



DEPARTMENT OF MUSIC

**ERNEST BLOCH'S "EXOTIC" SHOFAR:
JEWISH IDENTITY IN *PROCLAMATION FOR TRUMPET AND ORCHESTRA*
RECITAL RESEARCH PAPER**

**by
Aaron Klaus**

**Presented in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the Master of Music**

May 10, 2016



**DEPARTMENT OF MUSIC
RECITAL RESEARCH PAPER APPROVAL PAGE**

This is to certify that the recital research paper, prepared by Aaron Klaus, titled Ernest Bloch's "Exotic" Shofar: Jewish Identity in *Proclamation for Trumpet and Orchestra*, has been approved by the following committee as satisfactory.

Principal Advisor

Date

Committee Member

Date

Committee Member

Date

ABSTRACT

Richard Wagner argued in his notoriously anti-Semitic 1850 essay, *Das Judentum in der Musik* (Judaism in Music), that composers must descend to their racial roots in order to achieve universality in art. This idea was inherently problematic for Jewish composers, who could not escape Wagner's extensive influence on European music yet lacked a coherent set of racial bonds. Despite the emancipation of Jews in Europe throughout the nineteenth century, they largely retained outsider status in this era. Accordingly, Jewish composers who endeavored to be accepted into the pantheon of "great" European artists had to renounce their Jewish identity in the public sphere. Ernest Bloch, however, was the first composer to attempt to outwardly express his Jewish identity in his idiomatically European art music.

While Bloch's large-scale religious works have garnered much attention, his lesser-known *Proclamation for Trumpet and Orchestra* serves as an ideal model for understanding the Jewish aspects of his music. A biographical sketch of Bloch puts this piece in context, focusing on both the evolution of his racially Jewish musical style as influenced by Wagnerian ideology, and on Bloch's relationship with Samuel Laderman, to whom he dedicated the piece. Little research on Laderman exists, but his correspondence with Bloch, preserved at the Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library of the University of Georgia, reveals the importance of this figure in Bloch's life.

Previous research holds that the premiere of *Proclamation* took place on November 13, 1957, with Charles Bruck conducting the Orchestre Colonne, and Ludovic Vaillant as the soloist. However, previously-undiscovered announcements in the *CBC Times* and *Globe and Mail* indicate that "a CBC Montreal orchestra" conducted by Alexander Brott actually performed the piece on February 15, 1956.

Finally, an investigation of the historical sources of Bloch's characteristic Jewish markers in *Proclamation*—including cantorial-like melodies, augmented intervals, open fourths and fifths, and shofar "calls"—informs a theoretical analysis of the work. These markers allowed him to justify the "Jewish" label on his music while also providing a means for exoticizing Jewish culture in an attempt to make his art palatable to the European majority. However, filtering the markers through the lens of a modern-day understanding of racial essentialism raises the question of whether they truly represented a national Jewish art or simply his conception of Judaism.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements.....	1
Introduction: The Myth of Racial Purity	2
Formation of Bloch’s Identity as a “Jewish” Composer	8
Bloch’s “Jewish” Music and Style, and Theoretical Analysis of <i>Proclamation</i>	26
Conclusion: The Moral Implications of Racial Discourse	44
Appendices	46
Bibliography	55

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This project has been a true team endeavor, and naming everyone who has helped me in the process would be impossible. However, I will try to thank as many individuals as I can, with apologies to any people or institutions I have unwittingly omitted.

First, my committee: Dr. Luis Engelke, Dr. Terry B. Ewell, and René Hernandez have spent countless hours helping me refine this paper, and have supported me immensely as a student at Towson University. In addition to serving as my committee chair, Dr. Engelke has been my principal trumpet teacher for the past two years, and in that time, he helped me make great strides as a trumpet player and musician. I am extremely grateful for his mentorship and dedication.

Second, I would like to thank the generous research assistance from individuals at numerous libraries. At the Towson University Cook Library, Andrew Yager was the first person I approached with research questions, and I learned a great deal from him about the research process; also, Lisa Woznicki spent countless hours helping me with footnotes, citations, and formatting, both in-person and via e-mail. At the Library of Congress, the reference staff of the Performing Arts Reading Room, especially Cait Miller, provided invaluable help in using their collections. As the Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library of the University of Georgia, Mazie Bowen was extremely helpful with navigating their collection, and I am very thankful to her staff for the copious photocopies they made for me. At the Houston Symphony Archives, Terry Brown spent a great deal of time researching on my behalf. At the Toronto Reference Library, I am grateful to Bill Vratsidis and Iman Zayed for their assistance in solving the mystery of the 1956 Canadian Broadcasting Corporation performance. Finally, at the Mansfield University of Pennsylvania North Hall Library, Sylvia Yamashita graciously helped me find a copy of the first-ever recording of *Proclamation*.

Third, I want to extend a special thanks to Rabbi Herman Schaalman of Emanuel Congregation of Chicago. He is a kind and gracious man, and even at the age of 99, he was happy to talk about his experiences with the 1950 Bloch Festival in a phone conversation. He mentioned that Bloch was very pleased to have been honored at this festival, and that Bloch spoke about his home in Oregon with great affection. Rabbi Schaalman is an incredible resource and link to the past. Speaking with him was truly one of the highlights of the research process.

Fourth, I want to thank the numerous individuals who helped me over e-mail with Bloch-related questions. The following list is by no means exhaustive: Joy Kingsolver and Scott Kumer of Chicago Sinai Congregation, Joannie Lajeunesse of the Montreal Symphony Orchestra, Robert Nagel, Walter Simmons, Klára Móricz, Alexander Knapp, and Frank Geltner. I also am very grateful to Bloch's great-granddaughter Lucienne Allen for finding the pictures of Bloch and Laderman together at the 1950 Chicago Festival, and for taking the time to scan and email them to me. Additional thanks are due to Michele Calderon at the Towson University Writing Center for her helpful feedback.

Finally, and most of all, I want to thank my wonderful family for all their support over the years, and for their help with editing this paper—my parents Teddy and Debby and my sister Lila. I especially want to thank my father for filling my ears and my heart with Jewish music for my whole life.

INTRODUCTION: THE MYTH OF RACIAL PURITY

Swiss-born composer Ernest Bloch's large-scale works, such as *Schelomo* and *Avodath Hakodesh*, often overshadow his small-scale works, such as *Proclamation for Trumpet and Orchestra* (1955). Whether due to the work's brevity (a mere six minutes in length), the relative unpopularity of the trumpet as a solo instrument, or the moderate technical demands on both soloist and orchestra, this piece has never garnered much attention. Nevertheless, Bloch's use of Jewish musical markers in *Proclamation* warrants a historical and theoretical analysis of the piece, shedding light on the evolution of his Jewish identity. In a Europe infatuated with racial essentialism, these markers gave him an artistic purpose, yet connoted a sense of Jewish exoticness for the European mainstream. This perception of otherness justified critics' anti-Semitism. Thus, the "exotic" shofar of *Proclamation* liberated Bloch yet subjugated him. The roots of this contradiction lie in the writings of the notoriously anti-Semitic German composer Richard Wagner.

Wagner articulated his anti-Semitic views most clearly in the infamous 1850 essay, *Das Judentum in der Musik* (Judaism in Music). The essay initially had minimal impact, because "Wagner's ideas ... formed part of previous anti-Jewish discourse dating back at least fifty years in German culture."¹ Millington agrees that Wagner's ideas were not novel, as "the preoccupations and prejudices of 'Das Judentum' ... place it in an anti-Jewish tradition, often of otherwise impeccably liberal and humanitarian credentials, going back via Luther to the Middle Ages."² However, when republished in 1869 at the height of Wagner's popularity, *Das Judentum*

¹ James Loeffler, "Richard Wagner's 'Jewish Music': Antisemitism and Aesthetics in Modern Jewish Culture," *Jewish Social Studies* 15, no. 2 (Winter 2009): 5.

² Barry Millington, "Wagner: (1) Richard Wagner," *Grove Music Online*, accessed Mar. 2, 2016, *Oxford Music Online*.

“quickly became one of the most famous anti-Semitic texts ever composed.”³ In fact, this essay would strongly influence Nazi ideology several decades later.

The myth of racial purity is ingrained Bloch’s art, so his musical encodings of Jewishness must always be understood through his conception of Judaism as a race. Ultimately, neither Wagner nor Bloch understood the complexity of defining Jewish identity, and neither foresaw that racial purity could be used to justify subjugating groups of people. An examination of the evolution of Bloch’s Jewish identity will thus demonstrate the moral imperative to not define others by their genetic background.

The Paradox of Assimilation and Implications for Jewish Composers

Das Judentum in der Musik helped drive the rise of racial essentialism in nineteenth-century Europe—the idea that each racial group possesses an underlying essence stemming from inherent traits and abilities. In the essay, Wagner articulated his belief that racial identity is revealed through a shared national language. Furthermore, he believed that strengthening his racial identity would allow him to express an eternal human reality in his art. By reaching the deepest strata of his race, he would discover a human condition where all people shared common ground. Thus, his racially-driven art would be “universal”—reaching all of humanity.

However, Wagner did not believe that all races had the ability to reach the universally human through the racially specific. In particular, grouping Jews as a race allowed Wagner to justify rehashing the popular anti-Semitic trope that the Jewish people “constitute a transnational

³ Loeffler, “Richard Wagner’s ‘Jewish Music,’” 6. The original quotation uses the alternate spelling “antisemitism.”

category of cultural parasites, merely imitating the various cultures in which they reside.”⁴ In

Das Judentum, he wrote:

The Jew speaks the language of the nation in whose midst he dwells from generation to generation, but he speaks it always as an alien. ... The general circumstance that the Jew talks the modern European languages as learnt, and not as mother tongues, must necessarily debar him from all capability of therein expressing himself idiomatically, independently, and comfortable to his nature. A language, with its expression and its evolution, is not the work of scattered units, but of an historical community: only he who has consciously grown up with the bond of this community, takes also any share in its creations. ... Our whole European art and civilization, however, have remained to the Jew a foreign tongue ... the Jew can only after-speak and after-patch—not truly make a poem of his words, an artwork of his doings.⁵

Wagner’s reasoning that artists could only achieve universality by descending to racial roots was inherently problematic for Jewish composers, as he believed that they lacked a coherent racial identity. This problem reflected the larger paradox of Western European Jewish emancipation in the nineteenth century: while emancipation’s emphasis on liberty, tolerance, and brotherhood led to equal citizenship rights for Jews, the many preceding centuries of Jewish isolation had cemented barriers to integrating them into modern society.⁶

This paradox forced nineteenth-century Jewish composers to demarcate their Jewish identity in their art,⁷ and as David M. Schiller argues, they accomplished this mandate “by working from both within and outside Jewish liturgical traditions.”⁸ Composers “within,” including Salomon Sulzer (1804–1890), Samuel Naumbourg (1817–1880), and Louis

⁴ Loeffler, “Richard Wagner’s ‘Jewish Music,’” 2.

⁵ Richard Wagner, *Judaism in Music and Other Essays*, trans. W. Ashton Ellis (Lincoln: U Nebraska P, 1995), 84-5. The original quotation uses the alternate spelling “civilisation.”

⁶ Jacob Katz treats the subject of Jewish emancipation in great depth. Prior to emancipation, Western European Jews lived in ghettos with cultural, political, and social autonomy, but in the nineteenth century, reformers aimed to integrate Jews into modern society, forcing the issue of assimilation. However, social norms protracted the process by which integration played out. Katz notes: “Assimilation, it is true, makes progress insofar as some Jews are coming into more intimate contact with non-Jews and all Jews more and more adopt the cultural patterns of their surroundings. But, at the time, Jews also create the instruments that continue to hold them together and help them maintain a separate social identity. The conception of Jews as a congregation existing merely by virtue of a common confession of faith functioned only on the theoretical level. In reality they retained the characteristics of a subgroup in society, recognizable by its ethnic origin, its economic concentration, its comparative social isolation, and by its nonconformist minority religion.” (Jacob Katz, *Out of the Ghetto: The Social Background of Jewish Emancipation, 1770-1870* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1973), 213.)

⁷ This paper’s historical analysis of the post-Emancipation Jewish experience refers specifically to Western European Jews (of Ashkenazi descent), even when not explicitly stated.

⁸ David M. Schiller, *Bloch, Schoenberg, and Bernstein: Assimilating Jewish Music* (New York: Oxford UP, 2003), 3.

Lewandowski (1821–1894), wrote liturgical music in an assimilated, European idiom, which barred them from becoming part of the pantheon of great European composers. Concurrently, composers “outside,” including Felix Mendelssohn (1809–1847), Giacomo Meyerbeer (1791–1864), and Jacques Offenbach (1819–1880) wrote European music for European audiences, thereby rejecting Jewish liturgical traditions in their art. Miles Hoffman suggests that Jewish composers of this era grappled with a “longing, on one hand, for distinction, separateness and ‘chosenness,’ and on the other hand for acceptance and belonging.” He continues:

These forces are always in conflict, but in the field of music, when Jewish composers were finally free from prohibitions and persecution and began to develop their talents within the cultural mainstream, their longing for acceptance triumphed.

