

HEINRICH SCHALIT AND PAUL BEN-HAIM IN MUNICH

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The Nazi rise to power in Germany at the beginning of 1933 brought to an abrupt halt an important development in the field of Jewish music in Munich, especially with regard to the cooperation between Heinrich Schalit and Paul Ben-Haim. A study of musical developments in the Munich Jewish community of the 1920's may provide some indication of the cultural atmosphere that formed Ben-Haim's character and personality before his immigration to Israel.

The Jewish community in Munich was large and well-organized: The most influential personage in the area of Jewish liturgy was the cantor Emanuel Kirschner (1857-1938), who served as First Cantor for the lengthy period of forty-seven years (1881-1928). As Hugo Adler¹ pointed out, Kirschner was the first to overcome the enormous prestige of Lewandowsky, which, according to Adler, had paralyzed and inhibited all subsequent development of Jewish liturgical music.

Kirschner's approach to the question of Jewish liturgical music was affected by several issues. In a lecture at the Cantors Conference in Nürnberg (20 April, 1914) he traced the influence of German folk song on the Jewish liturgy, especially the music for the *Piyyûtîm*. He was opposed to this influence, which, in his view, resulted in the introduction of trivial melodies into the sacred material², and he supported rabbinical circles in their opposition to the infiltration of folk song. Kirschner also criticized the penetration of elements of modern art music, and he strongly objected to some of the movements in Leon Kornitzer's *Romemos El*, which are characterized by extreme chromaticism and complicated dissonant chords. A further important principle adopted by Kirschner was the clear distinction he drew between *Minhag Polin* and the south-German tradition. Both traditions were well known to him since his appointment in Munich in 1881: "Here in Munich he had to transform himself into a south-German Chassan. Coming from Minhag Poland which includes the Chassanuth of northern Germany,

1. Hugo Adler, "Das Stilprinzip in der Synagogalen Musik", *Der jüdische Kantor* (1931, no. 5), p. 5.

2. *Bayerische israelitische Gemeindezeitung* (1926), p. 242.

Austria, Hungary and Russia, with some regional differences, Kirschner saw himself suddenly transplanted and surrounded by the real Minhag Ashkenas."³ But for Kirschner the significant difference between the two traditions was that, in his view, the south-German *Hazzanût* was much closer to the ancient origins of Jewish liturgy than was the *Minhag Polin*. His long friendship with Idelsohn, which began in 1903, strengthened his interest in the oriental origins of the Jewish liturgy⁴. In his review of the compilation—*Der Frankfurter Kantor*—edited by Fabien Ogutsch, Kirschner objected to the progression of augmented seconds from the second to the third degree of the mode which was introduced in the compilation and which Kirschner considered to be "Polish". His careful distinction between the two traditions was echoed in J.B. Levy's introduction to *Der Frankfurter Kantor*⁵: "According to Kirschner, many components of the synagogue chant of the south-German Jews are very similar to old Italian; and, consequently, to the oriental cantillation of the Bible and of the basic prayers. Thus we can safely assume that the south-German synagogue chant had its origins in Palestine, since many of its basic motifs are definitely very old."

While Kirschner's ideology was clearly stated, it seems that he found it much harder to apply in practice, as can be seen through a study of his four-volume lifetime work, *Tehiloth l'El Elyon*. His deliberate search for the ancient origins of synagogue chant is already manifested in the second volume of the work. The first volume (1896) contains cantorial recitatives in romantic operatic style, accompanied by the organ. In the much more extensive second volume (1898) he made an attempt to avoid the organ accompaniment: "The recitatives for the cantor which are performed without organ accompaniment are completely based on the ancient tradition." His declared intention was "to contribute to the fight against corrupted style, the fight which we have initiated especially at the reformed service. It is impossible to understand, on both Jewish and purely musical grounds, how the new responds, namely, those for the Sabbath Service, were completely divested of the characteristic features... Unfortunately, the perception to

3. Jacob Hohenemser, "An Evaluation of the Life and Works of Emanuel Kirschner", in: *United Synagogues of America—Proceedings of the Annual Conference Convention of the Cantors' Assembly and the Department of Music* (New York, 1950), p. 13.

