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'National Dignity' and 'Spiritual Reintegration': The Discovery and Presentation of Jewish Folk Music in Germany

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In January 1901 the first issue of the journal *Ost und West* (East and West) appeared in Berlin. It served as the most important organ of cultural Zionism for the next two decades, and, as its title suggests, it attempted to bridge the cultural divide between east and west European Jews with the aim of creating an ethnic nationalist goal. The leading article of the first issue of this 'Illustrated Monthly for Modern Judaism' explained the editors' intentions:

> East and West—to bring elements of Judaism that are far away from one another not just geographically but also culturally closer again by emphasizing everything that unites us or could unite us, by showing our common past and the efforts and achievements of the Jews today. We want to promote . . . Jewish solidarity, justified Jewish self-awareness, by bringing knowledge of all Jewish endeavour and all Jewish ability into as wide a circle of members of our house as we possibly can.

The new Jewish art definitely belonged here, 'being not something that comes from Jews only by chance or which at best cursorily rehashes a page of the Bible. It is art that sobs in the soul of the Jewish people and sings, art that will shape the fate of our people in its content and form.'[1]

The first issue contained, among other things, an article by the renowned Jewish philosopher Martin Buber entitled 'Jewish Renaissance'—a term that was to characterize this movement. Critical to this renaissance, following ideas of ethnic nationalism since the time of Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803) and the Grimm brothers (Jacob, 1785–1863, and Wilhelm, 1786–1859), was the establishment of a common spirit binding a modern nation, which drew on the folklore of ordinary, even peasant, society. But unlike that of the other Romantic nationalist movements sweeping across Europe in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the agenda of *Ost und West* was distinctively Jewish in its Zionist concerns and its sensitivity to the diasporic character of Jewish society. Although based in Germany, the leaders of the movement envisioned that this spirit would be found

not in the Grimms' German peasantry but in the 'authentic folk' of eastern Europe and the ethno-poetry of the folk song. My purpose here is to uncover the often overlooked story of these leaders, particularly Leo Winz (1876–1952) and Fritz Mordechai Kaufmann (1888–1921), and the significance of their renaissance movement for modern Jewish thought and culture.

'A Precept of our National Dignity and our Self-Awareness': Leo Winz

Ost und West was founded by two young Zionists: Davis Trietsch (1870–1935) and Leo Winz. Trietsch devoted himself chiefly to the work of Zionist colonization; his involvement was brief. In 1902 he left the journal, and from then on Winz was the sole editor and publisher,[2] but although he made an unusual contribution to Jewish culture in this and other areas, Winz's name was later forgotten. His biography and varied activities have never been reviewed, and there is not even an entry for him in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*.[3]

Leo Winz's migration and cultural experience are reflected in the title of *Ost und West*. He came west from Russia, where he was born. As a young man he was a member of a Hovevei Zion group.[4] In the 1890s he studied in Zurich, where he was active in the Jewish student society Hessiana (named after the German Jewish philosophical precursor of Zionism, Moses Hess).[5] In 1898 he moved to Berlin to continue his studies, and made contact with leading German Zionists such as Heinrich Loewe and Max Bodenheimer. In the same year he joined the Berlin Zionist Organization.[6] He was still a student in 1901 when he founded *Ost und West*, and, a year later, the Kunstverlag Phönix Leo Winz (Phoenix Leo Winz Art Publishers), which was the first publishing company in the world to print 'postcards and pictures of works of art with Jewish content'.[7] Winz was the manager of both companies until he dissolved them in 1923. As a Russian citizen, he had to leave Germany after the outbreak of the First World War, and during the war he lived in Copenhagen. In 1921 an old friend, Meir Dizengoff, the long-time mayor of Tel Aviv, invited him to Palestine, where he was appointed as the 'representative of the interests of Tel Aviv'.[8] Presumably this meant business enterprises, which Winz described as follows:

> In the years after the war, on the advice of friends who had emigrated to Palestine, I invested significant sums in the export of building materials. This business, which was not wound down until four years later, cost me thousands of pounds. A few years later I devoted myself to tobacco plantations, which also brought anger and disappointment.[9]

His business failures forced Winz to come back to Germany at the end of 1926. At the start of 1928 he bought the *Gemeindeblatt der jüdischen Gemeinde zu Berlin* (Community Newspaper of the Jewish Community in Berlin), which under

his management achieved the largest circulation of all the German Jewish newspapers. Although 87,000 copies were distributed free of charge it was financed exclusively by advertisements and managed without being subsidized by the community. During the period when Winz owned the *Gemeindeblatt* he travelled every year to Palestine, and in November/December 1933 he undertook a 'journey through all of Syria on order of the Syrian government and in the company of high Syrian dignitaries'.[10] The goal of the trip was a project for the settlement of Jewish immigrants from Germany; however, it was not realized. In 1935 Winz sold the *Gemeindeblatt* back to the community of Berlin and moved to Palestine, where he became co-owner of the oldest newspaper in the country, *Doar hayom* (Daily Post). However, he was massively defrauded through false accounting and lost all his money. Unable to gain access to the money he had in Germany, in subsequent years he lived in extreme poverty, selling books and pawning valuables—in a letter of 1938 he relates how he even had to pawn his wife's wedding ring.[11] He died in 1952, after suffering a stroke at the funeral of his friend Sammy Gronemann.[12]

In 1926, on the occasion of Winz's fiftieth birthday, a tribute appeared in the Berlin Zionist newspaper *Jüdische Rundschau* (Jewish Review) characterizing him as an important promoter of Zionist culture and enterprise: 'He combines the energy and daring of a real businessman with great perseverance, animation, and intelligence.' His love for Palestine was particularly emphasized, competing with an 'almost unbelievable tenacity in serving the land'. He was 'one of the first party members to see the "practical work" in Palestine as the most important political means of reaching our ideal and to draw personal consequences for himself from this' (Dyk 1926: 118). Indeed, Winz was very closely tied to Palestine. As he related himself, after 1919 he spent a good deal of time studying it: 'I crossed the country every year in all directions with like-minded friends. There must be few people here in Palestine who know all the parts of the country geographically and topographically as well as I do.'[13]

In a letter to someone we know only as Buck, Winz described his most important creation, the journal *Ost und West*, as 'known to be the most widely distributed and respected Jewish magazine in the world'.[14] This was no exaggeration: in the first fifteen years of its existence the journal attracted the best Jewish publicists, academics, and artists in Germany. Yet its influence extended far beyond the German borders: in addition to the readers it boasted in Germany and Austria-Hungary, it also had many subscribers in Russia. In the west, *Ost und West* made a significant contribution to the formation of what Steven Aschheim (1982) called the *Ostjudenkult* (cult of east European Jews). According to Inka Bertz, who mounted a retrospective exhibition on the Jewish renaissance, 'The idealization of the east European Jewish world and its inhabitants, who for a long time were at best social care cases if not despised, became the alternative to the assimilated, bourgeois German Jewish world' (1991: 37).

For many Jews in the west, *Ost und West* initially offered the only opportunity to learn something about the Jewish culture of the east, regularly publishing as it did articles on the works of the *jungjüdisch* (young Jewish) poets and artists,[15] who devoted themselves to the east European Jewish tradition or who came directly from it. *Ost und West* was the first and for a long time the only medium in the west to express consistent support for the Yiddish language and to celebrate Jewish folk song. 'If someone wants to understand our people . . . he should learn the Jewish German [Yiddish] language, much reviled, foolishly hated and faithlessly abandoned', declared Theodor Zlocisti in an article he wrote for the journal (Zlocisti 1902).