In a way, they were still able to remain separate, or ‘chosen,’ if only by becoming musicians, members of a rarified profession. But in the thrill of their new freedom they sought the broadest possible citizenship, choosing to write for their countries, or for the whole world, rather than the much narrower world of their co-religionists, and to define themselves by their secular accomplishments.⁹

Indeed, Meyerbeer and Offenbach came to be associated with French opera, and Mendelssohn became a true European Romantic composer. The trend of Jewish composers choosing to eschew Jewish identity in their music continued into the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries—marked notably Gustav Mahler, who became a giant of the symphonic idiom, and Arnold Schoenberg, who came to be defined by his twelve-tone system.¹⁰

Racial essentialism became increasingly prominent in European discourse throughout the nineteenth century, and by the early 1900s, “the new biological category of race had started to be

⁹ Miles Hoffman, “The Music You Won’t Hear on Rosh Hashana,” *New York Times*, Sept. 9, 2010, A27.

¹⁰ The most famous historical precedent for the paradox of Jewish musical assimilation prior to the nineteenth century was Salamone Rossi (ca. 1570—1630), who served as a court musician in Mantua. He composed many secular works, but his most famous piece is *Hashirim asher Li’Shlomo* (The Songs of Solomon), a collection of Biblical psalms and hymns set in the Italian Baroque style (in their original Hebrew). His well-regarded status in the court allowed him to assimilate more easily than most Mantuan Jews—indeed, the court exempted him from having to wear the yellow badge compulsory for Jews in Mantua at the time. Nevertheless, the prohibition against Jews working for the church severely limited his potential for fame as a composer. His reasons for composing *Hashirim asher Li’Shlomo* are unknown, but they certainly reflect his difficult situation: as a Jew, he could never fully assimilate, yet his co-religionists probably considered him an outsider due to his privileged status.

used interchangeably with the historical sociopolitical concept of nation.”¹¹ This idea profoundly impacted Bloch (1880–1959), who was “perhaps the first and certainly the most successful composer to define his art as racially Jewish.”¹² Unlike the aforementioned composers, he wrote non-liturgical art music rooted in Judaism. Bloch’s notion of racial Judaism is deeply entrenched in Wagnerism—Loeffler notes that in Wagnerian thought, Jews’ “very otherness and ‘Semitic’ difference represented a potential form of cultural originality that could conceivably be turned around and reinterpreted positively.”¹³ By asserting Jews’ absence of identity, Wagner paradoxically and unwittingly bestowed upon them an identity of otherness. Furthermore, “if the Jews could reclaim their ‘ceremonial music’ in its original pure form, they could theoretically then create an authentic musical art.”¹⁴ Thus, Bloch felt justified in reinterpreting Wagner’s theory on race and universality: in a Europe where racial identity was crucial, the discovery and musical application of Jewish racial authenticity became Bloch’s artistic mission. Like Wagner, Bloch hoped that his racially-driven art would reach all of humanity.

Nevertheless, Bloch never grasped the futility of the endeavor to define Jewish music.

This challenge lies in the very nature of diasporic existence, as Seroussi notes:

The long path of exile ... imposed on the Jews the need to accommodate to the hosting non-Jewish societies. Therefore, each community engaged in a musical dialogue with its non-Jewish surroundings, and through time many different Jewish ‘musics’ emerged. Moreover, frequent displacements and discontinuities affecting individual Jewish communities exercised a major influence on the musical culture of each group. All in all, the active participation of Jews in the musical traditions of the surrounding societies poses a challenging scholarly question: where exactly are the limits between the music ‘made by Jews, for Jews, as Jews’ (to quote the legendary definition of Jewish music proposed by Curt Sachs in his address to the First World Congress of Jewish Music in Paris, 1957) and the music ‘made by Jews, as musicians, for all listeners.’¹⁵

¹¹ Klára Móricz, “Sensuous Pagans and Righteous Jews: Changing Concepts of Jewish Identity in Ernest Bloch’s *Jézabel* and *Schelomo*,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 54, no. 3 (Fall 2001): 439.

¹² Klára Móricz, *Jewish Identities: Nationalism, Racism, and Utopianism in Twentieth-Century Music* (Berkeley: U California P, 2008), 96.

¹³ Loeffler, “Richard Wagner’s ‘Jewish Music,’” 7.

¹⁴ Loeffler, “Richard Wagner’s ‘Jewish Music,’” 9.

¹⁵ Edwin Seroussi, “Jewish music, §I: Introduction,” *Grove Music Online*, accessed Feb. 18, 2016, *Oxford Music Online*.

The music of Sulzer, Naumbourg, and Lewandowski easily passes Sachs's aphoristic litmus test. However, Sachs's criteria disregards the European musical context and traditions that shaped their compositions. The music of Mendelssohn, Meyerbeer, and Offenbach was certainly "made by Jews, as musicians, for all listeners," but the extent of the influence of their Jewish birth on their music is impossible to delineate.¹⁶ Bloch is unique because he outwardly defined his music as Jewish, yet became increasingly estranged from the Jewish community throughout his life. While composing *Avodath Hakodesh*, for instance, he wrote to Ada Clement and Lillian Hodgehead, co-directors of the San Francisco Conservatory of Music at the time: "I do not wish it for the Jews—who will probably fight it ... not for the critics, not for the 'Tradition'! It has become a private affair between God and me."¹⁷ Ultimately, the artistic output of each of the aforementioned Jewish composers comes from a tangled web of identities and life-experiences. Jewish music is only "Jewish" insofar as its creators, critics, or audiences assert its Jewishness.

¹⁶ Jeffrey Sposato cites numerous examples of critics painting Mendelssohn's *Elijah* as a Jewish work. However, he argues that the libretto drafts reveal that the work is actually New Testament-inspired piece. For further reading, see: Sposato, Jeffrey S. *The Price of Assimilation: Felix Mendelssohn and the Nineteenth-Century Anti-Semitic Tradition*. New York: Oxford UP, 2006.

¹⁷ Qtd in Suzanne Bloch and Irene Heskes, eds., *Ernest Bloch: Creative Spirit* (New York: National Jewish Welfare Board, 1976), 74.

FORMATION OF BLOCH'S IDENTITY AS A "JEWISH" COMPOSER

Bloch in Europe: the Influence of Edmond Fleg and Robert Godet

Bloch grew up in Geneva with little sense of national belonging. His nationally mixed musical training did not help—he studied in Geneva with Émile Jaques-Dalcroze, in Brussels with Eugène Ysaÿe and François Rasse, in Frankfurt with Ivan Knorr, and in Munich with Ludwig Thuille. In an increasingly nationalistic Europe, Bloch felt the burden of being lost between French and German aesthetics. He rarely visited the local synagogue growing up—certainly not enough to gain any familiarity with the dynamics of the Jewish community—therefore, his conception of Judaism developed out of the Wagnerian anti-Semitic ideology prevalent at the time.

Bloch's Symphony in C-sharp Minor premiered in 1903, receiving mixed reviews. Critics faulted the work for its lack of identifiable national character, noting that Bloch unsuccessfully tried to combine elements of French and German aesthetics. According to Klára Móricz, "French critic Robert Godet heard overtones of Chabrier in the symphony; others identified Wagner, Bruckner, and Strauss as Bloch's models."¹⁸ In late 1903, Bloch went to Paris to secure a performance of the piece. He was unsuccessful in this endeavor; however, his stay in Paris led him to reconnect with his friend, French Jewish poet and historian Edmond Fleg, whom he had met in Geneva in 1901. Fleg served as the librettist of Bloch's only published opera, *Macbeth*, which he wrote between 1904 and 1909. *Macbeth* combines Debussysian whole-tone tonalities with a German-inspired plot of murder, guilt, and "revenge with shrieking dissonances, nervous tremolos, and harmonies saturated with augmented triads."¹⁹ As was the case with his C-sharp Minor Symphony, Bloch could not escape the criticism that his music represented an

¹⁸ Móricz, *Jewish Identities*, 99.

¹⁹ Móricz, *Jewish Identities*, 100.

amalgamation of national influences. He was, as critics Romain Rolland and Henry Prunières would describe, “the great wandering Jew of music.”²⁰

During this same period, Bloch developed a close friendship with Godet, who “won Bloch’s sympathy in 1903 by writing the only positive critique of his C-sharp Minor Symphony to appear in the press,”²¹ despite aforementioned misgivings regarding the work’s Chabrier-like overtones. Bloch began teaching Godet composition in 1904; soon thereafter, Godet became Bloch’s spiritual guide. Godet—who, like Bloch, was trapped in the racial discourse of the time—had a vested interest in helping Bloch create specifically Jewish art (an interest that trumped his deeply-held anti-Semitic views, which were unbeknownst to Bloch at this point). In 1906, Godet began providing Bloch with readings about the prophets to aid in this artistic mission. These readings evidently resulted in an epiphany for Bloch, awakening his Jewish consciousness and stimulating interest in his racial identity. He wrote to Fleg that same year:

My dear friend ... I have read the Bible—I have read fragments about Moses. And an immense sense of pride has surged within me! My entire being reverberated. It is a revelation ... I couldn’t continue reading, for I was afraid ... of discovering too much of myself, of feeling everything that had gradually accumulated, glued to me, fall away in one sudden blow; of myself naked ... within the entire past which lives inside me; of standing erect as a Jew, proudly Jewish.²²

As a result of his readings of the Bible, “Bloch envisioned a scenario in which he himself would undergo the isolation, sufferings, and final triumph of a prophet.”²³ Several years later, he would write: “A work of art is the soul of a race speaking through the voice of the prophet in whom it has become incarnate.”²⁴ This prophetic view of himself allowed him “to justify his voluntary detachment from the religion and culture of the people whose ‘race’ he claimed his music

²⁰ Qtd in Móricz, *Jewish Identities*, 100.

²¹ Móricz, “Sensuous Pagans and Righteous Jews,” 447. In the original quotation, the title is abbreviated as “C#-Minor Symphony.” Godet’s review appeared in *Le Petit Temps* June 29, 1903. The review is quoted in José-Flore Tappy, ed., *Ernest Bloch, Romain Rolland Lettres, 1911-33* (Lausanne: Editions Payot, 1984): 31.

²² Qtd. in Alexander Knapp, “The music and life of Ernest Bloch,” *Jewish Quarterly* 28, nos. 2-3 (1980), 27.

²³ Móricz, *Jewish Identities*, 107.

²⁴ Ernest Bloch, “Man and Music,” trans. Waldo Frank, in *The Seven Arts* 1, no. 5, ed. James Oppenheim (New York: The Seven Arts, Mar. 1917), 495.

represented.”²⁵ Bloch believed that the “Jewish race” had lost its voice among the nations of the world, and that by isolating himself from the Jewish community, he would be able to find that voice in his art.

In 1911, Godet referred Bloch to Deuteronomy 13:7-11, which states that worshipping idols is punishable by death. Seen through his Wagnerian paradigm, Godet took this passage to mean that “assimilation is likened to idolatry, and racial purity is its repentance.”²⁶ Godet’s re-envisioning of Deuteronomy as a warning against Jewish assimilation thus reinforces Wagnerian anti-Semitism. Bloch did not possess the critical skills necessary to recognize the danger of such an interpretation given his limited Jewish knowledge. Furthermore, he readily accepted Godet’s anti-Semitic views because “he was convinced that they applied to only the ‘bad’ contemporary Jews”²⁷ that he observed as a child at the synagogue in Geneva (the “memory of the fellow who read the Tribune on Yom Kippur”²⁸ left a particular impact on him).

Godet would inevitably arrive at this anti-Semitic interpretation of Deuteronomy given his deep interest in the work of political philosopher Houston Stewart Chamberlain (1855-1927). During his time with Bloch, Godet was in the midst of translating Chamberlain’s *Die Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts (Foundations of the Nineteenth Century)* into French. Chamberlain envisioned human history as the history of the “Teutonic race,” culminating with Wagner, whom he believed “most truly fulfilled the racial mission of the Teutons.”²⁹ In *Foundations* (a work that strongly influenced Nazi ideology), “Chamberlain presented European history as the struggle of racial forces, from which the pure Teutons and the Jews stood out as

²⁵ Móricz, *Jewish Identities*, 107.

²⁶ Assaf Shelleg, *Jewish Contiguities and the Soundtrack of Israeli History* (New York: Oxford UP, 2014), 37.

²⁷ Móricz, *Jewish Identities*, 109.

²⁸ Letter to Fleg from January 24, 1912, qtd. in Móricz, “Sensuous Pagans and Righteous Jews,” 447.

²⁹ Móricz, *Jewish Identities*, 108. The Teutons were an ancient Germanic tribe. Today, “Teuton” can refer to a member of a people speaking a language of the Germanic branch of the Indo-European language family, especially German.

the most antagonistic,”³⁰ and argued for the superiority of the Aryan race and inferiority of the Jewish race. However, Godet kept the true anti-Semitic nature of the work hidden from Bloch. For the many years he spent translating the book, he only told Bloch that he was working on an immense collaborative project.