4. Hohenemser ("An Evaluation", p. 14) points out that Kirschner and Idelsohn remained in constant correspondence even after the latter's departure from Germany. It may be added that a similar distinction between liturgical traditions was made at about the same time by Darius Milhaud, who even ridiculed the east-European Jewish tradition in his comic opera, *Esther de Carpentras*. See Jehoash Hirshberg, "Esther de Carpentras", *Tatzlil*, 16 (1976): 25-33 (in Hebrew).

5. *Der Frankfurter Kantor* was published in 1930, eight years after Ogutsch's death, so that the introduction was not written by the editor himself.

such musical brutalities has been forcibly blunted for decades, and it is the right time—indeed, high time—to oppose such stylistic corruption as strongly as possible”⁶. Still, despite his sincere presentation of his goals, it seems that Kirschner was unable to take the logically extreme step. It is true that there are six unaccompanied melismatic recitatives in the first section of the second volume⁷, but in the second section the unaccompanied recitative is nearly abandoned. Moreover, the volume is concluded with a *Schlussgesang* in the same German Chorale style to which Kirschner himself objected. The third volume (1911) consisted of an optional compilation, which may serve as a substitute for the first volume. Yet, contrary to all expectations, here Kirschner does not use unaccompanied recitative at all. The introduction to the last volume (1926) reflects a more cautious and realistic attitude: “Even though some Lied-type chants whose origin can undoubtedly be found in the treasure of the German Lied have been preserved... still a significant part of the collection follows the melody and the motifs of the old tradition of *Chasanus*. The intention is to avoid the elimination of the Jewish identity in the course of the modern, organ accompanied performance.” In the fourth volume Kirschner does make occasional use of the unaccompanied recitative, as in “Jehi rozon”.

(Ex. 1)

parlando
p
 jě - hi ro-zon mil-fo-ne-cho ä-do-noj ě-lo-he-nu we-lo-he-ä-wo-fse-nu
p
 me-lech ra-chä-mon schet-to-schuw ufs-ra-chem o-le-nu wě-al mik-doschcho
mf
 bë-ra-chä-me-cho ho-rab-bim wě-fsiw-ne-hu më-he-roh ufs-ga-del kë-wo-do
accel.
 o-wi-nu mal-ke-nu gal-leh kë-wod mal-chufscho o-le-nu më-he-roh
dolce
 wě-ho-fa wě-hin-no-fse o-le-nu lě-e-ne chol choj
dolce
 wëkorew pësu-re-nu mibben haggójim un-fu-zo-fse-nu channefs mi-jar-kě-fse o-rez

6. Introduction to Volume II.

7. “B’rochos w’hodoos”, “Halb-Kaddisch”, “Hakkol joducho”, “Es schem hoel”, “Ham’chad-desch”, “K’duschah”.

But in most cases he tries to achieve a synthesis of melismatic recitative and organ accompaniment, as in "Berosch Haschonoh".

(Ex. 2)

21. Bërosch haschonoh.

Quasi Fantasia.

Bërosch hascho - - - noh jik-ko - fse - wun

uw - jom - zom - kip - - pur - je - cho - fse - -

It is obvious that the reformed congregation in Munich was not ready for any revolutionary change, and that Kirschner preferred to act slowly and gradually. The conservative attitude of the community in the early 1920's is reflected in the activities of the influential Jüdische Gesangverein. This Jewish community choir was founded in 1921 with the formal aim of the cultivation of secular and synagogue song, "first folksong, later Mendelssohn, Lewandowsky, etc"⁸. The programme of the 1926 concert for the centennial celebration of the foundation of the Munich Great Synagogue included works by Rossi, Lewandowsky, Löwenstamm (Kirschner's predecessor), and Birnbaum. Kirschner was represented only in his lecture on synagogue music. It was left for the younger Heinrich Schalit to realize Kirschner's ideas.

The Vienna-born Schalit⁹ settled in Munich in 1908. Like Ben-Haim ten years later, Schalit began his activity as composer of Lieder and of piano music. However, the year 1916 brought about a sudden change. Schalit

8. *Das jüdische Echo* (1921), p. 24.

