."[123]

"*Avatiach"* ("A Watermelon") is a playful homage to the succulent fruit that is ubiquitous in *Eretz Yisrael* during the summertime (see Appendix M). It is similar in spirit to "*Tapuach Zahav,"* especially because its original melody was also composed by Rabinowitz. However, while Nathan lists "Tapuach Zahav" in his first collection of "Children's Songs," "*Avatiach"* can be found in a collection called "Songs of Summertime" alongside other songs about spring and summer blooms, including Rabinowitz's composition and arrangement of "*Hashkediyah porachat"* and Wolpe's

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[122] Frederick Freedman, "Ernst Toch and the *Cantata of the Bitter Herbs*," *The Amor Artis Bulletin,* December, 1962.
[123] Bohlman, *Israeli Folk Music,* 53.

arrangement of "*Salenu Al Ktefenu*," which is associated with bringing fruits to Jerusalem in celebration of Shavuot. Toch's arrangement of "*Avatiach*," is slightly more sophisticated than his treatment of "*Tapuach Zahav*," and offers elements of depth and humor. The opening phrases feature a rising staccato arpeggiation that mimic the watermelon's unique growth from the ground. It comes directly from the land, without a tree or bush serving as an intermediary, and therefore represents a direct output of the labors the *chalutzim* have endured to cultivate the soil. The rest of the song is filled with lyrical sequences that depict the beauty and sweetness of the fruit. All the while, the bass continues with punctuated staccati that relay a sense of joy. Nathan describes the song as having "that peculiar Palestinian humor which appears unannounced and in the guise of a common place."[124]

Toch's arrangement of "*Yeled Kat*" ("Little Child"), which is also known as "*Chag HaOr*" ("Holiday of Lights") is based on a playful Chanukah melody (see Appendix N). It also employs his sense of humor and an understanding of ways to mix sacred and secular themes. Bohlman writes:

> The song lends itself marvelously to compositional styles with which Toch was familiar. Having served as a synagogue organist in Mannheim during his years of teaching at that city's music academy (1913-29), Toch had cultivated a compositional sense that allowed him to write both a non-liturgical style of Jewish music and pedagogical pieces, often for the instruction of children. Toch transforms the cumulative effect of adding more children to the progression of lights and transfers it to his accompaniment… In order to capture this effect, Toch abandons other aspects of the folk song… Characteristically, Toch is able to inject some humor into the song at the very end, where he unquestionably alludes to the *Nutcracker Suite* (seasonally parallel, and also a holiday of lights) before his crashing cadence. This version may longer be a folk song, but Toch expresses much of the special fantasy in the original version on the postcard.[125]

[124] Nathan, *Folk Songs of the New Palestine*, "Songs in Summertime."
[125] Bohlman and Nathan, *Israeli Folk Music*, 53-54.

Toch's incorporation of a play on Tchaikovsky is interesting from two perspectives: On the one hand, Tchaikovsky's works were popular during the time in which Toch lived in Europe. However, his incorporation of it into his arrangement of "*Yeled Kat*," a Chanukah song, was likely a response to the American "December Dilemma" and intense focus on Christmas. In many ways, its inclusion suggests that Toch may well have arranged this song as a Jewish equivalent to a Christmas carol – a prime example of American assimilation.

Children play an important role in the Passover Haggadah, and both Dessau and Toch's settings of the Passover story incorporate youth choirs and roles for children. Toch was especially proud that his daughter, then nine years old, took an active part in the premiere of the *Cantata of the Bitter Herbs*: "For the sake of mother and of child I took up religious practices known to me from childhood," he writes.[126] Toch's rediscovery of his Jewish identity upon facing a loss and seeking to cultivate spirituality for his offspring is not an uncommon journey, especially for American Jews. His commitment to Judaism and its connection with his music stuck even after the premiere of the *Cantata of the Bitter Herbs*. Toch's subsequent compositions with Jewish themes included his fifth symphony, *Jephta, Rhaspsodic Poem,* and *The Genesis Suite*, based on the story of creation.

Aaron Copland (1900-1990)

Aaron Copland is unique amongst "The Postcard Project" composers in the sense that he was the only one who was born in the United States. He did, however, spend significant time studying and training in Europe. American classical music was still in its

[126] Toch, "*Cantata of the Bitter Herbs* and the Haggadah."

developing stages, and the United States had yet not bred its own core of composition professors. “You couldn’t be ‘finished’ in America,“ writes Copland.[127] Because of this, Copland, like many of his contemporaries, traveled to France to study with Nadia Boulanger. This association helped to jump-start his career once he eventually returned to New York.

From a Jewish standpoint, Copland explains that his father’s last name was Kaplan when he left his home in Lithuania. His father did not have enough money to travel directly from Russia to the US, so he stopped in Glasgow, Scotland for about two years in order to earn passage for the rest of the route. It is Scottish pronunciation that led from the change of Kaplan to Copland – the Russian pronunciation of Kaplan was equal to the Scottish pronunciation of Copland.

Copland’s father was the president of an old synagogue in Brooklyn, Congregation Baith Israel, in the Cobble Hill neighborhood. The family lived about a half-hour walk away, so Copland did not attend every Saturday. However, he did go on the High Holidays. “I can’t say it was anything more than a conventional religious association,” Copland describes.[128]

Today, the congregation is still active and is known as the Kane Street Synagogue. Kane Street’s website credits the congregation’s spiritual leader at the time, Rabbi Israel Goldfarb – himself a prolific Jewish composer – with having a profound impact on the young Copland’s life:

> The celebrated composer Aaron Copland, a 1913 Bar Mitzvah, recalled in his autobiography that “On Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement, the elder greybeards of the Congregation stretched

[127]Edward T. Cone and Aaron Copland, "Conversation with Aaron Copland," *Perspectives of New Music* 6, no. 2 (Spring-Summer 1968): 65, accessed April 1, 2012, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/832353>, 59.
[128] Ibid., 58.

> themselves out prone in the aisles of the synagogue and prayed for forgiveness of man's evil ways." Throughout his years at BIAE, the presence of two traditions at the synagogue challenged Rabbi Goldfarb to find creative, practical solutions to ritual practice. When women were added to the choral group, the Rabbi moved the choir from the main floor of the sanctuary to the organ loft, where their presence would be less offensive to traditionalists who preferred separate seating.
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> In his book "Copland 1900 Through 1942″ the composer acknowledged Goldfarb's influence on his life. Without his encouragement, Copland may not have pursued his music studies in Paris. As a high school student Aaron enlisted the rabbi's help to convince his father to let him study music instead of law. "By curious coincidence our rabbi, Israel Goldfarb, was himself a composer of liturgical music and the possessor of a fine baritone voice. Rabbi Goldfarb was a sensitive human being and an effective leader of his congregation."[129]

Despite this connection with his synagogue, Copland's Jewish identity rarely made it into his music, at least not in a way that was distinctive. In 1951, he delivered a lecture called "Jewish Composers in the Western World," he described the challenges that he and his colleagues faced when combining their artistic and religious identities:

> I admitted that the subject was controversial, because it brought into consideration the racial consciousness of the artist, the assimilation theory, and the role of the non-assimilated artist. I made it clear that I was speaking as a composer from my own experience, not as historian, ethnologist, or expert on Jewish affairs. I knew in advance that this audience would have liked to hear that Jewish artists who affirm their Jewishness come off best.[130]

Copland emphasized that even though Judaism does not make an obvious appearance in his work, it is always there by default: "A man doesn't create art because he is a Jew but because he is a man. The truly Jewish composer need not worry about his Jewishness – it will be evident in the work."[131]

Copland categorizes his music as falling into different periods, depending on his interests at the time. He also sought to find a unique lens, which Copland himself came to describe as being "Hebraic" in nature:

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[129] "Our History." Kane Street Synagogue, accessed November 26, 2012, http://kanestreet.org/about/history/.
[130] Aaron Copland and Vivian Perlis, *Copland: Since* 1943, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990), 173.
[131] Ibid.

> …It was the Hungarianness of Bartok that seemed so fascinating: Not only was he writing good modern music, but it was Hungarian in quality. Stravinsky was very Russian – a Russian composer, not just a modern composer. I was just thinking along the line that seemed the ordinary line to think along, simply applying the same principle to America and finding an American solution… In addition to the sense of Americanness, the need to find a musical language that would have American quality, I had also a – shall we say Hebraic – idea of the grandiose, of the dramatic and the tragic…"[132]

Copland credits a stage production of S. Ansky's play *The Dybbuk* with being highly influential on his work; it directly inspired his 1928 piano trio *Vitebsk*. In general, the advent of films and larger-scale stage productions changed the character of his work, as he was granted many more commissions. He was no longer writing for himself. "I don't remember how some of them happened to come around to me, but they did. That provided not only a source of income but also the new feeling of being asked to write music for a functional purpose. Before that we wrote for ourselves; nobody was asking for it."[133]

In 1938, Nathan commissioned Copland to arrange the song "*Banu*" ("We've Come") for the Postcard Project. This song captures Copland's unique ability to stylistically combine grandiose Hebraic and modern American music. In some ways it is a quintessential work in his canon; in other ways it is utterly unique. "… 'We've Come' by its very essence implied a sympathy for the Zionist movement," writes Howard Pollack in his biography of the composer. "For many years prior, the leftist intelligentsia had tended to consider Zionism a reactionary movement, but with the emergence of the national-friendly Popular Front in 1935, even the American Communist Party adopted, in a volte-face, a pro-Zionist policy."[134] Pollack writes specifically about Copland's

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[132] Cone and Copland, "Conversation," 64.
[133] Ibid., 66.
[134] Howard Pollack, *Aaron Copland: The Life and Work of an Uncommon Man*, (New York: Henry Holt, 1999), 328.

involvement with the Postcard Project accurately noting that the arrangements of the various composers differed considerably in style. "Copland's features crashing chords and acerbic dissonances," he writes. "The '*Banu*' tune, a hora, itself contains vigorous syncopations and direct triadic motion; the words celebrate the release of yesterday's 'poor and needy' from 'distress.'"[135] Nathan describes the melody as follows:

> "*Banu*" belongs to the type of more recent Palestinian *hora* tunes. Instead of the melody spinning on to a final climax and relaxation, a rigid frame is established within which a provoking oscillation, a heavy shifting from one strong accent to the next goes on. This frame coincides with the opening of *Chassidic* niggunim but the principle of thematic activity points to a different style: this stubborn persistence, this stringency of melodic motion is related to the music of the Near East. Its clear textural design certainly is European. We may define "Banu" as a blend of *Chassidic* elements, enlivened in an Oriental way and organized in an Occidental fashion. The fusion of eastern and western components is a characteristic feature of modern Palestinian folklore. "Banu marks the beginning of an original style of Palestinian *hora* tunes.[136]

Without the dissonant accompaniment, the melody stands on its own as a joyful celebration of memory and hope. Perhaps Copland innately sensed that the establishment of the Jewish homeland would not happen unless tremendous challenges were overcome.

Despite the fact that his arrangement offers some personal insight into his relationship with *Eretz Yisrael*, Copland's writing of "*Banu*" was not based on firsthand observations. He visited Israel for the first time in 1951, three years after it officially achieved statehood. The composer Ben-Zion Orgad arranged for him to live in what he described as an "art colony" outside of Tel Aviv for five days to teach a group of 30 aspiring Israeli composers. In a letter to fellow American composer Irving Fine in February of 1951, Copland expresses plans to spend Pesach "in one of the famous

[135] Ibid,, 329.
[136] Nathan, *Folksongs of the New Palestine*," Dances of Palestine."

kibbutzim, or whatever they're called."[137] In a subsequent letter, dated April 23 of the same year and postmarked from Tel Aviv, Copland describes his first impressions of *Eretz Yisrael* to his friend and colleague, Elliot Carter:

> Just now my head is full of Palestine – an incredible mixture of very ancient and very new. Everything about it is highly dramatic and in flux. Most surprising to me were the faces of the younger people born here – wonderfully open and healthy, and self-assured. No trace of refugee in type or mentality. They were very exhilarating to be with, -- jabbering all the while in Hebrew. (I kept wishing I had paid more attention to my Hebrew teacher when I was 13!)
>
> Most dramatic moment was conducting 'In the Beginning' on the shores of the Sea of Galilee with unfriendly Syrians two kilometres off. (It was part of a 2-day chamber music festival a la Tanglewood.) the audience came anyhow, tho there are border incidents every night. The country around Jerusalem reminded me very much of Arizona, and the Arab towns looked like Indian pueblos. There are new immigrants everywhere – Yemenites, Moroccans, Iraquis – all Jews, but 1000 years away from the cultivated German refugees. How it will all melt G-d only knows.[138]

Copland visited Israel once more in 1968, conducting the Israel Philharmonic in a program of twentieth-century works composed by himself, Charles Ives, and Igor Stravinsky. Upon his return to *Eretz Yisrael*, he noticed many changes, both in the culture and in the music. For one, the subscription audience totaled 24,000 for each set of concerts in Tel Aviv, which represented an astounding ten percent of the city's population at the time. Copland observed that Israeli composers were beginning to move away from composing distinctly ethnic music, or what Copland describes as "interest in local-color composition." [139] This suggests that Rabinowitz's vision of creating a national musical identity had been achieved. Composers were no longer relying on the sights and sounds that they heard; they were cultivating their own distinctive musical flavors. "My

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[137]Aaron Copland, Elizabeth Bergman Crist, and Wayne D. Shirley, *The Selected Correspondence of Aaron Copland*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 204.
[138] Ibid., 205.
[139] Marta Robertson and Robin Armstrong, *Aaron Copland: A Guide to Research*, (New York: Routledge, 2001), 45.

impression was that [the composers] had gained considerable self-confidence in an organizational way since 1951," writes Copland.[140]

Although Copland was pleased with the musical development he observed in Israel and generally enjoyed the time he spent there, he retained the early cynicism towards *Eretz Yisrael* that he depicts in "*Banu*." After a trip to Bethlehem, he wrote in his diary: "The usual sense of unreality about these ancient sites and legends. Most impressed with the *paysage*. Kept puzzling over how it happened that *this* was the Holy Land."[141] As he expresses in his diary, it seems that many of Copland's concerns about Israel relate to safety. He describes a visit to a *Kibbutz* in which he was shown the children being put to bed in an underground shelter because of the danger of Jordanian shelling. Upon his return to the United States, Copland wrote in his diary, "glad to be home."[142]

Copland's relationship with Israel is fairly typical of many American Jews both then and now. Although they enjoy visiting the beautiful landscapes and historical sites, there is often a struggle to reconcile their American and Jewish identities. "Neither Copland nor his parents seemed to have been particular enthusiasts of Zionism, which was not uncommon amongst American Jews before 1933," writes Leon Botstein. "But Copland was thrilled and proud during his first trip to Israel in 1951, and as a Jew he responded spontaneously about being somehow specially related to its inhabitants."[143] This sense of belonging was very different than the one experienced by the composers who emigrated from Europe. As Botstein writes:

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[140] Copland and Perlis, *Copland: Since 1943*, 359.
[141] Ibid.,360.
[142] Ibid.
[143] Leon Botstein, "Copland Reconfigured," in *Aaron Copland and His World,* ed. Carol J. Oja and Judith Tick (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 457.

