Arno Nadel
(1878–1943)

JEWISH MINIATURES
Edited by Hermann Simon

Vol. 77A ARNO NADEL

All Jewish Miniatures may also be obtained by subscription
from the publisher.

The German National Library lists this publication in the
German national bibliography: detailed dates can be accessed on the
Internet at https://portal.dnb.de/

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1st edition 2013

Printed in Germany
ISBN 978-3-95565-033-9

JASCHA NEMTSOV

ARNO NADEL

HIS CONTRIBUTION TO JEWISH MUSICAL CULTURE

HENTRICH & HENTRICH CENTRUM JUDAICUM

Cover:
Arno Nadel (1920s)

We would like to thank the Verein der Freunde und Förderer des Synagogal Ensemble Berlin and the Handelsverband Berlin-Brandenburg for their generous support of this book.

Inhalt

Arno Nadel, 1920s

Vilna–Königsberg–Berlin

Documents that allow us to reconstruct Arno Nadel's life are few and far between. No wonder, since his world has ended three times over-once the Jewish world of Vilna, then the German world of Königsberg, and finally the Jewish-German world of Berlin. What is surprising however, is how thoroughly his works too, have sunk into oblivion. Nadel's versatility alone should have been reason enough for this extraordinary individual not to be forgotten. Compiling a list of all his professions – artistic and scholarly – makes for an extensive list: He was a poet, philosopher, playwright, religious and literary scholar, translator, painter and graphic artist, composer, musicologist, ethnologist, choirmaster, pianist, organist and music publicist – not including his jobs such as being a schoolteacher, which he worked to pay the bills. Rather than exercises of a scattered individual, all these practices were in fact proper occupations – even vocations, which Arno Nadel practiced with much devotion and professionalism, often simultaneously. Nadel seemed more like a phenomenon from the Renaissance, attesting to the fact that his artistic personality was as exceptional in the 20th century as it would have been in another day and age. His incredible productivity leads to the question of how one person was able to produce so much

intellectual and artistic work in a single lifetime. Even with the manuscripts and published works that survived the war, it is not easy to show an overview of the man′s intellectual and artistic abilities and creations. It would require a team of experts from a vast variety of disciplines to evaluate his assets in their entirety.

One of the few personal testimonials about this unusual person comes from his oldest daughter, Detta Okun, from the late 1950s: "My father was of medium height, had beautiful dark hair and very friendly, warm eyes. He was by no means an 'athletic' man, but he moved gracefully, liked walking and loved nature. He had a pleasant voice, took great interest in other people and enjoyed having conversations with them, regardless of their class or educational background. He was an enchanting man who loved good food, drinking and especially women. He had a great sense of humor and adored beauty. His working capacities were immense. From a young age, he and my mother instilled their children, me and my sister, with a love for art. We had a wonderful childhood, and loved our parents and our family home very much. Our parents were welcoming and we had guests almost every single day. The circle of family friends included author and publisher Felix Stössinger, poet Eduard Saenger who passed away in London,

painter Ludwig Meidner, as well as Willie Jäckel, the composer Busoni and poet Else Lasker-Schüler. My father was also acquainted with Einstein, Martin Buber, Max Pallenberg, Emil Jannings and many more."

Arno Nadel was born on the 3rd of October 1878 in Vilna, which was then still part of the Russian Empire. The former capital of the Kingdom of Lithuania, Vilna became part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth until it was annexed by the Russian Empire in 1795 after Poland's final partition. From the 17th century till World War II, Vilna was considered the most important place of Jewish scholarship by Eastern Europe's Jews, and was commonly referred to as "Yerushalayim de Lita", the "Jerusalem of Lithuania."

In 1930, an essay by Nadel was published in the scope of a survey entitled "My Path to Jewish Music," conducted by the *Jüdische Rundschau* newspaper. In the piece, he describes the atmosphere in his hometown:
"Vilna. It was no longer a path. It was birth and perpetuity and death – and it was a lasting site from the first breath. ... It was a sacred Jewish city with hundreds of 'schuls,' schools in the truest sense of the word. ... There was 'learning' in all the synagogues: singing, lamenting, contending, bickering, but

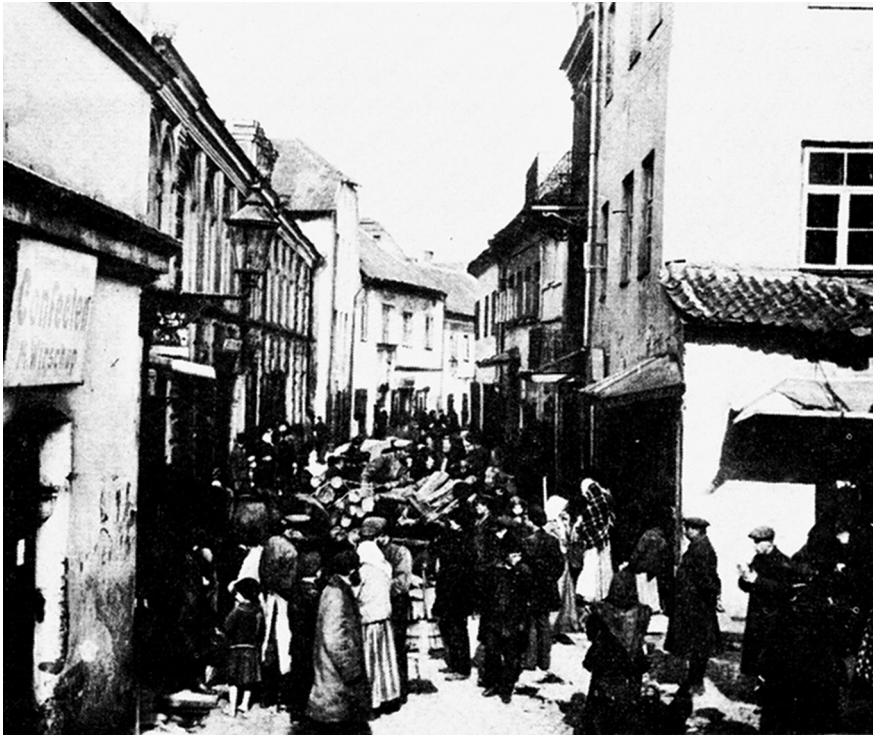
always singing, ancient Jewish, ancient oriental singing, studying, praying, speaking, – and, truly, singing and singing and singing, – Jewish, sweet Jewish singing. My beautiful people, who have sung about death and life and God and everything in this world!

That was Vilna, my native city. I was born on Nevski, one of, or perhaps even *the* main street. Two minutes from this street was the 'Jüdische Gasse,' the narrow Jewish street with its homely medievalness and the old shul, the shul in which Vilner Balebessel, Steinberg, Kupper, Kahn, Sirota have sung. In this school, there is a cannonball in one of its thick middle columns that respectfully stopped for Vilner Gaon, who was inside, 'learning' ...

My path to Jewish music – it is too hard, too easy to describe, to shed light upon, revealing its rare and beautiful wonders, – of abundance.

My father was a mechanic. Journeymen worked with us. Singing accompanied the work. What was being sung? What was being sung in the shul, operatic arias (namely Verdi) and Jewish folksongs, dances.