9. Much of the information, the documentary material and the chronology concerning Heinrich Schalit presented here was kindly provided by the late composer's son, Mr. Michael Schalit. Mr. Schalit has just published his bio-bibliography of Heinrich Schalit, an important contribution towards further research. I am happy to acknowledge Mr. Schalit's kind interest in my work on the present paper.

himself kept a chronological list of his compositions. At the top of the second page there is a significant comment: "NB: 1916 Beginn der Schaffensperiode der Musik jüdischen Inhalts u. jüd. Charakters." (Beginning of the creative period of music with Jewish contents and character.) In an article by Dr. Gerhard Herz, published in Düsseldorf in 1936, Schalit was quoted as having written to Herz: "The psychological experience of the war years and of the period after the war led to a decisive turning point in my creative work, and at the same time to the termination of my 'romantic' period. The conviction of my being Jewish penetrated my musical work more and more and reminded me of my responsibility." Indeed, the years 1916-17 brought about the composition of two of his most frequently performed compositions, the *Seelenlieder* and the 2 *hymnische Gesänge*¹⁰. The many reviews of the *Seelenlieder* emphasized the originality of the first and of the last of them. The first song, "Knechte der Zeit", is characterized by austere rhythm and texture, dissonant diatonic progressions (with the exception of one single enharmonic progression in the whole song) alternating with triads.

(Ex. 3)

Un poco lento e marcato.

Knech- te der Zeit. Knech- te der Knech- te!

molt sostenuto

ff

simile

p

A- ber der Frei -e, der ein- zig rech - te, auch ein

p

10. The *Seelenlieder* were subsequently published by Universal Edition in 1921. The *Hymnische Gesänge* remained in manuscript until 1970, when they were published as the first two songs in the cycle *Visions of Yehudah Halevi* (Evergreen, Col.).

morendo -

Knecht- die-net dem Herrn die-net dem Herrn.

morendo

The image shows a musical score for a vocal piece. It consists of three staves. The top staff is the vocal line in treble clef, with lyrics 'Knecht- die-net dem Herrn die-net dem Herrn.' and a 'morendo -' marking above it. The middle staff is the piano accompaniment in bass clef, with a 'morendo' marking below it. The bottom staff is a lower bass line in bass clef. The music is in 4/4 time and features a chromatic progression in the vocal line.

The last song, “Tröste dich in deinen Nöten”, is closer to the post-romantic Lied-style in its chromaticism, but the chromatic progressions resemble organ-like mixtures more than actual chromaticism.

(Ex. 4)

mag er tref - fen,

The image shows a musical score for a short piece. It consists of three staves. The top staff is the vocal line in treble clef, with lyrics 'mag er tref - fen,'. The middle staff is the piano accompaniment in treble clef. The bottom staff is the piano accompaniment in bass clef. The music is in 4/4 time and features a chromatic progression in the vocal line.

It should be noted that although the frequent reviews of the *Seelenlieder* emphasized the originality of the two songs, it was also made clear that Schalit was far removed from the revolutionary trend of pre- and post-World War I music. The critic Julius Schweitzer wrote that “Schalit is no revolutionary, since beauty and clarity of the line are fundamental for him”¹¹ and the critic of *Das jüdische Echo* used a more poetic style in describing “the air of the ancient temple which permeates those songs...” The conductor Bruno Walter, then the *General-musikdirektor* in Munich, expressed his admiration of the *Lieder* which he referred to as “the most powerful experience I have ever had in the field of the modern Lied”¹².

11. *Bayerische israelitische Gemeindezeitung* (1925, no. 3), p. 43.

12. *Das jüdische Echo* (1921), p. 189.

The search for Jewish expression is also reflected in the *Hymnische Gesänge*, as, for example, in the first phrase of "Es war die Braut gegangen", which is characterized by modal melody and harmony, diatonic progressions, and chords of fourths.

(Ex. 5)

VOICE

mp a tempo

Hebrew: Yats - a l' - ka - dem - cha ka - lah l' - cha chal - tah mi -
 English: She go - eth out to meet Thee the Bride that long - eth for Thee, since the

p a tempo

poco

yom a - sher lo hil - tah kad - sh' - cha chal - tah mi -
 day she could no more sup - pli - cate in Thy Sanctu - a - ry, she hath

poco

Duration
4 min. 30 sec.

