

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

Sounding *Judentum*.

Assimilation, Art Music, and Being Jewish Musically in 19<sup>th</sup> century German-speaking Europe

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL  
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS

for the degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Field of Musicology

By

Amanda Ruppenthal Stein

EVANSTON, ILLINOIS

March 2021

© Copyright by Amanda Ruppenthal Stein, 2021.

All Rights Reserved

## Abstract

In the nineteenth century, Jews across Europe entered a period of emancipation, at best a vaguely defined term that indicated the granting of equal civil and political rights, though sometimes conditionally and often incrementally. Concurrent to this, art music was dominated by deep divisions of stylistic and aesthetic approaches to composition. One of the most enduringly polemical dichotomies was the debate between the “classical Romantics” and the *neudeutsche Schule*. This dissertation explores the nexus of these two phenomena—emancipation and music-making—when Jews and those of Jewish ancestry entered, quickly and in large numbers, into modern secular society and into the concert halls and salons so valued by the cultural elite of the *Bildungsbürgertum*.

Through a series of case studies and an archivally-informed historicist approach, I explore different musicians’ approaches to assimilation and acculturation: voiced sonically in their musical compositions, held interpersonally in their social and professional relationships, and expressed inwardly and outwardly in public articles, private diaries, and correspondence with other Jews and with gentile colleagues. As I both engage with and challenge ideas on what it means to “sound Jewish” in nineteenth century art music, my work functions as an intervention on existing narratives within the fields of historical musicology and Jewish studies. Case studies on five musicians from various historical moments of the pre- and post-Emancipation generations allow for a nuanced understanding of these individuals’ musical expressions of ever-evolving Jewishness. Fundamentally, I seek to pre-date the generally accepted narrative on when musicians embraced and expressed Jewish heritage and/or Judaism in sound. Jewish engagement in art music has overwhelmingly been understood using frameworks of the twentieth and twenty-first century that demand works must have narrowly defined sonic markers such as liturgical chant or folk music quotation, Klezmer-esque

diversions, or some sort of ineffable Jewish pathos. My dissertation calls this approach into question. The music explored in this study does not “sound Jewish,” but nonetheless “sounds *Judentum*,” so long as one employs an interpretation of Jewishness, cultural identity, and personal self-expression that allows for a sonic mirror of acculturation and assimilation.

## **Dedication**

To my husband, who believed in this project, and more importantly, believed in me.

## Acknowledgements

I am deeply appreciative of my advisor, Jesse Rosenberg, who has supported me since I arrived Northwestern and he welcomed me into his book-filled office on the second floor of the old Music Administration building. I remember as a first year graduate student watching him grab a single volume off the sea of shelves with just the very information that he was recalling. Jesse is an impeccable and humble scholar, whose depth of knowledge is matched by his thoughtful approach to mentoring his students. His thoughtfulness and careful attention to detail while maintaining big picture ideas has shaped me into the scholar I am today. I am very lucky to have been the first graduate student that he saw through to the Ph.D. as their primary advisor, and I hope that I have done him well. I am incredibly grateful for my committee members. Meetings and feedback from Drew Davies always provided me with mindful direction and astute observations in framing large-scale issues into a more holistic dissertation. Claire Sufrin encouraged me to look at my research from different perspectives and to forge bonds with Jewish Studies. I also want to acknowledge Professor Emeritus Tom Bauman, who served on my committee for Qualifying Exams and the Proposal, and whose course on Mahler, Zemlinsky, and Schoenberg was my first foray into broad-scale academic writing about Jewishness in music.

My sincere thanks go to the broader faculty of the Bienen School of Music including Linda Austern, Ryan Dohoney, Inna Naroditskaya, Scott Paulin, and Andrew Talle, whose guidance and open doors throughout my time enriched me as a scholar, educator, and writer. Thank you also to David Shyovitz of the Crown Center for Jewish and Israel Studies who has helped me in bringing music research to Jewish Studies and been a supportive presence at conferences. I also want to acknowledge some of my mentors of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, Gillian Rodger and

Mitchell Brauner, and Todd Levy. To my new colleagues at Carroll University, thank you for trusting me with your students and for giving me the quiet office space that helped me complete my dissertation during the COVID-19 pandemic.

I am thankful to my peers from Northwestern and beyond that have sat with me in seminars, libraries, conferences, and Zoom rooms over the past eight years. In particular, I wish to thank Emily Lane O'Brien and Jenna Harmon, with whom I started. The two of you embody what it means to be thoughtful, rigorous, and pushed me to ask the complicated questions. I also wish to thank those of my broader coursework cohort including: Jason Rosenholtz-Witt, Kyle Kaplan, Kristin Carithers, Matthew Richardson, Laura Sauer, Rosa Abrahams, and Sarah Wolfe.

My work has benefited from the welcoming nature and small nexus that is the field that is Jewish music studies. From large national to small regional conferences, emails and colloquia, established scholars have shown themselves generous with the time and ideas. I am particularly grateful to Edwin Seroussi, Mark Kligman, and Judah M. Cohen for their feedback on conference papers related to this project along the way. I am also grateful to Rabbi Jeffrey A. Summit for his support in my work with the music of the Abayudaya Jewish community in Uganda.

This dissertation would not have been possible without the support of the Crown Fellowship from the Crown Center for Jewish and Israel Studies at Northwestern University and a Graduate Research Grant. These fundings afforded me the opportunities to perform both in-person and remote archival research. I am deeply thankful to the staff of the National Library of Israel and its director Gila Flam for their support in my exploration of the Friedrich Gernsheim Archive. I also wish to thank Scott Schwartz at the Sousa Archive & Center for American Music at the University of Urbana-Champaign for his assistance in the archives of Alexander Ringer. My additional thanks go to Jonas Loeffler and Frank Hentschel at the Max Bruch Archive in Cologne as well as Noni

Rudavsky at the Klau Library of Hebrew Union College Jewish Institute of Religion for providing me with digital materials even when my requests weren't always complete. Finally, I wish to thank Cantor Brian Mayer for his advisement on issues surrounding the German synagogue tradition.

To my family and friends, thank you always for believing in me and for trusting me in this long journey. Your encouragement has kept me going. To Molly-Beth Kranitz and Jessie Primakow, someday we'll be together over more than just text, and I love you both. To Rona Wolfe, your friendship has been steadfast and your ideas enhancing of my thinking in all areas. Thank you to my fellow academic mama mentors and friends, especially Bonnie Klein-Tasman and Mara Benjamin. To my extended family, I love you and I thank you for believing in me. My father, John Ruppenthal, has always been the first to send me funny music memes but also answer my questions on German translation and Biblical history. Finally, to my husband Jeremy and my daughters, Mirit and Hadas: thank you, dear ones.



## Contents

<b>ABSTRACT</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>DEDICATION</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>CONTENTS</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>LIST OF FIGURES</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>LIST OF MUSICAL EXAMPLES</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>CHAPTER 1.</b> Introduction: <i>Judentum</i> in Music	<b>15</b>
<b>CHAPTER 2.</b> “Juden, getaufte und ungetaufte:” Ferdinand Hiller and Musical Navigations of the Pre-Emancipation Era	<b>41</b>
<b>CHAPTER 3.</b> <i>Judentum</i> and Virtuosity: Reputation, Baptism, and Joseph Joachim	<b>96</b>
<b>CHAPTER 4.</b> <i>Judentum</i> Among Other National Identities: Jewishness and Anton Rubinstein	<b>134</b>
<b>CHAPTER 5.</b> A Family through Emancipation: The Early Works of Carl Goldmark	<b>200</b>
<b>CHAPTER 6.</b> <i>Judentum</i> Staged: Goldmark’s <i>Die Königin von Saba</i>	<b>264</b>
<b>CHAPTER 7.</b> A Friendship of Emancipation: The Personal and Professional Relationships of Friedrich Gernsheim and Max Bruch	<b>310</b>
<b>CHAPTER 8.</b> <i>Judentum</i> Revealed: Gernsheim’s Symphony no. 3 in C minor and its Rebirth as “Mirjam”	<b>353</b>
<b>CONCLUSION</b>	<b>403</b>
<b>WORKS CITED</b>	<b>408</b>

## List of Figures

<b>FIGURE 2.1.</b> Charles Monnet, <i>Assembly of the Grand Sanhedrin of the Jews of the Empire</i> , 1820s.	<b>49</b>
<b>FIGURE 2.2.</b> Michel François Damane-Démartrais, <i>Grand Sanhédrin des Israélites de l'Empire français et du royaume d'Italie : [estampe]</i> , [n.d.].	<b>49</b>
<b>FIGURE 4.1.</b> Pieter Bruegel I, <i>The Tower of Babel</i> , 1563.	<b>165</b>
<b>FIGURE 7.1.</b> Advertisement for <i>Elobenu</i> in <i>Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung</i> , May 1881.	<b>343</b>
<b>FIGURE 8.1.</b> Program book cover for premiere of Gernsheim's Symphony No. 3 in C minor, Op. 54.	<b>360</b>
<b>FIGURE 8.2.</b> Advertisement for Symphony No. 3 as <i>Mirjam</i> in <i>Signale</i> , January 1909.	<b>375</b>
<b>FIGURE 8.3.</b> Gernsheim's description of Symphony no. 3 in C minor, op. 54, "Mirjam."	<b>379</b>
<b>FIGURE 8.4.</b> Anselm Feuerbach, <i>Mirjam</i> , 1862.	<b>380</b>
<b>FIGURE 8.5.</b> Melozzo da Forlì, Angel with tambourine, originally for Santi Apostoli, Rome, 15 <sup>th</sup> c.	<b>382</b>

## List of Musical Examples

<b>EXAMPLE 2.1.</b> Ferdinand Hiller, <i>Etudes for piano</i> , op. 15, no. 9, Lento ma non troppo, mm. 1-4.	57
<b>EXAMPLE 2.2A.</b> Ferdinand Hiller, <i>Die Zerstörung Jerusalems</i> , op. 24, no. 25, Recitativ, Eine Israelite Jungfrau, mm. 7-16.	69
<b>EXAMPLE 2.2B.</b> Felix Mendelssohn, <i>Elias</i> , op. 70, no. 7, Doppel-Quartett, Die Engel, mm. 1-6.	70
<b>EXAMPLE 2.3.</b> Ferdinand Hiller, <i>Die Zerstörung Jerusalems</i> , op. 24, no. 1, Chor der Israeliten, mm. 16-28.	78
<b>EXAMPLE 2.4.</b> Ferdinand Hiller, <i>Die Zerstörung Jerusalems</i> , op. 24, no. 10, Chor der Israeliten, mm. 16-26.	81
<b>EXAMPLE 2.5.</b> Ferdinand Hiller, <i>Die Zerstörung Jerusalems</i> , op. 24, no. 10, Chor der Israeliten, mm. 56-70.	82
<b>EXAMPLE 2.6A.</b> Ferdinand Hiller, <i>Die Zerstörung Jerusalems</i> , op. 24, no. 18, Recitative, mm. 1-6.	84
<b>EXAMPLE 2.6B.</b> Felix Mendelssohn, <i>Elias</i> , op. 70, <i>Einleitung</i> mm. 1-5.	84
<b>EXAMPLE 3.1.</b> Joseph Joachim, <i>Hebräische Melodien</i> , op. 10, no. 1, mm. 3-19, viola with Theremin's German translation of Byron's text superimposed.	118
<b>EXAMPLE 3.2.</b> Joseph Joachim, <i>Hebräische Melodien</i> , op. 10, no. 1, mm. 1-9.	121
<b>EXAMPLE 3.3.</b> Joseph Joachim, <i>Violin Concerto no. 2 in D minor</i> , op. 11, mvt. III, mm. 1-6.	123
<b>EXAMPLE 3.4.</b> Joseph Joachim, <i>Violin Concerto no. 2 in D minor</i> , op. 11, mvt. III, mm. 33-47.	125
<b>EXAMPLE 3.5.</b> Joseph Joachim, <i>Hebräische Melodien</i> , op. 10, no. 2, mm. 1-8.	130
<b>EXAMPLE 4.1A.</b> Anton Rubinstein, <i>Deux mélodies pour le piano</i> , Op. 3 No. 1, mm. 1-16.	147
<b>EXAMPLE 4.1B.</b> Anton Rubinstein, arr. Leopold Auer, <i>Deux mélodies pour le piano</i> , Op. 3 No. 1, mm. 1-16.	148
<b>EXAMPLE 4.2A.</b> Anton Rubinstein, <i>Piano Sonata no. 4 in A minor</i> , Op. 35, mvt. II, mm. 1-16.	149
<b>EXAMPLE 4.2B.</b> Frydryk Chopin, <i>Piano Sonata no. 2 in B-flat minor</i> , Op. 35, mvt. II, mm. 1-11.	149
<b>EXAMPLE 4.3.</b> Anton Rubinstein, <i>Ballet Music from Feramors</i> , No. 1. Dance of the Bayaderes I, mm. 37-44.	163
<b>EXAMPLE 4.4.</b> Anton Rubinstein, <i>Der Thurm zu Babel</i> , Op. 80, part I, mm. 65-72	166

<b>EXAMPLE 4.5.</b> Anton Rubinstein, <i>Der Thurm zu Babel</i> , Op. 80, part II, mm. 155-164.	<b>168</b>
<b>EXAMPLE 4.6A.</b> Mikhail Glinka, <i>A Life of Tsar</i> , act III, no. 14, Wedding Dance, mm. 1-4.	<b>169</b>
<b>EXAMPLE 4.6B.</b> Mikhail Glinka, <i>Ruslan and Lyudmila</i> , act I, no. 2, mm. 51-54.	<b>169</b>
<b>EXAMPLE 4.7A.</b> Ahava Rabbah/Freygish scale.	<b>172</b>
<b>EXAMPLE 4.7B.</b> Anton Rubinstein, <i>Der Thurm zu Babel</i> , op. 80, 1 <sup>st</sup> Picture, Chorus of the Sons of Shem, mm. 1-12.	<b>172</b>
<b>EXAMPLE 4.8.</b> Anton Rubinstein, <i>Der Thurm zu Babel</i> , op. 80, 2 <sup>nd</sup> Picture, Chorus of the Sons of Ham, mm. 1-24.	<b>174</b>
<b>EXAMPLE 4.9.</b> Anton Rubinstein, <i>Der Thurm zu Babel</i> , op. 80, 3 <sup>rd</sup> Picture, Chorus of the Sons of Japhet, mm. 1-12.	<b>175</b>
<b>EXAMPLE 4.10.</b> Mikhail Glinka, <i>Ruslan and Lyudmila</i> , act IV, no. 19, Turkish Dance, mm. 1-12.	<b>175</b>
<b>EXAMPLE 4.11.</b> Anton Rubinstein, <i>Zwölf Lieder aus dem Russischen</i> , op. 78, no. 1, mm. 1-12.	<b>179</b>
<b>EXAMPLE 4.12.</b> Josef Singer, <i>Die Tonarten des Traditionellen Synagogengesanges</i> , pg. 1, 3.	<b>185</b>
<b>EXAMPLE 4.13.</b> Anton Rubinstein, <i>Die Maccabäer</i> , act II, scene 7, mm. 1-20.	<b>187</b>
<b>EXAMPLE 4.14.</b> Salomon Sulzer, <i>Schir Zion</i> , vol. 2, no. 273, “Dar’k’cho Elohenu,” melody indicated for use in “Pesach lanu sha’ar.”	<b>196</b>
<b>EXAMPLE 4.15.</b> David Nowakowsky, “P’sach Lono Shaar” for Yom Kippur.	<b>197</b>
<b>EXAMPLE 4.16.</b> Anton Rubinstein, <i>Sechs Lieder</i> , op. 8, no. 5, mm. 1-19.	<b>198</b>
<b>EXAMPLE 5.1.</b> Carl Goldmark, Suite for piano and violin, op. 11, mvt. I, Allegro, mm. 1-6.	<b>234</b>
<b>EXAMPLE 5.2.</b> Carl Goldmark, Suite for piano and violin, op. 11, mvt. I, Allegro, mm. 25-30.	<b>235</b>
<b>EXAMPLE 5.3.</b> Carl Goldmark, Suite for piano and violin, op. 11, mvt. I, Allegro, mm. 55-68.	<b>237</b>
<b>EXAMPLE 5.4.</b> Carl Goldmark, Suite for piano and violin, op. 11, mvt. II, Andante Sostenuto, mm. 1-17.	<b>241</b>
<b>EXAMPLE 5.5.</b> Carl Goldmark, Suite for piano and violin, op. 11, mvt. II, Andante Sostenuto, mm. 16-29.	<b>242</b>
<b>EXAMPLE 5.6.</b> Carl Goldmark, <i>Sakuntala</i> , op. 13, mm. 1-8.	<b>252</b>
<b>EXAMPLE 5.7.</b> Carl Goldmark, <i>Sakuntala</i> , op. 13, mm. 25-38.	<b>252</b>
<b>EXAMPLE 5.8.</b> Carl Goldmark, <i>Sakuntala</i> , op. 13, mm. 59-67.	<b>253</b>
<b>EXAMPLE 5.9.</b> Carl Goldmark, <i>Sakuntala</i> , op. 13, mm. 93-100.	<b>254</b>

<b>EXAMPLE 5.10.</b> Hugo Wolf, <i>Goethe-Lieder</i> , no. 12, “Ritter Curts Brautfahrt,” mm. 109-121.	<b>259</b>
<b>EXAMPLE 5.11.</b> Passage of Goldmark’s <i>Die Königin von Saba</i> as used in Wolf, “Ritter Curts Brautfahrt,” according to Ernst Decsey.	<b>261</b>
<b>EXAMPLE 5.12.</b> Carl Goldmark, <i>Sakuntala</i> , op. 13, mm. 390-399.	<b>263</b>
<b>EXAMPLE 6.1.</b> Carl Goldmark, <i>Die Königin von Saba</i> , act I, scene 3, mm. 90-98.	<b>280</b>
<b>EXAMPLE 6.2.</b> Carl Goldmark, <i>Die Königin von Saba</i> , act I, scene 7, mm. 108-112.	<b>282</b>
<b>EXAMPLE 6.3.</b> Carl Goldmark, <i>Die Königin von Saba</i> , act II, Introduction, mm. 1-20.	<b>283</b>
<b>EXAMPLE 6.4.</b> Carl Goldmark, <i>Die Königin von Saba</i> , act II, scene 1, 1-11.	<b>284</b>
<b>EXAMPLE 6.5.</b> Carl Goldmark, <i>Die Königin von Saba</i> , act II, scene 4, mm. 11-19.	<b>297</b>
<b>EXAMPLE 6.6.</b> Carl Goldmark, <i>Die Königin von Saba</i> , act II, scene 4, mm. 34-40.	<b>297</b>
<b>EXAMPLE 6.7.</b> Carl Goldmark, <i>Die Königin von Saba</i> , act II, scene 5, mm. 1-30.	<b>298</b>
<b>EXAMPLE 6.8.</b> Carl Goldmark, <i>Die Königin von Saba</i> , act II, scene 5, mm. 31-48.	<b>300</b>
<b>EXAMPLE 6.9.</b> Carl Goldmark, <i>Die Königin von Saba</i> , act II, scene 2, mm. 43-55.	<b>302</b>
<b>EXAMPLE 7.1A.</b> Max Bruch, <i>Salamis</i> , op. 25, mm. 17-32.	<b>323</b>
<b>EXAMPLE 7.1B.</b> Friedrich Gernsheim, <i>Salamis</i> , op. 10, mm. 1-15.	<b>324</b>
<b>EXAMPLE 7.2.</b> Eighteenth and Nineteenth century published versions of the Kol Nidre melody.	<b>329</b>
<b>EXAMPLE 7.3.</b> Max Bruch, <i>Kol Nidrei</i> , op. 47, solo cello, mm. 9-16.	<b>329</b>
<b>EXAMPLE 7.4A.</b> Johann Sebastian Bach, “Ich will den Kreuzstab gerne tragen,” BWV 56, mm. 1-10.	<b>331</b>
<b>EXAMPLE 7.4B.</b> Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Requiem in D minor, K. 626, Lacrymosa, mm. 1-4.	<b>332</b>
<b>EXAMPLE 7.5.</b> Max Bruch, <i>Kol Nidrei</i> , op. 47, solo cello, mm. 68-76.	<b>333</b>
<b>EXAMPLE 7.6.</b> Isaac Nathan, “Weep for These,” from Byron’s <i>Hebrew Melodies</i> , mm. 21-40.	<b>333</b>
<b>EXAMPLE 7.7.</b> Friedrich Gernsheim, <i>Elobenu</i> , solo cello, mm. 1-13.	<b>345</b>
<b>EXAMPLE 7.8.</b> Louis Lewandowski, <i>Kol Rinnab u’T’fillab</i> , no. 180, Un’ssanneh Tokef.	<b>346</b>
<b>EXAMPLE 8.1.</b> Georg Friedrich Handel, <i>Israel in Egypt</i> , no. 39, mm. 1-19.	<b>378</b>
<b>EXAMPLE 8.2A.</b> Friedrich Gernsheim, Symphony no. 3 in C minor, mvt. I, Allegro ma non troppo, mm. 1-14.	<b>384</b>
<b>EXAMPLE 8.2B.</b> Mi Sheberakh liturgical mode.	<b>384</b>
<b>EXAMPLE 8.3.</b> Passages of raised scale degree 4.	<b>385</b>

- EXAMPLE 8.4.** Friedrich Gernsheim, Symphony no. 3 in C minor, mvt. I, 2 mm. before Rehearsal L. **385**
- EXAMPLE 8.5.** Friedrich Gernsheim, Symphony no. 3 in C minor, mvt. II. Adagio, oboe I, clarinets, bassoons, mm 1-14. **386**
- EXAMPLE 8.6.** Friedrich Gernsheim, Symphony no. 3 in C minor, mvt. II. Molto adagio, Rehearsal H to end. **388**
- EXAMPLE 8.7.** Friedrich Gernsheim, Symphony no. 3 in C minor, mvt. III. Molto vivace, mm. 1-13. **389**
- EXAMPLE 8.8.** Friedrich Gernsheim, Symphony no. 3 in C minor, mvt. III. Molto vivace, Trio. **390**
- EXAMPLE 8.9.** Friedrich Gernsheim, Symphony no. 3 in C minor, mvt. IV. Allegro con brio, mm. 1-8. **391**
- EXAMPLE 8.10.** Friedrich Gernsheim, Symphony no. 3 in C minor, mvt. IV. Molto Vivace, Rehearsal B, Con brio. **393**

## Chapter 1

### Introduction: *Judentum* in Music

*Jewish music is the song of Judaism through the lips of the Jew. It is the tonal expression of Jewish life and development over a period of more than two thousand years... Jewish song achieves its unique qualities through the sentiments of the life of the Jewish people. Its distinguishing characteristics are the result of the spiritual life and struggle of that people.*<sup>1</sup>

The research field of Jewish music studies is relatively young. Similar to many area studies, it is populated by those with personal connection to the scholarly subject—Jews and those of Jewish ancestry, with some noteworthy exceptions. Given the blurred lines boundaries of Judaism as a religion and Jewishness as a social, ethnic, or racial category, Jewish music studies is fraught with an additional set of challenges that require a recognition of the inconsistency in scholars' and practitioners' views on what ought to be included and what falls outside of the field of study. Furthermore, two millennia of anti-Jewish and antisemitic sentiments have led to deeply ingrained ideologies that have affected the definitions of what is Jewish, what represents Judaism and Jewishness, and what constitutes Jewish expression both inside and outside of cultural frameworks.

One only need read Israeli musicologist Edwin Seroussi's introduction to the *Grove Music* entry on "Jewish Music" to see that scholars are beginning to experience a reckoning with the meaning and history of the term. Seroussi writes:

Despite its problematic nature, the concept of 'Jewish music' in its Idelsohnian sense is a figure of speech widely employed today, being used in many different contexts of musical activity: recorded popular music, art music composition, printed anthologies scholarly research and so on. The use of this term to refer to both the traditional music of all Jewish communities, past and present, and to the new contemporary music created by Jews with

---

<sup>1</sup> A. Z. Idelsohn, *Jewish Music in its Historical Development*, 1929 (New York: Schocken Books, 1972): 24.

ethnic or national agendas is thus convenient, as long as its historical background and ideological connotations are borne in mind.<sup>2</sup>

The “problematic nature” of Jewish music in its “Idelsohnian sense”—a reference to the field’s founder, Abraham Zvi Idelsohn (1882-1938), discussed below—with respect to a representative selection of late nineteenth century musicians in German-speaking Europe lies at the center of this dissertation and can serve as an initial point of departure. In this study, I focus primarily on one aspect of such Jewish musical activity listed by Seroussi above: art music composition. The framework for the works addressed, their creators, their interpreters, and their audiences has ramifications for a critique of the criteria for what constitutes Jewish music as a concrete, albeit porous, field of a study.

Similar to Seroussi’s entry in *Grove* and many studies of Jewish music, the story here is integrally tied to the field of study as much to the specific content of the subjects within this dissertation. The self-reflexive and self-defining nature of Jewish music emerged as distinct conceptual framework in the mid-nineteenth century among German-speaking musicians, coinciding with the later generations addressed in this dissertation. In the early twentieth century, these ideas coalesced in the writings of A.Z. Idelsohn. Educated first in German synagogues as a cantor, Idelsohn reportedly studied in conservatories in Berlin and Leipzig.<sup>3</sup> Given this, it is possible to

---

<sup>2</sup> Edwin Seroussi, “Jewish Music, I. Introduction,” *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, accessed 9 September 2020, <https://doi-org.turing.library.northwestern.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.41322>

<sup>3</sup> Edith Gerson-Kiwi and Israel J. Katz, “Idelsohn, Abraham Zvi,” *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, accessed 28 October 2016, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.turing.library.northwestern.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/13702>. Gerson-Kiwi and Katz write that Idelsohn “claimed” to have studied at conservatories. More recently, Judah Cohen identifies the Stern Conservatory in Berlin, relying on Idelsohn’s own biography for this information. See Judah M. Cohen, “Whither Jewish Music? Jewish Studies, Music Scholarship, and the Tilt between Seminary and University,” *AJS Review* 32, no. 1 (April 2008): 32.



interpret his eventual dismissal of art music as a rejection of his conservatory training, even though he likely studied directly under many theorists and composers of Jewish heritage who were on the faculties of leading German conservatories in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Regardless, there is strong evidence to believe that he was highly literate in secular Western art music as well as the Jewish liturgical traditions of Central and Eastern Europe. Idelsohn's multi-volume *Hebräisch-orientalischer Melodienschatz* (1914–33) is extensive ethnographic collection of melodies of Jewish communities from across the Middle East, North Africa, and Europe. In his *Jewish Music in its Historical Development* (1929), he defined Jewish music as “the song of Judaism through the lips of the Jew. It is the tonal expression of Jewish life and development over a period of more than two thousand years.”<sup>4</sup> This approach and definition was narrow and unilinear, undergirded by the assumption that genuinely “Jewish music” of any period is part of a long tradition that dates back to the Temple in Jerusalem. That said, Idelsohn's goal was to collect the musics of the Jewish diaspora, bring them together as a unified whole. This was at once laudable in its high aims, ambitious in magnitude, somewhat naïve in its attempt at ethnographic inclusion, and problematic in its insistence on creating a single chronicle for a very disparate body of musics.

Curiously, art music, for the vast majority of Jewish history, had existed in close geographic proximity to the European centers of liturgical and folk music that Idelsohn so highly valued. Without discounting the monumental work that he accomplished in establishing a Jewish music as a legitimate field of scholarly research, his critical treatment of assimilated and acculturated Jewish musicians in the nineteenth century did long-term damage to the narratives surrounding engagement with Jewishness and Judaism—in the case of this dissertation what I most often refer to in the

---

<sup>4</sup> Idelsohn, *Jewish Music in its Historical Development*, 24.

German as *Judentum*—by many individuals who were highly aware of their cultural, ethnic, national, and racial heritage as Jews. Nonetheless, they were excluded from Idelsohn’s definition of Jewish music. To him, liturgical musics and folk musics defined Jewish music; everything else was peripheral. In one of the final chapters of *Jewish Music in its Historical Development*, “The Jew in General Music,” Idelsohn outlined his position on the matter, creating a model that endured for generations of scholars engaging with this period:

They [“musicians of Jewish origin”] created or performed music in the style of their neighbors and were considered good composers in the field of their neighbors’ music. The participation of the Jews in European music increased tremendously since the beginning of the nineteenth century after their admittance into the social and cultural life of Europe. An innumerable host of musicians filled the musical world, creators and especially performers—virtuosos on various instruments, but notably on the violin.<sup>5</sup>

Idelsohn then gave an extensive list of composers and performers ranging from Giacomo Meyerbeer, Fromental Halévy, and Felix Mendelssohn to Irving Berlin, George Gershwin, and Jascha Heifetz. What follows the list, however, is most telling. While the above passage reads as a neutral enumeration and qualified evaluation of musicians of Jewish ancestry as participants in broader society, Idelsohn then lamented:

Almost none of them had been reared in a distinctly Jewish environment, or had been given a positive Jewish education and knowledge. As a result several of these musicians became converts to the dominant Christian faith; some attempted assimilation in the society they had adopted... very few knew anything of Jewish Synagogue and folk-song. The most conscious Jew among the earlier of these musicians, Halévy, only once (for the aria of Eleazar, in his *La Juive*, Act IV) utilized a Jewish motive, while Goldmark and Offenbach—both sons of *chazanim*—never employed Jewish motives in their compositions.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup> Idelsohn, *Jewish Music in its Historical Development*, 472.

<sup>6</sup> Idelsohn, *Jewish Music in its Historical Development*, 472-474. Here Idelsohn ignored observations contemporary to both Goldmark and Offenbach that *did* attempt to identify Jewish motives in their respective works.

Idelsohn's work is so seminal in Jewish music studies that it has become primary source material. Although Idelsohn has been problematized in recent years by Philip V. Bohlman, Jeffrey Sposato, and Judah Cohen, the above passages reveal the origins of a foundational concept in Jewish music studies: in order to merit inclusion in the field of study, music must contain audible "Jewish motives" or other sonic markers, however vaguely defined, of Jewishness. For Idelsohn and generations to follow, music by Jews which lacked an identifiable aural connection with Jewish liturgy or folk culture was not only to be excluded from the field of "Jewish music," it was heard as a sonic *rejection* of Jewish identity.

In the interest of full disclosure, it was precisely within the Idelsohnian conceptual universe where I began this project as an eager graduate student and proud Jewish woman. I was seeking for sonic markers of Jewishness in the music that I most loved: art music tradition of nineteenth century Central Europe. I began research on the Brahmsian composer Friedrich Gernsheim (1839-1916) and his Symphony no. 3 in C minor, op. 54 "Mirjam" (1888), cross-checking against the great cantorial music collections of Salomon Sulzer's *Schir Zion* and Louis Lewandowski's *Kol Rinnah u-Tefillah* and *Todah ve-Zimrah*. In my naiveté, I thought I might stumble upon a quotation of the Viennese or Berlin liturgies in this symphony by a highly assimilated Jew from Worms working in Rotterdam. I traveled to Israel and explored Gernsheim's archive at the National Library of Israel, donated by his daughter who escaped Germany on the eve of the Second World War. Was there a diary in which Gernsheim described learning sacred music at the feet of a great cantor? Would I find the proverbial "How I did it" book, letter, or diary entry? No. Instead, what I did find proved to be a much richer and more nuanced story of varied Jewish knowledge, expression, comfort, engagement, and advocacy. When I discovered that Gernsheim had withheld the title of the symphony for nearly two decades, what seemed initially to be a programmatic work by an assimilated Jewish composer on a

Biblical prophethood revealed itself as a much more complex navigation of the composer's multiple identities—as a Jew, as a German, as a classical romantic composer taking up the mantle of Handel, Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven, and as a citizen of a changing Europe.

This dissertation puts forward, not only for Gernsheim, but for several generations of musicians in German-speaking Europe during long nineteenth century, a number of hitherto unexplored paths for exploring what it meant *to be Jewish musically* during this period. When one is freed of the requirement for sonic Jewish markers in music as the fundamental avenues of expression, *Judentum* emerges as a powerful shaper of cultural, artistic, and relational influences on the works of these musicians. In light of the recognition by scholars that “Jewish music” has meant different things at different times to different people, as well as my own awareness of how the possibility of a Jewish art music confounds easy categorization, my research is thus shaped by a number of questions. How does one *sound Judentum* in music in the art music of German-speaking Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century? Are there identifiably Jewish acts, motivations, or intentions that inform decisions in art music-making for this period? What might such decisions reveal more broadly to us about these generations of musicians through experiences of assimilation, acculturation, and identity expression?

In asking these questions, I argue that we must pre-date the generally accepted scholarly narrative on when composers and performers began to embrace and explore their Jewish heritage and/or Judaism as a conscious expressive element of their musical identity. Although non-Jews have identified a sort of Jewish particularism in the music of those of Jewish ancestry from the earliest years of assimilation, the idea that a secular, acculturated Jew might willingly insert some of their Jewish self into their music through identifiable sonic markers is a concept that does not emerge until discussions of twentieth century musicians. In Western art music, the idea that a musical

composition can “sound Jewish” has become an outdated shorthand for the inclusion of sonic markers of *Ashkenazi* (Eastern European) Jewishness, first and foremost. To “sound Jewish” in one’s compositions often means to make sonic reference to musics associated with the synagogue and folk traditions of central and Eastern Europe. Unsurprisingly, these are the genres that Idelsohn valued as the true definition of “Jewish music.” To sound Jewish could be manifested in various ways. It might be a direct quotation of a liturgical or folk melody, such as Leonard Bernstein’s use of *haftarah* cantillation melodies in his Symphony no. 1 “Jeremiah” (1942). It could be heard in the use of modal scales and/or augmented intervals commonly found in liturgical or folk musics, as evidenced in many pieces of Ernest Bloch’s so-called “Jewish cycle” and especially in the last of that series, the cello rhapsody *Schelomo* (1917). It might be through the allusion to Jewish topics and languages, Biblical or folk, in the text or a descriptive title, of which works vary from Bloch’s *Baal Shem: Three Pictures from Hasidic Life* (1923/39), Bernstein’s Symphonies no. 1 “Jeremiah” and no. 3 “Kaddish” (1963/77), as well as the ballet *Dybbuk* (1974), Schoenberg’s *A Survivor in Warsaw* (1946), or Steve Reich’s *Different Trains* (1988), to name only small representative sample of such works.

David Schiller holds up Bloch, Schoenberg, and Bernstein as three near-contemporaneous figures who “assimilated Jewish music.”<sup>7</sup> Schiller writes that “in the nineteenth century, composers of Jewish descent confronted the paradoxes of assimilating Jewish music by working both within and outside Jewish liturgical traditions.”<sup>8</sup> Schiller dismisses most of the nineteenth century, giving only the briefest mention of synagogal compositions by cantor-composers with some exposure to Western art music, including Sulzer, Lewandowski, and Naumbourg. Schiller’s comments are in line

---

<sup>7</sup> David M. Schiller, *Bloch, Schoenberg, and Bernstein: Assimilating Jewish Music* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 1-2.

<sup>8</sup> Schiller, *Bloch, Schoenberg, and Bernstein*, 3.

with those of Alexander Knapp's contribution to the European art music passage in the *Grove Music* article on Jewish music; despite Seroussi's problematizing of the genre in the introduction to that entry, the limitations of the field are evident in how Knapp describes the nineteenth century. He writes of assimilated European Jews as conflicted figures who could only "resolve... the matter of identity by composing primarily for the synagogue;" or he reduces them to chronological links, mentioned merely in passing, between Mendelssohn, who was baptized as a child, and Bloch, supposedly the first self-consciously Jewish creator of music for Western audiences.<sup>9</sup> Knapp displays this scholarly tendency toward oversimplification when discussing art music composers:

Five of the greatest Jewish-born composers of the Romantic era came from culturally Jewish backgrounds and clearly identified themselves as Jews: Meyerbeer (1791–1864), Halévy (1799–1862), Mendelssohn (1809–47), Offenbach (1819–80) and Mahler (1860–1911). But were there any traits in their works that could be described as distinctly Jewish? Were there any conscious or subconscious reminiscences of traditional elements from childhood?<sup>10</sup>

Knapp does not probe his own questions, perhaps because he assumed that a negative answer was obvious. Instead, he focuses only on the Jewish elements of each musicians' biography and lamenting they did not write more for the synagogue, rather than asking whether there might be some evidence of their Jewishness in their musical works. Furthermore, his problematic list is not only unacceptably incomplete, but overgeneralizes Jewish experience across multiple generations, different socio-economic backgrounds, and unique formative Jewish and secular experiences. Even an attempt to liken Mendelssohn and Mahler as both baptized glosses over crucial differences—

---

<sup>9</sup> Alexander Knapp, "Jewish music, V. Art and popular music in surrounding cultures, 2. The Christian world, (iii) Emancipation to World War II," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, accessed 1 September 2016, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.turing.library.northwestern.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/41322>.

<sup>10</sup> Knapp, "Jewish music, V. Art and popular music in surrounding cultures, 2. The Christian world, (iii) Emancipation to World War II."

Mendelssohn's childhood Protestant baptism can hardly have produced the same sort of qualified Jewish self-identification as Mahler's adult, career-advancing, Catholic baptism.

Knapp's definition of Jewishness in music thus echoes Idelsohn's and is wholly reliant on art music's engagement with the supposedly genuine Jewish musics of liturgy and folk culture. He argues that Jewishness was brought into mainstream music as coloristic effect and as a vehicle for emotive expression and self-reflexive exoticism:

The seeds of a vibrant Jewish consciousness in music were sown in both eastern and western Europe at the turn of the century and began to bear fruit during its first decade. The collection of sacred and secular traditions gained new momentum with the invention of the phonograph. Composers soon realized how valuable these resources would be as a means of expressing the mood and experience of the people. The resulting acculturation and eclecticism produced a kaleidoscope of contemporary styles in which Jewish history and legend, text and symbol, modality and tone colour could be blended into the richness of the mainstream.<sup>11</sup>

More recently, James Loeffler referred to the period from 1900-1917 as a time of "aural emancipations," pointing to a group of early twentieth century "Jewish nationalist" composers in Russia whose work engaged in "freeing previously silenced Jewish voice within Western music."<sup>12</sup> Loeffler's terminology is problematic, as it indicates that there was a Jewish voice in music that had been previously silenced, rather than presenting this music as, in fact, a new phenomenon, which had never been a part of Western art music tradition until this "aural emancipation" period. He also cites Central Europeans such as Mahler and Schoenberg, who favored a movement toward more "psychological intensity, ruminative beauty, and tonal complexity" and "complicated utopianism

---

<sup>11</sup> Knapp, "Jewish music, §V: Art and Popular Music in Surrounding Cultures, V. Art and popular music in surrounding cultures, 2. The Christian world, (iii) Emancipation to World War II."

<sup>12</sup> James Loeffler, "From biblical antiquarianism to revolutionary modernism: Jewish art music, 1850-1925," in *The Cambridge Companion to Jewish Music*, ed. Joshua S. Walden (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 174-177.

represent[ing] a dialectical response to the dilemmas of Jewishness in art music,” respectively.<sup>13</sup> My divergence from Loeffler and the narrative he presents is not to negate the post-1900 period, but rather to stress the importance of earlier generations of Jewish musicians who were also engaged in expressing Jewishness through various means, including sonic assimilation in addition to sonic differentiation.

In addition to creating muddled scholarship and deceptively unilinear narratives, the oversimplification of Jewish engagement, experience, and identity has also affected how the general public hears sonic Jewishness. Echoing Mark Slobin, Seroussi writes of how the concept of diaspora in music can be “a blessing or a threat, an ideal or a curse,” indicating that the very existence of the geographic diaspora has been in constant ideological conflict with attempts at defining the framework of Jewish music.<sup>14</sup> In post-Holocaust, twentieth and twenty-first century America, both Jewish music studies and popular public performance trends have struggled to navigate the highly varied material that can and should constitute the repertoire and canon of Jewish music. Nonetheless, Seroussi writes, “American discourses about Jewish music of recent times abound in glorifications of sonic diasporas, sometimes as a marketing strategy, sometimes as an ideology justifying aesthetic choices.”<sup>15</sup> This flattening of stylistic nuance into an easily grasped notion of “Jewish music” fails to engage with the more complex approaches toward identity expression. Furthermore, Seroussi claims, it allows for the easy and unquestioned inclusion of musicians into the field who may have spent entire lives in an attempt to “distance themselves just to be able to survive

---

<sup>13</sup> Loeffler, “From biblical antiquarianism to revolutionary modernism,” 177-178.

<sup>14</sup> Seroussi, “Jewish music and the diaspora,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Jewish Music*, 27.

<sup>15</sup> Seroussi, “Jewish music and the diaspora,” 36.



in their (well, diasporic...) hostile environments.”<sup>16</sup> Thus, personal experience and even self-distancing from Judaism and Jewish practice—common among Jewish composers of the era addressed here—are often overlooked, and a musician can be claimed “as Jewish” simply because of ancestry in the goal of scholarly inclusion or concert programming. Moreover, the parallels to the circumstance of birth as the unique or primary definition of Jewish identity in Richard Wagner’s *Das Judentum in der Musik* and other antisemitic documents are obvious and troubling. My aim here is not to include musicians based on ancestry alone, but also not to discount them if they underwent baptism. Rather, I provide evidence through a systematic and thorough explanation of source material that shows Jewishness at once goes beyond circumstance of birth while also permeated musical decisions and creative output in diverse and unexpected ways.

As has been shown, scholarly definitions of Jewish music as music that engages with Jewishness or Judaism have mistakenly discounted the impact of a large group of German-speaking musicians from mid-nineteenth century until the early twentieth century, although there is clearly a shift toward the idea that Jewish music cannot be defined by sonic markers alone.<sup>17</sup> However, in the specific case of European art music composers, the narrative remains narrowly defined in textbooks, in *Grove*, in scholarly monographs, and in public performances. This study does not attempt to dust off “neglected geniuses” unfairly excluded from either the Jewish canon or the Western art music canon. Rather, it strives for a sympathetic and well-rounded considerations of musicians who, if

---

<sup>16</sup> Seroussi, “Jewish music and the diaspora,” 36. I diverge from Seroussi on this final point, as he includes Anton Rubinstein as an example here. Chapter 4 demonstrates that Rubinstein often undermined his own self-distancing from *Judentum*, in acts from attending synagogue on the Yom Kippur to working closely and collaboratively with Jewish writers and philosophers.

<sup>17</sup> Edwin Seroussi, “Jewish music, §I: Introduction,” *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, accessed 1 November 2016, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.turing.library.northwestern.edu/subscriber/article/grove/mus/41322>; Emanuel Rubin and John H. Baron, *Music in Jewish History and Culture* (Sterling Heights, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 2006): xxiii-xxvi.

mentioned at all in existing scholarly literature, are typically dismissed on dubious critical or intellectual grounds as assimilators, opportunists, or lesser creative powers than those who would follow in the twentieth century. Loeffler writes, "...music beckoned precisely as an ostensibly unobtrusive path of acculturation and social advancement to mainstream European bourgeois society."<sup>18</sup> There is some truth in this: many of the musicians addressed associated themselves with certain trends in composition and performance, particularly the post-Mendelssohnian and Brahmsian schools of more conservative adherents to *absolut Tonkunst*. What better way to assert one's newly-gained German-ness (*Deutschtum*) than to become part of the tradition regarded of Bach, Mozart, and Beethoven? Yet, it is an oversimplification and assumption to claim that this was solely by way of acculturation into secular society.

### **On Judaism, Jewishness, *Judentum*, and "sounding *Judentum*"**

Inasmuch as I challenge established notions of "What is Jewish music?" in this dissertation, there remains an even more fundamental question regarding the individuals included here: who is a Jew? In the Bible, there are numerous figures that align themselves with the Hebrews/Israelites by declaration such as Ruth, or by marriage such as the wife of Moses, Tziporah. The Hebrew *Yebudi* (יהודי) indicates "of the tribe of Judah," one of the twelve sons of the Biblical patriarch, Jacob. Today it might more accurately the physical and spiritual descendants of Jacob. By *halakha* (traditional religious law), identity as a Jew passes from the mother.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, if one is born to a Jewish mother and converts to another religion, one's halakhic status as a Jew remains unaltered.

---

<sup>18</sup> Loeffler, "From biblical antiquarianism to revolutionary modernism," 170.

<sup>19</sup> The Central Conference of American Rabbis, the rabbinical organization of American Reform Judaism, did not approve patrilineal descent until 1983, and even then only with strict limitations.

By this most traditional definition, Jewishness is not contingent on beliefs or ritual observance of Judaism (even if this is implied or expected), but is determined purely by descent.

Yet, the religious definition only partly overlaps with ideas of Judaism or Jewishness as race, a concept not limited to the antisemitic viewpoint, but incorporated also into ideas actively sustained by Jews in the long nineteenth century. Authors in the 1906 *Jewish Encyclopedia* grappled with this question in several articles, yet we find a lack of consensus among the authors: “The Anthropology of the Jews, who, either racially or socially, form a separate portion of mankind, should be of special interest to students of the science as bearing upon its central problem; namely, whether the similarities observed among different classes of mankind are due to “nature” or to “nurture”; that is, to common ancestry or to common environment.”<sup>20</sup> Similarly, Joseph Jacobs states in the entry titled “Purity of Race:” “The question whether the Jews of to-day are in the main descended from the Jews of Bible times, and from them alone, is still undecided.”<sup>21</sup> The allowance for the possibility of a racially-based definition of Jewishness from the authors of the *Jewish Encyclopedia* is especially striking given that antisemitic answers to the question of who is a Jew were often framed in racially charged language. The term antisemitism was coined in the 1870s and expanded as a concept through Nazism and the Nuremberg Laws of 1935, which defined a Jew as one with three or four Jewish grandparents and introduced the secondary category of *Mischling* for those with one or two Jewish grandparents.<sup>22</sup> This focus on blood over creed or any other factor, however, was not a new

---

<sup>20</sup> “Anthropology,” *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 12 vols. (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1906), 619-1:621, accessed 25 October 2016, <http://jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/12519-race-the-jewish>.

<sup>21</sup> Joseph Jacobs, “Purity of Race,” *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 10:283-284, accessed 25 October 2016, <http://jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/12451-purity-of-race>.

<sup>22</sup> “Die Nürnberger Gesetze,” *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*, accessed 25 October 2016, <https://newspapers.ushmm.org/images/race-laws.jpg>.

concept. Richard Wagner, in his *Das Judentum in der Musik* (first published 1850, revised 1869), was far more concerned with blood, ancestry, and race than religion.<sup>23</sup> Thus, the question of “Who is a Jew?” reveals the intense complexities of identity for the group of musicians that I will explore.

In addition to addressing issues of who qualifies as a Jew and what qualifies as Jewish, I have made a terminological decision that reflects the Germanic-focus of my dissertation with the non-translation of the word *Judentum*. The German words *Königstum* and *Christentum* are easily translated as near cognates “kingdom” and “Christendom,” respectively, with dual connotation of space and of shared ideology. However, no standard English idiomatic equivalent (“Jew-dom”) exists for *Judentum*, which has been variously translated to English as Judaism, Jewishness, Jewry, or Jews—even though German offers *Judenheit*, *Judische*, and *Juden* as nearer equivalents. There is some scholarly precedent for this. Michael A. Meyer’s recent article, “Two Persistent Tensions within Wissenschaft des Judentums,” maintains the German-language origin *and* name for the field of Jewish Studies.<sup>24</sup> Until the nineteenth century, the above English terms were all essentially synonymous with each other. Shaul Magid writes:

For much of Jewish history, Jewishness and being a ‘Jew’ were inextricably tied to ‘Judaism,’ or religion, broadly defined as membership in a people. The two most influential movements in Jewish modernity, Reform Judaism and Zionism, questioned this equation. Nineteenth-century Reform Judaism attempted to divorce

---

<sup>23</sup> Richard Wagner [K. Freigedank, pseud.], “Das Judentum in der Musik,” *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 17, no. 19 (3 September 1850): 101-107; 17, no. 20 (6 September 1850): 109-112, and Richard Wagner, *Das Judentum in der Musik* (Leipzig: J.J. Weber, 1869). In this essay, I use the italicized *Das Judentum in der Musik* (hereafter *Das Judentum*) to indicate the essay as a historical whole, encompassing both the original 1850 printing in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* and the 1869 brochure publication. Following the model of other musicologists, I use the more modern spelling *Judentum*, however both the 1850 and 1869 version spell the title “Judenthum.”

<sup>24</sup> Michael A. Meyer, “Two Persistent Tensions within Wissenschaft des Judentums,” *Modern Judaism* 24, no. 2 (May 2004): 105-119. The journal of publication here is notable, as it is self-defined as “a distinctive, interdisciplinary forum for discussion on modern Jewish experience,” despite the narrowness of “Judaism” in the title.

the notion of peoplehood from religion, and certain strains of Zionism reversed the emphasis but maintained the essential structure of the equation.<sup>25</sup>

While Magid's research directly focuses on aspects of twentieth and twenty-first century American Judaism, his statement addresses the period immediately preceding and following Emancipation and is applicable to Europe; both Reform Judaism and Zionism as a modern, organized political movement under Theodor Herzl, were incubated and born during this period from German Jewish philosophic trends of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For English speakers today, Judaism has come primarily to mean the religion and its system of beliefs and practices, although even this is neither unilateral nor monolithic. It was thus the long nineteenth century that witnessed the split between the concepts of Jewishness and Judaism. The term *Judentum* encompasses multiple English meanings and enriches the German-focused understanding.

My non-translation of *Judentum* also reflects my understanding of the long and inconsistent scholarly engagement with Richard Wagner's *Das Judentum in der Musik*, and not only provides a better backdrop for understanding Judaism and Jewishness in the nineteenth century, but also problematizes and repurposes the pervasive, racially-based definition of Jewish music introduced by Wagner. William Ashton Ellis, the first English translator of the essay, chose "Judaism in Music" for his 1894 edition of the essay. This title remained for many years as the most commonly used in English sources, despite the fact that this translation indicates the essay as engaging with religion and religious practice, which it does not.<sup>26</sup> Albert Goldman and Evert Sprinchorn called the essay "Jews

---

<sup>25</sup> Shaul Magid, "Be the Jew You Make: Jews, Judaism, and Jewishness in Post-Ethnic America," *Sh'ma | A Journal of Jewish Ideas* (11 March 2011), accessed 3 October 2016, <http://shma.com/2011/03/be-the-jew-you-make-jews-judaism-and-jewishness-in-post-ethnic-america>.

<sup>26</sup> Richard Wagner, "Judaism in music," in *The Theatre*, trans. William Ashton Ellis, vol. 3 of *Richard Wagner's Prose Works* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., 1894): 75-122.

in Music,” which is linguistically problematic, but perhaps justifiable on the grounds that Wagner’s interest is more specifically focused on people than religion.<sup>27</sup> Stewart Spencer’s 2004 translation of Joachim Köhler’s *Der Letzte der Titanen – Richard Wagners Leben und Werk* likewise rendered the title “Jews in Music,” without explanation.<sup>28</sup> Barry Millington translates the title as “Jewishness” in his various works on Wagner.<sup>29</sup> This seems almost deliberately vague; Millington’s choice makes it unclear whether Wagner had in mind a people animated by a conscious affirmation of identity or simply the fact of being born Jewish (or perhaps both). Most recently, David Conway advocated for “Jewry,” recognizing that “[Judaism] generally applies specifically to the religious beliefs and practices of the Jew, an aspect not touched upon by Wagner, and indeed on which he was generally ignorant.”<sup>30</sup>

My repurposing of the term, and my use of it in the phrase “sounding Judentum” as a title for the dissertation, clarifies my goal to move beyond the existing narrowly-defined scholarship on sonic markers of Jewishness. By stating that the composers and musicians of the dissertation are “sounding *Judentum*” as a broad cultural phenomenon while also “sounding *their own Judentum*,” I affirm the possibility not only of a common identity and heritage, but also the varied value systems

---

<sup>27</sup> Wagner, *Wagner on Music and Drama: A Compendium of Richard Wagner’s Prose Works*, trans. H. Ashton Ellis, ed. Albert Goldman and Evert Sprinchorn (New York: E.P. Dutton, Inc., 1964): 18. Goldman and Sprinchorn provide an extremely sympathetic view of *Das Judentum*, describing “the strength of this argument.” The essay included in this collection is credited as trans. H. Ashton Ellis and appears to be 1869 version. It is unclear whether Ellis or Goldman and Sprinchorn changed the titular translation.

<sup>28</sup> Joachim Köhler, *Richard Wagner: The Last of the Titans*, 2001, trans. Stewart Spencer (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004): 278.

<sup>29</sup> Barry Millington, *The Wagner Compendium: A Guide to Wagner’s Life* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1992).

<sup>30</sup> David Conway, *Jewry in Music: Entry to the Profession from the Enlightenment to Richard Wagner* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012): 9.

particular to each musician respectively, as I consider the historical moment and situation in which he worked. Tina Frühauf emphasizes that assimilation was “often used in self-description and thus became an expression of [the Jews’] identity and an essential part of German-Jewish history [and] for many German Jews... the concepts of assimilation, amalgamation, melding, and convergence had positive valances.”<sup>31</sup> Thus, Frühauf presents a concept of assimilation unique to German-speaking Jews of this period. Frühauf continues, “...after emancipation was achieved, assimilation designated the status and self-definition of most German Jews and, as a historical term, had become a part of their identity.”<sup>32</sup> In effect, by becoming more assimilated, less marked, “better Germans,” the German Jews actually became “better Jews,” because their concept of self-definition had shifted and the mirrors that reflected self-presented a new image of *Judentum*.

Although it was ever present in the lives and experiences of the musicians addressed in this study, antisemitism and the antisemitic thought rationalization that leads to defining who is and who is not a Jew are not the focus here. While I address antisemitism as relevant in the following chapters, especially in regard to Anton Rubinstein and Carl Goldmark, my research centers more on how these musicians self-conceptualized their *Judentum* for themselves, rather than the narratives forced upon them from those that held denigratory views. To be sure, the complex network of anti-Jewish and antisemitic viewpoints within long nineteenth century was growing and evolving. It was as inescapable for these musicians, regardless any sort of acculturative steps they took and however close or far they positioned themselves or their music to Jewishness and Judaism.

---

<sup>31</sup> Tina Frühauf, *The Organ and Its Music in German-Jewish Culture* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 9.

<sup>32</sup> Frühauf, *The Organ and Its Music in German-Jewish Culture*, 9.

## On Assimilation and Acculturation

As a result of the various revolutions and other political developments, Jews across Europe began to enter a phase that has come to be referred to as “the period of emancipation.” Emancipation is at best a vaguely defined term that, for European Jews in this period, indicated the granting of equal civil and political rights, though sometimes conditionally and often incrementally. Although some countries saw the expansion of rights early in the eighteenth century, post-revolutionary France is often cited as the first European country to offer legitimate emancipation. The celebrated dictum, “To the Jews as individuals, all rights. To the Jews as a people, no rights,” aptly summarizes the stakes of this development, which offered emancipation only on the condition that one be willing to renounce their affiliation and self-identification with the Jewish people.<sup>33</sup> Various individual duchies, kingdoms, and city-states such as Frankfurt in 1811 and Hamburg in 1849 did grant certain rights, citizenship, voting, and property ownership, though the vast majority of Western and Central European emancipation took place as new constitutions were introduced in unified Austro-Hungary in 1867, Italy in 1869, and Germany in 1871. This dissertation is set against a backdrop of the pre- and post-emancipatory periods for European Jews. At the heart of historical explorations of this period is an engagement with emancipation’s companion phenomena—acculturation and assimilation.<sup>34</sup> In addition to problematizing the translation and implications of the word *Judentum*, throughout this dissertation I also engage with the shifting terminology surrounding the concepts of assimilation and acculturation.

---

<sup>33</sup> Joseph Telushkin, *Jewish Literacy* (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1991): 227. Telushkin credits this to delegate Clermont-Tonnerre, though the phrase has variously been ascribed to Napoleon or simply “the French.”

<sup>34</sup> These terms are discussed and differentiated below.



At present, most musicological research leans toward using “assimilation” as a catch-all term for studies on German Jews in this period.<sup>35</sup> However, in practice—and, anecdotally, as I have found in public discourse at recent academic conferences—it is really the far more richly shaded concept of “acculturation” that is meant. Psychologist John W. Berry’s four-part model on acculturation provides a useful framework. Berry approaches cross-cultural psychology, addressing how individuals act when they move into a cultural context that is not the same as the one in which they developed. He builds on the classical definition of acculturation of Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits, comprised of “phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact...”<sup>36</sup> Berry categorizes the different types of acculturation as integration, assimilation, separation/segregation, and marginalization.<sup>37</sup> This four-part model, in which assimilation is only one type of acculturation, allows for a more critical and varied understanding of the German-speaking musicians of Jewish descent during this period. Berry writes, “From the point of view of non-dominant groups, when individuals do not wish to maintain their cultural identity and seek daily interaction with other cultures, the *Assimilation* strategy is defined.”<sup>38</sup> If this definition is accepted uncritically, it might be tempting to place baptized musicians such as Ferdinand Hiller, Anton Rubinstein, or Joseph Joachim into this category. However, as this dissertation shows, none of these three had ever walked fully away from their respective (and varied) *Judentum*. Berry writes that “[when] there is an interest in both maintaining one’s original culture,

---

<sup>35</sup> See Frühauf, *The Organ and Its Music in German-Jewish Culture*; Schiller, *Bloch, Schoenberg, and Bernstein: Assimilating Jewish Music*; and Jeffrey S. Sposato, *The Price of Assimilation: Felix Mendelssohn and the Nineteenth-Century Anti-Semitic Tradition* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

<sup>36</sup> John W. Berry, “Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation,” *Applied Psychology* 46, no. 1 (1 January 1997): 7.

<sup>37</sup> Berry, “Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation,” 10.

<sup>38</sup> Berry, “Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation,” 9.

while in daily interactions with other groups, *Integration* is the option; here, there is some degree of cultural integrity maintained, while at the same time seeking to participate as an integral part of a larger social network.”<sup>39</sup> It is here that non-baptized composers such as Friedrich Gernsheim or Carl Goldmark seem to belong. *Marginalization* is defined as the situation in which “... there is little possibility or interest in cultural maintenance,” and *Segregation* as “...forced exclusion,” though Berry also notes the fluidity of non-dominant groups’ choices in these situations.<sup>40</sup> These latter two definitions are not directly in this dissertation, although their definite implications of the imposition from non-Jews upon those discussed and evident in attitudes toward the broader Jewish community during this period.

Functionally, Berry’s study has served as a starting point in my understanding of how to differentiate the above terms and grapple with the inconsistencies in how scholars have used them. Musicological scholarship continues to use assimilation, at least in printed monographs, whereas elsewhere acculturation has become the normative term. Moreover, the scholarly tendency is to create a linear movement across a spectrum toward full assimilation. In this study, I uproot this convention, instead focusing on acts, decisions, associations, writings, and musical works as examples of the various terms. I use both somewhat interchangeably and acknowledge both the inconsistency and the disciplinary precedent of this choice. Given these complicating factors, I reveal how an individual can move fluidly within the axes of acculturation throughout their lifetime, be it for social or professional gain, through personal conviction, or as an intersection of the complicated issues at play in each individual case.

---

<sup>39</sup> Berry, “Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation,” 9.

<sup>40</sup> Berry, “Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation,” 8-9.

## ***Judentum* and *Das Judentum*: Richard Wagner**

Casting a shadow over much of this project—and indeed across Jewish music studies as a discipline—is Richard Wagner (1813-83). As problematic as they are inescapable, the writings and compositions of Wagner and the successive scholarship on them are crucial for deep understanding of this era and the composers and musicians functioning within it. Furthermore, Wagner was a real and present figure whom the musicians here knew personally or at least by reputation. They saw his operas performed live, they studied his piano scores, and even wrote to each other on their enjoyment and edification. Wagner’s vitriolic and controversial essay *Das Judentum in der Musik* (first published 1850, reissued 1869) appeared during these musicians’ formative years, and the sentiment endured throughout the rest of the long nineteenth century.

Wagner began *Das Judentum in der Musik* by positioning himself within what he described as a “popular dislike of the Jewish nature, even at the present day,” echoing Karl Marx’s ideas on the problems of emancipation.<sup>41</sup> This declaration of alignment with an already existing and cultural normative ideology falls neatly into historian David Nirenberg’s definition of the “anti-Judaism,” which he suggests includes not only the racial and ethnic prejudice, but also “a set of ideas and attributes with which non-Jews can make sense of and criticize their world.”<sup>42</sup> Wagner argued that German philosophers and politicians pushed for the abstract idea of emancipation without considering the practical results for traditional German society once emancipation actually occurred. Throughout *Das Judentum in der Musik*, Wagner avoided the first person, effectually skirting any

---

<sup>41</sup> Wagner, “Judaism in music and other essays,” 3:75.

<sup>42</sup> David Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism: the Western Tradition* (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2013): 3, 6. See also David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

personal blame that might be placed on him, in order to emphasize the perceived universality of the sentiment it raised. His language carefully and almost pseudo-scientifically separated his own emotional response from “the involuntary repulsion possessed for us by the nature and personality of the Jews, so as to vindicate that instinctive dislike which we plainly recognize as stronger and more over-powering than our conscious zeal to rid ourselves thereof.”<sup>43</sup> This defense of a commonly-held sentiment can be seen as evidence for Nirenberg’s assertion that “anti-Judaism should not be understood as some archaic or irrational closet in the vast edifices of Western thought. It was rather one of the basic tools with which that edifice was constructed.”<sup>44</sup> In *Das Judentum in der Musik*, Wagner used his perception of a communal opinion on Jews as a persuasive element in his argument and as a tool for self-justification.

One of the primary challenges in understanding Wagner’s relationship with Jews and Judaism is that, throughout *Das Judentum in der Musik*, Jews were initially considered in the abstract. These hypothetically presented personae do not align with the real people of Jewish ancestry with whom Wagner interacted. Throughout his life, Wagner had both professional and personal relationships with Jews, making it difficult to connect his broad denigration with the reality of these connections. In the early 1840s, Wagner was employed in Paris by the German Jewish music publisher, Maurice Schlesinger (1798-1871), writing musical instrument method books as well as a series of arrangements including a vocal score, piano score without voices, and other small ensembles of Donizetti’s *La Favorita* and various arrangements of Halévy’s *La reine de Chypre* and *Le*

---

<sup>43</sup> Wagner, “Judaism in music and other essays,” 75.

<sup>44</sup> Nirenberg, *Anti-Judaism: the Western Tradition*, 6.

*guitarrero*.<sup>45</sup> While in Paris, he made the acquaintance of Giacomo Meyerbeer, who ultimately aided in Wagner's securing of the first performance of *Rienzi* at the Dresden Hoftheater in 1842.<sup>46</sup> Wagner's envy of Meyerbeer's success has been widely studied; Barry Millington suggests that the attacks against Meyerbeer in *Das Judentum* were "provoked by repeated allegations that Wagner was indebted artistically, as well as financially."<sup>47</sup> *Das Judentum in der Musik* seems to indicate that Wagner was unable to accept that he was in any way beholden to Meyerbeer—and by extension any Jew.

Most recently, James Loeffler has written that *Das Judentum in der Musik* has served as both a model and document for response by the early architects of "Jewish musical nationalism" and, more broadly, the field of Jewish music studies. Loeffler argues "... at the very center of the emerging Jewish musical imagination [in pre-World War I essays on Jewish music and musicality] lay Wagner's iconic hate-text."<sup>48</sup> In declaring Wagner "the lingering ghost... inside modern Jewish culture," Loeffler reminds us that in both academic and lay contexts, we have not yet fully escaped Wagner's influence on the narrative that we continue to present.<sup>49</sup> Although as I recognize the continued and pervasive presence of Wagner's ghost, as Loeffler describes it, I have brought him into discussion only as relevant in the individual case studies. I have engaged with Wagner as he was a figure present

---

<sup>45</sup> Derek Watson, *Richard Wagner: a biography* (London, Melbourne, and Toronto: M. Dent & Sons, 1979): 71; Barry Millington, *Wagner* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998): 23.

<sup>46</sup> Millington, *Wagner*, 26.

<sup>47</sup> Barry Millington, John Deathridge, Carl Dahlhaus and Robert Bailey, "Wagner, (Wilhelm) Richard," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, accessed 9 September 2020, <https://doi-org.turing.library.northwestern.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.6002278269>.

<sup>48</sup> James Loeffler, "Richard Wagner's 'Jewish Music': Antisemitism and Aesthetics in Modern Jewish Culture," *Jewish Social Studies* 15, no. 2 (Winter 2009): 5.

<sup>49</sup> Loeffler, "Richard Wagner's 'Jewish Music,'" 27.

in the lives of the musicians that I address, however I do not frame the individual studies against Wagner.

One area where Wagnerian ideas are particularly present, however, is in reception history. I have endeavored in this study to include both positive and negative reception, from the time of composition, and through to present understandings of these works and their positions within questions of Jewishness and *Judentum*. Inasmuch as I have attempted to reveal composer's intentions in the creations of their musical works that engage with their *Judentum*, I have also always looked outward to reception histories from across Europe and the United States. Wagner remains present, often without overtly being mentioned or even credited. His antisemitic sentiments, rooted in centuries of anti-Jewish prejudice but codified and confidently expressed, endured in the critical evaluations of works by composer of Jewish ancestry during this period. My engagement with reception, however does not follow a Wagnerian model for what is included as a degenerative tendency within art music. Although I draw attention to cases in which critics perceived *Judentum* in the art music of the era, this alone does not qualify the case studies for inclusion in the canon of Jewish music. Rather, it is the creators—the musicians and composers of Jewish ancestry—whose stories I seek to bring out. They are the ones that reveal their *Judentum* in their music. Wagner and his antisemitism do not get a say here.

### **Case Studies in Acculturation, *Judentum*, and Music**

In Chapter 2, I begin with an exploration of Ferdinand Hiller (1811-1885), a direct contemporary and close friend of Felix Mendelssohn. My consideration of Hiller traces his very long career from the pre-emancipation years through to a very different Europe for musicians of Jewish ancestry. Hiller, like others in the early chapters of this study, was baptized a Protestant, though notably as an adult and not in childhood like Mendelssohn. Hiller's music engages with his *Judentum*

in highly concrete and visible ways; for example, he used stories and people from the Hebrew Bible as the subject for several of his oratorios and choral works. In the chapter, I present an analysis of *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems*, op. 24 (1840) alongside Mendelssohn's *Elijah*, op. 70 (1846), showing the cross-pollination of ideas between the two friends and how their shared Jewish ancestry became a foundational part of their personal and professional friendship. I also explore the legacy of his choral work, *Israel's Siegesgesang*, op. 151 (1871) and its appearance in the 1897 American Reform Jewish *Union Hymnal*. The chapter closes with Hiller's own writings, recalling and revealing much of his long-withheld sentiments on the place of *Judentum* with his life and music.

Chapters 3 and 4 are case studies of two of the most highly regarded virtuosos of the long nineteenth century, violinist Joseph Joachim (1831-1907) and pianist Anton Rubinstein (1829-1894). Neither Joachim nor Rubinstein was a native German and both held fraught relationships with their embraced Germanness (*Deutschtum*) and their respective Hungarian and Russian origins. Nonetheless, both embraced the German aesthetic and used it as a representation of the universalist acculturation. Similarly, both chose to engage with their Jewishness in somewhat of a refraction. Joachim's *Hebräische Melodien*, op. 9 (1855) and Rubinstein's "Evreiskaia melodiia/Hebräische Melodie" from his *Zwölf Lieder aus dem Russischen*, op. 78 (1868) reveal an image of Judaism through the lens of the poetry of Lord Byron. Rubinstein's extensive writing and compositions associated with his own invented genre of *geistliche Oper*, in particular his use of unbaptized Jewish librettists, shows a ready reliance on his Jewish heritage throughout his most successful and widely performed operas.

Chapters 5 and 6 form the case study of Hungarian-born composer, Carl Goldmark (1830-1915). In Chapter 5, I trace Goldmark's roots from German-speaking Pest and a childhood as the son of a synagogue cantor toward his mid-career success of the concert overture, *Sakuntala*, op. 13

(1865). I frame this chapter against writings to and about Goldmark, drawing extensively on his family letters as well as critical analyses in music and general interest periodicals. Similarly, I look to reception and review in understanding *Die Königin von Saba* (1875), his opera based on the Queen of Sheba from the Hebrew Bible, a work which took Vienna by storm and remained the most popular opera there until the *fin de siècle*. Much of Goldmark's case studies are a careful navigation of ideas of autobiography and memoir set against private letters and public discourse, in which I parse out different narratives and challenge assumptions made against what careful analysis of his own voice can reveal.

I conclude where my interest in this study began, with Friedrich Gernsheim (1839-1916), in Chapters 7 and 8. Like Hiller's friendship with Mendelssohn frames Chapter 2, Gernsheim's friendship with Max Bruch (1838-1920) forms the foundation of Chapter 7. My analysis of Gernsheim's *Elobenu* (1881) with Bruch's *Kol Nidrei*, op. 47 (1880) reveals not only how a composer in the post-emancipation period could more openly engage with his own *Judentum*, but also demonstrates how cordial bonds formed between Jews and Gentiles in this period allowed for an acculturation of Jewish sound into art music in a way not heard before. Chapter 8 lays out the unfolding mystery of his Symphony no. 3 in C minor, op. 54 (1888), a work whose *Judentum* was initially withheld, but later revealed as the social, religious, and cultural climate of Europe offered new ways to express Jewishness in an evolving and varied century of growth for engagement with music and *Judentum*.



## Chapter 2

### “Juden, getaufte und ungetaufte:”

#### Ferdinand Hiller and Musical Navigations of the Pre-Emancipation Era

Following the premiere of Ferdinand Hiller’s oratorio *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems*, op. 24 on April 2, 1840 at the Leipzig Gewandhaus, the Jewish periodical *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* declared: “An oratorio—written by a Jew, composed by a Jew, and on a fateful and noble period of the Jewish people—certainly deserves, if the work is sound, a report in these pages.”<sup>1</sup> Hiller (1811-1885) lived and worked throughout a period of tumultuous change, marked by unprecedented movement (both geographic and socio-economic), active assimilation, and formalized emancipation for the Jews of German-speaking Europe. He was a piano prodigy from a young age, could trace his musical lineage through his teacher Hummel back to Mozart, and became a champion of the musical heritage of the Classical era. Hiller was a direct contemporary of Felix Mendelssohn, with whom he was personally and professional close, but outlived him by almost four decades. Compared to his more famous friend, he has received only a fraction of the scholarly attention. Although it is tempting to look for parallels between the two, one important distinction must be underscored: unlike Mendelssohn, who was a child convert to Protestantism, Hiller was baptized as an adult.<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> “Literische Nachrichten,” *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* 4, no. 27 (4 July 1840): 390. “Ein von einem Juden gedichtetes, von einem Juden komponirtes, und einen Gegenstand aus einer schicksalsreichen Periode edle des jüdischen Volkes betreffendes Oratorium verdient gewiß, wenn die Gediegenheit des Kunstwerks dazukömmt, die Relation in diesem Blatte.”

<sup>2</sup> Hiller’s surviving letters with Mendelssohn, as well as extensive anecdotal information on the pair’s professional and personal relationship, were published almost thirty years after the more famous composer’s death. These materials are some of the most important primary source information on Mendelssohn’s creative process. See Ferdinand Hiller, *Mendelssohn: Letters and Recollections*, trans. M. E. von Glehn (New York: Vienna House, 1972); Ferdinand Hiller, *Felix*

Nevertheless, like Mendelssohn, Hiller cultivated a vast network of musicians, writers, and other cultural elite: Jews, *Neuchristen*, and Christians sensitive to the issues and challenges faced by Jews during the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>3</sup>

Hiller's presence in this dissertation as the first case study underscores the importance of recognition and careful study into the Jewish lives of musicians who fall into the category of *Neuchristen*. My use of this term echoes the work of both Jeffrey S. Sposato and David Conway in their explorations of Felix Mendelssohn and others in the early generations of acculturated and assimilated Central European Jewry.<sup>4</sup> Literally translating as "New Christians," the term *Neuchristen* offers an effective way to differentiate between acculturated Jews and those of Jewish heritage that had undergone baptism, either in childhood or in adulthood. The term carries no ideological framework, although Sposato often associates it with "enlightened, rationalist" viewpoints and, at times, opportunistic pragmatism in recognition of the social or professional standing that baptism might have offered.<sup>5</sup> Importantly, the German-language term is also differentiated from linguistic parallels of the Spanish and Portuguese Empires of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and onward, such as *Cristiano Nuevo* (Spanish), *Cristão-Novo* (Portuguese), and *Cristià Nou* (Catalan). More often referred to as *Conversos* or *Marranos*, these new Christians were treated with suspicion by political and religious authorities, given that such conversions were often taken under either coercion or threat of expulsion. Therefore religious sincerity was viewed as dubious. Although

---

*Mendelssohn-Bartholdy: Briefe und Erinnerungen* (Cologne: M. DuMont-Schauberg'schen Buchhandlung, 1874).

<sup>3</sup> Reinhold Sietz, ed., *Aus Ferdinand Hillers Briefwechsel (1826-1885) Beiträge zu einer Biographie Ferdinand Hillers*, 7 vols. (Cologne: Kongress der Internationalen Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft; Rheinische Musikgeschichte; Arno Volk-Verlag, 1958-1970).

<sup>4</sup> Sposato, *The Price of Assimilation*, 3; Conway, *Jewry in Music*, 6.

<sup>5</sup> Sposato, *The Price of Assimilation*, 24.

acknowledging that many *Neuchristen* were faced with mistrust of the honesty of their baptisms, both Sposato and Conway use the term more neutrally, as a useful distinguishing term for those of German-speakers of Jewish ancestry who had, at some point in their lives and for many numerous reasons, become baptized Christians.

Although born a Jew and keenly aware of both his own background and the collective *Judentum* within a modernizing and increasingly cosmopolitan German-speaking Europe at mid-century, Hiller was a Protestant *Neuchrist* for the majority of his life. However, both private correspondence and published writing reveal mindfulness not only of the trends in German Judaism, particularly as relates to synagogue music, but also of the challenges faced by Jews as they became assimilated members of the educated German middle-class. Although the term *antisemitismus* did not appear in print in Germany until 1879, ideologies centered in hatred of Jews were nothing new. This was the atmosphere in which Hiller composed, performed, and wrote—one in which Jews actively sought to join the cultural conversations of emerging *Deutschtum* [Germanness] and were proud to do so, even as their *Judentum* made the process more challenging and at times impossible.

Of course Hiller's music was not demonstrably "Jewish" by the Idelsohnian model, according to which Jewish music necessitates sonic markers of Judaism such as liturgical chant quotation, references to folk song, or other features commonly associated with the music of certain twentieth century composers (see Chapter 1). Additionally, he wrote no music directly for Jewish organizations or for the synagogue. Hiller engaged with *Judentum* primarily through the composition of works with Biblical texts and an apparent predilection for the Hebrew Bible. This shared source, the Hebrew Bible as the Christian Old Testament, allowed for his works to capitalize on a shared narrative between the German Protestants and German Jews. The presumed universality of such texts allowed for broad appeal and acceptance of the works and helped Hiller to build a professional

career as a highly respected musician, entirely aside from his religious and cultural heritage. His Biblically inspired works, among them those discussed in this chapter, the oratorio *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* and the cantata *Israel's Siegesgesang*, op. 151 (1871), were ultimately heard as drawing on the historicist conventions of the post-Mendelssohnian style rather than as overt expression of Hiller's Jewish heritage. My analyses of *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* and *Israel's Siegesgesang*, therefore, look both to the possible inherent Jewish voice that can be found within them, but also to the ways in which they were heard, analyzed, and used by Jewish and gentile audiences, critics, and organizations.

Scholarly treatment of Hiller in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries has been limited to a frustrating mixture of claimed inclusion as part of list of Jewishly-themed music and dismissal given his apostate status. In his 2012 book *Jewry in Music: Entry to the Profession from the Enlightenment to Richard Wagner*, David Conway subtitles the section on Germany "Mendelssohn, Meyerbeer and the rest."<sup>6</sup> Clearly, this was Conway's attempt at highlighting the two major German-born Jewish musicians in the first half of the nineteenth century, but in effect, the subtitle also underscores an issue that arises again and again throughout Jewish music studies on this period: that there were others beyond the big names that have overwhelmingly received the majority scholarly attention and concert hall audiences to date. Hiller is one of "the rest," to borrow from Conway's subtitle, that is the focus of this chapter on the early decades of the long nineteenth century. A careful exploration of the German and Jewish identities that he navigated throughout his life results in a more nuanced treatment of Hiller's case.

Histories of the secular musical involvement of assimilated Jews and *Neuchristen* during this period have recently been addressed by both Conway and Sposato.<sup>7</sup> The latter's dissertation research

---

<sup>6</sup> Conway, *Jewry in Music*, 143.

<sup>7</sup> Sposato, *The Price of Assimilation*, 24.

and the book that resulted from it—*The Price of Assimilation: Felix Mendelssohn and the Nineteenth-Century Anti-Semitic Tradition*—created a stir in musicological periodicals that focused primarily on Sposato's debunking of some of the incorrectly interpreted and sometimes completely mistranslated letters and documents from Mendelssohn's life by Eric Werner.<sup>8</sup> While some of the issue in this debate came from disciples of Werner, it is also clear from the backlash against Sposato's work was that it disrupted the decades-long view that Mendelssohn was a proud Jew whose religious and cultural identity permeated every decision he made and every note he composed.<sup>9</sup> Conway, who sides with Sposato, rightly states:

We have no record of him ever so much as entering a synagogue, and the history of his parents' religious progress... makes it extremely unlikely that he ever did so. Attempts to demonstrate that, for example, elements of [Mendelssohn's] music derive from that of the synagogue can therefore have no value.<sup>10</sup>

While Hiller did not figure into Sposato's initial work on Mendelssohn, Sposato's research serves a valuable model for analysis and perspective. As Sposato has stressed with regard to Mendelssohn, in order to understand a nineteenth century German composer's relationship with their Jewish

---

<sup>8</sup> Eric Werner, *Mendelssohn: A New Image of the Composer and His Age* (Glencoe, NY: New York Free Press of Glencoe, 1963).

<sup>9</sup> Jeffrey S. Sposato, "Creative Writing: The [Self-] Identification of Mendelssohn as a Jew," *The Musical Quarterly* 82, no. 1 (Spring 1998): 190-209; Leon Botstein, "Mendelssohn and the Jews," *The Musical Quarterly* 82, no. 1 (Spring 1998): 210-219; Peter Ward Jones, "Letter to the Editor," *The Musical Quarterly* 83, no. 1 (Spring 1999): 27-30; Michael P. Steinberg, "Mendelssohn's Music and German-Jewish Culture: An Intervention," *The Musical Quarterly* 83, no. 1 (Spring 1999): 31-44; Leon Botstein, "Mendelssohn, Werner, and the Jews: A Final Word," *The Musical Quarterly* 83, no. 1 (Spring 1999): 45-50; Jeffrey S. Sposato, "Mendelssohn, 'Paulus', and the Jews: A Response to Leon Botstein and Michael Steinberg," *The Musical Quarterly* 83, no. 2 (Summer 1999): 280-291; Leon Botstein, "Notes from the Editor: Mendelssohn as Jew: Revisiting Controversy on the Occasion of the Composer's 200th Birthday," *The Musical Quarterly* 92, no. 1/2 (Spring-Summer 2009): 1-8; Jeffrey S. Sposato, "Mendelssohn and Assimilation: Two Case Studies," *Ars Lyrica* 19 (2010): 1-26.

<sup>10</sup> Conway, *Jewry in Music*, 173. Here Conway is alluding to Werner's attempt to like a melody in *Elijah* to a synagogue melody. See Werner, *Mendelssohn*, 471.

heritage, it is necessary not to restrict the exploration to a search for sonic markers as demonstrable examples of musically-expressed pride in *Judentum*. I have drawn from Sposato his more nuanced approach, including a rigorous exploration of primary source documents both private correspondence and from periodicals, and a measured avoidance of attempting to “get inside the head” of a musician and pathologize their engagement with the Jewish heritage. The large picture of Hiller’s network thus appears complex, ardently German, complicatedly Jewish, and in constant, negotiated balance among these conflicting influences.

### **From Hildesheim to Hiller: A Family Identity in Flux**

The Hiller family’s Jewish and German journeys involved assimilation, change of surname, baptism, and varying amounts of acceptance and discrimination. Hiller’s father was born Isaac Hildesheimer (1760-1833, sometimes appearing as Isaak Hildesheim or related variants). He was a co-owner of a successful English textile trading company based in Frankfurt, Sichel und Hildesheimer, founded in 1807. He became known by the name Justus Hiller sometime in the first decade of the nineteenth century, though did not formally announce the change until April 1810, when he took out several advertisement notices addressed to “meine Freunde” in the *Intelligenz-Blatt der freien Stadt Frankfurt*.<sup>11</sup> Justus married to his business partner’s sister, Regina Sichel, and the couple had two children, Joseph, who became a business owner like his father, and Ferdinand.<sup>12</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> Justus Hiller, [Notice], *Intelligenz-Blatt der freien Stadt Frankfurt* 60, no. 31 (17 April 1810): n.p.; 60, no. 33 (21 April 1810): n.p. A date of 1802 for the name change is indicated in Alexander Dietz, *Stammbuch der Frankfurter Juden. Geschichtliche mitteilungen über die Frankfurter jüdischen familien von 1349-1849, nebst einem plane der Judengasse* (Frankfurt am Main: J. St. Goar, 1907): 153. The textile firm maintained Hildesheim for several more years, Although, a notice from December 1816. See *Handlungs-Adress-Kalender von Frankfurt am Main auf das Jahr 1816* (Frankfurt am Main: Johann Philipp Streng [Strengsche Buchhandlung], 1816): 72; *Jahrbuch für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur*, vol. 28 (Berlin: M. Poppelauer, 1927): 55.

<sup>12</sup> Dietz, *Stammbuch der Frankfurter Juden*, 153.

Not only was Hiller's father a successful merchant, but he was well-known and highly respected among Frankfurt Jews. He was selected by the Frankfurt Jewish community, along with Rabbi Salomon Abraham Trier, to represent the city's Jews at the Napoleonic Sanhedrin in Paris during 1807-1808.<sup>13</sup> This convening of a Jewish high court by Napoleon I echoed two distinct practices: the French *assemblée des notables* (literally, "assembly of notables"), in which the King of France brought together high-ranking communal or clerical officials as advisors on issues of the state; and the Jewish *Sanhedrin* (סנהדרין, literally, "sitting together"), the rabbinical court system which held judicial authority over cities in ancient Israel.<sup>14</sup> On May 30, 1806, at the suggestion of his advisor on Jewish affairs Count Louis Matthieu Molé, Napoleon issued a decree calling for an Assembly of Jewish Notables from France and Italy to organize in Paris to discuss twelve questions related to marriage, legal rights, and the role of religious courts and their relationship with civil law.<sup>15</sup> These delegates were to be "nominated by the prefects from among the rabbis, the land-holders, and

---

<sup>13</sup> Simon M. Dubnow, *Die neueste Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes (1789-1914)*, vol. 1, *Das Zeitalter der ersten Emanzipation (1789-1815)* (Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1920): 218-219.

<sup>14</sup> There is no singular title that consistently refers to this event in English, although in French—including the medal that was struck in commemoration of the event—it appears as *Grand Sanhédrin*. In the interest of identifying the event within its historical context, I use "Napoleonic Sanhedrin." One further note worth considering is some potential antisemitic overtones of the chosen name "Sanhedrin," which was apparently made not by the Jews involved in the event, but by powers that in the Napoleonic administration: it was the Sanhedrin that put forth false witnesses to condemn Jesus to death in the four Gospels of the New Testament.

<sup>15</sup> Gotthard Deutsch, S. Mannheimer, "Sanhedrin, French," *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 11:46-48, accessed 9 September 2019, <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/13180-sanhedrin-french>. See also various documents from both Napoleon and the leaders of the Sanhedrin in Paul Mendes-Flohr and Jehuda Reinharz, eds., *The Jew in the Modern World: A Documentary History*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011): 148-163; François Delpech, "Les Juifs en France et dans L'Empire du la Genese du Grand Sanhedrin," *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* 51, no. 235 (1979): 1-26; Charles Touati, "Le Grand Sanhédrin de 1807 et le droit rabbinique." *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* 51, no. 235 (1979): 27-48; Michael Graetz, *The Jews in Nineteenth-Century France: From the French Revolution to the Alliance Israélite Universelle*, trans. Jane Marie Todd (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996): 32-40.

other Jews, the most distinguished by their integrity and their knowledge.”<sup>16</sup> Once satisfied with the answers provided by the Assembly of Notables, Napoleon called for the convening of a so-called “Great Sanhedrin” to assure that such practices were implemented. The Sanhedrin was to consist of seventy members—about two-thirds rabbis and the remaining chosen by the Assembly—with the specific clause: “You will observe that the Portuguese, German, and Italian Jews, are equally represented on this committee.”<sup>17</sup> This new Sanhedrin first met on February 9, 1807, and began with a service at a synagogue before the members met at the Hôtel de Ville, one of the most important municipal buildings in all of Paris. In this iconic space, the Napoleonic Sanhedrin was a reunion of ancient religious practice and modern civic pomp. Following in the practice of at the Temple-era Sanhedrin, attendees were seated in a semi-circle, according to age, with rabbis seated in front of lay members.<sup>18</sup> Charles Monnet’s drawing (fig. 2.1) from the event show participants in modern dress, with bare heads and tri-cornered hats under their arms. Michel François Damane-Démartrais’s engraving (fig. 2.2) presents a slightly more diverse assembly, with a mixture of bearded men with head-coverings and others cleanshaven and bareheaded, all adorned in black judicial robes.

The viewpoint that the Frankfurt Jews presented to the Sanhedrin has been preserved in an address made to those present from Isaac Hildesheim (as he was still known at this time) and Rabbi Trier. In this statement, signed by over two-hundred and fifty members of the Frankfurt Jewish

---

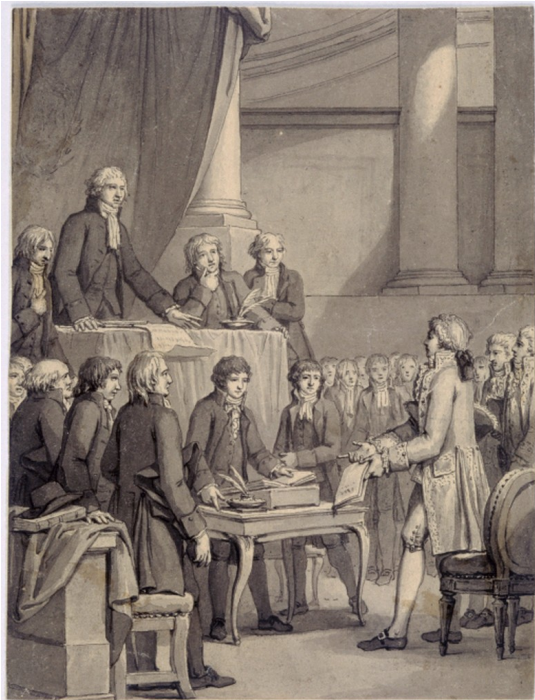
<sup>16</sup> Napoleon Bonaparte, “Imperial Decree, given at the Palace of St. Cloud, May 30, 1806,” in *Transactions of the Parisian Sanhedrin: or, Acts of the Assembly of Israelitish Deputies of France and Italy, convoked at Paris by an imperial and royal decree, dated May 30, 1806*, ed. Diogene Tama, trans. F.D. Kirwan (London: Charles Taylor, 1807): 105-108. The locations of the delegates were listed as Upper Rhine, Lower Rhine, Mont Tonnerre, Rhine and Moselle, Sarre, Roer, Moselle, Meurthe, Vosges, Gironde, Lower Pyrenees, Vaucluse, Cote-d’Or, and Seine.

<sup>17</sup> Count Molé, “Sitting of the 18<sup>th</sup> of September, 1806,” in *Transactions of the Parisian Sanhedrin*, 242-247.

<sup>18</sup> Mendes-Flohr and Reinhartz, eds., *The Jew in the Modern World*, 159.



**FIGURE 2.1.** Charles Monnet, *Assembly of the Grand Sanhedrin of the Jews of the Empire*, 1820s.<sup>19</sup>



**FIGURE 2.2.** Michel François Damane-Démartrais, *Grand Sanhédrin des Israélites de l'Empire français et du royaume d'Italie* : [estampe], [n.d.].<sup>20</sup>



<sup>19</sup> Charles Monnet, *Assembly of the Grand Sanhedrin of the Jews of the Empire*, 1820s, drawing, Musée national des châteaux de Malmaison et de Bois Préau, accessed 9 September 2019, [https://library-artstor-org.turing.library.northwestern.edu/asset/ARMNIG\\_10313470768](https://library-artstor-org.turing.library.northwestern.edu/asset/ARMNIG_10313470768).

<sup>20</sup> Michel François Damane-Démartrais, *Grand Sanhédrin des Israélites de l'Empire français et du royaume d'Italie* : [estampe], [n.d.], engraving, Bibliothèque nationale de France, accessed 11 October 2019, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6946924b>.

community, the pair emphasized their position as “men equally and deeply impressed with the true spirit of their religion and with a just sense of the duties of virtuous citizens.”<sup>21</sup> They then expressed hope that the model of the French Jews, as full and obedient members of their secular nation, could be adopted throughout all of Europe, and that the resulting state protections could be extended beyond the borders of France.

The participation of his father in the Napoleonic Sanhedrin complicates existing narratives on Ferdinand Hiller’s engagement with his Jewishness. Given that there has not yet been a monograph-length study on Hiller, and that his biography has often appeared as a kind of parenthesis within a study of more major figures of the nineteenth century, there has been a tendency to characterize his *Judentum* as a mere circumstance of birth, abandoned in adulthood. This dismissal appears even in the work of Reinhold Sietz, who transcribed hundreds of the Hiller letters and contributed the Grove article on Hiller.<sup>22</sup> While the family’s level of assimilation within the broader Frankfurt social and commercial society is not in question, Hiller’s childhood Jewish education must have been extensive, and his awareness that he was part of an elite and trusted family within the community—one whose patriarch had been elected to represent interests abroad—should not be dismissed. Clearly, the Hiller family valued a maintenance of Judaism, but also appreciated the flexibility and broad access that assimilation permitted.

By somewhat of a lucky happenstance, Hiller’s last name may have allowed him a certain amount of access not necessarily offered to other *Neuchristen* of the same era. A last name like

---

<sup>21</sup> “Address of the Israelites of Frankfort on the Maine, to the President and to the Assembly of the Deputies of those of France and of Italy,” in *Transactions of the Parisian Sanhedrin*, 313.

<sup>22</sup> Reinhold Sietz and Matthias Wiegandt, “Hiller, Ferdinand (von),” *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, accessed 9 September 2019, <https://doi-org.turing.library.northwestern.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.13041>.

Mendelssohn—both in its literal meaning as “Mendel’s son” and in association with the great Jewish reformer and philosopher Moses Mendelssohn (1729-86, grandfather of Felix)—firmly identified the family as profoundly and undeniably Jewish, all baptisms aside. Such was not the case for a more generically German surname like Hiller.<sup>23</sup> Similarly, a last name tied to city—such as Dessauer, Gernsheim, or Hildesheim—were equally similar identifiers one’s Jewish background. Ferdinand Hiller, however, despite the Hildesheim origin of his name, benefitted by an often-incorrect association within the minds of the German musically-knowledgeable: Johann Adam Hiller (1728-1804), the first Kapellmeister of the Leipzig Gewandhaus and later the cantor of the Thomaskirche.<sup>24</sup> This false relation was so prevalently given that such reports endured even to the 1870s, long after Hiller’s positive reputation had been gained through his successful compositions and influential teaching career.<sup>25</sup>

### Hiller’s Early Musical Years

As a child, Hiller’s prodigious musical talent was quickly identified. He received early instruction in piano and music theory in Frankfurt with Alois Schmitt, performing his first solo concert at the age of ten.<sup>26</sup> He studied in Weimar from 1825 to 1827, under Johann Nepomuk Hummel. Both his performances and early compositions received praise there. A report on incidental music that the teenaged Hiller had written for Friedrich Schiller’s play *Maria Stuart* stated

---

<sup>23</sup> Sposato, “Mendelssohn and Assimilation,” 7.

<sup>24</sup> Sposato, “Mendelssohn and Assimilation,” 7.

<sup>25</sup> “Biographisches, Ferdinand Hiller,” *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* 2, no. 40 (29 September 1871): 630, cited in Sposato, “Mendelssohn and Assimilation,” 7.

<sup>26</sup> Hiller, *Mendelssohn: Letters and Recollections*, 1; *Briefe und Erinnerungen*, 1. Hiller describes himself as being known around town as “the little pianoforte player with the long hair” (“ein Kleiner Clavierspieler mit langen haaren”).

that “the attempts of the young give great hopes for the achievements of the man.”<sup>27</sup> Hiller went to Paris in 1828, continuing to build a positive reception for both his performance on the piano and for his compositions. He performed the Parisian premiere of Beethoven’s Piano Concerto no. 5 in E-flat major, op.73 under the baton of Hector Berlioz in November 1829.<sup>28</sup> His tendency toward the conservative styles of his teachers—especially Hummel—was already evident by this time; one reviewer observed “the style of his compositions assures us that he [Hiller] is walking the road of good models, and that he is unwilling to sacrifice to the caprices of fashion.”<sup>29</sup>

During this early period, the fact that Hiller was a Jew was not lost on his friends and colleagues, and even fellow Jews commented on it. The Prague-born composer Josef Dessauer (1798-1876), himself from a wealthy Jewish family, wrote jokingly in a letter to Hiller in 1834, “Tu es done ma conscience, habillé en juif!”<sup>30</sup> The quotation here, albeit slightly misremembered, is an allusion to Victor Hugo’s play *Mary Tudor*, which had premiered just a year previous to the Dessauer’s letter.<sup>31</sup> In the play, an unnamed Jew acts as moralistic conscience to the play’s lead, Fabiano Fabiani. Though Hiller’s original letter is lost, it appears Hiller had insinuated that the elder composer was lazy in efforts to have his work published.

---

<sup>27</sup> “Weimar,” *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 28, no. 27 (5 July 1826): 443. “...der Versuch des Jünglings gebe schönen Hoffnungen für die Leistungen des Mannes.”

<sup>28</sup> “Butin.,” *Le Corsaire: journal des spectacles, de la littérature, des arts, des moeurs et des modes* 7, no. 2461 (28 October 1829): 3-4.

<sup>29</sup> “Annonces,” *Revue Musicale* 3, no. 5 (1829): 120. “Son exécution rappelle la manière sage et pure de Hummel, dont il est élève, et le style large de ses compositions annonce qu’il marchera dans la route des bons modèles, et qu’il est peu disposé à sacrifier aux caprices de la mode.”

<sup>30</sup> Joseph aus Egypten [Josef Dessauer], Letter to Ferdinand Hiller (7 November 1834) in *Aus Ferdinand Hillers Briefwechsel*, 1:16. It is unclear why Dessauer signed the letter “Joseph from Egypt,” although the Biblical association is apparent.

<sup>31</sup> Victor Hugo, *Oeuvres de Victor Hugo*, vol. 6, *Drames, Marie Tudor* (Paris: Eugène Renduel, 1833): 45.

In addition to the private reference between co-religionists of each other's Jewishness, Hiller was quite ready to self-identify as a Jew, at least later in his life when he was professionally well-established and the freedoms offered by emancipation seemed somewhat well-assured. In his recollections of Felix Mendelssohn, first published serially in England in 1874, but shortly thereafter in German, Hiller recalled "the sorts of jokes" in which he indulged with his childhood acquaintance, the teenaged Mendelssohn.<sup>32</sup> The pun, which Hiller described as made by Mendelssohn through stifled laughs, fails to translate well into English. It reads "Weißt du, wie eine Lichtputze auf Hebräisch heißt?"<sup>33</sup> The capitalizes on the double meaning of the German *Lichtputze* (wick-scissors) and Yiddish *לעך* (penis), while simultaneously referencing the derogatory figure of the *Lichtputzer* in the theater, who was necessarily costumed in order to complete his task of extinguishing the stage lights.<sup>34</sup> For Mendelssohn to make such a statement is as illuminating of his engagement with Jewishness as it is of Hiller's own willingness to reveal the private moment in such a public way. Through Hiller, we see that Mendelssohn, like many *Neuchristen* of the early decades of the nineteenth century, would have been keenly aware of his heritage and the cultural idiosyncrasies that came along with it. The joke reveals a certain amount of comfort that could be felt in this self-identification with the community of those of Jewish ancestry. Regardless of how they religiously identified in the present time, their heritage was unchanged and their Jewish insider knowledge—for

---

<sup>32</sup> Hiller, *Mendelssohn: Letters and Recollections*, 12; *Briefe und Erinnerungen*, 11.

<sup>33</sup> Hiller, *Mendelssohn: Letters and Recollections*, 12; *Briefe und Erinnerungen*, 11. Glehn's English translation of this loses the flavor of the joke entirely: "Do you know the Hebrew for snuffers?" While the translation is grammatically accurate, the pun works only in German.

<sup>34</sup> Goethe included the *lichtputzer* as a character in his short comedic play *Das Jahrmarkts-Fest zu Plundersweilern*. See Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Das Jahrmarkts-Fest zu Plundersweilern*, in *Schriften*, vol. 8 (Leipzig: Göschen, 1789): 7-90. See also Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, (Leipzig, 1854-1961): 12:889, accessed 8 October 2019, <http://woerterbuchnetz.de>.

example here with the double entendre of the Hebrew/Yiddish against the German—persisted. Although Hiller does not comment further on his Jewish connection with Mendelssohn within his *Recollections*, the story is quite surprising given both the adolescent vulgarity and Hiller's willingness to reveal it. By this time, although he had been a baptized Christian for more than thirty years, Hiller still retained a qualified, vestigial connection to his *Judentum*, not unlike the childhood connection to Jewish humor that Mendelssohn seemed to hold, allowing him to make the joke in the first place.

Unlike some of the later composers who will be discussed in this dissertation, Hiller's *Judentum* rarely served as a direct avenue for criticism of his music, both before his baptism as he was gaining a reputation and in the subsequent decades once he was both Protestant and well-established as a pianist, conductor, composer, and teacher. One possible allusion to Hiller's status as Other appeared in an early review of Robert Schumann in his *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*.<sup>35</sup> The review, published serially over several issues, addressed in depth Hiller's Etudes for piano, op. 15 (1835). Hiller was only twenty-four years old at this time and did not yet hold a music directorship or teaching position. Overall, Schumann's critique was mindful of this; he neither wholly condemns the young composer nor offers unmitigated praise. Instead, the analysis focused on how Hiller showed a devotion to his training from conservative masters, such as Hummel and an awareness of the musical heritage from Bach, Mozart, and Beethoven. Schumann also acknowledged Hiller's stylistic influences, including Mendelssohn's "adventurous and fairy-like regions" or Chopin's "enthusiasm

---

<sup>35</sup> [Robert Schumann], "Kritik: Ferdinand Hiller, XXIV Etudes p. 1. Pfte. Oeuv. 15. Leipzig, Hofmeister, Pr. 3 Thlr.," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 2, no. 2 (6 January 1835): 5-6; 2, no. 11 (6 February 1835): 41-44; 2, no. 13 (13 February 1835): 53; 2, no. 14 (17 February 1835): 55-57. Republished with editing and without musical examples in Robert Schumann, *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker* (Leipzig: George Wigand, 1854), 1:69-86.

and inspiration.”<sup>36</sup> Most relevant to the discussion of a potential echo of *Judentum* to be heard in

Hiller are Schumann’s comments on harmony:

His melodies are subordinate to his harmonies; the latter are rich, even Oriental, and yet they progress stiffly. It is difficult to understand how any one who has lived through, and written, so much music as our composer, can allow harmonies to stand in his own works that are not merely else according to certain washed-out, antiquated rules, but that sound so repugnant to us, that if I did not know him better, I should say, ‘You do not possess a musical ear.’ Among such examples I would signalise the first notes in the 2d measure of the 9<sup>th</sup> study. At first I suspected errors in the press, but I found the dreadful doubled third again at the repetition. Almost in every study I found such insupportable intervals [in no. 1, pg. 3, 5<sup>th</sup> system and in no. 13...].<sup>37</sup>

Schumann’s use of “Oriental” [*orientalisch*] is loaded and frustratingly one-off; it is the only time in the collected *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker* that he used such a designation to describe any portion of a musical work. Furthermore, the use of the term is hardly Edward Said’s interpretation of the term as a Western view of the nebulously defined “East.” In problematizing how the term has come to be used today, Ralph P. Locke writes, “...despite its origins ‘Orientalism’ has become a term that can refer to any world population—including Caribbeans and blond Scandinavian-Americans—that differs from whatever a work of art constructs as its mainstream

---

<sup>36</sup> Robert Schumann, *Music and Musicians. Essays and Criticisms*, trans. and ed. Fanny Raymond Ritter (London: William Reeves, 1877), 334-335.

<sup>37</sup> Schumann, *Music and Musicians*, 338; *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker*, 1:78, Original appeared as *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 2, no. 14 (17 February 1835): 55-57 “So steht auch die Melodie in untergeordnetem Verhältniß zur Harmonie, welche reich, ja orientalisches, oft auch geschmacklos und hart fortschreitet. Unbegreiflich ist es, wie Jemand, der so viel in Musik, gelebt und geschrieben, Bestes und Schlechtestes gehört und unterscheiden gelernt hat, wie unser Componist, in seinen eignen Sachen Harmonieen stehen lassen kann, die nicht etwa falsch nach gewissen altwaschenen Gesetzen, sondern so widrig klingen, daß ich ihm, wenn ich ihn nicht weiter konnte, gerade zu fagen müßte: "es fehlt dir die innere Musik." Zu so einem Ausspruch würden mich die ersten Noten im 2ten Tact der 9ten Etude bestimmen; erst vermuthete ich Druckfehler, fand aber die gräßliche verdoppelte Terz bei der Wiederholung wieder. Fast in allen Etuden finden sich solche unleidliche Intervalle, in Nr. 1 S. 3. im ganzen 5ten System, sodann in der Nr. 13:...”

European or white-American persona or viewpoint.”<sup>38</sup> However, Schumann’s claim is doubly perplexing. First, he described not specific melodic devices, non-Western scales, or other so-called *alla Turca* style passages, but Hiller’s use of harmony as Oriental. For Schumann, the exotic is found in the music’s thickness of vertical structure rather than where it is usually located, for example the horizontal, melodic construction. Secondly, the descriptor of Oriental is tied to a work that gives no external context clues for inherent Othering. The Etudes are neither texted nor contain a descriptive title. Furthermore, there is no indication such as *alla Turca*. Scored for solo piano, there is little chance for evocation of any sort of instrumental echo a mysterious East. The most plausible reasoning that Schumann could have had for this statement is to call out Hiller for his status as an Other—a Jew. Given the review’s overall positive spin, that indicates that the composer is still searching for his ultimate musical voice, Schumann’s thoughts can be read much in the same way that he described early Chopin works as containing “especial Sarmatian physiognomy,” while later works reached a more “universal ideal,” which in turn allowed Chopin to become more popular: “...the further he removes from it [his Polish origin], the greater will his consequence in the general world of art become.”<sup>39</sup> Schumann’s “general world of art” was, of course, the German world of art, so it can be assumed that the comment on Hiller is similar to that regarding Chopin—that there was something to be heard in Hiller that was *not quite* German. Schumann cited was the second measure

---

<sup>38</sup> Ralph P. Locke, *Musical Exoticism: Images and Reflections* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 37.

<sup>39</sup> Schumann, *Music and Musicians*, 208; *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker*, 1:289. “Das kleine Interesse der Scholle, auf der er geboren, mußte sich dem weltbürgerlichen zum Opfer bringen, und schon verliert sich in seinen neueren Werken die zu specielle sarmatische Physiognomie... Aber um so mehr er sich von ihr entfernt, um so mehr seine Bedeutung für das Allgemeine der Kunst zunehmen wird.” The Sarmatians were a culture in present-day Iran that flourished during antiquity and were widely believed during this period to be the ancestors of Poles.



of Etude no. 9 in A-flat major, in which Hiller doubled the G, the third of the key's dominant seventh chord (ex. 2.1).

**EXAMPLE 2.1.** Ferdinand Hiller, *Etudes for piano*, op. 15, no. 9, *Lento ma non troppo*, mm. 1-4.

The musical score for Example 2.1 consists of two systems of piano music. The first system shows measures 1 and 2. The right hand plays chords, with the third of the dominant seventh chord (G) doubled in the first measure. The left hand plays a melodic line with triplets in measures 1, 2, 3, and 4. The second system shows measures 3 and 4. The right hand continues with chords, and the left hand continues with the melodic line and triplets. The tempo is 'Lento ma non troppo' and the piece is marked 'espressivo'.

Mendelssohn referenced Schumann's review to Hiller in a letter from 1839, though it is apparent it was not clear to him that Schumann had authored it, and he does not specifically mention to the Orientalist critique. Mendelssohn found the review a humorous one, commenting its author seemed comfortable in analyzing Hiller's works with incredible vigor, although the author seemed not to know Hiller personally:

I took it away with me to read, and a great deal of it really gave me extraordinary pleasure; it is evidently written by some one who is not personally acquainted with you in the very least degree, but on the other hand knows every one of your works most intimately, some one who was not even aware that you were no longer in Frankfort, and yet could picture you to himself quite well and distinctly from your compositions, and is evidently very favourably disposed towards you.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Hiller, *Mendelssohn: Letters and Recollections*, 136-137; *Briefe und Erinnerungen*, 120-121. "Ich nahm's gleich mit, las es und vieles darin hat mir wirklich außerordentlich gefallen; es ist offenbar von Iemand gemacht, der Dich persönlich nicht im mindesten kennt, dagegen jedes Deiner Werke aufs genaueste, der, nicht einmal wußte, daß Du nicht mehr in Frankfurt seiest und dennoch Dein

Although there is evidence of some underlying anti-Jewish sentiment in Schumann's diaries and private letters, he did not voice such opinions in public opinion.<sup>41</sup> As such, the critique cannot be definitely ascribed to an awareness or derision against Hiller's *Judentum*, although the effect of this Othering of Hiller could certainly have been perceived by readers of the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*.

### Italy, Baptism, and Marriage

Hiller returned home to Frankfurt in 1838 as conductor of the Cäcilienverein, but shortly thereafter spent several years in Italy in hopes of finding success as a composer of opera. While in Italy, he met the Polish opera singer Antolka Hogé. The pair married on June 21, 1841 in Livorno.<sup>42</sup> The new Frau Hiller was born in Warsaw, and her Jewish status has not been extensively investigated in the existing Hiller scholarship. Wagner described her as being of Jewish ancestry, stating that it was under her encouragement and influence that the couple was baptized as Protestants in Italy.<sup>43</sup> Reinhold Sietz, however, wrote that the bride was a Catholic.<sup>44</sup> Sietz's evidence

---

Wesen sich gut und deutlich aus den Compositionen vorstellt, von Jemand, der es offenbar gut mit Dir meint." The specific date is not given. Mendelssohn either did not voice any criticism directly to Hiller, or Hiller chose not to include it in his *Recollections*. However Mendelssohn did write to Moscheles, "Some studies of Hiller's I saw the other day I could not bring myself to like, either; which I am sorry for, because I am fond of him, and believe he has talent." See Felix Mendelssohn, Letter to Ignaz Moscheles (25 March 1835) in *Letters of Felix Mendelssohn to Ignaz and Charlotte Moscheles*, trans. Felix Moscheles (Boston: Ticknor and Company, 1888), 133.

<sup>41</sup> Jon W. Finson, *Robert Schumann: The Book of Songs* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2007), 213, 269.

<sup>42</sup> "Heiraths: Anzeige," *Allgemeine Zeitung München* no. 186 (5 July 1841): 1486. "Entfernten Freunden und Bekannten zeige ich hiermit an, daß ich mich Sonntag den 20 Junius zu Livorno mit Fraulein Antolka Hogé aus Warschau verheirathet habe, und emrfehle mich ihrer wohlwillenden Theilnahme. Florenz, am 23 Junius 1841, Ferdinand Hiller."

<sup>43</sup> Richard Wagner, *My Life*, vol. 1 (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1911), 355-356; Richard Wagner, *Mein Leben*, vol. 1 (München: F. Bruckmann, 1911), 350.

<sup>44</sup> Reinhold Sietz., ed., *Aus Ferdinand Hillers Briefwechsel, Beiträge zu einer Biographie Ferdinand Hillers*, vol. 1, 1826-1861 (Cologne: Erscheint gleichzeitig als Band 28 der Beiträge für rheinische Musikgeschichte. Festgabe zum 7. Kongress der Internationalan Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft,

is a letter from Austrian composer Sigismund Neukomm: “The success of your marriage seems to me to be a true miracle of religious tolerance on the part of the priests of different faiths. Tell me, how did it happen? It has a philosophical and psychological interest for me.”<sup>45</sup> Neukomm’s letter would indicate that the baptism and wedding occurred at a Protestant church, however the Lutheran minority in Italy was quite small. Nonetheless, this appears to be the case. Marriage records from the Evangelische Kirche in Frankfurt, indicate that Hiller was baptized on May 10, 1841 in Florence.<sup>46</sup>

It appears that in different ways both Wagner and Sietz were correct in describing Antolka Hiller née Hoge’s religion and ancestry. She was born a Jew but baptized as young child into the Catholic church. Her father, not unlike Hiller’s father, had a multi-faceted and developing relationship with Jewishness throughout his lifetime. A 1904 index on Jewish converts in Poland, created for somewhat unclear purposes, listed a “Hoge” family as converts to Catholicism from Warsaw in 1825, when their children Julia and Antonina were seven and five, respectively.<sup>47</sup> The story thus becomes considerably more complicated than a family of Jews following in the paths of

---

Köln, 23-28 Juni 1958): 1:47. Sietz incorrectly suggested that the wedding took place in Frankfurt and writes that it was rumored that the bride was related to Prince Poniatowski. What is more likely is that the Poniatowski family was regularly listed as godparents when Polish Jews were baptized as Catholics. See Teodor Jeske-Choiński, *Neofici Polscy: Materiały historyczne* (Warsaw: Druk Piotra Laskauera, 1904), 118.

