# *The Adventure in the Jewish Tavern*: On the Theatrical Representation of Jewish and Slavic Music in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century

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Musicologists have only recently investigated the musical representation of Jews on the European stage. With the publication of vocal music from the period of 1788-1807 explicitly representing that of Ashkenazi Jews,<sup>1</sup> we now have a small repertory that can serve as a point of reference. While some of this music appears to be caricature rather than an accurate portrayal of Jewish musical practices, such caricature is useful in establishing historical context and in assessing other sources that might represent unacknowledged Jewish stereotypes.<sup>2</sup> Examining musical theater that purports to represent Jews and their music brings clarity to speculation about putative "hidden" Jewish music in both eighteenth- and nineteenth-century opera, a clarity missing from accounts of German opera from Haydn to Wagner.

Although almost entirely forgotten, Petr Semenov's one-act comic opera Приключение в жидовской корчме, или: Удача от неудачи experienced a long run in Russia, Ukraine, Poland, and German-speaking lands (1817-1856), first in its original Russian (St. Petersburg, Malyj Theater, 1817) and then in Rafael Zotov's German translation as *Das Abendtheuer in der Judenschenke oder Gewin durch Verlust* (*Adventure in the Jewish Tavern or Profit Through Loss* [St. Petersburg, Malyj Theater 1819]). The Berlin libretto [1824?] indicates that the Imperial Russian Kapellmeister Lehnhardt arranged the score from "national songs" of Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, and Jewish origin.<sup>3</sup> While a national style identifies only two of the songs—a "Judenlied" and a Polish "Cracowiaque"—other songs perhaps can be identified by the nationalities of the characters that sing them.

Here I will examine this opera and related sources to determine what kind of "Jewish music" a nineteenth-century German composer such as Richard Wagner would have encountered on the European stage, and how it might be distinguished from other

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> David J. Buch, *Representations of Jews in the Musical Theater of the Habsburg Empire 1788-1807* (Yuval Music Series 9) (Jerusalem: The Jewish Music Research Centre, 2012).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Caryl Clark, *Haydn's Jews: Representation and Reception on the Operatic Stage* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009), speculates that Haydn presented an encoded musical representation of a Jew in his opera *Lo speziale* (1768). Clark's hypothesis (p. 103) is based on writings by late twentieth-century authors Sandor L. Gilman and Marc A. Weiner. These claims have no documentary basis in any primary source from Haydn's time. Rather, they are the result of the author's unsubstantiated assumption that twentieth-century anti-Semitic stereotypes, such as the Jew as a "hyper-sexualized exotic Other," also existed in the eighteenth century.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The name Kapellmeister Lehnhardt (or Lehnard) is written on both manuscript librettos and is given in the Breslau print of vocal numbers. See below for details.

national styles, particularly those designated as Slavic. After reviewing the primary source materials (the libretto, score, and relevant commentary), I will argue that we should consider this opera as one of the last in a series of works for the European musical stage that derive their comedy from presenting a thoroughly deprecatory view of Jews and their music.

## The Sources

Although I have not yet been able to locate a copy of the original Russian score, copies of the printed libretto of 1818 have been preserved.<sup>4</sup> To my knowledge, a single German manuscript score survives in the Landesbibliothek Coburg, with an accompanying manuscript libretto. The score bears the title: *Das Abentheuer in der Judenschenke*. *Partitur.*<sup>5</sup> The title page of the libretto reads: "Das Abendtheuer in der Judenschenke. Ein Pohlnisches National=Gemälde mit Gesang in Einen Akte, aus dem Russischen frei übertragen von Louis Angely. Die Gesänge sind aus Russischen, klein=Russischen, Pohlnischen und Jüdischen National Liedern zusammengesetzt und für das Orchester arrangirt vom Kapellmeister Lehnhardt."<sup>6</sup>

An additional German manuscript libretto also survives,<sup>7</sup> the title page of which reads: "Das Abentheuer in der Judenschenke oder Gewinn durch Verlust. Singspiel in 1 Akt, mit Gesänge und Tänzen aus den Russischen übergesetzt von Herrn Zotoff. Die Musik ist von Herr Kapellmeister Lehnard, aus dem Rusischen, klein Rusischen, Pohlnischen, und Jüdischen National Liedern gesammlet und für Orchester arrangirt. Text, aus den Klavier auszug. St. Petersburg d. Monat Mai 1819." The final sentence, written in lower lefthand corner, indicates that this manuscript comes from St. Petersburg.

At least two prints of the German vocal texts survive:

1) Königstädtisches Theater. Das Abentheuer in der Pohlnischen Schenke. Komisches Liederspiel in einem Aufzuge aus dem Russischen frei übertragen von Louis Angely. Die Gesänge sind aus Russischen, Pohlnischen und Jüdischen National Liedern zusammengesetzt und für das Orchester arrangiert vom Kaiserl. Russ. Kapellmeister Lehnhardt. Berlin [1824?].<sup>8</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Three copies are preserved in the St. Petersburg State Theatre Library: shelfmarks I.3.8.71/У 286, I.3.8.72/У 286, and I.4.3.134/У 286.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Shelfmark TB Op 130(S), 135 folios (270 pages). Both the score and the libretto bear stamps indicating that they once belonged to the Herzogliche S.[achsen-] Coburg-[und] Goth[a] Hoftheater-Bibliothek. <sup>6</sup> Shelfmark TB Op 130(D), 85 folios (166 pages).

