

**Letters from the Front: Paul Frankenburger (Ben-Haim's) early unpublished correspondence with Otto Crusius (1857-1918)**

**Malcolm Miller**

**PPT 1**

My paper concerns two letters written by Paul Frankenburger (later Ben-Haim) to Otto Crusius (1857-1918), the German Classical Philologist, in August 1917, which provide a fascinating window into the composer's early ideas on song style and in particular popular song and folksong. The two letters were sent from the front in Flanders, where the twenty year-old Frankenburger was serving during WWI. They speak admiringly of Crusius's songs, of the relationship of composed and folk music, and creativity in general, with a musical example in Frankenburger's hand. They give a glimpse into Ben-Haim's twin love of philology and music at that time, of his interest in ancient text setting which would flower later in Palestine/Israel, and attest to the resilience of his enthusiasm for composition amidst the tribulation of the WWI trenches. The letters also trace a fascinating connection with the Crusius family, continued in Frankenburger's friendship with Crusius's son Otto Eduard (1892-1965), a fellow Munich composer, whose songs Frankenburger copied out and who in turn wrote to Frankenburger, as cited in Jehoash Hirshberg's seminal Ben-Haim biography, praising his deep identification with his art, as shown in the oratorio *Joram*, and the destiny of forging a new life in Palestine. My paper introduces the letters in German and English translation, and sets them into the context of the relationship between the composers (correcting misattributions in library catalogues and websites), and Ben-Haim's life and oeuvre.

## **Introduction**

There are many examples in history of the effect of wartime experiences on creative artists. Disquieting impressions often provide powerful stimulus for artistic expression, either as an immediate response, or later in retrospect, as acts of musical memory. For the composer Paul Ben-Haim, WWI was both a time of extreme personal distress and a catalyst for musical creativity. His eldest brother Ernst was killed aged just 28, in June 1916 at Verdun, a loss their father, Heinrich Frankenburger, was never to get over; Paul himself was called up in August the same year. As Jehoash Hirshberg writes, in his seminal biography of the composer<sup>1</sup>, “The world war was a nightmare for the young composer. A few months after his brother’s death in Verdun, he himself was sent to the French and later the Belgium front, attached to an anti-tank unit. There he was nearly killed by a gas attack.” On leave after receiving news of his mother’s early death aged 51, he composed two settings of poems by Morgenstern; Hirshberg remarks “Already composition was the way to overcome the worst crises in his life”.

## **PPT 2**

The paradoxical coexistence of unsettling distress and a thirst for creativity elicited by WWI is powerfully encapsulated by two unpublished letters by Frankenburger sent from the Belgium front. My paper will begin with some background context, then introduce and comment on the letters, finally placing them in the broader context of Ben-Haim’s development. I came across the letters whilst browsing in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, where they form part of the Nachlass collection Crusiusiana.<sup>2</sup> They were sent from Flanders on 7 and 15 of August 1917, as Feldpost – Military post – to Otto Crusius (1857-1918) in Munich (Address PPT). The postmark Flak refers to the anti aircraft unit.

### **PPT 3**

Otto Crusius<sup>3</sup> was a distinguished Classical Philologist, born on 20 December 1857 in Hannover. His uncle, Gottlob Christian Crusius (1785–1848), was a well known cantor and philologist, whose important Homer commentary was a major influence on his nephew. In 1886 Crusius was appointed Professor of Classical Philology at the University of Tübingen, where his two sons were born, in 1898 at Heidelberg and in 1903 at Munich, where from 1915 he was President of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences and Curator of Collections in for Bavarian State; he died in Munich on 29 December 1918. During his impressive academic career, Crusius produced a string of major publications on Greek culture, especially in the field of music and metrics. For instance in the 1890s he collaborated with archaeologists Henri Weil and Theodore Reinach publishing transcriptions of Delphic Hymns, one of which was set to music by Gabriel Faure as 'Hymne à Apollon' (1894)<sup>4</sup> performed at the 1895 Olympics.<sup>5</sup>

### **PPT 4**

Crusius also edited volumes of Nietzsche's Basel lectures about ancient civilisation and musical rhythm.<sup>6</sup> His influence stretched beyond Classics to a wider circle of musicologists and composers and it is thus likely that the young Paul Frankenburger, aged 20 in 1917, would have been aware of Crusius' work owing to his early twin loves of philology and music, as also his Liberale German-Jewish identity.