<sup>45</sup> Sigismund Neukomm, Letter to Ferdinand Hiller (n.d.), in *Aus Ferdinand Hillers Briefwechsel*, 1:47. “Das Gelingen Ihrer Heyrath scheint mir ein wahres Wunder religiöser Toleranz von Seiten der Priester beyderseitiger Glaubengenossenschaften zu seyn—sagen Sie mir, wie sich das alles gestaltet hat—es hat für mich, in philosophischer und psychologischer Hinsicht, Interesse.”

<sup>46</sup> Evang. Kirche Frankfurt am Main, Hessen, *Heiratsregister*, vol. 28 (1839-1842), 483.

<sup>47</sup> Jeske-Choiński, *Neofici Polscy*, 136. In the introduction, Jeske-Choiński explained that many Poles had sought to hide their ancestors’ Jewish identities. This seemingly innocuous comment is followed by the question, “Why would a convert be ashamed of their Jewish ancestry? A Jew is a human being like everyone else and can, if he wants, be as useful, honest, and dignified as everyone else.” See Jeske-Choiński, *Neofici Polscy*, 138. “Dlaczego zresztą miałby się neofita wstydzić swojego źródła żydow skiego? Żyd jest człowiekiem, jak każdy inny, i mo że, jeśli tylko zechce, być tak samo użytecznym, ucz ciwym, zacnym, jak każdy inny.”

many others in their city in conversion to the dominant Christian religion. In fact, Hiller's father-in-law was Stanislaus Hoga, known as a child as Chaskel [Yehezkiel, Ezekiel] Meshmad [Mushamad], the talented and brilliant son of a rabbi from the village of Kuzmir (present day Kazimierz Dolny, in the Lublin region).<sup>48</sup> Hoga had been engaged at the age of ten and unhappily married by thirteen, though his wife's family business connections allowed him a new access to the outside world.<sup>49</sup> He became a master of many languages, serving as translator and mediator between Jews, French officers, and Poles during the Napoleonic invasion of Poland. Yet this exposure to the broader European society left him disillusioned with his own Hasidic upbringing. In 1817, Hoga abandoned his young family and began a new life in Warsaw, though he brought along with him the daughter of the village tailor—Yitta (or Yutta), who would eventually change her name to Anna and give him two daughters.<sup>50</sup> At some point in the 1820s, Hoga met Alexander McCaul of the London Society for Promoting Christianity amongst the Jews; he ultimately moved to England and went on to translate McCaul's *The Old Paths* (*Netivot Olam*) into Hebrew in 1837.<sup>51</sup> This was seen as exceptionally problematic by both professing Jews and those who had undergone baptism, as David B. Ruderman comments:

This was considered the ultimate act of betrayal by the Jewish community since they feared McCaul's learned assault against rabbinic Judaism, especially his claims that the rabbis displayed great contempt for the non-Jew, the Jewish woman, and the Jewish poor, would have a detrimental effect on the morale of Jews everywhere, especially when distributed in

---

<sup>48</sup> David B. Ruderman, "The Intellectual and Spiritual Journey of Stanislaus Hoga: From Judaism to Christianity to Hebrew Christianity," in *Converts of Conviction: Faith Skepticism in Nineteenth Century European Jewish Society*, ed. David B. Ruderman (Berlin and Boston: de Gruyter, 2018), 42. See also Beth-Zion Lask Abrahams, "Stanislaus Hoga—Apostate and Penitent," *Transactions (Jewish Historical Society of England)* 15 (1939-1945): 121-149; and Shnayer Z. Leiman, "The Baal Teshuvah and the Emden-Eibeschutz Controversy," *Judaic Studies* 1 (1985): 3-26.

<sup>49</sup> Leiman, "The Baal Teshuvah," 17.

<sup>50</sup> Ruderman, "The Intellectual and Spiritual Journey of Stanislaus Hoga," 43.

<sup>51</sup> Alexander McCaul, נתיבות עולם [*Netivot Olam*], trans. Stanislaus Hoga (London, 1882).

Hebrew... Chaskel Mushamad [Stanislaus Hoga] has apparently revealed his true colors as a self-hating Jew and hostile enemy of his former co-religionists.<sup>52</sup>

Hoga's ideology, however, continued to develop and his later publications advocate for a sort of syncretic mixture of Judaism and Christianity, in which Jews sin in rejecting Jesus, but gentiles cannot be truly saved without embracing Jewish practice.<sup>53</sup>

Hoga's daughters made their way to Paris, where Antonina (and probably also Julia) was educated as a singer at the Conservatoire.<sup>54</sup> After her graduation, Antonina went to Italy and sang opera in various places including the Teatro La Fenice in Venice.<sup>55</sup> She was recalled fondly by the correspondent from *La France musicale*, who in Italy praised a Mademoiselle Antonia Hogé, writing "...we can claim [her] as a compatriot, although she is of Polish origin... [she] has had great success in her beginnings on the stage and seems destined for a bright future."<sup>56</sup> She sang the title role in Donizetti's *Parisina* to great acclaim in the town of Este, southeast of Padua, in the fall of 1839.<sup>57</sup> She went on to sing the role of Elaisa at the premiere performance of Saverio Mercadante's *Il giuamento* at

---

<sup>52</sup> Ruderman, "The Intellectual and Spiritual Journey of Stanislaus Hoga," 43-44.

<sup>53</sup> Stanislav Hoga, *The Controversy of Zion: A Mediation on Judaism and Christianity* (London: B. Wertheim, 1844).

<sup>54</sup> "Conservatoire," *Le Ménestrel: journal de musique* 30, no. 138 (24 July 1836): [4].

<sup>55</sup> "Cronaca Teatrale," *Glissons N'appuyons Pas: Giornale di Scienze, Lettere, Arti, Cronache, Teatri, Varietà e Mode* 5, no. 39 (16 May 1838): 156. Hogé was originally brought to Italy by the impresario Teresa Ceserani, however, the contract was apparently short-lived and terminated several weeks after her arrival, though it is unclear who initiated the termination. See "Cronaca Teatrale," *Glissons N'appuyons Pas: Giornale di Scienze, Lettere, Arti, Cronache, Teatri, Varietà e Mode* 5, no. 41 (23 May 1838): 164. See also "Muzycy Polscy," *Rozmaitości* (23 May 1858): 132.

<sup>56</sup> [Un Dilettante Français], "Artistes Français," *La France musicale* 3, no. 1 (28 June 1840): 249-250. "Une autre élève dit Conservatoire de Paris, que nous pouvons revendiquer comme compatriote, bien qu'euë soit d'origine polonaise, Mlle Antonia Hogé, élève de Rossini et du chevalier de Micheroax, a obtenu les plus grands succès à son début sar ta scène, et elle semble destinée à un très brillant avenir."

<sup>57</sup> "Spettacoli dell'Autunno," *Il Corriere dei Teatri* 79, no. 20 (2 October 1839): 313-314; "Herbststgione (1839) in Italien," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 42, no. 9 (26 February 1840): 194.

the Teatro Apollo in Venice in spring of 1840.<sup>58</sup> Although it is unclear from surviving documents when Hiller and Antolka met, it was likely sometime in 1840, as she was mentioned by Neukomm in a letter from December of that year.<sup>59</sup> Hiller brought his new bride back to Germany, where it seems she captivated his friends and colleagues, despite an abstaining from performance after an initial concert in Leipzig in 1841.<sup>60</sup>

## Friends and Critics

Hiller was well-liked and personable, an aspect that served him well as he forged professional relationships and built his career. Hiller's good-natured sense is not only recalled in letters, but also immortalized in a small tome by one of the century's greatest writers. In 1827, when Hummel went to visit Goethe in Weimar accompanied by his young student Ferdinand Hiller, the poet penned the following poem:

You have taken possession of  
A talent that serves everyone;  
Anyone who comes in sweet tones  
Everywhere is welcome.

Ein Talent das jedem frommt;  
Hast Du in Besitz genommen;  
Wer mit holden Tönen kommt  
Ueberall ist der willkommen.

What a brilliant escort!  
Staying close to your master's side:  
You enjoy his respect,  
He enjoys being your teacher.

Welch' ein glänzendes Geleite!  
Ziehst an des Meisters Seite:  
Du erfreust Dich seiner Ehre,  
Er erfreut sich seiner Lehre.<sup>61</sup>

---

<sup>58</sup> Saverio Mercadante, Gaetano Rossi, *Il Giuramento: Melodramma in tre atti da rappresentarsi nel Teatro Apollo* (Venice: Dall Giuseppi Molinari, 1840): [n.p.]. See also "Frühlingsopern in Italien," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 42, no. 34 (19 August 1840): 701.

<sup>59</sup> Sigismund Neukomm, Letter to Ferdinand Hiller (26 December 1840), in *Aus Ferdinand Hillers Briefwechsel*, 1:45-46.

<sup>60</sup> Hiller dedicated his Six Songs, op. 23 to "la Signora A.H.." These works were published in both Italian and German, so it is likely they were written prior to the marriage. Antolka was also the dedicatee of works by Felix Mendelssohn, Clara Schumann, Heinrich Wilhelm Ernst, Niels Gade, Karl Gottlieb Reissinger, Ernesto Comillo Sivori, and Carl Reinecke.

<sup>61</sup> Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, "Herrn Ferdinand Hiller," *Goethe's poetische und prosaische Werke*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart and Tübingen: J.G. Cotta, 1845): 196. Mark Kroll dates this praise to 10

What Goethe observed—Hiller’s natural pleasantness, talent, and sense of duty in his professional relationships—seems to have followed the young musician throughout his career. Hiller’s extensive published correspondence and his appearance in the biographies and memoirs of many musicians of the era, both those of conservative viewpoints and those more modern-leaning, show his positive reputation throughout his lifetime and his legacy on many musicians of nineteenth century German-speaking Europe. Conway comments on Hiller’s personality, “If [Adolph Bernhard] Marx had the unfortunate characteristic of being perceived as an archetypically pushy and upstart Jew, the affable Hiller, like Felix Mendelssohn, was to society at large far more acceptable.”<sup>62</sup>

Richard Wagner, however, did not have such a positive view on Hiller’s friendly nature. While Conway refers to Wagner as “particularly patronising” in his description of Hiller, the comment reads more as either surprise or suspicion with an antisemitic overtone.<sup>63</sup> Wagner wrote, “Ferdinand Hiller... who was in Dresden, behaved in a very charming and friendly manner, particularly at this time. Meyerbeer also stayed in the same town from time to time; precisely why, nobody knew.”<sup>64</sup> Aside from this pairing of Hiller with Meyerbeer and the above-mentioned revelation of Antolka Hiller’s Jewish origin, Wagner also went on to allude to Hiller’s attempts at composing in multiple styles—a musical cosmopolitanism—that, according to Liszt, problematically

---

February 1827. See Mark Kroll, *Johann Nepomuk Hummel: A Musician’s Life and World* (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2007), 448. The second stanza’s translation is drawn from Kroll; the first is mine.

<sup>62</sup> Conway, *Jewry in Music*, 191.

<sup>63</sup> Conway, *Jewry in Music*, 192.

<sup>64</sup> Wagner, *My Life*, 1:355; *Mein Leben*, 1:350. “Sehr hübsch und zutraulich nahm sich dagegen, namentlich um jene Zeit, in Dresden Ferdinand Hiller aus. Zwar hatte sich auch Meyerbeer zuweilen in Dresden eingefunden, man wusste nich recht, weshalb...”

“befell all his compositions.”<sup>65</sup> After chiding Hiller for writing in the French style while in Paris (the *Etudes*, op. 15), the Italian style while in Italy (his failed opera of 1839, *Romilda*), and the Mendelssohnian style in Leipzig (*Die Zerstörung Jerusalems*), Wagner boasted of the success of his own *Rienzi*, claiming that Hiller attempted (and failed) to reach similar success in German opera:

Dresden and the success of my *Rienzi* now weighed so much upon his mind that he naturally made another attempt to succeed as an opera composer. Owing to his great energy and to his position as a son of a rich banker (a special attraction even to the director of a court theatre), it happened that he induced them to put aside my poor friend Röckel's *Farinelli* (the production of which had been promised to him) in favour of his (Hiller's) own work, *Der Traum in der Christnacht*... To me *Der Traum in der Christnacht* was a great nuisance. I had to conduct it a second time, and before an empty house. Hiller now saw that he had been wrong in not taking my advice before, and in not shortening the opera by one act and altering the end, and he now fancied that he was doing me a great favour by at last declaring himself ready to act on my suggestion in the event of another performance of his opera being possible.<sup>66</sup>

The anecdote, while saying nothing overtly antisemitic, capitalizes on multiple tropes against Jews of the time and echoes Wagner's similar criticisms of Meyerbeer as a rootless compositional voice, perpetually borrowing from other traditions because he had none of his own. Despite having stated only a few pages earlier that Hiller had little money, Wagner accused Hiller of using his family wealth

---

<sup>65</sup> Wagner, *My Life*, 1:355; *Mein Leben*, 1:351. “Er hatte damit dasselbe Schicksal, von dem mir Liszt einmal mittheilte, dass es merkwürdigerweise Hiller immer verfolgte.”

<sup>66</sup> Wagner, *My Life*, 1:356-357; *Mein Leben*, 1:351-352. “Dresden und der Erfolg meines *Rienzi* lagen ihm nun so nahe, dass der Versuch einer Wiederaufnahme der Chancen als Opernkomponist sich ganz von selbst darbot. Er wusste es durch seine imponirende Geschäftigkeit und den eigenthümlichen Reiz, welchen der Sohn einer reichen Banquier-Familie selbst in den Augen eines Hoftheaterintendanten ausübt, dahin zu bringen, dass mein armer Freund Röckel, dem jetzt eigentlich die Aufführung eines *Farinelli* zugesagt war, seines *Christnachts-Traumes* wegen bei Seite geschoben wurde... Mir persönlich machte der *Traum in der Christnacht* einige Noth; ich hatte davon eine Wiederholung zu dirigiren, welche vor sehr leerem Hauße vor sich ging. Hiller fand nun, dass er Unrecht gethan, meinem früher ertheilten Rathe, die Oper um einen Akt zu kürzen und den Schluss zu ändern, nicht nachgekommen zu sein, und glaubte mich jetzt mit der Nachricht erfreuen zu müssen, dass er meinen Wünschen vollständig nachkommen werden, sobald er sich einer abermaligen Wiederholung seiner Opera dadurch versichert halte dürfte.” *Ein Traum in der Christnacht* (1845), with a libretto by Carl Gollmick (1796-1866), was based on the drama *Der Müller und sein Kind* (1830) by Ernst Benjamin Salomo Raupach (1784-1852).



from banking (never mind that the family was in mercantile trade), evoking the trope that Jews used their money to gain cultural cache without merit. Furthermore, Wagner decried Hiller for the supposed edging out of his friend and associate, the composer August Röckel, who had also studied with Hummel and whom Hiller undoubtedly knew although no letters survive.<sup>67</sup> Playing on the stereotype of Jews as insincere opportunists, Wagner concluded the account with a story of Hiller waiting for him outside the opera house after *Rienzi*: "...[he] took the opportunity of adding to his very hasty congratulations, 'Do give my *Traum* once more!'"<sup>68</sup> What seemed most offensive to Wagner was that Hiller considered his opera *Ein Traum in der Christnacht* as "a peculiarly 'German composition.'"<sup>69</sup> Although Wagner did not elaborate on what specifically bothered him about such a claim, it is highly probable that the issue arose from Hiller's status as a Jew, given that fact that *Ein Traum in der Christnacht* was based on a demonstrably German source, the 1830 play *Der Müller und sein Kind* by German dramatist Ernst Raupach (1784-1852). Wagner was quick to claim Germanness broadly and the legacy of German music in particular for himself; he and he alone was preserving the heritage of Beethoven—and by extension Bach, Mozart, and the rest. This self-aggrandizement goes to an extreme level—albeit privately—in an 1865 diary entry, Wagner described himself as "the most German man [literally, the German-est man]... the German spirit."<sup>70</sup> As need hardly be noted

---

<sup>67</sup> Röckel was an influential on the development of Wagner's *Der Ring des Nibelungen*.

<sup>68</sup> Wagner, *My Life*, 1:357; *Mein Leben*, 1:352. "...um seinem flüchtigen Glückwunsche zu meinem Erfolge die hastig dringende Bitte beizufügen, 'geben. Sie doch auch meinem *Traum* noch einmal..."

<sup>69</sup> Wagner, *My Life*, 1:356; *Mein Leben*, 1:351. "...ein besonders 'deutsches Werk...'"

<sup>70</sup> Richard Wagner, *Das braune Buch: Tagebuchaufzeichnungen 1865 bis 1882* (München and Zurich: Piper, 1975): 86, cited in Nicholas Vazsonyi, "Marketing German Identity: Richard Wagner's 'Enterprise,'" *German Studies Review* 28, no. 2 (May 2005): 327. The complete text reads: "Ich bin der deutscheste Mensch, ich bin der deutsche Geist. Fragt den unvergleichlichen Zauber meiner Werke, haltet sie mit allen Ubrigen zusammen: Ihr könnt fir jetzt nichts anderes sagen, als--es ist deutsch."

here, a Jew could never be a German in the opinion of Wagner, and thus a Jew, even one baptized as a Protestant, could never create truly German music.

Notwithstanding the antisemitic undertones of *My Life*, the observation that Wagner made about Hiller's varied stylistic influences is not without validity. Hiller was a remarkably eclectic composer who experimented with the varied styles throughout his long life. He was a skilled pianist and wrote extensively for the instrument in all settings, but was equally adept in writing for violin, orchestra, and voices in almost any genre. His oeuvre consisted of large-scale instrumental works including symphonies, concert overtures, two piano concerti, one violin concerto, plus an additional an additional concert works for each of those instruments; instrumental chamber music including sonatas, piano quintets, quartets, and trios, as well as other small ensembles; and over 150 lieder, with texts from some of the best-known German romantic poets such as Goethe, Rückert, and Heine. He wrote six operas between 1839 and 1865, though they were the least successful of all of his compositions. Hiller's large-scale choral works—*Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* in 1840 and a second oratorio, *Saul*, op. 80 in 1858, and several psalm settings—were among his most successful works. The universality of works drawing from the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament contributed to their initial success. Although recent concert revivals and recording of these works have sought to show that the text sources mark them as Jewish, choice of the subject matter alone is a weak designation. After all, in addition to the today best-known *Messiah*, Georg Friedrich Handel also wrote oratorios on Saul, Solomon, Esther, Deborah, Jephtha, Joshua, and Judah Maccabee, which are widely understood as allegorical treatments on English politics in addition to any sort of Christian Old Testament associations.<sup>71</sup> Yet, writing oratorios would never have satisfied Wagner as a proof for

---

<sup>71</sup> Ruth Smith, *Handel's Oratorios and Eighteenth-Century Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 202-232.

Hiller's *Deutschtum* or evidence of a devotion to German culture. Wagner decried the oratorio, describing it as “an unnatural offspring” of church music in *Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft* (1849).<sup>72</sup> The link to drama, however, was still present, however denigratingly described presented as a “sexless embryo of opera.”<sup>73</sup>

### **Hiller's First Major Success: *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems***

In his recollections on Mendelssohn, Hiller wrote happily on the first performance of *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems*, op. 24 (1840) and the reaction of his trusted friend:

The oratorio had a very warm reception; but what pleased me most was Mendelssohn's entire satisfaction. He sat amongst the audience with Cécile, and told me what pleasure he felt not only in my music but also in the correct judgment of his wife, who had always picked out the best things. He also admitted that the work had a very peculiar colouring, and I only refer to this now because it has sometimes been spoken of as an imitation of 'Elijah,' which was not completed till six years later.<sup>74</sup>

The complex history of the libretto of Hiller earliest oratorio, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems*, which describes the destruction of the first temple in 586 BCE, reveals an interplay of sources, creative voices, and dramatic intent. The text was initially prepared by the German Jewish philosopher and

---

<sup>72</sup> Richard Wagner, *Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft* (Leipzig: Otto Wigand, 1850), 132. The original reads “die naturwidrige Ausgeburt.” William Ashton Ellis translated this passage as “unnatural abortion.” See Richard Wagner, *Richard Wagner's Prose Works*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., vol. 1, *The Art-Work of the Future*, trans. William Ashton Ellis (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, & Co., Ltd., 1895), 151. More recently, Howard E. Smither translated as “unnatural, evil excrescence.” See Howard E. Smither, *A History of the Oratorio*, vol. 4, *The Oratorio in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Chapel Hill, NC and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 83.

<sup>73</sup> Wagner, *Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft*, 102.

<sup>74</sup> Hiller, *Mendelssohn: Letters and Recollections*, 167; *Briefe und Erinnerungen*, 147. “Das Oratorium fand eine sehr warme Aufnahme—die größte Freudewar mir aber die vollständige Zustimmung Mendelssohn's. Er hatte sich mit seiner Cécile mitten in den Zuhörerraum gesetzt und erzählte mir, wie er sich nicht allein an meiner Musik, sondern auch an dem richtigen Urtheil seiner Frau erfreut habe, die stets das Beste zu bezeichnen gewußt. Auch gestand er dem Werke eine sehr eigenthümliche Farbe zu, was ich hier nur erwähne, weil man es zuweilen als die Nachahmung des sechs Jahre später vollendeten *Elias* bezeichnet hat.”

theologian, Salomon Ludwig Steinheim (1789-1866), but later revised by Felix Mendelssohn, to whom it is also dedicated. Steinheim was a polyhistor—equally gifted as a physician, philosopher, and poet.<sup>75</sup> In addition to being a devoted Jew and theologian, he was a zealous humanist and follower of Kant. The 1906 *Jewish Encyclopedia* describes his “Die Offenbarung nach dem Lehrbegriff der Synagoge” (“Revelation According to the Doctrine of the Synagogue,” 1835) as “a careful study of comparative religion [in which] he, though a freethinker, endeavored to raise revelation from a religious belief to a philosophic truth.”<sup>76</sup> The circumstances that led to Hiller and Steinheim’s collaboration are unclear. Hiller’s dissatisfaction with Steinheim’s text, however, is well-documented. Hiller and Mendelssohn corresponded several times in 1839 regarding the troubled libretto, and ultimately, Mendelssohn intervened and finished the libretto for his friend. Hiller preserved one of these letters in his *Recollections* on Mendelssohn:

One day he [Mendelssohn] took the libretto home with him, and surprised me in the kindest way on Christmas Eve with a fresh and complete copy of it. I need not explain how useful his severe critical remarks were to my composition. One day when I thanked him he said: ‘I only show you what you would have found out for yourself in a few months.’<sup>77</sup>

Sposato has recently argued that the final libretto “definitely shows Mendelssohn’s touch, as the freely written verses are sprinkled with actual biblical quotations that Mendelssohn may well have

---

<sup>75</sup> Aharon Shear-Yashuv, *The Theology of Salomon Ludwig Steinheim* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1986), 17.

<sup>76</sup> Isidore Singer “Steinheim, Solomon Ludwig (Levy),” *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 11:43-44, accessed 5 August 2019, <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/14016-steinheim-solomon-ludwig-levy>.

<sup>77</sup> Hiller, *Mendelssohn: Letters and Recollections*, 167; *Briefe und Erinnerungen*, 147. “Er nahm das Buch mit nach Hause und überraschte mich aufs freundlichste am Weihnachtsabend mit einer sehr säubern vollständigen Reinschrift desselben. Von welchem Nutzen mir seine strengen kritischen Bemerkungen für meine Composition waren, brauche ich nicht auseinander zn setzen. Als ich ihm eines Tages dankte, meinte er: ‘ich zeige Dir nur, was Du in einigen Monaten selbst gesehen haben würdest.’”

provided.”<sup>78</sup> In particular, Sposato references the presence of Psalm 91:11-12 in no. 25 of *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* as strongly suggestive of Mendelssohn’s influence (ex 2.2a). The same text, “Denn den Herr hat seinen Engeln befohlen über dir, etc.,” appears in the double quartet of *Elias*, no. 7 (ex. 2.2b).

**EXAMPLE 2.2A.** Ferdinand Hiller, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems*, op. 24, no. 25, Recitativ, Eine Israelite Jungfrau, mm. 7-16.

Eine israelitische Jungfrau.

Ue-bels be-geg-nen denn der Herr hat sel-nen En-geln be-foh-len ü-ber dir, dass sie dich be-

Fl.

Vln., Vla.

*p* *pp*

Vc., Cb.

hü-ten auf al-len dei-nen We-gen dass sie dich auf den Hän-den tra-gen und schü - tzen.

*p*

<sup>78</sup> Sposato, “Mendelssohn and Assimilation,” 11.

EXAMPLE 2.2B. Felix Mendelssohn, *Elias*, op. 70, no. 7, Doppel-Quartett, Die Engel, mm. 1-6.

Despite Mendelssohn’s role in shaping the text and the fact that Steinheim is the only credited author on the oratorio’s frontispiece, it seems the majority of the text came directly from Hiller’s own pen, a trend not unlike what will be revealed later in this dissertation with Carl Goldmark’s collaboration with Jewish exegetical thinker, Salomon Hermann Mosenthal on the opera *Die Königin von Saba* (see Chapter 6). Yet, while Mosenthal sought to take more credit for coming up with the idea for *Die Königin von Saba*, Steinheim actually took public measures to distance himself from *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* and issued a statement to that effect in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* in 1842.<sup>79</sup> According to Steinheim, he had sought in vain to have his name removed from the work, as his original text, which had been titled *Jeremiah*, had been “arbitrarily jumbled together, according to

<sup>79</sup> Dr. [Salomon Ludwig] Steinheim, “Erklärung,” *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 16, no. 21 (11 March 1842): 84.

the musical intentions of the composer.”<sup>80</sup> Nonetheless, his name appeared on the frontispiece of the published score, perhaps in order to give a sense of religious credibility to the work by association with a leading Jewish thinker of the period.

It is worth noting that Leon Botstein, despite having conducted the North American premiere of this work in 2008, very problematically writes, “Hiller’s *Jeremiah* is, like Mendelssohn’s *Elijah*, an evocation faithful to the sources.”<sup>81</sup> It is clear when one does even the most minimal of explorations into the libretto that the text was drawn from a variety of sources—not only the book of *Jeremiah*, but also the *Psalms* as well as some free exegetical writing. Botstein sweepingly and incorrectly argues “the libretti [of *Paulus*, *Elias*, and *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems*] derive from an explicit intent to evoke the authentic character of the source texts.”<sup>82</sup> As has been shown, no singular intent is present in such a conglomeration as is the final text of *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems*, especially given the fact that no information is extant on which numbers of the oratorio came from the respective pens of Steinheim, Mendelssohn, or Hiller. Furthermore, the three authors—a Biblical scholar, a baptized *Neuchrist*, and an assimilated Jew—would have approached the texts with very different attitudes toward what Botstein oversimplifies as the “authentic character of the source texts.” Finally, it is false to argue, as Botstein does, that *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* has a “nearly operatic adherence to the

---

<sup>80</sup> Steinheim, “Erklärung,” 84. “Da mein Name wiederholt bei Aufführungen des Hiller'schen Oratoriums: ‘Die Zerstörung Jerusalems,’ als Autor des Textes zu demselben genannt wird, so sehe ich mich, nach vergeblich von ihm selbst geforderter Berichtigung, veranlaßt, die Ehre dieser Autorschaft von mir abzulehnen. Nur einige Strophen meines dem Componisten gelieserten Textes, der mit der Ueberschrift *Jeremiah* bezeichnet war, sind zu jenem ganz andern Texte, den musikalischen Intentionen des Componisten gemäß, eingeschaltet und selbst diese mit Willkürlichkeit durcheinander gewürfelt.”

<sup>81</sup> Botstein, “Notes from the Editor: Mendelssohn as Jew,” 4.

<sup>82</sup> Botstein, “Notes from the Editor: Mendelssohn as Jew,” 4.

narrative tone of the Biblical text from the Book of Jeremiah.”<sup>83</sup> Even if one acknowledges the anachronistic nature of this statement, given that there existed very few Biblical operas in the 1840s, the history of Biblical operas has been quite the opposite of a stark adherence to narrative tone or plot. Rather, the Bible has often more existed as a historical backdrop for dramatic action (see Chapter 4 on Rubinstein’s *geistliche Opern* and Chapter 6 on Goldmark’s *Die Königin von Saba*).

Considering the close friendship between Hiller and Mendelssohn together with the extensive existing scholarship on Mendelssohn’s two oratorios, the New Testament *Paulus* (1836) and better-known *Elias* (1846), it is tempting to examine *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems*, which received its premiere between the two, in a similar light. Sposato has argued that Mendelssohn, in his own oratorios, managed to create works that employ a “strategy of dual perspective” and strove to “spare the Jewish image in his oratorios,” despite the Messianic implications of both Paul and Elijah in their respective oratorios.<sup>84</sup> Sposato more recently clarified that composers such as Mendelssohn and Hiller were constrained by the “contemporary cultural, religious, and political norms,” one of which was the “unfavorable depiction of the Jews.”<sup>85</sup> However, given that the Old Testament figures so prominently into the repertoire choices for oratorios of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, another trend is potentially more relevant to *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems*—the use of Jews in Old Testament works to function as proto-Christians, either capitalizing on the Christological

---

<sup>83</sup> Botstein, “Notes from the Editor: Mendelssohn as Jew,” 4.

<sup>84</sup> Sposato, *The Price of Assimilation*, 179.

<sup>85</sup> Sposato, “Mendelssohn and Assimilation,” 6; Sposato, *The Price of Assimilation*, 89-90. Sposato cites Mendelssohn’s *Paulus*, and earlier contributions to the genre including Carl Loewe’s *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* (1833, on the second destruction of Jerusalem) and Ludwig Spohr’s *Des Heilands letzte Stunde* (*The Savior’s Last Hour*, 1835). To the list, one could also add Bach’s *Matthäus-Passion*, whose 1829 revival was an undeniable influence on any work of this genre written subsequently.



interpretations of prophetic figures such as Elijah or in using the Biblical Hebrews/Israelites/Jews as modern representations of a communal peoplehood, united under the nineteenth century flags of emerging nationalism and pride in unified statehood.

Sposato's presentation of Mendelssohn as a composer with both Christian aim and sensitivity to the portrayal of Jews (particularly in *Elias*), does seem to ignore one inherent aspect of the oratorio as a genre—the dramatic elements of seeing a Biblical story, albeit unstaged, in the concert hall. It is this element of the genre, the drama, that provides the best analytical tool for Hiller's *Die Zerstörung des Jerusalems*. Writing on the oratorio genre in 1849, *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* critic C.L. Hilgenfeldt declared, "The originally specifically church character [of the oratorio] no longer exists in the conception. The contemporary world still attends the performance of masterworks of this kind not because of the text, not to be edified, in the manner of the church believer, by stories from the Bible, but because of the artistic content."<sup>86</sup>

*Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* was highly anticipated in Leipzig, and the critical press expressed hopes that it would be performed in the city several months before any preparations or rehearsals had even begun.<sup>87</sup> From the letters of Mendelssohn to Hiller, it appears that the former encouraged his friend to bring the work to Leipzig for performance and even offered to conduct it.<sup>88</sup> In addition to assistance on the text, Hiller also sought advice on the musical content, apparently writing for help with orchestration, to which Mendelssohn humorously replied:

---

<sup>86</sup> C.L. Hilgenfeldt, "Die Zukunft des Oratoriums," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 30, no. 15 (1849) 79. Quoted in Smither, *A History of the Oratorio*, III, 20.

<sup>87</sup> "Leipzig, d. 20sten.," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 11, no. 52 (27 December 1839): 208; "Feuilleton," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 42, no. 1 (1 January 1840): 16.

<sup>88</sup> Felix Mendelssohn, Letter to Ferdinand Hiller (15 April 1839), in Hiller, *Mendelssohn: Letters and Recollections*, 133-135; *Briefe und Erinnerungen*, 119-123.

The Babylonians certainly had valve trumpets (in fact all Babylon was a kind of valve trumpet), such luxurious, arrogant Orientals would hardly be satisfied with mere trumpets in C. But please don't call them *trompettes à piston* in your score, I have such a hatred for the word piston—you see I am a regular doctor of philosophy.<sup>89</sup>

Mendelssohn's support of his friend and advocacy for the work's premiere in Leipzig were ultimately fruitful; Hiller conducted the premiere on April 2, 1840 at the Gewandhaus. The praise was effusive and immediate. In the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*:

It is in a noble and splendid style, showing the great skill and artful knowledge of a master, clearly written and not overdone so as to satisfy the strict requirements for works in this genre... Herrn Ferdinand Hiller has proved himself to artists and art lovers with this excellent work, beautiful in every way. We gladly take this opportunity to express our true esteem in public.<sup>90</sup>

Robert Schumann wrote similarly in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*: “What appeals to us the most is the crisp coloring, the serious and strength of the style, which is charming, attractive, and imaginative.”<sup>91</sup> Among the many movements, Schumann chose to call attention specifically to the

---

<sup>89</sup> Felix Mendelssohn, Letter to Ferdinand Hiller (17 August 1838), in Hiller, *Mendelssohn: Letters and Recollections*, 127-128; *Briefe und Erinnerungen*, 113-114. “Klappen-Trompeten haben die Babylonier auf jeden Fall gehabt (eigentlich war ganz Babylon eine Art Klappentrompete), so luxuriöse, übermüthige Morgenländer kommen ja kaum mit C-Trompeten allein aus. Aber ich bitte Dich, nenne solch einen Haß auf das Wort Piston—Du siehst, welch ein Doctor der Philosophie ich bin.”

<sup>90</sup> “Nachrichten,” *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 42, no. 15 (April 1840): 316-319. “Es ist durchaus in edlem, grossartigem Styl gehalten mit grosser Gewandtheit, mit der Kunstkenntniss eines Meisters, dabei klar und ohne irgend eine Ueberladung geschrieben, so dass es allen strengen Anforderungen, die man an Werke dieser Gattung nur irgend machene kann, genügt... Herr Ferdinand Hiller hat sich durch das schöne in jeder Hinsicht tüchtige und treffliche Werk die grössten Ansprüche auf hohe Achtung aller Künstler und Kunstfreunde erworben, und wir benutzen mit Vergnügen diese Gelegenheit, ihm aus voller Ueberzeugung unsere wahre Hochachtung hiermit öffentlich auszusprechen.”

<sup>91</sup> 12. [Robert Schumann], “Die Zerstörung Jerusalems: Oratorium von Ferdinand Hiller, Aufführung in Leipzig,” *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 12, no. 30 (10 April 1840): 120. Am meisten daran erfreut uns das krastige Colorit, der Ernst und die Festigkeit des Styls, im einzelnen das Reizvolle, Malerische und Phantastische. Reprinted in, *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker*, 3:214-215. Conway writes that Mendelssohn conducted this performance, however Schumann clearly indicates

choral numbers of the work. The list includes four choruses of the Israelites: “Eine Seele tief gebeugt” (no. 8), “Wer unter dem Schirm des Höchsten sitzt” (no. 26), “Due Gott der Langmuth” (no. 39), “Wir ziehn gebeugt” (no. 44), and the two chorus of Zedekiah’s servants (nos. 10 and 13, the latter of which is effectively a reprise of the former).

Despite the high praise received by these choruses, it is worthy to note that *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* contains no chorales in the traditional sense—moderate-tempo, four-part homophonic settings in the style of the Protestant church, with the melody most often in the soprano. During this period, the inclusion of such chorales was expected in the oratorio genre; Glenn Stanley writes:

[T]he presence of chorales provided a religious aura that reinforced [the oratorio’s] spiritual message even in concert performances, the most typical context... With its long history and central place in the Protestant liturgy, the chorale virtually had the status of an icon. It synthesized religious and national tradition and stood as a symbol of Protestantism—and Christianity in general—in sacred and secular contexts.<sup>92</sup>

Stanley outlined two stylistic trends in chorale inclusions in oratorios: the tunes, which were drawn from numerous sources including fifteenth and sixteenth century settings of Martin Luther through eighteenth century oratorios, with Bach as the obvious gold standard, were most often set with a relative lack in passing tones and rarely gave any sort of melodic independence to the lower voices.<sup>93</sup> Mendelssohn included the chorales “Allein Gott in der Höh’ sei Ehr” (no. 3), “Dir Herr will ich mich ergeben” (no. 9), “Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme” (no. 16), “O Jesu Christe, wahres Licht”

---

that it was Hiller who did so, praising his calm demeanor on the podium. See Conway, *Jenny in Music*, 191.

<sup>92</sup> Glenn Stanley, “Bach’s ‘Erbe’: The Chorale in the German Oratorio of the Early Nineteenth Century,” *19th-century Music* 11, no. 2 (Autumn 1987): 121.

<sup>93</sup> Stanley, “Bach’s ‘Erbe,’” 123.

(no. 29), and “Wir glauben all an einen Gott” (no. 36) in *Paulus*, despite initial misgivings from Adolf Bernhard Marx, who was an early contributor to that oratorio’s text.<sup>94</sup>

The lack of chorales in *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems*, while notable, has been exaggeratedly used as evidence by both R. Larry Todd and Leon Botstein show that Hiller was distancing his work from the Protestant influence of the oratorio. Todd writes, “...yet conspicuously absent in Hiller’s work is the traditional narrator; also, unlike *St. Paul*, which unabashedly displays strong ties to Bach’s *St. Mathew Passion*, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* does not employ chorales.”<sup>95</sup> Similarly, Botstein perhaps echoing Todd’s program notes for an academic audience, similarly claims, “The Hiller work... although written in 1840 (after *St. Paul*) by a converted Jew and Mendelssohn acolyte, is explicitly differentiated from a Christian oratorio tradition or contemporary church practice by the absence of chorales...”<sup>96</sup> In addition to the fact that Botstein incorrectly assumes that Hiller was a “converted Jew” by 1840, the mere absence of complete chorales in *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* hardly differentiates the work from the so-called “Christian oratorio tradition.” Hiller wrote openly of the influence of this genre on his early compositions, commenting how he had been “very much taken up with Handel’s Oratorios,” the scores to which had been given to him by Ferdinand Ries during the summer of 1833.<sup>97</sup> The following year, Hiller’s arrangement Handel’s *Deborah*, which included his

---

<sup>94</sup> Adolf Bernhard Marx, “From the memoirs of Adolf Bernhard Marx,” trans. Susan Gillespie, *Mendelssohn and His World*, ed. R. Larry Todd (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 214. Marx took issue with the fact that the use of a chorale would be anachronistic to Paul’s time, a surprising privileging of historical accuracy and drama over both religious nature and musical historicism.

<sup>95</sup> R. Larry Todd, “Ferdinand Hiller, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems*,” *American Symphony Orchestra* (16 March 2008), accessed 10 January 2019, <https://www.americansymphony.org/the-destruction-of-jerusalem-hiller>.

<sup>96</sup> Botstein, “Notes from the Editor: Mendelssohn as Jew.” 4.

<sup>97</sup> Hiller, *Mendelssohn: Letters and Recollections*, 36.

German translation, was given at the Lower Rhine Music Festival.<sup>98</sup> While the observation is true that there are no formal chorales within *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems*, the work still shows a high degree of indebtedness to both the history of the oratorio and to chorale writing itself. The entrance of the chorus in the very first number of the piece is a stately and homophonically set in a tuneful and memorable melody (ex. 2.3).

*Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* clearly owes a debt to Bach, Haydn, and Handel, as well as the rising historicism and the influence of both Mendelssohn's own compositions and his interpretation of the great seventeenth and eighteenth century masters. While Todd and Botstein have attempted to distance *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* from the Christian oratorio tradition, they do not provide substantial evidence for alternative musical sources of inspiration, and by extension seem to imply that Hiller went to his own faith's musical soundscape. As there are no surviving synagogue records from Frankfurt am Main, little can be known about Hiller's exposure to liturgical music either the home or inside, though Justus Hiller's prominence within the city's Jewish community would suggest that the family had at least some connection to the city's synagogue. Hiller's *Künstlerleben*, a collection of varied essays and lectures drawn primarily from other sources published in 1880, includes a small anecdote on one of the most celebrated figures in Jewish liturgical music of the nineteenth century, the great Viennese reformer, Cantor Salomon Sulzer.<sup>99</sup> In 1827, the fifteen-year old Hiller traveled to Vienna with Hummel, where he visited the deathbed of Beethoven.<sup>100</sup> In

---

<sup>98</sup> "The Musical Festival of the Lower Rhine, ad Aix-la-Chapelle, 18th and 19th of May, 1834," *The Musical Magazine* 2, no. 37 (23 May 1840): 171.

<sup>99</sup> Ferdinand Hiller, *Künstlerleben* (Cologne: M. DuMont Schauberg'schen Buchhandlung, 1880), 47. This section of *Künstlerleben* was originally given as a speech to the Viennese journalist society, Concordia, on December 22, 1879 as "In Wien vor 52 Jahren."

<sup>100</sup> This visit came to the attention of present-day audiences in the late 1990s when a lock of hair that the young Hiller snipped from the head of Beethoven was sold at auction. See Philip Weiss, "Beethoven's Hair Tells All!" *The New York Times Magazine*, 29 November 1998, 108; Russell Martin,

EXAMPLE 2.3. Ferdinand Hiller, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems*, op. 24, no. 1, Chor der Israeliten, mm. 16-28.

The musical score is presented in three systems. The first system (measures 16-21) features a vocal line with lyrics: *ff* Wie heilig und hehr sind deine Hal-len, o Is-ra-el! wie heilig und. The second system (measures 22-28) continues the vocal line with lyrics: hehr wie heilig und hehr, wie heilig sind deine Hal-len sind deine Hal-len, o Is-ra-el!. The orchestral accompaniment includes strings (*Str.*) and woodwinds/brass (*Ww., Brass*), with *Orch. tutti* markings.

*Beethoven's Hair: An Extraordinary Historical Odyssey and a Scientific Mystery Solved* (New York: Broadway Books, 2000).

addition to recounting much on his meetings with Beethoven and the music scene in Vienna, Hiller also recalled going to hear synagogue music while in this city:

I do not know whether church music and synagogue music can be counted as public performances, for they have many listeners, but are not really public. The latter, with regard to music, serves as payment for the demands to be distracted, entertained, stimulated, or even made happy. The mass we heard one Sunday at Hofkapelle was none of these things, but as a free performance cannot be blamed. On the hand, we were most elevated by the musical service in the great Jewish temple. The tenor, aided by a discant, was an excellent singer, and together with about twelve boys sounded the noble tunes of prayer, while the assembled community remained in reverent silence. Additionally, the separation of the sexes seemed to me extremely beneficial to the piety pious action.<sup>101</sup>

The singer described above was most certainly Obercantor Salomon Sulzer (1804-1890), who had arrived in Vienna the year prior to Hiller's visit. Although it is impossible to know to what extent Hiller experienced sacred singing between this 1827 sojourn to Vienna and the 1840 premiere of *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems*, the anecdote shows his awareness of the most up-to-date trends in the liturgical music of his religion. There is a certain amount of distance that can be read into the above, in particular the comment that the sexes were separated in the sanctuary, which indicates a level of unfamiliarity with normative synagogue behavior at that time. The apparent musical novelty of the Viennese experience for Hiller, together with the fact that the music of Sulzer and other reformed cantors was heavily influenced by the choral singing traditions of the church, should cause scholars to exercise caution in ascribing Sulzer's style as specific musical inspiration on the works or choral

---

<sup>101</sup> Hiller, *Künstlerleben*, 47. "Ich weiß nicht, bis zu welchem Grade man Kirchen- und Synagogenmusiken zu den öffentlichen Aufführungen zählen darf -- haben zwar viele Zuhörer, aber kein Publicum. Letzteres beginnt erst, Beziehung auf Musik wenigstens, mit der Bezahlung und der daraus entspringenden Forderung, zerstreut, unterhalten, angeregt oder gar beglückt zu werden. Die Messe, die wir eines Sonntags in der Hofkapelle hörten, erfüllten keinen dieser Ansprüche, was ihr aber, als Gratisvorstellung, nicht verübelt werden durfte. Hingegen waren wir höchlichst erbaut von dem musicalischen Gottesdienst in dem großartigen jüdischen Tempel. Ein vortrefflicher Sänger, von einem Discantisten, einem Tenoristen und etwa 12 Knaben unterstützt, ließ die Gebete edlen Melodien erklingen, während die Gemeinde tiefer Stille verharrte. Auch die Trennung der Geschlechter schien mir frommem Thun äußerst ersprißlich."

style of Hiller. Even if a Jewish composer like Hiller *were* borrowing from the new trends in synagogue music, those trends themselves were borrowing from Christian sources. The coincidence of *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* and the publication of the first volume of Sulzer's monumental *Schir Zion*—both in 1840—may not have been lost on Hiller.<sup>102</sup> He clearly did not forget the experience in Vienna, as he deemed it important enough not only to discuss in the 1879 lecture, which was not to a primarily Jewish audience, and also to publish it in his subsequent *Künstlerleben*. It seems apparent Hiller drew a certain amount of personal inspiration from this teenaged experience hearing the so-called “father of the modern cantorate.”<sup>103</sup>

Whether or not the choral passages drew inspiration from specific chorales or simply from the choral style of his predecessors, these sections of *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* were the most well-liked and critically acclaimed. Two of the choruses highlighted by Schumann as some of the best were those of Zedekiah's servants, nos. 10 and 13. While not chorales, like the work's opening, these two sections show an obvious debt both to Mendelssohn, but also Bach and Handel. The most obvious signal that this is not a religious chorale is the text, which praises Zedekiah, the last king of Judah—rather than praising God, the focus of the varied Israelite choruses throughout the work. In no. 10 the *alla breve* time signature is paired with the opening homophonic *tutti* between the chorus and the orchestra. The text of the second phrase, “lass Harmonie en klingen und Tänze sich verschlingen!” affords Hiller the opportunity to beautifully text-paint fugal entrances between the voice parts (ex. 2.4).

---

<sup>102</sup> Salomon Sulzer, *Schir Zion: Gesänge der Israeliten* (Vienna: Artaria & Co., [1840]).

<sup>103</sup> Isidore Singer and Alois Kaiser, “Sulzer, Salomon,” *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 11:586, accessed 10 October 2019, <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/14109-sulzer-salomon>.



EXAMPLE 2.4. Ferdinand Hiller, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems*, op. 24, no. 10, Chor der Israeliten, mm. 16-26.

The musical score is presented in three systems. The first system contains the vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) and the beginning of the orchestral accompaniment. The second system shows the vocal parts continuing and the orchestral accompaniment for woodwinds, strings, and brass. The third system shows the vocal parts and the end of the orchestral accompaniment.

**Vocal Parts:**

- Soprano:** Pracht! *f* lasst Har-mo-nie-en klin-gen und Tån-ze sich ver-schlin-gen lass Tan-
- Alto:** *f* lasst Har-mo-nie-en
- Tenor:** - ze sich ver-schlin- - - gen! lasst Har - mo - nie - en
- Bass:** klin - gen und Tån - ze sich ver - schlin - gen! lasst Har - mo - nie - en klin - gen und *f* lasst

**Orchestral Accompaniment:**

- Ww., Vln., Vla.:** Woodwinds, Violins, and Viola.
- Bsn., Hn., Vc., Cb.:** Bassoon, Horn, Violoncello, and Contrabass.

Following this moment of imitation is an antiphonal section between the chorus and the orchestra, with the stately dotted rhythms on “Erhebt Zedekia’s Macht!” (ex. 2.5). This passage was

a particular favorite of Mendelssohn's, and an anecdote from Hiller shows both the humor of the former composer and good-natured friendship between the friends:

**EXAMPLE 2.5.** Ferdinand Hiller, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems*, op. 24, no. 10, Chor der Israeliten, mm. 56-70.

The musical score is presented in two systems. The first system (measures 56-70) includes a vocal line with lyrics, piano accompaniment, and a brass/strings section. The lyrics are: "Er hebt Ze-de-kia's Macht! er hebt Ze-de-kia's Macht!". The second system (measures 71-80) continues the vocal line and piano accompaniment, with lyrics: "er hebt Ze-de-kia's Macht, Ze-de-kia's Macht! er hebt Ze-de-kia's Macht!". The brass and strings section is marked "Ww." and "Brass, Str.".

Mendelssohn was very fond of repeating a funny expression or word over and over again till it became a joke. As in former years he had amused himself with calling me ‘Old Drama,’ so now during this winter [of 1840], for a long time he always addressed me with the words, ‘Hail, Zedekiah!’ out of one of my choruses in the *Destruction of Jerusalem*.<sup>104</sup>

Although I have above taken issue with R. Larry Todd regarding the lack of chorales in *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems*, he makes an apt observation in his program notes written to accompany the American Symphony Orchestra’s 2008 North American premiere (with Botstein conducting). Todd, in emphasizing how Mendelssohn’s *Paulus* and *Elias* effectively bookend this work, writes, “[*Die Zerstörung Jerusalems*] bears comparison to another composition of Mendelssohn, his second oratorio, *Elijah*, premiered in Birmingham, England in 1846, and soon established, with Handel’s *Messiah*, as the most popular oratorio. Attentive listeners will note, for example, how the wind chords in Achicam’s recitative (no. 18) strikingly presage the very opening bars of *Elijah*.”<sup>105</sup> This striking similarity was surprisingly not discussed in the press on *Elias* at the time of its premiere, and while a certain amount of caution should be taken in drawing a direct correlation between movement in a subdominant cadential progression, the comparison deserves some further consideration than Todd’s program notes’ space allotted. Given the deep and cordial relationship between the two composers, as well as Mendelssohn’s eagerness to incorporate intertextual and musical references into his works, the probability that this reference was intentional is high.

Given Mendelssohn’s fame and Hiller’s relative up-and-coming status at the time of the *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* premiere, the latter was almost always described indebted to his old friend. While

---

<sup>104</sup> Hiller, *Mendelssohn: Letters and Recollections*, 178; *Briefe und Erinnerungen*, 156. “Irgend ein heiteres Worte durch längere Zeit öfters zu wiederholen und dadurch erst recht drollig u machen, war eine Eigenthümlichkeit Mendelssohn’s, wenn sie auch sonst oft genug vorkommen mag. Wie er in früheren Jahren am ‘alten Drama’ seine Spaß gehabt, so begrüßtee erm ich in jenem Winter wochenlang mit den Worten ‘Zedekia Heil,’ die einem Chore aus der Zerstörung Jerusalems entnommen waren.”

<sup>105</sup> Todd, “Ferdinand Hiller, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems*.”

EXAMPLE 2.6A. Ferdinand Hiller, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems*, op. 24, no. 18, Recitative, mm. 1-6.

The score for Example 2.6A consists of three staves. The top staff is the vocal line, starting with the tempo marking 'Moderato' and the dynamic 'f'. The lyrics are: 'Sprach er nicht zu den Vä - tern: Ihr seid mein Volk, Ihr seid mein'. The middle staff is for Violins and Violas (Vln., Vla.), and the bottom staff is for Violoncello and Double Bass (Vc., Kb.). The piano accompaniment includes woodwinds (Ob., Cl. I, Cl. II, Fg., Vla.) and is marked 'a tempo' and 'f'. The key signature is one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is 4/4.

EXAMPLE 2.6B. Felix Mendelssohn, *Elias*, op. 70, *Eineleitung* mm. 1-5.

The score for Example 2.6B consists of three staves. The top staff is the vocal line, starting with the tempo marking 'Grave' and the dynamic 'p'. The lyrics are: 'So wahr der Herr, der Gott Is-ra-els, le - bet vor dem ich ste - he:'. The middle staff is for Oboe and Clarinet (Ob., Cl.), and the bottom staff is for Horn and Trombone (Hn., Tbn.). The piano accompaniment is marked 'p'. The key signature is one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is common time (C). The vocal line is in bass clef.

this was undeniably true, the comparison was almost ubiquitous; Mendelssohn's name became almost a requirement and a qualifier for a critic to mention whenever discussing Hiller's compositions. One reporter in *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* suggested that Mendelssohn's *Paulus* had encouraged other composers to write similar oratorios, citing the upcoming presentation of *Zerstörung Jerusalems* in Leipzig and *Noah* of Gottfried von Preyer in Vienna.<sup>106</sup> This continued as the

<sup>106</sup> "Vermischtes," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 12, no. 16 (21 February 1840): 64. Although the libretto of Heinrich Adami to Preyer's *Noah* (1842) survives in the archival material at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek and is available online, the score appears to be lost.

work spread across Europe, finding performances elsewhere in Germany, as well as abroad. The oratorio was heard in Hiller's hometown of Frankfurt on May 29, 1840 with the composer conducting "to great sensation."<sup>107</sup> A performance in Amsterdam followed in November.<sup>108</sup> By April of 1841, it had been performed in Prague.<sup>109</sup> There, reception was more tempered, where it was described as diligently prepared and varied, but without inspiration—not quite to the level of Mendelssohn.<sup>110</sup> Nonetheless, it is fair to say that *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* established Hiller's compositional reputation and opened new avenues for conducting and teaching positions.

Following the early performances, Hiller returned to Italy, became a baptized Protestant, married Antolka, but shortly thereafter felt the call of home. In 1842, he returned Germany, replacing Mendelssohn as the conductor of the Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchestra in 1843, but stayed barely a year, before going to Dresden in 1844 and Düsseldorf in 1847. In Dresden, Hiller became closer with the Schumanns and spent time with Wagner. He finally landed for an extended period in Cologne, holding the position of the city's Kapellmeister from 1850 until his retirement in 1884.<sup>111</sup> His legacy in Cologne was establishing a repertoire for the city that consisted of both works from the classical era as well as those of his extensive network of mentors and friends.

---

<sup>107</sup> "Tagebuch," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 12, no. 50 (19 June 1840): 200. "Ferdinand Hiller's Oratorium *die Zerstörung Jerusalems*, schon in Leipzig mit Beifall ausgezeichnet, wurde heute vom Cäcilienverein unter Leitung des Componisten zum Besten der Mozartstiftung zum erstenmal aufgeführt und erregte gleichfalls große Sensation."

<sup>108</sup> "Vermischtes," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 13, no. 35 (28 October 1840): 140.

<sup>109</sup> "Vermischtes," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 14, no. 33 (23 April 1841): 134.

<sup>110</sup> "Correspondenz, Prag den 30. März 1842," *Allgemeine Wiener Musik-Zeitung* 2, no. 43 (9 April 1842): 179.

<sup>111</sup> Sietz and Wiegandt, "Hiller, Ferdinand (von)."

## “Juden, Getaufte und Ungetaufte”

In contrast to *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems*, which was a widely acclaimed success throughout Germany and beyond, Hiller's *Israel's Siegesgesang*, op. 151 had a more modest initial reception. The eight-movement work that might be described as a cantata was first performed at the Niederrheinische Musikfest on May 28, 1871, on a concert touted as a “Celebration of Peace.”<sup>112</sup> Hiller wrote *Israel's Siegesgesang* after the Battle of Sedan, which ended the Franco-Prussian war of 1870. Apparently Hiller compiled the text himself, which was described as simply “from the holy scripture.” The text is primarily drawn from the Psalms, with exception of no. 4, which is comprised of more melancholy lamentations, drawn from 1 Samuel and Jeremiah. The work is set for soprano solo with chorus and orchestra, and, although there is a gap of three decades between this work and *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems*, it shows Hiller's maintenance of style, especially his use of Handelian and Mendelssohnian harmonies and a penchant for classical forms.<sup>113</sup>

The legacy of Hiller's *Israel's Siegesgesang* can be traced back to the same year of its premiere, in England, though the work in question was not heard there for nearly a decade. However, 1871 and 1872 were certainly the years that solidified the English audiences in their admiration for Hiller, his music, and his musicianship. In 1871, Hiller went to London where he participated in a number of concerts both as a conductor and pianist, and he composed a festival march in honor of the opening of the Albert Hall.<sup>114</sup> Clara Schumann was also in London at that time and the two

---

<sup>112</sup> “48, Niederreheinische Musikfest, ‘Feier des Friedens,’” *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* 2, no. 24 (9 June 1871): 380.

<sup>113</sup> A. Maczewski, “Kritik, Ferd. Hiller, ‘Israel's Siegesgeang,’” *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* 2, no. 37 (8 September 1871): 582-584.

<sup>114</sup> “Annual International Exhibitions,” *Journal of the Society of the Arts* 19, no. 957 (24 March 1871): 365; 19, no. 958 (31 March 1871): 395. The piano work referenced is probably his *Großer Festmarsch*, op. 147 for piano four-hands. Hiller conducted a concert at St. James's Hall on March 15,

collaborated on his four-hand piano work, *Operette ohne Worte*, op. 106 (1864).<sup>115</sup> Additionally, Joseph Joachim performed Beethoven's violin concerto at the Crystal Palace, with Hiller conducting.<sup>116</sup> The London critical press's effusive praise of Hiller increased the public's interest in his activities back home in Germany as well. One reviewer in *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* commented, "In the first [movement], a chorus in C major, the voices commence without any instrumental introduction, as though to indicate the intensity of their desire to render at once the thanks due to god for his mighty deliverance."<sup>117</sup>

A correspondent from Cologne to the same journal gave this vivid account on one of the earliest performances of *Israel's Siegesgesang* in Cologne:

Dr. Hiller's Hymn, composed in honor of the German victories, was triumphantly successful; and at the last concert, after a repetition, by desire, of one of the most masterly choruses in the work, a wreath was placed upon his head, amidst a flourish of trumpets, and the applause was both enthusiastic and unanimous.<sup>118</sup>

Although the original publication by Leuckart in Leipzig had included English as well as German text, *Israel's Siegesgesang* became well-known to English audiences with the publication of Rev. John

---

1871 that included his cantata, *Nala and Damayanti*, based on the Sanskrit epic *Mahabharatha*. See "St. James's Hall," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 15, no. 337 (1 March 1871): 1.

<sup>115</sup> "Dr. Ferdinand Hiller's Recitals," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 15, no. 338 (1 April 1871): 45. Joachim and Piatti also performed on this recital series. The *Operette ohne Worte* is a twelve-movement work for piano four-hands, which such descriptive titles like "Scolding song," "Romance of Goethe," and "drinking song." Hiller had previously performed this work several times with Friedrich Gernsheim.

<sup>116</sup> "Concerts," *The Athanaeum* no. 2264 (18 March 1871): 344.

<sup>117</sup> "A Song of Victory, for Soprano Solo, Chorus and Orchestra, by Ferdinand Hiller," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 15, no. 360 (1 February 1873): 765.

<sup>118</sup> "Philharmonic Society," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 15, no. 341 (1 July 1871): 140.

Troutbeck's English adaptation as *A Song of Victory*, published by Novello in 1873.<sup>119</sup> Troutbeck, in addition to translating many of the major works of Bach, had also translated both sacred and secular works of Beethoven, Brahms, Haydn, Mendelssohn Mozart, Schumann, and others. For Hiller's work to receive such a translation was to grant the work a good amount of prestige and count it among in the English opinion of some of the greatest German masters. George P. Upton included extended analysis on *A Song of Victory* in his 1887 handbook, *The Standard Cantatas: Their Stories, Their Music, and Their Composers*.<sup>120</sup> The Novello edition was not widely performed in until 1880, when it was heard at the Albert Hall Choral Society on a concert together with Mendelssohn's *Lobesgesang*, op. 52 and a setting of Psalm 137 by Hermann Goetz.<sup>121</sup> Not surprisingly, the British audiences appreciated the influence of Handel, their adopted countryman, on Hiller: "For the most part, as scarcely need be said, the 'Song' is one of triumph and rejoicing, and something of Handelian breadth and grandeur constitutes therefore its leading characteristic."<sup>122</sup> Subsequent to this performance at such a major venue as Albert Hall, the work took off in popularity, with performances throughout England in both secular and sacred spaces.<sup>123</sup>

---

<sup>119</sup> Ferdinand Hiller, *A Song of Victory*, ed. Rev. J. Troutbeck (London: Novello, n.d.). The first advertisement for edition appears in [Back Matter], *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 15, no. 359 (1 January 1873): 753.

<sup>120</sup> George P. Upton, *The Standard Cantatas: Their Stories, Their Music, and Their Composers*, 8<sup>th</sup> ed. (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1903), 201-204. The index of this edition incorrectly listed *Israel's Siegesgesang* (1841), separately from *Song of Victory* (1871), as well as dated *Rebecca* to 1843, when it was in 1877.

<sup>121</sup> "Albert Hall Choral Society," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 21, no. 446 (1 April 1880): 175.

<sup>122</sup> "Albert Hall Choral Society," 175.

<sup>123</sup> "Brief Summary of Country News, Plymouth," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 22, no. 460 (1 June 1881): 322; "Miscellaneous Concerts, Intelligence, &c.," *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 23, no. 478 (1 December 1882): 677; "Brief Summary of Country News,



At some point in the 1880s and 1890s, *Israel's Siegesgesang*, and its Troutbeck translation as *A Song of Victory*, was adopted by both German- and English-speaking Jewish communities. The first appearance of the work as in a Jewish space was in a non-liturgical context in Mannheim in 1880. In celebration of congregations twenty-fifth anniversary, the Synagogue Choral Society gave a concert during Hanukkah, purportedly with over 1200 guests in attendance. The only musical work identified as part of the concert was *Israel's Siegesgesang*, which was described as “especially reflecting the festive mood” of the evening.<sup>124</sup> Although there are no extant records from Hiller on his reaction to his work being used in such a setting, it is incomprehensible to think he was unaware of the performance. The first American performance of the work, most likely in English, was given in Ohio. The Cincinnati Choral Society’s performance actually predated that 1880 London performance and was given on November 2, 1877.<sup>125</sup> The Handel and Haydn Society presented it on February 27, 1887 in Boston, together with selections from Bach’s Mass in B minor, although it is unclear whether this was done in English or German.<sup>126</sup> During the late 1880s or early 1890s, the American Jewish community began inserting movements of the cantata into liturgical settings. It is possible the introduction was made by the Stuttgart-born, daughter of a cantor, Julie Rosewald (1847-1906), who sang no. 2, “Praise, O Jerusalem” at the 1888 High Holiday services at Temple

---

Farnworth,” *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 24, no. 480 (1 February 1883): 97; and additional through the 1890s.

<sup>124</sup> “Mannheim,” *Israelitisches Wochenschrift* 11, no. 51 (16 December 1880): 438. “Das Program bestand aus einer Reihe älterer und neuer Compositionen, unter denen ganz besonders die Hymne: Israels Siegesgesang nach den Worten der h. Schrift von Ferdinand Hiller, als besonders die Feststimmung reflectirend, hervorgehoben zu werden verdient.”

<sup>125</sup> “The First Choral Concert,” *Cincinnati Enquirer*, 3 November 1877, 2.

<sup>126</sup> “Concert Events,” *Boston Daily Globe*, 27 February 1887, 14.

Emanu-El in San Francisco.<sup>127</sup> The 1897 version of the American *Union Hymnal* included: no. 1 “The Lord great wonders for us hath wrought!” from Psalms 126 and 147; no. 2, “Praise, O Jerusalem” from Psalm 147; and no. 7, “Praise Ye the Lord” from Psalm 150, as possible anthems to be inserted into synagogue services.<sup>128</sup>

For the work to appear in a demonstrably Jewish context, as a sacred piece of music either at High Holiday services in a Californian synagogue or as an optional anthem included in the *Union Hymnal*, a foundation text in the soundscape of American liturgical practice, is a surprising occurrence for a composer whose Judaism and Jewish connections have been written off. While Wagner wrote Hiller off as merely a Jew, incapable of completing wholly German music, writers from Jewish perspectives have attacked him from the opposite side, dismissing him as an apostate who cared nothing for—and knew nothing of—his Jewish heritage. Since the 1906 *Jewish Encyclopedia*, when Isidore Singer wrote simply, “Hiller embraced the Christian faith,” the narrative on repeat from Jewish sources is that Hiller’s successes are worthy of listing or attention in sources of Jewish exceptionalism, but his contributions to Jewish culture and life have been obscured by his status as a baptized Jew—*ein getaufter Jude*, to borrow Hiller’s own words from his description of Berlin Jewry in the 1870s. Hiller used this turn of phrase in his *Künstlerleben*, wondering why the Jews—baptized and unbaptized—of Berlin had not come together to erect a statue of Moses

---

<sup>127</sup> Judith S. Pinnolis, “‘Cantor Soprano’ Julie Rosewald: The Musical Career of a Jewish American ‘New Woman,’” *American Jewish Archives Journal* 62:2 (2010): 29-30. Rosewald served Temple Emanu-El as the “cantor soprano” from 1884 to 1893, a leadership role no Jewish woman would hold again in an American synagogue until 1955.

<sup>128</sup> *Union Hymnal* (New York: Central Conference of American Rabbis/W.M. C. Popper & Co., 1897): 206-211.

Mendelssohn.<sup>129</sup> Hiller's complex engagement with *Judentum* has thus been variously essentialized as a pervasive part of his to mere circumstance of birth, ignored and forgotten. Yet, Hiller is present in one of the most important contributions ever made to congregational Jewish music, the *Union Hymnal*, fully embraced not just by American Reform Jews—as can be clearly seen throughout this chapter in regards to the many personal and professional relationships held by Hiller with so-called “*Juden, getaufte und ungetaufte*”—but also by the leadership of the reform-minded world Jewish community.

Hiller clearly recognized his Jewish heritage and engaged with this *Judentum* in varied ways throughout his life. In looking to his first major success, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems*, and the subsequent other Biblically inspired works including *Saul*, *Rebecca*, *Israel's Siegesgesang*, and the many Psalm settings, it is impossible to conclude that he actively distanced himself from Judaism. As further evidence of this more complex existence of Jewishness post-baptism, there is Hiller's 1879 review of *Baal T'fillah als der praktische Vorbeter*, a massive manual on liturgical chants for synagogue use by Abraham Baer (1834-1894).<sup>130</sup> That a composer of Jewish heritage might be aware of this volume is unsurprising, but that a baptized *Neuchrist* composer of such secular prominence like Hiller would be willing not only to review the work for a secular press, but also compelled to include it a section of his collected writings, as he did in *Künstlerleben*, is astounding. Like Hiller's discussion on Sulzer, there

---

<sup>129</sup> Hiller, *Künstlerleben*, 285. “Unbegreiflich es, daß die berliner Juden, getaufte und ungetaufte, die gelegentlich so viel Enthusiasmus und so viel Geld ausgeben, ihm nicht längst wenigstens müßte eine Statue gesetzt haben...”

<sup>130</sup> Abraham Baer, *Baal T'Fillah oder der praktische Vorbeter* (1877; repr. New York: Sacred Music Press, 1953); Ferdinand Hiller, “Notizen, Baal T'Fillah oder der praktische Vorbeter von Abraham Baer,” *Die Gegenwart* 16, no. 52 (27 December 1879): 421-422. Reprinted in Hiller, *Künstlerleben*, 294-296; “Ferdinand Hiller über Synagogengesänge,” *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* 44, no. 13 (30 March 1880): 204-205; “Ferdinand Hiller über die Synagogengesänge,” *Oesterreichisch-ungarische Cantoren-Zeitung* 2, no. 34 (27 September 1882): 3.

is a certain amount of self-distancing in the review, particularly in the opening, which reads: “A splendor in every respect! And a beautiful symbol of our liberated time. The much-vilified chants of the synagogue, despised for centuries, are here before us in an edition that impresses immediately with beauty, clarity, and nobility.”<sup>131</sup> Hiller’s role as a cultural leader in Cologne gave his analysis a high degree of legitimacy, and he wrote almost as an expert on assimilation: “What progress of thought and awareness of the educated world was needed to make this possible!”<sup>132</sup> The self-distancing continues in Hiller’s musical analysis, in which he invites fellow composers to enjoy the “exquisite pleasures, always fresh” of the harmonies even though they will “find songs, with their random semitones and augmented intervals, cannot be constrained” into the modern tonal system, though they allude to Western harmonies.<sup>133</sup> Unfortunately, no letters survive between Hiller or the editors of *Die Gegenwart* (or *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* or the *Oesterreichisch-ungarische Cantoren-Zeitung*, the Jewish journals where this review was reprinted in full), so it is impossible to know how Hiller came to write it, or what kind of response he might have received from his Jewish or Christian colleagues. Exploration of modern cantorial music was apparently not an isolated incident for Hiller in his senior years, as he was also mentioned by Cantor Josef Singer (1841-1911) the successor of Sulzer in Vienna, as a musical confidante.<sup>134</sup> This concretely shows that Hiller was highly aware of

---

<sup>131</sup> Hiller, “Notizen, Baal T’Fillah,” 421. “Ein Prachtwerk in jeder Beziehung! Und ein schönes Zeichen unserer befreienden Zeit. Die viel geschmäheten Gesänge der durch Jahrhunderte verachteten Synagoge liegen uns hier vor, in einer Ausgabe, die durch Schönheit, Klarheit, Vornehmheit schon dem flüchtigsten Blicke imponirt.”

<sup>132</sup> Hiller, “Notizen, Baal T’Fillah,” 421. “Welcher Fortschritte in der Denk— und Gefühlsweise der gebildeten Welt bedurfte es, um derartiges möglich zu machen.”

<sup>133</sup> Hiller, “Notizen, Baal T’Fillah,” 422. “Hier aber sinden wir fortwährend Gesänge, die wir mit ihren zufälligen Halb- und Anderthalbtönen nicht in unser System einzwängen können und die trotzdem einer stimmungsvollen tonartlichen Basis, oder wie man es nennen mag, nicht ermangeln.”

<sup>134</sup> J. [Josef] Singer, “Ueber Entwicklung des ‘Synagogen-Gesanges,’” *Oesterreichisch-ungarische Cantoren-Zeitung* 5:42 (11 December 1885): 1-5. Hiller died in May of 1885.

synagogue music and its very recent developments, and also that he held a certain amount of esteem within the Jewish community as one who could function in secular society as an artistic authority.

Whether it was simply confidence that his professional success would not be threatened by an increased openness with regard to his ethnic background, a sign of the “liberated times” (again to borrow from Hiller’s own words, used in the review above), or some deeper renewed sense of Jewish identification or obligation, Hiller increased his output of writing on the various topics related to *Judentum* in the latter decades of his life. In addition to the above articles that appeared in music- and Jewish-centric periodicals, Hiller also published a series of essays, collectively titled “Besuche im Jenseits” (“Visits to the Beyond”), in the general-interest periodical, *Deutsche Rundschau* in 1881, published by German-Jewish poet, Julius Rodenberg, who collaborated multiple times with Anton Rubinstein (see Chapter 4).<sup>135</sup> These short articles, which are essentially Victorian-era ghost stories, depict dream-like conversations between Hiller and other musicians and writers he had known throughout his life. The passage that depicted a fiction conversation between Hiller, Heinrich Heine, and Ludwig Börne so aroused the enthusiasm of the seminal Jewish music ethnographer, Eduard Birnbaum (1855-1920) that he wrote to the *Israelitische Wochenschrift* not long after they essays appeared in the *Deutsche Rundschau*, asserting that “Hiller... is as masterful with the pen as he is with the piano,” and that the story “deserved to be reprinted in a Jewish journal.”<sup>136</sup> Heine and Börne, both of whom Hiller had met while in Paris in the 1830s, were, of course, two of the most famous

---

<sup>135</sup> Ferdinand Hiller, “Besuche im Jenseits, I,” *Deutsche Rundschau* 8, no. 6 (October 1881): 66-86; idem., “Besuche im Jenseits, II” *Deutsche Rundschau* 8, no. 7 (November 1881): 189-203. Reprinted in Ferdinand Hiller, *Erinnerungsblätter* (Cologne: M. DuMont-Schauberg’schen Buchhandlung, 1884): 172-225.

<sup>136</sup> D. [Eduard] Birnbaum, “Berichte und Correspondenzen,” *Israelitisches Wochenschrift* 13:50 (13 December 1882): 388. Hiller, der ebenso meisterhaft die Feder wie die Claviertasten zu rühren versteht... die es wahrlich verdienen, in einer jüdischen Zeitschrift wiederholt zu werden.

*Neuchristen* of the early nineteenth century. Not unlike Hiller, both had been victims of Wagner's patronizing and back-handed criticism; in Heine's case, Wagner's tirades became outright derision. Particularly curious about the fictional exchange that Hiller invented was his anachronistic use of the word *antisemitismus* in various forms, a word that had certainly not been coined in Heine's or Börne's time: "Look there, Hiller!" exclaimed Börne, with that friendly, smirking smile, accompanied by a touch of irony, "You have been making strange trips, and now you come to us? I hope not to escape from the antisemites!"<sup>137</sup> Hiller assures Börne that, no, things are not too bad in Cologne. Börne then laments that German people hold "jealous hatred against a small group of people, who worked the way out of misery—in this day and age—that is pathetic!"<sup>138</sup> Given that these words come from the fictionalized Börne, it is easy to imagine Hiller as merely a passive listener to this diatribe. Yet, as the author of the entire fantasy, it is unmistakably Hiller who set forth his own opinion. Birnbaum was sufficiently impressed by the power of the story to encourage that it be shared in the Jewish press. Heine's "reply" is an even more extensive and significantly darker reveal on his true feelings on the state of Jews in Germany at that time:

The latter [Heine] raised his head and said somewhat gravely: 'Do we get a say? Do we not have to be mindful of our noble origins? Are we not a party? Do the Jews not deserve justice? They have become learned, rich, famous, even noble—all of this is forgivable [to Gentiles]. They are so Christian that they offer the other cheek when they receive a slap on the face—this deserves to be punished! They allow themselves to be insulted and become enthusiastic about the insulting person. They applaud their despisers! One may have spent a quarter of a century in this upper world

---

<sup>137</sup> Hiller, "Besuche im Jenseits, I," 75. "Sieh da, Hiller,' rief Börne mit jenem freundlich schmunzelnden Lächeln, dem sich immer noch ein kleiner ironischer Zug gesellte, 'Sie machen ja merkwürdige Ausflüge, nun kommen Sie gar zu uns? Hoffentlich nicht, um sich vor den Antisemiten zu retten?'"

<sup>138</sup> Hiller, "Besuche im Jenseits, I," 75. "Alles schön und gut. Aber daß ein Deutscher so wenig von sich selbst hält, so wenig point d'honneur besitzt, um seinen neidischen Haß jetzt noch auszusprechen gegen ein Häuflein Menschen, das sich durch Gescheitigkeit aus dem Elend herausgearbeitet – in dieser Zeit – das ist erbärmlich."

[heaven], but one does not get over that. And sometimes I get a real longing for pen and ink, I am so weaned from these things.<sup>139</sup>

The frustration in Heine's voice is Hiller's frustration. The depth of his engagement with *Judentum* is palpable and shows the high degree of importance that the composer's religious and cultural heritage had on his world view. The chapter has shown only a snapshot of a single musician's relationship with his own *Judentum* and that of those around him in the early decades of the nineteenth century. The progression of Hiller's life—familial assimilation that opens up accessibility to German cultural and musical opportunities, an itinerant professional life, musical works that engage with subjects that can function both Jewishness and within the broader Christian context, and a mature embrace of heritage and freedom once professional success has been earned—is one that will repeat in the subsequent case studies presented here.

---

<sup>139</sup> Hiller, "Besuche im Jenseits, I," 75. "Dieser reckte den Kopf in die Höhe und sagte etwas gravitatisch: 'Dürfen wir mitreden? müssen wir nicht unseres edlen Ursprungs eingedenk sein? sind wir nicht Partei? geschieht den Juden nicht recht? Daß sie gelehrt werden, reich, berühmt, sogar adelig, das Alles ist verzeihlich. Daß sie sich aber so gut christlich zeigen, um die andere Wange anzubieten, wenn sie auf der einen eine Ohrfeige erhielten, das verdient bestraft zu werden. Beschimpfen lassen sie sich und enthusiastieren sich für den Beschimpfenden—ihren Verächtern klatschen sie Beifall zu. Man mag ein Vierteljahrhundert auf dieser Oberwelt zugebracht haben, das lernt man nicht verwinden, und ich bekomme zuweilen eine wahre Sehnsucht nach Feder und Dinte, so entwöhnt ich dieser Dinge bin.'"

## Chapter 3

### *Judentum* and Virtuosity:

#### Reputation, Baptism, and Joseph Joachim

There are examples of Jewish musicians involved in secular music dating back to the Renaissance, but the nineteenth century witnessed an unprecedented development: Jews not only entered the field of Western art music, but often dominated it.<sup>1</sup> Israeli Musicologist Ezra Mendelsohn has commented, “One could, with relative ease, compile a list of at least sixty or seventy names of Jews or people of Jewish origin, born before 1840 who attained a degree of fame in the musical world.”<sup>2</sup> This would include not only performers and composers, but also a vast nexus of Jews in the orbit surrounding them: journalists, musicologists, publishers, patrons, and devoted concert subscribers. There is considerable overlap between these various categories. Virtuosi were almost always composers, at least for their own instrument, while musical audiences were often amateur musicians and performed in their homes and in the salons of the other cultural elite. In particular, one stand-out phenomenon that can be observed in the nineteenth century is that of pursuing a career as a virtuoso, which Michael Haas has characterized as “the fast track into respectable non-Jewish society.”<sup>3</sup> However, the phenomenon was not unidirectional. Assimilation

---

<sup>1</sup> Joshua R. Jacobson, “Art music and Jewish culture before the Jewish Enlightenment: Negotiating identities in Late Renaissance Italy” and David Conway, “A New Song: Jewish musicians in European music, 1730-1850,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Jewish Music*, 143-66.

<sup>2</sup> Ezra Mendelsohn, “On the Jewish Presence in Nineteenth-Century European Musical Life,” in *Modern Jews and their Musical Agendas*, ed. Ezra Mendelsohn, Studies in Contemporary Jewry, vol. 9 (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 5.

<sup>3</sup> Michael Haas, *Forbidden Music: The Jewish Composers Banned by the Nazis* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013), 35.



did not simply lead to cultural participation. Rather, cultural participation—and in many examples, cultural *excellency*—itself further assured assimilation. Paradoxically, one needed to become assimilated to access and participate in German secular culture, but only once one was recognized as a full contributor to secular culture was assimilation secure. Of that proposed “list of at least sixty or seventy,” Chapters 3 and 4 focus respectively on two of the most celebrated and influential: violinist Joseph Joachim and pianist Anton Rubinstein.

### **The Path to Success**

The necessary condition that Haas describes as leading into access to “respectable non-Jewish society” was “ambitious, wealthy parents” coupled with the “precociousness and virtuosity” of the child prodigy.<sup>4</sup> Surprisingly, while this phenomenon can be easily recognized in the studies of individual musicians, general histories of nineteenth century German Jews rarely address the importance of music as an avenue of assimilation. Ezra Mendelsohn candidly reminds present-day readers that involvement in secular music by nineteenth century Jews should not be misunderstood as a rebellion against Jewish heritage: “It is instructive to discover that many eminent Jewish musicians of the first half of the nineteenth century, far from rebelling against their parents in their cultural preferences and choice of career, were actually introduced to European high musical culture by their families.”<sup>5</sup> The extended family of Felix Mendelssohn is of course the most famous example of this kind artistic support, but this can be widely observed and was not limited only to those with vast wealth such as that of the Mendelssohns. Middle-class Jewish families also highly valued music, securing lessons for their young children and purchasing pianos for their homes. Furthermore,

---

<sup>4</sup> Haas, *Forbidden Music*, 35.

<sup>5</sup> Mendelsohn, “On the Jewish Presence in Nineteenth-Century European Musical Life,” 6.

artistic salons were avidly cultivated. Assimilated Jews responded to the appeal of German bourgeois culture in what Marion Kaplan describes as a “secularized form of Sabbath,” reserving Saturday afternoons for social gatherings which often included playing chamber music or reading aloud from classical and popular literature.<sup>6</sup> Hiller and Gernsheim had wealthy, assimilated parents with secular professions, and both composers benefited from opportunities for their talents to be recognized and fostered. The children of assimilated Jews benefitted from their parents’ access to cultural education; in both these families, the children’s first piano teacher was their mother.

The material aspect of music also made it particularly attractive to newly assimilated Jewish families. Musical instruments could be prominently displayed in the home and serve as physical markers of a family’s *Bildung* (cultural edification and self-cultivation) in their living spaces just as the art they purchased and the books that filled their shelves represented their embrace of humanistic culture. Furthermore, even families unable to afford a piano could, for a reasonable amount, obtain a violin. The Hungarian-Jewish violinist Leopold Auer (1845-1930), son of a house painter, commented that the violin “was the most easily obtainable by the poor, since it did not cost much...”<sup>7</sup> However, in order to put their assimilation truly on display, it was not enough for German-speaking Jews during the pre-emancipation years to keep their Germanness in the home among other like-minded, secularized Jews, with a library full of German philosophical books and current literature. Attendance at music and theater events, where newly assimilated Jews could co-

---

<sup>6</sup> Marion A. Kaplan, “As Germans and as Jews in Imperial Germany,” in *Jewish Daily Life in Germany, 1618-1945*, ed. Marion A. Kaplan (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 253-254.

<sup>7</sup> Leopold Auer, *My Long Life in Music* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1923), 21. Ezra Mendelsohn cites this quotation, but in an altered form. See also Isidore Singer and Herman Rosenthal, “Auer, Leopold,” *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 2:297-298, accessed 31 October 2019, <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/2107-auer-leopold>.

mingle with Gentile audiences, was essential.<sup>8</sup> The concert hall provided a public space to showcase one's identification with these national cultural values.

The next step after becoming consumers of music was to venture into the varied and multiple career opportunities within the profession of music. Problematically, Ezra Mendelsohn writes, "If there is something to the accusation that Jews had difficulty in being truly creative—at least in this early stage of their integration into European society—then music offered them the alternative careers of interpreting the works of others, at which they obviously excelled."<sup>9</sup> This suggestion, though perhaps tempered by irony, comes perilously close to playing into antisemitic stereotypes of the century. Rather than considering musical performance as an opportunity to avoid the actual creative process due to any inherent artistic incapacity, it makes more sense to see the pursuit of a musical career as a cautiously incremental attempt at assimilation. As Jews began to assimilate into the dominant secular culture, they were not initially equipped with the cultural literacy to become full-fledged creators. Rather, the process that can be observed—the supporting of salons and musical soirées at the Mendelssohn-Levy and Beer (Meyerbeer) homes—allowed not only the families themselves, but also their fellow Jews, to experience and familiarize themselves with the cultural currency of the emerging middle-class of educated, erudite elite in German-speaking Europe, the *Bildungsbürgertum*. Only with a genuine concerted effort at cultural consumption would these Jews even have had the knowledge to take the next steps toward artistic creation.

It is recognized today that German art music was—and continues to be to a certain extent within the canonic symphonic repertoire heard in concert halls throughout the world—seen as

---

<sup>8</sup> Jacob Katz, "German Culture and the Jews," in *The Jewish Response to German Culture: From Enlightenment to the Second World War*, ed. Jehuda Schatzberg and Walter Reinharz (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1985), 90.

<sup>9</sup> Mendelsohn, "On the Jewish Presence in Nineteenth-Century European Musical Life," 10.

“universal.” Bach, Beethoven, and Brahms continue to be seen as the benchmarks by which all other art music must be measured against. Another recognized phenomenon is the connection between music and *Deutschtum*. Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter observe that the concept of German national identity was not applied to artistic creation until the eighteenth century, and even then musicians were not likely to see their music from any sort of nationalist perspective.<sup>10</sup> Instead, Applegate and Potter indicate that this application of *Deutschtum* to musical culture is a largely nineteenth century development, aided in part by the establishment of the periodical *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* in 1866. In addition to promoting the supremacy of German music throughout its two distinct publication runs (1798 to 1848 and 1866 to 1882), the journal was also foundational in the historical re-imagining of Bach as “the musical counterpart to the Greek and Roman classics so central to the humanistic curricula of the *Gymnasium* and of reformist universities.”<sup>11</sup> The historicism advocated by Mendelssohn and Hiller (see Chapter 2) augmented both this burgeoning nationalist sentiment and the move toward German music as universal.

### **Joseph Joachim, Virtuoso Violinist and *Neuchrist***

In a letter to Gisela von Arnim, Hungarian-Jewish violinist Joseph Joachim (1831-1907) admonished her for a well-meant defense she had publicly made on his behalf following his Lutheran baptism in 1855. Joachim regarded Gisela as an intellectual equal, although she was, in fact, his social superior. Given her that her parents were Achim and Bettina von Arnim, canonic

---

<sup>10</sup> Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter, “Germans as the ‘People of Music’: Genealogy of an Identity,” in *Music & German National Identity*, ed. Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2002), 2-3.

<sup>11</sup> Applegate and Potter, “Germans as the ‘People of Music,’” 5.

figures of German Romanticism, her status was near royalty within cultural spheres of nineteenth century German society. To Gisela, Joachim wrote:

That stupid newspaper gossip about my Christianity! What kind of silly letters have I received! And it made me really savor the contradiction between essence and appearance again!... Incidentally, dear soul, it's not quite right that you, in order to put my strength of character in the best light, represented me in a kind of self-defense against the pretensions of Jews, whose community [according to the press] I have supposedly denied. It is deeper and more internalized than that, and I will come back to it.<sup>12</sup>

The last sentence might be better understood as, “It is more personal and more complicated than simply a denial of Judaism.” Such a comment is emblematic of the relationship newly baptized Christians of Jewish ancestry had with their heritage. Externally, the reasons for baptism were often discussed, derided, and oversimplified. Even when friends and professional acquaintances came to the defense of *Neuchristen*, the backstories and motivations surrounding baptism were rarely disclosed or understood. Careful examination, however, reveals the complex navigation of an identity that did not simply disappear once the rite of baptism was concluded.

Although much has been written about Joachim as a violinist, there has been little scholarship on his Jewish identity as a presence throughout his life or his impact on the German Jewish musical world in nineteenth century Europe. Despite his inclusion in various recent and historical Jewish encyclopedias, any attempt to piece together his Jewish background and interactions faces a number of hurdles. The research carried out by the American violinist and

---

<sup>12</sup> Joseph Joachim, Letter to Bettina von Arnim (12 March 1856), in Joseph Joachim, *Briefe von und an Joseph Joachim*, eds. Joseph Joachim and Andreas Moser, vol. 1, 1841-1857 (Berlin: J. Bard, 1911), 326. “Das dumme Zeitungsgeklatsch über mein Christendom! Was hat mir das für alberne Briefe zugezogen, . . . und wie hat es mich überhaupt den Widerspruch von Sein und Schein einmal wieder recht auskosten lernen! Das Geschmeiß, das so etwas nur immer mit Carrière-Sucht in Verbindung setzt. Mir ist's übrigens nicht ganz recht, daß Du liebe Seele um meine Charakter-Stärke in ein schönes Licht zu setzen, meinen übertritt als eine Art von Nothwehr gegen Pretensionen von Juden darstellst, denen ich dadurch die Gemeinschaft aufgesagt haben soll. Es liegt innerlicher und tiefer und ich werde darauf zurückkommen.”

historian Robert Eshbach and by the German musicologist Beatrix Borchard constitutes the most important secondary scholarship on Joachim to focus specifically on his Jewish heritage. Borchard's work on Joachim received more broad authoritative status, with her biographies of both Joachim and his wife Amalie (1839-99) appearing in the latest editions of both *Oxford Music Online* and *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart (MGG) Online*.<sup>13</sup> Central to Borchard's argument on Joachim's Jewish engagement is her concept of *Musik als Akkulturationsmedium* (music as a medium of acculturation).<sup>14</sup> While acknowledging the extensive archival and formidable scope of Borchard's work, Richard Eshbach, in his article "Joachim's Youth—Joachim's Jewishness," challenges much of Borchard's approach as overly simplistic.<sup>15</sup> His central argument is that Borchard's analysis presents a reductive view of assimilation and acculturation, which derives from a faulty presentation of Joachim's Jewish heritage. Eshbach argues that Borchard freely uses phrases such as "*entitätsfindung über Abspaltung*" (bridging division to find identity) or '*jüdische Identitätssuche in der deutschen Musikkultur*' (the Jewish search for identity in the German musical culture)" without properly defining either Joachim's personal "Jewish identity" or the concept more broadly.<sup>16</sup> Like Eshbach, I see this omission as highly problematic. While it is imperative in the study of Joachim—and indeed all musicians of Jewish heritage in the nineteenth century—that scholars do not superimpose twentieth and twenty-first

---

<sup>13</sup> Beatrix Borchard, *Stimme und Geige: Amalie und Joseph Joachim, Biographie und Interpretationsgeschichte* (Vienna, Cologne, and Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2005); Beatrix Borchard, "Joachim, Joseph" *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, accessed 4 November 2019, <https://doi-org.turing.library.northwestern.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.14322>; Beatrix Borchard, "Joseph Joachim," *MGG Online*, accessed 4 November 2019, <https://www.mgg-online.com>.

<sup>14</sup> Beatrix Borchard and Heidi Zimmerman, eds., *Musikwelten—Lebenswelten: Jüdische Identitätssuche in Der Deutschen Musikkultur* (Vienna, Cologne, and Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2009).

<sup>15</sup> Robert W. Eshbach, "Joachim's Youth--Joachim's Jewishness," *The Musical Quarterly* 94, no. 4 (Winter 2011): 548-592.

<sup>16</sup> Eshbach, "Joachim's Youth—Joachim's Jewishness," 565.

century perspectives and agendas onto musical compositions, the solution she presents is hardly satisfactory. A broad view of the “Jewish identity in German musical culture” can indeed only be conceptualized in terms of the varied ways that individuals experience it. While both she and Eshbach clearly acknowledge the problematic nature of sweeping statements on Jewish identity in music, it is necessary to follow through by allowing for the interpretation of individual cases.

Like Ferdinand Hiller, Joachim had a long and highly successful career. As one of the most highly regarded virtuosi of the nineteenth century, his approach to the violin has influenced generations of musicians. As a *Neuchrist*, he lived through the years of vast expansion of accessibility in the personal and professional lives of his fellow Jews. Unlike Hiller, whom scholars have largely characterized as having definitively walked away from the *Judentum* of his birth, the opposite is true for Joachim. His Jewish heritage has been emphasized—and at times almost celebrated—in existing scholarship, despite the somewhat limited and oversimplified analyses of his works uncritically based on the notion of an inherently Jewish quality. This is not dissimilar to many instances within the scholarly treatment of Mendelssohn and Mahler. Though Joachim did not make his name as a composer or a conductor in the cases of these two fellow Christian converts, he still held comparable fame as arguably the most important violinist of the second half of the nineteenth century. Joachim’s compositions never entered the standard repertoire, but his influence and legacy have been long-lasting. His professional relationships led to collaborations with many of the leading composers of the nineteenth century, and the firm establishment in the canon of two of the greatest violin concerti of that period—those of Beethoven and Brahms—is indebted to Joachim’s influence.

### **From Prodigy to Virtuoso, Jew to Christian**

Joachim’s biography is similar to that of other virtuosi of early nineteenth century: precocious talent that led to international acclaim when presented by an established master. Joachim

was born in Kittsee, one of the *Siebgemeinden* (in Hebrew, *Sheva Kehillot*), seven towns in Burgenland on the border of modern-day Austria and Hungary, where Jewish communities had been granted charters and political protection by the Esterházy in the late seventeenth century.<sup>17</sup> The communities included Eisenstadt (in Hungarian, Kis-Marton), Deutsch-Kreutz (Német-Keresztur), Mattersdorf (Nagy Marton), Lakenbach (Lakompak), Kobersdorf (Kábold), Kittsee (Köpcsény), and Frauenkirchen (Boldogasszony). The communities of *Schutzjuden* (protected Jews) were religiously, linguistically, and ethnically diverse, and many non-Jewish composers, including Haydn and Liszt also hailed from the region.<sup>18</sup> Although Borchard describes Joachim as economically and culturally “underprivileged,” Eshbach argues that there is no evidence for this and that such a characterization of Joachim’s childhood serves to further mythologize his genius rather than explore the legacy of his Jewish upbringing and its identifiable influences on his later artistic approach and personal life:

At first glance, the fact that a Hungarian Jew, born in a tiny backwater town on the Austrian border could rise to the very peak of the Prussian musical establishment seems an extraordinary feat of acculturation. It is certainly a story of successful assimilation, and of a highly successful musical career. But was Joachim in any commonly accepted sense culturally or economically ‘underprivileged’?<sup>19</sup>

Although the Jews of the *Siebgemeinden* arrived as refugees from Emperor Leopold I’s Vienna in the late seventeenth century, they were among the wealthiest Jewish communities in the region due to

---

<sup>17</sup> It is unclear why the more modern Sephardic Hebrew pronunciation (as opposed *Sheva Kehillos* in Ashkenazic pronunciation) has become the scholarly standard, though it may be due to the 1906 *Jewish Encyclopedia*’s use of the Sephardic “Kehillot.” Isidore Singer and Alexander Büchler, “Sheba Kehillot,” *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 11:236, accessed 3 November 2019, <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/13516-sheba-kehillot>.

<sup>18</sup> Philip V. Bohlman, *Jewish Music and Modernity*, AMS Studies in Music (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 18-19. See also Caryl Clark, *Haydn’s Jews: Representation and Reception on the Operatic Stage* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 54-55.

<sup>19</sup> Eshbach, “Joachim’s Youth—Joachim’s Jewishness,” 549. Eshbach points out quite the opposite: that the Joachims were likely some of the most well-to-do, given the fact that they employed a servant.



the *Heimatsrecht* (rights to live on the land) bestowed upon them as a result of the Esterházy protections, which also afforded the opportunities to build permanent communal structures such as schools, slaughterhouses, cemeteries, and synagogues.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, the freedom to trade within the region allowed for ambitious families to establish themselves in secular commerce. Joachim's family was well-connected; both of his parents' families had been highly successful in the wool trade. Eshbach points out the family's connections in the wool trade connected them to Pest (where the family relocated when Joseph was two years old), Vienna, Leipzig, London, and Leeds, cities where family connections also aided in establishing their son's early musical career.<sup>21</sup>

Joachim received his formative musical education under the Polish-born violinist, Stanisław Serwaczyński in Pest, a city that was still emerging as a musical center. Both Buda and Pest were still importing musicians from larger cities. Serwaczyński, who had been trained in Warsaw and Vienna, was a co-founder of the Music Institute in Buda.<sup>22</sup> Eshbach comments, "There was yet no indigenous Hungarian music culture from which a young boy, Jew or Gentile, might emerge, or to which he might acculturate."<sup>23</sup> Eshbach's use of "indigenous" is more provocative than accurate in that the Germano-centric art music culture in Pest could never be wholly "native" in the sense of deriving from Hungarian culture. Furthermore, while Buda, which Eshbach identifies as the twin capital with more musical cachet, had staged Mozart in the eighteenth century and been visited by Haydn and Beethoven in 1800, Pest was not without Western art music. The Városi Színház (Town

---

<sup>20</sup> Clark, *Haydn's Jews*, 55.

<sup>21</sup> Eshbach, "Joachim's Youth—Joachim's Jewishness," 552-553.

<sup>22</sup> Barbara Chmara-Żackiewicz, "Serwaczyński, Stanisław," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, accessed 20 November 2019, <https://doi-org.turing.library.northwestern.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.25497>.

<sup>23</sup> Eshbach, "Joachim's Youth—Joachim's Jewishness," 556.

Theatre), which opened in 1812, staged operas of Auber, Bellini, Donizetti, and Meyerbeer.<sup>24</sup> After briefly study in Vienna with Miska Hauser, Georg Hellmesberger the elder, and Joseph Böhm, Joachim went to Leipzig at the age of twelve to study with Mendelssohn, David, and Hauptmann.<sup>25</sup> Joachim arrived in the city in 1843, the same year as the founding of its conservatory, though he was never enrolled there as a student.<sup>26</sup> Shortly thereafter, at not quite thirteen, he was taken to London by Mendelssohn as his protégé. This was a defining moment in the young virtuoso's career, not only solidifying his reputation and opening professional doors throughout continental Europe and England, but the trip also established Joachim as a Mendelssohnian.<sup>27</sup> His first performance in London was organized by Moscheles and took place on March 28, 1844. The concert was a sort of musical interlude between the acts of Michael William Balfe's operetta *The Bohemian Girl*, with Joachim glibly billed as "The celebrated Hungarian Boy."<sup>28</sup> His May 27, 1844 London Philharmonic debut concert, where he performed Beethoven's Violin Concerto under Mendelssohn's direction, further solidified this reputation, prompting Sir Hubert Parry to reminisce at a celebration in Joachim's honor in 1904: "No combination could have been more prophetic of your career, though neither its duration in time nor the singular quality of its achievement was then any probable

---

<sup>24</sup> Dezső Legány, "Budapest," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, accessed 4 November 2019, <https://doi-org.turing.library.northwestern.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.04250>.

<sup>25</sup> Eshbach, "Joachim's Youth—Joachim's Jewishness," 560-562. Eshbach suggests that the flood of 1838 in Pest would have greatly impacted the wool business of the Joachim family, encouraging them to send their young son off to Vienna to pursue a career in music rather than enter the family business.

<sup>26</sup> Leonard Milton Phillips, Jr., "The Leipzig Conservatory: 1843-1881," (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1979), 90-91.

<sup>27</sup> Robert W. Eshbach, "London, 1844," *JosephJoachim.com*, 2013, accessed 19 June 2017, <https://josephjoachim.com/2013/07/03/london-1844>; Beatrix Borchard, "Joachim, Joseph."

<sup>28</sup> "Honoring Dr. Joachim," *The Musical Times* 45, no. 736 (1 June 1904): 377. Joachim played the Grand Variations on a theme from Rossini's *Otello*, op. 4 by Heinrich Wilhelm Ernst.

foresight.”<sup>29</sup> Joachim had been scheduled to play Spohr’s Concerto no. 8, however Heinrich Wilhelm Ernst, a friendly acquaintance made while in London, nineteen years his senior, had played it in the previous month. Joachim’s performance of Beethoven’s concerto can effectively be considered the work’s revival, as it had not received much success at its premiere or in subsequent decades. Eshbach writes: “This difficult, reputedly disagreeable work was a risky choice, then, as a debut vehicle for a boy one-month shy of his 13<sup>th</sup> birthday. For Joseph [Joachim], as for Mendelssohn, the stakes for this performance were unusually high. Joseph’s success in meeting this challenge would have historic consequences, both for the boy and for the concerto.”<sup>30</sup> Following the performance, enthusiastic reviews described the young prodigy as “extraordinary little Joachim” and “the best youthful violinist we have heard,” writing that “he played perfectly in tune—a compliment we are unable to pay to Ernst.”<sup>31</sup> From this moment onward, Joachim was a leading figure on the international European stage. After Mendelssohn’s death, Joachim briefly went to study with Liszt in Weimar and then went on to Hanover where he served as principal violinist of the court orchestra from 1853 to 1868. This was also a period of great personal change: in Hanover, Joachim converted to Lutheranism (see below) and married the singer Amalie Schneeweis.<sup>32</sup> Joachim went to Berlin in 1868. There he founded the Königliche Akademie der Künste (Königliche Hochschule für Musik after 1872) and the Joachim Quartet in 1869, two institutions that, together with Joachim’s own

---

<sup>29</sup> “Honoring Dr. Joachim,” 376.

<sup>30</sup> Robert W. Eshbach, “London Debut,” *JosephJoachim.com*, 2013, accessed 19 June 2017, <https://josephjoachim.com/2013/07/03/philharmonic-debut>.

<sup>31</sup> “Honoring Dr. Joachim,” 377.

<sup>32</sup> Borchard, *Stimme und Geige*, 71-142.

stalwart position as a proponent of the classical tradition, left a stamp on the musical life of Berlin which extended beyond his death in 1907.<sup>33</sup>

Although the final sentence of the “Joachim, Joseph” entry in 1906 *Jewish Encyclopedia* states, as it does similarly in entries on highly assimilated, successful, members of broader European society, “Joachim has embraced Christianity,” the story is not quite so simple.<sup>34</sup> Joachim’s surviving letters to his friend, writer Herman Grimm (1828-1901), son of Wilhelm and nephew of Jakob, reveal some of circumstances behind his 1855 baptism in Hanover. Joachim wrote to Grimm on Sunday, April 22, 1855 from Hanover:

I thank you from the bottom of my heart for your friendly letter—you are so good to me, and I feel it so deeply, more than I can say. It is one of my dearest reflections, and one to which I often return, that I am so bound in thought and sympathy to a man of such pure endeavours, that this bond must grow stronger in the course of years and in proportion to my progress. I am working hard and am only just beginning to awake from a state of apathy regarding my puerility, into which, as I know realise, I had long been sunk. One step in this connection—do not be frightened—is that in a next fortnight, I shall become a Christian. The secret is out, but *I entreat you not to mention it to a soul*; it will be done here very quietly and rather romantically. How, I should like to have an opportunity of telling you.<sup>35</sup>

---

<sup>33</sup> “Joseph Joachim, 1831-1907,” *The Monthly Musical Record* 37, no. 441 (September 1, 1907): 193-194.

<sup>34</sup> Isidore Singer and Joseph Sohn, “Joachim, Joseph,” *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 7:191, accessed 29 June 2017, <http://jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/8687-joachim-joseph>.

<sup>35</sup> Joseph Joachim, Letter to Hermann Grimm (22 April 1855), in Joseph Joachim, *Letters to and from Joseph Joachim*, trans. Nora Bickley (London: Macmillan and Co., 1914), 109; *Briefe von und an Joseph Joachim*, 1:280-281. “Lasse Dir danken recht aus Herzensgrund, für Deine freundschaftlichen Zeilen—Du bist so gut gegen mich, ich fühle das sehr tief und mehr, als ich sagen kann. Es ist mir einer der liebsten Gedanken, zu dem ich oft zurückkehre, mit einem so Reinstrebenden zusammenzuhängen und zu denken, daß dies Band mit den Jahren und in dem Maaße meines Fortschreitens wachsen müsse. Ich bin fleißig und fange erst jetzt an aus einer Apathie in Betreff einer Wenigkeit zu erwachen, in die ich mehr, als ich selbst ahnte, seit lange verfallen war. Ein Schritt, der damit zusammenhängt—ferschrecke nicht—ist: daß ich im Laufe der nächsten 14 Tage zum Christenthum übertreten werde. Es ist heraus: ich bitte Dich aber es keiner Menschenseele anzuvertrauen: es wird hier in aller Stille geschehen in ziemlich romantischer Weise. Wie—das möcht’ ich Dir gelegentlich erzählen.”

Joachim framed his baptism both in terms of a rejection of Judaism and a sincere embrace of certain values of Christianity. Although Grimm's letter to Joachim has not survived, there is an indication that the response to Joachim's baptism was not received positively from both his friends and from the critical press, something that apparently endured through the time of the 1856 letter from Gisela cited at the beginning of this chapter. Shortly after the first letter of April 1855, Joachim wrote again to Grimm, four days later:

I shall probably be here [in Hanover] for another full week; my baptism will only take place then. It is to be done quite secretly, which is made possible by the fact that the King and Queen have taken over the duties of godparents. Wehner will have the church keys for the duties of sexton—the King, as he often does, will take a walk alone with his wife at mid-day, and will go into the church in which I shall be waiting with the clergyman. The King's simple *goodness* has delighted me; not long ago (when I had an audience with him with reference to musical matters) my remarks on Bach led him to ask how it was I appreciated his spirit so well, seeing that I was born in a Catholic country, and when I told him of my Israelitish origins and other circumstances of my life, he wished to know what had prevented me, with my 'Christian' nature from accepting the Christian religion. He did away with my chief reason, my dislike of all outward demonstration in purely spiritual matters, by asking if he might be my godfather. I feel as if I have shaken off all bitterness for the first time, and am armed against all the sordidness of Judaism, against which I became more inimical the more I had to conquer the disadvantages under which I suffered, at first unconsciously, and afterwards consciously, owing to my Jewish upbringing. The basis of Christ's religion seems to me to be a willing to surrender to things spiritual and a joyful martyrdom for them—and in the face of this everything else appears unessential to me just now—I am so romantic that I wish Gisela and you could have been my godparents in some village church.<sup>36</sup>

---

<sup>36</sup> Joseph Joachim, Letter to Hermann Grimm (26 April 1855), in *Letters to and from Joseph Joachim*, 110; *Briefe von und an Joseph Joachim*, 1:283-284. "Wahrscheinlich bleibe ich noch volle acht Tage heir; meine Taufe wird wohl dann erst vollzogen. Sie soll ganz geheim geschehen, was dadurch ermöglicht wird daß König und Königin das Pathen-Officium übernommen haben. Wehner bekommt die Kirchenschlüssel zum Küsterdienst—der König wird mit seiner Frau, wie er oft thut, um die Mittagszeit allein spazieren gehen, in die Kirche treten, in der ich mit dem Pastor warte werde. Mich freut die reine Güte des Königs, der neulich (als ich in musikalischen Dingen Audienz bei ihm hatte) durch meine Äußerungen über Bach zur Frage kam, wie ich, in katholischen Landen geboren, so dessen Geist würdigte, und da ich ihm meine israelitsche Abstammung und anderes aus meinem Leben erzählte, die Gründe erforschte, die mich bei meinem "christlichen" Wesen abgehalten hätten, die christliche Religion anzunehmen. Meine Hauptgrund, die Scheu vor allem äußerlich Auffallenden bei ren seelischen Vorgängen, hob er durch die Bitte, die ihn zu meinem Pathen gemacht hat. Mir ist, als wär' ich erst jetzt recht frei von Bitterkeit und kampfberechtigt gegen alles Unschöne des Judenthums, dem ich so feindlicher mich gesinnt fühle, je meh rich eigne

The above translation of 1914 by Nora Bickley is somewhat problematic, especially in the passage that has been translated as “all the sordidness of Judaism,” which reads as “*alles Unschöne des Judenthums*.” This passage would be more accurately rendered as “all that is unsightly” or “all that is unpleasant” or even “all that is ugly,” and without translating *Judenthums* to Judaism, as addressed in Chapter 1. What precisely Joachim meant is impossible to know, but it is nonetheless indicative of the frustrations that Joachim apparently felt toward Jewish life and practice, though not specifically to Judaism as a religion or Jewishness as a circumstance of birth. Joachim’s frustration with his *Judentum* seemed to center around the exclusivity that he saw as inherent with Jews. This tribal and provincial mindset was at odd with his own more universalist worldview that saw value in the greater cultural world offered by an assimilated perspective. It is important to remember that Joachim was functioning in pre-Emancipation German-speaking Europe, and he had difficulty reconciling his pull toward the universality of *Deutschtum* and the particularity of *Judentum*.

The baptism occurred on May 3, 1855 at Hannover’s Aegidienkirche. Despite Joachim’s request for Grimm’s secrecy, the baptism was made public, with reports appearing in various Viennese newspapers.<sup>37</sup> This prompted an undated letter from Joachim to his parents with a fairly cowardly deflection in which he took greater care to clarify rumors about his marriage prospects than a direct address of his baptism:

Beloved parents, A newspaper was sent to me anonymously from Pest, with the news that I have converted to the Protestant church, and in addition — that I am engaged to a

---

Schäden in mir zu heilen habe, an denen ich früher unbewußt, spatter bewußt durch jüdische Erziehung zu leiden hatte. Freies Hingeben an den Geist, ein freudiges Martyrthum für ihn scheinen mir die Grundzüge der Christus-Religion—dem gegenüber ist mir alles Übrige unwesentlich vor der Hand—Ich wollte, die Gisel und Du wären meine Parthen in irgend einer Dorf-Kirche, so romantisch bin ich.”

<sup>37</sup> “Kunst und Theater,” *Morgen-Post* 6, no. 50 (21 February 1856): 2; “Kunstnotizen,” *Blätter für Musik, Theater und Kunst* 11, no. 16 (22 February 1856): 64; “Wien,” *Fremden-Blatt* 10, no. 45 (23 February 1856): 2.

Hanoverian court lady, the daughter of Bettina v. Arnim. The second report is a falsehood, and I don't know who could have taken pleasure in circulating it, and in tying it to my Christian confession. I am not thinking of marrying, and there is no Hanoverian court lady named Arnim.

About my conversion to the Lutheran confession, I owe you, my dear parents, an explanation. I have put off letting you know about it, because I have dearly wished to do it orally [in person] in Pest, where I had hoped to see you and my dear siblings in the course of the year, as I still hold out the hope of a visit in Pest around Autumn. I regret with all my heart that you have learned of this important step early, and in such an indelicate manner; I did everything that I could in order to avoid it — and I beg you not to ascribe to a lack of filial respect that which alien curiosity and lack of delicacy may have offended. Presentient fear of such tactlessness [*breaks off*]<sup>38</sup>

The penultimate paragraph of the letter is curious, as it seems to indicate not an apology to his parents on the issue of the baptism itself, but rather for the way in which they discovered it—publicly in the newspaper, rather than in person or in a private letter from their son. Unfortunately, a reply from the parents is not extant. The letter must have contained some sort of admonishment, not simply regarding the manner in which they found out, but the actual situation of their son's baptism. Nonetheless, Joachim wrote back on November 23, 1855 with a further deflection and

---

<sup>38</sup> Joseph Joachim, Letter to his parents (n.d.), British Library MS 42718 (56), translated on Robert Eshbach, "Baptism/Taufe," *JosephJoachim.com*, 2015, accessed 20 June 2017, <https://josephjoachim.com/2015/12/30/baptism-taufe>. "Geliebte Eltern / Mir wird eben anonym aus Pesth eine Zeitung zugeschickt, mit der Nachricht daß ich zur protestantischen Kirche übergetreten sei, und außerdem noch—verlobt mit einer Hannoverschen Hofdame, der Tochter der Bettina v. Arnim. Die zweite Nachricht ist eine Unwahrheit, und ich weiß nicht wer sich den Spaß gemacht haben kann, sie zu verbreiten—und mit meinem Bekenntnis zur christlichen Kirche in Verbindung zu bringen. Ich denke nicht daran mich zu verheirathen, und eine Hannoverschen Hofdame, die Arnim hieße giebt es gar nicht. Ueber den Uebertritt zur lutherischen Confession bin ich Ihnen, meine theuren Eltern, Manches zu sagen schuldig. Es ward von mir eine Mittheilung darüber bis jetzt verschoben, weil ich sehnlich gewünscht hatte, Sie Ihnen mündlich einmal in Pesth zu machen, wo ich Sie und die lieben Geschwister im Laufe des Jahres zu sehen hoffen durfte; wie ich denn noch das Vorhaben eines Besuches in Pesth gegen den Herbst hin, hege. Daß sie den wichtigen Schritt vorher und auf so unzarte Weise durch öffentliche Blätter erfahren haben, bedauere ich von Herzen; was von mir geschehen konnte, es zu vermeiden, hatte ich gethan—und ich beschwöre Sie nicht dem Mangel an kindlicher Ehrfurcht zuzuschreiben, was fremde Neugier und Mangel an Zartgefühl verbrochen haben mögen. Vorahnende Furcht vor solche Taktlosigkeit"

avoidance that defended his baptism as essential to his career, a notably different story than what he had said to his Christian friends, Hermann Grimm and Gisela von Arnim, in which he indicated certain level of true religious conviction that had brought him to take such a step:

Dear parents, forgive me if I do not go back to what you said in your last letter—it would only lead to misunderstandings. I alone must choose my path in all artistic matters and feel responsibility only towards God. Long enough have I suffered in my development, feeling accountable to others than myself. I am satisfied, I have a life and an honorable reputation. The best wishes for me could not want for more, why are you, who have only my happiness in mind, unsatisfied? I am happy in my occupations, there is no need for more. And so we should be done with it and speak of only joyful things when we write to each other...<sup>39</sup>

The letter affirms the complicated interplay of religion and art for Joachim. Although he freely speaks to his parents about God, he seeks their affirmation in his professional success and his reputation, rather than adherence to Judaism. This appeal was clearly aimed to his parents' acculturated values, which had paved the way for their son's secular success.