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> This libretto, sold at auction by Bassenge in Berlin in April 2012, is privately owned. See <a href="http://www.liveauctioneers.com/item/11270552">http://www.liveauctioneers.com/item/11270552</a> bhnenmanuskript-abendtheuer-in-der-judenschenke
 <sup>8</sup> Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, shelfmark 8° L. eleg. M. 990<sup>d</sup>. Available on Google Books:

http://books.google.com/books?id=y5ZDAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs\_ge\_summary\_r& cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

2) Gesänge aus: Das Abenteuer in der Judenschenke. Ein Pohlnisches National-Gemälde mit Gesang in einem Akt, aus dem Russischen frei übertragen von Louis Angely. Die Gesänge sind aus Russischen, Klein Russischen, Pohlnischen und Jüdischen National-Liedern, für das Orchester arrangirt vom Kapellmeister Lehnhardt. Breslau 1825, bei Graβ, Barth und Comp.<sup>9</sup>

## The Libretto

Petr Nikolaevich Semenov (1791-1832) was the author of the original Russian opera He was a career army officer from an ennobled family of the Ryazan province, and an amateur actor and playwright. Russian printed secondary sources indicate that this comic opera was successful in Russia and in the Ukraine. In his biographical essay on Semenov from around 1832,<sup>10</sup> K.Y. Grot states that his family (related by marriage to Semenov) possessed the original manuscript libretto and mentions the first printed version from 1818.

Notwithstanding the conflicting attributions of the German translator, it would seem that Raphael Zotov (also Sotoff, Zotoff, Sotof)<sup>11</sup> should be given credit, although Louis Angely may have modified some dialogues for the Berlin production. During this period, Zotov served as the translator of numerous opera texts for the Imperial German Theater in St. Petersburg. Natalia Gubkina's research in St. Petersburg<sup>12</sup> indicates that the German translation was "aus dem Russischen übersetzt von Raffail Sotoff." The German manuscript libretto from St. Petersburg, now in private possession, gives "Zotoff" as the translator for the first German production in 1819.

While I have not been able to examine this copy of the libretto, the remaining sources present the same basic vocal texts, with the exception of the duet (No. 5), which is to be found only in the Coburg score and libretto. The other significant change relates to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, shelfmark Her. 5. Available online: <u>http://daten.digitale-</u> sammlungen.de/~db/0005/bsb00052897/images/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Transcribed from a manuscript in the St. Petersburg branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences Archive, shelfmark f. 281 op.1, d. 16, l. 50-92. The text is available online:

http://az.lib.ru/g/grot\_k\_j/text\_0060.shtml

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Rafail Zotov, *Teatral nye vospominanija. Avtobiograficeskie zapiski* (Theater-erinnerungen. Autobiographische Aufzeichnungen, St. Petersburg, 1859), mentions the opera in his autobiography. For information in English on Raphael Mikhaylovich Zotov (1795-1871) and his works, see Catherine A. Schule, *Theatre and Identity in Imperial Russia: Studies in Theatre History and Culture* (University of Iowa Press, 2009), 94-109, 274-76 (notes), Chapter 2: "Uncertain Boundaries"; Leonid Livak, *The Jewish Persona in the European Imagination: A Case of Russian Literature* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010), 419 discusses Zotov's approach to Jewish characters.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> See Natalia V. Gubkina, "Deutsches Musiktheater in St. Petersburg am Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts." Paper given 2 November 1998 at the Technischen Universität Chemnitz (p. 112). <u>http://www.gko.uni-leipzig.de/fileadmin/user\_upload/musikwissenschaft/pdf\_allgemein/arbeitsgemeinschaft/heft4/0417-</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;u>Gubkina.pdf</u>. Gubkina's dissertation on the subject is published as Немецкий музыкальный театр в Петербурге в первой трети XIX века. Санкт-Петербург: Дмитрий Буланин, 2003 (*German Musical Theater in St. Petersburg in the First Third of the Nineteenth Century* [St. Petersburg: Dmitry Bulanin, 2003]).

*Judenlied* (No. 8 in the printed vocal texts), "Kam än Soldat gegangen." In the Berlin print, this aria for Israel has been changed into a duet for Chailo and Israel with the same text.

For the German-language dialogues, only the Coburg manuscript libretto is available. This source, indicating an hour-long performance ("Spielt 1 Stunde"), presents a variant of the standard plot type where a maiden cannot wed her impoverished swain but is being pushed into marrying a rich and older man. The setting is a small Polish village with a Jewish inn where a military unit is encamped. All this recalls Franz Xaver Girzik's (Frantisek Xaver Jiřík) popular German comic opera *Die christliche Judenbraut, oder Die Alte muß bezahlen (The Christian Jewish Bride or The Old Woman Must Pay)*, with music by Johann Baptist Panek (Budapest, 1789).<sup>13</sup>

The cast is presented in Table 1. The impoverished Gregor Molotrikoff and the rich orphan Annussia Bagatezky fall in love in Kiev. She is the ward of the old trustee Dubnitzky, who follows the instructions of Annussia's late father that she should marry a wealthy man. Dubnitzky is now attempting to convince her to marry him. After being rejected, Gregor enlists in the Polish army under the name Chrabrenko, and distinguishes himself in his service there. He encounters Annussia again in a small Polish village, where his company of Uhlans is stationed. His comrades hatch a plot to unite the lovers and use the Jews to accomplish this goal.

