Chapter I
The Jews and the Destruction of Jerusalem in German Art and Oratorios of the Nineteenth Century

"The destruction of Jerusalem is a turning point in universal history of more than common historical character," the artist Wilhelm von Kaulbach maintained in a printed explication of the cartoon for his painting *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* (1846; *The Destruction of Jerusalem*; Figure 1).[1] He explained that not only had the destruction of Jerusalem been foretold in an "extraordinary manner," but that "it also anticipates the ultimate fate of the world and of humanity, while as a contemporary occurrence it clearly has the stamp of a judgement willed by the Lord and executed to his command."[2] And so he poses the rhetorical question: "Which occurrence could therefore be better suited for artistic representation?"[3]

Widely publicized in the media long before its completion in the wake of various exhibitions of his cartoon since 1838, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* gave lavish expression to Kaulbach's Hegelian historical world view. More specifically, his painting and its various manifestations, including authorized reproductions and a prominently placed fresco version in the Neues Museum in Berlin,[4] constituted a forceful intervention in contemporary debates on Christian supersession and the emancipation of the Jews. While the sense of an ending and, conversely, of a beginning associated by the artist with the historical moment is not unconventional in itself, his symbolically elaborate focus on this particular "turning point" distinguishes his from other visual renderings of the subject—those that came before and those that followed it.

1 [Wilhelm Kaulbach], *Erläuterungen zu dem Bilde: Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem von Wilhelm Kaulbach* (Munich: Hübschmann, 1840), p. 3: "Im Wendepunkt der Weltgeschichte steht die Zerstörung Jerusalems als ein Ereigniß von mehr als gewöhnlich historischem Charakter." If not otherwise indicated, all translations from the German are my own. The painting, oil on canvas, 585 cm × 705 cm, is held by the Neue Pinakothek, Munich.

2 Ibid.: "sie ist nicht nur auf außerordentliche Weise voraus verkündigt worden, sie deutet auch hinaus auf die letzten Schicksale der Welt und Menschheit, während sie als unmittelbares Ereignis so bestimmt das Gepräge eines von Gott gewollten und unter seiner Leitung vollzogenen Gerichtes trägt."

3 Ibid.: "Welches Ereigniß könnte also mehr für die künstlerische Darstellung geeignet seyn?"

4 This was, in fact, a water-glass, or stereochrome, painting but is usually referred to as a fresco. Hermann Mayer attributed the invention of water-glass painting to Kaulbach, see *Das Wasserglas: Seine Eigenschaften, Fabrikation und Verwendung* (Braunschweig: Vieweg, 1925), p. 3.

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https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111662954-002

Enthusiastically promoting Kaulbach's cartoon of the painting, the art historian Rudolf Marggraff, then at the beginning of his illustrious career, maintained that the thematic choices of the artist were generally very propitious. With reference to the *Zerstörung Jerusalems*, he noted that the subject had been rather neglected before it was approached by Kaulbach.[5] In an artistic context, it was indeed to remain a marginal subject. In this sense, Kaulbach's flair for thematic choices might be said to have deserted him. Yet the artist's *Zerstörung Jerusalems* nevertheless became culturally surprisingly productive. As a matter of fact, curiously, though not entirely arbitrarily, the large-scale painting appears to have resonated not so much with other pictorial interpretations of the subject but rather with a number of musical engagements. Not least, perhaps, because it was soon out of date, the historical interpretation becoming obsolete, as did the Hegelian approach *vis-à-vis* an increasingly positivistically oriented historicism over the course of the nineteenth century.[6]

The painting's affinity in particular with a series of oratorios is striking. Not only may the celebrated historical painting and its no longer extant fresco version have been influenced by Carl Loewe's eponymous oratorio of 1829, but Kaulbach's artistic representation clearly provided a controversial stimulus to a succession of nineteenth-century German oratorios and libretti. At least one libretto (by Guido Görres, 1847; later partially set to music by Emil Bohn) and one cantata (by Eduard Schüller and Emil Naumann, 1856) were in fact produced in response to the artist's direct intervention, which originated in his interest in exploring the synesthetic potential of art, literature, and music. Yet others, too, were influenced by Kaulbach's interpretation of the historical occurrence—either negatively, by repudiating it (such as Ferdinand Hiller, 1840, and Martin Blumner, 1875), or positively, by taking inspiration from the artist's composition and transposing it into another medium (August Klughardt, 1899).

In this chapter, I explore these cases of intermedial cross-pollination against the socio-cultural background of their changing production contexts, focusing in particular on the prominently displayed figures of the Wandering Jew and the Beautiful Jewess which emerge as highly charged signifiers.[7] In particular, their divergent conversion potential as tropes of Jewish irredeemability and redeemability,

5 See R[udolf] M[arggraff], "Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem von Wilhelm Kaulbach," *Münchner Jahrbücher für bildende Kunst* 1 (1838): 186–91, 187.

6 For a broad overview, see, e.g., Frederick C. Beiser, *The German Historicist Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

7 For "the prevalence of the father-daughter pair" in representations of the Jewish other, see, e.g., Efraim Sicher, *The Jew's Daughter: A Cultural History of a Conversion Narrative* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2017), pp. 10–13.

respectively, is indicative of attempts to utilize artistic and musical expression within the wider debate in Germany on Christian supersession, Jewish emancipation, and perceptions of Jewishness more generally. Owing to the wide-ranging appeal of the oratorio and the prominence of Kaulbach's *Zerstörung Jerusalems*, these various cultural engagements with the subject appear to have been a formative, if nowadays mostly unheeded, force simultaneously emerging from and shaping discourse on the Jews in Germany during the nineteenth century.

Historical Model and Historical Context

Clearly aligned with the at the time prevalent Hegelian understanding of universal history as a rational and teleological process,[8] the pivotal nature attributed by the artist to the historical destruction of the Second Temple in Jerusalem in the year 70 CE imposes a number of retrospective symbolical readings on the event which are primarily indicative of the concerns and preoccupations of the painting's own cultural production context. Not quite congruent with Hegel's philosophy of history and subjected to an eschatological reading influenced by Catholic doctrine, another important inspiration to Kaulbach's conception was the conception of history of Joseph Görres.[9] Kaulbach attended the philosopher's lectures on universal history in Munich and became a close friend of Görres's son Guido who, like his father, was an active supporter of political Catholicism.

Kaulbach's insistence on the eminent suitability of the historical occurrence for artistic representation partakes of a pervasive contemporary historicist attitude which, while its parameters were to change, remained predominant throughout the nineteenth century and had a profound impact on cultural production across Europe. More specifically, the ubiquitous preoccupation with history was closely connected to the various competing European projects of nation-building and the formation of national identities which at the same time also determined a selective focus on history as it was made subservient to different national endeavors.

8 See Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History: Introduction, Reason in History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1975), p. 28. For Kaulbach's conception of history, see Karl Möseneder, "'Die Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht': Über Wilhelm von Kaulbachs 'Die Zerstörung Jerusalems'," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* 47 (1996): 103–46, 135–7.

9 See Annemarie Menke-Schwinghammer, *Weltgeschichte als "Nationalepos": Wilhelm von Kaulbachs kulturhistorischer Zyklus im Treppenhaus des Neuen Museums in Berlin* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1994), pp. 42–3.

Kaulbach's question, therefore, was one loaded with contemporary significance. It not only suggests that history was to be considered the prime subject of the artist but that the specific historical occurrence represented in his painting was afforded universal import which it derived beyond its factual aftereffects from its central position in a larger interpretive, essentially religious or even ideological framework, constituting a pervasive philosophical system of understanding the world. The later inclusion of the pre-existing composition among the frescoes designed by Kaulbach for the Neues Museum (1842–65) serves to emphasize the point. Beginning with *Der Thurmbau zu Babel* (The Erection of the Tower of Babel) and concluding with *Das Zeitalter der Reformation* (The Age of the Reformation), the cycle of altogether six monumental murals and a number of smaller frescoes as well as friezes and ornaments, all of which were destroyed in the Second World War, represented not so much the history of the world but world history as a process, articulated in nodal focus points from an exclusively Eurocentric perspective.[10]

Kaulbach has been attributed with asserting: "It is history we must paint. History is the religion of our age; only history is in keeping with the times."[11] The artist's remark, as Werner Busch observes, is profoundly ambivalent in that it not only confirms the nineteenth century's high regard for history but at the very least implicitly also suggests that contemporary art may have been perceived as having no adequate subjects of its own and as having to rely on a mere surrogate in the guise of history.[12] His *Zerstörung Jerusalems* may have been an attempt of the *peintre philosophe* to address this issue.[13] Indeed, art historians of his day—among them Marggraff—discerned in the painter's work the synthesis of idealism and realism.[14] While focusing on the specific historical episode, its impact on the present is implicit in the composition; and in this context, the artist's choice of topic is intriguing.

10 For modern accounts of the cycle, see ibid. and Monika Wagner, *Allegorie und Geschichte: Ausstattungsprogramme öffentlicher Gebäude des 19. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland von der Cornelius-Schule zur Malerei der Wilhelminischen Ära* (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1989).

11 "Geschichte müssen wir malen, Geschichte ist die Religion unserer Zeit, Geschichte allein ist zeitgemäß." Attributed to the painter by Anton Teichlein, "Zur Charakteristik Wilhelm von Kaulbach's," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 11 (1876): 257–65, 264; the English translation quoted from Barbara Eichner, *History in Mighty Sounds: Musical Constructions of German National Identity, 1848–1914* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2012), p. 18.

12 Werner Busch, "Wilhelm von Kaulbach—Peintre Philosophe und Modern Painter," in *Welt und Wirkung von Hegels Ästhetik*, eds Annemarie Gethmann-Siefert and Otto Pöggeler (Bonn: Bouvier, 1986), pp. 117–38, p. 118.

13 For the application of this epithet to Kaulbach, see Busch, "Wilhelm von Kaulbach."

14 See ibid., p. 125.

The contribution of *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* to the national agenda is opaque, though nevertheless pervasive on two levels. In his lectures on universal history, Joseph Görres had read the destruction of Jerusalem as the divine punishment of the Jews for which the Romans were the instrument; yet he emphasized that Rome, too, was poised to fall and argued that in this case the divine instrument for its destruction were to be the Germanic tribes.[15] Though this is not made explicit in the painting, the epigraph of Luke 21:24 in the spandrel of the original frame suggested the validity of this reading and its exaltation of the Germanic tribes as future Christians in a *translatio imperii* also for the painting. On a more general level, the painting construes a Christian commonality to which it opposes the Jewish particular. As such, it is akin to a foundation myth of triumphant Christian, i.e., European, civilization with divine sanction which at the same time consigns its other, the Jews, to the certainty of historical victimhood and, considering their enduring presence, of continuous divine punishment or retribution.

Historical painting, held to be the supreme secular pictorial genre since the rise of academic art,[16] was ubiquitous in the nineteenth century and highly visible in both the public and private spheres—in the older collections and in newly established museums, which in turn were frequently also dedicated to national representation and ambition, as well as in private residences;[17] it was, moreover, widely disseminated in reproductions across class boundaries. Historical fiction, often accompanied by illustrations, was similarly popular and likewise transcended class boundaries. Both contributed crucially to negotiations of nationhood and national identity, making the choice of historical subjects a matter of cultural and political, and potentially also of social, impact. In fact, the pervasive historicist approach engaged all of the arts, including also music, as Barbara Eichner has recently observed in her study on musical constructions of German national identity from the mid-nineteenth century to the beginning of the First World War. Eichner asserts that in the wake of the ultimately failed revolutions of 1848–49 "innumerable compositions were inspired by and based on events and heroes from a past constructed as national" and that, together, "they form a musical branch of nineteenth-century historicism" in Germany.[18]

15 See Menke-Schwinghammer, *Weltgeschichte als "Nationalepos,"* p. 42.

16 See Norbert Schneider, *Historienmalerei: Vom Spätmittelalter bis zum 19. Jahrhundert* (Cologne and Weimar: Böhlau, 2010), pp. 9–70.

17 For museums and conceptions of history in nineteenth-century Germany, see James J. Sheehan, *Museums in the German Art World: From the End of the Old Regime to the Rise of Modernism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), esp. chapter 3.

18 Eichner, *History in Mighty Sounds*, p. 5.

Oratorios, text-based yet non-theatrical musical compositions for orchestra, choir, and soloists, were an important factor in shaping national consciousness. Widely considered the highest synthesis of "individual and collective *Bildung*" with "ideal and popular art," they offered extensive active participation to amateur singers, if recruited mostly from the educated middle class[19]—and, in contrast to the proliferating *Männerchöre* (male choirs), extending also across the gender divide.[20] As a communal form of musical production which celebrated collectivity, frequently in a spirit of social reform and as an instrument of national revival, the genre consequently achieved wide-ranging popularity in a period affected by industrialization and the effects of modernity, the interdenominational strife of the *Kulturkampf*, and seething with national aspirations.[21] Adapting almost exclusively pre-existing narratives from Scripture, epics or legends, the oratorio emerged as a conduit for "presenting great events and heroes of the past in music for the concert hall" and offered the potential of "negotiating the national and religious identities, especially with regard to the confessional divide."[22] Prior to the foundation of the Empire in 1871—during the period of the political and social upheaval of the Napoleonic Wars, the *Vormärz* (pre-March), and the revolutions of 1848–49—such nationalist sentiments were frequently of an oppositional character and advocated religious reform as co-requisite to social and political renewal.[23]

As the most popular historical subject of oratorios in nineteenth-century Germany emerged the legend of St Boniface, one of the central figures of the Anglo-Saxon mission among the Germanic tribes in the eighth century. A total of fifteen compositions is recorded,[24] followed in number by an emphatic interest in Martin Luther and, by extrapolation, the Reformation that inspired nine oratorios before

19 See James Garratt, *Music, Culture and Social Reform in the Age of Wagner* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 87.

20 For the choral movement and the conceptual differences between mixed and male choirs, see Eichner, *History in Mighty Sounds*, chapter 4.

21 See Garratt, *Music, Culture and Social Reform*, p. 10. For the role, more specifically, of the proliferating music festivals in this context, which had a strong impact also on the development of the oratorio, see Eva Verena Schmid, *Oratorium und Musikfest: Zur Geschichte des Oratoriums in Deutschland* (Göttingen: Hainholz, 2012).

22 Eichner, *History in Mighty Sounds*, p. 164.

23 See Garratt, *Music, Culture and Social Reform*, p. 101.

24 Linda Maria Koldau observes that these oratorios were frequently performed in nineteenth-century Germany, "Apostel der Deutschen: Bonfatius-Oratorien als Spiegel einer patriotischen Bonifatius-Verehrung im 19. Jahrhundert," in *Patriotische Heilige: Beiträge zur Konstruktion religiöser und politischer Identitäten in der Vormoderne*, eds Dieter R. Bauer, Klaus Herbers, and Gabriela Signori (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2007), pp. 337–95, p. 339.

the end of the First World War.[25] Both subjects epitomize and negotiate in different ways the tensions between competing constructions of national identity and denominational identifications, as discussed in detail by Eichner.[26] By comparison, the six oratorios focusing on the destruction of Jerusalem indicate that this subject too achieved considerable popularity over the course of the century.

And yet, the destruction of Jerusalem relates neither to German nationalism nor to the "confessional divide" in any tangible sense. It retains a pre-confessional and pre-national dimension which is clearly articulated in Kaulbach's claim as to its universal significance. As such, his pictorial composition could prominently be displayed in the capitals of the respective paragons of Catholicism and of Protestantism in the pre-imperial German lands (excluding Austria):[27] as a canvas of monumental dimensions in the Neue Pinakothek in Munich, and as a similarly imposing fresco in the Neues Museum in Berlin. Equally valid in both settings and in relation to religion as well as to nation-building, the painting provides reassurance as to the common Christian roots of European civilization and reverberates with associations of Empire arising from the notion of supersession.

This point emerged even more clearly in the Berlin cycle of frescoes, where the first of the six monumental paintings showed the Tower of Babel and the confusion of the nations, which in Kaulbach's conception, once again influenced by Görres's conception of history,[28] is represented by the Semites, Hamites, and Japhetites (see Figure 3). As explained in a sumptuous publication of engravings documenting the whole cycle, the Japhetites represent the articulation of human will under divine guidance, the Hamites human aberration under divine sanction, and the Semites human devotion to divine grace.[29]

The direction of the trajectory of each group in the pictorial composition is relevant. The middle group of the Hamites, characterized by "[d]ull, feebleminded stolidity, wild cruelty and guile, frenzy and bestiality, animalistic lust, witches

25 See Eichner, *History in Mighty Sounds*, pp. 169–70.

26 See ibid., pp. 166–72.

27 See, e.g., ibid., p. 17. Kaulbach was very much aware of the denominational dichotomy and in a letter to Freiherr von Bergh, dated November 29, 1858, acknowledged in relation to the choice of his subject for the final painting, *Das Zeitalter der Reformation*, its suitability for a "state like Prussia which is at the forefront of Protestantism in Europe [Staat, wie Preußen, der in Europa an der Spitze des Protestantismus steht]," Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Kaulbach-Archiv VI,6a. For the controversy about the subject for the final painting in the cycle, see Menke-Schwinghammer, *Weltgeschichte als "Nationalepos,"* pp. 63–72.

28 See ibid., pp. 28–9.

29 See *Wilhelm von Kaulbach's Wandgemälde im Treppenhause des Neuen Museum zu Berlin: In Kupfer gestochen von G. Eilers, H. Merz, J. L. Raab, A. Schultheiss*. Mit erläuterndem Text herausgegeben unter den Auspicien des Meisters, ed. Alexander Duncker (Berlin: Duncker, 1872), fol. 3v.

Figure 3: Heinrich Merz, after Wilhelm von Kaulbach, *Der Babelthurm* (1869); engraving, in *Wilhelm von Kaulbach's Wandgemälde im Treppenhause des Neuen Museum zu Berlin: In Kupfer gestochen von G. Eilers, H. Merz, J. L. Raab, A. Schultheiss*. Mit erläuterndem Text herausgegeben unter den Auspicien des Meisters, ed. Alexander Duncker (Berlin: Duncker, 1872), fol. 1; original destroyed in the Second World War. (Public domain.)

and gipsy antics, grotesque idolatry," represents stagnation.[30] The Semites, "[t]he Lord's chosen people, the pastoral tribe, already in possession of an extensive culture as well as rich goods of life and comfortably enjoying them,"[31] are nevertheless consigned to oblivion as they appear to leave the frame of the picture to the left. It is the Japhetites, straining to break out of the composition on the right and thus in the direction of the successive stages of world history represented in the

30 See ibid.: "Dumpfer, blöder Stumpfsinn, wilde Grausamkeit und Tücke, Raserei und Bestialität, thierische Wollust, Hexen und Zigeunerwesen, fratzenhafter Götzendienst."
31 See ibid.: "Das auserwählte Volk Gottes, das Hirtenvolk, schon im Besitz einer ausgiebigen Cultur und reicher Güter des Lebens und behaglich sich derselben freuend."

cycle, who are celebrated not only as the rightful rulers of the world but as the forebears of the Germanic tribes. Their lengthy description indicates the context within which the nodal point of the destruction of Jerusalem needs to be understood:

> [I]n each single figure inheres fiery vigour, energetic aspiration; flowering, swelling youth. They go forth as the conquerors of the world; they still need to create a culture for themselves, they still have to win their future; but we are made to feel from the urgent vigour that so vitally speaks from these magnificent figures that it will be a comprehensive, world-dominating culture they are going to create, that it must be a magnificent future they will conquer for themselves. Those are the forebears of the Parsees with their beautiful, refined culture; of the cheerful Greeks, who have marked out for us the measure of the beautiful and wise for all time; of the world-conquering Romans; and, finally, of the Germanic tribes to whom accrued the task to revitalise the faltering life of the nations through new earth-shaking thoughts and to fight at the forefront of any intellectual struggle.[32]

In relation to the destruction of Jerusalem, the suggestion is then that as Christianity emerged from Judaism on its triumphal trajectory into the present and the imagined future, so the Roman Empire was conquered by the Germanic tribes, was Christianized, and eventually gave way to the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation until its dissolution in 1806 during the Napoleonic Wars—and Germany was poised, with the Frankfurt Parliament of 1848, for imperial unification under Prussian hegemony which eventually, however, only succeeded in 1871. This trajectory was articulated within the program of the Berlin frescoes not only by Kaulbach's *Thurmbau zu Babel* but also by his *Zeitalter der Reformation*, which concluded the cycle; it was implicit also in his *Zerstörung Jerusalems*.

32 See ibid.: "[I]n jeder einzelnen Gestalt ist feurige Kraft, energisches Streben, blühende, schwellende Jugend. Sie ziehen hinaus als die Eroberer der Welt; sie werden sich eine Cultur erst schaffen, sie müssen sich ihre Zukunft erst erkämpfen, aber wir fühlen aus der drängenden Thatkraft, die aus diesen herrlichen Gestalten so lebendig spricht, heraus, dass es eine umfassende, weltbeherrschende Cultur sein wird, die sie schaffen, dass es eine glänzende Zukunft sein muss, die sie sich erobern werden. Das sind die Urahnen der Parsen mit ihrer schönen, vornehmen Cultur, der lebensfreudigen Griechen, die das Mass des Schönen und des Weisen uns für alle Zeiten vorgezeichnet haben, der weltbezwingenden Römer und der Germanen endlich, denen die Aufgabe ward, durch neue weltbewegende Gedanken das stockende Völkerleben wieder in frischen Fluss zu bringen und in allem was geistiges Ringen heisst an der Spitze der Kämpfenden zu stehen."

Sonic Integration and the Hebraic Taste in Art

The very fact of the painting's "parenthetical," though not initially deliberate, distribution to and official display at the far ends of what was to become the German Empire, bridging North and South as well as Protestant and Catholic, imbues Kaulbach's *Zerstörung Jerusalems* and its cultural and political impact with a unifying impulse in extrapolation of the criteria of inclusion and exclusion inscribed into it.[33]

The arena provided by the oratorio for negotiations of national identity was arguably more ambivalent. Describing the oratorio in her study on *The Music Libel against the Jews* (2011) as "the genre par excellence for featuring inclusive and exclusive gestures, through a contemporary dialogue with a biblical story along an intricate temporal dynamics,"[34] Ruth HaCohen remains mindful that oratorios play "dialectic games" and that they may easily "transform into nationalist, or even racist configurations, performing mythological unities."[35] In the context of this chapter, the notion of such dialectic dynamics is particularly productive because the oratorios discussed here are without exception situated at the very fault-line of these contradictions. They all engage with the historical destruction of Jerusalem and thus, as acknowledged by Kaulbach, with the pivotal historical moment of bifurcation that determined the long and fraught history between Christians and Jews. Gaining new prominence in the wake of the emancipation debate of the late eighteenth century and with widening Jewish social and cultural participation as well as the gradual emergence of the racially informed antisemitic paradigm, the question of the nature of the Christian-Jewish, and later more specifically also the German-Jewish, relationship entered a new and in-

33 For the efforts of Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia (Protestant) and Ludwig I of Bavaria (Catholic) to instil historical awareness in their subjects and to incite religious renewal, see Eichner, *History in Mighty Sounds*, p. 17. The contemporary debate on the subject of the sixth fresco in Kaulbach's cycle for the Neues Museum indicates some of the sensibilities involved; the artist's thematic choice of the Reformation for the concluding fresco was fiercely attacked from a Catholic perspective but was nevertheless confirmed in 1860 with the observation that Kaulbach's conception avoided anything that might be considered offensive; see the correspondence of Heinrich Abeken and Eduard Schüller with Freiherr von Bergh of February 28 and March 7, 1859 and of March 15, 1859, respectively, as well as the letter of April 5, 1860 from the Prussian minister for education, Moritz August von Bethmann-Hollweg, to Kaulbach in which were enclosed a *pro memoria* and two expert evaluations, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, Kaulbach-Archiv VI,6a.

34 Ruth HaCohen, *The Music Libel against the Jews* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2011), p. 10.

35 Ibid., p. 15.

creasingly troubled phase in the nineteenth century and accordingly gained renewed topicality.

As Eichner explains, "the rise of ethnic definition of German national identity is frequently measured against the attitude towards German citizens of Jewish descent, since they were most readily conceptualized as ethnically different." It is nevertheless important to remember with Eichner that "[u]ntil the final decades of the nineteenth century, [. . .] the ethnic argument was eclipsed by cultural and historical modes of thinking about the nation."[36] In fact, HaCohen claims that since the end of the eighteenth century vocal art, "[a]uguring a new culture of religious tolerance and social inclusion," appeared "to provide new frames of reference for Jews seeking 'sonic' integration."[37] Music was central to this end because of its "semantic freedom." As HaCohen suggests: "By destabilizing notions of subjectivity and objectivity, cause and effect, meaning and use, form and content, such ideas and practices shook essentialist conceptions of art and encouraged dynamic modes of creativity and perception."[38] Jews—as composers, performers, and consumers—were accordingly attracted to "aesthetic forms that allow for multivocality and multitemporality" which, as HaCohen observes, prominently included the oratorio and "related genres."[39]

An epochal event in this process of negotiating responses to Jewishness was, according to HaCohen, the revival of J. S. Bach's *Matthäuspassion* (1727; 1743–46; BWV244; *St Matthew Passion*) at the hands of the Jewish-born composer Felix Mendelssohn at the Berlin *Singakademie* in 1829.[40] Indeed, she understands this musical enterprise as a manifestation of the "rise of sympathy as a new, emancipatory belief"[41] projected onto the performance and production of oratorios and culminating in the figure of Jesus as it emerges from Bach's long-neglected masterwork:

> The embodiment of Jesus as both martyr and savior, object and subject of compassion, engenders the Jew as a complex aesthetic category: ur-insider as well as radical outsider, a center of attraction, a self-staging agency whose martyrological destiny renders an ever-growing number of suffering compassionate believers into a congregation constantly redeemed through an emotional participation enacted both individually and communally.[42]

36 Eichner, *History in Mighty Sounds*, p. 14.

37 HaCohen, *Music Libel*, p. 80.

38 Ibid., pp. 185–6.

39 Ibid., p. 15.

40 See ibid., p. 96. For a detailed discussion of Mendelssohn's endeavor, see Celia Applegate, *Bach in Berlin: Nation and Culture in Mendelssohn's Revival of the "St. Matthew Passion"* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014).

41 HaCohen, *Music Libel*, p. 96.

42 Ibid., p. 98.

What the confrontation with the Passion might mean to the Jewish listener in this particular case is implicitly blocked out by HaCohen. In a letter to Ferdinand Hiller, the German Jewish writer Berthold Auerbach offered a thoughtful reflection on the unease the religious dimension of Bach's passion music engendered in him and how this impacted on his aesthetic appreciation. Hiller—likewise of Jewish descent, though long since converted, and composer of an oratorio on the subject of the destruction of Jerusalem discussed in more detail below—was at the time musical director at the Gürzenich in Cologne and annually produced a performance of the *Matthäuspassion*. "We shall come to the Easter concert," Auerbach confirmed to his friend, but nevertheless felt obliged to give expression to his discomfort:

> You will not call it pedantry, but not being a Christian, I always have a feeling of alienation, as if I did not belong there, however positive Christian art may be. I mean, it is not legitimate to listen to it in a merely aesthetic sense.—But I shall rise above this and get to know solely the beauty of the given manner of sensation. I might plead that many Christians by birth have the same attitude to this matter, indeed, I find that most people perceive any object of art no more than entirely superficially and do not experience any stimulation. That, however, does not absolve [us] and cannot become our norm. I believe that we have to learn to listen to passion music like to a tragedy of Sophocles, whose mythological background is alien to us as well and that elevates us, and that we can make our own, only through the rhythm of sensation.[43]

Auerbach's deliberations are intriguing not only because he distinguishes between superficial artistic enjoyment and true emotional stimulation but further discriminates between the religious and the aesthetic experience which to him, as a Jew, appear to be irreconcilable. His alienation is reinforced through an "emotional participation enacted both individually and communally" and thus in fact inverts the integrative experience imagined by HaCohen.

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43 Berthold Auerbach to Ferdinand Hiller on April 12, 1867, in *Beiträge zu einer Biographie Ferdinand Hillers: Aus Ferdinand Hillers Briefwechsel (1862–1869),* ed. Reinhold Sietz (Köln: Arno, 1961), II, 94–5: "Wir wollen zum Osterconzert kommen. Du wirst es nicht Pedanterie nennen, aber ich habe als Nichtchrist stets ein Gefühl der Verfremdung, als ob ich nicht dahin gehöre, bei aller positiv christlichen Kunst. Ich meine, man hat nicht das Recht, sie bloß künstlerisch aufzunehmen.—Aber ich will mich darüber hinaus schwingen und die Schönheit in der gegebenen Empfindungsweise allein kennen lernen. Ich könnte mich darauf berufen, daß auch viele Christgeborene zu der Sache nicht anders stehen, ja ich finde, daß die Meisten alle Kunstgebilde nur ganz oberflächlich nehmen und ohne Erregung bleiben. Das aber dispensirt nicht und kann uns nicht Norm sein. Ich glaube, daß wir eine Passionsmusik so zu hören verstehen müssen, wie eine Sophokleische Tragödie, deren mythologischer Hintergrund uns ja auch fremd ist und uns nur durch die Rhythmik der Empfindung zu eigen wird und erhebt."

In fact, none of the oratorios discussed here subscribe to the inclusive representation delineated by HaCohen. Instead, following the model visually elaborated by Kaulbach, other tropes of Jewishness come to the fore which effectively split asunder the dichotomous characteristics supposedly embodied in the Jew Jesus and rather attribute them to stereotypical representations that proliferated in the literature of the time: the figures of the Wandering Jew, also known as Ahasuerus, and of the Beautiful Jewess, frequently appearing as a pair of father and daughter.[44]

Yet while Kaulbach includes both types, his figural composition is in fact more complex. The central group of *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* presents the Beautiful Jewess as the daughter of the High Priest posed to kill himself (and mirrored also in her mother exposing her breast for his dagger to strike her).[45] The artist moreover adds to the polar opposites of Ahasuerus and Beautiful Jewess a third entity in the shape of the Jewish orphans. The children occupy an interesting middle ground in the gender dichotomy. In contrast also to the commanding figure of the doomed High Priest in the painting, the orphan boy seems to be the only male Jew in this configuration that allows for conversion and consequently redemption. Yet ultimately the Jewish orphans, neither yet irreclaimable male Jew nor pliable Beautiful Jewess, are consigned to obliteration in the sequence of oratorial adaptations of the painting, and this particular avenue of inclusion—disturbing as it was at any rate from a Jewish perspective—was barred.

Kaulbach's painting poses conversion, or else destruction and persecution, as alternative manifestations of the Jewish fate projected from the historical moment into the future. It accordingly allows for inclusion in either case only after the annihilation of the Jewish particular. In his infamous essay on "Das Judenthum in der Musik" ("Judaism in Music"), first published in 1850 under the pseudonym K. Freigedank (associating "free thought") in Robert Schumann's influential *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, Richard Wagner had similarly envisaged the

44 This configuration is influentially prefigured with Shakespeare's Shylock and Jessica and recurs with similar impact in Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* (1820) with Isaac of York and Rebecca. For a comprehensive study of the figural constellation of the Jew and his daughter, see Sicher, *Jew's Daughter*.

45 It should be noted that there is some ambiguity to the figure I understand to be the High Priest's daughter. In *Wilhelm von Kaulbach's Wandgemälde* (ed. Duncker), for instance, it is described as a young boy, see fol. 7v. Referring to the artist's sketch, which he saw in 1838, the art historian Rudolf Marggraff similarly mentions three sons of the High Priest, but no daughter, see "Zerstörung von Jerusalem von Wilhelm Kaulbach," 189. However, the painter's close friend Guido Görres identifies the figure in his libretto unequivocally as the High Priest's daughter, see "Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem: Tragisches Singspiel in drei Abtheilungen," *Deutsches Hausbuch* 2 (1847): 51–60, 51.

obliteration of Judaism—and of the Jews. Intriguingly, the controversial composer once again cited the figure of Ahasuerus as an exemplar of the Jewish dilemma. It is only through the redemption of the Wandering Jew, he maintains, that the Jew may also be redeemed. Yet that redemption is, in Wagner's tirade, tantamount to destruction: "But, remember that there is only one real form of deliverance from the curse which besets you—that of Ahasuerus—the 'Untergang'!"[46] Wagner does not allude to Kaulbach's painting in his essay, but its theme of destruction and the curse of Ahasuerus would in all likelihood have struck a chord with him.

While perhaps not immediately relevant to the further discussion of the permutations of *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems*, Wagner's antisemitic diatribe is nevertheless significant because it shifted the parameters for the proliferating debate on things Jewish in German music,[47] even though a direct influence may not be obvious in each of the oratorios discussed here. In particular, Wagner further disseminated the notion of the racial otherness of the Jew and gave vent to his frustration at seeing the supposed triumph of the allegedly devious alien element in German music:[48]

> Though in himself incapable, alike by exterior appearance, by speech and especially by song, of making any artistic experience, the Jew has nevertheless attained in Music, the most widely promulgated of modern arts, to the position of governing the public taste.[49]

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46 Richard Wagner, *Judaism in Music*, transl. Edwin Evans (London: Reeves, 1910), pp. 49–50; this translation is based on the second edition of the text, which was published under his own name by Wagner in 1869, see Richard Wagner, *Das Judenthum in der Musik* (Leipzig: J. J. Weber, 1869). The translator adds a note on the untranslated final word: "This term, employed in the original, has not been translated as it will serve the English reader for an euphemistic indication of what is probably intended, viz. consignment to the inferno." For the original publication of the German text, see K. Freigedank [i.e., Richard Wagner], "Das Judenthum in der Musik," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 33.19 (September 3, 1850): 101–7 and 33.20 (September 6, 1850): 109–12, 112 (32): "Aber bedenkt, daß nur Eines Eure Erlösung von dem auf Euch lastenden Fluche sein kann, *die Erlösung Ahasver's:* | *Der Untergang!*" Subsequently, references to the 1869 edition are added in brackets following on the pagination of the original publication. In the first printing of the text, the final two words are typographically emphasized by being locked and centered in a line of their own.

47 For a detailed survey and analysis of antisemitism in German writing about music, see Annkatrin Dahm, *Der Topos der Juden: Studien zur Geschichte des Antisemitismus im deutschsprachigen Musikschrifttum* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2007).

48 For a useful short discussion of the contemporary debate to which Wagner contributed and of the responses his intervention elicited, see James Loeffler, "Richard Wagner's 'Jewish Music': Antisemitism and Aesthetics in Modern Jewish Culture," *Jewish Social Studies* 15.2 (2009): 2–36.

49 Wagner, *Judaism in Music*, pp. 17–18; K. Freigedank [i.e., Wagner], "Judenthum in der Musik," 104 (17): "Der Jude, der an sich unfähig ist, weder durch seine äußere Erscheinung, noch durch seine Sprache, am allerwenigsten aber durch seinen Gesang sich uns künstlerisch mitzutheilen,

Reissued under his own name by the composer in 1869 in slightly revised form and significantly expanded to include a supplement in which he reviews his own position in German music, the essay acquired a distinctly paranoid quality as it elaborated Wagner's apprehensions of a Jewish conspiracy against him in particular and against German art more generally. Yet his was a prominent and insistent voice; and it remains important in retrospective because it set and reinforced the context—in what has in fact been called the "Age of Wagner"[50]—not only for the contribution of Jewish composers to cultural production in Germany but also for engagements with Jewishness in musical compositions.