In his extensive discussion on Brahms's *Geistliches Wiegenlied*, op. 91 no. 2 for alto, viola, and piano (1863-64), Paul Berry likens Joachim to the Joseph of the New Testament, writing:

[T]he two Josephs [Joachim and the husband of Mary, mother of Jesus] shared a shifting religious and cultural affiliation. The biblical Joseph's acceptance of Mary's pregnancy violated contemporary Jewish norms and, through the lens of Christian doctrine, made him an archetypal convert to the new religion. The modern Joseph

---

<sup>39</sup> Joseph Joachim, Letter to his parents (23 November 1855), British Library, Sloan Germ, Autograph, Nr. 42718ff [22], cited in Borchard, *Stimme und Geige*, 103. Translation is mine. "Liebe Eltern, verzeihen Sie wenn ich wieder nicht auf die in Ihrem letzten Schreiben gemachten Vorstellungen eingehe -- es würde zu Mißverständnissen führen. Ich muß in allen künstlerischen Dingen meinen Weg allein wählen und fühle mich nur Gott gegenüber verantwortlich. Lange genug habe ich in meiner Entwicklung gelitten weil ich meinte auch anderen Wünschen als den meinigen darin Rechenschaft geben zu dürfen. Ich bin ja zufrieden, habe zu leben, und eine äußerlich ehrende Stellung -- mehr können ja die besten Wünsche für mich nicht wollen, warum sind Sie, die ja nur mein Glück im Auge haben, damit unzufrieden? Ich bin ja glücklich in meinem Berufe, mehr bedarf es nicht, und so wollen wir uns drin beruhigen, und uns lieber nur Freudiges mitteilen, wenn wir uns schreiben..."



[Joachim], too, had rejected the Jewish religion and culture of his parents in favor of Christianity...<sup>40</sup>

Berry, in his reading of archival letters to and from Brahms, suggests that in the decades following the baptism, Joachim had felt a self-consciousness on the decision: "...[a]s if to escape the strain, he had long since adopted a deliberated lighthearted tone when discussing his conversion among trusted allies from his own generation."<sup>41</sup> Berry states that this more glib approach appears as early as the baptism itself, with Joachim writing to Brahms on the eve of the baptism, "Think of me tomorrow afternoon... and I ask you not to be a doubting Thomas."<sup>42</sup> However, such a comment might be more revealing of that pair's relationship in comparison to the much more emotionally charged writing of Joachim to Grimm above, in which can hardly be read any sort of "lighthearted tone." By contrast, it is difficult to see any humor in Joachim's writing of his hostility against the "*alles Unschöne des Judenthums*," in contrast to the sublime spirituality of Christianity, as he described to Grimm, an ally no less trusted than Brahms for such personal revelations.

In a further scholarly leap beyond Joachim's own voice, as preserved in his letters, Berry also suggests that the Joachim's personal and professional associations had influenced his interest in Christianity. Berry singles out Felix and Fanny Mendelssohn as a "potentially influencing prototype," though such language had been used in Joachim biographies since the immediate years following his

---

<sup>40</sup> Paul Berry, *Brahms Among Friends: Listening, Performing, and the Rhetoric of Allusion* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 54.

<sup>41</sup> Joseph Joachim, Letter to Hermann Grimm (22 April 1855), in Joseph Joachim, *Letters to and from Joseph Joachim*, 109; *Briefe von und an Joseph Joachim*, 1:280-281. "...Unschöne des Judenthums, dem ich so feindlicher mich gesinnt fühle..."

<sup>42</sup> Berry, *Brahms Among Friends*, 54. Here, Berry cites a letter of May 2, 1855 in Brahms/Joachim, *Briefe*, 1:104. The letter reads: "Morgen nachmittag denk an mich—um ein Uhr. Freitag deke ich meine Effeken zu packen, und Sonntag mich selbst—ich lade Dich auf den 6ten zum Nachtgallen-Konzert—und bitte Dich, kein ungläubiger Thomas zu sein."

death.<sup>43</sup> It is a temptingly simple explanation to say that the stage has been set for Joachim's baptism by the many mentors of his youth—both ardent Protestants and Catholics, as well as baptized *Neuchristen* such as Mendelssohns—during his formative years. This viewpoint that the instruction of Christian teachers had “fallen on fruitful soil,” was espoused by biographer Andreas Moser, who wrote, “...Joachim felt himself more and more drawn to the religion which the highest ideal is the love of one's neighbors. In his innermost heart he had long since been a follower of this sublime teaching.”<sup>44</sup> This highly problematic and oversimplification by Moser is hardly grounded in evidence, but rather seems to be the teleological style of an early Victorian biographies, which privilege the Christian theological progression from the archaic tribalism of Judaism to the universal love and compassion of Christianity.

The parallel to music should be emphasized here, though it is difficult to parse out the conjecture from what can be securely be determined of Joachim's intentions. As Christianity was seen as a universal religion, available to all if one accepted its basic tenets, so too was German music seen as the universal, epitomized art form. For many Jewish musicians, like Joachim, who sought to fully enter German musical society, the interplay of music and religion—and even the quasi-religious experiences one could attain through the performance of works of Beethoven or the like—was a highly relevant and legitimate philosophical concept. Eshbach argues that Joachim's formative musical experiences in Leipzig—particularly his lessons with Moritz Hauptmann in Bach's apartment at the Thomasschule and participating in performances of Mendelssohn's oratorios at the

---

<sup>43</sup> Berry, *Brahms Among Friends*, 54

<sup>44</sup> Andreas Moser, *Joseph Joachim: A Biography (1831-1899)*, trans. Lilla Durham (London: Philip Wellby, 1901): 177; Andreas Moser, *Joseph Joachim: Ein Lebensbild* (Berlin: B. Behr, E. Bock, 1898): 160. “...den mehr und mehr fühlte sich Joachim zu dem Glauben hingezogen, der als höchstes Ideal die Liebe zum Nächsten hinstellt. In seinem tiefsten Innern war er längst zum überzeugten Anhänger jener erhabenen Lehre geworden...”

Thomaskirche—influenced the young teen not only musically, but also religiously.<sup>45</sup> Participation in German music culture in the early nineteenth century would undoubtedly acquaint an assimilated Jew with certain aspects of the Christian tradition. The challenge here is that in extant letters Joachim does not indicate that musical experience pushed him toward religious conversion. Rather, as evidenced in letters to his parents, baptism allowed him greater access in an already successful and respected profession, and as described to Grimm, religion could be a mirror of universal goodness and compassion that Joachim also found in artistic expression.

### **Byron, Joachim, and the *Hebräische Melodien***

Joachim composed only fifteen works for which he assigned opus numbers and published only a few more without. As his reputation as a performer and interpreter grew, the limited time remaining was more focused on editing and arranging the works of his friends, historical repertoire from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and pedagogical writing. This relatively small output of compositions makes his *Hebräische Melodien*, op. 9 all the more remarkable. Subtitled “Nach Eindrücken der Byron’schen Gesänge,” the work draws on the poetry Lord Byron’s *Hebrew Melodies* (1815), a collaboration with the Jewish composer, Isaac Nathan.<sup>46</sup> The melodies composed by Nathan were purportedly loosely drawn from the melodic content from Sephardic synagogues in London, although there is nothing to substantiate this.

Byron’s poems arrived in Germany in 1820, without Nathan’s music, in translation by the Prussian theologian Franz Theremin.<sup>47</sup> Theremin, in his preface to the German version, wrote of the

---

<sup>45</sup> Eshbach, “Baptism/Taufe.”

<sup>46</sup> Isaac Nathan and Lord Byron, *A Selection of Hebrew Melodies, Ancient and Modern*, ed. Frederick Burwick and Paul Douglass (Tuscaloosa, AB: University of Alabama Press, 1988).

<sup>47</sup> Lord Byron, *Hebräische Gesänge*, trans. Franz Theremin (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1820). Two subsequent German translations were also done near the same time: Lord Byron, *Lord*

challenges for lyrical poets in attempting to achieve the sublime nature of the subject—Byron, of course, succeeds in the translator’s opinion.<sup>48</sup> In fact, as Theremin saw it, only a Christian could have written such poems with such a sensitive hand, and his preface reads almost a defense both of Byron and of Theremin himself for his participation in a project that might otherwise be seen as non-Christian. Most tellingly, Theremin emphasized the universality of the *Hebrew Melodies*, but universality to a German theologian during this time was always interwoven with Christianity.<sup>49</sup> Berry suggests that Theremin’s edition was that which the highly assimilated, but as yet unbaptized, Joachim undoubtedly drew inspiration for his *Hebräische Melodien*.<sup>50</sup> Theremin’s edition clearly sought to negate the Jewish viewpoint within poetry in deference to a supposedly neutral universality, but filtered through Christian perspective, and effectively erased the input of the Jewish collaborator Nathan by not including his musical contribution. However, it cannot be said for certain that Joachim had no access to the English version of the work. After all, he had spent time in London during his teenage years and most likely knew at least some English. More probable, he was simply following in the trend of other composers during this era in drawing inspiration from Byron, the far more famous author of the *Hebrew Songs*’ pairing. Composers had freely used Byron’s texts without feeling the need to remain true to Nathan’s original corresponding material. As no extant copy

---

*Byron’s Poesien*, vol. 1, *Israelitisches Gesänge*, trans. Julius Körner (Zwickau: Schumann, 1821); Lord Byron, *Hebräische Gesänge*, trans. Andreas Kretschmer (Berlin: Magazin für Kunst, Geographie, und Musik, 1822).

<sup>48</sup> Theremin, preface to Byron, *Hebräische Gesänge*, v. “Werden solche Gegenstände in dem reinen Lichte des Christentums angeschaut, so ist die Darstellung derselben eine Aufgabe nur für die erhabensten Geister, und ist selbst dem wahrhaft erhabenen Geiste Klopstocks nicht immer gelungen.”

<sup>49</sup> Theremin, preface to Byron, *Hebräische Gesänge*, vii. The phrase Theremin used was “universalhistorischen Standpunkte.”

<sup>50</sup> Berry, *Brahms Among Friends*, 57-58.

belonging to Joachim of any edition survives, the question of source material must remain unknown.<sup>51</sup>

Despite the lack of concrete evidence on Joachim's ownership of a specific German or English copy of the *Hebrew Songs*, scholars have attempted to pair the Byron poetry with the Joachim melodies. Borchard suggests that the text of the first poem in the Byron cycle ("She Walks in Beauty") can be directly set note for note to the viola part of the first movement, although she does not indicate whether her claim is specific to the original English or one of the German translations, although German translations of this period, Theremin's included, often sought to match the poetic meter of their source material.<sup>52</sup> Building on this, Katharina Uhde sees a parallel in the overall form of the movement to the poem: the *Sostenuto*'s ternary form, in which each section is then divided into three subsections (A:aa'b—B:cc'c"—A:aa'b), Uhde suggests, is analogous to the three sestets in "She walks in Beauty" despite the individual sestets' ababab rhyme schema.<sup>53</sup> Neither Borchard nor Uhde provides a musical example for these claims, however, the English text of "She Walks in Beauty" can be easily text to the opening passage of the viola (ex. 3.1). Such setting is possibly because "She Walks in Beauty" consists eight-syllable lines of text, organized into a six-line stanza. The poems in the collection vary in number of syllables and length of stanzas, allowing for a narrowing of possibilities to this specific text. The structural similarity coupled with this poem's privilege of place

---

<sup>51</sup> No copies of the poems came to auction in 1908. See *Katalog einer kostbaren Autographen-Sammlung aus Wiener Privatbesitz Wertvolle Autographen und Manuskripte aus dem Nachlass von Joseph Joachim* (Leipzig: C.G. Boerner, 1908), 38-70.

<sup>52</sup> Borchard, "Instrumentalmusik als Zukunftsreligion?" in *Musikwelten – Lebenswelten: Jüdische Identitätsuche in Der Deutschen Musikkultur*, 38-39.

<sup>53</sup> Katharina Uhde, *The Music of Joseph Joachim* (Rochester, NY and Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2018), 345.

as the first in the collection makes this a plausible possibility for a more explicit text setting of the poems into Joachim's melody, although he never made any indication that this was the case.

**EXAMPLE 3.1.** Joseph Joachim, *Hebräische Melodien*, op. 10, no. 1, mm. 3-19, viola with Theremin's German translation of Byron's text superimposed.

Sie geht in Schön-heit, und ent-zück-et, Wie Nachtsein heit - res Stern-en - licht. Der  
 Schat - ten und das Hel - le schmück-et Ver - eint ihr Aug' und An - ge - sicht, Wor-  
 aus ein mil-der Schim - mer blick-et, Der dem prunk-voll-en Tag ge - bricht.

One of the most challenging issues of analysis in exploring Joachim's use of Byron's poetry involves the well-documented history of Byron's anti-Jewish sentiment. Some examples appeared in Byron's published writings, most notably in the passages of *The Age of Bronze* (1823), which deride Jewish bankers and their parallels to the Tory gentry who lacked the classical cultural values of British noblemen.<sup>54</sup> Although some recent scholarship has attempted to contextualize Byron's antisemitism as typical of the time in which he was writing, English literature scholar Michael Scrivener describes how Byron's intermittent vacillating between presenting Jews as what English as "demonized victims and [as] tragic victims" complicates the apparent sincerity of the *Hebrew Songs* and how the collection must have been recognized by his Jewish readers.<sup>55</sup> Though Joachim could

<sup>54</sup> Lord Byron, *The Age of Bronze* (London: C.H. Reynell, 1823), 32-33.

<sup>55</sup> Michael Scrivener, "'Zion Alone Is Forbidden': Historicizing Antisemitism in Byron's 'The Age of Bronze,'" *Keats-Shelley Journal* 43 (1994): 97.

not have known about the comments made by Byron in his private letters, they are worthy of examination nonetheless as they show anti-Jewish sentiments that seemingly contradict the apparent sympathy toward Jews evident in the *Hebrew Melodies*.

At the core of this apparent paradox is the dichotomy that, within the worldview of someone like Byron, the Jews of present-day Europe were not the venerable Hebrews of the Bible. Although elsewhere in this dissertation, there are examples of this very conflation in critique of Biblical Israelite representation by modern Jewish composers, for a non-Jew like Byron, the distinction was easily made without any problematic cognitive dissonance. Examples of such comments usually revolved around problems with moneylending, a common and centuries-old antisemitic trope: “She [Caroline] made me sign I know not what or how many bonds... and now like a Jew she exacts usurious interest of an illegal transaction” and “I suppose you [James Wedderburn Webster] will at least prefer me to a Jew.”<sup>56</sup> Both these comments predate the publication of the *Hebrew Melodies*, though Byron’s use of the stereotype continued. N.I. Matar argues that Byron, rather quickly after the melodies’ publication, came to regret their composition, as evidenced by comments such as “Curse the Melodies and their Tribes to boot.”<sup>57</sup> Shortly thereafter, Byron’s frustration exploded beyond the *Hebrew Melodies* to Nathan himself. To Thomas Moore, he alluded in racist terms to the musician: “Sunburn N[athan] – why do you always twit me with his vile

---

<sup>56</sup> Lord Byron, *Byron’s Letters and Journals*, 12 vols., ed. Leslie Alexis Marchand (Cambridge, MA, 1974), 3:31, 172, cited in N.I. Matar, “The English Romantic Poets and the Jews,” *Jewish Social Studies* 50, no. 3/4 (Summer 1888–Autumn 1993): 228-229. The letters in question are dated 26 March 1813 and 22 November 1813, respectively.

<sup>57</sup> Lord Byron, *Byron’s Letters and Journals*, 2:274, cited in Matar, “The English Romantic Poets and the Jews,” 228-229. The letter is dated 22 February 1815.

Ebrew nasalities?”<sup>58</sup> Jeremy Hugh Baron argues that this outburst to Moore was merely a result of Byron’s frustration in the writing process.<sup>59</sup> Ralph Lloyd-Jones suggests a more nuanced approach to Byron, whose writing Lloyd-Jones argues, steers “dangerously close to anti-Semitism” from time-to-time, despite a rather large network of Jewish collaborators.<sup>60</sup>

Whether Joachim knew of the portrayal of Jews in *The Age of Bronze* is not known, and of course he could not have known the contents of private letters that revealed the anti-Jewish sentiments of the celebrated author. Furthermore, to use the poetry of such a celebrated author like Lord Byron was a demonstrably *en vogue* stylistic choice for a rising musician, with models of Robert Schumann and Carl Loewe.<sup>61</sup> Joachim’s *Hebräische Melodien* are an emblematic work of the nineteenth century, alluding to ideas of program music, but only in the faintest of echoes and inspiration. Although no scholar would ever suggest that the *Hebräische Melodien* are some kind of “Jewish program music” since one needn’t know the Byron poems or indeed anything at all about Judaism or Jewish in order to hear and appreciate the musical content. However, certain aspects of the piece may be allusions that might give aural clues to a so-called Hebrew character of the composition. For example, in the first movement, marked *Sostenuto*, after initially presenting the melody, the piano then switches to a rolled, harp-like texture while accompanying the viola’s entrance (ex. 3.2).

---

<sup>58</sup> Lord Byron, *Byron’s Letters and Journals*, 4:280, cited in Matar, “The English Romantic Poets and the Jews,” 230-231. The letter is undated.

<sup>59</sup> Jeremy Hugh Baron, “Byron’s Passovers and Nathan’s Melodies,” *Judaism: A Quarterly Journal of Jewish Life and Thought* 51, no. 1 (Winter 2002): 20.

<sup>60</sup> Ralph Lloyd-Jones, “Byron and the Jews: The Jewish Byron?,” in *Byron’s Religions*, ed. Peter Cochran (London: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011): 239.

<sup>61</sup> See Robert Schumann, 3 *Gesänge*, op. 95 (1849, using the Körner translation) and Carl Loewe, *Hebräische Gesänge*, op. 4 (1820s), op. 5 (1820s), op. 13 (1825), and op. 14 (1826).



EXAMPLE 3.2. Joseph Joachim, *Hebräische Melodien*, op. 10, no. 1, mm. 1-9.

The musical score consists of two systems. The first system shows the Viola and Piano parts for measures 1-4. The Viola part is marked 'Sostenuto' and has a rest for the first four measures. The Piano part has a rest for the first two measures, then begins with a series of chords and arpeggios. Dynamics include *pp* and *p*. The second system shows measures 5-9. The Viola part has a melodic line starting in measure 5, with a triplet in measure 6 and a triplet in measure 8. The Piano part continues with chords and arpeggios, including a triplet in measure 8. Dynamics include *mf*, *pp*, and *Ped.*

This pairing of a tuneful, song-like solo instrument together with a harp can easily be heard as an association of Davidic psalm-singing, with open sonorities such as those in measures 3 and 4 further strengthening the archaicizing effect. However, while Paul Berry writes that such “harp-like textures” echo not only ancient both modern Jewish practice, although such sounds are hardly representative of Psalm singing practice that Joachim would have heard it as a young boy in Kitsee or in Pest.<sup>62</sup> Rather, while it is likely Joachim was using the gesture as an evocation of the harp, the leap should not be made to assume that Joachim was using this to directly voice *a personal* expression

<sup>62</sup> Berry, *Brahms Among Friends*, 58.

of Jewishness drawn from formative musical experience, since such writing was a commonly used musical gesture and hardly out of place in a setting of a poem which was part of a cycle of poems replete with harp-references.

### **Interlude: Joachim’s “Hungarian” Concerto**

The above example serves as a cautionary tale for the all too common tendency that scholars undertake in analysis of the works of composers of Jewish ancestry. The results cast more light on the scholar than on the composer. Such readings often move directly from the attempt to locate inherently Jewish sounds in a given composition to an argument for the composer’s Jewishness. Sometimes, there is evidence to support such claims. In the first movement of *Hebräische Melodien*, Joachim was clearly capitalizing on the commonly known aural signifier of harp and harp-like sounds as ancient or mythological, a technique that can be seen from the earliest operas such as Monteverdi’s *L’Orfeo* (1607) and was solidified in stylistic practice through the eighteenth and early nineteenth century in works such as Gluck’s *Orfeo ed Euridice* (1762), Haydn’s *L’anima del filosofo* (1791), and Rossini’s *Mosè in Egitto* (1818), to name only a few.<sup>63</sup> The misstep falls in the conceptual leap by scholars that the use of an idiomatic musical usage commonly associated with antiquity serves to represent a single individual’s Jewish experiences, far more conjecture than truly known.

The weakness of the analysis lies in the unexamined assumption that Jewish association can be found in some sort of sonic markers of *Judentum*, connected, in turn, to the background or heritage of the composer. It would be altogether far easier to hear the opening gestures of the finale of Joachim’s Violin Concerto no. 2 in D minor, op. 11 (1857) as a shofar-like call and demonstrative declaration of the composer’s *Judentum* (ex. 3.3).

---

<sup>63</sup>As a Catholic—and an Italian—Rossini can hardly be described as having used the harp to express any sort of personal German *Judentum*.

EXAMPLE 3.3. Joseph Joachim, Violin Concerto no. 2 in D minor, op. 11, mvt. III, mm. 1-6.

The call of the shofar, of course, is neither fixed in any sort of modern Western notation, nor consistent across the various *nuschaot* (נוסחאות, liturgical practices) of Judaism. The Talmudic instructions on the blowing of the shofar on the High Holidays is found in Mishnah Rosh Hashanah 4:9 and reads: “The order of the blasts: three sets of three each. The length of a *teki’ah* is equal to three *teru’ahs*, and the length of a *teru’ah* is equal to three *yevavot*. If one prolonged the first *teki’ah* so that it went directly into the second, it counts only as one.” Although he carefully notated various cantillation systems, Idelsohn made no attempt to reproduce the sounds of the shofar in Western notation in his *Jewish Music in its Historical Development*. Rather, he simply stated, “It [the shofar] produces a few tones approximating c—g—c, or any other equivalent intervals, eg., 1—5—1, or 5—8—8; 1—4—8, and so on. The pitch, naturally depends on the size of the Shofar and on the construction of its hollow. The instrument lends itself to production of various rhythmical forms, from long notes to 1/32.”<sup>64</sup> The thirteenth century Codex Adler siddur, found in the Cairo Geniza and now held by the Jewish Theological Seminary as MS 4607, shows graphic depictions of shofar blasts that likewise give no true indication of performance practice beyond the number of blasts

<sup>64</sup> Idelsohn, *Jewish Music in its Historical Development*, 9.

indicated in the Mishnah and subsequent commentaries.<sup>65</sup> Nonetheless, despite the vague documentation of shofar calls, common practice might easily invite a listener to associate the rising and repeating intervallic 5ths of Example 3.3 in the strings and then winds as Joachim's evocation of the Jewish sounding of the shofar. This analysis only works in complete isolation, as the gesture later develops into the ending flourish of the soloist's phrase exchanged with the orchestra and then as a sequenced accompaniment figure in the strings—certainly more *in ungarischer Weise* than anything Jewish. (ex. 3.4).

Despite the rather extreme previous example, Joachim's Violin Concerto no. 2 is an important work for understanding Joachim's identity as a Jewish Austro-Hungarian working within the sphere of German music. Eshbach describes the work as an early example of the "characteristic concerti" genre, which also includes Eshbach describes the work as an early example of the "characteristic concerti" genre, which also includes Henryk Wieniawski's Concerto no. 2 in D minor, op. 22 (1862); Édouard Lalo's *Symphonie espagnole*, op. 21 (1874); and Max Bruch's *Schottische Fantasie*, op. 46 (1880). Curiously, the Russian-Jewish Wieniawski also ended his concerto with a *Finale à la Zingara*, the same evocative movement title given by Joachim, which prompted the work's nickname as the Hungarian concerto.

Joachim extensively uses the *style hongrois* in the concerto.<sup>66</sup> This varying defined term most broadly can be broadly understood as a Western expression of the exotic othering of Hungarian

---

<sup>65</sup> Jeremy Montagu, "The History and Ritual uses of the Shofar," in *Qol Tamid: The Shofar in Ritual, History, and Culture*, ed. Jonathan L. Friedmann and Joel Gereboff (Claremont, CA: Claremont Press, 2017), 26-27. See also Codex Adler, MS 4607, Jewish Theological Seminary, New York.

<sup>66</sup> For a detailed analysis of Joachim's use of the *style hongrois* in the Hungarian Concerto, see Uhde, *The Music of Joseph Joachim*, 308-338.

EXAMPLE 3.4. Joseph Joachim, Violin Concerto no. 2 in D minor, op. 11, mvt. III, mm. 33-47.

Violin *sf*

Ob. I *tr*

Bsn. I *tr*

Vln. *ff*

Vla., Vc., Cb.

Vla. *pizz.*

Vln. II *pp* arco *pizz.*

Vc. *pizz.* arco

folk, peasant, and—most importantly—Gypsy music.<sup>67</sup> Such stylized writing began to appear in art music in the eighteenth century and coincides roughly chronologically with the rise of the *alla turca* style. roughly with the rise of the *alla turca* style. By the mid-nineteenth century, it lay at the heart of a popular genre of Gypsy music, often conflated with Hungarian and Bohemian national identities, popularly appreciated, and capitalizing on the stereotypes perpetuated by the rise in essays on Gypsy life written for Western audiences. Jonathan Bellman writes that dual rise of *alla turca* and *style hongrois* also parallels overall sentiments of these people even beyond the arts: “Neither group was trusted; both were objects of satire.”<sup>68</sup>

In his Concerto no. 2, Joachim couples the work’s large-scale symphonic style and complex orchestral accompaniment of the violin concerti of Beethoven and Brahms with his use of the *style hongrois*, including for example abundant syncopated cadences and the tonic-dominant imitating the tonal directionality of the Hungarian folk-dance style, the *verbunkos*.<sup>69</sup> The implications of such stylistic choices are important. Writing in a Hungarian style could simultaneously place the young Joachim with the lineage of the likes of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven.<sup>70</sup> Since the style was not limited to a specific school of composers in the nineteenth century, it did not mark a composer as a strict adherent of either Brahms or Liszt, since both explored this kind of writing, but rather simply

---

<sup>67</sup> My usage of the term “Gypsy” here is in recognition of existing scholarly literature in the context of nineteenth century Europe. In the present day, Roma or Romani are preferred.

<sup>68</sup> Jonathan Bellman, *The Style Hongrois in the Music of Western Europe* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1993), 13-15.

<sup>69</sup> Uhde, *The Music of Joseph Joachim*, 329. Uhde identifies thirteen attributes of the *style hongrois* used by Joachim in the Hungarian concerto.

<sup>70</sup> See Haydn, Keyboard Concerto in D major, Hob.XVIII:11 and Piano Trio in G major, Hob. XV:25; Mozart, Violin Concerto in A Major, K. 219 and String Quartet in F major, K. 590; and Beethoven, finale of Symphony no. 3 in E-flat major, op. 55 and *Rondo alla ingharese quasi un capriccio* in G major, op. 129 (“Rage over a lost penny, vented in a caprice”).

emphasized one's awareness of modern trends. The sentimentality and idealized nostalgia of writing in a Gypsy-like or Hungarian style mirrored romantic ideals regardless of one's personal connection to the region from which the style derived. Thus, although Joachim could conceivably seek nationalist connection with the style, his status as a German-speaking Jewish from the Siebengemeinden doubly othered him from the Hungarian-speaking (and Gentile) Magyar culture. As a result, Joachim could be as nostalgic about Hungarian and Gypsy culture as his friend and mentor—and the dedicatee of Hungarian concerto—Johannes Brahms. Bellman argues that Brahms was one of the last composers of the nineteenth century to use the *style hongrois*, and that he used it not like Liszt as a “musical language of last resort when all else failed,” but as a vehicle for enhanced emotional expression, capitalizing on the “quasi-archaic” historicist nostalgia inherent within the use of a vernacular style.<sup>71</sup> In effect, Joachim's use of the *style hongrois* was after the Brahmsian model, rather than the Lisztian: it served to emphasize his place as firmly rooted in the German tradition, rather than magnifying his Jewish otherness. If a Jew could look at Hungarian and Gypsy culture from a distance, he had clearly arrived within the high culture of the German musical spheres.

### **The *Hebrew Melodies* as “all Joachim”**

Joachim struggled during his composition of the *Hebräische Melodien*, though it is unclear what troubled him about the composition. Brahms repeatedly asked his friend for copies of the both the *Hebräische Melodien* and the subsequent op. 10, a set of variations on an original theme, also for viola.<sup>72</sup> Joachim finally replied several months later: “I don't like the viola works enough to send

---

<sup>71</sup> Bellman, *The Style Hongrois*, 212-213.

<sup>72</sup> Johannes Brahms, Letters to Joseph Joachim (July 1854 and 27 July 1854), *Johannes Brahms im Briefwechsel mit Joseph Joachim*, ed. Andreas Moser, vol. 1 (Berlin: Deutschen Brahms-Gesellschaft, 1908): 49-52.

them—I have to change them before you see them.”<sup>73</sup> He needn’t have worried however, for Brahms’s praise was high once they were published: “The *Hebräische Melodien* are all Joachim, wonderfully moving.”<sup>74</sup> Despite Brahms’s praise, there was no extensive critical press coverage on the publication of the work, with discussion focusing more on the Byronic inspiration than the melodic and harmonic material.

A single comment in the *Neue Wiener Musik-Zeitung* provides some of the only critical commentary on how reviewers might have heard some sort of Jewish element in the *Hebräische Melodien*. The passage itself is vague, brief, and difficult to translate. In German, it reads, “Nicht ohne Interesse war der Vortrag *Hebräische Melodien* für Viola und Klavier, op. 9 von Joachim. Es ist eine Physiognomie in diesen elegischen Tonfolgen.”<sup>75</sup> The idea that there could be some kind of physiognomy—or ethnic facial identifier in the “elegiac tones” of the *Hebräische Melodien* is not explicitly a reference to Jewish physiognomy, but it is plausible that such an association is what was meant by the comment. Jay Geller argues that the fetishized Jewish body was a subject of fascination in certain German philosophical circles body of the early and mid-nineteenth century, especially as Jews became increasing assimilated and adopted practices and values held in esteem by the

---

<sup>73</sup> Joseph Joachim, Letter to Johannes Brahms (5 September [1854]), *Johannes Brahms im Briefwechsel mit Joseph Joachim*, 1:54. “Die Bratschenstücke gefallen mir jetzt zu wenig, um sie zu schicken—ich muß sie noch verändern, bevor Du sie siehst.”

<sup>74</sup> Johannes Brahms, Letter to Joseph Joachim (16 February 1865), *Johannes Brahms im Briefwechsel mit Joseph Joachim*, 1:85. “Die hebräischen Gesänge sind aber ganz Joachim, wunderbar ergreifend. Einzeln es (ich meine besonders Schönes) laß mich Dir zeigen, wenn wir einmal wieder besammen sind.”

<sup>75</sup> “Musikalische Produktionen am hl. Dreikönigstage,” *Neue Wiener Musik-Zeitung* 6, no. 3 (15 January 1857): 10. “Nicht ohne Interesse war der Vortrag “Hebräische Melodien” für Viola und Klavier, op. 9 von Joachim. Es ist eine Physiognomie in diesen elegischen Tonfolgen.”



*Bildungsbürgertum*.<sup>76</sup> Given critical evaluations of works by composers from later in the nineteenth century that sought to magnify Jewish heritage (see Chapters 4, 5, and 7 on Rubinstein, Goldmark, and Gernsheim, respectively), such an emphasis on the Jewish boy, however obtuse the language, is within the general repertoire of musical criticism of the century with regard to the music by those of Jewish ancestry.

It remains, though, an unanswered question what was heard as an ethnically (or bodily) Jewish in the *Hebräische Melodien*. The second movement, marked *Grave*, is the most musically introspective, harmonically varied, and melodically intricate of the movements, with free moving, cadential-like passages that might be heard as evocative of a vague approximation of synagogue music. Unfortunately, unlike Hiller before him and Goldmark after, there is little evidence to support the idea that Joachim would have had much familiarity with Eastern European *Hazzanut* or other forms of synagogue liturgical melodic structure. However, the titular association of this piece with Byron's *Hebrew Songs* is itself suggestive of a sonic evocation of Jewishness rather than an invocation of the *style Hongrois*, although in practice the free and wandering melodic material of the second movement could just as readily be described as vaguely Gypsy or Hungarian as Jewish (ex. 3.5). Of this movement, Berry obtusely comments, "...the unusual ornaments in the second *Melodie* establish an exoticist musical distance commensurate with a range of ancient and modern Jewish perspectives toward assimilation into surrounding cultures."<sup>77</sup> This is plausible, especially read together with Bellman's analysis of Joachim's use of the *style Hongrois*, as a similar use of exoticizing

---

<sup>76</sup> Jay Geller, *The Other Jewish Question: Identifying the Jew and Making Sense of Modernity* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2011), 12.

<sup>77</sup> Berry, *Brahms Among Friends*, 58. Berry's analysis of Joachim's G#-E-A cipher (for Gisela von Arnim) set against his F-A-E cipher ("frei aber einsam," "free but alone") used throughout the third movement of the *Hebräische Melodien* is relevant to Joachim's broader autobiography, but is not relevant in this discussion. See Berry, *Brahms Among Friends*, 58-60.

others in order to emphasize one's own affiliation with German culture and the universalism it was seen to represent. However, the distancing that Berry indicates can neither be definitely supported in any writings from Joachim on the subject nor can the Jewish associations of the melody's ornamentation be proven as anything more than more general musical exoticism. What both the Viennese criticism above and Berry's much more recent statements reveal is that, even today, it is challenging to parse out how Jewish musical content plays out in the *Hebräische Melodien* and that our preconceived notions on Joachim's engagement with *Judentum* and the work's association with Byron continue to amplify and color what is heard.

**EXAMPLE 3.5.** Joseph Joachim, *Hebräische Melodien*, op. 10, no. 2, mm. 1-8.

The musical score for Joseph Joachim's *Hebräische Melodien*, op. 10, no. 2, measures 1-8, is presented in two systems. The first system shows the Viola part (top staff) and the Piano accompaniment (bottom two staves). The Viola part is marked *Grave* and begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic, followed by a *cresc.* leading to a forte (*f*) dynamic. The Piano part also begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic and a *cresc.* leading to a mezzo-forte (*mf*) dynamic. The second system continues the Viola part with a *ff* dynamic and a triplet of eighth notes, followed by a *p* dynamic. The Piano part continues with a *f* dynamic and a *pp* dynamic. The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, accents, and dynamic markings.

## Joachim as Jewish Advocate

Although it goes unnoted in Borchard's biography in the present biographies in *Oxford Music* and *MGG Online*, Moser cited a disagreement in Hanover between Joachim and the Count Platen regarding Hungarian-Jewish violinist Jakob Moritz Grün (1837-1916).<sup>78</sup> Joachim had put Grün forward for promotion to *Kammermusiker* of the Court Orchestra. Platen had refused, apparently even stating that the King himself (Joachim's godfather) was against such an appointment. Moser wrote that Joachim was particularly concerned about such a policy, as he himself had not suffered such prejudice and worried that the double standard would indicate to the public that he had become baptized for "the sake of material advantage" rather than genuine religious conviction.<sup>79</sup> To Platen, Joachim wrote:

It is impossible to me to forget that Herr Grün was engaged by you *through me*, with the prospect that he would gradually be promoted to the position occupied by Herr *Kammermusiker* Kömpel. If, after many years of patient waiting, not to mention the widely acknowledged excellence of his qualifications, it is considered impossible, at my renewed requests to give him promotion *because he is a Jew* [Israelite], and if, on account of this, my promise of advancement to him remains unfulfilled, the only course open to me (in accordance with my sense of honor) is for me to resign my appointment at the same time as Herr Grün. If I were to retain my post here I should never get over the feeling that by reason of my conversion to the Christian Church I was enjoying worldly advantages in the Royal Hanoverian Orchestra, whilst others of my race [*Stammesgenossen*] could only occupy humble positions by reason of their faith.<sup>80</sup>

---

<sup>78</sup> Karl August Georg Maximilian Graf von Platen-Hallermünde, most commonly known in German sources as Graf Platen, famously feuded with Heinrich Heine regarding Heine's attacks against German culture's fascination with Orientalism in poetry. The attacks turned antisemitic against Heine from Platen. Heine, in turn, publicly outed Platen's homosexuality. See Ruth Esterhammer, "Heine und die Folgen Die Platen-Attacke als ein Skandal mit Langzeitwirkung," *Heine-Jahrbuch* (2007): 1-25.

<sup>79</sup> Moser, *Joseph Joachim: A Biography (1831-1899)*, 202-203; *Joseph Joachim: Ein Lebensbild*, 182.

<sup>80</sup> Joseph Joachim, Letter to Count Platen (23 August 1864), in Moser *Joseph Joachim: A Biography*, 203-204; *Joseph Joachim: Ein Lebensbild*, 183. "Unmöglich konnte ich vergessen (und das ist's, worauf ich nochmals besonders aufmerksam zu machen mir erlaube), dafs Herr Grün durch mic him Auftrag der hohen Intendanz engagiert worden ist, mit der ausdrücklich erwähnten Aussicht, er würde allmählich in die s. Z. durch Herrn Kammermusikis Kömpel eingenommene Stellung

The letter is revealing of an important concept of identity for many assimilated German-speaking Jews in mid-century Europe—the idea that the Jewishness inherent in one’s lineage was not changed even when one moves away from the religious aspects of Judaism. The nuances of English translation deserve mention, however. The final line might be better translated as “...whilst my fellow tribesmen...” and possibly “humiliating positions” rather than merely humble ones. The implication, however, is quite clear that regardless of his religion, Joachim maintained a clear sense of self-identification with the Jewish people as a socio-ethnic group. He used similar language when writing to Gisela von Arnim 1853, several years prior to the baptism, commenting that his predilection for melancholy had foundations that “must lie too deep... must be part of my nature, and perhaps comes from [*stamm*] my Eastern origin...”<sup>81</sup>

Eshbach takes issue with how Borchard interprets this letter to Gisela von Arnim. Borchard it as part of her extensive evidence that Joachim felt anxiety regarding his *Judentum*. From this single letter, Borchard concludes that Joachim’s awareness of the content in the still-anonymous *Das Judentum in der Musik* and other anti-Jewish attitudes held by many of the proponents of the

---

vorrücken. Könnte nun her Grün, ohngeachtet seiner von allen Vorgesetzten anerkannten terfflichen Leistungen und Pflichttreue im Dienst, nach mehreren Jahren geduldigen Wartens, auf meine erinnernde Bitte nicht befördert werden, weil er ein Israelit ist, und gingen somit dadurch die von mir in höherem Auftrage gegebenen Verssprechungen nicht in Erfüllung, dann bliebe mir, nach meiner Auffassung von Ehre und Pflicht, nichts anderes zu meiner Rechtfertigung übrig, als eventuell mit Herrn Grün gleichzeitig von meinem Posten zurückzutreten. Ohnehin würde ich, beim Beharren in meiner jetzigen Stellung, nach Zurückweisung des Herrn Grün, die rein persönliche Emfindung zeitlebens nicht überwinden durch meinen früher hier erfolgten Übertritt zur Kirche Christi in der kgl. hannoverschen Kapelle weltliche Vorteile zu geniefsen, während meine Stammesgenossen in derselben eine demütigende Stellung einnehmen.”

<sup>81</sup> Joseph Joachim, Letter to Gisela von Arnim (3-4 December 1853), in *Letters to and from Joseph Joachim*, 42; *Briefe von und an Joseph Joachim*, 1:114. “Ich habe mir oft Vorwürfe darüber gemacht, es zu überwinden gesucht, aber es ist wohl zu tief in mir gegründet, muß wohl zu meiner Natur gehören, und stammt vielleicht aus dem Orient, daß ich so leicht in so schlimme Stimmung verfalle.”

*neudeutsche Schule* had contributed to Joachim's abandonment of composition.<sup>82</sup> "A single nocturnal letter from a moody twenty-one-year-old is a slim reed upon which to found such a comprehensive theory," writes Eshbach, pointing out that Gisela von Arnim was well-aware of the varied reasons for Joachim's moodiness and that the letter makes no reference at all to *Das Judentum*, so Borchard's reading reflects nothing more than supposition.<sup>83</sup>

My interpretation and understanding of Joachim are more strongly aligned with Eshbach, though Borchard's monumental archival research and collection has greatly contributed to making the Joachim biography (and that of Amalie Joachim) to more accessible. Eshbach, however, does occasionally configure Joachim as a Jew who cannot "reconcile his Jewish and German identities, his religious and artistic sensibilities."<sup>84</sup> Eshbach metaphorically describes the developing classical canon formation upheld by Joachim to the tradition of Torah and Talmud:

If one wishes, then, to tease out a single, 'central line of tradition' that reaches from Joachim back through Felix Mendelssohn to Moses Mendelssohn, it might be this: the idea of a canon, grounded in timeless, inviolable texts whose meaning is to be deciphered through exegetical interpretations. This quintessentially Jewish *modus* met with the Romantic Beethoven tradition as water with water, and provided Joachim with a way to reconcile the conflicting demands of his cultural, intellectual, and moral life.<sup>85</sup>

Eshbach's repeated use of "reconcile" should neither be ignored nor accepted at face value. To say that Joachim struggled to reconcile himself as a Jew and a German, as a composer and a virtuoso, indicates that these various aspects were necessarily at odds with one another. To treat them as fragmented or opposing influences on one's overall self is to engage in the same oversimplification that Eshbach criticizes Borchard of doing.

---

<sup>82</sup> Borchard, "Instrumentalmusik als Zukunftsreligion?," 34-40.

<sup>83</sup> Eshbach, "Joachim's Youth—Joachim's Jewishness," 570.

<sup>84</sup> Eshbach, "Joachim's Youth – Joachim's Jewishness," 575.

<sup>85</sup> Eshbach, "Joachim's Youth—Joachim's Jewishness," 574-575.

## Chapter 4

### *Judentum* Among Other National Identities:

#### Jewishness and Anton Rubinstein

An oft-quoted comment from the virtuoso pianist and composer Anton Rubinstein (1829-94) epitomizes the challenges multi-faceted identities navigated by assimilated and acculturated Jews during the long nineteenth century. Jewish by birth, baptized as a toddler, Russian in citizenship, and German in education, Rubinstein lamented:

To the Jews, I am a Christian; to the Christians, a Jew. To the Russians, I am a German; to the Germans, a Russian. To the classicists, I am a futurist; to the futurists, I'm backward, etc. Conclusion: I am neither fish nor meat – a pitiful individual!<sup>1</sup>

Despite the self-deprecating tone, Rubinstein did not view his Jewish ancestry with disdain. His librettist and friend, the German-Jewish poet Julius Rodenberg, recalled how he had once gone to visit his friend and noticed a letter opener with “Anton Rubinstein” written in Hebrew letters.<sup>2</sup>

Rodenberg further wrote of Rubinstein:

He never made a secret of his Jewish origins. His greatest weakness was anecdotes of Polish Jews, seasoned with salt and spicier than the Attic! He would repeat such stories ten or twenty times. And ten or twenty times he would laugh about them – and oh, how Rubinstein could laugh!<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Anton Rubinstein, *Gedankenkorb*, (Leipzig: Bartholf Senff, 1897), 95-96. “Den Juden bin ich ein Christ, den Christen ein Jude, den Russen bin ich ein Deutscher, den Deutschen ein Russe, den Klassikern bin ich ein Zukünftler, den Zukünftlern ein Retrograde u. s. w. Schlußfolgerung: ich bin weder Fisch noch Fleisch— ein jammervolles Individuum!”

<sup>2</sup> Julius Rodenberg, “Meine persönlichen Erinnerungen an Anton Rubinstein,” *Deutsche Rundschau* 82 (January-March 1895): 243.

<sup>3</sup> Rodenberg, “Meine persönlichen Erinnerungen an Anton Rubinstein,” 243. “Er hat aus seiner jüdischen Herkunft niemals ein Hehl gemacht; sein größtes Gaudium waren Anekdoten von polnischen Juden, mit jenem Salz gewürzt, schärfer noch als das attische -- zehnmal, zwanzigmal ließ

This open affirmation of his Jewishness, at least within a close circle of acquaintances, is also evidence of Rubinstein's confident self-association with specifically German Jewry. The implied humor here is undoubtedly found in the German, Western-centric view of Yiddish-speaking Eastern European (as Rodenberg describes them "Polish") Jews as provincial and unable to adapt to modern times. Despite his own origins in the East, Rubinstein studied, traveled, and performed extensively in the West, so it is no surprise that he would also make this distinction, especially in the company of like-minded assimilated Jews.

The complex task of analyzing Rubinstein's engagement with his Jewish ancestry cannot be undertaken without piecing together the many aspects of his identity that coexisted throughout his life. Jewishness was intertwined with Russianness as well as his German cultural self-identification, and these all affected his patterns of composition and performance. Rubinstein's entry in the 1906 *Jewish Encyclopedia* is longer than those of many other musicians of the nineteenth century, including even Felix Mendelssohn.<sup>4</sup> In more modern scholarship, Rubinstein has received limited attention as an example of Jewish expression in art music, possibly because during his lifetime he was primarily known as a performer; awareness of Rubinstein's childhood baptism into the Russian Orthodox Church may also have served to limit the perception of him as a Jew. While Joachim was evidently satisfied with a career as a preeminent virtuoso violinist of his generation, the same cannot be said for his pianistic counterpart. Ukrainian-Jewish cellist and composer Gdal Saleski commented succinctly in his 1927, *Famous Musicians of a Wandering Race*: "But Rubinstein was not content with a

---

er sich dieselben Geschichten erzählen, um zehnmal, zwanzigmal darüber zu lachen - und o, wie konnte Rubinstein lachen!"

<sup>4</sup> Herman Rosenthal and J.G. Lipman, "Rubinstein, Anton Grigoryevich," *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 10:507-508, accessed 31 October 2019, <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/12921-rubinstein-anton-grigoryevich>.

virtuoso's and director's laurels. He wanted to compose."<sup>5</sup> Throughout his life, Rubinstein engaged with his Jewishness in varying degrees of gravitas and humor as well as privacy and public openness. On one occasion, Rodenberg recalled, Rubinstein even went so far as to brazenly leave a calling card for the notorious antisemite, German pianist and conductor Hans von Bülow, signing it only as "Slavischer Semit," an ironic reference to von Bülow's vanity in constantly referring to his distinctions and titles.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, and not unlike Joachim's comment to Gisela von Arnim that his melancholy demeanor came from his so-called "Eastern origin," Rubinstein's friend Russian-Jewish journalist Robert Iljisch recalled how his friend had "that *Weltschmerz* [melancholy/world-weariness], so peculiar to the Jews... he did not conceal the fact that this sadness was inherited..."<sup>7</sup> Thus, Rubinstein is situated on the border of multiple musical, social, and political worlds in the period.

### **Jewish Origins, Russian Origins**

Unlike Hiller and Joachim, both baptized as adults, Rubinstein was baptized at not yet two years old, in July 1831.<sup>8</sup> The family's embrace of Russian Orthodoxy allowed them to leave their village in the Pale of Settlement, Vihvatinetz in modern-day Moldova, and move to Moscow in 1834, where his father established a pencil factory.<sup>9</sup> This follows the blueprint for success of an assimilated Jewish family: moving from a village to a major city center, finding success in business, and providing their children with early access to secular and artistic education. When he soon

---

<sup>5</sup> Gdal Saleski, *Famous Musicians of a Wandering Race* (New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1927), 67. The book was revised and reissued in 1949 as *Famous Musicians of Jewish Origin*.

<sup>6</sup> Rodenberg, "Meine persönlichen Erinnerungen an Anton Rubinstein," 244.

<sup>7</sup> R. Iljisch, "A Yom Kippur at Anton Rubinstein's," *The Menorah Monthly* 26, no. 3 (March 1899): 176.

<sup>8</sup> Philip S. Taylor, *Anton Rubinstein: A Life in Music* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2007), 5.

<sup>9</sup> Rosenthal and Lipman, "Rubinstein, Anton Grigoryevich."



advanced beyond the skills of his mother, who was his first piano teacher, the eight-year old Anton went to study with Alexander Villoing, the leading piano teacher in Moscow.<sup>10</sup> Not unlike Joachim under Mendelssohn, Rubinstein's early successes were a result of the mentorship and promotion offered to him by his teacher. He gave his debut recital in 1839 and was then taken on a tour of Germany, Holland, Scandinavia, and France with Villoing. A reviewer in Paris wrote:

A young nine-year old Russian pianist, Mr. Anton Rubinstein, a student of Mr. Alexandre Villaing [sic], is currently in Paris. We have heard him, and he has astonished us with the ease with which he executes the greatest difficulties, and with the tastefulness of his performance, especially in the very difficult and expressive music of [Adolf von] Henselt.<sup>11</sup>

Reports were more critical as the young prodigy toured in German cities. In 1841, a reviewer in *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* worried that the young Rubinstein was relying too much on his innate talent and not enough on disciplined technique, writing of a recital in Frankfurt:

The concert of the ten-year old Russian pianist Rubinstein was a noble one, given with support of high society [*der Haute-volé*] and therefore could not be unsuccessful. We are thankful to God for this age of *Wunderkinder*, though time has taught that most of these pale creatures fall back like hothouse flowers when they get to fresh air. As such the little Rubinstein's playing seems to be more the effect of talent, for has the innocent freedom and cheerfulness of a healthy boy, and yet nothing of a happy prosperity, as if his environment is doing everything to destroy him. You can hear in his playing that the little man is no longer studying, but only rushed into showpieces. We do not require from a child deep feelings or opinions, but at least clarity and accuracy—the attributes of a true student—must not be lacking. Nonetheless, the astonishment of listening to this ten-year old Liszt play Thalberg's, Chopin's, and Henselt's most difficult caprices, cannot be annulled by hasty technique.<sup>12</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup> Rosenthal and Lipman, "Rubinstein, Anton Grigoryevich."

<sup>11</sup> A. Specht, "Nouvelles," *La Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 7, no. 59 (25 October 1840): 509. "Un jeune pianiste russe âgé de neuf ans, M. Anton Rubinstein, élève de M. Alexandre Villaing, est en ce moment à Paris. Nous l'avons entendu, et il nous a étonné par la facilité avec laquelle il exécute les plus grandes difficultés et par le goût qui préside à son exécution, surtout dans la musique si difficile et si expressive de Henselt."

<sup>12</sup> "Frankfurt a. M. Oper und Konzert," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 43, no. 10 (15 December 1841): 1072-1073. "Das Konzert des 10 jährigen russischen Pianisten Rubinstein war durch die Theilnahme der Haute-volé ein vornehmes zu nennen, und konnte deshalb auch nicht erfolglos bleiben. Wir sind Gott seit Dank aus der Zeit der Wunderkinderei; denn die Zeit hat gelehrt, dass die meisten dieser blassen Geschöpfe zurückfielen wie Treibhausblumen, sobald sie in

Similarly, an extended critical review of the young artist appeared in the *Allgemeine Wiener Musik-Zeitung* in 1842. The author, Alfred Julius Becher (1803/05?-1848) was of Rheinisch-Jewish heritage, though his religious status is unclear.<sup>13</sup> Although he was a political radical and would ultimately be executed in Vienna in 1848 following participation in the uprising there, Becher was musically conservative and a staunch defendant of the Mendelssohnian school. Along with Otto Nicolai and August Schmidt, he is considered one of the founders of the Vienna Philharmonic and was greatly admired by Eduard Hanslick, who described him as “by far the most individual, intelligent and well-informed [critic in Vienna].”<sup>14</sup> A positive review from such a well-respected figure as Becher could only advance the reputation of the young pianist:

Little Rubinstein is a real phenomenon. Such a degree of technical cultivation at not even eleven is a miracle (although, of course, there is still much to learn), and with this youth, a few years will make a huge difference. By then, what will this remarkable boy not be able to play?<sup>15</sup>

---

die frische Luft kamen. Des kleinen Rubinsteins Spiel aber scheint doch mehr die Wirkung des Talents zu sein, da er die ganze Unbefangenheit und den Frohsinn eines gesunden Knaben beibehalten und noch gar nichts von einem glücklichen Gedeihen, da sich seine Umgebung alle Mühe zu geben scheint, ihn eitel zu machen. Dass der kleine Mann schon jetzt nicht mehr studirt, sondern nur Prachtstücke einhetzt, hört man seiner Spielweise an. Wir verlangen von einem Kindee weder eigene Empfindung noch Auffassung, doch dürfen wenigstens Klarheit und Genauigkeit, die Attribute des ächten Schülers, nicht fehlen. Das Erstaunen, einen 10jährigen Knaben Liszt's, Thalberg's, Chopin's und Henselt's schwerste Capricen ausdauern zu hören, darf durch eine überreile Technik nicht aufgehoben werden.”

<sup>13</sup> Isidore Singer and Edgar Mels, “Becher, Alfred Julius,” *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 2:620-621, accessed 11 November 2019, <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/12921-2703-becher-alfred-julius>.

<sup>14</sup> Singer and Mels, “Becher, Alfred Julius;” Eduard Hanslick, *Geschichte des Concertwesens in Wien*, vol. 1 (Vienna: W. Braumüller, 1869): 322, trans. in Dana Gooley, “Hanslick and the Institution of Criticism,” *The Journal of Musicology* 28, no. 3 (Summer 2011): 309. “Weit aus die beste Acquisition diese Blattes war Dr. Alfred Julius Becher, von allen in Wien thätigen Musikkritikern der eigenthümlichste, geist- und kenntnisreichste.”

<sup>15</sup> Dr. A. J. Becher, “2. Concert Des Zehnjährigen Pianisten Anton Rubinstein Aus Moskau, Im Saale Der Gesellschaft Der Musikfreunde, Am 9. d. M.,” *Allgemeine Wiener Musik-Zeitung* 2, no. 6 (13 January 1842): 23. “Der kleine Rubinstein ist ein wirkliches Phänomen. Ein solcher Grad von

Becher commented on the challenge of virtuosity and the expectation of audiences for perfection, defending the prodigy against those who might expect some sort of technical execution impossible for one so young. The review closes with a well-intentioned caution, with Becher alluding to the allure of *Afterkunst*, or the “false art,” essentially the antithesis of art or the commercialization of popularity and fame:

The protective spirit of childlike innocence has kept him pure, and the clear mirror of his beautiful talent remains unclouded by the poisonous breath of the “After Art.” But the path ahead of him is slippery, and the abyss not far off! May his most worthy teacher, Mr. Villoing, whose work in the development of his student deserves full recognition, heed my admiration and my warning...<sup>16</sup>

Next, Rubinstein went to Paris, where he met Chopin, a meeting that had a powerful impact on his approach to performing and compositional style.<sup>17</sup> In 1844, his family finally settled in Berlin, where Rubinstein’s mother sought out two of the most successful musicians of Jewish ancestry, Mendelssohn and Meyerbeer, as teachers for her sons. Philip S. Taylor states that these connections as well as the “atmosphere of religious tolerance... must have been key factors in Kaleriya

---

technischer Ausbildung (wiewohl absolut betrachtet, natürlich noch Vieles mangelhaft erscheint) im Alter von noch nicht elf Jahren gränzt ans Wunderbare; denn bei dieser Jugend machen ein Paar Jahre unberechenbar viel aus, und was wird der merkwürdige Knabe nach solchem Zeitraum nicht Alles spielen?“ The review continued in *Allgemeine Wiener Musik-Zeitung* 2:7 (15 January 1842): 27.

<sup>16</sup> Becher, “2. Concert Des Zehnjährigen Pianisten Anton Rubinstein Aus Moskau,” 23. “Noch hat ihn der Schutzgeist kindlicher Unbefangenheit rein erhalten, noch ist der klare Spiegel seines schönen Talentes vom Gifthauche der Afterkunst ungetrübt geblieben; aber der Weg, den er jetzt wandelt, ist ein schlüpfriger, und der Abgrund liegt nicht fern! Möge er, möge sein würdiger Lehrer, Hr. Villoing, dessen Verdienste um die Entwicklung seines Schülers die vollste Anerkennung verdienen, meine Bewunderung wie meine Warnung beherzigen...” The word *Afterkunst* appeared periodically in German music journals in the nineteenth century, and similar concepts such as *Afterästhetik* were also used. For an explanation of the use of “After” as a negating prefix in German, see “After, n.,” *Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm*, vol. 1 (Leipzig 1854-1961): 185, accessed 7 March 2020, [http://woerterbuchnetz.de/cgi-bin/WBNetz/wbgui\\_py?sigle=DWB&lemma=after](http://woerterbuchnetz.de/cgi-bin/WBNetz/wbgui_py?sigle=DWB&lemma=after).

<sup>17</sup> Lev Arnonovich Barenboym, ed., *A.G. Rubinsteyn: Literaturnoye naslediyе*, vol. 3. (Moscow: Musika, 1983-86): 195, translated in Taylor, *Anton Rubinstein*, 13.

Khristoforovna's decision to settle in Berlin."<sup>18</sup> Although Berlin, certainly held attraction for many Jews in their paths toward assimilation and acculturation, given its history as the center of the eighteenth century *Haskala* movement, there is no evidence to support this specific claim for the Rubinstein family, who, despite any sort of racial or cultural self-identification were professing members of the Russian Orthodox church, and would not have benefitted from "religious tolerance" for Jews. Furthermore, Taylor erroneously states that the Rubinstein family would have identified with Mendelssohn and Meyerbeer, "both converts to Christianity," but the latter was never baptized.<sup>19</sup> While the salons hosted by both assimilated and baptized Jews from such families as the Mendelssohns, Itzig-Levys, and Beers were important for the development of Rubinstein's style and technique, he was hardly limited to Jewish spheres in Berlin. Rather, the time spent in the city solidified a sense of value in the German musical aesthetic that would become a central aspect of Rubinstein's artistic approach for the rest of his life.

Following the death of his father in 1846, Rubinstein lived for several years in poverty in Vienna. He had hoped to secure professional assistance from Liszt, who was less than forthcoming. Rubinstein recalled being told: "A man must achieve everything by himself, that [his] talent would support [him], and that no other support was necessary."<sup>20</sup> He returned to Russia in 1848 where he secured the patronage of Grand Duchess Yelena Pavlovna, whose brother-in-law, Tsar Nicholas I,

---

<sup>18</sup> Taylor, *Anton Rubinstein*, 17.

<sup>19</sup> Taylor, *Anton Rubinstein*, 17.

<sup>20</sup> Barenboym, *A.G. Rubinsteyn: Literaturnoye naslediyе*, 1:72, translated in Taylor, *Anton Rubinstein*, 19. Although critics occasionally compared the playing styles of Rubinstein and Liszt (the latter showing little exertion, while the former would become drenched in sweat), there is no evidence in Liszt biographies that he was dismissive to Rubinstein.

was often present at salons in which Rubinstein performed.<sup>21</sup> In the mid-1850s, he began touring as a pianist in Europe during the mid-1850s, earning comparisons to Liszt. News of the young phenomenon even reached the American musical press, with a foreign correspondent reporting:

As a performer we really think him second to none but Liszt, and his future career will be marked with unusual brilliancy. He is one of the few wonderful children whose ripe age does not give the lie to the once promising childhood; it was the case with Handel, Mozart and Liszt, and even at the risk of being charged with exaggeration, we hope that the name of Rubinstein will one day be pronounced among the glorious.<sup>22</sup>

With the support of the Grand Duchess, Rubinstein and his brother Nikolai (1835-1881) founded the Russian Musical Society in 1859 and the St. Petersburg Conservatory in 1862. To these institutions, Rubinstein brought the wealth of knowledge and experience he had gained throughout his tours of Western Europe. Most importantly, he established an approach which privileged German music as the preeminent manifestation of universal art. In an age of rising nationalism, this attitude was met with a mixture of embrace and suspicion. Proponents of this Russian nationalist style have traditionally been associated with the *Moguchaya Kuchka* (“The Five” or “The Mighty Handful”), consisting of Mily Balakirev, César Cui, Modest Mussorgsky, Nikolai Rimsky-Korsakov, and Alexander Borodin. However, although the ideology of these so-called Kuchkists had gained currency since the mid-1850s, in particular the aim of promoting a distinctly Russian school of music, the name was actually bestowed by composer-critic Vladimir Stasov (1824-1906) in 1867. Stasov, commenting after a concert of works by Glinka, Dargomizhsky, Balakirev, and Rimsky-Korsakov, declared: “I shall finish my remarks with a wish: may God grant that our Slavs will never

---

<sup>21</sup> Edward Garden, “Rubinstein [Rubinshteyn], Anton Grigor'yevich,” *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, 2001, accessed 2 January 2020, <https://doi-org.turing.library.northwestern.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.24055>.

<sup>22</sup> “Music in London,” *Dwight's Journal of Music* 11, no. 16 (18 July 1857): 124. Rubinstein traveled to the United States for a tour in 1872-1873.

forget today's concert: may God grant that they retain for ever a recollection of how much poetry, feeling, talent and ability is possessed by the small but already mighty handful of Russian musicians."<sup>23</sup> In this heated atmosphere, Rubinstein, of Jewish birth and German training, and his goal to establish a Conservatory with a competing ideology were seen as a threat. His approach to music education, which Richard Taruskin describes as a "Peter the Great-like program for Westernizing Russian music," was made possible through sponsorship of the aristocracy and the importing of master teachers from German-speaking Europe.<sup>24</sup> Rubinstein's provocative three-part article "Die Componisten Rußland's," published in 1855 in the Viennese periodical *Blätter für Musik, Theater, und Kunst* is revealing of his outlook and plan for elevating Russian music. Praising the genius of Glinka and others, Rubinstein also stated that Russian nationalist music could have no place within the broader context of European art music and lamented that both *A Life for a Tsar* and *Ruslan and Lyudmila* "suffered from the defect of monotony."<sup>25</sup> Assessing the current predicament faced by Russian music, he ultimately prescribed a solution:

However, this uncomfortable situation must be viewed as a crisis. Let us hope so! Young ambitious talents are emerging more than in the past, and so with the gradual expansion of artistic circles in which the irresistible taste of real art prevails, we can rightly look forward to a better time soon. Instrumental (and also orchestral and chamber) music has so far found only a few representatives, partly because the general public does not yet fully understand these types of art and partly because the necessary education cannot be found in the country. With each passing year,

---

<sup>23</sup> Stuart Campbell, ed. and trans., *Russians on Russian Music, 1830-1880: An Anthology* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994): 186.

<sup>24</sup> Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, vol. 3, *Music in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 467.

<sup>25</sup> Antoine [Anton] Rubinstein, "Die Componisten Rußland's," *Blätter für Musik, Theater, und Kunst* 1:33 (25 May 1855): 129. "Zwei Opern, 'dads Leben für den Czaren' und 'Russlau und Ludmilla' componirte er in disem Gesitel Beide sind Meisterwerke in ihrer Art, aber beide kranken leider auch an dem Uebelstande der Monotonie."

however, the taste grows for the classical works of the German masters, and soon some will be qualified enough to try this style.<sup>26</sup>

In 1848, having reached op. 10 in his compositional output, Rubinstein restarted his own opus numbers, though they are not strictly chronological. A year later, he had completed his first symphony, in F major, op. 40. Other works from the late 1840 and 1850s included sonatas, string quartets, piano concerti, and lieder in the German language and style. It seems very plausible that Rubinstein had a clear idea of who would be “qualified enough to try” such a style for Russia: he, himself, could lead his people in this lofty goal of “real art,” that is the German way. Moreover, the sentiment here was not necessarily that Russian music ought to embrace German practice, but that German music was universal and therefore a superior embodiment of art music. It was perhaps the universality implicit in Rubinstein’s comments that so flustered the Russians, naturally far from convinced by the idea.

Of all who were offended by Rubinstein’s call for the universality of German musical ideologies, leading the charge were Stasov and Aleksandr Serov (1820-1871). Stasov and Serov had met at the School of Jurisprudence in St. Petersburg, and both became outspoken proponents for the promotion and expansion of Russian art in all forms, in part to combat the very same observation made by Rubinstein of the Russian public’s predilection for Western (and in particular,

---

<sup>26</sup> Rubinstein, “Die Componisten Rußland’s,” 130. “Indessen darf dieser keineswegs trostreiche Zustand als eine Krise angesehen werden. Hoffen wir es wenigstens. Zudem erstehen in letzterer Zeit häusiger als früher, junge strebsame Talente, und so darf man bei der allmäligen Erweiterung der Kreise, die der wahre Kunstgeschmack unaufhaltsam zieht, mit Recht einer bessern Zeit bald entgegensehen \*) Die Instrumental- (sowohl Orchestre- wie Kammer-) Musik hat bis jetzt nur wenige Vertreter gefunden, theils weil das Verständniß für diese Art Kunstwerke in der Masse des Publikums noch nicht weit genug gediehen, theils weil die nothwendigen Bildungsstudien im Lande selbst nicht zu erlangen sind. Mit jedem Jahre indessen verbreitet sich der Geschmack für die klassischer Werke deutscher Meister mehr und mehr, und so dürften binnen Kurzem manche Befähigte sich auch in diesem Fache zu versuchen angeregt fühlen.”

German) art and culture.<sup>27</sup> Serov's own compositions, in particular operas, were considered some of the most important of the period between Dargomizhsky's *Rusalka* (1856) and those of the Kuchka.<sup>28</sup> In fact, his first major operatic success was with a Biblical opera based on the apocryphal story of Judith. With a text from the Russian poet Apollon Maykov, *Judith* was supported by the patronage of Duchess Yelena Palovna (who had previously supported Rubinstein) and premiered to great acclaim at the Mariinsky Theatre in 1863.<sup>29</sup> Despite the shared patron, this is where Serov and Rubinstein's musical similarities cease. Stasov and Serov's views entered into direct opposition to the spirit of Rubinstein's comments quoted above and those he would continue to make.

Adding fuel to the fire he had started in 1855, Rubinstein reiterated his feelings six years later in the first issue of a short-lived leftist Russian weekly, *Vek* (The Age).<sup>30</sup> The editor of *Vek*, Pytor Isaevich Veinberg, was also of Jewish origin and the brother of Rubinstein's sister's husband.<sup>31</sup> The

---

<sup>27</sup> Philip Ewell, "Anton Rubinstein, Alexander Serov, and Vladimir Stasov: The struggle for a national musical identity in nineteenth-century Russia," *Germano-Slavica* 16 (1 January 2007).

<sup>28</sup> Graham Dixon and Richard Taruskin, "Serov, Aleksandr Nikolayevich," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, accessed 12 February 2020, <https://doi-org.turing.library.northwestern.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.25472>.

<sup>29</sup> Richard Taruskin, "Opera and Drama in Russian: The Case of Serov's 'Judith,'" *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 32, no. 1 (Spring 1979): 115-117. Despite the wide popular success of *Judith*, it was less well-received by the Russian critical press. Critic Ivan S. Turgenev wrote in 1864 that Judith was "too much 'Wagner' for his taste" and preferred Serov's later opera, *Rogneda*, which was more Russian-nationalist in style. See also Frederick W. Skinner, "'Triumph of the Organic': Aleksandr Nikolaevich Serov and the Ninth Symphony," *The Beethoven Journal* 21, no. 1 (Summer 2006): 10.

<sup>30</sup> Anton Rubinstein, "O muzikye v Rossi," *Vek* 1, no. 1 (January 1861): 33-37. in *Literaturniye nasledniye*, I:46-53, translated in Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music, 1830-1880*, 64-73. *Vek* was published from January 1861 to March 1862. Campbell draws the English for the Goethe quotation from Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship and Travels*, vol. 2, trans. Thomas Carlyle. (London: Chapman and Hall, Ltd., 1824): 167.

<sup>31</sup> "Veinberg, Petr," *Kratkaya Yevreyskaya Entsiklopedia*, vol. 1 (Jerusalem: Society for Research on Jewish Communities/Hebrew University of Jerusalem: 1976), 619-620, *Jewish Encyclopedia in*



contributors and readers of *Vek* were politically eclectic, some advocating for a populist socialism of the *Narodnik* intelligentsia, while others were more radical in their ideologies.<sup>32</sup> Rubinstein opened the article with a literary quotation, not from a work by Pushkin or any other Russian writer, but from the embodiment of Germanic *Bildung*, Goethe's *Wilhelm Meisters Lebrjahre*:

Who never ate his bread in sorrow  
Who never spent the darksome hours  
Weeping and watching for the morrow  
He knows ye not, you heavenly powers.<sup>33</sup>

This Goethe text not only aligned Rubinstein with German literature, but also German music. It was set numerous times by Schubert and Liszt before Rubinstein used it here, as well as several times later in the century.<sup>34</sup> Rubinstein himself set the text as part of *Die Gedichte und das Requiem für Mignon*, op. 91 (1872-79).

In the *Vek* article, Rubinstein lamented that, in Russia, these words do not hold true for musicians, because “it is only amateurs who are involved in music—that is those who, because of their birth or social position, do not depend on music to earn their daily bread, but whose involvement in music is only for their own personal enjoyment.”<sup>35</sup> The statement seems a thinly

---

*Russian on the Web*, accessed 8 March 2020, <https://eleven.co.il/jews-of-russia/in-culture-science-economy/10861>. See also Taylor, *Anton Rubinstein*, 91.

<sup>32</sup> “Vek,” *Russkaia periodicheskaia pechat (1702–1894)*, A. G. Dementiev, A. V. Zapadov, M. S. Cherepakhov, eds., (Moscow: Political Literature Publishers, 1959), 835, accessed 12 May 2020, <http://feb-web.ru/feb/periodic/pp0-abc/pp1/pp1-4091.htm>.

<sup>33</sup> Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, “Wer nie sein Brot mit Tränen ass,” from *Wilhelm Meisters Lebrjahre* (1795-1796), translated in Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music, 1830-1880*, 65. The Goethe passage appeared in Russian in *Vek*.

<sup>34</sup> See Franz Schubert, 3 Gesänge des Harfners, D. 478 (1816/1822); Franz Liszt, “Wer nie sein Brot mit Tränen aß,” S. 297 (1845/1849); Robert Schumann, *Lieder und Gesänge aus Wilhelm Meister* op. 98a (1849); Hugo Wolf, *Goethe-Lieder* (1888/1889).

<sup>35</sup> Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music, 1830-1880*, 65

veiled commentary on the Kuchka and their followers, some of whom held positions in the Imperial armed forces and had lacked traditional music educations. Rubinstein upbraided current artists in Russia as being unwilling to wholly commit to music:

The art of music, like any other art, demands that whoever engages in it sacrifice all his own thoughts, all his feelings, all his time and his whole being to art. Only upon him who has devoted himself entirely to this art in this way will music occasionally smile, or permit him to discover her secrets. This chosen one will then have the right to call himself an artist and will have the privilege of proclaiming his art to the world—a frightening [awesome] destiny, imposing on the artist a duty to provide those around him with constant pleasure and giving him as a reward only the status of a martyr.<sup>36</sup>

This bleak depiction of the struggling artist, willing to sacrifice everything for his art seems very likely self-referential, showing Rubinstein's quasi-Beethovenian philosophy of suffering sublimated to artistic creativity, an ideology so common among early century Romantics, despite the financial privilege of leading artists like Mendelssohn. Rubinstein freely critiqued the Russian nationalists, who supposedly, “manage[d] to compose just one romance whose content is more or less good, [and] he then considers himself a composer.”<sup>37</sup> Even the use of “romance” here is a loaded one, as the term is essentially shorthand for salon music, indicating one a simple form of composition that Rubinstein considered beneath those who had truly studied the German masters and more elevated genres. There is some selective forgetting here, or perhaps a tacit acknowledgment, of his own youthful origins as a composer. Rubinstein himself had experimented with this very genre when he was in his teens and periodically later in song cycles and smaller works for piano.<sup>38</sup> Furthermore, his most popular and enduring composition, though not specifically designated as a romance, is a piece

---

<sup>36</sup> Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music, 1830-1880*, 65

<sup>37</sup> Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music, 1830-1880*, 67.

<sup>38</sup> See, for example, Anton Rubinstein, *Romance ‘Comment disaient-ils’* (Moscow: Gresser, 1843-1844), which uses a text of Victor Hugo.

of light salon music: his Melody in F, no. 1 of from the *Deux mélodies pour le piano*, op. 3 (1852).<sup>39</sup> During Rubinstein's lifetime, this piece was widely republished in Germany, France, and England, with numerous transcriptions for violin and piano (including one from his friend, Hungarian-Jewish violinist Leopold Auer), cello and piano, string trio and quartet, piano trio, and large and small orchestra. The trend continued after Rubinstein's death, with simple texts, a transcription for wind band, and even today numerous arrangements continue to appear in circulation. The piece is accessible to an amateur pianist, though the melody, which is split between both hands, requires a moderate level of technical ability. The Auer arrangement shows how easily the melodic material can be transposed for a solo instrument (ex. 4.1a and 4.b). The simple, appealing melody is hardly representative of the breadth of emotion, intensity, and harmonic complexity of Rubinstein's more advanced compositions.

**EXAMPLE 4.1A.** Anton Rubinstein, *Deux mélodies pour le piano*, op. 3 no. 1, mm. 1-16.

The musical score is for the first system of the piece, measures 1 through 16. It is written for piano in 2/4 time, F major. The tempo is marked 'Moderato assai'. The score is in a grand staff with a treble and bass clef. The right hand plays a series of chords, while the left hand plays a more active line. The instruction 'p con espressione' is written above the first few measures. The score is presented in two systems, with the first system showing measures 1-8 and the second system showing measures 9-16.

<sup>39</sup> Anton Rubinstein, *Deux mélodies pour le piano*, op. 3 (St. Petersburg : M. Bernard, 1852).

**EXAMPLE 4.1B.** Anton Rubinstein, arr. Leopold Auer, *Deux mélodies pour le piano*, op. 3 no. 1, mm. 1-16.<sup>40</sup>

Despite the popularity of his own salon music, Rubinstein continued the *Vek* article with a further charge against not only amateur composers, but also the sort of exclusivity and inbreeding that occurs in such circles: “Amateurs are also characterized by the exclusiveness of their opinions, since they admire the work of some particular composer and can find nothing good in the works of other composers. They also carry along in their wake their own admirers who like what these amateurs praise and reject what they revile.”<sup>41</sup> There is a clear flaw in Rubinstein’s logic, however, as these exact comments might be made against those who were the proponents of the Germanicizing of Russian music. The proponents of a more-Western influenced art were a stylistic bloc that

<sup>40</sup> Note minor harmonic alterations throughout, particularly in m. 5.

<sup>41</sup> Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music, 1830-1880*, 70.

supported and imitated each other, a point made by Stasov in his response to the *Vek* article.<sup>42</sup> His suspicions towards the type of conservatory training advocated by Rubinstein were deep-seated, as he accused them of pushing music “backwards instead of forwards,” interfering with the creative process “in the most dangerous way.”<sup>43</sup> Stasov was highly skeptical that conservatory training was even necessary at all in Russia, citing Germany as the prime example of this very idea: “The setting up of a conservatoire and the success of art are not at all the same thing; the latter does not depend in the slightest on the former... [in] Germany the great era of music *preceded* the establishment of conservatories, and all the best talents were raised *outside* these institutions.”<sup>44</sup>

An additional and unsettling undercurrent of Stasov’s argument lay in his emphasis that Rubinstein was a “foreigner with nothing in common either with our national character or our art... a foreigner with no understanding either of the demands of our national character or of the historical course of our art.”<sup>45</sup> The Russian word that Stasov used to describe Rubinstein was *inostranets* (plural, *inostrantsy*), which indicates a foreigner born in another country. The use of this term here is particularly intriguing, not only for the fallacy that it would have propagated among Stasov’s readers, but also because there existed a more widely used contrasting term that was already officially and colloquially associated with Russian Jews. The contrasting term—*inorodets* (plural, *inorodtsy*)—signifies a personal who was an ethnic or racial minority within the Russian empire.<sup>46</sup>

---

<sup>42</sup> V.V. Stasov, “Conservatoires in Russia. Comments on Mr. Rubinstein’s Article,” *The Northern Bee* [Северная пчела] no. 45 (24 February 1861): 181-182, translated in Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music, 1830-1880*, 73-80.

<sup>43</sup> Stasov, “Conservatoires in Russia. Comments on Mr. Rubinstein’s Article,” 78.

<sup>44</sup> Stasov, “Conservatoires in Russia. Comments on Mr. Rubinstein’s Article,” 74, 78.

<sup>45</sup> Stasov, “Conservatoires in Russia. Comments on Mr. Rubinstein’s Article,” 74.

<sup>46</sup> Count Adam de Gurowski, *Russia as it is*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1854), 219-225.

Although the term came to be used pejoratively, the *inorodtsy* were actually a legally-defined category between 1822 and 1917, comprised of various nomadic or semi-nomadic peoples from the Eastern (Asiatic) parts of the Russian empire.<sup>47</sup> Peoples official recognized as belonging to the category of *inorodtsy* included Siberians; Chukchi; Dziungors (Altai); inhabitants of the Commander Islands; Samoeds (Nenets) of Arkhangel guberniya; nomads of Stavropol guberniya; Kalmyks of Stavropol and Astrakhan gubernii; Kyrgyz of the Internal Horde; nomads of the Akmolinsk, Semipalatinsk, Semirechie, Urals, and Turgai oblasti; natives of Turkestan; Ordyntsy; Caucasus mountaineers; and— added to the list in 1835—Jews.<sup>48</sup> In addition to being ethnic and national foreigners, *inorodtsy* were also almost always non-Christian, and usually practiced some form of pagan or shamanistic religion, although Islam was also present in the Turkic and Caucasus regions. John W. Slocum writes that the classification of Jews, who were not itinerant in the same way as the other twelve categories of the *inorodtsy*, and were in proximity not to Asia but rather to the European borderlands, shows “...a fundamental ambiguity in the underlying logic of this category: was it more an indicator of a given people’s purported level of civilized development, or a legal marker of racial difference?”<sup>49</sup> Essentially, a paradox existed among Tsarist legal authorities on how an *inorodets* could shed his or her status; for Eastern *inorodtsy*, this could be achieved by a conversion and sedentism, however, baptism for Jews (who were already permanently settled) was not enough. The double-standard lay in long-held views of Judaism as a rival religion to Christianity, whereas tribal beliefs held by other *inorodtsy*, although still seen as a threat, were accidental by-products of Russian imperial expansion.

---

<sup>47</sup> John W. Slocum, “Who, and When, Were the Inorodtsy? The Evolution of the Category of ‘Aliens’ in Imperial Russia,” *The Russian Review* 57, no. 2 (April 1998): 173-174.

<sup>48</sup> Slocum, “Who, and When, Were the Inorodtsy?” 182.

<sup>49</sup> Slocum, “Who, and When, Were the Inorodtsy?” 174.

Despite Rubinstein's childhood baptism and full citizenship in the Russian Empire, his Jewish ancestry, and the connections he had made in the West with both assimilated Jews and *Neuchristen*, were evidently not lost on Russian musical circles. Though legally, as a baptized Christian, he was a full Russian citizen and no longer an *inorodets*, he was still seen as an alien or a foreigner by those who held such long-enduring sentiments against Jews. It is unclear why Stasov used the term *inostranets* in this situation, when *inorodets* would have had an equally derogatory effect and been perhaps more accurate to Rubinstein's situation. Ultimately, it is irrelevant whether Stasov's goal was to convince Russian readership that Rubinstein was indeed *actually* a German or whether the comment was more of an antisemitic dog whistle of the perpetual status of Jews as foreigners even within their countries of origin, baptized or not. The fundamental purpose was to deny Rubinstein any claim to being part a Russian musical tradition and ultimately of Russianness in general.

Echoing his friend's comments, Serov wrote an overtly antisemitic attack on Rubinstein a year later.<sup>50</sup> Serov described "some passing trickster who has been smart enough to realize that this virgin soil (in whatever respect) may well turn out to be his *promised* land, believing that if he does not seize this opportunity, then someone else will."<sup>51</sup> The power-hungry, money-grubbing (or in Serov's imagery, intellectual property-grubbing) Jew stereotype is crystal clear, especially when presented in Biblical terms, and it is obviously intended as a reference to Rubinstein. The attack escalated: "Thus, possessing innate musicality, the utmost natural capacity for the technical and creative aspects of music and for the practical demonstration of musical gifts, we Russians

---

<sup>50</sup> A.N. Serov, "The guarantees of genuine musical education in St. Petersburg," *The Northern Bee* [Северная пчела] no. 124 (9 May 1862): 5-10, translated in Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music, 1830-1880*, 80-85.

<sup>51</sup> Serov, "The guarantees of genuine musical education in St. Petersburg," 5.

voluntarily yield to the oppression of talentless foreigners, musical Yankels, who, as Gogol put it in *Taras Bulba*, are ready to ‘lay bare whole provinces.’”<sup>52</sup> Leon Poliakov, in his *History of Anti-Semitism*, writes of how Gogol’s Yankel had become the archetypal stereotype for the Jew in Russian literature: “Gogol painted him as supremely exploitive [*sic*], cowardly, and repulsive, albeit capable of gratitude... Above all, Yankel is ridiculous...”<sup>53</sup> Serov seems to have perceived such ridiculousness in Rubinstein, even finding ways to criticize Rubinstein’s views while simultaneously offering praise of Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony.<sup>54</sup> The contradiction here shows how even the most ardent proponents of Russian musical nationalism still recognized, albeit perhaps begrudgingly, the significance of the German masters. The attacks continued for years, without compromise on either side. There was no reconciliation, and ultimately the style of music education that Rubinstein promoted *did* become the norm in Russia. Having stepped away from the directorship of the conservatory, he resumed the post in 1887, by then truly an internationally acclaimed pianist who had traveled all over Europe and to the United States.

### **Rubinstein as Virtuoso, Rubinstein as Composer**

Even the writers of the laudatory entry on Rubinstein in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* frankly addressed the challenges he faced in his attempts at composition: “Rubinstein won his laurels as a pianist rather than as a composer. His technique was above criticism, and his interpretation of familiar selections highly original and sympathetic; but his compositions, while lyrical in feeling,

---

<sup>52</sup> Campbell, *Russians on Russian Music, 1830-1880*, 81. Campbell explains the reference here to Gogol’s *Mirgorod* (1835), in which Yankel, the Jewish tavern owner who has enslaved the surrounding countryside’s population to alcohol.

<sup>53</sup> Leon Poliakov, *The History of Anti-Semitism*, vol 4., *Suicidal Europe, 1870-1933*, trans. George Klin (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003): 75.

<sup>54</sup> Skinner, “‘Triumph of the Organic,’” 5.



lacked dramatic effect.”<sup>55</sup> Friends and acquaintances made similar observations in private among each themselves. The French-Jewish composer Charles-Valentin Alkan (1813-1888), whom Rubinstein deeply admired, wrote this to Ferdinand Hiller in 1860: “You know, I appreciate Rubinstein’s merits very much. But it seems to me that even when he has ideas, he has very few, and not at all enough to write a work for the theater.”<sup>56</sup> Although critics were harsh, perhaps friends kept their thoughts to themselves. Rubinstein would ultimately complete 119 opus numbers, plus additional works including ten operas.

One of the principal criticisms launched against Rubinstein was that his works were derivative and too much within the style of other composers. Such critiques have commonly been made against composers of Jewish ancestry, and not all of them carry an antisemitic agenda. Edward Garden suggests in *Grove Music Online* that Rubinstein’s piano music is highly derivative of Mendelssohn’s and Chopin’s (ex. 4.2a and 4.2b), giving the example of the scherzo from the Piano Sonata no. 4 in A minor, op. 100 (1877), which utilizes a rhythm “directly taken from the scherzo of Chopin’s B-flat minor sonata [no. 2, op. 35 (1837-1839)].”<sup>57</sup>

---

<sup>55</sup> Rosenthal and Lipman, “Rubinstein, Anton Grigoryevich.”

<sup>56</sup> C.V. Alkan [Charles-Valentin Alkan], Letter to Ferdinand Hiller (25 April 1860) in *Aus Ferdinand Hillers Briefwechsel*, vol. 1, 16. “En avais-tu connaissance? Je prise beaucoup les mérites de Rubinstein; mais il me semble qu’au fait d’idées, il n’en a que fort peu; point du tout assez pour écrire un ouvrage du théâtre.”

<sup>57</sup> Garden, “Rubinstein [Rubinshteyn], Anton Grigor'yevich,”

EXAMPLE 4.2A. Anton Rubinstein, Piano Sonata no. 4 in A minor, op. 35, mvt. II., mm. 1-16.

**Allegro vivace**

The musical score for Example 4.2A is written for piano in 3/4 time, A minor. It begins with a forte (*f*) dynamic. The right hand features a melodic line with sixteenth-note runs and chords, while the left hand provides a steady bass line with eighth-note patterns. The piece concludes with a *Gua-* marking.

EXAMPLE 4.2B. Fryderyk Chopin, Piano Sonata no. 2 in B-flat minor, op. 35, mvt. II, mm. 1-11.

The musical score for Example 4.2B is written for piano in 3/4 time, B-flat minor. It begins with a forte (*f*) dynamic. The right hand features a melodic line with sixteenth-note runs and chords, while the left hand provides a steady bass line with eighth-note patterns. The piece concludes with a *Gua-* marking.

The critique seems forced, however. Despite the rhythmic similarities of the two works, the difference in accents on the downbeat in Rubinstein in comparison to Chopin's third beat and the overall ambiguity between 3/4 and 6/8 time signatures undercut such suggestions of direct rhythmic borrowing. Furthermore, reliance on inspiration from other musical masters—particularly one's teachers—is a centuries-old approach to composition. It should come as no surprise that a rising virtuoso might very well pay homage to one of the century's earlier years.

### ***Judentum and geistliche Opern***

One of the most intriguing elements of Rubinstein's engagement with elements of *Judentum* are his choices of subject matter of his operas, notably those drawn from the Bible. It would be wrong, however, to assume that the use of Biblical subjects is wholly or solely reflective of "the composer's deep religious nature," as Saleski earnestly observed.<sup>58</sup> Instead, it is more accurate to say that such subjects, seen together with Rubinstein's collaboration with Jewish poets, are evidence of his continued engagement with his Jewish ancestry and show how deeply embedded he was in assimilated circles. Yet, despite these personal connections, he was apparently somewhat reticent to make public associations with Jewish organizations: in seeking financial support for the production of his sacred operas, discussed in greater detail below, he approached the Parisian Jewish community. Although they were ready to support him in the venture, he ultimately withdrew his request, worried that the general operatic public would think that the French Jews would receive credit for the ideas, not just the patronage.<sup>59</sup> While the details of this purported partnership are lost, the mere possibility of such a collaboration would have been unthinkable several decades earlier.

---

<sup>58</sup> Saleski, *Famous Musicians of a Wandering Race*, 67.

<sup>59</sup> Taylor, *Anton Rubinstein*, 183.

That a newly baptized Christian sought assistance from his former religious brethren, and that the Jewish community was willing to accept such as a partnership, is truly remarkable.

Rubinstein coined the term “sacred opera” (*geistliche Oper* in German; *dukhovnaya opera* in Russian) in the late 1860s. He was hardly the first composer to write sacred and Biblical-themed operas, but for him the term encompassed more than merely subject matter. By Rubinstein’s definition, a sacred opera was a staged hybrid of the oratorio and opera genres.<sup>60</sup> Four of Rubinstein’s operas received this designation from the outset: *Der Thurm zu Babel*, op. 80 (1870), *Sulamith* (1883), *Moses*, op. 112 (1885-1891), and *Christus*, op. 117 (1887-1893). To these may be added *Das verlorene Paradies* (1856), which had originally been published as an oratorio. Notably absent from this list is Rubinstein’s most successful opera, *Die Maccabäer* (1875), which displays many attributes also found in *geistliche Opern*. However, the more historical angle of the Biblical story, the high-stakes drama, and massive scope of the work mean that *Die Maccabäer*, as Monika Hennemann observes, “hover[s] inconveniently between genres” of opera and oratorio, as well as the sacred and the secular.<sup>61</sup>

Although Rubinstein had designated several of his works as *geistliche Opern* on their respective title pages, he did not initially publish a clear explanation outlining his until 1882, more than a decade after the premier of *Der Thurm zu Babel*. For twelve years, he had often received requests for an explanation of the meaning of the term. He formally issued his explanation on the subject at the

---

<sup>60</sup> Graham Dixon and Richard Taruskin, “Sacred opera,” *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, accessed 12 February 2020, <https://doi-org.turing.library.northwestern.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.O007307>.

<sup>61</sup> Monika Hennemann, “Operatorio?” in *The Oxford Handbook of Opera*, ed. Helen M. Greenwald (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2014): 76.

request of Viennese critic Josef Lewinsky.<sup>62</sup> Rubinstein's path toward *geistliche Oper* was arrived at from a longtime frustration with oratorio, a genre that had "always left [him] cold (not when studying, but when listening in performance ) and sometimes downright disgruntled me."<sup>63</sup> He particularly decried the rigidity of form for both the music and the poetry, which he believed were "a complete contradiction of the high drama of the subject matter."<sup>64</sup> The explanation is a carefully metered approach, in which Rubinstein explained his reasoning and anticipated critiques from detractors, addressing criticism of the genre and defense of his creative process. His strongest defense was against those who argued against the appropriateness of seeing the Bible on the stage:

The objection that biblical material does not belong on the stage because of its holiness cannot be accepted. The theater would thus be issued a 'testimonium paupertatis,' disregarded, while it is supposed to serve and correspond to the highest cultural purposes. In picture galleries, for example, as far as I know it is only the Sistine Madonna that is exhibited in a room intended only for her. The other saints of the greatest masters often hang next to Tenier's taverns [paintings of Flemish Baroque artist David Teniers the Younger] with neither losing their effectiveness.<sup>65</sup>

---

<sup>62</sup> Anton Rubinstein, "Die geistliche Oper," *Vor der Coulissen*, vol. 2, ed. Josef Lewinsky (Berlin: A. Hofmann & Comp., 1882), 46-54.

<sup>63</sup> Rubinstein, "Die geistliche Oper" [*Vor der Coulissen*], 47. "Das Oratorium ist eine Kunstgattung, die mich seit jeher zum Protest stimmte; die bekanntesten Meisterwerke dieser Gattung haben mich (nicht bei ihrem Studium, sondern beim Hören, in der Aufführungen) immer kalt gelassen, ja oft geradezu mißgestimmt."

<sup>64</sup> Rubinstein, "Die geistliche Oper" [*Vor der Coulissen*], 47. "Die Steifheit der Formen, sowohl der musikalischen, wie insbesondere der poetischen, erschienen mir stets in völligem Widerspruch zu der hohen Dramatik der Stoffe."

<sup>65</sup> Rubinstein, "Die geistliche Oper" [*Vor der Coulissen*], 47-48. "Dem Einwand, daß biblische Stoffe ihrer Heiligkeit wegen nicht auf die Bühne gehören, kann nicht beistimmen. Es würde dem Theater damit ein „testimonium paupertatis" ausgestellt, ihm gegenüber Mißachtung ausgesprochen, während es doch gerade den höchsten Culturzwecken dienen und entsprechen soll. In Bildergallerien beispielsweise ist es meines Wissens die Sixtinische Madonna allein, die in einem nur für sie bestimmten Raume ausgestellt ist. Die anderen Heiligenbilder der größten Meister hängen häufig neben Tenier'schen Schenkstuben, ohne daß die einen oder anderen an Wirkung einbüßen."

An additional explanation appeared posthumously in the publication of a private letter of about 1890 from Rubinstein to German author and poet Rudolf Löwenstein (1819-1891).<sup>66</sup> Like Rubinstein, Löwenstein was of Jewish ancestry and had been baptized as a child.<sup>67</sup> In the letter, Rubinstein mused that some of the most sublime and emotional moments of the Old and New Testaments had been neglected or else interpreted poorly in oratorio, especially in comparison to the superior treatment of Biblical subjects in spoken theater and the visual arts. Rubinstein, attempting to find a reason for this defect, wrote, “Where does this come from? Fear of desecrating the subject? Is it to be assumed that the silent and motionless [unstaged] representation does not desecrate, but moving [dramatic] representation, supported by words and sound, profanes the sacred?”<sup>68</sup> He acknowledged the oratorio as a genre that had become essentially a workaround for performing Biblical subjects on the stage in countries that banned operas with Biblical themes. Noting this, Rubinstein admonished that, in an oratorio “...Moses, Elijah, David, and Christ [can spend] an entire evening in a black tails, white tie, and yellow gloves, with a sheet of music in front of their faces, and we not only allow this outrage—we enjoy it!”<sup>69</sup> This comment shows the paradoxical thinking in Rubinstein’s argument. Oratorio had long been seen as a way to dramatize the Bible that

---

<sup>66</sup> Anton Rubinstein, “Die geistliche Oper,” *Die Zukunft* (8 December 1894): 456-461.

<sup>67</sup> Isidore Singer and Frederick T. Hanerman, “Löwenstein, Rudolf,” *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 8:195, accessed 12 February 2020, <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/10153-lowenstein-rudolf>.

<sup>68</sup> Rubinstein, “Die geistliche Oper” [*Die Zukunft*], 456. “Woher kommt Das? Fürchtet man eine Entweiheung des Stoffes? Ist es anzunehmen, daß die stumme und unbewegliche Darstellung nicht entweiht, während die bewegliche Darstellung, unterstützt durch Wort und Ton, die Weihe zerstört?”

<sup>69</sup> Rubinstein, “Die geistliche Oper” [*Die Zukunft*], 457. “Das beweist die Erscheinung, daß in einem Oratorium zu uns Gestalten wie die eines Moses, Elias, David oder Christus einen ganzen Abend im schwarzen Frack, weißer Halsbinde, gelben Handschuhen, mit einem Notenheste vor dem Gesichte, singen und wir uns diese Ungeheuerlichkeit nicht nur gefallen lassen, sondern schließlich noch Genuß davon haben.”

did not blaspheme the sacred nature of the subject matter; however, in Rubinstein's conception, he reversed the charge, pointing out the blasphemous nature of unstaged productions as falling short of the full respect due to the drama inherent in Biblical stories. Arguing for the public to accept the popularity of such works and embrace them fully for their artistic principle, Rubinstein suggested that the *geistliche Oper* should be viewed as occupying the same level of seriousness as the *Musikdrama*, with its own type of theater, which he called a *Kunstkirche*, complete with different levels for the celestial voices, earthly humans, and the inferno below, something not easily retrofitted onto traditional opera house stages.<sup>70</sup> Ignoring references to religion and spirituality in his collection of small thought essays, *Gedankenkorb*, both Taylor and Taruskin argue that Rubinstein was essentially an atheist, Rubinstein in this article indicated that *geistliche Opern* was imbued with a more spiritual approach and embrace. While this admittedly introduces art and music into the pantheon of spiritual belief, Rubinstein's admonishment of the idea that one can elevate a secular space into a spiritual one indicates a high level of engagement with a quasi-religious life view and awareness of religious and spiritual sentiment of the time.

Following his calls for a unique space to accommodate sacred opera, Rubinstein addressed the musical needs of the genre: they need not adhere to the same formal structure of secular opera, or do they require thrilling action (although he conceded that this could be effective). Love scenes could be present, but ought to be calmer and more contemplative rather than sensual in nature. His vision was essentially a series of tableaux, capable of covering extended episodes of Biblical story in a single evening—perhaps even accompanying a character from birth through death: “The composer may have this person, in the first act, calmly sung as a child by a soprano; in the second,

---

<sup>70</sup> Rubinstein, “Die geistliche Oper” [*Die Zukunft*], 457-458.

as a youth by a tenor; and in the third, as an old man by a bass.”<sup>71</sup> Musically, large homophonic chorales in the style of oratorios would dominate moments where a secular opera might have more complex choral singing. Although Rubinstein’s cautioning that God ought never to be seen on the stage might be interpreted as concept drawn from his Jewish heritage—in which, traditionally, visual depictions especially of God, are prohibited—it is of much wider application in Christian contexts and in works of Christian musicians.<sup>72</sup> Furthermore, in closing the letter to Löwenstein, Rubinstein emphasized that his intention in outlining the genre is neither to provoke polemics nor to “bring up any religious question, not even out of personal religious urge,” but rather solely to outline an artistic genre.<sup>73</sup>

### **Jewish *geistliche Opern*?: Rubinstein’s Collaborations with Julius Rodenberg**

With exception of *Christus* and *Das Verlorene Paradies*, Rubinstein’s other *geistliche Opern*, as well as *Die Maccabäer* were collaborations with well-known assimilated and, importantly here, unbaptized German-speaking Jewish poets, Solomon Hermann Mosenthal (1821-1877) and Julius Rodenberg (1831-1914, born Julius Levy). Curiously, in both cases, the respective pairs had created a secular opera together prior to the sacred opera: with Mosenthal, *Die Kinder der Haide* (first performed in Vienna in 1861, based on Austrian-Jewish poet, Karl Isidore Beck’s verse novel *Janko*),

---

<sup>71</sup> Rubinstein, “Die geistliche Oper” [*Die Zukunft*], 458. “Der Komponist darf ruhig diese Person im ersten Theile als Kind von einem Sopran, im zweiten als Iüngling von einem Tenor, im dritten als Greis von einem Baß singen lassen.”

<sup>72</sup> For example, God is not represented on stage in Rossini’s *Mosè in Egitto*

<sup>73</sup> Rubinstein, “Die geistliche Oper” [*Die Zukunft*], 461. “Wenn ich diese Sätze schreibe, so geschieht es nicht, um eine Polemik herauszubeschwören; im Gegentheil, ich nehme mir vor, mich in keine weiteren Erörterungen über diesen Gegengestand einzulassen; es geschieht auch nicht, um eine religiöse Frage aufs Tapet zu bringen, ja nicht ein mal aus persönlichem religiösen Drange, sondern einzig und allein, um sür die Erschaffung einer Kunstsorm, die gänzlich sehlts und die doch von großer Wichtigkeit und von großer künstlerischer Tragweite sein könnte, eine Anregung zu geben.”



and with Rodenberg, *Feramors* (first performed in Dresden in 1863, on a subject derived from Thomas Moore's *Lallah-Rookh*). Both operas reveal Rubinstein's early interest in exotic characters: the Gypsies of *Der Kinder der Haide* and varying Orientalist depictions in *Feramors* allowed him to explore concepts of Othered voices, further solidifying his own place as a contributor to the Western art music tradition.

Julius Rodenberg was the coeditor of the *Salon für Litteratur, Kunst, und Gesellschaft* from 1867 to 1874 and then founder of the *Deutsche Rundschau*, two periodicals devoted to culture, the arts, and politics in *Bildungsbürger* Germany.<sup>74</sup> He was also associated with the Goethe-Gesellschaft and the Goethe-Nationalmuseum.<sup>75</sup> Rubinstein and Rodenberg had originally connected in London in 1860, when the latter had provided a dramatic text based on the Song of Songs.<sup>76</sup> The pair's first collaboration was the Orientalist opera *Feramors*, which premiered in Dresden in 1863, but did not receive a professional performance in Russia until after Rubinstein's death in 1898. Although there is no direct evidence to show what operas influenced Rodenberg's libretto, Taylor describes *Feramors* as "something of a cross between *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* and *Il Barbiere di Siviglia*," in which Rodenberg and Rubinstein utilized exoticist settings and stock character types like the former and the disguised King as *Feramors à la* Count Almaviva of the latter.<sup>77</sup> The influence goes well beyond those two operas, however, given the rising popularity of exoticism by the mid-nineteenth century, while the relatively common use of disguise as an operatic plot device is certainly not limited to *Il*

---

<sup>74</sup> Isidore Singer and Frederick T. Hanerman, "Rodenberg, Julius," *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 10:439, accessed 3 February 2020, <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/12792-rodenberg-julius>.

<sup>75</sup> Heinrich Spiero, *Julius Rodenberg: Sein Leben und seine Werke* (Berlin: Gebrüder Paetel, 1921): 129.

<sup>76</sup> Spiero, *Julius Rodenberg*, 40; Taylor, *Anton Rubinstein*, 88.

<sup>77</sup> Taylor, *Anton Rubinstein*, 94-95.

*Barbiere di Siviglia*. Disguise was widely used in opera from Mozart's *Le Nozze di Figaro* and *Don Giovanni*, Verdi's *Rigoletto*, and widely in Wagner's *Der Ring des Nibelungen*, to name merely a few examples.

Although such international operatic inspirations might have contributed to the opera's plot and musical approach, the importance of exoticist and Orientalist styling within the Russian context—especially a baptized Russian Jew like Rubinstein—cannot be overestimated. Given their geographic proximity to the Middle East and Central Asia, Russian composers were particularly attracted to exoticism, and many saw a self-referential element to such styles as the Russian empire expanded into the Orient and interactions with local cultures increased.<sup>78</sup> In the same indirect way that Joachim can be seen as identifying with German musical culture by using an exoticist *style hongrois* in his Hungarian Concerto, with the implication that this style was as foreign to himself as to his German listeners, Rubinstein may have used the Orientalist *Feramors* as an affirmation of his own Russianness, even as he was pushing for a more Germanic approach to the empire's music-making. While it was never widely popular, the opera was well-liked by Tchaikovsky, although his comment to patron Nadezhda Filaretovna von Meck is as much a criticism of Rubinstein's later, more highly Germanic works as it is praise of the exoticist *Feramors*:

Today, the opera [in Berlin, where Tchaikovsky was visiting] gave *Feramors*. This is Rubinstein's opera, written by him in that era to which all the best of his works belong—this is, twenty years ago. I love it very much, and I really wanted to get to today's performance, but there was not a single ticket to be had.<sup>79</sup>

---

<sup>78</sup> Locke, *Musical Exoticism*, 152. Locke gives the example of Borodin's Polovetsian Dances from *Prince Igor*.

<sup>79</sup> Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky, Letter to Nadezhda von Meck (4/16 March 1897), Tchaikovsky State Memorial Musical Museum-Reserve, a3, no. 524, in "List of Tchaikovsky Letters (1879)," *Tchaikovsky Research*, accessed 23 March 2020, [https://en.tchaikovsky-research.net/pages/List\\_of\\_Tchaikovsky%27s\\_Letters\\_\(1879\)](https://en.tchaikovsky-research.net/pages/List_of_Tchaikovsky%27s_Letters_(1879)), translation adapted from Richard Taruskin, "Feramors,"

The exoticist tropes used by Rubinstein in *Feramors* are relatively tame. Harmonically, the first Dance of the Bayaderes is very much in Western tonality, and laid out in simple, repeated metrical groupings, but exoticism is evident in the solo instrumentation, particularly in the staccato and pizzicato strings throughout, especially when paired with a repetitive, soaring oboe solo (ex. 4.3). Similarly, the Torchlight Dance of the Brides of Kashmir and the Bridal Procession dances are both marked by the use of the triangle and embellished string parts.

**EXAMPLE 4.3.** Anton Rubinstein, *Ballet Music from Feramors*, no. 1. Dance of the Bayaderes I, mm. 37-44.

The image shows a musical score for two instruments: Oboe and Violin I. The score is in 2/4 time and B-flat major. The Oboe part (top staff) is marked *f con espressione* and features a soaring, repetitive melodic line with a long note value. The Violin I part (bottom staff) is marked *mp* and features a staccato, repetitive rhythmic pattern. The score is divided into two systems, each with four measures. The first system covers measures 37-40, and the second system covers measures 41-44. The Oboe part has a long note value of approximately 16 measures, and the Violin I part has a long note value of approximately 16 measures.

When *Feramors* premiered at the Hoftheater in Dresden on February 24, 1863, the title role was sung by Ludwig Schnorr von Carolsfeld, the German *Heldentenor*, who at that time was also working on title role in Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*, which would premiere in 1865. A reviewer in Dresden found the rhythm and modulations “interesting and unusual” and praised the instrumentation as “fine,

witty, and with magical coloration.”<sup>80</sup> Although several subsequent fully staged performances occurred, including one in Berlin in 1879, *Feramors*, like so many lesser exoticist operas, has enjoyed a modest legacy in the form of concertized fragments of the ballet music and overture.

Rodenberg and Rubinstein found greater success with *Der Thurm zu Babel* (*The Tower of Babel*), the first work composed by Rubinstein with the specific designation of *geistliche Oper*. It premiered in Königsberg on February 9, 1870 and was performed in Vienna two weeks later, but despite the explicit staging instructions in the libretto and score, neither the Königsberg nor the Viennese production was staged.<sup>81</sup> The first publication was issued by S. Brainard’s Sons in Cleveland, in advance of the American premiere.<sup>82</sup> Rodenberg based the libretto on the Biblical narrative of the Tower of Babel in Genesis 11:1-9. In the story, the inhabitants of the world migrated East following the Great Flood recounted in Genesis 6-9. After building a great city with a tower reaching toward the heavens. God observed that as one people with one language, nothing would be out of their reach, and then confounded their speech. Thus, peoples were scattered across the world, unable to understand each other.

---

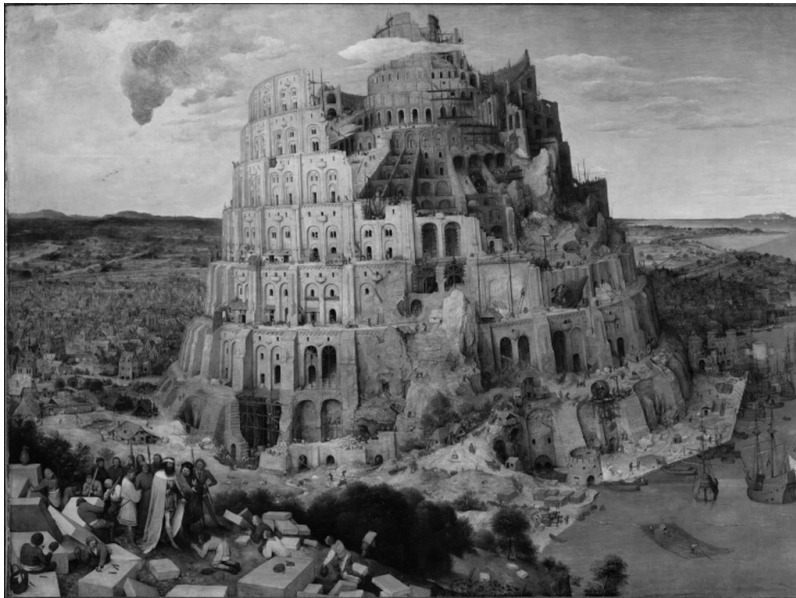
<sup>80</sup> “Dresden,” *Schlesische Theater-Zeitung* 1, no. 12 (22 March 1863): 4-5. “Auch Rhythmik und Modulation sind interessant und eigenthümlich, ohne Affectation und fühlbare Speculation. Diesen Eindruck behauptet auch die Instrumentation, oft fein, geistreich, mit anziehendem Zauber der Färbung behandelt, und dabei doch einfach und maßvoll.”

<sup>81</sup> “Königsberg,” *Dwight’s Journal of Music* 30, no. 2 (9 April 1870): 224. See also Brian Doherty, Preface to Anton Rubinstein, *Der Thurm zu Babel*, op. 80, 1870 (Munich: Musikproduktion Jürgen Höflich, 2017), accessed 24 March 2020, <https://repertoire-explorer.musikmph.de/en/product/rubinstein-anton-17>; Richard Taruskin, “Thurm zu Babel, Der [Vavilonskoye stolpotvoreniye] (The Tower of Babel),” *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, accessed 27 January 2020, <https://doi-org.turing.library.northwestern.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.O004889>.

<sup>82</sup> “New Music,” *The American Bookseller* 8, no. 9 (1 November 1879): 411.

The impetus for the composition of this piece is unclear. It may have been Flemish painter Pieter Bruegel the Elder's 1563 oil on wood panel *Turmbau zu Babel* (fig. 4.1). Today, the painting is held by the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, although the museum did not open until 1891 and there is no record of either Rubinstein or Rodenberg seeing the painting, which likely arrived in Vienna in the collection of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm in 1659. Bruegel's work, which has been interpreted as more of an allegory of sixteenth century Antwerp than a direct treatment of the ostensible Biblical subject, depicts a massive building—resembling the Colosseum, which the artist had visited a decade earlier—that dwarfs that people in the foreground.<sup>83</sup>

**FIGURE 4.1.** Pieter Bruegel I, *The Tower of Babel*, 1563.<sup>84</sup>



<sup>83</sup> Koenraad Jonckheere, “An allegory of artistic choice in times of trouble: Pieter Bruegel’s “Tower of Babel,”” *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek (NKJ)/Netherlands Yearbook for History and Art* 64, Trading Values in Early Modern Antwerp (2014): 186-213

<sup>84</sup> Pieter Bruegel I, *The Tower of Babel*, 1563, oil on oak wood, 114 x 155 cm, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, accessed 23 April 2020, [https://library-artstor-org.turing.library.northwestern.edu/asset/LESSING\\_ART\\_1039788943](https://library-artstor-org.turing.library.northwestern.edu/asset/LESSING_ART_1039788943). See also “Pieter Brueghel the Younger *The Tower of Babel*,” *Sotheby’s* (4 July 2012), accessed 23 April 2020, <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2012/old-master-british-paintings-evening-sale/lot.12.html>.