> America, as nearly every Jew in the generation of Copland's parents understood, was special. Jews knew they were not alone in coming to America with previous national and linguistic identities. In America the variety of religious practice and the extent of religious freedom were unparalleled, rendering the separation of church and state genuine and reducing religion to a private matter. Despite the persistence and even virulence of anti-Semitism in the Unite States, it never rivaled European anti-Semitism or the discrimination directed at Americans of color.[144]

Likewise, although Copland felt a sense of belonging in Israel, the feeling was not new to him. He also belonged as an American, and in America he did not have to constantly fear for his safety.

Along these lines, it is interesting that one of Copland's most beloved compositions, his arrangement of the revivalist folksong, "Zion's Walls," was written in 1952, right after he returned from his first trip to Israel. This song, which dates from the years just prior to the Civil War, is part of his second collection of *Old American Folksongs* (1952). These collections are representative of his interest in developing distinctly American music. "Copland might have been speaking of himself when he wrote that his Jewish-French colleague Darius Milhaud proved that a composer could remain profoundly national and at the same time profoundly Jewish," writes Pollack. "…Such confluence may have been particularly congenial in Copland's case because American culture and society had a deep-rooted orientation toward biblical prophecy, one that surfaced with particular intensity in the years just prior to the Civil War – the same period of American history that most attracted Copland."[145]

"Zion's Walls" is based on a shape-note hymn that was originally published in 1855 in *The Social Harp* by John G. McCurry. The text was likely adapted from Nehemiah 12:43, which reads as follows:

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[144] Ibid.,*456.*

[145] Howard Pollack, "Copland and the Prophetic Voice," in *Aaron Copland and His World*, ed. Carol J. Oja and Judith Tick, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 12.

מג וַיִּזְבְּחוּ בַיּוֹם-הַהוּא זְבָחִים גְּדוֹלִים וַיִּשְׂמָחוּ, כִּי
הָאֱלֹהִים שִׂמְּחָם שִׂמְחָה גְדוֹלָה, וְגַם הַנָּשִׁים וְהַיְלָדִים,
שָׂמֵחוּ; וַתִּשָּׁמַע שִׂמְחַת יְרוּשָׁלַם, מֵרָחוֹק.

> And they offered great sacrifices that day, and rejoiced; for God had made them rejoice with great joy; and the women also and the children rejoiced; so that the joy of Jerusalem was heard even afar off.[146]

This narrative refers to the fifth century BCE in which some of the Israelites were allowed to return to Jerusalem after years of exile. This verse reflected the celebration that ensured upon the rebuilding of the walls. In the revivalist period, the song was likely intended to give hope and religious incentive to those who worked so tediously in the pre-Civil War period. For Copland, it represented a parallel to the modern-day rebuilding of Zion, the creation of the State of Israel. "Just as Nehemiah and the Israelite people returned from exile to rebuild the city of Jerusalem, so the greater family of Jews were returning from the Diaspora to rebuild the nation of Israel in the 1940s-1950s," writes Joanna Ruth Smolko. "As the shouts of the Biblical Israelites had been heard 'even afar off," so the rebuilding of the nation of Israel had become an international concern."[147]

Although the original text of the hymn expresses a desire to "meet within the walls of Zion," it also includes an invocation for "singing the praises of Jesus." Copland eliminates the Jesus references in the hymn, making it accessible to an interfaith population. "…Copland's alteration heightens the metaphor of Zion, which clearly has specific connotations for the Christian community that created the hymn but has far-

[146] http://www.mechon-mamre.org/p/pt/pt35b12.htm.
[147] Joanna Ruth Smolko, "Reshaping American Music: The Quotation of Shape-Note Hymns by Twentieth Century Composers," (PhD Diss., University of Pittsburgh, 2009), 52-53.

reaching resonances within Jewish communities of Copland's time," writes Smolko.[148] The lyrics Copland set are as follows:

> Come, fathers and mothers, Come sisters and brothers,
> Come join us in singing the praises of Zion;
> O, fathers don't you feel determined,
> To meet within the walls of Zion.
> We'll shout and go round, We'll shout and go round,
> We'll shout and go round the walls of Zion.

In the Act I finale of his opera *The Tender Land* (1954), Copland adapts the melody of "Zion's Walls" into "The Promise of Living," a prayer for thanksgiving and prosperity during the harvest. The opera depicts the struggles of a farm family in the Midwest during the Great Depression; they struggle to survive while maintaining hopes of achieving the American dream. "The Promise of Living" weaves together countermelodies and variations on the primary theme to represent individual needs coming together for a common cause. Elizabeth Crist writes:

> By carefully deploying these various vocal textures, Copland develops relationships between the characters, one to another, before all are united in a communal peroration. The unwavering tonality and repetitive melodies establish a collective musical and social space, while the vocal and instrumental counterpoint emphasizes the interdependence of the musical lines and personal relations. 'The Promise of Living' is a musical model of social solidarity, of individuals working in concert. As melody is bound to countermelody, so these people are bound to one another. That the community is so tightly knot through Copland's music makes its dissolution all the more tragic.[149]

In this moving chorale, three generations of the same family declare their solidarity with the following words, crafted in the libretto by Horace Everett:

> The promise of growing
> With faith and with knowing
> Is born of our sharing
> Our love with our neighbor.
> The promise of ending
> In right understanding

[148] Ibid.
[149] Elizabeth B. Crist, "Mutual Responses in the Midst of an Era: Aaron Copland's *The Tender Land* and Bernstein's *Candide*," *The Journal of Musicology*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (Fall 2006), 510.

> Is peace in our own hearts
> A peace with our neighbor.

These words echo the prayers and hopes of so many Americans, regardless of their faith, race, or ethnic background. Copland's music, therefore, is very much representative of the immigrant experience in America and, subsequently, the development of Jewish life here. Jews in America retain strong relationships with their traditions, their history, their community, and with Israel, yet they are free to interact with and learn from others as they make active contributions to secular society.

The fact that most of the composers involved in arranging Israeli folksongs for the Postcard Project eventually settled in the United States or found their way back to Europe begs the question of what happened to the continued development of Israeli national music in the years that followed World War II? Erich Walter Sternberg (1891-1974) is the only one of the composers who Nathan commissioned who remained in *Eretz Yisrael* after emigrating from Europe.

Born in Berlin, Sternberg earned a law degree from Kiel University before embarking on a career in music. He began to visit Palestine annually in 1925, garnering so much success in his concert work there that be decided to officially make *aliyah* in 1931. Upon is permanent settlement in Palestine, Sternberg was greeted with two full concerts dedicated to his work, where he was described to the public as "an established composer of 'modern' music."[150] Increasing anti-Semitism inspired many other European Jews to follow, and Sternberg played a role in establishing formalized musical institutions that would allow these artists to make a living in the Jewish homeland.

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[150] Hirschberg, *Music in the Jewish Community of Palestine*, 165.

Along with Polish violinist Broinslaw Huberman (1882-1947), Sternberg was one of the founders of the Palestine Orchestra in 1936. He also focused on promoting the Palestine section of the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM), paving the way for other composers to find musical opportunities in *Eretz Yisrael*. Perhaps Sternberg's success and ultimate decision to remain in Palestine was a result of his position as a musical pioneer. "[Sternberg] became an important member of the first generation of art-music composers during Israeli statehood," writes Bohlman. "Erich Walter Sternberg thus symbolizes the achievement of the link between Israel and the Diaspora that the *Keren Kayemeth* sought to endeavor."[151]

Although Sternberg is primarily known as an Israeli composer, his work contains distinct influences from his European heritage. "Sternberg never overcame the trauma of displacement from his German heritage," writes Jehoash Hirshberg in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. "His resettlement found its compositional expression in the clear distinction he made between returning to nostalgic Romanticism in his large-scale orchestral works and the preservation of a more modern harmonic vocabulary in his piano and chamber compositions."[152]

Sternberg's homesickness was evidenced by the fact that he never bothered to learn Hebrew. He communicated only in English and German.[153] Regardless, Sternberg completed many more Israeli folksong arrangements beyond the one that Nathan commissioned. In fact, Sternberg wrote his collection of ten Israeli folksongs arranged for two parts utilizing canons at different intervals was published several years before the

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[151] Bohlman and Nathan, *Israeli Folk Music*, Appendix.
[152] Jehoash Hirshberg, "Sternberg, Erich Walter." *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, accessed December 27, 2012, Accessed December 27, 2012. http://borodin.bostonconservatory.edu:2082/subscriber/article/grove/music/26720.
[153] Hirshberg *Music in the Jewish Community*, 183.

folksongs of Palestine gained international recognition. Unlike the other postcard composers, however, Sternberg did not borrow from Arabic and Mediterranean influences. Instead, his inspiration came from European folk music laced with dense chromatic polyphony such as the *Gebrauchsmusik* by his teacher, Paul Hindemith. His arrangement for Nathan's postcard project, "*Kuma Echa*" ("Rise, O Brothers!") is no exception (see Appendix O). It features a *hora* melody that the original composer, Shalom Postolksy, borrowed from Eastern European cultures, long before the *hora* became such an integrated part of Israeli society. Bohlman notes that while Sternberg's arrangement does not sound immediately Orientalist in nature, it actually represents one of the major hallmarks of what eventually became Israeli art music: a convergence of diverse Jewish ethnicities from around the globe. Bohlman writes:

> *Kuma Echa,* moreover, is a *hora,* the folk dance borrowed from Eastern European Jewish (and non-Jewish) cultures and transplanted to Israel, where today it enjoys the status as the Israeli national dance. Musically, too, it symbolizes the achievement of the Postcard Project's ultimate goal: to create an Israeli national music.[154]

Sternberg's interest in Jewish music began long before he made *aliyah*. His first string quartet included a melody Sternberg had heard used for the Shema. Upon arrival in Palestine, he often used the Bible as a source of inspiration. His most important orchestral work is called "The Twelve Tribes of Israel," which he wrote in 1942. "Each of the biblical tribes is characterized by one variation of the basic theme which, in the composer's own interpretation, represents the common root and the common belief of the Israelite tribes," writes Peter Gradenwitz.[155] Although he is considered to be one of the founders of Israeli art music, Sternberg's works are not as well-known as the works of some of his contemporaries, such as Paul Ben Haim and Alexander Boscovich.

[154] Bohlman, *Israeli Folk Music,* Appendix.
[155] Peter Gradenwitz, *Music and Musicians in Israel* (Tel Aviv: Israeli Music Publications, 1959), 43.

Hirshberg theorizes that this has less to do with the quality of Sternberg's works and more to do with what he describes as Sternberg's "reticent personality."[156]

While Sternberg was busy paving the way for a more formalized development of Israeli art music, the Israeli folk music of Ravina and Zeria that was introduced in chapter one continued to thrive. This is similar to the way in which American composers like Copland added a modern twist to American folk music, creating distinctly American operas such as *The Tender Land*. The fourth and final chapter will highlight the ways in which folk songs play a prominent role in Israel today as well as the continued development of Israel's national musical identity.

[156] Hirshberg, "Sternberg," *Grove Music Online*.

CHAPTER 4 – RETURN TO ZION:

Pioneers for a Cure and the Continued Development of Israel's Musical Identity

In the years that followed the Postcard Project, folk songs continued to play a significant role in Israeli society. "These songs have no less power to represent Israel today, almost fifty years after the founding of the modern nation, than they did when composed on the eve of the destruction of the world from which they took their original meaning," writes Bohlman.[157] Many of the *Shirei Eretz Yisrael* (Songs of the Land of Israel) have gone on to become part of a distinct genre of popular music in Israel today, even as modern art music and other styles develop with a uniquely Israeli flair. This final chapter will illustrate the close relationship between folk and art music in Israel and how this synergy continues to impact the Jewish homeland to this very day.