Appearing at the very cusp of the post-revolutionary period of nationalist aspirations identified by Eichner, Wagner's essay was initially conceived as an intervention in a wider debate on the "Hebraic Taste in Art."[51] In Wagner's vehemently expressed opinion, the whole debate was misleading in that its actual roots were to be found not so much in individual works or in the work of individual composers but in "the latent feeling which people in general evince towards the Jewish character, and which amounts to an inward dislike,"[52] which he proceeded to explain with what he perceived to be the insidiously destructive effect of the perverted Jewish idiom on cultural production.

Acknowledging that "[in the field] of religion, indeed, the Jews have long ceased to be regarded as deserving of any hatred,"[53] the composer developed the rationale for his attack in relation to what he perceived as the "'Jewification' of modern Art,"[54] which he saw manifest in what he alleged to be the distorting imitation of two thousand years of cultural achievement and its perversion into "a mere article of exchange."[55] This, he claimed, made imperative the emancipation

hat nichts desto weniger vermocht, in der verbreitetsten der modernen Kunstarten, *der Musik*, zur Beherrschung des öffentlichen Geschmacks zu gelangen."

50 See, e.g., the subtitle of Garratt, *Music, Culture and Social Reform*.

51 Wagner, *Judaism in Music*, p. 1; K. Freigedank [i.e., Wagner], "Judenthum in der Musik," 101 (9): "ein 'hebräischer Kunstgeschmack'."

52 Wagner, *Judaism in Music*, p. 2; K. Freigedank [i.e., Wagner], "Judenthum in der Musik," 101 (9): "die unbewußte Empfindung, die sich im Volke als innerlichste Abneigung gegen jüdisches Wesen kundgiebt."

53 Wagner, *Judaism in Music*, p. 2; K. Freigedank [i.e., Wagner], "Judenthum in der Musik," 101 (10): "In der Religion sind uns die Juden längst keine hassenswürdigen Feinde mehr."

54 Wagner, *Judaism in Music*, p. 7; K. Freigedank [i.e., Wagner], "Judenthum in der Musik," 102 (12): "die Erscheinung der Verjüdung der modernen Kunst."

55 Wagner, *Judaism in Music*, p. 6; K. Freigedank [i.e., Wagner], "Judenthum in der Musik," 102 (12): "Kunstwaarenwechsel."

of the non-Jews "from the oppressions of Judaism" and not vice versa.[56] Implicit in Wagner's allegation is the look back, over two millennia, once again to that pivotal moment which established the Jewish diaspora, even though the conclusions he draws from the historical perspective challenge more conventional perceptions of the resulting power asymmetry.

More specifically, Wagner attacks Felix Mendelssohn and Giacomo Meyerbeer (born Jakob Liebmann Meyer Beer). If in distinctly different ways, both had become very influential in relation to public engagement with music and forms of musical articulation which affected also the development of the oratorio.[57] Wagner's repeated onslaught on the two Jewish-born composers thus establishes another, if perhaps tentative, link between his antisemitic effusions and the trajectory of oratorial adaptations of Kaulbach's *Zerstörung Jerusalems*.

Mendelssohn not only revived Bach's *Matthäuspassion*, but composed with his *Paulus* (1836; op. 36; *St Paul*) and *Elias* (1846; op. 70; *Elijah*) oratorios of his own which are considered to be among the most accomplished and significant of the period and which also intervene in the contemporary debate on Jewishness. The former explicitly reiterates the prophecy from Acts 6:14 that "Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy these holy places [i.e., the Temple and Jerusalem], and change all the customs which Moses deliver'd us,"[58] and in effect forecloses the sympathetic interpretation attributed by HaCohen to the reception of the *Matthäuspassion*, substituting for it the conversion paradigm embodied in the apostle Paul.[59] However, this development was to some extent countermanded by the composer's sensitive treatment of the prophet Elijah in his final completed oratorio and, more specifically, by Obadiah's call to universal repentance.[60] Alongside the trajectory of his last fragmentary oratorio, posthumously entitled *Christus* (first per-

56 Wagner, *Judaism in Music*, p. 7; Wagner, *Judenthum in der Musik*, p. 12: "von dem Drucke des Judenthumes." In the earlier version, Wagner talks less stridently of the "emancipation from the spirit of Jewishness [die Emancipation von dem Geiste des Judenthumes]," K. Freigedank [i.e., Wagner], "Judenthum in der Musik," 102.

57 Mendelssohn has been described as having become "in effect the president of German musical culture in the last dozen years of his life," Richard Taruskin, "Introduction [Nationalism in Music]," *Repercussions* 5.1–2 (1996): 5–20, 15; Meyerbeer was, during his lifetime, "one of the leading composers of Europe," Robert Ignatius Letellier, *The Operas of Giacomo Meyerbeer* (Madison and Teaneck, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2006), p. 18.

58 Felix Mendelssohn, *Paulus* [piano reduction], op. 36, ed. August Horn (Leipzig: Peters, [1890]), no. 5: "Jesus von Nazareth wird diese Stätte zerstören und ändern die Sitten, die uns Mose gegeben hat."

59 The anti-Jewish potential of Mendelssohn's oratorio, taking into account also the genesis of the score, has been discussed in detail in a debate in *The Musical Quarterly* 82 (1998) and 83 (1999).

60 See Jeffrey S. Sposato, *The Price of Assimilation: Felix Mendelssohn and the Nineteenth-Century Anti-Semitic Tradition* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 174.

formed in 1852; op. 97; *Christ*), Mendelssohn has therefore been taken to promote instead of the prevalent anti-Judaic notion of the Jewish deicide "the Lutheran tradition of universal blame for sin"[61] and to embrace a "strategy of dual perspective" that distanced the composer from antisemitic sentiments while still permitting his audience to retain their prejudices.[62]

Meyerbeer, in turn, had introduced the grandiose, sensational, and spectacular to the musical language of opera which not only finds a pictorial equivalent in Kaulbach's painting but which clearly had its impact also on some of the oratorios discussed below. His opera *Le Prophète* (*The Prophet*), set in the religious wars of the sixteenth century, premiered in Paris in spring 1849. It was seen there by Wagner, who at the time was in exile for his revolutionary activities. By the following year, when Wagner published his essay, Meyerbeer's opera was performed with enormous success all across Germany. *Le Prophète* not only epitomized everything that was diametrically opposed to the conception of Wagner's own operatic aspirations;[63] its very success and its alleged "Jewishness" had, moreover, provoked the contempt of Theodor Uhlig, a friend of the exiled composer with whom he engaged in prolific correspondence. In fact, the critic's scathing disparagement of *Le Prophète* in a series of articles in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* had instigated Wagner's own intervention in the same journal.

Uhlig, not content with denouncing Meyerbeer, had extended his criticism to what he called the "Jewish school," and whose "Hebraic taste in art" he censured:

> In the music of many Jewish composers are passages recognised by almost all non-Jewish musicians in common life and with reference to the well-known Jewish way of speaking as Jew-music, as yiddling or something akin to it. According to the either noble or common character predominating in this music, these passages, whose peculiarity originates partly in their metric configuration, partly in the individual odd melodic qualities of musical phrasing, are more or less conspicuous; thus, for example, in Mendelssohn they appear only mildly, but in Meyerbeer, by comparison, with the highest intensity. [. . .] Just as little as its analogous way of speaking, this musical style may not be thought to be beautiful or even only bearable where, as in Meyerbeer, it immediately brings to mind what I do not know to call by any other name but the "Jewish School."[64]

61 Ibid.

62 Ibid., p. 210. The cuts made by Mendelssohn in his performance of Bach's *Matthäuspassion* have also been read as focusing on the notion of community and "the presentation of a collectivity," see Michael P. Steinberg, *Listening to Reason: Culture, Subjectivity, and Nineteenth-Century Music* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004), p. 104.

63 On first seeing Meyerbeer's opera, Wagner was initially "tempted to change the whole direction of his own endeavours," Letellier, *Operas of Giacomo Meyerbeer*, p. 197.

64 T[heodor] U[hlig], "Zeitgemäße Betrachtungen, VI. Außerordentliches," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 33.7 (July 23, 1850): 29–33, 30: "In der Musik vieler jüdischen Componisten giebt es Stellen,

The "semantic freedom" of music cited by HaCohen in support of her argument was effectively disallowed in this process of racialization which severely contested the "'sonic' integration" of the Jews.[65]

Yet this exclusivist campaign did not remain unchallenged. Even before Wagner's pseudonymous intervention, Uhlig's harangues had provoked the critical response of Ludwig Bischoff in *Rheinische Musik-Zeitung* in August 1850.[66] The critic suggested that closer scrutiny would certainly reveal "the whole doctrine of the so-called Jewish school" as a prejudiced "phantasy."[67] Asserting his own non-Jewishness, Bischoff[68] categorically rejected the notion of racially informed music and insisted on the appreciation of the art produced by "German men of the Jewish faith" according to its aesthetic value alone.[69]

The Destruction of Jerusalem and Jewish Composers in Germany

In the Jewish calendar, the ninth of the month of *Av (Tisha b'Av)* is accorded special significance as the day which commemorates the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem. The subject nevertheless seemed to hold little appeal to German composers "of the Jewish faith," in contrast to the interest it elicited from their Christian colleagues. Of the altogether six oratorios based on the destruction of the Temple, one of which is strictly speaking a cantata, only one was the work of

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die fast alle nicht-jüdischen Musiker im gewöhnlichen Leben und mit Bezugnahme auf die allbekannte gemeine jüdische Sprechweise als Judenmusik, als ein Gemauschele oder als ein Dergl. [eichen] bezeichnen. Je nachdem in dieser Musik hier der Charakter des Edlen, dort der des Gemeinen überwiegt, treten diese Stellen, deren Eigenthümlichkeit theils in der metrischen Gestaltung, theils in einzelnen melodischen Tonfällen der musikalischen Phrase liegt, hier nur wenig, dort ganz auffallend hervor, so z.B. bei Mendelssohn sehr gelind, bei Meyerbeer dagegen in höchster Schärfe [. . .]. Eben so wenig wie die ihnen analogen Sprechweisen hat man diese Tonweisen schön oder nur erträglich da finden können, wo sie wie bei Meyerbeer ganz unmittelbar an das erinnern, was ich nicht anders, denn als 'Judenschule' zu bezeichnen weiß."

65 See HaCohen, *Music Libel*, pp. 80, 185–6.

66 See Anselm Gerhard, "Richard Wagner und die Erfindung des 'Jüdischen' in der Musik," in *Jüdische Musik?: Fremdbilder, Eigenbilder*, eds Eckhard John and Heidy Zimmermann (Cologne: Böhlau, 2004), pp. 33–51, p. 44.

67 Ludwig Bischoff, "TU—hoc intrivisti: tibi omne est exedendum," *Rheinische Musik-Zeitung für Kunstfreunde und Künstler* 1 (August 10, 1850): 43–7, 45: "die ganze Lehre von der sogenannten Judenmusik [ist] eine Phantasie." Bischoff was a friend and associate of Hiller who contributed frequently to his journals.

68 For Bischoff's biography, see MGG (1999), II, 1682–85.

69 Bischoff, "TU—hoc intrivisti," 45: "deutsche Männer jüdischer Confession."

a Jewish-born composer, the aforementioned Ferdinand Hiller (1811–85).[70] Moreover, Hiller chose to focus in his *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* (1840; op. 24; *The Destruction of Jerusalem*) not on the devastation of the Second Temple represented in Kaulbach's painting, but on that of the First Temple half a millennium before, which is in fact also remembered on *Tisha b'Av*, the two cataclysmic events being conflated for the purpose of their commemoration.[71]

Hiller's thematic choice appears to have preceded the public excitement generated by Kaulbach's project. The composer began to work on his oratorio in the summer of 1837. That does not, however, mean that he would not have engaged with the artist's work once news of its progress permeated public discourse. To the contrary, as discussed in more detail below, his oratorio rather appears to have been a deliberate act of resistance—if initially not directly to Kaulbach's *Zerstörung Jerusalems*, then certainly to what it stood for. Hiller's oratorio in effect attempts to reinforce what HaCohen has described as the "rise of sympathy as a new, emancipatory belief" against the connotations evoked by the painting.[72] A similar strategy was employed three decades later also by Eduard Bendemann in what is perhaps the most significant artistic response to Kaulbach's *Zerstörung Jerusalems*. The Jewish-born, yet converted, painter's monumental *Die Wegführung der Juden in die babylonische Gefangenschaft* (1865–72; The Jews Led Away into the Babylonian Exile; Figure 4) clearly confronts the earlier painting with a plea for empathy, as explored more fully below.[73]

Kaulbach's less than sympathetic representation of the Jews unsurprisingly attracted no positive engagement of Jewish composers with his painting. At the same time, considering its far-reaching implications, it is hardly a coincidence that the in-

70 For Hillers's biography, see MGG (2004), VII, 1581–87.

71 See, e.g., *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, eds Isidore Singer et al. (New York and London: Funk and Wagnalls, 1901), I, s. v. "Ab, Ninth Day of"; the entry by Max Landsberg and Kaufmann Kohler is interesting in particular because it emphasizes Reform scepticism toward the commemorative fast day because it potentially diminishes the significance of the mission of Israel.

72 HaCohen, *Music Libel*, p. 96.

73 Since the composer's time in Dresden (1843–47), Hiller and Bendemann were good friends; they met in the same city already in June 1838, see Saskia Steil, "Eduard Julius Friedrich Bendemann: Biographie," in *Vor den Gemälden: Eduard Bendemann zeichnet. Bestandskatalog der Zeichnungen und Skizzenbücher eines Hauptvertreters der Düsseldorfer Malerschule in der Göttinger Universitätskunstsammlung*, eds Christian Scholl and Anne-Katrin Sors (Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Göttingen, 2012), pp. 9–16, p. 12, and may have met again in the late 1830s in Rome, see Christine Ihl, "Der Nachlaß Ferdinand Hillers in der Frankfurter Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek," unpubl. MA thesis (Frankfurt a. M.: Goethe-Universität, 2000), p. 8. It is also not unlikely that Hiller, visiting Mendelssohn in Düsseldorf in May 1834, may have met Bendemann on this occasion; the artist was based there and had in the previous year worked with Mendelssohn at the Lower Rhenish Music Festival.

Figure 4: Anonymous, after Eduard Bendemann, *Die Wegführung der Juden in die babylonische Gefangenschaft*, in *Meisterwerke der Holzschneidekunst aus dem Gebiete der Architektur, Sculptur und Malerei* (Leipzig: Weber, 1882), IV, pl. LXXI; woodcut; original (1872), oil on canvas, 416 cm × 510 cm, held by Alte Nationalgalerie, Berlin. (Public domain.)

terpretive model promoted by the painter's *Zerstörung Jerusalems* was resisted by a composer and a painter of Jewish descent, even though both were assimilated and the latter had embraced Christianity—as Hiller was to do shortly after the performance of his oratorio as well.[74] Nor does it appear to be a coincidence that both Hiller and Bendemann chose to counter Kaulbach by substituting the destruction of the First Temple for that of the Second. After all, the Babylonian Exile was only temporary and the Temple was eventually rebuilt. The historical continuity of Judaism

74 Hiller converted prior to his marriage to the Polish singer Antolka Hogé early in 1841, see Reinhold Sietz, *Beiträge zu einer Biographie Ferdinand Hillers: Aus Ferdinand Hillers Briefwechsel (1826–1861)* (Köln: Arno, 1958), I, 47. See also Jacob Toury, *Soziale und politische Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland, 1847–1871* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1977), p. 183.

and of the Jewish people in the Promised Land was thus ensured and even projected into the future with notions of the Jewish mission among the nations.

"The mission concept," as Michael A. Meyer explains, "was in essence a radical reinterpretation of the chosen people idea and a direct rejection of the Christian claim to supersession."[75] The concept was elaborated in 1845, in close temporal proximity to the creation of Hiller's oratorio, by the Frankfurt conference of Reform rabbis. It offered not only the return of Israel into the continuum of history but also contributed to the negotiation of Jewish identities in the diaspora. As Meyer outlines:

> In substituting the mission of Israel for the messianic return, the Frankfurt rabbis thus not only universalized messianism and made more room for the human role in historical progress; they also asserted that the special vocation of Judaism—to be a priest among the nations—could be set aside neither by the daughter faith nor by the national culture with which they themselves identified.[76]

While the concept of a Jewish mission was fully developed only in relation to the dispersion after the destruction of the Second Temple, the apparent reluctance of Jewish composers (and painters) to engage with its annihilation may in turn perhaps be explained with the impossibility of ignoring the concomitant rise of Christianity and what appeared to be the enduring reality of supersession. Another reason may be the traumatic nature and finality of the event which, after all, as Kaulbach had also insisted, was pivotal in Jewish history as a cataclysmic conflagration which resulted not only in the loss of the religious center of Judaism but also of the Promised Land and which effectively spelled an end to the political agency of the Jews as a nation.

Notions of the return to the Land of Israel which developed among the henceforth diasporic Jewish people, while prominently inscribed into the liturgy of the synagogue as well as domestic ritual, in particular the *seder* ceremony, were increasingly relegated to an imaginary sphere, as epitomized by Heinrich Heine's well-known phrase of the "portable fatherland," carried with them by the Jews in the guise of the Torah since the destruction of the Temple.[77] Ultimately, the messianic return was even subject to attempts of elision. The assimilatory impetus of the Reform movement since the early decades of the nineteenth century in particular led in some instances to the removal of any references to the return to the Promised

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75 Michael A. Meyer, *Response to Modernity: A History of the Reform Movement in Judaism*, rev. rprt (1988; Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1995), p. 138.

76 Ibid.

77 Heinrich Heine, "Confessions," in *Prose Miscellanies*, transl. S. L. Fleishman (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1876), pp. 245–98, p. 276 and "Geständnisse," in *Vermischte Schriften* (Hamburg: Hoffmann and Campe, 1854), I, 1–122, 85: "die Juden, die [. . .] es [i.e., the holy book] im Exile gleichsam wie ein portatives Vaterland mit sich herumschleppten."

Land.[78] A pragmatic objective of restitution was only rekindled with the emergence of the Zionist project toward the end of the century.

There is, therefore, with the potential exception of Hiller's, no suggestion of the "Hebraic taste in art" in any of the nineteenth-century German oratorios on the destruction of Jerusalem discussed in this part. Hiller had unexpectedly been "exonerated" by Uhlig who considered his opera *Konradin* (1847) "infinitely better [. . .] than all the concoctions of our musical-dramatic humdrum practitioners."[79] This may be the more surprising as the opera's subject was taken from German medieval history and therefore situated within the parameters of national affirmation described by Eichner, though Anselm Gerhard speculates that it was precisely the fact that Hiller had made use of a libretto by the "national" poet Robert Reinick that eclipsed his Jewishness and made him tolerable in Uhlig's eyes.[80] Thus, while the debate about the place of Jewish composers in German music may have been only marginally relevant to the context within which the destruction of Jerusalem became a subject for artistic engagement across the boundaries of different media, the pervasive presence of notions of nationhood and religion certainly impacted on the representation of Jewishness in oratorios on the subject and to some extent also on the various forms of musical articulation and genres adopted.

Mendelssohn's evocative use of the chorale in his *Paulus*, for instance, with which he emulated Bach's practice, suggested a semantic dimension which to some contemporaries would have been irreconcilable with his Jewish heritage.[81] Thus,

78 The Reform movement in Hamburg was the first to effect these controversial changes as early as 1819, see, e.g., Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, pp. 56, 59–61; they were later also adopted by the American Reform movement, see p. 254, and were articulated in the influential Pittsburgh Platform of 1885, see Michael L. Satlow, *Creating Judaism: History, Tradition, Practice* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), p. 35.

79 U[hlig], "Zeitgemäße Betrachtungen," 31: "unendlich besser [. . .] als alle die Fabrikate unserer musikalisch-dramatischen Routiniers."

80 See Gerhard, "Richard Wagner und die Erfindung des 'Jüdischen'," p. 44. Wagner, in turn, expressed himself predictably less generously about Hiller's opera in a letter to Uhlig. See *Richard Wagner's Letters to His Dresden Friends*, transl. J. S. Shedlock (London: Grevel, 1890), Wagner to Uhlig on October 22, 1850, pp. 75–83, p. 77. In the second part of his autobiography, Wagner also mentioned Hiller's *Konradin* and maintained that Reinick too was anything but happy with the composer's music to his libretto, see Richard Wagner, *My Life*, ed. Mary Whittall, transl. Andrew Gray (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 355; see also Richard Wagner, *Mein Leben* (Munich: Bruckmann, 1911), I, 422. The four volumes of *Mein Leben* were first printed privately between 1870–80; the Bruckmann edition is the first public edition.

81 Mendelssohn was well aware of this and discussed the matter with friends. To Julius Schubring, for instance, he wrote on September 6, 1833: "Mir ist von Mehreren sehr entschieden abgeredet worden, und doch kann ich mich nicht entschließen, ihn [i.e., the chorale] ganz aufzugeben, denn ich denke in jedem Oratorium aus dem Neuen Testamente müsse er von Natur sein." *Briefe*

four years after the success of the Jewish composer's first oratorio which premiered at the Lower Rhenish Music Festival in Düsseldorf in May 1836, Richard Wagner's essay "On German Music," published first in French as "De la musique allemande" (1840), celebrates the chorale as "an exclusively German possession" whose "noble dignity and unembellished purity can only have sprung from simple and sincerely pious hearts."[82] It is, in this early essay, not yet the composer's objective to distinguish German from Jewish. Rather, he seeks to define what is specifically German in music against the Italian and French traditions and against Catholic embellishment. The implications are nevertheless striking also in relation to what may then be seen as the arrogation of the oratorio by Jewish composers, such as, most prominently, Mendelssohn.[83] For the chorale emerges not only as a specifically Protestant form of communal and congregational musical engagement, but is "magnified and widened in the great Passions and Oratorios" in which, according to Wagner, "is embodied the whole essence, the whole spirit of the German nation."[84]

Hiller, without doubt well aware of the implications, made no use of chorales in his *Zerstörung Jerusalems*, as Mendelssohn too avoided doing in his similarly Old Testament-based *Elias*. Instead, the composer resorted to musical exoticism.[85] Like Mendelssohn's a few years later, his oratorio celebrates the reaffirmation of Jewish monotheism against oriental idol worship. In his composition, Hiller there-

aus den Jahren 1833 bis 1847 von Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, eds Paul Mendelssohn Bartholdy and Carl Mendelssohn Bartholdy, 3rd edn (Leipzig: Hermann Mendelssohn, 1864), p. 6. Mendelssohn's father Abraham suggested to Felix in a letter of March 10, 1835: "Ueberhaupt ist mit dem Choral nicht zu spaßen." Ibid., p. 84. See also Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, *Sämtliche Briefe*, vol. 3: *August 1832 bis Juli 1834*, ed. Ute Wald (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2010), p. 263.

82 Richard Wagner, "On German Music," in *Richard Wagner's Prose Works*, vol. 7: *In Paris and Dresden*, transl. William Ashton Ellis (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1898), pp. 84–101, p. 93; see also Richard Wagner, "De la musique allemande," *Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris* 7.44 (July 12, 1840): 375–8 and 7.46 (July 26, 1840): 395–8, 396: "un fruit naturel du genie allemand [. . .]. Ces chants, dont l'imposante dignité et la pureté naïve s'alliaient si bien avec des cœurs droit et simples."

83 For Mendelssohn's use of the chorale and his performance of Bach's *Matthäuspassion*, see Steinberg, *Listening to Reason*, pp. 102–4.

84 Wagner, "On German Music," pp. 93–4; see also Wagner, "Musique allemande," 396: "Les mêmes qualités se retrouvent au même degré, sur une echelle plus vaste, dans les grands oratorios et dans les *passions*, [. . .] en eux sont concentrés toute l'inspiration et la genie allemands." For the contemporary discussion of Mendelssohn's use of chorales in *Paulus* in relation to the denominational divide, see Schmid, *Oratorium und Musikfest*, pp. 377, pp. 381–3.

85 For an extensive musicological analysis of Hiller's oratorio, which does not, however, consider its exoticism, see Rainer Heyink, "'Es neigt sich mehr nach der Zukunft hin'—Das Oratorienschaffen von Ferdinand Hiller," in *Ferdinand Hiller: Komponist, Interpret, Musikvermittler*, eds Peter Ackermann et al. (Kassel: Merseburger, 2014), pp. 237–62, pp. 248–59.

fore employs exoticism as a marker for the otherness of the apostates (see below, Music Examples 1 and 2) while the musical idiom ascribed to the God-fearing Israelites associates them with that of the "civilized" nations of Europe (see below, Music Example 3). As a result, there emerges a spectrum of otherness, including also the fierce Assyrians (see their portrayal through crude homorhythms and trite parallel thirds in Music Example 4),[86] along which identities are negotiated by means of a corresponding spectrum of rhythmic and harmonic variance from, or affinity with, European values which, in turn, determines disavowal or sympathy. This is different from the alleged Hebraic taste in art in that the exotic is not an idiosyncratic (intrinsically Jewish) mode of musical articulation but is imbued with semantic significance by the Jewish composer.

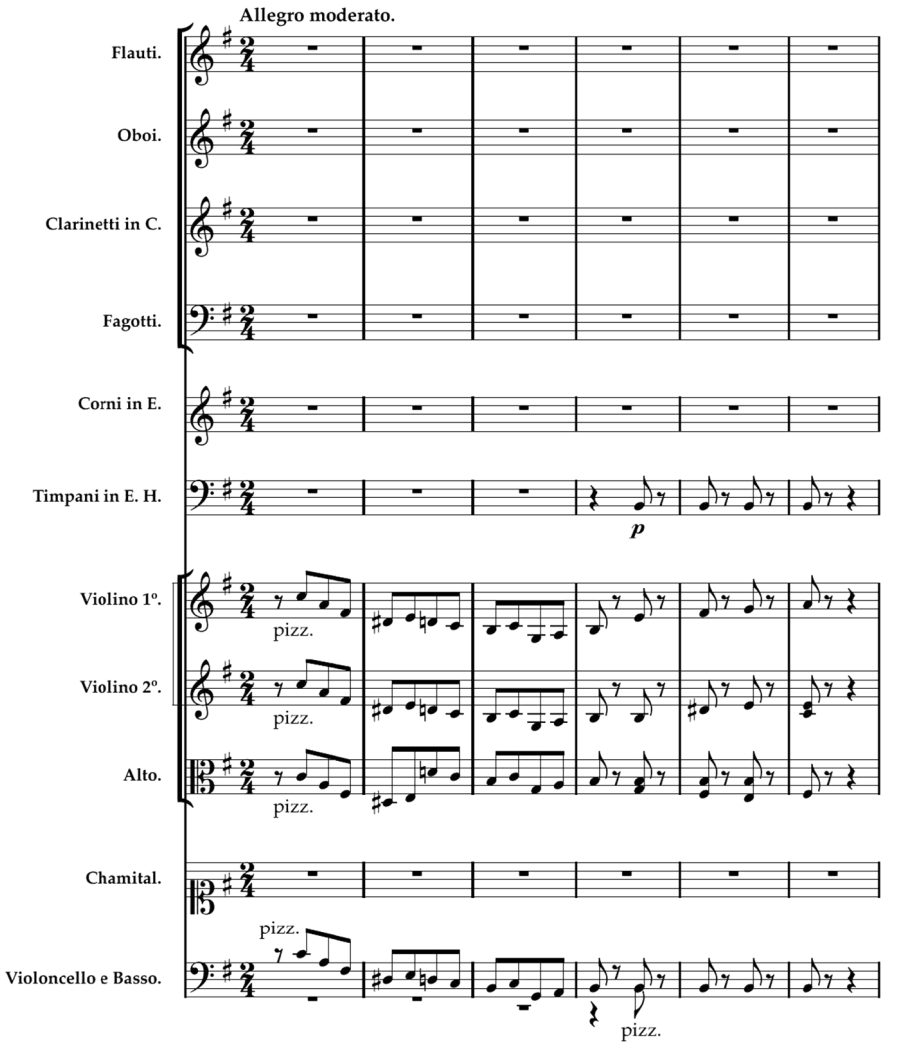
Yet the perceived lack of a specifically Jewish musical idiom was potentially also problematic. Thus, the implicitly assimilatory impulse of Hiller's composition practice was criticized about two decades later, on occasion of a performance of his *Zerstörung Jerusalems* in 1862. While appreciating the aesthetic appeal of the musical rendering of the prophecies of Jeremiah, the anonymous reviewer for the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*—presumably its editor, Ludwig Philippson—insisted that to hear the biblical text in recitativo style, as in any opera, seemed incongruous to him.[87] Indeed, he emphasized: "it is peculiar that, while the opera melodies of Meyerbeer often enough are reminiscent of the old melodies of the synagogue, in the oratorio in particular, where this would be much more apt, anything characteristic is lacking."[88]

If Theodor Storm's emotional response to Hiller's music is anything to go by, this incongruity was certainly not perceived by the German writer who conducted a *Singverein* (choral association) in Heiligenstadt and, following a performance of the oratorio in close temporal proximity to the one reviewed in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, wrote to his father on March 10, 1864:

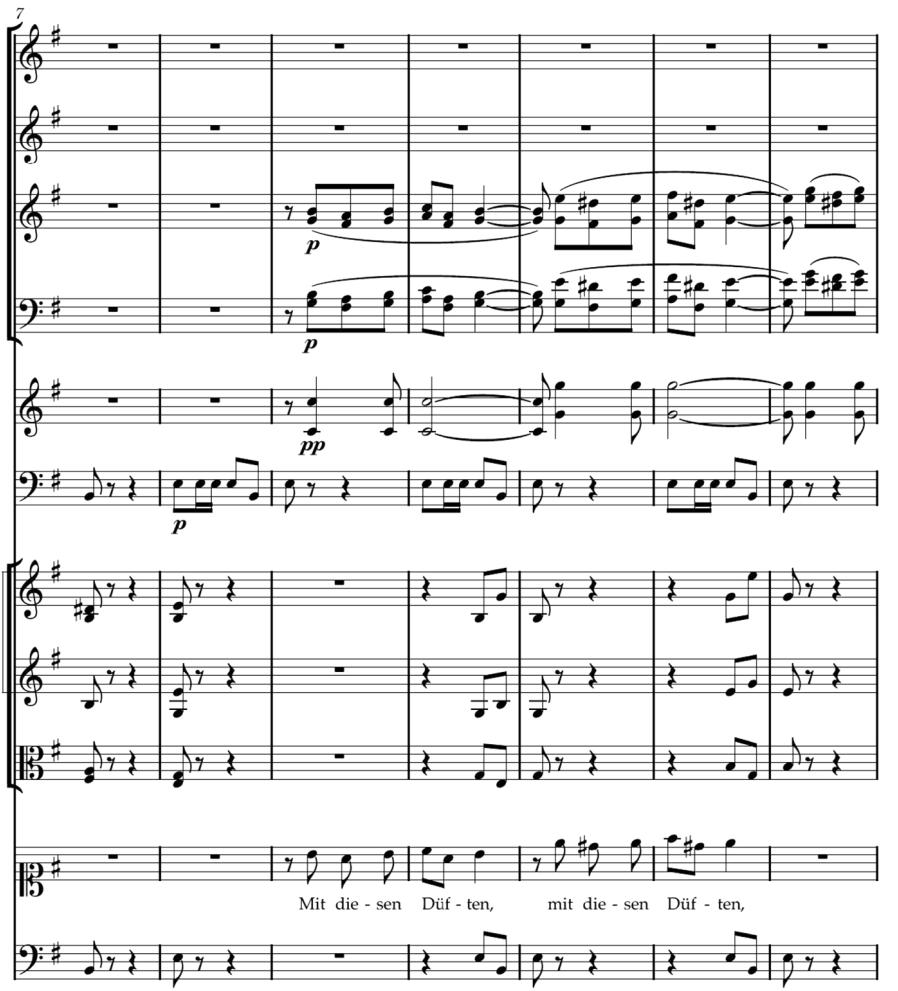
86 See Ferdinand Hiller, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems: Oratorium nach der heiligen Schrift* [piano reduction], 2nd edn (1842; Leipzig: Kistner, [1874]), no. 42; this edition includes an English translation of the text.

87 Philippson relinquished his rabbinic position in Magdeburg in 1862 and in the same year moved to Bonn. The performance referred to is probably that in Bonn on December 11, 1862, directed by Caspar Joseph Brambach, a former student of Hiller's, who attended the concert in person, see Anonymous, "Tages- und Unterhaltungs-Blatt," *Niederrheinische Musik-Zeitung* 10.51 (December 20, 1862): 406.

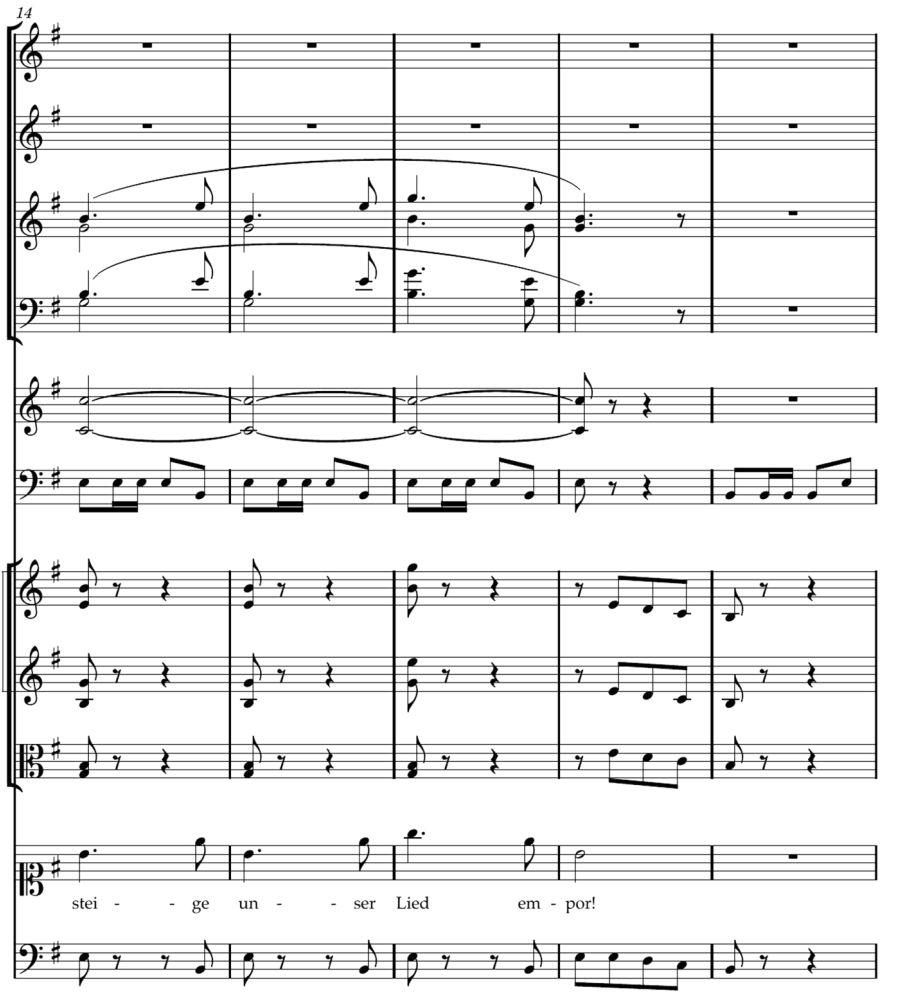
88 Anonymous, [Untitled], *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* 27.2 (January 6, 1863): 19: "Es ist daher eigenthümlich, daß während die Opernmelodien von Meyerbeer oft genug an die alten Synagogenmelodien erinnern, gerade im Oratorium, wo es viel mehr am Platze wäre, alles Charakteristische fehlt."