During the early twentieth century one could also experience new Jewish art at different events, in part organized by the editorial staff of *Ost und West*. In 1902 the journal reported on the first 'young Jewish evening' in Berlin, which took up on a similar initiative by Martin Buber in Vienna:

> For many of those present a whole new world opened up, a totally new area of literature—that of the jargon [Yiddish]—a completely new folk song: the Jewish one. Many people, who until then had thought of the Jewish German dialect as *gemauschel* ['muttering', as in esoteric speech], went home the richer this evening, for having discovered previously unknown beauty. What was known as a jargon became 'socially acceptable'.[16]

On this evening, probably for the first time, Jewish folk songs rang out in an art concert in Berlin—including two songs from the Palestinian Jews and five Yiddish songs.

'Finally the first collection of Jewish folk songs has been given to us, songs that were really created from the mouth of the people', raved *Ost und West*'s reviewer, of *Evreiskie narodnye pesni v Rossii* (Jewish Folk Songs in Russia) by Saul Ginsburg and Pesach Marek (Bar-Ami 1904: col. 149; Ginsburg and Marek 1901). The review was signed with the pseudonym Bar-Ami ('Son of My People'), but the reviewer's real name was Leo Winz. He continued, 'With the feeling of joy at owning this beautiful and rich book there was a bitter sensation: why so late? Should not research into "folk literature"—in the broadest sense, i.e. folk song, folk music, folk sayings, popular beliefs, popular customs—have been one of the first and most important tasks of academic research?' (Bar-Ami 1904: cols 150–1). Winz was responding to the focus of Judaica studies at the time on ancient history, particularly that of biblical Israel, while contemporary Jewish life was mostly ignored. The thoughts he expresses here were not only new in the West: for Winz it was a matter of urgency to collect evidence of Jewish folk culture because it was acutely endangered, in his words, by 'the storms of recent decades'—emigration, assimilation, and modernization. He predicted that it could soon be irretrievably lost (Bar-Ami 1904: col. 151).

This idea of the urgent need to document the vanishing folk roots of Jewish culture is found in almost the same words in the writings of S. A. An-ski (Shlomo Z. Rappoport, 1863–1920), the founder of Jewish folklore studies in Russia. Four years after Winz's essay, An-ski wrote: 'Every year, every day even valuable works of folk art are disappearing . . . We have an urgent task: to systematically and comprehensively collect works of all kinds of Jewish folklore and cultural monuments' (1908: 277). These sentences constituted a manifesto for An-ski, a declaration of intent for his future project—the Jewish ethnographic expedition (1912–15). Winz, however, could already in 1904 look back on his own successful activities in the field: in his review he mentions his collection of manuscripts of 1,200 Jewish folk songs from Galicia, Bukovina, and Romania (Ginsburg and Marek's collection contained only 376 songs). Winz's collection included not only texts but also melodies, and can thus be considered the first Jewish folk-music collection.[17]

Winz expressly described Ginsburg and Marek's collection as being 'of the greatest importance to cultural history, social psychology and linguistics' (Bar-Ami 1904: col. 155). However, his review also contained several criticisms. Even the title of the collection was wrong: as most of the published songs it contained were also known outside Russia, they belonged to the common cultural heritage of all Ashkenazi Jews: 'The borders of Russia do not in any way constitute a dividing border for folklore' (1904: col. 156). Four-fifths of the songs could also be found in his own collection. Furthermore, Winz criticized the texts as being 'unreliable and imperfect', and bemoaned the fact that the authors had not collected them themselves: they had largely been supplied by people who had in part outgrown the traditional Jewish milieu. For this reason many of the texts were fragmentary and apparently often the product of lapses in memory. Winz was even more critical, however, of the fact that they were published in Latin transcription, seeing this as an embarrassing concession to the non-Jewish public that greatly reduced the collection's academic value: 'Any attempt at a transcription of this sort is a horror—and this transcription in front of me is the strongest evidence of this' (1904: col. 159). According to Winz, Yiddish was a natural and living language from which several dialects had developed. While the Hebrew script was the same for all dialects, the Latin script could at best only reproduce a certain local dialect. The article closed with an appeal to Jewish educated circles to devote themselves to collecting Jewish folk songs and an admonition not to neglect the melodies in the rush to recover traditional texts (1904: col. 160).

Winz's essay is significant as an early statement of the goals of Jewish musical folklore studies in western Europe. It shows that at that time Winz had a considerable advantage in this area over his colleagues in Russia. His collection was not only quantitatively far superior to the Russian one; his approach was also more systematic and more academic.[18] In comparison to Winz's programme of work, the first experiments in the study of Jewish musical folklore in Russia seem

chaotic and almost naive. Four years before the founding of the Society for Jewish Folk Music (Obshchestvo Evreiskoi Narodnoi Muzyki) in St Petersburg, Winz developed two fundamental ideas: first, he spoke of the need to make a systematic and comprehensive collection of and to evaluate Jewish folk music; second, he planned an equally systematic integration of this folklore into the concert repertoire and amateur music-making—the melodies were to be arranged by professional composers. Both ideas also caught on a few years later in Russia: An-ski organized the first folklore expeditions on an academic basis, and the founding of the Society for Jewish Folk Music prompted a large number of folk-song arrangements for art music.

Jewish music became an important focus of *Ost und West* after 1905. In its first four years the journal had mainly been committed to national Jewish poetry and the visual arts. Dozens of artists were introduced, with large feature articles and many illustrations. At the same time, Winz also expanded the Kunstverlag Phönix, publishing postcards and prints of artists' work that had been featured in the journal.

Jewish musical publications were still rare in the years 1901 to 1904. Those that were available were composed pieces with Jewish themes rather than arrangements of folk pieces. An example is the song 'War ein kleines stilles Haus' (There Was a Small Still House) by James Rothstein from his song cycle *Judenlieder* (Jewish Songs) based on texts by Adolph Donath.[19] In a brief article on this, Rothstein was described as 'one of our most talented young Jewish composers', who, in addition to many songs, had created an opera, a work for male choir and orchestra, piano sonatas, and chamber music (Heller 1903: col. 643). Born in Königsberg in 1871, Rothstein studied under Max Bruch in the composition master class of the Royal Academy of Art in Berlin, and he spent the rest of his life in that city. In the 1930s he took part in the activities of the Berlin Jüdischer Kulturbund (Jewish Cultural Association), which honoured him with a portrait in 1934. As late as May 1941 the Kulturbund orchestra played, under the direction of Rudolf Schwarz, Rothstein's Suite in C minor (Op. 28). 'This orchestral suite is an early work of the elderly Jewish composer who is with us [i.e. who attended the concert]', announced the *Jüdisches Nachrichtenblatt*, the last Jewish newspaper allowed to operate by the Nazis. 'The warm and heartfelt applause that the listeners gave him may be taken as an indication of their gratitude for his rich creation' (Stompor 2001: 169). The concert was to be a double farewell: the orchestra was playing for the last time, as the Nazis subsequently dissolved the Kulturbund; James Rothstein was deported a few months later to the Łódź ghetto, where he died soon afterwards.

The text of 'War ein kleines stilles Haus' describes a sabbath celebration in a Jewish home, filled with longing for Zion: 'Fly away, fly away, my prayer, to the far-away latitudes, where the temple of Zion stands.' The Zionist hope is especially connected to the child dreaming of the cedar trees of Palestine. The musical lan-

guage of this simple, fervent song is to a great extent early Romantic, with clear echoes of Schubert, but individual elements of synagogue music in the style of Louis Lewandowski[20] can be identified.