Shortly afterwards Schalit turned his attention to the Jewish folksongs of Eastern Europe, which he arranged in German translation. His interest in Jewish folksongs also led him to the performance of other arrangements, including those of Idelsohn's Yemenite songs. In 1927 Schalit organized an evening of Jewish folksongs with the singer Rachel Ermolnikoff. In addition to his own works the programme also included arrangements by Darius Milhaud, and, more important, Alice Loewenson's arrangements of three Yemenite songs from Idelsohn's first volume of the *Thesaurus*. Idelsohn's influence will be discussed presently. Most of Schalit's works until 1926 were in the form of songs for voice and piano, but in 1927 he turned to choral music. His first choral work was *In Ewigkeit* for 5-part chorus, organ,

harp, and two solo violins, again to a poem by Judah ha-Levi¹³. The features of the Lied “Knechte der Zeit” reappear in the new choral work: simple, unified rhythmic structure, heavy chordal blocks, alternation of dissonant diatonic chords and open fifth chords, and triads enriched by added sixths or fourths. The use of fugal counterpoint, which was so typical of German romantic choral music, is, characteristically enough, not abandoned altogether, but is limited to one section of the composition. Example 6 illustrates some of the characteristics of the work.

(Ex. 6)

So ha-ben auch in Not sie Last-rung nie ge-dacht, nie ge-dacht, nie ge-dacht.
 Not e'en in dark di-stress have they de-spaired of life, not e'en in dark di-stress

So ha-ben auch in Not sie Last-rung nie ge-dacht, nie ge-dacht, nie ge-dacht.
 Not e'en in dark di-stress have they de-spaired of life, not e'en in dark di-stress

So ha-ben auch in Not sie Last-rung nie ge-dacht, nie ge-dacht, nie ge-dacht.
 Not e'en in dark di-stress have they de-spaired of life, not e'en in dark di-stress

So ha-ben auch in Not sie Last-rung nie ge-dacht, nie ge-dacht, nie ge-dacht.
 Not e'en in dark di-stress have they de-spaired of life, not e'en in dark di-stress

The publication of the second and of the third volumes of Idelsohn's *Thesaurus* (1922 and 1923 respectively) provided Schalit with additional sources of inspiration. Still, it seems that the oriental tradition—even as reflected in Idelsohn's transcriptions, which leave the performance aspects of the material obscure—was too remote from Schalit and its assimilation was very gradual. It was only in his last, and most ambitious, work to be

13. It seems that there was a special interest in Judah ha-Levi not only for the obvious reasons, but also because he was considered to be “the greatest of the Spanish-Arabic medieval poets” (*Bayerische israelitische Gemeindezeitung* [1926, no. 1], p. 13). The oriental aspect had a special appeal to anyone concerned with the transformation of Jewish music at that time.

written in Germany, *Eine Freitagabend-Liturgie*¹⁴, that he admitted the importance of Idelsohn's work and tried to use melodies from his collection. In his introduction to the work Schalit restated Kirschner's ideology with added force and conviction: "The inorganic mixture of old liturgical prayer melody with the folk-song and chorale-like community and choral singing of 19th-century Germany must be eliminated since it does not correspond to the requirements of religious Judaism... The modern musicological reasearch and collection of Hebrew-Oriental ritual which has been done by A.Z. Idelsohn has given a new impetus to the further development of synagogue music..." It is still significant that despite this clear statement, only three of the nineteen movements of the work are marked as being based on quotations from Idelsohn. Strangely enough, two of the three references given by Schalit himself are wrong. It is only the third movement, "Lechododi", which is indeed derived from the *Gesänge der orientalischen Sefardim* (no. 3, Syrian tune). Of the other two references, "Tow lehodos" appears in Idelsohn's *Jewish Music* (Table X, no. 4), and "Weohawto" (no. 9) is not found in Idelsohn. At this stage of research the reason for the wrong attribution is not known. It is possible, however, that the references were

(Ex. 7)

The musical score for Ex. 7 consists of two staves. The top staff is for the Cantor (Kantor) and the bottom staff is for the Organ (Org.). The Cantor part is marked *ff* and *ritard*. The Organ part is marked *fff (v.w.)* and *ritard*. The lyrics are: *Mis-mâr shir le-jôm haschabbos. Tôw le-hô-dôs la-dô-*. The score includes dynamic markings, articulation marks, and a *ritard* marking. A footnote at the bottom indicates a reference to Idelsohn's work.