Yes, dances. Every Sunday night, those young people keen on dancing gathered at our house and there was dancing, singing, laughing, cavorting – shortly after the 'Havdole,' shortly after the 'dear shabbes koidesh' der *aheim geht der lieben mutter*,



Vilna at the beginning of the 20th century:
"Jüdische Gasse" by the entrance to the "Schulhof"

after the serious 'Eliyohu hanovi.' ... No, that was not forty years ago, that was – 1000 years ago. There was only singing at the dance. And later, over snacks, there was more singing of countless Jewish folk songs. ... Sometimes I was invited round to my paternal grandfather's for Shabbat. When Shabbat was drawing to a close, he took me by my hand, walked with me through the cozy twilight. [In the] Shabbat-room we sang S'mires. – Anyway: S'mires. On Friday night, we were having Shalet (cholent), sitting around the table for the Shabbat-meal: my father and the journeymen, and the air was buzzing with pleasure from our singing."

Apparently, the Nadel family was well provided for at the time. The father David Nadel, a skilled craftsman, could offer his family an almost bourgeois lifestyle. Arno Nadel would remember his happy childhood till the end of his life, particularly the unique toys that his mechanically-gifted father built. Dated May 3rd 1942, his journal reads: "I also need to commemorate our Golem. My father made it with the journeymen. ...The Golem was twice the size of a man. When someone opened the door, the figure made a low bow and took its hat off to the newcomer. Often, the visitors would get frightened and scream out. Years after my father had gone blind, the Golem's boots were still lying around and served as toys for us children."

A major rift occurred in young Nadel's life when his father lost his eyesight and could thus no longer practice his profession. He was only twelve years old when he had to leave his family home and was taken to Königsberg. His musical talent and "beautiful soprano voice" had attracted attention before, and the boy now became a "Singerl" in Königsberg's synagogue cantor Eduard Birnbaum's choir. Boys' voices had been part of the music in Jewish worship services for hundreds of years. Traditionally, a group of three was common, made up of a prayer leader, "Chazan," who was accompanied by a bass and a "Singerl" boy. Around the turn of the 19th century, bigger choirs of several men and up to thirty boys established themselves in the larger synagogues in Central and Eastern Europe. Often the children were from poor families who could not feed them, and putting them in such choirs was a way for them to receive free room and board. Next to their singing, the boys were also trained musically by the cantor, which included Jewish liturgical music, basic musical theory and playing instruments.

The five years Nadel spent close to and with Eduard Birnbaum was hugely influential on the young man's musical development. Birnbaum (1855–1920) had been appointed at Königsberg in 1879. He was a student of Salomon Sulzer, the Viennese

Eduard Birnbaum

cantor and most important reformer of traditional synagogue music. However, Birnbaum was not trying to replace age-old themes with music borrowed from the church as opposed to his teacher. Instead, he found a way to fuse Eastern Jewish tradition with Western musical means. He is famous not only for his work as synagogue cantor, but also as collector and explorer in the fields of synagogal music and pedagogy.

Thrown into a new and unfamiliar situation, Nadel clung to Birnbaum as a mentor, and would always think of his older friend with much love and adoration. In 1919, he dedicated his first bigger musical publication of Jontefflieder, liturgical chants and folk songs that were sung on Jewish holidays, to Birnbaum with the following words: "This collection is dedicated to the artist and M'nagen [musician], the most learned amongst the scholars of synagogal liturgics, my esteemed teacher, Mister Chief Cantor Eduard Birnbaum – Königsberg-Pr."

It was while he was living in Königsberg that Nadel wrote his first pieces (none survived), among them songs, which were performed publically. While it is unclear whether the songs were inspired by Jewish music, it is known that Nadel was only thirteen years old when he wrote his first arrangements of

Jewish folklore. Nadel's meeting with Hirsch Nissan Golomb, who he encountered in Vilna when visiting home, can be considered a decisive moment for the young man's career. Golomb, a Jewish musician and author who had long slipped into obscurity, was the first to think of Jewish folk music as a field of research and teaching in itself. He published an entire series of musical and musical theory-orientated textbooks and anthologies in Yiddish and Hebrew. Among his publications was an essay in Hebrew about the history of Jewish music and Jewish musical theory. Thirteen-year-old Arno Nadel contributed some examples of music to the book: an adaptation of the popular melody "V'havinu l'sholom" by Vilner Balebessel, and a few arrangements of folk songs.

After five years in Königsberg, Arno Nadel moved westwards to continue his training in Berlin, the city with which his life would be intertwined with for the rest of his life. He was admitted to the *Berliner Jüdische Lehrer- und Bildungsanstalt*, an institution with a excellent reputation as a seminary to prepare teachers and cantors in Jewish communities, founded in 1859. For decades, the famous Louis Lewandowski (1823–1894) had been in charge of the musical training at the academy, succeeded by William Wolf (1838–1913). Nadel also continued his composition studies. Initially, he took private lessons from

Ludwig Mendelssohn (1858–1921) at the Stern'sche conservatory, then studied with Max Julius Loewengard (1860–1915), a professor of composition at Klindworth-Scharwenka conservatory.

As the century was drawing to a close, Nadel married Anna Beate Guhrauer, a woman from a Dutch-Jewish family who shared his artistic interests and was a skilled and enthusiastic helper with his literary projects. They had two children, Detta and Ellen.

Nadel did not seek out regular employment after graduating from the seminary, but would spend the next sixteen years freelancing as a private tutor for music, art and literature; once in a while he also worked as a teacher of religion at Jewish schools in Berlin. The one thing he was truly passionate about however, was not teaching, which he actually considered more of a chore, but artistic and literary work.

"Ost und West"

Some of Nadel's arrangements of Yiddish folk songs were published as part of the remarkable *Jüdischer Almanach* in late October 1902, and made him instantly famous in circles of Cultural Zionists. From 1904 onwards, Nadel was part of a community of nationally-minded Jewish artists and intellectuals connected to the magazine *Ost und West* and its editor and publisher Leo Winz (1876–1952). First published in January 1901, *Ost und West* was the main organ of – and for – Cultural Zionism for more than two decades. Especially in the first fifteen years, the magazine attracted the Jewish journalistic, artistic, scientific elite.

From 1905, *Ost und West* included some works of Jewish music, mostly adapted folk music, in almost every publication. The majority of these pieces came from Leo Winz's private collection of folklore. In his essay "My Path to Jewish Music," Arno Nadel describes him as "the fanatical Leo Winz who brought around Jewish men and women from God knows where so that I would write folksongs off their mouths."

Next to Nadel, there were a number of other composers working for *Ost und West*, including James Rothstein, Hirsch Lifschütz, Bogumil Zepler, Janot Roskin, Jacob Beymel, Leo Kopf and Boris Levenson. Winz commissioned and paid every single one of them to work on folk melodies from his own collection. The adapted results were now *Ost und West*/Winz's private property, and while some of them were published in the magazine, the majority were performed at events organized by the editors. Nadel received by far the most assignments. Out of 450 arrangements which are now kept at the Winz Archive in Jerusalem, 135 were penned by the composer. At the same time as working on the arrangements, Nadel also played the piano himself. Although nothing is known about his formal training as a pianist, his talent seems to have been considerable; he practiced regularly and had mastered a number of standard solo pieces. His first documented solo concert performance dates back to March 2nd 1905, in the scope of a Purim celebration organized by *Ost und West* in collaboration with the *Verein für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur* (Association for Jewish History and Literature) and the *Verein Jüdische Lesehalle* (Association Jewish Reading Hall). Prior to this, Nadel had only ever accompanied others on piano at former *Ost und West*-organized events.