Indicating the growing importance in Winz's agenda of folklore and ethnology as part of a Jewish cultural renaissance, the first issue of *Ost und West* in 1905 opened with the article 'On Jewish Ethnology'. Here, Winz called on his readership in different countries to become involved in a unique project. It concerned the collection of Jewish folklore (which he called 'the neglected, shabbily treated Cinderella of Jewish studies'), but the spectrum was unusually broad: customs and traditions, proverbs, anecdotes, and children's games, popular beliefs and folk medicine, folk songs and melodies of every kind, legends and fairy-tales. Winz considered this task to be 'our duty, a precept of our national dignity and our self-awareness'.[21]

From this issue onwards almost every issue of the journal included Jewish musical works, mainly arrangements of folk music. The few composed pieces were closely linked to folklore. Almost all the arrangements published used melodies from Winz's collection. The only exception was the 'Berühmte Melodie des Wilnaer Balebessel' (Famous Melody of the Balebessel of Vilna), which was 'taken from a song by a Jew from Vilna and arranged for piano' by Arno Nadel.[22] Nadel came from Vilna, where he was born in 1878. At the age of 12 he went to Königsberg, where he studied Jewish liturgical music with Eduard Birnbaum.[23] From 1895 he lived in Berlin and was a student at the Jewish teacher-training college there. Nadel was multi-talented, equally gifted as a poet, painter, and musician. He wrote poems and stage plays, and he translated An-ski's play *Hadibuk* (The Dybbuk) into German. From 1916 he led choirs at various Berlin synagogues, for which he also wrote liturgical works. Besides these creative activities, he made a name for himself as a music reviewer for various Jewish newspapers and journals.

It was Leo Winz who suggested that Nadel adapt Jewish folklore for his compositions. Nadel became one of Winz's closest musical collaborators, and Winz's folk-song collection became his most important source in the early years. Later he published two collections of arrangements of Jewish folklore for voice with piano accompaniment—*Jontefflieder* (Festival Songs) and *Jüdische Volkslieder* (Jewish Folk Songs)—as well as a collection of folk poetry, *Jüdische Liebeslieder* (Jewish Love Songs).[24] In 1918 Nadel composed incidental music for Stefan Zweig's anti-war play *Jeremiah* using traditional Jewish motifs. The music was played for the last time in 1934 at a performance at the theatre of the Berlin Jüdischer Kulturbund under the direction of Leopold Jessner (Stompor 2001: 43). In 1943 Arno Nadel was deported to Auschwitz, and murdered there (*EJ* 1971: xii, cols 752–3; Rothmüller 1951: 150).

Many other young Jewish composers besides Nadel belonged to the circle around *Ost und West*. Apart from James Rothstein, they included Hirsch Lif-

schütz (the dates of whose birth and death aren't known), Bogumil Zepler (1858–1918), Janot Roskin (1884–1946), Jacob Beymel (1880–1944), and Leo Kopf (1888–?). They were all commissioned by Leo Winz to arrange the folk melodies from his collection. These arrangements thus became Winz's (or *Ost und West*'s) property; they were subsequently published in the journal, and, above all, performed at many events organized by its editorial staff.

Among the composers commissioned by Winz were several members of the Society for Jewish Folk Music in St Petersburg. The concert programmes of *Ost und West* contained the names of Lazare Saminsky, Alexander Zhitomirsky, Joel Engel, Ephraim Shklyar, Moshe Shalyt, Hirsch Kopyt, and Boris Levensohn. There was active co-operation between *Ost und West* and the society, and it was mentioned explicitly on every occasion that all the folk melodies came from Winz's collection. On 11 November 1908, even before the society had started its work, two arrangements for violin and piano —*Ch'ssidisch* (Hasidic) by Saminsky and *Dem reben's nigun* (The Rebbe's Tune) by Zhitomirsky—were performed in Berlin; they were later published by the society in 1910 and 1912 respectively.[25] Leo Winz's collection became—alongside the melodies made available by Zusman Kiselgof, the pedagogue and collector of Jewish folk music—an important source for the work of the society in its early phase (Nemtsov 2004: 54). Further proof of this is the well-known *Lieder-Sammelbuch für die jüdische Schule und Familie* (Jewish School and Family Songbook), which Kiselgof was commissioned to compile by the society, and which was published in 1912 by *Ost und West*. It is specially noted in the anthology that seven of its melodies came from Leo Winz's collection, including 'Die alte kasche' (The Old Question), 'Chazkele', 'Alef-bejs' (Alphabet), and 'A retenisch', which belonged to the repertoire of the St Petersburg society. It is also noticeable that many other folk songs which appeared in the first two series of the society's publications in 1910 and 1912 had previously been performed in other arrangements in the *Ost und West* concerts. The second series of 1912 (which had nineteen issues) had been published by the *Ost und West* publishing house as well. The society's composers received the material, which had already been arranged in Berlin, from Winz.

Jewish Folk Music on the Concert Stage

The first big musical event sponsored by *Ost und West* occurred on the eve of Purim, 21 March 1905. It was actually organized by two other Jewish societies—the Verein für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur (Society for Jewish History and Literature) and the Verein jüdische Lesehalle (Jewish Reading-Room Society),[26] but *Ost und West* was entirely responsible for the content. The programme focused equally on Jewish music and art, and several poems were also recited.[27] The works of art were projected onto the wall with the aid of an optical apparatus called a Skioptikon. There were nearly eighty pictures by thirty-one artists, includ-

ing Jozef Israëls, Lesser Ury, Hermann Struck, Samuel Hirszenberg, Mark Antokolski, Boris Schatz, Max Liebermann, and Leonid Pasternak. All the pictures had been published by Kunstverlag Phönix and had been printed in *Ost und West*. The musical part of the programme consisted mainly of folk-song arrangements by various composers. According to the review in the journal,

> This was something completely new for Berlin. Individual songs raised veritable storms of applause. Particularly appreciated were the folk songs, from which now rejoicing high spirits, now deep longing, now moving melancholy rang out . . . The . . . hasidic melodies, those original 'songs without words', were a joy to hear for lovers of singing. All the performances were also greeted with enthusiastic applause.[28]

The concert programme had accompanying notes for five of these arrangements, including 'Chazkele', 'Geh ich mer spaziren (Verlassen)' (When I go for a walk (Alone)), and 'Chassidisches Lied' (Hasidic Song; without words) by Arno Nadel, 'Wer es kenn afn fidele spilen' (Who Can Play the Fiddle) by Hirsch Lifschütz, and 'Her nor du schön mejdele' (Listen, Pretty Maiden) by M. Gibianski. The pieces that had previously been published in *Ost und West* thus received further publicity. The musical style of the arrangements was almost identical to that of the Society for Jewish Folk Music's pieces, or to the style of those by Joel Engel: the accompaniments were conventional, they were based on classic harmonies and also doublings and thirds, and sometimes second voices were used. The compositions were simple and could also be played by amateurs without difficulty.

Despite the success of the Purim performance the journal did not immediately continue its concert-giving activities. The organization of regular concerts was only resumed at the end of 1906. In the following two years *Ost und West* cooperated in this area with the newly established Verein zur Förderung jüdischer Kunst (Society for the Promotion of Jewish Art) in Berlin. The first joint concert took place on 12 December 1906, and contained only musical acts. The well-known Zionist activist and poet Theodor Zlocisti[29] delivered the opening lecture, on 'The History, Sources, and Psychological Character of the Jewish Folk Song'. The composer Bogumil Zepler took on the artistic direction and also presented the programme. Zepler, who also conceived most of the other concert programmes in subsequent years, became, with Arno Nadel, one of the most important members of the music circle revolving around *Ost und West*. In addition to composers, there were several performers who belonged to this circle: first and foremost the soprano Vera Goldberg and the tenor Leo Gollanin, who were initially involved in most of the concerts. They were joined later by the singers Claire Dawidoff-Spiwakowski, Bella Falk, Susy Lipsky, Michael Magidson, and Janot Roskin, as well as many other musicians such as the violinist Betty Tennenbaum and the Spiwakowski brothers —Jascha (piano), Tossi (violin) and Albert (violoncello or piano accompaniment)—who could be heard in several *Ost und West* concerts.[30] Arno Nadel, James Rothstein, Bogumil Zepler, or Ludwig Mendelssohn usually accompanied the songs.