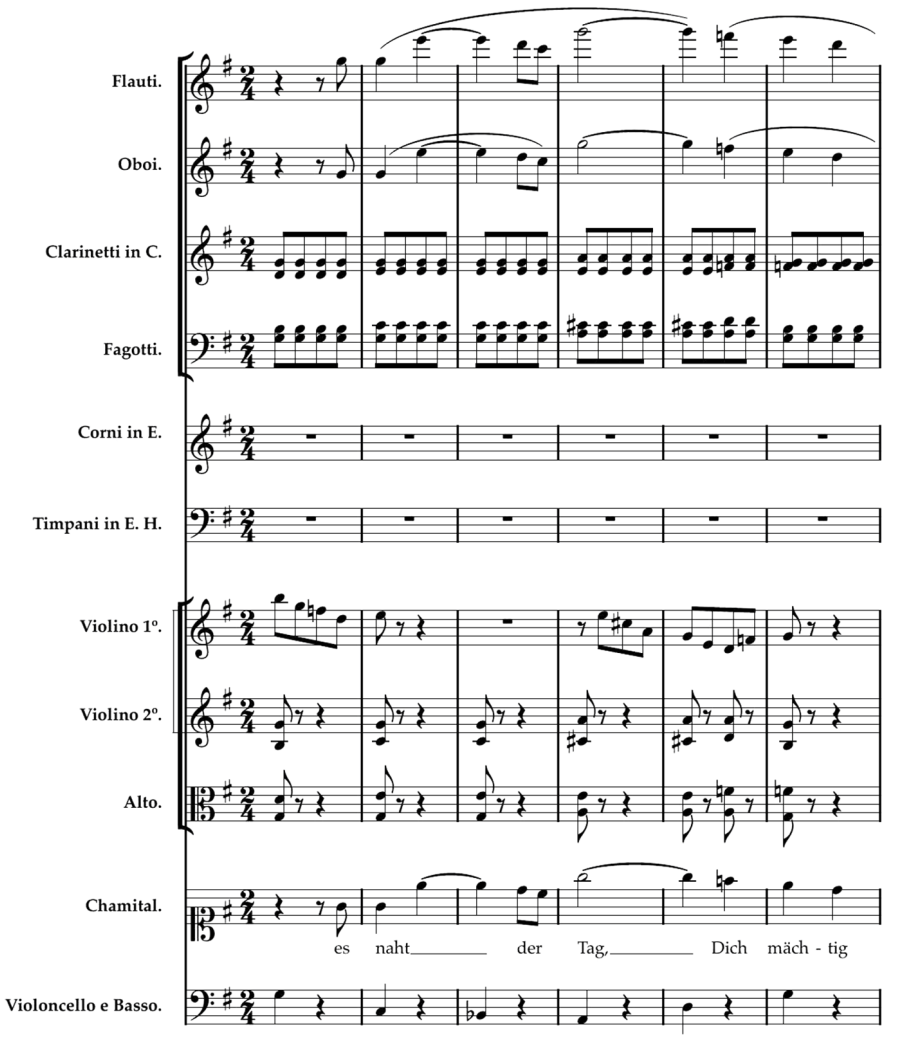
Music Example 1: Ferdinand Hiller, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems: Oratorium nach der heiligen Schrift* [orchestra score], op. 24 (Leipzig: Kistner, 1842), no. 30, pp. 177–82, p. 177, bb. 1–18: Aria of Chamital.



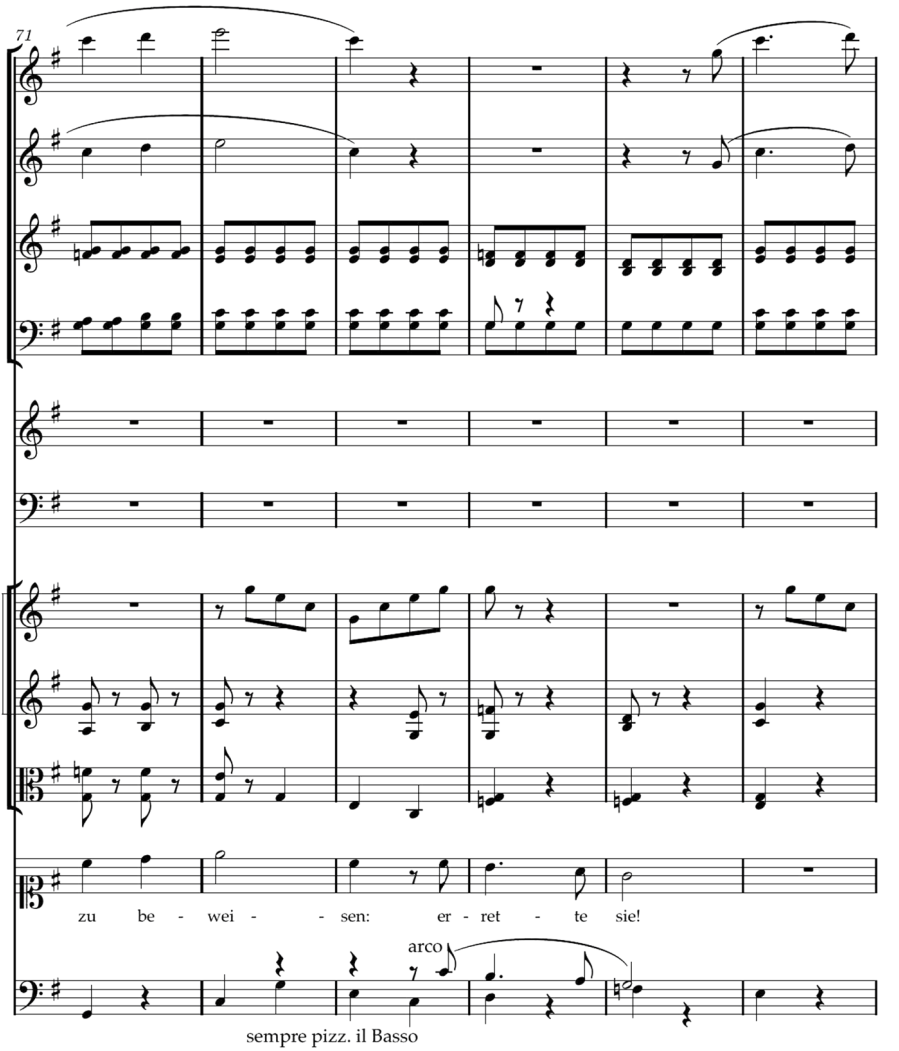
Music Example 1 (continued)



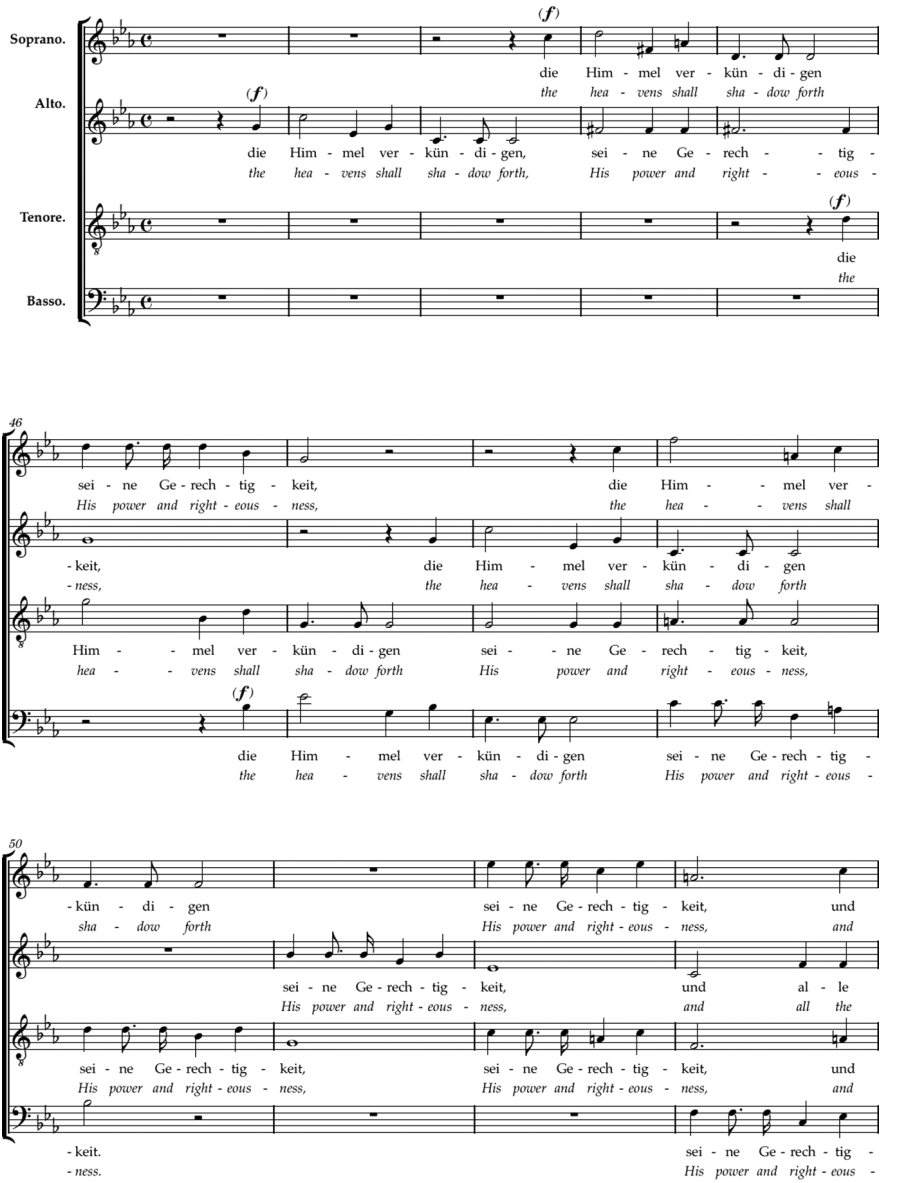
Music Example 1 (continued)



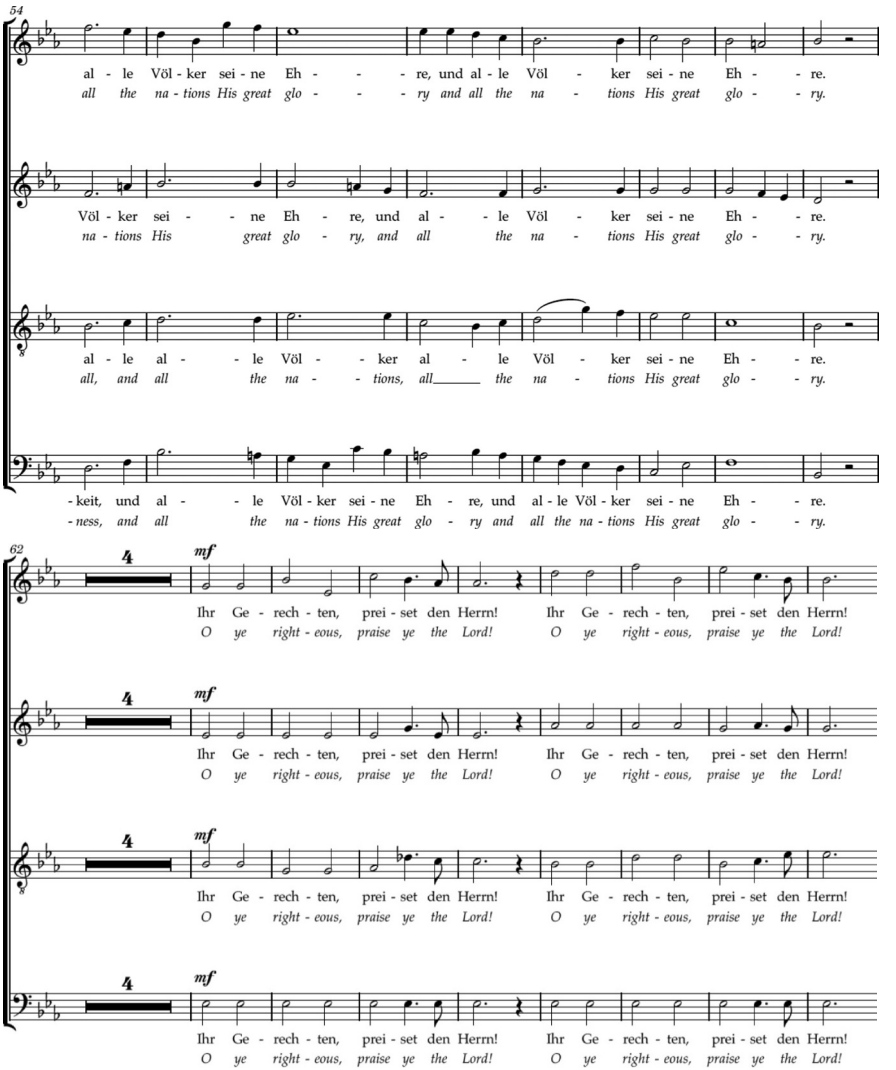
Music Example 2: Ferdinand Hiller, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems: Oratorium nach der heiligen Schrift* [orchestra score], op. 24 (Leipzig: Kistner, 1842), no. 30, pp. 177–82, p. 180, bb. 65–76: Aria of Chamital.



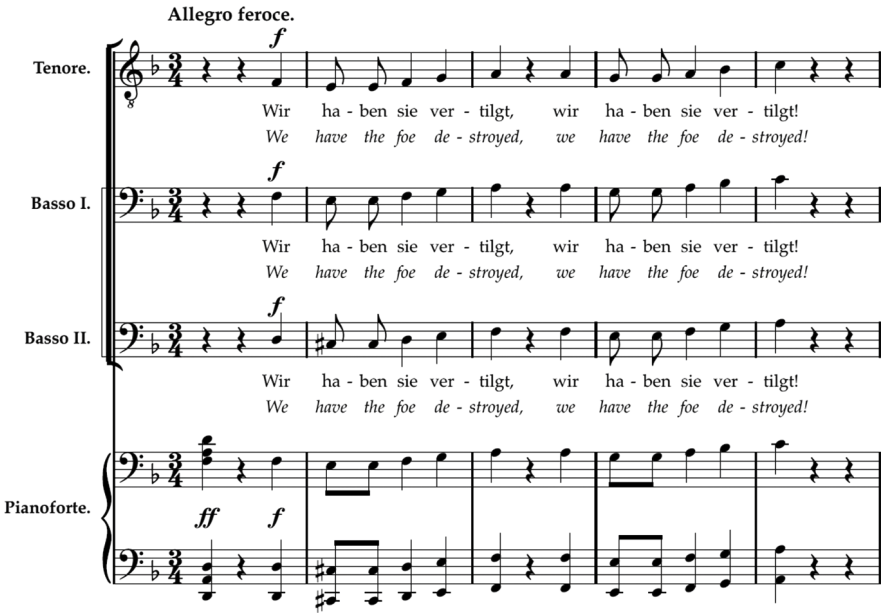
Music Example 2 (continued)



Music Example 3: Ferdinand Hiller, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems: Oratorium nach der heiligen Schrift* [piano reduction], op. 24, 2nd edn (1842; Leipzig: Kistner, [1874]), no. 47, pp. 234–48, pp. 238–40, bb. 41–73: Final Chorus.



Music Example 3 (continued)



Music Example 4: Ferdinand Hiller, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems: Oratorium nach der heiligen Schrift* [piano reduction], op. 24, 2nd edn (1842; Leipzig: Kistner, [1874]), no. 42, pp. 218–23, p. 218, bb. 1–5: Chorus of Babylonish Warriors.

> Last night we gave the concert "The Destruction of Jerusalem" for which we practised for a year and a quarter, and when I conducted the splendid choir of more than fifty singers, which I had endowed, when the gaze of everyone followed my baton and the waves of sound emanated now for the very last time from the enthralled bosoms, then I had to hold on to my heart with both hands so as not to burst into tears. I too was to sing, and sang from the fullness of my heart and with a mighty voice the beautiful aria: "Yes, Thou wilt yet remember, e'en thus my soul doth answer me." There was complete silence. After the full chorus's thunder had died away, to sing and to be heard in this way is one of the most blissful moments in man's life.—[89]

89 Theodor Storm, *Briefe*, ed. Peter Goldammer, 2 vols (Berlin and Weimar: Aufbau, 1972), I, 453: "Gestern abend hielten wir noch das Konzert 'Die Zerstörung Jerusalems,' worauf wir fünf viertel Jahr geübt haben, und als ich zuletzt den vollen prächtigen Chor von über fünfzig Sängern, den ich gestiftet, dirigierte, als so aller Blicke an meinem Stäbchen hingen und die Tonwellen nun zum letzten Mal aus begeisterter Menschenbrust hervorströmten, da mußte ich mein Herz in beide Hände fassen, um nicht in Tränen auszubrechen. Auch ich sang noch und sang aus meinem bewegten Herzen und mit mächtiger Stimme die schöne Arie: 'Du wirst ja dran gedenken, denn meine Seele sagt es mir.' Es war eine lautlose Stille. So, nachdem der volle Chor ausgebraust, zu singen und gehört zu werden ist eins der glückseligsten Momente des Menschenlebens.—" Achicam's recitative and aria (no. 28; see Music Example 5) follows the Chorus of the

Storm's enthusiastic absorption in the oratorio, which he considered "a very important work,"[90] and his resonant identification with the "pious Israelite"[91] Achicam whose aria he singles out (see Music Example 5) and who, in the oratorio, is a follower of Jeremiah's, compellingly demonstrates the potential of Hiller's composition to induce sympathy. At the same time, it confirms Philippson's apprehensions, whose criticism in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* was situated within the wider context of Jewish artistic engagement with the destruction of Jerusalem. The critic reprimands those Jewish artists who adopted this "formidable subject of the great national event" for their lack of enthusiasm in giving expression to the national character and its peculiar centrality in life as a fact. As discussed in more detail in chapter V, in 1855 Philippson had avidly commended Julius Kossarski's dramatic poem *Titus oder die Zerstörung Jerusalem's* (Titus; Or, The Destruction of Jerusalem), not so much for its literary quality than for its profound articulation of the "Jewish spirit." That he makes no mention of this text may indicate that by 1862 he may have changed his opinion. Intriguingly, however, Philippson links in this instance Hiller and Bendemann by asserting:

Israelites anticipating the thundering horsemen of Nebuchadnezzar's advancing army (no. 27), see Hiller, *Zerstörung Jerusalems* [piano reduction]. For Storm's performance of Hiller's oratorio, see also Hans Sievers, "Zur Geschichte von Theodor Storms 'Singverein'," *Schriften der Theodor-Storm-Gesellschaft* 18 (1969): 89–105, 91. Storm was an enthusiast who had founded a *Singverein* already in his native Husum in 1843. Having been banned from practising as a lawyer by the Danish authorities for his anti-Danish activities, Storm moved to Potsdam and then to Heiligenstadt in Thuringia where, in 1859, he once again founded a *Singverein*. Formed along democratic lines, Storm's choral society soon grew to a size that allowed the performance of complex works, such as Hiller's oratorio and, in March 1862, Mendelssohn's *Paulus*. See Robert Wendt, *Die Musik in Theodor Storms Leben* (Greifswald: Abel, 1914), pp. 41–6, 82–3. For the writer's engagement with music see also Hiroyuki Tanaka, "Theodor Storm und die Musik des 19. Jahrhunderts," in *Theodor Storm und das 19. Jahrhundert: Vorträge und Berichte des Internationalen Storm-Symposions aus Anlaß des 100. Todestages Theodor Storms*, eds Brian Coghlan and Karl Ernst Lange (Berlin: Schmidt, 1989), pp. 145–50. Incidentally, to thank Storm for his efforts, he was presented by the members of his Heiligenstadt choral society already in April 1863 with Heinrich Merz's engraving of Kaulbach's *Zerstörung Jerusalems*; see Gertrud Storm, *Theodor Storm: Ein Bild seines Lebens* (Berlin: Curtius, 1913), II, 94–5. Hiller's oratorio with its concluding prophecy of return and triumph may have been of special resonance to Storm who already knew that three days after its performance, having been elected district magistrate (*Landvogt*), he would return to Husum. During the still ongoing Second Schleswig War (1864) the city had been conquered by the Prussian-Austrian coalition and in 1867 was incorporated into Prussia.

90 Theodor Storm quoted in ibid., II, 94: "ein sehr bedeutendes Werk."

91 Hiller, *Zerstörung Jerusalems* [piano reduction], p. I: "ein frommer Israelit."

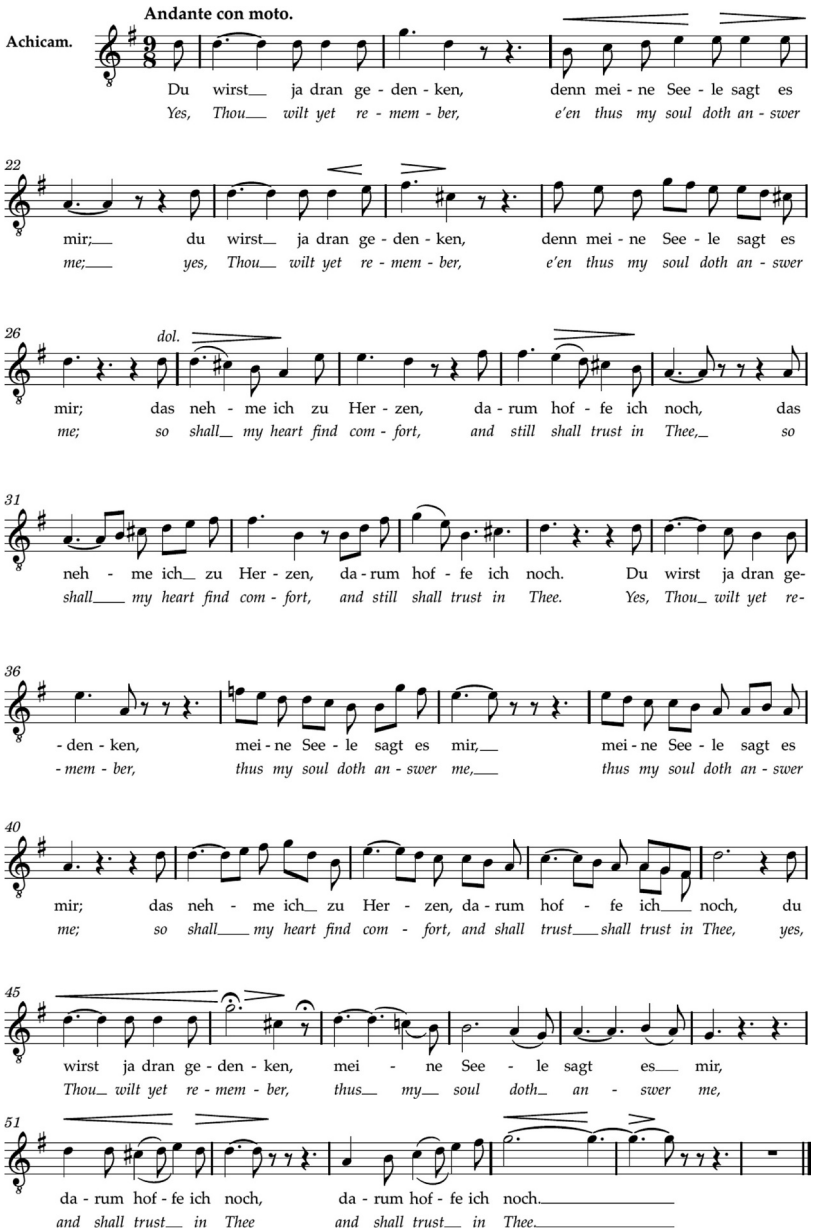
> If it has been emphasized in regard to Bendemann's *Captive Jews in Exile* and his *Jeremiah on the Ruins of Jerusalem*, despite all the appreciation afforded to these masterworks, that the female figures appearing in these paintings were gardener girls from Düsseldorf, so that the national colour had not been used at all; this may similarly be applied to Hiller's composition, and he succeed in giving his music such an original form that it might not agree with the destruction of Memphis or of Zaragoza just as well.[92]

The comparison of Hiller and Bendemann is perceptive (for the two paintings mentioned in the review, see Figures 5 and 6). Composer and artist, as has been suggested above, indeed employed similar strategies of inviting mainstream identification with their (positive) Jewish figures. As Hiller created familiarity with the prophet and his followers by musical means, so Bendemann, within the purview of pictorial representation, resorted to familiar modes of early Renaissance paintings that had been adapted also by the contemporary Nazarene movement in Germany.[93] It was only much later, after more than three decades, that the artist made subtle use of exoticizing formulae in his Jewish paintings and explored the ambivalence and shifting semantic potential of orientalist representations. Kaulbach, in turn, had largely neglected the semantic potential of orientalization in his *Zerstörung Jerusalems*. In what otherwise is a painting highly charged with symbolism, the oriental aspect appears to be mostly decorative, providing the historic setting for his pictorial narrative which draws its symbolic significance rather from that attributed to the historical moment.

Bendemann was also mentioned much later, in 1881, in a similar context by Franz Liszt alongside Mendelssohn and the French Jewish composer Fromental Halévy. Liszt challenged in his *Des Bohémiens et de leur musique en Hongrie* (1859;

92 Anonymous, [Untitled], *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* 27.2 (January 6, 1863): 19: "Wenn man von Bendemann's 'Trauernden Juden in Babel' und seinem 'Jeremias auf den Trümmern von Jerusalem' bei aller Anerkennung dieser Meisterwerke doch hervorgehoben hat, daß die in diesen Gemälden erscheinenden weiblichen Personen Gärtnermädchen von Düsseldorf wären, sodaß das nationale Kolorit gar nicht verwendet worden, so kann man dies auch auf Hiller's Composition anwenden, und es ist ihm gelungen, seine Musik so originell zu gestalten, daß sie nicht ebenso gut auf den Fall von Memphis oder Saragossa passen könnte." For the issue of the visual representation of Jewish figures, see also Kathrin Wittler, *Morgenländischer Glanz: Eine deutsche jüdische Literaturgeschichte (1750–1850)* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019), pp. 417–23.

93 See, e.g., Mitchell Benjamin Franck, *German Romantic Painting Redefined: Nazarene Tradition and the Narratives of Romanticism* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2001), p. 100.



Music Example 5: Ferdinand Hiller, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems: Oratorium nach der heiligen Schrift* [piano reduction], op. 24, 2nd edn (1842; Leipzig: Kistner, [1874]), no. 28, pp. 148–51, pp. 149–51, bb. 19–56: Recitative and Aria of Achicam.

Figure 5: Anonymous, after Eduard Bendemann, *Gefangene Juden im Exil*, frontispiece to Salomon Ludwig Steinheim, *Gesänge aus der Verbannung, welche sang Obadiah ben Amos, im Lande Ham*, 2nd edn (1829; Frankfurt a. M.: Schmerber, 1837); lithograph; original (1832), oil on canvas, 183 cm × 280 cm, held by Wallraf-Richartz-Museum & Fondation Corboud, Cologne. (Public domain.)

1881; *The Gipsy in Music*)[94] the controversial notion of a specifically Jewish idiom in any artistic endeavor and maintained that Jewish artists in fact appropriated the Christian idiom precisely in order to hide their innermost sentiments from prying eyes or ears.[95] Liszt's claim that an oratorio by Mendelssohn or an opera

94 Franz Liszt, *Des Bohémiens et de leur musique en Hongrie* (Paris: Librairie Nouvelle, 1859). The study was published in an abbreviated translation into German by Peter Cornelius as *Die Zigeuner und ihre Musik in Ungarn* (Pesth: Heckenast, 1861); many of the more obviously antisemitic passages were excised from this translation, see, e.g., Serge Gut, *Franz Liszt* (Paris: Éditions de Fallois, 1989), pp. 205–12. The second, much expanded edition was published as *Des Bohémiens et de leur musique en Hongrie* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1881) and was translated into German by Lina Ramann as volume 6 of Liszt's *Gesammelte Werke* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1883). The English translation by Edwin Evans, *The Gipsy in Music* (London: Reeves, 1926), is based on the second edition; because this translation is abbreviated and not always reliable, I provide my own translations.

95 Liszt, *Bohémiens* (ed. 1881), p. 60: "Might one say that Mendelssohn composed the oratorio *Elias*, that Halévy put the *Jewess* on stage, that Bendemann painted the *Weeping Jews at the Banks of the Euphrates*, that a fourth represented *Salomo* in all his glory in the theatre? One will always need to ask oneself: what is it that is of essentially Israelite nature? Neither the sentiment,

Figure 6: Bartholomäus Ignaz Weiss, after Eduard Bendemann, *Jeremiah on the Ruins of Jerusalem* (n. d.); lithograph, 32.1 cm × 59.2 cm; Wellcome Collection, London; original (1834–35), oil on canvas, 224 cm × 414 cm, formerly held by Leineschloß, Hannover; destroyed in the Second World War. (Public domain.)

nor the form! This oratorio, this opera, this painting, this play; might they not just as well have been felt and thought by Christians? Yet who would want to deny that the Israelites possess a sentiment that is essentially their own, that this sentiment in no other form might be incarnated than theirs and exclusively theirs? Thus, if they nevertheless do not give to the world of art anything of their self, then this is because they do not want to, because they cannot! When they produced art, the Jews did not want to sing about their own self, nor did they want to sing to themselves; they wanted to become proficient in the way of the Christians. That is to say, they wanted to surpass them in those arts which suited their moral, intellectual, and material capabilities, because they were wary of cultivating them indiscriminately. [Dira-t-on que Mendelssohn a composé l'oratorio d'*Elie*, que Halévy a mis en scène la *Juive*, que Bendemann a peint *les Juifs pleurant sur les bords de l'Euphrate*, qu'un quatrième a représenté sur le théâtre *Salomon* dans sa gloire? On pourra tojours se demander: Qu'y a-t-il là d'essentiellement Israélite? Ni le sentiment, ni la forme! Cet oratorio, cet opera, cette peinture, cette pièce, n'auraient-ils pas été ainsi sentis et pensés par des chrétiens? Pourtant, qui voudra nier que les Israélites aient un sentiement essentiellement leur, qui ne peut s'incarner que dans une forme à lui, seulement à lui? Si donc ils ne se donnent pas eux-mêmes dans le monde de l'art, c'est qu'ils ne le veulent pas; c'est qu'ils ne le peuvent pas! / En faisant de l'art, les Juifs ne voulurent pas se chanter eux-mêmes, ni se chanter à eux-mêmes; ils voulurent devenir habiles à la façon des chrétiens. C'est-à-dire, plus habiles qu'eux, dans les arts qui convenaient à leurs capacités morales, intellectuelles, matérielles, car ils se gardérent bien de les cultiver tous indistinctement.]"

by Halévy therefore may just as well have been invented and emotionally shaped by a Christian in turn provoked Ferdinand Hiller's censure.[96]

Late in his life, long after he had converted to Protestantism, and by then an eminent figure in German cultural life, Hiller gave vent to his exasperation with the racialized approach to musical expression in a letter to the editor of the *Hamburger Nachrichten* (1882). The composer deplored the constant coercive imposition of national affiliation no less than the perpetual comparison of the past with the present.[97] Moreover, deeply vexed by the inconsistency of the proponents of the racial approach, he caustically noted that where Wagner "senses the Semite" in each single bar in particular of Mendelssohn's music,[98] Liszt suggested, as we have seen, the fundamental interchangeability of Jewish and non-Jewish composers, though he denied genuine creativity to the former.[99]

While it is moot to speculate on this point, it is clear that as with other forms of discrimination, the white elephant of Jewishness—both as (allegedly) a congenital representational mode and as represented—was not to be ignored. Indeed, it had an impact on the oratorios discussed in this chapter not only in terms of their production but also of their reception. Music was no less a part of the discourse on Jewishness than paintings, such as Kaulbach's and Bendemann's. And when Hiller refers to his "innocent art,"[100] it becomes clear very soon that all such innocence, if ever it existed, had been lost. The composer's letter accordingly turns surreptitiously into an irritable response in particular to the new edition of Liszt's *Des Bohémiens* that had been published in the previous year 1881.

Much of the blatantly antisemitic content of this text, still amplified in the second edition, has been attributed to the Princess Carolyne zu Sayn-Wittgenstein with whom Liszt lived at the time and who was strongly influenced by Catholic anti-Judaism.[101] Indeed, it was suspected already by Hiller, that the

96 Liszt, *Bohémiens* (ed. 1881), p. 60.

97 Ferdinand Hiller, *Erinnerungsblätter* (Cologne: DuMont-Schauberg, 1884), p. 53: "Immer wieder die Octroyirung einer Nationalität und die Verquickung der Vergangenheit mit der Gegenwart."

98 Ibid.: "den Semiten herausfühlt."

99 Ibid., pp. 53–4: "Könnten etwa ein Oratorium von Mendelssohn, eine Oper von Halévy nicht eben so gut von Christen gefühlt und erdacht sein?" See Liszt, *Des Bohémiens* (ed. 1881), p. 60.