Hirshberg's discussion of Ben-Haim's childhood describes the composer's father Heinrich, born in 1856, a law student at Heidelberg University in the 1870s, who became "one of the most esteemed lawyers in Munich" with the

title Justizrat (law councillor) from 1906, and Deputy President of the Munich Jewish Community in the years leading to WWI. That community, Hirshberg explains, “strove to cultivate good relations with the Christians in Germany” (p 71); Ben-Haim’s mother, from an assimilated family several members of whom had converted to Christianity was an amateur pianist and as a boy Paul Frankenburger learned violin, piano and composition. Yet, whilst already composing prolifically as a young teenager, at the Wilhelm Gymnasium, he was especially drawn to Classics and was “an arduous student of Greek and Roman literature and poetry” (p 17). Noting the boy’s translations of Catullus and Aeschylus into German Hirshberg concludes that “In the struggle between philology and music, the latter gained the upper hand” (p 18).

Even after 1915 when studying at the Munich Academy, Frankenburger would surely have deepened his understanding of the topics of metrics and rhythm, significant for a composer who had, by the time he was called up in August 1916, composed a huge amount of Lieder including two published Hofmannsthal settings.

It seems possible that Crusius knew of Frankenburger before the letters since they attest to familiarity with Crusius’ musical compositions, as if the older Classicist consulted the younger composer. In this connection it is significant that Crusius is mentioned as a 'part time' composer and poet in various musicological sources, including both MGG (1<sup>st</sup> edition) and Riemann (1959).<sup>7</sup>

**PPT 5 followed by PPT 6**

**Letter 1<sup>8</sup>**

*Flanders, 7.8.17*

*Most honoured Herr Geheimrat,*

*May I permit myself to send you – with these lines - greetings from enemy territory? The final trigger for my writing was provided by a comrade of mine who - I first hardly believed my ears, whistled your Reservistenlied [song of the reserve soldier] in its entirety and impeccably; I asked him what he was whistling; he didn't know what it was although he even knew most of the lyrics by heart, of course he didn't know the poet and the composer either; this is the best proof of how much your art is real folk art. You can imagine how happy this made particularly me as somebody who contributed within his inner circle to the dissemination of your art. In the meantime have you created anything new? Out here on the [battle] field nothing is turning out properly for me; I lack the necessary calm and collection for that. But I hope this will come back when, as I hope in spite of the horribly raging Flanders battle, peace will come even this year.*

*In reverence and respect*

*Your*

*Paul Frankenburger*

Both letters begin with a deferential mode of address, *Sehr verehrter Herr Geheimrat*, the latter term being difficult to translate, an honorary title for notable public figures. Crusius was a leading Munich personality; his circle included the highest society, including members of the Wagner and von Bulow families, he was also involved in politics during WWI. An example of his full title, Geheimrat Univ-Professor Dr. Crusius, is a public leaflet addressing Germans in the USA during WWI, calling for their patriotic action against American support for and arms supplies to Germany's enemies.

### **PPT 7 – PPT 8**

At the same time Frankenburger strikes up a fascinatingly friendly tone to someone who is obviously his senior, expressing ideas about music, songs, and feelings about the war. This further suggests that Frankenburger was known to Crusius earlier: but until further evidence appears, the question remains open.

In that context the opening remark, 'greetings from enemy territory', which could appear as a witty and upbeat comment, may be significant, reflecting perhaps an awareness of censorship and a perception of the gradually changing map of the war at this point. Taken together with the phrase in the final sentence, 'horribly raging battle in Flanders', the war context appears to be fairly specific.

It may well have been the 3rd Battle of Ypres, which raged between June and November 1917. Ypres was a British-held town in Belgium near the coast: it was crucial to both sides for access to the coastal ports of both France and Holland. The British had held it in through 2 battles, in 1914, and in 1915 when the Germans used chlorine gas for the first time, and in which there were nearly 100,000 casualties. In June 1916 the battle of Verdun had been lost by the

Germans, due to the British-French offensive diverting German troops to the Somme. At Verdun casualties were huge: 400k to the French and 350k to the Germans, one of whom was Paul Frankenburger's eldest brother, as mentioned earlier. There were similarly high casualties at the Somme: 420k British and nearly 200k French. The result was the creation in March 1917 of the Hindenburg Line, with the town of Ypres held by the British as the furthest salient point towards the German lines.