The concert programme for 10 December 1906 was divided into several sections presenting different spheres of Jewish music. Arrangements of Yiddish folk songs for voice and piano dominated; in addition there was 'liturgical house music'—traditional prayer motifs in Hebrew, and some Sephardi and Ashkenazi melodies arranged for violin and harmonium (including the melody of the Vilna Balebessel arranged by Nadel)—as well as what was known as 'art music using Jewish motifs', including works by Rothstein (the song 'War ein kleines stilles Haus'), Anton Rubinstein (an aria from the opera *Die Makkabäer* (The Maccabees)), Karl Goldmark (an aria from the opera *Die Königin von Saba* (The Queen of Sheba)), and Bogumil Zepler. 'Jewish art music' referred to a mixture of works that contained compositions with elements of traditional Jewish music, works with Jewish subjects by composers of Jewish origin, and sometimes also pieces by non-Jewish composers with Jewish themes (such as oratorios by Handel or songs by Rimsky-Korsakov and Mussorgsky). Similar ideas dominated in the first phase of the St Petersburg Society for Jewish Folk Music, whose concerts during 1908–10 exactly repeated the organizational principles of the *Ost und West* concerts.

Some of the composers in the *Ost und West* circle creatively pushed the boundaries of Jewish art music. In the concert of 10 December 1906 a song by Bogumil Zepler rang out, 'Wo du hingehst . . .' (Whither thou goest . . .), for voice and harmonium, based on a text from the biblical book of Ruth. In May of the following year the song was published in *Ost und West*. The composer created two parallel versions of the voice part—in German and in Hebrew—that differed considerably and which were therefore able to translate the rhythmic peculiarities of both languages optimally. The Jewish colour is created both by the rich instrumental ornamentation in the style of biblical cantillation and by the voice part, whose arrangement—'in a free recitation tempo' according to the score—create clear associations with the traditional recitation of biblical texts.

The December concert was followed on 9 January 1907 by a literary programme of 'Modern Jewish Poetry' with the legendary Rudolf Schildkraut.[31] A projected evening of 'Jewish Fairytales and Legends' did not take place. Instead *Ost und West* organized its first guest performance outside Berlin in April 1907: at the invitation of the Society for Jewish Art in Breslau the December programme was repeated there.

In the next season of 1907/8, two concerts with different programmes, staged in co-operation with the Berlin Society for the Promotion of Jewish Art, were organized (on 13 October 1907 and 19 February 1908); in addition a concert took place in the Hamburg Concert House, where the works that had already been performed in Berlin were presented. The repertoire had been considerably broadened: along with many folk-song arrangements several new works by Jewish composers were performed, including *Divertissement über chassidische Melodien* (Divertissement on Hasidic Melodies), for violin and piano, by Arno Nadel (with

variations on the song 'Alef-Bejs' as the finale), as well as songs by Jacob Beymel, Ignaz Brüll,[32] Bogumil Zepler, Diamant,[33] and Hirsch Lifschütz.

A concert on 20 September 1908 was to be the last event organized jointly with the Jewish Art Society (as it came to be called); the other concerts of this season were directed solely by *Ost und West*. On 27 December the concert team gave a guest performance in Halberstadt at the invitation of the local Zionist organization Tikwath Zion, and in the following season, on 9 May 1909, at the Libanon-Loge (of the Jewish fraternal organization, B'nai Brith) in Insterburg in East Prussia.

Various events were held in the following seasons, but in 1912/13 the staging of concerts intensified. In the space of less than three months, at least fourteen concerts took place: on 27 October 1912 in Berlin (in the National Jewish Women's Union), on 31 October in Leipzig, on 2 November in Breslau, on 5 November in Frankfurt am Main, on 7 November in Cologne, on 9 November in Munich, on 11 November in Nuremberg, on 16 November in Berlin, on 18 November in Hamburg, on 21 November in Posen, on 24 November in Hanover, on 1 December in Berlin, on 16 December in Berlin again (as part of the Maccabi celebration of the Berlin Zionists), and on 15 January 1913 in Leipzig (a benefit concert 'for the Israelite Society for Supporting of Sick People Bikur Holim'). Compared to other contemporary Jewish cultural events, the programmes of these concerts developed in a distinctive direction. While, in Jewish music concerts in Russia at this time, art music was increasingly played and a distinctive Jewish style crystallized in the works of the most talented members of the Society for Jewish Folk Music (Achron, Saminsky, Milner, Rosowsky) (Nemtsov 2004: 55–6), developments in Germany followed another course. After several very promising attempts, art music completely disappeared from the concerts initiated by *Ost und West*, which from then on exclusively presented arrangements of Jewish folk melodies. There were apparently at least two reasons for this: the creative potential of the group of composers around Leo Winz was considerably weaker than that of the society in St Petersburg, and the German circle lacked the continual artistic exchange that the Russian society and its music committee could guarantee.

Although the artistic ambitions of the circle around *Ost und West* were in the end reduced to the promotion of traditional Jewish music, and although even of this only a part—the secular songs of east European Jews—was really represented, the significance of their work cannot be underestimated. Not only the Jewish audience but also the general public felt the concerts of *Ost und West* to be first-class cultural events, which presented—for the first time in Europe, to a broad audience, and in a convincing artistic way—a folk-music tradition that was hardly known. According to reports at the time the concerts, which were consistently sold out, prompted storms of enthusiasm and left a long-lasting impression in which amazement at the high musical and poetic quality of the songs was

combined with the wish to hear more in the genre. A complete edition of the folk melodies and their arrangements was often requested. Evidence of these reactions can be found in the reviews (largely from non-Jewish newspapers) of the concert tour in autumn 1912 with the singers Bella Falk, Claire Dawidoff, and Michael Magidson, violinist Betty Tennenbaum, and Arno Nadel as accompanying pianist. A collection of these reviews was printed in *Ost und West*, and also appeared in the form of a brochure.[34]

After the 1912/13 season the concert activities of *Ost und West* suddenly stopped, for unknown reasons. No more events were organized until 1917. The few performances of songs from the proven repertoire of *Ost und West* were staged on the initiative of individual musicians from the group. The singer Leo Gollanin was involved in a concert on the occasion of the eleventh Zionist Congress in Vienna, which took place on 7 September 1913; the Jewish Choral Society from Czernowitz and the English Jewish violinist Margery Bentwich also took part.[35] Several arrangements by Nadel and Zepler were performed on 7 February 1914, as part of a 'Jewish student evening' in Berlin. On 25 December 1916 Arno Nadel himself organized a concert, mainly of his folk-song arrangements from Leo Winz's collection, in the Berlin Klindworth-Scharwenka Hall. At this time Winz had already been living in Copenhagen for two years, from where he supervised the editing of *Ost und West* as before. On 6 December 1917, he organized, by himself, a large-scale concert of Jewish folk music, in which the young Polish Jewish soprano Susy Lipsky took part. The concert was compered in Danish, and all the texts were translated. Again, the response was positive, and there were nine reviews in the Danish newspapers. 'For the many people, who attended the concert yesterday, the evening became a great musical experience', *København* (Copenhagen) reported the next day. The reviewer raved that 'throughout one feels a glow and an inventiveness in the expression of all of these changing, brightly coloured moods, that raise the artistic value of this unique music to a very high level'.