100 Hiller, *Erinnerungsblätter*, p. 48: "meiner unschuldigen Kunst."

101 See Alan Walker, *Franz Liszt: The Final Years, 1861–1886* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997), p. 406 and Dolores Pesce, *Liszt's Final Decade* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2014), pp. 154–5. For a discussion of Liszt's antisemitism, see, e.g., Rainer Riehn, "Wider die Verunglimpfung des Andenkens Verstorbener. Liszt soll Antisemit gewesen sein . . .," *Musik-Konzepte: Franz Liszt* 12 (1980): 100–14 and Gut, *Franz Liszt*, chapter 15: "Liszt était-il antisémite?"

antisemitic excesses of *Des Bohémiens* should not be attributed to Liszt himself.[102] Nevertheless, that he imprudently lent his name to the racist effusions of Sayn-Wittgenstein severely damaged Liszt's reputation and the aged composer felt obliged to minimize their severity and to express his regret for his "pretended hostility to the Israelites" in a letter to the editor of the *Gazette de Hongrie* (1883).[103]

In an attempt to explain the peculiar character of the Romani, the celebrated piano virtuoso and composer had construed the Jews as their negative opposite already in the first edition of his study of 1859.[104] Conceding to the Jews a catalytic function in the development of European music that significantly determined the flowering of "our art,"[105] he nevertheless reiterated that, while they might well be able to learn and to practice art, they were much less apt to create art. Liszt adduces this to the supposedly devious and occlusive nature of the Jews acquired in the diaspora that prevented them from fully revealing themselves.[106] What he describes as the main motivation of Jewish musical production is in effect a disposition for mimicry: "They wanted to become adept and dexterous like the Christians, and they succeeded splendidly."[107] Yet once again, in terms much later applied by Homi Bhabha to the interaction between colonizer and colonized, the Jews are hampered by the irksome *almost, but not quite*.[108] "Artistic creation and

102 See Hiller, *Erinnerungsblätter*, pp. 51–3.

103 See Liszt's letter of February 6, 1883 to Amadé Saissy, the editor of the *Gazette de Hongrie*, in *Letters of Franz Liszt*, coll. and ed. La Mara, transl. Constance Bache, vol. II: *From Rome to the End* (London: Grevel, 1894), pp. 427–8: "If, by some mutilated quotations from my book on the *Gipsies* in Hungary, it has been sought to pick a quarrel with me, and to make what is called in French *une querelle d'Allemand*, I can in all good conscience affirm that I feel myself to be guiltless of any other misdeed than that of having feebly reproduced the argument of the kingdom of Jerusalem, set forth by Disraeli (Lord Beaconsfield), George Eliot (Mrs. Lewes), and Crémieux, three Israelites of high degree." In his cover letter, Liszt referred to his "*pretended* animadversion against the Israelites" and asked Saissy whether he thought it opportune to publish the letter which, otherwise, he would leave unprinted, see p. 427. In the event, Liszt published his letter also in the influential *Allgemeine Deutsche Musikzeitung* 10 (1883): 64 and it was also reprinted in *Der Israelit* 23.14 (February 15, 1883): 223, the central organ of Orthodox Judaism in Germany. The composer's erroneous assumption that George Eliot was Jewish was shared by a number of contemporaries, owing in particular to her proto-Zionist novel *Daniel Deronda* (1876).

104 For a detailed discussion of Liszt's text in relation to its antisemitic bias, see Dahm, *Topos der Juden*, chapter 3.4.

105 Liszt, *Bohémiens* (ed. 1859), p. 38: "notre art."

106 For the notion of the unknowability of the Jews, as described by Sigmund Freud, see Sander L. Gilman, *Freud, Race, and Gender* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 36–8.

107 Liszt, *Bohémiens* (ed. 1859), p. 40: "Ils voulurent devenir habiles à la façon des chrétiens, et ils réussirent avec éclat."

108 See Homi K. Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man," in *The Location of Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), pp. 85–92, p. 86.

even successful creation is not at all the same as the supreme gift of artistic creativity," Liszt claims: "the difference between the two is that between talent and genius."[109]

In the much expanded second edition of *Des Bohémiens*, Liszt illustrated this claim with names, juxtaposing as examples of genius and talent, respectively, Bach with Mendelssohn and Beethoven with Meyerbeer.[110] Further cementing the alterity of the Jews, he maintained—in a passage also quoted by Hiller[111]—that Jewish composers did not even try *not* to appropriate "our" methods and imitate "our" masters or to express any other sentiments and strike any chords other than "ours."[112] The Jews, he reiterated, were adept at combining the elements created by "us," yet lacked any true inspiration of their own.[113]

At the same time, the composer elaborated also the perception of a threat to the majority culture that had remained implicit in the earlier version of the text, in analogy to Bhabha's observations on mimicry.[114] He attributes to the Jews an "irreconcilable enmity towards the worshippers of the Crucified" and denounces them as "hidden, wily, versatile, subtle, and skilful enemies of society, whose vices they stimulate and whose entrails they corrode."[115] In fact, he—or Carolyne zu Sayn-Wittgenstein—alleges that the Jews "are at the bottom of all moral epidemics" and likens them to "microbial parasites."[116] Ultimately, Liszt insists on the fundamental inassimilability of the Jews and maintains that they will always remain Jews and retain their true character as oriental aliens: "sombre, hostile, and attractive, like the dull and lethal gaze of the fabled serpent."[117]

The potentially dangerous fascination inspired by the Jews is implicitly suggested by Liszt to have informed their representation by non-Jews, a practice un-

109 Liszt, *Bohémiens* (ed. 1859), p. 40: "Faire de l'art, et même en bien faire, n'est cependant pas encore posséder le don suprême de créer; c'est la différance du talent au genie."

110 See Liszt, *Bohémiens* (ed. 1881), p. 57.

111 See Hiller, *Erinnerungsblätter*, p. 53.

112 Liszt, *Bohémiens* (ed. 1881), p. 67: "Ils n'essaient seulement pas de s'affranchir de nos methods; ils ne tentent même pas de ne point copier nos maîtres, de faire parler d'autres sentimens, de faire vibrer d'autres cordes que les nôtres."

113 See ibid., p. 68.

114 See Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man," p. 87.

115 Liszt, *Bohémiens* (ed. 1881), pp. 49–50: "irréconciliable inimitié contre les adorateurs du Crucifié! [. . .] les Juifs sont [. . .] ennemies dissimulées, astucieux, souples, fins et adroits de la societé, dont ils stimulant les vices et décomposent les entrailles."

116 Ibid., pp. 89–90: "ils sont au fond the toutes les épidémies morales. [. . .] comme un animalcule parasite."

117 Ibid., p. 52: "sombre, hostile et attractif, comme le regard terne et exitial du fabuleux serpent"; see also p. 87.

derstood by the composer to some extent as the inversion of the Jewish contribution to mainstream cultural production: "The art of the Christians has now and then hazarded a corresponding, if not similar, endeavour."[118] In the second edition, Liszt once again explains further:

> Shakespeare created Shylock, Walter Scott created Abraham, others have devised yet others. Rembrandt painted the Rabbi of Amsterdam. The European poet, novelist, and painter were struck by the magnificence of these types, by the Semitic character of their physiognomies, the Oriental turn of their costumes.[119]

And he adds as already, with minor differences, in the first edition: "They were seduced by the sight of the women of this race, so beautiful, so intelligent, and so devoted."[120] This is once more the articulation of the fascination with the Beautiful Jewess which, if much more subtly, resembles the notion of colonial desire defined by Robert J. C. Young as the "covert but insistent obsession with transgressive, inter-racial sex, hybridity and miscegenation."[121] While attributed with (involuntary) seductive powers and therefore suggesting diffuse dangers of transgression, the characteristics ascribed by Liszt to the Beautiful Jewess are indeed indicative of an emerging trope that was to inform also the series of oratorios on the destruction of Jerusalem.[122] As Florian Krobb observes, the trope of the Beautiful Jewess eventually made detailed descriptions of the figure redundant. A short reference or the mere mention of (some of) her attributes would suffice to evoke the stereotype with all its connotations.[123] The specific shape taken by the Beautiful Jewess nevertheless articulated, as Krobb argues, the author's respec-

118 Ibid., p. 71: "L'art des chrétiens s'est parfois hasardé à une tâche analogue, si non semblable."

119 Ibid.: "Shakespeare a créé Shylock, Walter Scott a créé Abraham, d'autres en ont encore dessiné d'autres. Rembrandt a peint le Rabbin d'Amsterdam. Le poète, le romancier, le peintre européen, ont été frappes par la grandeur de ces types, par le caractère sémitique de ces physiognomies, le tour oriental de ces costumes."

120 Ibid.: "Ils ont été séduit par la vue des femmes de cette race, si belles, si intelligentes et si dévouées"; see Liszt, *Bohémiens* (ed. 1859), p. 45.

121 Robert J. C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), p. xii. Intriguingly, the German translation of 1861 does not include the section on the non-Jewish artistic response to Jewishness inspired by perceptions of the other, including the Beautiful Jewess, from which this passage is taken. For the frequently eroticized representation of the Beautiful Jewess, see, e.g., Florian Krobb, *Die schöne Jüdin: Jüdische Frauengestalten in der deutschsprachigen Erzählliteratur vom 17. Jahrhundert bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1993), pp. 2–5, 93–4.

122 For the emergence and proliferation of this trope in German literature, see ibid.

123 See ibid., p. 11.

tive political and ideological stance *vis-à-vis* Jewish assimilation and emancipation.[124]

The writers mentioned by Liszt were instrumental to the creation and dissemination of this trope. Shakespeare created not only Shylock but also the Jew's daughter Jessica, who is implicitly evoked by Liszt. The composer's reference to Walter Scott's Abraham is presumably erroneous, as the only figure in any of the writer's works with this name is a minor character in his tragedy *Auchindrane* (1830), who is not explicitly identified as, nor meant to be, Jewish. Liszt probably had in mind Isaac of York in Scott's *Ivanhoe* (1820). Significantly, here too the old Jew is accompanied by his young daughter, Rebecca; a figure that became hugely influential as the widely disseminated romanticized archetype of the Beautiful Jewess who, in fact, embodies all the characteristics mentioned by Liszt.[125]

However, the composer's objective is not so much to create a sympathetic response, as might be suggested by the acknowledgment of the attractiveness of the Jews—who are, after all, likened to the lethal basilisk. To him the alien figure of the Beautiful Jewess, while engendering a potentially illicit desire, is only another particular that separates the Jews—"imperishable exiles," "sons of the South," "daughters of the Levant"—from "us": "sons of the recent past," "children of the North."[126] Liszt accordingly makes himself an advocate of the restoration of the Promised Land to the Jews, or rather of the Jews to the Promised Land, and argues that this should be facilitated by the European nations in their own urgent interest, adding as an afterthought that such an endeavor would also be just toward the Jews.[127] Consequently, he effectively envisages the exclusion and even the expulsion of the Jews from Europe.

Liszt's proposition clearly echoes the controversial observations of Heinrich von Treitschke which triggered the so-called Berlin antisemitism dispute (*Berliner Antisemitismusstreit*) of 1879–81 of which the editor of the *Preußische Jahrbücher* and the liberal historian Theodor Mommsen were the main protagonists.[128] Treitschke's irritable response to the eleventh volume of the monumental *Geschichte der Juden von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart* (1853–75; *History of*

124 See ibid., p. 9.

125 For the impact of Scott's characterization of the Beautiful Jewess on German literature and the proliferation of the trope, see ibid., pp. 105–6.

126 Liszt, *Bohémiens* (ed. 1881), p. 72: "inexterminables exilés," "fils du Midi," "filles du Levant," "nous," "fils de la veille," "enfants du Nord."

127 See ibid., p. 93.

128 For a comprehensive documentation, see Karsten Krieger (ed.), *Der Berliner Antisemitismusstreit 1879–1881: Eine Kontroverse um die Zugehörigkeit der deutschen Juden zur Nation*. Kommentierte Quellenedition, im Auftrag des Zentrums für Antisemitismusforschung, 2 vols (Munich: Saur, 2003).

the Jews) by the German Jewish historian Heinrich Graetz was instrumental in setting the stage for a wide-spread articulation of antisemitism in bourgeois and intellectual circles in Germany. Treitschke asserted that there was a pervasive sense in German society of the Jews being "our misfortune" and that "there will always be Jews who are nothing but German-speaking Orientals."[129] Moreover, denouncing Jewish self-assertion within the young German nation, the influential historian demanded either complete assimilation[130] or, alternatively: "Emigration, foundation of a Jewish state somewhere in foreign parts."[131]

The convergence of antisemitic and (proto-)Zionist objectives as it emerges here explains the resistance of many assimilated Jews to the impositions conveyed by both ideological frameworks. In fact, Hiller's response to Liszt's unexpected attack must also be understood within this context. And when Hiller emphasized the historical resilience of the Jews and insisted on their fundamental equality in both negative and positive terms, this was obviously an attempt to validate and to normalize the Jewish presence in western societies:

> So there is after all a religion, a people, a race, whatever one may call it, which has suffered in the most unspeakable way through persecution engendered by the most abhorrent and ridiculous prejudices and which not only has not been destroyed but always rises once again to significant achievements. A race to which Moses belonged, whose character was assumed by the Saviour when he walked the earth, which produced a Spinoza [. . .], such a race cannot be subdued with uncouth persecution, it cannot be removed by absurd projects—one should confront it with strictness, like any other, where it errs, where it transgresses; and one should appreciate it, where it labours, creates, and acts in concert with the various peoples among whom it has been dispersed by its fate.[132]

129 Heinrich von Treitschke, "Unsere Aussichten," *Preußische Jahrbücher* 44 (1879): 559–76, 575: "die Juden sind unser Unglück!" and 576: "es wird immer Juden geben, die nichts sind als Deutsch redende Orientalen"; for a discussion, see, e.g., Sander L. Gilman, *Jewish Self-Hatred: Anti-Semitism and the Hidden Language of the Jews* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), p. 214.

130 See Treitschke, "Unsere Aussichten," 573.

131 Heinrich von Treitschke, "Herr Graetz und sein Judenthum," *Preußische Jahrbücher* 44 (1879): 660–70, 669: "Auswanderung, Begründung eines jüdischen Staates irgendwo im Ausland."

132 Hiller, *Erinnerungsblätter*, p. 55: "Da ist nun einmal eine Religion, ein Volk, eine Race, wie man es bezeichnen mag, die durch die greulichsten, den albernsten Vorurtheilen entsprungenen Verfolgungen das Unsäglichste erduldet hat und nicht allein nicht untergegangen ist, sondern sich stets wieder erhebt zu bedeutenden Leistungen. Ein Geschlecht, dem Moses angehörte, dessen Züge der Heiland annahm, als er auf Erden wandelte, das einen Spinoza hervorbrachte [. . .], ein solches Geschlecht ist nicht mit pöbelhaften Verfolgungen klein zu kriegen, nicht durch unsinnige Projecte zu entfernen—man trete ihm wie Anderen streng entgegen, wo es fehlt, wo es sündigt, und erkenne es an, wo es arbeitet, schafft und wirkt gemeinschaftlich mit den verschiedenen Völkern, unter die sein Geschick es vertheilt hat."

Thus underlining the decisive impact of the Jews on western civilization, Hiller argues in favor of the cultural productivity of hybridity while at the same time insisting on the precedence of cultural over racial identities:

> What is that to mean, that it is demanded from talented people to put themselves in conditions and to adopt precepts that have always remained alien to them, to renounce those with which they have been raised,—to reproach them with making use of the wealth of a culture which they are able to increase and which those in possession of it truly have produced not only from their own self-importance.[133]

More than four decades earlier, the same concerns appear to have informed his oratorio. The composer's choice to represent the destruction of the First Temple gave him the opportunity to challenge monolithic notions of Jewishness as they were articulated in Kaulbach's painting. There are, accordingly, in Hiller's *Zerstörung Jerusalems*, "good" Jews and "bad" Jews. In the artist's representation, in contrast, situated at the moment of bifurcation between Jews and Christians, the latter are "good" and the former are "bad"; even the central group around the High Priest, though imbued with some heroism (see also Figure 7), is ultimately connoted negatively for the error of their ways. It is, as we will see, only the daughter of the High Priest—once again the Beautiful Jewess—who, depending on the realization of her conversion potential,[134] offers a possible exception to this dichotomy; and this is of course predicated on the renunciation of her Jewishness, as it was claimed also by Wagner. The same dichotomy is perpetuated across the series of subsequent oratorios and libretti based on, or engaging with, Kaulbach's *Zerstörung Jerusalems*.

133 Ibid.: "Was soll das heißen, von begabten Menschen zu verlangen, sich in Zustände, in Anschauungen zu versetzen, die ihnen stets fremd geblieben, denjenigen zu entsagen, in welchen sie auferzogen,—ihnen einen Vorwurf daraus zu machen, daß sie den Reichthum einer Cultur benutzen, den sie zu vermehren im Stande sind, und den diejenigen, welche ihn besitzen, wahrlich auch nicht nur aus eigener Selbstherrlichkeit hervorgebracht."

134 As Florian Krobb demonstrates, in contrast to male Jews, the Beautiful Jewess was frequently represented in literature as responsive to conversion efforts and as such could be turned into an "argument" against her former religious community, see *Schöne Jüdin*, pp. 53–4.

Figure 7: Anonymous, after Wilhelm von Kaulbach, vignette showing the detail of The High Priest from *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* (1846), in Guido Görres, "Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem: Tragisches Singspiel in drei Abtheilungen," *Deutsches Hausbuch* 2 (1847): 51–60, 57; woodcut. (Public domain.)

The Iconography of Divine Punishment, Supersession, and the Jews

In his neo-baroque historical painting of the destruction of Jerusalem, Kaulbach explored the symbolic dimension he perceived the historical event to have on a monumental scale. As is evidenced by the artist's dense explication of his composition, he derived his interpretation mainly from biblical sources and from the history of *The Jewish War* by Flavius Josephus (c. 75 CE) as well as—albeit not acknowledged—from

the *Ecclesiastical History* by Eusebius of the beginning of the fourth century.[135] Intriguingly, and perhaps unexpectedly, Kaulbach created by visual means and in productive conversation with the iconographic tradition precisely one of those moments described by Ruth HaCohen as "oratorial." In a musical sense, such moments reveal according to the musicologist the potential of the oratorio to

> show forth a vocalized alchemy in which a voice (or voices) from a certain time, context, and configuration pierce through series of pasts, presents, or futures—or a mixture thereof, carrying embedded existential layers, and project them onto an ever-renewed present tense.[136]

The Joycean suggestion of an epiphany is deliberately invoked by HaCohen in relation to the "oratorial moment" with her choice of words ("show forth").[137] The time-embracing, and simultaneously time-transcending, disposition of the oratorio which creates those moments of epiphany is manifest also in Kaulbach's monumental painting. The past event is aligned with the present through the perpetual momentum attributed to the lateral figures of the Wandering Jew and the withdrawing Christians, showing forth in another epiphany its continuously renewing significance to the observer. The anticipation of the Last Judgment suggested by the artist in his *Erläuterungen*, but also visually imparted through the monumental painting's composition and iconography, further projects the oratorial moment into the future and to the end of times.[138]

The very fact that Kaulbach's *Zerstörung Jerusalems* impacted in various ways on oratorios in nineteenth-century Germany, in itself a process of ever-renewing the present tense through the musical medium, supports the notion that the painting creates its own "oratorial moment." The imminence of this moment may, in turn, explain the easy intermedial transposition undergone by the visual representation. Indeed, I am not aware of any other painting of the period to have inspired as many oratorial engagements. And while the musical adaptations of the artist's painting have been eclipsed by the much more famous programmatic rendering of his *Hunnenschlacht* (1837; *The Battle of the Huns*) by Franz Liszt (1857; S.105), the intermedial proliferation nevertheless appears to be another confirmation of Kaulbach's reasoning that his chosen subject was indeed perfectly suited for artistic representation.

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135 From the latter, Kaulbach abstracted the flight of the Christians from Jerusalem, see *Erläuterungen*, pp. 7–8 and Eusebius, *The Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius Pamphilus*, transl. C. F. Crusé (New York: Mason and Lane, 1839), pp. 85–7.

136 HaCohen, *Music Libel*, p. 90.

137 See ibid., p. 417n60.

138 For Kaulbach's use of the iconography of the Last Judgment, see Möseneder, "'Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht'," 119–20.

The pictorial composition of *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* accommodates five groups of figures in a central vertical axis of descending hierarchy, flanked on each side by another three. The highest level is occupied by the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel, all of whom prophesied the destruction of Jerusalem. Below them are represented the seven angels of Revelation who mete out God's punishment. The central group shows the altar of the Temple as it is desecrated by the conquering Romans. In front of this, the High Priest prepares to stab himself in the circle of his family. The foreground, finally, shows cowering Jews hiding their faces in despair and with them, facing the viewer, an old Levite with a sword limply in his hand staring forlornly at the ground next to urns spilling their riches: gold and jewels.

To the left of this central axis are represented the Jews: the burning Temple and its vanquished Zealot defenders; below them Mary of Bethezuba, the daughter of Eleazar, who according to Josephus devoured her new-born during the Roman siege of Jerusalem, insane with hunger; and the Wandering Jew pursued by three demons as he is fleeing the destruction with horror in his eyes on a trajectory that will take him out of the frame. This is mirrored on the right hand by the Roman general Titus Vespasianus and a group of lictors below whom three angels hoist the luminescent cup of the last supper over the heads of the Christians as they leave the stricken city.

Kaulbach's canvas on the monumental scale of almost six by more than seven metres forcefully impresses on the beholder the alleged guilt and obstinacy of the Jews and construes the destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple as their befitting divine punishment. Indeed, the composition is reminiscent of the iconography of the Last Judgment,[139] in accordance with the artist's notion of rendering it as a divinely ordained judgment and turning point in universal history. The painting's original frame, destroyed in the Second World War, moreover included two biblical inscriptions from the Vulgate which suggested a distinct interpretive framework to the visual representation.[140] The inscription in the left spandrel from the book of Daniel read: "the prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary; and the end thereof shall be with a flood, and unto the end of the war desolations are determined," while the text on the right from the gospel of Luke presaged: "And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away captive into all

139 See ibid. The location of the painting in the Neue Pinakothek additionally underlined the iconographic congruence with the Last Judgment inasmuch as it was given a position similar to that of Rubens' *The Great Last Judgment* (c. 1617) in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich, see Sheehan, *Museums in the German Art World*, p. 97.

140 Kaulbach's use of the Latin text has been taken to suggest Catholic affinities, see Möseneder, "'Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht'," 131.

nations: and Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled."[141] The two passages clearly envisage the cataclysmic destruction of Jerusalem and articulate the notion of supersession.

Yet the painting endorses not only a secularized supersessionism but abounds, beyond its religiously informed anti-Judaism, with antisemitic stereotypes.[142] The story of Mary's teknophagy is a case in point. The central group in the left middleground of the painting depicts the unfortunate woman in contemplation of the infant she has killed.[143] The painter's choice to represent the unnatural mother and her dead child in the form of an anti-pietà next to an iron cauldron and surrounded by sinister hooded figures in the shadows clearly evokes notions of ritual murder (see also Figure 8). This is alluded to also in the negative characterization of the Zealots who, as cited by Kaulbach in his *Erläuterungen* from Josephus, "drank the blood of the populace to one another, and divided the dead bodies of the poor creatures between them."[144] In a symmetrical juxtaposition, the cauldron and Mary's teknophagy moreover indicate the perversion of the Eucharist signified by the luminescent chalice and the Host in the gloriole above it.

Supported by the rich allegorical potential of the painting, in particular its representation of perverted acts, such as Mary's feast on her new-born, the composition not only associates these iniquities with the deicide to explain the historical destruction of Jerusalem but, with the figure of the Wandering Jew, extrapolates the continuing impact of the divine judgment. The very figure of the Wandering Jew becomes, for Kaulbach, another reminder of the Last Judgment and of the Jews' eternal perdition. At the same time, he embodies a historical continuum in that the artist understands him to be representative of contemporary Jewry.[145]

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141 See ibid., 106. Möseneder, however, mistakenly reverses sides in his discussion; see also Menke-Schwinghammer, *Weltgeschichte als "Nationalepos,"* p. 178n146. Luke 21:24: "ET CADENT IN ORE GLADII, ET CAPTIVI DUCENTUR IN OMNES GENTES, ET JERUSALEM CALCABITUR A GENTIBUS, DONEC IMPLEANTUR TEMPORA NATIONUM, LUC. XXI. XXIV." Daniel 9:26: "ET CIVITATEM ET SANCTUARIUM DISSIPABIT POPULUS DUM DUCE VENTURO, ET FINIS EIUS VASTITAS, ET POST FINEM BELLI STATUTA DESOLATIO, DAN. IX. XXVI."

142 For a detailed analysis of anti-Jewish and antisemitic elements in Kaulbach's painting, see, e.g., Avraham Ronen, "Kaulbach's Wandering Jew: An Anti-Jewish Allegory and Two Jewish Responses," *Assaph* 3 (1998): 243–62.

143 [Kaulbach], *Erläuterungen*, p. 5: "Gefoltert von Hunger, welcher das Haupt mit Wahnsinn, mit Wuth das Herz entflammt, ermordet sie die Frucht ihres Leibes, um sie zu essen"; see Josephus, *Jewish War*, pp. 353–4 (6.3.4).

144 [Kaulbach], *Erläuterungen*, p. 6: "Sie tranken einander das Blut der Bürger zu, und theilten unter sich die Leichen"; see Josephus, *Jewish War*, p. 325 (5.10.4). See further Jeremiah 19:7–9 and [Kaulbach], *Erläuterungen*, p. 4.

145 See ibid., p. 8.

Figure 8: Anonymous, after Wilhelm von Kaulbach, vignette showing the detail of Mary of Bethezuba from *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* (1846), in Guido Görres, "Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem: Tragisches Singspiel in drei Abtheilungen," *Deutsches Hausbuch* 2 (1847): 51–60, 56; woodcut. (Public domain.)

Given the painting's strong antisemitic bias, it may not come as a surprise that George Eliot noted tersely in her diary that she was "[u]nable to admire" Kaulbach's work when she encountered it during a visit to the Neue Pinakothek in 1858.[146] Yet general opinion was very different indeed. The painting was widely—and internationally—acclaimed, and not only in artists' circles or specialist publications. Hans Christian Andersen, for instance, recorded in his diary on November 27, 1840 that he visited Kaulbach's studio and enthusiastically described the impact the cartoon for *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* had on him. The Danish writer not only compared the sensation the composition produced in him with that of reading the *Divine Comedy* or *Faust* after some paltry lyrical poetry or novella. He moreover averred its inspira-

146 See the entry of May 20, 1858, *The Journals of George Eliot*, eds Margaret Harris and Judith Johnston (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 317; in "Recollections of Berlin 1854–1855," Eliot had already commented on Kaulbach's frescoes in the Neues Museum: "They are the result of much thought and talent, but they leave one entirely cold as all elaborate allegorical compositions must do," p. 252.

tional potential and insisted that the representation of the Wandering Jew, the shoemaker of Jerusalem, encouraged him to revisit this motif in his own work.[147] Yet more importantly, Kaulbach's artistic representation of *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* acted as a significant, if controversial, stimulus on a succession of nineteenth-century German oratorios with particular focus on negotiations of Jewishness.

Early Inspiration and Early Response: Loewe and Hiller

One of the earliest musical engagements in Germany with the historical destruction of Jerusalem and of the Second Temple in the year 70 CE appears to have been a *Kunstlied* by Carl Loewe (1796–1869).[148] Based on Franz Theremin's translation of Byron's *Hebrew Melodies* (1815) of 1820,[149] Loewe's "Jerusalem's Zerstörung durch Titus" (1827; op. 14, no. 5; The Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus) conveys a wistful, romantically tinged, image of the burning Temple and the destruction of Zion as remembered by a Jewish captive witnessing the conflagration from one of the surrounding mountains.[150] David Roberts's painting *The Destruction of Jerusalem* (1849; see Figure 11), discussed in more detail below, captures a similar mood and may indeed have been inspired by the painter's reading of Byron. In the poem, the historical context is not elaborated, nor are any theological claims made: the catastrophe is not suggested to be a divine punishment of the Jews. Indeed, as the poem ends with the captive's acquiescence in God's will, the faithfulness of the chosen people even in adversity is emphasized and at least implicitly a future perspective is introduced which is not entirely bereft of hope.[151] In Loewe's music, this is real-

147 Hans Christian Andersen, *"Ja, ich bin ein seltsames Wesen . . .": Tagebücher 1825–1875*, ed. and transl. Gisela Perlet (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2013), pp. 147–8. Andersen's dramatic poem *Ahasverus* was published in 1847, but he had engaged with the legend already in his literary debut, the travelogue *Fodreise* (1829; *A Journey on Foot from Holmen's Canal to the East Point of Amager*).

148 For Loewe's biography, see MGG (2004), XI, 388–98.

149 Byron's "On the Day of the Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus" appeared in his *Hebrew Melodies* (1815) and was followed by a rendering of Psalm 130, about the Babylonian Exile, and a poem on "The Destruction of Sanncherib," based on 2 Chronicles 32:1–23, which celebrates the failed earlier attempt of the Assyrian king to conquer Judah. Theremin's translation was published in 1820, see Lord Byron, *Hebräische Gesänge*, transl. Franz Theremin (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1820), and for the sequence of poems, pp. 74–85.

150 See Carl Loewe, "Jerusalem's Zerstörung durch Titus" [1827], op. 14, no. 5, in *Gesamtausgabe der Balladen, Legenden, Lieder und Gesänge*, ed. Max Runze, vol. 15: *Lyrische Fantasien, Allegorien, Hymnen und Gesänge, Hebräische Gesänge* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1902), pp. 150–3.

151 For the parallel texts in English and German of Lord Byron's "On the Day of the Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus," see *Hebräische Gesänge*, pp. 74–7, pp. 76/77: "And scattered and scorned

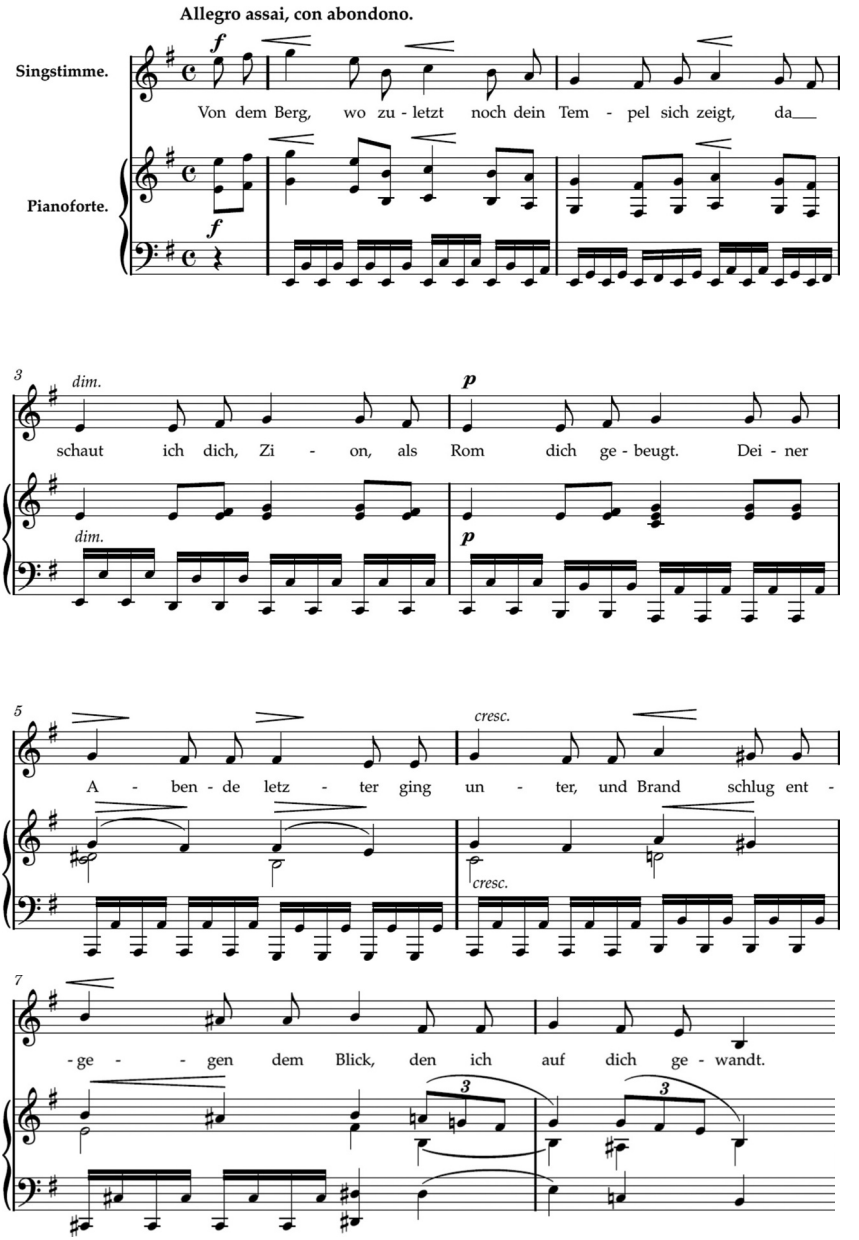
ized by the dramatic excitement of the left-hand tremolo with which the composer renders the destruction (see Music Example 6) and by the reflective lyricism of the captive's memories in the B section, introducing a brief key change to the parallel major, before reverting to the minor mode (see Music Example 7). The altered A section with which the song ends, sees the music modulate to the relative major (G major) in b. 46, which consequently relegates E minor to being the irregular resolution of a deceptive cadence in b. 48; simultaneously, the voice switches to a more intimate, less dramatically insistent "sotto voce" (see Music Example 8). The frustration of complete harmonic and melodic closure in E minor is continued by its displacement through major mode resolutions which make explicit the hope implied in the text: b. 50 sees a further deceptive cadence (this time in E minor, thus resolving onto C major), and b. 52, finally, offers a perfect authentic cadence which, while in E, features a raised third (*tierce de Picardie*) (see Music Example 8).

The lofty subject obviously had caught hold of Loewe's imagination; he kept working on it and transposed it into the monumental form of the oratorio.[152] Yet in *Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem* (1829; op. 30; The Destruction of Jerusalem) the composer's representation of the Jews was to change dramatically in accordance with his libretto. This had been produced by the writer and composer Gustav Nicolai, a friend of Loewe's, and it appeared variously in print since 1830.[153] Divided into two

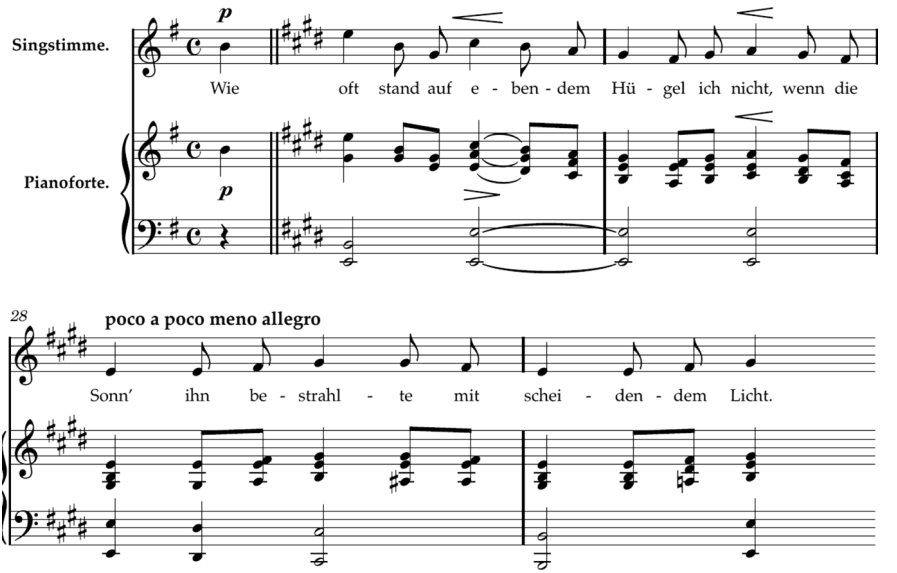
as thy people may be, / Our worship, o Father! is only for thee." / "So zerstreut und verachtet dein Volk auch mag seyn, / Anbetung, o Vater, sey dir nur allein!"

152 The truly monumental, even 'monstrous,' scope of Loewe's *Zerstörung von Jerusalem* in terms of performers, range, difficulty, and ideas was linked by Reinhold Dusella with the composer's ambition of finding a better position, see *Die Oratorien Carl Loewes* (Bonn: Schröder, 1991), p. 67.