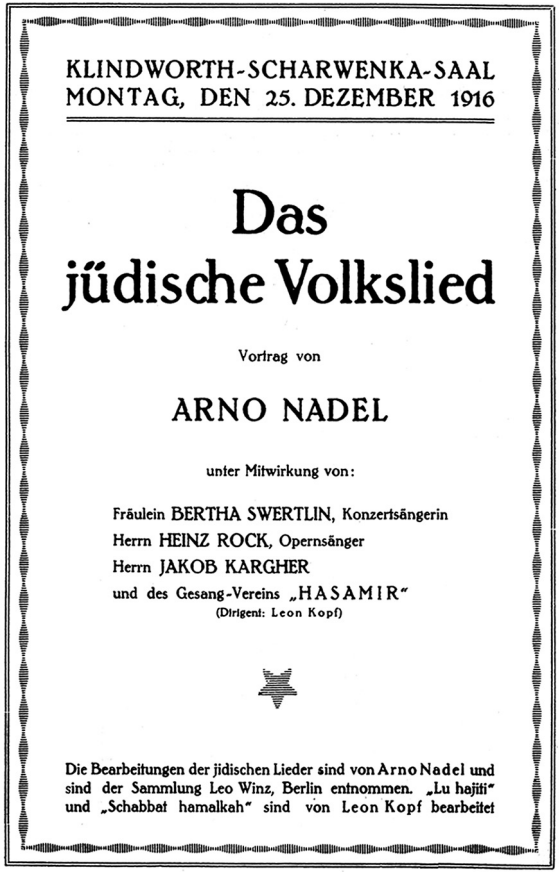
Nadel's adaptations became a regular feature of the repertoire at concerts organized by Winz, and were soon joined by the

composer's more advanced pieces dealing in Jewish subjects. His "Divertissement on Chassidic Melodies for violin and piano" in three movements was first played at a concert on February 19th 1908. At a Chanukah-celebration in Halberstadt in 1910, ″Suite″ and ″Jewish Tunes″ for violin and piano were performed. After being premiered at an *Ost und West* concert in Berlin on December 10th 1911, Nadel's "Wedding Melodies" for violoncello or violin and piano were included in the repertoire and offered a welcome alternative to the works of vocal music.

The season of 1912/1913 was especially intense for *Ost und West*, who hosted at least thirteen concerts all around Germany in less than three months. They featured the singers Bella Falk-Mintschin, Claire Dawidoff and Michael Magidson, the violinist Betty Tennenbaum (one of Joseph Joachim's students), as well as Arno Nadel as piano accompanist. The concerts, which were the first to present an inspired and convincing artistic interpretation of songs from a previously unknown and neglected musical folk tradition, were considered first-class cultural events by Jewish and general audiences alike. According to contemporary accounts, the musical and poetic quality of the songs left such an impression on the enthusiastic audiences attending the regularly sold-out concerts, that

the demand for a comprehensive publication of folk melodies grew more and more. A collection of newspaper reviews (mostly from non-Jewish publications), which were re-printed in *Ost und West* in early 1913 and later published as a brochure, attest to the enthusiastic response with which the events were received.

The newspaper *Hamburgischer Correspondent* printed a review on November 19th 1912, in which they proclaimed that Leo Winz and Arno Nadel (who had adapted most of the pieces that were being performed) "were able to create a work of artistic and cultural-psychological relevance, unfettered by notions of religious policy and nationalistic motives. Despite all the interest we have had in international folk lyrics since the Romantic period, Jewish folk songs have remained in the shadows thus far. Judging by the wide selection offered in Winz's publications however, they need fear no comparison to folk songs of other nations. His lyrical and musical themes are original and rich with fundamentally human emotions, the expression in the singing is formally on point, often carried along by a gripping poetic vision and by picturesque vividness, marked by the profoundness of pure simplicity, as it is amenable to the poet only in a blessed 'Volksgeist.'"



KLINDWORTH-SCHARWENKA-SAAL
MONTAG, DEN 25. DEZEMBER 1916

Das jüdische Volkslied

Vortrag von

ARNO NADEL

unter Mitwirkung von:

Fräulein BERTHA SWERTLIN, Konzertsängerin
Herrn HEINZ ROCK, Opernsänger
Herrn JAKOB KARGHER
und des Gesang-Vereins „HASAMIR"
(Dirigent: Leon Kopf)

Die Bearbeitungen der jidischen Lieder sind von Arno Nadel und sind der Sammlung Leo Winz, Berlin entnommen. „Lu hajiti" und „Schabbat hamalkah" sind von Leon Kopf bearbeitet

Program from 1916

After the success of the 1912/1913 season, *Ost und West* took a temporary break from concerts for unknown reasons. In cooperation with the choral society *Hasomir*, under Leo Kopf's direction, Arno Nadel organized a concert on December 25th 1916. The event featured primarily his own musical arrangements of folk songs, and a lecture on "The Jewish Folk Song" at the Klindworth Schwarwenka Hall in Berlin.

The concert was probably Nadel's last public appearance as accompanist. His adaptations were played often, especially after Leo Winz (who had been in exile in Denmark as he fled Germany during World war I, because he was a Russian citizen) returned to Berlin. Around the same time, cantor and concert vocalist Leo Gollanin, who had been a student in the Birnbaum choir at the same time as Nadel, was becoming the most important interpreter of Yiddish folk songs in Berlin. He too, included a number of the composer's arrangements in his repertoire.

"Der Jude"

In April 1916, the Viennese publishing house R. Löwit printed the first edition of a new Jewish cultural magazine called *Der Jude*. Its publisher was Martin Buber (1878–1965), an exceptional Jewish thinker and Zionist activist, who had been a writer for *Ost und West* at one point. His monthly journal was informed by a similarly culturally Zionist perspective, thus competing directly with the other magazine.

Nadel's first contact with Buber dates back to 1915, when the latter got in touch with Nadel a few months prior to the first issue's release. Nadel responded, "I am honoured and thank you kindly for your invitation to contribute to *Der Jude*. [...] My work and I are entirely at your disposal." This marked the beginning of not only a fruitful collaboration, but also an intense intellectual dialogue and an intimate friendship between them. While Buber still lived in Berlin-Zehlendorf (he relocated to Heppenheim in spring 1916), they visited each other frequently, and sometimes even brought their families along. The two men had much in common: Buber and Nadel were both from Eastern Europe and had grown up in a traditional Jewish setting. They were "searchers" and dedicated to expressing their quest for God and Truth through

Arno Nadel, lithography by Hugo Krayn (1917)

philosophical conceptualizations. Both were well-educated and possessed enormous intellectual capacities. Additionally, they had a number of mutual interests, from Hasidism to a fondness for mysticism from the Far East, which they wished to harmonize with Jewish religion.

In his contributions to *Der Jude* (most regular in the first year of its existence), Nadel focused primarily on musical subjects. The May 1916 edition featured the first installment of his series on "Jewish Folk Songs." By the end of the 1916/1917 issues, nine essays had been published; the first five (dating May–October 1916) were dedicated to religious songs, another four (December 1916–March 1917) explored love songs. Nadel put together a sort of anthology of songs taken from different collections, translated by him from Yiddish to German, and then annotated. Both versions of the text were published, but without music.