In 1913, Godet presented his completed translation of *Foundations* to Bloch. Upon reading a portion of the work, Bloch told Godet that he found Chamberlain’s anti-Semitic ideas offensive, to which Godet responded: “what offends you today was written 15 years ago, and during this period nobody has died of it.”³¹ Believing that Bloch overreacted, and in the heat of an unrelated personal quarrel, Godet cut off communication when Bloch left Europe in 1916. However, Bloch could not give up their friendship, and indeed dedicated his C-sharp Minor Symphony to Godet when the work was published in 1925. In fact, Bloch ended up reading the entirety of *Foundations* in 1934 and ended up agreeing with the book’s anti-Semitic theories about Jews, arguing that “it was not the ideas but their practical application by ‘smaller minds’ that could turn Chamberlain’s ideology into a ‘terrible weapon.’”³²

Ultimately, Bloch’s opinion of Jews did not differ much from that of Godet. The more Bloch saw himself as a creator of *rein menschlich* (purely human) art of the “Jewish race,” the more he distanced himself from Jewish audiences and critics of his music, thereby justifying his absorption of Chamberlain’s and Godet’s anti-Semitism. He would even go as far as to say in a letter to his friend Lillian Hodgehead in 1934: “The attitude of certain Jews ... towards me—and towards everything—seems to justify in a good degree the actual mentality and revolt of the leaders of Germany.”³³ Clearly, he maintained anti-Semitic views throughout his life.

³⁰ Móricz, *Jewish Identities*, 108.

³¹ Qtd. in Móricz, *Jewish Identities*, 110.

³² Letter to Lillian Hodgehead and Ada Clement (July 6, 1934) in Móricz, *Jewish Identities*, 112.

³³ Qtd. in Móricz, *Jewish Identities*, 113.

Was Bloch a “Self-hating Jew”?

Bloch’s encounters with anti-Semitism engender the question of how much he assimilated those anti-Semitic beliefs. Further underscoring the issue, he stated in 1934:

I greatly respect Hitler’s sincerity. He believes wholly and disinterestedly in what he is doing. He is a fanatic, if you will, on fire with his cause, but certainly not an opportunist making political capital. I do not think he is right. But to label him and his movement merely as anti-Jewish is inaccurate.³⁴

This troubling quote suggests that Bloch had indeed absorbed Chamberlain’s anti-Semitic convictions, and that he was therefore a “self-hating Jew.” Theodor Lessing was likely the first to coin the term “Jewish self-hatred,” in his 1930 book by that title (*Der Jüdische Selbsthaß*). Kurt Lewin argued in his 1941 essay, “Self-Hatred Among Jews,” that self-hatred exists when a minority group contains members that “are kept inside [the group] not by their own needs, but by forces which are imposed upon them.”³⁵ However, Bloch’s vision of himself in a prophetic role shows that he was not critical of himself for being Jewish. Instead, he thought quite highly of himself as a Jew. Furthermore, he tended to direct his criticisms of other Jews towards what he perceived to be their lack of understanding of his artistic mission, not towards their Jewish self-identification. Although Bloch espoused anti-Semitic views, especially towards the end of his life, Móricz argues that these views were “fueled by his anxiety about Jewish reception of his works,” and not by “acceptance of gentile society’s negative opinion of him as a Jew.”³⁶ Ultimately, Bloch’s relationship with Judaism was too complex for the term “self-hatred” to be meaningful. His grandiose ideas regarding what Judaism should be created a barrier between him and the rest of the Jewish world—an outlook that resulted in feelings of anxiety and insecurity manifesting themselves as anti-Semitism.

³⁴ Olin Downes, “Bloch, Composer, Here to Conduct,” *New York Times*, Mar. 27, 1934.

³⁵ Kurt Lewin, “Self-Hatred Among Jews,” in *Resolving Social Conflicts: Selected Papers on Group Dynamics*, ed. Gertrud W. Lewin (Ann Arbor: Harper & Brothers, 1948), 192.

³⁶ Klára Móricz, “Sealed Documents and Open Lives: Ernest Bloch’s Private Correspondence,” *Notes* 62, no 1 (2005): 78.

Bloch's "Jewish Cycle"

In 1911, disillusioned by the lack of success of *Macbeth* (the opera only lasted for 13 performances in 1910 and 1911), Bloch left Paris for Geneva, where in his quest for musical national identity, he turned to the writings and music of Wagner. Bloch "agreed with Wagner that Jews were deceiving themselves when they believed that they could assimilate to the people among whom they resided."³⁷ However, he disagreed with Wagner's belief that Jews lack a coherent racial identity; rather, he believed that Jews should embrace their racial identity to "become completely human."³⁸ To Bloch, Jewish music had the capacity to be *rein menschlich* like German music, but Jews had to find their own voice. He was not interested in the institutions of Judaism, largely due to the aforementioned poor childhood experiences at the synagogue in Geneva. Rather, he tried to construct his ideal Judaism in art as a means for uniting humanity.

Bloch intended for the opera *Jézabel* (based on the biblical story of Jezebel) to be his first Jewish-inspired work. *Jézabel* never came to fruition, but Bloch's work with Fleg and Godet in the 1910s led to his "Jewish cycle," a furious burst of writing inspired by Jewish themes. The cycle includes the following works: *Trois Poèmes Juifs* (composed in 1913), *Prélude et Deux Psaumes* (1912-1914), *Psaume 22* (1914), *Israel Symphony* (1912-16), *Schelomo: Rhapsodie Hébraïque* (1916), and String Quartet No. 1 ("Hebrew") (1916).³⁹

Bloch would later state, "I have hearkened to an inner voice ... which seemed to come from far beyond, beyond myself and my parents, a voice which surged up in me on reading certain passages in the bible."⁴⁰ Indeed, he held the Wagnerian ideal of reaching all humanity in the deepest layers of race throughout his entire life. Unfortunately, this ideal only led to

³⁷ Móricz, *Jewish Identities*, 102.

³⁸ Letter to music critic Ildebrando Pizzetti (Oct. 13, 1911), qtd. in Móricz, *Jewish Identities*, 103.

³⁹ For further reading, see: Kusher, David Z. "The 'Jewish' Works of Ernest Bloch." *Journal of Musicological Research* 3, no. 3-4 (1981): 259-73.

⁴⁰ Soltes, "Ernest Bloch Has Said," in *The Music of Ernest Bloch: A Program Manual*, ed. National Jewish Music Council, 13.

disappointment, as critics throughout his life tended to paint him as specifically Jewish rather than universally human. Ironically, Wagnerian racial theory provided Jews like Bloch with a sense of identity while also being used by anti-Semites to justify discrimination, war, and genocide. Bloch became confined to being a “Jewish composer,” permanently barring him from universal status.

First United States Period and Return to Europe

In 1916, Bloch moved from Europe to the United States to assume the position of conductor with Maud Allen's dance company on their tour. The tour disbanded prematurely due to dwindling audiences, leaving Bloch in New York, where he found that American audiences enthusiastically embraced his Jewish cause. However, he experienced continual disappointment at the fact that Jews were largely uninterested in his music; indeed, his main proponents were non-Jewish critics. Even as he began to eschew Jewish themes in his music (as in the orchestral works *America* (1926), dedicated to his new home, and *Helvetia* (1929), dedicated to his birth home), the “Jewish composer” image stuck with him. Still, he maintained the goal of achieving universality. This goal brought him back to Switzerland in 1930, where he composed what is perhaps his most famous piece, *Avodath Hakodesh* (Sacred Service), a setting of the Jewish Sabbath morning service for orchestra, chorus, and baritone.⁴¹ A commission from Cantor Reuben Rinder of Congregation Emanu-El in San Francisco and cellist Gerald Warburg allowed him to spend the years 1930-1933 composing the piece, while wealthy patrons Rosa and Jacob Stern enabled the move to Switzerland by establishing a fund at the University of California, Berkeley to support Bloch for ten years while he devoted himself entirely to composition. The

⁴¹ The text for *Avodath Hakodesh* is found in *The Union Prayer-Book for Jewish Worship* (Cincinnati: Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1922), 64-129.

terms of the fund stipulated that after those ten years, Bloch was to return to Berkeley as a professor.

Avodath Hakodesh is unsuitable for liturgical use because the text of the piece differs in form and emphasis from what would be used in a congregational prayer service and omits important sections, such as the reading of the Torah and the *Kaddish*.⁴² Instead, Bloch envisioned *Avodath Hakodesh* as a universal “mass,” meant for all humanity. His program notes for the piece’s first American performance, in New York on April 11, 1934, exemplify his universalistic reinterpretation of each of the prayers. For example, he refers to the “cosmic element” of *Shema Yisroel* and *Adon Olom*, and “the exultation of man” in *Mi Chomocho* and *Etz Chayim*.⁴³ The piece thus espouses the Wagnerian ideal of the oratorio as total art-work. In 1934, Bloch said of *Avodath Hakodesh*: “I believe ... my *Sacred Service* may be an answer to the accusations of Chamberlain ... for its Judaism is not that of the Ghetto but that of the prophets—messianic and universal.”⁴⁴ Despite Bloch’s universalistic aspirations with *Avodath Hakodesh*, the piece engendered continued race-inspired criticism. As Móricz notes: “Considered by both Jews and non-Jews as deeply flawed for what was seen as diluted racial expression, the *Sacred Service* demonstrated that however scientifically untenable, race remained a strong enough cultural factor to hinder Bloch’s universal claims.”⁴⁵ Much to Bloch’s disappointment, he could not achieve universality through his assumed racial background that he expressed in *Avodath Hakodesh*.

⁴² Typically, congregations read a section from the Torah (the five books of Moses) weekly on Sabbath mornings. Despite the centrality of the Torah reading in the morning service, Bloch excluded this section from *Avodath Hakodesh* because the reading changes from week to week, so including this part would have necessitated that he pick one particular reading to set to music. The *Kaddish* is a prayer of praise and affirmation, which Jews recite near the end of the service to commemorate a recent death of a loved one and on the anniversaries of their loved ones’ deaths. Bloch excluded this prayer because a musical setting would interfere with the important religious obligation for mourners to recite it.

⁴³ Qtd. in Móricz, *Jewish Identities*, 171.

⁴⁴ Qtd. in “Bloch, Composer, Here to Conduct,” *New York Times*, Mar. 27, 1934.

⁴⁵ Móricz, *Jewish Identities*, 154.

Return to America

Bloch moved back to the United States in December 1938 for several reasons: one, his funding was set to expire soon; two, war was imminent; three, he desired to maintain American citizenship, which he had gained in 1924. In accordance with the terms of the Stern fund, he became a professor at Berkeley. In 1941, while Bloch was driving from Berkeley to Portland, flooded roads forced him to stop, and he decided to spend the night in the remote and picturesque coastal resort village of Agate Beach, Oregon. He fell in love with the town so much that he bought a house there. After a lifetime of wandering, Bloch settled down and became somewhat of a recluse in his final years, able to take inspiration from the picturesque environment around him.

Figure 1 Ernest Bloch's Agate Beach house



Source: David Stabler, "50 years after composer Ernest Bloch's death, Oregon celebrates his life and works," *Oregon Live*, July 13, 2009,

http://www.oregonlive.com/performance/index.ssf/2009/07/50_years_after_composer_ernest.html.

He would continue to teach at Berkeley until 1952—after which, freed of his teaching responsibilities and in an environment where he could work with little interaction with the outside world, Bloch's compositional output was prolific. *Proclamation*, composed in 1955, came out of this period. However, the true genesis of this piece occurred in Chicago in 1950.

The Bloch Chicago Festival and Samuel Laderman

Samuel Laderman was a wealthy labor leader in Chicago who had a deep love of music and a special interest in Bloch's compositions. He approached Rabbi Herman Schaalman, then the director of the Chicago branch of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (UAHC, now known as the Union for Reform Judaism), to ask the UAHC to sponsor a festival in honor of Bloch's seventieth birthday.

Figure 2 Samuel Laderman, 1952.



Source: Braun, Rachel H, "Ernest Bloch and His Chicago Jewish Colleagues," *Chicago Jewish History* 35, no. 2 (Spring 2011): 4.

The festival, which was held November 28-December 3, 1950, included performances by the Chicago Symphony Orchestra and the Fine Arts Quartet at local synagogues and at Orchestra

Hall. Rabbi Schaalman indicated that “Laderman was aggressive in his cultural strivings.”⁴⁶ In other words, he felt that this festival was essential for advancing culture through music.

Laderman and Schaalman worked closely on the festival with Ernest Zeisler, who the Chicago Tribune festival announcement lists as chairman of the festival association.⁴⁷

Following the festival, Bloch told his sister Loulette and his niece Evelyn that the performances were “triumphs,” and was thrilled that people “understood” his music.⁴⁸ However, Bloch’s correspondence with Laderman shows that Laderman’s efforts were particularly meaningful for Bloch, whose feelings of insecurity and attitude towards Jewish critics who did not appreciate his music had apparently been festering in his mind for years. Accordingly, these letters shed light on why Bloch would decide to dedicate *Proclamation* to Laderman when he composed the piece five years later, even though the two men had only met for the first time in 1950. Both the sheer volume of the correspondence between Bloch and Laderman and the tone of Bloch’s writing shows that they developed a deep friendship, and suggests that Bloch had finally started to find acceptance in the Jewish community.