#### Table 1 Cast of Adventure in the Jewish Inn

Count Bojeslavsky, Captain of the Uhlans (Polish light cavalry) Rasrubov, Sergeant in an Uhlan Regiment Chrabrenko, Corporal in an Uhlan Regiment Scoraspeloff (and) Ruschnitzky, Privates in an Uhlan Regiment Saschibajeff, Dentschick<sup>14</sup> of the Count Dubnitzky, an old Polish custodian (to Prince Dobroslawsky) Annussia, his ward Israel, a Jew, proprietor of the inn Rachel, his wife Thekla, a Polish girl, in Israel's service Chailo, a Jewish manager (of a trading post) Uhlans Jews Peasants Travelers

The military are a rough lot, drinking, and quick to fight, but with noble hearts. They help the young couple to reunite and foil Dubnitzky's plan. The Jews provide purely comic

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> The opera was still being performed as late as 1816 (Königsberg / Kaliningrad). For details and musical selections, see Buch 2012.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> According to Georg Adolf Wilhelm von Helbig's 1809 biography "Potemkin. Der Taurier," serialized in the journal *Minerva. Ein Journal historischen und politischen Inhalts* 1798/1, pp. 372-73, Dentschicks are soldiers who receive salary, clothing, and supplies, but contribute little military service. They remained with the officers to whom they were assigned as personal servants and valets. They got their name from the Russian word *Den*, which means "day," and they perform everyday services.

relief and local color. They are not sympathetic characters but stereotypes, easily bribed, squabbling about money, performing Jewish songs and dances, whining about their sad lot and history, and of course, managing the inn and tavern.<sup>15</sup> There are some ethnic details such as the *eruv*, a ritual enclosure allowing observant Jews to carry objects outside the home, the traditional Jewish songs and dancing. The dialogue has traces of Yiddish (e.g. *eppes*, here meaning "a little" or "somewhat"), as does the *Judenlieder*.

## The Score

The title pages on both librettos and both printed vocal texts state that the vocal music (*Gesänge*) and, in the case of one manuscript libretto, the dances,<sup>16</sup> were based on Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, and Jewish "national songs" collected and arranged by Kapellmeister Lehnhardt. The Berlin print adds "Kaiserl[ich]. Russ[ischer]. Kapellmeister Lehnhardt." While the precise identity of this individual will require archival research in Russia, Lehnhardt appears as a member of the Imperial Court Theater in St. Petersburg in at least two other printed sources from the 1830s. Lehnhardt is listed as "2te tenor in the kais. deutschen Hoftheaters zu St. Petersburg" in 1836,<sup>17</sup> and he also appears as a second tenor and *Chordirektor* of the Imperial Court Theater of St. Petersburg the following year.<sup>18</sup> Natalia Gubkina gives his name as I. Lehnhard,<sup>19</sup> but does not cite a source for the initial of his first name. While the list of censured works for Baden bei Wein in the 1830s gives the name Rolliczek as the composer,<sup>20</sup> it seems most likely that this was a misattribution rather than a new setting or a corrected attribution of the original score.

The sources do not indicate which numbers were based on the Russian, Ukrainian, Polish, and Jewish national songs, although it seems obvious from their titles and the characters singing them that the pieces entitled "Judenlied" and the "Craeiwiaque" are Jewish and Polish, respectively. This association also suggests that other numbers may include material from "national songs," which may also be identified by the characters singing them. The cast members identified by nationality are as follows: Annussia Bagatezky and Chrabrenko are Ukrainian, but Chrabrenko's real name, Gregor Molotrikoff, may possibly reflect his Russian origin. Thekla and Dubnitzky are both

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> The management of village inns in Poland was a traditional occupation for Jews. For details see Glenn Dynner, *Yankel's Tavern: Jews, Liquor, and Life in the Kingdom of Poland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> There are no separate dance numbers, but instrumental segments within the vocal pieces possibly served as music for those dances.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Museum der eleganten Welt 1/9 (Munich: Franz Seraph Hübschmann, 1836), 140.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Almanach für Freunde der Schauspielkunst auf das Jahr 1837 (Vienna: Julius Sittenfeld, 1837), 383.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Natalia V. Gubkina, "Deutsches Musiktheater in St. Petersburg am Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts." Paper given 2 November 1998 at the Technischen Universität Chemnitz, p. 112. See: <u>http://www.gko.uni-leipzig.de/fileadmin/user\_upload/musikwissenschaft/pdf\_allgemein/arbeitsgemeinschaft/heft4/0417-Gubkina.pdf</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> F. Arnold Mayer, "Zensurakten aus Baden bei Wien," in *Archiv für Theatergeschichte. Im Auftrage der Gesellschaft für Theatergeschichte* 1, ed. Hans Devrient (Berlin: Egon Fleischel & Co., 1904), 26.

Polish, and Israel and Rachel are Jewish. Based on his name, Sergeant Rusrubov seems to be the only Russian singing character. It is possible that Lehnhardt used material from other national songs in the overture or choruses. The male chorus is comprised of the Uhlans, a Polish military regiment; thus, the choral material may have used Polish songs.

Table 2 presents the musical numbers in the Coburg score with indications of page numbers for the beginning of each piece. This is followed by indications of tempos, keys, instruments, characters, voice types, and text incipit.