In 1917, a selection of Nadel's folk song adaptations were published in *Der Jude*. The first two publications, "Der Marschalik besingt den Bräutigam" and "El Odon," stood out as the most noteworthy. Soon after however, the journal's folk music publications came to a standstill. Though Nadel's involvement with *Der Jude* was short-lived, the result was a number of

valuable contributions to the Jewish national-cultural renaissance. Aware of this achievement, he concluded, "[...] I made a lot of 'national' friends through those folk songs in *Der Jude*." Nadel and Buber's exchange over literary and philosophical subjects intensified after the former ceased to work for the latter's publication. Buber sent Nadel his new writings, and they became an integral part of the intellectual atmosphere at the Nadel family home: "My wife only reads Buber these days. I have taken to asking her 'Are you *Buber*-ing again?' And while thinking of you with fondness, I spend the evening listening to your wonderful legends." Many of Nadel's letters emphasize the intellectual closeness he felt to Buber whom he referred to as his "first holy reader" and "the only author I will remark upon because it is also – entirely my business." Nadel was planning an extensive visit with his friend in Heppeneim in early 1921: "This winter, I will come to stay with you for an entire week. On January 17th [1921], I am giving a concert with a choir of fifty exquisite men and women, [and a lecture on] 'Jewish Music,' only in its traditional Hebrew ways, at Beethoven Hall. It is a lot of work, so I would visit after the concert, if it suits you." Nadel's adoration for his contemporary reached a peak at around this time; a few days later, he sent Buber a poem, written on a postcard that did nothing to hide his enthusiasm about their soon-to-be meeting. The poem went as follows:

"Martin Buber! / Where are you, / Mind and man? / Angel from above, / Child and animal / The winged exuberance / Of all the peculiar / God-events? / I am in heaven / As are you, my brother. / When we meet / Ha, Father, that / Will be the day!! / Striving and living / Into fulfilling wonder, / Out of the seeming and the real, / Into the heart / Of magic - / Into the heart, / Everything – noble-wards!"

It is not known whether the meeting ever took place, and soon some disenchantment set in. Perhaps Nadel's ravings had put Buber off. Anyway their friendship became significantly more distanced and reserved. "You can see for yourself that it is growing more and more quieter [sic] between us," Nadel wrote in a letter to Buber in 1923. He tried to motivate the other man to publish more Jewish music, but in vain. Arno Nadel's "Jewish Music" was the last essay of its kind that *Der Jude* would ever print, and it marked its author's final contribution to the journal.

The Synagogue Musician and Composer

Despite his excellent training, Nadel's career as a synagogue musician only kicked off relatively late. While he did work as an interim conductor at various synagogues during his first years in Berlin, it was not until 1916 that he was offered a permanent position as choirmaster at the newly built Synagogue Kottbusser Ufer. Its ceremonious consecration on September 17th 1916 was at the same time a test for its recently assembled choir and its new conductor. Nadel confided in Buber: "Today is the consecration of the synagogue that I have been appointed choirmaster at. It is incredibly exhausting work, at least up until today it has been." The synagogue's opening – one of the biggest in Berlin - turned out to be a very memorable event. The Jewish Community in Berlin published the following review in its congregational journal: "On Sunday 17th of September, the Synagogue Kottbusser Ufer, built during the war years of 1914–1916, was consecrated. A large solemn assembly partook in the celebrations and filled every last seat in this new house of worship. ... Many governmental and municipal authorities sent representatives. ... The celebrations were commenced by Lewandowski's 'Ma tovu,' performed by the synagogue's choir under Arno Nadel's new leadership. Six Torah scrolls were carried ceremoniously into the synagogue

and to the Holy Ark by rabbis to the sounds of Lewandowski's twenty-fourth psalm 'Se'u she'orim,' accompanied by members of the Congregation Council and the Assembly of Representatives. ... After a prayer for honorable peace for Germany, the sermon finished with the Emperor's prayer, followed by the priestly blessing."

Nadel was choirmaster at Synagogue Kottbusser Ufer for the next fifteen years. According to his daughter, his choir was made up of eight sopranos and eight alto voices (all boys), as well as six tenors and six basses. Aside from worship services at the synagogue, Nadel was responsible for overseeing and arranging the music for funeral services at the Jewish cemetery in Weißensee, where he also worked as organist. He did not have a singing voice that would have made him a candidate for a cantor position, but he was widely respected as a choirmaster. In a speech given on the occasion of Nadel's twenty-fifth service anniversary in 1941, chief cantor Samuel Guttmann said about him: "Let those whose spirits he raised and whom he made stronger with music's power be the judge of how he endowed his profession with musical and religious sensibilities from the depths of his soul during prayer meetings and on special occasions."

Synagogue Kottbuser Ufer

On February 10th 1922, Nadel announced in a letter that "the local Jewish community has bestowed an honorable task upon me: to create a compendium of traditional melodies." The fact that he was commissioned with such a job, is evidence that Nadel's competence in the field of synagogue music had earned him the Jewish Community's recognition and approval. The task he had been entrusted with was one that would fundamentally change the musical layout of worship services and to improve their quality. The concept that was developed within the next few years filled seven volumes of music for the full Jewish liturgical year. Its full title, which Nadel often shortened to *Hallelujah!*, was *Kompendium Hallelujah! Gesänge für den jüdischen Gottesdienst von Arno Nadel* (Compendium Hallelujah! Songs for Jewish Worship Services by Arno Nadel, also a systematic selection of significant Synagogue composers).

The compendium's development should be understood within a context of new trends in synagogue music that were emerging all over Germany around the same time. Throughout the 19th century, Jewish worship services had been characterized by the reform movement, which promoted the radical conformation of traditional music to European Romantic style. In the early 20th century, the situation had become significantly

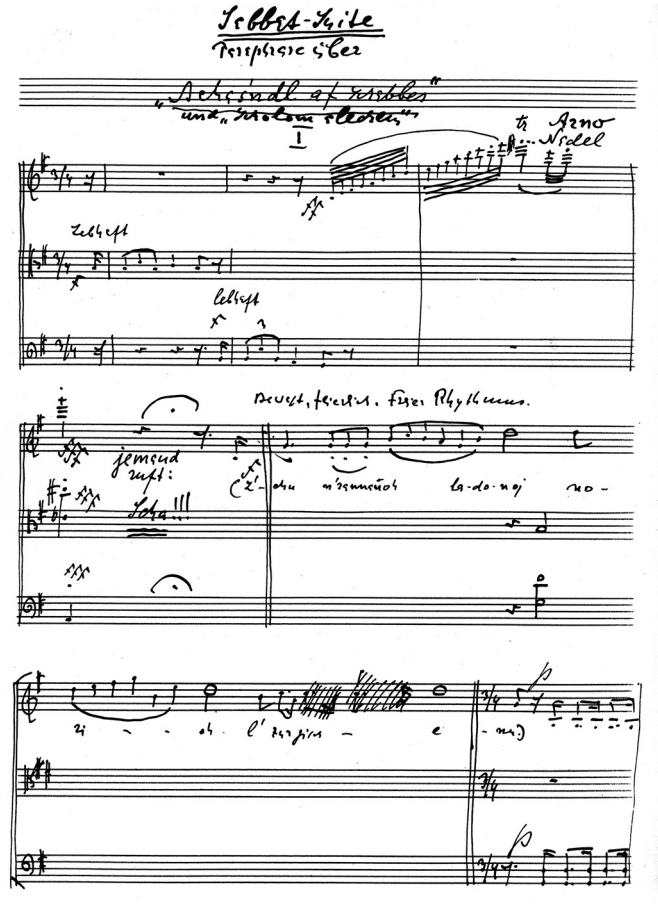
more complex. Around the turn of the century, and especially during and immediately after World War I, a large immigration movement from Eastern Europe brought large numbers of Polish-Russian Jews to Germany, who practiced Eastern European Chasanut-traditions.