*) Sefardisch - orient. Weise (Takt 1-9), vergl. Idelsohn: *Gesänge d. orient. Sefardim* *

14. Published by Schalit himself, Munich, 1933. It may be interesting to quote a letter from Arno Nadel to Idelsohn, written on 5 January 1933: "Von Schalit, München, und von Leo Kopf, Berlin, sind in letzter Zeit Freitagabend-Gottesdienst neu aufgeführt worden, und nächstens wird wohl auch der von mir komponierte Abendgottesdienst aus meinem Kompendium folgen. Aber, wie gesagt, die Zeiten sind schwierig, und was herauskommt, ist ungewiss..." ("New Friday-Night services by Schalit, Munich, and by Leo Kopf, Berlin, were performed recently, and a service composed by myself would probably follow in a short while. But, as I said before, the times are bad, and it is uncertain what will happen next...") [Idelsohn Archives, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Mus 7. (465)].

Ch. *no- j ules am - mer les chuncho El - (4) jôn. Lehagidba - bô - kerchas (3) de - cho wee -*

Org.

Ch. *munosse - cho ballē - - lôs. A - lāj - os - sôr waalēj no - wel - a - lāj higo - jôn bechin -*

Org.

Ch. *nôr. Ki - ssimadta - ni Adô - noj befô - o - lecho be - maassē jo - decho a - ran -*

Org. *ff*

Ch. *nên.*

Org. *Langsamer allarg*

made from memory while the actual publications were not available to Schalit for consultation. However that may be, the oriental origin of the three tunes is of great importance. The most original and revealing of the three is "Tow lehodos". The chorus quotes (according to Schalit) nine measures of the original melody, accompanied by harmony of modal chords, mixtures of fourths, open fifths and long pedals (see Example 7).

Although the harmony is influenced by the quoted melody, the same harmonic style is retained for the rest of the movement, even when the cantor takes over and continues in a different melodic style, as illustrated in Example 8.

(Ex. 8)

Kantor: *Langsamer (Meno mosso)*
ausdrucksvoll (espr)
 Mah-god - lu maassecho Adô-noj - meôd o-me-ku maaschwô.

Org. *mp*
Ped.

K. *poco rit... (♩)* *a tempo*
 sse-do . . . Isch - ba-ar lô jê - do - uche-sil -

Org. *poco rit....* *a tempo*

K. *mp*
 lô-jo - win - ess - sôss. Bif- rô-adî reschoim kemô - êsseg wajo-

Org. *p.*

K. *mf* *f allargando* **Chor:** *ff*
 xi-zu kolpô a-lêj o-wen lehi - schomdom - adêj-ad. Weat -

Org. *mf allarg.*

It should be added that the harmony of this movement is strikingly similar to that of the style which developed in the late 1930's in Israel.

From 1916 it became clear that Schalit considered his activity in the field of Jewish music as a mission and a commitment, stimulating interest in the problem of Jewish music as a whole. The critic of *Das jüdische Echo* wrote after a Schalit concert in Nürnberg: "Is Schalit's music Jewish? It is hard to answer this question, since we still do not know how to define the Jewish essence in music. We would be able to provide an answer only after we develop independent musical activity in Palestine and sense the Jewish identity... At the present we can only determine whether a certain Jewish composer is different from others and whether he moves in a special direction, and only later would it be possible to decide what is the individual in him and what is the Jewish. With regard to Schalit it is possible to say without doubt that he is expressing something individual, original. Not in all of his works and not equally in all... The musical language of his Lieder betrays a strong influence of modern, German Lieder composers, especially Wolf and Strauss, but the *Seelenlieder*, especially "Knechte der Zeit" and "Jeder Morgenstern" are pervaded with original ideas and structure."¹⁵ By deferring the final solution of the problem to future activity in Palestine the critic added a new dimension to the development in the search for Jewish music. Schalit himself emphasized the Zionist aspect of his ideology, as shown by his own description of his first meeting with Paul Ben-Haim (then Frankfurter): ". . . [between] 1928 and 1932, when there was no composer of Jewish birth who could have even thought of writing music with a consciously Jewish heartbeat, I was already a well-known composer of Jewish religious music. When I heard the compositions of Paul Frankfurter for the first time, I was greatly impressed by the remarkable maturity of his technique and style; he wrote in a contemporary vein—but with no trace of our ancestral Jewish heritage. As a conscious Jewish musician and Zionist I considered it my duty to convince him of the necessity of devoting his talent to Jewish music and culture. I met Paul Frankfurter and we became friends. He became acquainted with my music and its Jewish idioms. He was deeply impressed and conducted my *Hymnische Gesänge für Bariton* with much success in a concert. Thus, the Jewish spark was ignited..."¹⁶

15. *Das jüdische Echo* (1925), p. 385.