In Germany the musical activities of *Ost und West* were resumed as soon as Leo Winz returned to Berlin after the war. The *Jüdische Rundschau* published a whole-page advertisement on 3 October 1919 which included details of the establishment of the Verlag für Volksmusik (Folk Music Publishing Company) under the artistic direction of Winz and Janot S. Roskin. The publication catalogue included around 300 arrangements of Jewish folk melodies from Winz's collection, of which forty-eight had already been published at this time. The company was presumably directly connected to *Ost und West*, since both operations had the same address. As part of its activities a 'concert department' was formed, which according to the advertisement was to take over 'the arrangement of folk songs and other Jewish art evenings in Berlin and the provinces in grand and modest style in co-operation with outstanding permanently engaged artists'.[36] The first series of folk-song evenings was also announced in the advertisement. It con-

sisted of no fewer than seven large-scale concerts in Berlin (in the Oberlicht Philharmonic Hall, the Blüthner Hall, the concert hall of the College of Music in Fasanenstrasse, and in the Teachers' Union House), as well as further concerts in twelve other German towns: Frankfurt, Cologne, Mannheim, Stuttgart, Nuremberg, Munich, Hanover, Dresden, Leipzig, Hamburg, Breslau, and Königsberg. In organizing these programmes the circle around *Ost und West* (as well as the members of the St Petersburg society) assumed that presenting authentic performers, or songs as they were performed in their original context, could not play a role in the national renaissance. They firmly believed that folk music had to be refined and adapted for the concert stage to be culturally significant in the modern era.

The first of the announced concerts took place on 13 October 1919, in the Oberlicht Philharmonic Hall. An insert in the concert programme testifies to the difficult conditions in which the concerts were given in the post-war period: 'We ask that you make allowances for the artists who are suffering from heavy colds due to their unheated apartments.' Those who took part in the series included seven singers, among them Leo Gollanin, Janot Roskin, and Susy Lipsky, and several instrumentalists. The participation of the Spiwakowski brothers was of particular note. Two of them—Jascha and Tossi—were to go on to formidable international careers a few years later. At this time Tossi (his name was later written as Tossy Spivakovsky) was still appearing as a child prodigy; at the age of 19 he became the concert master of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra under the direction of Wilhelm Furtwängler. He gave concerts around the world together with his brother, the pianist Jascha; they were giving guest performances in Australia when they learned in 1933 of the Nazi takeover. Jascha remained permanently in Melbourne, where he distinguished himself at the Academy of Music; Tossi later went to the United States, where he taught at the prestigious Juilliard School in New York City. Evidence of the popularity of this concert series can be found in the journal *Schlemiel*: 'While Jewish diplomacy rests on the laurels of its advance [referring to the Balfour Declaration of 1917 stating British support for a Jewish national home in Palestine], for lack of other state actions the tiny [*winzige*—a play on Leo Winz's name] affair of the Jewish folk song is raised to the level of one [a state action].'[37]

After Winz's departure for Palestine in 1921 no further concerts by *Ost und West* are documented. Two years later the journal disappeared from the Jewish cultural scene. However, the Russian Jewish musicians who had immigrated to Germany continued to undertake engagements. They presented the German public not only with performances of Jewish folk music but also with the art music of the New Jewish School.[38] From the mid-1920s the pianist and publicist Alice Jacob-Loewenson, who was an active member of the Zionist Organization, became the main disseminator of Jewish music in Germany (see Nemtsov 2005), while many other Zionist-oriented musicians in Austria and other central and

east European countries rendered outstanding service in disseminating Jewish music (see Nemtsov and Schröder-Nauenburg 2004). The effects of Zionist cultural thinking on Jewish music influenced the organization of events of the Jüdischer Kulturbund in Germany in the 1930s (see Nemtsov forthcoming: ch. 6).

'Spiritual Reintegration into our own Nation': Fritz Mordechai Kaufmann

Late in 1916 the well-known businessman and patron of the arts Zalman Schocken (1877–1959), who had been involved in the Zionist movement since 1910, addressed the Zionist Organization of Germany with an extensive paper entitled 'Organization and Content of Zionist Work in Germany'. Schocken was at the time closely associated with the circle of cultural Zionists around Martin Buber, according to whom the most important aspect of the Zionist project was the rediscovery of Jewish spiritual values as the means of the renewal of the people (Schreuder and Weber 1994: 26). The practical measures that Schocken proposed in his paper included the establishment of the Ausschuss für jüdische Kulturarbeit (Committee for Jewish Cultural Work). This suggestion was accepted. With Schocken as chairman, Martin Buber, Moses Calvary, Kurt Blumenfeld, Hugo Bergmann, and Max Brod were elected as members of the committee. Its most important task was to be editorial or, in Schocken's words, 'the creation of books for the Hebraization and Judaization of German Jews' (Schreuder and Weber 1994: 27). Only a few publication projects could be realized, including a Hebrew textbook, a German–Hebrew phraseology, and a few stories for Jewish youth. In July 1918 the Committee for Jewish Cultural Work initiated a musical project: Fritz Mordechai Kaufmann was commissioned to produce a Jewish songbook. As a result two works by Kaufmann were published: *Das jüdische Volkslied. Ein Merkblatt* (The Jewish Folk Song: A Leaflet) in 1919 and, a year later, *Die schönsten Lieder der Ostjuden. 47 ausgewählte Volkslieder* (The Most Beautiful Songs of the East European Jews: 47 Selected Folk Songs), both released by the Jüdischer Verlag in Berlin.

Inspired by Saul Ginsburg and Pesach Marek's 1901 collection of Jewish folk songs in Russia, several other publications had come out before the First World War: Zusman Kiselgof's *Lieder-Sammelbuch für die jüdische Schule und Familie*, the two-volume *Jüdische Volkslieder* (Jewish Folk Songs) by Jehuda Leib Cahan from Warsaw (New York, 1912) and the collection of folk songs by Noyech Prilutzki, also in two volumes (Warsaw, 1911 and 1913). Many folk melodies were arranged by composers for concert repertoires and private musical performances, published by *Ost und West*, the Society for Jewish Folk Music in St Petersburg, and also by Joel Engel and some others. Numerous concerts of Jewish folk music took place in Russia and Germany, but also in other European countries,

Figure 1 Portrait of Fritz Mordechai Kaufmann

exposing a broader audience to this tradition for the first time. This diverse activity had great national-cultural significance, but the extent of its artistic and academic achievement was sometimes doubtful. Most of the activities were inspired by nationalist enthusiasm, by the wish to spread the newly discovered Jewish folk music by all possible means and in this way promote a Jewish nationalism bringing together traditions across the European diaspora. Only a short time before it had seemed natural that the Jews had no folk music of their own that could be taken seriously, so at this stage it seemed more important to prove the reverse, and in this way strengthen national self-consciousness, than to undertake a systematic analysis of the material.