The British launched the 3rd Ypres battle in order to gain access to the channel ports (such as Ostend) used for German submarines. The 'horrifically raging battle' Frankenburger seems to have been describing was, according to some sources,<sup>9</sup> a two-week bombardment from the middle of June with some "4.5 million shells fired from 3000 guns", followed by an infantry attack from 31 July. Heavy rains stalled the fighting: on 16 August – one day after the second letter - a failed attack was attempted, but better weather on 20 September, led eventually the end of the battle on 6 November<sup>10</sup>. A horrific 325k Allied and 260k German casualties had resulted in a British/Canadian gain of only 5 miles of territory.<sup>11</sup>

## **PPT 9**

Within that harrowing context it is remarkable that Frankenburger's main point is a musical one: to report an anecdote about Crusius's 'Reservistenlied'<sup>12</sup>, evidently a very popular song – and that the anonymity of poet and composer was a measure of its absorption into the folk or popular culture. It is clear that Frankenburger celebrates this convergence of individual authorial identity into a collective unconscious spirit.

There are 5 verses set to a marching tune in 3 4-bar couplets, each reflecting the poetry's rhyme patterns, and the last of which acts as a type of closing refrain, rhythmically stretching a single text line over 4 bars.

Notable is the way the tune is formed of 4 antecedent phrases, ending either on the dominant (A) or notes of the dominant chord (E and C sharp), and how the simple contour includes a rising optimistic 2nd couplet which sounds like an interpolation, completed by the refrain's solid triadic fall. Eminently whistlable, it certainly resonates with the spirit of popular German folksongs.

### **Sing**

#### **PPT 10**

The 'Reservistenlied' was first published in 1914 by Breitkopf und Hartel and became a very popular WWI song.<sup>13</sup> That popularity is attested by the numerous editions and collections in which it was published. Several are listed on a website [www.Deutscherlied.com](http://www.Deutscherlied.com). The website however wrongly attributes it to Crusius's elder son, Otto Eduard, a composer, one of many such wrong listings that confuse research.<sup>14</sup>

#### **PPT 11**

The editions span from 1914 to the 60s; several appeared in WWI and the interwar years.<sup>15</sup> The next main spread of song books stem from the 1930s including the Luftwaffe song book in 1939; finally there is a 1967 edition for 'young hikers'. One wonders if it still features in German song collections. Little could the composer have known how the song would be transmitted in the next 50 years of more, for he died in December 1918, just after WWI ended.



Frankenburger himself must have known the song very well, since he recognised it; and his declaration that he was involved in some way in championing Crusius' art implies that he was indeed aware of more of Crusius's music, a notion reinforced by his question about whether Crusius has written any new music.

### **Creativity and the war.**

The concluding comment on the war's effect suggests that Frankenburger would have liked to compose but cannot, a sentiment repeated in the second letter. Yet it also implies that Crusius was aware of Frankenburger's work as a composer.

**PPT 12 followed by PPT 13**

**Letter 2**

*Most honoured Herr Geheimrat*

*Many thanks for the compositions you very kindly sent me which were all old acquaintances of mine; my earlier judgement stays the same, namely, that in the popular songs you found the true, authentic sound, while in the art songs, you hit the mysteriousness behind the poetry simply superbly. In order to give an example for the latter I will just mention, from the song ‘The Weeping Willow’, the lovely dreamy 6/5 chord [ex] which runs through the song in many ways and gives it its characteristic undertone. If I can do anything to bring the song ‘Abschied der Batterie’ [The Company takes its Leave] to wide attention then I will of course do so; the trouble is that, alas, we have only very little time or occasion to make music. Therefore it is so terrible for me that I cannot fulfil the motto “Nulla dies sine line(r)a” out here, although the Daemon’s [instruction] mousiken poieisthai [‘to make music’] has become an obligation for me too.*

*In reverence and loyalty*

*Your*

*Paul Frankenburger*

In the second letter, 8 days later, it appears he has received some more of Crusius's songs, 'compositions' (art song), rather than the type of popular song mentioned earlier. It is not clear if the songs were received somehow between the letters – or earlier.