16. A letter to Anita Heppner (1971).

The first indications of friendship and cooperation between Schalit and Ben-Haim were shown when they began to present joint concerts of their works. The marked difference in the directions of their creative activity until 1928 is clearly illustrated in the programme of the concert in Munich in 1928, where Schalit presented five *Hymnische Gesänge* to poems by Judah hal-Levi¹⁷ while Ben-Haim offered his string trio and the *Lieder nach Gedichten aus Hans Bethges "Japanischem Frühling"*. But Schalit's influence soon asserted itself, as Ben-Haim began intensive work in the field of Jewish religious music. The following list reflects the relative proportion of his work in religious and non-religious music in the years 1929-1933.

JEWISH RELIGIOUS WORKS

1. 3 Motetten für gemischten Chor (*Mache dich auf*, Isaiah 60; *Wenn man meinen Jammer wöge*, Job 6; *Der Mensch vom Weib geboren*, Job 14) (1928)
2. *Psalm 126* (8-part male chorus) (1929)
3. Two religious arias for soprano and organ (1929)
4. *Gedenke an deinen Schöpfer*, Motet, 5-part male chorus (Ecclesiastes 12) (1933)

NON-JEWISH RELIGIOUS WORKS

Joram, Oratorio (Borchardt) (1933)

OTHER WORKS

1. *Pan* for soprano and orchestra (Lautensack) (1931)
2. Concerto grosso (1931)

Psalm 126 (the only published work belonging to this period) marked the climactic point of Ben-Haim's success in Germany. It was performed at the prestigious Nürnberg Choral Festival in July 1931. In April 1931, Frankenburger wrote a short article in the periodical *Der elfter Bote* in which he commented on his *Psalm 126*: "...at that time I revived the cultivation of the *Musica Sacra*, unjustly neglected by many of the modern composers. It has been my goal to find a new form and content for religious expression. Therefore I strove—especially in the present male chorus—to free myself as much as possible from unnecessary polyphonic ballast and harmonic complications. My musical language in that work—unlike that of my other compositions—is deliberately simple and consequently it should penetrate the heart more easily."

17. This was a combination of two earlier sets of two and three songs respectively. The combined set of five songs is the one published in 1970 as *Visions of Yehudah Halevi*.

The three motets and the *Psalm* represent one of the most important characteristics of Ben-Haim's music: he avoids sudden or revolutionary

(Ex. 9)

Andante impetuoso (pesante)

Sopran I II
Mache dich auf, wer-de Licht denn dein Licht -

Alt I II
Mache dich auf wer-de Licht denn dein Licht -

Tenor I II
Mache dich auf wer-de Licht

Bass I II
Mache dich auf wer-de Licht

Licht kommt
kommt und die Herr

denn dein Licht kommt und die Herr.

denn dein Licht kommt und die Herr

lich-keit des Herrn ge-het auf über dir

lich-keit des Herrn ge-het auf über dir

lich-keit des Herrn ge-het auf über dir

lich-keit des Herrn ge-het auf über dir

changes of style, so that each of his works consists of an elaborate synthesis of tradition and innovation. It is significant that Schalit's approach was very similar to that of Ben-Haim, and that it agreed with the overall background of the musical ideology current in Munich. The model for Ben-Haim's two compositions was the renaissance motet. Example 9 presents the first phrase of the motet, which is a setting of Isaiah 60, 1.