Musically, *Der Thurm zu Babel*, which is roughly one hour in duration, draws on both operatic and oratorio traditions. The brief prelude is sometimes performed on concert programs and is the only portion of the work that has been recorded. After an opening in G-minor, the prelude moves fluidly through fairly conventional modulations within the standard practice of mid-nineteenth century music. The first vocal entrance is by the baritone Overseer, reminiscent of Mendelssohn's *Elias* and *Paulus* [Example 4.4]. Large-scale choruses, smaller mixed ensembles, recitative, and arioso-style passages are further evidence of the influence of the German oratorio tradition.

**EXAMPLE 4.4.** Anton Rubinstein, *Der Thurm zu Babel*, op. 80, part I, mm. 65-72.<sup>85</sup>

**Moderato assai** Overseer

Er-wacht! Ihr Vol-ker, er-wacht! schon fluch-tet vor dem

Cl., Hn. Fl. Cl.

Str. pizz.

neu-en Tag die Nacht, in de-ren kuhl-en Schooss wir ruh'-ten.

Bsn.

<sup>85</sup> *Der Thurm zu Babel* is not divided into acts, scenes, numbers, or movements. I have used the neutral designation of “part” for clarity. Rehearsal letters restart after the double bar following Rehearsal Q.

Richard Taruskin, in his article on *Der Thurm zu Babel* in Grove Music Online, argues that several passages of the work are reminiscent of Glinka:

The monumental choruses, meanwhile, are its musical centre of gravity. Those involving the ‘children of Sem, Ham and Japhet’, nations rent asunder by the confusion of tongues, are full of characteristic ‘oriental’ colour: the ‘Semites’ have augmented 2nds; the ‘Hamites’ sing in unison against drone 5ths; the ‘Japhetic’ chorus strongly resembles the ‘Turkish Dance’ in Act 4 of *Ruslan and Lyudmila*. Another chorus, depicting a heaven-sent fire, is cast in a Glinka-esque 5/4 time.<sup>86</sup>

The claim that the depiction of the heaven-sent fire echoes Glinka’s use of 5/4 time, with such nationalist examples as the Nuptial Chorus from Act III of *A Life for the Tsar* and the opening of *Ruslan and Lyudmila*, is potentially misleading. Rubinstein set fewer than thirty measures of *Der Thurm zu Babel* in 5/4 time. This passage presents Nimrod’s court singing of the heavenly fire around Abraham; they are interrupted by an angelic chorus of three children’s voices (ex. 4.5). These angels from above attempt to extinguish the flames with a chorale-like passage in 4/4 time, above an organ accompaniment with ostinato clarinet and viola. The angels are unsuccessful and the 5/4 meter returns for sixteen measures, followed again by the angels, who triumph in extinguishing the flames surrounding Abraham.

Taruskin’s claim that the use of 5/4 is “Glinka-esque,” with the implication of influence of the Russian nationalist school, perpetuates long-standing ideas on exoticism in the broad sense, as well as Rubinstein’s engagement with Russian nationalist compositional style. Marina Frolova-Walker points out that both the use of plagal cadences (as opposed to the supposedly “more-Western” dominant cadence) and 5/4 time have been exaggerated for their implications of

---

<sup>86</sup> Taruskin, “Thurm zu Babel.” Taruskin observes a similar approach to differently styled exoticisms in Carl Goldmark’s *Die Königin von Saba* (see Chapter 6).

EXAMPLE 4.5. Anton Rubinstein, *Der Thurm zu Babel*, op. 80, part II, mm. 155-164.

Männer und dem Volke und Gefolge Nimrod's.

ein Feu - er-meer!

schin - gen zu - sam - men ein Feu - er - meer!

Ob., Cl., Bsn.

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vc.

Vla.

Drei Engel.

Wir kühl - en dich mit Pal - men, wir fäch - eln dir lieb - lich Luft,

Cl. I, Vla.

*mp*

Ob., Org.

*mp*

Russianness since the times of Stasov and Serov championed them in print.<sup>87</sup> Frolova-Walker draws attention to Soviet musicologist Boris Asefyev's opposition to this idea: “[T]he so-called plagalism of Glinka's harmony is strongly exaggerated... It is not possible to explain its presence by invoking the characteristics of Russian folksong, just as one cannot consider the 5/4 metre to be the national

<sup>87</sup> Marina Frolova-Walker, “On ‘Ruslan’ and Russianness,” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 9, no. 1 (March 1997): 28.



property of Russian music.”<sup>88</sup> Simply put, while it likely that this passage shows Russian influence on Rubinstein’s style, it is impossible to directly tie the use of quintuple meter to Glinka.

EXAMPLE 4.6A. Mikhail Glinka, *A Life of Tsar*, act III, no. 14, Wedding Dance, mm. 1-4.

**Con moto** *dolcissimo e comodo*

Str. I  
Str. II  
ppp  
p. p.

EXAMPLE 4.6B. Mikhail Glinka, *Ruslan and Lyudmila*, act I, no. 2, mm. 51-54.

**Allegretto.** ♩ = 76

Ne tu - zhi, deet - ya ro - di - mo - e, Bud - to vsej zem - noy - to ra - do - sti  
Bez - za - bot - no pes - ney te - shits - ya za ko - sya - scha - tyim o - ko - shech - kom!

Fl. I, Vln. I  
Vln. II  
Vla.  
Vc.

<sup>88</sup> B.V. Asafyev, “Glinka,” *Izbrannnye trudi* 1 (1940-42): 154; translated in Frolova-Walker, “On ‘Ruslan’ and Russianness,” 28.

Despite the praise meant by Taruskin in his analysis of the three choruses of the sons of Shem, Ham, and Japhet, his description oversimplifies the rather more complex use of Orientalist style in *Der Thurm zu Babel*. Furthermore, he does not explain the significance of Rubinstein and Rodenberg's choice to include these depictions of the three races of man. Since the works of Pseudo-Philo and Josephus in antiquity, scholars had conceptualized the world as divided into different groups of Biblical descendants. The seventh century scholar Isidore of Seville divided the world into a tripartite model in what is commonly called the T-O map: Asia-Africa-Europe, depicted in the shape of a T, surrounded by a circular (O-shaped) ocean. Later versions of this map superimpose the names of the tribes of the Sons of Noah on them: Shem for Asia, Ham for Africa, and Japhet for Europe.<sup>89</sup> This conceptualization endured relatively unchanged for over a millennium and was then reemphasized by the scientific racial distinctions argued by scholars of Göttingen School in the late eighteenth century.<sup>90</sup> The theory is highly problematic when examined through a twenty-first century lens, especially the undercurrent of racism inherent in the distinctions, with the Biblically-sanctioned subservient role for Hamites. In *Der Thurm zu Babel*, Rubinstein creates musical distinctions between these three groups that highlight the difference, exploring multiple types of exoticism and inviting listeners to hear an ultimate universality along Western tonality. Rubinstein very subtly differentiates the sons of Shem and Ham, marking both of them with altered pitches that signify the Other. Taruskin correctly observes that the Sons of Shem are marked by augmented second intervals, however it is more revealing to explore the presence of this interval in its full melodic context. Although the key signature would indicate G minor in traditional Western

---

<sup>89</sup> John Williams, "Orosius and the Beatus Map," *Imago Mundi* 49 (1997): 13.

<sup>90</sup> Johann Christoph Gatterer, *Einleitung in die synchronistische universalhistorie zur erläuterung seiner synchronistischen tabellen* (Göttingen: Verlag der Wittve Vandenhoeck, 1771), 67.

harmonic analysis, Rubinstein built the melody of the sons of Shem on the Phrygian dominant scale—a scale built on the fifth mode of the harmonic minor scale, which in Jewish liturgical music is known as *Abava Rabbah*, after the prayer with which it is associated, and in Klezmer music as *Freygish* (ex 4.7a and 4.7b). The flattened scale degree 2 creates an initially Phrygian-sounding modality, but the subsequent raised scale degree 3 creates the distinct augmented second interval which, as Taruskin observes, marks this scale’s exoticism beyond merely modal. Other examples of the Phrygian Dominant scale can be found elsewhere in the Arab (as *Hijaz Maqam*), East Asian, and Spanish-speaking worlds. Ralph Locke describes how the scale—and in particular the melodic augmented second—held an almost irresistible intrigue for Western composers attempting to evoke a foreign sound. In discussion the famous Bacchanale from Saint-Saëns’s *Samson et Dalila*, Locke writes:

[T]he evocation of Hijaz amounts almost to caricature, in that Saint-Saëns presents that augmented second at not one but two places in the scale, between degrees 2 and 3 but also between 6 and 7... Saint-Saëns’s repeated insistence on the augmented second in the Bacchanale can be seen as an instance of the standard Orientalist practice (described by anthropologist Francis Affergan [in his *Exotisme et altérité: Essai sur les fondements d’une critique de l’anthropologie*, 1987]) of emphasizing the ‘[sedimentary] residues... of what differs most’ from Western practice; such an emphasis ‘reifies’ the Easterner’s ‘difference’, thereby heightening rather than bridging the dichotomous gap between Self and Other.<sup>91</sup>

This “bridging of Self and Other” is certainly more complex in Rubinstein and the case of *Der Thurm zu Babel*, given that the Self *is* Other, at least potentially. The use of a scale that is highly associated with Jewish musics in both the religious and the folk traditions seems to evoke an almost inescapable association with Rubinstein’s Jewish origins, regardless of baptism in childhood or religious apathy in adulthood.

---

<sup>91</sup> Ralph P. Locke, “Constructing the Oriental ‘Other’: Saint-Saëns’s ‘Samson et Dalila,’” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 3, no. 3 (November 1991): 267.

EXAMPLE 4.7A. Ahava Rabbah/Freygish scale.

EXAMPLE 4.7B. Anton Rubinstein, *Der Thurm zu Babel*, op. 80, 1<sup>st</sup> Picture, Chorus of the Sons of Shem, mm.1-12.

**Allegro non troppo**

The score consists of four systems of music. The first system shows the vocal line and piano accompaniment for the first two measures. The vocal line has a fermata over the first measure. The piano accompaniment features a triplet of eighth notes in the right hand and a steady eighth-note bass line in the left hand. The second system continues the vocal line with the lyrics "Lang - sam" and the piano accompaniment. The third system shows the vocal line with the lyrics "schon, mit an - achts voll - em Lau - schen." and the piano accompaniment. The fourth system continues the piano accompaniment. The score is in 2/4 time, key of B-flat major, and includes dynamic markings such as *p* and *Str.* for the piano.

Lang - sam

*p* Str.

+Fl. I,  
Cl., Hn.

schon, mit an - achts voll - em Lau - schen.

The sons of Ham are also marked with non-Western modality and a similar but distinct scale, Phrygian mode. The section begins harmonically ambiguous, with repetitive open fifths, hammered away by the viola and cello sections, evoking barbarity and primitiveness. The initial melodic presentation at measure 8 withholds the flattened second scale degree and might be heard as C-sharp minor. However, as the text turns darker at measure 17 (“Unto the burning sandy desert, where the sun darts forth his ray, and night never cools the heat of day”), the harmonies solidify C-sharp Phrygian in both the chorus and orchestra (ex. 4.8).

Whereas the Sons of Shem and Ham sound primitive, Orientalist, and Othered, with non-Western scales, parallel unisons in the chorus, and repetitive, droning open intervals, major tonality and a fully triadic harmonic vocabulary return with the Sons of Japhet, a musical embodiment of their representation as the ancestral people to Europeans (ex. 4.9). Taruskin observes that the melodic material here strongly resembles “Turkish Dance” in Act 4 of *Ruslan and Lyudmila* (ex. 4.10). The Turkish Dance in *Ruslan*, however, is neither a representative example of Glinka’s Russian modal or folksong influence, given its diatonicism and the non-Russian source of the melody.<sup>92</sup> In fact, Glinka’s use of Turkish style is one of the most tonally straightforward in the section of so-called “Oriental Dances,” similar to the Japhetic music as the most tonally Western of the sons’ music in *Der Thurm zu Babel*. Although it cannot be ruled out that Rubinstein intended to pay homage to Glinka in the music for the Sons of Japhet, it seems more likely that it was planned to sound specifically Western, in contrast to the music for the Semites and Hamites. When the three groups of racial ancestors are simultaneously combined, the result is that the song of the Sons of Japhet

---

<sup>92</sup> Frolova-Walker, “On ‘Ruslan’ and Russianness,” 29. Frolova-Walker does not indicate the source of the melody.

EXAMPLE 4.8. Anton Rubinstein, *Der Thurm zu Babel*, op. 80, 2<sup>nd</sup> Picture, Chorus of the Sons of Ham, mm. 1-24.

**Allegro**

Wir wan-dern aus dem

Ob., Vln. I  
Fg.

Vc. div.  
*f*

+Vla.

Quell-ge - biet des Eu - phrat, wir wan - dern aus dem Quell - ge - biet des Eu - phrat

+Vln. II

fort nach dem heis-sen Sand der Wu - ste, fort nach dem heis-sen Sand der Wu - ste,

EXAMPLE 4.9. Anton Rubinstein, *Der Thurm zu Babel*, op. 80, 3<sup>rd</sup> Picture, Chorus of the Sons Japhet, mm. 1-12.

**Moderato con moto**

Str.  
*mp*

Wir in tief - en Buch - ten das Meer er - glantz

Vc., Cb. pizz.

EXAMPLE 4.10. Mikhail Glinka, *Ruslan and Lyudmila*, act IV, no. 19, Turkish Dance, mm. 1-12.

Vc.  
Vln.

Hn.

Bsn.

encompass the musics of the Sons of Shem and Ham, an apt metaphor both for Rubinstein's compositional philosophy — with its elevation of Western tonality as the ideal towards which Russian music should aspire — and for his understanding of what it means to be an assimilated Jew, cognizant of his distinct origins but nevertheless fully absorbed into the dominant culture.

Of the Viennese premiere of *Der Thurm zu Babel*, the famously antagonistic and often antisemitic critic Ludwig Speidel gave a mixed review in *Fremden-Blatt*, in which he somewhat begrudgingly praised Rubinstein's ingenuity and enthusiasm. Friedrich Chrysander, the eminent authority on Handel at the end of the nineteenth century, wrote derisively of *Der Thurm zu Babel* in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*:

Rubinstein has composed a *geistliche Oper* and has recently performed it in Königsberg and Vienna, to make the madness complete, in concert! A “*geistliche Oper*” with “*Soli und Chören*,” as the advertisement states. In this unmusical gibberish [*Kauderwelsch*], in which all concepts [of opera and oratorio] collide with one another, unsurpassably befits the title of the sacred opera—*Der Thurm zu Babel*. May this endeavor [to create the genre of *geistliche Oper*] be like that one; it most certainly will end the same!<sup>93</sup>

Rubinstein and Rodenberg's other collaboration was many years coming. Originally conceived as a setting of the Song of Songs, the work became the “biblical representation in five scenes,” titled *Sulamith* (1883). Rubinstein fretted that the new work was too close to *Feramors*: “What is to be done about it? Yes, even the coloring is once again Oriental, since musically it is too difficult to make Jewish distinct from Persian or Arabian.”<sup>94</sup> This statement seemingly forgets his

---

<sup>93</sup> Friedrich Chrysander, “Das Oratorium auf der Bühne,” *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 5:17 (27 April 1870): 132. “Einstweilen aber hat er eine ‘geistliche Oper’ componirt und neulich in Königsberg und Wien, um die Tollheit voll zu machen, im - Concert aufgeführt! eine ‘geistliche Oper,’ bestehend aus ‘Soli und Chören,’ wie die Anzeige besagt. Zu diesem musikalischen Kauderwelsch, in welchem alle Begriffe über einander stürzen, passt der Titel der gewählten geistlichen Oper unübertrefflich – ‘Der Thurmbau zu Babel!’ Möge das Unterfangen enlen wie dieser! und gewiss, es wird so enden.!”

<sup>94</sup> Anton Rubinstein, Letter to Julius Rodenberg (May 1872) in Julius Rodenberg, “Meine persönlichen Erinnerungen an Anton Rubinstein,” 82 (January-March 1895): 255, translated in



own previous success in differentiating exoticism in *Der Thurm zu Babel*. The letter continues with further worries about how his works have fared under the pens of the Wagnerians, in which Rubinstein notably self-identifies as Jewish, at least in private to a fellow Jew:

...the public is now so misguided by all the pamphlets on *Oper und Drama, Principien, neue Bahnen*, and *Zukunft* that a harmless, purely lyrical, specifically musical work—and moreover, by a Jewish-Russian composer—will leave the people cold or face opposition for the very start.<sup>95</sup>

A statement like this, made in private (albeit published after his death) to a friend and fellow Jew demonstrates how aware Rubinstein was of both who where he came from and how the public viewed him both in terms of his generally conservative musical style and his Jewishness.

Furthermore, while he does not explicitly mention Wagner's *Das Judentum in der Musik* by name in the above list of pamphlets, the implication is quite plausible that neither he nor Rodenberg needed to identify the vitriolic tome in order to feel its impact on their musical collaborations.

---

James Loeffler, *The Most Musical Nation: Jews and Culture in the Late Russian Empire* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010), 42. “Das Scenario des Hohen Liedes ist sehr schön - aber - aber - es ist ja beinahe ohne Ausnahme ganz die Wiederholung des Feramors! - mit dem einzigen Unterschied, daß Sulamith eine Winzerin und Lalla Rookh eine Prinzessin ist - ja sogar der Hoochzeitsnarr ist kein Anderer als der Fadladin, und die scenischen Effecte auch dieselben, wie die Darbringung der Geschenke. -- -- -- Was ist da zu thun - ja, auch das Colorit ist wieder das Orientalische, da das Jüdische musikalisch zu schwer anders zu machen ist wie das Persische oder Arabische - ich bin ganz unglücklich darüber - was ist da zu machen? Sie müssen Rath schaffen - vielleicht ist dies Alles ein Grund, um eine von den vielen Auslegungen des Hohen Liedes zu wählen, die nicht der von Mandelstamm entspricht!”

<sup>95</sup> Rubinstein, Letter to Julius Rodenberg (May 1872). “Uebrigens kommen zu dem Falle noch andere Gründe von Bedeutung -- so hat der Wagner-Verein eine demonstrative Opposition in die Oper geschickt, dann hat die Kritik, mit der ich überhaupt auf schlechtem Fuße immer und überall stehe, die Gelegenheit benutztl um mich die ganze Schwere ihres Armes fühlen zu lassen und außerdem ist das Publicum jetzt durch alle die Broschüren über Oper und Drama, über Principien, neue Bahnen, Zukunft und wie alle diese Phrasen noch klingen mögen, so irre geleitet, daß ein harmloses, rein lyrisches, specifisch musikalisches Werk und noch dazu von einem jüdisch-russischen Componisten, die Leute vollkommen kalt lassen muß, oder von vorneherein zur Opposition stimmt.”

Such comments are similar to those made by Joachim in regard to the challenges faced by Jewish violinist Jakob Grün in Hannover. Like Joachim, Rubinstein took inspiration from Byron's *Hebrew Melodies*, although he set only a single poem, using the Russian translation of Mikhail Lermontov. Lermontov's translation was one of many texts in the early decades of the nineteenth century seen as contributing to symbolic connection between ancient Israel and emerging nationalist Russian sentiment held by many of the empire's literary and musical elite.<sup>96</sup> Probably due to its connection to Lermontov, the setting was published as the first song of Rubinstein's *Zwölf Lieder aus dem Russischen*, op. 78 (1868).<sup>97</sup> For this setting, Rubinstein chose no. 9 from *Hebrew Melodies*, "My Soul is Dark," titled in the song cycle "Evreiskaia melodiia/Hebräische Melodie" (ex. 4.11). The cycle was published in Leipzig in a bilingual edition containing the Russian texts with German translations by German poet Wilhelm Osterwald. It is unclear whether Osterwald translated from Lermontov's Russian or directly from Byron's English, but his German differs from Theremin and other existing German translations. Loeffler suggests, "This led musicians, critics, and audiences alike to play a constant guessing game with Rubinstein's music, searching in varying degrees for obvious melodic references attributable to his Jewish heritage."<sup>98</sup> While James Loeffler has recently argued that both this song and *Die Maccabäer* "explicitly marked themselves as Jewish," he concedes that there is little sonically in such works to differentiate them from the exoticism Rubinstein employed in his *Persian Songs* (1854-1855) or in the operas *Feramors* and *The Demon* (1883). With *Die Maccabäer*, however, I will show that there were, in fact multiple instances in which Jewish

---

<sup>96</sup> Loeffler, *The Most Musical Nation*. 36.

<sup>97</sup> Anton Rubinstein, *Zwölf Lieder aus dem Russischen*, op. 78, German trans. Wilhelm Osterwald (Leipzig: Senff, 1868).

<sup>98</sup> Loeffler, *The Most Musical Nation*, 37-38.

engagement was pursued—both by a singer involved in the production and by members of the broader assimilated Jewish population in German-speaking and Russian-speaking Europe.

**EXAMPLE 4.11.** Anton Rubinstein, *Zwölf Lieder aus dem Russischen*, op. 78, no. 1, mm. 1-12.<sup>99</sup>

The musical score is presented in three systems. Each system consists of a voice line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment (grand staff). The key signature is two flats (B-flat major), and the time signature is 3/4. The lyrics are written below the voice line.

**System 1:** The voice line begins with a rest, followed by the lyrics "Mein Geist ist trub' und schwer,". The piano accompaniment starts with a piano (*p*) dynamic and features a melodic line in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand.

**System 2:** The voice line continues with "komm mit der gold' - nen Harf' und". The piano accompaniment continues with a melodic line in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand.

**System 3:** The voice line concludes with "lass' die Sai-ten rau - schen, wenn glei - tet dei - ne Hand sanft zitt - ernd u - ber sie hin will". The piano accompaniment continues with a melodic line in the right hand and a bass line in the left hand.

<sup>99</sup> The German text here is drawn from Osterwald. COVID-19 restrictions have prevented direct access to a Russian edition. A transcription in Russian can be found Loeffler, *The Most Musical Nation*, 39.

## Acting Jewishly and Hearing Jewishness in *Die Maccabäer*

In addition to his collaboration with Rodenberg, Rubinstein also had a longtime working relationship with the German-Jewish writer Solomon Hermann Mosenthal (1821-1877), whose play *Deborah* (1849; performed in the English-speaking world in Augustin Daly's 1860 translation, *Leah the Forsaken*) with its passionate defense of Jews against antisemitic persecution, had earned him international acclaim.<sup>100</sup> The pair first collaborated on *Die Kinder der Haide* (*The Children of the Steppes*, 1861). Although the pastoral setting and plot echoes Dargomizhsky's *Rusalka*, the opera did not receive a full staging in Russia until 1867.<sup>101</sup> The next two collaborations were far more successful: *Die Maccabäer* (*The Maccabees*, 1872-1874) and *Moses*, op. 112 (1892).

Although the story would have been widely known to Christian audiences, *Die Maccabäer* is probably Rubinstein's most explicitly Jewish work. In the opera, the baritone Judas leads the Jews in the revolt against the Syrians, while his brother Eleazar betrays the family for love of the Syrian Cleopatra. Leah, the mother of the brothers, is a dramatic contralto. Drawing on practices from *grand opéra* and their importance he had outlined in his discussions of *geistliche Oper*, Rubinstein used large ensemble choruses throughout. The premiere in Berlin was highly attended, and Rubinstein was repeatedly called back for applause after each act.<sup>102</sup> In commenting on the composer's predilection for Biblical subject matter, a French critic observed how seamlessly Rubinstein blended elements of oratorio and opera, though the critique of being too derivative appeared again: "he is at

---

<sup>100</sup> Mosenthal is discussed in a greater detail in Chapter 6.

<sup>101</sup> "Kleine Zeitung, *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 63, no. 13 (12 March 1867): 119.

<sup>102</sup> "Music at Berlin," *The Musical World* 53, no. 18 (1 May 1875): 287.

times too fond of Mendelssohn and Meyerbeer.”<sup>103</sup> Although perhaps merely a stylistic comparison to leading composers of the early half of the century, the comment perhaps also meant to draw attention to Rubinstein’s Jewishness by connecting him with the century’s most famous musicians of Jewish ancestry and is evidence for the overwhelming trend by the press—secular and Jewish—to analyze the work as Jewishly-influenced opera.

While it is written for contralto, the role of Leah, the Maccabean mother, was written by Rubinstein with Viennese mezzo-soprano, Marianne Brandt (1842-1921) in mind.<sup>104</sup> Although Brandt was not Jewish, she contributed an article recalling her performance of Leah to the *Populär-wissenschaftliche Monatsblätter*, a magazine published by the [Moses] Mendelssohn Society of Frankfurt, subtitled “for instruction about *Judentum* for educated people of all religions.”<sup>105</sup> Brandt recalled how she approached the composer when she finally saw the long-awaited score, worried it did not suit her voice. The role was “Don’t you know that Leah was an old woman? Should I have the mother of the Maccabees be sung by a soprano?! You seem the right one for the role...”<sup>106</sup> The role of Leah was challenging, and Brandt sought out the assistance of a rabbi in Königsberg with “precise knowledge of the old customs of the Jews” so that she could be accurate in the “ceremonial hand

---

<sup>103</sup> “Nouvelles diverses,” *La Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris* 42:18 (2 May 1875): 143. “...s’il s’ist parfois trop sou- venu de Mendelssohn et de Meyerbeer...”

<sup>104</sup> Elizabeth Forbes, “Brandt, Marianne [Bischoff, Marie],” *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, accessed 2 February 2020, <https://doi-org.turing.library.northwestern.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.03839>. Brandt’s 1867 début had been as Rachel in Halévy’s *La Juive* in Olmütz. She went on to find great acclaim in the operas of Wagner. She went to New York in 1884 and sang Astaroth in the American premiere of Goldmark’s *Die Königin von Saba*.

<sup>105</sup> “Zur Belehrung über das Judentum für Gebildete aller Konfessionen.”

<sup>106</sup> Marianne Brandt, “Lea,” *Populär-wissenschaftliche Monatsblätter* 18, no. 1 (1 January 1898): 9. “Wissen Sie, daß die Lea eine bejahrte Person war? Soll ich die Mutter der Maccabaer vielleicht von einer Sopranistin singen lassen? Sie scheinen mir die geeignete Vertreterin für diese Partie, Basta.” Wenn der nordische Tastenstürmer ‘Basta’ sagte — war es auch Basta und ich acceptirte die Rolle.”

and body movements associated with the blessings.”<sup>107</sup> The rabbi was unwilling to help her, but the city’s cantor proved more helpful, inviting her to attend services in the synagogue where, she reported, “I could see and hear exactly how the blessings were given.”<sup>108</sup> Although Brandt did not name the cantor of Königsberg in her article, it was almost certainly Hirsch Weintraub, who served the city from 1838 to 1879.<sup>109</sup> Weintraub was born into a multi-generational lineage of Ukrainian cantors, and his compositions represent a blending of Eastern European heritage, secular musical education, and the reform of synagogue music led by Solomon Sulzer in Vienna.<sup>110</sup> Brandt also reached out to the painter, Gustav Richter (1823-1884), the gentile son-in-law of Meyerbeer, who provided her with a drawing of a costume from the Hasmonean period.<sup>111</sup> Brandt’s ethnographic research for her role in *Die Maccabäer* is an example of the how the racialization of Jews, in regard to both their physical bodies and their behavior, was at the forefront of artists’ minds during this period. Furthermore, it shows an anachronistic, yet increasingly commonplace sentiment that the music of Biblical Jews and that of Jews in present-day Europe were intertwined. This is obviously in sharp contrast a work like Handel’s *Judas Maccabaens*, who would have been seen as a heroic proto-

---

<sup>107</sup> Brandt, “Lea,” 10. “Zufällig erfuhr ich , daß in Königsberg ein alter Rabbiner wohne, der genaue Kenntniß habe von den alten Gebräuchen der Juden. Als Lea hatte ich einen Segen zu sprechen, und da ich nach jeder Richtung hin charakteristisch sein wollte, war ich bestrebt, mich über die bei Segenssprüchen üblichen Ceremonien—Hand- und Körperbewegungen—zu informiren.”

<sup>108</sup> Brandt, “Lea,” 10. “Er lud mich ein, einer Andacht in der Synagoge auzuwohnen, und als ich dahin kam, konnte ich genau sehen und hören, in welche Weise der Segen ertheilt wird.”

<sup>109</sup> Ofer Ronen, “Hirsch Weintraub,” *Jewish Music Research Centre*, accessed 7 February 2020, <https://www.jewish-music.huji.ac.il/content/hirsch-weintraub>.

<sup>110</sup> A.W. Binder, Preface to Hirsch Weintraub, *Shirei Beth Adonai*, accessed 6 February 2020, <https://geoffreyshisler.com/biographies-2/hirsch-weintraub>.

<sup>111</sup> Brandt, “Lea,” 10.

Christian that did not necessitate any sort of research into Jewishness for historical and dramatic accuracy.

While Brandt had attempted to bring modern synagogue ritualized movement into her portrayal of Leah, Jewish musicians were also talking note of *Die Maccabäer*. Following the death of Rubinstein in 1894, Viennese Cantor Josef Singer (1841-1911) published an account of his interactions with the great pianist in the *Oesterreichisch-ungarische Cantoren-Zeitung*.<sup>112</sup> Singer, whose father was an itinerant cantor from Galicia, had received both traditional and secular music education and was at this time the Obercantor of Vienna, having succeeded Sulzer in 1881.<sup>113</sup> His most important publication, *Die Tonarten des Traditionellen Synagogengesanges im Verhältniss zu den Kirchentonarten und den Tonarten der Vorchristlichen Musikperiode* (1886), is an extensive study of the cantorial tradition and reveals much on the attempts of late nineteenth century cantors in explaining modal systems of Jewish liturgical music within a secular music theory context.<sup>114</sup> Singer was a regular contributor to the *Oesterreichisch-ungarische Cantoren-Zeitung*, a journal published between 1881 and 1891, at a time of increasingly professionalization of the cantorate and canonization of the liturgical rite in Central and Western European reformed synagogues.<sup>115</sup> The journal sought to

---

<sup>112</sup> Josef Singer, "Meine Begegnung mit Rubinstein," *Oesterreichisch-ungarische Cantoren-Zeitung* 14, no. 28 (1 December 1894): 1-2.

<sup>113</sup> Isidore Singer and Alois Kaiser, "Singer, Josef," *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 11:384-385, accessed 6 February 2020, <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/13774-singer-josef>. There does not appear to be any relationship between the author of this article, who was one of the primary editors of the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, and Obercantor Singer.

<sup>114</sup> Josef Singer, *Die Tonarten des Traditionellen Synagogengesanges im Verhältniss zu den Kirchentonarten und den Tonarten der Vorchristlichen Musikperiode* (E. Wetzler: Vienna, 1886).

<sup>115</sup> Philip V. Bohlman, *Focus: Music, Nationalism, and the Making of the New Europe*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York and London: Routledge, 2011), 143.

appeal to professional cantors, but also the secularized, acculturated Jewish population during this period.

Singer evocatively described the conversation with Rubinstein as a discussion allowed them to “plow the field of singing in the synagogue.”<sup>116</sup> Singer described how he had clearly heard the relationship within the music of Rubinstein with “synagogal Tonarten”—especially in the lieder and *Die Maccabäer*—and how he had found the courage to write to Rubinstein during one of his Viennese tours. Singer was no stranger to Western art music, having studied it extensively; in his youth, he had sung for Hanslick, Brahms, Goldmark, and others.<sup>117</sup> Nonetheless, he wrote of his apprehension of appearing in private before Rubinstein, but was greeted irreverently, “What leads this pious man to a sinner?”<sup>118</sup> The pair discussed the music theory behind the modern tonal scale and how it differs from the synagogue modes, which Rubinstein apparently told Singer was “very interesting.” Emboldened, Singer performed several pieces from his own collection *Die Tonarten des Traditionellen Synagogengesanges* to demonstrate the differing modes of synagogue music (ex. 4.12): no. 2 “Schir usch’wocho” in *Yishtabach* mode (more accurately described as *Ahava Rabbah*, see further discussion below for this) No. 4 “Lefonow naa-wod” in Magen Avot; and Nr. 6 “Adonaj moloch” in *Adonai Malakh*. Rubinstein was particularly interested in the third of these, “which seemed very strange to

---

<sup>116</sup> Singer, “Meine Begegnung mit Rubinstein,” 1. “In diesem Augenblicke, wo der Hintritt eines der gewaltigsten Klavierheroen aller Zeiten, Anton Rubinsteins, die gesammte musikalische Welt mit wahrhafter, theilnahmsvoller Trauer erfüllt, dürfte es die Leser dieser Blätter sicherlich auch interessieren, von einer Unterredung Kunde zu erhalten, die der Schreiber dieser Zeilen seinerzeit, mit dem hochverehrten Meister, und zwar auf synagogal-gesanglichem Gebiete, gepflogen.”

<sup>117</sup> Singer, “Meine Begegnung mit Rubinstein,” 1

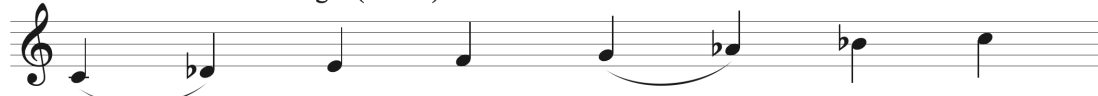
<sup>118</sup> Singer, “Meine Begegnung mit Rubinstein,” 1. “Doch schon die Worte, mit denen mich der Meister empfing, “Was führt den frommen Mann zu Sünder?”



him that it was based in C, despite the fixed minor seventh B [flat].”<sup>119</sup> Singer also pointed out to Rubinstein that “although the latter two scales could be found in the ancient music of other peoples,” what he calls *Yishtabach* mode was “the exclusive property of Jewish liturgical chant.”<sup>120</sup>

**EXAMPLE 4.12.** Josef Singer, *Die Tonarten des Traditionellen Synagogengesanges*, pg. 1, 3.

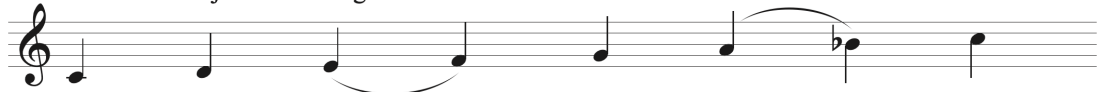
1. Skala des Jishtabach-Steiger (Tonart)



2. Beispiel in der Jishtabach Tonart

Schir usch-wo-cho hal-lel we-sim-roh os u-mem-scho-loh ne-zach ge-du-loh  
u-ge-wu-roh te-hil-loh we-sif-e-res ke-du-scho u-mal-chus

5. Skala des Adonoj moloch-Steiger



6. Beispiel in der Adonoj moloch-Tonart

A-do-noj mo-loch ge-us lo-wesch, lo-wesch a-do-noj  
os his-a sor af-ti-kon te-wel bal-ti-mod

The mode that Singer identified as *Yishtabach*, is the Phrygian Dominant/*Abava Rabbah*/*Freygish* scale, the same scale used by Rubinstein for the Sons of Shem in *Der Thurm zu Babel*. While this mode might not be, in Singer’s exaggerated formulation, the “exclusive property” of synagogue music, Rubinstein’s use of it emerges as a musical act of Jewish self-identification. Moreover,

<sup>119</sup> Singer, “Meine Begegnung mit Rubinstein,” 2.

<sup>120</sup> Singer, “Meine Begegnung mit Rubinstein,” 2.

Rubinstein's response indicated a certain affinity that went beyond mere awareness of the musical conventions of his Jewish heritage. Singer continued:

The master [Rubinstein] smiled and said that it was a strange coincidence, since he had always found this scale extremely pleasant. This made me realize that this is what had led me to him: that there was Jewishness present in most of his works. Even in emotionally evocative but not specifically Jewish moments, such as his orchestral works and songs, this sequence was used everywhere, such so that it has been commonly observed as characteristic of Rubinstein.<sup>121</sup>

Singer had, in particular, noticed Rubinstein's use of this mode in Leah's "Tanzlied" from *Die Maccabäer*, but Rubinstein had an explanation for this (ex. 4.13). He replied that he had borrowed the melody from "a Polish Jew," though it pleased him that a professional cantor could recognize the liturgical mode without knowing its source. Rubinstein then probed Singer further, asking how such a melody should be correctly harmonized to maintain the intervals of the traditional mode. Here, Singer offered praise, replying:

First of all, esteemed master, you should continue as you have in truly artistic and sensitive manner, as you did in Leah's Tanzlied, either in unison or with the slightest harmonic accompaniment. For to impose modern harmonic garb on such melodies would be to strip them of their character.<sup>122</sup>

---

<sup>121</sup> Singer, "Meine Begegnung mit Rubinstein," 2. "Der Meister lächelte und meinte, es wäre dies ein sonderbares Zusammentreffen der Ereignisse, da diese Skala ihm stets ungemein sympathisch erschien, worauf ich bemerkte, dass die Kenntnis dieser Thatsache mich ja auch zu ihm geführt, indem ich aus den meisten seiner Werke ersah, dass er überall, wo eine jüdische Situation zu zeichnen war, und; selbst bei gefühlsinnigen Stellen nicht spezifisch jüdischer Momente, wie in seinen Orchesterwerken und Liedern, allüberall diese Intervallenfolge zur Anwendung brachte, so dass man diese Variante bereits allgemein als Rubinstein'sche Charakteristik bezeichnet."

<sup>122</sup> Singer, "Meine Begegnung mit Rubinstein," 2. "Zuförderst, bis der Gegenstand geordnet ist, so wie Sie, hochverehrter Meister, es in echt künstlerisch-feinfühlicher Weise mit der Harmonisierung des Tanzliedes Leah's gezeigt, entweder unisono oder nur mit der dürftigst harmonischen Begleitung ausgestattet; denn solchen Melodien eine modern-harmonische Gewandung aufzudrängen, hieße dieselbe ihres Charakters entkleiden."

EXAMPLE 4.13. Anton Rubinstein, *Die Maccabäer*, act II, scene 7, mm. 1-20.<sup>123</sup>

**Allegro non troppo**

Lea.  
Schla - get die Pau - ke, auf, - schla - get die

Pau - ke, Ju - bel Ju - bel-klang!  
Benjamin, Joarim, Sop., Alt.  
Schla - get die Pau - ke, auf,

Ten., Bs.

Sin - get dem Herrn

schla - get die Pau - ke, Ju - bel, Ju - bel-klang!

*mf*

<sup>123</sup> A full orchestra score is not available for *Die Maccabäer*. Benjamin and Joarim, Lea's two younger sons, are pants roles.

Singer's answer on orchestration is not surprising, given that Sulzer and his followers rarely harmonized Ahava Rabbah mode, mostly likely due to the challenges presented by lowered scale degree 2. Nonetheless, Rubinstein seemed satisfied with such an answer, and the two parted ways, with Singer expressing his thanks but Rubinstein replying, "Please, please, I am indebted to you, Mr. Obercantor."<sup>124</sup> The interaction displays the porous boundaries between sacred and secular music in Jewish Vienna, as well as the very real engagement of leaders in the Jewish community in not only acknowledging but embracing those who had been baptized. Singer's attempt to provide an explanation of the liturgical modes to Rubinstein testified to a further step in such relationship-building—the willingness of the leaders of the Jewish establishment (at the very least, the liberal, reformed leaders) to include and even educate those who for various reasons, such as childhood baptism in the case of Rubinstein, within the Jewish fold. For a gatekeeper like Obercantor Singer, who held unique and specialized Jewish knowledge, to reach across the baptismal divide to someone like Rubinstein rebuffs any notion that once Jews left the fold that they were no longer seen as part of the community.

### **Remembering Rubinstein, Rewriting Jewishness**

At the end of the nineteenth century, the most popular—and for a time only—Russian-Jewish periodical, *Voskhod* (*Dawn*), printed a commemorative article on Rubinstein, not unlike Singer's in the *Oesterreichisch-ungarische Cantoren-Zeitung*. Although *Voskhod* was neutral on Zionist issues and pushed for the betterment of the lives of Jews on Russian soil, it was read by Jews from

---

<sup>124</sup> Singer, "Meine Begegnung mit Rubinstein," 2. "Bitte, bitte, ich bin Ihnen zu Danke verpflichtet, Herr Obercantor."

across a wide spectrum of political viewpoints and social classes.<sup>125</sup> The article was written by the Riga-born Russian-Jewish journalist Robert Iljisch (1835-1909).<sup>126</sup> It was of sufficiently broad interest that it was translated into both the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* and one of the first English-language Jewish periodicals, *The Menorah Monthly*, published by B'ne Brith in New York.<sup>127</sup> The reason for such wide appeal may have been simply the compelling nature story that Iljisch recounted of a Yom Kippur evening with Anton Rubinstein. The gathering occurred at the Hotel Bellevue in St. Petersburg with Rubinstein, Iljisch, Russian cellist Karl Davidov (1838-1889) and German pianist Sophie Menter (1846-1918). Davidov was of Jewish ancestry, but his family had become baptized the same year of his birth.<sup>128</sup> Tchaikovsky called Davidov the “czar of cellists.” Similarly described by Liszt as “his only true [piano] daughter,” Menter, who was not of Jewish ancestry, had taught at the Conservatory in St. Petersburg from 1883 until 1886, the same year her fourteen-year marriage to Bohemian-Jewish cellist David Popper (1843-1913) was also dissolved.<sup>129</sup>

---

<sup>125</sup> “Russia—Periodicals, Russo-Jewish,” *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, accessed 20 May 2020, <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/14736-voskhod#anchor62>.

<sup>126</sup> There is little information available on Iljisch. Variant Russian transliterations include Ilish and Il'ish.

<sup>127</sup> R. Iljisch, “Ein Jom-Kipur bei Anton Rubinstein,” trans. Leon Trachtenberg, *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* 63, no. 5 (3 February 1899): 57-60; R. Iljisch, “A Yom Kippur at Anton Rubinstein’s,” *The Menorah Monthly* 26, no. 3 (March 1899): 174-182. The English version erroneously cites the German translator as Leon Houchtenberg and does not credit an English translator. Presumably, the English translation was made from Trachtenberg’s German. While I have based my translation on the *Menorah Monthly*, I have made changes when clarity of the German text is necessary.

<sup>128</sup> Herman Rosenthal and Max Rosenthal, “Davidov, Julius (or Davydov),” *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 4:470, accessed 29 February 2020, <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/4985-davidov-julius>.

<sup>129</sup> “Obituary: Sophie Menter,” *The Musical Times* 59, no. 902 (1 April 1918): 163.

Although the translated titles of the article indicate that the evening occurred in the home of Rubinstein, Iljisch described:

The hostess [Menter] invited me to a cup of tea, and I had just come from the Synagogue after the *Neila* prayer [the closing prayer that concludes Yom Kippur]; I had gone there well knowing that I would meet the two renowned coreligionists [fellow-believers, *Glaubengenossen*] who though long ago passed over into another camp, had remained Jews at heart [felt themselves to be Jews] and felt themselves at one with the house of Israel. One may change one's religion, one may even become faithless to a conviction, but one's ancestry cannot be changed, the consistency of the drop of blood cannot be changed and the tradition of a millennial existence cannot be shaken off.<sup>130</sup>

James Loeffler, the only recent scholar to have explored this event in any depth (and his own description does not include the third part of the article, which is discussed below), cautions the necessity to allow for “the excesses of literary stylization and Ilish’s own Jewish nationalist sympathies,” which is apparent in the above comment, which is more telling on Iljisch’s views than on the internal convictions held by Rubinstein and Davidov.<sup>131</sup>

The most remarkable portion of the evening occurred when Rubinstein sat down at the piano and began to improvise. Iljisch’s recollection is in line with other descriptions Rubinstein’s improvisatory style: he was said to perform with great with great abandon, physical exertion, and become almost entranced in personal introspection. Yet, what Iljisch then recalled is nothing short but astounding for the assimilated, child-baptized Rubinstein:

---

<sup>130</sup> Iljisch, “A Yom Kippur at Anton Rubinstein’s,” 175; “Ein Jom-Kipur bei Anton Rubinstein,” 57. “Die Wirthin des prachtvollen Appartements im Hotel Bellevue lud mich zu einer Tasse Thee ein , und ich kam gerade aus der Synagoge nach dem Neilahgebet; ich begab mich dahin, wohl wissend, daß ich mit den beiden berühmten Glaubengenossen zusammentreffen werde , welche , obschon längst in ein anderes Lager übergegangen, sich nichtsdestoweniger als Juden fühlten und des unzerreißbaren Zusammenhangs mit dem Hause Israel sich wohl bewußt waren. Man kann seine Religion wechseln , man kann sogar seiner Ueberzeugung untreu werden, aber man kann seine Abstammung nicht wechseln, nicht den Bestand seiner Blutstropfen ändern , man kann durchaus nicht eine tausendjährige Tradition , die uns festhält, abschütteln.”

<sup>131</sup> Loeffler, *The Most Musical Nation*, 41.

But gradually Rubinstein passed over to a melancholy andante, and suddenly, to my greatest surprise, the earnest, solemn tones of the *Kol Nidre*, filled with indescribable woe and affecting intensity, broke through. After he had played the whole melody in its wondrous simplicity and sublime beauty, Rubinstein began to vary upon the tune and executed upon this theme sketches of wonderful beauty. It was a cascade of charming tunes, which presented a sort of symphony, executed by the great master with that inimitable elegance peculiar to him, at which, however, he developed in reality a touching tenderness. There was expression given to the inarticulate babble of the babe, the woe of the grown man, the crying of the feeble woman, the solemn, uplifting prayer, the unspeakable grief and despair, the joy and hope of home; there expression was given to the entire tragic history of Israel in tuneful accents, the concentration of which constitutes the sublime creation of musical genius.<sup>132</sup>

Again, the scene described by Iljisch must be understood with some literary gloss, as he described how the salon transformed “as if by magic, into a grand synagogue,” and he alluded to Rubinstein as a *tallit*-covered cantor.<sup>133</sup> When the pianist finished, Iljisch asked him whether he was aware that Yom Kippur had just finished that evening:

Rubinstein looked at me with great surprise. ‘Is that really so, that today [*sic*] is Yom Kippur?’ he said in a suppressed voice; ‘truly I did not know, and if I played for you the fantasy-improvisation after the melody of the *Kol Nidre*, it was the purest accident... But no,’ he interrupted himself, ‘there is no such thing as accident. It is an atavism, my dear. I was led by instinct to play *Kol Nidre*, and especially to-day and

---

<sup>132</sup> Iljisch, “A Yom Kippur at Anton Rubinstein’s,” 177; “Ein Jom-Kipur bei Anton Rubinstein,” 58. “Aber nach und nach ging Rubinstein zu einer melancholischen Andante über, und plötzlich, zu meinem größten Erstaunen und Entzücken, ließen sich die ersten, feierlichen, von unendlichem Weh und rührender Innigkeit erfüllten Töne des ‘Kol Nidre’ vernehmen. Nachdem er die ganze Melodie in ihrer wunderbaren Einfachheit und erhabenen Schönheit gespielt, sang Rubinstein an auf jenes Thema zu phantasieren (der Name des Kompositen der Melodie ging in der Geschichte der Vergangenheit verloren und ist bis jetzt unbekannt) und führte in diesem Thema Zeichnungen von wundervoller Schönheit aus. Das war eine Kaskade reizender Töne, die eine Art Symphonie darstellten, von dem großen Meister mit der ihm eigenen unnachahmlichen Eleganz des Spieles vollführt, bei der er aber eine in der That rührende Zartheit entfaltele. Da war das Lallen des Kindes, das Weh des Mannes, das Weinen der Frau, das feierliche, erhebende Gebet, der unsägliche Kummer und Verweilung, die Freude und die Hoffnung ausgedrückt; dda war die ganze tragische Geschichte des unglücklichen Volkes Israel in Tönen zum Ausdruck gebracht, deren Konzentration die erhabene Schöpfung des musikalischen Genies bildete.”

<sup>133</sup> Iljisch, “A Yom Kippur at Anton Rubinstein’s,” 177; “Ein Jom-Kipur bei Anton Rubinstein,” 58. “Und der Salon des Hotels Bellevue verwandelte sich mit einern Mal in eine große Synagoge, in einen von Betenden gefüllten Tempel, und an mein Ohr dringt der freudige Ton des in den Talith gehüllten Kantors.”

at this moment, when you come from the synagogue. Indeed, it is quite peculiar. I actually did not know that to-day it was *Yom Kippur*, and suddenly the idea came to my head to play the melody of *Kol Nidre*. Remembrances of my childhood awoke in me suddenly and inspired me. Believe me, there is no such thing as accident.<sup>134</sup>

To Menter, who was unfamiliar with the melody, Rubinstein commented:

You cannot understand that, my child, and do you know why, Sontiska? Because you are a *Goy*, and that you cannot understand either, and to tell you the truth, I do not know the significance of it myself, though I am convinced that I apply it correctly, and as such, while much of it is incomprehensible to you, it is perfectly plain to us three [Davidov, Iljisch, and Rubinstein].<sup>135</sup>

When pressed by Menter to explain why he had not composed any specifically Jewish works, given her conviction that they would be well-received by the Jewish community, Rubinstein answered with what is perhaps the most direct and distinct evidence on how he felt *Judentum* was manifested in his musical compositions:

‘In my musical creations you will find many Jewish motives and songs, which I heard in my youth, and which thirty years later awoke again in my memory. I am sometimes puzzled to know where these songs and melodies come from, which follow me and do not give me a rest. It buzzes constantly in my brain, it never stops and I cannot get a rest until I dot them down on paper. It looked as if there were no longer anything in common between me and Judaism, as I left the place of my birth when I was yet a child, from which I went with my mother to Moscow, where I lost

---

<sup>134</sup> Iljisch, “A Yom Kippur at Anton Rubinstein’s,” 178; “Ein Jom-Kipur bei Anton Rubinstein,” 59. “‘Ist es wirklich wahr, daß heute Jom-Kipur ist?’ sagte er mit leiser Stimme. ‘Wahrlich, ich wußte es nicht, und wenkt ich Ihnen die Phantasie-Improvisation nach der Melodie des Kol-Nidre gespielt habe, so war es blos ein reiner Zufall . . . Aber nein,’ unterbrach er sich, ‘es giebt nichts Zufälliges. Das ist ein Atavismus, mon cher: Der Instinkt brachte mich dazu, Kol-Nidre zu spielen, und namentlich heute, und zwar jetzt in diesem Moment, wo Sie direkt aus der Synagoge kommen. In der That, es ist ganz sonderbar! Ich wußte wahrlich nicht, daß heute Jom-Kipur ist, und plötzlich kam mir die Idee in den Kopf, die Melodie von Kol-Nidre zu spielen; Erinnerungen der Kindheit wachten in mir plötzlich auf und begeisterten mich. Glauben Sie mir, es giebt nichts Zufälliges.’”

<sup>135</sup> Iljisch, “A Yom Kippur at Anton Rubinstein’s,” 179; “Ein Jom-Kipur bei Anton Rubinstein,” 59. “‘Und weißt Du, Sonitschka, warum? Weil Du eine Goje bist, und diese Wort verstehst Du ebenfalls nicht, und aufrichtig gestanden, ich selbst kenne die Bedeutung desselben nicht, wiewohl ich überzeugt bin, daß ich Dir gegenüber dasselbe richtig anwende, und als solche ist Dir doch so manches unzugänglich, was uns Dreien (auf sich selbst, auf Dawydow und auf mich zeigend) vollkommen deutlich ist.’”



all connection with the Jews. That continued so and I became altogether alienated [*entfremdet*] from Judaism. Nevertheless, was it impossible for me to shake off all the traditions of the past and Judaism became dearer to me as the memories of my youth grew paler.<sup>136</sup>

Loeffler, in his analysis Iljish's account of the evening, concludes with the above passage and the musician's subsequent comments that although he was aware that Marrano Jews continued to observe Jewish ritual and pray in secret, he never had such inclinations to return to Judaism. Problematically, however, Loeffler argues Rubinstein saw *himself* as a "musical Marrano, a former Jew inside a Christian, an Oriental mixed with a European," when Rubinstein's statements—albeit filtered through Iljish—point in a rather different direction.<sup>137</sup> But there is nothing in Rubinstein's comments that show any sort of self-identification with the Orient, be it Jewish or Asiatic Russian. While he was undeniably a Christian in official creed, though seemingly perhaps not in daily practice, he was not a "former Jew," as Loeffler states. Though he spoke in the above quotation of "the Jews" with a revealing distance, the subsequent passage recalled by Iljish as part III of the evening—not addressed in Loeffler's reading—reveals far more nuanced views on Rubinstein's part.

Rubinstein prefaced these remarks by recalling, "Personally, I never thought of going over again to Judaism. But the ties of blood with the Jews have never been torn. I liked to attend the

---

<sup>136</sup> Iljisch, "A Yom Kippur at Anton Rubinstein's," 180; "Ein Jom-Kipur bei Anton Rubinstein," 59. "In meinen musikalischen Schöpfungen werden Sie viele jüdische Motive und Gesänge finden, die ich in meiner Kindheit hörte, und die dreißig Jahre später in meinem Gedächtniß wieder erwachten," sagte Rubinstein sinnend. "Ich wundere mich manchmal selbst, woher diese traditionellen Gesänge und Melodien kommen, die mich verfolgen und mir keine Ruhe kommen, bis ich sie aufs Papier niederschreibe. Es schien doch, als ob zwischen mir und dem Judenthum nichts Gemeinschaftliches vorhanden wäre, da ich in der frühesten Kindheit mein Heimathsdorf verließ, als wir mit der Mutter nach Moskau zogen, wo ich mit den Juden in gar keine Berührung kam. Dasselbe war auch in Folge der Fall, und das Judenthum wurde mir mehr und mehr entfremdet. Nichtsdestoweniger konnte ich mich von den Traditionen der Vergangenheit nicht losmachen, und das Judenthum wurde mir wieder theuer, je mehr die Erinnerungen meiner Jugend verblaßten."

<sup>137</sup> Loeffler, *The Most Musical Nation*, 41.

synagogue during the high festivals, *Rosh Hashanah* and *Yom Kippur*.<sup>138</sup> Iljish was careful to clarify that Rubinstein used these Hebrew words, as well as others such as *Yomim noroim*, *Kol Nidre*, *Neilah*, and *Talith*, because he was “fond of using them to show his familiarity with them.”<sup>139</sup> Rubinstein recalled how, while visiting to his mother, he had decided to go to the synagogue on Yom Kippur to hear the cantor sing the Kol Nidre prayer. Although the English translation of the article does not give the city, the German version in *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* indicates that it occurred in Odessa.<sup>140</sup> Although Rubinstein did not indicate the cantor by name but only as “a man noted for his fine voice,” it was likely Nissan Blumenthal (1805-1903), who had introduced many Western musical changes including the use of choir and German-style chorale singing (sometimes even borrowing melodies of Handel, Haydn, or Mozart) to the Brodsky Synagogue of Odessa.<sup>141</sup> Tina Frühauf describes Odessa—and the Brodsky Synagogue in particular—as a “satellite, musical and otherwise, of German-Jewish culture” within Russia, so it is no surprise that Rubinstein would have felt comfortable in such an environment.<sup>142</sup> Professional obligations prevented Rubinstein from actually

---

<sup>138</sup> Iljisch, “A Yom Kippur at Anton Rubinstein’s,” 180; ; “Ein Jom-Kipur bei Anton Rubinstein,” 59. “Persönlich dachte ich nie daran, zum Judenthum überzugehen. Aber die Bande des Blutes mit den Juden waren nie zerrissen. Ich besuchte gern die Synagoge während der hohen Feiertage, wie Rosch -Haschanah und Jom-Kipur .”

<sup>139</sup> Iljisch, “A Yom Kippur at Anton Rubinstein’s,” 181; “Ein Jom-Kipur bei Anton Rubinstein,” 59. “When in good humor, he would turn to his friends, if there were Jews among them, with the words: ‘Now let us talk Jewish [*sic*], to our hearts content.’” Rubinstein’s comment reads in German “Nun wollen wir mauscheln nach Herzenslust.”

<sup>140</sup> Iljisch, “Ein Jom-Kipur bei Anton Rubinstein,” 59.

<sup>141</sup> Herman Rosenthal and S. Penn, “Odessa,” *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 9:370-385, accessed 1 March 2020, <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/11660-odessa>; “Nissan Blumenthal,” *Jewish Music Research Centre*, accessed 1 March 2020, <https://www.jewish-music.huji.ac.il/content/nissan-blumenthal>.

<sup>142</sup> Tina Frühauf, “The reform of synagogue music in the nineteenth century,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Jewish Music*, 197.

making it to the synagogue to hear the Kol Nidre. Instead, he visited with an unnamed relative for the Neilah service at the very end of Yom Kippur. He described the weight of the emotion, the heat of the dimly lit room, and tearful weeping from the women's balcony in the synagogue:

For the foreign beholder the sight was extraordinary, oppressive and heavy. But upon me, though I had often taken part in such service, these tears, these groans and these prayers made a deep shocking impression."<sup>143</sup>

This comment is a revelation not only regarding Rubinstein's self-identification with the Jewish people, but also evidence (assuming Iljisch as trustworthy) that Rubinstein's in fact had knowledge of Jewish liturgical practice not only from ineffable, childhood memories, but also from attendance at synagogues. The fact that he identified himself not with the "foreign beholders," observing Jewish practice as an outsider, but rather as an experienced and knowledgeable insider puts to rest any argument that Rubinstein was disinterested in his Jewishness.

Rubinstein continued, describing the pathos of the final prayers of Yom Kippur, the service moved to the more hopeful prayer, "Pesach lonu shaar:"

...that magnificent hymn, so full of poetical sentiment which the congregation repeats after recitation by the cantor. When I listened to this beautiful melody, and read the wonderful verses of the text in the translation, I was suddenly seized by a creative power. I felt the nearness of God, I became artistically inspired, and I hurried home to write down the impression received, to give it form. The result was—"Open the portals of prison."<sup>144</sup>

---

<sup>143</sup> Iljisch, "A Yom Kippur at Anton Rubinstein's," 182; Iljisch, "Ein Jom-Kipur bei Anton Rubinstein," 60. "Für den fremden Zuschauer war es ein ganz außergewöhnlicher, erdrückender und schwerer Anblick. Aber auf mich, wiewohl ich unzählige Male einem solchen Gottesdienst beigewohnt habe, machten diese Thränen, dieses Stöhnen und Flehen einen tiefen, erschütternden Eindruck."

<sup>144</sup> Iljisch, "A Yom Kippur at Anton Rubinstein's," 182; "Ein Jom-Kipur bei Anton Rubinstein," 60. "Und wie mit einem Zauberstabe verstummte Alles mit einem Male, und man vernahm bloß die schöne Stimme des Kantors, der das wunderschöne, rührende Gebet 'Pesach lonu shaar,' d.h. 'Eröffne uns die himmlischen Pforten' u.s.w., vortrug, diese prachtvolle Hymne, die sehr poetisch gehalten, welche die Gemeinde feierlich wiederholt, indem sie freudig jeden vom Kantor gesungenen Vers nachspricht. Als ich diese schöne Melodie hörte und die wundervollen Verse des

The prayer that Rubinstein found so inspiring was “Pesach lanu sha’ar,” a sixth century *piyyut* [liturgical poem] traditionally attributed to the prolific poet, Eleazar Kallir.<sup>145</sup> The prayer, which is made of up of three poetic fragments, beseeches God to “Keep the gate open for us” as the day comes to an end and, metaphorically, the gate of Heaven open for atonement, as one’s life comes to an end. No specific setting of this prayer survives from the Brodsky Synagogue in Odessa, so it is impossible to know what melody Cantor Blumenthal would have sung that so inspired Rubinstein. Given the Germanic presence at the Brodsky synagogue, it is possible that Blumenthal would have used a melody sung by Salomon Sulzer, however only if it had come to the synagogue via oral transmission or some other non-published circulation, as the first volume of *Schir Zion* did not include that prayer and the second volume was not published until 1865 (ex. 4.14).

**EXAMPLE 4.14.** Salomon Sulzer, *Schir Zion*, vol. 2, no. 273, “Dar’k’cho Elohenu,” melody indicated for use in “Pesach lanu sha’ar.”<sup>146</sup>



Another plausible candidate is a setting of the same prayer that survives in arrangement by Cantor David Nowakowsky (1848-1921), the protégé and assistant conductor to Blumenthal (ex. 4.15). This

---

Textes in der Uebersetzung nachlas , bemächtigte sich meiner plötzlich die schöpferische Kraft. Ich fühlte die Nähe Gottes, es bemächtigte sich meiner eine künstlerische Begeisterung, und ich eilte nach Hause, um sofort den empfangenen Eindruck niederzuschreiben, um demselben eine Form zu geben. Das Resultat davon war ‘Oeffnet mir die Kerkerpforten.’” The English version of the article incorrectly cites the prayer as “Pesach lanu sha’a.”

<sup>145</sup> Wout Jac. van Bekkum, Review of *Qedushta'otfor Shavu'ot [Hymni Pentecostales]*, by Eleazar Kallir, edited by Shulamit Elizur, *AJS Review* 27, no. 1 (April 2003): 115-117.

<sup>146</sup> Salomon Sulzer, *Schir Zion*, vol. 2 (Vienna: Engel, [1865]).

EXAMPLE 4.15. David Nowakowsky, "P'sach Lono Shaar" for Yom Kippur.<sup>147</sup>

Cantor

*f* P'sach lo - nu sha - ar b'es n'i - las sha - ar ki fo - no yom

*mf* P'sach lo - nu sha - ar p'sach n'i - las

*mf* P'sach lo - nu sha - ar

*mf* P'sach lo - nu

b'es ni' - las sha - ar *ppp* ki fo - no yom

sha - ar n'i - las sha - ar *p* ki fo *ppp* no yom

b'es n'i - las sha - ar *ppp* ki fo - no yom

sha - ar b'es n'i - las sha - ar *ppp* ki fo - no yom

8 ha - yom yif - ne ha - she-mesh yo - vo v' - yif - ne no vo - o sho - re - cho

<sup>147</sup> *Cantorial Anthology of Traditional and Modern Synagogue Music*, ed. Gershon Ephros, vol. 2 (New York: Block Publishing Company, 1977): 304-306.

setting shows the development of the Sulzerian model into a synthesis of cantorial synagogue with modern four-part harmonies of Western music. Unlike the unmetered and modal Sulzer setting above, even the cantor's part in Nowakowsky's arrangement is metered and is in straightforward A minor. In the choral response, the polyphonic entrances of the first half shift to a homophonic, closing chorale.

Rubinstein wrote that the melody heard at the synagogue inspired his song "Open the portals of prison," most likely indicating the song, "Отворите мне темницу [Otvoritye mnye tyemnitzu]" (ex. 4.16). The song, published under the German title, "Sehnsucht," was part of a six-song cycle published around 1850 as Rubinstein's op. 8. Despite its early opus number, this particular song had proved popular and lasting; piano transcriptions and English language

**EXAMPLE 4.16.** Anton Rubinstein, *Sechs Lieder*, op. 8, no. 5, mm. 1-19.

**Allegro moderato**  
*Appassionato*

Voice

Lasst mich Tag - ges-hel-le gru - ssen nach des Kerk - kers lan-ger Nacht,

Piano

gebt ein Ross mit schne - llen Fus - sen, ei - ne Maid, die Lieb' ent - facht: Lasst mich

translations appeared in the 1860s and 1870s.<sup>148</sup> There is no apparent musical connection between this song and either the Sulzer or Nowakowsky setting of “Pesach lanu sha’ar.” Rather the idea of the gates of Heaven seems to coincide with the poetic message of the text, drawn from the poetry of Lermontov on an impassioned prisoner longing for the opening of his dungeon and a return to his beloved.

Rubinstein’s engagement with his Jewish heritage and enduring identity as a Jew was complicated and evolving throughout his life. Though Singer’s remembrance of Rubinstein focused on the more obvious musical examples of *Judentum* in the *geistliche Oper, Die Maccabäer*, Iljisch’s recollection presents Rubinstein less as a student of Jewish music than an active consumer of it. Through Iljisch’s testimony, we witness Rubinstein’s self-identification with others of Jewish ancestry, both those that became baptized and those remaining at least nominally affiliated with synagogue practice and religious life. His explanation that the non-Jewish Menter would understand the power of the music of the Kol Nidre prayer reveals his own self-conceptualization as not only one who maintained a certain status as Jew in the mind of his Gentile colleagues, but also as a composer and musician who could freely use this Jewishness as musical inspiration, whether in depictions of sacred subjects in his *geistliche Oper* or more abstractly throughout his works that, on the surface, might appear to have no connection to *Judentum* at all.

---

<sup>148</sup> “Kritischer Anzeiger,” *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 63, no. 22 (24 May 1867): 199; “Reviews,” *The Monthly Musical Record* 5, no. 9 (1 September 1875): 131.

**Chapter 5:**  
**A Family through Emancipation:**  
**The Early Works of Carl Goldmark**

In 1897, American-born composer and educator Rubin Goldmark (1872-1936) wrote of his uncle Carl Goldmark (1830-1915): “What Grieg is to the music of Scandinavia and Dvořák to that of Bohemia, Goldmark is to the music of the Orient.”<sup>1</sup> Drawn from a larger article in a music-focused journal and written by a rising member of the American musical elite, this quotation is emblematic of how the Hungarian-born, Viennese-identifying, German-speaking Jewish composer, Carl Goldmark was described throughout his career. For a composer who was a prominent figure in the musical life of Vienna, especially following the great success of his opera, *Die Königin von Saba* in 1875, Goldmark was consistently robbed of his own voice and personal agency when it came to identifying a putatively national or religious nature of his compositions. He was always presented as a composer with a limiting qualifier: most often Orientalist, Jewish, Hebraic, or exotic, though sometimes a Wagnerian and other times a Brahmsian. Paradoxically, this oversimplification and categorization came from both sides: positive, celebratory accolades like the above from his nephew and more critical, derisive, and at times downright antisemitic analyses of his operas, concert works, and chamber pieces, imposed narratives of his Jewish identity and heritage upon Goldmark. These began during the very beginnings of his notoriety and endured even after *Die Königin von Saba* became the Vienna at the *fin de siècle*. Furthermore, modern musicological discourse has continued to do Goldmark this very same disservice. While in recent scholarship, Goldmark has not been

---

<sup>1</sup> Rubin Goldmark, “Carl Goldmark,” *The Looker-On* 4, no. 4 (April 1897): 281.



completely forgotten, mentions of him are so limited he may as well be. Like so many “lesser composers” of the long nineteenth century, Goldmark has been relegated to a position in today’s canon defined by his associations—his (mostly) cordial friendship with Brahms, his efforts on behalf of the Wagnerian cause in Vienna, and his nephew’s instruction of Aaron Copland. Yet, in very much the same way as reports from his own lifetime, these recent scholarly acknowledgements are limiting, revealing only fragments of an extremely complex musician standing at the precipice of assimilation and particularity.

The next two chapters are as much about Carl Goldmark and his negotiations of Jewish identity as they are about the perceptions of it from others, including both insiders, as a great deal of family letters and documents have survived, and outsiders such as the authors of articles in various periodical sources: musical and general interest, Jewish and secular. The dominant voices in this chapter are those of Goldmark’s extended family, including his father Rubin Simcha Goldmark (c. 1799-1868), several of his brothers, and his nephew Rubin Goldmark. As I parse out Jewish self-identification of Goldmark through a close analysis of his autobiographical memoir against published biographical sketches, it becomes apparent that the sources are in constant, near Talmudic conversation with each other. At times, they agree, and, at other times, they completely refute stories that might appear undeniable fact. Like the Talmud, they do this across time and often out of chronological order. Private letters disprove long-standing published narratives on the style of Judaism that Goldmark’s family practiced, their level of secular education, and their engagement with Western art music, despite their uncultured and insular portrayal in Goldmark’s posthumously published memoir, *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben*.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, the many examples of struggle and

---

<sup>2</sup> Karl Goldmark, *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben* (Vienna: Rikola Verlag, 1922). Although the biography spells Goldmark’s name as “Karl,” I use “Carl” as it is what appears in family letters.

unappreciated hard work depicted in his *Erinnerungen* challenge the perceptions voiced in letters from Goldmark's family that he lived frivolous, carefree life in Vienna. Most relevant to this dissertation is the high level of both musical and Jewish engagement maintained by Goldmark's family, which can be extended into deeper insights into his autobiography, with its very limited direct reference to Jewishness. Ultimately, in keeping with the Talmudic pattern, I will present both the dominant and dissenting stories on Goldmark, with care to sort out the differences between opinion, concrete and verifiable fact, and my own interpretation of this very complex composer and Jewish individual.

### Sources on the life of Carl Goldmark

The primary source and point of comparison for all biographical narratives of Goldmark is found in his *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben*, published in 1922 in Vienna, and the source upon which most scholarship from the last fifty years or so has been derived. The 1927 English translation was done by the daughter of Goldmark's older half-brother, Joseph (1819-1881), Alice Goldmark Brandeis (1866-1945), the wife of Judge Louis Brandeis, a notable activist in her own right and involved in many liberal political issues.<sup>3</sup> The English translation of the German title is not exact, which, aside from changing the possessive tense, would more accurately read as *Memoirs* or *Memories*. The German title is a generic one, the same used by many German-speakers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, including music critic Adolph Bernhard Marx (1865), novelist and playwright Gustav Freytag (1887), author Friedrich Bodenstedt (1888-90), scientist Albert von Kölliker (1899), among many others.<sup>4</sup> This immediately calls into question the genre of books called *Erinnerungen*—is

---

<sup>3</sup> Karl Goldmark, *Notes from the Life of a Viennese Composer*, trans. Alice Goldmark Brandeis (New York: Albert and Charles Boni, 1927); Rafael Medoff, "Alice Goldmark Brandeis," *Jewish Women: A Comprehensive Historical Encyclopedia*, 1 March 2009, *Jewish Women's Archive*, accessed 15 October 2018, <https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/Brandeis-Alice-Goldmark>.

<sup>4</sup> Adolf Bernhard Marx, *Erinnerungen. Aus meinem Leben* (Berlin: O. Janke, 1865); Gustav Freytag, *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben* (Leipzig : H. Fikentscher, 1887); Friedrich Bodenstedt,

it an autobiography or a memoir? The two words are used somewhat interchangeably in today's popular press and book sales, and their exact distinction is not universally agreed upon. British journalist Ian Jack writes, "The memoir's ambition is to be interesting in itself, as a novel might be, about intimate, personal experience. It often aspires to be thought of as 'literary,' and for that reason borrows many of literature's tricks—the tricks of a novel, of fiction—because it wants to do more than the past; it wants to recreate it."<sup>5</sup> Yet, as Marcus Moseley argues, this supposedly 'literary' style of memoir tends to inflate certain experiences or people in the subject's life:

Autobiography, in distinction from biography and the memoir, functions primarily as an introspective, self-reflective mode of literary discourse... Many of the more decisive encounters with the other in the shaping of the autobiographer's self occur in the years of childhood and adolescence. Parents, teachers, schoolmates, and domestic staff may thus achieve a prominence in autobiography that would, in the memoir, be reserved for generals and prime ministers, renowned men of letters, and so on.<sup>6</sup>

Goldmark's *Erinnerungen* is a mixture of rambling narratives, accounts of interactions with other musicians, and laments on perceived, though at times quite legitimate, inequities and injustices that he suffered throughout his career. To make use of Moseley's terminology, the elements of memoir and autobiography may exist side-by-side, particularly in the early chapters which discuss his formative childhood experiences and familial relationships. Yet, in the latter chapters, memoir dominates the stylistic voice as Goldmark recalls encounters with those "renowned men of letters," or as is the case with composers, "renowned me of musical notes." In particular, Goldmark's

---

*Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben* (Berlin: Allgemeiner verein für deutsche litteratur, 1888-1890); Albert Kölliker, *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben* (Leipzig : W. Engelmann, 1899).

<sup>5</sup> Ian Jack, "Memories are made of this—and that," *The Guardian*, 8 February 2003, accessed 20 August 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2003/feb/08/featuresreviews.guardianreview25>.

<sup>6</sup> Marcus Moseley, "Jewish Autobiography: The Elusive Subject," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 95, no. 1 (Winter 2005): 25.

conversations with the likes of Brahms and Wagner are reproduced in dialogue and novel-esque prose.

While *Erinnerungen*, in both its German original and English translation, remains the most extensive source on biographic information on Carl Goldmark, it is also imperative to address the fact that it is also the composer's latest published biography. The earliest biographical sketch of Goldmark was a lengthy article published in July 1870 in the Leipzig-based *Musikalisches Wochenblatt*, a periodical edited by Ernst Wilhelm Fritsch (1840-1902), who had founded the periodical in the same year.<sup>7</sup> Although the author was not credited at the time of publication, the biographic sketch of Goldmark was written by *Musikalisches Wochenblatt's* Vienna correspondent, Theodor Helm (1843-1920), who recalled their meeting and the article in a 1915 obituary for *Der Merker*.<sup>8</sup> Although Helm wrote that the two had met in 1870 while they were both living in Vienna, the interview for *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* was conducted by correspondence.<sup>9</sup> This resulted in the only article of any length published on Goldmark predating *Die Königin von Saba*: a brief background on Goldmark's childhood and early career. As a critic, Helm strove for balanced review of all types of contemporary music, as evidenced by the fact that he was both friendly with Brahms and a defender of Bruckner. Unlike other critics of the period, he was not as scathing in commentary on any composition school. Helm was critical of Hanslick, whom he described as too dismissive of all but Brahms and Dvořák.<sup>10</sup> Brodbeck argues that while Helm has earned a reputation among scholars "as one of the most fair-

---

<sup>7</sup> [Theodor Helm], "Carl Goldmark," *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* 1, no. 28 (8 July 1870): 441-443.

<sup>8</sup> Theodor Helm, "Einige Erinnerungen an Karl Goldmark," *Der Merker* 6, no. 3 (1 February 1915): 108-111.

<sup>9</sup> Helm, "Einige Erinnerungen an Karl Goldmark," 108.

<sup>10</sup> Gaynor G. Jones, "Helm, Theodor (Otto)," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, accessed 8 May 2018, <https://doi-org.turing.library.northwestern.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.12746>.

mindful and balanced Viennese critics in a period of highly charged, partisan musical reception,” his 1884 review of Dvořák’s violin concerto shows his underlying reticence to accept “a reconciliation of German high culture and Slavic otherness.”<sup>11</sup> Nonetheless, as will be discussed in greater detail regarding Goldmark’s *Sakuntala* overture, Helm’s view was that Goldmark would be to achieve great success as a composer, essentially in spite of his Jewishness.

English language biographies on Goldmark began to appear in the 1890s as his popularity spread from continental Europe to Great Britain and the Americas. John Knowles Paine and Theodor Thomas’s serialized series, *Famous Composers and their Works*, issued in thirty parts, was published in Boston by the J.B. Millet Company with the aim to expand American audiences’ knowledge on “famous composers... their influence... and the development and cultivation of the principal forms of musical art.”<sup>12</sup> Thomas, the preeminent conductor in the United States during this period, had recently arrived in Chicago, where he would go on to found and lead the orchestra that would become the Chicago Symphony Orchestra.<sup>13</sup> Although during this period, conservatories in the United States were working to encourage American-born composers, Thomas believed that the role of his musical leadership in the country was to educate the audiences—and most often this meant with works of European masters. Abram Loft emphasized that Thomas was a “stalwart champion of Wagner’s music in American and did much to establish the long-lasting popularity of

---

<sup>11</sup> David Brodbeck, *Defining Deutschtum Political Ideology, German Identity, and Music-Critical Discourse in Liberal Vienna* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 181-182. Like he does in comparing Goldmark to Beethoven above, Helm also compares Dvořák’s violin concerto to Beethoven’s and finds the Bohemian composer lacking.

<sup>12</sup> John Knowles Paine, ed. *Famous Composers and their Works* (Boston: J.B. Millet Company, 1891).

<sup>13</sup> “Theodor Thomas,” *Rosenthal Archives of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra*, 2010, accessed 15 May 2018, [https://cso.org/globalassets/about/rosenthal-archives/pdfs/theodore\\_thomas.pdf](https://cso.org/globalassets/about/rosenthal-archives/pdfs/theodore_thomas.pdf).

that composer [in the United States].”<sup>14</sup> The Goldmark entry appeared in 1891 in part 12 of *Famous Composers and their Works* and was written by William James Henderson, a New York music critic. Henderson relied on Goldmark’s brother Leopold for the biographical information.<sup>15</sup> Leopold Goldmark (1840-1927), who is entirely absent from *Erinnerungen*, was ten years Carl’s junior and had worked for a time as a cantor, before emigrating to New York City in 1866. There, he became a lawyer for musicians, defending European composers in cases against copyright infringement of their operas in the United States, and an impresario with varied activities including writing a libretto for the German-language romantic comic operetta *1776* (1884, music by Ludwig Engländer) and managing the American tour of Hans von Bülow in March of 1890.<sup>16</sup> Leopold (“Leo”), his wife Auguste, and their young son Rubin (“Rubi”) had traveled to Europe in 1889, taking in operas in Leipzig, Vienna, and at Bayreuth.<sup>17</sup> Thus, Leo’s interaction with his older brother during this European vacation lends a first-hand credibility to Henderson’s biography. Henderson’s described Goldmark’s compositional style in two periods: his early Orientalism through 1875 (the premiere of *Die Königin von Saba*) and his subsequent attempt at what the author describes as universalism, although this ignores Goldmark’s early chamber music in the Mendelssohnian style as pointedly described by Helm in 1870.

The next large-scale English language biographic study on Goldmark appeared in 1894 from the venerable British music critic, John Alexander Fuller Maitland (1856-1936) in his *Masters of*

---

<sup>14</sup> Abram Loft, “Richard Wagner, Theodore Thomas, and the American Centennial,” *The Musical Quarterly* 37, no. 2 (April 1951): 186.

<sup>15</sup> William James Henderson, “Carl Goldmark,” in *Famous Composers and their Works*, 515.

<sup>16</sup> Leo Goldmark, Libretto to *1776: romantisch-komische Operette in 3 Akten* (Samisch & Goldmann: New York, 1884).

<sup>17</sup> Trip to Europe (Correspondence and varia), 1889, Box 2, Folder 2, Goldmark Family Collection, AR 1909, Leo Baeck Institute, New York, accessed 22 June 2020, [https://archives.cjh.org/repositories/5/archival\\_objects/930308](https://archives.cjh.org/repositories/5/archival_objects/930308).

*German Music* (1894). Fuller Maitland, at the request of Sir George Grove, had supplied articles for the *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1878-90) and served as the music critic first for general interest newspapers: *Pall Mall Gazette* (1882-84), *The Guardian* (1884-89), and finally *The Times* (1889-1911).<sup>18</sup> His scholarly interests focused on both English music and a deep interest in music of the German masters. Fuller Maitland included an entire chapter to Goldmark in *Masters of German Music* (1894), which also contained complete chapters on Brahms (the lengthiest), Max Bruch, and Josef Rheinberger. The book also included partial chapters on some figures that receive far more attention than Goldmark today—Clara Schumann, Joseph Joachim, Carl Reinecke, Anton Bruckner, and Richard Strauss—as well as lesser known musicians including Theodor Kirchner, Woldemar Bargiel, Heinrich von Herzogenberg, Heinrich Hofmann, Felix Draeseke, Jean Louis Nicodé, Hans Sommer, and Cyrill Kistler.<sup>19</sup> The book is a part of a larger *Masters of Contemporary Music* series and, as such, included only living musicians. Fuller Maitland’s assessment of Goldmark was overwhelmingly positive and celebratory:

It is beyond question that among living operatic composers of Germany, none holds or deserves a higher place than the writer whose name stands at the head of this chapter [Goldmark’s]. Yet he has not been able to escape the charge of imitating, more or less consciously, the works and methods of the great dramatic reformer of the nineteenth century, though I venture to predict that the charge will appear less and less well-founded as time goes on.<sup>20</sup>

This “greater dramatic reformer” is of course Wagner. Fuller Maitland’s connection of Goldmark to Wagner is a noteworthy, given that in more recent scholarship, Goldmark is often portrayed as a

---

<sup>18</sup> Jeremy Dibble, “J(ohn) A(lexander) Fuller Maitland,” *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, accessed 5 May 2018, <https://doi-org.turing.library.northwestern.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.10378>.

<sup>19</sup> John Alexander Fuller Maitland, *Masters of German Music* (London: Osgood, McIlvaine & Co., 1894), 137-172. Bruch and Goldmark’s chapters are each about 40 pages long; the chapter on Brahms is 96 pages.

<sup>20</sup> Fuller Maitland, *Masters of German Music*, 138.

stylistically neutral figure or a wholly Brahmsian one, with only a fleeting Wagnerian interest. The comparison with Wagner went so far as to state that “[o]ne is reminded of the young Siegfried when one reads of his [Goldmark’s] making little flutes from sticks cut from the hedges,” an analogy that would certainly have inflamed Wagner’s antisemitic ire.<sup>21</sup> Fuller Maitland identified Goldmark’s Jewishness as a source of his prodigious talent and an impetus toward specific stylistic predilections: “a certain amount of music is inherent in the race” and “[a]bout 1854 he was carried away by the Mendelssohn fever, with the intensity of which racial instinct may have had something to do.”<sup>22</sup> Problematically, Fuller Maitland went on to claim that this was evident not only in *Die Königin von Saba*, but also in *Merlin* (1886), “In both is operas certain characteristics appear which seem typical of the Jewish race; the ‘local color’ of the earlier work [*Die Königin von Saba*] is, of course, suggested by its subject, and though this is absent in the later [*Merlin*], there are other characteristics generally recognized as Semitic, such as the instinct for brilliant effects on the stage and by certain turns of harmony.”<sup>23</sup> As will be discussed in Chapter 6, there is a substantial case to be made on the presence of sonic markers of Jewishness in *Die Königin von Saba*, however the claims Fuller Maitland made against *Merlin* provided shaky evidence and given no specific musical examples. Although the comments do not read as antisemitic, they are of an essentializing nature that is not found elsewhere in *Masters of German Music*; in contrast to what he says about Goldmark, Fuller Maitland makes absolutely no reference to Joachim’s Jewish birth.

The next biographic sketch of Goldmark appeared again from a relative. As Leo Goldmark had conveyed his impressions of his brother to William James Henderson for *Famous Composers and*

---

<sup>21</sup> Fuller Maitland, *Masters of German Music*, 140

<sup>22</sup> Fuller Maitland, *Masters of German Music*, 139, 141.

<sup>23</sup> Fuller Maitland, *Masters of German Music*, 139, 157.



*their Works*, his son Rubin Goldmark (1872-1936) shared his own recollection in the monthly journal *The Looker-On* in April 1897.<sup>24</sup> Published from 1895-1897 in New York and edited by Shakespearean scholar William Hansell Fleming (1844-1915), *The Looker-On* covered music, drama, and literature and included a variety of articles such as biographies, fiction, and poetry as well as reports on current music and dramatic happenings with a focus mostly on New York.<sup>25</sup> Rubin Goldmark, best known as an early teacher of Aaron Copland and George Gershwin, had first traveled to Vienna in the summer of 1889 and spent two years there, studying at the Vienna Conservatory and visiting his uncle over holiday breaks.<sup>26</sup> The article is perhaps the most crucial piece of evidence on Goldmark's Jewishness and its direct connection to his musical output, and will be intensively examined later in this chapter in particular as it relates to Goldmark's Suite no. 1 for piano and violin, op. 11 and *Sakuntala*.

A more literary and fanciful biography of Goldmark appeared in the German-language Hungarian newspaper, *Pester Lloyd* in May of 1900: the Prussian-Jewish author Wilhelm Goldbaum's "Der Junge Goldmark."<sup>27</sup> This sketch of Goldmark's childhood, based apparently on a single meeting at a dinner party, is revealing perhaps more of the highly-assimilated Goldbaum (1843-1912) and his intentions toward creating a myth of Hungarian *shtetl* life than it is of Goldmark's actual childhood. Goldbaum's "Der junge Goldmark" is by far the outlier in Goldmark biographies with its exaggerated and florid emphasis placed on Judaism's influence of his musical path and oeuvre. The

---

<sup>24</sup> Rubin Goldmark, "Carl Goldmark," 275-286.

<sup>25</sup> Ruth Henderson, "The Looker-On (New York, 1895-1897)," *RIPM Online*, 2016, accessed 22 May 2018, <https://www.ripm.org/?page=JournalInfo&ABB=LOO>.

<sup>26</sup> Rubin Goldmark Passport Application #275972 (1923), Roll 2237, Passport Applications, January 2, 1906-March 31, 1925, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C

<sup>27</sup> Wilhelm Goldbaum, "Der junge Goldmark," *Pester Lloyd* no. 119 (18 May 1900): 3. Brodbeck gives as a succinct summary of Goldbaum's essay in Brodbeck, *Defining Deutschtum*, 54-56.

image presented in it is in direct contrast to Goldmark's own description of his childhood and will be discussed below. Goldbaum's article has served as the foundation for several scholars to comment that liturgical melodies are to be found in *Die Königin von Saba*, though no substantiated example has yet been discovered. Furthermore, Goldbaum also wrote that, in 1858, Goldmark composed a set of works for synagogue, although these works existed only in manuscript and have since been lost.<sup>28</sup>

Yet another biographic sketch appeared on Goldmark in 1910, this time in the Viennese music periodical *Der Merker*, written by the journal's editor, Richard Specht (1870-1932).<sup>29</sup> *Der Merker* was published by musicologist Richard Batka and art and literature critic Ludwig Hevesi. Over its publication history from 1909 to 1922, the journal gave special attention to works of the theater, with particular attention to Wagner, and to more contemporary figures such as Gustav Mahler, Richard Strauss, and Arnold Schoenberg.<sup>30</sup> The journal drew its name ("the marker") and motto ("*Der Merker werde so bestellt, daß weder Haß noch Lieben das Urteil trüben, das er fällt*"—"The marker's work shall be done such that neither hate nor love obscure its judgment") from Hans Sachs in Act I of Wagner's *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* (1868). The existence of a Goldmark retrospective in a Wagnerian-leaning publication serves to demonstrate the fluid nature of what are sometimes seen as more rigid boundaries of style and compositional allegiances. Although much of Goldmark's style

---

<sup>28</sup> Brodbeck, *Defining Deutschtum*, 56. Brodbeck suggests that Goldbaum erroneously identified the cantor and congregation for which these works were composed. While Goldbaum cites Cantor Warhmann in Alt-Ofen, Brodbeck suggests that the timeline of these works indicates that they were written for Goldmark's brother-in-law, Moritz Friedman in Pest.

<sup>29</sup> Richard Specht, "Carl Goldmark," *Der Merker: Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Musik und Theater* 1, no. 15 (10 May 1910): 617-620.

<sup>30</sup> Ole Hass, "Der Merker (Vienna, 1909-1922)," *RIPM Online*, 2015, accessed 22 May 2018, <https://ripm.org/index.php?page=JournalInfo&ABB=MER>.

can be heard as Mendelssohnian or Brahmsian, he was also conversant in Wagnerian musical vocabulary and held in esteem by many in that circle.

Thus, these biographical sketches of different lengths, with inconsistently reliable sources, and from publications with varying agendas, together with the many reviews of specific works by Goldmark in the musical and general press must necessarily come together to form a clear biography of this complex figure. Following his death, despite the publication and translation of his autobiography, interest in Goldmark quickly waned. Until quite recently, Goldmark was relegated to those ubiquitous lists of composers of Jewish extraction (and even then, he receives less attention than many others), with *Die Königin von Saba* listed as evidence for his engagement with his Jewish origins. This dismissal of Goldmark and oversimplification of the history of *Die Königin von Saba* has existed since the earliest writings in Jewish music studies. He was mentioned only twice in Idelsohn's *Jewish Music in Its Historical Development* (1929). First, Idelsohn conceded that Goldmark was one of “the most important and successful musicians of Jewish extraction, who contributed enormously toward the upbuilding of European classic and popular music.”<sup>31</sup> Yet, not a full page later, Idelsohn wrote more dismissively, “There were musicians of the younger generation whose only knowledge of their Jewishness was the bare fact of their extraction. In any case, very few knew anything of Jewish Synagogue and folk-song... Goldmark and Offenbach—both sons of *chazzanim*—never employed Jewish motives in their compositions.”<sup>32</sup> As discussed in Chapter 1, Idelsohn's dismissal was rooted in his ideas that only liturgical and folk music were worthy of inclusion within the realm of Jewish music studies. To Idelsohn, art music could never truly be “Jewish music.” Furthermore, Idelsohn's use of the word “extraction,” rhetorically removed assimilated composers from the orbit

---

<sup>31</sup> Idelsohn, *Jewish Music in its Historical Development*, 472-473.

<sup>32</sup> Idelsohn, *Jewish Music in its Historical Development*, 473-474.

of his “Jewish music,” problematically indicating that someone like Goldmark had no knowledge of his own musical heritage and identity and that his Jewish identity played no role in his world outlook, professional relationships, or artistic content, despite extensive evidence to the contrast as will be revealed in this chapter.

It is almost assured that Rubin Goldmark would have been aware of Idelsohn’s dismissal of his uncle’s work in *Jewish Music in Its Historical Development*. A 1930 letter from Rubin Goldmark to his nephew Marcus Lester Aaron expressed thanks for the latter’s thoughtful gift:

A short time ago, a most attractive looking book came on the subject of Jewish music, with your card enclosed. It looks like a most interesting volume. So far I have had an opportunity merely to glance at it. But seems to be a most comprehensive work, and I anticipate pleasure as well as profit from going over it in detail. It was extremely nice and attentive of you to send it, and I thank you most cordially for the same.<sup>33</sup>

Given the publication of Idelsohn’s *Jewish Music in Its Historical Development* one year prior to Rubin Goldmark’s receipt of the aforementioned gift from his nephew, it seems highly likely that this volume was what he received. Although Rubin Goldmark admitted that he had not thoroughly read the book, it seems plausible that he would have thumbed through it and checked for references to Carl or even himself.

Dismissals of Goldmark as irrelevant to Jewish music studies endured well beyond Idelsohn. Goldmark’s Jewishness is described as only of “passing interest” in the *Grove* article on “Jewish music.”<sup>34</sup> Regarding Goldmark and others including, among others, Mendelssohn, Moscheles, and

---

<sup>33</sup> Letter from Rubin Goldmark to Marcus Lester Aaron (11 November 1930), Rubin Goldmark junior (composer), 1886-1969, Box 2, Folder 3, Goldmark Family Collection, AR 1909, Leo Baeck Institute, New York, accessed 22 June 2020 <https://archive.org/stream/goldmarkfamilyco02gold#page/n224>.

<sup>34</sup> Alexander Knapp, “Jewish Music, V. Art and popular music in surrounding cultures, 2. The Christian World, (iii) Emancipation to World War II,” *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, accessed 20 January 2018, <https://doi-org.turing.library.northwestern.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.41322>.

Rubinstein, music historian Irene Heskes questioned, “Does the fact of Jewish parentage fasten one’s creativity to Judaism, despite a life of Christian affiliation?... Is it poverty of numbers rather than specific ethnic inspiration that prompts some Jewish writers to include these composers among their Judaic listings?”<sup>35</sup> Heskes also made the unsubstantiated claim that Goldmark was a convert to Christianity. Goldmark does not discuss baptism in his biography, and no conversion is mentioned in the Goldmark entry in the 1906 *Jewish Encyclopedia*, whose authors made a point to include such information in the case of other well-known figures.

The latest extended biographical sketch of Goldmark appeared several decades after his death in the English language, quasi-memoir, *Legend of a Musical City: The Story of Vienna* (1945) by Austrian-born music critic Max Graf (1873-1958).<sup>36</sup> The son of a Viennese newspaper publisher, Graf had studied music history under Hanslick and theory with Bruckner, taught music history at the Akademie für Musik und Darstellende Kunst, and served as a music critic for the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*, as well as a Viennese correspondent to German, Czech, and American periodicals.<sup>37</sup> He emigrated to the United States in 1938 and stayed until 1947; *Legend of a Musical City* was published during this American period. Graf’s remembrance of Goldmark primary pertains to *Die Königin von Saba* and will be discussed at greater length in Chapter 6. Graf’s depiction of Goldmark is unique in that it is both a first-hand account and was published following the atrocities of the Holocaust and World War II. As such, there is a notable quality of nostalgia in the descriptive language relative to such witnesses as Goldbaum. Graf wrote: “He always reminded me of a wise old

---

<sup>35</sup> Irene Heskes, *Passport to Jewish Music* (Westwood, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994), 269.

<sup>36</sup> Max Graf, *Legend of a Musical City: The Story of Vienna* (New York: F. Hubner & Co., Inc., 1945), 115-133.

<sup>37</sup> Rudolf Klein, “Graf, Max,” *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, accessed 10 November 2018, <https://doi-org.turing.library.northwestern.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.11583>.

Rabbi, whose mind was above this life, and who lived in the thought of God.”<sup>38</sup> Graf’s problematic descriptions of Jewish music follow the Idelsohnian model of a Jewish music history which links melodies from Ancient Israel and the Temple to the European *shtetl*: “In the synagogue, little Goldmark heard the old tunes of the Hebrew service which accompanied the Jewish people from their native oriental country to the distress and persecutions of Europe.”<sup>39</sup> In addition to the erroneous nature of such a unilinear history, evidence from family letters discussed below indicates that Goldmark’s childhood was not quite so insular.

Finally—and most crucially—examination of family letters also reveals a richer image of the composer’s highly complex negotiation of identities and familial relations, which are either summarily dismissed or wholly absent from his *Erinnerungen*. The largest repository of letters from the extended Goldmark Family is held at the Leo Baeck Institute’s Center for Jewish History in New York and was donated in the 1960s.<sup>40</sup> The collection, which has been fully digitized, contains only very limited materials deriving from Carl Goldmark himself, but is rather primarily comprised of letters of his family members—his father Rubin Simcha, his mother Mari, his brothers, and their extended families and acquaintances. The letters are primarily in German, although younger generations sometimes corresponded in English.

This extensive outlining of sources leads us to at least one indisputable fact: Goldmark’s Jewish origins have never been in contention. His Jewishness was well-known during his lifetime, albeit varyingly emphasized by music-critical press and sometimes talked “around” rather than

---

<sup>38</sup> Graf, *Legend of a Musical City*, 115.

<sup>39</sup> Graf, *Legend of a Musical City*, 117.

<sup>40</sup> Goldmark Family Collection, AR 1909, Leo Baeck Institute, New York, accessed 10 November 2018, <https://archives.cjh.org//repositories/5/resources/13808>. An email sent to this author from the archive department at LBI indicated that no further information could be given regarding the donation of the materials due to “privacy concerns.”

addressed directly. Most recently, David Brodbeck has addressed the positioning of Goldmark as a Jew and of his music as Jewishly evocative in the musical and general interest press. His 2014 *Defining Deutschtum: Political Ideology, German Identity, and Music-Critical Discourse in Liberal Vienna* uses Goldmark as one of several case studies on “othered” composers working in the Viennese music scene and provokes reconsideration of long-held ideas on German musical nationalism and challenges existing concepts on the interaction between liberal values and musical agendas. Brodbeck has since published two additional articles on Goldmark: the first explores the surviving Goldmark family letters in the context of the origin of his operas and the later addresses his Hungarian identity.<sup>41</sup> Furthermore, Goldmark served as the primary subject of an international musicology conference on the centenary of his Goldmark’s death “Exoticism, Orientalism and National Identity in Musical Theatre,” in December 2015 at the Institute of Musicology Research Centre for the Humanities at the Hungarian Academy of the Humanities in Budapest.<sup>42</sup> Richard Taruskin’s recent ruminations in *Studia Musicologica* engages with Brodbeck’s ideas set forth in *Defining Deutschtum*, suggesting some specific and expanded interpretations on *Die Königin von Saba*.<sup>43</sup> In this chapter and the one that follows, I have looked to Brodbeck’s scholarship and Taruskin’s analyses of certain passages in *Die Königin von Saba*, while providing alternative readings on

---

<sup>41</sup> David Brodbeck, “A Tale of Two Brothers: Behind the Scenes of Goldmark’s First Opera,” *The Musical Quarterly* 97, no. 4 (24 January 2015): 499-541; Idem., “Heimat Is Where the Heart Is: or, What Kind of Hungarian was Goldmark?” *Austrian History Yearbook* 48 (2017): 235-254.

<sup>42</sup> *Exoticism, Orientalism and National Identity in Musical Theatre: International Musicological Conference on the Centenary of the Death of Karl Goldmark*, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest, 11-12 December 2015, accessed 10 November 2018, <http://zti.hu/index.php/en/mza/publications/conference/122-goldmark-conference>.

<sup>43</sup> Richard Taruskin, “Teeth Will Be Provided: On Signifiers,” *Studia Musicologica* 57, no. 3-4 (2016): 263-293.

compositional intent, Goldmark's relation to Jewishness, and the changing way we hear and understand the composer's "signifiers" for Jewish particularity and difference.

### **Biography from Fragments: Goldmark's Childhood and Youth**

Given the above trends, the task of piecing together a coherent and clear biography of Goldmark has been a great challenge. No scholar has yet to attempt a reconstruction of Carl Goldmark's life in conjunction with his own telling in *Erinnerungen aus Meinem Leben*. Whereas Brodbeck's research has extensively addressed reception of Goldmark in the press, intense exploration of the multitude of Goldmark family letters has been outside the scope of the majority of Brodbeck's music-criticism-focused research.<sup>44</sup> Crucially, I do not limit myself to published biographic sketches outlined above, but I also look to reconstruct Goldmark's world and the specific people within it, giving special attention to how private letters—especially those of his immediate family—often undercut the image presented in his autobiography. In service to this chapter, I have focused my exploration on three parts of his life: his childhood and the heritage of Judaism that influenced his early positioning within the European art music scene; his further interactions with highly assimilated Jews and Jewish institutions; and the scholarly attempts to find evidence of exoticism and Orientalism in his music.

In the early pages of *Erinnerungen*, Goldmark paints a portrait of his family that is simple and superficial. He begins by referencing his Jewishness, albeit somewhat obliquely. The English version begins: The English version begins: "I was born May 18, 1830, at Keszthely, in Hungary. My father was both the cantor and the notary of the community."<sup>45</sup> Brodbeck observes that Goldmark is not

---

<sup>44</sup> Family letters are used in Brodbeck, "A Tale of Two Brothers."

<sup>45</sup> Goldmark, *Notes*, 19; *Erinnerungen*, 11. "Ich wurde am 18. Mai 1830 in Keszthely in Ungar geboren. Mein Vater war Kantor und Notär der Gemeinde." Goldmark is not specific in what he



explicit here; he does not indicate that his father was a *synagogue* cantor, although the composer's Jewish origin was well-known at the time of publication.<sup>46</sup> Although Helm made no mention of Goldmark's father's work as a cantor, he did identify Keszthely as Goldmark's place of birth and addressed the composer's Jewishness quite sympathetically in his 1870 *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* biography.<sup>47</sup> Thus, it is fairly clear that, despite Brodbeck's suggestion on Goldmark's elusiveness, his Jewishness was not a secret at all.

The childhood episodes recounted by Goldmark in *Erinnerungen* cannot be explored without placing them in contrast to Wilhelm Goldbaum's 1900 "Der junge Goldmark" in *Pester Lloyd*. Goldbaum, who came from modest and traditional Jewish origins in Kempen in the kingdom of Prussia, was assimilated and well-respected as a journalist.<sup>48</sup> He held an editorship at the *Neue Freie Presse* from 1872 until his death in 1912. Unlike Helm's *Musikalische Wochenblatt*, which was purportedly aesthetically neutral, and the antisemitic and German nationalist *Deutsches Zeitung*, the *Neue Freie Presse* was Jewish-owned and well-known as being sympathetic to Jewish issues.<sup>49</sup> In addition to his journalism, Goldbaum's most other popular works were his *Entlegene Kulturen: Skizzen und Bilder* (*Remote Cultures: Sketches and Pictures*, 1877) and *Literarische Physiognomien* (*Literary Physiognomy*, 1884), two nostalgic volumes that include essays on premodern Jewish life in Europe.<sup>50</sup>

---

means when he says father was the notary of the community/*Gemeinde*, but he presumably means for the Jewish community.

<sup>46</sup> Brodbeck, *Defining Deutschtum*, 58.

<sup>47</sup> [Helm], "Carl Goldmark," *Musikalisches Wochenblatt*, 441, 442.

<sup>48</sup> Isidore Singer, "Goldbaum, Wilhelm," *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 6:21, accessed 16 May 2018, <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/6738-goldbaum-wilhelm>.

<sup>49</sup> Isidore Singer and Herman Rosenthal, "Friedländer, Max," *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 5:517, accessed 16 May 2018, <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/6378-friedlander-max>.

<sup>50</sup> Wilhelm Goldbaum, *Entlegene Kulturen: Skizzen und Bilder* (Berlin: A. Hoffmann, 1877); Idem., *Literarische Physiognomien* (Vienna and Teschen: Karl Prochaska, 1884).

*Entlegene Kulturen* explored three such “remote cultures” as the title indicates—Russian, Polish, and Jewish. The Jewish section includes a diverse pastiche of topics ranging from a biographic sketch on Susskind the Minnesinger, a description of Turkish Jewry written in interview style, and a story simply titled “Auch eine Ghetto-Geschichte,” which recounts a tale of the author’s friend. This quasi-fictionalized nostalgia for a ghetto life was hardly unusual. Particularly popular and marketed to the newly formed Jewish middle class in Western and Central Europe were the paintings of Moritz Daniel Oppenheim, which depicted a highly idealized Jewish life in widely circulated portfolio editions, as well as decorated plates for Sabbath use and other household objects.<sup>51</sup> Images such as these, together with ghetto literature, fostered a self-othering: assimilated German-speaking Jews were able to distance themselves from their own roots while simultaneously championing an idyllic image of *shtetl* life not unlike the broader population’s interest in peasant life so popular among cosmopolitan Europeans. Jonathan M. Hess writes that the genre acted “to secure nineteenth-century German Jews a form of bourgeois cultural respectability that might serve as a marker of their newly found—or yet to be achieved—middle class status.”<sup>52</sup> *Literarische Physiognomien* also consisted of biographical sketches focusing on leading writers of his day, including Jews Berthold Auerbach, Wippchen [Julius Stettenheim], and the so-called “Ghetto Poets” Leopold Kompert, Aron Bernstein, Solomon Hermann Mosenthal, and Karl Emil Franzos; and non-Jews Franz Dingelstedt, Friedrich Spielhagen, Karl Gutzkow, Wilhemine von Hillern. Leopold von Sacher-Masoch, the only non-Jew listed among the “Ghetto Poets,” was a supporter of Jewish civil emancipation and advocated for the inclusion of Jewish culture in late nineteenth century German-

---

<sup>51</sup> Ismar Schorsch, “Art as Social History: Oppenheim and the German Jewish Vision of Emancipation,” in *Moritz Oppenheim: The First Jewish Painter*, ed. E. Cohen (Jerusalem, 1983), 31-61.

<sup>52</sup> Jonathan M. Hess, “Leopold Kompert and the Work of Nostalgia: The Cultural Capital of German Jewish Ghetto Fiction,” *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 97, no. 4 (Fall 2007): 584.

language cultural discourse.<sup>53</sup> Goldbaum is not entirely uncritical of the Jews in this volume, particularly in his evaluation of Mosenthal (relevant here as he was the librettist of Goldmark's *Die Königin von Saba* and Rubinstein's *Die Kinder der Heide*, *Die Maccabäer*, and *Moses*), whom he felt had “did not feel the spirit of the ghetto, only imitated it, constructing and composing it with cold blood” because he had “wandered too far into the Germanic world.”<sup>54</sup> This critique from Goldbaum, however, willfully ignored Mosenthal's *Deborah* and his lifelong interest in Jewish themes and topics.

Given Goldbaum's predilection for mythologizing the ghetto, it is hardly surprising that “Der junge Goldmark,” which spanned the lower third of a page in the style of a *feuilleton* or *rez-de-chaussée*, was fanciful and charming, painting images of young Carl's skill at mimicking melodies of his cantor father and of a young man's genius that endured despite poverty and a lack of education. Although he focused on Goldmark's youth, Goldbaum closed with a brief mention of *Die Königin von Saba*, but only in the guise of crediting the melodies within to his [Jewish] childhood in Hungary:

The impressions of his Hungarian youth followed him through life, and like a reverent memory of his father, Simcha Rubin, and of the cantor's daughter from [the town of] Pápa who became his tender mother, arose in the melodies of his most glorious opera [*Die Königin von Saba*], exotic, solemn, and yet compelling, like the legend of the millennia, which hovered over his cradle...<sup>55</sup>

---

<sup>53</sup> Barbara Hyams, “The Whip and the Lamp: Leopold von Sacher-Masoch, the Woman Question, and the Jewish Question,” *Women in German Yearbook* 13 (1997): 70.

<sup>54</sup> Goldbaum, *Literarische Physiognomien*, 185. “Mosenthal hat den Geist des Ghettos nicht empfunden, sondern nachempfunden; er hat mit kaltem Blute construiert und componirt... Mosenthal war bereits weit hinausgewandert in die germanische Welt...”

<sup>55</sup> Goldbaum, “Der junge Goldmark.” “Seine ungarische Jugendzeit aber ist mit ihren Eindrücken neben ihm durch's Leben gewandert und wie andächtiges Erinnern an seinen Vater Simcha Ruben, an das Vorsänger-Töchterlein aus Pápa, das seine zärtliche Mutter wurde, steigt es aus den Melodien seiner herrlichsten Oper auf, fremdartig, feierlich und doch bezwingend wie die Voltslegende on Jahrtausenden, die seine Wiege umschwebte...”

Goldbaum's forced connection of the Bible and romanticized shtetl life—in particular that a lullaby sung by a mother could have a direct connection as a “legend of the millennia”—is evident throughout the article. Despite Goldbaum's own origins—like much of *Pester Lloyd's* secularized, acculturated readership—both the Bible and the *shtetl* had become ancient, foreign, and distant memories. The conflation of the two, of course, and more broadly, the idea that one's ancestral origin can pervade one's artistic output, is the same argument made *ad infinitum* by antisemitic commentators, and one that would become apparent later in Goldmark's life with *Die Königin von Saba*.

Perhaps the thorniest issue unaddressed in scholarship on Goldmark is the disconnect between the upbringing that he presented, that of Goldbaum's brief account, and his actual childhood and formative life experiences as evidenced in surviving family letters. In *Erinnerungen*, Goldmark described his childhood experience as culturally bleak, isolated, and without knowledge of the secular world. He wrote that he “had the good fortune never to go to school” and that “I had never heard any music, in the real sense,” an apparent attempt to downplay the importance of his father's cantorial singing and elevate only art music.<sup>56</sup> The image of a boy with a gaggle of siblings running free in their shtetl is an appealing apocryphal picture, however an exploration into his family reveals a more rich and diverse educational experience. Goldmark subsequently explained that he received his first education at the age of twelve, from Moritz Friedman, who would later become his brother-in-law.<sup>57</sup> Moritz Friedmann (1823-1891), seven year's Goldmark's senior, had arrived in

---

<sup>56</sup> Goldmark, *Notes*, 21, 24; *Erinnerungen*, 12, 14. “Ich hatte das Glück, keine Shule zu befuhen... Musik im eigentlichsten Sinne hatte ich nie gehört.” Brodbeck observes that Goldmark must mean specifically secular school here, “since as a boy he probably attended a *cheder* (traditional Jewish school) and in any case would have learned to read Hebrew and begun to study the Torah.” See Brodbeck, *Defining Deuschtum*, 61.

<sup>57</sup> Goldmark, 23-24; *Erinnerungen*, 13.

Deutschkreutz around 1844 to study cantorial singing with Rubin Simcha Goldmark. He became a close friend of the family, tutoring the Goldmark children, and eventually serving as a teacher at both the boys' and girls' Jewish schools, which offered instruction in Hebrew, German, and Hungarian.<sup>58</sup> The schools had been established before Friedmann arrived, so it is likely Goldmark in fact received education prior to his future brother-in-law's arrival. Although he is mostly absent in the *Erinnerungen*, Friedmann was a definite presence in the multi-faceted musical world that Goldmark inhabited. Following the revolutions of 1848, Friedmann spent several years in Vienna studying with Salomon Sulzer and serving as the cantor of Fünfhaus, a Viennese suburb. In 1857, he was appointed the *Obercantor* of Pest, a position of great prestige, becoming essentially, the Sulzer of Pest. The cordial relationship between Goldmark and Friedmann seems to have been both familial and professional. A celebratory letter in festive volume celebrating Friedmann's twenty-fifth year serving in Pest included a letter from Goldmark, in which he not only described himself as "your brother-in-law and probably your oldest friend," but he also extensively praised Friedmann's musical reputation: "[On this anniversary], many worthy men will have the opportunity to emphasize how you, a poor boy, worked your way up from humble beginnings by your own strength to your current important position and recognition; they will tell of what a man of intellect, talent, education, and character, in his right place, can achieve."<sup>59</sup> The Goldmark family, thus, was integrally tied to the

---

<sup>58</sup> *Friedmann-Album, zur bleibenden Erinnerung an die Feier des 25-jähr. Amtsjubiläums des Moritz Friedmann* (Budapest: Chorin & Co., 1877), 101. The *Friedmann-Album* indicates that Friedmann spent four years in Deutschkreutz, before leaving in 1848. This approximates his arrival when young Carl would have been fourteen years old, not twelve as indicated in *Erinnerungen*.