Here the comments engage in an aesthetic discussion about high art and folk art: if the folk/popular songs are 'authentic and 'true', there is a deeper layer of meaning in the art songs, which delve 'behind' the poetry into its 'mystery'. Then Frankenburger shows his familiarity and his understanding by citing a specific song – 'Die Trauerweide' and a specific harmony, the 6/5 (a iib7 chord, supertonic 7<sup>th</sup> in 1<sup>st</sup> inversion) and praises Crusius's use of the harmony to evoke mood.

'Die Trauerweide' mentioned in this 2<sup>nd</sup> letter is clearly of interest to Frankenburger and requires some detailed discussion. The idiom is redolent of the composers listed in Riemann's Dictionary as Crusius' favourite: the 'German' masters Brahms, and Bruckner.

**PPT 14 - 15**

*Analysis:* The poem is ostensibly about a "sweet young willow", yet imbued with anthropomorphic symbolism, described as trembling with fear, maiden-slim"; the tonality of A minor and the falling phrases of the 8-bar piano introduction set the plaintive scene.

**PLAY**

The main verse has a logical coherence in its use of a repeating and developing motif, which begins the second phrase more brightly in C major for the text "You bring greetings with your green, yellow and gray silk cloak, loving to your loving seat". Here some rather unexpected harmonic progressions move through diminished 7<sup>th</sup> chords on 'grune, gelbe' through E flat (seide) – B major (liebend) and A major – before reaching the 6/5 Frankenburger highlights – in a solo piano phrase – which is then prolonged in the repetition of 'liebend um die liebe Bank' – as part of a iib7 – V – I – cadence in E major (the dominant).

**PLAY**

After a brief free interlude, a curious harmonic switch to C sharp minor and its dominant G sharp minor, spelt as A flat minor/major, prepares a German 6<sup>th</sup> in C. This more unstable harmony evokes the text: "Ah, with my soulful sorrow, I sink into a winter dream".

**PLAY**

The modified repeat of the opening line "sweet young weeping willow, leaves fall, yellow silk, sleep soon, and barely notice" retrieves the second song-phrase

with a new continuation, with evocative textures at ‘blaetter fallen’, a Neapolitan tinge of B flat and the return of triplet motion heard earlier, coming to rest with an almost modal (dominant) E chord.

## PLAY

Clearly Frankenburger has highlighted the most successful element in the song – the chromatic progressions by contrast seem somewhat awkward, contrived, even if there is a clear attempt to adopt a coherent tonal process.

Again in concluding this letter Frankenburger deplores the lack of opportunity for ‘music-making’ and shows that he is concerned to promote Crusius’s songs, notably the ‘Abschied der Batterie’. What is most striking here is the use of Latin and Greek words. *Nulla dies sine line(r)a* - ‘No day without a line’ - is a phrase coined by Pliny in Rome (attrib to the Greek painter Apelles). In the Greek phrase ‘*mousiken poieisthai*’ Frankenburger is humorously identifying himself with Socrates, whose daimon (guardian spirit, divine sign) enjoined him to make music - only for Socrates to realise that philosophy is ‘the highest music’. Clearly the letter writer is attuned to and perhaps even attempting to score some points from the recipient's Classicist expertise.

## PPT 16

Though I have not yet found the music for ‘Abschied der Batterie’, the poem is included, along with the ‘Reservisten Lied’ already discussed, in a collection of patriotic poetry by Crusius entitled *Die heilige Not* – the “Sacred Suffering” - published in 1917.<sup>16</sup> One of the other poems in the book strikes an intriguing connection between all songs mentioned in both letters. It is ‘Des Reiters Abschiedsgruss’, one of 3 songs published in 1915, cited with incipits in RISM.<sup>17</sup>

**PPT 17, 18, 19**

Both ‘Des Reiters Abschiedsgruss’ and the 2<sup>nd</sup> song ‘Mein Leutnant’ are folk-like, marching songs similar to ‘Reservistenlied’ but the 3<sup>rd</sup> song listed, ‘Unsterblichkeit’, to a text by a certain G. Muschner, who had died ‘in action’ on 17 Sept 1915, is far more of an art song, with a complex accompaniment.<sup>18</sup>

**PPT 20**

‘Unsterblichkeit’ was paired in publication with ‘Die Trauerweide’<sup>19</sup>; the poet represented by the perplexing initials E.W.<sup>20</sup> Both songs were initially published by Brandstetter<sup>21</sup>, then as part of a larger, almanac-like periodical, entitled *Deutscher Wille* in a special ‘war edition’ for April-June 1917, published in Munich under the editorship of Ferdinand Avenarius.