In letters leading up to the festival, Bloch exhibits an obsessive, narcissistic desire for control over the performances, especially over the performers’ interpretations of his works. For example, on July 6, 1950, he wrote: “It would take me three weeks to prepare *any* baritone, other than Marko Rothmuller, for the [Sacred] Service.”⁴⁹ Then, on August 9, 1950, he wrote: “I am delighted to hear that Mrs. Ludmilla Kubelik is going to interpret my Violin Sonata, but ... I will have to come ahead of time to give my proper interpretation.” Finally, on October 3, 1950, he

⁴⁶ Schaalman, personal interview with the author.

⁴⁷ “Ernest Bloch to be Honored with Festival,” *Chicago Tribune*, Oct. 2, 1950.

⁴⁸ Letter to Loulette and Evelyn (Dec. 5, 1950) in Joseph Lewinski and Emmanuelle Dijon, *Ernest Bloch: Sa vie et sa pensée*, vol. 4, (Geneva: Éditions Slatkine, 2004), 415. All translations from this work are by the author.

⁴⁹ All letters from Bloch to Laderman described in this section are held in the Ernest Bloch papers, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia. Emphases throughout all letters are Bloch’s. In the July 6, 1950 letter, the original quotation uses the alternate spelling “barytone.”

wrote: “[*Israel Symphony*] is a very subtle work, which has been too often massacred.” He also specified the size of the orchestra, the number of rehearsals, and the repertoire to be performed.

Then, in his first letter to Laderman following the festival, dated December 30, 1950, he wrote:

Only if you could visualize what my life has been, since 60 years, all the deception, the bitterness, the cowardice of friends, the ungratefulness of those I have helped and given myself ... would you be able to understand what is in my heart for you—some day you will learn it—I will show you data, letters, documents scattered in my incomplete “archives” ... and you will wonder *how* I could, in spite of all, *save* a part, a small part of my existence—my best!—for my creative work.

Later in this letter, he cites an example of an article in *Commentary* magazine by Kurt List, dated December 1, 1950. List wrote about Bloch:

Now that Ernest Bloch has passed his seventieth birthday, many musicians look back on his career with a sense of unfulfilled promise, expressed most clearly, and with a touch of cruelty, in the remark of one well-known American composer: “Isn’t it amazing what a disappointment Bloch has turned out to be?”⁵⁰

Apparently an editor at the magazine had sent Bloch the article, asking for his opinion. Bloch continues to Laderman: “I was appalled and trembling! ... This was not a ‘miscomprehension’ but the willful desire to *hurt* me, to *rob* me of my confidence, to put me down—and it was not my vanity which suffered, but my *faith* in human beings.” Granted, *Commentary* is known as being contentious.⁵¹ However, Bloch’s desire for control (stemming from belief in his prophetic status), combined with his difficulty in handling adversity, is evident in this letter. Surely, his reading of the List article conjured memories of the negative reactions to his C-sharp Minor Symphony, his quarrel with Godet, and Jews’ perception of diluted racial expression in *Avodath Hakodesh*. All of these experiences fueled his growing alienation from critics and audiences while boosting his sense of self-importance.

⁵⁰ List, “On the Horizon: Ernest Bloch’s ‘Sacred Service,’” *Commentary* 10, no. 6 (Dec. 1950): 586.

⁵¹ For further reading, see: Benjamin Balint, *Running Commentary: the Contentious Magazine that Transformed the Jewish Left into the Neoconservative Right* (New York: PublicAffairs, 2010).

Given Bloch's extreme difficulty in coping with his feelings towards critics, his infatuation with Laderman must have come from the fact that Laderman was, at least in Bloch's mind, the first Jew to show a serious interest in and appreciation of his music. Undoubtedly, at seventy years old, Bloch was concerned with his legacy, and Laderman's enthusiasm in spearheading this festival surely gave him a sense of comfort and accomplishment. On March 17, 1951, Bloch wrote to Laderman regarding their friendship: "At last there is *one* man, on this continent, who feels and knows what the effort of a *whole life* has been and means ... and whose faith and energy will prevail *after me* ... when I am gone."

Because of these strong feelings about Laderman, Bloch decided to compose a Jewish-inspired work to dedicate to him. On November 30, 1951, Bloch wrote to Laderman: "I cannot find words to thank you adequately—but I will thank you, I hope, in a better way for me, than words—some day, in music." Then on June 25, 1954, he told Laderman that he just completed the *Trombone Symphony* and that he would like to dedicate a new short work to him. Bloch decided to write for the trumpet for two reasons. First, Lewinski and Dijon indicate in writing *Trombone Symphony*, he became "stimulated by the sound of brass and attracted to the brilliance of the trumpet."⁵² Second, in a letter dated September 21, 1954, Alexander Broude of the Broude Brothers publishing company suggested to Bloch that he compose a piece for the instrument. The letter is pictured below:

⁵² Lewinski and Dijon, *Sa vie et sa pensée* vol. 4, 608.

Figure 3 Letter from Alexander Broude to Ernest Bloch, September 21, 1954

Cable Address: BROUDEBRO, New York

MURRAY HILL 7-4735

BROUDE BROTHERS

MUSIC

PUBLISHERS • DEALERS • IMPORTERS
56 WEST 45TH STREET
NEW YORK 36, N. Y.

September 21, 1954

Dr. Ernest Bloch
Agate Beach, Oregon

Dear Dr. Bloch:

I am writing to you once again about your being able to write some works for us.

We are more and more interested in having some contemporary music, and we have always considered you as the composer we would by all means want represented.

Our thought would be a short work for clarinet and small orchestra or string orchestra, also a similar work for trumpet. These could be in the nature of the shorter works you have composed for violin and 'cello. As you know we have many fine players on these instruments (clarinet and trumpet), but there is practically no literature available. I am sure that you would feel a definite need by writing such compositions. We would publish these works both in score and parts, as well as version for the solo instrument and piano reduction.

I would very much appreciate your considering this project. If an advance would sway you, please let me know. We can assure you a most beautiful quality of publication.

I met your daughter at a concert and we had a most pleasant discussion about you.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

Alexander Broude
Alexander Broude
BROUDE BROTHERS

P.S.— I am still interested in any choral music you may wish to have us publish.

Bloch replied on June 6, 1955: “Your former suggestion was not lost and I hope that this ‘Proclamation’, for trumpet solo and small orchestra will fulfil the need mentioned in your letter of September 21, and my reply of October 15.”⁵³

Compositional Conception and Process, and Publishing of *Proclamation*

Bloch composed *Proclamation* between March 18, 1955 and May 12, 1955. The original manuscript of the trumpet and piano version is held at the University of California, Berkeley, and the original manuscript of the trumpet and orchestra version is held at the University of Georgia. Bloch’s sketches for *Proclamation* are preserved at the Library of Congress. Lewinski and Dijon understand the work as a “proclamation of the Jewish faith, but for the composer, it goes beyond that, to his faith in humanity. That explains why he did not give it the title ‘Proclamation Hébraïque,’ which would have been restrictive.”⁵⁴ Thus, *Proclamation* exemplifies his life-long goal of reaching universality through descent to racial Jewish roots.

Premiere, or Not?

At this stage of his life—seventy-five years old, and in declining health—Bloch was unable to travel much, so he depended on the Broudes to let him know when and where the premiere occurred. However, letters from Irving Broude were not helpful. An August 10, 1955, Broude indicated that he spoke with Leopold Stokowski on August 9, and that “he will perform the ‘Proclamation for Trumpet and Orchestra’ during the coming season.” On December 30 of that same year, Broude indicated that *Proclamation* will be performed on February 2, 1956 with the Houston Symphony. Later letters from Bloch indicate that he was not in good enough health

⁵³ All letters between Bloch and Broude in these sections are preserved in: Box 45, Ernest Bloch Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress.

⁵⁴ Lewinski and Dijon, *Sa vie et sa pensée* vol. 4, 608.

to attend the performance. At this point, he was becoming anxious, as he wrote to Broude on March 16 of that same year: “I was rather perturbed to have not received any news about my Proclamation, not a word, not even a program from Stokowski!” He asked Broude for a recording, but according to personnel manager Alfred Urbach on April 16, 1956, no recording was made. Unfortunately, neither the Houston Symphony Archives nor Lewinski and Dijon⁵⁵ could find any record of this concert ever having taken place. Additionally, there does not appear to be any mention of this performance in the *Houston Chronicle* or the *Houston Post*. Why this performance did not occur, or why this performance occurred with no record, remains a mystery.

Contrary to published sources, the first documented performance of *Proclamation* took place on February 15, 1956 as part of an all-Bloch program aired by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. The announcement for this program in the *CBC Times* indicates that “a CBC Montreal orchestra”⁵⁶ gave the performance, but does not indicate whether or not that orchestra utilized members of the Orchestre symphonique de Montréal.⁵⁷ The *Globe and Mail* announcement does indicate that the “Montreal Symphony Orchestra”⁵⁸ gave the performance, but the OSM archives show that the orchestra gave no such performance on that date. Alexander Brott, who at the time was an assistant conductor of the OSM, conducted the performance. Neither publication indicates who the soloist was or whether the performance was live or in-studio. Further complicating the matter, the CBC archive does not contain a record of this performance. Irving Broude sent a recording of the performance to Bloch, who replied on April

⁵⁵ Lewinski and Dijon, *Sa vie et sa pensée* vol. 4, 609.

⁵⁶ “An Ernest Bloch Concert on Wednesday Night,” *CBC Times*, Feb. 12-18, 1956. The program also included Concerto Grosso no. 1 and *Voices in the Wilderness*.

⁵⁷ At that time, Toronto’s CBC Symphony Orchestra utilized members of the Toronto Symphony Orchestra.

⁵⁸ “Coming Events,” *Globe and Mail*, Feb. 11, 1956.

19 of that year with his impressions, saying: “Believe me, it has no connection with *my work*—a disgrace.”⁵⁹

In a letter dated November 9, 1957, Bloch indicated to his friend Estelle Levine that *Proclamation* “was to have 10-12 performances, *this year*.”⁶⁰ However, only two performances definitively occurred in 1957. The first one took place at Salle Pleyel in Paris on November 13, 1957, at the First International Congress of Jewish Music, with Charles Bruck directing the Orchestre Colonne and Ludovic Vaillant as the soloist.⁶¹ According to the announcement for the Congress in *Le Monde*:

This Congress aims to encourage discussion among musicologists and technicians on the origins, evolution and characteristics of Jewish music; to develop stringent critical methods for as complete of a body of veritable Jewish traditions as possible, both religious and popular; to conduct a systematic and thorough study of the theory and aesthetics of music used in Judaism; to seek the most appropriate means to promote the dissemination and practice of this body in synagogues and in Jewish schools; and to generate publications, concert recordings, etc., likely to arouse public interest in authentic Jewish music.⁶²

The review of the performance of *Proclamation* in *Le Monde* praised Vaillant’s playing, calling him “an accomplished musician, caring less about shining personally than about revealing the deeper meaning of the work, vibrant with faith.”⁶³

The American premiere took place on November 18, 1957, in New York’s Town Hall, with Thomas Scherman directing the Little Orchestra Society, and Robert Nagel as the soloist.⁶⁴ This program also included Handel’s *Concerto for Double Orchestra*, Karl Ditters von Dittersdorf’s Symphony in A-minor, and several lieder and the *Italian Serenade* by Hugo Wolf. Howard Taubman wrote in the New York Times: “Written in 1955, [*Proclamation*] is like a brief retrospect of the period when the composer wrote music of intense feeling in sumptuous

⁵⁹ Ernest Bloch Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, box 45.

⁶⁰ Ernest Bloch papers, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia.

⁶¹ Lewinski and Dijon, *Sa vie et sa pensée* vol. 4, 609.

⁶² “Le Premier Congrès International de Musique juive,” *Le Monde*, Nov. 4, 1957. Translation by the author.

⁶³ René Dumesnil, “Concerts Colonne: Musique juive,” *Le Monde*, Nov. 19, 1957. Translation by the author.

⁶⁴ Lewinski and Dijon, *Sa vie et sa pensée* vol. 4, 609.

scoring.” This statement supports the premise that *Proclamation* is an ideal work for tracing the development of Bloch’s Jewish identity, even though he composed the piece long after his Jewish cycle. Taubman continues:

It glows brightly, and if the light is extinguished after five or six minutes, it is because Bloch has done all he wishes to do with his thematical material and because he knows that a trumpet solo should not be encouraged to go on indefinitely. Robert Nagel played the trumpet with ringing tones, and Mr. Scherman and the orchestra gave him opulent support.⁶⁵

Robert Nagel indicates: “I found the rich orchestral [accompaniments] for both works very attractive. ... I hardly ever turned down an opportunity to perform a solo [trumpet] work. I performed *Proclamation* several times. For a short work, it has a nice contrast between fanfare-like passages and broad lyric melody which attracted me to the piece.”⁶⁶ Fortunately, Nagel also recorded the piece, as have many others.