<sup>59</sup> *Friedmann-Album*, 77. "Dieser schöne Tag der Freude für dich und für uns, der Tag deines 25-jährigen Jubiläums wird wohl würdigen Männern Gelegenheit geben, zu betonen, wie Du, ein armer Junge, aus einer kleinen Existenz dich durch eigene Kraft emporgearbeitet, zur Bedeutung deiner jetzigen Stellung und Anerkennug; sie werden erzählen, was ein Mann von Geist, Talent, Bildung und Charakter, auf seinen richtigen Platz gestellt, zu leisten vermag...einem Schwager und wohl deinem ältesten Freunde..."

rising reform of the synagogue liturgy and its music that spreading across Central Europe as it reached the German-speaking parts of Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Additional comparisons of how Goldmark presented his childhood with the family letters reveal further examples of the family's increasing acculturation and openness to Western ideas. About his mother, he wrote, "My mother was indeed an eager reader but the reading had to be done almost secretly. It was considered a sin to read a German book. In most households there were no books and least of all did they have any music just for its own sake."<sup>60</sup> Yet, the extensive Goldmark family correspondence reveals a family that was well-versed in the German language and wrote eloquently to each other in it, so it seems difficult to imagine such knowledge was gained only in clandestine reading. Greetings from the Goldmark matriarch, Mari, to her children were often included in her husband's hand as a postscript to his letters. Several letters have survived from Mari. All are in German, including one as small addendum to her husband's letter, included in birthday wishes to Leo.<sup>61</sup> The letter shows her comfortable knowledge of the German language, but it is an anomaly in that it is the only surviving letter in the family collection written fully in Hebrew characters.

## Early Career and Family Assimilation

In addition to outward actions such as speaking and corresponding in German and reading German books, there is also considerable evidence that Goldmark's aspirations toward a secular

---

<sup>60</sup> Goldmark, *Notes*, 26; *Erinnerungen*, 14. "Meine Mutter war zwar eine eifrige Leserin, aber das mußte sie fast heimlich tun, den es galt für Sünde, eine deutsches Buch zu lesen. Im allgemeinen gab es auch keine Bücher, am allerwenigsten Musik um ihrer selbst willen."

<sup>61</sup> Letter from Mari Goldmark to Leo Goldmark (16 June 1867), Correspondence addressed to Leo Goldmark and amongst family and friends, 1863-1875, Box 1, Folder 1, Goldmark Family Collection, AR 1909, Leo Baeck Institute, New York, accessed 3 August 2020, <https://archive.org/stream/goldmarkfamilyco01gold#page/n224>. Mari Goldmark's letter is clearly not Yiddish, as the grammatical syntax and vocabulary are German.

career were not as critically received as his *Erinnerungen* would indicate. By the time the children were adults, Rubin Simcha Goldmark had accepted that not all his children would remain within their Jewish community. One such example can be found in a relatively early letter to Leo dated February 8, 1863. Like all of his surviving letters, Rubin Simcha wrote in German, his primary vernacular language, and, in this letter, like many others, he interspersed words in Hebrew and brief Biblical teachings. After a brief rumination regarding his secular financial issues, analyzed through the use of *Gematria* [an alphanumeric form of Biblical exegesis] of the words *Emes* [truth] and *Chai* [life], Rubin Simcha directly addressed the issue of profession—namely that Leo wished to become a cantor:

Now my dear son, I will concern myself with your future. You indicate in your letter an inclination for the career of cantor. I would not favor it, for just look at the split in the congregations between the orthodox and the liberal parties and you will surely lose all desire for such an uncertain profession which with the best understanding promises no glowing success. It would surely be best to select a profession, which, if supported with ability and good luck promises a happy life, which can never be the case in a cantor's career because it depends on the life of the Jews.<sup>62</sup>

This stunning statement reveals multiple layers of awareness on Rubin's part not only about his own profession, but also on the position of Jews in Europe during this period. The contradictory nature of the letter is evidence of its time. While the cantorate had been a relatively dynastic profession in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—he himself had joined this “family business” when he

---

<sup>62</sup> Letter from Rubin Simcha Goldmark to Leo Goldmark (8 February 1863), Correspondence addressed to Leo Goldmark and amongst family and friends, 1863-1875, Box 1, Folder 1, Goldmark Family Collection, AR 1909, Leo Baeck Institute, New York, accessed 22 June 2020, <https://archive.org/stream/goldmarkfamilyco01gold#page/n39>. Translation and transcription are drawn from the LBI archive. “Nun mein geliebter Sohn will ich mich mit Deiner Zukunft beschäftigen. Du verätst in Deinem Briefe eine Neigung fürs Cantorfach, ich wäre nicht dafür, denn siehe nur den Zwist in den Gemeinden, diese Zerklüftungen zwischen der Orthodoxen und Fortschrittsparthei und Du würdest gewiss alle Lust zu einem so unsicheren Gewerbe welches selbst auch bei bestem Einverstehen keine glanzenden Erfolge verspricht verlieren—Es wäre ganz gewiss das Beste einen Erwerb zu wählen welcher wenn er von Begabung und vom Glücke unterstützt wird, eine glückliche Existenz in Aussicht stellt, welche leider beim Cantorfache nie der Fall sein kann weil die Existenz von Juden herrührt.”

married his second wife, whose father was a cantor in the city of Pápa—it appears that Rubin Simcha did not wish for his children to enter into the profession. His reasoning is a valid one: the growing schism between liberal reformers and the traditionalist orthodox placed considerable stress on Jewish unity during the nineteenth century. Yet it is somewhat inaccurate for him to argue that the profession itself was unsure; after all, Salomon Sulzer was flourishing in Vienna, redefining the role of cantor in Jewish life and practice and raising the profile of music in the synagogue. As the letter continued, his true point of concern becomes clear: money. He advised his son to find a profession in which he can earn a “good fortune” like his older brother Josef in America who was “very rich.” Therefore the father encouraged his son to pursue law or a position at a *Hauptschule*: “Above all it is necessary to make oneself master of a living language—briefly one must select a livelihood that has the prospect of good fortune in which through luck and competence one can progress...”<sup>63</sup> Three years later, apparently Rubin Simcha still had not given up on this idea of secular success, despite the fact that by this time Leo was an established cantor in Duschnik bei Przibram (near Dobříš in the modern-day Czech Republic):

In America, if it should happen that you should find no occupation with your very rich brother (which is not assured) [Rubin Simcha’s oldest son from his first marriage, Josef Goldmark], you still have the wherewithal to assure yourself a comfortable existence. In America you would be a good piano teacher, a good language teacher, or in case of necessity a very good cantor.<sup>64</sup>

---

<sup>63</sup> Letter from Rubin Simcha Goldmark to Leo Goldmark (8 February 1863). “Vor Allem ist nothwendig sich einige lebendige Sprachen sich eigen zu machen -- kurz und gut man muss einen solchen Broderwerb wählen, der fähig ist ein Glück in Aussicht zu stellen, und durch Glück und Befähigung gehoben werden kann...”

<sup>64</sup> Letter from Rubin Simcha Goldmark to Leo Goldmark (20 February 1866), Correspondence addressed to Leo Goldmark and amongst family and friends, 1863-1875, Box 1, Folder 1, Goldmark Family Collection, AR 1909, Leo Baeck Institute, New York, accessed 22 June 2020, <https://archive.org/stream/goldmarkfamilyco01gold#page/n84>. Translation and transcription are drawn from the LBI archive. “In Amerika wenn angenommen aber nicht zugegeben dass Du bei Deinem sehr reichen Bruder gar keine Beschäftigung finden solltest, hast Du



The key refuting moment in this letter is the mention of a piano. Goldmark emphasized time and time again in his *Erinnerungen* that the family did not have exposure to so-called “German-music.” However, by the 1860s at least, even the family’s patriarch had embraced secular music. Ezra Mendelsohn emphasizes the importance of secular music for assimilating Jews during this period, writing “It is instructive to discover that many eminent Jewish musicians of the first half of the nineteenth century, far from rebelling against their parents in their cultural preferences and choice of career, were actually introduced to European high musical culture by their families.”<sup>65</sup> Ezra Mendelsohn cites many precedents for this: Sarah Levy’s gift of Bach’s *St. Matthew Passion* manuscript to her nephew Felix Mendelssohn, Meyerbeer’s parents’ salon concerts in Berlin, and the many musicians’ whose parents played instruments amateurly.<sup>66</sup> Given such examples, it seems likely that the family had a piano at some point, though Goldmark wrote of an exciting moment at his first violin recital in 1843 in Oedenberg:

At this time I was to have another remarkable experience. For the first time I saw and heard—a piano! Professor [Eduard] Pirkhert from Vienna played some Liszt and Thalberg fantasias. My delight was quite as great as my astonishment to see his fingers galloping so madly over the keys without getting confused or striking the wrong note. Nor could I understand why the people clapped their hands.<sup>67</sup>

---

Mittel genug Dir eine reichliche Existenz zu sichern? In Amerika bist Du ein guter Claviermeister, ein guter Sprachmeister, und im Nothfall ein sehr guter Cantor.”

<sup>65</sup> Ezra Mendelsohn, “On the Jewish Presence in Nineteenth-Century European Musical Life,” 6.

<sup>66</sup> Ezra Mendelsohn, “On the Jewish Presence in Nineteenth-Century European Musical Life,” 6.

<sup>67</sup> Goldmark, *Notes*, 31; *Erinnerungen*, 67-68. “Aber da sollte ich noch etwas Merkwürdiges erleben: ich sah und hörte das erstemal—ein Klavier! Professor Pirkhert aus Wien spielte Listzsche, Thalbergsche Phantasien. Mein Entzücken war ebenso groß wie mein Erstaunen darüber, daß die Finger nur so hinrasten, ohne sich zu verwirren oder daneben zu greifen. Auh warum die Leute klatschten. war mir unbegreiflich.”

It is unclear how the Goldmark family's financial circumstances and cultural assimilation developed from the 1840s to the 1860s. It is apparent, however, from the family letters of the 1860s that their situation was not how Goldmark portrayed it in the 1840s. He wrote that they were extremely poor and could not support him in Vienna for further study, where his lessons cost more than a tenth of his father's monthly salary.<sup>68</sup> Yet a few decades later, Rubin Simcha not only supported his other sons in secular education, but he also actually advocated for it over remaining at home in their insular religious world. Goldmark's concurrent study at the Vienna Polytechnic Institute and the Vienna Conservatory is evidence of a family who had more secular ambitions for their children. Financial difficulties aside, education must have been a priority.

In his *Erinnerungen*, Goldmark dwelled for an extended number of pages on his experiences in the 1848 revolutions and in political strife between Austrian and Hungarian forces. Goldmark recounted an experience of arrest in Raab, in which his connection as a theater musician was his apparent saving grace when an officer who had worked as an actor released him. He returned to Vienna in 1851, began taking private students, and continued working as a violinist at the Carl Theater. In 1858, he went back again to Pest, teaching students, and engaging in personal study of the theoretical texts of Ernst Friedrich Richter, Adolph Bernhard Marx, and Simon Sechter, as well as Bach's *Das wohltemperierte Klavier* and Beethoven's late style.<sup>69</sup> Back to Vienna he went in 1860, where he would reside for the rest of his life.

As a Jew, Goldmark was already an outsider to European society. As a Hungarian Jew, he was an outsider even to German Jews, who had embraced assimilation earlier, made more significant political and cultural gains in Berlin and Leipzig as compared to the position of the Jews in

---

<sup>68</sup> Goldmark, *Notes*, 37; *Erinnerungen*, 21.

<sup>69</sup> Goldmark, *Notes*, 106-107; *Erinnerungen*, 59.

Budapest. Yet, as a German-speaking Hungarian, Goldmark emphasized his marginal status throughout *Erinnerungen*, and insisted on his warm feelings for his native Hungary. He complained of how the Hungarian papers had frequently denied his citizenship and assertions that since he could not speak Hungarian he was not a true compatriot. He wrote, in recounting a scene in which an impromptu visit to Deutschkreuz after many years brought him to his knees in tears:

It is true that I have lived in Vienna for sixty-seven years [by the time he writing *Erinnerungen*]. All that I have of culture—of sciences and art, I have gained from German sources and in so far I count myself a German. Then too, I love my adopted country in which I grew up and developed and to which I owe everything that I am and that I stand for. But all this has never extinguished by deep-rooted feeling for my native land. A man must indeed have a heart of stone who does not hold dear the spot on which his cradle stood and all the sweet recollections of a happy childhood. In this sense I have remained true to the country of my birth.<sup>70</sup>

Goldmark's complex socio-cultural identity was a part of his life experience that allowed him to move between different spheres—Hungarian, German, Viennese, Jewish—and the above anecdote illustrates how he found pride and comfort in such a multi-national mindset.

### **Early Style: Goldmark's Suite**

By the mid-1860s, Goldmark was well-established as a violinist within the Viennese musical scene. He was friendly with a number of major musical figures in Vienna, including Anton Rubinstein, Ignaz Brüll, Felix Draeseke, Peter Cornelius, Wendelin Weißheimer, violinist Josef Hellmesberger, pianists Carl Tausig and Julius Epstein, music critic and philosophic writer Eduard Kulke, and Ferdinand Peter Laurencin d'Armond and Heinrich Porges, both critics for the *Neue*

---

<sup>70</sup> Goldmark, *Notes*, 150-151; *Erinnerungen*, 83-84. “Nun, ich lebe seit siebenundsechzig Jahren in Wien, habe mich aus deutschen Bildungsquellen in Wissenschaft und Kunst auferzogen und in diesem Sinne zähle ich mich auch zu den Deutschen. Auch liebe ich diese meine zweite Heimat des Wachsens und Werdens, der ich alles verdanke, was ich bin und bedeute. Aber all das hat die starken, tiefwurzelnden Heimatsgefühle nicht ausgelöscht. Es muß ein vertrocknetes, verknöchertes Herz sein, dem die Scholle, auf der seine Wiege stand all die füßen Erinnerungen glücklicher Kindheit nicht teuer sind. In diesem Sinne habe ich meiner Geburtsheimat die Treue bewahrt.”

*Zeitschrift für Musik*. Although the above list today includes a mixture of canonic figures and names that have been lost to time and popularity, at the time it was a diverse group of acquaintances that showed the breadth of musical style in Vienna. Draeseke, Cornelius, Weißheimer, Tausig, Count Laurencin, and Porges were champions of Wagner.<sup>71</sup> Epstein, who edited the works of Beethoven, Mendelssohn, and Schubert, was a close friend of Brahms, and Hellmesberger and his quartet premiered works of Brahms and others in the classical tradition. Furthermore, Rubinstein, Brüll, Epstein, Porges, and Kulke were of Jewish descent. Although Goldmark self-identified as a Mendelssohnian during this period, his circle of friends shows how permeable the boundaries of style had become by the mid-century.<sup>72</sup> Among these musicians, Goldmark finally began to receive some acclaim for his compositions in addition to his reputation as a reliable violinist and respected teacher.

Following performances and publication of two chamber works, the Piano Trio no. 1 in B-flat major, op. 4 (1858/59) and *Sturm und Drang* piano pieces, op. 5 (1858/59), and a large-scale orchestral work, the Suite in E minor for orchestra, op. 19 (1863-65), the composer presented his Suite no. 1 for piano and violin, op. 11. It was first performed in Vienna at the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde sometime during the winter of 1863-1864 by Josef Hellmesberger and Goldmark's prize student, Caroline von Gomperz-Bettelheim (1845-1925) and published by B. Schott's Söhne of Mainz not long after.<sup>73</sup> Gomperz-Bettelheim was born to a wealthy Viennese Jewish family of Hungarian origin and married to a member of the Austrian chamber of commerce. Although she

---

<sup>71</sup> Kulke was sympathetic to Wagner through the 1890s. Isidore Singer and Benuel H. Brumberg, "Kulke, Eduard," *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 7:582-583, accessed 20 July 2020, <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/9548-kulke-eduard>.

<sup>72</sup> Goldmark, *Notes*, 94; *Erinnerungen*, 53.

<sup>73</sup> Goldmark, *Notes*, 171-172; *Erinnerungen*, 95. Goldmark had trouble initially finding a publisher. The work was initially rejected by Rieder-Biedermann, Breitkopf and others.

performed on piano for this premiere, she went on to be engaged as a singer at the Vienna Court Opera, and Goldmark identified her as an inspiration for the Queen of Sheba, although she never sang the role (see Chapter 6).

The Suite is relevant in addressing Goldmark's Jewishness, notwithstanding its simple appearance upon first examination as a five-movement chamber music work which was in contrast to the prevailing popularity of the instrumental sonata during this period. Rather, the relevance here is asserted long after the fact in the voice of his nephew, Rubin Goldmark, which suggests the need to examine the Suite from an entirely different perspective. Recalling time spent with his uncle in Vienna during his schooling at the Conservatory, the American-born Rubin Goldmark wrote in 1897: "Both the Suite and the *Sakuntala* overture glow with Oriental color. By birth and early association he naturally inclined to the Oriental style and found therein the natural express of his individuality."<sup>74</sup> Of all the biographic material from Goldmark himself, his family directly, and from music critics in Europe and the United States, this statement is the most straightforward identification of the composer's engagement with so-called Orientalism—and by extension Jewishness—in his compositions. It is unclear what exactly Rubin Goldmark meant in "Oriental style" in the Suite, as he devoted significantly more time to *Sakuntala* and *Die Königin von Saba*, however he did provide a brief overall analysis of his uncle's style:

In all his writings Goldmark shows a mastery of form combined with a certain freedom from restraint, and that frequent disregard of the established laws of harmony and counterpoint that characterize the modern composer. As he himself once remarked to me, the chief consideration is the tonal effect [*Klangwirkung*]. While strongly urging young composers to acquire thoroughly, and to practice according to the strictest rules, all that is technical in their art, he advises them, at the same time, to give their individuality full scope,

---

<sup>74</sup> Rubin Goldmark, "Carl Goldmark," 278.

and rid themselves of that timidity in writing which is the bane of the so-called *Kapellmeister-musik*.<sup>75</sup>

This account Carl Goldmark encouraging his American-born teenage nephew is in fairly stark contrast to how the elder Goldmark described himself in his own autobiography.<sup>76</sup> In his *Erinnerungen*, Goldmark seemed more interested positioning himself as either a starving artist working away in complete solitude or as a highly connected member of the most important musical social circles. In all likelihood, both of these are partially true. Yet, Goldmark rarely went on any sort of philosophical diversions in his *Erinnerungen*, more often emphasizing how his music fit into larger trends of the times and occasional name-dropping the famous musicians with whom he interacted. Rubin Goldmark's presentation of his uncle contrasts the almost self-conscious positioning against better known and more popular musicians that is evident in *Erinnerungen*, instead presenting a more senior, confident, and successful composer that Goldmark would have been in the later decades of his success after *Die Königin von Saba*.

Although directly stating the presence of "Orientalism" in his uncle's works, Rubin Goldmark provided little specific evidence. This is hardly carelessness on the nephew's part, however, as even by the end of the nineteenth century, there existed very little so far as codified examples or lexicons of ethnic and national style. Rather, Ralph P. Locke observes in his extensive research on musical exoticism that nearing the *fin de siècle* "...a set of symbolic equivalences clearly existed in the minds of composers, performers, and listeners alike... the equivalences were disseminated, enriched, and altered by the continuing production of musical works in the foreign (or

---

<sup>75</sup> Rubin Goldmark, "Carl Goldmark," 283-284.

<sup>76</sup> "Musical Matters at Home," *New York Times* (14 January 1900); Rubin Goldmark Passport Application #275972 (1923).

supposed-foreign) style in question.<sup>77</sup> Thus, for an American-born composer in 1897 like Rubin Goldmark, musical signifiers of the Other (or Locke calls it, “the lexicon of exotic and national styles”) were a widely understood organic system that had grown out of the eighteenth century, with examples such as *alla turca* or the “Gypsy” style. The latter decades of the nineteenth century saw styles becoming increasingly tied to locales with specific rhythmic or melodic figures associated with a region: the Scotch snap; pizzicato strings as evocative of Spanish guitar; the chant style of the Russian Orthodox church; and of course the many markers of the Middle East, including florid melodies often played by double reeds, the melodic interval of the augmented seconds, and drones on scale degree 1 or on an open fifth, to name only the most iconic of these gestures. The challenge of these emerging exoticist tropes is that the same types of gestures were also tied to the growth of musical nationalism, as Jim Samson observes, “The general practice was to allow a repertory of generalised folk idioms (modal types, bourdon drones, ornamentations, rhythmic patterns, and so on) to serve as an all-purpose musical signifier of nationalism, while specificity resided in a poetics of intention and reception; and here the equation of folk culture and national ism was real enough.”<sup>78</sup> This swirl of exoticism, Orientalism, and nationalism is well-documented in existing scholarship on music of the mid- and late-nineteenth century, and rightfully so given how pervasive these trends were, especially in cosmopolitan centers like Vienna. The complexity arises when a composer is himself Othered—like Goldmark both as a Jew and as a Hungarian, or Liszt, whose music was seen as clearly exotic outside of Hungarian circles, whereas within them it was considered nationalist.<sup>79</sup> It

---

<sup>77</sup> Ralph P. Locke, *Musical Exoticism: Images and Reflections*, 106. It is worth noting that Locke does not address Goldmark at all in this book.

<sup>78</sup> Jim Samson, “Nations and Nationalism,” *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music*, ed. Jim Samson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 588.

<sup>79</sup> Locke, *Musical Exoticism*, 135-136.

difficult to know when Goldmark's exoticist tendencies arose from expression of the Othered self or from an identification with the Germanic dominance where was he using these tropes as stylistic tools within their compositional arsenal. For his nephew, it was clearly the former; Rubin Goldmark heard his uncle's exoticist and Orientalist predilections as deeply rooted in Jewishness.

Over the course of his career, Rubin Goldmark was no stranger to an Orientalist approach to composition, although at the time of *The Looker-On* article he had produced very few published works and none that used any overt exoticist style or programmatic content. After he returned from Vienna, Rubin Goldmark had studied under Dvořák at the National Conservatory in New York City from 1891 to 1893. He absorbed his teacher's suggestions to emphasize American music through the integration of Native American and African American musical material. This resulted in compositions that followed Dvořák's agenda. Among his more exoticist-Americanist works were the tone poems *Hiawatha* (1900), *A Negro Rhapsody* (1922) and the four pieces for violin and piano, *The Call of the Plains* (1916).<sup>80</sup> Yet, in 1897, when he was writing about his uncle, Rubin Goldmark was still quite young and an inexperienced composer, almost always framed by critics in connection with his more famous uncle. Some of his chamber music had been heard in New York City by this time, but only by small audiences at the still-standing Aschenbroedel Hall, a private music and social club well-known for offering opportunities for musical performances by composers who had not yet

---

<sup>80</sup> Of these works and others, there is a wide variety of musical exoticism to be commented on in Rubin Goldmark's compositional approach. *Hiawatha* can mostly be described as a mediation on the Longfellow poem of the same name, and the New York critics were in disagreement on whether or not the composer employed any direct quotation to Native American song. By contrast, his *Negro Rhapsody* contained clear quotations of slave spirituals, although eminent music critic Henry Edward Krehbiel wrongly (and in language fraught with early 20<sup>th</sup> century racist overtones despite his scholarly interest in spirituals) questioned whether some of the melodies had African American origin. See "Musical Matters at Home," *New York Times* (14 January 1900): 18; "Yesterday's Music," *New York Tribune* (18 January 1900): 6; H.E. Krehbiel, "Philharmonic Gives 'Negro Rhapsody' by Goldmark Premiere," *New York Tribune* (19 January 1923): 10; H.E. Krehbiel, "Negro Themes in American Music; Rubin Goldmark's Work," *New York Tribune* (21 January 1923): D5.



received widespread acclaim.<sup>81</sup> An additional reason for his relatively late-blooming career is that the younger Goldmark went to Colorado about this time for health reasons, where some of his works were performed and he was hired to serve on the music faculty of Colorado College.<sup>82</sup> While it is tempting to place a good deal of authority on Rubin Goldmark's comments given his more mature compositional style and the reputation earned as a teacher to Gershwin and Copland, at the time of the publication of the article, Rubin Goldmark's credibility was primarily obtained through being a famous composer's nephew rather than through any independent musical authority.

In examining the Carl Goldmark's *Suite* from the nephew's viewpoint, certain features of an Oriental cast are immediately apparent. The left hand of the piano begins with a hammered open fifths E-B—one of Rubin Goldmark's identifying markers of his uncle's Orientalism—with the rest of an E major triad filled in at the triplet on beat 2 (ex. 5.1). The harmonic drone dominates the outer sections of the movement, marked *Allegro, Mit markirtem Rhythmus*, and is in straightforward rounded binary form, as one might expect in a Baroque or Classical suite.

---

<sup>81</sup> "A Week's Musical Topics," *New York Times* (7 April 1895): 13. The article's critic indicated that "a large a portion of the works produced could not be heard under less exceptional conditions than those furnished by the Aschenbroedel." Among other works, the reported concert included piano trios of Rubinstein, Carl Goldmark, and Rubin Goldmark. Musicians were not listed. The trio mentioned is probably Rubin Goldmark's Piano Trio in D minor, op. 1 (1892, published in 1896), which was premiered at the National Conservatory by Michael Banner, Victor Herbert, and the composer himself. Rubin Goldmark was still studying with Dvořák at the time and dedicated the trio to him. Dvořák is said to have commented, "Now there are two Goldmarks," following the trio's premiere. See W.W. Cobbett, "Music in America," *Musical News* 5, no. 123 (8 July 1893): 40; Maurice Peress, *Dvořák to Duke Ellington: A Conductor Explores America's Music and Its African American Roots* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 42-43.

<sup>82</sup> C. D. Smissaert, "Denver," *The Musical Courier* 31, no. 8 (31 August 1895): 22. Smissaert writes, "Not long since I had the pleasure of listening to a delightful trio by Rubin Goldmark, who is spending time in Colorado for his health, and feels much benefitted by the change. He is by no means an idler, but is quite busy at Colorado Springs, and spends much time in composition." See also, "State News | Eastonville," *The Rocky Mountain Educator* 1, no. 3 (September 1895): 79. "The department of music has been strengthened by the addition of Dr. Goldmark, whom the trustees regard themselves as exceedingly fortunate to secure."

EXAMPLE 5.1. Carl Goldmark, Suite for piano and violin, op. 11, mvt. I, Allegro, mm. 1-6.

Yet, despite the simplicity of the *Allegro*'s overall form, the movement is hardly conservative in harmonic motion. The opening E major quickly gives way to D major by measure 25 and then passing through C major before a clear return to E major. In addition to showing complete freedom of harmonic movement, Goldmark easily shifts between duple and triple eighth note subdivision (ex. 5.2), a common rhythmic pairing he would go on to utilize throughout his career, and one noticed by his nephew, who wrote, "Of other characteristics I might call attention to his very pronounced use of triplets and of the syncopated rhythm."<sup>83</sup>

<sup>83</sup> Rubin Goldmark, "Carl Goldmark," 284.

EXAMPLE 5.2. Carl Goldmark, Suite for piano and violin, op. 11, mvt. I, Allegro, mm. 25-30.

The musical score for Example 5.2 consists of two systems. The first system shows the Violin and Piano parts for measures 25-27. The Violin part begins with a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, B4, and C5. The Piano part features a triplet of eighth notes in the right hand and a single eighth note in the left hand. The second system shows measures 28-30. The Violin part has a half note G4, followed by quarter notes A4, B4, and C5. The Piano part continues with the triplet motif. The score includes dynamic markings like 'p' and 'dim.', and performance instructions like 'Ped.' and asterisks marking specific measures.

Like so many musical gestures of exoticism, however, is in the eye—or perhaps here, the ear—of the beholder. Although there are examples of triplets used during passages of exoticism such as Saint-Saëns’s *Samson et Dalila*, Bizet’s *Habañera* from *Carmen*, or Rimsky-Korsakov’s *Sheherazade*, there is nothing inherently exotic about the rhythm of a triplet. Rubin Goldmark did not overtly identify triplets as a marker his uncle’s exoticism, but rather simply an often-used motif throughout many of his compositions. Other critics and fellow composers, however, heard the triplets as just this—a representation Goldmark’s Othered nature and its permeation of his musical ideas. This will be discussed below in regard to *Sakuntala*.

In the B section (ex. 5.3), beginning at measure 55, the right-hand piano syncopations and seemingly deliberate avoidance of a strong cadence contrast to the more rhythmically and tonally

straightforward A section. Although this B section hints at A major, F-sharp minor, and C-sharp minor, it never seems to confirm arrival on a new tonic, the harmonic result is unsettled and almost Schubertian. Repeatedly, G-sharp acts as a pivot note to which the violin part moves as scale degree 5 of C-sharp minor, but is unable to sustain this tonal center and sinks down to F-sharp. The wandering tonality finally give way to a clear dominant-tonic cadence on E major at the *dal segno*, and return to the opening key. This is another hallmark of Goldmark's early style, one that might be harkening back to his interest and affinity for Classical form. Despite frequent tonal wanderings and points of modality that resist clear analysis, in the reprise of the A section, the movement returns to traditional harmonic expectations. This is supported in comments made by Rubin Goldmark:

His remarkable use of dissonant harmonies would cause many of the old theoreticians to shake their heads. And yet I remember to have seen a mysterious looking, folio-like book in which to-day, after forty years of creative work, he still continues to write fugues and canons according to the strictest old-fashioned counterpoint, in which may scarcely be found a concealed fifth or an unprepared second. He does this partly for his own amusement, but more especially to maintain that ease in polyphonic writing so characteristic of all his compositions.<sup>84</sup>

Furthermore, Rubin Goldmark singled out a composer who had a great influence on his uncle:

He is a devoted admirer of Mozart. This, in a composer so ultra-modern in his tendencies, may seem strange, but he has often spoken of his never-ceasing delight in the purity of Mozart's style, in the extreme classic beauty of his form and limpid flow of his melody. I recollect once hearing Goldmark express sincere regret at being obliged to miss a Philharmonic concert for which a string-serenade of Mozart was on the program.<sup>85</sup>

Goldmark himself had little to say on Mozart his own *Erinnerungen*, emphasizing rather the impressions that contemporary composers and musicians had made upon his formative musical education.

---

<sup>84</sup> Rubin Goldmark, "Carl Goldmark," 284.

<sup>85</sup> Rubin Goldmark, "Carl Goldmark," 284-285.

EXAMPLE 5.3. Carl Goldmark, Suite for piano and violin, op. 11, mvt. I, Allegro, mm. 55-68.

The musical score consists of two systems. The first system shows the Violin and Piano parts from measures 55 to 68. The Violin part begins with a melody marked *p* (piano) and includes a *sul D* instruction. The Piano part features a complex, rhythmic accompaniment with chords and arpeggios, marked *p* and *legato molto*. The second system continues the Violin and Piano parts, with the Violin part marked *mf* (mezzo-forte) and *dim.* (diminuendo), and the Piano part marked *p* and *poco rall.* (poco rallentando). The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, accents, and trills.

Despite the exoticist glimmers in the movement, it is in the second movement of the Suite where Rubin Goldmark would most likely have discerned Orientalism in his uncle's style. The second slow triple-meter, *Andante Sostenuto*, is neither a simple nor rounded binary form such as typical of an eighteenth century suite nor is it a tuneful *Ländler* or folk-like evocation with a tuneful melody such as one might hear in a Brahms sonata. Instead, the second movement is a rhapsodic foray into another conspicuous style of mid-nineteenth century—the “Gypsy aesthetic.”<sup>86</sup> Beginning

<sup>86</sup> Anna G. Piotrowska, *Gypsy Music in European Culture: From the Late Eighteenth to the Early Twentieth Centuries* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2013), 1. In recognizing the problematic nature of terminology here, I follow in the example of Piotrowska, who writes. “... while talking of ‘Gypsy music’ or ‘music by Gypsies,’ I refer to the idealized representation propagated by literature

at the end of the eighteenth century, an idealized, romanticized, and fictionalized figure of the Gypsy had emerged in literature, music, and culture throughout Western Europe. Anna G. Piotrowska, in her exhaustive study of Gypsy Music during the long nineteenth century, writes, “The Gypsy musician has been considered the embodiment of the inspired creator, possessing the specific features of the sensitive romantic artist. He was seductive, while at the same time free and rebellious, and his separateness from bourgeois society was strongly emphasized.”<sup>87</sup> While today, ethnomusicologists have pushed us to problematize the anachronistic term “Gypsy music” as an inaccurate conglomeration of the West’s (almost always) mistaken and oversimplified notions, this is precisely the misconception we must strive to understand for those living during the nineteenth century.

Franz Liszt, the pivotal figure for so-called Gypsy style within Western art music, capitalized on his “Hungarian-ness” for his French audiences—and he did this by presenting Gypsy *topoi* as the iconic representation of Hungary.<sup>88</sup> Locke identifies Liszt’s *Hungarian Rhapsodies* as particularly complex: the Rhapsodies “challenge the very distinction between nationalism and exoticism because they derive largely from the musical practices of an ‘internal outsider’ population: the Roma who had long been resident in Hungarian territory.”<sup>89</sup> Similarly, Piotrowska offers an explanation for what could easily be called cultural appropriation in today’s climate: “In Liszt’s view, the justice in Hungarians’ claiming Gypsy music as their own lay in [the] former’s having allowed the latter to

---

and musical works created during the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, reserving the term ‘Romany music’ as an integral element of Romany social culture.”

<sup>87</sup> Piotrowska, *Gypsy Music in European Culture*, 1.

<sup>88</sup> The overlap of Gypsy and Hungarian aesthetics is also addressed extensively in Jonathan Bellman, *The Style Hongrois in the Music of Western Europe*. See Chapter 3 regarding Hungarian-ness and Joseph Joachim.

<sup>89</sup> Locke, *Musical Exoticism*, 136.

cultivate their music.”<sup>90</sup> Liszt made just such a claim in his *Des Bohémiens et de leur musique en Hongrie*, an expansive volume addressing Gypsy music as Hungarian style. The work was first published in French, but quickly translated into both Hungarian and German and was written partially by Liszt’s mistress, Princess Carolyne von Sayn-Wittgenstein, though wholly attributed to Liszt.<sup>91</sup> Although Locke calls the field transcriptions “proto-scholarly,” he also concedes that Liszt was fairly objective “by the standards of the day” when it came to analyzing and transcribing actual music, which was done with great attention to detail.<sup>92</sup> However, *Des Bohémiens et de leur musique en Hongrie* is filled with negative, overly exoticizing extreme visions of Gypsies, many of them outright racist. Some scholarly apologies have been made over the years on this, ascribing the negative elements of the book exclusively to Princess Carolyne, however Liszt is hardly blameless; it was his name on the cover.

Further complicating all of this is an extensive section of over sixty pages in *Des Bohémiens et de leur musique en Hongrie* that contrasts Gypsies and Jews (“Les Israélites”).<sup>93</sup> Princess Carolyne, who apparently reissued the book in 1881 with extensive additions to the section on Jews, is believed to be the primary author of this passage. In contrast to descriptions of excessiveness and rapturous nature of Gypsies, the book described Jews as artistically impotent, incapable of creating real art, although at times talented individuals may be able to mimic it: “Between creating and innovating, there is the same difference as between genius and talent; the same as between Bach and

---

<sup>90</sup> Piotrowska, *Gypsy Music in European Culture*, 36.

<sup>91</sup> Issued in Hungarian as *A cigányokról és a cigány zenéről Magyarországon*, trans. József Székely (Pest: Heckenast, 1861) and in revised, abridged German as *Die Zigeuner und ihre Musik in Ungarn*, trans. Peter Cornelius (Pest: Heckenast, 1861).

<sup>92</sup> Locke, *Musical Exoticism*, 139-140.

<sup>93</sup> Franz Liszt, *Des Bohémiens et de leur musique en Hongrie*, new edition (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1881): 31-95. For the ease of translation when citing passages, I primarily use Franz Liszt, *The Gypsy in Music*, 2 vol., trans. Edwin Evans (London: William Reeves, [1926].)

Mendelssohn, or Beethoven and Meyerbeer.”<sup>94</sup> This prevented Jews from being able to create a true national style, as they were always mimicking the style of whatever dominant society surrounded them:

Shall we be told that Mendelssohn has composed the oratorio of *Elijah*, or that Halévy has produced the opera of *La Juive*? Or that [Eduard] Bendemann has painted *The Jews weeping on the banks of the Euphrates*, and that another has given us a theatrical representation of Solomon in all his glory? If so, we need only to ask—what is there herein essentially Jewish? Neither the sentiment nor the form. That oratorio, that opera, that painting, and that play would all have been thought out and felt in precisely the same way by Christians. But, on the other hand, who would venture to deny that Jews really do possess a sentiment which is essentially their own, and which cannot incorporate itself otherwise than in a form completely their own—absolutely their own? If, therefore, they do not reveal themselves in the world of art, it must be that they do not choose to do so; that they cannot do so.”<sup>95</sup>

It is unclear whether either Carl or Rubin Goldmark knew *Des Bobémiens et de leur musique en Hongrie*, although Carl Goldmark certainly knew Liszt and mentioned several of their meetings in his *Erinnerungen*. He does not, at any rate, make any sort of direct commentary on *Des Bobémiens et de leur musique en Hongrie*, and since he is mostly silent on his Jewishness in the memoir, there are no remarks on any sort of antisemitism on the part of Liszt or Carolyne von Sayn-Wittgenstein.

The rhapsodic quality of the second movement of Goldmark’s Suite is evident from the opening for solo piano, which pairs repeating quarter note chords in the right hand with a left-hand melody filled with sweeping, melismatic thirty-second notes (ex. 5.4). Although there is no indication

---

<sup>94</sup> Liszt, *The Gypsy in Music*, 1:40; Liszt, *Des Bobémiens et de leur musique en Hongrie*, 57. “Entre créer et innover, il y a la différence du génie au talent: de Bach à Mendelssohn, de Beethoven à Meyerbeer.”

<sup>95</sup> Liszt, *The Gypsy in Music*, 1:42; Liszt, *Des Bobémiens et de leur musique en Hongrie*, 60. “Dira-t-on que Mendelssohn a composé l’oratorio *Élie*, que Halévy a mis en scène la *Juive*, que Bendemann a peint *les Juifs pleurant sur les bords de l’Euphrate*, qu’un quatrième a représenté sur le théâtre *Salomon* dans sa gloire? On pourra toujours se demander: Qu’y a-t-il là d’essentiellement Israélite? Ni le sentiment, ni la forme! Cet oratorio, cet opéra, cette peinture, cette pièce, n’auraient-ils pas été ainsi sentis et pensés par des chrétiens? Pourtant, qui voudra nier que les Israélites aient un sentiment essentiellement leur, qui ne peut s’incarner que dans une forme à lui, seulement à lui? Si donc ils ne se donnent pas eux-mêmes dans le monde de l’art, c’est qu’ils ne le veulent pas; c’est qu’ils ne le peuvent pas!”



in Goldmark's score, the piano introduction invites a Chopin-esque *rubato*, with the consistent right hand inviting a more rhythmically and temporally melody from the left.

**EXAMPLE 5.4.** Carl Goldmark, Suite for piano and violin, op. 11, mvt. II, Andante Sostenuto, mm. 1-17.

**Andante sostenuto**

The musical score is presented in three systems, each with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The key signature is three sharps (F#, C#, G#) and the time signature is 3/4. The tempo is marked 'Andante sostenuto'. The first system begins with a piano introduction in the right hand, marked *mf*, then *p*, and includes *ten.* markings. The second system continues with *dim.*, *f*, and *p* dynamics. The third system features *espress.*, *pp*, *dim.*, and *p* dynamics, with a *mf* dynamic in the bass line. The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, accents, and dynamic markings.

The piano's introduction is then repeated with some slight alteration as the accompaniment for the solo violin (ex. 5.5). In this passage, both instruments are allowed to show their virtuosic and free lyricism, and Goldmark's idiomatic writing for his own instrument—the violin—is evident. The use of only the violin's lowest string in the opening *sul G* passage provides an intentional darkness of

tone color. The two instruments' concurrent melismatic writing, syncopations, and hemiolas increase the dramatic tension and rhythmic gypsy-like freedom.

**EXAMPLE 5.5.** Carl Goldmark, Suite for piano and violin, op. 11, mvt. II, Andante Sostenuto, mm. 16-29.

The musical score is presented in three systems. The first system shows the beginning of the piece, with the Violin part marked *sul G.* and the Piano part marked *p*. The second system continues the development, featuring a *ten.* marking in the piano part and a *\** marking in the bass line. The third system concludes the passage, with the Violin part marked *f* and the Piano part marked *f*. The score includes various musical notations such as triplets, slurs, and accents, as well as performance instructions like *Red.* and *5*.

Only one reviewer commented on the Orientalist character of Goldmark's Suite, although his was one of the most authoritative voices of nineteenth century music criticism: Eduard Hanslick, who addressed the work several times. Hanslick's critical evaluation of Goldmark in this piece and as will be shown to come in *Sakuntala* and *Die Königin von Saba*, is somewhat surprising. The pair had been acquainted since the late 1850s, and Hanslick had also been instrumental in helping Goldmark obtain his initial state stipend in 1862. Despite this, the relationship had been fraught from almost the beginning. In his *Erinnerungen*, Goldmark framed his relationship with Hanslick as influenced by the opinions of Johannes Brahms, with whom Goldmark had often fraught interactions that vacillated from professional praise to belittling put-downs and, at times, outright antisemitism.<sup>96</sup> Nonetheless, Goldmark wrote, "[Brahms] was as great a man as he was an artist. There was not a blot on his superb character."<sup>97</sup> This reverential praise is followed by a lament on the barbed tongue of Brahms, as one of the few mentions of Goldmark's Jewishness in his entire memoir. Goldmark recalled an incident where a chorale that he had written was rehearsed at the home of the Moravian-Jewish composer Ignaz Brüll's sister, Hermine Schwarz.<sup>98</sup> The issue that Brahms took with this chorale had nothing to do with Goldmark's music, but the rather with the text he had set, that of "Wer sich die Musik erküest" ("Who offers music his devotion"), attributed to Martin Luther:

After looking it over, he [Brahms] grew very angry and attacked me thus; 'Why did you compose this chorus? Where did you get the text? It is certain not by Luther, et cetera.' I walked home with him; it was a long way but he reached his door without getting over his terrible rage. There was not the slightest reason for his acting so and this made it all the funnier. Shortly after, when the chorus was played at one of the Gesellschaft's concerts,

---

<sup>96</sup> Goldmark, *Notes*, 153; *Erinnerungen*, 87.

<sup>97</sup> Goldmark, *Notes*, 154-155; *Erinnerungen*, 86. "Er war als Mensch ebenso groß wie als Künstler, auf den so hellglänzenden Charakter fiel kein Schatten."

<sup>98</sup> Schwarz was also the editor of Brüll's collected letters of her brother with Goldmark and Brahms. See Hermine Schwarz, *Ignaz Brüll und sein Freundeskreis : Erinnerungen an Brüll, Goldmark und Brahms* (Vienna: Rikola Verlag, 1922).

Hanslick did not hesitate to say that the text was not by Luther. Hanslick, without making further inquiry, repeated what Brahms had said. Meanwhile, Brahms had gotten more accurate information. Some days later when we were dining at Ignaz Brüll's, he took occasion in my presence to say in an extremely loud voice to [Eugen] Gura senior, the singer, who was seated next to him: 'Don't you think it strange that a Jew should set a text of Martin Luther's to music?' And all this, all his fury, because he had overlooked this exquisite text with its evangelical appeal of which he could have made good use.<sup>99</sup>

Similar to Brodbeck on Speidel, Margaret Notley gives Brahms somewhat of a pass, remarking, "Like many of his fellow Liberals, he was guilty of occasional remarks that we would now consider anti-Semitic."<sup>100</sup> Nonetheless, the sting was clearly felt by Goldmark, who blamed Brahms's prejudices as influencing and contributing to Hanslick's negative reviews.

Hanslick's extensive analysis of the Suite was published shortly after the premier, in which he described the second movement as an "extended lament, the melody and harmonies of which are reminiscent of the Oriental ways."<sup>101</sup> Although no further explanation for this comment was provided, its presence here makes clear that critics either heard some evocation of the "East" in Goldmark and is strongly indicative that his Jewish ancestry was an open secret. A reviewer in the Viennese journal *Recensionen und Mittheilungen über Theater und Musik* doubted whether the suite as a genre could ever equal the prestige of the sonata, but commented on the overall drama of the piece which, in the reviewer's opinion, verged at the edge of fantasy piece.<sup>102</sup> The Viennese correspondent

---

<sup>99</sup> Goldmark, *Notes*, 156-157. Scholars are now in general agreement that the text was indeed *not* by Martin Luther, though this does not really change Brahms's exaggerated reaction.

<sup>100</sup> Margaret Notley, "Brahms as Liberal: Genre, Style, and Politics in Late Nineteenth-Century Vienna," *19<sup>th</sup>-Century Music* 17, no. 2 (Autumn 1993): 110.

<sup>101</sup> Ed[uard] H[anslick], "Feuilleton, Concerte," *Neue Freie Presse* 2, no. 131 (10 January 1865): 2. "Langgezogene Klage, deren Melodik und Harmonisirung an orientalische Weisen anklingt."

<sup>102</sup> "Wiener Konzertbericht," *Recensionen und Mittheilungen über Theater und Musik [Monatschrift für Theater und Musik]* 11, no. 2 (14 January 1865): 26. "Die Suite kommt auffallend stark in die Mode; wir zweifeln aber, daß diese Kompositionsform sich je zur Bedeutung der Sonate erheben werde. Uebrigens ist die Form der Suite, den neuesten Befreibungen nach zu urtheilen, in einer

to *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* gave a similarly mixed assessment, “The work is not rich or free-flowing in invention, and it is not poor in peculiar harmonies and melodic sophistication. But it is done with spirit and skill, and shows an earnest, honest, and developing artist of character.”<sup>103</sup> Along the same lines, the Viennese correspondent of *The Musical World* declared that “the Suite is not destitute of merit, but competent judges assert that the latter is not present in sufficient force or quality to ever to render the work very popular with admirers of classical chamber music.”<sup>104</sup> Despite such mixed reviews, the fact that the Suite was premiered by Josef Hellmesberger, a widely popular and a trusted arbiter of quality in Viennese musical circles, cannot be understated. Writing after Goldmark’s death in 1915, Theodor Helm identified Hellmesberger as one of the first musicians to truly champion the works of Goldmark.<sup>105</sup> Nonetheless, it was a challenge to find a publisher. Goldmark recalls that it was only with the explicit recommendation of Heinrich Esser, the conductor of the Vienna Court Opera, and later of Franz Lachner and Clara Schumann, that Schott agreed to publish the work.<sup>106</sup>

---

Umwandlung begriffen nach zu urtheilen, in einder Umwandlung begriffen und erweitert sich zu dem, was man vielleicht ein Kränzchen von Phantasiestücken nennen könnte.”

<sup>103</sup> “Musikleben in Wien,” *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 3, no. 7 (15 February 1865): 116. “Das Werk ist nicht reich und frei dahinströmend in der Erfindung und nicht arm an Sonderbarkeiten harmonischen und melodischen Raffinements, allein es ist mit Geist und Geschick gemacht und verräth offenbar den ernstesten, redlich und charaktervoll vorwärtsstrebenden Künstler.” It is possible that the reviewer here was also Hanslick.

<sup>104</sup> “Vienna,” *The Musical World* 43, no. 3 (21 January 1865): 38.

<sup>105</sup> Theodor Helm, “Fünfzig Jahre Wiener Musikleben (1866-1916). Erinnerungen eines Musikkritikers (Fortsetzung),” *Der Merker* 6, no. 3 (1 February 1915): 129. “Hellmesberger war überhaupt einer der Ersten, die sich Goldmarks angenommen hatten.” Helm incorrectly cited the first performance of the Suite as January 6, 1866.

<sup>106</sup> Goldmark, *Notes*, 171-172; *Erinnerungen*, 95.

## Exoticism and Orientalism in Goldmark's *Sakuntala* overture

While the Suite was one of Goldmark's early successes, particularly with other musicians, his first work that received wide popular success with Viennese audiences was his concert overture *Sakuntala*, op. 13, which premiered in December 1865. The overture was inspired by the fourth century Sanskrit play by Indian poet Kalidasa, *The Recognition of Shakuntala*. Goldmark was introduced to the play in German-translation copy, which had been given to him by the Austrian physicist and philosopher Ernst Mach (1838-1916).<sup>107</sup> Mach unofficially presided over the scholars, artists, and musicians (many of them Wagnerians) that frequented the Café Elephant in Vienna.<sup>108</sup> According to Goldmark, in 1862 Mach offered him the German translation of *Sakuntala* by Ernst Meier, that was itself based on a French translation from the Sanskrit original. Goldmark described this German version as a "heavy, ponderous, scholar's edition with thousands of footnotes, learned and confusing."<sup>109</sup> Three years passed before Goldmark glanced again at Mach's gift, and inspiration for two works came to him, "I took it [*Sakuntala*] out and reread it. Immediately the idea of a composition based on it, came to me. I had read the Arabian Nights in my early years and the magic of that wonderful book enthralled my imagination for a long time. The deep impress it made may

---

<sup>107</sup> Goldmark, *Notes*, 139; *Erinnerungen*, 77.

<sup>108</sup> John Blackmore, *Ernst Mach: His Work, Life and Influence* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973): 23. Blackmore credits this quotation to a fragment from an undated article from Ludwig Karpath in the 1930s, although the text is almost word-for-word that of Goldmark's own description in Goldmark, *Notes*, 137; *Erinnerungen*, 76.

<sup>109</sup> Goldmark, *Notes*, 139; *Erinnerungen*, 77; Meier (1813-1866) was an Orientalist at the University of Tübingen and also published several volumes on the structure of Biblical Hebrew See Ursula Wokoock, *German Orientalism: The study of the Middle East and Islam from 1800 to 1945* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009): 126; *Die Klassischen Dichtungen der Inder*, trans. Ernst Meier, Vol. 2 *Dramatische Poesie. Sakuntala* (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler'schen Buchhandlung, 1852); Idem., *Hebräisches Wurzelwörterbuch* (Mannheim: Friedrich Basserman, 1845) and Idem., *Geschichte der poetischen National-Literatur der Hebräer* (Leipzig: Wilhelm Engelmann, 1856).

have led later to my Queen of Sheba.”<sup>110</sup> It is difficult to discern from the above comment whether Goldmark mean that the Sakuntala epic or the Arabian Nights story had led him to an opera on the Queen of Sheba. It seems most likely the latter, but there is another important point revealed in the above: that even a German-speaking Jew, who might seemingly be understood to have ties to a certain portion of “the East” could be guilty of conflating different types of exoticism. Curiously, Mosenthal made a very similar observation to Goldmark, writing that *Sakuntala* presented “all of Kalidasa’s magic mirrored like a fairy tale from ‘A Thousand and One Nights.’”<sup>111</sup> In both cases, it is Middle Eastern and Indian exoticism that seem to be imaginatively and sonically linked together; despite geographic and cultural distance, they were both Othered.

Goldmark finished the overture in the fall of 1865. The Leipzig-born conductor of the Vienna Philharmonic, Felix Otto Dessoff (1835-1892), also of Jewish ancestry, agreed to program the overture immediately. The premiere performance, on December 26, 1865, was enthusiastically received by the public. Initial press coverage was mostly favorable, with one review in the *Neue Freie Presse* stating that the “clear layout, detailed design, and colorful instrumentation” of *Sakuntala* made it “the best work of this composer to date.”<sup>112</sup> The Viennese correspondent to the *Leipziger allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* described it as marking a step toward a more creative and independent

---

<sup>110</sup> Goldmark, *Notes*, 173-174; *Erinnerungen*, 96. “Ich nahm und las es wieder und sofort entstand die Idee einer musikalischen Nachdichtung. Schon früh hatte ich “Tausendundeine Nacht” gelesen und der Zauber dieses herrlichen Buches hielt mich und mein Phantasie lange im Banne – ein Eindruck, der mich später wohl auch zur ‘Königin von Saba’ führte.”

<sup>111</sup> Salomon Hermann Mosenthal, “Miniaturbilder. Erinnerungen an berühmte Tondichter. 6. Goldmark,” *Ueber Land und Meer* 37, no. 19 (1877): 384. “Seine ersten Kompositionen trugen bereits den Stempel der Originalität, und als sein erstes Orchesterwerk, die Ouvertüre zur “Sakuntala”, erschien, in welchem der ganze Zauber Kalidasa’s sich wie ein Märchen aus “Tausend und einer Nacht” abspiegelt, war sein Ruf wie mit einem Zauberschlag gegründet.”

<sup>112</sup> “Kleine Zeitung, Tagesgeschichte,” *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 62, no. 2 (5 January 1866): 14. “...welche in Folge klarer Anlage, seiner Detailausführung und charakterischer Instrumentation für das bis jetzt beste Werk dieses Componisten erklärt wird.”

compositional voice for Goldmark, “The composition is broad and clearly laid out, atmospheric with characteristic detail. Although here and there certain models, including Richard Wagner, shimmer through, this orchestral work is in contrast to [Goldmark’s] earlier indistinct and more derivative compositions and shows progress.”<sup>113</sup>

It is tempting to analyze this condescending comment—the suggestion that Goldmark in his earlier works was incapable of his own creative ideas and instead could only make an inadequate imitation of other, greater composers—as an underhanded example of the antisemitic stereotype regarding the creative potential—or rather, the lack of it—on the part of Jews. However, this review can also simply be seen as an example of the romantic assumption that artistic works ought to be inherently original and lead to “progress” of the field or genre.<sup>114</sup> Although it is somewhat backhanded praise, it is the kind of praise that was not limited to Jews during this period and it is highly doubtful that any sort of underlying antisemitic bias against Goldmark is evident in this short, uncredited passage.

Hanslick’s Vienna season end review in the *Leipziger allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* both praised the work and provided a footnote that effectively undercut the positive audience reception:

---

<sup>113</sup> “Berichte,” *Leipziger allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 1:6 (7 February 1866): 49. “Die Composition ist breit und klar angelegt, mit charakteristischem Detail stimmungsvoll ausgestattet, und wenn auch hie und da gewisse Vorbilder, unter welchen selbst R. Wagner nicht fehlt, durchschimmern, so bekundet doch dieses orchestrale Werk im Gegenhalt zu den früheren etwas verschwommenen und unselbständigen componitionen Goldmark's immerhin einen Fortschritt.” This article and the following citation are from a period in which the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* was published with the added “*Leipziger*” designation. Although Hanslick wrote articles for the *AMZ* during this period, not all correspondence from Vienna is credited to him, and it is not possible to confirm authorship of the anonymous reviews.

<sup>114</sup> Robert Schumann’s rather fanciful description of Chopin can be seen as example of this valuing of originality: “The name to which we have so often pointed, as to a rare star at a late hour of night, must not be wanting in our Museum. White its course may lead, how long may last its sparkling light, who can tell? But it can always be distinguished whenever it shows itself, even by a child, for it always displays the same core of flame, the same deeply glow, the same brilliancy.” See Schumann, *Music and Musicians*, 199.



The Overture to *Sakuntala* by Carl Goldmark was the most effective [composition] so far from serious, energetic, but sometimes somewhat violent and agitated talents of this composer. The distinctive, beautifully orchestrated work was decidedly successful... This success can only be attributed to local popularity, because the work, which has not yet been widely circulated through printing, has not yet satisfied an educated, unbiased audience.<sup>115</sup>

By the end of the year, as Brodbeck has shown, Hanslick was less critical of *Sakuntala*, pleased that the work was “no symphonic poem in disguise.”<sup>116</sup> Despite the fact that Goldmark had issued a synopsis, Hanslick wrote:

Whatever the relationship of the composition to the famous Indian drama, it is not dependent in the ambiguous sense of descriptive music. As a piece of music that is fully understandable and independent in and of itself, it takes from the subject only the poetic stimulus, the general mood and local color, at most the simplest main features of the dramatic peripeteia.<sup>117</sup>

This is a rather striking statement from Hanslick and runs counter to some of his more dogmatic evaluations expressed in his most celebrated treatise: that works reliant on even so attenuated a program as a poetic title were somehow feeble and unable to stand on their own: “We must reject

---

<sup>115</sup> Ed[uard] H[anslick], “Die Wiener Concertsaison 1865-66,” *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 1, no. 29 (18 July 1866): 234. “Overtüre zu ‘Sakuntala’ von Carl Goldmark das Wirksamste, was wir bisher dem ernstesten, energischen, mitunter aber etwas gewaltsamen und wühlenden Talente dieses Componisten verdanken. Das Charakteristische, schön instrumentirte Werk hatte entschiedenem Erfolg... \*) Dieser Erfolg kann nur localen Gründen zugeschrieben werden, denn das mittlerweile durch den Druck bekannt gewordene Werk ist nicht danach angethan, ein gebildetes unbefangenes Auditorium zu befriedigen.”

<sup>116</sup> David Brodbeck, “Poison-Flaming Flowers from the Orient and Nightingales from Bayreuth,” in *Rethinking Hanslick: Music, Formalism, and Expression*, ed. Nicole Grimes, Siobán Donovan, and Wolfgang Marx (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2013): 136.

<sup>117</sup> Ed[uard] H[anslick], “Concerte,” *Neue Freie Presse* 2, no. 480 (30 December 1865): 2. Translation drawn from Brodbeck, “Poison-Flaming Flowers from the Orient and Nightingales from Bayreuth,” 146. “Was das Verhältniß der Composition zu dem berühmten indischen Drama ‘Sakuntala’ betrifft, so ist es kein abhänidiges in dem mißverständlichen Sinne der selbstständig, nimmt sie von dem Gegenstand nur die poetische Anregung, die allgemeine Stimmung und Localfarbe, allenfalls die einfachsten Grundzüge der dramatischen Peripetic.”

here even those musical works that bear specific headings or programs about their ‘content’ of the music.”<sup>118</sup>

Theodor Helm evaluated *Sakuntala* from a slightly different perspective than did Hanslick. For Helm, the concert overture *was* program music by association with the Kalidasa epic, however it was also “completely understandable, purely musically, to those who [did] not know the underlying poetry, given the free yet solid forms and the novelty of the idea, a true brilliance that points above all to Wagner.”<sup>119</sup> The disagreement centers on the question of what qualified as program music. For both Hanslick and Helm, no program was needed to understand the music. Yet, while Hanslick’s argued that designation of *Programm Musik* could be summarily dismissed in the case of Goldmark’s *Sakuntala* overture, Helm allowed a more dual, nuanced approach in which the program might *enhance* a musical work but was not *required* for listening and full appreciation.

The programmatic summary (which Brodbeck describes as a “*précis*”) from the published score reads as follows:

Sakuntala, the daughter of a nymph, is brought up in a penitentiary grove by the chief of sacred caste of priests as his adopted daughter. The great King Dushianta enters the sacred grove, while out hunting; he sees Sakuntala and is immediately inflamed with love for her. A charming love-scene follows, which closes with the union (according to Grundharveri [*Gandharva*, one of the eight forms of Hindu marriage], the marriage) of both.

---

<sup>118</sup> Eduard Hanslick, *Vom Musikalische-Schönen: Ein Beitrag zur Revision der Aesthetik der Tonkunst*, vol. 1, 1854, ed. Dietmar Strauß (Vienna and Cologne: Böhlau, 1990), 53. “Sogar Tonstücke mit bestimmten Ueberschriften oder Programmen müssen wir ablehnen, wo es sich um den ‘Inhalt’ der Musik handelt.” For an extensive discussion on Hanslick and these concepts, see “Hanslick’s ‘Pure’ Music” in Mark Evan Bonds, *Absolute Music: The History of an Idea* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 141-209.

<sup>119</sup> [Helm], “Carl Goldmark,” 442. “Dieses Werk, eine poetische Illustration des Kalidasa'schen indischen Dramas und insofern Programm-Musik, ist auch demjenigen, welcher die zu Grunde liegende Dichtung nicht kennt, rein musikalisch vollkommen verständlich, die freien und doch festen Formen, die Neuheit der Gedanken, die wahrhaft glänzende zumeist auf Wagner weist.”

The king gives to Sakuntala, who is to follow him later to his capital city, a ring by which she shall be recognized as his wife. A powerful priest, to whom Sakuntala has forgotten to show due hospitality in the intoxication of her love, revenges himself upon her by depriving the king of his memory and of all recollection of her. Sakuntala loses the ring while washing clothes in the sacred river. When she is presented to the King by her companions as his wife, he does not recognize her, and repudiates her. Her companions refuse to admit her, as the wife of another, back into her home and she is left alone in grief and despair; then the nymph, her mother, has pity on her and takes her to herself.

Now the ring is found by some fishermen and brought back to the King. On his seeing it, his recollection of Sakuntala returns. He is seized with remorse for his terrible deed: the profoundest grief and unbounded yearning for her who has disappeared leave him no more.

On a warlike campaign against some evil demons, whom he vanquishes, he finds Sakuntala again, and now there is no end to their happiness.<sup>120</sup>

The description certainly reads like a program, with a clear exposition of a sequence of events which, as Brodbeck has shown, can be heard in the work.<sup>121</sup> From the opening measures, Goldmark relied upon multiple sonic markers of Orientalism and exoticism that would have been clearly perceived by his audience. The scene is immediately set with open fifths in lower strings and bassoons (ex. 5.6), which Brodbeck writes, “delineates the penitentiary grove,” followed quickly after by the entrance of Sakuntala as a “sensuous main theme” and a third “sweet arabesque melody” that to which the main theme is counterpointed.<sup>122</sup> Despite the paucity of chords with intervallic thirds in these introductory measures, Goldmark clearly establishes F major as the tonal center before tonicizing the dominant C major. Sakuntala’s main theme is presented by the clarinet and two solo cellos, in unison, over open fifths, again from the bassoons and lower strings. Again, Goldmark’s triplet figures—as remarked upon by his nephew Rubin Goldmark—dominate the melodic texture of this melody. The use of the

---

<sup>120</sup> Boston Symphony Orchestra, *Programmes*, 1895-1896, 581. There is no translator given for the English version of the program.

<sup>121</sup> Brodbeck, *Defining Deutschtum*, 73-74.

<sup>122</sup> Brodbeck, *Defining Deutschtum*, 73.

droned open fifths creates a tonally ambiguous atmosphere, emphasizing not only the exoticism inherent not only in the programmatic setting of the work, but in Sakuntala herself (ex. 5.7).

EXAMPLE 5.6. Carl Goldmark, *Sakuntala*, op. 13, mm. 1-8.

**Andante assai**

Bsn. I/II,  
Vla., Vc. II  
*pp*

Vc. I  
*pp*

Vln. II

+Cl. I/II

EXAMPLE 5.7. Carl Goldmark, *Sakuntala*, op. 13, mm. 25-38.

**Moderato assai**

Cl., 2 Vc. soli  
*pp* *sehr zart*

Vln. II

Bsn., Vla., Vc.

The score quickly gives way to a militaristic hunting theme associated with the King (ex. 5.8). Relevant here, though not mentioned by Brodbeck, is the way in which exoticism correlates to gender, as heard in Goldmark's shift from an Orientalist style for Sakuntala to the more tonally driven march-like music for the king. Although the latter is just as non-Western as the heroine, he is nevertheless represented in Western tonal language; it is Sakuntala, the quasi-magical and idealized woman, who is embodied in othered music. Their meeting and immediate infatuation is musically represented in the militaristic music of the king in F major, which dramatically pivots through the raised scale degree 4 of B natural.

**EXAMPLE 5.8.** Carl Goldmark, *Sakuntala*, op. 13, mm. 59-67.

Interestingly, while the presence of a raised scale degree 4 in F major can be seen as a hallmark of exoticist style, the use of B natural functions tonally to facilitate the move into the E major love theme at *Andante assai* (ex. 5.9) is marked by its own exoticist individuality with the timbres of oboe, English horn, and harp.

EXAMPLE 5.9. Carl Goldmark, *Sakuntala*, op. 13, mm. 93-100.

**Andante assai**

The musical score consists of three systems. The first system includes the woodwind parts (Ob. I and Eng. Hn.) and the harp part. The woodwinds play a melodic line with slurs and accents, while the harp provides a harmonic accompaniment with chords and arpeggiated figures. The second system continues the woodwind melody and harp accompaniment. The tempo is marked 'Andante assai'.

Thus, the tonal fabric that Goldmark created in *Sakuntala*, the one found so intriguing by the critical press and so attractive to the Viennese public, was one that not only experimented with Western-Eastern exoticism but also played upon the tropes of gendered voices and the exoticized, alluring female.

As Brodbeck has observed, the reviews of *Sakuntala* were not consistent across the years. Although he had given the work a somewhat neutral evaluation at the premiere, Ludwig Speidel in the *Fremden-Blatt* later published a review which, as Brodbeck writes “with the benefit of hindsight, now seem[s] demeaning, disturbing, even ominous.”<sup>123</sup> In his 1868 review, Speidel wrote:

<sup>123</sup> Brodbeck, *Defining Deutschtum*, 77.

The concert opened with Goldmark's overture to *Sakuntala*. We mentioned this work when it was first performed two years ago. The actual musical content of it is not particularly significant; it is a wild marriage between the synagogue and the opera of the future. His [musical] ideas bear a strong resemblance to curved noses and hanging sidelocks. Brilliant coloring cannot be denied in this West-Eastern study, and the decorative effects are striking. It is good that Goldmark's has incomparably richer works to show for himself.<sup>124</sup>

Despite the reluctant praise of Goldmark's use of orchestral color, there is no other way to interpret Speidel's comments that an essentializing and limiting view of Goldmark, rooted in antisemitic sentiments. Speidel's derision against the composer, hanging, spiraling curls may very well the same prominent swirling triplets that Rubin Goldmark noted in a more positive light as a hallmark of his uncle's compositional style.

Alternatively, there may be no musical notion in the comment at all, and the comment ought to be merely read as a direct address to Goldmark's *Judentum*. Brodbeck, however, argues that Speidel's comments should not be read as racially derogatory at all, because "...nowhere [in the article] does Speidel derogate the Semites as an inferior race along the lines that Ernst Renan had recently proposed in his *Nouvelles considérations sur le caractère des peuples sémétiques, et en sur leur tendance au monothéisme* (New considerations on the character of the Semitic peoples, and in particular on their tendency toward monotheism)."<sup>125</sup> Brodbeck's reasoning for excusing Speidel is that Caroline Bettelheim's brother Anton recalled the comment from Speidel in a 1915 remembrance of

---

<sup>124</sup> Ludwig Speidel [sp.], "Theatre und Kunst. Konzerte," *Fremden-Blatt* 22, no. 324 (24 November 1868): 4. "Mit Goldmark's Ouvertüre zu 'Sakuntala' wurde das Konzert eröffnet. Wir haben dieses Werk schon erwähnt, als es vor zwei Jahren zum ersten Mal aufgeführt worden. Der eigentlich musikalische Gehalt desselben ist nicht sonderlich bedeutend; es ist eine wilde Ehe zwischen der Synagoge und der Zukunftsooper. Die Gedanken tragen stark gebogene Nasen und hängende Löckchen. Ein brillantes Kolorit läßt sich dieser west-östlichen Studie indessen nicht abstreiten und ihr dekorativer Effekt ist schlagend. Gut, daß Goldmark ungleich gehaltvollere Produktionen aufzuweisen hat."

<sup>125</sup> Brodbeck, *Defining Deutschtum*, 79-80.

Goldmark: “Anton Bettelheim scarcely complained about the descriptions of this kind.”<sup>126</sup> The full context of the quotation reveals a great deal more:

In criticism, the innovator Goldmark was, in many cases, an outlawed, holy Sebastian, shot at from every angle. [the martyred Saint Sebastian (c. 256-288 CE) was shot by multiple arrows that failed to kill him] ‘King of dissonances’ was one of the tamer characteristics. A second voice described Goldmark’s compositions as a ‘musical brandy.’ A third, who disliked Goldmark’s treatment of lyrics, described it as the arsenic poisoning of fresh meadows. And a fourth, in a time and in a newspaper when it was not all hatred against the Jews, scornfully compared Goldmark’s triplets to *Pejes*, the curls of the Polish Jews. The strength with which Goldmark... did not allow such attacks to destroy him is worth particular respect.<sup>127</sup>

That Bettelheim, as a highly assimilated German Jew who would have also looked down upon the rural, traditionalist Eastern European Jews evoked by Speidel’s comment, was not troubled by the comment does not wholly excuse it. Antisemitic tendencies existed long before the term was coined.

The idea that triplets somehow could function not only as an evocation of exoticism, but actually represent a pejorative interpretation of Jewishness in music, was not solely that of Speidel, however. In November of 1886, Brahms wrote glibly to Richard Heuberger of Goldmark’s *Merlin*, “You have to have respect for a chap like Goldmark; it is a pleasure to read through it and to see how the whole thing will work, how everything has its place. And there’s nothing in it that sounds

---

<sup>126</sup> Brodbeck, *Defining Deutschtum*, 80.

<sup>127</sup> Anton Bettelheim, “Goldmark-Erinnerungen,” *Neue Freie Presse* (20 January 1915): 4. “Der Kritik war der Neuerer Goldmark nun gar vielfach ein jedem Pfeilschuß vogelfreier, heiliger Sebastian. ‘Dissonanzkönig’ lautete eine der zahmeren Charakteristiken. Eine zweite Stimme bezeichnete Goldmarks Kompositionen als ‘musikalischen Branntwein.’ Ein dritter, dem Goldmarks Behandlung seiner Liedertexte mißfiel, zog als Parallele die Arsenikbehandlung frischer Wiesengründe heran. Und ein vierter verglich Goldmarks Triolen in einer gar nicht judenhetzerischen Zeit und Zeitung höhnisch den Peies, den Seitenlößchen der polnischen Juden. Die Festigkeit, mit der Goldmark solche Angriffe sich nicht anfechten ließ,... ist besonderer Achtung wert.”



Jewish at all, not a single ‘triplet.’ It’s the best that each of them, Goldmark and [Siegfried] Lipiner, have done.”<sup>128</sup> In an 1873 review, Speidel wrote similarly:

Goldmark’s overture is known to follow in the most modern direction of music. Berlioz and Richard Wagner can be heard throughout, although one cannot say that this or that musical idea was borrowed from these masters. A full drop of Semitic blood flows through the veins of this *Sakuntala*, an echo of the joy and sorrows of the synagogue lives in the score. Here too Goldmark proves to be a sensitive, witty artist. Only the noisy finale seems made against his own good convictions. As in previous years, the overture was received with great applause.<sup>129</sup>

Brodbeck likens these comments to those regarding Rubinstein’s *Der Thurm zu Babel* (see Chapter 4), though perhaps there is a bit more merit here than in the case of the baptized Rubinstein.<sup>130</sup>

Although it is unconvincing and anachronistic to believe that Goldmark would have used synagogue melodies in *Sakuntala*, at the very least he had exposure to them through his father and brothers, while Rubinstein’s exposure to synagogue music is harder to pinpoint and likely came later in his life.

### **Goldmark’s Jewishness as Refracted through a Lied of Hugo Wolf**

Both Goldmark’s Suite and *Sakuntala* are seemingly outliers in this dissertation. Unlike the other works, they have no obvious Jewish content: no Biblical reference, no text source by or about

---

<sup>128</sup> Johannes Brahms, Letter to Richard Heuberger (1866), *Erinnerungen an Johannes Brahms*, ed. Kurt Hofmann (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1971), 155. “Vor so einem fixen Kerl wie Goldmark muß man Respekt haben; es ist eine Freude, beim Durchlesen zu sehen, wie das alles wirken wird, wie alles an seinem Platze steht. Und dabei jüdeln es gar nicht, gar keine ‘Triole.’ Es ist sowohl seitens Goldmarks als Lipiners das Beste was die Beiden gemacht haben.” The librettist of *Merlin* was Austrian-Jewish poet and religious philosopher, Siegfried Lipiner (1856-1911).

<sup>129</sup> Ludwig Speidel [sp.], “Theatre und Kunst. Konzerte,” *Fremden-Blatt* 27, no. 28 (29 January 1873): 6. Goldmarks Ouverture sich selbst bekanntlich der modernsten Richtung der Musik an; Berlioz und Richard Wagner hören im Allgemeinen durch, ohne daß man sagt sagen, daß dieser oder jeder Gedanke von diessen Meistern entlehnt sei. Ein voll Tropfen semitischen Blutes ist der Adern dieser Sakuntala eingeflochten, ein Echo der Freuden und Schmerzen der Synagoge lebt in dieser Partitur. Als seinfühlicher, geistreicher Künstler erweist sich Goldmark auch hier, nur das lärmende Finale sieht gegen seine eigenen guten Ueberzeugung gemacht. Wie vor Jahren, ward die Ouverture auch diesmal mit großem Beifall aufgenommen.

<sup>130</sup> Brodbeck, *Defining Deutschtum*, 78-79.

Jews, no reference to a liturgical prayer or melody. Their importance and relevance to Goldmark's *Judentum* lies rather in how they were presented by the critical press, what was read upon them, whether essentializing and prejudiced or celebratory and reminiscent. In closing this chapter, a brief and inconsistently quoted anecdote brings together Goldmark, fellow Jewish composer Adalbert von Goldschmidt (1848-1906), and the prolific Viennese art-song composer, Hugo Wolf (1860-1903).<sup>131</sup>

In a remembrance of Wolf, printed in the monthly periodical *Deutsche Revue*, Richard Sternfeld recalled his lieder:

There, in the basement of his house on Potsdamer Street [in Vienna], which contains such rich collections (between the books of the father of the house), Wolf played and sang songs which the singers had scarcely ventured to attempt], such as Goethe's 'Gutmann und Guttweib' and 'Ritter Curts Brautfahrt.' I can still see his mischievous eyes when he showed me how he had fun with the line "aber ach! da kommen Juden," which are accompanied by two striking themes of his Viennese colleagues in Apollo, Goldmark and von Goldschmidt.<sup>132</sup>

---

<sup>131</sup> Adalbert von Goldschmidt (1848-1906) was a minor Viennese-born composer. Little is available on Goldschmidt's Jewish status. It must have been fairly well known, however, as the *American Jewish Year Book* included him in a Necrology for 1906-1907. See *The American Jewish Year Book* 5668, vol. 9, ed. Henrietta Szod (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1907): 505. Goldschmidt's oratorio *Die sieben Todsünden* (*The Seven Deadly Sins*, 1876) was well-received in Berlin, Paris, and Vienna, but condemned by Hanslick who called it "an ugly, exaggerated, unoriginal imitation of Wagner, in which the composer had committed 'a hundred thousand deadly sins.'" See Eduard Hanslick, *Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen der letzten fünfzehn Jahre, 1870-1885* (Berlin: Allgemeiner Verein für Deutsche Literatur, 1886): 187-196; Michael Saffe, "Adalbert von Goldschmidt: A Forgotten Lisztophile," *Journal of the American Liszt Society* 21 (1987): 31-41.

<sup>132</sup> Richard Sternfeld, "Zum Gedächtnis eines Meisters des deutschen Liedes (Hugo Wolf)," *Deutsche Revue* 28 (July 1903): 79. "Dort im Souterrain seines Hauses in der Potsdamer Straße, das so reiche Sammlungen enthält, zwischen Urväter Hausrat, hat mir Wolf Lieder vorgespielt und gesungen, an die sich die Sänger noch kaum gewagt haben, so von Goethe 'Gutmann und Guttweib' und 'Ritter Curts Brautfahrt.' Noch sehe ich seine schelmischen Augen, als er mir zeigte, wie er heir bei den Textworten "aber ach! da kommen Juden" sich den Spaß gemacht hatte, in der Begleitung zwei markante Theme seiner Wiener Kollegen in Apollo, Goldmark und v. Goldschmidt, anzubringen."

Sternfeld's recollection is in reference to Wolf's song "Ritter Curts Brautfahrt," no. 12 from his *Goethe-Lieder*, comprised of fifty-one songs and composed over a several decade period before publication in the 1890s (ex. 5.10).

**EXAMPLE 5.10.** Hugo Wolf, *Goethe-Lieder*, no. 12, "Ritter Curts Brautfahrt," mm. 109-121.

The image displays a musical score for Hugo Wolf's "Ritter Curts Brautfahrt" (no. 12 from the *Goethe-Lieder*), measures 109-121. The score is written for Voice and Piano. The key signature is D major (two sharps) and the time signature is common time (C). The lyrics are: "a-ber ach! — dakommen Ju - den mit dem Scheinver-tag - ter Schuld." The score features a complex piano accompaniment with frequent triplets and sixteenth-note patterns. The voice part is a single melodic line with some triplets. The piano part is divided into four systems, each with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The first system includes the vocal line and the beginning of the piano accompaniment. The subsequent three systems focus on the piano accompaniment, showing intricate rhythmic patterns and chordal textures. The score concludes with a final chord in the piano part.

In the poem, a knight is riding toward his bride in haste of the wedding. He is repeatedly faced with trials that impede his progress—a forgotten adversary lures him into battle, an old sweetheart presents him with a child he fathered, and finally Jewish money lenders arrive with proof of money owed. The moment that the Jews arrive to collect on their debt, the music has a sudden key change and pivots to hammering triplets in the piano against a falling melodic material in the voice.

Wolf's first biographer, Ernst Decsey specifically cited Sternfeld's recollection in his description of "Ritter Curts Brautfahrt." Decsey was more detailed in his analysis of the song, giving the specific passage as from *Die Königin von Saba* as utilized satirically by Wolf (ex. 5.11):

[Wolf] set 'Ritter Curts Brautfahrt' with proud rhythm. In the best of spirits, the noble groom travels to the wedding at his love's castle. However his comfort is disturbed by three adventures, which come alive in vivid drama: first the 'adversaries,' then the 'women,' then the 'debts.' The latter is personified by Jews who come, 'with the appearance of guilt.' Wolf has two types of Jews: melancholy-humble [on the one hand] and agitated-gesticulating [on the other]. Wolf characterized each group of *Manichäer* [Easterners] using a theme of other composers. The bass is based on a triplet motive from the introduction of Goldmark's *Die Königin von Saba*.<sup>133</sup>

Like Sternfeld, Decsey gave no commentary or judgment on Wolf's use of the melodies from Goldmark or Goldschmidt (for the latter he cites no specific musical reference). Aside from the inexplicable reference to Jews as "Manicheans," his analysis—which lacks the description of Wolf's humor at the melodic quotations—is neutral and might be easily read as Wolf simply sending a

---

<sup>133</sup> Ernst Decsey, *Hugo Wolf*, vol. 2, *Hugo Wolfs Schaffen 1888-1891* (Leipzig and Berlin: Schuster & Loeffler, 1904), 99. Mit stolzen Rhythmen setzt Ritter Kurts Brautfahrt ein. In bester Bräutigamslaune tragt der Edle dahin, Leibchens Schlosse zu, zur Trauung. Aber die Behaglichkeit wird durch drei Abenteuer gestört, den in lebendiger Drastik nahen erst die "Widersacher," dann die "Weiber," dann die "Schulden." Die letzten sind personifiziert durch Juden, die da kommen, "mit dem Schein vergtagter Schuld." Bei Wolf sind zwei Juden-Typen vorhanden: melancholisch-demütige, und aufgeregt mit den Händen fuchtelnde. Jede Gruppe der Manichäer hat Wolf durch ein Thema anderer Komponisten charakterisiert. Das im Basse liegende ist einem Triolen-Motiv aus der Einleitung von Goldmarks Königin von Saba nachgebildet. It is far from clear that Decsey characterized the Jews in this poem as Manichaens. He may well have been thinking of them as Eastern, exotic, aspect.

musical greeting card to Goldmark and Goldschmidt. The analysis concluded: “The epilogue of this broad and solid ballad celebrates the first joyful ride. A magnificent song for a ballad tenor.”<sup>134</sup>

**EXAMPLE 5.11.** Passage of Goldmark’s *Die Königin von Saba* as used in Wolf, “Ritter Curts Brautfahrt,” according to Ernst Decsey.

a. Wolf

b. Goldmark

Recently, musicologist Susan Youens has been less sympathetic to Wolf on his use of quotation in this instance. Youens argues that the quotation did not appear in the songs out of great respect or even humorous friendly teasing. She writes, “Wolf was not above a spot of malicious quotation on occasion:... his Goethe songs, ‘Ritter Kurts Brautfahrt,’ includes mocking references to the music of Adalbert von Goldschmidt and Carl Goldmark, both of these Viennese enjoying at the time great success than Wolf. It is possible that Wolf was indulging in some musical mockery beyond that contained in Goethe’s text.”<sup>135</sup> Youens’s charge is rooted not in the recollections of Sternfeld, whom Decsey used, but in those of Edmund Hellmer, the sculptor of Wolf’s tomb in the Vienna Central Cemetery.<sup>136</sup> Hellmer recalled Wolf’s use of the Goldmark and Goldschmidt as much more condescending, “He [Wolf] dropped his hands to his lap and broke into a hearty laugh. ‘One thing I have from Goldmark,’ he assured himself, still shaking with laughter, ‘is from his *Sakuntala*,

<sup>134</sup> Decsey, *Hugo Wolf*, 2:100. “Das Nachspiel dieser breit und formfest gefügten Ballade faste den erste fröhlichen Ausritt und das letzte Hindernis: die Juden noch einmal witzig zusammen. Ein prächtiges Gesangsstück für einen Balladentenor.”

<sup>135</sup> Susan Youens, “The Song Sketches of Hugo Wolf,” *Current Musicology* 44 (1990): 23.

<sup>136</sup> Youens, “The Song Sketches of Hugo Wolf,” 35.

the other is from [Goldschmidt's] *Die Sieben Todsünden* that I have only recently gotten to know."<sup>137</sup>

In Hellmer's account, Wolf was more pointed and mocking, perhaps reading more of an anti-Jewish sentiment into Goethe's words than was originally present. Furthermore, in the second version of the story, Wolf identifies an entirely different Goldmark work used in "Ritter Kurts Brautfahrt"—here, *Sakuntala*.

In neither *Die Königin von Saba* nor *Sakuntala* can be found an exact source for Wolf's quotation, though the latter seems a more likely candidate than Decsey's weak example above. At the dramatic climax of *Sakuntala*, when the King and Sakuntala have been reunited in their love, the melodic material of the *Meno Mosso* love theme most closely elides with Wolf's quotation, albeit presented in a notably different expressive texture (ex. 5.12). The fact that two of Wolf's biographers remembered different Goldmark works respectively of in Wolf's quotation is perplexing. Was one of the biographers' memory in error, or did Wolf himself cite *Die Königin von Saba* when he meant *Sakuntala*? If Wolf was recalling Goldschmidt and Goldmark negatively in an underlying antisemitic sentiment, perhaps he may have conflated these two works—both featuring an exotic female and often heard as hallmarks not only of Goldmark's exoticist leanings, but of his actual Jewish nature. Chapter 6 addresses Goldmark's enduring legacy as the composer of *Die Königin von Saba*, an opera that cemented his place in Viennese high culture (and all the critical opinions that came with such fame), despite humble beginnings and a long journey of exploration in finding his compositional voice.

---

<sup>137</sup> Edmund Heller, *Hugo Wolf, Erlebtes und Erlauschtes* (Vienna: Wiener Literarischer Anstalt, 1921). "Immer vergnügter wurde der Spieler und Sänger. Und als er mit der Moral von der Geschichte: / Widersacher, Weiber, Schulden, / Ach kein Ritter wird sie los... / geschlossen, liess er die Hände in den Schoß sinken und brach in ein herzliches Lachen aus. 'Das eine [Thema] hab' ich von Goldmark,' sicherte er, sich noch immer schüttelnd vor Lachen, 'es ist aus seiner Sakuntala; das andere ist aus den Sieben Todsünden, die ich seinerzeit nur zu gut kennengelernt habe.'"

EXAMPLE 5.12. Carl Goldmark, *Sakuntala*, op. 13, mm. 390-399.

**Poco meno** Fl., Cl., Vln.

Bsn.

Vc., Cb.

## Chapter 6

### *Judentum Staged:*

#### Goldmark's *Die Königin von Saba*

After the success of *Sakuntala*, Viennese audiences were eager to hear more from Carl Goldmark. He had proven his fluency in the varied musical styles and techniques of the late nineteenth century, earned praise from Brahmsians and Wagnerians alike, and composed with a stylistic malleability expected of one in a world of such shifting boundaries and stylistic allegiances. His multi-faceted identity—his Jewishness and Hungarianness—had been emphasized in both critical evaluations and laudatory praise. His identity was integrally tied to the reception of his works beginning with the success of *Die Königin von Saba* and after his death in 1915. An example is drawn from Austrian Jewish music critic, Max Graf, writing immediately following the Second World War. Graf, who was born in Vienna and studied under Hanslick, Bruckner, and Guido Adler, wrote his 1945 book of remembrances of Vienna, *A Legend of a Musical City*, during the years he resided in New York, having fled Austria before the war. About Goldmark, Graf wrote:

Goldmark was born in Hungary, which, of all European countries, is nearest the Orient... [the] impressions of his youth must have accompanied Goldmark throughout his life. But its oriental color is only one of the elements which join in creating the peculiar value of Goldmark's music. Goldmark is one of the artistic representatives of Franz Josef's era which succeeded for the last time in the history of Austria in gathering the spiritual and artistic forces of German, Slavic, and Hungarian peoples in the valley of the Danube, and shaping them into a higher general culture. Goldmark represents the spirit of Austrian culture under Franz Josef, the artistic wealth, the refinement of taste, the predilection for sensual enjoyment, the inclination for decorative luxury which were gifts of an old European capital. In this sense, Goldmark belongs to Austria and Vienna, and the exuberant colors of his music remind us that at the time of sunset, all colors are brighter and more radiant.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Graf, *Legend of a Musical City*, 116.



Graf's evaluation of Goldmark as an eclectic composer drawing on a multitude of styles ran counter to the Wagnerian ideology that music ought to be rooted in a single nation and its history. This eclecticism, according to Graf, was epitomized in *Die Königin von Saba*, which formed the center of Graf's chapter on Goldmark.<sup>2</sup> Graf's evaluation of Goldmark is unique in that he allowed for a more synthesized view of Goldmark's varied aspects of identity, rather than limiting him to the category of "Jewish composer" or a "proud Hungarian living in Vienna." Nonetheless, even in Graf's more nuanced analysis of Goldmark, there was still an attempt to draw out *Judentum* to the fore of his musical output, insisting that Goldmark's connection to his Jewishness ran deep but was also mired in a sort of self-denial. He observed that "Goldmark misunderstood the very sources of his creative fancy and his unique artistic force," that is to say, his Jewish roots.<sup>3</sup> Graf continued:

After returning [to Vienna], from a trip to Prague, I happened to meet Goldmark, and I told him of this synagogue [the Gothic *Altneuschule* of Prague] and how I had been impressed by some phrases of the prayers I heard there, which reminded me of certain passages in his *Queen of Sheba*. I asked him whether he had used those Jewish prayer tunes consciously or unconsciously. He was very angry, and absolutely refused to admit that he used synagogal music in his opera. The resemblance of some phrases in the *Queen of Sheba* with turns and phrases of Jewish prayers, he insisted, was purely coincidental. Goldmark seemed to have forgotten that he was the son of a cantor, and that the first music he had heard as a child was that of synagogue. These melodies must have been buried in the deepest layers of his soul, for such recollections of youth are indestructible. Composing his opera, he could not have helped being shaken in the unconscious regions where, as with every great artist, childhood impressions kept living and streaming upward through the roots of his fancy into the images and forms of his works.<sup>4</sup>

Although he identified no specific examples from *Die Königin von Saba* to support the claims above, the scenes that Graf most likely had in mind were the Temple and Wedding scenes, which will be discussed below.

---

<sup>2</sup> In fact, the chapter is titled "The Composer of the *Queen of Sheba*."

<sup>3</sup> Graf, *Legend of a Musical City*, 121.

<sup>4</sup> Graf, *Legend of a Musical City*, 122.

It is difficult, as with much retrospective commentary published following the Second World War, to parse out Graf's agenda in his interpretation of Goldmark as opposed to what is actually evident in Goldmark's artistic intent. Graf had fled Vienna after the Anschluss in 1938, following his son Herbert Graf to New York, where he was serving as an opera producer at the Metropolitan Opera. That Max Graf's interpretation of Goldmark sought to elevate the Jewishness is therefore unsurprising for a publication from this period as Graf's own identity was caught up in the losses of the Holocaust and nostalgia for the pre-World War I dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary under which Goldmark thrived. Goldmark's reaction, however, is noteworthy as it seems to undermine other evidence on his more open attitude toward his *Judentum*.

David Brodbeck, in his recent article, "A Tale of Two Brothers: Behind the Scenes of Goldmark's First Opera," argues that previous scholars' emphases on Goldmark's Jewish status in analyses of *Die Königin von Saba* are "something of a red herring."<sup>5</sup> Brodbeck cautions us not to try reduce the opera to a mere "Jewish work," especially given what he describes as Goldmark's self-perception as a German composer. In both the "Tale of Two Brothers" article and in his *Defining Deutschtum* monograph, Brodbeck places particular emphasis on Goldmark's older brother Joseph and on the composer's own apparent abandonment of his *Judentum* in seeming deference to his *Deutschtum*. As I have argued in regard to Goldmark's early works such as the Suite and *Sakuntala*, it is equally reductive to understand the composer simply as a German. Goldmark's relation to Hungarian identity was addressed by Brodbeck in 2017 in an article that probes the question, "What kind of a Hungarian was Goldmark?"<sup>6</sup> However, Brodbeck's ultimate conclusion is that, artistically and musically, to Goldmark, only his *Deutschtum* mattered:

---

<sup>5</sup> Brodbeck, "A Tale of Two Brothers," 502.

<sup>6</sup> Brodbeck, "Heimat Is Where the Heart Is," 235.

[A]s I have suggested, the composer cannot be reduced so neatly. His profound identification with German culture did not require him to renounce his Jewish heritage or to give up his Hungarian patriotism. Still, as an artist, it was always clear to him which identity really mattered.<sup>7</sup>

I argue that such compartmentalization of identity unfairly psychoanalyzes a composer who was, if nothing else, highly inconsistent in the writings (both published and private) that he left behind.

Furthermore, although Brodbeck's emphasis on Goldmark's self-identification with both German and Hungarian cultures bifurcates national allegiance in a way that a citizen of Austria-Hungary simply would not have self-conceptualized. Effectively, Graf's over-emphasis and expectation that Judaism influenced Goldmark is just as limiting as Brodbeck's argument that only Germanness ultimately mattered. Goldmark's complex navigation of identities—Hungarian-born, Jewish-reared, German-speaking, and Viennese-dwelling—each can be seen as contributing influences toward different aspects present within *Die Königin von Saba*.

### **From a Vision to an Operatic Reality**

In his *Erinnerungen*, Goldmark devoted an entire chapter to the origins leading up to the first performance of *Die Königin von Saba*. The story of the works' initial inspiration is presented almost apocryphally. He recalled how his student, the Jewish soprano Caroline Bettelheim (after marriage, as Caroline von Gomperz or von Gomperz-Bettelheim, see Chapter 5) had sung at her debut concert with the Wiener Hofoper in 1860. The stage manager of the opera house remarked, "Look at that girl! That face! The very image of the Queen of Sheba!"<sup>8</sup> The Queen of Sheba he had in mind was that of French painter Henri-Frédéric Chopin, *Arrivée de la reine de Saba à la cour de Salomon*, an

---

<sup>7</sup> Brodbeck, "Heimat Is Where the Heart Is," 253.

<sup>8</sup> Goldmark, *Notes*, 205; *Erinnerungen*, 114. "Das Mäd! Das Gesicht! Die reine Königin von Saba!"

engraving of which had been displayed at the Viennese art shop of Anton Paterno.<sup>9</sup> The story Goldmark told of the opera's origin as a strike of inspiration continued in his *Erinnerungen*: "Mr. Schober's remark struck me like a flash of lightening. I saw the Queen alive before me."<sup>10</sup> Goldmark credited himself with inventing the story of the opera, which has little to do with the brief Biblical episode in which the unnamed Queen of Sheba arrives in Jerusalem, bringing valuable gifts and riddles for the Israelite King Solomon (1 Kings 10 and 2 Chronicles 9). Initially, Goldmark asked one of Bettelheim's tutors, a "Mr. Klein," to create a text on the subject. Several years earlier, Klein had written a poem for her that Goldmark had set to music.<sup>11</sup> Goldmark recalled his impression that Klein's outline for the opera was destined to be a complete failure, so he put the idea out of his mind for several years.

Several different accounts exist on how the opera's libretto finally came to be written. The story told by composer is that he passed the Jewish poet and dramatist Salomon Hermann Mosenthal (1821-1877) on the street in Vienna in 1865, shortly after the premiere of *Sakuntala*:

As we walked along, he said: 'Wouldn't you like to compose an opera?' Upon my answering eagerly, 'Yes, indeed, I should,' he said, 'Come to my office (he was the librarian of the Ministry of Education) and we will discuss the matter further.' I went

---

<sup>9</sup> Goldmark, *Notes*, 205; *Erinnerungen*, 114; Salomon Hermann Mosenthal, "Miniaturbilder. Erinnerungen an berühmte Tondichter. 6. Goldmark," *Ueber Land und Meer* 37: 19 (1877): 385. Both Goldmark and Brodbeck identified Chopin as the artist. See also Brodbeck, "A Tale of Two Brothers," 500. In Brodbeck's note 7, he identifies the engraver as Louis-Adolphe Gautier and cites Henri Béraldi, *Les graveurs du XIX siècle*, however an incorrect volume is given. The citation should read Henri Béraldi, *Les graveurs du XIX siècle: Guide de l'amateur d'estampes modernes*, 12 vols. (Paris: L. Conquet, 1885-92) vol. 6 (1887): 249-50. Unfortunately, no copies of this engraving appear to be extant.

<sup>10</sup> Goldmark, *Notes*, 205-206; *Erinnerungen*, 114. "Da traf mich dieser Ausspruch wie ein Blitz, ich sah das lebendige Bild vor mir stehen."

<sup>11</sup> Goldmark, *Notes*, 206; *Erinnerungen*, 114. This song, titled "Herzeleid," was published many years later, as the final song of a Carl Goldmark, *12 Gesänge*, Op. 18 (Vienna: J.P. Gotthard, 1869). Goldmark recalled that the work was simply credited anonymously as "Altdeutsch," in the "the way some folk songs originate."

there and we talked over various subjects, but nothing seemed to suit me. I happened to mention casually that I had already made one attempt myself at a libretto, but the ‘Queen of Sheba’ had come to grief. ‘Bring me,’ he said, ‘whatever you have on hand.’<sup>12</sup>

Mosenthal, who published a recollection on his collaboration with Goldmark in the periodical *Über Land und Meer*, told a different story—one that might be more reliable, as it was written in closer proximity to the premier. While Goldmark’s account indicated that Mosenthal approached him, the latter stated that the opera was borne the other way around.<sup>13</sup> Either story reveals the emerging trend of the nineteenth century in which a composer was actively involved in the dramatic conception of a theater work. Mosenthal’s account similarly described the inspiration as a flash of lightening, or rather that Goldmark dismissed any idea that did not “strike his heart with a spark of electricity.”<sup>14</sup> Like Hiller and Mendelssohn in their oratorios and Rubinstein in his operas (and of course like Verdi and Wagner to come), Goldmark’s dissatisfaction and molding of a text to his artistic vision shows how nineteenth century composers were taking broader control as active participants in the dramatic formation of oratorios and operas.

Mosenthal was no stranger to the stage. He was born in Kassel, but spent most of his career in Vienna. His plays had been produced in Vienna, Berlin, and Budapest since the late 1840s, but it was his *Deborah* (Hamburg, 1849) that solidified his reputation on stages across Germany, Austria, the rest of Europe, and North America (adapted most often in the English-speaking world as *Leah*

---

<sup>12</sup> Goldmark, *Notes*, 207; *Erinnerungen*, 115. “Im Weitergehen sagte er: ‘Hätten Sie nicht Lust, eine Oper zuschreiben?’ Auf meine freudige Bejahung sagte er: ‘Kommen Sie zu mir aufs Bureau (er war Bibliothekar des Unterrichtsministeriums), wir reden darüber weiter.’ Ich kam, wir sprachen über Stoffe, dies und das, mir wollte nichts passen. Da ließ ich so nebenbei die Bemerkung fallen, ich hätte schon selbst einen Versuch gemacht: die ‘Königin von Saba’ sei aber verunglückt. ‘Bringen Sie mir, was Sie davon haben,’ sagte er.”

<sup>13</sup> Mosenthal, “Miniaturbilder,” 384-385.

<sup>14</sup> Mosenthal, “Miniaturbilder,” 385. “...Goldmark jedoch mit dem innersten Gefühl Alles verwirft, was nicht elektrisch zündend den Punkt in seinem Herzen trifft...”

*the Forsaken*).<sup>15</sup> In the play, set in the 1780s, the Jewish Deborah falls in love with Joseph, the son of the city's magistrate. Joseph's father and the schoolmaster conspire to pay her off to leave town, but in a case of mistaken identity bribe the wrong woman. Joseph then marries his childhood sweetheart, forsaking Deborah, who he believes has chosen money over him. After an extended curse scene, Deborah leaves the village and returns five years later to discover that Joseph has been advocating to the emperor to give the Jews more rights and has named his young child after her. To the chagrin of some Jewish audiences in the play's early years, Deborah forgives her former lover and blesses him.

There are some curious parallels and divergences between *Deborah* and *Die Königin von Saba*. Both were wildly popular throughout Europe and the Americas, translated into many languages, and, despite their wide popular successes, somewhat critically viewed by the literary and musical elite. To the last point, both Jewish and gentile critics saw *Deborah* as a derivative of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's *Nathan der Weise* (1779) and criticized the work for capitalizing on liberal sentimentality toward emancipation.<sup>16</sup> As will be discussed below, this was not unlike the way in which music critics were constantly attempting to source Goldmark's music as meek imitations of greater operatic figures such as Meyerbeer, Wagner, or Verdi. Another similarity is the presentation of a lovestruck Jewish character, hopelessly in love with a non-Jew. In the former, it is a Jewish woman who loves a Christian man, but in the latter, a Jewish man who loves an exotic, non-Jewish (Pagan) woman. In *Deborah*, however, the non-Jews (who, importantly here, are Christians) are ultimately presented in a positive light, whereas, at the end of *Die Königin von Saba*, the Queen of Sheba is banished first from Solomon's palace and then from Assad's heart when she attempts to approach him in the desert.

---

<sup>15</sup> Jonathan M. Hess, *Deborah and Her Sisters: How One Nineteenth-Century Melodrama and a Host of Celebrated Actresses Put Judaism on the World Stage* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), 6.

<sup>16</sup> Jonathan M. Hess, "Shylock's Daughters: Philosemitism, Popular Culture, and the Liberal Imagination," *Transversal. Journal for Jewish Studies* 13, no. 1 (March 2015): 29.

One is left to wonder whether the Biblical story of the love between King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba could even occur in Mosenthal's retelling.

By Goldmark's account, both the music and text of the first and second acts came together quickly and smoothly for the composer and librettist, however the first attempts of Mosenthal to produce a third and fourth act were lackluster. Although no primary sources have come to light that can substantiate the assertion, Goldmark claimed that he had to rewrite the text of the opera's second half himself, when Mosenthal resisted changing his "thoroughly bourgeois ending," which had Assad and Sulamith marrying.<sup>17</sup> Nonetheless, the text and music were finally completed.

When the opera was finally completed in 1872, the long-awaited work was not welcomed with open arms by the Viennese musical elite, but instead Goldmark was met with further challenges: "Oh, time of bitter trouble! As I recall the events now, the cold shivers still run down my back. I faced a threefold barrier: Herbeck, Hanslick, and Speidel."<sup>18</sup> As discussed in Chapter 5, Eduard Hanslick and Ludwig Speidel wielded a long influence from their commentaries in the *Neue Freie Presse* and the *Fremden-Blatt*, respectively. Speidel's thinly veiled antisemitism and Hanslick's ardent Brahmsian prejudice would have been still fresh in Goldmark's mind in the years leading up to the premiere of *Die Königin von Saba*. Johann Ritter von Herbeck (1831-1877), who was the director of the Wiener Hofoper, was, according to Goldmark, jealous of the young composer's rising success and the aid he received in securing of performances by Hellmesberger Quartet early on in his career. Although Herbeck's son would later claim that his father was a staunch advocate for the

---

<sup>17</sup> Goldmark, *Notes*, 210-211; *Erinnerungen*, 117. "Ich begriff - so konnte der dritte Akt mit dem gut bürgerlichen Schluß nicht bleiben."

<sup>18</sup> Goldmark, *Notes*, 218; *Erinnerungen*, 121. "O Schmerzensezeit! Wenn ich heute daran denke, überlauf's mich noch heiß und kalt. Ich stand vor einer dreischafenen Mauer: Herbeck, Hanslick und Speidel."

premiere of *Die Königin von Saba*, Goldmark stated that that Herbeck only claimed credit for *Die Königin von Saba* once the opera had become an overwhelming success.<sup>19</sup>

In order to have engage the Hofoper in the production of *Die Königin von Saba*, Goldmark had to submit the score to the theater's three conductors. This did not go well. Herbeck stated, "[It] was out of the question to produce the opera because all the laws of harmony had been ignored and there were discords throughout."<sup>20</sup> Ignaz Fischer stated that he was too frail a conductor to take on "so novel and difficult a composition."<sup>21</sup> Otto Dessoff apparently was willing to produce the work, but did not hold enough sway with the director of the Hofoper.<sup>22</sup> The work continued to languish, although it was widely mentioned in the musical press that the composer of *Sakuntala* had an opera in progress, and the public wanted to see it performed. Goldmark recalled that even Speidel ultimately conceded, "The opera had better be given; let us put an end to the talk of genius unappreciated."<sup>23</sup> Not until a midday performance of the Queen's Entrance March from act I in Berlin on January 12, 1874, did the opera finally seem to have a glimmer of hope for full performance. While Brodbeck suggests that Hanslick, in reviewing the concert for the *Neue Freie*

---

<sup>19</sup> Goldmark, *Notes*, 218; *Erinnerungen*, 121; Ludwig Herbeck, *Johann Herbeck. Ein Lebensbild* (Vienna: Guttman, 1885): 362-363, Appendix, 88.

<sup>20</sup> Goldmark, *Notes*, 219; *Erinnerungen*, 122. "Er erklärte sie überhaupt nicht aufführbar, gegen alle Gesetze der Harmonie – es stimme einfach nirgends."

<sup>21</sup> Goldmark, *Notes*, 220; *Erinnerungen*, 122. "Es kann ja recht bedeutend sein, aber ich kann mich nicht mehr dam it abmühen." Goldmark, somewhat self-deprecatingly, quipped humorously, "As a matter of fact he [Fischer] died shortly afterwards. I had this consolation—my score was not responsible for his death." There is little information on Fischer, who died in 1876; he is does not appear to be the same Ignaz Fischer as the brother of Joseph Fischer of the American publishing firm J. Fischer & Brother. See "Étranger," *La Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris* 43:52 (6 August 1876): 256.

<sup>22</sup> Goldmark, *Notes*, 220; *Erinnerungen*, 122.

<sup>23</sup> Goldmark, *Notes*, 224; *Erinnerungen*, 125. "Die Presse wurde aufmerksam auf die 'Königin von Saba' und es war oft die Rede davon, so daß Speidel, einmal abwesend, schrieb: 'Man gebe diese Oper endlich; es gibt keine verkannten Genies.'"



*Presse*, was skeptical of Goldmark's "strong Orientalizing melodic style," the quotation can be read neutrally:<sup>24</sup>

The work, whose strong Orientalizing melodic style can only be justified within the opera itself, is ingeniously conceived, genuinely dramatic, and orchestrated with an unusual brilliance. The tumultuous applause that followed this operatic fragment, in which the composer was repeatedly called back to the stage, is in any case the strongest and most unbiased advertisement that the *Die Königin von Saba* could wish for in her Berlin performance.<sup>25</sup>

In his commentary on the above critique, Brodbeck does not provide the complete sentence in which Hanslick indicates that the Orientalist writing in the Entrance March suffered from the omission of those visual effects of the pantomime, as would ultimately be done in the theatrical performance. The score indicates specific groups of people entering throughout the varied sections—including white and Moorish slaves, male and female—though it is unclear whether this was given in explanation for the January concert. According to Goldmark, it took the intervention of the Prince Konstantin of Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst, who supposedly declared angrily, "I will break his [Herbeck's] neck if he does not produce the opera."<sup>26</sup>

---

<sup>24</sup> Brodbeck, "A Tale of Two Brothers," 520.

<sup>25</sup> Ed[uard] H[anslick], "Das Liszt-Concert im großem Musikvereinssaale," *Neue Freie Presse* no. 3371 (13 January 1874): 1-2. "Das Tonstück, dessen stark orientalisierende Weise allerdings erst in der Oper selbst seine volle Rechtfertigung finden kann, ist geistreich concipirt, echt dramatisch angelegt und mit ungewöhnlichem Glanz instrumentirt. Der rauschende Beifall, welcher diesem Opernfragmente folgte—der Componist wurde wiederholt gerufen—ist jedenfalls die stärkste und unbefangenste Reclame, welche die 'Königin von Saaba' für ihre in Berlin vorbereitete Aufführung sich nur wünschen kann." My translation follows Brodbeck's, but with some slight variants.

<sup>26</sup> Goldmark, *Notes*, 227; *Erinnerungen*, 126. "Ich breche ihm den Hals, wenn er die Oper nicht gibt." Count Wrba was relieved of his duties as overseer of the Hoftheater in October 1874, which had helped open up the way for *Die Königin von Saba* to receive a full performance. See "Wien, 3 Oct.," *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 9, no. 43 (28 October 1874): 684-685.

### **Interlude: The Plot of Goldmark and Mosenthal's *Die Königin von Saba***

*Die Königin von Saba* centers on an illicit love affair between the eponymous Queen of Sheba and Assad, an emissary from the court of the Biblical King Solomon. Assad is engaged to Sulamith, the daughter of the High Priest of the Temple in Jerusalem. At the opera's opening, he has returned from a mission preparing for the arrival of the Queen of Sheba. He informs Solomon that he has fallen in love with a mysterious woman that he met in the forest and that he will no longer marry Sulamith. Before Solomon can reply, the Queen arrives with her retinue. Although she pretends not to know Assad, after her formal greeting from Solomon, she later reveals in private that she recognized him and the two share a passionate love duet. Nonetheless, plans for the wedding between Assad and Sulamith continue. The following day, when she appears at the ceremony, Assad declares he cannot marry Sulamith and blasphemously states his infatuation with the Queen as his goddess. Separately, both the Queen and Sulamith plead for Solomon to spare Assad from execution. He is ultimately banished to the desert, where Sheba appears again, but this time he rejects her and repents to both his fiancé and to God. The Queen withdraws her rejection, and a violent sandstorm overtakes the scene. As the storm abates, Assad is found and forgiven by Sulamith, but soon dies in her arms.

### **An Operatic Synthesis: Eclecticism and the Staging of Ancient Israel**

Goldmark drew upon the wide breadth of operatic styles available to him as a composer and musician in late nineteenth century Vienna. *Die Königin von Saba* was clearly influenced by the grand opera style of Meyerbeer and other French artists; the tuneful singing, large choruses, ballet, and exoticist trends of Verdi and the other post-*bel canto* Italians; and the continuous melody, formal fluidity, and *leitmotiv*-associated characters of Wagner. Critics heard this in their analyses, though reviewers were mixed in their assessment of the work. For some, this stylistic synthesis was heard as

a great success, whereas others saw Goldmark as dabbling in multiple styles while mastering none. When a decade had passed and the opera crossed the ocean to be performed in the United States, such negative interpretations and opinions had waned slightly. About the final dress rehearsal in New York for the 1885 performance at the Metropolitan Opera, one critic commented, "... the score itself combines with much pure Italian writing for the voice modern German orchestration of the richest and most substantial description."<sup>27</sup> Yet, in the early years of production in Europe, opinions were less positive.

This accusation of eclecticism is not unlike the idea advocated by Wagner in his *Oper und Drama*, where he famously accused Giacomo Meyerbeer's music as full of "effects without cause" (*Wirkung ohne Ursache*).<sup>28</sup> However, such eclecticism was not universally agreed upon as a negative trait during this period. Jesse Rosenberg's analysis criticism of Italian musicologist and composer Abramo Basevi (1818-1885) argued:

[Wagner's criticism of Meyerbeer in *Oper und Drama* was] ...the very antithesis of the understanding of Meyerbeer that Basevi had worked out in his earlier articles on that composer. The paradox is that what Basevi held to be Meyerbeer's supreme gift of 'eclecticism'—by virtue of which the composer was able to combine the best musical qualities of different nations—is virtually identical to what Wagner identifies as Meyerbeer's fatal defect, since, as a Jew, he did not truly belong to any one of the modern musical nations in which he worked, whether German, Italian, or French, but could write music only as if it were an acquired tongue.<sup>29</sup>

This kind of analysis would permeate critical reaction to *Die Königin von Saba* from the premiere onward. Positive reviewers saw Goldmark's varied style as a creative synthesis, whereas negative

---

<sup>27</sup> "Amusements | Metropolitan Opera House," *New York Times* (2 December 1885): 4. This report also praised the work's overall interest, commenting that the 200 invited guests stayed for the dress rehearsal, despite it running nearly five hours.

<sup>28</sup> Richard Wagner, *Richard Wagner's Prose Works*, 2:95-99.