Crusius was evidently a regular contributor to this publication which included historical or topical articles, art and sheet music.<sup>22 23 24</sup> Avenarius' editorial concerning “Our Illustrations and Music” offers a helpful portrait of Crusius's standing as a composer which also illuminates both letters.

“The two songs of Otto Crusius (Munich), which we publish here, require less explanation than any other. His music grows clearly and strongly out of the underlying mood of the poetry, in ‘Unsterblichkeit’, to the heroic sound that evokes the conquering of death, whilst in ‘Die Trauerweide’, to a melodic beauty and inward compelling sonority of a true lyrical song from the spiritual heritage of our beloved masters of German song.

The composer and poet is well known to our readers from the first year of the war; then we published his 'Reservistenlied' and his 'Deutsche Glocke'; the latter was also published in a special edition of 'Hausmusik des Kunstwarts'. In the meantime several of his compositions have become well known, almost becoming folksongs (Volkslied). About this we may be heartfully joyful. On this occasion we share with you that Professor Crusius recently published a collection of poems under the title 'Die heilige Not' (The Holy Suffering) with Beck Verlag in Munich." <sup>25</sup>

### ***Conclusion***

Avenarius's commentary resonates with the type of response about folksong formulated around the same time, though with more penetrating insight, by Frankenburger. The notion of folk song as 'true' and the identification of composer and collective would become elements in the later Ben-Haim's aesthetics as an Israeli composer. Meanwhile the young German composer Frankenburger surely would have been aware and sympathetic of the fact that Crusius stood as a symbol for the true 'German spirit' and that his poems and songs, as his politics, were patriotic; even nationalistic. Yet this was far from WWII nationalism, and was shared by many members of Jewish communities within Germany. Certainly all that changed in the 1930s but it is possible that, long after Crusius's death in 1918, his legacy in exploring ancient sources for word-setting might well have played a role in influencing the later Ben-Haim's creative approach to Hebrew text setting.

At a more tragically ironic level, whilst Crusius's 'Reservistenlied' was busy being appropriated into the Nazi propaganda machine to inspire young recruits, and Luftwaffe pilots, Crusius' younger son Friedrich, himself a noted philologist, fell victim to the horrific eugenics program at Schloss Hartheim bei Linz, a notorious centre of the Nazi's Eugenics program, murdered, along with

thousands of disabled, mentally ill individuals, and concentration camp prisoners, in 1940-1.

On a more positive note, there is evidence that Paul Frankenburger's relationship with the Crusius family continued on through a friendship with his composer son Otto Eduard, two of whose songs Frankenburger copied out at some stage, and which are currently in the Ben Haim Archive of the JNUL (PPT). Otto Eduard (1892-1965), a composer and organist, five years older than Frankenburger<sup>26</sup>, after WWI studied at the Munich Academy with some of the same teachers as Frankenburger, namely Courvoisier, and later Walterhausen, a local composer with whom Frankenburger had an intriguing correspondence in 1930-2 that would reward research.

**PPT 22, 21 & 23 (NB the altered sequence)**

Though the Ben-Haim Catalogue lists the copies as songs by B-F Crusius (PPT 22) this is a misreading of O. E. Crusius (PPT 21 and 23). I am grateful to Gila Flam for copies of these manuscripts in Ben Haim's hand, which show 2 settings of Morgenstern poems, which were also set, as Jehoash Hirshberg has shown, by Frankenburger as part of his *Vier Lieder* of 1920. A musical comparison of the different settings would make a fascinating study. Crusius' impressive mastery of chromatic harmony is shown in the almost neurotic repeated dominant pedal point G sharp, overlaid with sliding chords, the G sharp eventually reinterpreted as a tonic. Crusius's tonal idiom here, in contrast to his later modernist atonality in the 50s-60s, suggests that the songs are early, possibly even contiguous with the Frankenburger settings.