The tonal structure of this phrase is a simple diatonic progression from tonic to dominant, but the chords are dissonant, and dense clusters are formed toward the end of the phrase. The second phrase is in complete contrast to the first. Its cadence, which is illustrated in example 10, is modal-

(Ex. 10)

The musical score for Example 10 consists of eight staves. The first two staves are vocal lines in treble clef, 3/2 time, with lyrics: "Völ-ker, Dun - kel!". The next two staves are piano accompaniment in treble clef, 3/2 time, with lyrics: "Dun - kel Dun - kel!". The final four staves are piano accompaniment in bass clef, 3/2 time, with lyrics: "Fins-ter-niss, Fins-ter-niss be - deckt das Erd - reich." The score includes dynamic markings such as *pp* and *ppp*, and features a diatonic progression from tonic to dominant.

declamatory on an open fifth-chord. The fusion of archaism, modality, and diatonic dissonant progressions is common to Ben-Haim's works and to Schalit's *In Ewigkeit. Psalm 126* represents a style more homogenous than that of the motets. The following excerpt illustrates Ben-Haim's attempt at overcoming the regular rhythm reminiscent of the German Chorale which prevails in the motets. He uses declamatory rhythm, melismas, and patterns of synagogue chant.

(Ex. 11)

The musical score consists of two systems. The first system features three vocal staves and a piano accompaniment. The vocal parts are marked with the instruction "(mit geschlossenem Mund)" and dynamic markings of *pp* and *ppp*. The piano accompaniment is marked *pp* and *Molto sostenuto*. The second system features a vocal line with lyrics and piano accompaniment. The vocal line is marked *p* and *molto tranquillo*. The lyrics are: "Wenn der Herr die Ge-fan-ge-nen Zi-ons er-lö-sen wird,". The piano accompaniment is marked *ppp*.

The last section of the piece reaches its climax with the phrase "Sie gehen hin und weinen", which effects a sudden appearance of the melodic pattern of *Ahavah rabbah shtejger*, which had not yet been encountered in Ben-Haim's music.

(Ex. 12)

T I Sie gehen hin und weinen
 T II Sie gehen hin und weinen
 B I und weinen und tragen edlen Samen
 B II und weinen und tragen edlen Samen

The *Psalm* attracted special attention in the festival, which is remarkable if one takes into account the heavily loaded programme of several daily concerts. A representative passage from a review by Dr. Ewens shows that the stylistic innovations of the *Psalm* were well recognized: "A Psalm by Paul Frankenburger was highly successful, and justly so. It is not written in church style, but still it is permeated with deep religious feelings."¹⁸ But amid the enthusiastic, laudatory reviews a more ominous note was heard: "*Psalm 126* of Paul Frankenburger sounds like a highly ecstatic hymn; racially limited indeed, but a sincere art."¹⁹

It is important to point out that despite Schalit's influence, Ben-Haim displayed an independent and personal approach with regard to choice of text and subject matter. Schalit based all his works from 1916 on lyrical poems, mostly by Judah ha-Levi, and none on biblical texts, whereas Ben-Haim used only biblical sources for his religious works. Moreover, he was especially interested in serious, moralistic texts. Ben-Haim, unlike Schalit, did not intend to concentrate exclusively on Jewish music. The successful performances of *Pan*, of *Psalm 126*, and of the *Concerto grosso* in 1931 encouraged him to devote a full year to composition, whereas until then he had been constantly active also as conductor, concert pianist, chamber ensemble player and Lieder accompanist. His decision to write a large-scale oratorio to Rudolf Borchardt's *Das Buch Joram* (1905) is of great significance. Borchardt's work is a moralistic biblical poem, which follows the Book of Job and is written in the style of the Lutheran Bible. Thus, from the point

18. Ewens, *Deutsche Sängerbundes Zeitung*, no. 20.

19. Ulrich Herzog, *Neue Badische Landeszeitung* (Mannheim, 14 July, 1931).

of view of subject matter *Joram* represented a synthesis of the austere, moralistic tendency of the Jewish composer with that of the young German composer who wished to continue the great tradition of German music. The work is also an impressive synthesis of musical styles and techniques, but a full discussion of it requires (and deserves) a separate study.

The autograph of *Joram* was completed in February 1933. It is remarkable that Ben-Haim's creative drive at that time was so powerful that even when he was at the point of completing the huge score of the oratorio he also composed a new biblical motet, which was to be the last work he wrote in Germany. His interest in serious and moralistic texts was again expressed in this motet which should be considered one of his greatest works. All the characteristics of *Psalm 126* reappear and the declamatory-modal elements are even more prevalent.