⁶⁵ Howard Taubman, “Music: Little Orchestra: Schwarzkopf Sings at Society’s Concert,” *New York Times*, Nov. 19, 1957.

⁶⁶ Robert Nagel, “Re: ‘Proclamation’ Question,” message to the author, Aug. 1, 2015.

BLOCH'S "JEWISH" MUSIC AND STYLE, AND THEORETICAL ANALYSIS OF *PROCLAMATION*

"Jewish" Characteristics in *Proclamation* and Bloch's other Works

While working on *Jézabel* in the 1910s, Fleg suggested to Bloch that he research Jewish melodies in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* (published between 1901 and 1906) at the New York Public Library.⁶⁷ Out of this research, Bloch created an eighty-five page manuscript of musical quotations, and as Knapp indicates: "The margins contain numerous colorful comments in French and English regarding the suitability of items as *leitmotifs* for the various characters in the opera; also occasional outbursts of enthusiasm such as '*tres juif!*' and '*profane!!!!*' [sic]."⁶⁸ This research represents the ultimate irony in Bloch's Jewish identity formation. He once wrote: "It is not my purpose or my desire to attempt a 'reconstruction' of Jewish music, or to base my work on melodies more or less authentic. I am not an archeologist."⁶⁹ However, his meticulous copying of melodies from the *Jewish Encyclopedia* certainly suggests more than a superficial interest in historical Jewish music.

Nevertheless, this research provided the basis for Bloch's development of Jewish musical markers, which include cantorial-like melodies, augmented intervals, open fourths and fifths, and shofar (ram's horn) "calls." While many of Bloch's compositions convey his interest in Jewish subject matter through their titles and narrative content—*Avodath Hakodesh* and the works of the Jewish cycle, for example—these markers allowed him to justify the Jewishness of his music removed from liturgical or biblical presentations. Furthermore, they provided a means for

⁶⁷ Móricz, *Jewish Identities*, 128.

⁶⁸ Alexander Knapp, "The Life and Music of Ernest Bloch," *Jewish Quarterly* 28, nos. 2-3 (1980): 27.

⁶⁹ Qtd. in Knapp, "The Life and Music of Ernest Bloch," 28, from program notes for a Carnegie Hall concert, May 3, 1917.

exoticizing Jewish culture, thereby rendering his music palatable to the non-Jewish majority.

Proclamation exemplifies Bloch's compositional style in its use of these markers, and an analysis of why Bloch used them sheds light on how he constructed his Jewish identity.⁷⁰ Bloch certainly possessed a basic knowledge of Jewish musical markers prior to 1918; after all, his Jewish cycle precedes his time in New York. However, this research heralded a transition in his compositional ethos from an emphasis on memory (of the musical structures he absorbed in his limited time in the synagogue as a child) to an emphasis on the deliberate use of musical sources.⁷¹

First, Bloch intended for cantorial-like melodies in his music to reflect Jewish liturgical musical practices. The entry on "synagogal music" in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* indicates that the predominant musical style of traditional Jewish services is "entirely of the character of a cantillation; that is, a recitation dependent on the rhythm and sequence of the words of the text instead of on the notes of the tune, and influenced by the syntactical structure of the sentence instead of by the metrical form of the musical phrase."⁷² This style of scriptural chanting can be traced to the first centuries C.E.,⁷³ as the Talmud⁷⁴ indicates: "He who reads the Pentateuch

⁷⁰ Of course, the use of musical markers was hardly a new phenomenon in Bloch's lifetime. Classical-era composers frequently employed musical rhetorical gestures, such as fanfares, marches, Sturm und Drang, dance forms, and many more of what Leonard Ratner coined in 1980 as "topics." Whereas Classical topics illuminate the narrative structure of musical compositions, Romantic and early Modern-era topics tend to symbolize deeper-level ideas, as in Wagner's leitmotifs, for example. Bloch's Jewish markers symbolize his idealized view of Jewish racial purity—the idea that "Jewish people" refers to a set of shared biological roots, not of shared religious beliefs. For further reading on the nature of topics in the Romantic era, see: V. Kofi Agawu, "Epilogue: A Semiotic Interpretation of Romantic Music," in *Playing with Signs: A Semiotic Interpretation of Classic Music* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1991), 135-143. Ratner's seminal work on topic theory is entitled *Classic Music: Form, Expression, and Style* (New York: Schirmer, 1980).

⁷¹ For further reading on traditional Jewish elements in Bloch's Jewish cycle, see: Knapp, Alexander. *The Emergence of Ernest Bloch as a 'Jewish Composer': Traditional Elements in the Published Works of the 'Jewish Cycle.'* Ph.D. dissertation, U Cambridge, 2005. Ann Arbor: UMI, 2005.

⁷² Cyrus Adler and Francis L. Cohen, "Music, Synagogal" in *Jewish Encyclopedia* Vol. 9. 1st ed. (New York: Ktav, 1906), 120.

⁷³ Abraham Z. Idelsohn, *Jewish Music: Its Historical Development*, 1929 (New York: Dover, 1992), 36.

⁷⁴ The Talmud is the first major written redaction of Jewish traditions, originally from around the third century C.E.

without tune shows disregard for it and the vital value of its laws.”⁷⁵ Bloch certainly attempted to imitate the character of cantillation in his music, as in the following excerpt from the solo trumpet in *Proclamation*⁷⁶:

Figure 4 Ernest Bloch, *Proclamation*, mm. 70-76



Second, Bloch employed augmented intervals to connect with the folk soundscape of Eastern European Judaism. The “synagogal music” entry describes scales with augmented intervals as a remnant of “ancient tradition,” and “a relic of the Oriental tendency to divide an ordinary interval of pitch into subintervals.”⁷⁷ The *ahavah-rabbah* (or *freygish*) mode is one such scale, containing an augmented second between the second and third scale degrees:

Figure 5 The *ahavah-rabbah* mode



Bloch certainly would have felt inspired by the idea of the augmented interval as a unique and ancient feature of Jewish music, thereby influencing his decision to use augmented seconds and

⁷⁵ This text is from Tractate Megillah 32a, qtd. in Idelsohn, *Jewish Music*, 35.

⁷⁶ All examples are from Ernest Bloch, *Proclamation for Trumpet and Orchestra* (New York: Broude Brothers, 1956).

⁷⁷ Adler and Cohen, “Music, Synagogal,” 123.

fourths extensively in his compositions. However, Idelsohn points out that this mode is not employed universally in Jewish communities throughout the world.⁷⁸ Also, he notes:

The fact that this mode is not used for the Bible and the ancient prayers ... leads us to the opinion that this mode was originally unknown to the Jewish people, and that only later it was adopted as a result of the influx of Mongolian and Tartarian tribes into Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, as well as on the Balkan, beginning with the thirteenth century.⁷⁹

Shelleg agrees, noting that this marker was “never an exclusive part of the Jewish soundscape; rather, [it] recorded a symbiotic cultural space shared by both Jews and non-Jews.”⁸⁰ These statements undermine Bloch’s assumption that employing this mode results in specifically Jewish music. On the other hand, as Idelsohn notes, “this mode became a real channel of Jewish expression, especially for moods of excitement, for the stirring passion of pain, of love, and faith in God.”⁸¹ Thus, in a Eurocentric paradigm, the presence of the augmented second renders a musical composition “Jewish.”

Third, Bloch employed open-fourths and open-fifths as a reference to ancient Jewish music. Max Brod explains: “This can be probably be traced back to very archaic, empty traits, and to the growth of ancient music from tetrachords.”⁸² Furthermore, Newlin understands the emphasis on fourths and fifths in the context of twentieth-century pan-tonality. She points out that “the fourth-chords used by Schoenberg and Berg became one of the principal means whereby tonality was expanded into pan-tonality ... like the opening of Berg’s *Lulu*, which exposes the twelve tones by means of fourth-chords.”⁸³ In contrast, Bloch uses fourths and fifths “as a means of forceful or poignant expression, but does not think of [them] as a means of

⁷⁸ Idelsohn, *Jewish Music*, 87.

⁷⁹ Idelsohn, *Jewish Music*, 87.

⁸⁰ Shelleg, *Jewish Contiguities*, 20.

⁸¹ Idelsohn, *Jewish Music*, 88.

⁸² Max Brod, *Israel’s Music*, trans. Toni Volcani (Tel Aviv: Sefer, 1951), 25.

⁸³ Dika Newlin, “The Later Works of Ernest Bloch,” *Musical Quarterly* 33, no. 4 (Oct. 1947): 446-7.

expanding tonality.”⁸⁴ This idea features prominently in *Proclamation*, in which Bloch composes numerous open-fifth dyads.

Finally, Bloch’s shofar calls are his most self-evident link to ancient Judaism. He undoubtedly knew of the shofar from an early age due to its association with Rosh Hashanah, the Jewish new year. The shofar is one of the oldest musical instruments still in use today, dating back to the Temple in Jerusalem and mentioned in Leviticus 25:9.⁸⁵ According to Idelsohn, “it was used chiefly for announcements and signals, not only in secular life, but also in religious ceremonies.”⁸⁶ Over the millennia, the sounding of the shofar has been reimagined and reinterpreted in many ways: in the period of the First Temple, as a tool for frightening evil spirits; after the destruction of the Second Temple, as a beacon of hope for the coming of the messiah; and in the Middle Ages, as a reminder of the binding of Isaac⁸⁷ and as a means to stir the heart to awe and reverence.⁸⁸ Given the Jewish people’s ancient connection to the shofar, Bloch surely felt that representing the sound of this instrument in his music would be a means to express an innate element of his Jewish racial identity.

The shofar can only produce tones of the harmonic series—typically a root, fifth, and octave, although smaller shofars will not necessarily produce those tones clearly. Accordingly, and by convention, the shofar’s characteristic sound is that of a “call” which approximates a rising fifth. Specifically, the Bible mentions two shofar calls, *tekiah* and *teruah*,⁸⁹ and the Talmud describes their sounds.⁹⁰ *Tekiah* sounds roughly like this:

⁸⁴ Newlin, “The Later Works of Ernest Bloch,” 447.

⁸⁵ According to 1 Kings 6:1, the First Temple was built during the reign of King Solomon, ca. 970 to 931 B.C.E.

⁸⁶ Idelsohn, *Jewish Music*, 9.

⁸⁷ The binding of Isaac is described in Genesis 22.

⁸⁸ Idelsohn, *Jewish Music*, 9-10.

⁸⁹ In Numbers 10:5-8.

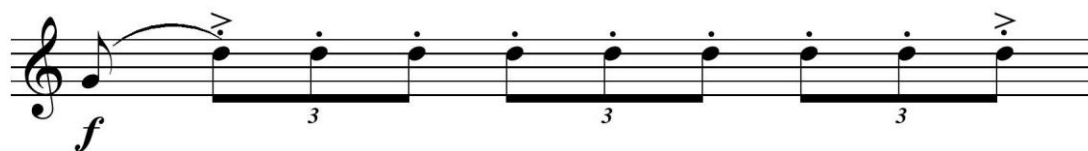
⁹⁰ In Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Rosh Hashanah 4:9, from “Mishnah Rosh Hashanah,” Sefaria, accessed Aug. 26, 2015, https://www.sefaria.org/Mishnah_Rosh_Hashanah. Shofar transcriptions are by the author.

Figure 6 *Tekiah*

The *tekiah* call is evident in the first notes of the solo trumpet:

Figure 7 Ernest Bloch, *Proclamation*, mm. 1-3

The biblical sound of *teruah* is unknown, but the call sounds roughly like this today:

Figure 8 *Teruah*

The middle section of *Proclamation* is reminiscent of a *teruah* call in its use of *staccato* and accented triplets:

Figure 9 Ernest Bloch, *Proclamation*, mm. 43-45

Two staves of music. The top staff is for the Solo Trumpet in C, in common time (C), with a mezzo-forte (*mf*) dynamic. It features accented eighth notes and triplets. The bottom staff is for the Snare Drum, also in common time, with a forte (*f*) dynamic. It features a series of accented eighth notes, some in triplets, and a *poco* marking. The music is characterized by staccato rhythms and accented triplets.