<sup>29</sup> Jesse Rosenberg, "Abramo Basevi: A Music Critic in Search of a Context," *The Musical Quarterly* 86, no. 4 (Winter 2002): 646.

critiques focused on the putatively derivative aspects of the music. Given Speidel's remarks on *Sakuntala*, it is unsurprising that he brought a similar disdain for *Die Königin von Saba*. After lamenting the weakness of the opera's drama, he went on to comment:

Goldmark mostly works with outside resources. He is often under the spell of Wagnerian music; he uses Wagner's orchestral forces and his informal form, where it suits him. *Tannhäuser* and *Lohengrin* are alluded to everywhere, often literally. Goldmark cannot escape the magic of the music of the future [*Zukunftsmusik*]. But there is another land on which he stands, entirely of his own. The oriental element in his music is a strange mixture of Gypsiness and Jewishness [*Zigeunerthum und Judentum*]—Goldmark is, after all, an Israelite from Hungary. He has strangely curled melismas in his music, already known from his overture to *Sakuntala*, which move in triplets and sextuplets. One hears something timid and mysteriously sentimental in the whimpering and moaning in some of the melodic turns of phrase.<sup>30</sup>

In Speidel's view, the opera's weaknesses were not only overwrought emotion and problematic Orientalism, but also what he considered Goldmark's unsuccessful attempts at writing in the Wagnerian style. Speidel argued such passages were overly done and too explicit, more mere imitation of Wagner than rising to the level of inspiration. Speidel's greatest issue was the disconnect between the writing styles—the eclecticism that Graf would argue as the opera's greatest strength. In concluding his evaluation, he invoked the word *fremdartig* to describe the music of *Die Königin von Saba*: “We do not live in the Orient; we are not shaded by palm trees. Under a sky of acorns and

---

<sup>30</sup> Ludwig Speidel [sp.], “Hof-Operntheater,” *Fremden-Blatt* 29, no. 70 (12 March 1875): 5. “Auch die Eigenthümlichkeit der Erfindung ist hier wie allerwärts nur gering; Goldmark arbeitet zumeist mit fremden Mitteln. Er steht vielfach unter dem Druck der Wagner'schen Musik; er beützt Wagner's Orchester, er macht, wo es ihm paßt, Anwendung von Wagner's formloser Form. Den *Tannhäuser*, den *Lohengrin* hört man überall durchklingen, oft wörtlich, manchmal anspielungsweise. Dem Zauber der Zukunftsmusik kaann sich Goldmark nicht entwinden. Doch bleibt ihm ein Gebiet, das ihm ganz eigen ist, auf dem er steht, wie auf seinem Grund und Boden. Das ist das Orientalische in seiner Musik, welches -- Goldmark ist ja ein Israelit aus Ungarn -- aus Zigeunerthum und Judenthum sich seltsam mischt. Er hat sonderbar gekräuselte Melismen in seiner Musik, die sich in Triolen und Doppel-Triolen bewegen, und die man schon aus seiner Ouverture zu ‘Sakuntala’ kennt; etwas Aengstliches und räthselhaft Sentimentales hört man in mancher melodischen Wendung wimmern und jammern.”

hazelnuts, such music ultimately seems very *fremdartig* and sad.”<sup>31</sup> Although this word is variably translated as “foreign,” “alien,” or “strange,” the implication here is something more specifically and pejoratively Jewish.<sup>32</sup> The suggestion was that Goldmark’s foreign nature—specifically his Jewishness rather than his Hungarianness—made it impossible to adequately absorb and create within the German and Wagnerian style.

In the light of the similarities between negative assessments of Goldmark and that of an earlier generation against Meyerbeer, it is imperative to note that the heritage of *grand opéra* is clearly evident in *Die Königin von Saba*. Upon initial inquiry, it might seem as if the vaguely Biblical subject matter of the work disqualifies it from categorization as *grand opéra*. However, the Biblical setting here is treated more as a historical backdrop for an unfolding drama than as a relating to a sacred text, not unlike that of the treatment of Rubinstein in his *Die Maccabäer*, although the inserted love story seems in pushing the boundaries of what is acceptable in the spirit of *geistliche Oper* (see Chapter 4). Additionally, Goldmark and Mosenthal’s framework of the Biblical story is not unlike the tendency in some of the best-known works of “historical” *grand opéra* to present quasi-

---

<sup>31</sup> Speidel, “Hof-Operntheater,” 5. “Wir leben nicht im Orient, uns schatten keine Palmen; unter dem Himmelsstrich der Eicheln und Haselnüsse wirkt solche Musik auf die Dauer höchst fremdartig und betrübsam.

<sup>32</sup> Goldmark himself would go on to use *fremdartig* to describe *Die Königin von Saba* in an attempt to reclaim the idea for himself, arguing a *fremdartig* work can only arise from intense study and engagement *with* a culture, so that one can create art that is contrastingly foreign (in his case, Orientalist). See Karl Goldmark, “Gedanken über Form und Stil,” *Neue Freie Presse* no. 16804 (4 June 1911): 55. “Erst jüngst las ich in einem Referat über die *Königin von Saba* die Bezeichnung: ‘Das Fremdartige Werk.’ Das Wort soll aber nicht sowohl die Eigenart bezeichnen, als vielmehr dem Werk einen Makel anhängen, ist aber tatsächlich sein größtes Lob, denn es bezeichnet unter allen Umständen seine subjective Eigenart. Das fremdartige Werk soll wohl heißen, als nicht dem deutschen Geiste, der deutschen Kunst angehörig? Ja, welcher denn? Als Kunstwerk, wie es nun einmal dasteht, ist es wohl nicht von Himmel gefallen und muß mit all seinen Formen und Eigenheiten, guten und weniger guten, einer hochentwickelten Kultur und Kunstrichtung entstammen, seine musikalischen Ahnen haben. Dieses ‘fremdartig’ soll hier verschämt wohl heißen: orientalistisch.” See also Brodbeck, *Defining Deutschtum*, 300-302; Taruskin, “Teeth will be provided,” 268. Taruskin writes that *fremdartig* might be simply translated as the capitalized Other.

fictionalized—and at times even invented or sensationalized—accounts of historical figures or events; such examples include Rossini’s *Guillaume Tell* (1829), Auber’s *Gustave III* (1833), Meyerbeer’s *Les Huguenots* (1836), to name only a few.<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless, the government censors in England still banned the performance of *Die Königin von Saba* in England, an issue commented on in *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*.<sup>34</sup> The notice suggested that operas can only be performed when the characters’ names have been changed and the drama moved to another mythical land, alluding to an already established practice in England of resetting Biblical operas such as Rossini’s *Mosè* as *Pietro L’Eremita* in 1834 and Verdi’s *Nabucco* as *Nino Rè D’Assyria* in 1846.<sup>35</sup> Clearly, the author in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* was aware of this practice. Yet while alluding to the fact that *Die Königin von Saba* hardly relies upon its Biblical story, but utilizes the association merely as a dramatic backdrop, the author also willingly claimed the work as of enough Jewish interest as to warrant publication in that periodical.

*Die Königin von Saba*’s heritage to *grand opéra* was not limited merely to epic subject matter. Although the opera is not in five acts like many works in the genre, its four acts are lengthy and elaborate and made use of striking special effects, one of the hallmarks of *grand opéra*. In particular, the entrance of the Queen of Sheba in act I and the violent sandstorm of Act 4 were frequently commented on in the critical press. Reports on the 1885 performance at the Metropolitan Opera commented on the elaborate staging as well as the work’s marches and ballets, both near-necessities in any respectable *grand opéra*: “The richness of the scene in which Solomon receives the queen has

---

<sup>33</sup> Peter Mondelli, “The Sociability of History in French Grand Opera: A Historical Materialist Perspective,” *19<sup>th</sup>-Century Music* 37, no. 1 (Summer 2013): 38.

<sup>34</sup> “Feuilleton,” *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* 42: 22 (28 May 1878): 349.

<sup>35</sup> Benjamin Lumley, *Reminiscences of Opera* (London: Hurst and Blacket, 1864), 146. Lumley lamented this practice as “that repugnance which is prevalent in the English mind against any dramatic subject referring however remotely to biblical history...”

never been surpassed and the ballet in Solomon's hall is also a triumph of the stage master's art."<sup>36</sup>

Although it did not directly reference *grand opéra*, the influence is clearly evidence in this *New York*

*Times* report:

[N]o opera has ever been placed upon the stage with anything approaching the gorgeousness and historical accuracy of last night's production: the scenes, the costumes, and the pageants—the latter involving the services of an efficient corps de ballet, and of a personnel aggregating 600 persons—offer to the eye a succession of pictures that for dazzling color, correctness, and life-like realism have had no equals within the recollection of the present generation of theatregoers.<sup>37</sup>

The special effects utilized for act IV at the Metropolitan Opera were particularly impressive: "The illusion of sand flying through the air is very cleverly done by passing a spotted glass before the lens of the magic lantern. The whirlwind effect, helped out by the din of the orchestra, is very remarkable and brings a series of superb stage pictures to a fitting close."<sup>38</sup> Goldmark's orchestration here, indeed, emphasized the swirling winds of the desert, a clever, albeit thinly veiled metaphor for the emotions of Assad (ex. 6.1). Verdi's *Aida* in particular.<sup>39</sup> Similarly, following American performances, one New York critic noted the Italian influence on the opera, but also expanded on the idea:

The music which Herr Karl Goldmark has wedded to the libretto... may be described in a general way as eclectic music. In respect of rhythm, or to put it more definitely, in respect of symmetry of themes, the vocal writing inclines toward the Italian than toward the German school. In its partial adherence to old-time forms it reminds one occasionally of *Aida*, although the antiquated recitatives, cavatinas, and concerted finales are still less sharply defined than in Verdi's operas.<sup>40</sup>

---

<sup>36</sup> "Howard's Gossip," *Boston Daily Globe*, 3 December 1885, 4.

<sup>37</sup> "Record of Amusements: Musical and Dramatic, The Queen of Sheba," *New York Times*, 3 December 1885, 5.

<sup>38</sup> "Howard's Gossip," 4.

<sup>39</sup> A[ugust] W[ilhelm] Ambros, "Goldmarks Oper: 'Königin von Saba,'" *Wiener Abendblatt* (11 March 1875), cited in Brodbeck, *Defining Deutschtum*, 85.

<sup>40</sup> "Record of Amusements," 5.

EXAMPLE 6.1. Carl Goldmark, *Die Königin von Saba*, act I, scene 3, mm. 90-98.

Etwas Schneller  $\text{♩} = 132$

+Vln. II 6  
 Vla. div. =  
 6 6 12  
 Vc. div.  
 +Vln. I  
 Bsn. a2



In a review of the premier performance of *Die Königin von Saba* in Vienna, critic and historian August Wilhelm Ambros focused his comparisons entirely on that of Italian opera—and Giuseppe Verdi. The reviewer provided as an example of the Italian influence the chorus which follows Assad's recognition of the Queen and closes act I "...clearly Italian in material and development and somewhat conventional, but stirring and forceful withal."<sup>41</sup> Choruses are, of course, hardly limited to Italian opera, and the virtuosic *bel canto* solo lines were often privileged over larger choral numbers during this period. Yet, in *Nabucco*, which brought Verdi his initial fame and established his reputation as one of the greatest opera composers of his generation, Verdi's conspicuous use of the chorus throughout became a standard that many opera composers sought to emulate while also being perceived as a symbol of Italian patriotism. As Philip Gossett has observed, musicologists have placed particular emphasis on the role that Verdi's operas did in giving voice to "the people."<sup>42</sup> Despite their prevalence in *Die Königin von Saba* and resulting external similarity to Verdi's youthful opera, nothing in Goldmark's *Erinnerungen* indicates that he had ever heard the opera live or was familiar with its choruses. Furthermore, the choruses are functionally dissimilar. The closing chorus in first act has neither literary nor political agenda, but functions more to propel the dramatic action forward (ex 6.2). The Biblical allusion to praising God through the use of various musical instruments recalls Psalm 150, and encourages a dual reading of the chorus as both Verdian opera-inspired and a homage to the nineteenth century biblical oratorio of Mendelssohn and Hiller, something which went unmentioned by the *New York Times* reviewer, who did, however, reveal his own prejudice against Wagner, continuing, "[Goldmark has] resisted the temptation of following in Wagner's footsteps, when inspiration fails him, by depending upon ugliness... there are few or no

---

<sup>41</sup> "Record of Amusements," 5.

<sup>42</sup> Philip Gossett, "Becoming a Citizen: The Chorus in 'Risorgimento' Opera," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 2, no. 1 (March 1990): 41.

passages of the score in which uncommon intervals, wild progressions, or painful dissonances fret the ear... Goldmark has avoided much of the gloom and confusion of Wagnerian music.”<sup>43</sup>

**EXAMPLE 6.2.** Carl Goldmark, *Die Königin von Saba*, act I, scene 7, mm. 108-112.

**Sehr Lebhaft**

Schla-get die Pau-ken, rüh-ret die Sai-ten, schla-get die Pau-ken, rüh-ret die Sai-ten, ju-beln-der Psa-len brau-sen-der Klang

Fl., Ob., Cl., Hn., Trpt., Vln., Vla.  
B. Cl., Bsn., Tbn., Vc., Cb.

Wagnerian influence, at least for this American reviewer, ought to have been limited, with the more dramatic moments dominated by the Italian style. The Queen’s first aria in the act II is held up as a good synthesis of two styles: “somewhat Wagnerian as to the slow movement and wholly Italian in the rather commonplace allegro.”<sup>44</sup> The aria is not quite so stylistically clear cut as the above reviewer described. The act opens with a gentle pastoral passage introduced by the horns, as the curtain rises on a moonlit garden outside of Solomon’s palace (ex. 6.3). The homophonic instrumental chorale is in E major, emphasized by the underlying tonic in the cello and bass, but slips suddenly into F major, with the entrance of the Queen.

<sup>43</sup> “Record of Amusements,” 5.

<sup>44</sup> “Record of Amusements,” 5.

EXAMPLE 6.3. Carl Goldmark, *Die Königin von Saba*, act II, Introduction, mm. 1-20.

The musical score is divided into three systems. The first system, marked 'Sehr mässig' and 'Ruhig', features a Horn (Hn.) part in the upper staff and a Violoncello (Vc.) part in the lower staff. The second system, also marked 'Sehr mässig' and 'Ruhig', features a Clarinet II (+Cl. II) part in the upper staff and a Violoncello (Vc.) part in the lower staff. The third system, marked 'Sehr schnell' and 'f', features a Clarinet and Violin (Cl., Vln.) part in the upper staff and an Orchestra (Orch.) part in the lower staff. The key signature is D major (three sharps) and the time signature is 3/4. The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, ties, and dynamic markings.

At her entrance (ex. 6.4), the Queen's opening upward leap from scale degree 5 to the tonic is conventional, but the affective falling tritones of measures 3 and 4 begin to suggest her exotic tendencies as she refers to her *Einsamkeit* ("solitude or loneliness"). Similarly, at the Queen's statement of the how Assad has *bezungen* (conquered) her heart, as well as her lament over his marriage at the next *Morgen graut* (morning's dawn), she lands on a raised scale degree 4, as if the love cannot be wholly *bel canto* in style. Both these examples, however, are ultimately only exotic in a qualified way, reliant on the context suggested by the setting and plot of the opera, and can easily be explained through more traditional analysis: her melodic tritone is merely an allusion to the dominant seventh chord and the raised scale degree 4 permits a modulation. The Queen's music becomes perceptible

as exotic only when framed with additional extra-musical details that audiences are provided: her character, her dress, and the conventions associated with an Othered female.

**EXAMPLE 6.4.** Carl Goldmark, *Die Königin von Saba*, act II, scene 1, 1-11.

**Mässig**  
Saba.

Aus des Ju - bels Fest - ge - prän - ge flücht' - ich in die Ein - sam - keit. Im Ge -

Str. **f** .. **pp**

wog' - der lau - ten Men - ge fasst die See - le tief - es Leid!

*schmerzlich*

**cresc.** **sf**

Tbn., **f**  
Vc., Cb. **fp** **pp**

Max Graf also connected *Die Königin von Saba* to Verdi; he specifically cited *Aida*, which was premiered in Cairo on December 24, 1871. He wrote that both operas were “...masterwork[s] of modern painting of landscape with the lights, sun and the colors of Orient.”<sup>45</sup> *Aida* was first heard in Vienna on April 29, 1874 at the Vienna State Opera with Amalie Materna singing the role of Amernis. Materna was one of the most popular dramatic sopranos of the late nineteenth century,

<sup>45</sup> Graf, *Legend of a Musical City*, 119. Graf dated the *Aida* premiere as 1872.

starring as Sélika in Meyerbeer's *L'Africaine* in 1869 and Brünnhilde in Wagner's *Die Walküre* and *Siegfried* at the first Viennese performances of these works in 1877 and 1878 respectively. Goldmark was on good terms with Materna, both professionally and personally. In his *Erinnerungen*, he recalled a trip to Bad Fusch in 1867 with Materna, Otto Dessoff, and Helene Magnus, in which the eclectic group went mountain climbing and sang choral tunes composed by Goldmark at the summit.<sup>46</sup> More important, however, is the fact that Materna would go on to sing the title role of *Die Königin von Saba* at that opera's premiere.

Chronology, however, excludes a clear connection between *Aida* and *Die Königin von Saba* so far as influence is concerned. Since Goldmark had been ruminating on this operatic subject for nearly a decade, and it had taken so long to convince the authorities in Vienna to produce *Die Königin von Saba*, it would be incorrect to cite *Aida* as a direct stylistic influence on Goldmark, whatever the similarities between the two works in the perception of Graf. Goldmark himself recalled his frustration that his work was seen as derivative of Verdi's:

One evening about this time [1873] I walked into the tavern where we customarily met of an evening. Mosenthal called out to me as I entered: 'Well, my dear Goldmark, have you heard the news? The parts of the opera have been already assigned.' 'Is that so?' I cried joyfully. 'Yes,' he said, 'but—it is *Aida*.' The joke was a cruel one. *Aida* then quite unknown to me was given, and I was deprived in advance of the credit for introducing new and unusual local color. Up to that time there had been no opera of that type.<sup>47</sup>

---

<sup>46</sup> Goldmark, *Notes*, 184-185; *Erinnerungen*, 102-103. Helene Magnus was an Austrian-Jewish soprano, Brahms devotee, and the mother of ethnomusicologist Erich von Hornbostel (1877-1935). See James Hepokoski, "Hornbostel, Erich M(oritz) von," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, accessed 1 September 2020, <https://doi-org.turing.library.northwestern.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.13358>.

<sup>47</sup> Goldmark, *Notes*, 223-224; *Erinnerungen*, 124. "Eines Abends kam ich um diese Zeit ins Wirtshaus zu unserer Abendgesellschaft. Da rief mir Mosenthal zu: 'Also, lieber Goldmark, wissen Sie schon? Die Stimmen der Oper sind zum Studium bereits aus geteilt.' 'Wirklich?' rief ich freudig. 'Ja' sagte er, 'aber--zur, *Aida*.' Es war ein grausamer Scherz. Und man gab die *Aida*, von deren

Goldmark was keenly aware of the predominance of foreign works on the stages of Vienna when he arrived there in the late 1840s: “And, strange to say, in the city of Franz Schubert one heard not a single *Lied* in the concert halls. Whatever singing there was, consisted of arias from operas... At the opera, Donizetti, Bellini, Rossini, Meyerbeer, and the regular Italian stock company performances were overwhelmingly the fashion.”<sup>48</sup> Given the overwhelming popularity of Italian opera in particular, Goldmark was perhaps naïve in his reaction to the public misinterpretation that *Die Königin von Saba* as following on the success of *Aida*. Although exotic tendencies of both operas were nothing new—*Sakuntala* being Goldmark’s own early example, the atmosphere in Vienna at the time of *Die Königin von Saba*’s premiere undoubtedly had an aroma of Verdian exoticism. Ralph P. Locke, in an intentional avoidance of the loaded term “exoticism,” has recently written, “Exoticness most often depends not just on the musical notes but also on their context or framing... and on other factors as well, notably the nature of a given performance and the musical and cultural preparation of a given listener.”<sup>49</sup> While Goldmark lamented not being able to introduce his self-described “unusual local color” to Viennese audiences as a novelty, this may have actually worked out in his favor, as audiences had been given a strong preparation and openness to this very kind of “exoticness.”

---

Existenz ih kaum wußte, und nahm mir damit das damals neue, fremde Lokalkolorit im vorhinein weg; es gab bisnun keine Oper von solcher Färbung.”

<sup>48</sup> Goldmark, *Notes*, 111; *Erinnerungen*, 61. “Im Konzertsale, in der Stadt Franz Schuberts, hörte man kein Lied, nur Opernarien, wenn überhaupt gesungen wurde. Die Virtuosen liebten es, das ganze Programm allein zu beforgen. Im Opernhause herrschte vorwiegend Donizetti, Bellini, Rossini, Meyerbeer und regelmäßige italienische Stagione - allerdings mit großen Gesangskünstlern des bel canto.”

<sup>49</sup> Ralph P. Locke. “A Broader View of Musical Exoticism,” *The Journal of Musicology* 24, no. 4 (Fall 2007): 479n.

Aside from the Verdian and Meyerbeerian touches observed by reviewers, the composer whose influence critics most often claimed to hear in Goldmark's opera was Richard Wagner. A British correspondent commented of *Die Königin von Saba's* success in Hamburg, "Goldmark is a disciple of Wagner, and his opera is in his master's latest style."<sup>50</sup> One of the challenges with this statement—and moreover, a general issue of describing Goldmark as "Wagnerian"—is that it could mean such a variety of things throughout Wagner's career. *Die Königin von Saba* was written and premiered when *Der fliegende Holländer* (1843), *Tannhäuser* (1845), and *Lobengrin* (1850) were mainstays of the operatic repertoire and well-known to European audiences. Goldmark had been present at an 1861 piano reading of passages from *Tristan und Isolde* several years before its first staging in Munich (1865). Despite apparently poor playing from Peter Cornelius, the opera had such daring, modern harmonies that Goldmark recalled "It was enough to soften a stone!"<sup>51</sup> He had also heard concert performances of excerpts from *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* (1868), *Die Walküre* (1854), and *Siegfried* (1856).<sup>52</sup> Curiously—or possibly intentionally—Wagner is conspicuously absent from Goldmark's entire chapter on *Die Königin von Saba*, perhaps reflecting a desire to distance his most successful from the direct influence of other composers, especially one so stylistically divisive as Wagner.

Musically, *Die Königin von Saba* contains much that can be seen as Wagnerian, particularly in the free approach to formal structure, continuous melody, and some use of *leitmotiv*. Yet, the opera's strongest connection to Wagner lies not in the music but in the text, as addressed by Mosenthal in his commentary on the collaboration with Goldmark. The librettist described how he had set out to

---

<sup>50</sup> "In Germany," *The Theatre* 1, no. 11 (10 April 1877): 125.

<sup>51</sup> Goldmark, *Notes*, 134-135; *Erinnerungen*, 74-75. "Es war zum Steinerweichen." This expression is fairly common in German literature, but does not translate well into English. Brandeis's translation reads, "It was enough to make the angels weep!"

<sup>52</sup> Goldmark, *Notes*, 146; *Erinnerungen*, 81.

directly connect the characters and storyline to *Tannhäuser*, especially given the fact that the actual Biblical story of the Queen of Sheba lacked any real drama, “Although the opera shares the title with Gounod’s half-forgotten work, in fact, it shares nothing more than the name, about which the plot was invented. The legend [of the Queen of Sheba] is anecdotal and brief in Jewish, Arabic, and Persian sources; [Ludwig August von] Frankl has communicated much of it in his recent work, ‘Tragische Könige.’ I tried, therefore, to create the Queen as an Arabian Venus alongside a Jewish Tannhäuser.”<sup>53</sup> As Brodbeck and others have observed, other characters of *Tannhäuser* also have their counterparts in *Die Königin von Saba*: Elisabeth in Sulamith and Wolfram von Eschenbach is Solomon. Yet, there is nothing of the magical or miraculous here. Unlike the offstage miracle of the papal staff and redemption of the title role in *Tannhäuser*, *Die Königin von Saba* ends in Assad’s tragic death, in keeping with the more conventional expectation of *grand opéra*.

### ***Die Königin von Saba* as a Hungarian National Opera?**

Goldmark’s Hungarian origins, like his Jewish background, were never a secret. As discussed in Chapter 5, Goldmark’s relationship with Hungarian nationalism was complicated, and it is difficult to parse out his personal feelings from those imposed upon him by critical press during his lifetime and retrospective remembrances following his death. On the whole, his Hungarian origins were underplayed in deference to his Viennese residence and claim of a German cultural identity.

This was a not uncommon phenomenon for assimilated Hungarian Jews during this period.

---

<sup>53</sup> Mosenthal, “Miniaturbilder,” 384-385 “Obwohl die Oper den gleichen Titel trägt wie Gounod’s halbvergessenes Werk, so theilt sie mit diesem in der That nichts mehr als den Namen, zu dem es eine Handlung zu erfinden galt. Die Sage enthält in jüdischen, arabischen und persischen Quellen viel Anekdotisches und Epigrammatisches: Frankl, hat in seinem jüngsten Werk: ‘Tragische Könige’ manches Artige davon mitgetheilt. Ein dramatischer Kern ist nirgends zu finden. Ich versuchte es nun, die Königin als arabische Venus einem jüdischen Tannhäuser an die Seite zu stellen.” Charles Gounod’s *grand opéra*, *La reine de Saba*, premiered at the Paris Opera in 1862. The work was based on Gérard de Nerval’s 1851 *Voyage en Orient*, a traveler’s diary of Cairo and Beirut that also included a retelling of Solomon and Queen of Sheba story.



Brodbeck observes that “...the traditional path of Hungarian born Jews of the pre-1848 generation [was] to assimilate into German rather than Magyar culture.”<sup>54</sup> Yet, as attitudes towards Jews within Hungary changed, political allegiances shifted, and new religious freedoms were granted, Goldmark became more associated with the Hungarian side of his identity, especially by those in the emerging Hungarian cultural elite, even though he himself was German-speaking. Brodbeck describes this with an extensive analysis of Goldmark’s reception and obituaries in both German- and Hungarian-language newspapers. Despite his struggles to initially be recognized in Budapest, Hungarian nationalist newspapers such as *Pester Lloyd* later enthusiastically claimed Goldmark as a Hungarian. There is a near rewriting of history in their retrospective acknowledgement; with the success of *Die Königin von Saba* and the fame the composer garnered from it, Hungarian nationalists wished to include the opera and its composer into their cultural fold. It is tempting to draw a parallel between Goldmark’s developing association with Magyar-Hungarian culture and that of the Swedish-speaking Jean Sibelius (1865-1957) and his association with the Finnish language, culture, and identity. However, as James Hepokoski observes, Sibelius’s move toward Finnish nationalism actually did not occur until he went to Vienna in the 1890s.<sup>55</sup> By contrast, Goldmark’s self-identification with Hungary had, according to accounts in his *Erinnerungen*, always been. It was simply that later in his life—and importantly after his success and reputation had been firmly established—that the Hungarian musical elite began to acknowledge and claim him as their own.

Following the 1875 premiere in Vienna it took nearly twenty years for *Die Königin von Saba* to be produced in the Hungarian capital city in February 1895. Although Goldmark’s *Erinnerungen* was

---

<sup>54</sup> Brodbeck, “*Heimat Is Where the Heart Is*,” 236.

<sup>55</sup> James Hepokoski, “Sibelius, Jean [Johan] (Christian Julius), 2. 1889–91: the transformation (Berlin, Vienna),” *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, accessed 10 August 2020, <https://doi-org.turing.library.northwestern.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.43725>.

written shortly before his death, it is incomplete and does not include recollections of this three-day festival in his honor.<sup>56</sup> The first night featured chamber music by the Hubay-Popper Quartet (also known as the Budapest Quartet or the Hungarian Quartet); the second night, *Die Königin von Saba*; and the final night a concert performance by the Philharmonic Society, followed by a banquet.

About this banquet, music critic August Beer wrote in *Pester Lloyd*:

Maestro Goldmark feels at home whenever he crosses the Hungarian border. Like a Liszt, like a [Hungarian painter Mihály] Munkácsy, Goldmark too was taken by fate at a young age to a foreign land; they all laid claim to cosmopolitanism in [their] art; each in his own way has become a citizen of the world in the artistic sense, but they have not forgotten their Hungarian thinking and feeling and even under foreign skies have felt like children of their Magyar homeland [*“Kinder ihrer magyarischen Heimath”*].<sup>57</sup>

By positioning Goldmark’s Hungarianness to the fore, Beer, like so many critics before him, robbed Goldmark of the right to forge a synthesized identity. Since Goldmark’s own opinions on these attempts to position him as a Hungarian national hero were not a part of his *Erinnerungen* given its incomplete nature, it would be mere conjecture to suppose whether this would have troubled the composer. After all, while emancipation had been achieved in 1867, the *Recepció* or Law of Reception, which counted Judaism among the legally recognized religions of Hungary, was only passed in

---

<sup>56</sup> Brodbeck, “*Heimat Is Where the Heart Is*,” 241. Brodbeck gives an extended overview of these concerts, as were reported by the German-language Budapest newspaper, *Pester Lloyd*. See also A. B. [August Beer], “Goldmark-Soirée,” *Pester Lloyd* (12 February 1895): 7; idem., “Königliches Opernhaus,” *Pester Lloyd* (13 February 1895): 7; idem., “Karl Goldmark,” *Pester Lloyd* (14 February 1895): 5–6; “Goldmark-Banket,” *Pester Lloyd* (14 February 1895): 5. Beer was the chief music critic of *Pester-Lloyd* and is today most often associated with his reviews of Gustav Mahler. Beer’s Jewish status is unknown, and he should not be confused with the German-Jewish physicist of the same name.

<sup>57</sup> August Beer, “Karl Goldmark,” *Pester Lloyd* (14 February 1895): 5–6, trans. in Brodbeck, “*Heimat Is Where the Heart Is*,” 242. “Und zu Hause fühlt sich auch Meister Goldmark, wann immer er die ungarische Grenze passirt. Gleich einem Liszt, einem Munkácsy wurde auch Goldmark vom Schickfaal schon in jungen Jahren in fremdes Land verschlagen: sie Alle haben sich den Kosmopolitismus in der Kunst erobert, sind Jeder in seiner Art Weltbürger in künstlerischen Sinne geworden, aber sie haben ihr ungarisch Denken und Emfinden nicht verlernt, haben sich auch unter fremden Himmelsstrich als Kinder ihrer magyarischen Heimath gefühlt.”

1895.<sup>58</sup> Jews, however, continued to be seen as suspect. This antisemitic trope, that Jews cannot be true members of the countries where they reside, is age-old. Yet, in an equally ancient stereotype, a model Jew, who has achieved popular success for one reason or another, can be claimed by the state or the public, in order to advance to the agendas of the broader society.<sup>59</sup> As Brodbeck observes, for the Hungarian press, as well as the emerging nationalist cultural elite, “Goldmark’s “...international celebrity trumped his lack of genuine Magyar credentials. Thus, the issue here is not whether or not *Die Königin von Saba* contains musical evidence of Goldmark’s Hungarianness. It is more a question of whether or not the opera might be interpreted by the awakening Hungarian nationalists as useful for furthering the Hungarian nationalist program.

It is a fruitless search to seek out Hungarian musical markers in *Die Königin von Saba*. Although he had used the Gypsy-like rhapsodic writing for violin and piano in the Suite (see Chapter 5), Goldmark did nothing sonically in this opera that could accurately be even an approximation of Hungarian nationalist sentiment in music. Moreover, no one has attempted to construe any such characteristics in the work, both historically or in more recent scholarship. Instead, *Die Königin von Saba* has functioned as Hungarian by the circumstance of Goldmark’s birth and his proud self-identification with his ancestral homeland. The close of this chapter below will address the continued connections between the opera and the modern nation of Hungary even today.

---

<sup>58</sup> Anikó Prebuk, “Reception, Law of,” *The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*, 2010, trans. Veronika Szabó, accessed 10 August 2010, [https://yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Reception\\_Law\\_of](https://yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Reception_Law_of); Raphael Patai, *The Jews of Hungary: History, Culture, and Psychology* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1996), 32.

<sup>59</sup> For a more extensive study on these issues, see George Barany, “Magyar Jew: or Jewish Magyar? (To the Question of Jewish Assimilation in Hungary),” *Canadian-American Slavic Studies* 8, no. 1 (Spring 1974): 1-44.

## Judaism and Jewishness in *Die Königin von Saba*

With its role for King Solomon and its scenes in the Temple, the Jewishness of *Die Königin von Saba* has never been in question. It could not be concealed. Critics seized upon Jewishness within the opera from its very first performances, and this only increased toward the Second World War and in post-Holocaust examinations. The most commonly cited evidence for *Die Königin von Saba*'s Jewishness has been that the text was drawn from the Hebrew Bible. However, this evidence is only convincing when coupled with the Jewishness of the work's composer and librettist, similar to claims regarding Hiller's *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* or operas of Anton Rubinstein. The Biblical associations were difficult to reconcile the opera's extra-Biblical story with its supposedly sacred origins (1 Kings 10 and 2 Chronicles 9). In 1 Kings, the Queen arrives in Jerusalem at the court of Solomon having heard of his wisdom. She attempts to test the king, posing difficult questions (or riddles, as sometimes translated in English) which he is able to answer. She declares that both Solomon's wisdom and the material wealth of his kingdom surpass the reports heard—"Und sprach zum König: Es ist wahr, was ich in meinem Lande gehört habe von deinem Wesen und von deiner Weisheit" (1 Kings 10:6 LUTH1545)—and rewards him with 120 talents of gold, precious gems, and more spices than had ever been brought to Jerusalem (1 Kings 10:10). The Sheba story both mysterious and quite brief, and was subjected to elaborations in Jewish, Christian, and Muslim sources for millennia. Passages from both appearances of the queen have come to be understood with sexual undertones: "And king Solomon gave unto the queen of Sheba all her desire, whatsoever she asked, beside that which Solomon gave her of his royal bounty" (1 Kings 10:13 JPS); "And king Solomon gave to the queen of Sheba all her desire, whatsoever she asked, beside that which she had brought unto the king" (2 Chronicles 9:12 JPS). The 1545 Luther Bible identifies her as the queen of the Arabian Empire: "Und da das Gerücht von Salomo und von dem Namen des HERRN kam vor

die Königin von Reicharabien, kam sie, Salomo zu versuchen mit Rätseln.” (1 Kings 10:1 LUTH1545)

An important complicating factor in categorizing *Die Königin von Saba* as a Biblical work lies in the subject matter itself. Despite the titular lead character, the presence of Solomon, and scenes in the Temple, the work can hardly be described as sacred or even Biblical. Goldmark and Mosenthal’s divergence (it is difficult to determine from extant letters which of the two deserves more dramatic credit in this aspect) from the Biblical account of the Queen of Sheba is so great that there is hardly any of the Biblical story left. The greater part of the plot of the opera unfolds either before or within the first two verses of the I Kings 10. There is nothing of Solomon’s riddles, of the Queen’s impressions of the riches of his kingdom, or of the more titillating aspects of the story—all of which could have served as adequate material or inspiration for the opera. Furthermore, Goldmark himself even seems to have used that very divergence from the Bible as a selling point when faced with challenges to his attempts to secure a performance, “Back from Gmunden, I visited Herbeck. He told me he had already read the libretto, which didn’t especially please him, [and] moreover that biblical subjects were not popular. After explaining mine was by no means a biblical subject but rather a love tragedy and [that I] also had a say in its musical presentation, he promised to submit the score to thorough examination.”<sup>60</sup> Thus, critics were perhaps justified to see the Queen merely as a stock character. The assimilated Jewish critic Eduard Kulke accused Mosenthal of having created a

---

<sup>60</sup> Letter from Carl Goldmark to Joseph Goldmark (20 March 1873), Typewritten transcript, Box 1, Folder “Goldmark, Carl, 1866-1893 typed copies,” Goldmark Family Papers, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, New York, quoted in Brodbeck, “A Tale of Two Brothers,” 515. “Von Gmunden zurückgekehrt, besuchte ich Herbeck. Er sagte mir, das Textbuch bereits gelesen zu haben, dieses gefiele ihm nicht besonders, überdies seien biblische Stoffe nicht beliebt. Nachdem ich ihm auseinandergesetzt, dass ich gar keinen biblischen Stoff, sondern eine Liebestragödie habe und die musikalische Darstellung einer solchen auch etwas mitzureden habe, versprach er mir, die Partitur einer sorgfältigen Prüfung unterziehen zu wollen.”

work of *Schablonenarbeit* [literally “stenciled art” or, as Brodbeck translates, “cookie-cutter work”].<sup>61</sup>

The opera was too conventional, Kulke argued: it used the “traditional pattern of the strict high priest with daughters in love,” and did not capitalize on any of the dramatic possibilities within the Biblical Queen of Sheba story, presenting her as one might present “any beautiful woman.”<sup>62</sup>

Despite the opera’s divergences from its Biblical origins, critics were quick to declare it an essentially Jewish national opera. Johann Georg Woerz, in the *Wiener Sonn- und Montags Zeitung*, wrote the following, “It will suffice to indicate that the composer probably cared most about gaining a national-Jewish subject for his début opera and that Mosenthal had no scruples about grabbing the Bible for this occasion at a weak page [and] making an opera out of what it does not say.”<sup>63</sup>

Brodbeck, in pointing out that it is unclear what exactly made Woerz draw the conclusion that Goldmark’s aim had been for creating a national opera of the Jewish people, shows the problematic nature of such a statement. Notwithstanding Woerz’s mistaken notion that Mosenthal ought to have been given sole credit for the decision to set the Queen of Sheba story, he also conflated the Ancient Israelites with modern European Jewry, as Brodbeck writes, “[Woerz] is making a distinction

---

<sup>61</sup> Eduard Kulke [Ed. K.], “Die Königin von Saba,” *Das Vaterland* 16, no. 73 (14 March 1875): 1. “Was Mosenthal aus dem Stoffe gemacht hat, ist eine Schablonenarbeit...”

<sup>62</sup> Kulke, “Die Königin von Saba,” 1. “...eine dramatische Ausgestaltung nach den herkömmlichen Mustern vom strengen Priester und der unsinnig verliebten Tochter u. dgl., mit einer Verwicklung, zu welcher es keinesfalls der Kraft einer Königin von Saba bedürfte, da diese Verwicklung durch jedes beliebige schöne Weib genau auf dieselbe Art erreicht werden konnte, und mit einer Losung, der welcher sich die hohe Weisheit Salomon’s gänzlich überflüssig zeigt, weshalb der Verfasser auch von derselben gar keinen Gebrauch gemacht hat.”

<sup>63</sup> Johann Georg Woerz [Florestan], “Die Königin von Saba,” *Wiener Sonn- und Montags-Zeitung* 13, no. 24 (14 March 1875): 2-3, trans. in Brodbeck, *Defining Deutschtum*, 86. “Aber an Erklärungsgründen für die Einkleidung der dramatischen Idee unseres Dichters in ein scheinbar historisch zugeschnittenes Gewand fehlt es allerdings nicht, und uns kann die Hindeutung genügen, daß dem Compositen wesentlich daran gelegen sein mochte, für seine Erstlingsoper ein national-jüdisches Sujet zu erlangen, und daß Mosenthal sich kein Scrupel machte, bei dieser Gelegenheit die Bibel an einer schwachen Seite zu packen, aus dem, was sie nicht sagt, eine Oper zu dichten, und neben einem Propheten wenigstens als Epiphet genannt zu werden.”

between this case and that, say, of the superficially similar *Aida*, which could only have been understood as an essay in exoticism. Goldmark, after all, was Jewish, while Verdi was Italian, not Egyptian or Ethiopian, and Woerz and other critics as well took that to be a significant fact.”<sup>64</sup> Although Brodbeck does not look in depth at English language reviews of *Die Königin von Saba*, a similar trend in emphasis on Goldmark’s Jewishness can be found in British and American newspapers as well. In Dresden, the foreign correspondent to the *New York Times* cryptically commented that the opera’s dramatic moments, particularly Assad’s death in the sandstorm, and the overt displays of excess associated with the Queen of Sheba ruffled the feathers of some of the more conservative audiences: “All this shocks some good people, I am told; but as the text is written and the music composed by Jews, I don’t know that Christians ought to object.”<sup>65</sup> The British periodical *The Monthly Musical Record* reported on the Dresden performance:

His airs have not the inherent swing and vigour of Wagner’s melody; but they are withal original, being of an Oriental, nay, decidedly Jewish character. Rubinstein has tried the same style both in his ‘Persian’ songs and in his *Maccabees*; and Goldmark’s Hebrew melodies—if so they may be called—are not only quite as attractive, but have over those of his rival the advantage of more thorough workmanship.<sup>66</sup>

Mistaken Hebrew and Jewish influence was often heard by critics within certain passages of the work. The *New York Times* reviewer who had emphasized Goldmark’s synthesis of Italian and German styles remarked on the opera’s “ingenious use of Hebrew melodies and of the strange blasts of the ram’s horn used in the synagogue” in the Temple scene of act II, scene 5.<sup>67</sup> This scene continues without pause from the scene preceding it, which went mostly unremarked upon in the critical literature of the day, possibly because it undermines criticism of the Temple scene itself. In

---

<sup>64</sup> Brodbeck, *Defining Deutschtum*, 87.

<sup>65</sup> “The Diversions of Dresden,” *New York Times*, 30 March 1880, 2.

<sup>66</sup> C.P.S., “Goldmark’s *Queen of Sheba*,” *The Monthly Musical Record* 10 (April 1880): 50.

<sup>67</sup> “Record of Amusements,” 5.

scene 4, as dawn arises, the High Priest (and father of Sulamith) rises and greets the sun. He is answered by the chorus, which is at yet off-stage. Kulke challenged Goldmark's setting of the voices in scene 5, which he apparently heard as too reminiscent of contemporary synagogue music, rather than any attempt made at a more "authentic" local color. In Kulke's opinion, a synagogue-style music was not appropriate for this opera:

Goldmark's preference for synagogal expressions in the formation of [the opera's] melodies should be seriously criticized. If Goldmark can prove to me that the Hebrews sang in Solomon's time as he made them sing in the Temple Scene, I would undertake to reread Ferkel [*sic*] and Kiesewetter—and Ambros on top of that! Even if a genuinely historical color cannot be achieved, why these synagogal echoes? Why not a nice four-part chorale à la Sebastian Bach? Doesn't the introduction to the second act of *Zauberflöte* have a much stronger effect in terms of color than all of the [so-called] original Egyptian motifs that Verdi used in *Aida*?<sup>68</sup>

Kulke's memory was evidently selective. Although not within the Temple walls, a Bach-style chorale is more or less what Goldmark did use in the scene leading up to the temple (ex. 6.5), although though it is potentially more accurate to describe it as Bachian but filtered through the oratorio styles of Mendelssohn and Hiller. The choral forces, made up of the same Israelites who will participate in the Temple scene, functioned almost as a Greek chorus, responding first to the High Priest's praise of God at dawn, and then later lamenting the suffering of Assad as Baal Hanan finds him in a crazed and lovestruck catatonia (ex. 6.6).

---

<sup>68</sup> Kulke, "Die Königin von Saba," 2. "Was die Vorliebe Goldmark's für synagogale Wendungen in der Melodiebildung betrifft, so wäre dies auch ernstlich zu rügen. Ich mache mich verbindlich, Ferkel und Kiesewetter nochmals durchzulesen und Ambros obendrein, wenn mir Goldmark nachweisen kann, daß die Hebräer zur Zeit Salomon's so gesungen haben, wie er in der Tempelszene sie singen läßt. Wozu also, da eine echt historische Farbe auf diese Art nicht zu erreichen ist, diese synagogalen Anklänge? Warum nicht lieber im Tempel einen schönen vierstimmigen Choral à la Sebastian Bach? Wirkt die Einleitung zum zweiten Act der 'Zauberflöte' nicht viel stärker selbst in der Farbe, als alle die egyptischen Originalmotive, die Verdi in der 'Aida' verwendet hat?" The named references that Kulke promised to reread are German music scholars Johann Nikolaus Forkel (1749-1818), Raphael Georg Kiesewetter (1773-1850), and August Wilhelm Ambros (1816-1876).



EXAMPLE 6.5. Carl Goldmark, *Die Königin von Saba*, act II, scene 4, mm. 11-19.

Ba - det die Hän - de in rei - ner Fluth, lo - bet den Herrn, der Herr ist gut,  
 lo - bet dem Herrn, der Herr ist gut.  
 Baal-Haanan.  
 Wer ist's, der dort an der Quell - e ruht, A-ssad!

Vln. I  
 WW, Hn., Str.

dim. *pp*  
 dim. *pp*  
 Str. *f*  
 +Bsn., Hn.

EXAMPLE 6.6. Carl Goldmark, *Die Königin von Saba*, act II, scene 4, mm. 34-40.

Noch etwas langsamer

Ar - mer ge - troff - en von Got - tes Hand; Ar - mer, ge - troff - en von  
 Got - tes Hand, Hei - lung sei dir vom Herrn - ge - sandt.

*pp*  
*f*  
*p*  
 dim. *pp*

The stage shifts to the Temple for scene 5. Here, if we are to believe Kulke and the *New York Times* correspondent, the so-called synagogal melodies and shofar blasts are heard throughout. It is possible, though a stretch, to locate what these critics might have heard. The scene begins with a low string chorale into whose solemn and dark texture enter the low winds and horns (ex. 6.7).

EXAMPLE 6.7. Carl Goldmark, *Die Königin von Saba*, act II, scene 5, mm. 1-30.

**Aeusserst ruhig und feierlich**

Vla., Vc., Cb. *pp*

+Cl., Bsn., Hn. I

*nicht schleppend, doch ruhig* Cl. I

*dim.* Vc. *p*

*cresc.*

*dim.* *p*

The languid melody that begins at measure 15 sees the triplets that Rubin Goldmark commented were so prevalent in his uncle's compositions and that Ludwig Speidel decried as representative of curling Jewish sidelocks. Following this instrumental introduction, the High Priest alternates dramatically with the chorus throughout, and his passages are generally *a cappella* quasi-metrical recitatives. The chorus's seven-measure response changes key with each repetition, moving from F major to D major and the C major, from A-flat major to F major, and B major to G-sharp major (ex. 6.8).

The passage contains no identifiable quotations of cantorial singing as Kulke suggested, and the responsorial style is much more in the style of sacred oratorio than of any traditional nineteenth century Jewish liturgical music. If anything, the music may be more sonically linked to the art music-influenced reformed liturgical style of Salomon Sulzer, although, as will be discussed below, critics such as Hanslick perceived Sulzer's influence more in the dramatic moments than in the static religious scene. Overall the critical sentiment seems to have been that a little exoticism was tolerable, but only if approached from a solidly German direction.<sup>69</sup> As those connected in any way to *Judentum*—whether by active professing of the Jewish faith or by happenstance of birth, despite any baptism or Christian allegiance—had tenuous *Deutschtum*, all exoticism in their works was automatically suspect. No predilection for exotic writing found in a Jewish composer's music could be considered a stylistic choice or tendency, but *must* have been tied to *Judentum*. With the Temple scene, if any influence from synagogue music can be heard at all, it is from synagogue music that had itself been influenced by German music. This nuance was lost on many critics who heard only the *Judentum* in the *Deutschtum*.

---

<sup>69</sup> Eduard Hanslick [Ed.H.], "Die Königin von Saba," *Neue Freie Presse* no. 3788 (13 March 1875): 1-3; republished with some alterations in Eduard Hanslick, *Musikalische Stationen* (Berlin: Allgemeine Verein für Deutsche Literatur, 1885), 298-305.

EXAMPLE 6.8. Carl Goldmark, *Die Königin von Saba*, act II, scene 5, mm. 31-48.

High Priest

Dan- ket dem Herrn, denn er ist freund- lich.

Chor des Sängers

E - wig, e - wig währt sei- ne Gü - te, e - wig,

Ob., Vla.

E. Hn., Cl., B. Cl., Bsn., Vc.

So spre - che Is - ra- el!

e - wig währt sei- ne Gü - te.

Chor des Volkes

E - wig, e - wig währt sei- ne Gü - te e - wig, e - wig währt sei- ne Gü - te.

Richard Taruskin has identified four types of Orientalist idioms used by Goldmark in *Die Königin von Saba*: Moorish for Astaroth, Arabian for the Queen, Hebrew court of Solomon and his retinue, and the Hebrew temple.<sup>70</sup> As Taruskin rightly points out, Goldmark very problematically claimed in his autobiography that “I had never been in the Orient, but intuition helped me even over this lack.”<sup>71</sup> Are we to say this is his “Jewish intuition”? Taruskin questions:

What, though, would it have availed the composer to have visited the Orient?... *Die Königin von Saba* is most accurately described as an opera with a Biblical—that is to say, ancient-world—setting. The sounds of that world, oriental or occidental, are no longer available for mimicry... Authenticity, if that means resemblance to an actual original, is not even an option—nor would it even be desirable, if no one could recognize it. It cannot reasonably be sought.<sup>72</sup>

Taruskin’s frustration, understandably, arrives via a twenty-first century route of scholarly thinking, challenging the notion of authenticity and drawing the attention to the different types of supposedly Orientalist idioms, none of which can accurately represent the local color of what they are used to represent. Furthermore, the intuition referenced by Goldmark seemed to be perpetually misinterpreted by outsiders, who saw Judaism not only in the Jewish characters, but in everything else about the opera, including the Queen of Sheba herself, who is supposed to be the total *opposite* of her Hebrew lover Assad.

### **The Search for Jewish Sounds in *Die Königin von Saba***

Astaroth’s vocalise (ex. 6.9) that lures Assad out to meet the Queen, shows critics such as Hanslick identified the inherent Jewishness in the music of non-Jewish characters within the *Die Königin von Saba*. Astaroth, the Queen’s Moorish slave, is a soprano role, balancing out the choice of

---

<sup>70</sup> Taruskin, “Teeth will be provided,” 264-265. In addition to these four, one can also consider Goldmark’s “Indian orientalist idiom,” used in *Sakuntala*.

<sup>71</sup> Goldmark, *Notes*, 210; *Erinnerungen*, 117. “Ich war nie im Orient, aber die Intuition half mir auh darüber hinweg.”

<sup>72</sup> Taruskin, “Teeth will be provided,” 265.

EXAMPLE 6.9. Carl Goldmark, *Die Königin von Saba*, act II, scene 2, mm. 43-55.

the mezzo voice for the Queen. As Locke observes, the lower feminine voice of such characters as Sélika in *L'Africaine*, Amernis in *Aida*, Dalila in *Samson et Dalila*, and others, was often used by composers to “[imply] a kind of full-throated voluptuousness and worldly-wiseness (including a willingness to manipulate and deceive) that, in operatic women, is often paired with open sexual desire and independence of will.”<sup>73</sup> Since Astaroth sings on behalf of her mistress, she acts more as an alluring albeit landlocked siren than a threatening exotic woman. The unmetered vocalise

<sup>73</sup> Ralph P. Locke, “Cutthroats and Casbah Dancers, Muezzins and Timeless Sands: Musical Images of the Middle East,” *19<sup>th</sup>-Century Music* 22, no. 1 (Summer 1998): 47.

functions essentially as a siren's song, which Linda Phyllis Austern describes as "the power to force men to listen, to abandon themselves against rational judgment to the insubstantial pleasures of things heard."<sup>74</sup> The wordlessness of Astaroth's line enhances the suggestion of a descent into the irrational. Modal and wandering, Astaroth's solo intonation never settles into a distinct tonality, although it alludes to an inflected G major as it circles around scale degree 5 and slips downward from a raised scale degree 4 before rising again to C-sharp and resting there as Assad enters.

Brodbeck explores how Hanslick problematically misread Astaroth's vocalise as one of the opera's Jewish moments. Hanslick described the vocalise as synagogue music in his original evaluation in the *Neue Freie Presse*:

This manner [of composing], which is tiring and remains so strange, takes up too much space in Goldmark's opera. It also prevails in places where there is nothing Jewish, but only universally human. How strange the song without words with which Astaroth lures Assad to the Queen! These are the sounds that drive pious Jews to the synagogue, not a lover to a rendezvous. Old Sulzer in soprano clef!<sup>75</sup>

Brodbeck cites the first portion of the above passage as Hanslick's reluctant admission that Goldmark's exoticism was overdone but effective. The implication is that Hanslick's ideology created a "binary opposition between 'Jewish-Oriental' music and... 'European-Occidental' music."<sup>76</sup> Curiously, when Hanslick republished this passage in his *Musikalische Stationen*, the line on

---

<sup>74</sup> Linda Phyllis Austern, "'Teach Me to Hear Mermaids Singing': Embodiments of (Acoustic) Pleasure and Danger in the Modern West," in *Music of the Sirens*, ed. Linda Phyllis Austern and Inna Naroditskaya (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2006), no. 53.

<sup>75</sup> Hanslick, "Die Königin von Saba," 2-3. "Diese so schnell ermüdende und immer fremdartig bleibende Manier nimmt aber in Goldmark's Oper einen zu großen Raum ein, sie herrscht auch an manchen Stellen, wo nichts Jüdisches, sondern nur allgemein Menschliches auszusprechen ist. Wie wunderbarlich klingt das Lied ohne Worte, mit welchem Astaroth den Assad zur Königin lockt! Das sind Klänge, mit welchen man fromme Juden die Synagoge, aber keinen Liebhaber zum Rendezvous treibt; der alte Sulzer im Sopranschlüssel."

<sup>76</sup> Brodbeck, *Defining Deutschtum*, 94.

Sulzer was left out entirely.<sup>77</sup> Although Hanslick gives no further explanation on what he meant by bringing in Sulzer to the review, mention of his name would have been enough for musical elite. In the present day, where synagogue musicians are rarely known outside of the Jewish world, it is hard to imagine a cantor having widespread cultural prestige, but this was exactly the case for Sulzer in the mid-century Vienna. Hanslick had heard Sulzer sing, presumably many times, and most certainly at a concert in November 1865 which presented selections from the second volume of his *Schir Zion*.<sup>78</sup> The two corresponded for a time, and Hanslick ultimately wrote a highly laudatory feuilleton on Sulzer in the *Neue Freie Presse*.<sup>79</sup> Nonetheless, as Brodbeck points out, Hanslick ultimately felt that Sulzer's style of music "had no place in the concert hall or opera theater apart from providing occasional local color," and his criticism of *Die Königin von Saba* represents the logical outcome of that premise.<sup>80</sup> Sulzer's direct agenda in *Schir Zion* was the elevation of synagogue music into a more decorous and solemn art form—in alignment with nineteenth century aesthetic practice drawn from art music. The modernization of synagogue music, Sulzer and his proponents argued, could achieve a synthesis of old and new:

Most important was the task of fighting the notion that saw a complete break with our past tradition as the best means for a reform of public worship... I was convinced from the very beginning that 'weeding out' of the liturgy could be effected only by the way of a restoration that had to reset upon historical foundations, in order to recover the original nobility of form and substance.<sup>81</sup>

---

<sup>77</sup> Hanslick, *Musikalische Stationen*, 305.

<sup>78</sup> Brodbeck, *Defining Deutschtum*, 97-101.

<sup>79</sup> Eduard Hanslick [Ed. H.], "Salomon Sulzer," *Neue Freie Presse* no. 551 (13 March 1866): 1-2; Eduard Hanslick, *Aus dem Concertsaal: Kritiken und Schilderungen aus den letzten 20 Jahren des Wiener Musiklebens 1848-1868* (Vienna: Wilhelm Braunmüller, 1870), 401-404.

<sup>80</sup> Brodbeck, *Defining Deutschtum*, 100.

<sup>81</sup> Salomon Sulzer, *Denkschrift an die hochgeehrte Wiener israelitische Cultus-Gemeinde* (Vienna, 1876), 211, trans. in Eric Werner, *A Voice Still Heard: The Sacred Songs of the Ashkenazi Jews* (University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976), 21.



Hanslick's connection of Sulzer to the Astaroth vocalise was, at best, a failure to appreciate Sulzer's broader agenda for synagogue music. At worst, it was a dismissal of the cantor's work as a failed project that maintained too much of his traditional Jewish particularity.

The comment that the music was reminiscent of Sulzer must have incensed Goldmark on multiple levels. First, it indicates a conflation of Jewishness with Oriental-otherness—here Goldmark's Moorish slave orientalist idiom (to draw back Taruskin's terminology). While Goldmark deliberately avoided indiscriminate use of exoticism as a general façade on the opera as a whole, his attempt at a differentiation in musical idioms eluded critics. Second, it is necessary to reiterate the fact that Goldmark was related through marriage to one of Sulzer's most successful protégés, Moritz Friedmann, the *Obercantor* of Pest, and he was the son and brother of cantors who were keenly aware of the musical developments happening in German-speaking synagogues during this period.

Although we have no proof that Goldmark met Sulzer, it is inconceivable that their paths would not have crossed in Vienna. Sulzer's voice echoed throughout Central Europe at this time. For critics to invoke his influence as a pervasive presence in the score of *Die Königin von Saba* could only reflect their essentializing assumptions about Goldmark and the influence of his *Judentum* on his music.

### **The Revival of *Die Königin von Saba***

In 2018, the Hungarian State Opera toured in New York City, performing in residence at the David H. Koch Theater at Lincoln Center. General Director Szilveszter Okovács realized that the opera's tour would be competing with the Metropolitan Opera's season so they wouldn't be able to play works from the standard repertoire. In advance of the tour Okovács commented, "The New York tour is an excellent opportunity to introduce the company. We are curious how an American metropolis with such renowned operatic traditions will welcome us, and what they will find

interesting from a segment of Hungarian opera only heard on recordings, if ever.”<sup>82</sup> The tour included Goldmark’s *Die Königin von Saba*, Béla Bartók’s *Bluebeard’s Castle* (1918), Ferenc Erkel’s Hungarian-language historical opera *Bánk Bán* (1861), János Vajda’s one-act opera on a novella of Thomas Mann, *Mario and the Magician* (1989), and several ballet performances.<sup>83</sup> *Die Königin von Saba* had in fact been heard in New York in 1970, but in concert form.<sup>84</sup>

True to form for a touring company and in line with more modern and streamlined operatic aesthetics, the scenery for *Die Königin von Saba* was subdued and evocative, far from the lush realism of the opera as originally produced. Costuming was done roughly in-period for a Biblical opera, although the Hungarian State Opera introduced modern dancers in full-body leotards to represent the animals and other exotic gifts brought by the Queen of Sheba and her entourage.<sup>85</sup> Significantly, the entrance of the entourage in this production did not include slaves, indicated as black/Moorish and white in the original libretto, instead presenting the dancers as lithe cats and leopards, feathered birds, water-like nymphs, and other horned satyr-like creatures.

By contrast, the wedding of Astaroth and Sulamith in act II was a pastiche of anachronistic historical and modern presentations. The scenery included a *huppah* or wedding canopy made of gauzy material and held up by black robed men. Although the word *huppah* appears several times in

---

<sup>82</sup> David Salazar, “Interview: A Look Into The Hungarian State Opera’s New York Tour,” *Opera Wire* (13 October 2018), accessed 25 August 2020, <https://operawire.com/interview-a-look-into-the-hungarian-state-operas-new-york-tour/>.

<sup>83</sup> Salazar, “Interview: A Look Into The Hungarian State Opera’s New York Tour.” The series included: two performances of *Bánk Bán*, a double-bill of Vajda and Bartók, and a single performance of *Die Königin von Saba*, which occurred on November 2, 2018. The ballets presented were *Swan Lake*, *Don Quixote*, and a contemporary work, *LOL*, choreographed by Hans van Manen.

<sup>84</sup> Harold C. Schonberg, “Music: ‘The Queen of Sheba’ Returns,” *New York Times*, 27 March 1970, 23.

<sup>85</sup> Boldizsár László, “Goldmark, Sába Királynője, New York, Koch Theater,” YouTube video, 2:45:13, accessed 31 March 2020, <https://youtu.be/371gYe0H5yo?t=2790>. László sung the role of Assad in the tour.

the Torah and Hebrew Bible, it was originally the tent provided for consummation of a wedding. The origins of the modern *huppah*, a symbolic canopy under which the bride and groom stand, are unclear, with rabbinic sources dating it to the Eastern Europe sometime in the Middle Ages or as late as the sixteenth century.<sup>86</sup> Regardless of the *huppah*'s actual origins, it is historically out of place in an opera set in Biblical times, and was probably because it would be familiar for Jewish audiences. A similar anachronism resulted from the decision to show several priests, flanking the High Priest, who wear *tallitot* (prayer shawls) and *tefillin* (phylacteries), unlikely during a wedding. The *tallitot* are clearly modern in design, the same white with black style one might see on in an Orthodox synagogue today. While archaeological evidence exists to suggest that *tefillin* were used during the late Second Temple period, there is no indication that they were in use during the reign of Solomon.<sup>87</sup> Furthermore, *tefillin* would not be worn during a wedding unless took place during the *Shaharit* (morning) service, and there is no indication for this. Again, these markers of Jewish ritual function as representative influence of Ashkenazi Jewish culture from later periods, essentially symbolic markers to twenty-first century Jewishness. Sulamith's white tulle ballgown-style dress is icing on the proverbial wedding cake.

The scene took place in front of the seven-candled *menorah*, instructions which were derived from the Mosaic period in Exodus 25:31–40, though it is significantly smaller than that which would have lit the Temple. The High Priest wore a breastplate, also initially indicated in the book of Exodus, but this did not correspond with the Biblical description since it lacked colored stones. This might be explained as a theatrical costuming decision, given the monochromatic steely gray of his

---

<sup>86</sup> Alfred J. Kolatch, *The Jewish Book of Why* (Middle Village: Jonathan David Publishers, Inc., 2000), 35; Anita Diamant, *The Jewish Wedding Now* (New York: Scribner, 2017), 97.

<sup>87</sup> Yehuda Cohn, "The Origins of Tefillin," *TheTorah.com* (2016), accessed 28 August 2020, <https://www.thetorah.com/article/the-origins-of-tefillin>.

entire ensemble, but there is an additional major error in that the breastplate was rotated a full ninety degrees, with three rows of four stones, rather than four rows of three stones as specifically indicated in Exodus 28:10-30.

The Hungarian State Opera company—and its American tour—were hardly a politically neutral artistic endeavor. The company has been part of an effort by the right-wing government of Prime Minister Viktor Orbán building what he described as “‘illuminated democracy’ [describing] Hungary’s theaters, opera houses, and concert halls as ‘temples of national culture.’”<sup>88</sup> The advertisement that appeared in the *New York Times* for the tour featured not any of the actors or subjects of the operas and ballets presented, but the neo-Renaissance façade of the Hungarian State Opera House in Budapest.<sup>89</sup> *New York Times* critic Anthony Tommassini’s review of the performance emphasized the presence of these politics on the stage, addressing how the Hungarian ambassador to the United Nations welcomed audiences with extensive praise of the Hungarian government’s support of such productions.<sup>90</sup>

Tomassini’s evaluation of *Die Königin von Saba* was limited and oversimplified. This chapter has shown the erroneous nature to a statement such as, “The temple scenes beautifully echo Goldmark’s memories of music from childhood synagogues.”<sup>91</sup> Tomassini concludes tepidly: “And though this touring production was old-fashioned and basic, it looked colorful and exotic. And nothing malfunctioned.”<sup>92</sup> A rather low bar, it seems, was set for the success of the performance,

---

<sup>88</sup> Michael Cooper, “State Opera Is Awash in Political Theater,” *New York Times*, 28 October 2018, 10 AR.

<sup>89</sup> [Advertisement], *New York Times*, 14 October 2018, 7 AR.

<sup>90</sup> Anthony Tomassini, “Politics Follow Performers Abroad,” *New York Times*, 5 November 2018, C 6N.

<sup>91</sup> Tomassini, “Politics Follow Performers Abroad,” C 6 N.

<sup>92</sup> Tomassini, “Politics Follow Performers Abroad,” C 6 N.

perhaps implying that there was a reason that Goldmark had fallen from the commonly performed repertoire. Tomassini's mention that the opera was in German and roundabout statement on Goldmark's Jewish status are also indicative of the fraught nature of what it means to be Hungarian in music in the 2000s. The social nationalism of Hungary following the fall of communism at the end of the 1980s brought renewed waves of xenophobia and antisemitism to the country. Orbán's presidency, including his close ties with the 45<sup>th</sup> President of the United States, have shown him to be a leader who exploits antisemitic stereotypes and tropes, and the problematically revisionist histories on the Holocaust produced in Hungary are further examples of the trend.<sup>93</sup> With this considered, there is little that can be said to explain the use of a Biblical opera by a German-speaking Jew Goldmark being held up as an exemplary monument of Hungarian culture, except perhaps to say that this is yet another example of a work of a Jewish composer being exploited by political or national interests, even if they are not present in the music itself or the artistic agenda of the creators.

How would Goldmark have felt to see *Die Königin von Saba* used as political propaganda in this way, representing a new Hungary with all its rich artistic heritage? It is important to remember that, for all his rootedness in Vienna, he was proudly Hungarian. Ultimately, the production of the opera in New York was intended to emphasize his Hungarianness rather than his Jewishness. Nonetheless, Tomassini repeated the same idea that the music had been drawn from the synagogue that Graf had suggested to Goldmark. Would Goldmark have written to the *New York Times* and corrected Tomassini?

---

<sup>93</sup> William Echikson, "Viktor Orbán's anti-Semitism problem," *Politico* (13 May 2019), accessed 26 August 2020, <https://www.politico.eu/article/viktor-orban-anti-semitism-problem-hungary-jews>.

## Chapter 7

### A Friendship of Emancipation: The Personal and Professional Relationships of Friedrich Gernsheim and Max Bruch

The immediate post-emancipatory years mark a shift in musical output for composers of Jewish ancestry. By the 1870s, assimilated Jews were firmly rooted in middle-class German society, with several generations now established in social circles, accessible professional positions, and well-organized Jewish organizations. *Bildung* and *Kultur* were no longer merely avenues toward assimilation and access, but ingrained elements of German-Jewish society, impressed upon children from birth, nurtured through education and cultural edification, and reflected in the homes, in the libraries, and in the company kept by German-speaking Jews.

At the center of this chapter are a pair of composers and a pair of compositions for cello and orchestra. One work is beloved, popular, and still performed; the other is obscure. One composer remains a respected figure in the concert repertoire; the other never attained a place in the canon, and is remembered, if at all, as a name on the list of late nineteenth century Jewish musicians. Yet, it is clear that the friendship between Max Bruch (1838-1920) and Friedrich Gernsheim (1839-1916) was of paramount importance to them both. The two worked alongside each other, forging a professional relationship that inspired and influenced their music repeatedly. This chapter frames Bruch's well-known contemplative, lyrical fantasy for cello and orchestra, *Kol Nidrei*, op. 47 (1880) together with Gernsheim's *Elobenu* (1881), a more modest work, also for cello and orchestra, which, despite its undeniable *Judentum*-evoking name, is far more elusive in melodic content and inspiration. There are few precedents for this type of instrumental work with explicitly Jewish content before the 1880s, save for Joachim's *Hebräische Melodien*, op.9 for viola and piano (1855), which, as has been

shown in Chapter 3, was more in keeping with the tradition of arranging the Lord Byron songs than an assertion of Jewishness.

### **Friedrich Gernsheim and the Emancipatory Period**

Friedrich Gernsheim, who during his lifetime navigated various musical identities as composer, pianist, conductor, and teacher, exemplifies this post-emancipatory generation. His family heritage is evidence of a complex network of political occurrences, efforts of specific ancestors, and sometimes pure happenstance. The founder of the Gernsheim family, whose name is no longer known, had been a refugee from Spain after the expulsion of the Jews in 1492. He settled in the Rhenish township of Gernsheim and took on the city's name, but the family quickly resettled in Worms. The first Gernsheim buried in Worms was Salomon Gernsheim (d. 1620).<sup>1</sup> Worms had one of the oldest Jewish communities in all of German-speaking Europe, dating back to the eleventh century.<sup>2</sup> Although Jews in Worms were heavily taxed, they received some protections from the city's government in the late seventeenth century, which allowed for advancement in business and education not enjoyed by German-speaking Jews in other parts of Europe.<sup>3</sup> In 1768, Michael Gernsheim (1705-1792), the cousin of Gernsheim's great-grandfather, founded Germany's oldest leather firm. He later became the leader of the Jewish community, serving as its *Judenbischof* [literally, Jewish bishop] from 1759 until his death.<sup>4</sup> The *Judenbischof* was an important civic position, which

---

<sup>1</sup> Helmut Gernsheim, "The Gernsheims of Worms," *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 24, no. 1 (1 January 1979): 247.

<sup>2</sup> Gotthard Deutsch, Abraham Lewinsky, Joseph Jacobs, and Schulim Ochser, "Worms," *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 12:560-565, accessed 4 April 2016, <http://jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/15013-worms>.

<sup>3</sup> Deutsch, et. al., "Worms."

<sup>4</sup> Helmut Gernsheim, "The Gernsheims of Worms," 247. Helmut Gernsheim describes this position as an elected, honorary office, that had been created in 1090 by Holy Roman Emperor

could be held only by a lay-person who had been exceptionally successful in business and was committed to assisting poorer members of the community.<sup>5</sup>

Gernsheim was born in Worms on July 17, 1839. His father, Abraham, a successful physician, had benefitted from the opportunities of access to education and the family's vast wealth and good reputation. His mother, Josephine née Kaula, of Augsburg, was trained in piano and provided young Fritz with his earliest piano lessons.<sup>6</sup> His earliest teachers were Louis Liebe and Ernst Pauer, director of the music societies in Worms and Mainz, respectively. A correspondent from Frankfurt-am-Main wrote to the Parisian periodical, *Le Nouvelliste*, in 1850 of Gernsheim's premiere recital, his skill on the violin, and of an overture he had composed for orchestra, declaring: "The precocity of this child's musical genius recalls that of Mozart."<sup>7</sup> Curiously, this article and a lengthier report of a concert given in Strasbourg two years later, both have errors in Gernsheim's date of birth, presenting him as two years younger than his actual age.<sup>8</sup> It is possible this was done to inflate the young Fritz's genius. Regardless of whether he was nine or eleven at his Frankfurt premiere, from childhood Gernsheim possessed the ideal balance of social and economic advantages for assimilation and acculturation: professionally and financially successful parents, together with a great deal of "precociousness and virtuosity."<sup>9</sup> By 1850, he was a student in Frankfurt-am-Main, studying with Eduard Rosenhain (piano), Johann Christian Hauff (theory), and Eduard Eliason and Heinrich

---

Heinrich IV. Michael Gernsheim was the last to hold this office, as the French annexed Worms in 1792.

<sup>5</sup> Helmut Gernsheim, "The Gernsheims of Worms," 248.

<sup>6</sup> Karl Holl, *Friedrich Gernsheim. Leben, Erscheinung, Werk* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtels, 1928), 5-9.

<sup>7</sup> "Nouvelles Dramatiques," *Le Nouvelliste* (9 May 1850): 1.

<sup>8</sup> "Frédéric Gernsheim," *Le Nouvelliste* (1 March 1852): 2.

<sup>9</sup> Haas, *Forbidden Music*, 35.



Wolff (violin). According to his biographer Karl Holl, at age thirteen, Gernsheim would have been the youngest accepted student at the Leipzig Conservatory.<sup>10</sup> The inconsistent dating of his birth seems to have followed him to Leipzig and persisted into his teens. An 1855 recommendation from Albert Braun to Othan Cuvier in Metz gave the birthday as 1841 and declared, “Without having reached the age of fourteen, Fritz—by his genius and his studies at the Leipzig Conservatory—has already risen to musical heights, both for his composition and performance.”<sup>11</sup> Regardless of inflation of childhood genius, in Leipzig, the youth was exposed to an illustrious and influential circle of major musicians and writers of the day: Ignaz Moscheles and Louis Plaidy (piano), Ferdinand David and Raimund Dreyschock (violin), Moritz Hauptmann and Ernst Friedrich Richter (counterpoint and fugue), Julius Rietz (composition), and Franz Brendel (music history).<sup>12</sup>

The list of Gernsheim’s teachers in Leipzig indicates a rich and multi-faceted music education, with links back to the great masters of the classical era. Moscheles, David, and Hauptmann had been appointed as the principal teachers at the Conservatory by Mendelssohn, following his departure. Their positions were lifetime appointments, and this overrepresentation of members of the inner Mendelssohn circle resulted in the overall traditionalism of the school and the reputation of Leipzig’s musical conservatism through the nineteenth century.<sup>13</sup> This traditionalism was coupled with one of the Conservatory’s other priorities: amassing a diverse student body from across Europe (though not many from France or Italy), Britain, the Americas, and Australia.

---

<sup>10</sup> Holl, *Friedrich Gernsheim*, 17.

<sup>11</sup> Letter of Albert Braun [Mulhouse] to Othan Cuvier [Metz] (15 March 1855), E22, Friedrich Gernsheim Archive, National Library of Israel, Jerusalem, Israel. “Sans avoir atteint l’age de 14 ans, Fritz par son génie et ses études [*sic*] suriesen au conservatoire d’Leipzig est devenu déjà une sommité musicale, autant pour la composition que pour l’exécution.”

<sup>12</sup> Holl, *Friedrich Gernsheim*, 17.

<sup>13</sup> Phillips, *The Leipzig Conservatory: 1843-1881*, 125.

Although he was German, Gernsheim was also a Jew, so his minority status at the Conservatory can be seen as part of that trend. While the international make-up of the student body in Leipzig has been discussed in scholarship, no formal study on the presence of musicians of Jewish ancestry there has been undertaken, despite the wide breadth of Jewish involvement in German music circles by the 1850s.<sup>14</sup> From Mendelssohn through Moscheles, David, and others, the Conservatory consistently had a faculty and study body that included many of Jewish ancestry.<sup>15</sup> Moscheles had been baptized into the Church of England in 1832 and Ferdinand David was also baptized in adulthood. Although the earlier generation was comprised of mostly *Neuchristen*, subsequent faculty and students had more diverse Jewish self-identification.. Gernsheim was by no means the first or only Jewish student at the Conservatory, but rather would have entered an international community of students and learned from teachers with varying degrees of inwardly held or outwardly expressed Jewishness.

The presence of Franz Brendel at the Leipzig Conservatory during this period does show the beginnings of fracturing of ideology and an increase in musical diversity at the school. It is not possible to know how much exposure Gernsheim would have had to Brendel's more radical musical ideas, as music history was not taught as formal area of study until Brendel's death in 1868.<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>14</sup> Rebecca Grotjahn, "Die höhere Ausbildung in der Musik?: Gründungsidee und Gründungsgeschichte des Leipziger," in *Musical life in Europe 1600-1900: Circulation, institutions, and representation*, vol. 2, Michael Fend and Michel Noiray, eds. (Berlin: BWV Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2005), 301-303; Berit Holth, "German Influences in the Development of the Norwegian Classical Music Tradition," *Fontes Artis Musicae* 61, no. 1 (January-March 2014): 42-47; Kenneth Williams, "International Students in Music: Crossing Boundaries," *College Music Symposium* 41 (2001): 43-56.

<sup>15</sup> Karl Whistling, *Statistik des Königlichen Conservatoriums der Musik zu Leipzig: 1843-1883* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtels, 1883), 5-58.

<sup>16</sup> Phillips, *The Leipzig Conservatory*, 126. Although Brendel is listed in Holl's biography, Alexander Ringer does not include Brendel when listing Gernsheim's teachers in the only published English-language article-length study of Gernsheim, possibly due to the lack of formal music history

Although it is unclear how twice weekly lectures in music history and aesthetics fit into the overall curriculum at the Conservatory during Brendel's time there, an example of a student timetable lists "Vorlesungen über Geschichte und Aesthetik der Musik" on Tuesdays from 5-6pm with Herr Dr. Brendel, so while it may not have been a formal course, so it seems plausible that there was an expectation that students attend these lectures.<sup>17</sup> Both published accounts and private correspondence from the conservatory's faculty show how Brendel's presence was not without controversy and ill feelings. In 1845, Brendel had taken over the editorship of the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* from Schumann and, in 1850, published Wagner's "Das Judenthum in der Musik," under the pseudonym Karl Friedgedank, which had infuriated the conservative musical establishment in Leipzig. In the 1873 retrospective of Moscheles's life, edited by his wife from his diaries and correspondence and published in English, an undated entry—presumably in a diary—was included from around 1851 in the aftermath of the controversy," My colleagues are up at arms against Brendel (himself a professor at the Conservatory), for having inserted an article headed 'Judaism in Music' in his periodical. In this article the author endeavors in every possible way to depreciate Mendelssohn and Meyerbeer. I say 'endeavors,' for what harm can a malicious article do to such men? Nevertheless, Brendel has given great offence."<sup>18</sup> Furthermore, the faculty, under Julius Rietz, signed a formal letter decrying Brendel:

---

classes at the Conservatory during this period. See Alexander Ringer, "Friedrich Gernsheim (1839-1916) and the Lost Generation," *Musica Judaica* 3, no. 1 (5741/1980-81): 2.

<sup>17</sup> Yvonne Wasserloos, *Das Leipziger Konservatorium der Musik im 19. Jahrhundert: Anziehung- und Ausstrahlungskraft eines musikpädagogischen Modells auf das international Musikleben* (Hildesheim, Zürich, and New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 2004), 32. Wasserloos cites timetable of Danish composer, Christian Frederik Emil Horneman (1840-1906), who was slightly younger than Gernsheim and entered the Conservatory in 1858.

<sup>18</sup> Ignaz Moscheles, *Recent Music and Musicians as Described in the Diaries and Correspondence of Ignaz Moscheles*, ed. Charlotte Moscheles, trans. A.D. Coleridge (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1873), 361-362.

It cannot have escaped the notice of the honorable Directors of the Conservatory that the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* has aimed for some time past at deprecating the state of music and the musical performances at Leipzig, and this in a tone which oversteps the limits of fair criticism. Men are attacked, whose merits are recognized throughout the whole musical world and whose works are precious to every unprejudiced artist and connoisseur. We, the undersigned, would completely ignore these matters, if the editor of that journal, Dr. Brendel, were not one of our colleagues at the Conservatory. As his views are in direct opposition to ours, and we believe that they may exercise a bad influence over the pupils of the Conservatory, we now call on the honorable Directors at once to dismiss Dr. Brendel from his post. Signed: Becker, Böhme, David, Hauptmann, Hermann, Joachim, Klengel, Moscheles, Plaidy, Rietz, Wenzel.<sup>19</sup>

Brendel was not dismissed, but only formally reprimanded by the Directors, who essentially ignored the article since it did not attack the Conservatory directly. He was a strong and well-known voice at the school when student “389 [Gernsheim, Fritz, aus Worms]” arrived in 1852.<sup>20</sup> At this time, Brendel had not yet coined the phrase “Neudeutsche Schule,” but was already a champion for musical progress and for unified perspectives on historicist views of culture.<sup>21</sup> Gur Golan has recently observed that Brendel both valued knowledge as a key for musicians to make “conscious control of their redefinition and future prospects,” but also paradigmatically emphasized the “self-improvement and self-realization” inherent in goals of *Bildung*.<sup>22</sup> It is difficult to speculate on the depth of influence that Brendel’s more radical thinking may have had on Gernsheim. Despite the issues taken by the other faculty, the Conservatory did use Brendel’s *Geschichte der Musik in Italien, Deutschland, und Frankreich*, published in 1852, the same year Gernsheim began.<sup>23</sup> It appears that, overall, Gernsheim absorbed more from his conservative classicist teachers at the Conservatory than

---

<sup>19</sup> Moscheles, *Recent Music and Musicians*, 362.

<sup>20</sup> Whistling, *Statistik des Königl. Conservatoriums der Musik zu Leipzig 1843-1883*, 10.

<sup>21</sup> Golan Gur, “Music and ‘Weltanschauung’: Franz Brendel and the Claims of Universal History,” *Music and Letters* 93, no. 3 (1 August 2012): 361.

<sup>22</sup> Gur, “Music and ‘Weltanschauung,’” 361.

<sup>23</sup> Franz Brendel, *Geschichte der Musik in Italien, Deutschland, und Frankreich* (Leipzig: Hinze, 1852).

Brendel, but he did explore the more radical ideas circulated in Leipzig by Brendel's presence there. As suggested by the Moscheles, the most senior of Gernsheim's teachers, cautioned him, even as late as 1863, on being too taken with Neudeutsche Schule:

May God keep you safely on the middle road and preserve you from getting into the labyrinth of the futurists [*Zukunftsjäger*]. You incline toward the romantic school. In exclusivity of that tendency lies a certain danger. The classical masters (even as far back as Bach) have their romanticism, too, but thanks to their clear motives and formally and artistically appropriate developments this is always kept within the bounds of the beautiful. The romantics tend toward brooding, hypochondria, indeed despair of the world [*Weltschmerz*]. Your Sonata [for Piano in F minor, op. 1, 1860] has largely that color. I would like to be able to counter such moods with a little bottle or a good sermon, or artistically speaking a little Bach ointment, Haydn salt, Beethoven steel drops and Mendelssohn heart medicine.<sup>24</sup>

Gernsheim lived in Paris from 1855 to 1861, studying with Antoine François Marmontel.

While in Paris, he came to know Rossini, Liszt, Rubinstein, Lalo, Heller, and Saint-Saëns.<sup>25</sup> In 1861, he became the director of the Gesang- und Instrumentalverein in Saarbrücken, following Hermann Levi, with whom he was well-acquainted.<sup>26</sup> He went to Cologne in 1865, teaching piano and composition at the Conservatory (Engelbert Humperdinck was among his students there), as well as serving as director of the Musikalische Gesellschaft, the Städtischer Gesangverein, and the Sängerbund. Gernsheim's longest appointment was in Rotterdam, as director of the Maatschappij tot Bevordering van Toonkunst (Association for the Promotion of the Art of Music) beginning in 1874.<sup>27</sup> He became a beloved member of the Dutch musical scene, receiving positive press reviews

---

<sup>24</sup> Ringer, "Friedrich Gernsheim," 3-4. Although this letter originally was held by the Friedrich Gernsheim Archive at the National Library of Israel, it was lost in a theft.

<sup>25</sup> Holl, *Friedrich Gernsheim*, 25-39.

<sup>26</sup> Holl, *Friedrich Gernsheim*, 31, 40.

<sup>27</sup> Wouter Paap and Johan Kolsteeg, "Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst," *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, accessed 10 December 2018, <https://doi-org.turing.library.northwestern.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.17286>. Today, the

on his many concerts as conductor, pianist, and composer (see Chapter 8, in the context of Gernsheim's Symphony no. 3 "Mirjam").<sup>28</sup> He stayed in Rotterdam for more than a decade, finally returning to Berlin in 1890 as director of the Stern Gesangverein and a teacher at the Stern Conservatory. In 1897, he retired from full-time teaching and was appointed to the Königliche Akademie der Künste.

### Gernsheim and Bruch

Gernsheim was a lifelong friend of Max Bruch, with whom he is stylistically comparable. In fact, their biographies are strikingly similar. Both were born in the Rhineland: Bruch in Cologne in 1838 and Gernsheim, one year later in 1839 in Worms. Both were the sons of public servants—Bruch of a police officer's office and Gernsheim of a doctor. Both were child prodigies, with their mothers as their first piano teachers, and their earliest compositions and recitals before the age of ten. Both studied—Bruch privately and Gernsheim at the Conservatory—in Leipzig. As their careers were established, they each wrote extensively for *Männerchor*, the popular, quasi-professional, communal singing style commonly found in Central Europe during this period. Most crucially, both sat the cusp of stylistic differences that pervaded musical discourse: the rivalry between Brahmsians and Wagnerians, the traditionalists versus the modernists of the *Neudeutsche Schule*. Despite the above biographic and stylistic similarities, one underlying biographic detail separates the two friends at the center of this chapter: Bruch was a Protestant and Gernsheim a Jew.

More than 300 individual letters and fragments from Bruch to Gernsheim were donated to the National Library of Israel in the 1960s by the composer's daughter, Marie Pick-Gernsheim, who

---

organization has been folded into Vereniging Toonkunst Nederland. See "MBT," *Vereniging Toonkunst Nederland*, accessed 10 December 2018, <https://toonkunstnederland.nl/mbt>.

<sup>28</sup> Holl, *Friedrich Gernsheim*, 57.

had moved to Tel Aviv in April 1936 during the final wave of Jewish immigration to the British Mandate of Palestine.<sup>29</sup> A smaller group of letters from Gernsheim to Bruch is preserved in the Max Bruch Archive at the University of Cologne. Yet, despite this rich correspondence, Gernsheim receives little attention in Karl Gustav Fellerer's 1974 German-language biography of Bruch and almost no mention at all in Christopher Fifield's 1988 English-language biography.<sup>30</sup> The only scholarship to address the relationship of these two musicians was carried out by the late musicologist Alexander Ringer. Ringer published articles and presented at several conferences in both German and English on the pair and was involved in the cataloguing of Gernsheim's letters at the National Library of Israel.<sup>31</sup> A disciple of Eric Werner, Ringer's writing on Gernsheim cannot be read without a critical take toward his and his mentor's agenda.

The pair met in 1860 at the Mittelrheinisches Musikfest in Mainz and corresponded until Gernsheim's death in 1916.<sup>32</sup> Ferdinand Hiller's presence had guided the early music education of both; it was Hiller who recommended to Gernsheim's parents that the young boy leave Worms to study music with more rigorous teachers, and Bruch studied directly with Hiller in Cologne.<sup>33</sup> *Kol Nidrei* and *Elobenu* were not the first matched set of pieces from Bruch and Gernsheim. Both set the

---

<sup>29</sup> "Der 'kleine Mozart' und der gute Vater," *Wormser Zeitung* (7 November 1969), Gernsheim Friedrich, AR 2190, Leo Baeck Institute, accessed 14 March 2019, Friedrich Gernsheim. AR 2190. Leo Baeck Institute. New York. [https://archives.cjh.org/repositories/5/archival\\_objects/1080803](https://archives.cjh.org/repositories/5/archival_objects/1080803).

<sup>30</sup> Christopher Fifield, *Max Bruch: His Life and Works* (New York: George Braziller, 1988). Gernsheim appears only four times in Fifield's biography: three times in passing and once in a quotation of a letter from Bruch regarding the pair's disappointment in Hiller's *Saul* oratorio. It is possible Fifield was not aware of the Bruch letters in the Gernsheim archive, though Alexander Ringer had been writing about the friendship since the 1970s.

<sup>31</sup> Alexander Ringer, "Die Parthei des vernünftigen Fortschritts: Max Bruch und Friedrich Gernsheim," *Die Musikforschung* 25, no. 1 (January/March 1972): 17-27; Ringer, "Friedrich Gernsheim (1839-1916) and the Lost Generation."

<sup>32</sup> Ringer, "Die Parthei des vernünftigen Fortschritts," 18.

<sup>33</sup> Ringer, "Die Parthei des vernünftigen Fortschritts," 18.

text of Hermann Lingg's "Salamis," a poem in the author's collected volume, *Gedichte* (1854).

Lingg (1820-1905) had based the poem on a retelling of the victory by the Greek Army at the Strait of Salamis against the Persian army under Xerxes in 480 B.C.E. The text reads as follows:

Schmücket die Schiffe mit Persertrophä'n!  
Lasset die purpurnen Segel sich blähn!  
Ephen umflattert die Masten und fliegt:  
Evoë, der mächtige Feind ist besiegt!

Deck the ships with trophies of Persia!  
Let the purple sails billow!  
Ivy flutters and flies about the masts,  
Evoë! the mighty foe is defeated!

Wir zerbrachen, o Meer, wir zerbrachen das Band,  
das der persische Fürst um den Nacken dir wand.  
Du entrollst nun befreit, dich erbittert nicht mehr  
Das verhaßte Gestampf von den Rossen, die schwer  
Dein wogender Bug,  
Dein brückengefesselter Zorn ertrug.

We have shattered, O sea, we have shattered the yoke,  
That the Persian king bound about your neck;  
You roll away from it, now free, no longer embittered by  
The hated stamping of the horses,  
Which the swell of our bow,  
Your bridge-bound fury grievously bore.

Das Verhängnis kam über Xerxes und stieg  
Aus den Wellen empor zum hellenischen Sieg.  
Dem Tyrannen, dem Herrn, der in Willkür thront,  
Nicht erlag ihm das Volk, das am Meerstrand wohnt:  
Denn es stahlte der Alte, der Herrscher der Flut,  
Mit unendlichem Mut  
Sein geliebtes Geschlecht für die Seeschlacht.

Xerxes met his fate,  
The Hellenic victory rose out from the waves,  
And to the tyrant, the lord, enthroned in despotism;  
The people who live at the sea's edge would not surrender;  
For the Old Man [Poseiden], ruler of the waves,  
Steeled with infinite courage  
His beloved nation for battle at sea.

Rings jetzt, wo entzückter die Woge vernimmt  
Ein jonisches Lied, da erbraust sie und stimmt  
In den Pæan mit ein; es erblühn, es erblühn  
Nach dem herrlichen Mühn  
Dithyrambische Tage der Freiheit.<sup>34</sup>

All around now, where the waves, ever more delighted,  
Hear an Ionic song, there they begin to foam,  
Joining in the pæan,  
And following the glorious endeavour,  
Dithyrambic days of freedom bloom and blossom.<sup>35</sup>

Lingg's text came about during a period in which Greek and Roman civilizations were often seen as the preeminent examples of national empire and as models of an emerging German society as it moved toward a cohesive sense of national greatness instead of kingdom-based cultural loyalty. At the time the Bavarian-born Lingg was writing "Salamis," Greece was ruled over by its first modern king, Otto I, the second son of Ludwig I of Bavaria. For a Bavarian prince—an exceptionally unpopular one—to hold power over modern Greece could be seen as a symbol of the rising power of German rule.

<sup>34</sup> Herman Lingg, "Salamis," *Gedichte* (Stuttgart: F.G. Cottaschen Buchhandlung, 1864): n.p.

<sup>35</sup> Lingg, "Salamis," *Gedichte*, trans. Katy Hamilton, 2014, accessed 14 May 2019, [https://repertoire-explorer.musikmph.de/wp-content/uploads/vorworte\\_prefaces/1588.pdf](https://repertoire-explorer.musikmph.de/wp-content/uploads/vorworte_prefaces/1588.pdf).



For musicians in the 1870s, the choice of this text—especially for a musical work—is notable and reflects Bruch and Gernsheim’s ideologies and those of the more conservative schools of music-making with which they associated. Classics historian Edith Hall has argued that use of Greco-Roman myth, historical battles, and epics such as those of Homer served to extended eighteenth century idealization of classical antiquity and perpetuate ideas elevating rationality, order, and control.<sup>36</sup> The newly unified Germany of the 1870s was seen as an imperial power that could rival that of Greece in antiquity. Additionally, Hall writes, “Antiquity was perhaps the only subject matter that could rival the nationalism evident in Nordic and Germanic themes of Wagner’s musical dramas.”<sup>37</sup> It is not simply subject matter, however, that can be seen as evidence of German musical nationalism; the use of men’s chorus here is especially important. Since the late eighteenth century, male patriotic singing had dominated the German cultural landscape, first in the singing societies of Berlin and Leipzig and expanding to include the more informal, yet more exclusive, *Liedertafel* groups. By the late nineteenth century, major city centers and smaller provinces alike had established *Männergesangvereine*—larger, more inclusive singing clubs. All of these organizations promoted German nationalism through the singing of poetry and epics of German literature, and to compose works for such societies was both a profitable venture and a patriotic opportunity.

Gernsheim and Bruch’s settings were published within six months of each other, Gernsheim’s by J. Rieter-Biedermann in August of 1867 and Bruch’s in January of 1868 by C.F.W. Siegel’s; both publishers were located in Leipzig. Gernsheim dedicated his *Salamis* to “Seinem Freunde Max Bruch” and Bruch responded in kind, “Seinem Freunde Friedrich Gernsheim.” The circumstances of both friends writing a work using the same text are unclear; the two did

---

<sup>36</sup> Edith Hall, *The Return of Ulysses: A Cultural History of Homer’s Odyssey* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 64-65.

<sup>37</sup> Hall, *The Return of Ulysses*, 65.

correspond about the works, though what survives in the Gernsheim's archive is Bruch writing of the Bremen premiere.<sup>38</sup> Curiously, the works were reviewed together in *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* on February 19, 1868 by editor Selmar Bagge, who wrote:

One might say that Bruch's Greeks are different from Gernsheim's Greeks; both appear in somewhat modernized attire, as can scarcely be otherwise, given the nature of music. But Bruch's, if one can be permitted to make such comparisons, have something Athenian about them and Gernsheim's something Spartan. In other words, Bruch's music bears the stamp of refinement, but is almost overly luxurious and extravagant; Gernsheim's is powerful and more sweeping, but more inwardly significant.<sup>39</sup>

Bagge's review distilled what is broadly true of Bruch's and Gernsheim's compositions, when examined in comparison (ex. 7.1a and 7.1b). Bruch's *Salamis*, like much of his music, is more expansive than Gernsheim's: in length, number of forces, and in complexity of harmony and contrapuntal writing. Bruch shifts meter, tempo, and key five times before reprising the opening stanzas text. This perceived lack of thematic cohesion in Bruch's piece prompted Bagge to a scathing critique, "We do not doubt that listeners who do not give consideration for the construction of a piece of music will find *Salamis* of Bruch to be quiet pleasant. But whoever expects and demands purely musical—that is, thematic—design will scarcely receive a deep and lasting impression of the piece. The luxury of the instrumentation can be tempting for a moment, but can

---

<sup>38</sup> Letter from Max Bruch to Friedrich Gernsheim (3 December 1866), B44, Friedrich Gernsheim Archive, National Library of Israel.

<sup>39</sup> Selmar Bagge, "Recension. Werke für Männerchor mit Orchester," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 3, no. 8 (19 February 1868): 59-60. "Man möchte sagen die Griechen Bruch's seien andere Griechen als die Gernsheim's; beide erscheinen zwar, wie dies bei der Natur der Musik wohl kaum anders sein kann, in etwas modernisierter Gewandung, aber die Bruch's haben, wenn es erlaubt ist solche Gegensätze aufzustellen, etwas Athenisches, die Gernsheim's etwas Spartanisches an sich; mit andern Worten: Bruch's Musik trägt den Stempel der Verfeinerung, die aber in Ueppigkeit und Luxus auszuarthen nahe daran ist; die Gernsheim's ist kräftiger, schwungvoller, innerlich bedeutender."

EXAMPLE 7.1A. Max Bruch, *Salamis*, op. 25, mm. 17-32.

3 Tenor I soli  
2 Tenor II soli  
2 Bass I soli  
2 Bass II soli

*a tempo*

Schmü - cket die Schif - fe mit Per - ser troph - ä'n!

E - vo - ë! E - vo - ë!

Fl.

Ww., Tpt.

*poco rit.*

*p*

Hrp.

Las - set die pur - pur - nen Se - gel sich - blah'n!

E - vo - ë! E - vo - ë!

Fl.

Ww.

*cresc.*

E - vo - ë! E - vo - ë!

E - vo - ë!

E - vo - ë!

E - vo - ë!

Vln. pizz.

*pp*

*f*

Tmp.

EXAMPLE 7.1B. Friedrich Gernsheim, *Salamis*, op. 10, mm. 1-15.

**Allegro**  
**f** Orch.  
 Vln., Vla.

Schmück-et die Schif - fe mit Per - ser - tro -  
 Schmück-et, schmück-et die Schif - fe  
 phä'n!  
 Lass-set die pur-pur-nen Se-gel sich bläh'n, schmück-et die Schif-fe mit Per-ser-tro-phä'n!  
 Tpt.

hardly satisfy.”<sup>40</sup> Gernsheim’s style is more distilled and straightforward; about it, Bagge commented succinctly, “Above all, it should be noted that the whole is more closed.”<sup>41</sup> Thematically, Gernsheim’s work is more unified, with greater continuity of themes across the different stanzas of the poetry.

Bagge’s critique of the two works, while it clearly fell on the side of Gernsheim, is telling about nineteenth century aesthetics and provides a glimpse into early reception of these two composers. This is especially important when examining these pieces through a twenty-first century lens. Although several of Bruch’s works remain solidly in the concert repertoire and his violin concerto is considered one of the masterpieces of its genre, both of these works have fallen from the repertoire (neither has been commercially recorded and only recently were the pair reissued in publication. His *Salamis*, by today’s standards, shows a great deal of thematic vibrancy and variety, whereas Gernsheim’s is more predictable and accessible for an ensemble of trained amateurs. This is also revealing of the careers of these two composers—Bruch spent his career moving from post-to-post as musical opportunities arose; whereas Gernsheim held teaching positions and directorships for lengthier periods of time, establishing himself in various cities for longer durations. Musically, the two versions of *Salamis* show early stylistic divergences between the two composers, which only become more magnified in the later, seemingly matched set of *Kol Nidrei* and *Elobenu*.

---

<sup>40</sup> Bagge, Recension, 61. “Wir zweifeln nicht, dass auf Hörer, die sich Rechenschaft über den Bau eines Musikstücks nicht geben, diese *Salamis* von Bruch ganz angenehm wirken wird. Wer aber überall rein musikalische, d.i. thematische Gestaltung erwartet und verlangt, wird einen tiefern und nachhaltigen Eindruck durch das Stück schwerlich erhalten. Der Luxus der klanglichen Ausstattung kann für den Augenblick auch ihn reizen, schwerlich aber befriedigen.”

<sup>41</sup> Bagge, Recension, 61. “Vor Allem ist zu bermerken, dass das Ganze geschlossener ist...”

## Bruch, the Kol Nidre prayer, and *Kol Nidrei*

During his lifetime, Bruch was most known for his orchestral and choral works, the latter of which have mostly fallen from the modern repertoire; the entry on Bruch in the first edition of Grove's *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians* identified his "important and most successful work... that which established his fame" as *Scenes from the Frithjof-Saga*, op. 23 for male chorus and orchestra.<sup>42</sup> Of his works that are still performed today, *Kol Nidrei* was not nearly as popular as his choral works or his violin works, the *Scottish Fantasy*, op. 46 (1880) and the Violin Concerto no. 1 in G minor, op. 26 (1866), which remains one of the most often performed concerti in the nineteenth century repertoire. Given the subsequent performance history and modern use of *Kol Nidrei* both as a concert work and as a quasi-liturgical musical stand-in, it surprising that the work's origins have not been intensely documented the actual circumstances of the work's origin are somewhat difficult to piece together.

In his biography on Bruch, Christopher Fifield argued that *Kol Nidrei's* composition should be linked with the *Scottish Fantasy* and that cellists had been requesting from Bruch a similar character work for their instrument, although the two works are near contemporary to each other.<sup>43</sup> Robert Hausmann (1852-1909), who in 1879 joined the Joachim Quartet and was later the dedicatee of the Brahms's Cello Sonata no. 2 in F major, op. 99 (1886) and premiered Brahms's Double Concerto in A minor, op. 102 (1887), had apparently led the charge. Bruch wrote to his publisher: "I have written a cello work with orchestra for Hausmann... [he] has plagued me for so long, until at last I

---

<sup>42</sup> A[lfred] Maczewski "Bruch, Max," *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. George Grove, 1:279 (London: Macmillan and Co., 1879). The entry was published in full in the Liverpool press following his appointment as conductor of the Philharmonic Society. See "The New Conductor of the Philharmonic Society," *The Liverpool Mercury* (13 April 1880): 6.

<sup>43</sup> Fifield, *Max Bruch*, 170.

wrote this work.”<sup>44</sup> However, complicating Fifield’s timeline, this letter predated the premiere of the *Scottish Fantasy*, which was first heard in Liverpool on February 22, 1881.<sup>45</sup> Bruch composed *Kol Nidrei* during the second half of July 1880, while staying at the Igeler Hof, a house in the Rhine countryside owned patron of the arts and Bruch’s lifelong friend, Maria Zanders, that he had been visiting since 1850.<sup>46</sup> Ultimately, Bruch dedicated this work to Hausmann.

The first melody of *Kol Nidrei* is drawn from the High Holiday liturgy: the Kol Nidre prayer, a central part of the Yom Kippur service.<sup>47</sup> The *Jewish Encyclopedia* included a lengthy article to the origins of the prayer, with Francis L. Cohen, the *Encyclopedia’s* music editor, providing extensive analysis of the melody:

Even more famous than the formula [of the prayer] itself is the melody traditionally attached to its rendition. This is deservedly so much prized that even where Reform has abolished the recital of the Chaldaic text, the air is often preserved, either in association with some other passage—*e.g.*, Ps. ciii. or cxxx., or a series of versicles, or a vernacular hymn such as ‘O Tag des Herrn, Du Nahst!’ or ‘Gott der Liebe und der Barmherzigkeit’—or as an organ prelude to attune the mind of the congregation to the solemnity of the evening. And yet there are probably no two synagogues in which the melody is chanted note for note absolutely the same.<sup>48</sup>

---

<sup>44</sup> Bruch to Simrock, 9 October 1880 quoted in Fifield, *Max Bruch*, 170.

<sup>45</sup> Liverpool Philharmonic Society,” *Liverpool Daily Post* (21 February 1881): 1.

<sup>46</sup> Fifield, *Max Bruch*, 99-100.

<sup>47</sup> “Nidre” is the commonly accepted modern transliteration of the prayer’s title. Nidrei, as it appears on Bruch’s score, would have been a Germanicized transliteration. For the purposes of distinction in this document, I use Kol Nidre to refer to the prayer and melodic source. Italicized *Kol Nidrei* is used for Bruch’s cello work.

<sup>48</sup> Joseph Jacobs, Max Schloessinger, Cyrus Adler, Francis L. Cohen, “Kol Nidre,” *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 7:593-546, accessed 19 August 2017, <http://jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/9443-kol-nidre>.

The Ashkenazi melody is thought to be one of the oldest Jewish liturgical melodies still in use today, dating from the mid-fifteenth to early sixteenth centuries.<sup>49</sup> It was first codified in musical notation in a collection of synagogue songs from about 1765 by Ahron Beer (1765-1821), the cantor in Berlin. It was later included in Samuel Naumbourg's *Recueil de Chants Religieux* (1874), Louis Lewandowski's *Kol Rinnab* (1871), and Abraham Baer's *Baal T'fillab* (1877) (ex 7.2).<sup>50</sup> Compared to the other elements of the synagogue liturgy, which may have fixed motives at the beginning and end but leave open the opportunity for freer improvisation or embellishment within the parameters of the specific prayer mode, the Kol Nidre became fixed in overall formal structure and specific melodic content. Idelsohn went so far as to suggest a singular composer of the tune having resided in southwestern Germany, given what he saw as a seeming influence of the Minnesang tradition synthesized with motive and modal elements drawn from older styles of chanting Prophetic books of the Hebrew Bible.<sup>51</sup>

It is perhaps this amalgamation of musical content that made the Kol Nidre an accessible source for a non-Jewish, art music composer like Max Bruch; it opens assertively in minor mode and is easily arranged using Western tonal harmony. All the above versions in Idelsohn's transcriptions show a fluid, *allargando* style, with long melodic lines and syllables flowing into each other. However, Bruch's iteration for solo cello breaks up the opening line with eighth note rests (ex. 4.3). Fifield wrote described this halted style:

---

<sup>49</sup> A.Z. Idelsohn, "The Kol Nidre Tune," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 8/9 (1931-32): 496. Idelsohn observed that, around 1600, Mordecai Jaffe of Prague wrote of melody for "...Kol Nidre that the Hazzanim *now* sing," indicating that the melody was fairly new during this period. Earlier writings on the prayer from the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century do not comment on melody.

<sup>50</sup> Idelsohn, "The Kol Nidre Tune," 498. Idelsohn identifies Lewandowski's version as the "standard form of the tune used in the German Synagogue" and Baer's as "the version used in Eastern Europe."

<sup>51</sup> Idelsohn, "The Kol Nidre Tune," 500-501.



The melody of Kol Nidre is a haunting traditional one, and has long exerted a great emotion impact on Jews. It is traditionally sung on the eve of Yom Kippur, during the service of Atonement, and its elements of remorse, resolve and triumph, corresponding to the three stages of repentance, are mirrored in the way Bruch breaks up the long-breathed Jewish melody into groups of three notes, interrupting each group with an emotional sigh by the insertion of a quaver rest.<sup>52</sup>

**EXAMPLE 7.2.** Eighteenth and Nineteenth century published versions of the Kol Nidre melody.

a. Ahron Beer, *Kol Nidre*, c. 1765.



b. Louis Lewandowski, *Kol Rinnah u'T'fillah*, *Kol Nidre*, 1871.

c. Samuel Naumbourg, *Recueil de Chants Religieux*, *Kol Nidre*, 1874.

d. Abraham Baer, *Baal T'fillah*, *Kol Nidre*, 1877.

**EXAMPLE 7.3.** Max Bruch, *Kol Nidrei*, op. 47, solo cello, mm. 9-16.

<sup>52</sup> Fifield, *Max Bruch*, 169-170.

It is unclear whether Fifield is arguing that it is the prayer text of Kol Nidre or the melody itself that embodies this “remorse, resolve and triumph.” Furthermore, Fifield seems to be potentially be making a reference to the three stages of repentance set out by the Medieval rationalist Torah commentator, Rabbi Moshe ben Maimon (Maimonides or Rambam, 1135/8?-1204). Maimonides discussed repentance at length in his *Mishneh Torah*, a fourteen-volume code of *Halakha*:

How is the verbal confession made? The sinner says thus: ‘I beseech Thee, O Great Name! I have sinned; I have been obstinate; I have committed profanity against Thee, particularly in doing thus and such. Now, behold! I have repented and am ashamed of my actions; forever will I not relapse into this thing again.’ This is the elementary form of confession; but whosoever elaborates in confessing and extends this subject is, indeed, praise-worthy.<sup>53</sup>

Yet, Fifield here appears to be drawing his own idiosyncratic conclusion that the consecutive sets of three notes evokes these three Halakhic stages of repentance; there is nothing to indicate in any archival material that Bruch would have been knowledgeable of—or even interested in—Jewish law. While the connection to Halakha is a shaky one, Fifield’s allusion to Bruch’s use of the rest as an “emotional sigh.”<sup>54</sup> The *seufzermotiv* (“sighing motive”) was a fairly well-established technique in Western art music by the late nineteenth century, most often consisting of a half step (or larger) downward (though sometimes upward) with the emphasis on the former note of the two. Furthermore, the insertion of the rest within a sighing motive was an additional convention, *suspiratio*, which was common in musical laments of the Renaissance. The *suspiratio* could be evocative of longing, affection, sighing, or a combination of these and other emotions of fulfillment, religious or secular-romantic (or at times both) in nature.<sup>55</sup> Bach employed these gestures often, especially in his

---

<sup>53</sup> Maimonides, “Repentance 1, Mishneh Torah,” *Sefaria*, accessed 19 May 2019, [https://www.sefaria.org/Mishneh\\_Torah,\\_Repentance](https://www.sefaria.org/Mishneh_Torah,_Repentance).

<sup>54</sup> Fifield, *Max Bruch*, 169-170.

<sup>55</sup> Dietrich Bartel, *Musica Poetical: Musical-Rhetorical Figures in German Baroque Music* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 392-393.



inherent *seufzermotiv* with the rests of the *suspiratio* convention, firmly placing the cello arrangement of the melody within the conventions of Western art music.

**EXAMPLE 7.4B.** Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Requiem in D minor, K. 626, Lacrymosa, mm. 1-4.

The second melody Bruch used in *Kol Nidrei* (ex 7.5), introduced at the modulation to D major is borrowed from Isaac Nathan's collaboration with Lord Byron, *Hebrew Melodies*. Bruch chose the song "Oh, Weep for Those," which depicts exiled Jews crying at the stream in Babel, remembering Zion while in a foreign land (ex. 7.5). Nathan, an unconverted Jew, and his collaboration with Lord Byron has already been discussed extensively in Chapter 3 regarding Joseph Joachim. Although Nathan supposedly drew the melodic content from Sephardic synagogues in London, the specific melodic context that Nathan used for "Oh, Weep for Those," is disputed. The authors of the 1906 *Jewish Encyclopedia* credited it as "a clever empirical adaptation of the chant for the Blessing of the Priests, and of an old northern folk-song adopted into the Passover service."<sup>57</sup> Frederick Burwick and Paul Douglass, in their preface to the 1988 facsimile edition of the collection, suggested that ornamentation of the melody might indicate that it was drawn from the Kol Nidre melody.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Joseph Jacobs, Goodman Lipkind, Cyrus Adler, Francis L. Cohen, "Nathan, Isaac," *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 9:179, accessed 19 May 2017, <http://jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/11354-nathan-isaac>.

<sup>58</sup> Burwick and Douglass, Preface to Byron, *A Selection of Hebrew Melodies, Ancient and Modern*, 10.

EXAMPLE 7.5. Max Bruch, *Kol Nidrei*, op. 47, solo cello, mm. 68-76.

EXAMPLE 7.6. Isaac Nathan, “Weep for These,” from Byron’s *Hebrew Melodies*, mm. 21-40.

In a letter to German musicologist Emil Kamphausen, Bruch simply called the second melody “very old,” providing a glimpse his awareness that these two melodies carried a great deal of history:

The two melodies are first-class—the first is an age-old Hebrew song of atonement, the second (D major) is the middle section of a moving and truly magnificent song ‘O weep for those that wept on Babel’s stream’ (Byron), equally very old. I got to know both melodies in Berlin, where I had much to do with the children of Israel in the Choral Society. The success of *Kol Nidrei* is assured, because all the Jews in the world are for it *eo ipso*.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Letter from Max Bruch to Emil Kamphausen (31 January 1882), translated and quoted in Fifield, *Max Bruch*, 169. The original German of this letter is cited in Sabine Lichtenstein, “Abraham Jacob Lichtenstein: eine jüdische Quelle für Carl Loewe und Max Bruch,” *Die Musikforschung* 49, no. 4 (October-December 1996): 349. “Die beiden Melodien sind ersten Ranges - die erste ist die eines uralten Hebräischen Bussgesanges, die zweite (Dur) der Mittelsatz des rührenden und wahrhaft grossartigen Gesanges: ‘Oh weep for those, that wept on Babel’s stream’ (Byron), ebenfalls sehr alt. Beide Melodien lernte ich in Berlin kennen, wo ich bekanntlich im Verein viel mit den Kindern

The above letter contains multiple elements worthy of examination. First, worthy of note is the fact that Bruch was confident the Jewish response to his *Kol Nidrei* would be positive. Bruch clearly saw the Jewish *Bildungsbürgertum* as a group engaged with culture and artistic endeavors, and he celebrated their participation in the broad audience for his work. This disrupts dramatically undermines the idea that Bruch was an anti-Semite, an accusation that comes up periodically in scholarship. Leon Botstein has made this claim—repeatedly, in passing, and without citations—stating the Bruch’s anti-Semitism was the simple circumstance of his being a Protestant German in the nineteenth century: that is, he couldn’t avoid being that way.<sup>60</sup> No other scholarly articles make such assertions so categorically, though the idea is often repeated in concert program notes, which probably are looking to Botstein. In contrast to Botstein’s claim that Bruch was an everyday anti-Semite, letters show neither hostility nor hatred toward Jews, but rather a fairly deep amount of understanding on this group’s developing position in German society. His composition of *Kol Nidrei*, seen together with his friendship with Gernsheim reveals a more nuanced image of the Protestant composer. After all, it was Bruch who wrote to Gernsheim in 1864, “My relative, Dr. Bruch, told me that you – yours – now guess what? Your religion [confession] – Your *Judentum*, will be very much in the way and make the whole thing perhaps impossible. What do you say to such an educated [enlightened] position? To such a cultural height in the second half of the nineteenth century?—

---

Israel zu tun hatte. Der Erfolg von Kol Nidrei ist gesichert, da alle Juden in der Welt eo ipso dafür sind!”