Eastern European synagogue songs, as much as Eastern European Judaism on the whole, was seen by many Western Jews as the expression of original Jewish values and the counterpart to the musical assimilation that had become increasingly more widespread in Western Europe. On the other hand, Eastern European tradition, too, was heavily influenced by Western achievements that diversified the expressive possibilities of synagogue music enormously, including the use of organ, polyphonic music or large choirs. As much as congregational structures were trying to integrate the immigrants, developments in synagogue music too, mirrored the communal longing for a fusion that would bring together the best of both worlds. This synthesis would result in a new standard of work to be employed in liberal and orthodox synagogues alike, and so strengthen the idea of a unified community as was already being practiced in the capital; a work that would capture and reflect the modern Jewish experience. In a newspaper article, Arno Nadel proclaimed that "[t]raditional melodies must be

seen and adapted. The whole great new Jewish experience and the legitimate modern artistic claims must be part of that conversation and process." Nadel's own compositions were to be included in the compendium, alongside the works of numerous synagogue musicians from Western and Eastern Europe.

It soon became apparent what a huge task and responsibility Nadel had shouldered when taking on this project. It would take someone who was not only extremely well-read in the relevant musical literature, and embodied the qualities of a practicing musician as much as the expertise of a musicologist, but who also possessed an extensive knowledge of both traditions, namely the German reform and Eastern European orthodoxy. In his appraisal of Nadel's compendium, Berlin's chief cantor Magnus Davidsohn voiced: "He is facing an undertaking of incredible dimensions; his task can be compared to the plans for the great encyclopedia to grow into an enormous complex. Should Nadel fully implement his proposed plan, synagogue music will have an incomparable piece of work at its disposal."

A red thread that ran through the selection and newly composed pieces for the compendium was the precedence of prayer texts. It was not merely a question of comprehensibility in regards to the words sung, but a matter of musical form



Handwritten music score by Arno Nadel, "Sabbat-Suite" for string trio

reflecting the lyrics, a principle that had once been a pillar of Jewish liturgical music embodied by the cantillations. Cantillations are performances of biblical texts that have no abstract musical expression, but are fully molded on the words sung and the structure of the sentences. The other musical elements of the Synagogue services have strayed quite far from this principle over the centuries. In Eastern orthodoxy, ornamentation had been turned into an end in itself, serving no purpose but to showcase the Chazanims' own virtuosity. In Western Judaism, traditional flexibility and music's dependency on the words was surrendered to European requirements of harmony and form. In the introduction to the first volume of *Hallelujah!*, Nadel emphasized that "[t]he author is envisioning an entirely new Hebrew service of worship. It shall manifest primarily in dramatically accentuated renditions of the spoken, the sung."

It took Nadel over sixteen years to complete his mammoth project. He managed to finish the first volume – the Friday night liturgy – by 1927, but it was not until 1938 that the seven-volume compendium was ultimately finalized. At this point, Nadel had long since left his position at the Synagogue Kottbusser Ufer; he had sought new employment at the Old Synagogue, and then at the Synagogue Pestalozzistraße. Nadel wrote the piece that concluded the compendium while he was

visiting his friend Erich Mendel (1902–1988, who was later known as Eric Mandell during his exile in the United States) in Bochum between November 1st-8th, immediately before the Kristallnacht (Night of Broken Glass) on November 9th-10th. It is entitled "Halleluja. Der letzte Psalmvers für 13-stimmigen Chor, Horn, zwei Klaviere und Orgel." (Halleluja, the last psalm verse for a choir of 13 voices, trumpet, two pianos and an organ). When Mendel came to Berlin in the summer of 1939 before leaving the country to go into exile, Nadel gave him a manuscript of his composition as a farewell gift.

It has not been possible to establish what ultimately happened to the compendium in its complete form. When Nadel finished his work on the project, contemporary circumstances made the publication of the thousands of pages impossible. After the war, Nadel's collected manuscripts were acquired by Eric Mandell; today, they can be found at Gratz College's music library in Philadelphia. Among these manuscripts were a mere two pieces that could be identified as part of the *Halleujah!* compendium. It was thought likely that the rest was lost along with most of his estate, to destruction by a bomb. However this explanation has been contradicted by a document now kept at the Nadel-Archive at the Leo-Baeck-Institute in New York, namely an anonymous letter addressed to Nadel's daughter,

Detta Okun, from October 16th 1946. The typewritten copy, with no indication of who might have written it, contains descriptions of six bound musical score editions that were supposedly in the possession of the letter's author at the time, the majority of which constituted part of the *Hallelujah!* compendium. Nadel had deposited the materials with the person for safe keeping. "I would have liked to send you photocopies but – as I have mentioned before – that is not allowed at the moment," the stranger wrote to Detta Okun. The most elaborate description referred to the book that has been termed the second volume of the compendium – the Shabbat Morning liturgy. It consisted of 692 pages filled with compositions by Nadel himself, but also Salomon Sulzer, Louis Lewandowski, Hirsch Weintraub, Samuel Naumbourg, Moritz Deutsch and many others. The contents of the other volumes could not be described by the person who had written the letters because of the enormous amount of composers they contained.

There is no trace of the compendium after this, and it was not possible to find out if the materials ever reached Nadel's daughter. When she sold all the remaining music manuscripts from her father's estate to Eric Mandell a few years later, the *Hallelujah!* compendium was not among them.

Probably much of Nadel's own synagogue music has been lost forever too, and of those that did survive, only very few works are available in printed form: five compositions for Chazan, choir and organ for the Friday evening liturgy, which was originally published as part of the anthology *Schire Simroh. Synagogale Kompositionen zeitgenössischer Autoren. Aus dem Wettbewerb des Allgemeinen Deutschen Kantoren-Verbandes e.V. im Jahre 1926* (Synagogal compositions of contemporary authors. From the competition of the General German Cantor Association in 1926), published by J.Kauffmann Publishers in Frankfurt am Main. A special edition was produced in 1930, which was reprinted in the *Journal of Synagogue Music* in 1968. One of the pieces in this edition is "V'shomru" which, like the other four songs that were also included, is part of the compendium. It is "V'shomru" in particular though that embodies Nadel's particular style, in which he fuses Eastern freedom of expression with Western instrumentalisation, a mostly traditional Jewish melody structure with European polyphony and well-balanced audacity.

All of Nadel's other original compositions remained in manuscript form, and the vast majority of them were destroyed during the war. Among those manuscripts that survived was the music he wrote for Stefan Zweig's play *Jeremias*, which was staged from 1934 by Fritz Jessner (1889–1946) at the *Berliner*

Kulturbundtheater. It was Nadel's first time as a theatre composer. He was however not wholly new to the field, since he had written a number of plays himself that had been performed at German theatres with great success. His music was not only characterized by an intuitive feeling for the stage, but also by the homogeneity of style based on liturgical motifs that created an atmosphere which corresponded harmoniously to his biblical subject matter. The handwritten score consists of short fragments for three solo vocalists, a mixed choir and an unusual, almost chamber music orchestration: two trumpets, two trombones, two timpani, a small and a big drum, triangle, cymbal, harp and two or three violoncellos. This orchestration too, is due to the biblical setting: All the instruments featured are described in the Bible and would have likely been found being used in the temple of Jerusalem.