Ethnomusicologists Motti Regev and Edwin Seroussi describe three periods in the evolution of Israeli music. The folksongs included in the Postcard Project constitute a significant part of the repertoire from the "classic" or "golden age" of Israeli song, which lasted from the beginning of the twentieth century through the 1960s. These songs include remnants of Diaspora songs set to Russian melodies, Arabic tunes, and new compositions by both amateur and professional composers. These melodies were written on Kibbutzim, for satirical cabarets, and for Zionist youth movements, with some later additions written to increase national morale during the War of Independence. Works by Israeli-born composers such as Naomi Shemer (1930-2004) and Nurit Hirsh (b. 1942) belong to this period as well. "The contents of the texts, for example, glorifying the

[157] Bohlman, *Israeli Folk Music*, 55.

landscape or themes related to the defense of the country, and in some cases the melodic style of their songs recall Israeli folk songs from earlier periods," write Regev and Seroussi.[158]

The classic Israeli folk songs remained popular in the middle period of Israeli song, which runs through the early 1980s. During this period, Israeli rock became increasing prominent. This was largely a result of the establishment of the Israeli Song Festival, which provided a forum for developing additional original Hebrew songs.

With these new contributions to the *Shirei Eretz Yisrael* repertoire, the contemporary period from the mid-80s to the present remains ripe with modernized versions of some of the same melodies and texts that were popular during the classic period of Israeli song. Regev and Seroussi offer the phrase "*Artzeinu HaKtantonet*" ("Our Tiny Country") as an example of a text that appears in different incarnations in all three of their designated periods of Israeli song. In the 1940s, the text opened the refrain of a celebrated Israeli tango. The words reappeared in 1981 when lyricist Yoram Tehar-Lev collaborated with Rami Kleinstein to compose music for the army ensemble of the Northern Command. In the 1990s, Kleinstein – who had by that time become an Israeli rock sensation – revived the song as a ballad that gained instant popularity. In addition to being a beloved recording and popular concert piece, the song has been adopted by leaders and singers of communal singing and is one of those classic songs that every Israeli seems to know by heart.

Similarly, many of the folksongs of the Postcard Project have been reinvented in a modern context in support of Israel's newest pioneers: scientists and cancer researchers.

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[158] Motti Regev and Edwin Seroussi, *Popular Music and National Culture in Israel* (Berkley, CA: University of California Press, 2004), 59.

In 2008, an online *Tzedakah* project called "Pioneers for a Cure" was created to fund cancer research in Israel. These scientists are considered to be pioneers, much like the early settlers of *Eretz Yisrael*. Drawing upon this comparison and using the Postcard Project as a model, modern Israeli musicians and ensembles have been commissioned to record their own versions of early Zionist melodies and other popular Israeli songs. The recordings, which feature the likes of David Broza, Neshama Carlebach, and Dudu Fisher, are available for purchase on the website pioneersforacure.org, with all of the proceeds go to support cancer research in Israel. This modern rendering of JNF's Postcard Project shows the continued importance of music to Israeli national identity.

Pioneers for a Cure is produced by Rabbi Greg Wall in cooperation with Joodayoh, Inc, a non-profit arts and education organization whose mission, according to National Geographic World Music, is "to cultivate and present genuinely innovative - even subversive - arts projects that promote the trans-denominational, universal values of social justice, kindness and charity."[159] In addition to being a Rabbi, Wall is also an accomplished jazz musician. The Pioneers for a Cure recording project is outlined in several phases, the first of which is called "The Postcard Project: The Songs that Built Israel." Wall asked musicians to record their own versions of Israeli songs using a methodology similar to the one Nathan used when commissioning Weill, Copland, Wolpe and the others in involved in the original iteration of the Postcard Project. Wall's technique involved a modern twist: Instead of mailing the postcards to the artists, he sent then scans via e-mail. "They would get the music on a virtual postcard, not learning from

[159]"Can Music Downloads Cure Cancer? Pioneers for a Cure Merges Music, Innovation, and Philanthropy in Cancer Research," *National Geographic Music*, October 26, 2009, accessed December 26, 2012, http://worldmusic.nationalgeographic.com/view/page.basic/article/content.article/pioneers_for_cure/en_US.

another recording, not basing it on anyone else's version, just getting the DNA of the music: a melody and a text," Wall told *The Forward*.[160] He continues:

> I purposely didn't send people sheet music or recordings [of the original pioneer songs. A lot of the songs were never recorded anyway, but even the ones that did have existing recordings, I didn't want people to be influenced by any other performance.[161]

Klezmer musician Frank London, who appears on one of the recordings, describes the project's significance in an interview with the *Jerusalem Post:*

> It is all of our wish that, in addition to helping the fight to cure cancer, the Pioneers for a Cure project brings an interesting slice of Jewish musical history to light, that it shows the creative vitality of the Jewish music scene in New York with its mix of Americans and Israelis and people from all over the world, Jews and non-Jews, and people from every part of the spectrum of observance and belief.[162]

Wall conducted extensive research on the development of Israeli national music and Nathan's Postcard Project before deciding which pieces to record for Pioneers for a Cure. Although he was surprised by how many of the folksongs had become classics that he was already familiar with, he was perhaps more impressed by the vast array songs that he did not know. He writes:

> I found a treasure chest of information, and unearthed many, many songs- some now classics, some lesser known, and some on the brink of extinction. In the posts to follow I will share with you what I have learned about the songs we chose to record.
>
> It is truly unprecedented, the creation of a nationalistic folk music by design. Like the return to an ancestral homeland after centuries in exile, the cultivation of the Negev desert, and the monumental achievements in science, technology and healthcare, the early music of Israel is worthy of celebration.[163]

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[160] Jon Kalish, "Pioneer Songs, Revisited." *The Jewish Daily Forward*,, June 24, 2009, accessed December 27, 2012, http://forward.com/articles/108422/pioneer-songs-revisited/.
[161] Mel Bezalel, "Pioneering a Cure," *Jerusalem Post*, June 15, 2009, accessed December 27, 2012, http://www.jpost.com/Features/Article.aspx?id=145588.
[162] Ibid.
[163] Greg Wall, "Welcome to Milim HaMadrich – the producer's corne," *Pioneer Producer* (blog) June 30, 2008, accessed December 27, 201, <http://www.pioneerproducer.blogspot.com/2008/06/welcome-to-milim-hamadrich-producers.html.

Pioneers for a Cure has gone on to produce additional mp3s featuring American folk music in jazz and bluegrass genres. This was the music that was created in America, by Americans, just like the folksongs on the JNF postcards could have only been written in Israel. The ethnic influences in the postcard songs came from the Eastern European countries from which the earliest pioneers originated, developing into a unique sound that can only be described as Israeli. This is similar to how jazz developed as a hybrid of African and European music traditions in the southern United States. The difference is – and perhaps one of the reasons why Pioneers for a Cure decided to begin with Israeli folk music rather than American music – was that Israeli music intricately linked with the process of encouraging people to make *aliyah*. The development of American music was more of a coincidental merging of cultures. When Wall learned how Nathan's postcard commissions influenced the creation and dissemination of Israeli music, he felt that emulating this concept would be the perfect way to develop unique recordings in support of cancer research.

On his blog, PioneerProducer, Wall relays stories and YouTube videos that illustrate how the artists involved in Pioneers for a Cure are connected to the charities that they are raising money for and the songs that they chose to record. He also includes summaries of the folksongs in their original context, courtesy of ethnomusicologist Marsha Bryan Edelman, and demonstrates how the artists are influenced by hisotical nuances. For example, the folksong "*Tapuach Zahav*" ("An Orange"), which was originally written by Rabinowitz and subsequently arranged by Toch, was assigned to Neshama Carlebach for a very special reason: "the melody reminded me of the late, great Shlomo Carlebach's beautiful songs in triple meter, so I asked his daughter Neshama

Carlebach to sing it."[164] Carlebach turned what was once a playfully simple children's song into a powerful ballad that praises the orange as one of the most profitable crops for *Eretz Yisrael*. The song expresses gratitude for the simple things, backed by a powerful ensemble of instruments that parallels the fact that many different types of Jews banded together to resettle the Jewish homeland.

David Broza chose to record the classic song "*Ve'ulai*" ("Perhaps"), originally by Yehuda Shertok Sharet with words by Rahel, one of modern Israel's first poets, because of its connection with his childhood. "I learned *Ve'ulai* from my mother," Broza explains. "I had never recorded it, so I jumped on the chance to contribute the track to Pioneers for a Cure."[165] Broza's setting begins with a solitary yearning represented by the lonely strumming of his guitar. There are no bells and whistles in this recording; it is simply a dialogue between the guitar and voice as Broza contemplates his deeply meaningful connection with Israel. The guitar strums mimic the ripples of the Kinneret, painting an audible picture of the beauty of this idyllic region of *Eretz Yisrael*. Simultaneously, they cascade chromatically to illustrate the theme of dreaming inherent in the text. Broza asks questions and leaves lots of space to ponder the mysteries Rachel alludes to in her poem. While it is clear that this performance is mainly about his relationship with Israel, Broza's arrangement is imbued with his characteristic Spanish influences, which he picked up during his years at university in Spain. This is indicative of the fact that his music is intricately linked with all aspects of his identity – there is no way to separate out the individual pieces.

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[164] Greg Wall, "The Apple does not fall far…," *Pioneer Producer* (blog), August 5, 2008, accessed December 27, 2012, http://www.pioneerproducer.blogspot.com/2008/08/apple-does-not-fall-far.html.
[165] Greg Wall, "Ve'ulai (Oh Kinneret Sheli) – Everything's Coming Up Broza," *Pioneer Producer* (blog), July 14, 2008, accessed December 27, 2012, http://www.pioneerproducer.blogspot.com/2008/07/veulai-kinneret-sheli-today-we-had.html.

Although not wholly representative of their work as musicians and performances, these anecdotes add a dimension of humanity to some of the most prominent figures in the Israeli music scene today. This is similar to the way in which an in-depth analysis of the composers involved in the Postcard Project tells the story of Israel's musical past. Exploring Nathan's Postcard Project and its influence on Aaron Copland, Paul Dessau, Darius Milhaud, Menashe Rabinowitz, Erich Walter Sternberg Ernst Toch, Kurt Weill, and Stephan Wolpe offers valuable insights into their converging identities as Jewish and secular composers, as well as their attitudes towards Zionism.

Rabinowitz laid down the foundation and established the rubric for the successful development of Israeli national music. He was among the first to solicit collections of folk arrangements, contributing many original melodies as well as his own arrangement of "*Hashediya Porachat*" to Nathan's Postcard Project. He was also a huge supporter of choral and communal singing, and his commitment to developing singing ensembles made a huge impact on the development of Israeli song. It was his passion for music that turned Rabinowitz into a Zionist and ultimately inspired him to change his name to Ravina, developing a personal love for the *Eretz Yisrael* and helping others to love it through the development of its music.

Both Weill and Milhaud grew up amidst the Jewish community in Europe and incorporated their Jewish identity into their earliest compositions. However, neither one of them experienced life in Israel firsthand until long after they completed their commissions for the Postcard Project. Regardless, both Weill and Milhaud demonstrate their understanding of Jewish nationalism in their postcard arrangements in a way that is illustrative of their upbringing and comfort with being Jewish in a secular world.

Milhaud's arrangements are imbued with different cultural and ethnic influences. This is significant because the French Jewish community in which he was raised was isolated from the rest of the Jewish world and featured its own unique liturgy. Once he moved beyond his community, whether in Europe or in America, he discovered new Jewish worlds. These discoveries are referenced in his postcard arrangements, correctly hypothesizing the diversity he would eventually encounter in Israel. Weill's relationship with Judaism and politics was somewhat volatile. This is reflected in his arrangement of "*Ba'a M'nucha*," which incorporates a musical landscape of mystery in the accompaniment amidst a text that begins with peaceful pride and ends with frightening danger. Weill's parents had made *aliyah* shortly before he was commissioned to write this arrangement, and perhaps his parents' reports and his fear for their safety played a role in his haunting interpretation of Daniel Sambursky's folk melody.

Like Weill, Dessau was the descendant of a prominent cantor. Although Weill incorporated Jewish themes that he heard growing up into his music, Dessau made it a point to avoid quoting Jewish music. His postcard arrangements are no exception, and serve to highlight delicate nuances found in the folk melodies themselves. Toch's treatment of the folksongs was similar. Instead of drawing on his Jewishness or what he knew about the burgeoning Israeli culture, the hallmarks of his arrangements were his playful personality and sense of humor. Both Dessau and Toch struggled to establish themselves musically in America – which is part of the reason why Dessau eventually moved back to Europe. This had a lot to do with their devotion to their own personal convictions, a fact that evident in their postcard arrangements.

Copland's postcard arrangement, "*Banu*," evokes a sense of cynicism. He imbues the original melody, a joyous hora, with dissonant chords and syncopations. As the only American-born composer involved in the postcard project, he did not experience the struggles that the Jews faced in Europe in the same way that the other composers did. For Copland, America was his Jewish safety net, not Israel. The reports of all of the struggles the Jews faced upon arriving in the homeland led him to view Israel with a sense of fear, rather than reverence. Although he admitted to feeling a sense of belonging upon visiting in Israel, Copland felt safer and more at home in America.