<sup>60</sup> Leon Botstein, “Notes from the Editor: The Jewish Question in Music,” *The Musical Quarterly* 94, no. 4 (Winter 2011): 452. It is quite possible this article does not contain citations simply because it is an editor’s introduction. Botstein repeated the accusation, again without citing examples, in *The Forward*, a New York-based newspaper for American-Jewish audiences, in 2014, though it is possible in this case he did not write his own headline. See Leon Botstein, “How an Anti-Semitic Composer created ‘Kol Nidre’ and ‘Moses,’” *The Forward* (24 March 2014) <http://forward.com/culture/194853/how-an-anti-semitic-composer-created-kol-nidre-and/>.

There you have grandiose proof of the Mainzer attitude.”<sup>61</sup> He wrote similarly in 1866 regarding Aachen. “Inquiries have provided the following, for both of us an equally depressing result. Jews have no chances, Protestants very little... My advice is: baptize yourself (but with real Jordan water), send a decidedly Catholic symphony and a strictly dogmatic Quartet to the mayor.”<sup>62</sup> Through his explicit use of the words *Bildungsstandpunkt* and *Kulturhöhe* in the first letter and his empathetic self-comparison in the second, together with the scorn he shows for the cities of Mainz and Aachen’s apparent lack of them as they were unwilling to hire a Jew, Bruch demonstrates his knowledge of the challenges that his Jewish colleague faced. These are not the words of an anti-Semite, by any modern or nineteenth century definition.

Second, while Fifield translates the Kamphausen letter’s original German “Verein” as “Choral Society,” it is clear that Bruch here meant musical involvement—it is tempting to call it *musical assimilation*—of Jews and non-Jews together in the Berlin Singakademie. Mendelssohn’s failure to procure a position as the head of the Singakademie in 1833 has been well-documented and extensively argued. Whereas Eric Werner in his *Mendelssohn: A New View of the Composer and His Age* (1963) cited antisemitism as the sole reason for Mendelssohn not receiving the position, William Little and Jeffrey S. Sposato have both since shown that Werner read sources selectively, and that the situation

---

<sup>61</sup> Letter of Max Bruch to Friedrich Gernsheim (16 January 1864), B38, Friedrich Gernsheim Archive, National Library of Israel. “Mein Verwandter, Dr. Bruch, sagte mir geradezu, daß Dir Deine – Deines – nun rate einmal was? – Dein Bekenntnis, Dein Judentum, sehr im Wege sein und die ganze Sache vielleicht unmöglich machen wird. Was sagst Du zu einem solchen Bildungsstandpunkt? Zu einer solchen Kulturhöhe in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts? – Das hast Du einen grandiosen Beweis Mainzer Gesinnung.” Ringer erroneously cited this letter as from 1862. See Ringer, “Friedrich Gernsheim,” 8-9.

<sup>62</sup> Letter of Max Bruch to Friedrich Gernsheim (16 November 1866), B43, Friedrich Gernsheim Archive, National Library of Israel. “Eingezogen Erkundigungen liefern folgendes, für uns Beide gleich deprimirendes Resultat: Juden haben gar keine Chancen, - Protestanten sehr geringe... Mein Rath ist: Lass Dich taufen (aber mit echtem Jordanwasser), schicke eine entschieden katholische Symphonie und ein streng dogmatisches Quartet an den Bürgermeister ein.” Ringer also incorrectly cites this letter as 1862. See Ringer, “Die Parthei des vernünftigen Fortschritts,” 19.

was far more complex with sources also pointing to the committee's concern regarding his age and inexperience.<sup>63</sup> Yet, while the view on the Singakademie in the 1830s continues to be an issue of scholarly debate, it is clear from Bruch's letter that by the 1870s, singing in Berlin had become an increasingly ecumenical event, with Christians, *Neuchristen*, and Jews coming together for music making. Furthermore, the language Bruch used here—*den Kindern Israel*—seems plausibly evidence of a certain level of respect and recognition of heritage of his musical compatriots.

In an 1889 letter to musicologist Eduard Birnbaum, Bruch went on to identify the Cantor Abraham Jacob Lichtenstein (1806-1880) of the Oranjenburgerstrasse synagogue in Berlin as the specific person who introduced him to the Kol Nidre melody, among other folksongs, "I became acquainted with Kol Nidre and some other songs (among others, "Arabia's Camels"), in Berlin through the Lichtenstein family, who were friends of mine. Although I am a Protestant, I have felt deeply the extraordinary beauty of these songs, I therefore gladly spread them through my arrangements."<sup>64</sup> Lichtenstein had been hired by the Berlin community shortly after the Singakademie-trained composer Louis Lewandowski (1821-94) had been hired to modernize the music within the trends of the rising reform movement in German-speaking Europe. Idelsohn described Lichtenstein as "gifted with a most wonderful dramatic tenor voice of phenomenal power and brilliancy, with a bewitching art of performance, and with an Italian temperament."<sup>65</sup>

---

<sup>63</sup> Werner, *Mendelssohn: A New Image of the Composer and His*; William Little, "Mendelssohn and the Berlin Singakademie: The Composer at the Crossroads," in *Mendelssohn and His World*, ed. R. Larry Todd (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 65-85; Sposato, "Creative Writing: The [Self-] Identification of Mendelssohn as Jew," 193.

<sup>64</sup> Ringer, "Die Parthei des vernünftigen Fortschritts," 19. "Kol Nidre und einige andere Lieder (u. A. 'Arabiens Kamele') habe ich in Berlin durch die mir befreundete Familie Lichtenstein kennen gelernt. Obgleich ich Protestant bin habe ich doch als Künstler die ausserordentliche Schönheit dieser Gesänge tief empfunden und sie deshalb durch meine Bearbeitungen gerne verbreite."

<sup>65</sup> Idelsohn, *Jewish Music in Its Historical Development*, 276.



Lichtenstein was an active participant of secular musical life in Berlin. Sabine Lichtenstein suggests that perhaps Cantor Lichtenstein did not introduce Bruch directly to the Kol Nidre melody, but rather Bruch's encounters with Jewish musicians at concerts that he conducted with Ferdinand Hiller in 1878 at the Singakademie, though it is also possible Lichtenstein participated those.<sup>66</sup>

Bruch's letter to Birnbaum additionally shows how the composer held with a great deal of respect for folk tradition, and also reveals some of his broader ideas on musical trends in Germany in the nineteenth century. "As I young man, I studied... folksongs of all nations with great fondness, because folksong is the source of true melody – a fountain where you can dip again and again, refreshing yourself – if one doesn't take the view of a certain party that '[M]elody was a defeated standpoint.' Thus, the study of Hebrew national song lay on my way."<sup>67</sup> The phrase Bruch used above, "Die Melodie sei ein überwundener Standpunkt," was apparently derived from a German colloquialism, and might be more accurately translated as "melody is passé."<sup>68</sup> Ever the conservative

---

<sup>66</sup> S. Lichtenstein, "Abraham Jacob Lichtenstein," 353-4. Idelsohn also made this claim, though it is uncited.

<sup>67</sup> Letter of Max Bruch to Eduard Birnbaum (4 December 1889), quoted in S. Lichtenstein, "Abraham Jacob Lichtenstein," 350. "Ich habe schon als junger Mann, namentlich in den Jahren 1861-63, n [...] Volkslieder aller Nationen mit grosser Vorliebe studiert, weil das Volkslied die Quelle aller wahren Melodik ist – ein Jungbrunnen, an dem man sich wieder erfrischen und erlaben muss – wenn man sich nicht zu dem absurden Glauben einer gewissen Parthei bekennt: 'Die Melodie sei ein überwundener Standpunkt.' So lag denn auch das Studium Hebräischer Nationalgesänge auf meinem Wege."

<sup>68</sup> This phrase appeared quite often in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to indicate outdated or out of fashion ideas. See for example E.A. Kernwart, *Die materialistische Weltanschauung: ein überwundener Standpunkt* (Leipzig: Jaeger, 1902); Elmar Waibl, Philip Herdina, eds., *Dictionary of Philosophical Terms*, vol. 2, *English-German* (Munich: K.G. Saur – Routledge, 1997), 103. Dostoevsky critically wrote of his own *Notes from the Underground*, "It is really too gloomy. Est ist schon ein überwundener Standpunkt. Nowadays I can write in a brighter, more conciliatory vein." See Robert Louis Jackson, *Dostoevsky's Underground Man in Russian Literature* (The Hague: Mouton, 1958), 28.

and traditionalist, even in his early years, Bruch's tone here can be heard as dismissive of ideas such as Wagner's endless melody, which some proponents believed rendered tunefulness as moot.

Yet despite his high esteem of melody and folk music, Bruch's compositions were not always seen as presenting these elements in a wholly positive way. Ralph Locke discusses how Bruch's other major work folk-influenced work for a string instrument, the *Scottish Fantasy*, has been criticized for their use of "unimaginative or "ill-researched" musical clichés, which have long been seen as specific compositional tools to mark a work as exotic. Art music, Locke argues, interacts with folk music traditions by imposing the fixed nature of concert music (eg. the score) on a flexible repertoire and by the establishment of coded styles (*topoi*) introduced as contrasting elements to Western conventions. Thus, Locke's viewpoint necessitates evaluation of a work's interaction with exotic elements, considering the extent of borrowing (clichéd figures, use of complete melody) and how it is executed (as an expressive tool or as an ideological one, or perhaps both).<sup>69</sup> Though it might be argued that the Kol Nidre melody—Bruch's source material—is not folk music but rather a work of liturgical music, these are modern ethnomusicological and pedagogical distinctions and not something that would have been considered by a nineteenth century art music composer. It is clear that Bruch seems to have misunderstood the Kol Nidre melody as a form of folk music, not unlike his other works that saw their origin in melodies from other countries—the *Scottish Fantasy* is the most enduring of those today, but also in this list are: *Das Feuerkreuz*, op. 52 (1888), a cantata with libretto by Heinrich Bulthaupt, who based the text on a Sir Walter Scott's narrative poem on the Scottish legend of The Lady of the Lake; *Schwedische Tänze*, op. 63 (1892) and *Serenade nach schwedischen Melodien*, op. posth. (1916; published in 1941), both using melodies drawn from Sweden; and *Suite nach russischen Volksmelodien*, op. 79b (1905). What differentiates *Kol Nidrei* from Bruch's other more

---

<sup>69</sup> Locke, *Musical Exoticism*, 32.

exoticized folk works is that it used a specific melody rather than merely relying on clichéd motive. Bruch's *Kol Nidrei*, and indeed many of the so-called "Jewish works" of this period, evades certain elements of concrete musical exoticism. Locke calls on scholars to consider the following questions, "Given the many possible meanings and extramusical contexts that may be plausibly linked to a given musical text, which are the ones that are most appropriate, productive, and revealing?"<sup>70</sup>

What is, perhaps, most revealing about an examination of *Kol Nidrei* is that scholars have not yet completed an in-depth study of performance history, the implications of a non-Jew composing a work like this, or the long-term impact that it had on Jewish music studies. Looking at the broader context of Bruch's *Kol Nidrei* in conjunction with Gernsheim's *Eloheinu* reveals a pivotal moment in European music and the position of assimilated Jews within. Bruch's varying accounts on composition described above, seen together with performance and reception, show how Jews were working cordially and in tandem with non-Jews across Western and Central Europe during this period. This could not have happened one hundred or even fifty years earlier. *Kol Nidrei* and *Eloheinu* burst—albeit quietly—on the art music scene, revealing professional cooperation, assimilation, and exchange that are extraordinary and truly remarkable.

### ***Kol Nidrei* and *Eloheinu*, in concert**

Early performance history of Bruch's *Kol Nidrei* solidifies the composition's apparently secular nature and shows how seamlessly it was introduced and integrated into the concert repertoire. Reports on performances often give the title with no context or explanation. Before publication, early readings of the work were given as private recitals in Berlin in late 1880 and early 1881, done by Hausmann in Bruch's absentia. These apparently didn't go as well as planned, with Bruch

---

<sup>70</sup> Locke, *Musical Exoticism*, 16.

lamenting to his publisher Simrock, “Hausmann wrote to me today about *Kol Nidrei*. There is no doubt that they killed the Adagio artistically stone dead in the orchestral sessions with an insanely slow tempo. It is an old story—if you are not present yourself, they have no idea how to do a new work.”<sup>71</sup> One such early hearing, on January 10, 1881, was reported by the foreign correspondent in *The Musical Standard*. The report indicates two pianists—Flora Friedenthal and Moritz Moszkowski—with Hausmann on cello.<sup>72</sup> Both pianists were of Polish-Jewish descent.<sup>73</sup> Fifield in his biography of Bruch incorrectly indicates that the *Kol Nidrei* premiere took place in Liverpool, without providing a date or location.<sup>74</sup> Although Bruch had begun his position with the Liverpool Philharmonic Society in 1880, the yearly report of concerts given during his first season did not include *Kol Nidrei*.<sup>75</sup> Instead, it appears that the premiere actually took place on February 26, 1881 at a Crystal Palace concert in London, with Hausmann on the solo and August Manns, conducting.<sup>76</sup> Similarly, the reviewer of *The Graphic* praised Hausmann, but gave no comment on *Kol Nidrei*.<sup>77</sup> In fact, an early critical review of the actual work was relatively lukewarm:

---

<sup>71</sup> Max Bruch to Simrock (12 November 1880), quoted in Fifield, *Max Bruch*, 170-171. Fifield does not indicate which Simrock, though it was likely Friedrich August [Fritz] Simrock.

<sup>72</sup> “Foreign Musical Intelligence,” *The Musical Standard* 20:861 (29 January 1881): 70.

<sup>73</sup> Isidore Singer and Joseph Sohn, “Moszkowski, Moritz,” *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 9:87, accessed 4 December 2018, <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/11179-moszkowski-moritz>; Nahida Remy, *The Jewish Woman*, trans. Louise Mannheimer (Cincinnati: Press of C.J. Krehbiel & Company, 1895), 206.

<sup>74</sup> Fifield, *Max Bruch*, 99-100.

<sup>75</sup> “Liverpool Philharmonic Society,” *The Liverpool Mercury* (6 April 1881): 6.

<sup>76</sup> R. Sloman, “Musical Intelligence,” 20, no. 866 *The Musical Standard* (5 March 1881): 147.

<sup>77</sup> “Crystal Palace Concerts,” *The Graphic* (5 March 1881): 238. “Herr Hausmann is comparatively no stranger, although not long known to amateurs in this country. He is an artist of the right stamp. Consummate master of his instrument, he possesses a full and pure tone, a technical facility equal to all requirements, and a style of phrasing to satisfy the most fastidious—because, while giving ample significance to all that is desirable to convey with grace and feeling, it never oversteps the boundary which separates natural expression from exaggerated sentiment. Both in the

Monday's programme contained a novelty, albeit not one of any great significance. The piece referred to was a solo for violoncello by Herr Max Bruch, founded on a Hebrew melody, 'Kol Nidrei.' Sung on the eve of the Day of Atonement in all orthodox Jewish synagogues, the melody is naturally of a sad and plaintive character, but should feel disposed to question its antiquity. Herr Max Bruch's piece was heard rather at a disadvantage, as the accompaniments are for orchestra, including an important part for the harp; but it created a strong impression, thanks in part to Signor Piatti's magnificent playing.<sup>78</sup>

The shift in cellists in the above—from the Brahmsian force Robert Hausmann to the Italian cellist Alfredo Carlo Piatti (1822-1901) is worth mention. Piatti (1822-1901), who as a young man had been encouraged by Liszt (who supported him financially and with the gift of a cello), had moved to London in 1846 and was a fixture in the Popular Concerts given there.<sup>79</sup> Among his many students in England was Hausmann, who had been introduced to the senior cellist by Joachim.

The overwhelmingly positive early reception of *Kol Nidrei* entrenched the piece into the repertoire of the Popular Concerts, and it became one of Piatti's most often played solo works.<sup>80</sup> Additionally, the highly musically educated audience of London also had the opportunity to learn more in depth on the elements of synagogue music and the iconic melody:

The 'cello piece by Max Burch, *Kol Nidrei*, built upon a Hebrew melody, was, as might be expected, performed to perfection by Signor Piatti. Like most Hebrew melodies, all of more or less unascertainable epochs, it bears that charm of heartfelt emotion, which pervades all

---

concerto [of Carl Eckert] and in solos by Max Bruch and Davidoff—the former (built on a Hebrew melody) accompanied with orchestra and harp, the latter by pianoforte only—Herr Hausmann was warmly applauded.”

<sup>78</sup> “Music,” *The Athenaeum* 2834 (18 February 1882): 228-229.

<sup>79</sup> Lynda MacGregor, “Piatti, Alfredo (Carlo),” *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online* accessed 4 December 2018, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.turing.library.northwestern.edu/grovemusic/view/10.1093>.

<sup>80</sup> “Music of the Week,” *Pall Mall Gazette* (3 November 1882): 4. “The concerted pieces at the last Monday Popular Concert were, as usual, works that have become familiar to the audience from frequent repetition... Max Bruch's successful piece *Kol Nidrei*, introduced last year by Signor Piatti, was again played by that gentleman.”

sacred Jewish tunes. The analytical programme contained most interesting details in reference to the melodies of the ‘orthodox’ synagogues by Mr. Charles K. Salaman.<sup>81</sup>

Although Salaman’s notes are lost, the presence of them at this concert is remarkable. Salaman (1814-1901), a British pianist and composer, can be seen as an English parallel to some of the early generations of assimilating Jews on continental Europe. Given the relative religious freedom of English Jews during the early nineteenth century, the London-born Salaman was able to study at the Royal Academy of Music and freely set to music both religious and secular texts. His setting of Psalm 84 “How Lovely are they Habitations” was performed during his lifetime at the West London Synagogue, the Worcester Cathedral, and Westminster Abbey.<sup>82</sup> His 1885 *The Jews as they Are*, dedicated “to the immortal memory of Moses Mendelssohn,” documented the history of emancipation for the Jews of England and served as a sort of outreach guide to Judaism for Christian readers.

The chronological connection between *Kol Nidrei* and *Eloheinu* is an obvious one. *Kol Nidrei* was published in early 1881, and the earliest advertisements for *Eloheinu* appear in May of the same year. Like Bruch’s *Kol Nidrei*, advertisements for *Eloheinu* presented it simply as a work of art music for a solo instrument, without explanation for any sort of Jewish content. The December 1, 1881 edition of *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* simple reports of “GERSHEIM, F. – ‘Eloheinu.’ Hebrew Melody for Violoncello with Small Orchestra...” in a list among editions of Bach, Handel, and Mendelssohn, as well as new works by contemporary composers such as Carl Reinecke and

---

<sup>81</sup> Ferdinand Praeger, “Monday Popular Concerts,” 22: 916 *The Musical Standard* (18 February 1882): 100.

<sup>82</sup> Joseph Jacobs and Francis L. Cohen, “Salaman, Charles Kensington,” *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 10:644, accessed 4 December 2018, <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/13013-salaman-charles-kensington>.

Edvard Grieg.<sup>83</sup> An advertisement for *Elohenu* of about an eighth of a page appeared on May 31, October 5, and December 14, 1881 and several times in 1882, in *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* (fig. 7.1). In the advertisement, the title is engraved in a stylized typeface, used nowhere else on the same page, perhaps to highlight the exoticism of the work's Hebrew title. Gernsheim's name is equally bold and large, though in a more standard serif setting. In fact, the titular typeface was not used in *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* in other advertisements during 1881 or the surrounding years.

**FIGURE 7.1.** Advertisement for *Elohenu* in *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, May 1881.<sup>84</sup>



There is little evidence on the premiere of *Elohenu*, though newspaper evidence allows the piecing together of a chronology. At the time of composition, Gernsheim was a beloved member of the Dutch music scene, having assumed the directorship of the Maatschappij tot Bevordering van Toonkunst in 1874. In fact, not long before the premiere of *Elohenu*, the music periodical *Caecilia: algemeen muzikaal tijdschrift van Nederland* had published an assurance to its readers that he would not be leaving for another position: “We can formally contradict the rumor that Herr Fr. Gernsheim will

<sup>83</sup> “Back Matter,” *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 22, no. 466 (1 December 1881): 657.

<sup>84</sup> “Anzeiger,” *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 16, no. 22 (31 May 1881): 351. See also “Anzeiger,” *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 16, no. 40 (5 October 1881): 639; “Anzeiger,” *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 16, no. 50 (14 December 1881): 799; “Anzeiger,” *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 17, no. 22 (31 May 1882): 351; “Anzeiger,” *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 17, no. 30 (26 July 1882): 480.

leave us soon. He was offered the position of manager of the Stern Gesangverein, by Max Bruch of Liverpool; Herr Gernsheim thanked him for it.”<sup>85</sup> In 1880, Gernsheim had indeed been in consideration for the position of director of the Stern Gesangverein (a position he would ultimately accept in 1890), which had been vacated by Bruch when he left for Liverpool, however no offer was formally made, possibly due to undercurrents of antisemitism in Berlin at this time (see Chapter 8). Performance reports on *Elobenu* are spotty, and like *Kol Nidrei*, it is difficult to find details on the exact premiere. Nonetheless, *Elobenu* appeared somewhat regularly in *Caecilia*'s regional concert reports. The earliest mention of a performance of *Elobenu* in *Caecilia* is also the only report of April 1882 that specifically connects the Gernsheim's composition to Bruch's as “a pendant to Max Bruch's already popular work ‘Kol Nidrei.’”<sup>86</sup> This specific concert was done with organ accompaniment, as part of an organ fundraiser for the Protestant League. On this and many other early performances, *Elobenu* was often performed by cellist Gernsheim's colleague at the MBT, Oscar Eberle. Between 1885 and 1886, the Dutch Jewish cellist Isaac Mossel performed *Elobenu* several times around The Netherlands.<sup>87</sup>

---

<sup>85</sup> “Binnenlandsche Berichten,” *Caecilia: algemeen muzikaal tijdschrift van Nederland* 37, no. 12 (15 March 1880): 94. “Wij kunnen tot onze vreugde formeel het gerucht tegenspreken als zonde de heer Fr. Gernsheim ons binnenkort gaan verlaten. Wel is hem de betrekking van directeur van de ‘Stern'sche-Verein,’ die door het vertrek van Max Bruch naar Liverpool vacant wordt, aangeboden doch de heer Gernsheim heeft daarvoor bedankt.”

<sup>86</sup> “Binnenlandsche Berichten, Rotterdam,” *Caecilia: Algemeen Muzikaal Tijdschrift van Nederland* 39, no. 9 (1 April 1882): 71. “Met de meeste bereidwilligheid ziet men steeds den heer Oscar Eberle zich scharen onder hen, die belangloos een offer brengen aan de kunst; men had ook ditmaal zijn mederwerking ingeroepen en verkregen. Met fraaien, vollen toon speelde hij een Andante voor violoncel en orgel van S. de Lange en later nog ‘Elohenu’ van F. Gernsheim, een pendant van Max Bruch's reeds populair geworden ‘Kol Nidrei’; in beide composities werd de orgelpartij door den heer J.B. Litzau vervuld.”

<sup>87</sup> “Programma's,” *Caecilia: Algemeen Muzikaal Tijdschrift van Nederland* 43, no. 1/2 (1 January 1886): 14-16; “Programma's,” *Caecilia: Algemeen Muzikaal Tijdschrift van Nederland* 43, no. 4/5 (1 February 1886): 43-44. Mossel performed the work in Dordrecht (12 November 1885), Breda (14 January 1886), and Gorinchem (15 January 1886). Mossel was from a long line of Dutch Jewish



Whereas much documentation survives from Bruch on the source of his melodic material for the two sections of *Kol Nidrei*, the musical source for *Eloheinu*—if any existed—was not revealed by Gernsheim in any of his extant archival materials, and it is not as readily identifiable as Bruch’s use of the most famous Jewish prayer melody. Furthermore, the descriptive title of *Eloheinu* is vague; the work’s subtitle *Hebräischer Gesang* does not provide any further indication of source material. Titling a work the Hebrew work “Eloheinu” during this period in Germany would have marked the work as demonstrably Jewish, especially given the fact that the word, while one of the many names of God, lacks the attachment to a famous prayer secularized as folk music, as in the case of naming a work after the Kol Nidre. “Eloheinu” would be literally translated into German as “Unser Gott,” though it never appeared as such. In the various concert reports appearing in *Caecilia*, details were not provided to explain the title’s meaning, and there are no reports on explanatory lectures similar to Salaman’s on *Kol Nidrei*.

Unlike Bruch’s *Kol Nidrei*, which begins with a lengthy orchestral introduction, *Eloheinu* begins with an octave on scale degree 5 in the horns before immediately introducing the solo cello. The melody is simple, outlining a minor triad (ex 7.7). Text setting in Ashkenazi German pronunciation of the word “Eloheinu” would put the accent on the third syllable (“he,” pronounced

**EXAMPLE 7.7.** Friedrich Gernsheim, *Eloheinu*, solo cello, mm. 1-13.

The musical notation for Example 7.7 is presented on two staves in bass clef with a common time signature (C). The first staff contains measures 1 through 10, and the second staff contains measures 11 through 13. The melody is written in a simple, folk-like style, primarily using eighth and quarter notes. There are several triplet markings (indicated by a '3' below the notes) and dynamic markings including 'cresc.', 'f' (forte), and 'dim.' (diminuendo). The piece concludes with a final measure in the second staff.

musicians; his son Henri Emile (Hans) Mossel (1905-1943) was a jazz saxophonist and owned a musical instrument store in Amsterdam; he died in Auschwitz III.

hay), which precludes some sort of simple assigning of the titular word to the opening phrase which includes only a single appoggiatura quarter note into the downbeat. The opening, minor triad outline of A minor invites comparison to Louis Lewandowski's setting of the Un'ssaneh Tokef prayer [Un'taneneh Tokef in modern Sephardic pronunciation] from the additional Musaf service on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur. The series of connections here—Lewandowski's work at the Berlin synagogue with Lichtenstein, who introduced the Kol Nidre melody to Bruch, a close friend of Gernsheim—are striking.

**EXAMPLE 7.8.** Louis Lewandowski, *Kol Rinnah u'T'fillah*, no. 180, Un'ssaneh Tokef.

*f* Un' - ssa - nneh to - kef k' - dusch - schass haj - jom, ki hu -  
 no - ro w' - o - jom, u - wo ti - no - sse mal' - chu - sse - cho, w' -  
 ji - kon b' - che - ssed kiss - e - cho, w' - sse - schew o - low be - e - mess.

Like, the Kol Nidrei—but admittedly to a far lesser extent, admittedly—this prayer has a strong connotation with the High Holidays, repentance, and judgment. The similar holiday association and thematic material provide a tempting explanation for the source of *Eloheinu's* melodic content. However, the melody is nowhere near as distinctly quoted as the Kol Nidre is in Bruch's work; an opening outline of a minor triad is hardly convincing as sole melodic content, especially when Gernsheim seems to diverge so quickly from this potential source. While Sabine Lichtenstein has shown that is likely that Bruch was familiar with the Berlin Jewish community and Lewandowski, the same conclusions cannot be so readily drawn for Gernsheim, based on his personal letters and surviving diaries from this period. Since Gernsheim's personal library was not included in his

daughter's donation which now comprises his archive at the National Library of Israel, it is also impossible to know whether he owned a copy of Lewandowski's *Kol Rinnab* or any other reformed synagogue music. However, an 1891 report from the *Oesterrreichisch-ugarische Cantoren-Zeitung*, provides evidence that Gernsheim not only knew the synagogue musician personally, but that he was willing to collaborate on a concert in celebration of Lewandowski's fifty years of musical leadership in Berlin.<sup>88</sup> Lewandowski was celebrated through the sabbath, with an account of his leading prayer services. On Saturday evening, December 27, 1890, a concert took place at the Gesellschaft der Freunde, a Jewish social and cultural society founded in Berlin in 1792.<sup>89</sup> Among the other performances on the concert was a trio for piano, violin, and cello, performed by Gernsheim, Joachim, and Hausmann, as well as a string quartet.<sup>90</sup> The critic described Lewandowski's instrumental works with admiration:

Both works (quartet and trio), in turn, gave beautiful testimony to the earnest nature with which German musicians cultivate their art: pursuing the ideal, using leisure hours for personal work out of sheer joy in the cause, without any prospect of external success. Both works show a full familiarity with chamber music style, melodic freshness, and contrapuntal skill.<sup>91</sup>

---

<sup>88</sup> "Die Lewandowski-Feier in Berlin," *Oesterrreichisch-ugarische Cantoren-Zeitung* 11, no. 2 (11 January 1891): 6.

<sup>89</sup> Sebastian Panwitz, "The Society of Friends 1792-1935: Berlin Jews Between Enlightenment and High Finance," *The Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 52, no. 1 (January 2007): 317-318.

<sup>90</sup> Also on the concert was a string quartet. These works were never published and are lost. See Adalbert Osterreid and Victor Tunkel, "Louis Lewandowski (1821-1894): A Chronological List of his Musical Works," *Musica Judaica* 19 (5770/2009-2010): 89-102.

<sup>91</sup> "Die Lewandowski-Feier in Berlin," 6. "Beide Werke (Quartett und Trio) legten wiederum ein schönes Zeugnis ab von dem Ernst, mit dem deutsche Musiker mitunter ihre Künste pflegen, dem Ideal nachstrebend, ihre Mußestunden zu innerlicher Arbeit benutzend, aus reiner Freude an der Sache, ohne alle Aussicht auf äußeren Erfolg. In beiden Werken bewährt sich die volle Vertrautheit mit den Gesetzen des Kammerstyls, melodische Frische und contrapunktisches Geschick."

That Gernsheim was involved in this concert speaks volumes on his engagement with the Jewish community by 1890. Although he was not employed in Berlin at the time he was composing *Elohenu*, he frequently traveled there, as did many German composers of the period, given the city's status as a major center for orchestral music. How he initially met Lewandowski remains unclear, although the connection with his friend Bruch seems a least a possible introduction.

### Sharing the Stage

Matching of the works together in performance, however, has a longer history and more intriguing history. One early documented performance of the pair together was at a fundraiser for the Krieger-Denkmal Hospital in Bad Godesberg, near Bonn. This coincidence of the *Kol Nidrei* together with *Elohenu* on this concert, which took place on June 20, 1882, was probably due to the involvement of Rensberg on the program.<sup>92</sup> Like Piatti's push for performances of *Kol Nidrei* in England, this concert provides further evidence on how—at least for the early years of the two works' performance histories—performer advocacy truly disseminated the works as much as the composers' reputations. It seems likely that Rensburg was also the performer of the pair of pieces at another concert in earlier that same year, also in Bonn, for which a concert report in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* described the cellist only as “well-known.” The same review also intriguingly identified *Elohenu* as drawn from “a Vienna synagogal melody,” although, as has been shown, no source material has yet to be identified to support his claim.<sup>93</sup>

---

<sup>92</sup> “Concertumschau | Godesberg,” *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* 8, no. 29 (13 July 1882): 344.

<sup>93</sup> “Bonn,” *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* 46, no. 4 (24 January 1882): 60-61. “Durch die Freundlichkeit eines namhaften Künstlers auf dem Violoncell hatten wir jüngst den hohen Genuß das Elohenu von Gernsheim (Israelit), nach einer Wiener Synagogal-Melodie componirt, und das bereits an mehreren Orten aufgeführte Col Nidre, Adagio von Max Bruch, zu hören.”

A 1902 edition of the periodical *Ost und West* reported on “Young Jewish Evenings in Berlin,” events touted “exceptionally harmonious” and an event that “other Jewish centers will take up by example.”<sup>94</sup> At the very first of these so-called “Jungjüdische Abende,” the concert performance included *Eloheinu* and *Kol Nidrei*, performed cellist Walter Lewy, presumably with piano accompaniment. Additionally performing was violinist Heinrich Schkolnik, performing arrangements of Lewandowski. The report especially highlights the singing of Yiddish poetry of Morris Rosenfeld by Otty Severa, stating that the dialect was now “fashionable for the salon.”<sup>95</sup> The report goes so far to celebrate the specifically Jewish nature of the evening: “But what we consider to be the most valuable thing about this Young Jewish Evening is that it has demonstrated that Jewish life is rich enough not to have to be—as is often the case at Jewish events—a Christian parade of non-Jewish lectures, etc.”<sup>96</sup> The programming choices of the concert are obvious and with a clear agenda; but the presence of Bruch seems to run contradictory to it. Nonetheless, Bruch’s non-Jewish identity is mostly overlooked, as his work contains the best-known of Jewish melodies.

---

<sup>94</sup> “Jungjüdische Abende in Berlin,” *Ost und West* 3 (March 1902): 211. “Da eine Reihe weiterer solcher Darbietungen in Aussicht genommen und anzunehmen ist, dass andere jüdische Centren das Beispiel aufgreifen werden, so glauben wir an dieser sympathischen Erscheinung nicht schweigend vorübergehen zu sollen, wie es bei vereinzeltten Veranstaltungen oder solchen ausschliesslich lokalen Interesses durch den Charakter unserer Zeitschrift geboten ware. Der Abend verlief ausserordentlich harmonisch.”

<sup>95</sup> “Jungjüdische Abende in Berlin,” 212. “Vielen der Anwesenden wurde da eine ganz neue Welt erschlossen, ein ganz neues Litteraturgebiet, -- das des Jargon -- ein ganz neues Volkslied: das jüdische. Viele, die bis dahin den jüdisch-deutschen Dialekt für ein ‘Gemauschel’ gehalten hatten, gingen an diesem Abend nach Hause, reicher um eine Ahnung von bisher ungekannten Schönheiten. Der sogenannte Jargon ist ‘salonfähig’ geworden.”

<sup>96</sup> “Jungjüdische Abende in Berlin,” 212. “Was wir aber für das Wertvollste an diesem jungjüdischen Abend halten, das ist, dass er gezeigt hat, dass das jüdische Leben reich genug ist, um nicht -- wie es vielfach noch geschieht -- zu jüdischen Veranstaltungen Parade-Christen mit nichtjüdischen Vorträgen etc. heranziehen zu müssen.”

This recital as part of the Young Jewish Evenings in Berlin, appears at a pivotal moment for assimilated German Jews. This period in the early years of the twentieth century saw Jews so fully assimilated into Western and Central European society that there now opened up the possibility for a greater expression of personal and communal Jewishness, including Biblical, religious, or historical exploration, as well as the increased romanticizing of the lives and practices of Eastern European Jews, by their Western, assimilated counterparts. That this concert was reported in a periodical like *Ost und West* is unsurprising. David Brenner observes that *Ost und West* “marks a watershed in the history of Jewish self-understanding...” and that the periodical’s approach was in “...urging [Western] European Jews to overcome their self-censorship and proudly to ‘come out of the closet.’”<sup>97</sup> Brenner argues that that the Jewish parvenu—an acculturated, city-dwelling, German Jew and proud citizen of the of the *Kaiserreich*—was exactly the type of person that *Ost und West* sought to push against in advocacy of an interreligious understanding by Western and Eastern Jews. This Young Jewish Evening concert combined the music of two highly Westernized composers—Gernsheim, the classical romantic symphonist, chamber musician, and teacher, together with Lewandowski, the Mendelssohnian synagogue composer, who had been the first Jewish student of the Singakademie. It presented these highlights of Western Jewish society with Eastern European Yiddish poetry, altogether under the guise of a new form of Jewish expression and Jewish entertainment—one that could have never existed prior to this period: Jewish entertainment for an assimilated audience.

---

<sup>97</sup> David Brenner, “Out of the Ghetto and into the Tiergarten: Redefining the Jewish Parvenu and His Origins in *Ost und West*,” *The German Quarterly* 66, no. 2 (Spring 1993): 176, 177.

## In Concert in the Twenty-First Century

To twenty-first century readers and listeners, the appearance of Bruch's *Kol Nidrei* on a concert held by a Jewish organization all sounds rather unremarkable. Today, these types of concerts have become common at Jewish community centers, synagogues, and other organizations of Jewish life, particularly in the United States. Indeed, the first commercial recording of Gernsheim's *Elobenu* is a release by violist Semjon Kalinowsky and organist Franz Danksagmüller that includes Lewandowski's *Präludien*, op. 37 no. 2 and 4 for organ, Bloch's *Prayer and Wedding Marches* from *From Jewish Life*, and Bruch's *Kol Nidrei*, among other early twentieth century works.<sup>98</sup> A second commercial recording was released in Fall 2018 together with Gernsheim's other cello works.<sup>99</sup> The reviews of the most recent album are frustratingly flawed. David Moore in *The American Record Guide* writes: "*Elobenu* is a relatively straightforward setting of the Hebraic biblical song."<sup>100</sup> Richard Bratby for *Gramophone* writes: "[it is] sincere, well-crafted music in which every other bar (even in *Elobenu*, a short exploration of Gernsheim's Jewish musical heritage inspired by Bruch's *Kol Nidrei*) simply reeks of Brahms."<sup>101</sup> James A. Altena writes in *Fanfare*, "It is based on the text of the Shema... the fundamental recitation of the Jewish faith."<sup>102</sup> Such misunderstandings are inevitable when we fail to

---

<sup>98</sup> Semjon Kalinowsky and Franz Danksagmüller, *Elobenu: Hebräischer Gesang für Viola & Orgel*, Ambiente 8337759, 2015, CD.

<sup>99</sup> Alexander Hülshoff and Oliver Triendl, *Friedrich Gernsheim: Complete Cello Sonatas*, CPO 555 054-2, 2018, CD.

<sup>100</sup> David Moore, Review of *Gernsheim: 3 Cello Sonatas; Elobenu*, by Alexander Hülshoff and Oliver Triendl, *American Record Guide* 81:6 (1 November 2018): 89-90.

<sup>101</sup> Richard Bratby, Review of *Gernsheim: 3 Cello Sonatas; Elobenu*, by Alexander Hülshoff and Oliver Triendl, *Gramophone* 96:1166 (15 September 2018), accessed 19 November 2019, <https://www.gramophone.co.uk/review/gernsheim-complete-cello-sonatas-hulshoff-triendl>.

<sup>102</sup> James A. Altena, Review of *Gernsheim: 3 Cello Sonatas; Elobenu*, by Alexander Hülshoff and Oliver Triendl, *Fanfare* 42:2 (1 November 2018): 317-319.

consider these works within the specific context of the collegial relations between Bruch and Gernsheim at a pivotal moment for European music and European Jews.

The other issue that is most strikingly gone from modern concert discussion is the deep and enduring friendship between Bruch and Gernsheim. Bruch's *Kol Nidrei* is performed regularly on professional stages and in academic environments, as the work's simple nature allows it the somewhat elusive nature of being both a crowd pleaser and an accessible piece for the developing advanced student. Yet, the coincidence of the smaller, more intimate, and more mysterious *Eloheinu* is not mentioned; in most program notes, if it is mentioned at all, sole credit for Bruch's exposure to the Kol Nidre melody is given solely to Cantor Lichtenstein. Yet, Gernsheim's presence in Bruch's life was clearly a defining friendship and professional affinity.



## Chapter 8

### *Judentum Revealed:*

#### Gernsheim's Symphony no. 3 in C minor and its Rebirth as "Mirjam"

While *Eloheinu* is Gernsheim's work with the most overtly Jewish title, another, substantially larger work has had a more enduring history as the composition that embodies Jewishness for an assimilated German—his Symphony no. 3 in C minor, op. 54 (1888). Today, the symphony is associated with an evocative and vaguely programmatic title, "Mirjam," and is often cited as part of the long list of compositions by Jewish musicians who looked to the shared tradition of the Hebrew Bible and Christian Old Testament as a textual source for musical compositions.<sup>1</sup> Most recently, James Loeffler wrote in *The Cambridge Companion to Jewish Music*:

Like [Isaac] Nathan's [*Hebrew Songs* with Lord Byron, 1815] work, these aural imaginaries often took the form of compositions that addressed the historic borderlines and commonalities between Judaism and Christianity, such as Felix Mendelssohn's *Elijah* (1846) and *St. Paul* (1836), Jacques-François-Fromental-Élie Halévy's opera *La Juive* (1840), Ferdinand Hiller's oratorios *The Destruction of Jerusalem* (1840) and *Saul* (1858), Joachim's *Hebrew Melodies* (1854) for viola and piano, Karl Goldmark's opera *The Queen of Sheba* (1875), and Friedrich Gernsheim's Symphony no. 3 in C minor, 'Miriam' (1888), inspired by Handel's *Israel in Egypt* oratorio.<sup>2</sup>

The above list is problematic for several reasons. Mendelssohn's New Testament oratorio *St. Paul* can hardly be seen as a work that addresses Jewish-Christian commonalities, especially given the work's derisive treatment of Jews by Paul and Stephen in the libretto. Similarly, *La Juive* is hardly a

---

<sup>1</sup> Saleski, *Famous Musicians of a Wandering Race*, 24; Artur Holde, *Jews in music: from the age of enlightenment to the mid-twentieth century* (New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1974), 104; Irene Heskes, *The Resource Book of Jewish Music* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 500, 747; Lewis Stevens, *Composers of Classical Music of Jewish Descent* (Chicago: Valentine Mitchell & Co., 2003), 183.

<sup>2</sup> Loeffler, "From biblical antiquarianism to revolutionary Jewish art music," 171.

rosy depiction of interreligious relations. Thus, while the above list reads in some ways as a table of contents for this dissertation, thematically, they are hardly unified in their depiction of Jews and Judaism. What truly ties together the above listed works is their reliance on text to convey intrinsic *Judentum*. Although an instrumental work with no text, even Joachim's *Hebrew Melodies* are tied to poetry, given their association with the Byron-Nathan songs. By including the reference to Handel's *Israel in Egypt*, Loeffler positions Gernsheim's symphony alongside otherwise text-driven works. However, Loeffler fails to contextualize the symphony's multi-decade long performance life, in which Gernsheim did not initially reveal the evocative title or the association with Handel's oratorio. In fact, the third symphony was simply that, a symphony identified by a sequential number and reviewed as a work of *absolut Tonkunst*, with critical attention given to melody and form, without a hint of a program or evocative title. Although musicologists now are in relative agreement that the concept of absolute music is a construct with fluid boundaries and varying manifestations in practice, it would be very easy to analyze and critique this symphony, without its later-bestowed title, as belonging to this genre. As will be revealed in this chapter, this is exactly how the work was understood for nearly two decades by both the musical press and Gernsheim's close associates in private letters.

In order to understand this symphony's potential Jewish genesis, it is necessary first to strip away the years and layers of imposed Jewishness that have followed the work since it became associated with the programmatic title. Loeffler argues, "When Jewishness did surface as a specific theme in nineteenth century European art music it came clothed in the Romantic garb of virtuous antiquarianism," yet to place the work in the above cited list negates its first two decades of

publication history and reception.<sup>3</sup> Similarly problematic, Emanuel Rubin and John H. Baron, in their textbook *Music in Jewish History and Culture*, write that “in 1888 [Gernsheim] brought out his Symphony no. 3 in C Minor, a tone poem entitled *Miriam*.”<sup>4</sup> Once again, it must be emphasized that at no point during the early years of this work’s performance was it ever publicly associated with its eventual title. Additionally, to label the symphony a tone poem—or *Tondichtung*, in the German—is inaccurate. Both in the nineteenth century and today, this term was and is often used somewhat interchangeably with symphonic poem, yet with little consistency. Richard Strauss’s name has become synonymous with the genre, and his early tone poems were contemporary to Gernsheim’s third symphony.<sup>5</sup> Modern definitions have no concrete melodic or structural requirements, yet overwhelmingly works referred to as such relied heavily on programmatic association, which would have been absent in the early years of the work’s chronology.<sup>6</sup> Gernsheim’s symphony, even once its programmatic connect was revealed, does not fulfill other conventions of the genre such as the use of a single extended movement or consecutive elided movements. Curiously, neither of the two works with Gernsheim labeled with the term—the four-movement piano solo *Tondichtung*, op. 72 (1902) and the single-movement *Zu einem Drama*, op. 82 (1910), subtitled “Tondichtung für grosses Orchester”—has a program. The former has vaguely descriptive movement titles of Hymnus, Romanze, Intermezzo, and Jubilate, and the latter, which translates simply as “To a Drama,” lacks a concrete dramatic program. One might perhaps analyze Gernsheim’s concert overture *Waldmeisters*

---

<sup>3</sup> Loeffler, “From biblical antiquarianism to revolutionary Jewish art music,” 171.

<sup>4</sup> Rubin and Baron, *Music in Jewish History and Culture*, 211

<sup>5</sup> Strauss’s *Macbeth* (1886-8), *Don Juan* (1888-9), and *Todf und Verklärung* (1888-9).

<sup>6</sup> Hugh Macdonald, “Symphonic Poem,” *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online*, accessed 10 February 2019, <https://doi-org.turing.library.northwestern.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.27250>.

*Brautfahrt*, op. 13 (1872/73), inspired by the 1851 epic love poem of Otto Roquette (1824-1896), as a tone poem, however concert overtures on the whole lack dramatic intensity of tone poems.

In stripping away the limiting categories and at times even false labels placed on the symphony, a clearer picture begins to form. At the same time, it is imperative not to undervalue the Miriam program to both this work, its genesis, its legacy, and its complex position with the repertoire of *Judentum* within German art music. There are few works of the nineteenth century centering on a Biblical subject that are not texted, whether in the genre of opera, oratorio, or song.<sup>7</sup> In this chapter, I trace the early performance history, paying careful attention to how the work was framed within the press, both musical-focused and Jewish-centric. I pay particular attention to the ultimate revelation of the program, by Gernsheim in 1909, but also document the instances of the title which seem to predate a fully published program. The musical analyses are particularly revealing in that, even less so that Gernsheim's *Elobenu* or Goldmark's chamber and operatic repertoire, the symphony lacks concrete examples of sonic markers of *Judentum* and relies more on the tropes of nineteenth century music to assert its *Deutschtum* and alignment with the canonic symphonic tradition. I argue that this cannot be viewed as an attempt by the composer to hide his Jewishness, but rather as an engagement with assimilation and the new possibilities for expressions of self and *Judentum* afforded to highly assimilated and professionally successful Jews in the latter decades of the nineteenth century.

---

<sup>7</sup> French composer Gaston Salvayre's *Symphonie biblique La resurrection* (1876, retitled *La vallée de Josaphat* in 1882) is one of the other rare examples of this genre, which Henry Cohen reviewed skeptically at its premiere, writing "Today we have biblical symphonies, which means nothing at all, for where there are no words, there can be nothing Biblical unless the name alone serves as a sign..." See Henry Cohen, "Revue des Concerts," *La Chronique Musicale* 4, no. 9 (January-June 1876): 40. "Aujourd'hui nous avons des symphonies bibliques, ce que ne signifie rien du tout, car, là où il n'y a point de paroles, il ne peut rien y avoir de biblique, à moins que le nom seul ne serve d'enseigne..."

### Premieres and Publication as Symphony no. 3

The third symphony appeared at a point in Gernsheim's career when he was both well-established in Rotterdam as a pianist, conductor, and pedagogue, and also gaining broader acclaim as a composer in major genres popular in the latter decades of the nineteenth century—large-scale orchestral works including the Piano Concerto in C minor, op. 16 (1869); Symphony no. 1 in G minor, op. 32 (1875); Violin Concerto no. 1 in D major, op. 42 (1880); and Symphony no. 2 in E-flat major, op. 46 (1882). Holl wrote that the first, third, and final movement were written during the spring in Rotterdam, and the *Adagio* was composed in Baden-Baden, although the manuscript score indicates “Aug 87. Lichtenthal.”<sup>8</sup> Early press reports of its premiere began to appear by the end of the summer that year.<sup>9</sup> He conducted its premiere on January 18, 1888, at part of the *Eruditio Musica* subscription series at the Saale der Societeit Harmonie in Rotterdam.<sup>10</sup> It was published in July of the same year by J. Rieter-Biedermann of Leipzig. Although Gernsheim never worked exclusively with one publisher, his relationship with this firm was a long one and began before the death of its founder, Jakob Melchior Rieter-Biedermann (1811-76) with the publication of *Salamis* and continuing with *Elobenu* (see Chapter 7), a number of large-scale works including the violin concerto, the second symphony, various settings for men's chorus, and several of the larger piano

---

<sup>8</sup> Holl, *Friedrich Gernsheim*, 64; Friedrich Gernsheim, *Sinfonien, c-Moll, op. 54*, Mus.ms.autogr. Gernsheim, F. 39 N., Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, accessed 1 May 2019, <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB00005C0D00000000>. Letters from Gernsheim to his wife, Helene, are addressed to her in Lichtenthal [now more commonly spelled Lichtental].

<sup>9</sup> “Nachrichten,” *Neue Berliner Musikzeitung* 41, no. 34 (25 August 1887): 257. “Friedrich Gernsheim in Rotterdam hat eine neue Symphonie, die dritte, vollendet, welche wahrscheinlich in einem der Berliner Philharmonischen Concerte ihre erste Aufführung erleben wird.”

<sup>10</sup> Theodor Müller-Reuter, *Lexicon der deutschen Konzertliteratur* (Leipzig: C.F. Kahnt Nachfolger, 1909), 577.

works.<sup>11</sup> Rieter-Biedermann had also forged an association with Brahms in the late 1850s, publishing twenty-two of his works.

The third symphony was enthusiastically received by the Dutch press, who viewed Gernsheim as a great asset to musical life in Holland. A report of the concert in *Caecilia* declared, “This work crowns all that this artist has produced so far. In earlier works, we admired first the thought and then the process. In this symphony, they are finally both together and with enthusiasm.”<sup>12</sup> Gernsheim had been long regarded as a master teacher and skilled composer, but this review finally lauded not just technical proficiency, but also inspiration and emotional artistry. The reviewer wrote admirably of the first three movements and their positive reception, even alluding to something almost programmatic in the second movement, though there is no evidence that any sort of actual program was provided:

The *Allegro non troppo* is an elaborate piece of music, well-thought out and thoughtfully arranged. The *Molto adagio* is stirring and mysteriously beautiful, as if we were in a moonlight clearing of a rustling forest. The *Vivace assai* had to be repeated at fierce demand.<sup>13</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> *Katalog des Musikalien-Verlages nebst Schriften über Musik, Textbücher, Porträts von J. Rieter-Biederman in Leipzig* (Leipzig: J. Rieter-Biedermann, 1897), 45-49.

<sup>12</sup> Joh. C.V., “Concerten, opera- en andere uitvoeringen – Rotterdam,” *Caecilia: Algemeen Muzikaal Tijdschrift van Nederland* 45:4 (1 February 1888): 32. “Dit werk zet de kroon op al wat tot dusverre door dezen kunstenaar werd geleverd, en, bewonderden we in vroegere werken nu eens de gedachte dan weder de bewerking, in deze Symphonie is het zoowel het een als het ander, dat voortdurend boeit en eindelijk tot geestdrift stemt.”

<sup>13</sup> Joh. C.V., “Concerten, opera- en andere uitvoeringen – Rotterdam,” 32. “Een doorwrocht muziekstuk edel gedacht enforsch bewerkt, is het *Allegro non troppo*; roerend schoon het *Molto adagio*, en geheimzinnig fraai, als bevonden we ons op een door maanlicht beschenen open plek in een ruischend woud, het *Vivace assai*; het moest op onstuimig verlangen herhaald worden.” Ringer incorrectly cites the fourth movement as having been repeated at audience demand, though this *Caecilia* report seems to indicate that it was the third (though the third was ultimately published as *Molto Vivace*.)

Although the above critic writes that the audience found the finale lacking in excitement and intensity of the previous three movements, the overall reception was positive: “Laurels and fanfares with loud and cordial applause proved the enthusiasm of the public, board, and orchestra for the composer’s latest work.”<sup>14</sup> A few days later, Gernsheim excitedly wrote to Bruch of the premiere: “...the work’s impression exceeded all expectations.”<sup>15</sup>

The symphony was first performed in Germany on March 5, 1888 in Berlin, to a very positive reception in which Gernsheim was repeatedly recalled to the stage by audience applause.<sup>16</sup> The rest of the concert was conducted by Hans von Bülow and included Haydn’s Symphony no. 95 (Hob. I/95, listed in the concert program book as no. 9), Berlioz’s *Le carnaval romain* overture, Wagner’s overture to *Der Fliegenden Holländer*, and Russian-Jewish cellist Carl Davidoff (Karl Davydov) performing some of his own arrangements (fig 8.1). An appearance on the subscription series of the Berlin Philharmonic would have been a significant achievement for Gernsheim, though no documentation survives regarding von Bülow’s impressions of the work as the organization’s music director.<sup>17</sup> No letters between the two are extant in the Gernsheim Archive. Elsewhere in correspondence to others, von Bülow wrote rather dismissively of Gernsheim. Several years after this concert, to Brahms in 1891, he reported that “little Fritz of Rotterdam was enthusiastically

---

<sup>14</sup> Joh. C.V., “Concerten, opera- en andere uitvoeringen – Rotterdam,” 32. “Lauweren en fanfares, benevens luide en hartelijke toejuichingen, bewezen den componist de ingenomenheid van publiek, bestuur en orkest met zijn jongste werk.”

<sup>15</sup> Friedrich Gernsheim, Letter to Max Bruch (22 January 1888), Max Bruch Archive, University of Cologne. “...der Eindruck, den die Arbeit machte, übertraf alle Erwartungen.”

<sup>16</sup> “Buitenlandsch Nieuws,” *Caecilia: Algemeen Muzikaal Tijdschrift van Nederland* 45:7 (15 March 1888): 64.

<sup>17</sup> The plan for the symphony’s performance is mentioned only in passing in Hans von Bülow, Letter to Hermann Wolff (23 August 1887), in Hans von Bülow, *Briefe und Schriften* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1896), 123-128.

FIGURE 8.1 Program book cover for premiere of Gernsheim's Symphony No. 3 in C minor, Op. 54.<sup>18</sup>

**\* Philharmonie. \***

**Montag den 5. März 1888 Abds. 7½ Uhr präc.**

**VIII. Philharmonisches Concert**

unter Leitung des Herrn  
*Dr. Hans von Bülow*  
und unter Mitwirkung des  
Herrn Professor **Charles Davidoff** (Cello).

— \* —

**PROGRAMM.**

1. Sinfonie No. 9, C moll . . . . . *J. Haydn.*  
1. Allegro. — 2. Andante cantabile. — 3. Menuetto. — 4. Finale (Vivace).
2. I. Satz aus dem Concert A moll für Cello  
mit Begleitung des Orchesters . . . . *Ch. Davidoff.*  
Cello: Herr Professor **Charles Davidoff.**
3. Ouverture „Der römische Carneval“ (op. 9) *H. Berlioz.*
4. Sinfonie No. III, C moll (neu, Manuscript) *F. Gernsheim.*  
a) Allegro moderato. — b) Molto Adagio. —  
c) Molto vivace. — d) Allegro eroico e con brio.  
(unter Leitung des Componisten).
5. a) Cantabile . . . . . } für Violoncell { *C. Cui.*  
b) „Am Springbrunnen“ } *Ch. Davidoff.*  
Herr Professor **Charles Davidoff.**
6. Ouverture zum „fliegenden Holländer“ . *R. Wagner.*

**Concertflügel: C. Bechstein.**  
Die Begleitung am Klavier hat Herr **Dr. Hans von Bülow** gütigst  
übernommen.

**IX. Concert, Montag den 19. März 1888.**  
Tragische Ouverture von Brahms. — Arie der Elvira aus „Don Juan“ von  
Mozart. — Violin-Concert (No. 3) von Saint-Saëns. — Arie der Donna Anna  
aus „Don Juan“ von Mozart. — „Die Liebesfee“ für Violine und Orchester  
von Raff. — Sinfonie No. VIII, F dur, von Beethoven.  
Solisten: Frau **Brandt-Goertz** vom Stadttheater in Hamburg und Herr  
**Emile Sauret.**

rejected in Frankfurt.”<sup>19</sup> In this same letter, Bülow complained of “the nonartist, Jewish whiner D. P. [David Popper] (a David acting like a Saul)” and declared “[t]o the devil with the Hellmesberg school of coquetry and dirt... Haydn’s cello concerto itself is worth burying, but the way this

<sup>18</sup> *Programm-Buch. Philharmonische Concerte, I. Saison 1887/88* (Berlin: Concert Direction Hermann Wolff, 1888), [273].

<sup>19</sup> Hans von Bülow, Letter to Johannes Brahms (17 February 1891), in Hans von Bülow, *Hans von Bülow’s Letters to Johannes Brahms: A Research Edition*, ed. Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen, trans. Cynthia Klohr (Lanham, Toronto, and Plymouth, UK: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2012), 50. This letter is not included in the 1896 *Briefe und Schriften*.



charlatan caricatured and painted it with filth...’’<sup>20</sup> Such remarks obviously need to be viewed in the light of Bülow’s anti-Semitism, which has received attention from various scholars, but is almost always excused as simply emblematic of the overall German mindset against the Jews during this period.<sup>21</sup> Bülow’s apparent dismissal of Gernsheim as “Fritzchen,” an everyman often at the butt of German jokes, and his amusement at career advancement difficulties faced by Gernsheim—in all likelihood due to his *Judentum*—do contrast somewhat with the single letter from Bülow to Gernsheim, published in the collected Bülow letters. In this letter, which Bülow requested to be involved in a performance of Gernsheim’s “Maibowle” [probably *Waldmeisters Brautfahrt*, op. 13] at a salon concert with Florían Zajíc.<sup>22</sup> Apparently, as both this request and the willingness to program the symphony in Berlin indicate, at the very least, Bülow was willing to overlook *Judentum* when he viewed a musician’s work as worthy of his artistic attention.

Both the program book from Berlin and reviews of the performance show that the symphony was presented as a work of absolute music. Gernsheim himself wrote the analysis for the program book in Berlin. Detailed and thorough—with extensive musical examples describing the composer’s treatment of the themes—the notes give absolutely no indication of a program, instead focuses on key movements that would have served as a guide for audiences as listened to this work

---

<sup>20</sup> Bülow, Letter to Johannes Brahms (17 February 1891).

<sup>21</sup> Kenneth Birkin, *Hans von Bülow: A Life for Music* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), ix-x, 292n; Alan Walker, *Hans von Bülow: A Life and Times* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 17-19.

<sup>22</sup> Hans von Bülow, Letter to Friedrich Gernsheim (28 January 1892), in *Briefe und Schriften*, 357.

of apparent *absolut Tonkunst*.<sup>23</sup> Newspaper records of the 1888 premiere similarly present it as simply by its numerical designation. *The Musical World* was mixed in review of the Berlin performance:

A new symphony by Gernsheim, no. 3 was played at the eighth Philharmonic Concert, the composer conducting. It appears to be a work of unequal merit; the effect of its many beauties being now and then nullified in the length and intricacy of the working out. Opinions for and against this new work were expressed with considerable freedom after the performance, but, on the whole, Herr Gernsheim may be pleased with his reception.<sup>24</sup>

Gernsheim's archive includes several albums of a newspaper clippings from music periodicals and general regional newspapers across Germany, however, of the over fifty clippings that he saved, only three are about third symphony.<sup>25</sup> Two of these focus on the Berlin premiere. The first, apparently from the Berlin-based *Nationalzeitung* is marked in pencil as "Mirjam" in Gernsheim's hand, with Gumprecht written below, identifying the author as Otto Gumprecht, the paper's long-time music critic.<sup>26</sup> Gumprecht praised Gernsheim for his ability to move fluidly between more traditional and modern styles as the contemporary audience was accustomed and declared that "...a sound like the Trio [of the scherzo] would be enough to keep the whole symphony afloat."<sup>27</sup> The other newspaper review saved by Gernsheim on the Berlin performance is penciled as from another Berlin daily, the

---

<sup>23</sup> Friedrich Gernsheim, "Sinfonie no. 3 (Cmoll) op. 54 (Analyse vom Componisten)," in *Programm-Buch. Philharmonische Concerte, I. Saison 1887/88*, [281-290].

<sup>24</sup> "Foreign," *The Musical World* 37:13 (31 March 1888): 256.

<sup>25</sup> Albums, D1-D2, Friedrich Gernsheim Archive, National Library of Israel.

<sup>26</sup> Albums, D1-D2, Friedrich Gernsheim Archive, National Library of Israel. Gumprecht was known in some circles as the "Berlin Hanslick." See Max Kalbeck, ed., *The Herzogenberg Correspondence*, trans. Hannah Bryant (New York: E.P. Dutton and Company, 1909): 279.

<sup>27</sup> Albums, D1-D2, Friedrich Gernsheim Archive, National Library of Israel. "Namentlich war es das Scherzo, das uns Dank seinem warmen Stimmungsgehalt einen tieferen Eindruck hinterlassen. Eine Tongestalt wie hier das Trio vermöchte schon eine ganze Sinfonie über Wasser zu halten, selbst wenn diese aus weit größerem Stoff geformt wäre als die Gernsheim'sche."

*Volks Zeitung*. This review, which is unsigned, praised Gernsheim's skill, but also emphasized his conservative style, alluding to Schumann's famous article on Brahms: "Gernsheim satisfies more with his calm restraint [traditionalist, in contrast to newer styles], his elaboration, and skill, than in forging new paths."<sup>28</sup> Despite the early positive reception of the work, the third symphony did not initially have an enduring concert life, even in the Netherlands. After a second hearing in Rotterdam in October of 1888 and in Cologne a month later, it does not seem the symphony was repeated, at least in major performance venues.<sup>29</sup> His Symphony no. 4 in B-flat Major, op. 62 premiered in 1896 and received considerably more attention in the press, possibly due to Gernsheim's more high-profile positions in Berlin.

### **Gernsheim's Move to Berlin**

In 1880, Gernsheim had not been hired for the position of conductor at the Stern Gesangverein that had been vacated by his friend, Max Bruch. Ringer suggests that this was because of the *Treitschkestreit* controversy in Berlin—now referred to as the *Berliner Antisemitenstreit*—led by historian Heinrich von Treitschke (1834-1896).<sup>30</sup> In what literally translates as the "Treitschke battle," Treitschke had published an article in his periodical *Preußische Jahrbücher* in November 1879, in which he claimed that the immigration of Jews from Eastern Europe into Germany threatened the new nation's stability and future.<sup>31</sup> Treitschke was particularly concerned about assimilation, and,

---

<sup>28</sup> Albums, D1-D2, Friedrich Gernsheim Archive, National Library of Israel. "Gernsheim befriedigt mehr durch ruhige Besonnenheit, seine Ausarbeitung und gewandtes Können, als daß er neue Bahnen einzuschlagen vermöchte."

<sup>29</sup> Müller-Reuter, *Lexicon der deutschen Konzertliteratur*, 577.

<sup>30</sup> Ringer, "Friedrich Gernsheim and the Lost Generation," 9.

<sup>31</sup> Heinrich von Treitschke, "Unsere Aussichten," *Preußische Jahrbücher* 44 (1879): 559-576. The section addressing Jews is from 572-576.

despite repeating centuries-old tropes of antisemitism that Jews controlled business and finance, he was not entirely dismissive of Jews becoming a part of German society—as long as they did it wholly, as a few successful and respectable baptized—Felix Mendelssohn among others—had done:

What we demand from our Israelite fellow citizens is simple: they should become German, and simply feel that they are Germans – without prejudice of their faith and their old sacred memories, which are venerable to all of us. We do not want the millennia of German civilization to be followed by an age of German-Jewish mixed culture. It would be sinful, however, to forget that many baptized Jews—Felix Mendelssohn, Beit, [Gabriel] Riesser, etc. and to say nothing of the living—were German men in the best sense of the word, honorable and embodying the German spirit.<sup>32</sup>

For Treitschke, the emancipation by governments was dangerous because it allowed for Jews to maintain their difference—or, worse, to influence secular society—rather than become part of the greater German people. Scholars have argued that Treitschke’s words and the subsequent articles and pamphlets—both of those who sided with him and of Jewish intellectual and religious leaders who sought to defend themselves—prevented many German Jews from obtaining high ranking positions in Berlin during the early 1880s.<sup>33</sup> More recently, George Y. Kohler argued that analyses of this debate have been clouded by scholars’ emotional responses to Treitschke’s use of antisemitic tropes rather than recognizing the real agenda of the debate—the demand that truly assimilated

---

<sup>32</sup> Treitschke, “Unsere Aussichten,” 573. “Was wir von unseren israelitischen Mitbürgern zu fordern haben, ist einfach: sie sollen Deutsche werden, sich schlicht und recht als Deutsche fühlen -- unbeschadet ihres Glaubens und ihrer alten heiligen Erinnerungen, die uns Allen ehrwürdig sind; denn wir wollen nicht, daß auf die Jahrtausende germanischer Gesittung ein Zeitalter deutsch-jüdischer Mischculture folge. Es wäre sündlich zu vergessen, daß sehr vielen Juden, getaufte, Felix Mendelssohn, Beit, [Gabriel] Riesser, u.A. -- um der Lebenden zu geschwiegen -- deutsche Männer waren im besten Sinne, Männer, in denen wir die edlen und guten Züge deutschen Geistes vehren.”

<sup>33</sup> Walter Boehlich, *Der Berliner Antisemitenstreit* (Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1965); Michael A. Meyer, “Great Debate on Antisemitism,” *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 11 (1966): 137-170. Boehlich is credited with coining the terms *antisemitenstreit* and *antisemitismusstreit* for the debate, which was known as the *Treitschkestreit* in the 1880s. See also Günter Regneri, “Salomon Neumann’s Statistical Challenge to Treitschke: The Forgotten Episode that Marked the End of the ‘*Berliner Antisemitismusstreit*,’” *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 43, no. 1 (January 1998): 129-153.

German Jews be baptized as Protestants.<sup>34</sup> Gernsheim, however, never converted to Christianity, despite some friends seemingly well-intentioned efforts of encouragement (see Chapter 7). Thus, he would have been a significant threat to those who aligned with Treitschke's philosophies.

Whether or not the *Treitschkestreit* and broader currents of antisemitism in Berlin prevented the hiring of Gernsheim for the directorship of the Stern Gesangverein in 1880, he assumed this exact position in 1890 as well as a teaching role at the Stern Conservatory.<sup>35</sup> The Stern Gesangverein, which was founded by the German-Jewish music pedagogue and violinist Julius Stern in 1847, and its directorship was a highly respected and influential role within Berlin music circles. Although the organization had earned its reputation as a leading choral society after the premiere of Mendelssohn's *Elijah* in October 1847, it was slightly less conservative than the Singakademie and regularly performed more modern works, although it was still very much "anti-Wagner, pro-Brahms" in overall philosophy.<sup>36</sup> The Conservatory was founded in 1850 by Stern, Theodor Kullak, and Adolf Bernhard Marx and became a leading institution for musical training in Berlin through the rise of National Socialism.<sup>37</sup> Like Stern, Marx was also a highly assimilated Jew, and also an intimate acquaintance of Mendelssohn. Although Gernsheim's compositions had enjoyed fairly widespread performance and he was very well-connected with the most successful musicians of the era, obtaining a position in a major-musical center like Berlin was the success for which he had been aiming throughout his career.

---

<sup>34</sup> George Y. Kohler, "German Spirit and Holy Ghost: Treitschke's Call for Conversion of German Jewry: The Debate Revisited," *Modern Judaism* 30, no. 2 (May 2010): 175-176.

<sup>35</sup> Friedrich Gernsheim, "Autobiographie Plauderei," (February 1901), E2, Friedrich Gernsheim Archive, National Library of Israel. See also Holl, *Friedrich Gernsheim*, 69.

<sup>36</sup> Nick Strimple, *Choral Music in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Amadeus Press, 2008), 73.

<sup>37</sup> Isidore Singer and Joseph Sohn, "Stern, Julius," *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 11:550, accessed 5 April 2019, <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/14031-stern-julius>.

Once in Berlin, Gernsheim continued to push for performance of his first three symphonies, and it appears that the third was given special effort. Gernsheim had been engaged to prepare the chorus for the premiere of Gustav Mahler's Symphony no. 2, which took place on March 4, 1895. Although no correspondence is preserved in the Gernsheim Archive, letters from Mahler to Gernsheim were reproduced in Alma Mahler's collection of her husband's correspondence. Mahler was effusively grateful for Gernsheim's participation on his second symphony, writing:

You can scarcely estimate the great favour you are doing to me. Such readiness to support a colleague is something I account a particular honour in that it should be you, of all people, who sees your way to showing some interest in my work. I shall never forget what you are doing and sincerely hope to be able to do something that will give expression to my gratitude.<sup>38</sup>

Gernsheim evidently seized on this opportunity, and sent along the scores to his first three symphonies, prompting Mahler to write back:

I have been studying your scores with *great pleasure*. I find it difficult to decide in favour of any one more than another. I am firmly resolved to have one of them performed at the first opportunity. Meanwhile: thank you for sending them. The only question is: how long may I keep them? I should like to have your Third, at any rate, by me for a while longer. I would then bring it back in November, when we have our rehearsal.<sup>39</sup>

It does not appear that the two met in November, as the next letter alludes to a break in correspondence. Mahler's tone is apologetic for the lack of progress on a concert for Gernsheim, and the letter describes an in-person interaction between the two, in which Gernsheim played his

---

<sup>38</sup> Gustav Mahler, Letter to Friedrich Gernsheim (17 October 1895), in Gustav Mahler, *Selected Letters of Gustav Mahler*, selected by Alma Mahler, edited by Knud Martner, translated by Eithne Wilkins, Ernst Kaiser, and Bill Hopkins (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1979), 168.

<sup>39</sup> Gustav Mahler, Letter to Friedrich Gernsheim (29 October 1895), in Mahler, *Selected Letters of Gustav Mahler*, 169.

third symphony on piano. Mahler's friendly recognition of the stylistic and taste differences between the two is noted in great detail, and deserves full quotation:

Dear Professor Gernsheim,

I do not want to let this year pass, in which I have had so much to thank you for, without again expressing how deeply obliged I am to you. The knowledge that I can prove my gratitude is a source of great joy to me. I am grateful not in the limited, common sense of 'reciprocity,' but in the happy knowledge that I have found a true ally, one who, despite the different paths we tread, is a congenial comrade-in-arms, pressing on, in his own way, towards the same goals as myself. I feel you will not take these words merely as empty phrases, but will accept in friendship and trust the hand I hold out to you. I have not yet had an opportunity to express my gratitude to the Stern Society, and beg you to convey my sentiments should the occasion arise. I shall never forget the times spent with you and your valiant colleagues.

My Hamburg plans are still in the balance. Pollini [Bernhard Pollini, born Baruch Pohl], who is *seriously ill*, cannot be seen by anyone. (Between ourselves, if the persistent rumours now circulating are to be believed, there are yet other reasons for his ominous state of mind). I cannot make any decision without consulting him. And so I cannot tell you anything more definite about the performance of your C minor [symphony]. I have it always on my desk, nibbling at it with real pleasure, re-living in spirit the happy hour in which you introduced me to this masterpiece of yours. I do not think I have forgotten any of the hints I picked up from your performance of it on the piano. Have you absolutely nothing choral that I could use for a Good Friday concert? [!] Words in *German* will do perfectly well. The *sine qua non*, however, is that it should be religious in character.

With very best wishes for the New Year to yourself and your wife, I remain,  
Your sincerely devoted  
Gustav Mahler<sup>40</sup>

None of Gernsheim's choral works seem plausible music for Good Friday, as Mahler requested from him. The aforementioned Good Friday concert at the, which actually took place on Thursday, April 2, 1896, did not include any compositions of Gernsheim. Bach, Krebs, Handel, Mozart, and

---

<sup>40</sup> Gustav Mahler, Letter to Friedrich Gernsheim (30 December 1895), in Mahler, *Selected Letters of Gustav Mahler*, 173-174.

Mendelssohn were heard instead.<sup>41</sup> Mahler's proposed direction of Gernsheim's third symphony was repeatedly postponed, and ultimately never materialize.

Without any surviving letters from Gernsheim to Mahler, it is difficult to trace the following years in the relationship. In an undated letter from early 1897, Mahler wrote again, with continued promises to find a suitable performance venue. "For my part, I shall take the first opportunity of finding an audience for your works.—From one passage in your letter I gather that some of your experiences have been very unfortunate. If you can, take a little comfort from my fate."<sup>42</sup> It is not clear what Mahler was alluding to in this passage, but the style is not unlike some of his comments made to family and close friends in lamenting the professional challenges he faced for his Jewish status. In 1894, to his sister Justine Rose-Mahler, he had written something quite more direct on the problem, "...it does seem that all doors are closed to me for the moment because of my Jewishness."<sup>43</sup> Mahler ultimately underwent baptism on February 23, 1897 at the Hamburg Kleine Michaeliskirche, likely with Justine and his other sister, Emma, and by April of that year, he had signed the contract with the Vienna Hofoper.<sup>44</sup> Although Gernsheim's letter to Mahler, in which it seems he expressed some frustrations regarding his trouble obtaining a prestigious long-term position, is not extant, it is not unreasonable to suppose that conversations about his music were in

---

<sup>41</sup> "1896 Concert Hamburg 02-04-1896," *Mahler Foundation*, accessed 3 November 2020, <https://mahlerfoundation.org/mahler/locations/germany/hamburg/1896-concert-hamburg-02-04-1896/>.

<sup>42</sup> Gustav Mahler, Letter to Friedrich Gernsheim (Undated [Hamburg, January] 1897), in Mahler, *Selected Letters of Gustav Mahler*, 205-206.

<sup>43</sup> Gustav Mahler, Letter to Justine Rose-Mahler (January 1894), in *The Mahler Family Letters*, ed., trans. and annotated Stephen McClatchie (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 257.

<sup>44</sup> McClatchie, *The Mahler Family Letters*, 5-6. Justine's conversion, at least a private letter to her friend Ernestine Löhr, seemed more an act of filial love and support for her brother's career.



some way linked to discussions on *Judentum* as a barrier to professional advancement. Although it is impossible to know whether Gernsheim shared any Jewish inspiration of the third symphony with his friend, if he did, then perhaps this shared navigation of Jewishness within the secular world was what drew Mahler specifically to that symphony above the other three.

### Reappearance of the Third Symphony in Paris

Despite Gernsheim's apparent efforts to secure additional performances for the third symphony through the 1890s with Mahler, the work was not reported as performed in any major city center until the first decade of the twentieth century. Its first public reappearance was in Paris on December 21, 1902 on the Concerts Colonne subscription series.<sup>45</sup> However, the symphony was actually heard in Paris earlier in the year. In January 1902, Gernsheim had been invited by Martine-Marie-Pol de Béhague, Comtesse de Béarn, to conduct a reading of his symphony in her Louis XIV-style mansion, the Hôtel de Béhague.<sup>46</sup> The Comtesse's tastes were many and varied; she was a great art connoisseur and traveler. While she was known for her lavish musical salons, she was apparently not a performer herself. Gernsheim dedicated his piano piece, *Tondichtung*, op. 72 (1902) to her, for which she thanked him, but lamented that she did not have the talent to perform it well.<sup>47</sup> Present at the Hôtel de Béhague performance was the French conductor, Édouard Colonne, founder and

---

<sup>45</sup> The concert also included Beethoven's *Egmont Overture*, Berceuse from Napravnik's *Harold*, Schubert-Berlioz's *Le Roi des Aulnes*, Debussy's *La Demoiselle élue*, Charpentier's *Impressions d'Italie*, and the finale from Wagner's *Götterdämmerung*. See "Revue des Grands Concerts," *Le Ménestrel* 68, no. 51 (21 December 1902): 405.

<sup>46</sup> J.G.P., "Musikberichte -- Paris," *Zeitschrift der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 4, no. 6 (1903): 343; "Le Monde et la Ville -- Salons," *Le Figaro* 48, no. 17 (17 January 1902): 2; "Le Monde et la Ville -- Salons," *Le Figaro* 48, no. 31 (31 January 1902): 2. *Le Figaro* does not specify which Gernsheim symphony was performed. The Hôtel de Béhague now houses the Romanian embassy.

<sup>47</sup> Comtesse de Béarn to Friedrich Gernsheim (15 July 1902) B13, Friedrich Gernsheim Archive, National Library of Israel. A second letter from the Comtesse to Gernsheim dated December 1901, once held at the National Library of Israel, is now lost.

director of the eponymous Concerts Colonne.<sup>48</sup> This chance encounter appears to have shifted the course of the performance life Gernsheim's third symphony, bringing it back to the concert hall with great acclaim.

Colonne was of Italian-Jewish descent, and highly regarded both in French music circles and by the assimilated European Jewish population. Similar to the situation faced by their German-speaking counterparts, French Jews were both highly successful in the established musical French scene, yet continued to face derision, antisemitism, and challenges in career advancement. While Jews had been members of the Academie des Beaux-Arts since Daniel Auber, Giacomo Meyerbeer, and Jacques Halévy, by the end of the century there was a building undercurrent of antisemitism, in Paris especially, regarding the sheer number of highly successful Jews in the music field.<sup>49</sup> Colonne had on several occasions found himself the subject of a derisive comments in the antisemitic newspaper *La Libre Parole*.<sup>50</sup> As any correspondence between Gernsheim and Colonne is now lost, it is impossible to know for sure whether the two discussed the challenges that they faced in their respective countries. Furthermore, as the print reception for the Concerts Colonne does not include the Miriam designation, we cannot know for certain whether Gernsheim might have revealed it in private to Colonne. It seems plausible he did, as he might have with Mahler, and that there was a certain amount of self-awareness in musical selection of the third symphony above all of Gernsheim's other works.

---

<sup>48</sup> Holl, *Friedrich Gernsheim*, 84-85.

<sup>49</sup> James H. Johnson, "Antisemitism and Music in Nineteenth Century France," *Musica Judaica* 5, no. 1 (1982/83): 91-92.

<sup>50</sup> Johnson, "Antisemitism and Music in Nineteenth Century France," 92.

Private correspondence to Gernsheim was on the Parisian performance was laudatory. French-Jewish pianist Clotilde Kleeberg wrote, “My dear friend, congratulations! Bravissimo! We are happy about your great success and we send our sincere congratulations.”<sup>51</sup> Similarly, a Dr. Blondel wrote, “I am happy to tell you how much pleasure it was to hear your beautiful symphony. I joyfully observed the public *bisser* the *scherzo*, and you must know that such clamours are a sign of success in France. Lesser works do not inspire them.”<sup>52</sup> Kleeberg and Blondel both simply described the work as a symphony, with no specific reference to any sort of programmatic material for the work as a whole or the repeated scherzo, indicating that it was likely performed without any *Mirjam* designation.

Press coverage was mixed, possibly due to Gernsheim’s more conservative style that the French audience heard as old-fashioned given that the concert also included Claude Debussy’s *La Damoiselle élue* (1893). One critic wrote, “More coolly received—despite a lively scherzo and with an encore despite the protests of some—was the symphony in C minor of Friedrich Gernsheim, a very distinguished musician and member of the Berlin Academy of Fine Arts.”<sup>53</sup> Another critic

---

<sup>51</sup> Unidentified [Clotilde Kleeberg-Samuel] to Friedrich Gernsheim (21 December 1902), B860, Friedrich Gernsheim Archive, National Library of Israel. This letter, which is listed as unidentified in the Gernsheim Archive, appears to be from Clotilde Kleeberg-Samuel (1866-1909), a French pianist of Jewish descent. See also Isidore Singer and Joseph Sohn, “Kleeberg, Clotilde,” *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 7:520, accessed 5 April 2019, <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/9369-kleeberg-clotilde>. In addition to dedications from Saint-Saëns, Chaminade, and others, Kleeberg was also the dedicatee of Gernsheim’s piano fantasy *Auf der Lagune*, op. 71 (1902), a piano character piece that evokes the canals of Venice, a city about which many Germans held a romanticized image (see for example Mendelssohn, *Venetianisches Gondelied*, op. 19 no. 6 (1829-30) from his *Lieder ohne Worte*, among others).

<sup>52</sup> Dr. [?] Blondel, Letter to Friedrich Gernsheim (21 December 1902), B29, Friedrich Gernsheim Archive, National Library of Israel. This letter is incorrectly dated in the catalogue as February, however, the date clearly reads as Xbre, shorthand for December.

<sup>53</sup> “Concerts Colonne,” *Les Annales du theater et de la musique 1902* (1903): 497. “Plus froidement accueillie - en dépit d'un alerte scherzo, bissé malgré les protestations de quelques-uns -

found it derivative, “An infinitely clever composition, impeccable from the technical standpoint, and which had only one fault, to remind us of Diderot in *Rameau’s Nephew*: ‘All would be charming if it had not been said before him.’”<sup>54</sup> Furthermore, Amédée Boutareï in *La Ménestrel*, wrote, “This too purely German music resounds little in our French hearts. It is, however, clear, well-constructed, and of beautiful sonorities.”<sup>55</sup> Curiously, Boutareï did not launch a similar complaint against the final piece of the evening, the closing scene of Wagner’s *Götterdämmerung*, though the composition was described as exaggerated. It was not Wagner’s opera, according to Boutareï, that was excessively German for French tastes, but rather Gernsheim’s symphony, still apparently without its later title, whose “purement allemande retentit,” its “purely German ring” was criticized. Gernsheim’s music, in effect, was heard as fully assimilated into the German symphonic tradition: *Deutschtum* in sound.

The foreign correspondent of *The Musical World* similarly referred to the work as reflecting Germanic tradition: “Friedrich Gernsheim’s Symphony in C minor has lately been produced under the direction of the composer at a Colonne Concert in Paris. This symphony is said to be in the classical spirit throughout, and although somewhat reminiscent of Mendelssohn and Brahms, has, nevertheless, many commendable qualities.”<sup>56</sup> Only two reviews allude to any sort of possible

---

fut la symphonie en ut mineur de M. Friedrich Gernsheim, très distingué musicien, membre de l’Académie des Beaux-Arts de Berlin.”

<sup>54</sup> Édouard Noël and Edmond Stoullig, *Les Annales du theater et de la musique 1903*, vol. 28 (1903): 497. “Composition infiniment habile, impeccable au point de vue technique et qui n’avait qu’un tort celui de nous rappeler le mot de Diderot dans le Neveu de Rameau ‘Tout cela serait charmant si on ne l’avait pas dit avant lui.’”

<sup>55</sup> “Revue des Grands Concerts,” *Le Ménestrel* 68, no. 51 (21 December 1902): 414. “Cette musique trop purement allemande retentit peu dans nos coeurs français. Elle est cependant claire, bien construite et d’une bonne sonorité.” See also Eugène d’Harcourt, “Les Concerts – Concerts Colonne,” *Figaro* 48, no. 356 (22 December 1902): 5.

<sup>56</sup> “Paris, Colonne Concert: Friedrich Gernsheim, Symphony in C minor. Claude Debussy, La Damoiselle élue (poème lyrique for soprano, female chorus and orchestra),” *The Musical World* 3, no. 2 (February 1903): 35.

programmatic content. Hugo Hallenstein, reporting on the Paris performance in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, alluded to the presence of some sort of program or, at the very least, descriptive titles: “In particular, the Molto vivace [the Scherzo], referred to in the explanatory note as “the flight,” was greatly applauded.”<sup>57</sup> Hallenstein, however, gave no context for the flight and indicated no title. From Paris, poet Maurice Chassang, writing in the annual report on music in Paris for the *Zeitschrift der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, described a “dreamy and almost religious charm” in the second movement.<sup>58</sup> However, descriptively, it is a long way from Hallenstein’s mention of a “flight,” which could mean nearly anything, to the Israelite’s escape from Pharaoh, or from Chassang’s “religious charm” to the prayers of a prophetess. A title, it seems, could change everything.

### **Rebirth as *Mirjam-Sinfonie***

Although the Paris performance of the third symphony had some sort of circulated program notes, no formal title was present. However, in the same issue of *Zeitschrift der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* in which Chassang reported on the Colonne Concert, reviewer V. Andrae wrote of a March 12, 1903 concert in Stuttgart, under the music directorship of Karl Pohlig and Hugo Reichenberger. This performance seems to be first time in which the symphony was specifically identified in the press by its programmatic title, “The 9<sup>th</sup> subscription concert also included a “novelty” and a guest conductor: Friedrich Gernsheim conducted his *Mirjam-Sinfonie*, which was

---

<sup>57</sup> Hugo Hallenstein, “Correspondenzen – Paris,” *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 70, no. 3 (14 January 1903): 43-44. “Mit großem Beifall wurde besonders sein Molto vivace aufgenommen, das in der Erklärungsnote als die ‘Flucht’ bezeichnet ist.”

<sup>58</sup> Maurice Chassang, “La Musique à Paris,” *Zeitschrift der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 4, no. 7 (1903): 396. “L’imagination poétique et le savoir du musicien sont particulièrement en valeur dans la seconde partie, rêveuse et d’un charme presque religieux, avec des développements exquis, une conclusion excellente.”

composed in 1887. The work received a quite favorable reception.”<sup>59</sup> The critic in *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* was slightly less enthusiastic, “What is new to us in this time? Bruckner, Strauss, and others. Although quite good and well-rounded music, this symphony cannot rival with these names.”<sup>60</sup> Similarly, K. Grunsky wrote in *Die Musik*, that the symphony “probably only has temporary value.”<sup>61</sup> With its Parisian reappearance and renaming as *Mirjam* in Stuttgart, it is clear that Gernsheim’s Symphony no. 3 in C minor had returned to the concert hall. The periodical *Die Musik* reported on subscription concerts in the cities of Mainz and Dortmund during the 1907-1908 season.<sup>62</sup> Dortmund correspondent Heinrich Bülle obtusely commented that the symphony contained “motives of old, ritual song...”<sup>63</sup> It is ambiguous what exactly Bülle may have heard to elicit such an evaluation, as he did not indicate which movements or section of the work inspired

---

<sup>59</sup>V.A[ndrae]., “Musikberichte – Stuttgart,” *Zeitschrift der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 4, no. 7 (1903): 419. “Auch das 9. “Abonnementskonzert brachte eine Novität und einen Gastdirigenten: Friedrich Gernsheim dirigierte seine schon 1887 komponierte *Mirjam*- Sinfonie. Das Werk fand recht günstige Aufnahme.” See also *Chronik der Kgl. Haupt-und Residenzstadt Stuttgart* 1903 (Stuttgart: Greiner & Pfeiffer, 1904): 77; Dr. K. Grunsky, “Kritik: Konzert – Stuttgart,” *Die Musik* 2, no. 13 (1903): 74-75.

<sup>60</sup> [--a--], “Correspondenzen – Stuttgart,” *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 70, no. 23/24 (10 June 1903): 345. “Was ist in dieser Zeit an Neuem Alles an uns herangetreten? Bruckner, Strauß und Andere. Mit diesen Namen kann die Symphonie, die durchaus gute, wohlabgerundete Musik bringt, nicht rivalisieren.”

<sup>61</sup> K. Grunsky, “Kritik: Konzert – Stuttgart,” *Die Musik* 2, no. 13 (June 1903): 74-75. “Im neunten Konzert hörte man unter Leitung Gernsheims dessen *Mirjam*-Symphonie, die wohl nur vorübergehenden Wert besitzt.”

<sup>62</sup> Fritz Keiser, “Kritik: Konzert – Mainz,” *Die Musik* 7, no. 8 (January 1908): 120; Heinrich Bülle, “Kritik: Konzert – Dortmund,” *Die Musik* 7, no. 13 (April 1908): 55. The Mainz concert probably took place during fall 1907 or early January 1908; the Dortmund concert probably in spring 1908.

<sup>63</sup> Bülle, “Kritik: Konzert – Dortmund,” 55. “Mit jugendlicher Frische dirigierte Prof. Gernsheim seine viersätzigige *Mirjam* Symphonie, die, motivisch an alte Ritual gesänge erinnernd, eine glänzende Aufnahme fand. In die Orchesterdirektion der Konzerte teilten sich Huttner und Janssen.”

such description. An advertisement from the music journal *Signale*, published on January 6, 1909 not only shows that the symphony had firmly returned to the symphonic repertoire, but that Gernsheim also had the backing and recommendation of his publisher in this rebirth under the *Mirjam* name.<sup>64</sup> Significantly, this advertisement, published by J. Rieter-Biedermann, identified the symphony not only by its new name, but also provided descriptive movement titles and named the cities in which the symphony had been performed (fig. 8.2). The publisher's invitation appears to have worked, as the symphony was performed a month later in Rostock as *Mirjam*.<sup>65</sup>

FIGURE 8.2. Advertisement for Symphony No. 3 as *Mirjam* in *Signale*, January 1909.

40                      SIGNALE

**Verlag von J. Rieter-Biedermann, Leipzig.**

Für kommende Saison empfehle ich zur  
Aufführung:

**MIRJAM**

Symphonie No. 3 C-moll für grosses Orchester  
von  
**Friedrich Gernsheim**  
Op. 54.

I. In der Knechtschaft. II. Mirjam's Gesang.  
III. Die Flucht.  
IV. Freiheit; Sieges- und Freudengesänge.

Partitur netto 24 M. ♦ Orchesterstimmen netto 40 M.  
Duplierstimmen je netto 3 M.  
Klavierauszug zu vier Händen 10 M.

Aufführungen fanden mit grossem Erfolg u. a. statt in:  
**Berlin, Bielefeld, Breslau, Cöln, Dortmund, Dresden,  
Elbing, Mainz, München, M.-Gladbach, New York,  
Paris (2 mal), Rotterdam (3 mal), Stuttgart, Utrecht,  
Valparaiso, Zürich.**

Partitur und Klavierauszug stehen gern zur Ansicht zur Verfügung.

<sup>64</sup> “[Advertisement],” *Signale* 67, no. 1 (6 January 1909): 40.

<sup>65</sup> W. Golther, “Kritik: Konzert – Rostock,” *Die Musik* 8, no. 19 (July 1909): 55.

Despite the fact that the movement titles were in circulation, it appears a more substantial programmatic outline was not. Ultimately, the program that survives of the *Mirjam* designation does come from Gernsheim himself, although not from any specific performance. On November 5, 1909, the symphony was performed under the baton of Richard Strauss in Berlin, over twenty years after the original Berlin premiere under Bülow. Gernsheim's movement titles were provided to the attendees, although apparently no program full explanation was given.<sup>66</sup> In the audience was Ludwig Geiger (1848-1919), the recently appointed editor of the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* and the son of one of Reform Judaism's founding fathers, Abraham Geiger (1810-74). The next morning, Geiger enthusiastically wrote a letter to Gernsheim:

I am anxious that the paper supply contributions that are suitable for a wider audience and that bring it more attention. In this pursuit, I hope to advance the paper through the writing of outstanding individuals. Therefore, esteemed sir, the following audacious request goes out to you: would you do the greatest kindness, on a free day or in a few free hours, to send me a short, generally layman's article about your work "Miriam" for publication in the newspaper? For my audience, I would like a short explanation, from such an outstanding musician such as you are, that explains the manner in which you created this beautiful work, the inspiration received from the Bible, etc. I am well aware that a musical work does not arise from a study of Biblical sources, but because you gave the work a Biblical title, so must relationships between the subject and the musical design be revealed!<sup>67</sup>

---

<sup>66</sup> Ernst Eduard Taubert, "Kritik: Konzert – Berlin," *Die Musik* 9, no. 5 (December 1909): 310. The evening also included Bach's Brandenburg Concerto no. 2 in F major, BWV 1047 and Beethoven's Symphony no. 7 in A major, op. 92.

<sup>67</sup> Ludwig Geiger to Friedrich Gernsheim (6 November 1909), B409, Friedrich Gernsheim Archive, National Library of Israel. "Ich bin bestrebt, dieser Zeitung Beiträge zuzuführen, die geeignet sind ihr ein breiteres Publikum und grössere Beachtung zuzuführen. In diesem Streben möchte ich durch hervorragende Männer Förderung suchen. Deshalb ergeht an Sie, hochverehrter Herr, die folgende Bitte über deren Verwegenheit ich mir völlig klar bin: würden Sie wohl die grosse Liebenswürdigkeit haben, an einem freien Tage oder in ein paar freien Stunden einen kurzen allgemein verständlichen Aufsatz über ihr Werk "Mirjam" zu diktieren und diesen Aufsatz mir zur Veröffentlichung in der genannten Zeitung senden. Ich würde gern meinem Publikum eine Aufklärung eines so hervorragenden Musikers wie Sie sind, darbieten, in der er sich über die Art ausspricht, in der er das schöne Werk schuf, über die Inspiration, die er durch die Bibel empfing usw. Ich weiss wohl, dass ein musikalisches Werk nicht aus einem Studium biblischer Quellen entspringt, aber da Sie dem Werke einen biblischen Titel gaben, so müssen doch Beziehungen



Although Gernsheim's original letter in response to Geiger does not survive, he wrote back almost immediately, and several weeks later his half page explanation of the symphony appeared in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*.<sup>68</sup> The explanation shows Gernsheim's careful, almost calculated navigation of *Judentum* and *Deutschtum* (fig. 8.3). His willingness to contribute an article to *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* is notable, given that periodical that had been founded in 1837 as an "impartial organ for all matters of Jewish interest pertaining to politics, religion, literature, history, philology, and belles-lettres," promoted issues of religious reform, emancipation, civil and professional relations with non-Jews, and cultural edification among its readership that stretched from the Netherlands to Poland. At the same time, Gernsheim seemed almost to separate himself from his own Jewishness in the explanation, instead focusing on his deep feeling for Western culture.

The performance that Gernsheim recalled is likely one that took place on Good Friday, April 14, 1854 at the celebrated Thomaskirche in Leipzig, with German Anna Bochkoltz-Falconi (1815-1879) as the soprano soloist.<sup>69</sup> A versatile soloist, throughout her long career Bochkoltz-Falconi received praise for her performances in oratorios and operas, including Mendelssohn's *Elijah*, Donna Anna in Mozart's *Don Giovanni*, the title role in Bellini's *Norma*, and Elisabeth in Wagner's

---

zwischen dem Stoff und seiner musikalischen Ausgestaltung bestehen! Eine kurze Darlegung dieses Zusammenhanges und die Art der künstlerischen Ausführung wäre mir und vielen meiner Leser höchst willkommen."

<sup>68</sup> Friedrich Gernsheim, "Mirjam," *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* 73, no. 48 (26 November 1854): 569.

<sup>69</sup> F.G., "Kleine Zeitung – Leipzig," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 40, no. 17 (21 April 1854): 186. Although the citation of this entry is given as "F.G.," is highly unlikely that this corresponds to Gernsheim, who was only fourteen years old at the time of this performance. Reports from F.G. appear as early as the 1840s in the *NZM*, and initials do not consistently match actual first and last names. See also, "Leipziger Briefe," *Rheinische Musik-Zeitung für Kunstfreunde und Künstler* 4, no. 18 (6 May 1854): 142-143, which specifically identifies the concert as taking place on Good Friday. In this same concert report, there is mention of a performance of a Mendelssohn Serenade by the Fritz Gernsheim of Worms.

*Tannhäuser*, among others.<sup>70</sup> The final chorus of *Israel in Egypt*, by which Gernsheim was so moved by Bochkoltz-Falconi's performance, is introduced by the tenor soloist, who declares, "And Miriam the prophetess, the sister of Aaron, took a timbrel in her hand and all the women went out after her with timbrels and with dances, and Miriam answered them."<sup>71</sup> The final movement begins with the solo soprano, giving Miriam's reply *a cappella*, to which the full forces of the chorus respond (ex. 8.1).

**EXAMPLE 8.1.** Georg Friedrich Handel, *Israel in Egypt*, no. 39, mm. 1-19.

The musical score for Example 8.1 consists of several staves. At the top is the Soprano I solo part, with the lyrics: "Sin - get un - serm Gott, denn Er hat ge - hol - fen wun - der -". Below this is the Choir I part, marked *tutti*, with lyrics: "bar! Der Herr ist Kö - nig auf im - mer und e - wig! Das". The Choir II part follows, with lyrics: "Ross und den Rei - ter hat Er in das Meer ge - stürzt!". The instrumental parts include the Orchestra (*tutti*), Violins (Vln.), Viola (Vla.), and Continuo. The Continuo part has lyrics: "Ross und den Rei - ter hat Er in das Meer ge - stürzt!".

<sup>70</sup> L.B., "Das zweite mittelrheinische Musikfest," *Niederrheinische Musik-Zeitung* 5, no. 29 (18 July 1857): 228; Karl-Josef Kutsch and Leo Riemens, "Falconi, Anna," *Großes Sängerlexikon* (Berlin: Directmedia, 2004).

<sup>71</sup> The Leipzig performance was almost certainly done in German, however, it is unclear whether they would have used the 1739 libretto or another version. Friedrich Chrysander's edition of *Israel in Egypt*, which has a different German text, was published in 1863.

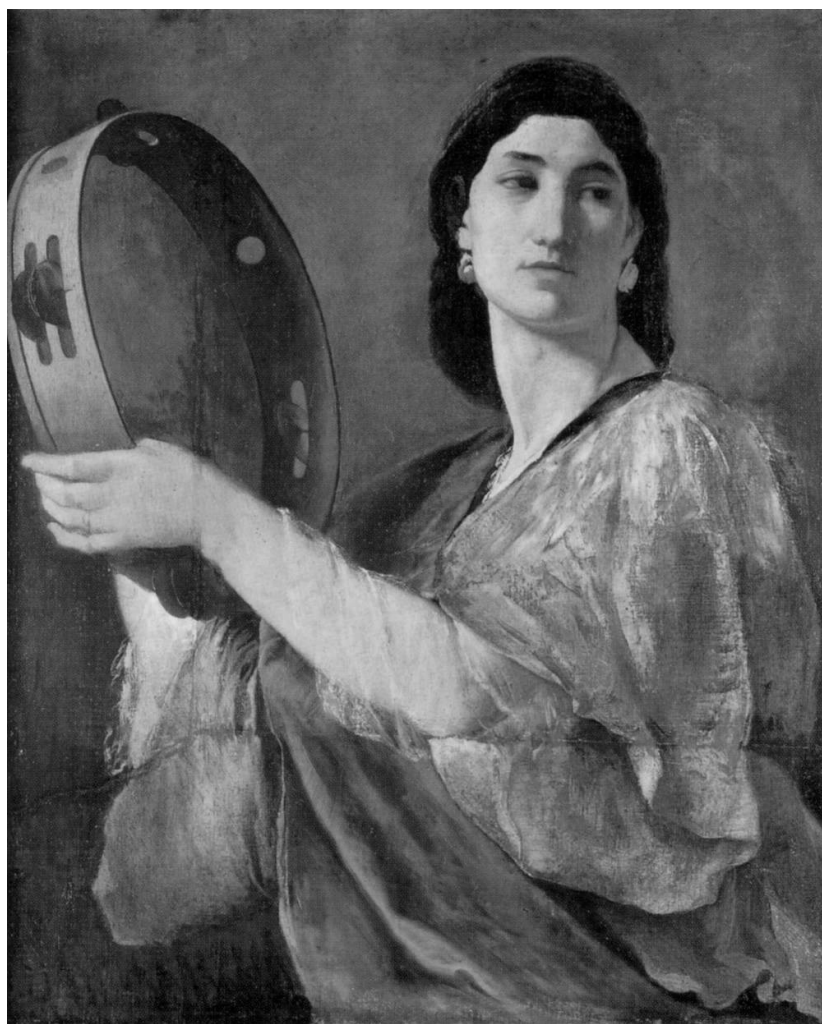
FIGURE 8.3. Gernsheim's description of Symphony no. 3 in C minor, op. 54, "Mirjam."<sup>72</sup>

Original German	English Translation
<p>Es war während meiner Studienzeit am Leipziger Konservatorium — ich mochte etwa vierzehn Jahre alt gewesen sein, als ich zum erstenmal Händel's gewaltigstes Oratorium "Israel in Ägypten" hörte. Noch kann ich mich genau des Eindrucks erinnern, den ich damals empfang. Von Nummer zu Nummer ward ich immer mehr in den Bann dieser großartigen Tonschöpfung gezogen, und als das letzte Rezitativ erklang: 'und Mirjam, die Prophetin, die Schwester Aarons, nahm eine Cymbel in ihre Hand' und ein mächtiger Sopran den Hymnus in C-Dur ohne jede harmonische Unterlage frei in die Lüfte anstimmte, auf den sich der herrliche Schlußchor aufbaut, da stand die Gestalt der Mirjam vor mir, so deutlich wie etwa einer der Engel von Melozzo da Forlì in der Sakristei der Peterskirche in Rom. Und die Gestalt verließ mich nicht mehr. Jahrzehnte hindurch sah ich sie neben mir mit der Cymbel in der Hand und hörte den Siegesgesang, der ihrem Munde entquoll, als ihr Volk aus der Knechtschaft erlöst war. Und 'Mirjams Siegesgesang' bildete den Ausgangspunkt meiner c moll-Symphonie. [Ich habe sie im Jahre 1887 geschrieben.] Aber auch Mirjams bzw. ihres Volkes Leiden bewegte mich bei der Konzeption des Werkes und so entstand der erste Satz — keine Programm-Musik, wie ich ausdrücklich betonte — aber ein Stimmungsbild der Bedrückung, der Knechtschaft mit einzelnen Licht- und Hoffnungsblicken. In seiner Gesamthaltung düster, leidenschaftlich. 'Das Volk bäumt sich auf in seiner Wut'(!) las ich einmal in einer Besprechung des Werkes.</p>	<p>It was during my student years at the Leipzig Conservatory — I must have been perhaps fourteen years old when I first heard Handel's most powerful oratorio, Israel in Egypt. I can still precisely recall the impression it had on me. With each succeeding number I was drawn ever more under the spell of this magnificent musical work, and as I heard the final recitative 'And Miriam the prophetess, the sister of Aaron, took a timbrel in her hand' and a mighty soprano began to sing freely into the air, without any harmonic underpinning, the hymn in C major upon which the glorious final chorus is built, there stood before me the figure of Miriam so clearly as one of the angels of Melozzo da Forlì in the sacristy of St. Peter's in Rome. And this figure has since never left me. For decades I saw it next to me, timbrel in hand, and I heard the song of victory that issued forth from her mouth once her people were free from slavery. And 'Miriam's Song of Victory' formed the point of departure for my C-minor symphony. [I wrote it in 1887]. But also the suffering of Miriam and her people moved me as I conceived the work, and thus arose the first movement — not a work of program music, as I explicitly pointed out — but a mood-depiction of oppression, of slavery, with occasional flashes of light and hope. In the totality of its attitude gloomy, passionate. 'The people rise up in their rage' (!) — so I once read in a discussion of the work.</p>
<p>Der zweite Satz (Adagio) ist Mirjam selbst. In herrlicher Sommernacht an den Ufern des Nils etwa, bekümmert vom Leiden ihres Volkes, vertraut sie ihren Schmerz, aber auch ihr Hoffen den Sternen an.</p>	<p>The second movement (Adagio) is Miriam herself. On a glorious summer night on the banks of the Nile perhaps, distressed by the suffering of her people, she confides her grief, but also her hope, in the stars.</p>
<p>Der dritte Satz: die Flucht. In aller Stille und Eile folgen sich die Massen in dunkler Nacht, um dem Morgen der Befreiung entgegenzueilen.</p>	<p>The third movement: the flight. Silently, hastily, the masses follow each other in the dark of night, in order to rush toward the morning of liberation.</p>
<p>Im vierten Satz endlich die Freiheit. Sieges- und Freudengesänge durchbrausen die Luft. Wohl tauchen für Augenblicke Erinnerungen auf an die schwere Zeit, doch rasch werden sie verscheucht durch die Freuden der Gegenwart, und mit jubelnden Klängen endet die Sinfonie.</p>	<p>In the fourth movement, finally: freedom. Songs of victory and joy thunder through the air. Yes, memories of the difficult times appear suddenly and briefly, but they are quickly dispelled by the joys of the present, and the symphony ends with sounds of rejoicing.</p>

<sup>72</sup> Gernsheim, "Mirjam," 569; Stephen Luttman, Preface to Friedrich Gernsheim, Symphony no. 3 in C minor, op. 54, 1888 (Munich: Musikproduktion Jürgen Höflich, 2006): iv.

In the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* article, Gernsheim's recollection of a Handel oratorio is followed by references to Christian art. Many nineteenth century artists had created paintings of Miriam, and it is quite possible Gernsheim might have been familiar with some of them. Anselm Feuerbach, whose *Miriam* (1862) shows the prophetess boldly striking a tambourine, was an acquaintance and dedicatee of Brahms (fig. 8.4)

**FIGURE 8.4.** Gernsheim's description of Symphony no. 3 in C minor, op. 54, "Mirjam."<sup>73</sup>



---

<sup>73</sup> Anselm Feuerbach, *Miriam*, 1862, Alte Nationalgalerie, Berlin.

More often than not, the Miriam depicted in nineteenth century art was strong, powerful, and embodied an exoticized—and sometimes sexualized—concept of beauty rather than representing Biblical virtue.<sup>74</sup> The image that Gernsheim described for *his* Miriam, however, was not a modern take on the Biblical heroine. Rather, he specified the musical instrument-wielding angels of Melozzo da Forlì. These 15<sup>th</sup> century frescos, which had originally adorned the apse of Santi Apostoli in Rome until they were dismantled in 1711 at the command of Clement IX.<sup>75</sup> Gernsheim's private diaries and correspondence do not indicate that he traveled to Rome until 1907 and again in 1908, so his connection to the work of Melozzo at the time of the symphony's composition is somewhat dubious, yet remembrances of Italy were certainly fresh on his mind when writing to Geiger. Additionally, the work of Melozzo was known in Northern Europe, so it is possible that he saw engravings of the frescos; German art historian August Schmarsow had published a volume on the artist in 1886.<sup>76</sup> Schmarsow's volume included extremely detailed engravings of several of Melozzo's instrument-wielding angels, those with a lute, violin, drum, flute, and most importantly a tambourine. Of all the angels, this one is the most active, head thrown back, presumably gazing up at the Christ figure, tambourine held high (fig. 8.5).

---

<sup>74</sup> Carol Ockmann, "Two Large Eyebrows à *L'Orientale*: Ethnic Stereotyping in Ingres's *Baronne de Rothschild*," *Art History* 14, no. 4 (December 1991): 525. Another such of exoticized paintings of Miriam from the era include Paul Delaroche, *Moïse exposé sur le Nil* (1857), in which Miriam is depicted with a robe falling seductively open.

<sup>75</sup> Mauro Mindari, "Melozzo Pittore Papele. La gloria dell'umana bellezza," in *Melozzo da Forlì: M L'humana bellezza tra Piero della Francesca e Raffaeello*, ed. Daniele Benati, Mauro Natale, and Antonio Paolucci, 206-217. (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2011).

<sup>76</sup> August Schmarsow, *Melozzo da Forlì* (Berlin and Stuttgart: W. Spemann, 1886).

**FIGURE 8.5.** Melozzo da Forlì, Angel with tambourine, originally for Santi Apostoli, Rome, 15<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>77</sup>



Although the angel, like so many of this style, is androgynous and Schmarsow description uses masculine pronouns, it is easy to see why this image would have captivated Gernsheim as Miriam at the Sea of Reeds:

And Miriam the prophetess, the sister of Aaron, took a timbrel in her hand; and all the women went out after her with timbrels and with dances. And Miriam sang unto them:  
Sing ye to the LORD, for He is highly exalted:  
The horse and his rider hath He thrown into the sea.  
(Exodus 15: 20-21, JPS Tanakh 1917)

Aligning his symphony with a Biblical story filtered through the lens of Handel and Melozzo, Gernsheim was able to invoke a Hebrew prophetess while avoiding other overt Jewish references.

---

<sup>77</sup> Schmarsow, *Melozzo da Forlì*, n.p. [241].

Given the framing provided in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*, his C minor symphony, which also triumphantly arrives at a finale in C major can be understood at least as much a veneration of the genius of Handel and Melozzo, as it is a celebration of an Israelite victory.

Above all, the most telling passage from Gernsheim's description for *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* is his insistence that the work not be associated with a concrete literary program: that it was "...not a work of program music, as [he had] explicitly pointed out — but a mood-depiction of oppression, of slavery, with occasional flashes of light and hope."<sup>78</sup> This evident attempt to set the record straight suggests the possibility that Gernsheim had earlier been misunderstood regarding this very issue. The most plausible interpretation is that Gernsheim was making an attempt to escape the censure of the Hanslicks of the world, even while stressing the expressive implications of extramusical inspiration within the frame of absolute music. Nevertheless, stating that the work was not program music, Gernsheim then went on to delineate each movement as it relates to the Biblical Exodus story.

Gernsheim's explanation began with a reference to the very opening of Exodus: "...a mood-depiction of oppression, of slavery, with occasional flashes of light and hope. In the totality of its attitude gloomy, passionate. 'The people rise up in their rage' — so I once read in a discussion of the work."<sup>79</sup> Even when published reviews of the symphony provided its title, what discussion or review of the symphony that Gernsheim was recalling in this passage is unclear, as it this statement does not appear in any of the major music journals of the period. The first movement is marked in

---

<sup>78</sup> Gernsheim, "Mirjam," 569. "...keine Programm-Musik, wie ich ausdrücklich betont—aber ein Stimmungsbild der Bedrückung, der Knechtschaft mit einzelnen Licht- und Hoffnungsblicken."

<sup>79</sup> Gernsheim, "Mirjam," 569. "...aber ein Stimmungsbild der Bedrückung, der Knechtschaft mit einzelnen Licht- und Hoffnungsblicken. In seiner Gesamthaltung düster, leidenschaftlich. 'Das Volk bäumt sich auf in seiner Wut'(!) las ich einmal in einer Besprechung des Werkes."

absolute music style, simply by tempo marking: “Allegro ma non troppo.” It opens with four solo winds, playing in octaves (ex. 8.2a).