The enthusiasts for Jewish folk song lacked criteria with which to judge folklore. It was not easy, for instance, for the St Petersburg society to realize that the artistic value of the collected folk songs varied. In the west there was no such analysis at all. The melodies published and performed by *Ost und West* were for this reason heterogeneous: besides recognized folk melodies, material was also promoted whose roots in tradition were doubtful. In addition no distinction was made in east or west between authentic folk melodies and arrangements; folk music was played in concert arrangements that were often foreign to the character and nature of Jewish melodies. It was believed that the folk songs could only achieve their effect when they were improved and cultivated by accompaniments composed in the European style. In fact, this belief arguably caused the characteristic nature of these songs to be lost. The problem was not only the lack of an

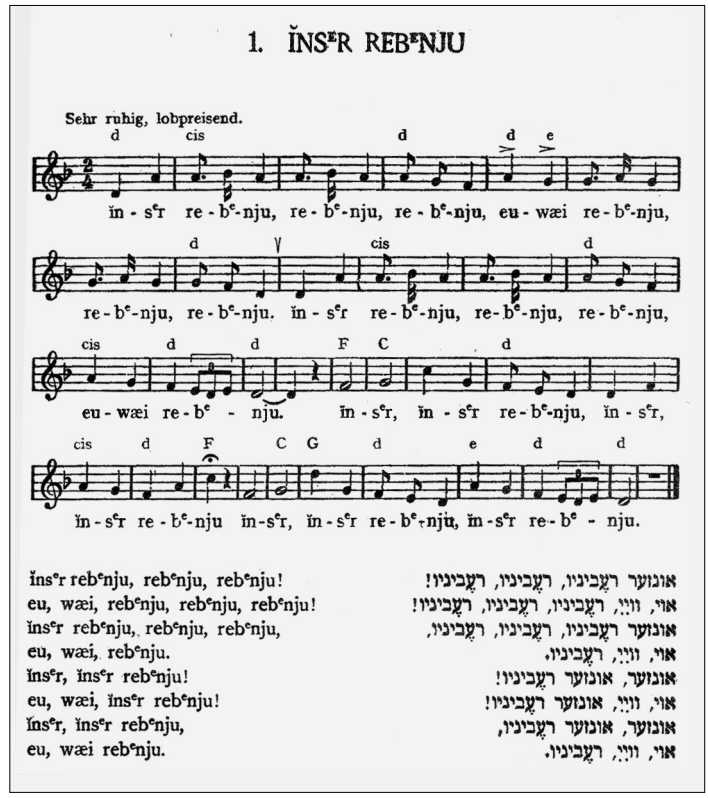

Figure 2 First song from Fritz Mordechai Kaufmann's *Die schönsten Lieder der Ostjuden* (1925). The Yiddish orthography follows the system of Solomon Birnbaum

appropriate stylistic means, but above all the lack of understanding of the distinctiveness of Jewish musical folklore. Hardly anyone made a serious theoretical study of its special features, and the few attempts to do so were amateurish and naive, such as the brochure *Das jüdische Volkslied* (The Jewish Folk Song) by Zusman Kiselgof (translated from Yiddish and published by the Berlin Jüdischer Verlag in 1913).[39] An appropriate academic approach was only to be found in the articles and lectures of Lazare Saminsky (see Saminsky 1914, 1915), but these remained unknown outside Russia. So nationally minded musicians and cultural activists integrated Jewish folk music into the new Jewish renaissance, largely without scholarly guidance.

The work of Fritz Mordechai Kaufmann—who produced the first collection of Jewish folk songs to follow scholarly standards of Jewish ethnology—seems all the more important against this backdrop. In contrast to all the previous works in the Jewish renaissance which had emphasized accessibility, simplicity in performance, and popularity, Kaufmann turned his attention to matters of authenticity and the traditions of musical-poetic style.

Kaufmann was born in 1888 in Eschweiler in the Eifel and studied medicine in Munich and Marburg before he went to Leipzig in 1910. His time in Leipzig

shaped his career in many respects. It was there that he became a member of the Zionist Organization and became intensively interested in east European Judaism, which he perceived as 'the living body of Judaism' (Kaufmann 1923: 11). It was there that he learned, among other things, the Yiddish language, in which he later became fluent. Leipzig was also the place where he met his future wife, Rachel (or Rahel) Kaganoff from Odessa, the daughter of a Torah scribe. The pair were musically inclined: Kaufmann played the violin, and Rachel was a singer; they shared a love for east European Jewish song.

Another important encounter for Kaufmann was with Nathan Birnbaum, who became his spiritual mentor. According to Kaufmann's friend and brother-in-law Ludwig Strauss, 'Birnbaum's greatest personal achievement as an east European Jew, who landed in the West and was brought up in German culture, was to reconquer the home. Kaufmann followed him as the first western Jew to feel at home in east European Judaism and to learn to think and feel in its language' (Kaufmann 1923: 12). Under the influence of Birnbaum, who was opposed to political Zionism, Kaufmann also left the Zionist Organization in 1913.

Kaufmann's first published works appeared in the *Jüdische Rundschau*. From spring 1913 he and his brother Julius published their own journal, *Die Freistatt. Alljüdische Revue* (The Free State: All-Jewish Review). The title was intended to be polemical, since part of the journal was devoted to countering political Zionism, which Kaufmann viewed as a restriction of the national Jewish idea (Kaufmann 1923: 67–118). *Die Freistatt* asserted its entitlement to represent this idea in its entirety. It made east European Jewish culture its focus. It published many works of Yiddish poetry in the original Hebrew orthography and in German translation. In addition, it informed its readership about different aspects of the folk life of east European Jews.

Kaufmann distinguished his cultural Zionism, building Jewish social unity on the foundation of shared cultural roots in folk life, from political Zionism, associated with Theodor Herzl's call for the immediate creation of an independent Jewish state. Kaufmann's criticism in this respect had much in common with the position of Ahad Ha'am, who argued that before a Jewish state could be established enthusiasm for nationalist sentiment and culture needed to be spread among Jews in the Diaspora. They both polemicized against the arrogance of the political leaders of the Zionist Organization, pointing out their aloofness from the mass of Jewish people and their effort to create a political apparatus without first building a cultural foundation.[40] They both demanded that attention should be given to living Judaism and practical cultural work; while Ahad Ha'am saw the task as the revival of Hebrew culture, Kaufmann was a follower of the Yiddish cultural renaissance. Both these views caught on increasingly in the Zionist Organization: Hebrew culture became established in Palestine, while Yiddish grew within Zionist activities in the Diaspora.

It was logical that Kaufmann, after his front-line action during the First World War, which had interrupted his publishing activity for two years, came back to a now changed Zionism and was integrated into the circle of cultural Zionists around the journal *Der Jude* (The Jew) that was established and led by Martin Buber. From 1916 on, Kaufmann's articles appeared again mainly in the Zionist press.

In 1920 Kaufmann became the head of the Jüdisches Arbeiterfürsorgeamt (Jewish Workers' Welfare Office), which had been created the previous year in Berlin. This institution supported east European Jewish refugees and emigrants in many different ways.[41] In March 1921, however, possibly driven by chronic depression, he committed suicide.

Kaufmann's musical-ethnographic studies are still relevant today. They culminated in the works published between 1918 and 1920, including *Die schönsten Lieder der Ostjuden* and the accompanying leaflet *Das jüdische Volkslied*. However, his serious research into east European music and folklore had started much earlier, in 1911 in Leipzig. The impulse came from a concert by an ensemble of the St Petersburg Society for Jewish Folk Music under the direction of the singer Jakov Medwedew, who was performing on its first European tour. It was on this occasion that Kaufmann was 'shaken up by a few old songs' (Kaufmann 2001: 11). In the following years he sought out authentic folk singers in the field and documented a range of Jewish folk music.