#### Table 2Contents of the Score

[Page 4] Ouverture: Adagio, C meter, A minor; > Allegro, ¢ meter, C major; strings, piccolo, pairs of flutes, oboes, clarinets, bassoons, horns, trumpets, trombone, timpani, triangle.

[Page 23] **1**. Coro Alleg[ret]to, 2/4, C major; strings, piccolo, pairs of flutes, oboes, clarinets, bassoons, horns, trumpets, timpani. Chorus of Uhlans [three tenors, bass]: "Junge Burschen laßt Euch warben."

[Page 51] **2**. Lied (Ariette in libretto) Alleg[ret]to Andante (red) > Piu Allegro, C meter, G minor > G major: strings, flute, 2 clarinets, English horn, 2 bassoons. Chrabrenko [tenor]: "Leb' wohl, mein Liebchen."

[Page 61] **3**.[Aria or Lied] Alleg[ret]to, 2/4 meter, C major: strings, flute, pairs of clarinets, horns and bassoons. Thekla [soprano]: "Mädchen, laßt Euch rathen."

[Page 68] **4**. All[egro] militare. 2/4 meter, D major > A major > Allegro Vivace, 3/8 meter, D major: strings, piccolo, pairs of flutes, oboes, clarinets, bassoons, horns, trumpets, timpani. Rasrubof [bass], chorus of Uhlans [two tenors, bass]: "Freunden muß man helfen in Leben und Tod."

[Missing in score: No. 5. Lied, Israel: "Ein feiner Jüde, ei ja wohl."]

[Page 93] **5**. Duetto. And[an]te, 2/4 meter, G minor: strings, pairs of flutes, clarinets, horns, bassoons. Annussia [soprano]. Chrabrenko [tenor]: "Schweig, trautes Mädchen! Heimlich und stille!"

[Page 111] 6. Aria, All[egro] C meter, E minor: strings, flute, pairs of oboes, bassoons, horns. Rachel [soprano]: "Au waih mir! Waih geschrien! Ich krieg die kein!"

[Page 124] 7. [Craeiwiaque = Krakowiak] All[egro], 2/4 meter, F major: strings, pairs of

flutes, oboes, clarinets, bassoons, horns, trumpets, timpani. Dubnitzky [bass]: "Hei! Hei! Zeit du bist verschwunden."

[Page 130] 8. Lied [libretto: Judenlied], Alleg[ret]to, 2/4 meter, A minor: strings [with separate cellos and basses), cimbalom. Israel [bass]: "Kam än Soldat gegangen." ["Tanz" is written in red crayon at the end.]

[Page 135] 9. Schlußchor All[egro] mod[erato], 6/8 meter, E flat major: strings, pairs of

flutes, clarinets, bassoons, horns. Chorus ["Alle," 2 tenors, 2 basses]: "Ja nicht Schmerz und Kummer mag."

The overture's introduction in A minor contains a short melodic idea for solo flute that may possibly be a citation of a "national song" of Slavic or Jewish origin (see Example 1). The first theme may also have its origins in some kind of national song (see Example 2).

**Example 1** Overture, mm. 5-9, Flute

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Example 2 Overture, mm. 11-20



The first number, the *Chor der Uhlanen*, may have used traditional Polish music, both in the opening major key segment (reminiscent of a contradanse, see Example 3), and the minor key segment that follows (see Example 4). Chrabrenko's ariette (No. 2) in G minor may have been based on a Ukrainian national song (see Example 5), although it also might have been an entirely original composition. The contrasting section in G major seems more sophisticated in its melodic structure and harmony.

Example 3 No. 1, Chorus, mm. 1-12



Example 4 No. 1, Chorus, mm. 25- 32



**Example 5** No. 2, Ariette (Chrabrenko), mm. 6-13



Thekla's song (No. 3, "Mädchen, laßt Euch rathen") is based on a very simple tune (see Example 6). This is the same material used for the instrumental introduction and the coda, which seems to serve as Thekla's Polish dance—as indicated in the libretto ("Sie singt, und tanzt am Ende jeder Strophe pohlnisch").

Example 6 No. 3. Lied (Thekla), mm. 9-16



Rusrubov's "Allegro militaire" aria with the chorus of Uhlans (No. 4) has the character of a march with a contrasting dance-like segment in 3/8 meter. March style is common in Russian music. The melody and harmony here do not evoke traditional or folk music; rather, they demonstrate trained compositional technique.

Israel's *Judenlied*, the original No. 5 as indicated in the libretto and vocal texts, is absent in the Coburg score. However, there exists a manuscript in Wrocław<sup>21</sup> (formerly Breslau) of a scene with a song (or aria) and internal recitatives for voice and piano based on the same text. The first strophe of the Wrocław text is identical to *Judenlied* No. 5 in *Das Abendtheuer in der Judenschenke*. The second verse has additional lines and variants, but is related clearly to the *Judenlied*'s second verse. New dialogue and stage directions appear in the Wrocław score, indicating that this song was being used in a different context, most likely as an insertion aria. The manuscript bears the title "Der Jude Heiman Levÿ aus Meseritz,"<sup>22</sup> confirming that this was a different theatrical piece than *Das Abendtheuer in der Judenschenke*.