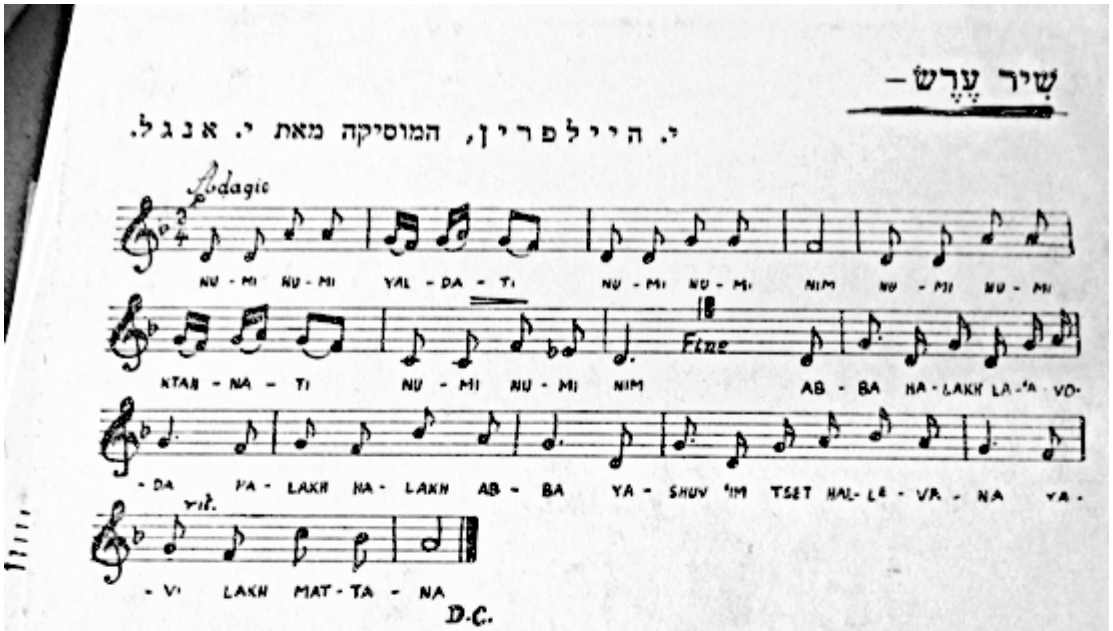
Wolpe and Sternberg were the only composers who had actually experienced Israel firsthand upon receiving Nathan's commission. Both Sternberg and Wolpe's folksong arrangements were heavily influenced by their past musical life in Europe. Wolpe eventually found that his style was too avant-garde for Israeli audiences and found greater success upon moving to the United States, where even more diverse cultures were converging as one. Sternberg was ultimately able to overcome his homesickness and become fully integrated into Israeli life as one of the founders of Israeli art music, despite the fact that he never did learn the language. Regardless, the music that Sternberg composed while living in Israel contained Hebrew texts, since he was committed to contributing to a newly developing genre.

Almost every member of the Jewish community today can find pieces of one or more of these stories that holds resonance. The journeys of these composers represent a microcosm of the lives and experiences of the Jewish people as a whole, whether in Israel, Europe, or the United States. In this sense, Hans Nathan's Postcard Project achieved multiple goals. Not only did it shed light on the intersecting Jewish and musical

identities of some of the world's most beloved composers, it also represents a tactile way of preserving and remembering the history of Jewish peoplehood from communities were destroyed during the Holocaust.

The original folk melodies that were printed on postcards depict some of the major issues of nationalism involved in cultivating the State of Israel, such as working the land, developing methods of safety and security, and teaching the Hebrew language. When Nathan commissioned composers in Europe and America to arrange these songs, he instigated a musical dialogue between Israel and the Diaspora in which each of the composers involved shared intimate details about his relationship with Judaism and with Zionism. The various arrangements represent new approaches towards being Jewish in a secular world and provide concrete examples of ways in which Jews in the Diaspora can maintain a relationship with Israel even while living in Europe, America, or elsewhere in the world. Although Sternberg and Wolpe were the only two Postcard Project composers who had experienced life in the *Eretz Yisrael* firsthand before writing their arrangements, the other composers engage with Zionistic ideas. This is similar to the way in which Jews in the Diaspora today formulate a connection with the Jewish homeland and choose to stand in solidarity with Israel despite the fact that they do not actually live there. The songs of the Postcard Project illustrate historic attitudes towards Zionism. At the same time, they contributed to the development of music as a primary representation of the cultural ideals of *Eretz Yisrael*, thereby enabling a colorful future for the Jewish people.

Appendix A



נוּמִי, נוּמִי, יַלְדָּתִי!
נוּמִי, נוּמִי נִים!
נוּמִי, נוּמִי, קְטַנָּתִי!
נוּמִי, נוּמִי נִים!

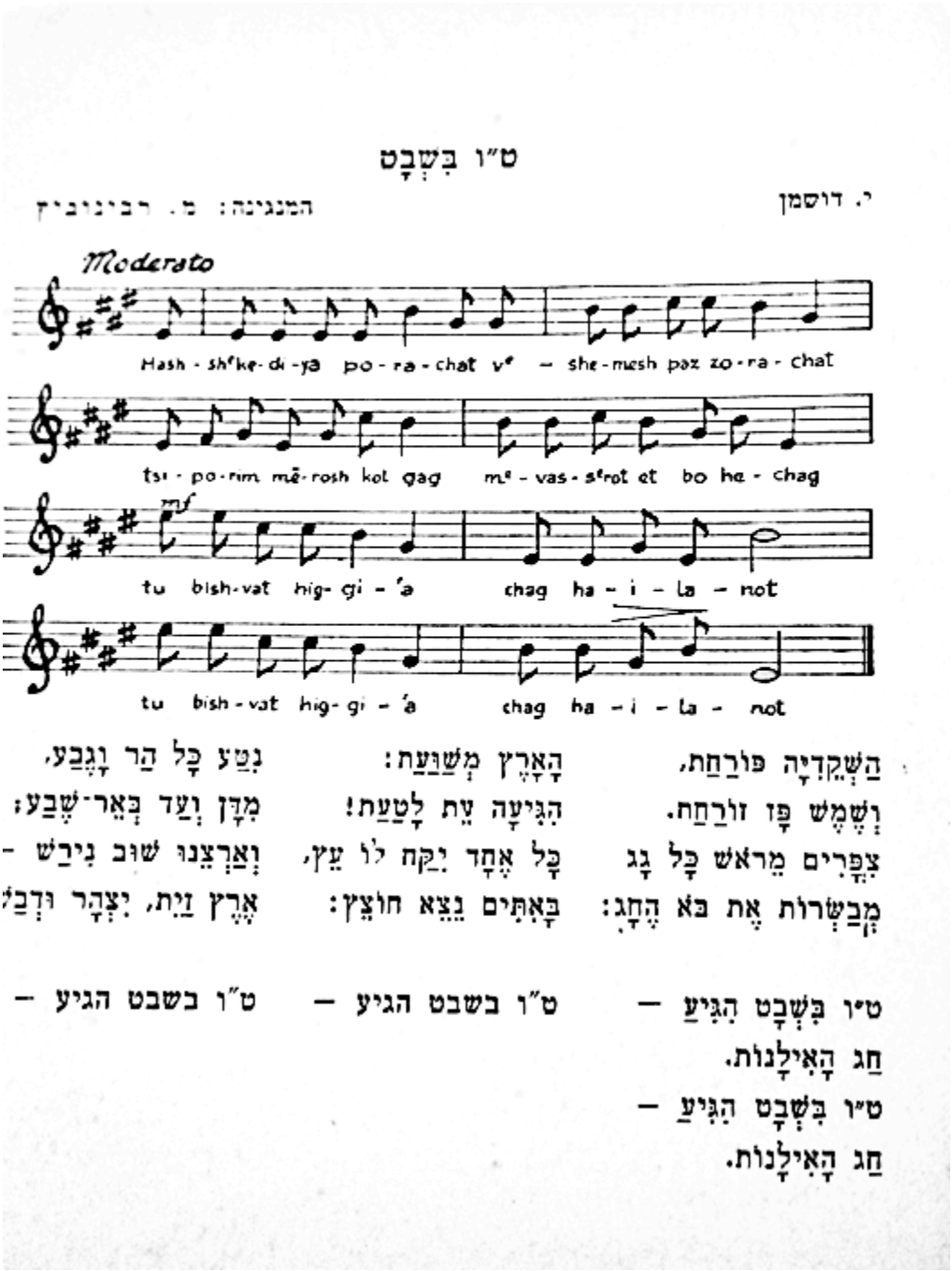
אַבָּא הָלַךְ אֶל הַכֶּרֶם —
הָלַךְ, הָלַךְ אַבָּא!
יָשׁוּב עִם צֵאת הַכּוֹכָבִים —
יָבִיא לָךְ עֲנָבִים!
נוּמִי, נוּמִי וכו׳

אַבָּא הָלַךְ לַעֲבוֹדָה —
הָלַךְ, הָלַךְ אַבָּא!
יָשׁוּב עִם צֵאת הַלְּבָנָה —
יָבִיא לָךְ מַתָּנָה.

אַבָּא הָלַךְ אֶל הַפַּרְדֵּס —
הָלַךְ, הָלַךְ אַבָּא!
יָשׁוּב בָּעֶרֶב עִם הָרוּחַ —
יָבִיא, יָבִיא תַּפּוּחַ!
נוּמִי, נוּמִי וכו׳

אַבָּא הָלַךְ אֶל הַשָּׂדֶה
הָלַךְ, הָלַךְ אַבָּא!
יָשׁוּב בָּעֶרֶב עִם צְלָלִים —
יָבִיא לָךְ שִׁבֳּלִים!
נוּמִי, נוּמִי וכו׳

Appendix B



ט״ו בִּשְׁבָט

י. דוסמן — המנגינה: מ. רביניוביץ

Moderato

Hash - sh'ke - di - ya po - ra - chat v' — she - mesh paz zo - ra - chat

tsi - po - rim mē - rosh kol gag mᵉ - vas - sᵉrot et bo he - chag

tu bish - vat hig - gi - 'a chag ha - i - la - not

tu bish - vat hig - gi - 'a chag ha - i - la - not

הַשְׁקֵדִיָה פּוֹרַחַת, הָאָרֶץ מְשַׂמַּחַת: נִשָּׂא כָּל הַר וָגִבְעָה,

וְשֶׁמֶשׁ פָּז זוֹרַחַת. הִגִּיעָה עֵת לָטַעַת! מִדָּן וְעַד בְּאֵר־שֶׁבַע;

צִפֳּרִים מֵרֹאשׁ כָּל גָּג כָּל אֶחָד יִקַּח לוֹ עֵץ, וְאַרְצֵנוּ שׁוּב נִירַשׁ –

מְבַשְּׂרוֹת אֶת בֹּא הֶחָג: בָּאתִים נֵצֵא חוּצָה: אֶרֶץ זַיִת, יְצְהָר וּדְבַ

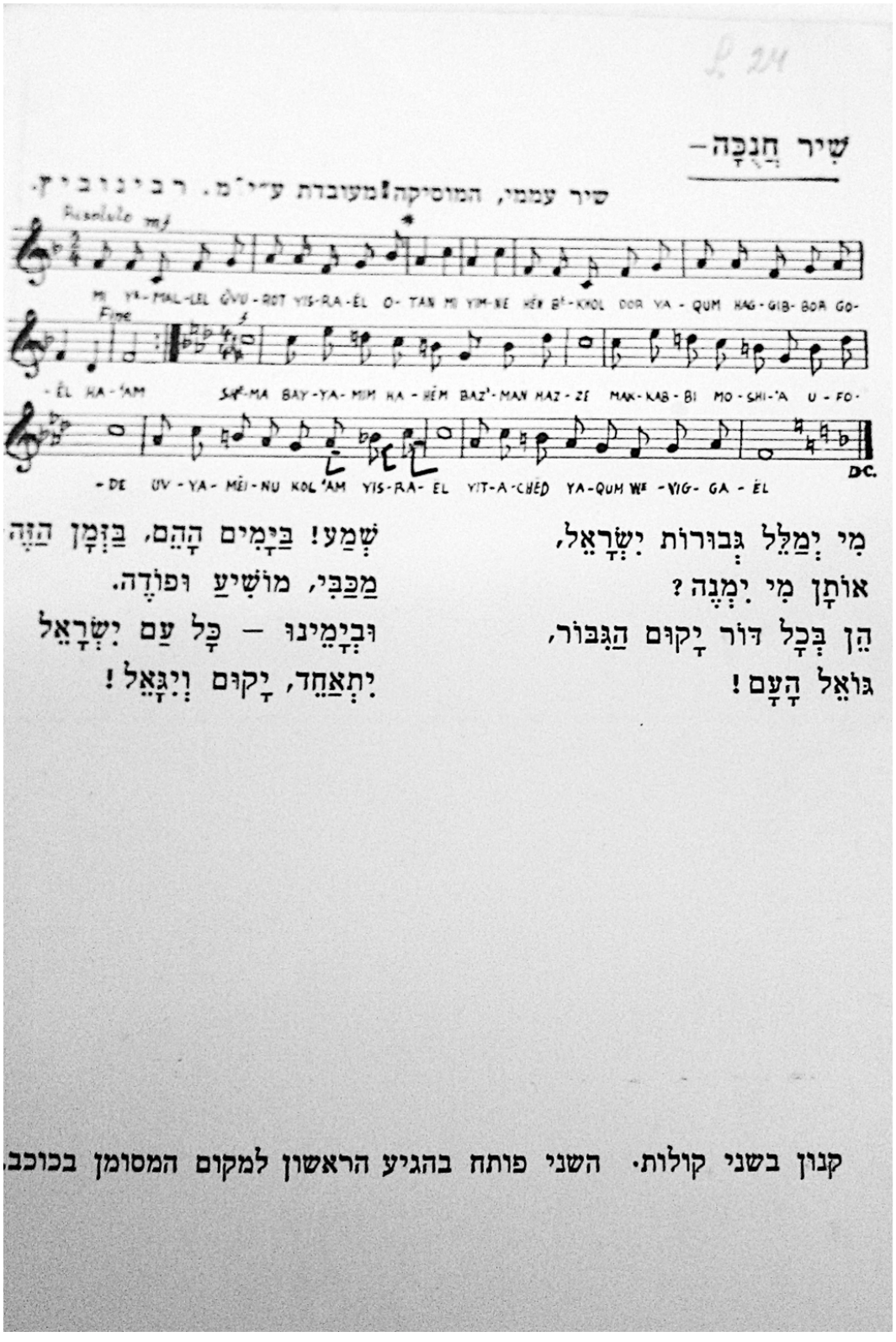
ט״ו בִּשְׁבָט הַגִּיעַ — ט״ו בשבט הגיע — ט״ו בשבט הגיע —

חַג הָאִילָנוֹת.