(Ex. 13)

Ex. 13 is a musical score for a vocal ensemble. It consists of five staves: Treble I (T I), Treble II (T II), Baritone (Bar.), Bass I (B I), and Bass II (B II). The lyrics are: "Ge den ke an dei ner Schöpfer Ge den ke an dei nen Schöp - fer". The music is in a key with two flats (B-flat major or D-flat minor) and a 4/4 time signature. The score shows vocal lines with lyrics and piano accompaniment.

The climax of the work is here also reached with the motive of *Ahavah rabbah shtejger*²⁰.

(Ex. 14)

Ex. 14 is a musical score for a single vocal line. The lyrics are: "und der Glaub wird wie der zu Glaub". The music is in a key with two flats (B-flat major or D-flat minor) and a 4/4 time signature. The score shows a vocal line with lyrics and piano accompaniment.

It is indeed hard to imagine a biblical text more suited for the expression of the emotions of a Jew in Munich in February 1933 than that of chapter 12 of *Ecclesiastes*. Indeed, the events of 1933 suddenly arrested all developments in the field of Jewish music in Munich. Schalit did have the opportunity of presenting his *Freitagabend-Liturgie* once in Berlin, on 16th September 1932, and the work was warmly accepted: "It has been the first time in a decade that we have heard in the organ synagogue music which is

religiously Jewish in its intention and instinct. It was not only the work of a musician, but also of a Jewish artist, who has looked for the way to express the Hebrew language, the rhythm of the words, the inflections of its speech, the *melos* inherent in it. Finally we have a musical work which justifies the use of the Hebrew language... The synagogue was packed with people, as during the High Holidays, which is an indication of the wide-spread interest in the revival of synagogue music."²¹ There was a request for a performance in Munich, but time was running out. Both Schalit and Ben-Haim decided to leave Germany. Schalit convinced Ben-Haim to immigrate to Palestine, where he in fact settled in October 1933. But Schalit himself accepted the position of organist at the Rome synagogue, afterwards immigrating to the United States where he died in 1976 at the age of 90.

20. The use of the *shtejger* was so unusual that Ben-Haim found it essential to indicate the A-natural in the manuscript.

21. *Bayerische israelitische Gemeindezeitung* (1932), p. 328.

YUVAL

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ABBREVIATIONS

קיצורים

Adler, *HWCM* ראה אדלר, כתבים עבריים
 המכון לתצלומי כתבי יד, בית הספרים הלאומי
 והאוניברסיטאי בירושלים
 ראה *RISM* ריס"מ

<i>Adler, HWCM</i>	I. Adler, Hebrew Writings Concerning Music in Manuscripts and Printed Books, from Geonic Times up to 1800, München, 1975
<i>Cat. Margoliouth</i>	Margoliouth, G., Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the British Museum
<i>Cat. Neubauer</i>	Neubauer, A. Catalogue of the Hebrew Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library
<i>Cu</i>	Cambridge University Library
<i>EI²</i>	The Encyclopaedia of Islam, new ed. Leiden, 1960-
<i>EJ²</i>	Encyclopaedia Judaica, Jerusalem, 1971-72
<i>Erlanger</i>	Erlanger, R. d', La musique arabe, Paris, 1930-1939
<i>HUCA</i>	Hebrew Union College Annual
<i>IMHM</i>	Institute of Microfilms of Hebrew Manuscripts, Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem
<i>JA</i>	Journal asiatique
<i>JJS</i>	Journal of Jewish Studies
<i>JMRS</i>	Jewish Medieval and Renaissance Studies, ed. A. Altmann, Cambridge, Mass., 1967
<i>JNUL</i>	The Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem
<i>JQR</i>	Jewish Quarterly Review
<i>JRAS</i>	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
<i>KS</i>	Kiryat Sefer; Bibliographical Quarterly of the JNUL
<i>Lbm</i>	London, The British Library

Mbs	München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
<i>MGWJ</i>	Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judenthums
Mus. pass.	Passage(s) concerning music
Njts	New York, Jewish Theological Seminary of America
Ob	Oxford, Bodleian Library
Pn	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale
<i>REJ</i>	Revue des études juives
<i>RISM</i>	Répertoire international des sources musicales
<i>Tb</i>	The Babylonian Talmud