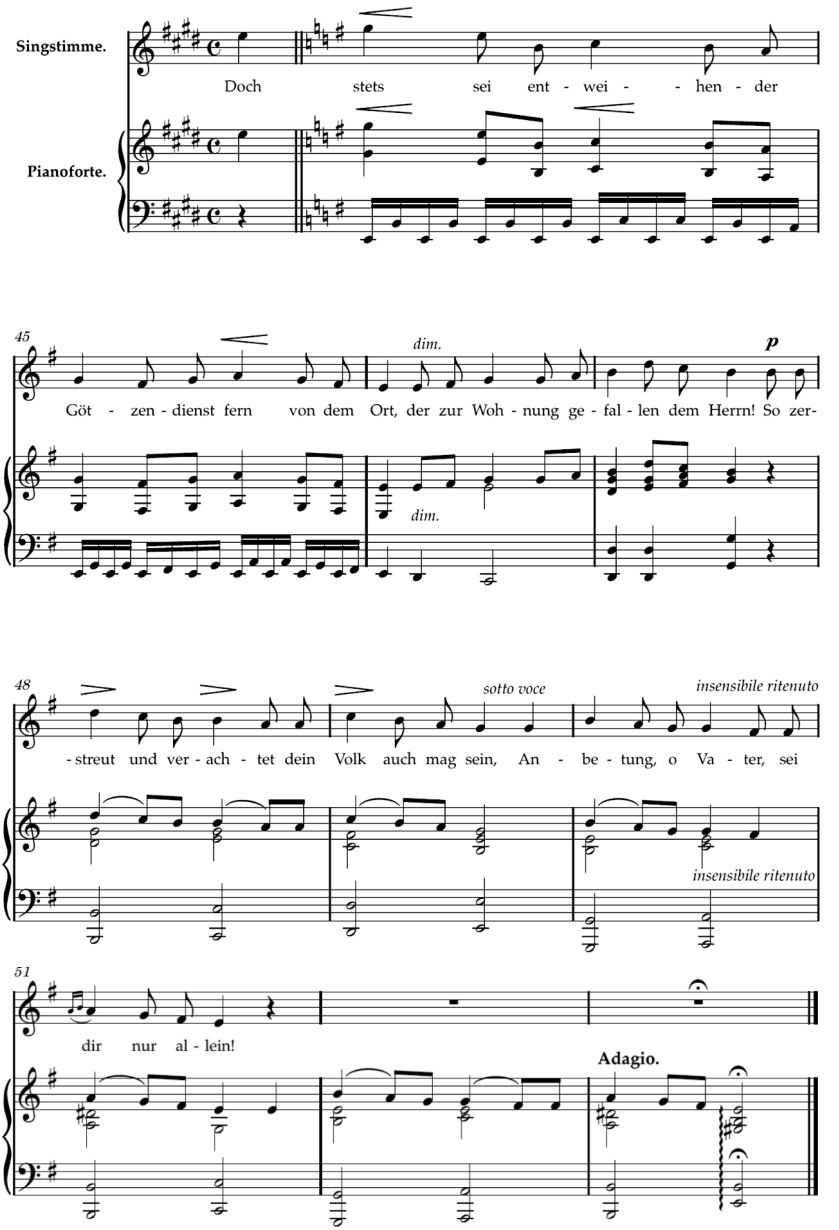
153 Gustav Nicolai, *Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem: Großes Oratorium in zwei Abtheilungen* (Berlin: Krause, 1832). Reinhold Dusella suggests that Loewe may have been interested in the topic from early youth and assumes that he received the libretto from Nicolai before 1826. He also notes that Nicolai was disgruntled about the collaboration because he felt that too little attention was given to the poet. See "Loewes erfolgreichste Oper? Das Oratorium *Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem*," in *Carl Loewe (1796–1869): Beiträge zu Leben, Werk und Wirkung*, eds Ekkehard Ochs and Lutz Winkler (Frankfurt a. M.: Lang, 1998), pp. 391–6, p. 391 and, in more detail, Dusella, *Oratorien Carl Loewes*, pp. 53–5. See also Carl Loewe, *Selbstbiographie* (Berlin: Müller, 1870), p. 114. The libretto was probably published as a textbook for the performance in Berlin; further textbooks were published as follows: *Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem: Großes Oratorium in zwei Abtheilungen von Gustav Nicolai, componirt von C. Löwe* ([Stettin]: Hessenland, 1830); *Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem: Großes Oratorium in zwei Abtheilungen von Gustav Nicolai, componirt von C. Löwe.* Zum erstenmal in der Domkirche aufgeführt von J. F. H. Kiel, Königl. Musik-Direktor (Königsberg: Degen, 1835). For Loewe's score, see *Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem: Großes Oratorium in 2 Abheilungen*, op. 30 (Leipzig: Hofmeister, [1833]).



Music Example 6: Carl Loewe, "Jerusalem's Zerstörung durch Titus" [1827], op. 14, no. 5, in *Gesamtausgabe der Balladen, Legenden, Lieder und Gesänge*, ed. Max Runze, vol. 15: *Lyrische Fantasien, Allegorien, Hymnen und Gesänge, Hebräische Gesänge* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1902), pp. 150–3, p. 150, bb. 1–8: The beginning of the agitated A section.



Music Example 7: Carl Loewe, "Jerusalem's Zerstörung durch Titus" [1827], op. 14, no. 5, in *Gesamtausgabe der Balladen, Legenden, Lieder und Gesänge*, ed. Max Runze, vol. 15: *Lyrische Fantasien, Allegorien, Hymnen und Gesänge, Hebräische Gesänge* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1902), pp. 150–3, pp. 151–2, bb. 25–28: The beginning of the lyrical B section.



Music Example 8: Carl Loewe, "Jerusalem's Zerstörung durch Titus" [1827], op. 14, no. 5, in *Gesamtausgabe der Balladen, Legenden, Lieder und Gesänge*, ed. Max Runze, vol. 15: *Lyrische Fantasien, Allegorien, Hymnen und Gesänge, Hebräische Gesänge* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1902), pp. 150–3, p. 153, bb. 43–52: The altered A section.

parts, "The Prophecy" and "The Fulfilment,"[154] the libretto portrays the Jews as internally divided, seditious, and consumed with their thirst for revenge. Yet the stiff-necked Jews themselves, as yet unawares, are to become the object of divine retribution of which the advancing Roman legions are but an instrument. The libretto perpetuates notions of both the Jewish deicide and a punitive supersessionism.[155] In particular, it introduces a group of early Christians who escape to Golgatha where they remain unmolested by the conquerors and whose meekness is directly contrasted to the Jews' blasphemy.[156] Nicolai's text diverges from his source, the ecclesiastical history of Eusebius, according to which the Christians left the city for Pella a year prior to its destruction. Yet Golgatha, the place of the fulfilment of Christ's Passion, is a symbolically charged vantage point.[157] Through their continued presence there, the Christians act as focalizers who serve the composer—who considered himself a "tone preacher"[158]—to interpret the events in the light of the Passion.

Adding a distinctly dramatic and romantic dimension, which corresponded to the innovative operatic style of Loewe's oratorio,[159] the text moreover incorporates the doomed love of the Jewish princess Berenice (i.e., Berenice of Cilicia)

154 See Nicolai, *Zerstörung*, pp. 5, 20: "Die Verkündigung" and "Die Erfüllung."

155 See R. Kendall Soulen, *The God of Israel and Christian Theology* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 1996), p. 30.

156 Nicolai, *Zerstörung*, p. 16: "Juda fluchet; stimmet denn ihr Christen / Fromm ein Lied von heil'ger Liebe an."

157 See Johannes Behr, "Loewe, Carl. 'Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem'," in *Oratorienführer*, eds Silke Leopold and Ullrich Scheideler (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2000), pp. 427–8, p. 428.

158 See Peter Tenhaef, "Loewe, Carl," MGG (2004), XI, 388–98, 397: "Tonprediger."

159 For a detailed musicological analysis of the oratorio and a discussion of its reception, see Dusella, *Oratorien Carl Loewes*, pp. 53–72. See also Howard E. Smither, *A History of the Oratorio*, vol. 4: *The Oratorio in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), pp. 69, 118; for contemporary criticism of Loewe's innovations, see p. 68. Gustav Nauenburg, for instance, wrote in the influential *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*: "The *dramatised* oratorio which Loewe cultivates frequently appears, without mimic art and props, only as half a work of half the power; as soon as the characters are presented in situations which the performing concert singer cannot represent through muscial art in its totality, they transcend the borders of concert singing and are *not permissible* in the oratorio. [Das *dramatisirte* Oratorium, welches Löwe cultivirt, erscheint oft ohne mimische Kunst und Skeuopoie nur als ein halbes Werk von halber Kraft; sobald die Charaktere in Situationen vorgeführt werden, welche der ausführende Concertsänger nicht durch musikalische Kunst in ihrer Totalität wiederzugeben vermag, überschreiten sie die Grenzen des Concertgesanges, und sind im Oratorium *unzuläßig*.]" Nauenburg, who sang the parts of Gessius Florus and Josephus at the premiere of the oratorio in Stettin (present-day Szczecin in Poland) and again at the Berlin performance of 1832, refers to the dying scene of Berenice as an example of this practice, Gustav Nauenburg, "Lebende Bilder: J. C. G. Löwe," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 3.25 (September 25, 1835): 98–100, 99–100.

and the commander of the Roman attackers, Titus, as well as voices of spirits which answer the High Priest's uncomprehending plea, citing the passage from Matthew's gospel that gave rise to the notion of the Jewish blood curse: "His blood be on us, / And on our children!"[160] The High Priest's question—"Why, o Lord, hast thou forsaken thy people?"[161]—is similarly answered by the spirit voices with the last words of Jesus by which it is echoed and which are turned here into both an accusation and a punishment: "My God, my God, / Why hast thou forsaken me?"[162] The final chorus of the prophets and the Christians reaffirms that the oratorio is not only about the destruction of Jerusalem, nor even of Judaism, but of the Jews: "Those are the days of revenge / So that what was foretold would be fulfilled!"[163] There is, in Loewe's oratorio, no "rise of sympathy as a new, emancipatory belief,"[164] and it may, as such, well be considered to provide a counterpoint to Mendelssohn's conciliatory interpretation of the *Matthäuspassion* in the same year 1829.

Loewe's *Zerstörung von Jerusalem* was first performed in Stettin (present-day Szczecin) in 1830 but, due to its monumental conception, put an immense strain on the resources available to the composer. Two years later it was produced by Gaspare Spontini at the opera house in Berlin in a spectacular performance which was attended by the Prussian court. Loewe won the appreciation of Friedrich Wilhelm III and, for the dedication of the oratorio to the king in 1834, was awarded a golden snuff box, but not the position he may have hoped to secure for himself.[165] In fact, only six performances of *Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem* are recorded before 1840[166] and, because of its length and scope, including ten solo parts, the composer initially found it difficult to publish his music at all.[167]

160 Nicolai, *Zerstörung*, p. 30: "Sein Blut komme über uns / Und unsre Kinder!" See Matthew 27:25. See also Jeremy Cohen, *Christ Killers: The Jews and the Passion from the Bible to the Big Screen* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 31–2.

161 Nicolai, *Zerstörung*, p. 31: "Warum, o Herr, hast Du Dein Volk verlassen?"

162 Ibid.: "Mein Gott, mein Gott! / Warum hast du mich verlassen?" See Matthew 27:46.

163 Nicolai, *Zerstörung*, p. 32: "Denn das sind der Rache Tage, / Dass erfüllt sei, was verheissen!" See Luke 21:22.

164 HaCohen, *Music Libel*, p. 96.

165 See Anonymous, "Mancherley," *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 36.10 (March 5, 1834): 162.

166 Martin Geck notes six performances before 1840: Stettin (1830), Leipzig (1830), Berlin (1832), Königsberg (1836; present-day Kaliningrad in the Russian Federation), Lübeck (1837), and Breslau (1838; present-day Wrocław in Poland), see *Deutsche Oratorien 1800 bis 1840* (Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofen, 1971), pp. 20–1.

167 See Dusella, *Oratorien Carl Loewes*, p. 69.

It has been observed that throughout the nineteenth century most Old Testament libretti were not compiled from the Bible but newly written.[168] One reason for this was that "[r]ather than functioning as a vehicle for congregational worship, as the New Testament oratorio often did, the Old Testament oratorio usually served as a concert work, religious but not devotional, on a significant personage or event in the history of the Jewish people."[169] Nicolai's libretto belongs to neither category. It focuses on a historical event that is recorded neither in the Old nor in the New Testament but that is relevant in relation to both due to its pivotal position between them and that, according to the synoptic gospels, was prophesied by Jesus.[170] Obviously aware of the implications, the author emphasized in a prefatory note that direct quotations from Scripture—only amounting to a minuscule portion of the text and usually associated with the Christians or the retributive prophecy—were printed in Roman type as opposed to the *Fraktur* in which the remainder of the text was set. Their relative textual autonomy allowed Nicolai and Loewe not only to enhance the operatic character of the oratorio, by virtue of which it may be considered the latter's most influential contribution to the genre.[171] It moreover offered poet and composer some interpretive latitude of which the libretto's manifest antisemitism is arguably also a product.

Loewe's negative representation of the Jews was nevertheless not an isolated occurrence. It was echoed, for instance, in Louis Spohr's *Des Heilands letzte Stunden* (1835; WoO 62; *Calvary*) which was another of the proliferating oratorios of the period based on biblical sources which proved to be influential to the further development of the tradition. Mendelssohn, whose *Paulus* and *Elias*, as has been mentioned, are considered prominent examples of the genre, was not only on friendly terms with both composers but uncharacteristically also owned scores of their oratorios.[172] Indeed their hostile treatment of the Jews has been seen as an influence on the Jewish-born yet baptized composer who, as the grandson of Moses Mendelssohn, was rather conflicted about his heritage.[173] It has even been suggested that "contemporary anti-Semitic standards" had been defined for Mendelssohn by Loewe and Spohr and that he may have feared that a more affirmative portrayal of the Jews may have had an adverse effect on his acceptance in German society.[174] Other Jewish-born composers, such as Adolph Bernhard Marx and Ferdinand

168 See Smither, *History of the Oratorio*, IV, 99.
169 Ibid.
170 See Matthew 24:1–28; Mark 13:1–23; and Luke 21:5–24.
171 Smither, *History of the Oratorio*, IV, 122.
172 See Sposato, *Price of Assimilation*, p. 90.
173 Ibid., pp. 74, 89.
174 Ibid., p. 77.

Hiller, were less susceptible to such anxieties and, as Jeffrey S. Sposato maintains, "successfully managed to portray the Jews favourably without reprisal."[175]

In fact, the next German composer to tackle the subject of the destruction of Jerusalem was Hiller. He was at the time a close friend of Mendelssohn's, to whom he dedicated *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* (The Destruction of Jerusalem) and who arranged the oratorio's first performance at the Leipzig Gewandhaus in April 1840.[176] Although eponymous with Loewe's earlier effort, the subject of Hiller's oratorio, as we have seen, is not the same historical episode but the destruction of the First Temple in 586/587 BCE at the hands of Nebuchadnezzar and the Assyrians.[177] In fact, the composition was initially entitled "Der Prophet Jeremias" (The Prophet Jeremiah) but Hiller renamed it shortly before its premiere.[178] The composer's choices of his topic and final title are telling and arguably articulate a critical response to the adverse portrayal of the Jews in, and the supersessionist certainty of, the earlier oratorio.

175 Ibid.

176 Hiller became Mendelssohn's successor as director of the Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchestra and it has been suggested that this circumstance may have been the reason for their falling out in 1843, see Clive Brown, *A Portrait of Mendelssohn* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), p. 185, though this view has been challenged more recently by Beverly Jerold, "A Vindication of Ferdinand Hiller," *Journal of Musicological Research* 37.2 (2018): 141–65, 144.

177 Both historical events were the subjects of a number of European oratorios or related musical genres in the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries in addition to those discussed in this book, which without exception were produced in Germany. The following engage with the destruction of the First Temple: Giovanni Paolo Colonna, *La caduta di Gerusalemme* (1688; oratorio); Johann Michael Demmler, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* (1783; oratorio, score lost); Giuseppe Giordani, *La distruzione di Gerusalemme* (1787; azione sacra); Pietro C. Guglielmi, *La distruzione di Gerusalemme* (1803?; ed. 1815; dramma sacro); Ambrogio Minoja and Carlo Soliva, *La distruzione di Gerusalemme* (1820; oratorio); Jean-Georges Kastner, "Le dernier roi de Juda" (1844; oratorio; unpublished). The destruction of the Second Temple is addressed in the following: Luca Antonio Predieri, *La caduta di Gerusalemme* (1727; oratorio, score lost); Niccolò A. Zingarelli, *Gerusalemme distrutta* (1794; oratorio); George Frederick Perry, *The Fall of Jerusalem* (1824; oratorio); Teodulo Mabellini, *L'ultimo giorno di Gerusalemme* (1848; dramma liturgico); Giovanni Pacini, *La distruzione di Gerusalemme* (1858; oratorio). To the following I had no access: Pasquale Anfossi, *Jerusalem eversa* (1774; oratorio); František Benedikt Dussek, *Gerusalemme distrutta* (1812; oratorio).

178 As late as January 4, 1840, Mendelssohn still referred to Hiller's composition in a letter to his sister Fanny as "his oratorio of 'Jeremiah'," *Letters of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy from 1833 to 1847*, transl. Lady Wallace, eds Paul Mendelssohn Bartholdy and Carl Mendelssohn Bartholdy (London: Longman, Roberts and Green, 1867), p. 193; see also *Briefe aus den Jahren 1833 bis 1847 von Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy*, eds Paul Mendelssohn Bartholdy and Carl Mendelssohn Bartholdy, 3rd edn (Leipzig: Hermann Mendelssohn, 1864), pp. 215–16: "sein Oratorium Jeremias." See also Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, *Sämtliche Briefe*, vol. 7: *Oktober 1838 bis Februar 1841*, eds Ingrid Jach and Lucian Schiwietz (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2013), p. 192.

In Hiller's *Zerstörung Jerusalems*, as in the biblical narrative on which it is based, the transgression punished by divine intervention is not external to the Israelites—as is the accusation of the deicide—but internal. As Jeremiah warns in the oratorio: "Thus saith the Lord: If ye will not now obey me and ye refuse to keep my commandments, this city I will make to be a curse in the sight of the heathen."[179] The libretto's author was Salomon Ludwig Steinheim (1789–1866), a physician, philosopher, theologian, and veritable polymath of an older generation who was also of Jewish descent. Though the author later was to distance himself from the final version of the libretto, his idiosyncratic deliberations on the nature of Judaism clearly influenced the text which is predicated on the ultimate endurance of the Israelites and envisages their rebirth and that of the covenant. Addressing all the nations, his Jeremiah prophesies:

> Fulfilled is the word of the Living One, Judah's proud kingdom is destroyed, but yet Jehovah's people shall not be lost. Give ear, O people! Ye princes understand! The future I foretell. As seed long buried to new life springeth, so will the Lord raise His chosen. Erring and misguided Israel shall rise to power and freshened life again.[180]

The text accordingly ends on a hopeful note, with Jeremiah paraphrasing Isaiah's prophecy of Zion's future ascendancy, and with the praise of the Lord in the final chorus.[181] In this it is similar to Byron's concluding lines, but here it turns from the internal—as in Byron and the early Loewe song—to the external and embraces in an implicit acknowledgment of the Jewish mission among the nations the universal worship of the Jewish God:

> Forever enthroned reigns the Holy One of Israel, God the only true God Jehovah. The heavens shall shadow forth his power and righteousness and all the nations His great glory. O ye righteous, praise ye the Lord, give thanks to Him and magnify His Holy Name. Amen—Amen.[182]

179 Hiller, *Zerstörung Jerusalems* [piano reduction], no. 14. See also Salomon Ludwig Steinheim, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems: Oratorium nach der heiligen Schrift* (Berlin: s. n., 1844), p. 6: "So spricht der Herr: werdet Ihr mir nicht gehorchen, dass Ihr in meinem Gesetze wandelt, so will ich diese Stadt machen zum Fluch allen Heiden auf Erden." See Jeremiah 26:4, 7.

180 Hiller, *Zerstörung Jerusalems* [piano reduction], no. 45. See also Steinheim, *Zerstörung*, p. 15: "Erfüllet ist das Wort des Lebendigen, dahin ist Judas stolzes Reich; doch unverloren bleibet Jehova's Volk. Vernehmt es, Völker! Und Fürsten, horchet auf! Die Zukunft verkünd' ich.—Wie nach dem Sterben ein neues Leben, also erwecket Jehova das irre, verstossene Volk und es entsteht ein neues Bundesvolk."

181 See Isaiah 2:3.

182 Hiller, *Zerstörung Jerusalems* [piano reduction], no. 47. See also Steinheim, *Zerstörung*, p. 16: "Und ewig thronen wird der Heilige Israels, Gott, der Einig Eine, Jehova! / Die Himmel verkündigen seine Gerechtigkeit und alle Völker seine Ehre. Ihr Gerechten, preiset den Herrn und danket ihm und preiset seine Heiligkeit! Amen!—" See Psalm 97:6, 12.

This theological claim, abstracted from Psalm 97 and affirming monotheism, corresponds to Steinheim's conception of the Jews as being in sole possession of true revelation and as a "*missionary institute*" that he outlined already in the first volume of his *Die Offenbarung nach dem Lehrbegriffe der Synagoge* (1835; The Revelation According to the Doctrine of the Synagogue).[183] Jeremiah's prophecies thus initiate a Jewish mission that gains its full momentum only with the destruction of the Second Temple. Steinheim maintains that the Jewish people, and Judaism,

> only commenced to flower with all its might with the demise of the nation; *the people was resurrected in spirit as its body was claimed by death*. With the end of the first exile and with the subjugation under the rule of the Romans developed within it the world-overpowering force of the revelation into a peculiar, in its way unprecedented, vitality. Thus, within it, *destruction* was turned into *construction*, *dispersion* into a *binding agent*, *annihilation* into *life*.[184]

In the second volume of his book on revelation, published more than two decades after the first, in 1856, Steinheim was more concise and to the point:

> This, then, is the vocation of Judaism [. . .], *that it serve the Lord, while serving humanity so that it achieve the highest level of development on earth, in order to establish the spiritual state, the kingdom of God in this world*.[185]

The oratorio thus intervenes in a highly charged discussion within the wider debate on the emancipation of the Jews in Germany. It insists on the continued ethical significance of Jewish monotheism as it had also been elaborated in the context of the *Haskalah*, the Jewish Enlightenment, and of the Reform movement.[186]

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183 Salomon Ludwig Steinheim, *Die Offenbarung nach dem Lehrbegriffe der Synagoge, ein Schiboleth* (Frankfurt a. M.: Schmerber, 1835), I, 59: "*Missionsanstalt*." For Steinheim's conception of a Jewish mission, see also Wittler, *Morgenländischer Glanz*, pp. 399–402.

184 Steinheim, *Offenbarung*, I, 54–5: "das Judenthum [. . .] hub erst mit dem Aufhören der Nation an, in voller Kräftigkeit aufzublühn; *das Volk erstand im Geiste, wie es dem Leibe nach dem Tode verfiel*. Mit dem Ende des ersten Exils und mit der Unterjochung unter die Römergewalt entwickelte sich in ihm die weltbezwingende Macht der Offenbarung zu eigenthümlicher, in ihrer Art beispielloser, Lebendigkeit. Also ward in ihm die *Zerstörung* der *Aufbau*, die *Zerstreuung* das *Bindemittel*, die *Vernichtung* das *Leben*."

185 Salomon Ludwig Steinheim, *Die Offenbarung nach dem Lehrbegriffe der Synagoge* (Leipzig: Schnauss, 1856), II, 357: "Das also ist der Beruf des Judenthums [. . .], *dass es Gott diene, indem es der Menschheit dient, zur höchsten Entwickelungsstufe auf Erden zu gelangen, den geistigen Staat, das Gottesreich hienieden zu gründen*."

186 See Meyer, *Response to Modernity*, p. 201: "Reformers were confident that a modernized Judaism could play a significant role in the messianic progress. Indeed, it was the mission of Israel, as they conceived it, to provide the example of pure monotheism and lofty moral idealism which would lend energy and direction to the forward course." Meyer suggests that Steinheim consid-

Yet simultaneously it acknowledges the dangers of the seductive force of assimilation, when Hannah laments the apostasy of those foregoing the faith of their forefathers. While based on the biblical precedent, this was of course very much an issue that had become virulent with emancipation and the opportunities of social advancement offered by assimilation.[187] By reasserting and, in effect, validating the unceasing substance and consequence of Judaism, the oratorio thus clearly also takes a stance in relation to internal negotiations of Jewishness and to proliferating anxieties of attrition.

The first instalment of his manuscript was sent by Steinheim to Hiller on August 7, 1837 in the hope that it might reach the composer on *Tisha b'Av*, the anniversary of the destruction of the Temple, which in that year happened to be on the 10th of the month. In his accompanying letter, Steinheim moreover suggested to Hiller that he read his book on revelation. Steinheim seems to have had misgivings about the sincerity of the much younger man's Jewish faith ("Überzeugung") and felt that he needed to protect him "from the dialectic arts of the religion of love, as it enticingly called itself"—from Christianity.[188] Perhaps the philosopher and theologian feared for Hiller because the composer had just conducted Mendelssohn's *Paulus* with the *Cäcilienverein* in Frankfurt.[189] It is tempting to think that it may have been precisely the engagement with, and the discussions about, this oratorio that prompted Steinheim's collaboration with the composer. After all, the conversion narrative is articulated rather forcefully in *Paulus*, as is its anti-Jewish bias.

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ered "to propagate the pure revelation" as the mission of Judaism, p. 69. The Reform movement and the notion of the mission of Israel are discussed in more detail in chapter V.

187 See Todd Endelman, *Leaving the Jewish Fold: Conversion and Radical Assimilation in Modern Jewish History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015), chapter 2.

188 Letter of Salomon Ludwig Steinheim to Ferdinand Hiller of August 7, 1837, in *Salomon Ludwig Steinheim zum Gedenken: Ein Sammelband*, ed. Hans-Joachim Schoeps (Hildesheim: Olms, 1987), p. 289: "Sie vor den dialektischen Künsten der Religion der Liebe, wie sie sich einschmeichelnd genannt hat, zu schützen."

189 *Paulus* had been commissioned by the *Cäcilienverein* but eventually premiered at the *Niederrheinisches Musikfest* (Lower Rhenish Music Festival) in Düsseldorf on May 22, 1836 conducted by Mendelssohn himself. For the circumstances surrounding the composition and first performance of *Paulus*, see Sposato, *Price of Assimilation*, p. 87. When Johann Nepomuk Schelble invited Hiller to stand in for him, he envisaged that he might give *Paulus* as his debut, see his letters to Mendelssohn and Hiller, respectively; see Ralf-Olivier Schwarz, "Ferdinand Hiller und Frankfurt," in Ackermann et al. (eds), *Ferdinand Hiller*, pp. 39–54, pp. 52–3 and Sietz, *Beiträge zu einer Biographie Ferdinand Hillers*, I, 25–6: Schelble to Hiller on July 28, 1837. Hiller took up the interim position in August 1836, but it was not before April 24, 1837 that he conducted the first complete performance of the rearranged *Paulus*, see ibid., I, 187n51.

In a postscript to his letter, Steinheim admonished Hiller, who was about to set off for Italy,[190] "to forget for a while anything worldly and occidental so as to turn with ancient Maccabean enthusiasm to our sacred great topic: with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might, as it is said."[191] The older man thus not only invoked the *Shema*, the Jewish prayer of the declaration of faith, which reiterates the Mosaic formula;[192] his reference to the Maccabees moreover associates Jewish resistance to external oppression. In addition, he insinuated to his younger friend that he commit to a vaguely conceived oriental Jewish essence. Clearly, Steinheim had great expectations of the composer and of their "sacred" collaborative work. Yet these, it would seem, were disappointed.

Initially, Steinheim, then based in far-away Altona near Hamburg, congratulated Hiller in another letter, of April 6, 1840, on the successful first performance of his oratorio (on April 2) and asked the composer for a copy of the score so that he might perform their "collaborative work" in his private circle: "You will appreciate that I am very keen to hear the music."[193] More important is what he has to say about the significance of the oratorio in the Jewish context:

> It is a twofold pleasure to me that on the soil of old—and genuine—Jewish culture finally a more serious work has come about. It is our task to justify ourselves with splendour towards the world that has treated us so inimically. This in particular was what I envisaged when I went about to write this oratorio for you. How great is my pleasure about your success.[194]

190 Hiller took the plans for his oratorio along to Italy. Encouraged by Gioacchino Rossini to work on an opera, Hiller's "favourite work" apparently was his oratorio, much of which he sketched at Bellagio on Lake Como; see a letter of the celebrated tenor Adolphe Nourrit to Ferdinand Hiller of July 6, 1838, in Anonymous, "Briefe von Adolphe Nourrit an Ferdinand Hiller. II," *Niederrheinische Musik-Zeitung* 8.38 (1860): 297–300, 299: "Lieblings-Arbeit." Yet in August 1839, the composer had to return to Frankfurt because of the ill health of his mother, who died in the following month. In November, Hiller was invited by Mendelssohn to Leipzig where he completed his oratorio; see the biographic sketch in Ihl, "Nachlaß Ferdinand Hillers," p. 7.

191 Steinheim to Hiller on August 7, 1837, in Schoeps (ed.), *Salomon Ludwig Steinheim zum Gedenken*, pp. 289–90: "[V]ergessen Sie alles Weltliche, Abendländische auf eine Zeitlang, um sich mit alter makkabäischer Begeisterung unserem heiligen großen Thema zuzuwenden: von ganzem Herzen, ganzer Seele und allem Vermögen, wie es heißt."

192 See Deuteronomy 6:5 and the *Shema*, the Jewish prayer of the declaration of faith.

193 Steinheim to Hiller on April 6, 1840, in Schoeps (ed.), *Salomon Ludwig Steinheim zum Gedenken*, p. 291: "beiderseitiges Werk"; "Sie können denken, wie ich gespannt bin, die Musik zu hören."

194 Ibid.: "Es macht mir zwiefach Freude, daß auf dem Boden alt—auch echt—jüdischer Kultur endlich einmal ein ernsteres Werk zustandegekommen ist. Wir haben die Aufgabe, uns vor der Welt, die uns so feindlich behandelt hat, mit Glanz zu rechtfertigen. Dies besonders schwebte mir, als ich daran ging, jenes Oratorium für Sie zu verfassen, vor der Seele. Wie groß ist meine Freude über Ihren Erfolg."

In an undated letter,[195] Steinheim later gave thanks to Hiller for having sent to him three copies of the printed libretto—not, apparently, the requested score—of "your" oratorio, of *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems*. Steinheim's choice of the possessive pronoun already betrays his irritation. Indeed, from what follows, it is clear that Steinheim now sought to distance himself from the venture and, more specifically, the published libretto. This, he felt, had been changed by Hiller beyond recognition. Steinheim therefore asked the composer to arrange for a disclaimer to be published in *Didaskalia*. The journal had printed an enthusiastic review of the performance of *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* in Frankfurt on June 1, 1840 and emphatically praised its libretto.[196]

Early in July, the relevant passages were moreover reprinted in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* with a note in which it was emphasized that the exceptional circumstance of an oratorio written by a Jew and composed by a Jew and about a fateful episode in the history of the Jews that besides was artistically accomplished fully warranted the paper's attention.[197] Hiller seems not to have acted on Steinheim's request, or if he did, Johannes Ludwig Heller, the editor of *Didaskalia*, did not oblige. In 1842—perhaps prompted by the publication of the full score which, once again, featured his name next to Hiller's—Steinheim therefore took it upon himself to have disclaimers published in various journals.[198]

The manuscript of the original "Jeremias" (Jeremiah) seems to be lost. It must therefore remain conjectural whether the author simply did not wish to adorn himself with borrowed plumes, as he frostily maintained in his letter to Hiller, or whether he had more specific objections to interpretive changes resulting from Hiller's revisions and, if so, what precisely these might have been.

An indication of the composer's grievances may in turn be deduced from a letter to Mendelssohn in which he responds to his friend's critical remarks, not least, it appears, about the libretto.[199] Hiller briefly mentions that initially it was a slim volume of poems by Steinheim that recommended the author to him. This

195 Schoeps prints this undated letter before that of April 6, 1840, which is misleading as the review in *Didaskalia* of June 9 indicates a date *post quem*, see Schoeps (ed.), *Salomon Ludwig Steinheim zum Gedenken*, pp. 290–1 and W., "Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem," *Didaskalia* 18.161 (June 9, 1840): n. p.

196 See ibid.: n. p.

197 See Anonymous, "Literarische Nachrichten," *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* 4.27 (July 4, 1840): 390.

198 See Salomon Ludwig Steinheim, "Erklärung," *Telegraph für Deutschland* 9.29 (1842): 116 and, specifically targeting a specialist readership, in *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 16.21 (March 11, 1842): 84.

199 See Hiller to Mendelssohn on August 16, 1839, Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn d. 36 (X, 19–20). Mendelssohn's letter to which this is the response appears to be lost, see Helmut Loos, "Mendelssohn und Hiller im Spiegel ihres Briefwechsels," in Ackermann et al.

presumably was Steinheim's *Gesänge aus der Verbannung, welche sang Obadiah ben Amos, im Lande Ham* (1829; Songs from Exile, Sung by Obadiah ben Amos, in the Land of Ham). The cycle's second edition, including as frontispiece a lithograph of Bendemann's *Gefangene Juden im Exil* (1832; Captive Jews in Exile; see Figure 5), appeared in 1837 shortly after Passover.[200] It was prepared by the author for publication while visiting Gabriel Riesser (1806–63) in Bockenheim, near Frankfurt, to whom it is dedicated in gratitude for his hospitality.[201]

Steinheim's contact with Hiller was presumably established through Riesser.[202] The Jewish politician and lawyer, later a member of the Frankfurt Parliament, was an indefatigable campaigner for Jewish emancipation. It was a pursuit he shared with Steinheim. Riesser met Hiller when the composer returned from an extended sojourn in Paris to his native Frankfurt where, in the season of 1836/37, he stood in for the seriously ill conductor of the acclaimed *Cäcilienverein*. Both, Hiller and Riesser, were members of the masonic lodge *Zur aufgehenden Morgenröthe* (The Rising Rosy Dawn) in Frankfurt that at the time was a rendezvous for enlightened German Jews and counted among its members also Ludwig Börne and Berthold Auerbach.[203]

The initial plans for Steinheim and Hiller's collaboration may also have been conceived at this time. The three men may have met when Steinheim visited Riesser in the spring and early summer of 1837.[204] Given the political preoccupations of

(eds), *Ferdinand Hiller*, pp. 483–500, p. 495; for the correspondence between Hiller and Mendelssohn about the former's oratorio, see pp. 490–500.

200 The date is suggested by Steinheim's preface to the second edition, see Salomon Ludwig Steinheim, *Gesänge aus der Verbannung, welche sang Obadiah ben Amos, im Lande Ham*, 2nd edn (1829; Frankfurt a. M.: Schmerber, 1837), p. xiv; in 1837, Passover fell in the week from April 20 to 27. For a detailed appreciation of Steinheim's *Gesänge aus der Verbannung*, see Wittler, *Morgenländischer Glanz*, pp. 396–405; for the use of Bendemann's *Gefangene Juden im Exil* as the second edition's frontispiece, see p. 425.