ט״ו בִּשְׁבָט הַגִּיעַ —

חַג הָאִילָנוֹת.

Appendix C



שִׁיר חֲנֻכָּה –

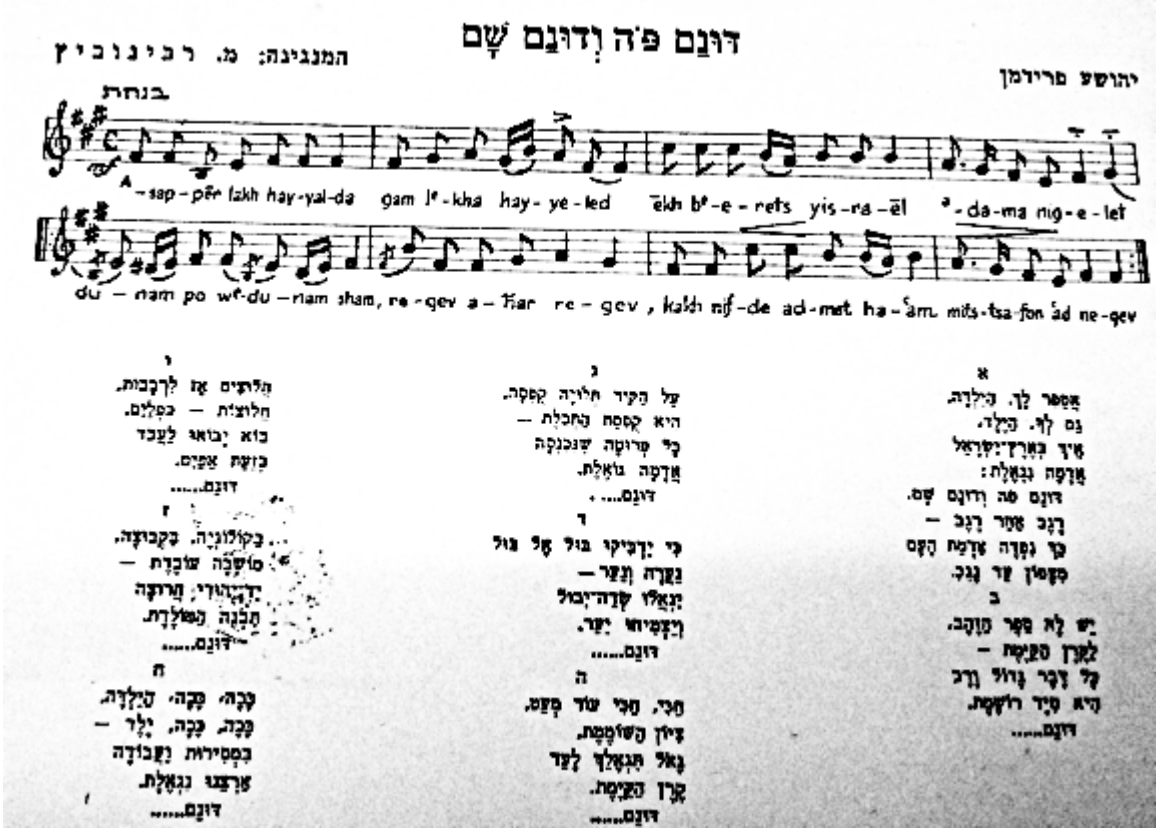
שיר עממי, המוסיקה: משובדת ע"י מ. רבינוביץ.

מִי יְמַלֵּל גְּבוּרוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל,
אוֹתָן מִי יְמַנֶּה ?
הֵן בְּכָל דּוֹר יָקוּם הַגִּבּוֹר,
גּוֹאֵל הָעָם !

שְׁמַע! בַּיָּמִים הָהֵם, בַּזְּמַן הַזֶּה
מַכַּבִּי, מוֹשִׁיעַ וּפוֹדֶה.
וּבְיָמֵינוּ — כָּל עַם יִשְׂרָאֵל
יִתְאַחֵד, יָקוּם וְיִגָּאֵל !

קנון בשני קולות. השני פותח בהגיע הראשון למקום המסומן בכוכב.

Appendix D



א
אֲסַפֵּר לָךְ. הֵילָדָה.
גַּם לָךְ. הַיַּלְדָּה.
אֵיךְ בְּאֶרֶץ־יִשְׂרָאֵל
אֲדָמָה נִגְאֶלֶת:
דּוֹגָם פֹּה וְדוֹגָם שָׁם.
רֶגֶב אַחַר רֶגֶב —
כָּךְ נִפְדֵּית אַדְמַת הָעָם
מִפִּיסַן עַד נֶגֶב.

ב
יֵשׁ לָהּ שֵׁם נוֹקֵב.
לְאֶרֶץ הַקְּיָטָה —
עַל זֶרֶד גָּזוּל וָרֶגֶב
הִיא מֵיר רוֹשֶׁמֶת.
דוֹגָם.....

ג
עַל הַקִּיר חִלְיָה קְפָאָה.
הִיא קְפָאָה וְחִכְּתָה —
כָּל שְׁרוּטָה שְׁנִכְנְקָה
אֲדָמָה גּוֹאֶלֶת.
דוֹגָם.....

ד
כִּי יְדָעִיקוּ גּוֹל עַל גּוֹל
נַעֲרָה וְנַעַר —
יִגְאֲלוּ קְדָה־יְבוּל
וְיַצְמִיחוּ יַעַר.
דוֹגָם.....

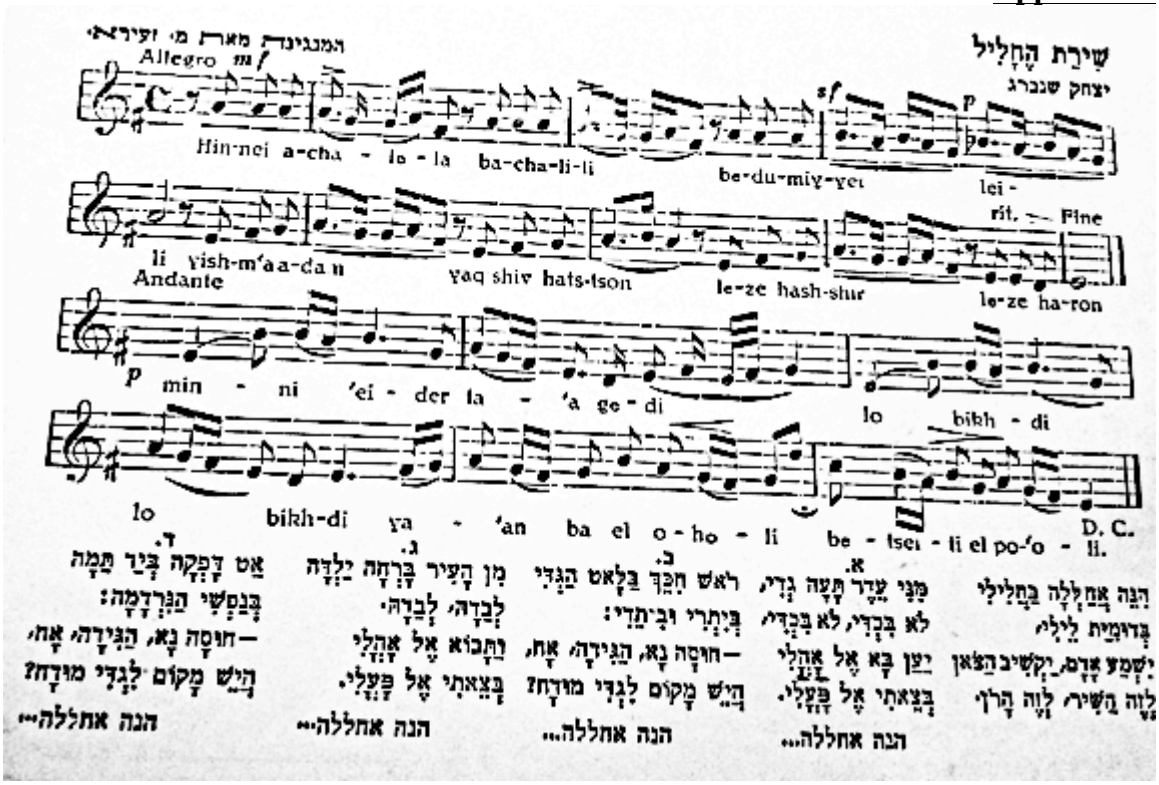
ה
חֵרֵי, חֵרֵי שֹׁד פְּצָעִים.
צִיּוֹן הַשְּׁמָמָה,
גָּאוֹל תִּגָּאֲלִי לָעַד
אֶרֶץ הַקְּיָטָה.
דוֹגָם.....

ו
תְּלוּיִים אֵין לְרַקֵּבוּת.
חִלּוּצִית — כְּפָלִים.
בּוֹא יָבוֹא לַעֲבֹד
כְּזֹאת אַשְׁכִּים.
דוֹגָם.....

ז
בְּקוֹלוֹנְיָה. בְּקִבּוּצָה.
מוֹשָׁבָה שִׁתְּדָת —
יְהוּדִית, תַּרְבּוּת
תַּכְלִית הַשְּׁלֵמוּת.
דוֹגָם.....

ח
כָּכָה, כָּכָה, עֲלֵלָה.
כָּכָה, כָּכָה, יֶלֶד —
בְּמַסְוִירוּת נֶעֱבוֹדָה
אַרְצִי נִגְאֶלֶת.
דוֹגָם.....

Appendix E



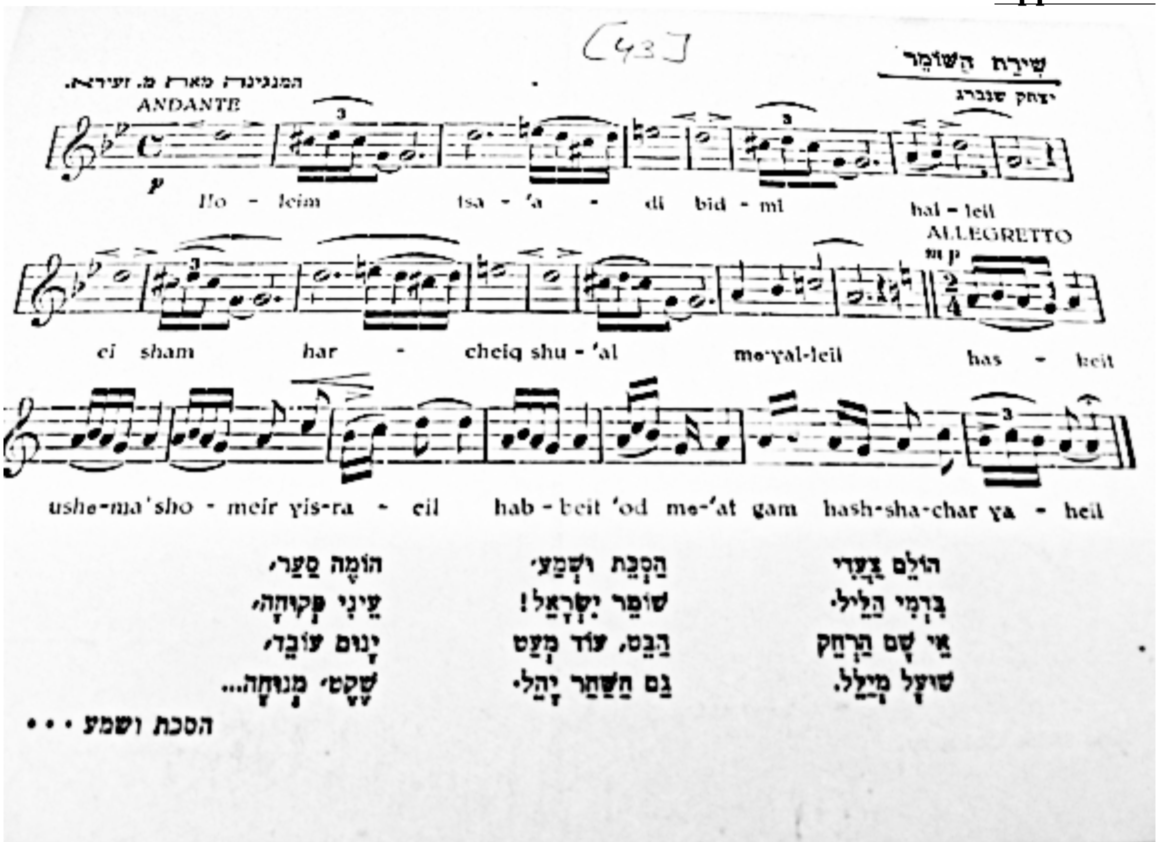
א.
הִנֵּה אֲחָלָה בַּחֲלִילִי
בְּדוּמְיַת לֵילִי,
יִשְׁמַע אָדָם, וְקָשִׁיב הַצְּאן
לְוֶה הַשִּׁיר, לְוֶה הָרֹךְ.
מִנִּי עֵדֶר תָּעָה גְּדִי,
לֹא בְּכָדִי, לֹא בַּכַּדִי,
יָצוֹן בָּא אֶל אָהֳלִי
בְּצֵאתִי אֶל פָּעֳלִי.
הנה אחללה...