The similarities, however, do not end with the text. The main musical theme in the Wrocław manuscript score (see Appendix 1) is identical to that found in Israel's *Judenlied* No. 9 in the Coburg score (see Appendix 2). The phrase "arrangiert v[on]. E D Wagner" appears in the upper right-hand corner. The library has catalogued this as an autograph score composed by Ernst David Wagner (1806-83)<sup>23</sup> from around 1850. Ernst David Wagner certainly did not compose this music, but, as indicated in the manuscript, probably arranged it from a pre-existing piece. *Das Abendtheuer in der Judenschenke* met with considerable success in Breslau, so it should not be surprising to find a popular musical number from the opera being recycled there. In fact, Israel's *Judenlied* scene remained memorable for many years (see below).

The directions in the first verse of the Wrocław score warrant scrutiny. At the conclusion of the line "mein Gesichtel ist rund, schön rund," the singer is instructed to sing "as if out of breath" (*wie außer Athem*). Perhaps this comic effect was intended to suggest that Israel is an incompetent singer lacking basic breathing control. Then, with the line "Die Andern laß ich handlen, schrein au, au, au," the singer is instructed to "purse his lips and sing with a small voice" (*der Mund spitzend u*[nd] *fistulirend*). One cannot be certain exactly what this meant to audiences at the time, but it is likely that it was intended to mock the character, marking it with an ethnic stereotype. Finally, at the end of the line "[und] ich tausche Weiberherzen, ai, ai, ai, ai," the singer executes a tremolo while beating his finger on his throat (*mit den Finger an die Gurgel klopfen*), again seemingly to mock the character as he attempts to reproduce vocal virtuosity.

Chrabrenko and Annussia's duet (No. 5 in the score) is not obviously Ukrainian. However, the plaintive melody found in minor sections may derive from a "national" song of some kind (see Example 7).

Example 7 No. 5. Duet (Chrabrenko, Annussia), mm. 16-27

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Uniwersytet Wroclawski, Bibliotheka Uniwersytecka, shelfmark 61991 Muz. Alte Signature: Mus/19, Akc. 110, 1 Muz.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> The reference to Meseritz could refer to the Prussian town of that name in southern Posen (in Polish Międzyrzecz), or it could refer to Mezeritsch or Mezhirichi in western Ukraine, the renowned center of Hasidic Judaism established by Rabbi Dov Ber sometime after 1761.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Ernst David Wagner (b. Dramburg, Pomerania, 18 February 1806; † Breslau, 4 May 1883) was a German-Polish composer and organist, active in Berlin.



Rachel's aria in E minor (No. 6), with its plaintive melody (reminiscent of the second theme of the first movement of Mozart's String Quintet K. 516) and its unpredictable, repetitive phrases, may have its origins in a Jewish tune. However, Lehnhardt has developed these unusual elements into the modern European idiom, with contemporary harmony, orchestration, and dramatic force (see Appendix 3).

There can be little doubt that Dubnitzky's strophic *Craeiwiaque* is the eponymous Polish dance, with its lively duple meter and syncopation typical of the Krakowiak genre (see Example 8).<sup>24</sup> The contrasting instrumental segment with solo clarinet in B flat is almost certainly the segment where Dubnitzky dances (see Example 9).

Example 8 No. 8. Craeiwiaque (Dubnitzky), mm. 13-22

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> The Krakowiak appeared as early as 1816 in piano collections. Frederick Chopin's *Grand Rondeau de Concert Rondo à la Krakowiak* in F major for piano and orchestra (Opus 14, 1828) is perhaps the best-known example of this dance as the basis of a composition.



Example 9 No. 8. Craeiwiaque (Dubnitzky), mm. 23-30



Israel's *Judenlied* "Kam än Soldat gegangen" (No. 8) seems the most exotic number in the opera, using a cimbalom that is played or mimed by Chailo on stage. The unusual instrument, the odd nine-measure melody with its peculiar repeating motive, and the modal turn from the tonic A minor to E minor all contribute to an exotic "Jewish" quality (see Appendix 3). The brief dance music at the end has static harmony and a repetitive pulse, suggesting something more primitive than the other music in the opera.

The *Schlußchor* (No. 9) is a very brief, lively men's chorus (two tenor parts, two bass parts). The tempo, 6/8 meter and the introduction for two solo horns suggest a hunt style with the typical rhythms of the gigue dance.