201 See the preface to the second edition, Steinheim, *Gesänge aus der Verbannung* (ed. 1837), p. xiv.

202 See Arno Herzig, *Gabriel Riesser* (Hamburg: Ellert & Richter, 2008), pp. 71–2.

203 See ibid., p. 71. Hiller contributed three songs to the commemorative publication for the twenty-fifth anniversary of the lodge in 1833, see *Festgaben dargebracht von den Brüdern der Loge zur aufgehenden Morgenröthe im Orient zu Frankfurt a. M. zur Feier ihres 25jährigen Jubiläums* ([Frankfurt a. M.: Andreä,] 1833), pp. 135–47. Riesser's contribution was published separately because it was not sufficiently masonic, see ibid., p. III. Hiller's friendship with Riesser appears to have ended abruptly when the latter dragged the composer into a confrontation with Heinrich Heine, see Herzig, *Riesser*, pp. 89–94.

204 Riesser, himself not particularly drawn to music, records a visit to the Heidelberg music festival, see Gabriel Riesser, *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. M. Isler (Frankfurt a. M. and Leipzig: Verlag der Riesser-Stiftung, 1867), I, 189. He attended a performance of Joseph Haydn's *Die Jahreszeiten* (1801; *The Seasons*); this may have been another occasion on which the oratorio enthusiast Steinheim and the composer Hiller, both friends of Riesser, may have met.

Riesser and Steinheim, it seems reasonable to assume that they hoped to find a kindred spirit in the young composer, who would articulate emancipationist or at the very least affirmative views in his oratorio.[205] Steinheim's letter hints as much. It was probably not in this regard that the philosopher and theologian was disappointed with *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems*. As argued above, the oratorio is clearly affirmative, though possibly to a lesser degree than Steinheim's lost "Jeremias" may have suggested; nor was Hiller unaffected by the political upheavals of his time.[206]

Hiller may therefore in fact have followed the poet's labors much more closely than the brief mention in his letter to Mendelssohn would suggest. At any rate, the composer not only considered the slim volume sufficient evidence of the author's talent to produce a libretto but he presumably also appreciated its subject and may very well have sought to situate his oratorio within its wider "ideological" context.

Most significantly, the cycle of poems gives clear articulation to Steinheim's notion of a Jewish mission. As noted by Hans-Otto Horch, the *Gesänge* are in con-

205 See also Ullrich Scheideler, "Hiller, Ferdinand. Die Zerstörung Jerusalems," in *Oratorienführer*, eds Silke Leopold and Ullrich Scheideler (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2000), pp. 340–2 who suggests that the oratorio may indicate the shift from the resigned attitude of the restauration period to the sense of a new era of the *Vormärz* (pre-March), p. 341.

206 During his sojourn in Paris, Hiller developed a short-lived interest for Saint-Simonianism, see Ralph P. Locke, "Hiller and the Saint-Simonians," in Ackermann et al. (eds), *Ferdinand Hiller*, pp. 55–71. In 1848, the composer wrote to the painter and poet Robert Reinick: "Everything feels 'weary, stale, and unprofitable' to me—God help it! I am certainly no cry-baby, my opinions essentially remain the same—but even though I am far from wishing to use poetry or music to manufacture cartridges, the time seems near to me, in which hardly anything may be left to a man (if he is a German) than either to emigrate or to arm himself with a musket. [Es kommt mir alles 'ekel, schal und unersprießlich' vor—Gott besser's! Ich bin nichts weniger als ein Heuler, meine Anschauungen bleiben auch im wesentlichen dieselben—aber wenn ich auch weit entfernt bin, Poesie oder Musik zur Patronenfabrikation benutzen zu wollen, so scheint mir die Zeit nahe, wo einem Mann kaum mehr etwas anderes zu thun übrig bleiben wird (wenn er ein Deutscher ist), als entweder auszuwandern oder die Muskete in die Hand zu nehmen.]" And: "Politically, of course, our opinions gradually diverge—because the majority approve of reaction in the interest of order, and I detest it, I do not even wish to say in the interest of freedom, but with a feeling of national honour destroyed or about to be destroyed!—[Politisch gehen freilich unsere Ansichten jetzt nach und nach auseinander—denn die meistigen billigen die Reaktion im Interesse der Ordnung, und ich verabscheue sie, ich will nicht einmal sagen im Interesse der Freiheit, aber im Gefühl der vernichteten oder zu vernichtenden Nationalehre!—]" Sietz, *Beiträge zu einer Biographie Ferdinand Hillers*, I, 75.

versation with Byron's *Hebrew Melodies*.[207] Earlier, I suggested that neither Byron's poem on the destruction of Jerusalem nor Loewe's song are entirely without articulation of hope. Yet to Steinheim, as argued by Horch, the romantic poet's empathy lacked full recognition of the consolation afforded by the certainty of the Jewish mission.[208] In "Der Klaggesang des Fremdlings" (The Lamentation of the Stranger), he has the fictional poet Obadiah ben Amos acknowledge that the stranger (Byron) sang about Jewish yearning, humiliation, wrath, and hope. And yet, he insists, both at the beginning and the end of the poem: "My misery thou knewest, Stranger; / My consolation remained hidden to thee!"[209]

In the preface to the first edition of *Gesänge*, Steinheim identified as the consolation of his people "the sense of a noble destiny that day by day approaches more closely its fulfilment, no matter how far the distance that remains to the goal."[210] The frame narrative of the altogether thirty-one poems—divided in five daily portions which reflect a progression from yearning and trust to vexation, to confidence, and, finally, to consolation and faith—is set in Alexandria in the time of the translation of the Hebrew scriptures known as the Septuagint in the third century BCE. As Kathrin Wittler suggests, Steinheim mirrors the situation of the Jews in contemporary Germany with those of Hellenistic Alexandria.[211]

Though wary of the distortions that would result from the translation of the Bible,[212] Obadiah celebrates the venture as a vehicle for the global dissemination of the revelation of Jewish monotheism and the promise of redemption to all nations.[213] Hence, even though freedom be granted to the Jews, Obadiah refuses to return to the Land of Israel because he considers the day of complete freedom

207 See Hans-Otto Horch, "Die Sendung des Doktor Gad. Salomon Ludwig Steinheims Beitrag zur jüdischen Belletristik," in *"Philo des 19. Jahrhunderts": Studien zu Salomon Ludwig Steinheim*, eds Julius H. Schoeps et al. (Hildesheim: Olms, 1993), pp. 159–76, pp. 163; see also Wittler, *Morgenländischer Glanz*, pp. 402–4 and Steinheim's explanatory note in *Gesänge aus der Verbannung* (ed. 1837), pp. 90–1.

208 See Horch, "Sendung des Doktor Gad," p. 163.

209 Steinheim, *Gesänge aus der Verbannung* (ed. 1837), pp. 42–3: "Meinen Jammer kanntest du, Fremdling; / Mein Trost blieb dir verborgen!"

210 Ibid., p. vii: "ein Bewußtsein des Trostes im Gefühle einer hehren Bestimmung, die tagtäglich der Vollendung mehr entgegenrückt, so weit auch und so unabsehlich die Strecke sein mag, die bis zum Ziele noch übrig ist."

211 See Wittler, *Morgenländischer Glanz*, p. 398.

212 See Steinheim, *Gesänge aus der Verbannung* (ed. 1837), p. 30.

213 See ibid., p. 2: "Thus by and by a light will rise upon the whole inhabited world whose splendour and glory by far surpasses all the wisdom of their philosophers and all the depth of their mysteries. [So wird über die ganze bewohnte Erde nach und nach ein Licht aufgehen, das alle Weisheit ihrer Philosophen, und alle Tiefe ihrer Mysterien weit übertrifft an Glanz und Herrlichkeit.]"

and redemption not yet come, the mission not yet accomplished: "For the Lord should begin, and not fulfil?—"[214]

The processual and teleological nature of the mission suggested here is articulated also by Obadiah in the frame narrative with the metaphor of a river: "The river that has its source [in the Land of the Forefathers] flows westward, increasing, fed by new sources and tributaries. Our people will wander in servant's guise, will scatter and be a pilgrim here below, once to become a citizen there."[215] The image is particularly intriguing because it admits only one direction, away from the Land of the Forefathers. Its perpetual westward course indicates in a political sense ultimately the New World as its telos. The duality between origin and telos in Obadiah's metaphor infuses also the *Gesänge* as a whole, most obviously perhaps, and clearly programmatic, in "Die Doppelquelle" (The Double Spring), the first poem of the First Day, in which the singer sheds tears,

> When in the East the light appears,
> From the Land of the Forefathers;
>
> And when it descends in the West
> Towards the Land of Freedom.[216]

Yet while the former tears are "mild [lind]," the product of wistful remembrances rather than indelible agony, the latter are "painful [schmerzlich]," expression of a fierce and as yet unfulfilled yearning.[217] As Horch observes, Steinheim's objective is not the return to the Land of the Forefathers but the creation of a new bourgeois identity that at the same time allows the conservation of the spiritual substance of Judaism.[218]

That Steinheim identified the beginnings of the Jewish mission already in the time immediately following the return from the Babylonian Exile is significant in relation to the thematic choice of the destruction of the First Temple for Hiller's

214 See ibid., p. 3: "Until the office of priesthood is not fulfilled and the word of life has been proclaimed to all the nations of the earth, in short, until the promised day has not yet dawned the priest cannot be relieved of his office. For the Lord should begin, and not fulfil?—[Bevor das Amt der Priesterschaft nicht erfüllt, und das Wort des Lebens allen Völkern der Erde verkündet worden, kurz, bevor der verheißene Tag nicht angebrochen ist, kann der Priester auch nicht seines Amtes enthoben werden. Denn Gott begänne und vollendete nicht?—]"

215 Ibid., p. 2: "Der Strom, der dort [im Lande der Väter] seine Quelle hat, ziehet westwärts, wachsend, von neuen Quellen und Bächen genährt. Unser Volk wird wandern in Knechtesgestalt, sich zerstreuen, und ein Pilgrim sein hienieden, um dort einst Bürger zu werden."

216 Ibid., p. 8: "Erscheint im Osten das Licht, / Von dem Lande der Väter; // Und wenn's gen Westen sich neigt / Nach dem Lande der Freiheit."

217 Ibid.

218 See Horch, "Sendung des Doktor Gad," pp. 164–5.

oratorio.[219] Without explicitly referring to Christianity, which nevertheless is clearly meant, Obadiah envisages that during the progress of the Jewish mission revelation, safely contained in its pure form only in Judaism, will become adulterated with pagan elements. Yet this will be only a transitory phenomenon that will facilitate the transition from polytheism to monotheism and will be superseded by the eventual fulfilment of the Jewish mission.[220] A similar suggestion of the intermediate nature of Christianity was offered ten years later by Ludwig Philippson in his lectures on the "religious idea," discussed in more detail in chapter V in relation to another engagement with the destruction of Jerusalem by the German Jewish poet Julius Kossarski.

Though Steinheim's *Gesänge* may have appealed to Hiller, his expectations of the author's proficiency as a librettist were nevertheless disappointed. To Hiller, Steinheim seemed completely oblivious to the musical requirements of a libretto. In his letter to Mendelssohn the composer complained that in the author's first draft, the speeches of Jeremiah covered several pages while the text included hardly any choral passages. Acting quickly, in order to avoid that their collaboration should stall, Hiller sketched out "almost the whole oratorio number by number" to Steinheim.[221] Toward Mendelssohn, he acknowledged the librettist's tractability, yet emphasized his continuing failure to produce a usable text. In the end, the composer—traveling in Italy and tired of the delay of written communication—took matters in his own hands. Having completed his revisions, he sent the finished product to Steinheim whom he moreover asked for some additional

219 See Steinheim, *Gesänge aus der Verbannung* (ed. 1837), p. 45: "In these days its proper vocation commences, to be a teacher to the nations and to carry the doctrine of the free spirit across the inhabited world by its living example and to establish it all around. [Mit diesen Tagen hebt sein eigentlicher Beruf an, ein Lehrer der Völker zu seyn und die Lehre des freien Geistes rund um die bewohnte Erde durch sein lebendiges Beispiel zu tragen und sie ringsum zu begründen.]" For a discussion of Steinheim's notion of a Jewish mission in the context of his *Gesänge aus der Verbannung*, see Wittler, *Morgenländischer Glanz*, p. 399.

220 Steinheim, *Gesänge aus der Verbannung* (ed. 1837), p. 46: "Initially, in this fusion may originate a doctrine which shall serve and extend for some time as a transition from polytheism to the adoration of the One [God] who has chosen us for His own, until our mission shall be fulfilled. [Es mag fürs erste aus dieser Vermischung eine Lehre entstehen, die als Uebergang aus der Vielgötterei zur Verehrung des Einigen einige Zeit dienen und bestehen soll. Wir indessen lehren laut und zeugen für Den, der uns zu seinem Eigenthume ersehen hat, bis unsere Sendung vollbracht ist.]"

221 "[Ich skizzierte] beinahe das ganze Oratorium Nummer für Nummer," Hiller to Mendelssohn on August 16, 1839, Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn d. 36 (X, 19–20); see Loos, "Mendelssohn und Hiller," p. 496.

passages. To this, whether the author was annoyed or indignant, as Hiller speculated, he received no answer prior to the letters mentioned above.[222]

More specifically, Hiller's letter to Mendelssohn indicates that the composer wrestled in particular with the characterization of Jeremiah. Though not immediately linked to his criticism of Steinheim, Hiller's problem nevertheless seems to originate in the textual conception of the prophet. He writes:

> With regard to the first appearance of Jeremiah, this is something about which one should consult a decent theologian. It seems to me that Jer[emiah] as a calm High Priest is completely out of character. The people had reverted entirely to idolatry—he preached, shouted, wept, and prophesied the fall of the city *to which* he is *called* already in the first *chapter*. I believe that the prophecy has to come at the very beginning—in how far the expression of his despair should be separated from this and added later I would find it very difficult to decide at this very moment.[223]

The notion of consulting a theologian, albeit testament to Hiller's creditable tenacity and seriousness, is puzzling. After all, Steinheim, though not ordained, had distinguished himself with the treatise on revelation he recommended to Hiller's attention. Whether the composer actually took the trouble to read Steinheim's *Die Offenbarung nach dem Lehrbegriffe der Synagoge* is not known, in any case he seems not to have been satisfied with the other's approach to his Jeremiah and to have favored a more dramatic conception of the prophet.

Another example of Hiller's intervention in the text is the concluding chorus of the oratorio's first part. To Mendelssohn he emphasized:

> With regard to the final chorus of the 1st part I so much share your feeling that *I* inserted the words of the fugue "for Thou art the strength of the righteous" etc so as to give in this way to the prayer for the proph[et] a more general religious character.[224]

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222 See Hiller to Mendelssohn on August 16, 1839, Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn d. 36 (X, 19–20); see Loos, "Mendelssohn und Hiller," p. 496.

223 "Was nun das erste Auftreten des Jeremiah betrifft, so ist das eine Sache worüber man beinahe einen wackern Theologen befragen sollte. Mir scheint Jer. als ruhiger Hohepriester fällt ganz aus seinem Charakter. Das Volk war gänzlich dem Götzendienst anheim gefallen—er predigte, schrie, weinte und prophezeite den Untergang der Stadt *wozu* er schon im ersten *Kapitel berufen* wird. Ich glaube die Prophezeiung muß gleich Anfangs kommen—inwiefern der Ausdruck seiner Verzweiflung von dieser zu trennen und später anzubringen ist, würde mir schwer fallen in diesem Augenblicke zu entscheiden." Hiller to Mendelssohn on August 16, 1839, Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn d. 36 (X, 19–20); see Loos, "Mendelssohn und Hiller," p. 497.

224 "In Beziehung auf den Schlußchor des 1n Theils theile ich so sehr Dein Gefühl daß *ich* die Worte der Fuge "denn Du bist der Gerechten Stärke" etc eingeschaltet habe um so dem Gebet für den Proph. einen mehr allgemein religiösen Charakter zu geben." Hiller to Mendelssohn

Hiller's words did not make it into the final version. Their replacement further shifts the perspective. Not the Lord is apostrophized any longer, but the emphasis is on the personal bond between the individual and the divinity. And yet, by individualizing, it nevertheless compellingly conveys the more "general religious character" the composer sought to impart: "The Lord shall be thy strength and shield, the Highest thy refuge."[225]

Of course, Hiller's letter documents an intermediary stage in the composition of the oratorio. Not much later, he was to leave Italy because of the quickly deteriorating health of his mother, who died in September 1839. Hiller then followed Mendelssohn's invitation to Leipzig and there, in constant conversation with his friend, concluded the work on his oratorio in the spring of the following year.

Hiller emphasizes that Mendelssohn demonstrated during this creative period "the warmest interest" in the oratorio and took a hand also at revising the libretto even further:

> In the putting together of the words there was a great deal with which we were neither of us satisfied. One day he took the *libretto* home with him, and surprised me in the kindest way on Christmas Eve with a fresh and complete copy of it. I need not explain how useful his severe critical remarks were to my composition.[226]

From an artistic perspective, the alterations in all likelihood were conducive and offered to the composer everything he needed "to paint with tones," as the reviewer for *Didaskalia* enthused.[227] To Steinheim they were clearly inacceptable and, referring to the author's disclaimer, another critic censured the finalized libretto as incoherent and condemned it as "a weak concoction."[228]

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on August 16, 1839, Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS. M. Deneke Mendelssohn d. 36 (X, 19–20); see Loos, "Mendelssohn und Hiller," p. 498.

225 Hiller, *Zerstörung Jerusalems* [piano reduction], no. 26. See also Steinheim, *Zerstörung*, p. 9: "Der Herr ist Deine Zuversicht, der Höchste Deine Zuflucht."

226 Ferdinand Hiller, *Mendelssohn: Letters and Recollections*, transl. M. E. von Glehn, 2nd edn (London: Macmillan, 1874), pp. 166–7; see also Ferdinand Hiller, *Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy: Briefe und Erinnerungen* (Cologne: DuMont-Schauberg, 1874), p. 147: "er nahm den wärmsten Antheil daran [. . .]. Auch in der Zusammensetzung des Textes war sowohl ihm als auch mir selbst Vieles noch nicht recht. Er nahm das Buch mit nach Hause und überraschte mich aufs freundlichste am Weihnachtsabend mit einer sehr saubern vollständigen Reinschrift desselben. Von welchem Nutzen mir seine strengen kritischen Bemerkungen für meine Composition waren, brauche ich nicht auseinander zu setzen."

227 See W., "Zerstörung von Jerusalem," n. p.: "um mit Tönen zu malen."

228 B., "Hiller's Oratorium: Zerstörung Jerusalems," *Bohemia* 15.37 (March 26, 1842): n. p.: "ein schwaches Machwerk."

The collaboration of composer and philosopher may not have been as productive as either may have hoped, yet Steinheim was not only an original thinker and champion of Jewish emancipation but an oratorio enthusiast who loved in particular the works of Händel, who tried his hand at composing, and who hosted a *salon* and musical *soirées* in his house in Altona in which he participated actively alongside amateur and professional musicians.[229] Clearly, for a while at least, the two men enjoyed a good understanding. They may in fact have met in Heidelberg on the very day before Steinheim sent the first instalment of his libretto from there to the composer on August 7: On occasion of the author's birthday, Hiller set to music one of the additional poems in Steinheim's *Gesänge*, "Der letzte Exulant vom Geschlechte Jedithuns" (The Last Exile of the Line of Jedithun); the autograph is dated in Heidelberg on August 6, 1837.[230]

Music was considered by Steinheim the highest of all art forms, which may explain his eagerness to collaborate on the oratorio venture. In an unpublished essay on "Kunst im Dienste der Religion" (1849; Art in the Service of Religion), he described sculpture as the lowest, most sensual art form, which he associated with the tactile sense and with paganism. Painting, allied to the visual sense, Steinheim deemed an intermediate art form, not yet fully free of the material world, and assigned it to (Catholic) Christianity. The arts appealing to the acoustic sense, music and rhetoric, were acclaimed by the philosopher as the least sensual:

> [We recognize] as the third and spiritually highest level, with the for our earthly condition irremissible minimal share of sensual presence, *musical art and rhetoric*, that elevate the human mind as closely as possible to that spiritual realm to whose citizenship we are most solemnly called through our share in the divine power of free will and poetic creative power and to which we are invited by the supreme authority, by the Lord Himself.[231]

229 See Peter Gradenwitz, "Steinheim als musischer Gesellschafter," in Schoeps et al. (eds),"*Philo des 19. Jahrhunderts*," pp. 209–15, pp. 212–13.

230 For the autograph score of Hiller's composition, dated August 6, 1837 in Heidelberg, see Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Mus. ms. autogr. Hiller, F. 5 N (3). See also Steinheim, *Gesänge aus der Verbannung* (ed. 1837), pp. 82–3.

231 Salomon Ludwig Steinheim, "Die Kunst im Dienste der Religion," Jewish National Library of Israel, Jerusalem, ARC. Ms. Var. 399 03 52. See also Horch, "Sendung des Doktor Gad," pp. 167–8 and, for the quotation, p. 168: "[Wir erkennen] als dritte und geistig höchste Stufe, mit dem für unsern irdischen Zustand unerläßlichen geringsten Antheil sinnlichen Auftretens, die *Ton- und Redekunst*, die den menschlichen Geist in die nächste Nähe jenes Geisterreiches emporhebt, zu dessen Bürgerschaft wir durch den Antheil an göttlicher Kraft der Willensfreiheit und dichterischen Schöpfungsvermögens feierlichst berufen und von der höchsten Instanz, von Gott selber, eingeladen sind." See also Aharon Shear-Yashuv, "Steinheims Beziehung zur jüdischen Tradition," *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 41.1 (1994): 1–14, 13.

Chronologically closer to his collaboration with Hiller, Steinheim had repudiated Ludwig Wihl's disparagement of the "all-too-great fondness" of music of the age with an essay on "Vom Werthe der Musik" (1839; About the Value of Music).[232] He extolled music as the "truly creative art" because it was not mimetic.[233] On the basis of Neo-Pythagorean ideas and in the romantic tradition, he considered music an expression of religious feeling that—as *musica sacra*—was in fact close to theology.[234] In this essay, Steinheim already laid the foundations of the hierarchy of the arts he was to elaborate in his unpublished article: he emphatically rejected Wihl's claim that music was literally thoughtless and therefore the most material of the arts. As in his later essay, he associated sculpture, painting, and music with the respective media through which they find articulation, and with the senses through which they are perceived; their interrelation he illustrated with the help of geometrical analogies: cube (sculpture), square (painting), and line (music).[235]

Hiller, it seems, was a little more down-to-earth. His interest certainly was in the subject but also in the drama it promised to his oratorio. Prior to a performance of *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* at the Gürzenich in Cologne in 1850 where Hiller had been appointed musical director earlier in the same year, Ludwig Bischoff published an appreciation of the oratorio in the *Kölnische Zeitung* that was republished in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*. Bischoff emphasized that, in contrast to the tradition established in the wake of Händel's *Samson* (1741/1743; HWV57), in Hiller's oratorio it was not the reflexive-theological element that came to the fore but the historical-tragical element.[236] By alternating analytical with descriptive passages, Bischoff re-created the oratorio's dramatic and implicitly scenic dimensions.[237] In fact, the only criticism Bischoff offered of Hiller's

232 See Ludwig Wihl, "Über die allzugroße Vorliebe unserer Zeit für die Musik," *Telegraph für Deutschland* 5.120 (1839): 953–6 and Salomon Ludwig Steinheim, "Vom Werthe der Musik," *Telegraph für Deutschland* 5.151 (1839): 1205–8; 5.152 (1839): 1215–16; 5.153 (1839): 1220–4; 5.154 (1839): 1229–31.

233 Salomon Ludwig Steinheim, "Vom Werthe der Musik," *Telegraph für Deutschland* 5.152 (1839): 1215–16, 1216: "Musik ist die wahrhaft schaffende Kunst!" See also Horch, "Sendung des Doktor Gad," p. 168.

234 See ibid.

235 See Salomon Ludwig Steinheim, "Vom Werthe der Musik," *Telegraph für Deutschland* 5.153 (1839): 1220–4, 1222–3.

236 See Ludwig Bischoff, "Die Zerstörung Jerusalems, Oratorium, verfaßt von Steinheim, komponirt von Hiller," *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* 14.17 (April 22, 1850): 234–6, 234.

237 See, e.g., ibid., 234–6. Ullrich Scheideler similarly notes that it is the function of the choruses in Hiller's oratorio to substitute for the stage and scenery and, occasionally, to narrate and comment on the plot, see "Hiller, Ferdinand," p. 341.

composition relates to the numbers 16 to 19 because he felt that they impeded the development of the plot whose "rapid progress otherwise is precisely one of the virtues of this oratorio."[238]

Hiller's change of title, indignantly noted by Steinheim in spring 1840,[239] is intriguing in this context. In effect, it entails a contextual reconfiguration of the whole of the completed, or almost completed, oratorio as well as a shift in its potential of signification. Why Hiller chose to alter the title is not known. While there may have been perfectly innocuous reasons for him to do so, some conjectures may nevertheless be allowed.

Most importantly, I would like to return to Kaulbach's *Zerstörung Jerusalems*, which I suggest to have influenced the composer's decision. It is inconceivable that the artistically minded Hiller should not have been aware of the celebrated painter's project, at the very latest after his return from Italy in the autumn of 1839, if not before. It is then not entirely unlikely that his choice may reflect a deliberate decision to capitalize on the painting's increasing visibility in public discourse. Such a cynical explanation aside, I would moreover argue that with the new ambiguous title, which may refer to both, or either, of the destructions of Jerusalem, the composer sought to offer his oratorio with its previously elaborated affirmative objective as a corrective to the artist's antisemitic conception. The painting's Ahasuerus, condemned to eternal punishment and despair and explicitly conceived as paradigmatic of the Jews even into the future, is confronted with Jeremiah's vision of triumphant resurgence in the face of destruction and with the promise of the Jewish mission. The oratorio's new title, precisely because it associated both destructions of Jerusalem, was also more likely to encompass the future trajectory of this mission as it had been elaborated by Steinheim in his *Offenbarung*.

Whether the "Maccabean enthusiasm" initially invoked by Steinheim, and of which Hiller's change of title arguably is also a product, bore fruit is doubtful. While it has recently been argued that Hiller's oratorio, in particular the composer's emphasis on choral passages and the hope for the future it articulates, influenced Giuseppe Verdi's politically charged and thematically related opera *Nabucco* (1842),[240] none of the numerous reviews of performances of Hiller's *Zerstörung Jerusalems* for the next three decades I was able to consult specifically emphasizes its Jewish context beyond its provenance in the Old Testament or sug-

238 Bischoff, "Zerstörung Jerusalems, Oratorium," 235: "[S]o unterbrechen sie doch die Handlung zu lange, deren rascher Fortschritt sonst gerade einen Vorzug dieses Oratoriums bildet."

239 See Steinheim, "Erklärung," 116.

240 See Klaus Ley, *Latentes Agitieren: "Nabucco," 1816–1842: Zu Giuseppe Verdis früher Erfolgsoper, ihren Prätexten, ihrem Modellcharakter* (Heidelberg: Winter, 2010), pp. 90–2, 97.

gests that its emancipatory potential had indeed been recognized. With its instant leap into the mainstream, any such reading of the oratorio seems to have been eclipsed. The only exception appears to have been Philippson's review of the oratorio's performance in Bonn in 1862 in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* in which the critic acknowledged its affirmative intervention in the emancipation debate. However, by that time the composer too had been baptized and Philippson at the same time sombrely insinuates a sense of betrayal and guilt by reiterating the very words sung by Hannah in the first part of the oratorio:

> When Hiller composed this oratorio, he was a Jew. What must have been the emotions with which he now listened to the words of the first recitativo of "Hannah": "how many are fallen backward from the ways of the Fathers!"[241]

Singing Back in the German Idiom

The popularity of the genre of the oratorio, which was widely adopted by the proliferating amateur choral societies of the nineteenth century,[242] as well as its prominent textual component and its participation in a discourse of cultural nationalism[243] made it a potentially auspicious arena for the productive engagement with issues of contemporary social and cultural significance. The acceptability of Jewish subject matter, if of pre-Christian provenance, made it more specifically also a medium through which the emancipation question might be addressed.[244] The inherently historical perspective and the "widespread attraction to exotic subjects"[245] in the oratorio even beyond the turn of the century moreover encouraged constructions of the Jewish other which potentially had a significant bearing also on the perception, and the representation, of Jews in contemporary Germany.

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241 Anonymous, [Untitled], *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* 27.2 (January 6, 1863): 19: "Als Hiller dieses Oratorium componirte war er Jude. Mit welchem Gefühle muß er aber jetzt die Worte in den [*sic*] ersten Recitativ der 'Hanna' anhören: 'Wie viele sind abgefallen von der Lehre der Väter!'"

242 See Smither, *History of the Oratorio*, IV, 85.

243 See ibid., IV, 10 and, for the wider context of socio-political meanings and functions of music in nineteenth-century Germany, Garratt, *Music, Culture and Social Reform*.

244 Although, as observed by Eichner, Arnold Schering suggested in his *Geschichte des Oratoriums* (1911; *History of the Oratorio*) that "this was caused by weariness of the biblical topics (hinting at an anti-Jewish prejudice against the Old Testament), by the exuberant spirit of the young German Empire and by the general historicist tendencies of the age," Eichner, *History in Mighty Sounds*, p. 165.

245 Smither, *History of the Oratorio*, IV, 199.

Hiller's *Zerstörung Jerusalems* premiered with a good measure of success in Leipzig and continued to be performed in Germany and abroad.[246] Robert Schumann, for instance, praised in his review of the first performance its strong tone color, the seriousness and firmness of its style as well as its delightful, picturesque, and fantastic character.[247] He also specifically asserted the undiminished German vigor of the composer after his recent sojourn in Italy,[248] which had resulted in the staging of his Italianate opera *La Romilda* (1839) at the Scala in Milan.[249] Hiller's favorable representation of the Jews and his implicit interven-

246 Martin Blumner mentions four performances at the Berlin *Sing-Akademie* in 1844, 1846, 1848–49, and 1866, see *Geschichte der Sing-Akademie zu Berlin: Eine Festgabe zur Säkularfeier am 24. Mai 1891* (Berlin: Horn and Raasch, 1891), pp. 125–6. Other performances occurred, e.g., in Amsterdam (1840), Frankfurt (1840), Leipzig (1840), Prague (1842), Leipzig (1844), Altona (1845), Braunschweig (1845), Florence (1845; in Italian), Kassel (1845), Riga (1845), Hamburg (1846), Riga (1846), Danzig (present-day Gdansk in Poland; 1847), Dresden (1847; excerpts in August; full work in November), s'Gravenhage (1847; second part), Cologne (1850), Barmen (1853), Amsterdam (1855), Düsseldorf (1855; excerpts), Bremen (1856; repeated), Krefeld (1856; full work and excerpts for *Stiftungs-Fest*), Cologne (1857; excerpts), Rotterdam (1857), Osnabrück (1860; excerpts), Amsterdam (1861), Bielefeld (1861), Laybach (present-day Ljubljana in Slovenia; 1861; repeated), Middelburg (1861; music festival), Ratisbon (1861), Stettin (present-day Szczecin in Poland; 1861; excerpts), Bonn (1862), Munich (1862), Breslau (1863), Düsseldorf (1863; excerpts), Aachen (1864), Breslau (1864), Cologne (1864), Heiligenstadt (1864), Bielefeld (1865), Frankfurt (1866), Lübeck (1866), Utrecht (1866), Arnhem (1867; excerpts), Berlin (1867; excerpts), and Hamburg (1868).

247 See Robert Schumann, "'Die Zerstörung Jerusalems.' Oratorium von Ferdinand Hiller. 1ste Aufführung in Leipzig" [1840], in *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker* (Leipzig: Wigand, 1854), III, 214–15: "Am meisten erfreut uns daran das kräftige Colorit, der Ernst und die Festigkeit des Styls, im einzelnen das Reizvolle, Malerische und Phantastische."

248 Adolphe Nourrit challenged in an exchange of letters with Hiller the German preponderance in the composer's oratorio, see Nourrit to Hiller on July 6, 1838, in "Briefe von Adolphe Nourrit an Ferdinand Hiller. II," 299: "Just continue to work briskly on your oratorio, which may benefit from being written in Italy; how beautiful shall a serious German thought look in a seductive Italian guise! [Arbeiten Sie denn nur rüstig an Ihrem Oratorium fort, das dadurch gewinnen kann, dass es in Italien geschrieben wird; wie schön wird ein ernster deutscher Gedanke in verführerischer italiänischer Form sich ausnehmen!]" Yet see also a later letter of Nourrit to Hiller of January 24, 1839, in which the tenor stylizes Germany as both their Promised Land, in "Briefe von Adolphe Nourrit an Ferdinand Hiller. III," *Niederrheinische Musik-Zeitung* 8.39 (1860): 305–8, 307: "Neither you, nor I, can ever be completely happy in this land [i.e., Italy], feel entirely welcome; we, both of us, shall see the Promised Land [i.e., Germany] again and the question can only be for how long we shall endure the exile in order to turn our present discomfort into an advantage for our future. [Weder Sie noch ich können jemals in diesem Lande vollkommen glücklich sein, uns vollkommen wohl fühlen; wir werden beide das gelobte Land wiedersehen, und es kann für uns nur davon die Rede sein, wie lange wir noch die Verbannung ertragen, um aus unserer gegenwärtigen Unbehaglichkeit Vortheil für unsere Zukunft zu ziehen.]"

249 Schumann, "'Die Zerstörung Jerusalems'," p. 214. See also Robert Schumann, "Neue Oratorien. Ferdinand Hiller, die Zerstörung Jerusalems. Oratorium nach der heiligen Schrift von Dr.

tion in the emancipation debate certainly seem not to have been detrimental to the esteem enjoyed by the composer in Germany.[250]

In context with Loewe's earlier oratorio, the collaboration between Hiller and Steinheim may nevertheless be considered—in the parlance of postcolonial theory—a form of writing and, indeed, of singing back. Making use of a genre which was deemed to be specifically German,[251] poet and composer reclaim Jewish history and reinsert the Jewish particular into universal history of which it had been written out subsequent to its Christian appropriation. Hiller's oratorio, as Schumann perceptively observes, accordingly does not include any chorales; these are, after all, a specifically Christian form—and, as Wagner insisted, even specifically German.[252] At the same time, as emphasized in its title and acknowledged by Schumann,[253] the libretto attributed to Steinheim was based on the Bible and thus reasserted scriptural authority over the textual liberties taken by Nicolai and others. In his review of the published music, Schumann moreover once again emphasized that *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* was a thoroughly German work.[254] This attempt to align the composer with the models of the German tradition is a useful reminder that Hiller's oratorio does not set Jewish against German but took issue with Christian hegemony. Indeed, while not too much should be made of Hiller's assimilated Jewishness, it nevertheless would seem that his oratorio is a direct repudiation also of the theological import of Kaulbach's visual rendering of the destruction of Jerusalem. After all, in its own way, the painting too was an intervention in the emancipation debate, if a much more conservative one, as has been suggested by Karl Möseneder.[255] It promoted precisely the assimilative dissolution of Judaism into Christianity challenged by Hiller and Steinheim as well as Riesser.