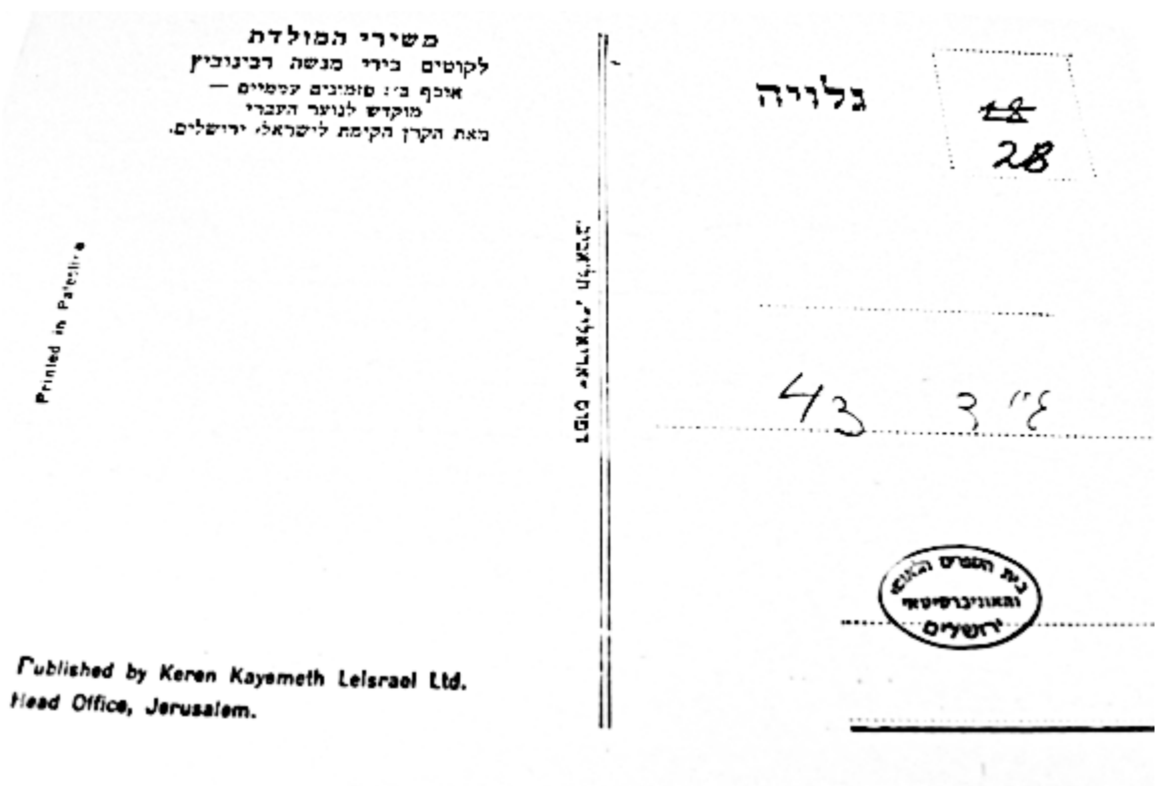
ב.
רֹאשׁ חִכֵּךְ בַּלָּאט הַגְּדִי
וְיִתָּרִי וִבְּתַדִי:
—חוּסָה נָא, הַגִּידָה, אָח,
הֵיכָן מָקוֹם לְגָדִי מוּדָח?
הנה אחללה...

ג.
מִן הָעִיר בָּרְחָה יַלְדָּה
לְבַדָּה, לְבַדָּה.
וַתָּבוֹא אֶל אָהֳלִי
בְּצֵאתִי אֶל פָּעֳלִי.
הנה אחללה...

ד.
אֵת דָּפְקָה בְּיַד תָּמָה
בַּנַּסָּשִׁי הַנִּרְדָּמָה:
—חוּסָה נָא, הַגִּידָה, אָח,
הֵיכָן מָקוֹם לְגָדִי מוּדָח?
הנה אחללה...

Appendix F





משירי המולדת
לקוטים בידי מנשה רבינוביץ
אוסף ב׳: פזמונים עממיים —
מוקדש לנוער העברי
באת הקרן הקימת לישראל, ירושלים.

Printed in Palestine

Published by Keren Kayemeth Leisrael Ltd.
Head Office, Jerusalem.

גלויה

~~18~~ 28

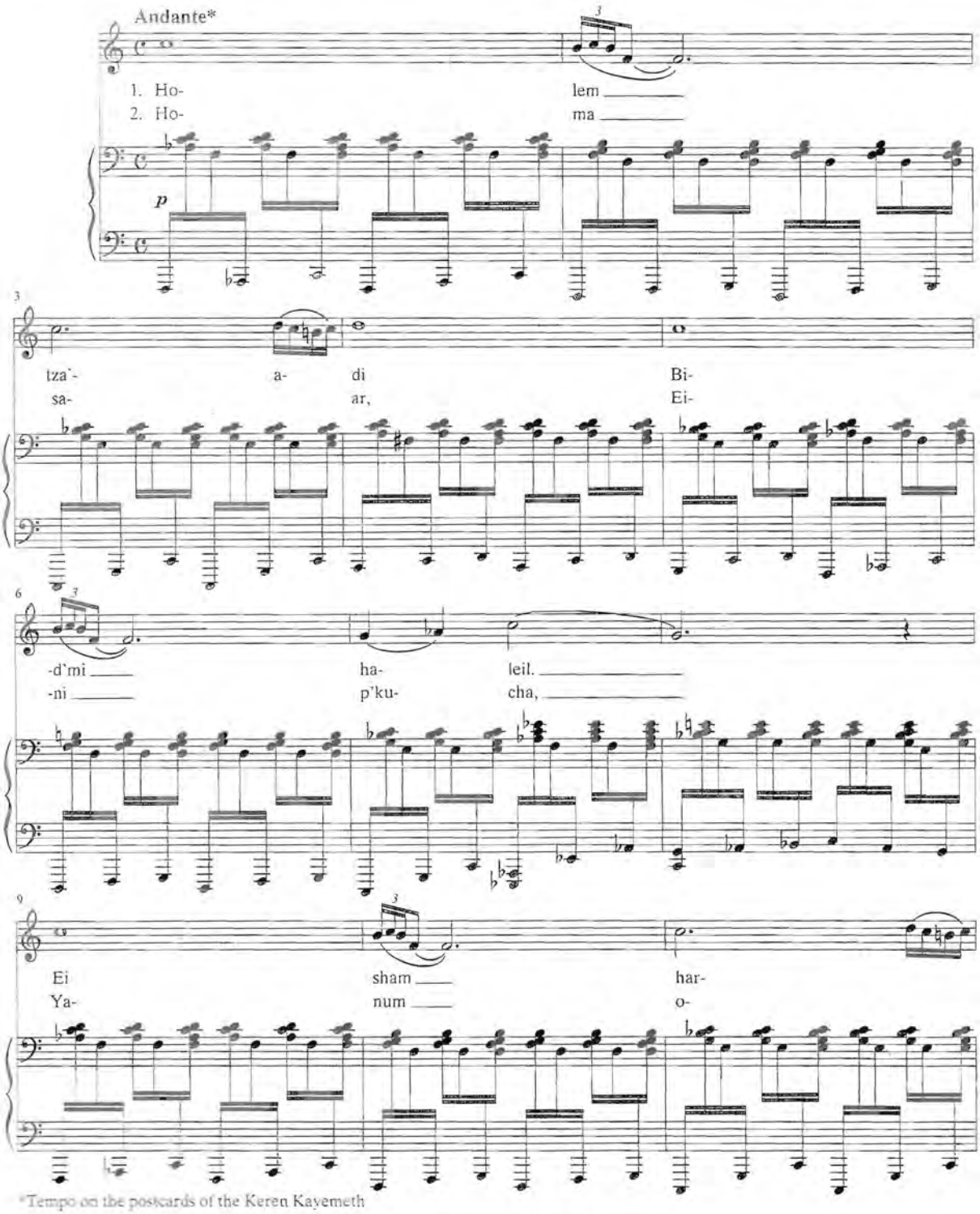
43

Appendix G

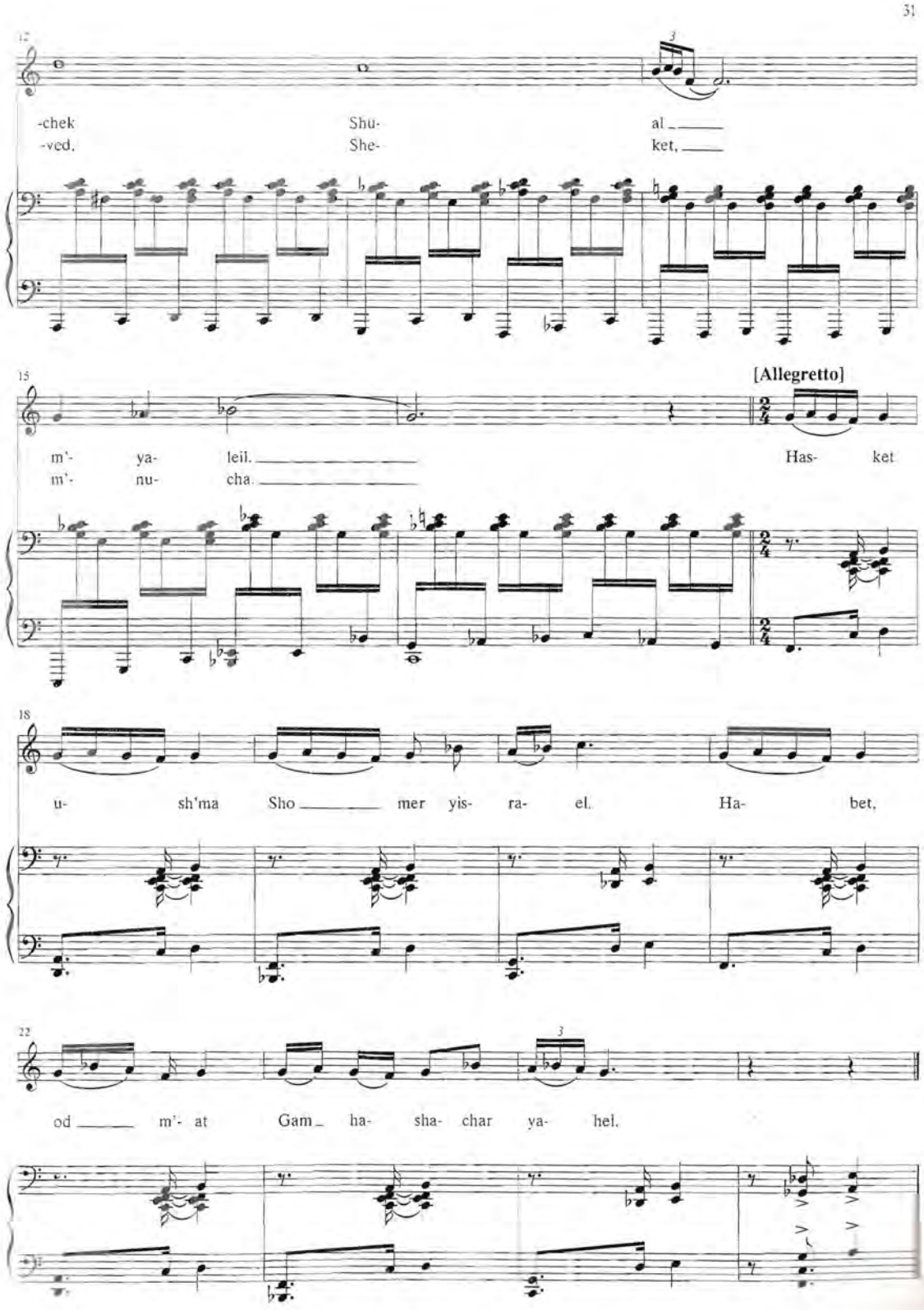
14. Holem Tza'adi (My Step Resounds)

Text: Jacob Schoenberg
Tune: Mordechai Zaira

Darius Milhaud



*Tempo on the postcards of the Keren Kayemeth


31
-chek Shu- al
-ved, She- ket,
[Allegretto]
m'- ya- leil. Has- ket
m'- nu- cha.
u- sh'ma Sho mer yis- ra- el. Ha- bet,
od m'- at Gam ha- sha- char ya- hel.

Appendix H

AN OUTSTANDING CONTRIBUTION TO JEWISH MUSIC

FOLK SONGS of the NEW PALESTINE

composed by the true builders, the pioneers; and arranged by a group of eminent Jewish composers, including several of the leading musical personalities of our time; edited and annotated by DR. HANS NATHAN, *with English translations by* HARRY H. FEIN.