In his articles Kaufmann analysed previous work in this field, mainly concentrated in the efforts of *Ost und West* and the St Petersburg society. He subjected them to a negative critique. In his opinion the folk songs that had been presented up to that point should mostly be described as falsifications: they did not represent the best of what the Jewish musical folk genius was capable of, but were merely a randomly assembled mixture in which, alongside authentic folk songs, other material—melodies from Jewish operettas, insipid popular songs, and 'all kinds of oversentimental art songs'—had been fabricated with hardly any connection with genuine folklore (Kaufmann 1923: 247). Furthermore he objected to the kind of adaptation used to introduce such songs to the public; these arrangements were mostly unfavourable to the style:

> The folk song, so rounded and complete, that can only have its effect by virtue of the unsurpassable expression that is captured in it, is arbitrarily dislocated and decorated . . . This is the case for most of the song supplements in the 'Ost und West' journal and many individual publications of the Society for Jewish Folk Music, not to speak of the sorry musical productions from Mazin & Co. (London), Hübner (Nadworna) and those printed in America. (Kaufmann 1923: 230)

The third important point of criticism was the Yiddish language, which was hopelessly distorted in these publications and, worse, became like German. The result was a 'language that is neither Yiddish nor German but *gemauschel*' (Kaufmann

1923: 247). Finally he criticized the performance milieu; he considered the concert atmosphere and the performers, who had either been trained at the opera or came from the east European Jewish operetta, hardly appropriate to rendering folk culture, and had little feeling for the contexts of the folk song.[42]

Kaufmann advocated ending the creation of high art out of folk material and replacing this with the goal of authentic reproduction of the Jewish folk song, which he considered to be an art form on its own terms and the purest expression of the soul of the Jewish people. For this reason he detested everything that clouded the original folk forms as 'dissipation' of the folk song. Referring to the highly regarded 'Hebrew Melody' by Joseph Achron and the piano trio 'Fantastic Dance' by Solomon Rosowsky, he remarked: 'A few simple melodies even became virtuoso pieces for violin and piano; Yiddish songs feature as "Hebrew Melody" or "Fantastic Dance". I cannot see an enrichment of Jewish folk music in this' (Kaufmann 2001: 32).

In his article 'Performing Jewish Folk Music for West European Jews'[43] Kaufmann describes in detail his goal for the collection, publication, adaptation, and performance of Jewish folk music. He was forced to admit, however, that under the conditions prevalent in the West his vision would be difficult to achieve in all its aspects in the foreseeable future. Nevertheless, he made a contribution towards the goal of preserving authentic folk culture in an exemplary collection, the forty-seven songs in *Die schönsten Lieder der Ostjuden*, which he had personally gathered from east European Jewish folk singers.[44] The largest category comprises ten religious and hasidic songs; in addition there are lullabies, children's songs, wedding songs, family songs, and soldiers' songs. For Kaufmann, the contextual relationship between the songs and religion was an important consideration in distinguishing between authentic folk material and tasteless 'pseudo-folklore'. As he wrote, 'The formal elements of these songs are the same ones that we find in traditional synagogue song . . . That means that the musical form . . . is a kind of a recitative . . . The recitative has . . . stayed dominant until recently, even in many lullabies and some love songs, that are clearly outside the religious sphere' (Kaufmann 1923: 254). To be sure, Lazare Saminsky expressed similar ideas in Russia around the same time. He also viewed the religious melodies as the touchstone in judging the national and artistic value of even secular songs (Nemtsov 2004: 70–1). In the following passage Kaufmann's words are almost identical to Saminsky's, of which it can be proved that Kauffman was unaware: 'Without doubt those folk songs which do not come directly from liturgical music are more comprehensible for the public, which is not on close terms with it . . . The truly grandiose things, however, are those which are absolutely Jewish, from the realm of the religion' (Kaufmann 1923: 255). In another place he emphasized the 'inner connection between the old strict synagogue music and these songs, that extended and internalized the melodic line of the religious song in an amazingly bold and independent way' (Kaufmann 2001: 12).

Kaufmann's leaflet contains valuable tips on authentic performance practice. Among other things, he concentrates on the correct pronunciation of the Yiddish texts, using a phonetic system that had been developed shortly before by Solomon Birnbaum[45] that reproduced the sound of all three important dialects of the Yiddish language—Polish, Lithuanian, and southern Russian. For details of correct pronunciation the reader was referred to the relevant publications in *Die Freistatt*. Since the Jewish folk song has a purely vocal character, Kaufmann argued in principle against instrumental accompaniment; if an accompaniment seemed indispensable, it had to be very sparing and could not contain any polyphonic elements.[46] Likewise, he warned against choral singing, which was unsuitable for many types of Jewish folk music. Jewish choral singing (for example that of the hasidim) was in all cases different from the German norm:

> The Germans prefer to sing in a tight, disciplined mass; the Jewish mass has a completely different, freer collective form. It does not know how to sing in iron rhythm. It is under the influence of the singing in the house of prayer . . . the individual does not violate his rapture, his joy. The total effect of such a song, impossible for disciplined, Prussian disposition, is purely oriental; it produces a long-lasting, shattering effect' (Kaufmann 2001: 37).

The rhythmic aspects of the Jewish folk song were also significant for Kaufmann. Here as well a particular freedom is offered: 'In reality the art of playing and singing to time consists of ignoring the score at crucial points, inserting a minute pause here, there a barely noticeable speeding-up' (Kaufmann 2001: 14). However, in practice all these tips were only supposed to help beginners find their bearings; Kaufmann recommended in any case that people should listen to the authentic song of east European Jews and learn directly from folk singers.

Despite Kaufmann's great love for this art, the fostering of the Jewish song and Yiddish poetry was not a purely cultural affair for him, but—in the sense of cultural Zionism—part of the essential task of the national renaissance. He turned to those west European Jews who acknowledged that they were part of the Jewish Diaspora but were disconnected from a nationalist cultural identity. A nationalist rebirth could not happen, he argued, through 'repeating parrot fashion' the Zionist formulas, but only by overcoming cultural uprooting and by every individual internalizing the living spirit of the people. The spirit finds its most intense expression, according to Kaufmann, in east European Jewish culture, and particularly in music. He considered the Jewish folk song to be the best means to achieve the 'spiritual reintegration into our own nation' (Kaufmann 2001: 17).

More than eighty years after Kaufmann's statement and sixty years after the Holocaust, a remarkable revival of Jewish music is taking place in North America and Europe generally, and in Germany in particular, where a new movement calling itself klezmer is attracting a large non-Jewish audience. The 'king of klezmer', clarinettist Giora Feidman, as well as numerous klezmer bands, most of them

consisting of non-Jewish musicians, evoke an idealized image of east European Jewry and its music. This image has little in common with the historical reality and the intentions of the national Jewish renaissance at the beginning of the twentieth century. Instead of the ethnological and aesthetic authenticity which characterized the goal of the renaissance, the crucial point of the klezmer movement in Germany is a sort of psychological effect. Through the popularization of this music some Germans can identify with the victims of National Socialism as a way of coming to terms with the past. It is therefore no wonder that neither Leo Winz nor Fritz Mordechai Kaufmann is present in the cultural memory of modern Germany. Even the reprint of Kaufmann's song collection in 2001 was barely noted in klezmer circles. This situation highlights the importance of recognizing in Jewish cultural studies the legacy of the pioneers of the Jewish musical renaissance who dedicated their lives to studying and fostering genuine Jewish folklore rather than what eminent American folklorist Richard Dorson (1971, 1974, 1976) later called 'fakelore'.

Translated from the German by Sarah Prais

Notes

1 'Ost und West', *Ost und West. Illustrierte Monatsschrift für modernes Judentum*, 1 (Jan. 1901), cols 1–4.

2 From October 1906 *Ost und West* was officially published as the organ of the Deutsche Conferenz-Gemeinschaft der Alliance Israélite Universelle; see *Ost und West*, 10–11 (Oct./Nov. 1906), cols 633–6. The Alliance, founded in 1860 in Paris, was the first international Jewish welfare organization. The focal point of its activities was in the area of secular Jewish education. It supported the first modern Jewish schools in Erets Yisra'el.

3 David A. Brenner admits that 'to date, there exists no biography of Winz or his main associates at *Ost und West*' (1997: 55). He nevertheless supplies—without referring to the sources—a few pieces of biographical information about Winz, most of which are incorrect.

4 Hovevei Zion (Lovers of Zion), an early Zionist movement in Russia, formed in 1884, which promoted Jewish colonization in Palestine. The leaders were Moses Leib Lilienblum and Leon Pinsker. Most branches later joined the Zionist Organization.

5 Information on the organization can be found in LWC, A 136/218. Moses Hess (1812–75) was an early Zionist writer.

6 Letter from the Berlin Zionist Organization and the Central Committee of the German Zionist Organization (LWC, A 136/218).