Schumann's endorsement of Hiller's oratorio and his insistence on the German nature of his work must have been galling to Richard Wagner. In fact, he accused the late composer in the 1869 supplement to his essay on "Judenthum in der Musik" of having succumbed to the pernicious Jewish yoke and decried his

Steinheim" [1841], in *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker* (Leipzig: Wigand, 1854), III, 3–10, 7. Hiller's *La Romilda* was a failure in Milan, even though it was endorsed by Rossini.

250 See, e.g., the entry by Rudolf Bockholdt on Hiller in NDB (1972), IX, 152–3.

251 See Smither, *History of the Oratorio*, IV, 10.

252 See Schumann, "Neue Oratorien," p. 7: "Der *Choral*, als eine Idee des Christenthums ist mit Recht nicht angewandt."

253 See ibid.

254 See ibid.

255 Möseneder, "'Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht'," 130–1.

alleged appropriation by the Jewish conspiracy that he suspected to have spread its tendrils across German culture:

> So he [i.e., Schumann] was unconsciously bereft of his noble freedom, and his old friends—disowned by him at last—are also now called upon to suffer seeing him carried off in triumph by the music-Jews as one of their own![256]

Hiller was also mentioned in passing by Wagner with implicit disdain in the same essay.[257] In his autobiography, after gloating over the failure of the Jewish composer's opera during his sojourn in Italy, Wagner was more forthcoming. While initially observing that Hiller "behaved in a particularly charming and agreeable manner during those days in Dresden,"[258] he asserts little later that he soon recognized the composer's "innate worthlessness."[259]

More specifically, Wagner subtly insinuates that, by allegedly adopting a Mendelssohnian style, Hiller's foray into the genre of the oratorio may have been a more or less successful ploy to establish himself as a German composer:

> On German soil he had tried the Mendelssohnian style and had actually brought into the world an oratorio called *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems*, which had the advantage of being ignored by the fickle public, thereby bringing its creator an indestructible reputation as a genuinely German composer.[260]

The suggestion is at the same time that the Jewish composer Mendelssohn had become synonymous with the oratorio, to Wagner's mind a specifically German genre, as we know from his earlier essay. His accusation of Hiller's appropriation of the oratorio in the style of his Jewish colleague thus situates both squarely

256 Wagner, *Judaism in Music*, p. 85; see Wagner, *Judenthum in der Musik*, p. 52: "So verlor er unbewußt seine edle Freiheit, und nun erleben es seine alten, von ihm endlich gar verleugneten Freunde, daß er als einer der ihrigen von den Musikjuden uns im Triumphe dahergeführt wird!"

257 Wagner, *Judaism in Music*, p. 56; see also Wagner, *Judenthum in der Musik*, p. 36.

258 Wagner, *My Life*, p. 294; see also Wagner, *Mein Leben*, I, 350: "Sehr hübsch und zutraulich nahm sich dagegen, namentlich um jene Zeit, in Dresden *Ferdinand Hiller* aus."

259 Wagner, *My Life*, p. 326; see also Wagner, *Mein Leben*, I, 388: "des von mir bald als durchaus nichtig erkannten *Hiller*'s." For Wagner's further attacks on the composer, especially in his review of Hiller's *Aus dem Tonleben unserer Zeit* (1871), see Giselher Schubert, "Wagners Hiller-Polemik," in Ackermann et al. (eds), *Ferdinand Hiller*, pp. 501–11 and Jerold, "Vindication of Ferdinand Hiller."

260 Wagner, *My Life*, pp. 294–5; see also Wagner, *Mein Leben*, I, 351: "Auf deutschem Boden hatte er es nun auf '*Mendelssohn*isch' versucht, und wirklich ein Oratorium, 'die Zerstörung Jerusalems,' zu Stande gebracht, welches sich des Vortheils, von dem launenhaften Theaterpublikum nicht beachtet zu werden, erfreuen, und seinem Schöpfer den unverwüstlichen Ruf eines gediegenen deutschen Componisten eintragen durfte."

among those Jewish composers who allegedly pervert the German musical idiom and turn their uninspired larceny into illicit gain.

Hiller, as we have already seen, was to remain the only German Jewish composer to engage with Kaulbach's painting in an oratorio. The potentially subversive nature of his and Steinheim's response is therefore particularly intriguing, not least when seen in relation to the paradigm shift toward the stigmatization of supposedly racially "Jewish" derivative and imitative art initiated by Wagner. Paradoxically, it confirms the latter's anxieties, if in a very different sense, in that it reasserts the Jewish particular but deftly employs a range of mainstream musical idioms. A similarly subversive artistic response to Kaulbach's *Zerstörung Jerusalems* was produced some decades later by Bendemann, whose earlier experiences included the design of *tableaux vivants* for oratorios and, of course, his celebrated 'Jewish' paintings: *Gefangene Juden im Exil* (1832; Captive Jews in Exile; Figure 5) and *Jeremias auf den Trümmern Jerusalems* (1834–35; Jeremiah on the Ruins of Jerusalem; Figure 6),[261] the latter of which has been said to have given Kaulbach the inspiration for the cowering Jews in the center foreground of his *Zerstörung Jerusalems*.[262]

Both paintings originate in the artist's period in Düsseldorf, where he was a member of the Academy of the Arts. The circle of artists, musicians, and poets attracted by the Academy's director, Wilhelm von Schadow, included since 1829 also Friedrich von Uechtritz.[263] The erudite young magistrate's assistant and writer was well acquainted with Schadow from his time in Berlin and, in Düsseldorf, was invited to introduce the artistic community, with which he engaged critically, to literature and history.[264]

261 The original was lost in the Second World War, see Möseneder, "'Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht'," 114. Perhaps the best-known of Bendemann's earlier 'Jewish' paintings was *Gefangene Juden im Exil* (1832; Captive Jews in Exile; also known as *Trauernde Juden im Exil*; figure 5). For the contemporary reception history of Bendemann's early 'Jewish' paintings, see Wittler, *Morgenländischer Glanz*, pp. 407–32, 440–51.

262 See Wolfgang Becker, "Jüdisches in der Bildkunst des 19. Jahrhunderts. Variationen zu Kaulbach's 'Zerstörung Jerusalems'," in *Judenhass—Schuld der Christen?! Versuch eines Gesprächs*, eds Willehad Paul Eckert and Ernst Ludwig Ehrlich (Essen: Driewer, 1964), pp. 257–78, p. 261; see also Möseneder, "'Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht'," 114. At the same time, Bendemann's painting was one of several of the artist which were also considered by his contemporaries to be interventions in the emancipation debate, see 130. Kaulbach's reference to Bendemann's *Jeremias* may then also be seen as a re-interpretation of the figure.

263 See Peter Betthausen, *Künstlergemeinschaften der Romantik* (Berlin: Lukas, 2016), p. 86.

264 See Friedrich von Uechtritz, *Blicke in das Düsseldorfer Kunst- und Künstlerleben*, 2 vols (Düsseldorf: Schreiner, 1839), I, 66–7.

A moderately successful dramatist, Uechtritz worked during his early years in Düsseldorf on a dramatic poem about the destruction of the First Temple in Jerusalem. "It is a strange work to which I currently apply my quill," he wrote to his parents and siblings in December 1831; one, whose subject he considered to be "dramatically splendid," but which he assumed would remain barred from the stage, "because it touches the most profound mysteries of religion."[265] Uechtritz paradoxically described it as both "dogmatic" and yet "satisfying to all religious parties," as "mystical" but not "playful."[266] The writer explained:

> The Jewish and the Christian Messiah are the ideas of the piece which are wrestling with one another, engaging in the final struggle and yet simultaneously celebrating their reconciliation at the end of the piece, in the prophet Jeremiah who sits lamenting on the ruins of the Temple.[267]

While Uechtritz's interest in the subject appears to have preceded Bendemann's,[268] both were closely enough acquainted to suggest not only that they were aware of each other's efforts, but that they worked in conversation with one another.

Though it was not published before 1836 with the title *Die Babylonier in Jerusalem* (The Babylonians in Jerusalem),[269] Uechtritz had sent his dramatic poem already in autumn 1835 to Ludwig Tieck and the older writer's daughter Dorothea who informed her friend of her father's appreciation of the play. Yet she noted that he felt that he would need to re-read and carefully consider such a profound and original work before commenting on it.[270] While the older Tieck's letter

265 Friedrich von Uechtritz to his parents and siblings on December 8, 1831, in *Erinnerungen an Friedrich von Uechtritz und seine Zeit in Briefen von ihm und an ihn*, ed. Maria von Uechtritz (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1884), pp. 131–2: "Es ist ein wunderliches Werk, das ich unter der Feder habe. Ein dramatisch glänzender Stoff, der aber, weil er die tiefsten Geheimnisse der Religion berührt, vielleicht von der Bühne ausgeschlossen bleiben dürfte."

266 Ibid., p. 131: "strenggläubig und doch alle Religionspartheien (wovon ich schon Proben habe) so wie den Denker befriedigend, mystisch ohne spielend zu werden."

267 Ibid., pp. 131–2: "Der jüdische und der christliche Messias sind die mit einander ringenden Ideen des Stücks, den letzten Kampf kämpfen und zugleich ihre Versöhnung feiern sie am Schlusse des Stücks, in dem Propheten Jeremia, der klagend auf den Trümmern des Tempels sitzt."

268 Uechtritz noted that he was introduced to the subject already during his time in Berlin (1821–28) and that, by the time he approached it in his dramatic poem, he had thought about it for several years; see Uechtritz, *Eleazar*, pp. ix–xi.

269 Friedrich von Uechtritz, *Die Babylonier in Jerusalem: Dramatisches Gedicht* (Düsseldorf: Schreiner, 1836).

270 See Dorothea Tieck to Uechtritz on October 7, 1835, in Maria von Uechtritz (ed.), *Erinnerungen an Friedrich von Uechtritz*, pp. 196–8, pp. 196–7.

seems to have been lost or, given the hesitation expressed by his daughter, may in fact never have been written, Dorothea herself was not stinting in her praise of *Die Babylonier in Jerusalem*: "You have very well adopted the tone of the prophets," she enthused; "the ending really conveys the same impression as the lamentations of Jeremiah, which I have always loved so much; and yet again, the whole of your [dramatic poem], presents itself as so peculiar and has such a grand poetic power and beauty."[271]

It may have been the conciliatory trajectory of the dramatic poem emphasized by Uechtritz in the letter to his parents, of whose success he claimed to have received already some proof,[272] which may have been doubtful to Tieck. Bendemann, however, who had converted to Protestantism in 1832, may have felt reassured by the inclusive vision of Uechtritz's Jeremiah. Was his approval the "proof" the poet maintained to have obtained? Bendemann's hugely successful early painting *Gefangene Juden im Exil*, for instance, completed in the year of his conversion and at a time when the conception of Uechtritz's dramatic poem was already well defined, has been interpreted both as an intervention in the emancipation debate in favor of the "unhappy people"[273] and, more recently, as incorporating Christian symbolism: the vine winding around the willow tree sheltering the exiled Jews has been seen as a symbol of the Eucharist and the painting has even been read as a plea for conversion.[274]

Bendemann's Jeremiah, too, articulated, at least to Dorothea Tieck, a similar, but more painful ambivalence, which is clearly reminiscent of Uechtritz's conception. Yet, strangely, when she wrote effusively to the poet about the sublime effect that Bendemann's painting of the prophet had on her, in 1836, Dorothea did not at all mention her friend's dramatic poem on the same subject:

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271 See ibid., p. 197: "Sie haben sich recht in den Ton der Propheten hineingelesen, der Schluß macht wirklich ganz den Eindruck wie die Klagelieder Jeremiä, die ich immer so sehr geliebt habe, und doch steht das Ganze wieder so eigenthümlich da und hat für sich eine so große poetische Kraft und Schönheit."

272 See Uechtritz to his parents and siblings on December 8, 1831, in Maria von Uechtritz (ed.), *Erinnerungen an Friedrich von Uechtritz*, p. 131.

273 Hermann Püttmann, *Die Düsseldorfer Malerschule und ihre Leistungen seit der Errichtung des Kunstvereins im Jahre 1829: Ein Beitrag zur modernen Kunstgeschichte* (Leipzig: Wigand, 1839), p. 44: "des unglücklichen Volkes."

274 See Cordula Grewe, "Christliche Allegorie und jüdische Identität in Eduard Bendemanns 'Gefangene Juden in Babylon'," in *"An den Wassern Babylons saßen wir." Figurationen der Sehnsucht in der Malerei der Romantik: Ferdinand Olivier und Eduard Bendemann*, exhibition catalogue, Lübeck 2009, eds Alexander Bastek and Michael Thimann (Petersberg: Imhof, 2009), pp. 41–56, pp. 48–55 and Wittler, *Morgenländischer Glanz*, pp. 410–12.

> And yet,—what will you say when I must confess to you that, according to my sensibilities, the Jeremiah infinitely surpasses [the other paintings of the Düsseldorf School with which it was exhibited], and that I cannot comprehend how this painting has not yet been talked about much more. Here, one completely forgets to reflect on how it has been painted, to admire the details. Its presence is like a mighty revelation. One imagines to see the whole history of the world in it, all the greatness that was and that perished, all the suffering that moves the soul, and yet, this feeling is so comforting, soothing, elevating. In the face of the prophet, we read the sorrow about the Chosen People that did not recognise its salvation and became a victim of its own blindness; indeed, the hope of the coming Saviour, whom this people failed to recognise, bringing ruin upon itself, and led Him from the gates of the rebuilt city to His death. Yet why do I try to describe to you my emotions, my admiration, all the feelings which I had in front of this painting and which I hardly am able to explain to myself.[275]

Intriguingly, even as she notes the "comforting, soothing, and elevating" effect of the representation and its revelatory quality, Dorothea Tieck recognizes in Bendemann's unassuming painting precisely the world historical significance that Kaulbach forcefully sought to inscribe into his monumental conception of the destruction of the Second Temple, which he first conceptualized in the very same year, 1836.

The Synesthetic Potential of the Oratorio

By 1840, when Hiller's *Zerstörung Jerusalems* premiered in Leipzig, Kaulbach's eponymous painting had already received much public attention.[276] Indeed the ambitious composition, purchased for the enormous sum of 35,000 gulden by

275 Dorothea Tieck to Uechtritz on December 27, 1836, in Maria von Uechtritz (ed.), *Erinnerungen an Friedrich von Uechtritz*, pp. 203–6, pp. 204–5: "Und doch,—was werden Sie sagen, wenn ich Ihnen gestehen muß, daß mir für mein Gefühl der Jeremias noch unendlich viel höher steht, und daß ich nicht begreifen kann, wie man nicht von diesem Bilde schon viel mehr hat sprechen hören. Hier vergißt man ganz darüber nachzudenken, wie es gemalt ist, die Einzelnheiten zu bewundern. Wie eine mächtige Offenbarung steht es da. Man glaubt die ganze Weltgeschichte zu erblicken, alles Große, was war und untergegangen ist, alle Schmerzen, die die Seele bewegen, und doch ist dies Gefühl so wohlthuend, beruhigend, erhebend. In dem Angesicht des Propheten lesen wir die Trauer über das erwählte Volk, das sein Heil nicht erkannte, und ein Opfer der eignen Verblendung fiel; ja, die Hoffnung auf den kommenden Erlöser, den dies Volk zu seinem eignen Verderben nicht erkennt und aus den Thoren der wieder erbauten Stadt zum Tode führt. Doch warum versuche ich, Ihnen meine Rührung, meine Bewundrung, alle die Empfindungen zu schildern, die ich vor diesem Bilde hatte, und die ich mir selbst kaum klar zu machen weiß." The 'lesser' paintings explicitly referenced by Tieck are *Die Hussitenpredigt* (1836; The Hussite Sermon) by Carl Friedrich Lessing (1808–80); oil on canvas; 223 cm × 293 cm; Alte Nationalgalerie, Berlin and *Heinrich IV. in Canossa* (1836) by Carl Joseph Begas (1794–1854); formerly Burg Rheineck; lost.

276 For an excellent overview, see Möseneder, "'Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht'," 103–46.

King Ludwig I of Bavaria,[277] had been popularized long before it was completed in 1846 and finally exhibited as the center piece of the Neue Pinakothek in Munich when this was opened in 1853. The artist—since 1837 the court painter of Ludwig I—had exhibited the initial cartoon for his monumental painting first in 1838 at his studio in Munich. A detailed description and appreciation was published in April of the same year in the *Außerordentliche Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung* and was closely followed by similar reports in various other publications, among them Marggraff's, as well as advertisements for visits to the artist's studio.[278]

Based on his earlier explanations to Angelina von Radziwill, who originally commissioned the painting in 1836 before reneging on the understanding with the painter,[279] Kaulbach himself, as mentioned before, published a short explicatory pamphlet in 1840.[280] A copy of the cartoon was, moreover, publicly exhibited in the same year at the *Kunstverein* in Berlin.[281] Carl Waagen, the Prussian king's agent in artistic matters, commissioned the Swiss engraver Heinrich Merz to execute a large-scale etching of the Munich cartoon, authorized by the artist, and finally issued to subscribers in 1852;[282] two engravings, based on the Berlin cartoon, were made by Gustav Eilers and Friedrich Eduard Eichens in 1869 and 1870, respectively.[283] Continuing to polarize the critics well beyond Kaulbach's death in 1874, the composition had furthermore prompted an extended and controversial

277 See ibid., 103.

278 Another detailed description which clearly conveys the painter's intention was published in the same year in *Kunst-Blatt* 63 (August 7, 1838): 249–50. For an advertisement to visit the artist's studio, see, e.g., *Fränkischer Merkur* 99 (April 9, 1838): 812: "At Tattenbachstraße by the Löckel the sketch to a magnificent painting, the Destruction of Jerusalem by Herr Kaulbach, is now on view; the painting is 20 feet long and 18 feet wide and is being created at the supreme command of His Majesty the King. [In der Tattenbachstraße am Löckel, ist jetzt die Skizze zu einem großartigen Gemälde, die Zerstörung von Jerusalem von Herrn Kaulbach, welches 20 Schuh lang und 18 Schuh breit ist, und aus allerhöchstem Auftrag Seiner Majestät des Königs gefertigt wird, ausgestellt.]" In 1838 Rudolf Marggraff published in *Münchner Jahrbücher für bildende Kunst* an essay on Kaulbach's painting which included also a lithograph of the central group of the High Priest.

279 For a detailed account, see Hans Müller, *Wilhelm Kaulbach* 2 vols (Berlin: Fontane, 1893), I, 384–90.

280 Hans Christian Andersen noted in his diary that he was presented by the painter with the pamphlet when he visited his studio in November 1840, see *Tagebücher 1825–1875*, pp. 147–8.

281 See Menke-Schwinghammer, *Weltgeschichte als "Nationalepos,"* p. 40.

282 See Hyacinth Holland, "Merz, Heinrich," in ADB (1885), XXI, 482–3.

283 Eichens' engraving is included in the final instalment (1871) of *Wilhelm von Kaulbach's Wandgemælde im Treppenhause des Neuen Museums zu Berlin.* Mit Genehmigung der General-Direction der Kœniglichen Museen, ed. Alexander Duncker (Berlin: Duncker, 1853–71); Eiler's in *Wilhelm von Kaulbach's Wandgemälde im Treppenhause des Neuen Museum zu Berlin: In Kupfer gestochen von G. Eilers, H. Merz, J. L. Raab, A. Schultheiss.* Mit erläuterndem Text herausgegeben unter den Auspicien des Meisters, ed. Alexander Duncker (Berlin: Duncker, 1872), fol. 3. For the

debate in art historical and aesthetic-philosophical circles, ever since details of its conception had first emerged.[284]

The wide-spread interest in Kaulbach's painting which had two kings vie for its acquisition—Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia eventually had to settle for a fresco version of the composition (1851) as part of the history cycle he commissioned for the stairwell of the Neues Museum in Berlin[285]—would suggest that Hiller and Steinheim must have been well aware of it. The Christian symbolism of the painting was certainly widely disseminated. The anonymous contributor to the *Außerordentliche Beilage*, for instance, explained: "for with the fall of the capital of the Jews was dissolved historically and for all the world to see the covenant, the covenant of Abraham, just as the new covenant had previously already commenced spiritually with the grace of salvation."[286] Even if not necessarily familiar with the visual aspect of the composition, it is more than likely that Hiller and Steinheim would at least have encountered this or similar descriptions of the painting. If so, the renewed supersessionist "provocation," no less than the earlier claims already made by Loewe's oratorio, may have prompted and informed their musical dissent.

At the same time, Kaulbach's *Zerstörung Jerusalems* may itself have been inspired to some extent by Loewe and Nicolai's earlier collaboration.[287] The withdrawing Christians, for instance, appear to be derived from the oratorio. They are mentioned by Eusebius, but Kaulbach neglects to acknowledge the ancient ecclesiastical historian as a source. More importantly, the earlier work anticipates not only the theological trajectory of his painting, secularized as it was; but the artist was, moreover, also interested in the synesthetic potential of the oratorio as a

different prints as reproductions of the Munich and Berlin cartoons, respectively, see Menke-Schwinghammer, *Weltgeschichte als "Nationalepos,"* p. 41.

284 See Möseneder, "'Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht'," 133–9.

285 For a detailed discussion, see Menke-Schwinghammer, *Weltgeschichte als "Nationalepos."* Kaulbach's frescoes were destroyed during the Second World War.

286 Anonymous, "Kunstnachrichten," *Außerordentliche Beilage zur Allgemeinen Zeitung* 183/184 (April 6, 1838): 732–3, 732: "[D]enn mit dem Untergange der Hauptstadt der Juden zerriß historisch und für die äußere Welt der Bund, der Bund Abrahams, wie vordem geistig schon in der Gnade der Erlösung der neue eingetreten war."

287 According to Hans Müller, the subject was suggested to Kaulbach by Princess Angelina von Radziwill. The painting was in fact originally commissioned by her and it was only when she impatiently canceled the agreement that King Ludwig I stepped in, see Müller, *Kaulbach*, I, 386–91. Loewe was acquainted with the Radziwill family. His oratorio may have been known to the Princess but may nevertheless have influenced Kaulbach's conception also directly; the haunting spirit voices, for instance, may have informed his idea of the demons pursuing Ahasuerus, although they are of course also reminiscent of the Erinyes.

genre. Indeed, as his biographer Hans Müller reports, Kaulbach was not entirely satisfied with his effort and suggested that it should be accompanied by music so as to complete it and invest its figures with life.[288] With the biblical inscriptions in the frame and the visual representation of sensory effects—such as the blaring trombones and the singing Christians—the artist had already begun to explore "virtually" the synesthetic experience of combining all the "sister arts"[289] so highly valued by the nineteenth century.[290] The contemporary performance practice of the oratorio which, if rarely, might include transparencies of existing paintings or costumed *tableaux vivants*[291] would indeed have been able to offer more fully the synesthetic immersion that was apparently envisaged by Kaulbach.

An illuminating account of the use of *tableaux vivants* in the 1833 performance in Düsseldorf of Händel's *Israel in Egypt* (1739; HWV54) was given by Mendelssohn.[292] The initial *tableau vivant* of "Die Kinder Israels in der Knechtschaft" (The Children of Israel in Bondage) had been designed and arranged by Bendemann.[293] In a letter to his sister Rebecca, Mendelssohn, who conducted the performance from the piano, enthusiastically described the artist's *tableau vivant*:

> In the foreground was Moses, gazing dreamily into the distance in sorrowful apathy; beside him an old man sinking to the ground under the weight of a beam, while his son makes an effort to relieve him from it; in the background some beautiful figures with uplifted arms, a few weeping children in the fore ground—the whole scene closely crowded together like a

288 Ibid., I, 405: "He [i.e., Kaulbach] said quite openly that the image did not satisfy him, that it did not exhaust the subject, and finally declared—which is very charateristic of program painting—that music must be written in addition to it to complete the whole and to breathe life into the figures. [Er sprach es offen aus, daß ihm das Bild nicht genüge, daß es den Gegenstand nicht erschöpfe, und meinte schließlich—was sehr bezeichnend für die Programmmalerei ist—es müsse noch Musik hinzugeschrieben werden, um das Ganze zu vervollständigen, um den Gestalten Leben einzuhauchen.]" Müller's aside about "Programmmalerei" indicates the similarities between program music and its visual equivalent.

289 Ibid.: "um den gewaltigen Gegenstand durch die zusammenwirkende Kraft aller drei Schwesterkünste vollauf verständlich zu machen."

290 Franz Liszt composed his symphonic poem *Hunnenschlacht* (*Battle of the Huns*; S.105) in 1857 after Kaulbach's eponymous painting (1837) that was part of the cycle devised for the staircase of the Neues Museum in Berlin and included also *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems*.

291 For the use of *tableaux vivants* and other visual effects in the staging of oratorios, see Smither, *History of the Oratorio*, IV, 56–61.

292 Kaulbach had close connections to Düsseldorf where he studied at the academy until, in 1826, he was called by its former director, Peter Cornelius, to Munich, see Müller, *Kaulbach*, I, 108.

293 Bendemann designed also another of the *tableaux vivants*, called "Israels Auszug aus Ägypten" (Israel's Exodus from Egypt), see Steil, "Eduard Julius Friedrich Bendemann," p. 11. See also Wittler, *Morgenländischer Glanz*, p. 428.

> mass of fugitives. This remained visible till the close of the first chorus; and when it ended in C minor, the curtain at the same moment dropped over the bright picture. A finer effect I scarcely ever saw.[294]

For one of the following *tableaux vivants*, designed not by Bendemann but by his brother-in-law Julius Hübner, Mendelssohn described the arrangement of the soprano being installed behind the scenes so that it seemed as if the solo was "proceeding from the picture."[295] The interpenetration of the arts on this occasion seems indeed to have produced the desired inspiring synesthetic experience which enhanced the appreciation of all the arts involved.

The Wandering Jew, the Beautiful Jewess, and the Jewish Orphans: Görres, Bohn, and Naumann

Kaulbach must have had something similar in mind for his own painting and a libretto was indeed written by his close friend Guido Görres (1805–52).[296] According to Müller, it was to be set to music by the well-known composer Franz Lachner whose oratorio *Moses* had premiered in 1834.[297] Görres's libretto survives as a sepa-

294 Mendelssohn to Rebecca Dirichlet on October 26, 1833, in Paul and Carl Mendelssohn Bartholdy (eds), *Letters of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy*, p. 12; see also Paul and Carl Mendelssohn Bartholdy (eds), *Briefe aus den Jahren 1833 bis 1847 von Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy*, pp. 13–14: "voran Moses, ganz versunken und apatysch vor sich hin sehend, neben ihm ein Alter, der unter der Last seines Balkens eben zusammensinkt, während sein Sohn sich bemüht ihn ihm abzunehmen; einige schöne aufgehobene Arme im Hintergrunde, voran noch ein paar weinende Kinder, das Ganze recht zusammengedrängt wie ein Haufen Flüchtlinge;—das blieb nun stehen bis zum Schluß des ersten Chors, wo dann im selben Moment der Chor in *C moll* endigte, und der Vorhang vor dem hellen Bilde sich schloß. Einen schönern Effect, als den, habe ich selten gesehen." See also Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, *Sämtliche Briefe*, vol. 3: *August 1832 bis Juli 1834*, ed. Ute Wald (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2010), p. 293.

295 Mendelssohn to Rebecca Dirichlet on October 26, 1833, in Paul and Carl Mendelssohn Bartholdy (eds), *Letters of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy*, p. 13. See also Paul and Carl Mendelssohn Bartholdy (eds), *Briefe aus den Jahren 1833 bis 1847 von Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy*, p. 14: "als ginge es vom Bilde aus." See also Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, *Sämtliche Briefe*, vol. 3: *August 1832 bis Juli 1834*, ed. Ute Wald (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2010), p. 294.

296 Möseneder emphasizes that the painting itself incorporates elements of the *tableau vivant*, see "'Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht'," 133.

297 See Geck, *Deutsche Oratorien*, p. 20; the first performance in Vienna was followed by performances in Mannheim and Munich (1836). In a contemporary report, the oratorio is praised as an ingenuous work, though the reviewer considers it as occasionally too warmly colored and too dramatic, qualities he ascribes to the demands of the libretto: "das wahrhaft geniale Werk [. . .], wenn auch hie und da nach der Vorschrift des Dichters etwas zu warm kolorirt und zu drama-

rate print in *Deutsches Hausbuch* (1847; German Housebook), a short-lived periodical edited by its author.[298] Intriguingly, the text was accompanied by six vignettes based on figural groups in the original painting, which was clearly a further attempt at creating a synesthetic experience. Yet Görres's literary effort, as suggested already by Müller, was unwieldy and ultimately unsuitable for a libretto[299]—which may explain why nothing further seems to have come of this project.

Görres's libretto was in fact set to music, if at a much later date and only partially, by the eminent musicologist Emil Bohn (1839–1909), who taught at the University of Breslau (present-day Wrocław); but his composition, surviving in an undated autograph at the University Library of Wrocław,[300] remains fragmentary and was never published.[301] The thematic choice may have been suggested to the composer by performances of Hiller's *Zerstörung Jerusalems* in Breslau in November 1863, and again in June 1864, at the *Sing-Akademie*, both conducted by Julius Schäffer. A lengthy appreciation of the oratorio and its performance was published by Expedit Baumgart in the *Schlesische Zeitung*.[302] Bohn had studied music with both Baumgart and Schäffer until 1862. It is more than likely that he would have been involved in both performances or at the very least would have taken a keen interest.

His own effort possibly dates to the composer's time as organist at the Kreuzkirche in Breslau, a position he held since 1868.[303] I could not, however, find any

tisch gehalten," Anonymous, "Musikalischer Jahresbericht aus München," *Europa: Chronik der gebildeten Welt* 1 (1837): 602–12, 607.

298 Guido Görres, "Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem: Tragisches Singspiel in drei Abtheilungen," *Deutsches Hausbuch* 2 (1847): 51–60.

299 Müller, *Kaulbach*, I, 405: "Die eigenartige Dichtung schildert in Chören und Einzelgesängen die verschiedenen Gruppen des Kaulbachschen Werkes, sehr genau auf des Künstlers Intentionen eingehend, aber doch viel zu breit und ausführlich für ein musikalisches Werk, ganz abgesehen davon, daß viel zu viel Personen redend oder singend eingeführt werden."

300 For the autograph, which comprises pp. 86 and a handwritten copy of Görres's complete text, see Emil Bohn, "Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem," Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, callmark: 60943 Muz.

301 For Bohn's biography, see MGG (2000), III, 255–6.

302 For a reprint, see Expedit Baumgart, "Aus Breslau," *Niederrheinische Musik-Zeitung* 11.47 (November 21, 1863): 373–5. For a report on the repeat performance in 1864, see "Aus Breslau," *Niederrheinische Musik-Zeitung* 12.27 (July 2, 1864): 215–16.

303 See Fritz Feldmann, "Bohn, Emil," in NDB (1955), II, 420. The composer may also have intended the oratorio for the *Bohn'sche Gesangverein* which he established in 1882, though the main objective of the *a capella* choir was to perform historical concerts. For a documentation of its performances, see Emil Bohn, *Fünfzig historische Concerte in Breslau, 1881–1892: nebst einer bibliographischen Beigabe: Bibliothek des gedruckten mehrstimmigen weltlichen deutschen Liedes vom Anfange des 16. Jahrhunderts bis ca. 1640* (Breslau: Hainauer, 1893); Emil Bohn, *Bohn'scher Gesangverein: hundert historische Concerte in Breslau 1881–1905* (Breslau: Hainauer, 1905); and

evidence that Bohn's "Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem" was ever produced. It consequently had no further impact on subsequent engagements with the subject or its dissemination, but is nevertheless relevant in the present context inasmuch as it not only indicates a continued interest in Görres's libretto and, at least indirectly, in Kaulbach's celebrated painting but moreover offers another oratorial interpretation of the destruction of Jerusalem.

Bohn's score is based exclusively on the first part of Görres's libretto and appears to be complete as intended by the composer; it clearly is not a draft version and includes no revisions. The minor textual changes Bohn made are presumably intended to heighten the dramatic tension.[304] More significantly, Bohn eliminated the orphans' choruses at the end of the first part and everything that relates to them. In his version, the first "act" of the oratorio, as he calls it,[305] is therefore concluded by the withdrawing Christians and their wistful lament rather than the orphans' praise of the eternal glory of the Lord.[306]

It was not long after the publication of Görres's libretto, before Kaulbach's painting—or rather its fresco version in Berlin, completed in 1851—did become the inspiration for another musical piece. In 1856 Emil Naumann (1827–88), a good acquaintance of Hiller's,[307] composed "an oratorio in the form of a cantata"[308] on *Jerusalems Zerstörung durch Titus* (The Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus) to words by Eduard Schüller (1794–1869) "after Kaulbach's fresco."[309] The libretto appears,

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Karl Bruchmann, *Sechzehn historische Konzerte in Breslau: ein Nachtrag zu: Emil Bohn, Hundert historische Concerte in Breslau* (Breslau: Hainauer, 1910).

304 Bohn deleted the repetition of the chorus of the Daughters of Sion inserted by Görres after the confrontation of Simon and John (Johannes) with the Prophet of the Jews; the Roman Tribune's admonition to the Jews to cease their raving follows now immediately on their violent altercation with the prophet, see Bohn, "Zerstörung Jerusalems," p. [60] and Görres, "Zerstörung Jerusalems," 53; the composer sought to enhance the dramatic quality of the passage by using a wide range of musical devices, such as tremolo, pizzicato, and staccato.

305 See Bohn, "Zerstörung Jerusalems," p. [1].

306 See ibid., p. [86] and Görres, "Zerstörung Jerusalems," 54–5.

307 See Sietz, *Beiträge zu einer Biographie Ferdinand Hillers*, II, 31.

308 Arnold Schering, *Geschichte des Oratoriums* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1911), p. 459: "ein oratorisches Stück in Kantatenform."

309 See "Jerusalems Zerstörung durch Titus: Cantate nach dem gleichnamigen Bilde von Kaulbach, gedichtet von Eduard Schüller, in Musik gesetzt von Emil Naumann," in *Textbuch zu Jerusalems Zerstörung durch Titus von Emil Naumann und zur Missa pro defunctis von Cherubini* (Berlin: Lange, [1856]), pp. 1–6. The textbook suggests a double bill together with Luigi Cherubini's requiem in C minor (1816). A second performance—billed with Nils Gade's *Comala* (1846; op. 12) and Robert Schumann's "Des Sängers Fluch" (1852; op. 139; "The Singer's Curse")—was conducted by Franz Liszt at the Stadthaussaal in Weimar in April 1859; a separate textbook was produced for this occasion, see Eduard Schüller, *Textbuch zu Jerusalems Zerstörung durch Titus: Kantate*

once again, to have been suggested by the artist whose confidant in Berlin the privy post councillor and poet was.[310] Like Görres's earlier attempt at condensing the complex composition of Kaulbach's painting into a libretto, Schüller's effort, which is of little intrinsic value, is of interest mainly for its verbal rendering of its visual source and the interpretive choices it offers. Compared with Görres's libretto, the text is much compressed and its individual components are weighted to different effect.