The second layer of evidence is a letter by Otto E Crusius, penned in 1937 to Frankenburger, quoted by Hirshberg in his biography (erroneously spelled Grusius), which likens Frankenburger, by now in Palestine, to the character of



*Joram*, hero of his 1931 oratorio. As Hirshberg poetically observes, the letter symbolizes the end of Frankenburger's German period and, like *Joram* at the end of the oratorio, the start of a new life and identity in Palestine/Israel.

## PPT 24

It would appear therefore that Frankenburger and Otto Eduard Crusius were colleagues, even friends, until 1937, continuing a relationship with the Crusius family which, as the letters of 1917 suggest, dates back at least 2 decades earlier, if not more. To what extent Otto Eduard and Frankenburger maintained contact or what happened in the ensuing years – remains one more mystery to solve.

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(Ignore PPT 25-28)

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<sup>1</sup> Hirshberg, Jehoash, *Paul Ben-Haim: His Life and Works*, IMI, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, 2010

<sup>2</sup> I would briefly like to describe how this came about: though the Kalliope website [a database of documents in archives in Germany] lists the letters of Ben Haim, I came across the pair by chance in the Munich Staatsbibliothek card index whilst pursuing some research on correspondence relating to Wagner and his conductor Felix Mottl; it was during a visit in which I reviewed the world premiere of Jorg Widmann's opera *Babylon* in October 2012. While I was waiting for documents, I browsed the card catalogue of letters in the main foyer, finding, to my delight, two letters of Frankenburger listed. They also appear on the Crusiusiana Catalogue available in pdf.

<sup>3</sup> Crusius, Otto K. F. H. [Otto Carolus Fridericus Hermannus] 20.12.1857, Hannover, 29.12.1918, Munich

<sup>4</sup> Originally for harp and voice it was rescored for piano and voice in 1914.

<sup>5</sup> Solomon, Jon; *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*. Dec 2010, Vol. 17 Issue 4, p497-525. 29p. The author's article abstract reads: "During the 1890s such French composers as Erik Satie, Camille Saint-Saëns, and Claude Debussy participated in a revival of interest in the music of ancient Greece. The contemporaneous French excavation under the direction of Théophile Homolle unearthed almost the complete assemblage of ashlar blocks that formed the Athenian Treasury at Delphi. More than one dozen of these blocks were inscribed with relatively extensive fragments of two second-century BC paeans to Apollo notated with Greek music. From the summer of 1893 to the winter of 1894 Otto Crusius, Henri Weil, and Théodore Reinach transcribed the Delphic inscriptions and issued a number of publications in journal articles and extractions. Limenios' 'Hymne á Apollon' in particular was promulgated by Théodore Reinach in his capacity as the editor of *Revue des études grecques*. Reinach commissioned the composer Gabriel Fauré to compose a modern accompaniment, and in 1894-1895 the hymn received a number of public performances in France, England, and the United States. In his memoirs Baron Pierre de Coubertin claimed that the performance of the hymn at the first International Olympic Congress in June, 1895, created an 'antique eurythmie' which inspired the international cooperation required for the ultimate success of the Olympic movement.

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<sup>6</sup>Nietzsche's Works, (BD, 19/3, and 18/2) on Antique religion and philosophy, and history of literature, rhetoric and rhythmic.

<sup>7</sup> The Crusiusiana 'Nachlass' contains, along with letters from contemporary composers and musicologists, several musical manuscripts. The only published songs date from 1914 and later; as a poet he published a collection in Munich in 1917 entitled *Die heiliger Not*, 'The Holy Suffering', WWI poems was dedicated to his 'sons, students and colleague': indeed with his wife, Franciska Crusius, he had two sons, Otto Eduard (1892-1965), composer, and Friedrich (1897-1940-1), a philologist.

<sup>8</sup> I am grateful to Dr Gertrud Friedman and to Irene Auerbach for their help in transcription and translation of the two letters.

<sup>9</sup> For example the account given on the BBC history website for WWI.