7 Letter from Winz to Buck, Tel Aviv, 31 Dec. 1937 (LWC, A 136/101/1).

8 See the obituary of Winz in *Jüdische Wochenschau* (Buenos Aires) (17 June 1952), 7.

9 Letter from Winz to Bernard de Vries, Tel Aviv, 20 Dec. 1938 (LWC, A 136/101/1).

10 Letter from Winz to Arthur Meyerowitz, Tel Aviv, 14 Oct. 1934 (LWC, A 136/101/2).

11 Letter from Winz to Kullmann, Tel Aviv, 1 Aug. 1938 (LWC, A 136/101/1).

12 *Jüdische Wochenschau* (Buenos Aires) (17 June 1952), 7. Sammy (Samuel) Gronemann (1875–1952) was a journalist, dramatist, and lawyer, a leading German Zionist, and a member of the Action Committee of the Zionist Organization.

13 Letter from Winz to Arthur Meyerowitz, Tel Aviv, 15 Sept. 1938 (LWC, A 136/101/2).

14 Letter from Tel Aviv, 31 Dec. 1937 (LWC, A 136/101/1).

15 On the term *jungjüdisch* see Gelber 1986.

16 'Jungjüdische Abende in Berlin', *Ost und West*, 9 (Sept. 1902), cols 211–12.

17 The collection, which was probably started before the establishment of *Ost und West*—at the end of the 19th century—is in the Leo Winz Archive (LWA).

18 In addition to Ginsburg and Marek only Zusman Kiselgof (1878–1939), who had just started collecting Jewish folk songs at that time, can be mentioned in this connection.

19 *Ost und West*, 9 (Sept. 1903), cols 639–42. Rothstein's *Judenlieder* cycle is published in Rothstein 1916.

20 Lewandowski (1821–94) was one of the most important composers of synagogue music in the 19th century.

21 'Zur jüdischen Volkskunde. Ein Wort an unsere Leser', *Ost und West*, 1 (Jan. 1905), cols 1–6.

22 *Ost und West*, 2 (Feb. 1905), cols 103–6. The Wilnaer Balebessel was the nickname of the famous Jewish cantor from Vilna who was the author of the melody.

23 Birnbaum (1835–1920) was a prominent cantor and pupil of Salomon Sulzer. He was also known as a musicologist and pedagogue.

24 *Jontefflieder*, 12 vols (Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1919). *Jüdische Volkslieder*, vol. i, nos. 1 and 2 (Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag, 1920); no further volumes were published. *Jüdische Liebeslieder* (Berlin and Vienna: Benjamin Harz, 1923). The available bibliographical details for these collections are inaccurate. I should like to thank Jürgen Gottschalk (Berlin) for the relevant guidance to sources. The *Jüdische Volkslieder* collection contains thirty Yiddish poems with German translations and only five musical works.

25 Dritter Jüdischer Konzert-Abend veranstaltet von der Redaktion der Zeitschrift 'Ost und West', Berlin, 11 Nov. 1908 (in LWA). In the concert programme the names of the two composers are mixed up.

26 These were non-Zionist organizations for promotion of German Jewish culture. See Brenner 2000: 31–2, 69.

27 All quoted concert programmes of *Ost und West* are in LWA.

28 'Ein jüdischer Künstlerabend in Berlin', *Ost und West*, 3 (Mar. 1905), col. 214.

29 Zlocisti (1874–1943) was a doctor, a poet, and one of the first German Zionists. He was born in East Prussia and studied medicine in Berlin, where he became the secretary of the Young Israel club in 1893 and two years later co-founded the first Jewish Students Society. From 1921 he lived in Palestine. See *EJ* 1971: xvi, cols 1188–9.

30 Tossi Spiwakowski (b. Odessa, 1907; d. 1998), a child prodigy and violin virtuoso; Albert (b. 1899); Jascha (b. 1896). See *Lexikon der Juden in der Musik* 1940: 261; this infamous Nazi reference book is the only source where all three brothers are mentioned.

31 Schildkraut (1862–1930) was an outstanding Jewish actor; during this period he was

working at the Deutsches Theater under the direction of Max Reinhardt; later he played (also in Yiddish) in the USA.

32 Ignaz Brüll, b. 1846 in Moravian Prossnitz, d. 1907 in Vienna.

33 Probably the composer and choirmaster Jankel (Jakob) Dymont (1880–?).

34 This brochure can be found in LWA.

35 Margery Bentwich, who emigrated to Palestine in 1920, together with her sister, the cellist Thelma Yellin-Bentwich, was one of the pioneers of concert life in Palestine. See Hirshberg 2000: 125–6.

36 *Jüdische Rundschau*, 70 (3 Oct. 1919), 550.

37 *Schlemiel. Jüdische Blätter für Humor und Kunst*, 15 (1920), 204. *Shlemiel* is an idiomatic Yiddish word meaning 'bungler' or 'dolt'.

38 The New Jewish School is the usual name for the Jewish national movement in music in the first third of the 20th century, which was initially represented by the composers around the St Petersburg Society for Jewish Folk Music, and which later became active internationally (see Nemtsov 2004, esp. 111–12).

39 On the reception of this presentation in Germany see Barber 1913: 64–6.

40 Kaufmann accurately analysed the connection between political Zionism and the Haskalah (the Jewish Enlightenment), and criticized it for being 'strange and removed from the people and the national cultural community, with a lack of respect that turns into contempt, seeks to break up or distort all that is peculiarly Jewish in procrustean style, for the sake of norms that are borrowed from foreign nations' (Kaufmann 1923: 101).

41 The Jewish Workers' Welfare Office even published its own periodical, *Ostjuden in Deutschland. Schriften des Arbeiterfürsorgeamtes der jüdischen Organisationen Deutschlands* in the Philo-Verlag Berlin. Issue 2 (1921) contains an obituary of Kaufmann (pp. 3–4).

42 Kaufmann's critique gave the journal *Schlemiel* an opportunity for a satirical text entitled '*Shlemiel*'s Message about the "Jewish Folk Song"', which read: 'Now the unwitting reader will ask: what is the positive nature of the *Jewish* [underlined in the original] folk song? What distinguishes it from German folk songs? The eager concertgoer will produce an answer just like that and say: if one sings "Schlaf, Kindchen, schlaf, dein Vater ist ein Graf", then it is a German folk song; but if one sings "Schlof, mein Jingele, schlof, dein Tate is a Grof", it is a Jewish folk song. There is not much one can say against this: however, the condition is, that it has to have been sung for the first time in a Lithuanian small town. And besides: if a worker sings it, it is a folk song, but if it is sung by a bourgeois, then it is kitsch. With this we are hard on the heels of the condition, and a principle has been created, according to which a clear distinction can be made. This is necessary, before the people and its songs are transferred to Palestine'. *Schlemiel*, 15 (1920), 204.

43 'Die Aufführung jüdischer Volksmusik vor Westjuden'. First published in *Der Jude*, 12 (1917/18), 759–68.

44 Ludwig Strauss composed similar standard works in the area of Yiddish folk poetry: *Ostjüdische Liebeslieder* (Berlin, 1920) and *Jüdische Volkslieder* (Berlin, 1935). In the postscript to the *Ostjüdische Liebeslieder* Strauss thanked his 'dear friends Fritz Mordechai and Rahel Kaufmann, who opened the way to the world of this book in word, script and song' (p. 88). The collection *Jüdische Volkslieder* is dedicated to Rachel Kaufmann and the memory of Fritz Mordechai Kaufmann.

45 Birnbaum (1891–?), the son of Nathan Birnbaum, was a philologist and palaeographer.

46 This type of accompaniment was composed for example by Lazare Saminsky.

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