Finally, because of uncertainty of the exact nature of the *teruah* call, Talmudic rabbis included an additional call, *shevarim*, which sounds roughly like this today:

Figure 10 *Shevarim*

The exact sound of the shofar calls varies between different Jewish communities, and the exact pitches depend on the size of the shofar. *Tekiah*, *shevarim*, and *teruah* are all played in the modern-day Rosh Hashanah service, and Jews are commanded to hear the sounding of the shofar.⁹¹

There are precedents for these markers in many of his earlier works. *Trois Poèmes Juifs*⁹² contains *tekiah*-like calls in the second movement, “Rite”:

⁹¹ As an interesting aside, several contemporary compositions incorporate an actual shofar. The following list is by no means comprehensive: In “Shofar Service” (1964), Herman Berlinski sets the Reform shofar service (from the Rosh Hashanah liturgy) for cantor, choir, shofar, two trumpets, and organ. “Elijah’s Chariot” (1996) by Judith Shatin is a piece for string quartet with electronic playback. Commissioned by the Kronos Quartet, the piece represents the Prophet Elijah’s ascent to heaven. The electronic playback contains traditional shofar calls layered on top of one another to create a thick web of sounds. “Teruah” (2006), also by Judith Shatin, and co-commissioned by the Pittsburgh Jewish Music Festival and the Jewish Music Commission of Los Angeles, is for shofar, brass septet, and timpani. In this work, the shofar plays traditional calls, which Shatin uses as motivic material for the other instruments. The piece also incorporates a traditional Rosh Hashanah melody by Avraham Tzvi Kubowitzki. “Tekyah” (2005) by Osvaldo Golijov uses an ensemble of shofars, along with clarinet, accordion with sound processing, and brass ensemble. Commissioned by the BBC for a film commemorating the sixtieth anniversary of the liberation of Auschwitz-Birkenau, the work takes advantage of the crying, lamenting quality of the shofar’s sound. “Tekeeyah” (2011) is a concerto for trombone, shofar, and orchestra written by Meira Warshauer for trombonist Haim Avitsur. In this piece, which requires the trombonist to double on shofar, the shofar is used melodically with glissandos, much like the trombone, and the melodies in the trombone are reminiscent of shofar calls.

⁹² Ernest Bloch, *Trois Poèmes Juifs pour Grand Orchestre*, 1918 (New York: G. Schirmer, 1945).

Figure 11 Ernest Bloch, *Trois Poèmes Juifs*, mvt. 2 (“Rite”), mm. 36-37

Trumpet in C
I and II

mf *cresc.*

Trombone I

mf *cresc.*

*Schelomo*⁹³ contains augmented seconds and fourths, as in figures 12 and 13; and harmony in open fifths, as in figure 14:

Figure 12 Ernest Bloch, *Schelomo*, mm. 104-108

Violin
I and II

ff *accel. a tempo*

Figure 13 Ernest Bloch, *Schelomo*, mm. 270-273

Solo Violoncello

pp *Piu lento*

⁹³ Ernest Bloch, *Schelomo: Hebraic Rhapsody for Violoncello Solo and Full Orchestra*, 1918 (New York: G. Schirmer, 1945).

Finally, the opening of *Trombone Symphony*⁹⁵ prominently features an augmented fourth in the orchestra. Also, the first two notes of the solo trombone resemble a *tekiah*:

Figure 17 Ernest Bloch, *Symphony for Trombone and Orchestra*, mm. 1-7

Bloch's use of Jewish "markers" must be understood in the context of the challenge of assimilation. Assaf Shelleg notes:

Like other European minorities, Jewish composers attempted to compete for secondary places on the German cultural totem pole by exoticizing their own culture to make their otherness marketable to the non-Jewish majority. ... Most Jewish composers who identified as Jews through their music (Ernest Bloch, Castelnuovo-Tedesco, and others) had no command of the Hebrew language (their native tongue being that of their host societies), and their interactions with real Jewish communities had been intermittent at best ... [so] they were more familiar with and informed by the way their culture was seen from the outside than the other way around. Having identified Orientalist clichés in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that portrayed Jews or their musicality, they internalized these idioms' encoded hierarchies in tonal or post-tonal constellations of their own. ... Being an outsider who chose to address musical Judaism, the modern Jewish composer identified authenticity in the unassimilated east but could engage with its sound through secondary sources or faded memories of Jewish home rituals; yet he did so without understanding the language driven by this music and while balancing such importations with contemporary musical discourses in order to maintain pertinence to the non-Jewish majority.⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Ernest Bloch, *Symphony for Trombone Solo and Orchestra* (New York: Broude Brothers, 1956).

⁹⁶ Shelleg, *Jewish Contiguities*, 5-6.

Ultimately, Bloch's superficial understanding of Judaism doomed his mission to achieve universality, as he was only able to portray Judaism using musical "clichés," which exoticised Jewish culture for the non-Jewish majority, as Shelleg describes. Furthermore, Bloch did not foresee that critics would react to this process by characterizing him as quintessentially Jewish instead of universal. His Jewish markers thus barred him from ever climbing the "cultural totem pole," to use Shelleg's expression.

Bloch as an anti-Modernist, neo-Romantic

Bloch often expressed disdain for modernism. For instance, in a 1947 letter to Albert Elkus, head of the Berkeley music department at that time, he wrote: "The '12-tone row,' for me, is an imposture! Like the last paintings of Picasso, or Cocteau (alas, alas, all Jews, who have used the degeneracy of our Time, to cultivate it for their profit! After poisoning Europe, they have now come here, to this country, and poison it! We owe this to Mr. Hitler!)." ⁹⁷ This quote, however troubling, demonstrates his frustration with those who he felt did not understand his music. Indeed, his refusal to embrace modernism often drove critics to cast him as a musical conservative.

Chapman characterizes Bloch as a neo-Romantic, saying:

His works are, for the most part, a logical extension of nineteenth century procedures, and from first to last they are the product of a humanist outlook in the strongest Beethovenian tradition. ... They are, at the same time, truly contemporary in feeling, while avoiding the aesthetic chaos of much twentieth-century music. ⁹⁸

Simmons agrees with this assessment, pointing to Bloch's "emphasis on humanistic values, his sensitivity to mood and drama, and a taste for rich, opulent sonorities and extravagant

⁹⁷ Letter to Albert Elkus (Jan, 26, 1947), qtd. in Móricz, "Sealed Documents and Open Lives," 74-5.

⁹⁸ Chapman, "Ernest Bloch at 75," *Tempo* 35 (Spring 1955): 6-7.

emotions”⁹⁹ as indications of his neo-Romantic tendencies. All of these qualities that Chapman and Simmons mention are present in *Proclamation*.

Bloch’s neo-Romanticism is further apparent in the fact that his compositional language is grounded in references to tonality, as evidenced in the Jewish markers. First, his use of open-fourths and open-fifths frequently implies triadic harmony, and his shofar calls typically span a perfect fifth. Second, he often delineates augmented intervals by placing them in the context of fragments of the *ahavah-rabbah* mode, which creates a sense of pitch hierarchy, and he frequently uses augmented intervals in his cantorial-like melodies, as in figure 4 (although in that excerpt, the sense of pitch hierarchy created by the augmented second is fleeting).

Theoretical Analysis of *Proclamation*

Lewinski and Dijon characterize *Proclamation* as “brief but dense.”¹⁰⁰ The one-movement work is approximately six minutes long, and contains distinct fanfare-like sections and lyrical and *sostenuto* sections. However, the initial fanfare theme reappears towards the end of the piece *sotto voce*. Even though *Proclamation* does not follow any traditional form, this *sotto voce* reappearance gives somewhat of a feeling of return. The fanfare themes contain the characteristic shofar calls and open fifths, and the lyrical themes are reminiscent of cantorial recitative.

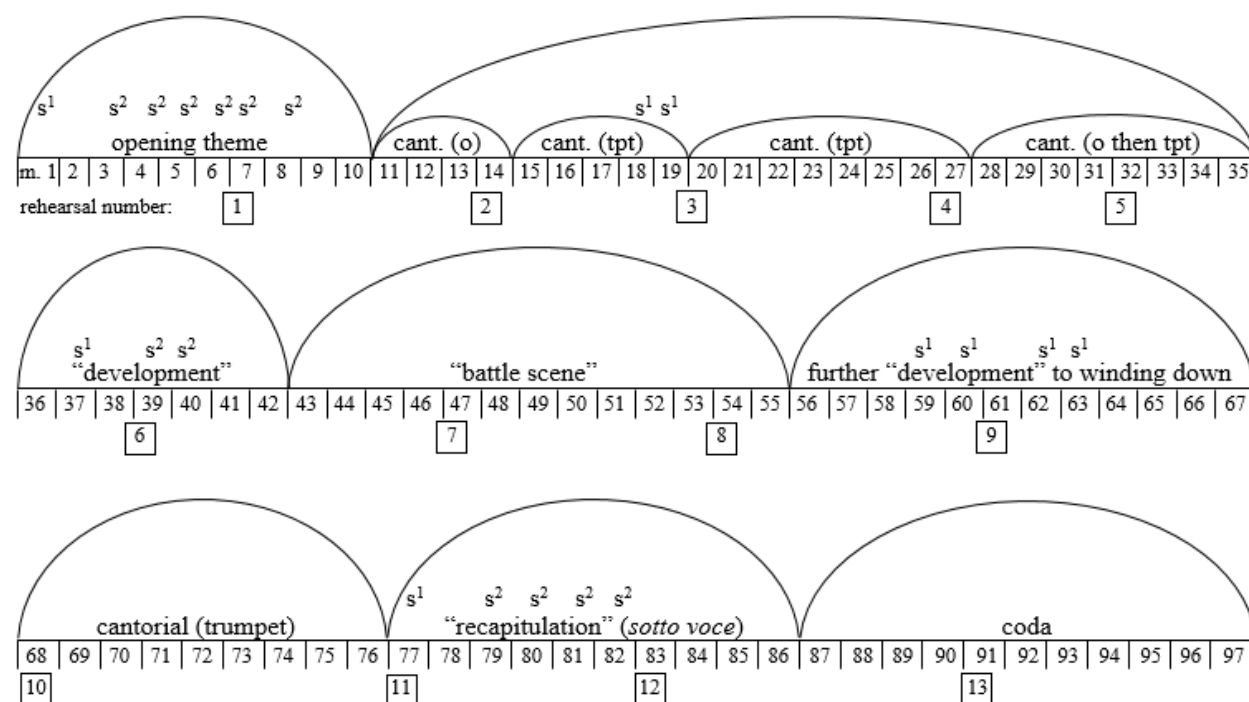
Even though *Proclamation* is short, the work is best understood in episode-like sections. Each episode has its own character, but the episodes are interrelated through Bloch’s

⁹⁹ Walter Simmons, *Voices in the Wilderness: Six American Neo-Romantic Composers* (Lanham: Scarecrow, 2004), 44.

¹⁰⁰ Lewinski and Dijon, *Sa vie et sa pensée* vol. 4, 608.

development of motivic and thematic material. The episodes are mapped in figure 18 and described in further detail below.¹⁰¹

Figure 18 Schematic representation of *Proclamation*



s¹ stands for the first shofar motif (thirty-second note followed by a higher long note)
s² stands for the second shofar motif (rising thirty-second note triplet followed by a long note)
cant. (o) stands for cantorial-like melodies in the orchestra
cant. (tpt) stands for cantorial-like melodies in the solo trumpet
rehearsal numbers are from the orchestral score

In the opening measures of the first section, the energetic tutti *forte* open-fifth C dyad followed immediately by the *forte* shofar call in the solo trumpet leaves no doubt as to why the piece is entitled “Proclamation.” Furthermore, this dyad establishes pitch-centeredness on C, an important note throughout the work. The pureness of the open fifth does not last long, as Bloch introduces an augmented fourth in the strings and timpani on beat four of the first measure. Throughout the opening phrase, the notes are sparse and do not fit into any sort of harmonic scheme; instead, Bloch roughly employs an synthetic eight-note scale with the notes C, D-flat, E-

¹⁰¹ All musical examples in this section are from Bloch, *Proclamation* (Broude Brothers).

flat, E, F-sharp, G, A-flat, and B-flat. This note collection occurs prominently on the last beat of measure 3, and throughout measures 5, 6, and 8. The B-natural in the solo trumpet on the second beat of measure three (see figure 7) is best understood as an octave-displaced lower neighbor, thereby emphasizing the C-centeredness. Ultimately, though, functional harmony is not an important aspect of the piece. The eight-note scale serves the greater purpose of allowing Bloch to feature the augmented second, notably in the violins in measure 5. The following excerpt demonstrates how he uses a fragment of the *ahavah-rabbah* mode to give the augmented second its characteristic sound. Furthermore, the resolution of musical fragments on the note C refers back to the above-mentioned centeredness:

Figure 19 Ernest Bloch, *Proclamation*, mm. 5

The image shows a musical score for two staves. The top staff is labeled 'Solo Trumpet in C' and the bottom staff is labeled 'Violin I and II'. Both staves are in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C). The music spans four measures. In measure 5, the trumpet plays a half note B-flat, and the violins play a half note G. In measure 6, the trumpet plays a half note A-flat, and the violins play a half note F. In measure 7, the trumpet plays a half note G, and the violins play a half note E. In measure 8, the trumpet plays a half note F, and the violins play a half note D. The score includes various musical notations such as accents, slurs, and a triplet in the final measure of the trumpet part.

This section's two shofar motifs are particularly striking. The first one is a thirty-second note followed by a higher long note, represented in figure 18 by s^1 . The second one is a rising thirty-second note triplet followed by a long note, reminiscent of the *glissando*-like quality that is characteristic of the shofar sound, represented in figure 18 by s^2 . Both shofar motifs are evident in figure 7. Bloch builds to a climax in measure seven as the melodic contour rises to the high A-flat in the solo trumpet on beat two.