Among his contemporaries, Nadel was known as a composer not only for his stage music, but equally for his liturgical works, which included several pieces for organ. He was the first composer to write Jewish style-music for solo organ. Beyond that, his choral works were regularly sung by choirs in concerts, especially under the direction of Alexander Weinbaum and Chemjo Winawer, who often included Nadel's "Chassidische Rhapsodie" for male choir in his repertoire.

Magnus Davidsohn concluded "We still have a lot to expect from Nadel. He is evolving from guardian and keeper to inquirer of precious works already in existence, and gives of himself his great, holy, poetic imagination," in an article on Arno Nadel in 1928. It is not solely his personal tragedy, but to the incalculable detriment of Jewish music on the whole that this exceptional musician's work has been all but wiped out.

The Music Collector

"The apartment was like a museum. My father collected everything: books, pictures, Greek and Native American archaeological finds and textiles. His love for his work and his collections and his love for Germany and his culture were probably the main reasons why he did not leave the country in time," Arno Nadel's daughter Detta remembers after the war. Eric Mandell, too, described Nadel's apartment as a "small museum. I can vividly recall the art works and his extensive book collection. There was a room full of literature from all nations and times. Another room held many art books, including works on Jewish and Oriental art. I took a special interest in the numerous collection of Jewish music, and Arno often showed me his beloved rarities. Some of my favorite memories connected to Nadel are the letters he wrote to me to say thank you for the pieces that I, being a collector of Jewish music myself, could contribute to his library."

As a collector, Nadel was deeply passionate about Jewish music. Inspired by his teacher Eduard Birnbaum, he began writing down traditional Jewish melodies and even buying manuscripts from synagogue composers when he was just a teenager. His acquisitions included several hundred works,

Exlibris Arno Nadel, drawn by Arno Nadel himself

mostly by composers from Eastern Europe. In 1938, Erich Mendel stated that Nadel "took down melodies according to folk tradition, searched for manuscripts and collected prints of Hebrew music and its literature. ... Almost the entirety of Hebrew printed music published in Europe in the last hundred years is included in Nadel's collection. From the "Münchener Terzettgesänge" (Munich Trio chants) (1839) to Hugo Adler's final creation, "Akedah" (1938), his library is exceptionally complete. The many manuscripts include ones by Weintraub, Lewandowski and Deutsch, as well contemporary Jewish musicians. ... Among the letters from musicians, those written by Eduard Birnbaum stand out. There are also countless pages of synagogue recitatives."

The most precious part of Nadel's synagogue music collection was a comprehensive bound manuscript from 1744, that included transcriptions of a total of 302 synagogal melodies. Nadel called it the *Hannoversche Kompendium* (Hannover compendium). He obtained it in 1918 and it is considered the oldest collection of Hebrew music. Twenty years later in 1938, Nadel wrote an essay on the Hannoversche Kompendium for the first and only issue of Jerusalem's magazine *Musica Hebraica*. It included an elaborate description of the manuscript, which had barely been recorded or written about by musicologists up to that point. Almost as if he had a strange premonition

of the manuscript's fate, Nadel regularly published melodies from the collection as part of the *Gemeindeblatt der Jüdischen Gemeinde zu Berlin* (Newsletter of the Jewish Community in Berlin) and other Jewish magazines from the mid-1930s. Like most of his estate, the *Hannoversche Kompendium*, too, was destroyed in the war.

Arno Nadel contributed a number of significant publications on and of Jewish folk music; the first slightly bigger one was his collection "Jontefflieder". It consists of eleven issues that were published one by one from 1917, and became available as a complete edition two years later. Every issue was dedicated to a different Jewish holiday and included at least two chants, one in Hebrew and one in Yiddish. Each melody was published as an annotated version for voice with piano accompaniment. In the introduction to the complete edition, Nadel wrote: "We are in a Jewish alley in the East that runs through an array of houses which constitute a Jewish city in themselves: it is ... Jonteff (Yom Tov). What a festive atmosphere in every home, what brilliance on every face - what wonderful food, even among the poorest of the poor, what singing and sounding during dinner, what beautiful children, what beautiful women, what beautiful dresses, what delight and joviality everywhere! ... Our *Jontefflieder* are meant to reflect this mood; all

its manifold memories, all its joys, all its singing, rejoicing and mourning." He finished with a somewhat unexpected remark: "A new Jewish world, a new Jewish spirit is preparing itself." However, it was Nadel's principal ambition to retain the old customs in this new spirit, and that the Jewish world of the modern age would follow in the tradition of Jewish history and ancient values.

Nadel's own contributions to this were his publications, including *Jüdische Volkslieder* (Jewish Folk songs, Volume 1, Issue 1 and 2, Jüdischer Verlag, Berlin 1920. No further issues were published.), *Jüdische Liebeslieder* (Jewish Love songs), Verlag Benjamin Harz Berlin – Wien, 1923 and the last published collection, *Die häuslichen Sabbatgesänge* (The domestic Shabbat songs), Schocken Verlag, Berlin 1937. As opposed to earlier publications, the melodies reproduced here are true to the original, so without accompaniment. In the introduction Nadel stated that "[i]t is a very old Jewish custom to sing cheerful and also more serious strophic songs about God and Shabbat during and after Shabbat meals, the Shabbat on Friday night, as much as after the domestic Havdala blessing has been given when Shabbat is drawing to a close. As long as Hebrew literature has existed, songs have been composed especially for this purpose – called Semirot, many of them by

famous rabbinical authorities. ... This collection marks the first attempt to transmit melodies alongside all Semirot which are common in the German-Polish domain and, since there are no fixed ones, to show these musically original and valuable melodies."