<sup>10</sup> The capture of the village of Passchendaele by British and Canadian forces ended the battle.

<sup>11</sup> It was both a low-point in the war and a turning point. The attack had been coordinated by General Haig, the controversial British general known for accruing many casualties; despite the success of the Flanders campaign in inflicting heavy losses on the Germans, which eventually led to their defeat, he remained a controversial figure. With Americans joining in in 1918, despite the treaty between post-Revolutionary Russia and Germany, the Allies broke the Hindenburg line and drove back the German to what became the Armistice line of 11 November 1918.

<sup>12</sup> The first question that arises is about the songs cited. My first response was to try to trace each song. I came across a listing in the Munich library about the art song, ascribed to Otto E Crusius. Similarly the Reservisten lied appears on several websites devoted to German song. Mostly, in the older sources, it says words and music by Otto Crusius without any dates or further information. But on one of the more authoritative looking sites, called [www.DeutesLied.com](http://www.DeutesLied.com), (PPT). The curious point here is that there is apparently no doubt to the creators of this website that the composer and poet is Otto E Crusius, (son) rather than Otto Crusius, father. As far as I can see they are wrong, as I hope soon to demonstrate.

<sup>13</sup> There are 5 letters to Crusius from Breitkopf in the *Crusiusiana*, from 1914-5, presumably about this.

<sup>14</sup> Several of the songs in the letters are erroneously listed as being by Otto Eduard, the son, by several apparently authoritative websites and by some major library catalogues. For instance see <http://hub.culturegraph.org/about/BVB-BV007781485/html> where Otto E. works are mixed up with his father's. Also the Munich Staatsbibliothek wrongly lists Die Trauerweide as by Otto E. Crusius.

<sup>15</sup> Notably published by Breitkopf und Hartel (on the Kalliope website, a letter to Crusius from Breitkopf in 1915. Eugen Wolbe edited a collection of War poems including the Reservistenlied. See <http://d-nb.info/368797597/about/html>. It appeared in 1914-5. He was Jewish Berlin writer editor and teacher. His wife Rosa was deported to Riga and murdered in 1942. His son b. 1914 became a Rabbi in Sweden and Israel, died in 2005. A plaque in Berlin Tiergarten to Wolbe and his colleagues was inaugurated 2003.

<sup>16</sup> An author's Nachwort is dated December 1916.

<sup>17</sup> <http://opac.rism.info/index.php> (Accessed 19.7.13)

<sup>18</sup> Perhaps the songs seem to have been intended as tributes to friends or colleagues of Crusius who had died in action.

<sup>19</sup> 'Die Trauerweide' was curiously ignored by RISM, perhaps due to the contiguous printing, as it begins half way down the page, so that the title is not entirely clear.

<sup>20</sup> So this is a correction/addition needed for RISM.

<sup>21</sup> In the Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek catalogue. Brandstetter was a printer; ceased business in WWII and post-war became a leading dictionary publisher.

<sup>22</sup> [http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/deutscherwille30\\_3/0010](http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/deutscherwille30_3/0010)

There are also etchings by artists, and music: some well known 'classics' like Mendelssohn – the chorus Mailed from the oratorical Walpugisnacht. Also contemporary composer including Otto Taubmann – relatively unknown, 1859-1929 Professor in Berlin Hochschule, conductor and composer; and composed an opera Portia (Porzia) based on Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice, in 1916. This song reproduced is a very recent extract from a new work. Thus this is to show the latest in German art.

<sup>23</sup> The linking of the two songs, and clearly with Crusius's writing and the other songs in RISM, all point to unequivocal proof that all these songs mentioned in the letter are by Crusius senior, and that all the websites and listings which mention Otto E Crusius as composer and author, including the Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek catalogue, are incorrect.

<sup>24</sup> Amongst the items alongside Crusius are ....a few contemporary names – an aria from a recently premiered opera as well as a chorus by Mendelssohn.

<sup>25</sup> *Deutscherwille* April 1917 pp 95-6; sourced: [http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/deutscherwille30\\_3/0119](http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/deutscherwille30_3/0119); Translation thanks to Bea Lewkowicz/Malcolm Miller © 2013

<sup>26</sup> Studied 1912-4 with Georg Stoeber, then resumed studies in 1919.

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