First Series

	title	*arrangement by*	*composer*
No. 1.	DANCES OF PALESTINE – *Horas*		
	Rise, O Brethren! *Kuma Echa*	Erich Walter Sternberg	Postolski
	We've Come *Bana*	Aaron Copland	Welbah
No. 2.	SHEPHERD'S SONGS		
	Lo, I Play Upon My Flute *Hinne Achal'la Bachalili*	Paul Dessau	Seira
	On a Hill in Galilee *Ale Giva*	Paul Dessau	Rabbinovitz
No. 3.	THE BUILDERS – *Habonim*		
	Bring the Bricks *Havu Tvenim*	Kurt Weill	Seira
	Also Today *Gam Hayom*	Darius Milhaud	Postolski
No. 4.	SONGS IN SUMMERTIME		
	A Watermelon *Avatiach*	Ernst Toch	Rabbinovitz
	Our Baskets On Our Shoulders *Salenu Al K'tefenu*	Stefan Wolpe	Gorochov
	The Almond Tree is Blooming *Hashediya Porachat*	Menashe Rabbinovitz	Rabbinovitz
	Tel Aviv	Stefan Wolpe	
No. 5.	GUARDIANS OF THE NIGHT – *Hashomrim*		
	There Comes Peace Unto the Weary *Song of the Emek (Baa M'nucha)*	Kurt Weill	Samburski
	My Step Resounds in the Dead of Night *Holem Tsaadi*	Darius Milhaud and Stefan Wolpe	Seira
No. 6.	CHILDREN'S SONGS		
	Who Shall Build *Mi Yivne*	Lazare Saminsky	Nardi
	A Dunam Here and a Dunam There *Dunam Po V'dunam Sham*	Frederick Jacobi	Rabbinovitz
	An Orange *Tappuach*	Ernst Toch	Rabbinovitz

Second Series

No. 1.	KINNERET		
	Maybe *V'ulay* text by Rachel	Paul Dessau	Shertok
	Kinneret, Kinneret	Leon Algazi	Seira
No. 2.	LITTLE LAMBS		
	Ascend My Well *Ali B'er* text by Bialik	Paul Dessau	Levi
	A Lamb and a Kid *Se Ugdi*	Ernst Toch	Matityahu
No. 3.	WORKERS IN THE FIELD		
	We Beheld Our Toil *Raina Amalenu*	Arthur Honegger and Stefan Wolpe	Postolski
	When Ye Come to the Land *Ki Tavo'u*	Lazare Saminsky	Seira
	The Sun Is Blazing *Shemesh Tlahet*	Frederick Jacobi	
No. 4.	IDYLLS		
	On the Banks of the Kinneret *Al S'fat Yam Kinneret*	Paul Dessau	Karczevski
	I Planted a Tree *Natati Etz*	Leon Algazi	Esrachi
No. 5.	MORE CHILDREN'S SONGS		
	T'rua	Max Ettinger	Rabbinovitz
	Alef Eretz *The Palestinian Alef Bet*	Ernst Toch	Postolski
	Tiny, Tiny Child *Yeled Kat*	Ernst Toch	Chitrik
No. 6.	CAMEL SONGS		
	The Camel Is Walking *Holech Haggamal*	Frederick Jacobi	Rabbinovitz
	O Camel, My Camel *Gamal, Gamali*	Paul Dessau	Gorochov

The songs, thirty in number are to be issued in twelve separate folders, amply and attractively prepared, at monthly intervals (excluding the summer months). Each contains two or more songs arranged for voice with piano accompaniment, annotations, Hebrew text, and English translations.

SUBSCRIPTION FOR BOTH SERIES $3.00

PRICE PER FOLDER ..... $ .40

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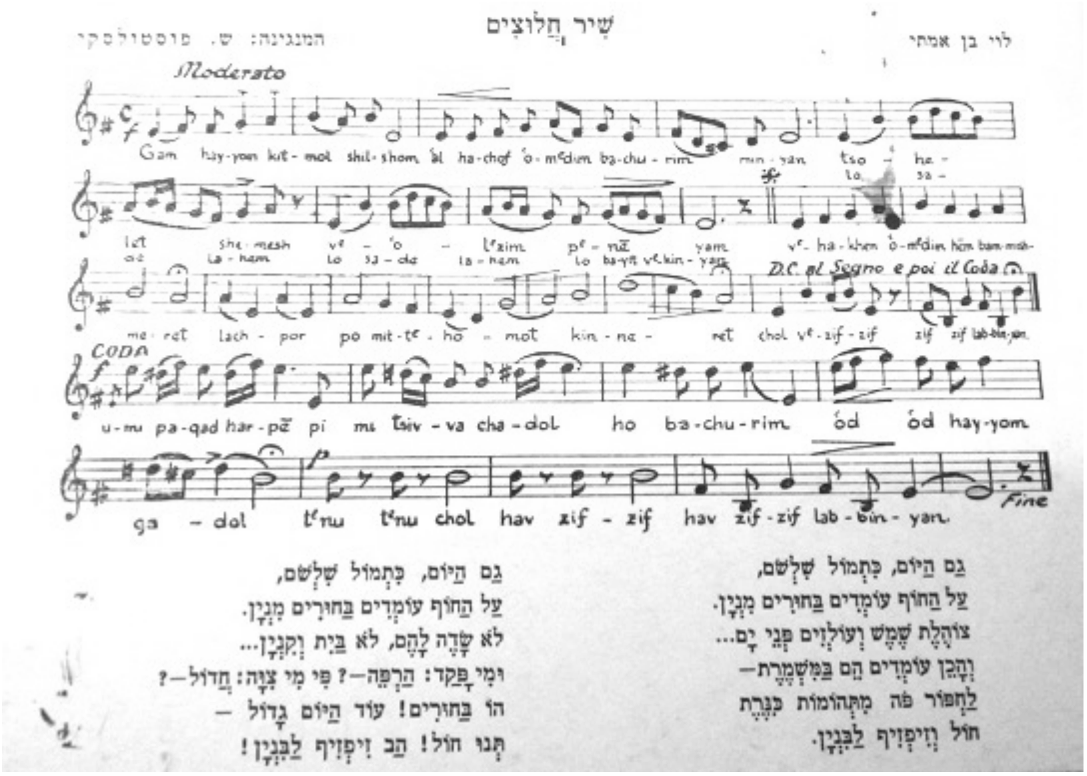
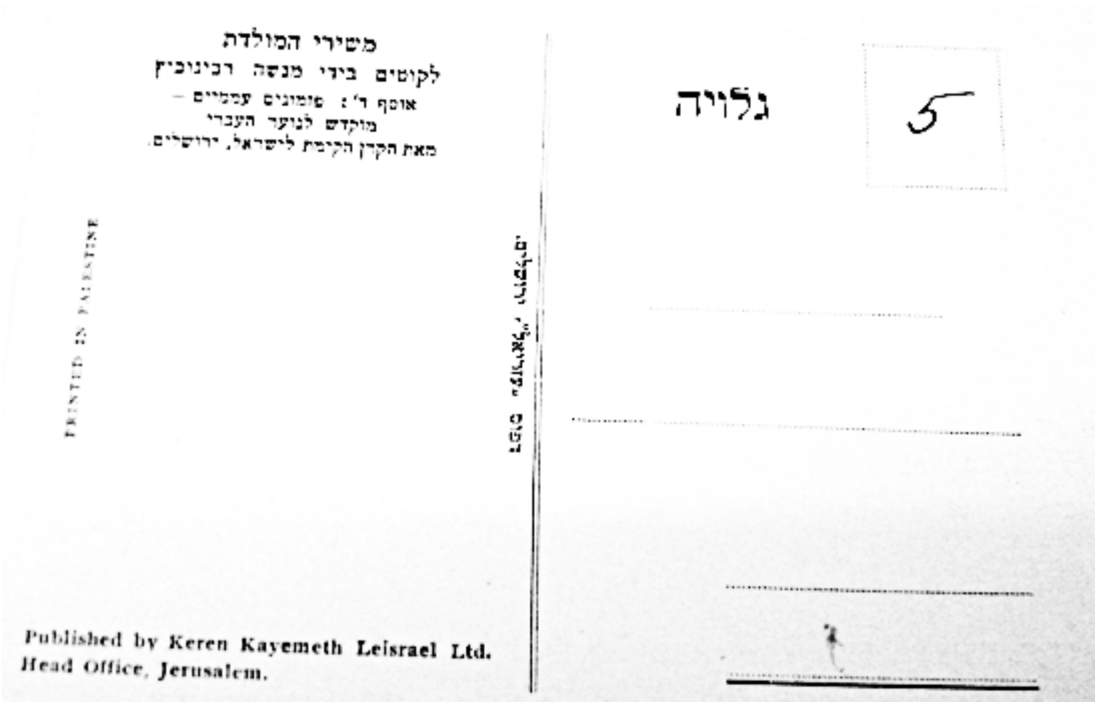
Plate 11. Series page for original publication of *Folk Songs of the New Palestine* (New York: Nigun, 1938)

Appendix I



שִׁיר חֲלוּצִים
לוי בן אמתי
המנגינה: ש. פוסטולסקי
Moderato
CODA
D.C. al Segno e poi il Coda
Fine
גַּם הַיּוֹם, כִּתְמוֹל שִׁלְשֹׁם,
עַל הַחוֹף עוֹמְדִים בַּחוּרִים מִנְיָן.
צוֹהֶלֶת שֶׁמֶשׁ וְעוֹלְזִים פְּנֵי יָם...
וְהָכֵן עוֹמְדִים הֵם בַּמִּשְׁמֶרֶת—
לַחְפּוֹר פֹּה מִתְּהוֹמוֹת כִּנֶּרֶת
חוֹל וְזִיפְזִיף לַבִּנְיָן.
גַּם הַיּוֹם, כִּתְמוֹל שִׁלְשֹׁם,
עַל הַחוֹף עוֹמְדִים בַּחוּרִים מִנְיָן.
לֹא שָׂדֶה לָהֶם, לֹא בַּיִת וְקִנְיָן...
וּמִי פָּקַד: הַרְפֵּה—? פִּי מִי צִוָּה: חֲדוֹל—?
הוֹ בַּחוּרִים! עוֹד הַיּוֹם גָּדוֹל —
תְּנוּ חוֹל! הַב זִיפְזִיף לַבִּנְיָן!



מִשִּׁירֵי הַמּוֹלֶדֶת
לקוטים בידי מנשה רבינוביץ
אוסף ד׳: פזמונים עממיים —
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מאת הקרן הקימת לישראל, ירושלים.
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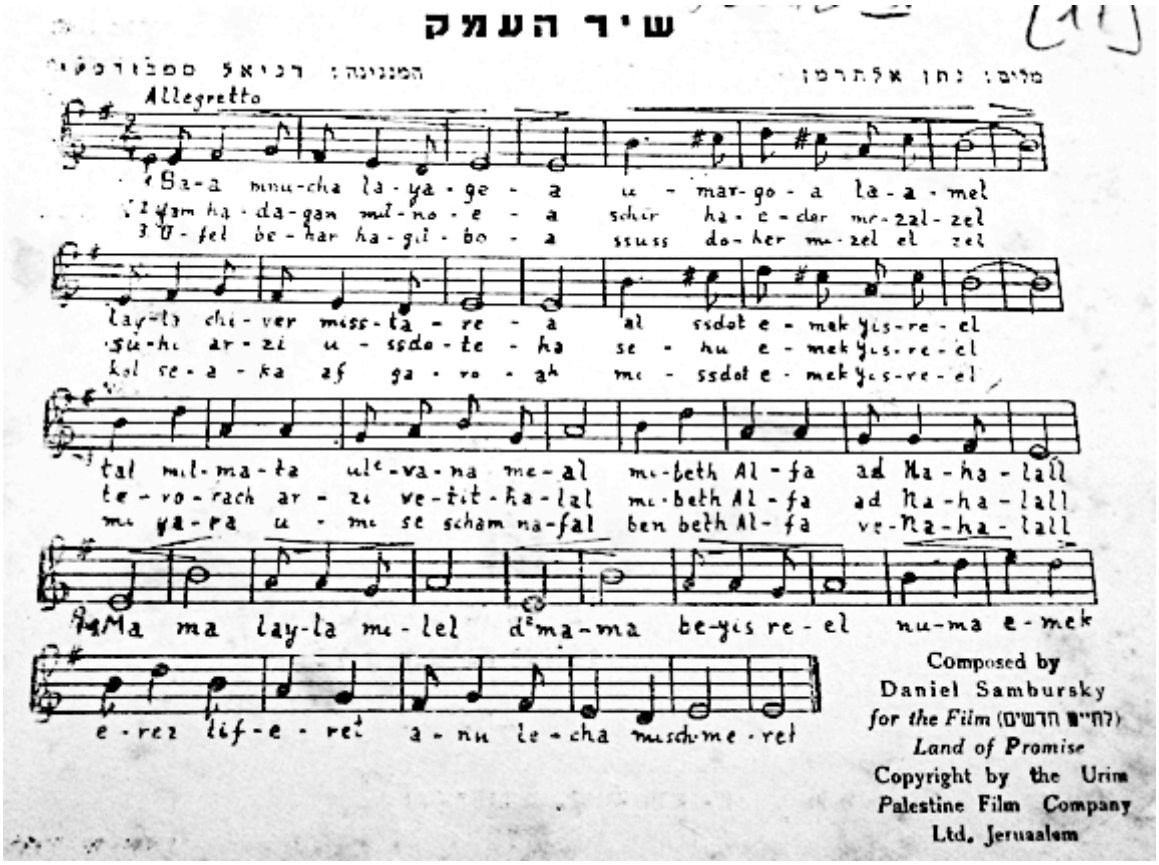
Appendix J