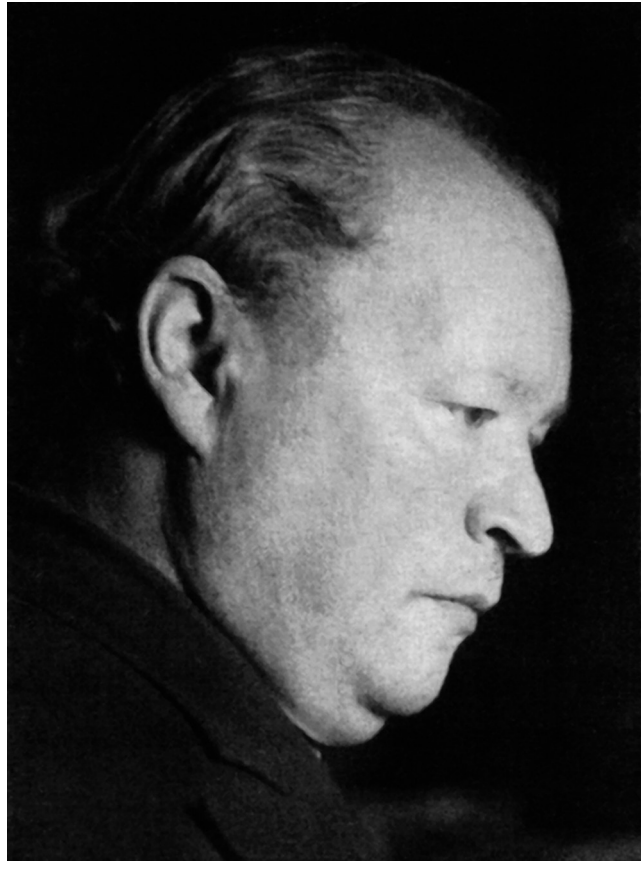
The Music Journalist

One can hardly begin to conceive the extent and importance of Arno Nadel's journalistic legacy. Practically every respected Jewish periodical of his time published his work, but one should also consider his contributions to non-Jewish media, as well as several items that he wrote for *Jüdisches Lexikon* (Jüdischer Verlag, Berlin 1927), *Philo Lexikon* (Philo-Verlag, Berlin 1935) and the uncompleted *Encyclopedia Judaica* (Verlag Eschkol, Berlin 1928–1934). From write-ups in *Ost und West* in 1903, to his final contribution to *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt* (Jewish Newsletter) in 1939, Nadel published hundreds of essays, articles and reviews during his Berlin years. He commented on questions concerning literature, art and religion, and reviewed current cultural events; but his primary journalistic focus was on music and Jewish music in particular (although not exclusively). He worked as a music critic for the liberal paper *Vossische Zeitung* and the socialist magazine *Vorwärts*, and contributed to Berlin's renowned publication *Die Musik*. The latter ran an article by Nadel on Arnold Schönberg as early as June 1912, when the composer was hardly known beyond the Viennese music circuit. This piece, "Arnold Schönberg. Wesenhafte Richtlinien in der neueren Musik," (Arnold Schönberg. Essential Guidelines in more

recent music) was later termed "the composer's first bigger literary acknowledgement" by Willi Reich. Capable of locating the objective characteristics in and of Schönberg's music, Nadel saw beyond the confines of the stylistic conventions of his time, appreciating "that which proves itself, transcending the expectations of our older taste. Schönberg's art has stringency and form, but it is difficult, very difficult, to keep up with him ...." The essay finished with a remarkable section that is as significant now as it was then in regards to the difficulties around the development of style and the relationship between tradition and modernity: "We are more adaptable than one would think, but we are waiting for the organically-derived, which we understand as soon as we detect it. We bear with us all cultures that came before us and adjust as soon as something primordial sounds. The primordial is the eternally modern. The masters of the ages know and trust each other." After Schönberg's "Pierrot Lunaire" premiered on October 16th 1912 at Choralion hall in Berlin, Nadel wrote an enthusiastic review of it for *Die Musik*.

The *Gemeindeblatt der Jüdischen Gemeinde* became something of a new journalistic home for Arno Nadel in the 1920s. Having been around since 1911, the 1920s were also the decade in which the Community council's official publication could

establish itself as one of the most widely read Jewish culture periodicals. It was issued on a monthly basis, though sometimes up to fourteen times a year. Next to the administrative announcements of Berlin's Jewish Community, pieces on different aspects of Jewish culture became an increasingly more important part of the publication, and Nadel was the *Gemeindeblatt's* first author to pen musical contributions. From May 1924–May 1928, he published twenty-four longer articles, the majority of which came with musical supplements. Written in essay-form, most pieces were prepared in conjunction with a Jewish holiday, conceptualized to help the readers (most of who had been brought up in Western culture) imagine the atmosphere of traditional Judaism and endear them to it. In doing so, Nadel referred to memories of his own childhood repeatedly, for example in the article "Sabbat-Gesänge" (Shabbat songs): "Every Shabbat, I, too, would sing S'miros with my father and grandfather. These S'miros are really like the air to breathe on Shabbat. When we came home from shul on Friday night, the white table awaited us, radiating. Solemnly, we would sit down, recite Kiddush, eat soup and fish. Then the singing would start, two-part, three-part, – in Vilna, all Jews are gifted in music. The sound was so accomplished that the non-Jews outside stopped in their tracks, in awe of the golden merriment." A very different mood is described in



Arno Nadel, 1933

the article about Tisha B'Av: "What a sad holiday it was, this 'ninth of Av.' ... Anxiously, us children commiserated with our elderly, and when we dared to sneak outside during the Kinnot (dirges), we pelted each other with daturas – probably to hurt each other and, in some symbolic way, tap into the pain and suffering the adults were feeling. But the adults were very serious about the lamentations. ... Personally, what impressed me most as a child was the cantor starting his 'Arse halvonon' with all the 'M'shorrerim' at the 'Kinnes-Sagen' ..."

Nadel was also involved with Berlin's other two important Jewish publications: so-called *C.V.-Zeitung*, the newspaper of the *Centralverein deutscher Staatsbürger jüdischen Glaubens* (Central Assembly of German Citizens of Jewish Faith), and the Zionist Jüdische Rundschau (Jewish Review), for which he wrote a number of concert and theatre reviews. His contributions were printed in other Jewish periodicals too, including the Viennese Zionist paper *Die Stimme* (The Voice) and the enlightened-Orthodox, bi-monthly *Der Morgen* (The Morning). His programmatic articles are especially interesting, as for example "Das Judentum in der Musik" from May 6th 1927, an article inspired by Heinrich Berl's recently published book of the same name. In it, Nadel rejects all speculations about Judaism and its manifestations in music, as had been

propagated by anti-Semites and philo-Semites since Richard Wagner's musings on the topic in an essay also entitled "Das Judentum in der Musik" (Judaism in Music). In Nadel's opinion, the only musical realm in which Judaism had a history of asserting itself unequivocally was synagogue music. "Bible, Talmud, ... liturgy and synagogal music, which remains buried under so much nonsense and unfamiliarity to this day– those are our only Jewish sanctuaries. It is in Jewish music that everything appears clearly and refined - the Jewish character rises from the lyrics and the depths of the source itself, and creates a national element in noblest sense."

Nadel's intense journalistic work and output came to an abrupt end on November 1938, when the Jewish press (with very few exceptions) was banned in all of Germany. On July 21st 1939, his name appeared one last time with his final article for *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt* (the only Jewish publication not yet banned in the country), but as Arno Israel Nadel, in accordance with the new regulations. The article was a review of the chief cantor Hoffmann's farewell concert at the Alte Synagoge. Nadel wrote: "I will summarize: The evening, perhaps one of the last of this kind, had Jewish significance. The people in the crowd were as thankful as they were moved."

The Final Years

In the first week of November 1938, Nadel was staying with his friend, the cantor Erich Mendel in Bochum. It is unclear if he returned to Berlin on November 9th, or if he stayed on in Bochum. However, it is a known fact that he was arrested at some point during the Night of Broken Glass – one of 30.000 German Jews – and taken to the concentration camp Sachsenhausen. Despite the fact that he was putting his life at risk recording such impressions, Nadel wrote about the traumatic experiences of the following weeks spent imprisoned in the camp in his later journals. In reaction to an acquaintance speaking to him about her husband, who had also been deported to Sachsenhausen, Nadel wrote: "When she talks about her husband in S., I see the rooms and the narrow paths between the barracks, those ghostly paths, before me, with the electric fences and the skulls, also the vast parade ground where the whippings took place to drumrolls and by torchlight, the harsh and dismal square with the balcony above the gate, where the rotating machine gun is kept and aimed at the hordes of Jews, incidentally stood right across from it every so often. I myself was part of hordes like that sometimes."