**EXAMPLE 8.2A.** Friedrich Gernsheim, Symphony no. 3 in C minor, mvt. I, Allegro ma non troppo, mm. 1-14.

The opening movement contains some musical elements that might conceivably be heard as evocations of Jewishness: the opening figure’s raised fourth scale degree could be understood superficially as an evocation synagogue music: the *Mi Sheberakh* liturgical mode, also called Ukrainian Dorian in the Klezmer tradition.

**EXAMPLE 8.2B.** *Mi Sheberakh* liturgical mode.

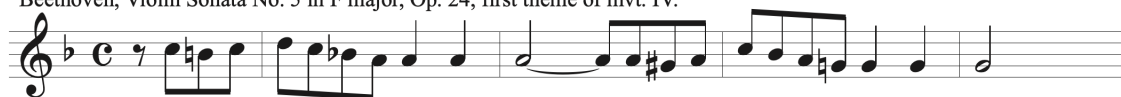
However, as discussed in Chapter 7 regarding the opening triad outlining of *Elobenu* and a possible evocation of the High Holiday liturgy, such an interpretation seems a stretch. A semitone movement down to raised scale degree 4 can hardly be heard as a specifically Jewish inflection, especially since there is no interval of an augmented second from the lowered scale degree 3. Additionally, the opening melody does not maintain the scale degree 6 and 7 relationship of *Mi Sheberakh* mode. The



raised scale degree 4, while it is given a prominent place at the beginning of the movement, is similarly inconclusive. While the raised scale degree 4 may be used as an exotic reference, it does not always serve such a purpose and is present in many compositions of the nineteenth century use. To analyze exoticism from Gernsheim's use of the raised scale degree 4 would by extension name passages from Brahms or Beethoven as similarly and problematically "exotic." [Example 8.3].

**EXAMPLE 8.3.** Passages of raised scale degree 4.

Beethoven, Violin Sonata No. 5 in F major, Op. 24, first theme of mvt. IV.



Brahms, Symphony No. 2 in D major, Op. 73, second theme of mvt. I.



Rather than serving as an exotic device, the half-step neighboring motion created by raised scale degree 4 in the opening melody becomes a motivic device that reappears throughout the movement and provides structural cohesion (ex. 8.4). Furthermore, there is little to indicate that Gernsheim would have had a deep understanding of Eastern European synagogue modes. If he were exposed to liturgical music at all, it would have been in the Western-influenced harmonies of the reformed synagogues in Germany and The Netherlands, and there is no evidence to support that his family belonged to a synagogue or regularly heard cantorial singing.

**EXAMPLE 8.4.** Friedrich Gernsheim, Symphony no. 3 in C minor, mvt. I, 2 mm. before Rehearsal L.

Gernsheim's description of the second movement is more specific, though presented as more of a tableau than a sequentially ordered program: "The second movement (*Adagio*) is Miriam herself. On a glorious summer night on the banks of the Nile perhaps, distressed by the suffering of her people, she confides her grief, but also her hope, in the stars."<sup>80</sup> The *Adagio* begins with solo oboe above pairs of clarinets and bassoons (ex. 8.5). It is impossible to know why Gernsheim chose the oboe as the solo voice, but here too we cannot immediately assume that it serves to suggest a specifically Jewish nature, but rather that he was simply following the convention that a solo instrument implies an individual character.

**EXAMPLE 8.5.** Friedrich Gernsheim, Symphony no. 3 in C minor, mvt. II. *Adagio*, oboe I, clarinets, bassoons, mm 1-14.

The musical score for Example 8.5 is presented in two systems. The first system contains three staves: Oboe I (Ob. I), Clarinets I/II (Cl. I/II), and Bassoons I/II (Bsn. I/II). The Oboe I part begins with a melodic line marked *p molto esp.*. The Clarinets and Bassoons provide harmonic support, with the Clarinets marked *p dolce* and the Bassoons marked *p dolce*. The second system continues the Oboe I line, which becomes more active and is marked *mf*. The score is in C minor, 2/4 time, and consists of two systems of staves.

<sup>80</sup> Gernsheim, "Mirjam," 569. "Der zweite Satz (*Adagio*) ist Mirjam selbst. In herrlicher Sommernacht an den Ufern des Nils etwa, bekümmert vom Leiden ihres Volkes, vertraut sie ihren Schmerz, aber auch ihr Hoffen den Sternen an."

In addition to Gernsheim's prevalent use of the oboe in the second movement, he also introduced the harp (ex. 8.6). The harp was not a commonly used instrument for large scale symphonic works of the Brahmsians. More often, it appeared together with some kind of programmatic content like Berlioz's *Symphonie Fantastique*, or in operas and ballets such as Wagner's *Lobengrin*, Verdi's *La Forza del Destino*, or Tchaikovsky's *Swan Lake*, among others. Gernsheim had not used it in his previous two symphonies or his violin or piano concerto. Rather, when he did use harp, it was to evoke the association of antiquity, and it was usually at texted work. For works with such references, Gernsheim freely used harp: for example in *Agrippina*, op. 45 for alto solo, choir, and orchestra (1881, text of Hermann Lingg, on the mother of the Roman emperor Nero) and *Ein Preislied*, op. 58 for soloists, choir, and orchestra (1892, using Psalms). The reference to the antiquity would not have been lost on nineteenth century audiences, especially with the "Miriam" subtitle.

The Scherzo had was the most critically acclaimed movement, and Gernsheim recounted call-backs at various performances. "The third movement: the flight. Silently, hastily, the masses follow each other in the dark of night, in order to rush toward the morning of liberation."<sup>81</sup> The movement, *Molto Vivace*, is introduced by the timpani and muted strings, marked *pianissimo* (ex. 8.7). The orchestral *pianissimo* of the Scherzo dominates the movement, the outer sections reaching *fortissimo* only briefly before retreating back to softer dynamics. Once connected with the programmatic title, it confounded critic Eduard Ernst Taubert, who wrote: "...I do not know how to place the *Scherzo*, with its fast scurrying motive, within the context of the Old Testament."<sup>82</sup>

---

<sup>81</sup> Gernsheim, "Mirjam," 569. "Der dritte Satz: die Flucht. In aller Stille und Eile folgen sich die Massen in dunkler Nacht, um dem Morgen der Befreiung entgegenzueilen."

<sup>82</sup> Taubert, "Kritik: Konzert – Berlin," 310. "Aber das Scherzo mit seinem schnell dahinhuschenden Motiv wußte ich nicht unterzubringen in den Rahmen der alttestamentarischen Bilder."

EXAMPLE 8.6. Friedrich Gernsheim, Symphony no. 3 in C minor, mvt. II. Molto adagio,  
Rehearsal H to end.

The musical score is written for a full orchestra and harp, in C minor and 2/4 time. It consists of six systems of staves. The first system includes Harp, Violins (Vln.), and Violas/Violas/Celli (Vla., Vc., Cb.). The second system includes strings and woodwinds. The third system includes strings and woodwinds. The fourth system includes strings and woodwinds. The fifth system includes strings and woodwinds. The sixth system includes strings and woodwinds. The score features various musical notations, including dynamics such as *mf*, *cresc.*, and *pizz.*, and articulation marks like accents and slurs.

EXAMPLE 8.7. Friedrich Gernsheim, Symphony no. 3 in C minor, mvt. III. Molto vivace, mm. 1-13.

The musical score is for the first system of measures 1-13. It is in 6/8 time and C minor. The tempo is 'Molto Vivace'. The top system contains staves for Vln. I and Vln. II, Vla. The bottom system contains staves for Vln. II, Vla., Fl., Ob., Cl., and Vc., Cb. The score includes various musical notations such as slurs, accents, and dynamic markings like *pp* and *pizz.*. Performance instructions include *stacc. e molto legg.* and *pizz.*.

The Trio of the Scherzo is a light Pastorale melody in the clarinet above pizzicato strings (ex. 8.8), marked *L'istesso tempo* and *tranquillo*. The plucked strings—together with the return of the harp itself—recall the Biblical antiquity evoked in the previous movement. Like traditional Trio sections, the section is contrasting, moving directly from the scherzo's main key of C minor to the parallel major. Gernsheim provided no explanation for this section, which forestalls the programmatic momentum of “the flight.” The pastoral nature and wandering melody of the soli carried by the clarinets and horns evokes a carefree easiness seemingly at odds with the broader programmatic content of Exodus story, however pizzicato strings recall the plucked strings of the second movement's Biblical antiquity.

EXAMPLE 8.8. Friedrich Gernsheim, Symphony no. 3 in C minor, mvt. III. Molto vivace, Trio.

L'istesso tempo

The musical score is written in 3/8 time and consists of two systems. The first system includes parts for Cl. I (*tranq.*), Cl. II, Hn. I (*dolce*), Bsn., and Str. (*pizz.*). The second system includes parts for +Hn. II, +Hn. III (*espr.*), +Hn. IV, and Str. (*pizz.*). The music features a driving eighth-note accompaniment in the strings and woodwinds, with melodic lines in the upper woodwinds.

The Scherzo, which lasts only four minutes, gives way to the C major finale, described by Gernsheim as “...finally: freedom. Songs of victory and joy thunder through the air. Yes, memories of the difficult times appear suddenly and briefly, but they are quickly dispelled by the joys of the

present, and the symphony ends with sounds of rejoicing.”<sup>83</sup> After a flash of full orchestral unison *forte* on the dominant of G, the string section presents the *Un poco meno* theme, a simple, tonal melody that, while grounded in a double bass drone on C, circles around the tonic and moves toward G minor (ex. 8.9).

**EXAMPLE 8.9.** Friedrich Gernsheim, Symphony no. 3 in C minor, mvt. IV. Allegro con brio, mm. 1-8.

**Un poco meno**

The musical score consists of five staves: Vln. I, Vln. II, Vla., Vc., and Cb. The key signature is C minor (three flats) and the time signature is 3/4. The tempo/mood is marked "Un poco meno". The dynamics are marked "f" (forte). The Vln. I and II parts play a simple melodic line starting on G4. The Vla. part plays a similar line an octave lower. The Vc. part plays a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes starting on C3. The Cb. part plays a single note on C3. The score is marked "f" (forte) and "Un poco meno".

<sup>83</sup> Gernsheim, "Mirjam," 569. "Im vierten Satz endlich die Freiheit. Sieges- und Freudengesänge durchbrausen die Luft. Wohl tauchen für Augenblicke Erinnerungen auf an die schwere Zeit, doch rasch werden sie verscheucht durch die Freuden der Gegenwart, und mit jubelnden Klängen endet die Sinfonie."

As Gernsheim described in for *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*, the movement's free-flowing melody is briefly interrupted by a darker figure (ex. 8.10). In his 1888 Berlin Philharmonic notes, Gernsheim described this passage as a “rhythmic motive, played with stormy sixteenth note,” one of the only moments in the analysis that evokes anything remotely programmatic.<sup>84</sup> Gernsheim described the return of the main theme, “reassuring” or “soothing,” perhaps forecasting his explanation that the memories of slavery would be pushed away by celebratory feeling.<sup>85</sup> The symphony ends in a rush of triumphant C major.

In its broad outlines, the symphony remains within traditional limits. There are no cyclic connections between movements, and the symphony does not rely on motives to represent certain figures in the story, such as would be typical of programmatic music. Overall, the tonal plan of the four movements is conventional, relying on the custom of mediant relationships that had been used increasingly since the late eighteenth century; the work begins in C minor, moves to E major in the Adagio, returns to C minor in the Scherzo, and ends triumphantly in C major. Beethoven's Symphony no. 5, op. 67 (1808) shows similar key relationships—C minor opening, A-flat slow movement (a downward mediant relationship rather than Gernsheim's upward move E major), a return to C minor in the Scherzo, before a finale in C major. Luttmann takes this comparison a step further, writing, “Gernsheim's description of the finale of his ‘Miriam Symphony’ could just as well be written about the corresponding movement in Beethoven's Fifth Symphony.”<sup>86</sup>

---

<sup>84</sup> Gernsheim, “Sinfonie no. 3 (Cmoll) op. 54 (Analyse vom Componisten),” 16. “...rhythmischen Motiv, von stürmischen Sechszehntelfiguren umspielt...”

<sup>85</sup> Gernsheim, “Sinfonie no. 3 (Cmoll) op. 54 (Analyse vom Componisten),” 17. “Von den Bläsern weiter geführt und den Geigen wieder holt, schliesst sich ein beruhigender Nachsatz an...”

<sup>86</sup> Stephen Luttmann, Preface to Friedrich Gernsheim, Symphony no. 3 in C minor, op. 54, 1888 (Munich: Musikproduktion Jürgen Höflich, 2006), iv.



EXAMPLE 8.10. Friedrich Gernsheim, Symphony no. 3 in C minor, mvt. IV. Molto Vivace, Rehearsal B, Con brio.

The image displays a musical score for Friedrich Gernsheim's Symphony no. 3 in C minor, movement IV, Molto Vivace, Rehearsal B, Con brio. The score is presented in two systems. The first system includes staves for Vln. I, Vln. II, Vla., Vc., and Cb. The second system includes five staves, likely for Vln. I, Vln. II, Vla., Vc., and Cb. The score features various dynamic markings: *ff* (fortissimo), *sfp* (sforzando piano), *mp* (mezzo-piano), and *piu f* (pianissimo fortissimo). The music is in 3/4 time and C minor. The first system shows a complex texture with rapid sixteenth-note passages in the strings and woodwinds, and a more melodic line in the first violin. The second system continues this texture, with increasing intensity and dynamic contrast.

Gernsheim's biographer, Karl Holl, took issue with the composer's insistence that the symphony was not program music: "So in the opinion of the composer: not program music! But it is program music nevertheless! For the individual tone paintings, even though formally four parts of

the classical symphony, require the support of literary references in order to arouse a more lasting resonance in listeners.”<sup>87</sup> Holl’s critique is problematic, insofar as his dismissal of the composer’s own explanation also erases thirteen plus years of the Symphony no. 3 in C minor’s existence as a work of absolute music. The symphony had been performed in that guise with positive reception in both the Netherlands and Germany, and the summer of its premiere, the Maatschappij tot Bevordering van Toonkunst in Rotterdam awarded him an honorary prize normally reserved only for Dutch composers.<sup>88</sup> It clearly did not need a widely publicized program or descriptive title in order to achieve success. Luttmann describes Holl’s reasoning as what the author perceived as a “failed cross” between the style of proponents of *absolut Tonkunst* and that of the *Neudeutsche Schule*. Luttmann cautions modern listeners not to side with Holl because “...extramusical inspiration does not preclude in the least the possibility of constructive density and formal perfection.”<sup>89</sup> While Luttmann’s point is well-taken, Gernsheim’s symphony is neither program music as Holl argues nor is it absolute music to be valued primarily for its technical excellence, as Luttmann claims. Effectively, it is both. While it is incorrect, as has been discussed above, to describe this work as a symphonic poem or as a tone poem, it clearly can *function as*

---

<sup>87</sup> Holl, *Friedrich Gernsheim*, 172. “Also nach Ansicht des Komponisten: keine Programm-Musik! Aber im Grunde eben doch wieder Programm-Musik! Denn die einzelnen Tonbilder bedürfen, wenn sie auch formal mit den vier Teilen der klassischen Symphonie übereinstimmen der Stütze durch literarische Hinweise, um in Hörer ein nachhaltigeres Echo zu wecken.”

<sup>88</sup> “Maatschappij tot bevordering der toonkunst,” *Caecilia: Algemeen Muzikaal Tijdschrift van Nederland* 45, no. 14 (15 June 1888): 124.

<sup>89</sup> Luttmann, Preface to Gernsheim, Symphony no. 3, iv. Luttmann cites Beethoven’s *Pastoral* Symphony, as well as Leonard G. Ratner’s work on topoi in Mozart’s keyboard sonatas. See Leonard Ratner, “Topic content in Mozart’s keyboard sonatas,” *Early Music* 19, no. 4 (November 1991): 615-619.

program music in the eyes of critics and to the ears, especially of modern audiences, now that the title is firmly tied to the symphony.

### **Gernsheim as an engaged Jew**

What much of this absolute v. programmatic argument comes back down to is the question of universality v. particularity. Rose Rosengard Subotnik, arguing both in the name and simultaneously pushing against Theodor Adorno, has reminded us that simply knowing how a piece of music functioned formally and structurally does truly lead toward a deep understanding.<sup>90</sup> Similarly problematic is also to look at a cultural object wholly through the limited manifestation of its creator—in this case Gernsheim as Jew. Still worse would be to evaluate something without recognizing our *own* inherent ideologies and the role that they play in our use and understanding.<sup>91</sup> Subotnik argues that particularity and universality can function side-by-side, especially given that both are somewhat allusive illusions; her use of scare quotes on “universal,” demands an acceptance of mutability between these seemingly polar opposites. The universality of absolute music and the particularity of program music seem a metaphor for the struggle of someone like Gernsheim, constantly attempting to navigate the universality of German culture together with the particularity of an inescapable *Judentum*.

Gernsheim was an assimilated Jew, from a family whose last name was derived from a city with a long-established and successful Jewish commerce. Assimilated Jewish families, especially those in the emerging middle class, like the Gernsheims, were conspicuous consumers of culture, and the “secular religions” of *Bildung* and *Kultur* often went hand-in-hand with practices or customs

---

<sup>90</sup> Rose Rosengard Subotnik, *Developing Variations* (Minneapolis and Oxford: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), 6-7.

<sup>91</sup> Subotnik, *Developing Variations*, 9.

drawn from the actual religious practices of German society.<sup>92</sup> For a Jew like Gernsheim, the pervasiveness of German Christianity was not exclusively seen as an oppressive burden, but rather as integral to the overall experience of broader European culture. Twice in his musical life, Gernsheim dedicated a work violin and piano to a family member on Christmas: an *Andante* written for Julius Rietz's composition class in 1853, to his mother; and an *Andantino* in 1893, to his daughters, Marie and Clara.<sup>93</sup> Neither work was published. Yet, these must not be seen as a sign of the composer's ambivalence toward his Jewish identity, but rather of his assimilation into a broadly conceived German identity. Theodor Herzl, after all, put up a Christmas tree at his home in Vienna.<sup>94</sup> Christmas was seen as a reflection of one's *Deutschtum*, with many Jews of the period seeing it as a German folk festival or winter holiday. In fact, as Marion Kaplan observes, participating in Christian holidays, such as putting up a Christmas tree, could actually be indicative of Jewish observance for German Jews. If a family eschewed Jewish rituals and practice, they often also had had no interest in Christian rituals, and still considered having a Christmas tree or children's participating in community Christmas pageants as taboo. Instead, it was the families that maintained elements of their Jewish identities as they became German that were more comfortable in this cultural and religious synthesis.<sup>95</sup> It is imperative to view Gernsheim's participation in such things through a

---

<sup>92</sup> Mendes-Flohr, *German Jews: A Dual Identity*, 5, 10.

<sup>93</sup> Friedrich Gernsheim, *Andante für Pianoforte u. Violin*, 1853, A4, Friedrich Gernsheim Archive, National Library of Israel; Friedrich Gernsheim, *Andante für Pianoforte u. Violin*, 1853, A4, Friedrich Gernsheim Archive, National Library of Israel; Holl, *Friedrich Gernsheim*, 199. The *Andantino*, which is mentioned in Holl as a work in manuscript, is lost.

<sup>94</sup> Theodor Herzl, *Briefe und Tagebücher*, vol. 2, 1895-1899 (Berlin, Frankfurt, and Vienna: Ullstein Verlag, 1983-1996), 288.

<sup>95</sup> Marion Kaplan, "Redefining Judaism in Imperial Germany: Practices, Mentalities, and Community," *Jewish Social Studies* New Series 9, no. 1 (Autumn 2002): 15. Kaplan cites the family of philosopher Gershom Scholem's use of the phrase "folk festival" to describe Christmas.

nineteenth century lens. This participation in German culture and expression of *Deutschtum* do not necessarily indicate an abandonment of Jewish culture or his *Judentum*.

Furthermore, there is significant evidence of Gernsheim's interactions with the Jewish community, increasingly from the 1890s onward. Scholars hitherto have relied upon *Eloheinu* and the *Mirjam* symphony as the sole identifiers of his engagement with Jewishness and Judaism of the age, without fully recognizing the backgrounds of these compositions. In fact, Gernsheim's teaching and social participation as a leading artist and professor of the era provide much greater evidence for the importance of the composer's *Judentum* within his life. In April 1900, Gernsheim contributed a review for the Viennese Jewish periodical *Die Wahrheit* ("The Truth"). This weekly journal, which was subtitled "independent newspaper for Jewish interests" with the motto "The seal of God is truth," was while highly assimilationist, also emphasized a fairly Orthodox worldview.<sup>96</sup> Gernsheim's contribution was a review of Cantor Isaac Heymann's new composition, *Schiré Tódob Lo ÉI* (1899).<sup>97</sup> Gernsheim praised the chief cantor of Amsterdam, writing that the psalms were not only "profoundly religious," but also displayed a great deal of musical skill.<sup>98</sup> This is doubly revealing of Gernsheim. It is highly likely that he would have met Heymann during his time in The Netherlands, but more importantly, the review shows the Gernsheim not only had an awareness of current

---

<sup>96</sup> Meir Färber, "Austrian Jewish Periodicals," in *The Jewish Press that Was: Accounts, Evaluations, and Memories of Jewish Press in pre-Holocaust Europe*, ed. Arie Bar, trans. Haim Shachter, 355 (Jerusalem: Jerusalem Post Press, 1980).

<sup>97</sup> Isaac Heymann, *Schiré Tódob Lo ÉI* (Amsterdam: De Nieuwe Muziekhandel, 1899).

<sup>98</sup> "Litteratur," *Die Wahrheit* no. 14 (26 April 1900): 11. "In den zum Gebrauch beim israelitischen Gottesdienst componirten Psalmen von I.[Isaac] Heymann, Obercantor in Amsterdam, spricht sich nicht allein ein tief religiöser Sinn aus, sondern dieselben zeigen auch ein sehr anerkennenswerthe Gewandheit im musikalischen Satz."

synagogue practice, but that he saw great value in the influence of art music on liturgical practice.<sup>99</sup> Only someone who was familiar with congregational singing in reformed synagogues during the period could make the observation that Heymann's music could "...serve as an enrichment for the divine worship of Israelite communities."<sup>100</sup> A well-regarded secular musician who was seeking to distance himself from the religion and people of his birth would not agree to write such comments for a Jewish publication. Clearly, Gernsheim was at ease in both worlds, and an important segment of the German-speaking Jewish community regarded him as an authority who could comment the positive synthesis of *Judentum* and *Deutschtum*.

Although *Die Wahrheit*, where the review of Cantor Heymann was published served a more right-wing and traditional Jewish population, Gernsheim also apparently became involved in certain Zionist efforts and apparently associated with some leading Zionist figures of the era. In June of 1902, the Viennese Jewish periodical *Die Welt* ("The World") advertised a new publication, the *Jüdischer Almanach* 5663 (1902/1903). Theodor Herzl founded *Die Welt* in 1897 as a mouthpiece for his newly established Zionist Organization.<sup>101</sup> It is therefore no surprise that an advertisement for the *Jüdischer Almanach* appeared in this journal. The book was headed by a committee consisting of Martin Buber, Berthold Feiwel, Ephraim Moses Lilien, and Dr. Alfred Nossig. These four—a philosopher, a poet, an illustrator, and a sociologist and sculptor, respectively—were some of the leading Zionist figures of the *fin de siècle*, and their *Jüdischer Almanach* was advertised as a yearbook

---

<sup>99</sup>Isidore Singer and E. Slijper, "Heymann, Isaac H.," *The Jewish Encyclopedia* 6:379, accessed 9 April 2019, <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/7665-heyman-isaac-h>.

<sup>100</sup> "Litteratur," *Die Wahrheit*, 11. "...und so können diese Gesänge jedenfalls als eine Bereicherung für den Gottesdienst der israelitischen Gemeinden."

<sup>101</sup> Färber, "Austrian Jewish Periodicals," 355.

highlighting the literary, artistic, and musical achievements of the Jews.<sup>102</sup> The publication, which in addition to the editors included contributions from Theodor Herzl, Israel Zangwill, Stefan Zweig, Moriz Gottlieb, and others—ultimately did not include the promised musical portion with Jewish folksongs and works of Ignaz Brüll, Ignaz Frydman, Gernsheim, Hirsch Liwschütz, A. Loubetzky, and Siegmund Weiss, purportedly for “technical reasons.”<sup>103</sup> However, the introduction positively included music as part of the larger framework for such Zionist and prideful Jewish self-expression: “The Jewish aesthetic ideal will soon not only stand before the people, but dwell in every Jewish house. Jewish books, Jewish pictures, Jewish music will be of new importance to families, a beautiful national pride that will translate into lively folk energy.”<sup>104</sup> No record of Gernsheim’s potential contribution to this document survives, but his provisional involvement in the project shows his engagement with some of the most progressive Jewish philosophies and ideas of the period. As a highly respected professor, conductor, and composer, his presence in the anthology also would have helped to fulfill the high cultural aspirations of the publication.

Several years later there is an appearance in *Die Welt* that is the most definitive evidence of Gernsheim’s participation in the Zionist activities of German Jews. A notice on June 23, 1905 announced the formation of the “Bezalel: The Society for Establishing Jewish Cottage Industries

---

<sup>102</sup> “Publication des Jüdischen Verlages,” *Die Welt* 6, no. 23 (6 June 1902): 7.

<sup>103</sup> *Jüdischer Almanach 5663* (Berlin, Juedischer Verlag, 1903): 14. “Wir mussten es uns aus technischen Gründen versagen, die jüdischen Kompositionen, die uns für den Almanach zur Verfügung gestellt wurden, in diesem Bande zu bringen. Wir werden diese Kompositionen, mit anderen vereinigt, separate erscheinen lassen.”

<sup>104</sup> *Jüdischer Almanach 5663*, 13. “Das jüdischästhetische Ideal wird bald nicht nur vor dem Volke stehen, sondern in jedem jüdischen Hausen wohnen können. Jüdische Bücher, jüdische Bilder, jüdische Musik werden eine neue Weihe in die Familie tragen, einen schönen nationalen Stolz der sich in lebendige Volksenergie umsetzen wird.”

and Crafts in Palestine.”<sup>105</sup> The society had been formed in Berlin earlier that year after the 1905 Zionist Congress with the goal of improving the living conditions for Jews in Jerusalem and assisting in establishing industry and commerce in Palestine through the arts and home craft industries.<sup>106</sup> The advertisement emphasized a primary goal of Bezalel—to raise finances for the effort from the wealthy Jews living in Berlin. The request was framed with language that both alludes to the Jewish tradition of *tzedakah* and to more modern values of an awareness of broad social issues:

For anyone who combines Jewish interests with social awareness, this is a great opportunity for useful work. It is not meant to be an alms given with averted eyes to control an immediate distress, but rather to create a vigorous organization which will develop the forces of healthy growth and become an organization under whose protection thousands—tens of thousands, hopefully—will grow in a short time and can rise from useless beggars to free civilized citizens. To grant the initial aid here is a duty, but should also be a pleasure.<sup>107</sup>

On the extensive list of Berlin political leaders, doctors, rabbis, artists, and professors, appears Prof. F. Gernsheim. One of the others listed as part of Bezalel was the artist Hermann Struck (1878-1944), an active Zionist had traveled to Palestine in 1903 and made many sketches and lithographs of people and places while there. Two fairly mundane letters survive between Gernsheim and Struck; their content is not revealing of anything on Gernsheim’s activities, but rather discusses the

---

<sup>105</sup> “Bezalel: Komitee zur Begründung jüdischer Hausindustrie und Kunstgewerbe in Palästina,” *Die Welt* 9, no. 25 (23 June 1905): 9.

<sup>106</sup> Natalia Berger, *The Jewish Museum: History and Memory, Identity and Art from Vienna to the Bezalel National Museum, Jerusalem* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2018), 349.

<sup>107</sup> “Bezalel,” *Die Welt*, 10. “Für jeden, der jüdisches Interesse mit sozialem Verständnis verbindet, ist hier eine schöne Gelegenheit zu nutzbringender Arbeit gegeben. Es soll nicht ein Almosen sein, das man mit abgewendetem Blicke hingibt um einer augenblicklichen Not zu steuern, sondern es soll eine lebenskräftige Organisation entstehen, die aus sich selbst heraus die Kräfte des gesunden Wachstums entfalte, eine Organisation, in deren Schutze binnen kurzer Zeit Tausende, hoffentlich Zehntausende, aus nutzlosen Bettlern zu freien in Arbeit versittlichten Bürgern emporensteigen können. Hier die erste Hilfe zu gewähren, ist Pflicht und sollte Freude sein.”



two meeting.<sup>108</sup> Struck also drew a portrait of Gernsheim in February of 1904, which was reproduced in various journals and in Karl Holl's autobiography.

Gernsheim name continued to appear in publications supporting Zionist activities in the years following *Mirjam*. In 1910, he was listed as a member of the Gesellschaft für Palästinaforschung (Society of Palestine Research/Exploration), an organization founded the same year. This society was keenly concerned that significant archaeological discoveries had been made in Palestine by non-Jewish scientists, admonishing the broader Jewish community for remaining "apathetic" despite some individual Jewish scholars knowledge in the area.<sup>109</sup> The organization, unlike Bezalel, which had an artistic connection and was concerned with the welfare of the Jewish community living in its ancestral homeland, the Society for Palestine Research had an agenda far afield from Gernsheim's professional interests. The Society's chief goals were to promote the knowledge of Palestine through the archeological and historical study, which in turn supported the sciences and the economy in Palestine, while remaining mindful of the "fanatical intolerance and barbarous arbitrariness" of violence experienced by those living there.<sup>110</sup> Hermann Struck was also a member of this organization.

Aside from the two Struck letters, Gernsheim's archive reveals little about his Zionist engagement or actions within the Jewish communities of The Netherlands or Germany, the above

---

<sup>108</sup> Hermann Struck to Friedrich Gernsheim (13 December 1906) B815, Friedrich Gernsheim Archive, National Library of Israel; Hermann Struck to Friedrich Gernsheim (8 March 1914) B816, Friedrich Gernsheim Archive, National Library of Israel.

<sup>109</sup> "Eine Gesellschaft für Palästinaforschung," *Palästina : Zeitschrift für den Aufbau Palästinas* 7, no. 6-7 (1910): 137-138. "Wohl haben jüdische Gelehrte auf allen Gebieten der Orientforschung Wissen und Können gezeigt, aber die jüdische Gesamtheit als solche blieb teilnahmslos."

<sup>110</sup> "Eine Gesellschaft für Palästinaforschung," 138. "Wir müssen die wirtschaftlichen Möglichkeiten eines Landes kennen lernen, das willig seine Tore öffnet, um die gehetzten und gepinigten Opfer fanatischer Unduldsamkeit und barbarischer Willkür aufzunehmen."

information provides concrete evidence of his position within the Jewish community. The chronological dimension, however, is crucial. It seems that these articles all appeared after Gernsheim took his position in Berlin. This would indicate that he became more open to expressing and engaging with Judaism sometime after 1900. As the years went on, this engagement quickly increased, and he became a figure who not only participated in the public activities of the Jewish community, but who was respected by it for his authority and success within the secular world. He became a model assimilated German Jew.

In this way, it appears as though the many musicologists who have claimed Gernsheim as an engaged Jewish figure have not been wholly incorrect. Yet, to use *Elobenu* and *Mirjam* as the sole evidence for this kind of statement removes the composer from his activities. Alexander Ringer lamented, “On the whole... Jewish heritage appears to have had little direct impact on his musical output.”<sup>111</sup> Despite this, Ringer emphasized the two works that I have outlined in these chapters as Gernsheim’s expressions of Jewishness, and other musicologists have continued to include them—albeit without providing the broader framework as outlined above. Although my focus has been on the apparent “obvious choices” of musical compositions, in setting forth the broader surrounding context of Gernsheim’s place within Jewish and German societies, I have shown how he navigated across boundaries that would not have been open several decades earlier.

---

<sup>111</sup> Ringer, “Friedrich Gernsheim and the Lost Generation,” 8.

## Conclusion:

### *Judentum* in Music, reprise

At the dawn of the First World War, musicians like Gernsheim, who had lived through the many years and multiple phases of emancipation, were experienced, senior, and trusted. The legacies of many of the figures who have been addressed here were in their students, rather than their own musical compositions, few of which remained in the central canon and popular repertoires. Nonetheless, as I have shown, an exploration of these musicians' works and careers reveals an exceptionally complex and carefully woven tapestry of influence, allegiance, and perseverance. Throughout this dissertation and in my own teaching practice, I have made a conscious effort not to describe these musicians as creators of "Jewish music." This intentional and mindful choice is centered on my view of the narrowing and limited nature of the concept itself, especially its Idelsohnian roots. Rather than the seeking to place art music by Jews, or by those that are in some way Jewishly adjacent, as "Jewish music" with its boundary-creating disciplinary quotation marks, the goal here has always been for something more fluid. Historical accounts of composers such as Felix Mendelssohn, in particular that of Eric Werner and his disciples, have uncomfortably and falsely corrupted the Jewish identities and Jewish engagement of nineteenth century musicians. It is imperative, that twenty-first century scholars of music and Jewishness approach the nineteenth century with a responsible, nuanced, and flexible model.

First, we must cease to view nineteenth century music of Jewish association through twentieth and twenty-first century lenses, while also not oversimplifying the human makers of the music as falling into either a Jewish or non-Jewish category. The paradox of the post-Holocaust Western world (in particular, the United States) is that Jewish communities and institutions are, on

the whole, generally accepting of secularized Jews and including of them in discourses of Jewish pride and even exceptionalism. From comedians to Supreme Court justices, film composers to journalists, American Jews are seen as outstanding in their respective fields regardless of their adherence to ritual or their belief in a traditional, Torah-based God of Israel. Writing after the death of Supreme Court Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg in the fall of 2020, Michael J. Koplow, director of the Israel Policy Forum, argued: “This is what makes American Judaism so special, the absence of a trade-off between being American and being Jewish and the lack of a necessary competition between these two core identities.”<sup>1</sup> Similar accommodations and allowances for secular achievement synthesized with Jewish identity have simply not been made in existing studies of previous generations back in Europe prior to American migration. This dissertation shows, however, that American Judaism is perhaps not as exceptional as Koplow argues. A nearly identical argument can be made for German-speaking Jews and those of Jewish ancestry in the nineteenth century. At least for those whose financial privilege (Mendelssohn, Hiller, and Gernsheim along with many others), parents’ and grandparents’ assimilation (the aforementioned as well as Rubinstein and Joachim), and at times sheer luck of being born in or moving to the right city with access to the best institutions (Goldmark), there was no trade-off between being German and being Jewish. To borrow the terminology of historian Paul Mendes-Flohr, Jewish and *Neuchrist* musicians of German-speaking Europe existed in a multiplicity with a “bifurcated soul of the German-Jew.”<sup>2</sup> They were at once German and Jewish, and those identities could and did exist simultaneously.

---

<sup>1</sup> Michael J. Koplow, “RBG and American Jewish Exceptionalism,” *Israel Policy Forum*, 24 September 2020, accessed 27 December 2020, <https://israelpolicyforum.org/2020/09/24/rbg-and-american-jewish-exceptionalism>.

<sup>2</sup> Mendes-Flohr, *German Jews: A Dual Identity*, xi.

Second, we must accept that many of the most prominent musicians of Jewish ancestry in the long nineteenth century were not only baptized Christians, but Christians whose embrace of Catholicism or Protestantism was genuine. Although he has been addressed primarily in the context of his friendship with Hiller, the case of Felix Mendelssohn is especially important in this point. Eric Werner and others to follow attempted to reposition Mendelssohn squarely within a self-aware *Judentum*, setting an unfortunate scholarly precedent for the dismissal of his devout Lutheran self-identification. Dogmatic and ideological in his approach, Werner's framing of Mendelssohn had been a reaction to the preexisting notions that simplified Mendelssohn to the opposite extreme—as a Christian with no ties whatsoever to his Jewish origins. Only recently has Jeffrey S. Sposato pushed us to reexamine Mendelssohn with greater nuance, allowing for a more careful understanding of assimilation into the dominant (gentile) German society while affording a maintenance of Jewish self-connection.<sup>3</sup> As has been shown in the letters of Joachim, *Judentum* could be maintained, even when the religious foundations were rejected. While the newly baptized Joachim of 1855 wrote, “I feel as if I have shaken off all bitterness for the first time [now that I am baptized], and am armed against all the sordidness of Judaism, against which I became more inimical the more I had to conquer the disadvantages under which I suffered, at first unconsciously, and afterwards consciously, owing to my Jewish upbringing,” his position toward the religion of his birth and the religion of his adulthood were neither fixed nor immutable.<sup>4</sup> Joachim wrote what is the arguably the most explicit description of what it could mean to both be a Christian and to be associated with the

---

<sup>3</sup> Werner, *Mendelssohn: a new image of the composer and his age*.

<sup>4</sup> Joseph Joachim, Letter to Hermann Grimm (26 April 1855), in *Letters to and from Joseph Joachim*, 110; *Briefe von und an Joseph Joachim*, 1:283-284. “Mir ist, als wär' ich erst jetzt recht frei von Bitterkeit und kampfberechtigt gegen alles Unschöne des Judenthums, dem ich so feindlicher mich gesinnt fühle, je meh rich eigne Schäden in mir zu heilen habe, an denen ich früher unbewußt, spatter bewußt durch jüdische Erziehung zu leiden hatte.”

Jews simultaneously: “If I were to retain my post here I should never get over the feeling that by reason of my conversion to the Christian Church I was enjoying worldly advantages in the Royal Hanoverian Orchestra, whilst my fellow tribesman could only occupy humble positions by reason of their faith.”<sup>5</sup> Clearly, despite his devout and sincere conviction toward his new religion, Joachim also felt forever connected to the Jewish people and included his *Judentum* not as a past element of his character, but as a continuing and evolving part of his identity. To dismiss him from such a study as this would limit the scope of Jewish expression and exclude the many musical figures in German-speaking Europe who maintained strong connections with *Judentum*.

Third, and finally, this dissertation has shown that *Judentum* in music is not necessarily a matter of concrete musical elements, sonorities, or readily identifiable and easily categorized markings of Jewishness or Judaism. Rather, *Judentum* in music, like the fundamental concepts of acculturation and assimilation that undergird this entire study, is the process of music-making within the social, religious, and cultural frameworks of nineteenth century *Bildungsbürger* German-speaking Europe. I return here to Tina Frühauf, whose monograph, *The Organ and Its Music in German-Jewish Culture*, was one of the most influential texts in shaping my early approaches toward analysis and synthesis of these complex navigations of assimilation. Frühauf carefully reminds us that “[for] many German Jews, especially during the Jewish emancipation... in the nineteenth century the concepts of assimilation, amalgamation, melding, and convergence had positive valances.”<sup>6</sup> To Frühauf’s apt

---

<sup>5</sup> Joseph Joachim, Letter to Count Platen (23 August 1864), in Moser *Joseph Joachim: A Biography*, 203-204; *Joseph Joachim: Ein Lebensbild*, 183. “Ohnehin würde ich, beim Beharren in meiner jetzigen Stellung, nach Zurückweisung des Herrn Grün, die rein persönliche Emfindung zeitlebens nicht überwinden durch meinen früher hier erfolgten Übertritt zur Kirche Christi in der kgl. hannoverschen Kapelle weltliche Vorteile zu geniefsen, während meine Stammesgenossen in derselben eine demütigende Stellung einnehmen.” The original English translation reads “others of my race;” see Chapter 3 for a discussion on the challenge of translation for the word *Stammesgenossen*.

<sup>6</sup> Frühauf, *The Organ and Its Music in German-Jewish Culture*, 9.

observation that emancipation was a status that was “achieved,” I would argue that such verbiage does not necessarily apply to assimilation, which was rather a continuous process of these newly emancipated citizens. One did not simply move from realm of *Judentum* to state of assimilation. Rather, one’s *Judentum* remained, evolved, and shaped assimilation just as assimilation symbiotically did the same for the value systems and expectations of what it meant to maintain connection to one’s Jewish heritage while simultaneously aligning with nineteenth century German cultural ideologies.

I have sought to place the musicians here within the narrative of Jewish music, not merely for the circumstances of their birth and Jewish ancestry, but because of their profound, complex, and varied relationships with *Judentum* throughout the long nineteenth century. *Judentum* was ever present—and arguably ever influential, as long we allow a broad definition of the term and are sensitive to its distinctive character as it applies to different individuals. Likewise, assimilation and acculturation shaped musical choices as well as the use of musical compositions during and after these musicians’ lives. These case studies demonstrate that there was no single way to be Jewish musically during this period, but instead each composer, at each moment in their lives and careers, synthesized the multiple elements of their identities to seek and create art music.

## Works Cited

- “A Song of Victory, for Soprano Solo, Chorus and Orchestra, by Ferdinand Hiller.” *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 15, no. 360 (1 February 1 1873): 765.
- Abrahams, Beth-Zion Lask. “Stanislaus Hoga—Apostate and Penitent.” *Transactions (Jewish Historical Society of England)* 15 (1938-1945): 121–49.
- “Anthropology.” In *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 12 vols., 1:619–21. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1906. Accessed 25 October 2016. <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/12519-race-the-jewish>.
- Applegate, Celia, and Pamela Potter, eds. *Music & German National Identity*. Chicago and London: The Chicago University Press, 2002.
- Asafyev, B.V. “Glinka,” *Izbrannnye trudi* 1 (1940-42): 154.
- Ashton, Thomas L. “Byronic Lyrics for David’s Harp: The Hebrew Melodies.” *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 12, no. 4 (Autumn 1972): 665–81.
- Auer, Leopold. *My Long Life in Music*. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1923.
- Austern, Linda Phyllis, and Inna Naroditskaya, eds. *Music of the Sirens*. Bloomington, IN: Indianapolis University Press, 2006.
- Bagge, Selmar. “Recension. Werke für Männerchor mit Orchester.” *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 3, no. 8 (19 February 1868): 59-61.
- Baer, Abraham. *Baal T’Fillah Oder Der Praktische Vorbeter*, 1877. Reprint, New York: Sacred Music Press, 1953.
- Barany, George. “Magyar Jew: or Jewish Magyar? (To the Question of Jewish Assimilation in Hungary).” *Canadian-American Slavic Studies* 8, no. 1 (Spring 1974): 1-44.
- Barenboym, Lev Arnonovich. *A.G. Rubinsteyn: Literaturnoye Naslediye*. Moscow: Musika, 1983.
- Baron, Jeremy Hugh. “Byron’s Passovers and Nathan’s Melodies.” *Judaism: A Quarterly Journal of Jewish Life and Thought* 51, no. 1 (Winter 2002): 19-29.
- Bartel, Dietrich. *Musica Poetical: Musical-Rhetorical Figures in German Baroque Music*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1997.
- Becher, A.J. [Alfred Julius]. “Concert Des Zehnjährigen Pianisten Anton Rubinstein Aus Moskau, Saale Der Gesellschaft Der Musikfreunde, Am 9. d. M.” *Allgemeine Wiener Musik-Zeitung* 2, no. 6 (13 January 1842): 23–24.



- Beer, August. "Karl Goldmark," *Pester Lloyd* (14 February 1895): 5–6.
- . [A. B.]. "Goldmark-Soirée." *Pester Lloyd* (12 February 1895): 7.
- Bellman, Jonathan. *The Style Hongrois in the Music of Western Europe*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1993.
- Ben-Merre, David. "Reading Hebrew Melodies." *Shofar* 24, no. 2, Special Issue: The Cultural and Historical Stabilities and Instabilities of Jewish Orientalism (Winter 2006): 11-32.
- Berger, Natalia. *The Jewish Museum: History and Memory, Identity and Art from Vienna to the Bezalel National Museum, Jerusalem*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2018.
- Berry, John W. "Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation." *Applied Psychology* 46, no. 1 (January 1, 1997): 5–34.
- Berry, Paul. *Brahms Among Friends: Listening, Performing, and the Rhetoric of Allusion*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Bettelheim, Anton. "Goldmark-Erinnerungen." *Neue Freie Presse* (20 January 1915): 1-5.
- Binder, A.W. "Preface." In *Shirei Beth Adonai*. Accessed 6 February 2020.  
<https://geoffreyshisler.com/biographies-2/hirsch-weintraub>.
- "Biographisches, Ferdinand Hiller." *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* 2, no. 40 (29 September 1871): 29 September 1871.
- Birkin, Kenneth. *Hans von Bülow: A Life for Music*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Birnbaum, Dr. [Eduard]. "Berichte Und Correspondenzen." *Israelitisches Wochenschrift* 13, no. 50 (13 December 1882): 388.
- Blackmore, John. *Ernst Mach: His Life, Work and Influence*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973.
- Blecher, Dr. A. J. "2. Concert Des Zehnjährigen Pianisten Anton Rubinstein Aus Moskau, Im Saale Der Gesellschaft Der Musikfreunde, Am 9. d. M." *Allgemeine Wiener Musik-Zeitung* 2, no. 6 (13 January 1842): 23–24.
- . "2. Concert Des Zehnjährigen Pianisten Anton Rubinstein Aus Moskau, Im Saale Der Gesellschaft Der Musikfreunde, Am 9. d. M." *Allgemeine Wiener Musik-Zeitung* 2, no. 7 (15 January 1842): 27.
- Bodenstedt, Friedrich. *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben*. Berlin: Allgemeiner verein für deutsche litteratur, 1888-1890.

- Boehlich, Walter. *Der Berliner Antisemitenstreit*. Frankfurt am Main: Insel Verlag, 1965.
- Bohlman, Philip V. *Focus: Music, Nationalism, and the Making of the New Europe*. 2nd ed. New York and London: Routledge, 2011.
- . *Jewish Music and Modernity*. AMS Studies in Music. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Bonds, Mark Evan. *Absolute Music: The History of an Idea*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Borchard, Beatrix. "Joachim, Joseph." In *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Accessed 4 November 2019. <https://doi-org.turing.library.northwestern.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.14322>.
- . "Joachim, Joseph." In *MGG Online*. Accessed 4 November 2019. <http://www.mgg-online.com>.
- . *Stimme Und Gegie: Amalie Und Joseph Joachim, Biographie Und Interpretationsgeschichte*. Vienna, Cologne, and Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2005.
- Borchard, Beatrix, and Heidy Zimmerman, eds. *Musikwelten—Lebenswelten: Jüdische Identitätsuche in Der Deutschen Muikkultur*. Vienna, Cologne, and Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2009.
- Botstein, Leon. "How an Anti-Semitic Composer created 'Kol Nidre' and 'Moses.'" *The Forward*. 24 March 2014. <http://forward.com/culture/194853/how-an-anti-semitic-composer-created-kol-nidre-and>.
- . "Mendelssohn and the Jews." *The Musical Quarterly* 82, no. 1 (Spring 1998): 190-209.
- . "Mendelssohn, Werner, and the Jews: A Final Word." *The Musical Quarterly* 83, no. 1 (Spring 1999): 45-50.
- . "Notes from the Editor: The Jewish Question in Music." *The Musical Quarterly* 94, no. 4 (Winter 2011): 439-453.
- . "Notes from the Editor: Mendelssohn as Jew: Revisiting Controversy on the Occasion of the Composer's 200th Birthday." *The Musical Quarterly* 92, no. 1/2 (Spring-Summer 2009): 1-8.
- Brahms, Johannes. *Johannes Brahms im Briefwechsel mit Joseph Joachim*. 2 vols. Edited by Andreas Moser. Berlin: Deutschn Brahms-Gesellschaft, 1908.
- Brandt, Marianne. "Lea." *Populär-Wissenschaftliche Monatsblätter* 18, no. 1 (1 January 1898): 9–11.
- Brendel, Franz. *Geschichte der Musik in Italien, Deutschland, und Frankreich*. Leipzig: Hinze, 1852.

- Brenner, David. "Out of the Ghetto and into the Tiergarten: Redefining the Jewish Parvenu and His Origins in Ost und West." *The German Quarterly* 66, no. 2 (Spring 1993): 176-194.
- "Brief Summary of Country News, Farnworth." *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 24, no. 480 (1 February 1883): 97.
- "Brief Summary of Country News, Plymouth." *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 22, no. 460 (1 June 1881): 322.
- Brockt, Johannes. "Verdi's Operatic Choruses." *Music & Letters* 20, no. 3 (July 1939): 309–12.
- Brodbeck, David. *Defining Deutschtum Political Ideology, German Identity, and Music-Critical Discourse in Liberal Vienna*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- . "Heimat Is Where the Heart Is: or, What Kind of Hungarian was Goldmark?" *Austrian History Yearbook* 48 (2017): 235-254.
- . "Poison-Flaming Flowers from the Orient and Nightingales from Bayreuth." In *Rethinking Hanslick: Music, Formalism, and Expression*, edited by Nicole Grimes, et. al., 132–84. Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2013.
- . "A Tale of Two Brothers: Behind the Scenes of Goldmark's First Opera." *The Musical Quarterly* 97, no. 4 (24 January 2015): 499-541.
- Bülle, Heinrich. "Kritik: Konzert – Dortmund." *Die Musik* 7, no. 13 (April 1908): 55.
- Bülow, Hans von. *Briefe und Schriften*. Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1896.
- . *Hans von Bülow's Letters to Johannes Brahms: A Research Edition*. Edited by Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen. Translated by Cynthia Klohr. Lanham, Toronto, and Plymouth, UK: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2012.
- Byron, Lord. *The Age of Bronze*. London: C. H. Reynell, 1823.
- . *Byron's Letters and Journals*. 12 vols. Edited by Leslie Alexis Marchand. Cambridge, MA: 1974.
- . *Hebräische Gesänge*. Translated by Franz Theremin. Berlin: Duncker and Humblot, 1820.
- . *Hebräische Gesänge*. Translated by Andreas Kretschmer. Berlin: Magazin für Kunst, Geographie, und Musik, 1822.
- . *Lord Byron's Poesien*. Vol. 1, *Israelitisches Gesänge*. Translated by Julius Körner. Zwickau: Schumann, 1821.
- Campbell, Stuart, ed. *Russians on Russian Music*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

- Chmara-Żackiewicz, Barbara. "Serwaczyński, Stanisław." In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Accessed 20 November 2019. <https://doi-org.turing.library.northwestern.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.25497>.
- Chrysander, Friedrich. "Das Oratorium auf der Bühne." *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 5, no. 17 (27 April 1870): 130–32.
- Clark, Caryl. *Haydn's Jews: Representation and Reception on the Operatic Stage*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Cobbett, W. W. "Music in America," *Musical News* 5, no. 123 (8 July 1893): 40.
- Cohen, Henry. "Revue des Concerts," *La Chronique Musicale* 4, no. 9 (January-June 1876): 40.
- Cohen, Judah M. "Whither Jewish Music? Jewish Studies, Music Scholarship, and the Tilt between Seminary and University" *AJS Review* 32, no. 1 (April 2008): 29–48.
- Cohn, Yehuda. "The Origins of Tefillin." *TheTorah.com*. 2016. Accessed 28 August 2020. <https://www.thetorah.com/article/the-origins-of-tefillin>.
- Conway, David. "A New Song: Jewish Musicians in European Music, 1730-1850." In *The Cambridge Companion to Jewish Music*, edited by Joshua S. Walden, 156–66. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- . *Jewry in Music: Entry to the Profession from the Enlightenment to Richard Wagner*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Cooper, Michael, "State Opera Is Awash in Political Theater." *New York Times*, 28 October 2018, 10 AR.
- Coover, James B. "Dictionaries and Encyclopedias of Music." In *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 5:430–59. New York and London: Macmillan Publishers, 1980.
- Decsey, Ernst. *Hugo Wolf*. Vol. 2, *Hugo Wolfs Schaffen 1888-1891*. Leipzig and Berlin: Schuster & Loeffler, 1904.
- Delpech, François. "Les Juifs En France et Dans L'Empire Du La Genese Du Grand Sanhedrin." *Annales Historiques de La Révolution Française* 51, no. 235 (March 1979): 1–26.
- Dementiev, et. al., A.G., ed. *Ruskaia Periodicheskaia Pechat (1702–1894)*. Moscow: Political Literature Publishers, 1959. Accessed 12 May 2020. <http://feb-web.ru/feb/periodic/pp0-abc/pp1/pp1-4091.htm>.
- Deutsch, Gotthard, and S. Mannheimer. "Sanhedrin, French." In *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 12 vols., 11:46–48. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1906. Accessed 9 September 2019. <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/13180-sanhedrin-french>.

- DeVale, Sue Carole. "Harp." In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, 2001. <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.turing.library.northwestern.edu/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000045738>.
- Diamant, Anita. *The Jewish Wedding Now*. New York: Scribner, 2017.
- Dibble, Jeremy. "J(ohn) A(lexander) Fuller Maitland." In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, 2001. Accessed 5 May 2018. <https://doi-org.turing.library.northwestern.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.10378>.
- Dietz, Alexander. *Stammbuch Der Frankfurter Juden. Geschichtliche Mitteilungen Über Die Frankfurter Jüdischen Familien von 1349-1849, Nebst Einem Plane Der Judengasse*. J. St. Goar: Frankfurt am Main, 1907.
- Dixon, Graham, and Richard Taruskin. "Sacred Opera." In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Accessed 12 February 2020. <https://doi-org.turing.library.northwestern.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.O007307>.
- . "Serov, Aleksandr Nikolayevich." In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Accessed 12 February 2020. <https://doi-org.turing.library.northwestern.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.25472>.
- Doherty, Brain. "Preface." In Anton Rubinstein, *Der Thurm Zu Babel, Op. 80*. 1870. Munich: Musikproduktion Jürgen Höflich, 2017. Accessed 24 March 2020. <https://repertoire-explorer.musikmph.de/en/product/rubinstein-anton-17>.
- Dubnow, Simon M. *Die neueste Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes (1789-1914)*. Translated by Alexander Eliasberg. 3 vols. Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1920.
- Deutsch, Gotthard, Abraham Lewinsky, Joseph Jacobs, and Schulim Ochser. "Worms." *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 12 vols., 12: 560-565. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1906. Accessed 4 April 2016. <http://jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/15013-worms>.
- Dynner, Glenn. "Men of Silk: The Hasidic Conquest of Polish Jewish Society." Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Echikson, William. "Viktor Orbán's anti-Semitism problem." *Politico*. 13 May 2019. Accessed 26 August 2020. <https://www.politico.eu/article/viktor-orban-anti-semitism-problem-hungary-jews>.
- Eshbach, Robert W. "Joachim's Youth—Joachim's Jewishness." *The Musical Quarterly* 94, no. 4 (Winter 2011): 548–92.
- . *Joseph Joachim.Com*. Accessed 19 June 2017. <https://josephjoachim.com/>.

- Esterhammer, Ruth. "Heine Und Die Folgen Die Platen-Attacke Als Ein Skandal Mit Langzeitwirkung." *Heine-Jahrbuch* (2007): 1–25.
- Evang. Kirche Frankfurt am Main, Hessen. *Heiratsregister*. Vol. 28, 1839.
- Ewell, Peter. "Anton Rubinstein, Alexander Serov, and Vladimir Stasov: The Struggle for a National Musical Identity in Nineteenth-Century Russia." *Germano-Slavica* 16 (1 January 2007): 41–55.
- Exoticism, Orientalism and National Identity in Musical Theatre: International Musicological Conference on the Centenary of the Death of Karl Goldmark*. Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Budapest. 11-12 December 2015. Accessed 10 November 2018.  
<http://zti.hu/index.php/en/mza/publications/conference/122-goldmark-conference>.
- Färber, Meir. "Austrian Jewish Periodicals." In *The Jewish Press that Was: Accounts, Evaluations, and Memories of Jewish Press in pre-Holocaust Europe*, edited by Arie Bar, translated by Haim Shachter, 354-359. Jerusalem: Jerusalem Post Press, 1980.
- Fifield, Christopher. *Max Bruch: His Life and Works*. New York: George Braziller, 1988.
- Finson, Jon W. *Robert Schumann: The Book of Songs*. Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2007.
- Forbes, Emily. "Brandt, Marianne [Bischoff, Marie]." In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Accessed 2 February 2020. <https://doi-org.turing.library.northwestern.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.03839>.
- Freytag, Gustav. *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben*. Leipzig : H. Fikentscher, 1887.
- Friedmann-Album, zur bleibenden Erinnerung an die Feier des 25-jähr. Amtsjubiläums des Moritz Friedmann*. Budapest: Chorin & Co., 1877.
- Friedrich Gernsheim. AR 2190. Center for Jewish History. Leo Baeck Institute. New York.  
[https://archives.cjh.org/repositories/5/archival\\_objects/1080803](https://archives.cjh.org/repositories/5/archival_objects/1080803).
- Friedrich Gernsheim Archive. National Library of Israel. Jerusalem. Israel
- Frolova-Walker, Marina. "On 'Ruslan' and Russianness," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 9, no. 1 (March 1997): 21-45.
- Frühaufl, Tina. *The Organ and Its Music in German-Jewish Culture*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- . "The Reform of Synagogue Music in the Nineteenth Century." In *The Cambridge Companion to Jewish Music*, edited by Joshua S. Walden, 187–200. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Fuller Maitland, John Alexander. *Masters of German Music*. London: Osgood, McIlvaine & Co., 1894.

- Garden, Edward. "Rubinstein [Rubinshteyn], Anton Grigor'yevich." In *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online. Accessed 2 January 2020. <https://doi-org.turing.library.northwestern.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.24055>.
- Gatterer, Johann Christoph. *Einleitung in Die Synchronistische Universalhistorie Zur Erläuterung Seiner Synchronistischen Tabellen*. Göttingen: Verlag der Witte Vandenhoeck, 1771.
- Geller, Jay. *The Other Jewish Question: Identifying the Jew and Making Sense of Modernity*. New York: Fordham University Press, 2011.
- Gernsheim, Friedrich. "Mirjam." *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums* 73, no. 48 (26 November 1909): 569.
- . "Sinfonie no. 3 (Cmoll) op. 54 (Analyse vom Componisten)." In *Programm-Buch. Philharmonische Concerte, I. Saison 1887/88*, [281-290]. Berlin: Concert Direction Hermann Wolff, 1888.
- Gernsheim, Helmut. "The Gernsheims of Worms." *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 24, no. 1 (1 January 1979): 247-257.
- Gerson-Kiwi, Edith, and Israel J. Katz. "Idelsohn, Abraham Zvi." In *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online. Accessed 28 October 2016. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.turing.library.northwestern.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/13702>.
- Gilman, Sander L. "Are Jews Musical? Historical Notes on the Question of Jewish Musical Modernism and Nationalism." *Modern Judaism* 28, no. 3 (2008): 239–56.
- . "Einstein's Violin: Jews and the Performance of Identity." *Modern Judaism* 25, no. 3 (2005): 219–36.
- Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von. "Das Jahrmarkts-Fest Zu Plundersweilern." In *Schriften*, 8:7–90. Leipzig: Göschen, 1789.
- . *Goethe's poetische und prosaische werke*. 2 vols. Stuttgart and Tübingen: J.G. Cotta, 1845.
- . *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship and Travels*. Translated by Thomas Carlyle. 2 vols. London: Chapman and Hall, Ltd., 1824.
- Goldbaum, Wilhelm. "Der junge Goldmark." *Pester Lloyd* no. 119 (18 May 1900): 3
- . *Entlegene Kulturen: Skizzen Und Bilder*. Berlin: A. Hoffmann, 1877.
- . *Literarische Physiognomien*. Vienna and Teschen: Karl Proschaska, 1884.
- Goldmark Family Collection. AR 1909. Center for Jewish History. Leo Baeck Institute. New York. <https://archives.cjh.org/repositories/5/resources/13808>.
- Goldmark, Karl. *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben*. Vienna: Rikola Verlag, 1922.

- . “Gedanken über Form und Stil.” *Neue Freie Presse* no. 16804 (4 June 1911): 55
- . *Notes from the Life of a Viennese Composer*. Translated by Alice Goldmark Brandeis. New York: Albert and Charles Boni, 1927.
- Goldmark, Leo. *Libretto to 1776: romantisch-komische Operette in 3 Akten*. Samisch & Goldmann: New York, 1884.
- Goldmark, Rubin. “Carl Goldmark,” *The Looker-On* 4, no. 4 (April 1897): 275-286.
- Gooley, Dana. “Hanslick and the Institution of Criticism.” *The Journal of Musicology* 28, no. 3 (Summer 2011): 289–324.
- Gossett, Philip. “Becoming a Citizen: The Chorus in ‘Risorgimento’ Opera.” *Cambridge Opera Journal* 2, no. 1 (March 1990): 41–64.
- Graetz, Michael. *The Jews in Nineteenth-Century France: From the French Revolution to the Alliance Israélite Universelle*. Translated by Jane Marie Todd. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996.
- Graf, Max. *Legend of a Musical City: The Story of Vienna*. New York: F. Hubner & Co., Inc., 1945.
- Grimm, Jacob, and Wilhelm Grimm. *Deutsches Wörterbuch*. Leipzig, 1854. <http://woerterbuchnetz.de>.
- Grotjahn, Rebecca. “Die höhere Ausbildung in der Musik?: Gründungsidee und Gründungsgeschichte des Leipziger.” In *Musical life in Europe 1600-1900: Circulation, institutions, and representation*, vol. 2, edited by Michael Fend and Michel Noiray, 301-302. Berlin: BWV Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2005.
- Gur, Golan. “Music and ‘Weltanschauung’: Franz Brendel and the Claims of Universal History.” *Music and Letters* 93, no. 3 (1 August 2012): 350-373.
- Gurowski, Count Adam de. *Russia as it is*. 3rd edition. New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1854.
- Haas, Michael. *Forbidden Music: The Jewish Composers Banned by the Nazis*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013.
- Hall, Edith. *The Return of Ulysses: A Cultural History of Homer’s Odyssey*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008.
- Handlungs-Adress-Kalender von Frankfurt Am Main Auf Das Jahr 1816*. Frankfurt am Main: Johann Philipp Streng [Strengsche Buchhandlung], 1816.
- Hanslick, Eduard. *Aus dem Concertsaal: Kritikeen und Schilderungen aus den letzten 20 Jahren des Wiener Musiklebens 1848-1868*. Vienna: Wilhelm Braunmüller, 1870,
- [Ed. H.]. “Concerte.” *Neue Freie Presse* 2, no. 480 (30 December 1865): 2.



- . *Concerte, Componisten und Virtuosen der letzten fünfzehn Jahre, 1870-1885*. Berlin: Allgemeiner Verein für Deutsche Literatur, 1886.
- . *Geschichte des Concertwesens in Wien*. Vol. 1. Vienna: W. Braunmüller, 1869.
- [Ed. H.]. “Feuilleton, Concerte,” *Neue Freie Presse* 2, no. 131 (10 January 1865): 2.
- [Ed. H.]. “Die Königin von Saba.” *Neue Freie Presse* no. 3788 (13 March 1875): 1–3.
- [Ed. H.]. “Das Liszt-Concert im großem Musikvereinssaale.” *Neue Freie Presse* no. 3371 (13 January 1874): 1-2.
- . *Musikalische Stationen*. Berlin: Allgemeine Verein für Deutsche Literatur, 1885.
- [Ed. H.]. “Salomon Sulzer.” *Neue Freie Presse* no. 551 (13 March 1866): 1-2.
- . *Vom Musikalische-Schönen: Ein Beitrag zur Revision der Aesbetik der Tonkunst*. 2 vols. 1854. Edited by Dietmar Strauß. Vienna and Cologne: Böhlau, 1990.
- [Ed. H.]. “Die Wiener Concertsaison 1865-66.” *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 1, no. 29 (18 July 1866): 234
- Hass, Ole “*Der Merker* (Vienna, 1909-1922).” *RIPM Online*. 2015. Accessed 22 May 2018. <https://ripm.org/index.php?page=JournalInfo&ABB=MER>.
- Henderson, Ruth. “The Looker-On (New York, 1895-1897).” *RIPM Online*. 2016. Accessed 22 May 2018. <https://www.ripm.org/?page=JournalInfo&ABB=LOO>.
- Heinzelman, Kurt. “Politics, Memory, and the Lyric: Collaboration as Style in Byron’s ‘Hebrew Melodies.’” *Studies in Romanticism* 27, no. 4, Beginning Byron's Third Century (Winter 1988): 515–27.
- “Heiraths: Anzeige.” *Allgemeine Zeitung München*, no. 186 (5 July 1841): 1486.
- Helm, Theodor [uncredited]. “Carl Goldmark.” *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* 1, no. 28 (8 July 1870): 441-443.
- . “Einige Erinnerungen an Karl Goldmark.” *Der Merker* 6, no. 3 (1 February 1915): 108-111.
- . “Fünfzig Jahre Wiener Musikleben (1866-1916). Erinnerungen eines Musikkritikers (Fortsetzung).” *Der Merker* 6, no. 3 (1 February 1915): 129.
- Hennemann, Monika. “Operatorio?” In *The Oxford Handbook of Opera*, edited by Helen M. Greenwald, 73–91. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Heller, Edmund. *Hugo Wolf, Erlebtes und Erlauschtes*. Vienna: Wiener Literascher Anstalt, 1921.

- Hepokoski, James. "Sibelius, Jean [Johan] (Christian Julius), 2. 1889–91: the transformation (Berlin, Vienna)." In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* Accessed 10 August 2020. <https://doi-org.turing.library.northwestern.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.43725>.
- Herzl, Theodor. *Briefe und Tagebücher*. Vol. 2. 1895-1899. Berlin, Frankfurt, and Vienna: Ullstein Verlag, 1983-1996.
- Heskes, Irene. *Passport to Jewish Music*. Westwood, CT: Greenwood Press, 1994.
- . *The Resource Book of Jewish Music*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985.
- Hess, Jonathan M. *Deborah and Her Sisters: How One Nineteenth-Century Melodrama and a Host of Celebrated Actresses Put Judaism on the World Stage*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018.
- . "Leopold Kompert and the Work of Nostalgia: The Cultural Capital of German Jewish Ghetto Fiction." *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 97, no. 4 (Fall 2007): 576–615.
- . "Shylock's Daughters: Philosemitism, Popular Culture, and the Liberal Imagination." *Transversal. Journal for Jewish Studies* 13, no. 1 (n.d.): 28–43.
- Hilgenfeldt, C.L. "Die Zukunft Des Oratoriums." *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 30, no. 15 (1849): 79.
- Hiller, Ferdinand. "Besuche im Jenseits, I." *Deutsche Rundschau* 8, no. 6 (October 1881): 66-86.
- . "Besuche im Jenseits, II." *Deutsche Rundschau* 8, no. 7 (November 1881): 189-203.
- . *Erinnerungsblätter*. Cologne: M. DuMont-Schauberg'schen Buchhandlung, 1884.
- . *Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy: Briefe Und Erinnerungen*. Cologne: M. DuMont-Schauberg'schen Buchhandlung, 1874.
- . "Ferdinand Hiller über Synagogengesänge." *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* 44, no. 13 (30 March 1880): 204–5.
- . "Ferdinand Hiller über Synagogengesänge." *Oesterreichisch-ungarische Cantoren-Zeitung* 2, no. 34 (27 September 1882): 3.
- . *Künstlerleben*. Cologne: M. DuMont Schauberg'schen Buchhandlung, 1880.
- . *Mendelssohn: Letters and Recollections*. Translated by M.E. von Glehn. New York: Vienna House, 1972.
- . "Notizen, Baal T'Fillah oder der praktische Vorbeter von Abraham Baer." *Die Gegenwart* 16, no. 52 (27 December 1879): 421–22.
- Hiller, Justus. "[Notice]." *Intelligenz-Blatt der Freien Stadt Frankfurt* 60, no. 31 (17 April 1810): n.p.

- . “[Notice].” *Intelligenz-Blatt der Freien Stadt Frankfurt* 60, no. 33 (21 April 1810): n.p.
- Hofmann, Kurt, ed. *Erinnerungen an Johannes Brahms*. Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1971.
- Hoga, Stanislav. *The Controversy of Zion: A Mediation on Judaism and Christianity*. London: B. Wertheim, 1844.
- Holde, Artur. *Jews in music: from the age of enlightenment to the mid-twentieth century*. New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1974.
- Holl, Karl. *Friedrich Gernsheim. Leben, Erscheinung, Werk*. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtels, 1928.
- Holth, Berit. “German Influences in the Development of the Norwegian Classical Music Tradition,” *Fontes Artis Musicae* 61, no. 1 (January-March 2014): 42-47.
- Hyams, Barbara. “The Whip and the Lamp: Leopold von Sacher-Masoch, the Woman Question, and the Jewish Question.” *Women in German Yearbook* 13 (1997): 67-79.
- Hugo, Victor. *Oeuvres de Victor Hugo*. Vol. 6, *Drames, Marie Tudor*. Paris: Eugène Renduel, 1833.
- Idelsohn, A.Z. *Jewish Music in Its Historical Development*. s. New York: Schocken Books, 1972.
- . “The Kol Nidre Tune.” *Hebrew Union College Annual* 8/9 (1931-32): 493-501.
- Ilijisch, R. “A Yom Kippur at Anton Rubinstein’s.” *The Menorah Monthly* 26, no. 3 (March 1899): 174–82.
- . “Ein Jom-Kipur Bei Anton Rubinstein,”” Translated by Leon Trachtenberg. *Allgemeine Zeitung Des Judenthums* 63, no. 5 (3 February 1899): 57–60.
- Jack, Ian. “Memories are made of this—and that.” *The Guardian*. 8 February 2003. Accessed 20 August 2018.  
<https://www.theguardian.com/books/2003/feb/08/featuresreviews.guardianreview25>.
- Jackson, Robert Louis. *Dostoevsky’s Underground Man in Russian Literature*. The Hague: Mouton, 1958.
- Jacobs, Joseph. “Purity of Race.” In *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 12 vols., 10:283–84. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1906. Accessed 25 October 2016. <http://jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/12451-purity-of-race>.
- Jacobs, Joseph and Francis L. Cohen. “Salaman, Charles Kensington.” In *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 12 vols., 10:644. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1906. Accessed 4 December 2018.  
<http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/13013-salaman-charles-kensington>.
- Jacobs, Joseph, Goodman Lipkind, Cyrus Adler, Francis L. Cohen. “Nathan, Isaac.” In *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 12 vols., 9:179. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1906. Accessed 19 May 2017.  
<http://jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/11354-nathan-isaac>.

- Jacobs, Joseph, Max Schloessinger, Cyrus Adler, Francis L. Cohen. "Kol Nidre." In *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 12 vols, 7:593-546. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1906. Accessed 19 August 2017. <http://jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/9443-kol-nidre>.
- Jacobson, Joshua R. "Art Music and Jewish Culture before the Jewish Enlightenment." In *The Cambridge Companion to Jewish Music*, edited by Joshua S. Walden, 143–55. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Jahrbuch für Jüdische Geschichte und Literatur*. Vol. 27. Berlin: M. Poppelauer, 1927.
- Jerold, Beverly. "A Vindication of Ferdinand Hiller." *Journal of Musicological Research* 37, no. 2 (2018): 141–65.
- Jeske-Choiński, Teodor. *Neofici Polscy: Materyaly Historyczne*. Warsaw: Druk Piotra Laskauera, 1904.
- Jones, Gaynor G. "Helm, Theodor (Otto)." In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Accessed 8 May 2018. <https://doi-org.turing.library.northwestern.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.12746>.
- Joachim, Joseph. *Briefe von Und an Joseph Joachim*. Edited by Andreas Moser. Berlin: J. Bard, 1911.
- . *Letters to and from Joseph Joachim*. Translated by Nora Bickley. London: Macmillan and Co., 1914.
- Johnson, James H. "Antisemitism and Music in Nineteenth Century France." *Musica Judaica* 5, no. 1 (1982/83): 79-96.
- Jonckheere, Koenraad. "An allegory of artistic choice in times of trouble: Pieter Bruegel's 'Tower of Babel'." *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek (NKJ)/Netherlands Yearbook for History and Art* 64, Trading Values in Early Modern Antwerp (2014): 186–213.
- Jüdischer Almanach* 5663. Berlin, Juedischer Verlag, 1903.
- Kaplan, Marion A., ed. *Jewish Daily Life in Germany, 1618-1945*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- . "Redefining Judaism in Imperial Germany: Practices, Mentalities, and Community." *Jewish Social Studies* New Series 9, no. 1 (Autumn 2002): 1-33.
- Katalog des Musikalien-Verlages nebst Schriften über Musik, Textbücher, Porträts von J. Rieter-Biederman in Leipzig*. Leipzig: J. Rieter-Biedermann, 1897.
- Katalog einer kostbaren Autographen-Sammlung aus Wiener Privatbesitz Wertvolle Autographen und Manuskripte aus dem Nachlass von Joseph Joachim*. Leipzig: C. G. Boerner, 1908.
- Katz, Jacob. *Emancipation and Assimilation: Studies in Modern Jewish History*. Farnborough, Gregg, 1972.

- . “German Culture and the Jews.” In *The Jewish Response to German Culture: From Enlightenment to the Second World War*, edited by Jehuda Schatzberg and Walter Reinharz, 85–99. Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1985.
- Kernwart, E.A. *Die materialistische Weltanschauung: ein überwundener Standpunkt*. Leipzig: Jaeger, 1902.
- Klein, Rudolf. “Graf, Max.” In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Accessed 10 November 2018. <https://doi-org.turing.library.northwestern.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.11583>.
- Knapp, Alexander. “Jewish Music, V. Art and Popular Music in Surrounding Cultures, 2. The Christian World, (Ii) Emancipation to World War II.” In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Accessed 1 September 2016. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.turing.library.northwestern.edu/subscriber/article/grove/music/41322>.
- Kohler, George Y. “German Spirit and Holy Ghost: Treitschke’s Call for Conversion of German Jewry: The Debate Revisited.” *Modern Judaism* 30, no. 2 (May 2010): 172-195.
- Köhler, Joachim. *Richard Wagner: The Last of the Titans*. Translated by Stewart Spencer. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004.
- Kolatch, Alfred J. *The Jewish Book of Why*. Middle Village: Jonathan David Publishers, Inc., 2000.
- Kölliker, Albert. *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben*. Leipzig : W. Engelmann, 1899
- Kopecky, Jirí. “Karl Goldmark and Czech National Opera: The Final Operas of Antonin Dvorak and Zdenek Fibich.” *Studia Musicologica* 57, no. 3–4 (359 349AD): 2016.
- Koplow, Michael J. “RBG and American Jewish Exceptionalism.” *Israel Policy Forum*, 24 September 2020. Accessed 27 December 2020. <https://israelpolicyforum.org/2020/09/24/rbg-and-american-jewish-exceptionalism>.
- Krehbiel, H.E. “Philharmonic Gives ‘Negro Rhapsody’ by Goldmark Premiere.” *New York Tribune* (19 January 1923) 10.
- . “Negro Themes in American Music; Rubin Goldmark’s Work.” *New York Tribune* (21 January 1923): D5.
- Kroll, Mark. *Johann Nepomuk Hummel: A Musician’s Life and World*. Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2007.
- Kulke, Eduard [Ed. K.]. “Die Königin von Saba.” *Das Vaterland* 16, no. 73 (14 March 1875): 1.
- Kutsch, Karl-Josef and Leo Riemens. *Großes Sängerlexikon*. Berlin: Directmedia, 2004.
- László, Boldizsár. “Goldmark, Sába Királynője, New York, Koch Theater.” YouTube video. 2:45:13. Accessed 31 March 2020. <https://youtu.be/371gYe0H5yo?t=2790>.

- Leahy, Anne. "Bach's Setting of the Hymn Tune, 'Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland' in His Cantatas and Organ Works." In *Music and Theology: Essays in Honor of Robin A. Leaver*, edited by Daniel Zager, 69-102. Lanham, MD, Toronto, Plymouth, UK: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2007.
- Legány, Dezső. "Budapest." In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Accessed 4 November 2019. <https://doi-org.turing.library.northwestern.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.04250>.
- Leiman, Shnayer Z. "The Baal Teshuvah and the Emden-Eibeschutz Controversy." *Judaic Studies* 1 (1985): 3-26.
- Lichtenstein, Sabine. "Abraham Jacob Lichtenstein: eine jüdische Quelle für Carl Loewe und Max Bruch," *Die Musikforschung* 49, no. 4 (October-December 1996): 349-367.
- Liedtke, Rainer and David Rechter. "Introduction: German Jewry and the Search for Normality." In *Towards Normality? Acculturation and Modern German Jewry*, edited by Rainer and David Rechter Liedtke, 1-12. Schriftenreihe Wissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen Des Leo Baeck Instituts 68. London and Tübingen: Leo Baeck Institute and J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 2003.
- Lingg, Herman. "Salamis." In *Gedichte*. Stuttgart: F.G. Cottaschen Buchhandlung, 1864.
- . "Salamis." Translated by Katy Hamilton. 2014. Accessed 14 May 2019. [https://repertoire-explorer.musikmph.de/wp-content/uploads/vorworte\\_prefaces/1588.pdf](https://repertoire-explorer.musikmph.de/wp-content/uploads/vorworte_prefaces/1588.pdf).
- Liszt, Franz. *Des Bohémiens et de leur musique en Hongrie*, New Edition. Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1881.
- . *A cigányokról és a cigány zenéről Magyarországon*. Translated by József Székely. Pest: Heckenast, 1861.
- . *The Gipsy in Music*. 2 vols. Translated by Edwin Evans. London: William Reeves, [1926].
- . *Die Zigeuner und ihre Musik in Ungarn*. Translated by Peter Cornelius. Pest: Heckenast, 1861
- Little, William. "Mendelssohn and the Berlin Singakademie: The Composer at the Crossroads." In *Mendelssohn and His World*, edited by R. Larry Todd, 65-85. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991.
- Lloyd-Jones, Ralph. "Byron and the Jews: The Jewish Byron?" In *Byron's Religions*, edited by Peter Cochran, 228-42. London: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011.
- Locke, Ralph P. "A Broader View of Musical Exoticism." *The Journal of Musicology* 24, no. 4 (Fall 2007): 477-521.
- . "Constructing the Oriental 'Other': Saint-Saëns's 'Samson et Dalila'." *Cambridge Opera Journal* 3, no. 3 (November 1911): 261-302.

- . “Cutthroats and Casbah Dancers, Muezzins and Timeless Sands: Musical Images of the Middle East.” *19th-Century Music* 22, no. 1 (Summer 1998): 20–53.
- . *Musical Exoticism: Images and Reflections*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Loeffler, James. “From Biblical Antiquarianism to Revolutionary Modernism.” In *The Cambridge Companion to Jewish Music*, edited by Joshua S. Walden, 167–86. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- . “Richard Wagner’s ‘Jewish Music’: Antisemitism and Aesthetics in Modern Jewish Culture.” *Jewish Social Studies* 15, no. 2 (2009): 2–36.
- . *The Most Musical Nation: Jews and Culture in the Late Russian Empire*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010.
- Loft, Abram. “Richard Wagner, Theodore Thomas, and the American Centennial.” *The Musical Quarterly* 37, no. 2 (April 1951): 184–202.
- Löwe, Heinrich-Dietrich. “Poles, Jews, and Tartars: Religion, Ethnicity, and Social Structure in Tsarist Nationality Policies.” *Jewish Social Studies New Series*, 6, no. 3 (Spring-Summer 2000): 52–96.
- Lumley, Benjamin. *Reminiscences of Opera*. London: Hurst and Blacket, 1864.
- Luttmann, Stephen, Preface to Friedrich Gernsheim, Symphony no. 3 in C minor, op. 54, 1888, i—vi. Munich: Musikproduktion Jürgen Höflich, 2006.
- Hugh Macdonald, “Symphonic Poem.” In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Accessed 10 February 2019. <https://doi-org.turing.library.northwestern.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.27250>.
- MacGregor, Lynda. “Piatti, Alfredo (Carlo).” In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Accessed 4 December 2018. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.turing.library.northwestern.edu/grovemusic/view/10.1093>.
- Maczewski, Alfred. “Bruch, Max.” In *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. 4 vols. Edited by George Grove 1:279. London: Macmillan and Co., 1879.
- . “Kritik, Ferd. Hiller, ‘Israel’s Siegesgeang.” *Musikalisches Wochenblatt* 2, no. 37 (8 September 1871): 582–84.
- Magid, Shaul. “Be the Jew You Make: Jews, Judaism, and Jewishness in Post-Ethnic America.” *Sh’ma | A Journal of Jewish Ideas*, 11 March 2011. <http://shma.com/2011/03/be-the-jew-you-make-jews-judaism-and-jewishness-in-post-ethnic-america>.

*The Mahler Family Letters*. Edited, translated, and annotated by Stephen McClatchie. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Mahler Foundation. Accessed 3 November 2020. <http://www.mahlerfoundation.org>.

Mahler, Gustav. *Selected Letters of Gustav Mahler*. Selected by Alma Mahler. Edited by Knud Martner. Translated by Eithne Wilkins, Ernst Kaiser, and Bill Hopkins. New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1979.

Maimonides. "Repentance 1, Mishneh Torah." *Sefaria*. Accessed 19 May 2019. [https://www.sefaria.org/Mishneh\\_Torah,\\_Repentance](https://www.sefaria.org/Mishneh_Torah,_Repentance).

Martin, Russell. *Beethoven's Hair: An Extraordinary Historical Odyssey and a Scientific Mystery Solved*. New York: Broadway Books, 2000.

Marx, Adolf Bernhard. *Erinnerungen. Aus meinem Leben*. Berlin: O. Janke, 1865.

Matar, N.I. "The English Romantic Poets and the Jews." *Jewish Social Studies* 50, no. 3/4 (Summer 1988-Autumn 1993): 223–38.

Max Bruch Archive. University of Cologne. Cologne. Germany.

"MBT." *Vereniging Toonkunst Nederland*. Accessed 10 December 2018. <https://toonkunstnederland.nl/mbt>.

McCaul, Alexander. *נתיבות עולם [Netivot Olam]*. Translated by Stanislaus Hoga. London, 1882.

Medoff, Rafael. "Alice Goldmark Brandeis." In *Jewish Women: A Comprehensive Historical Encyclopedia*, 1 March 2009. *Jewish Women's Archive*. Accessed 15 October 2018. <https://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/Brandeis-Alice-Goldmark>.

Meier, Ernst. *Die Klassischen Dichtungen Der Inder*. Vol. 2, *Dramtische Poesie*. Sakuntala. Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler'schen Buchhandlung, 1852.

Mendelsohn, Ezra, ed. *Modern Jews and Their Musical Agendas*. Studies in Contemporary Jewry, vol. 9. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Mendelssohn, Felix. *Letters of Felix Mendelssohn to Ignaz and Charlotte Moscheles*. Translated by Felix Moscheles. Boston: Ticknor and Company, 1888.

Mendes-Flohr, Paul. *German Jews: A Dual Identity*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999.

Mendes-Flohr, Paul, and Jehuda Reinharz, eds. *The Jew in the Modern World: A Documentary History*. 3rd ed. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.



- Mercadante, Saverio, and Gaetano Rossi. *Il Giuramento: Melodramma in tre atti da rappresentarsi nel Teatro Apollo*. Venice: Dall Giuseppe Molinari, 1840.
- Meyer, Michael A. "German Jewry's Path to Normality and Assimilation: Complexities, Ironies, and Padoxes." In *Towards Normality? Acculturation and Modern German Jewry*, edited by Rainer and David Rechter Liedtke, 13–25. Schriftenreihe Wissenschaftlicher Abhandlungen Des Leo Baeck Instituts 68. London and Tübingen: Leo Baeck Institute and J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 2003.
- . "Great Debate on Antisemitism," *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 11 (1966): 137-170.
- . "Two Persistent Tensions within Wissenschaft Des Judentums." *Modern Judaism* 24, no. 2 (May 2004): 105–19.
- Millington, Barry. *The Wagner Compendium: A Guide to Wagner's Life*. New York: Schirmer Books, 1992.
- . *Wagner*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998.
- Millington, Barry, John Deathridge, Carl Dahlhaus, and Robert Bailey. "Wagner, (Wilhelm) Richard." In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Accessed 9 September 2020. <https://doi-org.turing.library.northwestern.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.6002278269>.
- Mindari, Mauro. "Melozzo Pittore Papele. La gloria dell'umana bellezza." In *Melozzo da Forlì: M L'humana bellezza tra Piero della Francesca e Raffaeello*, edited by Daniele Benati, Mauro Natale,
- Mondelli, Peter. "The Sociability of History in French Grand Opera: A Historical Materialist Perspective." *19th-Century Music* 37, no. 1 (Summer 2013): 37–55.
- Mosenthal, Salomon Hermann. "Miniaturbilder. Erinnerungen an berühmte Tondichter. 6. Goldmark." *Ueber Land und Meer* 37, no. 19 (1877): 384-385.
- Moscheles, Ignaz. *Recent Music and Musicians as Described in the Diaries and Correspondence of Ignaz Moscheles*. Edited by Charlotte Moscheles. Translated by A.D. Coleridge. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1873.
- Moseley, Marcus. "Jewish Autobiography: The Elusive Subject." *Jewish Quarterly Review* 95, no. 1 (Winter 2005): 16-59.
- Moser, Andreas. *Joseph Joachim: A Biography (1831-1899)*. Translated by Lilla Durham. London: Philip Wellby, 1901.
- . *Joseph Joachim: Ein Lebensbild*. Berlin: B. Behr, E. Bock, 1898.
- Mosse, George L. "Jewish Emancipation: Between Bildung and Respectability." In *The Jewish Response to German Culture: From Enlightenment to the Second World War*, edited by Jehuda

- Schatzberg and Walter Reinhartz, 1–16. Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1985.
- Müller-Reuter, Theodor. *Lexicon der deutschen Konzertliteratur*. Leipzig: C.F. Kahnt Nachfolger, 1909.
- Nathan, Isaac, and Lord Byron. *A Selection of Hebrew Melodies, Ancient and Modern*. Edited by Frederick Burwick and Paul Douglass. Tuscaloosa, AB: University of Alabama Press, 1988.
- National Archives and Records Administration. Washington, D.C
- “Nissan Blumenthal.” In *Jewish Music Research Centre*. Accessed 1 March 2020. <https://www.jewish-music.huji.ac.il/content/nissan-blumenthal>.
- Nirenberg, David. *Anti-Judaism: The Western Tradition*. New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2013.
- . *Communities of Violence*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- Notley, Margaret. “Brahms as Liberal: Genre, Style, and Politics in Late Nineteenth-Century Vienna.” *19<sup>th</sup>-Century Music* 17, no. 2 (Autumn 1993): 107-123.
- Ockmann, Carol. “‘Two Large Eyebrows à L’Orientale’: Ethnic Stereotyping in Ingres’s *Baronne de Rothschild*.” *Art History* 14, no. 4 (December 1991): 521-539.
- Osterreid, Adalbert and Victor Tunkel. “Louis Lewandowski (1821-1894): A Chronological List of his Musical Works.” *Musica Judaica* 19 (5770/2009-2010): 89-102.
- Paap, Wouter and Johan Kolsteeg. “Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Toonkunst.” In *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Accessed 10 December 2018. <https://doi-org.turing.library.northwestern.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.17286>
- Paine, John Knowles, ed. *Famous Composers and their Works*. Boston: J.B. Millet Company, 1891.
- Panwitz, Sebastian. “The Society of Friends 1792–1935: Berlin Jews Between Enlightenment and High Finance.” *The Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 52, no. 1 (January 2007): 317-318.
- Patal, Raphael. *The Jews of Hungary: History, Culture, and Psychology*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1996.
- Phillips, Jr., Leonard Milton. *The Leipzig Conservatory, 1843-1881*. PhD diss. Indiana University: 1979.
- “Pieter Brueghel the Younger The Tower of Babel.” *Sotheby’s*, 4 July 2012. Accessed 23 April 2020. <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2012/old-master-british-paintings-evening-sale/lot.12.html>.
- Pinnolis, Judith S. “‘Cantor Soprano’ Julie Rosewald: The Musical Career of a Jewish American ‘New Woman’.” *American Jewish Archives Journal* 62, no. 2 (2010): 1–53.

- Piotrowska, Anna G. *Gypsy Music in European Culture: From the Late Eighteenth to the Early Twentieth Centuries*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2013.
- Poliakov, Leon. *The History of Anti-Semitism*. Translated by George Klin. Vol. 4, *Suicidal Europe, 1870–1933*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003.
- Peress, Maurice. *Dvořák to Duke Ellington: A Conductor Explores America's Music and Its African American Roots*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Prepuk, Anikó. "Reception, Law of." *The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe*. 2010. Translated by Veronika Szabó. Accessed 10 August 2010. [https://yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Reception\\_Law\\_of](https://yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Reception_Law_of).
- Regneri, Günter. "Salomon Neumann's Statistical Challenge to Treitschke: The Forgotten Episode that Marked the End of the 'Berliner Antisemitismusstreit.'" *Leo Baeck Institute Year Book* 43, no. 1 (January 1998): 129-153.
- Remy, Nahida. *The Jewish Woman*. Translated by Louise Mannheimer. Cincinnati: Press of C.J. Krehbiel & Company, 1895.
- Ringer, Alexander. "Friedrich Gernsheim (1839-1916) and the Lost Generation." *Musica Judaica* 3, no. 1 (5741/1980-81): 1-12.
- . "Die Parthei des vernünftigen Fortschritts: Max Bruch und Friedrich Gernsheim." *Die Musikforschung* 25, no. 1 (January/March 1972): 17-27.
- Rodenberg, Julius. "Meine persönlichen Erinnerungen an Anton Rubinstein." *Deutsche Rundschau* 82 (March 1895): 242–62.
- Ronen, Ofer. "Hirsch Weintraub." In *Jewish Music Research Centre*. Accessed 7 February 2020. <https://www.jewish-music.huji.ac.il/content/hirsch-weintraub>.
- Rosen, Carole. "Lord Byron's Hebrew Melodies: A Curious Episode Reconsidered – A Review Essay," Review of *A Selection of Hebrew Melodies Ancient and Modern by Isaac Nathan*, ed. Frederick Burwick and Paul Douglass." *Musica Judaica* 11, no. 1 (1989-1990): 86–92.
- Rosenberg, Jesse. "Abramo Basevi: A Music Critic in Search of a Context." *The Musical Quarterly* 86, no. 4 (Winter 2002): 630–88.
- Rosenthal, Herman, and J. G. Lipman. "Rubinstein, Anton Grigoryevich." In *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 12 vols., 10:507–8. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1906. <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/12921-rubinstein-anton-grigoryevich>.
- Rosenthal, Herman, and S. Penn. "Odessa." In *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 12 vols., 9:370–85. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1906. <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/11660-odessa>.

- Rosenthal, Herman, and Max Rosenthal. "Davidov, Julius (or Davydov)." In *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 12 vols., 4:470. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1906.  
<http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/4985-davidov-julius>.
- Rubin, Emanuel, and John H. Baron. *Music in Jewish History and Culture*. Sterling Heights, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 2006.
- Rubinstein, Anton [Antoine]. "Die Componisten Rußland's." *Blätter Für Musik, Theater, Und Kunst* 1, no. 33 (25 May 1855): 129–30.
- . "Die geistliche Oper." In *Vor der Coulissen*, edited by Josef Lewinsky, 2:46–54. Berlin: A. Hofmann & Comp., 1882.
- . "Die geistliche Oper." *Die Zukunft* (8 December 1894): 456–461.
- . *Gedankenkorb*. Leipzig: Bartholf Senff, 1897.
- . "O Muzikye v Rossi." *Vek* 1, no. 1 (January 1761): 33–37.
- Ruderman, David B. "The Intellectual and Spiritual Journey of Stanislaus Hoga: From Judaism to Christianity to Hebrew Christianity." In *Converts of Conviction: Faith Skepticism in Nineteenth Century European Jewish Society*, edited by David B. Ruderman, 1:41–53. Studies and Texts in Scepticism. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter, 2018.
- "Russia—Periodicals, Russo-Jewish." In *The Jewish Encyclopedia*. 12 vols. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1906. <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/14736-voskhod#anchor62>.
- Saffe, Michael. "Adalbert von Goldschmidt: A Forgotten Lisztophile." *Journal of the American Liszt Society* 21 (1987): 31–41.
- Salazar, David. "Interview: A Look Into The Hungarian State Opera's New York Tour." *Opera Wire*. 13 October 2018. Accessed 25 August 2020. <https://operawire.com/interview-a-look-into-the-hungarian-state-operas-new-york-tour/>.
- Saleski, Gdal. *Famous Musicians of a Wandering Race*. New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1927.
- . *Famous Musicians of Jewish Origin*. New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1949.
- Samson, Jim, ed. *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Schiller, David M. *Bloch, Schoenberg, and Bernstein: Assimilating Jewish Music*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Schonberg, Harold C. "Music: 'The Queen of Sheba' Returns." *New York Times*, 27 March 1970, 23.

- Schorsch, Ismar. "Art as Social History: Oppenheim and the German Jewish Vision of Emancipation." In *Moritz Oppenheim: The First Jewish Painter*, edited by E. Cohen, 31–61. Jerusalem, 1983.
- Schmarsow, August. *Melozzo da Forlì*. Berlin and Stuttgart: W. Spemann, 1886.
- Schumann, Robert. *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker*. 4 vols. Leipzig: George Wigand, 1854.
- [uncredited]. "Kritik: Ferdinand Hiller, XXIV Etudes p. 1. Pfte. Oeuv. 15. Leipzig, Hofmeister, Pr. 3 Thlr." *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 2, no. 2 (6 January 1835): 5–6.
- [uncredited]. "Kritik: Ferdinand Hiller, XXIV Etudes p. 1. Pfte. Oeuv. 15. Leipzig, Hofmeister, Pr. 3 Thlr." *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 2, no. 11 (6 February 1835): 41–44.
- [uncredited]. "Kritik: Ferdinand Hiller, XXIV Etudes p. 1. Pfte. Oeuv. 15. Leipzig, Hofmeister, Pr. 3 Thlr." *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 2, no. 13 (13 February 1835): 53.
- [uncredited]. "Kritik: Ferdinand Hiller, XXIV Etudes p. 1. Pfte. Oeuv. 15. Leipzig, Hofmeister, Pr. 3 Thlr." *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 2, no. 14 (17 February 1835): 55–57.
- . *Music and Musicians. Essays and Criticisms*. Translated by Fanny Raymond Ritter. London: William Reeves, 1877.
- [12]. "Die Zerstörung Jerusalems: Oratorium von Ferdinand Hiller, Aufführung in Leipzig." *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 12, no. 30 (10 April 1840): 120.
- Schwarz, Hermine. *Ignaz Brüll und sein Freundeskreis : Erinnerungen an Brüll, Goldmark und Brahms*. Vienna: Rikola Verlag, 1922.
- Scrivener, Michael. "'Zion Alone Is Forbidden': Historicizing Antisemitism in Byron's 'The Age of Bronze.'" *Keats-Shelley Journal* 43 (1994): 75–97.
- Seroussi, Edwin. "Jewish Music and Diaspora." In *The Cambridge Companion to Jewish Music*, edited by Joshua S. Walden, 27–40. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- , et. al., "Jewish Music." In *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Accessed 9 September 2020. <https://doi-org.turing.library.northwestern.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.41322>.
- Serov, A.N. "The Guarantees of Genuine Musical Education in St. Petersburg." *The Northern Bee [Северная Пчела]*, no. 124 (9 May 1862): 5–10.
- Shear-Yashuv, Aharon. *The Theology of Salomon Ludwig Steinheim*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1986.
- Sietz, Reinhold, ed. *Aus Ferdinand Hillers Briefwechsel (1826-1885) Beiträge Zu Einer Biographie Ferdinand Hillers*. 7 vols. Cologne: Kongress der Internationalen Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft; Rheinische Musikgeschichte; Arno Volk-Verlag, 1958.

- Sietz, Reinhold, and Matthias Wiegandt. "Hiller, Ferdinand (Von)." In *Grove Music Online*. Oxford Music Online. Accessed 9 September 2020. <https://doi-org.turing.library.northwestern.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.13041>.
- Singer, Isidore. "Steinheim, Solomon Ludwig (Levy)." In *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 12 vols., 11:43–44. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1906. Accessed 5 August 2019. <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/14016-steinheim-solomon-ludwig-levy>.
- . "Goldbaum, Wilhelm." In *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 12 vols., 6:21. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1906. Accessed 16 May 2018, <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/6738-goldbaum-wilhelm>.
- Singer, Isidore, and Benueel H. Brumberg. "Kulke, Edward." In *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 12 vols., 7:582–583. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1906. Accessed 20 July 2020. <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/9548-kulke-eduard>.
- Singer, Isidore, and Alexander Büchler. "Sheba Kehillot." In *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 12 vols., 11:236. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1906. Accessed 3 November 2019. <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/13516-sheba-kehillot>.
- Singer, Isidore, and Frederick T. Hanerman. "Löwenstein, Rudolf." In *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 12 vols., 8:195. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1906. <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/10153-lowenstein-rudolf>.
- . "Rodenberg, Julius." In *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 12 vols., 10:439. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1906. <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/12792-rodenberg-julius>.
- Singer, Isidore, and Alois Kaiser. "Singer, Josef." In *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 12 vols., 11:384–85. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1906. <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/13774-singer-josef>.
- . "Sulzer, Salomon." In *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 12 vols., 11:586. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1906. Accessed 10 October 2019. <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/14109-sulzer-salomon>.
- Singer, Isidore, and Edgar Mels. "Becher, Alfred Julius." In *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 12 vols., 2:620–21. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1906. <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/12921-2703-becher-alfred-julius>.
- Singer, Isidore, and Herman Rosenthal. "Auer, Leopold." In *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 12 vols., 2:297–98. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1906. Accessed 31 October 2019. <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/2107-auer-leopold>.
- . "Friedländer, Max." In *The Jewish Encyclopedia*. 12 vols., 5:517. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1906. Accessed 16 May 2018. <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/6378-friedlander-max>.

- Singer, Isidore and E. Slijper. "Heymann, Isaac H." In *The Jewish Encyclopedia*. 12 vols., 6:379. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1906. Accessed 9 April 2019. <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/7665-heyman-isaac-h>.
- Singer, Isidore, and Joseph Sohn. "Joachim, Joseph." In *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 12 vols., 7:191. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1906. Accessed 29 June 2017. <http://jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/8687-joachim-joseph>.
- . "Kleeberg, Clotilde." In *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 12 vols, 7:520. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1906. Accessed 5 April 2019. <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/9369-kleeberg-clotilde>.
- . "Moszkowski, Moritz." In *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 12 vols., 9:97. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1906. Accessed 4 December 2018. <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/11179-moszkowski-moritz>.
- . "Stern, Julius." In *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, 12 vols., 11:550. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1906. Accessed 5 April 2019. <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/14031-stern-julius>.
- Singer, Josef. *Die Tonarten des Traditionellen Synagogengesanges im Verhältniss zu den Kirchentönen und den Tonarten der Vorchristlichen Musikperiode*. E. Wetzler: Vienna, 1886.
- . "Meine Begegnung mit Rubinstein." *Oesterreichisch-ungarische Cantoren-Zeitung* 14, no. 28 (1 December 1894): 1–2.
- . "Ueber Entwicklung Des 'Synagogen-Gesanges.'" *Oesterreichisch-ungarische Cantoren-Zeitung* 5, no. 42 (11 December 1885): 1–5.
- Skinner, Frederick W. "'Triumph of the Organic': Aleksandr Nikolaevich Serov and the Ninth Symphony." *The Beethoven Journal* 21, no. 1 (Summer 2006): 2–11.
- Slocum, John W. "Who, and When, Were the Inorodtsy? The Evolution of the Category of 'Aliens' in Imperial Russia." *The Russian Review* 57, no. 2 (April 1998): 173–90.
- Smissaert, C. D. "Denver." *The Musical Courier* 31, no. 8 (31 August 1895): 22.
- Smith, Ruth. *Handel's Oratorios and Eighteenth-Century Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Smither, Howard E. *A History of the Oratorio*. Vol. 4, *The Oratorio in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2000.
- Sorkin, D. "Emancipation and Assimilation: Two Concepts and Their Application to German-Jewish History." *The Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 35, no. 1 (1 January 1990): 17–33. <https://doi.org/10.1093/leobaeck/35.1.17>.

- Specht, A. "Nouvelles." *La Revue et Gazette Musicale de Paris* 7, no. 59 (25 October 1840): 508–9.
- Specht, Richard. "Carl Goldmark." *Der Merker: Oesterreichische Zeitschrift für Musik und Theater* 1, no. 15 (10 May 1910): 617–620.
- Spector, Scott. "Forget Assimilation: Introducing Subjectivity to German-Jewish History." *Jewish History* 20, no. 3/4 (2006): 349–61.
- Spector, Sheila A. *Byron and the Jews*. Detroit: Wayne State University, 2010.
- . "The Liturgical Context of the Byron-Nathan 'Hebrew Melodies.'" *Studies in Romanticism* 47, no. 3 (Fall 2008): 393–412.
- Speidel, Ludwig [sp.]. "Hof-Operntheater." *Fremden-Blatt* 29, no. 70 (12 March 1875): 5.
- [sp.]. "Theatre und Kunst. Konzerte." *Fremden-Blatt* 22, no. 324 (24 November 1868): 4.
- [sp.]. "Theatre und Kunst. Konzerte," *Fremden-Blatt* 27, no. 28 (29 January 1873): 6.
- Spiero, Heinrich. *Julius Rodenberg: Sein Leben Und Seine Werke*. Berlin: Gebrüder Paetel, 1921.
- Sposato, Jeffrey S. "Creative Writing: The [Self-] Identification of Mendelssohn as a Jew" 82, no. 1 (Spring 1998): 190–209.
- . "Mendelssohn and Assimilation: Two Case Studies." *Ars Lyrica* 19 (2010): 1–26.
- . "Mendelssohn, 'Paulus', and the Jews: A Response to Leon Botstein and Michael Steinberg" 83, no. 2 (291 280AD): Summer 1999.
- . *The Price of Assimilation: Felix Mendelssohn and the Nineteenth-Century Anti-Semitic Tradition*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Stanley, Glenn. "Bach's 'Erbe': The Chorale in the German Oratorio of the Early Nineteenth Century." *19th-Century Music* 11, no. 2 (Autumn 1987): 121–49.
- Stasov, V.V. "Conservatoires in Russia. Comments on Mr. Rubinstein's Article." *The Northern Bee* [Северная Пчела], no. 45 (24 February 1861): 181–82.
- Statistik Des Königl. Conservatoriums Der Musik Zu Leipzig 1843-1883*. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1883.
- Steinberg, Michael P. "Mendelssohn's Music and German-Jewish Culture: An Intervention" *The Musical Quarterly* 83, no. 1 (Spring 1999): 31–44.
- Steinheim, Salomon Ludwig. "Erklärung." *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 16, no. 21 (11 March 1842): 84.
- Sternfeld, Richard. "Zum Gedächtnis eines Meisters des deutschen Liedes (Hugo Wolf)." *Deutsche Revue* 28 (July 1903): 79.



- Stevens, Lewis. *Composers of Classical Music of Jewish Descent*. Chicago: Valentine Mitchell & Co., 2003.
- Strimple, Nick. *Choral Music in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Amadeus Press, 2008.
- Subotnik, Rose Rosengard. *Developing Variations*. Minneapolis and Oxford: University of Minnesota Press, 1991.
- Sulzer, Salomon. *Denkschrift an die hochgeehrte Wiener israelitische Cultus-Gemeinde*. Vienna, 1876.
- . *Schir Zion: Gesänge der Israeliten*. Vienna: Artaria & Co., [1840].
- . *Schir Zion: Gesänge der Israeliten*. Vienna: Engel, [1865].
- Tama, Diogene, ed. *Transactions of the Parisian Sanhedrim: Or, Acts of the Assembly of Israelitish Deputies of France and Italy, Convoked at Paris by an Imperial and Royal Decree, Dated May 30, 1806*. Translated by F.D. Kirwan. London: Charles Taylor, 1807.
- Taruskin, Richard. “Feramors.” In *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Accessed 23 March 2020. <https://doi-org.turing.library.northwestern.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.O901590>.
- . “Opera and Drama in Russian: The Case of Serov’s ‘Judith.’” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 32, no. 1 (Spring 1979): 74–117.
- . *The Oxford History of Western Music*. 5 vols. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- . “Teeth Will Be Provided: On Signifiers,” *Studia Musicologica* 57, no. 3-4 (2016): 263-293.
- . “Thurm Zu Babel, Der [Vavilonskoye Stolpotvoreniye] (The Tower of Babel).” In *Grove Music Online*. *Oxford Music Online*. Accessed 27 January 2020. <https://doi-org.turing.library.northwestern.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.O004889>.
- Taylor, Philip S. *Anton Rubinstein: A Life in Music*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indianapolis University Press, 2007.
- Tchaikovsky Research*. Accessed 23 March 2020. <https://en.tchaikovsky-research.net>.
- Telushkin, Joseph. *Jewish Literacy*. New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1991.
- “Theodor Thomas.” *Rosenthal Archives of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra*. 2010. Accessed 15 May 2018. [https://cso.org/globalassets/about/rosenthal-archives/pdfs/theodore\\_thomas.pdf](https://cso.org/globalassets/about/rosenthal-archives/pdfs/theodore_thomas.pdf).
- Todd, R. Larry. “Ferdinand Hiller, Die Zerstörung Jerusalems.” American Symphony Orchestra, March 16, 2008. Accessed 10 January 2019. <https://www.americansymphony.org/the-destruction-of-jerusalem-hiller>.

- , ed. *Mendelssohn and His World*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991.
- Tomassini, Anthony. “Politics Follow Performers Abroad.” *New York Times*, 5 November 2018, C6N.
- Touati, Charles. “Le Grand Sanhédrin de 1807 et le droit Rabbiniq.ue.” *Annales historiques de la Révolution Française* 51, no. 235 (March 1979): 27-48.
- Treitschke, Heinrich von. “Unsere Aussichten,” *Preußische Jahrbücher* 44 (1879): 559-576.
- Uhde, Katharina. *The Music of Joseph Joachim*. Rochester, NY and Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2018.
- Van Bekkum, Wout Jac. Review of *Qedushta'otfor Shavu'ot [Hymni Pentecostales]*, by Eleazar Kallir, edited by Shulamit Elizur. *AJS Review* 27, no. 1 (April 2003): 115-117.
- Vazsonyi, Nicholas. “Marketing German Identity: Richard Wagner’s ‘Enterprise.’” *German Studies Review* 28, no. 2 (May 2005): 327-46.
- Wagner, Richard. *Das Braune Buch: Taagebuch Aufzeichnungen 1865 Bis 1882*. München and Zurich: Piper, 1975.
- [K. Freigedank, pseud.]. “Das Judenthum in Der Musik.” *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 17, no. 19 (3 September 1850): 101-7.
- [K. Freigedank, pseud.]. “Das Judenthum in Der Musik.” *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 17, no. 20 (6 September 1850): 109-12.
- [K. Freigedank, pseud.]. *Das Judenthum in Der Musik*. Leipzig: J.J. Weber, 1869.
- . *Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft*. Leipzig: Otto Wigand, 1850.
- . *Mein Leben*. 2 vols. München: F. Bruckmann, 1911.
- . *My Life*. 2 vols. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1911.
- . *Richard Wagner’s Prose Works*. 8 vols. Translated by William Ashton Ellis, 75-122. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., 1892-1899.
- . *Wagner on Music and Drama: A Compendium of Richard Wagner’s Prose Works*. Edited by Albert Goldman and Evert Sprinchorn. Translated by H. Ashton Ellis. New York: E.P. Dutton, Inc., 1964.
- Waibl, Elmar, Philip Herdina, eds., *Dictionary of Philosophical Terms*. Vol. 2, *English-German*. Munich: K.G. Saur – Routledge, 1997.
- Walker, Alan. *Hans von Bülow: A Life and Times*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.

- Ward Jones, Peter. "Letter to the Editor." *The Musical Quarterly* 83, no. 1 (Spring 1999): 27-30.
- Wasserloos, Yvonne. *Das Leipziger Konservatorium der Musik im 19. Jahrhundert: Anziehung- und Ausstrahlungskraft eines musikpädagogischen Modells auf das international Musikleben*. Hildesheim, Zürich, and New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 2004.
- Watson, Derek. *Richard Wagner: A Biography*. London, Melbourne, and Toronto: M. Dent & Sons, 1979.
- Weiss, Philip. "Beethoven's Hair Tells All!" *The New York Times Magazine*, 29 November 1998, 108.
- Werner, Eric. *Mendelssohn: A New Image of the Composer and His Age*. Glencoe, NY: New York Free Press of Glencoe, 1963.
- . *A Voice Still Heard: The Sacred Songs of the Ashkenazi Jews*. University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976.
- Whistling, Karl. *Statistik des Königlichen Conservatoriums der Musik zu Leipzig: 1843-1883*. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtels, 1883.
- Williams, John. "Isidore, Orosius and the Beatus Map." *Imago Mundi* 49 (1997): 7-32.
- Williams, Kenneth. "International Students in Music: Crossing Boundaries." *College Music Symposium* 41 (2001): 43-56.
- Woerz, Johann Georg [Florestan]. "Die Königin von Saba." *Wiener Sonn- und Montags-Zeitung* 13, no. 24 (14 March 1875): 2-3
- Wokoeck, Ursula. *German Orientalism: The Study of the Middle East and Islam from 1800 to 1945*. London and New York: Routledge, 2009.
- "Veynberg, Petr." In *Kratkaya Yevreyskaya Entsiklopedia*. 1:619-620. Jerusalem: Society for Research on Jewish Communities/Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1976. Accessed 8 March 2020. <https://eleven.co.il/jews-of-russia/in-culture-science-economy>.
- Upton, George P. *The Standard Cantatas: Their Stories, Their Music, and Their Composers*. 8<sup>th</sup> ed. Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1903.
- United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. "Die Nürnberger Gesetze," October 25, 2016. <https://newspapers.ushmm.org/images/race-laws.jpg>.
- Youens, Susan. "The Song Sketches of Hugo Wolf." *Current Musicology* 44 (1990): 5-37.