# **Performance History**

Performances of the German translation outside St. Petersburg led to the opera becoming more widely known in Europe. It seems reasonable to assume that the German playwright, actor, and director Louis Jean Jacques Angely (1787-1835) became acquainted with the opera while performing at the Deutsches Hoftheater in St. Petersburg in the early 1820s. He probably brought the work with him while engaged at the newly established Berlin Königstädter Theater in August 1824,<sup>25</sup> which produced a version (probably slightly altered) entitled Das Abenteuer in der polnischen Judengeschenke. Angely played the role of the Jewish character Israel, and credited himself as the translator.<sup>26</sup> The opera was repeated for several seasons afterwards. A new production was mounted in Berlin during the 1842-43 season.<sup>27</sup> Productions were staged also at German theaters in other cities. It seems to have been particularly popular in Breslau (today Wrocław, Poland), where it was first staged in 1825. Some of its melodies were used for Cotillon dances that were published in short order in Breslau,<sup>28</sup> where the opera apparently remained in the repertory for some years.<sup>29</sup> Productions at the German theaters of Cracow<sup>30</sup> in 1829 and  $\tilde{Elbing}^{31}$  (today  $\tilde{Elblag}$ , Poland) have been documented as starting on 6 November 1831. It was produced in Mannheim in 1833,<sup>32</sup> but was one of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung 26 (1824), No. 39, col. 634.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> The Berlin production was critiqued briefly in the Morgenblatt für gebeildete Stände. Achtzehnter Jahrgang, No. 223, 16 September 1824 (Im Verlag J.G. Cotta'schen Buchhandlung in Stuttgart und Tübingen), p. 892: "Aus dieser Ursache lassen wir uns die Abenteuer in der pohlnischen Schenke gefallen, obgleich wir dem russischen Originaldichter so viel Bescheidenheit zutrauen, daß er an die Verdeutschung seines Stückes nicht gedacht, dessen Aufführung in Berlin sich wohl nicht beikommen ließ. Auch das Lustpsiel in einem Aufzuge: Alle sind verliebt, von Korntbeuer, ist mit abgenutzten Fäden so lecker und lose geschürzt, daß es bey der leisesten kritischen Berührung auseinander fallen würde."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Almanach für Freunde der Schauspielkunst auf das Jahr 1843, Vol. 8, ed. L. Wolff (Berlin: Julius Sittenfeld, 1844), 319; listed as "Neu einstudirt." See

https://books.google.com/books?id=Ik5ZAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs\_ge\_summary\_r& cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false 28 Carl Friedrich Whistling, Handbuch der musikalische Literatur oder allgemeines systematisch

geordnetes Verzeichnis gedruckter Musikalien, auch musikalischer Schriften und Abbildungen mit Anzeige der Verleger und Preise (Leipzig, bei C.F. Whistling, 1828), 814.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Almanach für Freunde der Schauspielkunst auf das Jahr 1840, Vol. 5, ed. L. Wolff (Berlin: Julius Sittenfeld, 1841), 285: 1 October 1839 bis 30 September 1840, Breslau Stadt-theater. Guest actor, Herr von Springral as Israel. Available online. See

https://books.google.com/books?id=DVw6AAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs\_ge\_summary\_r <u>&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false</u> <sup>30</sup> Listed under "Angely Jean Jacques Louis" on http://www.cyfrowemuzeum.stary.pl/repertuar\_od\_1781

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Available online. See 1) http://www.tv.elblag.pl/35,4661-

<sup>6</sup> listopada 1831 %E2%80%93 honorowe wyjscie%E2%80%A6 z teatru.html

<sup>2)</sup> http://forum.gazeta.pl/forum/w,38446,71643023,71646079,Re\_6\_nowambra.html

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Anton Pichler, Chronik des grossherzoglichen Hof- und National-Theaters in Mannheim (Mannheim: J. Bensheimer, 1879), 242-43: Am Januar 1833 begann Theodor Döring v. Mainz, mit durchschlagendem Erfolg ein Gastpiel in den Stücken: Der Jude, Jurist und Nauer, alte Student, humoristische Studien, Clavigo, Nr. 777, Lichtensteiner, der alte Feldherr und Abenteuer in der Judenschenke, welche ein Engagement vom 1. Mai am zur Folge hatte.

many banned pieces in Baden bei Wien in the 1830s.<sup>33</sup> The opera was staged also in Kharkiv, Ukraine in 1840.<sup>34</sup> There were new productions in the 1850-51 season in Darmstadt,<sup>35</sup> and in 1856 in Lemberg (today Lvov, Ukraine).<sup>36</sup>

In his memoirs, Karl Ferdinand Gutzkow recalled a conversation with the actor Theodor Döring in 1835, where Döring reminisces about his performances. The actor imagines inserting a burlesque comic scene from *Das Abenteuer in der Judenschenke* into productions Shakespeare's plays *King Lear, Richard III*, and *The Merchant of Venice*, a scene where a small Polish Jew performs a national dance.<sup>37</sup> Notwithstanding the astonishing historical incongruity of a dancing Polish Jew in these plays, this recollection at least establishes that this old opera's Jewish caricature remained firmly in Döring and Gutzkow's imagination.

The deviations from the conventional musical style of the period in *Das Abendtheuer in der Judenschenke* are most marked in the case of the Jewish music, which is less structured and more grotesquely comic. The impression is one of a more primitive and impulsive character than the music for the various "Slavic nations." As such, the "Jewish" music presented here resembles eighteenth-century German comic opera, where Jews and their music were caricatures, a parody based on a derisive ethnic stereotype.

## **Richard Wagner and the Representation of Jewish Music**

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> F. Arnold Mayer, "Zensurakten aus Baden bei Wien," in *Archiv für Theatergeschichte. Im Auftrage der Gesellschaft für Theatergeschichte* 1, ed. Hans Devrient (Berlin: Egon Fleischel & Co., 1904), 26: No. 97. \*Das Abentheuer in der Judengeschenke. P. 1 Angely. Musick \*Rolliczek. The banned pieces are listed in the "Verzeichnis des verbothenen Theaterstücke" (1830-48). Available online. See https://books.google.com/books?id=07QQ6rgdw3EC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs\_ge\_summary\_r&c ad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> See Erazm Stogov in Amelia M. Glaser, Jews and Ukrainians in Russia's Literary Borderlands: From the Shtetl Fair to the Petersburg Bookshop (Northwestern University Press, 2012), 74-77.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Hermann Knispel, *Das Grossherzogliche Hoftheater zu Darmstadt von 1810-1890* (Darmstadt und Leipzig: Eduard Bernin, 1891), 130. Available online. See