In the second section, mm. 11-35, shofar calls give way to passages that are reminiscent of cantorial recitative. Throughout this section, there are constant ebbs and flows of tempo, giving a sense of freeness. In having the solo trumpet and orchestra play the melody back and

forth, Bloch is emulating a cantor (the solo trumpet) singing with a choir (the orchestra). A brief hint of s^1 can be found in the woodwinds in measures 18-19, this time as a rising augmented fourth:

Figure 20 Ernest Bloch, *Proclamation*, mm. 18-19

The musical score for measures 18-19 of Ernest Bloch's *Proclamation* is shown for three woodwind parts: Flute I and II, Oboe I and II, and Clarinet in Bb I and II. The tempo is marked 'A tempo' with a quarter note equal to 90 beats per minute. The key signature has one sharp (F#) and the time signature is common time (C). The music begins with a rest in measure 18, followed by a series of eighth notes in measure 19. The notes are G4 (a2), A4 (a2), B4 (a2), C5 (a2), D5 (a2), E5 (a2), F#5 (a2), and G5 (a2). The notes are marked with accents and a forte (f) dynamic. A dashed line above the staff indicates an octave transposition (8va). A triplet of eighth notes is marked with a '3' in measure 19. The score ends with a double bar line and repeat sign in measure 19.

Bloch brings the fanfare theme back in the third section, mm. 26-42, which resembles a development. In measures 37 and 38 in the solo trumpet, the rhythm and contour of the melody are the same as in the opening, but the pitches are different; subsequently, Bloch develops the phrase using the s^2 motif and the eighth-note triplet motif first presented in measure two in the solo trumpet:

Figure 21 Ernest Bloch, *Proclamation*, mm. 37-41

The musical score for measures 37-41 of Ernest Bloch's *Proclamation* is shown for the Solo Trumpet in C. The key signature has one flat (Bb) and the time signature is common time (C). The music begins with a rest in measure 37, followed by a series of eighth notes in measure 38. The notes are G4, A4, B4, C5, D5, E5, F#5, and G5. The notes are marked with accents and a mezzo-forte (mf) dynamic. A triplet of eighth notes is marked with a '3' in measure 38. The score continues with a series of eighth notes in measure 39, followed by a rest in measure 40, and a final eighth note in measure 41. The notes are marked with accents and a forte (f) dynamic. A triplet of eighth notes is marked with a '3' in measure 41. The score ends with a double bar line and repeat sign in measure 41.

The fourth section, mm. 43-55, is jarring because the texture becomes sparse and the tempo increases suddenly. This section feels like a battle scene because of the prominence of the snare drum, as in figure 9. The intensity increases through the *poco animando*, leading to a climax at the end of the *allargando* on beat one of measure 55.

The fifth section, mm. 56-67, returns to the idea of cantorial and choir singing. This episode also represents a climactic point in register (marked by the high notes in the violins and flutes) and in volume. In the solo trumpet in mm. 59-60 and in the woodwinds in mm. 63-64, Bloch further develops the opening theme—this time, as in the second section, s^1 is represented by an augmented fourth instead of a perfect fifth:

Figure 22 Ernest Bloch, *Proclamation*, mm. 59-61

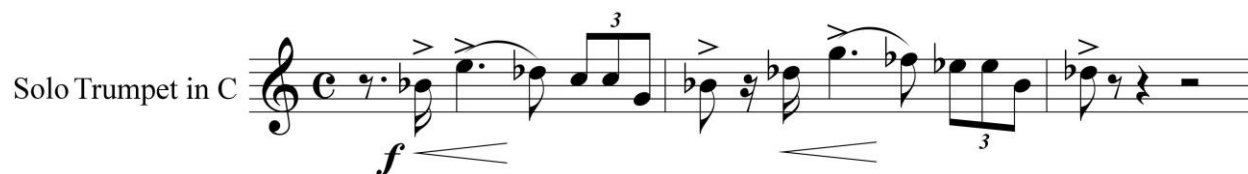


Figure 23 Ernest Bloch, *Proclamation*, mm. 62-63

The sixth section, mm. 68-76, represents a pulling back of energy, because the tempo, register, and volume all decrease. Here, Bloch presents perhaps the most obvious representation

of cantorial singing when the trumpet enters, marked particularly by the augmented second in the melody in measure 72, as shown in figure 4. The “hair pin” dynamics in the solo trumpet also render the melody vocal-like.

The seventh section, mm. 77-86, resembles a recapitulation because the opening theme returns (with slight melodic variations). However, the theme feels mysterious this time because Bloch presents this section *sotto voce*. In addition, the harmony is richer, marked by the D in the first violins and the A in the violas in measure 77, and by the C-minor tonality in measure 78 (which further emphasizes C-centeredness). These harmonic changes add to the mysterious feel, almost as if the shofar and cantorial themes have merged:

Figure 24 Ernest Bloch, *Proclamation*, mm. 77-78

A tempo (♩ = 69)
sotto voce

Solo Trumpet in C

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Violoncello

Double Bass

p

pp

pp

pp

pp

pp

3

While the thematic material in the coda (mm. 87-97) is new, the calmness of this section (in tempo and volume) makes clear to the listener that the piece is winding down to a pastoral ending. The prominently featured whole-tone scale in the last three measures adds to the sense of calmness:

Figure 25 Ernest Bloch, *Proclamation*, mm. 94-97

The musical score for measures 94-97 of Ernest Bloch's *Proclamation* is presented for six instruments: Solo Trumpet in C, Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Violoncello, and Double Bass. The key signature is B-flat major (two flats) and the time signature is common time (C). The score features a whole-tone scale in the final measures, with dynamics ranging from piano (p) to pianissimo (pp). The Solo Trumpet in C part begins with a *rall. sin'al fine* marking and a *poco* marking. The Violin I and Violin II parts are marked *con sord.* and *pp*. The Viola part is marked *con sord.* and *pp*. The Violoncello and Double Bass parts are marked *con sord.* and *pp*. The Double Bass part also includes a *div.* marking. The score concludes with a tutti open-fifth C dyad in the final measure.

The tutti open-fifth C dyad in the final measure completes *Proclamation* using the same harmony the piece began with. Unlike in the opening, however, the *pianissimo* dynamic and *rallentando* create a feeling of tranquility.

CONCLUSION: THE MORAL IMPLICATION OF RACIAL DISCOURSE

The Seductiveness of Racial Thought

Móricz aptly characterizes the desire to search for “Jewish” characteristics in music as “seductive,”¹⁰² feeding the human instinct for kinship. Unfortunately, author and composer Max Brod (1884-1968) did not realize the danger of this search. In “Israel’s Music,” he wrote: “it may be that Mahler’s music, though apparently German, is instinctively recognized as being non-German—which is indeed the case.”¹⁰³ Brod published this statement as a reiteration of his 1916 essay, “Jüdische Volksmelodien,” in Buber’s *Der Jude* (The Jew). In this article, he argues that “from a German point of view, [Mahler’s music] seems incoherent, lacking in style, informal, even bizarre, cutting, cynical, too soft, and too harsh,”¹⁰⁴ and that the music of Mahler (and Mendelssohn, Meyerbeer, and Offenbach) makes the most sense when the listener recognizes manifestations of their “Jewish soul” in their music. However, in the 1940 edition of the Nazi encyclopedia *Lexikon der Juden in der Musik*, the authors argue that Brod’s claims show that Mahler “could not free himself of his racial determination”¹⁰⁵ no matter how hard he tried to do so. Brod attempts to support his view in “Israel’s Music” by pinpointing Jewish characteristics in Mahler’s compositions, but the characteristics he finds—march-rhythms, melodic lines fluctuating between major and minor, and melodies that start low and suddenly jump high¹⁰⁶—are too general to be truly indicative of Judaism. Móricz explains: “By emphasizing the unconscious, Brod created not only the perfect shelter for gathering composers of Jewish origin

¹⁰² Móricz, *Jewish Identities*, 99.

¹⁰³ Brod, *Israel’s Music*, 31.

¹⁰⁴ Max Brod, “Jüdische Volksmelodien,” *Der Jude* 1, no. 5 (1916): 345. Translation by the author.

¹⁰⁵ Qtd. in Klára Móricz, *Jewish Nationalism in Twentieth-Century Art Music*, Ph.D. dissertation, U California, Berkeley, 1999 (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1999), 14.

¹⁰⁶ Brod, *Israel’s Music*, 35-37.

under one roof, but also the perfect prison from which there was no escape.”¹⁰⁷ For Bloch and his contemporary coreligionists, the “Jewish composer” label was uplifting and satisfying, yet confining and ultimately damning.

The Myth of Racial Purity and the Imperative “Not to Define”

While the search for racial identity might be characterized as seductive, Bloch’s life demonstrates that identity cannot be explained by racial background alone. Those who study Bloch’s music, and Jewish music in general, must remember to show “concern for Jewish experiences rather than for ultimately unrewarding searches for specific Jewish characteristics in art.”¹⁰⁸ Essentially, celebrating the unique life-experiences of Jewish individuals is more meaningful than attempting to artificially impose unifying characteristics to their music. Furthermore, doing so dispels the Wagnerian myth of racial purity by recognizing that people’s unique life-experiences impact their identity formation far more than their genetic makeup does. As Alex Ross eloquently states:

Too many people in the past have been terrifyingly certain about what Jewish music is or should be. The Nazi campaign of destruction against the Jewish community of Europe was predicated in large measure on a description of Jewish culture. Nazi musical views drew on the writings of Richard Wagner, particularly the infamous essay ‘Judaism in Music,’ a pivotal document of modern anti-Semitism. This cataclysmic string of definitions warns us not to define.¹⁰⁹

The imperative not to define or categorize others should be Bloch’s legacy. His life shows that imposing definitions on others’ identity limits understanding, creates barriers, and justifies prejudice—a lesson as important today as in Bloch’s lifetime.

¹⁰⁷ Móricz, *Jewish Nationalism*, 15.

¹⁰⁸ Matthew Baigell and Milly Heyd, eds., *Complex Identities: Jewish Consciousness and Modern Art* (New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 2001), xiv.

¹⁰⁹ Alex Ross, “Does Chaos Mix With Jewish Music?” *New York Times*, Mar. 11, 1995, 11.

APPENDICES

Appendix A First page of the original autographed manuscript of the orchestral score for *Proclamation*

— Proclamation — 1.

Allegro energico $\text{♩} = \text{c.} 90$ *poco più pesante* *poco accel. a tempo*

Allegro energico

PARCHMENT BRAND No. 13 - 16 lines

Printed in U.S.A.

Belwin Inc.
New York, U.S.A.

Source: Ernest Bloch papers. MS 2632. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries.

Appendix B Selected sketches for *Proclamation* in the composer's hand

All sketches are held in Box 12, Ernest Bloch Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

From the initial sketches:

The image displays several staves of handwritten musical notation, likely for a vocal or instrumental part. The sketches are written in ink on aged paper. At the top, the word "Proclamation" is written in a cursive hand. Above the first staff, there are handwritten notes: "Aff. Marc." and "Tutti Solo: S. S." followed by "sk 1". The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like "f" (forte). The sketches are arranged in a vertical sequence, with some staves showing more developed musical ideas than others. The overall style is that of a composer's working draft.

From the final sketches:

The image displays a handwritten musical score on ten staves. The notation is dense and includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings. Key annotations include:

- Staff 1:** "Solo deciso" above the first measure, followed by a forte (**f**) dynamic marking.
- Staff 2:** A bracketed section labeled "orch" (orchestra) with a forte (**f**) dynamic marking.
- Staff 3:** A tempo change marking "a tempo" above the staff.
- Staff 4:** A tempo change marking "tempo" above the staff.
- Staff 5:** A tempo change marking "a tempo" above the staff.
- Staff 6:** A tempo change marking "tempo" above the staff.
- Staff 7:** A tempo change marking "a tempo" above the staff.
- Staff 8:** A tempo change marking "tempo" above the staff.
- Staff 9:** A tempo change marking "a tempo" above the staff.
- Staff 10:** A tempo change marking "tempo" above the staff.

The score is written in a cursive, handwritten style, with various musical notations and annotations throughout.

From the final sketches:

"Proclamation" (thematic material) April 1955

1 *Solo* a) 2)

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

PARCHMENT BRAND No 14 - 20 lines

Printed in U.S.A.

Belwin Inc.
New York, U.S.A.