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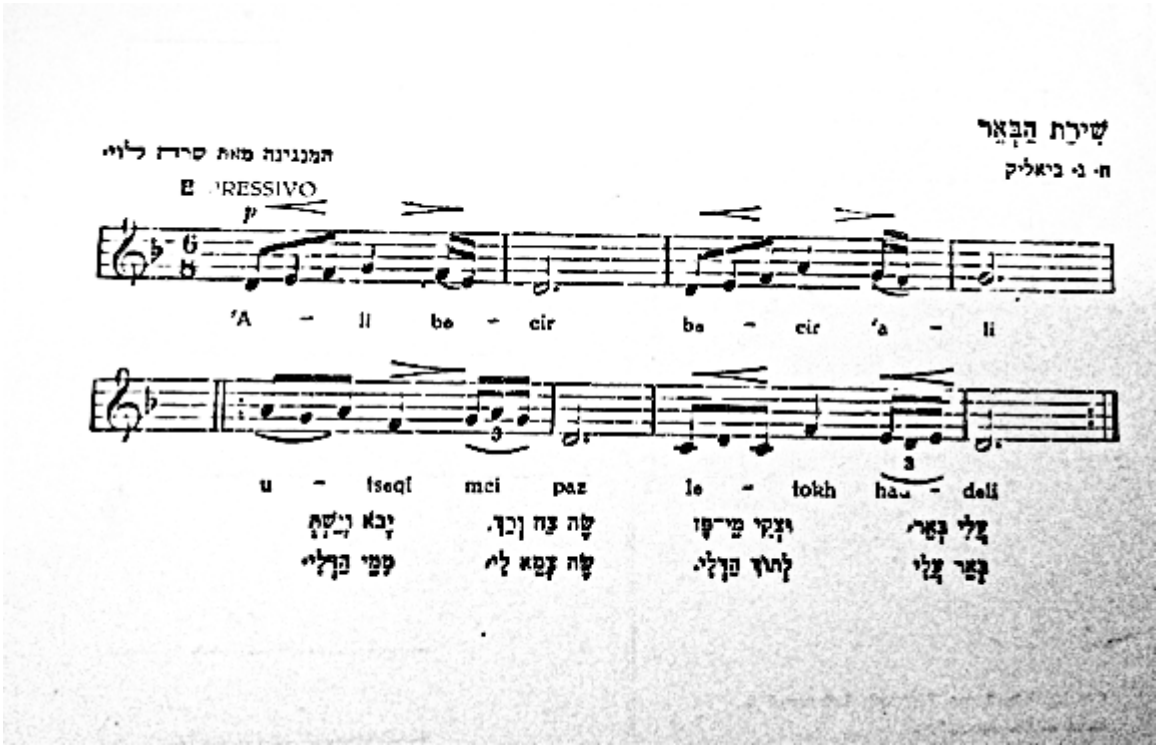

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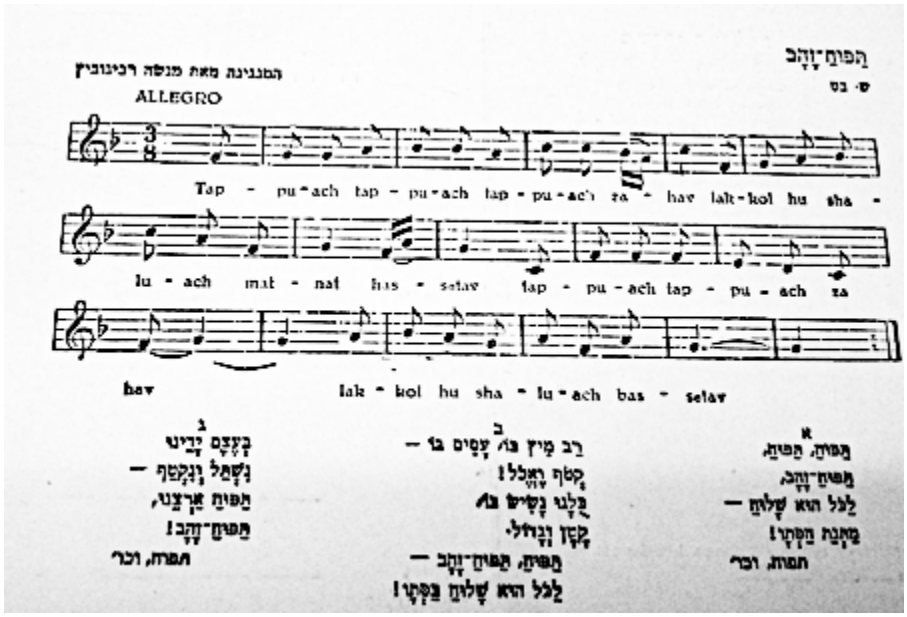
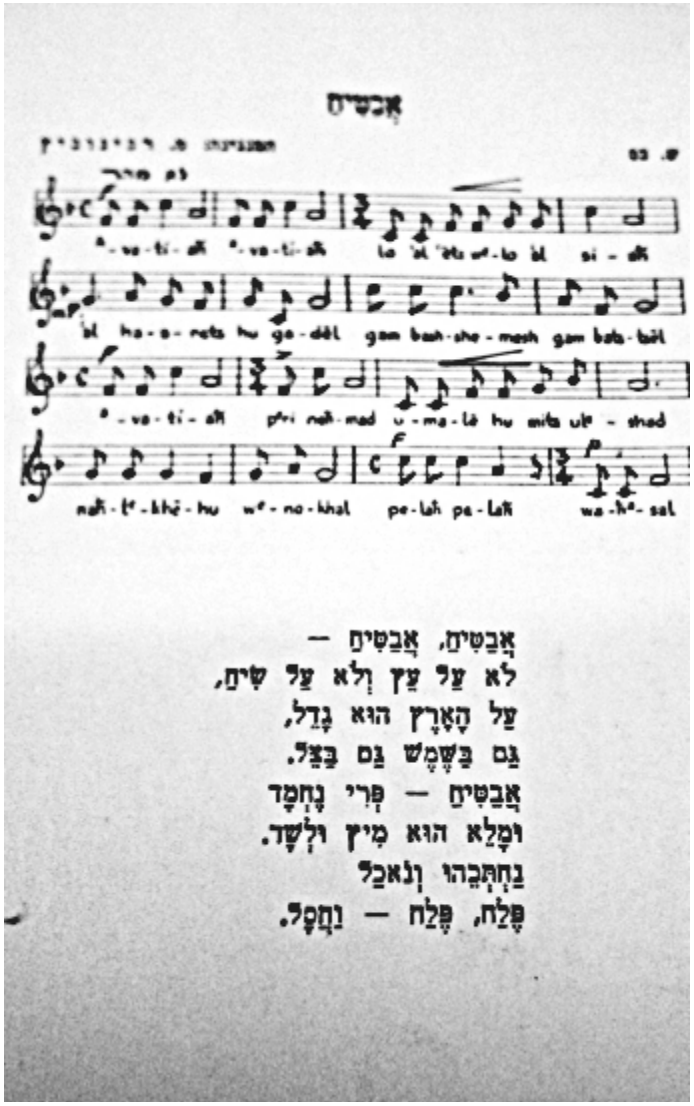
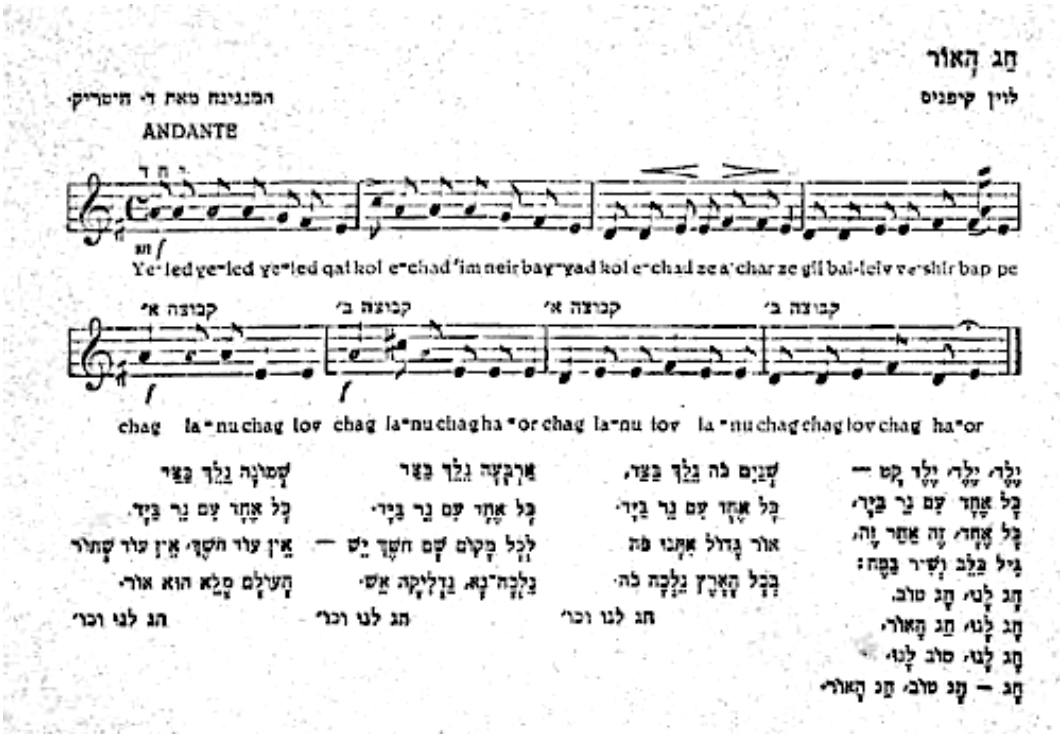


Appendix M



Appendix N



חַג הָאוֹר

לוין קיפניס

המנגינה מאת ד׳ מיטריק

ANDANTE

Ye-led ye-led ye-led qat kol e-chad 'im neir bay-yad kol e-chad ze a'char ze gil bal-leiv ve-shir bap pe

קבוצה א׳ קבוצה ב׳ קבוצה א׳ קבוצה ב׳

chag la-nu chag tov chag la-nu chag ha-or chag la-nu tov la-nu chag chag tov chag ha-or

יֶלֶד, יֶלֶד, יֶלֶד קָט — שָׁבְנוּם לֹה בַּלֵּךְ בַּצַּר, אֲרָבָּעָה גַּלֵּךְ בַּצַּר עֲסוּקָה בַּלֵּךְ בַּצַּר

כָּל אֶחָד עִם נֵר בְּיָד, כָּל אֶחָד עִם נֵר בְּיָד, כָּל אֶחָד עִם נֵר בְּיָד.

כָּל אֶחָד, זֶה אַחַר זֶה, אוֹר גָּדוֹל אֶתְנוּ פֹּה לְכָל מָקוֹם שָׁם חֹשֶׁךְ יֵשׁ — אֵין עוֹד חֹשֶׁךְ, אֵין עוֹד עֲתִיד,

גִּיל בְּלֵב וְשִׁיר בְּפִה: בְּכָל הָאָרֶץ נַלֶּכֶת לֹה· נַלֶּכֶה־נָּא, נַדְלִיקָה אֵשׁ· תָּעוֹלָם מָלֵא הוּא אוֹר·

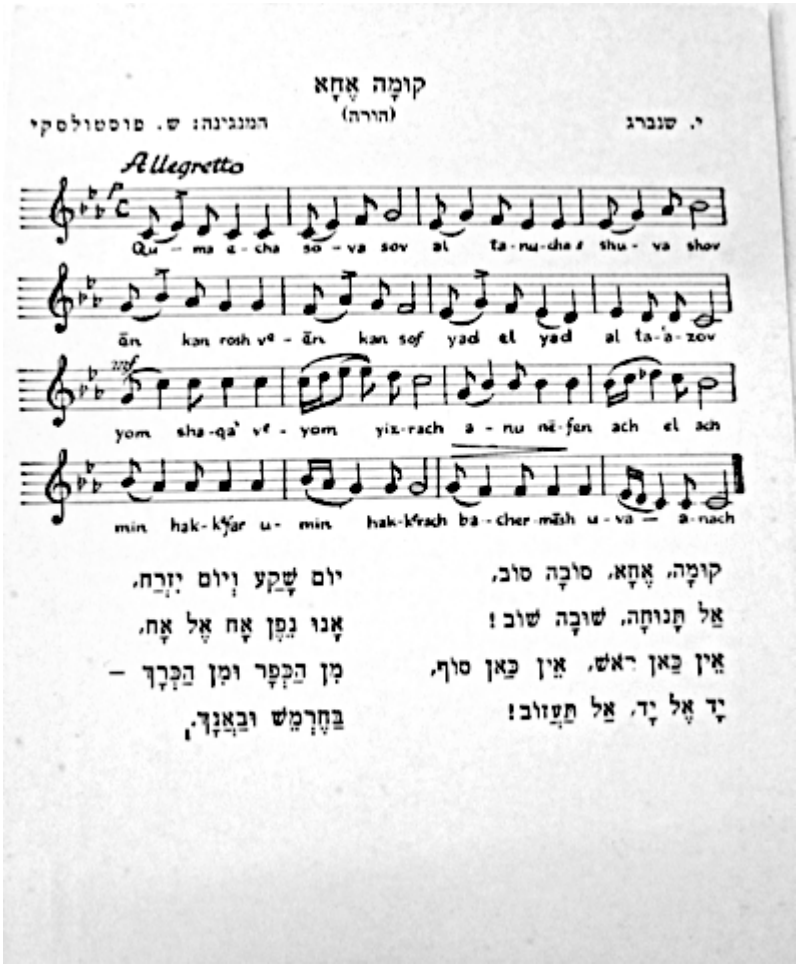
חַג לָנוּ, חַג טוֹב. חג לנו וכו׳ חג לנו וכו׳ חג לנו וכו׳

חַג לָנוּ, חַג הָאוֹר,

חַג לָנוּ, טוֹב לָנוּ,

חַג — חַג טוֹב, חַג הָאוֹר.

Appendix O



קוּמָה אָחָא

(הורה)

י. שנברג

המנגינה: ש. פוסטולסקי

Allegretto

Qu - ma a - cha so - va sov al ta-nu-cha shu - va shov

ān kan rosh ve - ān kan sof yad el yad al ta-'a-zov

yom sha-qa' ve - yom yix-rach a - nu nē-fen ach el ach

min hak-kfar u - min hak-kfach ba - cher māsh u - va — a-nach

קוּמָה, אָחָא, סוֹבָה סוֹב, יוֹם שָׁקַע וְיוֹם יִזְרַח,

אַל תָּנוּחָה, שׁוּבָה שׁוּב! אָנוּ נִפֶּן אָח אֶל אָח,

אֵין כַּאן רֹאשׁ, אֵין כַּאן סוֹף, מִן הַכְּפָר וּמִן הַכֶּרֶךְ —

יָד אֶל יָד, אַל תַּעֲזוֹב! בַּחֲרָמֵשׁ וּבַאֲנָךְ.

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