https://books.google.com/books?id=dIIEAQAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs\_ge\_summary\_r& cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Mentioned in the *Gazeta Lwowska* 1856, No. 53, p. 212 ("Teatr."). See <u>http://jbc.bj.uj.edu.pl/dlibra/plain-content?id=29723</u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Die schöneren Stunden: Rückblicke von Karl Gutzkow. Zweite Auflage. Stuttgart und Leipzig: Eduard Hallberger (1869), pp. 327-28: Zum Lear, Richard III. und Shylock eine burleske Scene aus dem schon damals zum "älteren Repertoir" gehörenden Schwank "Das Abenteuer in der polnischen Judenschenke." Ein kleiner polnischer Jude tanzt den polnischen Nationaltanz. Die Beine lagen fast ausgestreckt am Boden. Man hätte sagen mögen, der Künstler rutsche diesen Tanz und hätte dazu Beine wie von Kautschuk gehabt. Available online. See

https://books.google.com/books?id=LFA6AAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs\_ge\_summary\_r &cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

Late twentieth-century scholars have asserted that Richard Wagner created Jewish caricatures in the music he composed for the characters Beckmesser,<sup>38</sup> Alberich, Mime, Kundry, and Klingsor.<sup>39</sup> These claims about Wagner's music differ from earlier assertions concerning Wagner's antagonists as anti-Semitic stereotypes mainly in the libretto rather than the score.<sup>40</sup> However, like assertions about the music for Haydn's supposedly Jewish characters, these later claims lack contemporary sources to support the composer's intentions.

In a generally compelling and considered essay on Die Meistersinger and anti-Semitism, Barry Millington describes Beckmesser's Act 2 serenade and his song in Act 3 as a "parody of Jewish cantorial style; [...] disjointed rhythms and seemingly endless melismata recall an assertion from Das Judentum made with reference to a Jewish composer."<sup>41</sup> Millington also mentions "high-lying tessitura," which Wagner actually never attributed to Jewish song but to French male singers and Italian castrati. A partial basis of Millington's argument is Wagner's general statements in the essay Das Judentum *in die Musik* (1850/rev. 1869)<sup>42</sup> about 1) Jewish *speech* being a "hissing, shrill, buzzing, growling vocal expression,"<sup>43</sup> and 2) a vague statement referring to the "rhythms and melismas" of Jewish chant that was involuntarily evident in all Jewish composers.<sup>44</sup> This is not evidence of Beckmesser's serenade representing Jewish song, however. While meant to have comic effect, Beckmesser's speech and singing never uses hissing, buzzing, or growling, and his bungled performance is not particularly "shrill." As for Beckmesser's songs using the "rhythms and melismas" of Jewish chant, Millington compares passages in the serenade with the "wailing melismata" and the choral antiphony of the prayer of a twentieth-century cantor, Gershon Sirota. This comparison is neither compelling nor historically valid. Sirota's style reflects that of a twentieth-century cantor, whose trained tenor voice owes much to modern operatic influences. This is not an apt comparison for putative "Jewish music" in an opera completed in 1867. We have no idea

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Barry Millington, "Nuremberg Trial: Is There Anti-Semitism in *Die Meistersinger?*" *Cambridge Opera Journal* 3/3 (1991): 247-60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Paul Lawrence Rose, *Wagner: Race and Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); Marc A. Weiner, *Richard Wagner and the Anti-Semitic Imagination* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995); Joachim Köhler, *Wagners Hitler: Der Prophet und sein Vollstrecker* (Munich: Karl Blessing Verlag, 1997), translated by Ronald Taylor as *Wagner's Hitler: The Prophet and his Disciple* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Theodor Adorno, *Versuch über Wagner* (Berlin, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1952), translated by Rodney Livingstone as *In Search of Wagner* (London: Verso, 1981), and Robert W. Gutman, *Richard Wagner: The Man, His Mind and His Music* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1968, 1971, 1990) assert that Wagner's librettos reflected his anti-Semitic prejudices. They did not posit that Wagner was caricaturing Jewish music for antagonists such as Alberich, Mime, Beckmesser, Kundry and Klingsor. <sup>41</sup> Millington, "Nuremberg Trial": 251-52.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Wagner's essay first appeared under a pseudonym: K. Freigedank, "Das Judentum in der Musik," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 33/19 3 (December 1850): 101-17, and 33/20 (6 September): 110-12. The differences in the later edition (Leipzig: J.J. Weber, 1869) do not substantially change the passages quoted here.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Ibid., p. 103, col. 2: "Als durchaus fremdartig und unangenehm fällt unserem Ohr zunächst ein zischender, schrillender, summsender und mucksender Lautausdruck der jüdischen Sprechweise auf."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Ibid., p. 106, col. 1: "Jene wunderlichen Melismen und Rhythmen nehmen seine musikalische Capacität ganz in der Weise ein." 1869: "Jene Melismen und Rhythmen des Synagogengesanges nehmen seine musikalische Phantasie ganz in der Weise ein."