According to a family friend's testimony, Nadel was completely despondent and seemed to have lost all capacity for joy in his life after he came back from Sachsenhausen. "I saw him after his return. I hardly recognized him! It was not just the shaved head, and all the weight he had lost - all the joie de vivre had gone out of him. I will never forget the day he sat down and started playing Liszt's *Totentanz* with those wounded, swollen fingers, expressing through music what he could not say with words. I cannot actually remember if he ever played piano again after that. Before his imprisonment, he had spent much time on his Bechstein piano, and I think that I owe much of my understanding of Beethoven to all the hours I listened to him play... Maybe that was the most important way of counterbalancing the horrors of our lives in Berlin at the time. ...his spirit was broken. ... He became what he had so often called others, 'a living corpse'." This account claims that Nadel could not manage organizing what needed to be done in order to emigrate due to this depression.

There is reason to doubt the validity of such conclusions. Numerous documents from the last four years of his life attest to the fact that they were filled with highly intensive intellectual and spiritual work, despite anti-Semitic terror escalating around him. It is likely that the idea of leaving the country in

time was made impossible through other circumstances: he had neither family nor powerful friends that could have helped him meet the rigorous entry requirements to the United States. It was not until 1940 that Nadel was able to take the necessary steps, which were more or less in vain at that point anyways. His sister-in-law came to New York and tried to get affidavits for the family that had stayed behind in Berlin. Nadel sent her the required personal data twice, first at the beginning of August, then a second time on September 4th 1940, just to be safe. The central part of any immigration application was an affidavit–a declaration under oath by a citizen of the United States that they are willing and able to provide full financial support to the prospective refugees. While the Nadel-family received the required document only a few weeks later, the application capacities at the American embassy were limited due to tight entry quotas, and so the Jews who were ready and eager for departure had to wait many months before they could leave the country. Arno Nadel and his family ran out of time – emigration from Germany was prohibited entirely from October 1941.

After the Night of Broken Glass in November 1938, Nadel was no longer working at the Synagogue Pestalozzistraße, which had been desecrated, and was employed by the Jewish

Community in Berlin as choirmaster and organist at the Synagogue Münchener Straße instead. In March 1941, he was pensioned off for financial reasons, but continued working as their organist for free. In September 1941 he wrote, "I still do honorary work, and oftentimes I have to go to Weißensee and the crematorium on Baumschulenweg, and strike up a tune for the dead. When the people cry, I play more heart-wrenchingly so that their soul might depart."

In spring 1941, the eviction of Jews from their apartments in Berlin was taken to a new level of intensity. Their relocation to so-called "Jew Houses" had to be organized by the members of the Jewish Community themselves. The conductor and musicologist Ludwig Misch remembers: "I was employed as an office clerk by the Jewish Community. On April 1st 1941, I was transferred to the department in charge of 'accommodation advice.' It was the department's job to find a place to stay in 'Jewish houses' or in apartments occupied by Jewish tenants for Jews who had been evicted from their homes." By mid-May, the Nadel-family too, had to vacate their spacious apartment at Nettelbeckstraße 21 and move into a single room at Bamberger Straße 37, where they boarded with another Jewish family called Berger. Friends who had also stayed behind in Berlin helped them move, including some non-Jewish people who

"The Trouble" by Arno Nadel, annotated:
"This was drawn in [19]40, today I could not do it –
already too deeply in – BUT – "

were loyal to the Nadel-family to the last. Among them were Ferrucio Busoni's Swedish widow Gerda Busoni, composer Karl Wiener's wife Rosa Wiener-Teeuwen, and the painters Käthe Kollwitz and Ewald Vetter. Not being able to take most of his collections and archive with him, Arno Nadel passed them on to Käthe Kollwitz (1867–1944). Her house, and with it all of Nadel's hidden material, was completely destroyed in the 1943 bombings.

In February 1942, Nadel was hit by another blow: Like most other Berlin Jews he was taken to forced labor. Alongside a few other, mostly older Jewish intellectuals he was forced to work transporting, sorting and cataloguing robbed Jewish books in the library at Department VII of the SS-Reichssicherheitshauptamt, the headquarters of the National Socialist persecution and extermination system.[1]

Nadel began keeping a journal as early as August 18th 1941. As opposed to so much of Nadel's other work, these handwritten jottings survived completely. The originals – six

1. see Hermann Simon and Chana Schütz, "Sonderarbeiten im behördlichen Auftrag" (1841–1945)–known and unknown sources- "Das Tagebuch des Künstlers Arno Nadel", in: Kerstin Schoor (publ.): *Zwischen Rassismus und Identitätssuche: Deutsch-jüdische literarische Kultur im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland.* Göttingen 2009.

bound notebooks and several hundred pages of loose sheets of paper – are now kept at the National Library in Jerusalem. Part of Nadel's journal has been transcribed by typewriter, accessible in Jerusalem and at the Leo Baeck Institute in New York. This journal is a unique document in many respects: not only is it a testimony of Jewish living in National Socialist Germany's capital during the time of the "Endlösung" (the so-called "Final Solution") and the most important biographical source for the last months of Nadel's life, but it also attests to its author's exceptional strength of mind. Only a minor part of the notes chronicles everyday occurrences and the conditions of forced labor; most of the writings are a reflection of the intensive intellectual work that Nadel was doing.

Describing, even mentioning the forced labor and the circumstances surrounding it, put Nadel's life in danger. Nonetheless, in his journal he makes numerous references to his experiences:
"9.4.1942. I am as tired as a horse that has had to pull a heavy weight all day long. I must have walked back and forth hundreds of times, packing boxes and lugging books. And when I tried to steal away for a few minutes of rest once in a while, I studied like a savage. Why? To forget it again? Like the abundance that has been feeding me for the past sixty years? I don't want to know."

"25.4.1942. Took the twenty-two holy letters [of the Hebrew alphabet, J.N.] into my possession for protection. The rabbi being harassed: 'Hurry! Hurry!' The other rabbi is dead. Remember him."
"7.6.1942. Oh time, sweet precious time, friend, where have you gone? How wonderfully I allotted and made use of you before I went into servitude, by God's decision. Don, the prince, into servitude - with cart and dust and dirt and load and–pain in my back–and much worse - pain in my soul."
A witness statement on the forced labor going on at the library at department VII reads that "[i]n March 1943, new people had to be employed because the majority of the Jewish library staff were to be deported." Most of them were already taken in the scope of the so-called "factory operation" on February 27th, when circa 11.000 Berlin Jews were arrested at their workplace and deported to Auschwitz a few days later in Transports 31-36. Friedhelm Kemp recalled in 1958 that when Arno Nadel returned home from work on March 10th, he found that his door had been sealed off. A notice on the door requested he report to Alexanderplatz, where his wife was already waiting.

It is said that a family, most likely the painter Ewald Vetter's (1894–1981), offered to hide him. Nadel declined the offer, not wanting to jeopardize the family's safety. It is probable that

he entrusted his friend with what was left of his archive even before the wave of arrests began on March 9th. Vetter kept the materials in his house in Zehlendorf until 1946, then sent everything to Nadel's daughter Detta in New York. Vetter's daughter, Wera Ostwaldt, remembers Nadel's books standing in a cabinet, while his manuscripts were kept in her nursery, hidden away underneath her toys in a corner seat.

Arno Nadel and his wife Anna were deported from Moabit station on March 12th 1943 and murdered in Auschwitz.

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The author wishes to thank the *Erinnerung, Verantwortung, Zukunft* Foundation for their financial support of his archival research on Arno Nadel.

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