Appendix C Selected Discography for *Proclamation*

Table 1. Recordings with Orchestra

Album Title	Soloist	Orchestra	Conductor	Label and Number	Release Date	Form	Notes
Louisville Orchestra: First Edition Records	Leon Rapiér	Louisville Orchestra	Robert Whitney	First Edition LOU-636	1963	LP	Re-released in 2011 on CD “Suisse Moderne” (Soundmark 304422892)
Trumpet + Orchestra	Haruto Yoshida	Filharmonia Pomorska	Takao Ukigaya	Thorofon CTH2105	June 1990	CD	Recorded at the orchestra’s concert hall in Bydgoszcz, Poland
Proclamation	Jouko Harjanne	Finnish Radio Symphony Orchestra	Jukka-Pekka Saraste	Finlandia 3984-23390-2	1998	CD	Also released as part of “A Trumpet Concerto Collection” (Finlandia 3984-26837-2)
20th Century Portraits	Reinhold Friedrich	Deutsches Symphonie-Orchester Berlin	Steven Sloane	Capriccio 67076	September 2004	CD	Recorded 19-24 January 2003 at Rundfunk Berlin Brandenburg Saal, Berlin
Trumpet in Transition	Robert Nagel	Aspen Festival Orchestra	Walter Süsskind	International Trumpet Guild ITG-116	2007	CD	Recorded at the Aspen Music Festival in 1963; distributed for free to 2006-07 ITG members

Table 2. Recordings with Piano Accompaniment

Album Title	Soloist	Accompanist	Label and Number	Release Date	Form	Notes
The Lyric Trumpet	Stanley Friedman	Judith McDonald	Ode 1327	1989	CD	Recorded at Symphony House, Wellington, NZ
Trompette et Piano	Véronique Lucignano	Louise-Andrée Baril	A Tempo 0764012	1994	CD	Recorded 20 February 1994 in Montréal, QC
Trumpeting the Stone	Christopher Moore	Valerie Trujillo	Mark 7394-MCD	2008	CD	Also includes accompanist Seth Beckman and the Florida State University Symphony Orchestra on other tracks

Source: Claude Torres, “Ernest Bloch: Proclamation pour Trompette et Orchestre,” Mes musiques régénérées, accessed Aug. 28, 2015, <http://claudio.torres1.perso.sfr.fr/Bloch/Bloch62.html>.

Appendix D Photographs of Ernest Bloch and Samuel Laderman at the 1950 festival in Chicago

All photographs in this section are courtesy Old Stage Studios. These are included here with special permission from Lucienne Allen, Bloch's great-granddaughter, and are held in her private collection.

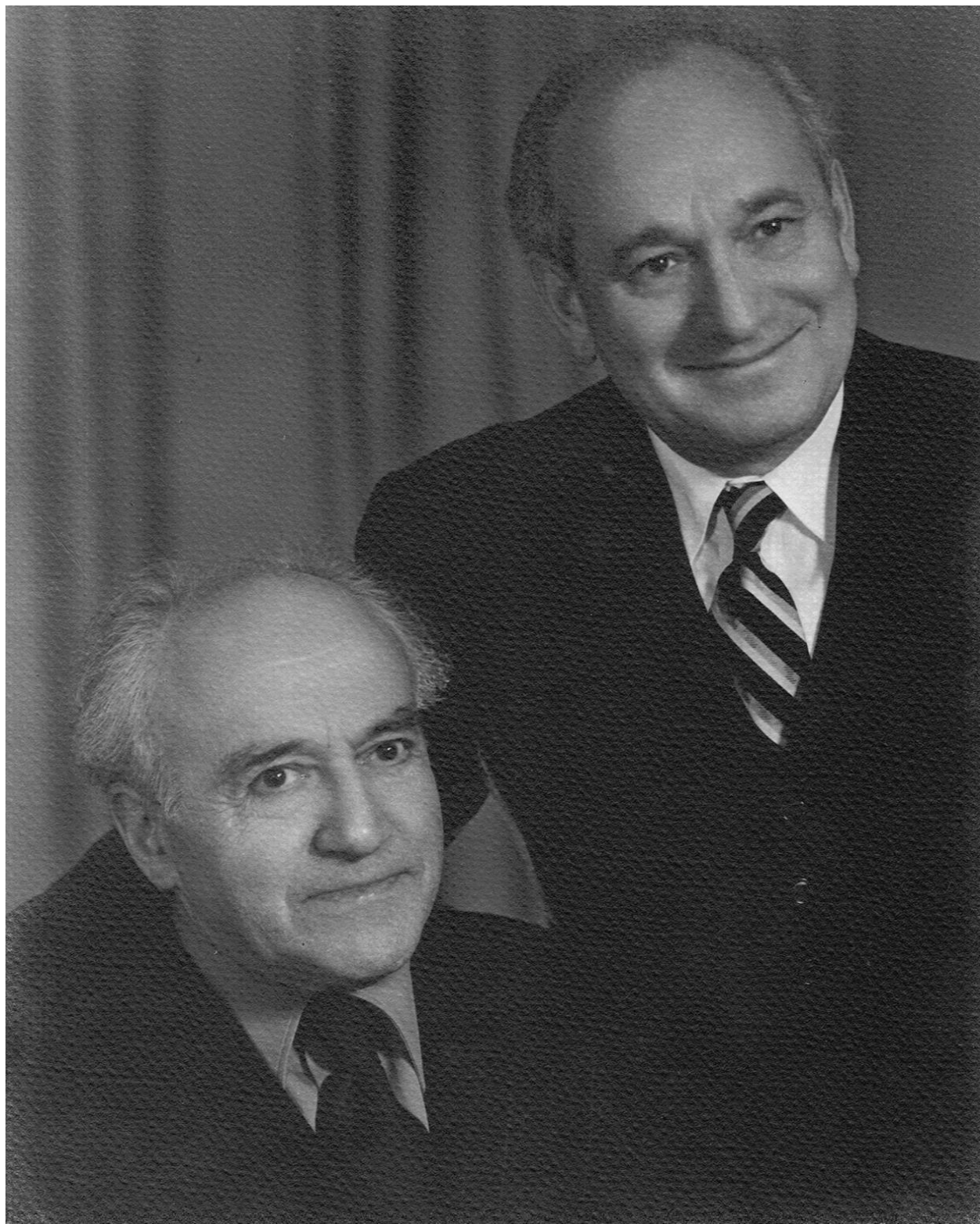
Left: Bloch; right: Laderman. This photograph was taken by Irving Altar on November 29, 1950, likely at Chicago Sinai Congregation.



Standing: Bloch; *sitting:* Laderman. This photograph was taken by Lionel Heymann, A.P.S.A., on December 3, 1950, likely at the Knickerbocker Hotel banquet.



Left: Bloch; right: Laderman. This photograph was taken by Anne Pillar Dewey, A.P.S.A. likely on December 5, 1950, location unknown.



BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adler, Cyrus and Francis L. Cohen. "Music, Synagoga." In *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. 9. 1st ed. (New York: Ktav, 1906): 119-35.
- "An Ernest Bloch Concert on Wednesday Night," *CBC Times*, Feb. 12-18, 1956, 10.
- Baigell, Matthew and Milly Heyd, eds. *Complex Identities: Jewish Consciousness and Modern Art*. New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 2001.
- Balint, Benjamin. *Running Commentary: the Contentious Magazine that Transformed the Jewish Left into the Neoconservative Right*. New York: PublicAffairs, 2010.
- "Bloch, Composer, Here to Conduct," *New York Times* Mar. 27, 1934, 24.
- Bloch, Ernest. *Avodath Hakodesh (Sacred Service) for Baritone (Cantor), Chorus (SATB) and Orchestra*. 1934. New York: Broude Brothers, 1972.
- . "Man and Music." Translated by Waldo Frank. In *The Seven Arts* 1, no. 5, edited by James Oppenheim, 493-503. New York: The Seven Arts, Mar. 1917.
- . *Proclamation for Trumpet and Orchestra*. New York: Broude Brothers, 1956.
- . *Schelomo: Hebraic Rhapsody for Violoncello Solo and Full Orchestra*. 1918. New York: G. Schirmer, 1945.
- . *Symphony for Trombone Solo and Orchestra*. New York: Broude Brothers, 1956.
- . *Trois Poèmes Juifs pour Grand Orchestre*. 1918. New York: G. Schirmer, 1945.
- Bloch, Suzanne, and Irene Heskes, eds. *Ernest Bloch: Creative Spirit*. New York: National Jewish Welfare Board, 1976.
- Braun, Rachel H. "Ernest Bloch and His Chicago Jewish Colleagues," *Chicago Jewish History* 35, no. 2 (Spring 2011): 4-7.
- Brod, Max. *Israel's Music*. Translated by Toni Volcani. Tel Aviv: Sefer, 1951.
- . "Jüdische Volksmelodien," *Der Jude* 1, no. 5 (1916): 344-5.
- Chapman, Ernest. "Ernest Bloch at 75," *Tempo* 35 (Spring 1955): 6-9, 11-12.
- "Coming Events," *Globe and Mail*, Feb. 11, 1956, 14.
- Downes, Olin. "Bloch, Composer, Here to Conduct." *New York Times* Mar. 27, 1934: 24.
- Dumesnil, René. "Concerts Colonne: Musique juive," *Le Monde*, Nov. 19, 1957.
- Ernest Bloch Collection, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

- Ernest Bloch papers. MS 2632. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia Libraries.
- “Ernest Bloch to be Honored with Festival,” *Chicago Tribune*, Oct. 2, 1950, part 3: 3.
- Hoffman, Miles. “The Music You Won’t Hear on Rosh Hashana,” *New York Times*, Sept. 9, 2010, A27.
- Idelsohn, Abraham Z. *Jewish Music: Its Historical Development*. 1929. New York: Dover, 1992.
- Katz, Jacob. *Out of the Ghetto: The Social Background of Jewish Emancipation, 1770-1870*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1973.
- Knapp, Alexander. “The Life and Music of Ernest Bloch,” *Jewish Quarterly* 28, nos. 2-3 (1980): 26-30.
- “Le Premier Congrès International de Musique juive,” *Le Monde*, Nov. 4, 1957, 10.
- Lewin, Kurt. “Self-Hatred Among Jews.” In *Resolving Conflicts: Selected Papers on Group Dynamics*, edited by Gertrud W. Lewin, 186-200. Ann Arbor: Harper & Brothers, 1948.
- Lewinski, Joseph and Emmanuelle Dijon. *Ernest Bloch: Sa vie et sa pensée*. Vol. 4. Geneva: Éditions Slatkine, 2004.
- List, Kurt. “On the Horizon: Ernest Bloch's ‘Sacred Service,’” *Commentary* 10, no. 6 (Dec. 1950): 586-9.
- Loeffler, James. “Richard Wagner's ‘Jewish Music’: Antisemitism and Aesthetics in Modern Jewish Culture.” *Jewish Social Studies* 15, no. 2 (Winter 2009): 2-36.
- Millington, Barry. “Wagner: (1) Richard Wagner.” In *Grove Music Online*. Accessed Mar. 2, 2016. *Oxford Music Online*.
- “Mishnah Rosh Hashanah.” Sefaria. Accessed Aug. 26, 2015.
https://www.sefaria.org/Mishnah_Rosh_Hashanah.
- Móricz, Klára. *Jewish Identities: Nationalism, Racism, and Utopianism in Twentieth-Century Music*. Berkeley: U California P, 2008.
- . *Jewish Nationalism in Twentieth-Century Art Music*. Ph.D. dissertation, U California, Berkeley, 1999. Ann Arbor: UMI, 1999.
- . “Sealed Documents and Open Lives: Ernest Bloch's Private Correspondence.” *Notes* 62, no 1 (2005): 74-86.
- . “Sensuous Pagans and Righteous Jews: Changing Concepts of Jewish Identity in Ernest Bloch’s *Jézabel* and *Schelomo*.” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 54, no. 3 (Fall 2001): 439-91.
- Nagel, Robert. “Re: ‘Proclamation’ Question.” Message to the author. Aug. 1, 2015.

- Newlin, Dika. "The Later Works of Ernest Bloch." *Musical Quarterly* 33, no. 4 (Oct. 1947): 443-59.
- Ross, Alex. "Does Chaos Mix With Jewish Music?" *New York Times* Mar. 11, 1995: 11, 18.
- Schaalman, Herman. Personal interview with the author. June 23, 2015.
- Schiller, David M. *Bloch, Schoenberg, and Bernstein: Assimilating Jewish Music*. New York: Oxford UP, 2003.
- Seroussi, Edwin. "Jewish music, §I: Introduction." In *Grove Music Online*. Accessed Feb. 18, 2016. *Oxford Music Online*.
- Shelleg, Assaf. *Jewish Contiguities and the Soundtrack of Israeli History*. New York: Oxford UP, 2014.
- Simmons, Walter. *Voices in the Wilderness: Six American Neo-Romantic Composers*. Lanham: Scarecrow, 2004.
- Soltes, Avraham. "Ernest Bloch Has Said." In *The Music of Ernest Bloch: A Program Manual*, edited by the National Jewish Music Council: 12-7.
- Stabler, David. "50 years after composer Ernest Bloch's death, Oregon celebrates his life and works." *Oregon Live*, July 13, 2009, http://www.oregonlive.com/performance/index.ssf/2009/07/50_years_after_composer_ernest.html.
- Taubman, Howard. "Music: Little Orchestra: Schwarzkopf Sings at Society's Concert." *New York Times* Nov. 19, 1957: 39.
- Torres, Claude. "Ernest Bloch: Proclamation pour Trompette et Orchestre." Mes musiques régénérées. Accessed Aug. 28, 2015. <http://claudetorres1.perso.sfr.fr/Bloch/Bloch62.html>.
- Wagner, Richard. *Judaism in Music and Other Essays*. Translated by W. Ashton Ellis. Lincoln: U Nebraska P, 1995.