what sacred Jewish music Wagner heard before he published his essay in 1850, but he certainly could not have been familiar with Sirota's performances or any like it. None of this "evidence" proves Wagner's intention to create a Jewish musical portrayal in Beckmesser's serenade. Beckmesser was not even a Jewish character. There were no Jews in Nuremberg at that time. No less important is the fact that there is no evidence that Beckmesser's music resembles Jewish chant from the first half of the nineteenth century. A valid comparison would be close similarities with florid chants preserved in Jewish sources from areas where Wagner resided or visited. However, the florid Jewish chants from this period do not bear a close resemblance to Beckmesser's songs.<sup>45</sup>

Another valid comparison would be with previous and contemporary theatrical representations of Jewish music. Wagner's music is firmly rooted in the expressive topics of European musical rhetoric. He employs traditional instruments and styles in expressing storms, terror, tender love, pastoral sentiment, dance, religious elements, military music, etc. Had Wagner wanted to communicate "Jewish music" to his audience, he could have drawn on sources that his audience would recognize as Jewish, based on the traditional representation of Jewish music on the stage. This is not the case with Beckmesser, Mime, or any of the other suspects advanced by modern commentators, as shown by comparing their music to that in *Das Abendtheuer in der Judenschenke* and its predecessors.

Millington also asserts that the antiphonal lute interjections represent the responses of a chorus in the synagogue. This is a stretch of the imagination. Antiphonal responses are common to many different genres and styles, and the delicate sound of a lute hardly evokes the more potent response of a *meshorerim* male chorus in a Jewish service.

Millington's larger point about Wagner's implicit anti-Semitism in the opera is valid, and he may be right in suggesting that Wagner was thinking of Jewish chant when he conceived Beckmesser's singing. Whilst this idea has appeal, there is no compelling evidence for it. The traditional understanding of Beckmesser's florid singing, namely as a parody of early nineteenth-century Italian opera, seems a more likely scenario, portraying Beckmesser as an incompetent and comic *German* character who doesn't understand the principles of German art music. Wagner's German contemporaries who did not support his "Art of the Future" were also a target of his criticism, along with Jewish, Italian, and French composers.

Mark A. Weiner suggests even more stereotype and bigotry in Wagner's musical intentions than Millington. Like Caryl Clark's claims about Haydn, Weiner asserts that Wagner uses a high-pitched voice, nasal performance and certain reed instruments in high registers to indicate a hidden Jewish character. Neither Clark nor Weiner provide any contemporary evidence for these assertions. Both base their conclusions on recent commentary, such as Sandor L. Gilman's analysis of Richard Strauss's music for the Jews in his 1905 opera *Salome*.<sup>46</sup> Like Clark, Weiner connects this musical expression

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> See Hanoch Avenary, "The Cantorial Fantasia of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *Yuval: Studies of the Jewish Music Research Centre* 1 (1968): 65-85. While, in Germany, this tradition died out with the reformation of synagogue music, it continued to play a major role in the Eastern European tradition. Avenary's study is based on the modern edition of the music in the manuscript sources in Abraham Zevi Idelsohn, *Thesaurus of Oriental Hebrew Melodies*, Vol. VI: "The Synagogue Song of the German Jews in the 18th Century According to Manuscripts" (Leipzig: Friedrich Hofmeister, 1933).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Sander L. Gilman, "Strauss and the Pervert," in *Reading Opera*, ed. Arthur Groos & Roger Parker

with distorted sexualized fantasies about Jews. While ardent Nazis believed such fabrications about Jewish sexuality, there is no evidence that Haydn, Wagner, and Strauss ever shared their lurid racism in this regard. This appears to be yet another anachronistic reading of twentieth-century attitudes into earlier periods.

# Conclusions

While contemporary theatrical representations of Jewish music are often unacknowledged in modern scholarship, sources do survive. These sources help us assess how theatrical composers represented Jewish music in the first half of the nineteenth century, and determine if Wagner's music is in any way consistent with them.

In examining *Das Abenteuer in der Judengeschenke* and related sources, one can determine what kind of "Jewish music" a nineteenth-century German composer such as Wagner would have encountered in his theatrical tradition. Consequently, we can assess Wagner's alleged "Jewish music" in the light of music that is specified as such in primary sources. The Jewish music presented in *Das Abenteuer in der Judengeschenke* and in earlier musical theater bears no similarity to the music that is advanced as representing Jewish music in Wagner's operas. Had Wagner wanted to make music seem "Jewish," he had examples from which to draw. Yet, he chose not to use these precedents. While Beckmesser's tortured coloratura might suggest a parody of a Jewish cantor to late twentieth-century scholars, it does not resemble the theatrical "Jewish" melismas of Dittersdorf or Paer.<sup>47</sup> Like earlier theatrical music purporting to be Jewish in character, the music in *Das Abenteuer* has little in common with that of Wagner's putative Jewish music, and much more to do with earlier representations of Jewish music on the stage.

This is not to say that Wagner's dramatic opposition in his operatic characters had nothing to do with his animus toward Jews. This very well may be the case. However, his music for Beckmesser, Mime, Alberich, Kundry and Klingsor appears to be largely original and not intended as a coded representation of Jewish music.

<sup>(</sup>Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1988), 306-27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> See Buch, *Representations of Jews*, 15-19, 26-29, 53-57, 76-83.



Appendix 1. Der Jude Heiman Levÿ aus Meseritz.



Appendix 2. Judenlied No. 8.



### Appendix 3. Aria No. 6