Schüller clearly took some care to give voice to each significant group or individual only once and nevertheless to structure his necessarily much abbreviated sequential reading of the painting in accordance with its coherent narrative. Like Görres and the "official" description in Kaulbach's *Erläuterungen*, he begins in descending hierarchical progression with the prophets, followed by the angels, and then the Jews. But where Görres splits the narrative into a variety of individual voices which are interspersed with choral passages, Schüller and Naumann employ choruses in each instance up to the central confrontation of Titus and the High Priest, whose solos suggest a dialogue culminating in the latter's defiant suicide.[311] This is followed by another set of choruses, of the fleeing Christians and their guardian angels, which form a stark contrast to the solitary figure of the Wandering Jew into whose solo is inserted a trio of the pursuing demons. The text is then brought to a conclusion with a chorus from above high and with a final chorus confirming through repetition the last line of the heavenly voices:

> With reconciliation the Heavens resonate,
> The debris is steaming and its embers are dying.
> Hear the voices of the Last Judgement;
> One day all will find their Father again.[312]

Where Hiller and Steinheim envisaged the epiphany of Jewish monotheism as a result of the Jewish mission among the nations, Schüller and Naumann, like Loewe and Nicolai before them, usurped the divine power to superseding Christianity.

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nach Kaulbachs Wandgemälde (Weimar: Hof-Buchdruckerei, [1859]); all quotations from this edition. For Naumann's biography, see MGG (2004), XII, 934.

310 See Blumner, *Geschichte der Sing-Akademie zu Berlin*, p. 151. For Kaulbach and Schüller's friendship, see Möseneder, "'Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht'," 121 and Müller, *Kaulbach*, I, 29, 290.

311 The extensive use of choruses was also a practical consideration inasmuch as most oratorios were performed by amateur choral societies, see Smither, *History of the Oratorio*, IV, 87.

312 Schüller, *Textbuch*, p. 8: "Versöhnung klingt's vom Himmel nieder, / Die Trümmer dampfen und verglimmen. / Vernehmt des Weltgerichtes Stimmen; / Einst finden Alle ihren Vater wieder."

While Schüller chose to focus on representative elements of Kaulbach's composition and in the process omitted reference for instance to the Jewish insurgents and to Mary's teknophagy, Görres not only scrupulously (and perhaps somewhat pedantically) gave voice to each group represented in the painting, but in fact added significantly to its narrative—perhaps, since he was a close friend of the artist, even with some authority. In his libretto, the daughter of the High Priest recounts to her dismissive father a prophetic dream of the impending conflagration only to be silenced by him and coaxed into reiterating her faith in the Lord who delivered Israel in the past. Yet immediately following on this, the author introduces the figure of the Prophet of the Jews, presumably inspired by that of Jesus ben Ananias in Josephus's account,[313] who has no equivalent at all in the painting and who shatters the false sense of security arising from the promises of the past through his vision of the immediate future in response to the iniquities of the present. In altogether fifty-three lines, the prophet invokes Zion's "Blutschuld," its blood guilt, asserts that vengeance is knocking at the gate, and announces God's judgment.[314]

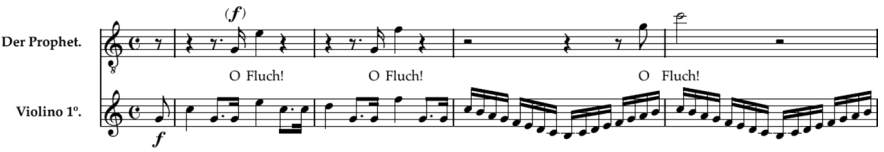
The prophet is also at the center of Bohn's composition. His aria (no. 7), Allegro moderato, which follows immediately on his curse of Zion for its blood guilt (no. 6), spans 179 bars. Both numbers are closely connected to one another. The descending arpeggiation of the tonic (D major) in second inversion—due to the tonal relationship of the two quavers of the anacrusis (F-sharp and D) to the first note of the phrase (A)—is comprised of the transposed intervallic retrogrades of the ascending major sixth (G to E) and perfect fourth (G to C), which are prominent in the curse (see Music Examples 9 and 10). The composer selectively punctuates the melodic line pursued concurrently by the first violins and thus offers a compressed restatement of the opening of no. 6 (see Music Example 11).[315]

As an aside, it is interesting to note that in Görres's libretto emerges a clear gender division, replicated by Bohn, in that the male prophet validates in thunderous words and in a public setting the daughter's more indistinct anxieties told to her father during the sacrifice in the Temple and dismissed by the High Priest as deceitful dreams. Only through the conduit of the male prophet has the prophecy

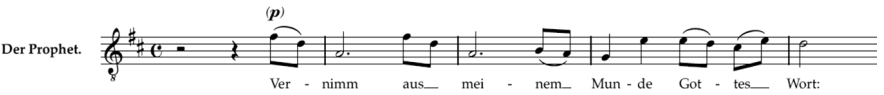
313 See Josephus, *Jewish War*, pp. 361–2 (6.5.3).

314 Görres, "Zerstörung Jerusalems," 53; the prophet accuses the Jews of deicide: "His guilty conscience, inheritors to his guilt / You transform into wrath Jehovah's favour, / It is you on whom the Lamb's blood rests. [Sein bös Gewissen, Erben seiner Schuld / Verwandelt ihr in Zorn Jehovas Huld, / Ihr seid's, worauf das Blut des Lammes ruht.]"

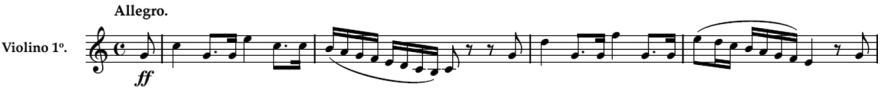
315 See Bohn, "Zerstörung Jerusalems," no. 7, aria, bb. 13–15: "Hear from my mouth [Vernimm aus meinem Munde]," bb. 54–6: "A red star [Ein roth Gestirn]," bb. 87–9: "the horse's mane [des Rosses Mähne]"; no. 6, duetto, bb. 56–9: "O curse O curse o curse [O Fluch O Fluch o Fluch]."



Music Example 9: Emil Bohn, "Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem," Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Wrocław; callmark: 60943 Muz.; no. 6, pp. [29–34], pp. [33–4], bb. 55–8: Duetto of the High Priest and the Prophet. (With kind permission.)



Music Example 10: Emil Bohn, "Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem," Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Wrocław; callmark: 60943 Muz.; no. 7, pp. [34–45], p. [35], bb. 13–17: Aria of the Prophet. (With kind permission.)



Music Example 11: Emil Bohn, "Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem," Biblioteka Uniwersytecka, Wrocław; callmark: 60943 Muz.; no. 6, pp. [29–34], p. [29], bb. 1–4: Duetto of the High Priest and the Prophet. (With kind permission.)

achieved the status of "Gottes Wort," the word of God, and the prophet accordingly suffers his martyrdom at the hands of the Zealots.[316] The function of the daughter is a different one. She is not so much seer, or prophetess, but sentimental exemplar of the conversion route.

Indeed, the conversion narrative—so important to Schüller and Naumann as well as to Loewe and Nicolai—is at the center also of Görres's libretto. With the *Deutsches Hausbuch* Görres sought to revive an imaginary ideal of popular piety in order to advance Catholic faith and cultural production in conjunction with a romantic conception of idealized German national virtues: "in the service of God and everything that is good and to the honour of the fatherland."[317] The significance of such an enterprise in the context of contemporary denominational strife will emerge in more detail in chapter IV. For now, it is sufficient to understand

316 Görres, "Zerstörung Jerusalems," 53.

317 See Guido Görres, "Eingang," *Deutsches Hausbuch* 1 (1847): V–VIII, VIII: "im Dienste Gottes und alles Guten und zur Ehre des Vaterlandes."

his libretto with this missionary zeal in mind as an affirmation of the Catholic denomination and as answering in particular to the programmatic category of "awakening and deterring."[318] More specifically, Görres's reading of Kaulbach's painting elaborates two instances of conversion which, both highly symbolic in themselves, relate to contemporary tropes of the representation of the Jews. One is the further development of the figure of the High Priest's daughter; the other is the interpretation of the group of Jewish children kneeling next to the Christian family as they leave the burning city.[319]

At the very end of the first part of his libretto, entitled "The Prophets,"[320] Görres introduces the chorus of the orphans. The Jewish children—seen kneeling and with arms raised beseechingly in the painting—plead with the Christians as they leave the scene of divine retribution to rescue them from the destruction.[321] The chorus of the Christians answers, implicitly putting a price on their compassion, that the orphans are to accept the grace of God and to attain the martyrs' crown.[322] The children's response shows them converted, prepared to pay the price, praising Christ and acknowledging his universal glory.[323] They do so partially in liturgical Latin—invoking "*gratia*" and exalting "*in aeternum* / *gloria!*"—which may be intended as a reminder that the worldly empire of Rome, triumphant over the Jews, was later in turn to be superseded by its Christian successor as indicated by the appropriation of

318 See ibid., VII: "Erweckendes und Abschreckendes."

319 The figural group of the withdrawing Christians gained much popularity divorced from its context. Friedrich Wilhelm IV of Prussia was so much taken with this detail of the fresco he had commissioned that he had a vase decorated with it; other reproductions of this particular group in sweetly color prints proliferated and were widely disseminated in Germany, see Margret Dorothea Minkels, *Die Stifter des Neuen Museums: Friedrich Wilhelm IV. von Preussen und Elisabeth von Baiern* (Norderstedt: BoD, 2011), p. 280 and the examples mentioned in the introduction to this book.

320 Görres, "Zerstörung Jerusalems," 51: "Die Propheten."

321 See ibid., 54: "No father and no mother, / Frozen with cold and weak with hunger, / Pale with sorrows, we plead, we weep, / We, the little ones, do not let us, you Christians, / Do not let us die in perdition! / Take us, you Christians, take us with you! [Ohne Vater, ohne Mutter, / Starr vor Kälte, schwach vor Hunger, / Blaß vor Kummer flehen, weinen / Wir, die Kleinen, laßt, ihr Christen / Uns nicht sterben im Verderben! / Nehmt, ihr Christen, nehmt uns mit!]"

322 See ibid., 55: "Be ye welcome to us, you little ones! / No longer shall you weep, / O follow on our path! / O follow His grace! / Win the reward of the martyr's crown / And rule on his Heavenly Throne! [Willkommen uns, ihr Kleinen! / Ihr sollt nicht länger weinen, / O folget unsrem Pfade! / O folget seiner Gnade! / Gewinnt der Marterkrone Lohn / Und herrscht auf seinem Himmelsthron!]"

323 See ibid.: "Praised be'st Thou by the globe's orb / Praised by the children's mouth, / O Jesus! Thee / We praise with / Hosanna loud / And *gratia* / And *in aeternum* / *gloria!* [Dich preiset das Erdenrund, / Dich preiset der Kinder Mund, / O Jesu! Dir / Lobsingen wir, / Hosanna laut / Und *gratia* / Und *in aeternum* / *gloria!*]"

its language and as anticipated with the passage from the gospel of Luke displayed in the painting's original frame.

Clearly, the orphaned Jewish children are an easy target for conversion, and maybe also an obvious one.[324] The constellation, perhaps unintentionally, reverberates with historical grievances. Since the medieval period, instances of Jewish children having been seized and forced to convert had been known.[325] Only two years after the first performance of Naumann's cantata the abduction at the hands of officers of the Papal States of six-year-old Edgardo Levi Mortara from his family home in Bologna to be raised in the Vatican as a Catholic was the cause of an international controversy and contributed significantly to the establishment of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* in 1860. It is unlikely that Görres's libretto was meant to draw attention to these unsavory practices. In its context, the orphans probably rather need to be understood symbolically: orphaned by the exhausted and superseded religion of their fathers, they find good foster care at the bosom of their new, all-loving family of the Christian faith.

Intriguingly, such a reading of Kaulbach's painting, according to which the Christians welcome the Jewish orphans, was contrary to the expectations of most contemporaries. Indeed, the group was simply ignored by early commentators; nor was it mentioned in Kaulbach's *Erläuterungen*. Görres appears to have been the first to take note of its implications, deciding the open question posed by the painting in favor of the children. Yet when some years later, in response to the fresco version of the composition, the art historian Friedrich Eggers mentioned the Jewish orphans, it was with some indignation at the arrogance with which he perceived the Christians in the painting to disregard the pleading children.[326] The highly influential art critic and philosopher Max Schasler argued in turn that the early Church, intent on its own survival, was not in a position to extend its compassion to the Jews and similarly assumed that the children's pleas would remain unanswered, effectively condemning them to annihilation.[327]

The ambivalence which appears to inhere in the orphan group was in this way almost by default decided against their acceptance and "survival." The rejec-

324 For conversion practices, see, e.g., Deborah Sadie Hertz, *How Jews Became Germans: The History of Conversion and Assimilation in Berlin* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007) and Endelman, *Leaving the Jewish Fold*, who describes as "[t]he most coercive measures employed by the Polish Church [. . .] the kidnapping of Jewish children. Forcibly seized and then detained in a Catholic institution, the children were subject to both the carrot and the stick, including flogging and starvation. Once their children submitted to baptism, parents were powerless to obtain their return," p. 45.

325 See ibid., p. 373.

326 See Möseneder, "'Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht'," 129.

327 See ibid., 130.

tion seems to be indicative of a pervasive attitude toward Judaism which denies its *raison d'être* after the rise of Christianity. Judaism was moreover frequently considered to compromise the homogenizing objectives of the modern nation state. Conservative circles in particular challenged a comprehensive emancipation and rather promoted the complete dissolution of Jewish religious and cultural identities as the aim of assimilation.[328] It is then probably no coincidence that, following Görres's initial attempt to redeem the orphans, none of the later oratorios based on Kaulbach's painting includes any reference to them. The notoriety of the Mortara case conceivably would have added some unease about the ambivalence of the orphans which may have contributed to their elimination from the narrative.

In contrast, Görres's further elaboration of the High Priest's daughter corresponded to the increasingly popular type of what has been called the Beautiful Jewess.[329] In the painting she is still a child or adolescent. Yet she closely resembles her mother who, on the other side of her father, offers her bare breast to his steel. The painting therefore gives an indication of the exotic beauty she is to grow into, while in the libretto the suggestion is of an already fully formed young woman.[330] Though not explicit, the painting also subtly indicates the conversion potential of the young girl. As she supports her dying brother, victim to their father's blade,[331] in a half embrace, her wrist is gripped forcefully by the High Priest, firmly binding her to this pivotal group of the composition. Yet the color of her cloak is almost the same hue of green as that of the Christian woman, being led with her babes in her arms on the back of the ass from the scene of the massacre.[332] The girl is in this way clearly associated with the Christians. Green, a color which otherwise occurs in the painting only in the palm fronds carried by the Christians, is moreover in liturgical use symbolic of growth and, in Christian art, of the breaking of shackles, freedom from bondage and, more specifically, bounty, hope, and the victory of life over death.[333] As such it clearly indicates the new life of the convert which is, how-

328 See ibid.

329 See Krobb, *Schöne Jüdin*, pp. 1–13.

330 Its exotic and erotic appeal is a crucial element of the figure, see ibid., pp. 2–5.

331 The constellation implicitly alludes to the *akedah*, the so-called Binding of Isaac (Genesis 22), which is essential to the understanding of the covenant and which, in contrast to Kaulbach's representation, is a sacrifice that has been prevented by divine intervention. The suggestion is that with the High Priest killing his son in the very same place where the ram was substituted for Isaac, divine intervention is now withheld and the covenant rendered obsolete.

332 Iconographically, this is an allusion to the Massacre of the Innocents and the Flight to Egypt.

333 See J. C. Cooper, *An Illustrated Encyclopaedia of Traditional Symbols* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), s. v. "Colours."

ever, connoted also with martyrdom—another new life—through the green palm fronds.[334]

In the libretto, the conversion narrative is more explicit. Here, the young woman realizes that, as the prophets long have lamented and as Christ has forewarned, "the city fulfils its cursèd destiny."[335] Hence, her decision: "To the cross I turn my anxious gaze, / To the cross, poor soul, I flee."[336] With the proselytizing spirit of the new convert she later exhorts her father who is in turn a representation of his people and its religion:

> Before sword and flame thou never quake,
> Yet the manacles of blindness break!
> And gaze upon the Lamb of God,
> On Christ upon the Holy Rood,
> Refuge, my father! take in Him![337]

Eventually she invokes the Heavenly Jerusalem as a sanctuary and, in effect, as a substitute for the earthly one about to be destroyed: "In Him, in Zion's heavenly halls: / Refuge, my father! take in Him."[338] The High Priest's response reaffirms the spiritual blindness ascribed to him by his daughter: "my eye darkens."[339] It moreover articulates his stubborn defiance and rejection of Christ: "The Heavens collapse, Hell laughs, / [. . .] / O fall, ye hallowed halls! / The Temple shall my tombstone be!"[340] The hallowed halls of the Temple are doomed, but the High Priest will still neither recognize nor accept the everlasting life promised in the heavenly halls of the New Jerusalem. The ruins of the Temple will mark his death, corporeally and spiritually, as well as his blind renunciation of redemption.

The cross, invoked by the High Priest's daughter as her refuge and redemption in the second part of the oratorio, turns into an accusation for Ahasuerus, the Wandering Jew, in the third.[341] Death and oblivion, which are the High Priest's portion, elude him and he is condemned to eternal flight, driven by his indelible guilt. No

334 See ibid., s. v. "Palm."

335 Görres, "Zerstörung Jerusalems," 56: "Wie die Propheten früh geklagt, / Wie Christus warnend vorgesagt, / Die Stadt erfüllt ihr Fluchgeschick."

336 Ibid.: "Zum Kreuze kehr ich bang den Blick, / Zum Kreuze flieh' ich Arme hin."

337 Ibid., 57: "Erzittre nicht vor Schwert und Flamme, / Der Blindheit Fessel aber brich! / Und blick hinan zum Opferlamme, / Zu Christus an dem Kreuzesstamme, / Zu ihm, mein Vater! rette dich!"

338 Ibid.: "Zu ihm in Sions Himmelshallen: / Zu ihm, mein Vater! rette dich."

339 Ibid.: "mein Aug verdunkelt sich."

340 Ibid., 57–8: "Der Himmel bricht, die Hölle lacht, / [. . .] / O brecht ihr heil'gen Hallen ein! / Der Tempel sei mein Leichenstein!"

341 Ibid., 58.

redemption is offered to Ahasuerus: "To Hell, accursèd man!"[342] the chorus of the demons cries, reiterating hoary antisemitic stereotypes: "No iniquity could deter you, / No remorse could awaken you, / Proud and stubborn, / Lured by lucre!"[343]

The libretto thus, over the course of its three parts, presents varying stages, and ages, of redeemability of the Jews in correspondence with a reading of Kaulbach's painting from right to left. Their orientation in the painting, which is also a gendered pattern, indicates their proximity and increasing distance from their redemption: On the right the innocent, effectively genderless orphans face in the direction in which the Christians leave the scene of devastation; in the center of the painting, the High Priest's adolescent daughter, her body leaning far to the left in support of her dying brother and immobilized by her father's strong grip, nevertheless conveys a sense of affinity with the Christians. Ahasuerus, finally, on the left, is not only facing away in this direction, but it is also the trajectory of his body as it lunges, pursued by the demons and mutilated by his own hands, to flee the conflagration.

Ahasuerus is, in the painting, moreover the only figure to look straight at the beholder, conveying something of the horror he experiences but also pleading with the onlooker. The corresponding vignette inserted between the relevant text columns of Görres's libretto—a woodcut copy of Kaulbach's Ahasuerus and the demons (see Figure 9)—attempts to communicate this sense of horror and of abhorrence also to the reader, offering itself the synesthetic interaction of image and text which the artist was hoping to achieve on a much grander scale. Intriguingly, the vignette also includes the addition of a cross gouged into the chest of Ahasuerus, presumably in alignment with the Catholic orientation of *Deutsches Hausbuch*.

The *Erläuterungen* suggest yet another dimension to the direct visual contact with Ahasuerus. The description indicates that the Wandering Jew embodies a historical continuum in that the artist understands him to be representative also of contemporary Jewry:

> The eternal Jew is chased by three demons from the city, nevermore to rest. He is representative of contemporary Jewry which offers the odd phenomenon of how a people, scattered to the four winds, without a firm constitution, nevertheless stubbornly perpetuates itself in that it is bound to customs which, after the fullness of time, shall no longer have any validity. Yet he also is personified restlessness as such, which arises wherever some horrendous guilt without remorse and penitence awakens the furies of revenge; and one may well be reminded through him of the destruction of Jerusalem being not only a historical fact but at

342 Ibid., 59: "Zur Hölle Verfluchter!"

343 Ibid.: "Kein Frevel erschreckte, / Nicht Reue erweckte / Dich stolzen, verstockten, / Vom Golde verlockten!"

Figure 9: Anonymous, after Wilhelm von Kaulbach, vignette showing the detail of The Wandering Jew and the Demons in Pursuit from *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* (1846), in Guido Görres, "Die Zerstörung von Jerusalem: Tragisches Singspiel in drei Abtheilungen," *Deutsches Hausbuch* 2 (1847): 51–60, 58; woodcut. (Public domain.)

> the same time a symbol of the *Last Judgement*. As he is cast out into the vastness, nevermore to rest, so one day, according to the gospel, shall all those be cast out into the outermost darkness who, like the Jews, have denied Christ and betrayed him.[344]

344 [Kaulbach], *Erläuterungen*, p. 8: "[D]er ewige Jude [wird] von drei Dämonen aus der Stadt gejagt, um nie mehr zu ruhen noch zu rasten. Er ist Repräsentant des jetzigen Judenthums, welches das seltsame Phänomen darbietet, wie ein Volk, in alle Winde zerstreut, ohne feste Verfassung, doch sich hartnäckig fortsetzt, indem es an Gebräuche gebannt ist, die, nach erfüllten Zeiten, keine Bewährung mehr haben. Er ist aber auch die personificirte Unruhe überhaupt, die überall ihr Unwesen treibt, wo eine ungeheure Schuld ohne Reue und Buße die Rachegeister weckt; und man darf sich durch ihn daran erinnern lassen, daß die Zerstörung Jerusalems nicht blos ein historisches Factum, sondern zugleich Symbol des *jüngsten Gerichts* ist. Wie er hinausgestossen wird in die Weite, um nimmer Ruhe zu finden, so wird einst, laut des Evangeliums, ein jeder, der, gleich den Juden, Christum verleugnet und verrathen hat, hinausgeworfen in die äußerste Finsternis."

Ahasuerus is projected as the exemplar of irredeemability,[345] his driven existence an everlasting warning to those who reject and betray Christ. Like the orphaned children and the Beautiful Jewess, while specifically Jewish, he emerges nevertheless as a potentially universally valid type whose exhortatory value and (lacking) conversion potential is transmitted across the millennia to the present. Yet the innocence of the orphaned children and the virtuous Beautiful Jewess demonstrates the redeemability not of the Jews, such as Ahasuerus, but of those who renounce their Jewishness, of those who—in the days before the rise of biological antisemitism—break the genealogy of deadly sin evoked in Matthew, of those who convert to Christianity; and these are gendered in the painting as not male.

In this context it is then also highly symbolic that it is the daughter of the High Priest, himself the very embodiment of superseded Judaism, whose conversion sets the example. Berenice in Loewe's oratorio is another incarnation of the Beautiful Jewess. But she, while in love with the pagan destroyer of Jerusalem, ultimately remains attached to Zion and her people. It is her fate (in stark contrast to Josephus's narrative) to die, pining away in compassion as she witnesses the conflagration—a symbol, if ever there was one, of the dead end, literally, of even an enlightened Judaism. Her love of the pagan conqueror as an embodiment of the worldly kingdom is similarly misdirected because it prevents her from gaining the heavenly kingdom of Christian provenance.

A very different version of the Beautiful Jewess was presented in Hiller's *Zerstörung Jerusalems*. Commensurate with the different objectives of this oratorio and its pre-Christian setting, Chamital, the mother of King Zedekiah, is not characterized in terms of her conversion potential but as a *femme fatale* figure—or in a coinage of Zadoc Khan, as a *juive fatale*[346]—who, like the more famous Salome, seeks to destroy

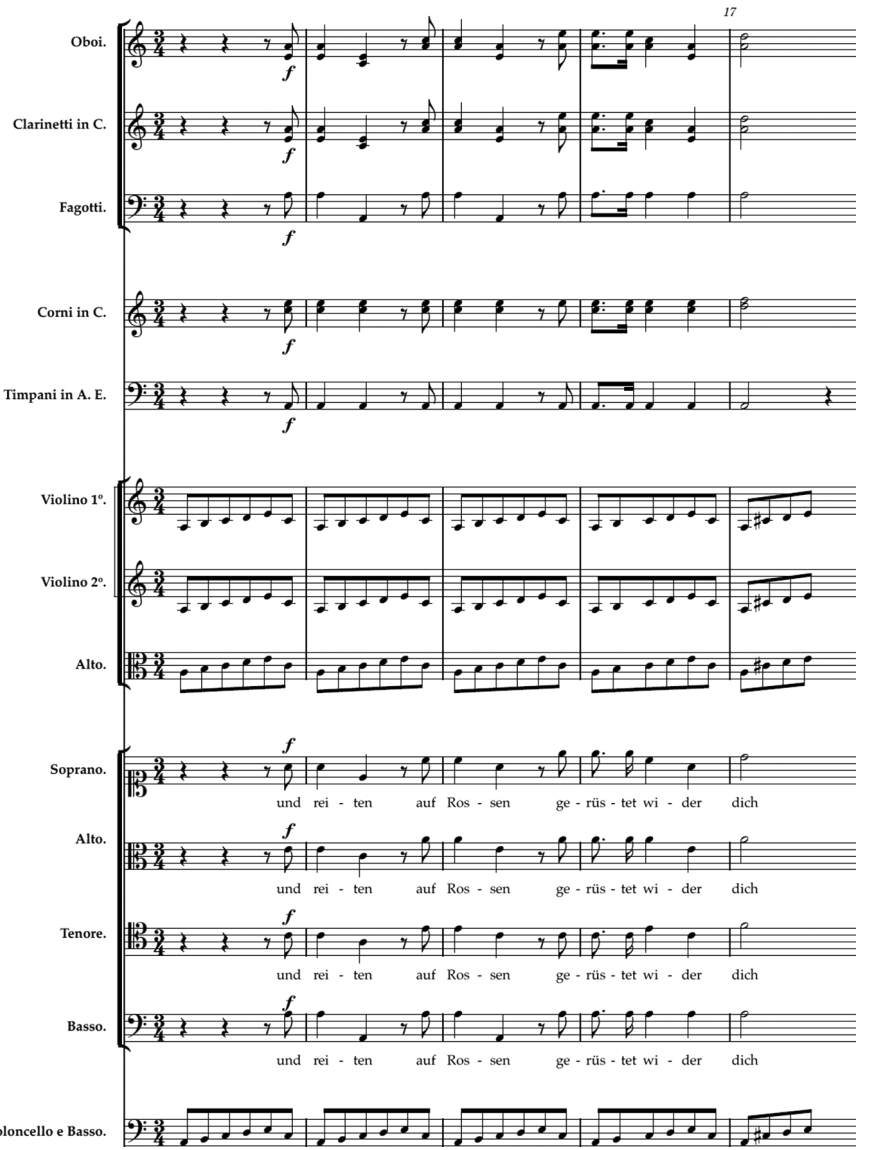
345 Friedrich Helbig attributed the notion of the irredeemability of the Wandering Jew to Germanic ideas permeating the legend, see *Die Sage vom "Ewigen Juden"* (Berlin: Lüderitz'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1876), pp. 53–4. It is predicated on the continued rejection of redemption by Ahasuerus himself. For notions of the redeemability of the Wandering Jew, see George K. Anderson, *The Legend of the Wandering Jew* (1965; Hanover, NH: Brown University Press, 1991), pp. 348–54. This is also reflected in Guido Görres, "Der ewige Jude," in *Gedichte* (Munich: Literarisch-artistische Anstalt, 1844), pp. 120–7. In this poem, which does not refer to the destruction of Jerusalem but which arguably is inspired by Kaulbach's interest in the figure of Ahasuerus, the "eternal Jew" returns to Golgatha. When Christ speaks to him, he repents and sets out to wander again, yet not in hate and despair but in atonement. He finds rest at wayside crosses and preaches penance. For recent studies on the figure of Ahasuerus, see Frank Halbach, *Ahasvers Erlösung: Der Mythos vom Ewigen Juden im Opernlibretto des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Utz, 2009) and Gunnar Och, *Ahasver, der Ewige Jude: Geschichte eines Mythos* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2023).

346 Zadoc Khan, introduction to "Le Juif au Théâtre," *Revue des Études Juives* 12.1 (1886): IL–LXXI, LIV.

her godly adversary, the prophet Jeremiah, and who, even more importantly, seduces the Israelites into transgressing against Jewish observance in order to practise Baal worship. Her recitative and aria (nos 29 and 30), calling to Baal, are characterized by insinuations of a guileful orientalism: the cloak-and-dagger pizzicato of the strings, the seductive sway of the rhythm achieved by stress on beat 2^2 (e.g., bb. 14–16; see Music Example 1), and the doubling of Chamital by the respectively nasal, mesmerizing, and sultry timbres of oboe and bassoon, flute, and cello (e.g., bb. 65–77; see Music Example 2). Furthermore, the melodic contour of Chamital's basic idea (bb. 9–10) and its sequential repetition (bb. 11–12), connotes the double harmonic scale (Arabic scale), due to the emphasis on scale degrees 6 and 7 of E harmonic minor (C, the highest note of the initial statement, and D-sharp, the lowest note of the repetition) (see Music Example 1). This suggests the characteristic augmented second interval between scale degrees 2 and 3 of the double harmonic scale starting on B, the note foregrounded via threefold repetition during the basic idea. Chamital's recitative and aria are moreover characterized by martial rhythms in the timpani which are extended to the following Chorus of the Servants of Zedekiah. This associates her and the other idolaters with the approaching Assyrian riders (no. 27) to whom are designated equally bellicose rhythms, such as those shared in bb. 13–17 between the timpani, choir, and woodwind (see Music Example 12). By contrast, neither Jeremiah nor his followers are ever identified with a characteristic rhythmic foreground, and thus circumvent identification with the primitive, which the nineteenth century generally ascribed to music with a rhythmic predominance. Chamital, thus associated with the primitive, is exoticized not so much as a Jewess but as an apostate whose reversion to oriental idolatry violates the very laws the oratorio extols as the basis of the enduring ethical significance of monotheistic Judaism.

A "broader view of musical exoticism" that extends beyond style as the defining criterion has recently been argued for by Ralph P. Locke.[347] His point is that, even where "pitches, rhythms, and instrumental colors of the score alone"[348] do not necessarily indicate exoticism, the context—such as "the frame of plot and sung words"[349]—will facilitate this identification for the audience, even to the extent that music that is only "*compatible with*"[350] the suggestion of exoticism will take on an exotic character. While Hiller clearly employs exotic musical codes amplified by their context in order to identify the oriental otherness of the apos-

347 Ralph P. Locke, "A Broader View of Musical Exoticism," *Journal of Musicology* 24.4 (2007): 477–521.
348 Ibid., 520.
349 Ibid., 487.
350 Ibid., 492.



Music Example 12: Ferdinand Hiller, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems: Oratorium nach der heiligen Schrift* [orchestra score], op. 24 (Leipzig: Kistner, 1842), no. 27, pp. 155–73, p. 156, bb. 13–17: Chorus of Israelites.

tates and in particular of his seductress, his musical characterization of the prophet Jeremiah and his followers eschews any exotic idiom, as does the final chorus which, alternating repeatedly between homophony and imitative counterpoint, suggests the harmonious plurality of all the heavens and of all the nations praising the One God (see Music Example 3).

Hiller in this way appears to anticipate a deliberate counterpoint to the "Full-Context Paradigm" described by Locke.[351] While acknowledging the alterity of all the Israelites through the context, he nevertheless clearly distinguishes by musical means between the transgressing and the faithful Jews and emphasizes the latter's affinity with the idiom of European civilization—as witnessed by Theodor Storm's wholehearted identification with the "pious Israelite" Achicam (see Music Example 5). None of the other oratorios on the destruction of Jerusalem follow quite the same path, because none of them seek to valorize the Jews from within a Jewish perspective, as Hiller does. Rather, they project Christianity and conversion as the trajectory of redemption, reconfiguring and reinterpreting in the process the semantic units employed by Kaulbach.

Transformations and Eliminations: Blumner and Klughardt

The type of the Beautiful Jewess converting to Christianity made another appearance in *Der Fall Jerusalems* (op. 30; The Fall of Jerusalem) by Martin Blumner (1827–1901), which premiered in Berlin in 1875.[352] Although it also participates in the conversion discourse, Blumner's oratorio is much more sympathetic toward the Jews than any of the preceding engagements with the destruction of the Second Temple. The composer's focus is more generally on the human aspect rather than the historical significance of the event. It is, in fact, an original work that is not based on Kaulbach's painting; possibly because it eschews the historical-philosophical claim made by the artist's composition and elaborated in the *Erläuterungen*, in which was emphasized the transcendent import of the historical

351 Ibid., 483.

352 See Martin Blumner, *Der Fall Jerusalems: Oratorium in zwei Theilen* [piano reduction] (Berlin and Posen: Bote and Bock, [1875]). Blumner published also a text book, see Martin Blumner, *Der Fall Jerusalems: Oratorium in zwei Theilen* (Berlin: Bote and Bock, [1874]). For an appreciation of the oratorio, see Adam Adrio, "Blumner, Martin Traugott Wilhelm," in NDB (1955), II, 336–7: "Among his oratorios, *The Fall of Jerusalem* belongs to the few valuable works of this genre in the Mendelssohn succession of the second half of the nineteenth century. [Unter seinen Oratorien gehört 'Der Fall Jerusalems' zu den wenigen wertvollen Werken dieser Gattung innerhalb der Mendelssohn-Nachfolge der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts.]" For Blumner's biography, see MGG (2000), III, 137–8.

event in terms which evoke the end of days.[353] *Der Fall Jerusalems* may nevertheless be negatively indebted to the painting in that Blumner's choices to some extent appear to be critical responses to the framing of Kaulbach's visual narrative.[354] In this context, it may also be significant that the oratorio was composed and performed in the year after Kaulbach's death in 1874, which had stimulated a renewed interest in the artist's works.

It appears that the composer was also responsible for his libretto,[355] from which he elided Ahasuerus and the demons in an attempt, it would seem, to redirect its symbolic potential. He moreover at the same time eliminated the painting's antisemitic bias which both Görres and Schüller had incorporated into their libretti without hesitation. Blumner also seems to have been skeptical of the idealist dimension of Kaulbach's *Zerstörung Jerusalems*. As Müller suggests, it was not the artist's purpose merely to present a battle scene, as was common practice in historical painting, but to represent the Jewish War purely symbolically as pivotal between the most important phases of historical evolution.[356] Indeed the biographer and critic maintains that all of Kaulbach's historical paintings are "pieces of painted Hegelian philosophy":[357]

> The purely historical ground has been left. Rather than the historical occurrence, the result of a catastrophe is interpreted symbolically and the past, the present, and the future are productively interrelated.[358]

Yet Annemarie Menke-Schwinghammer notes that Kaulbach's work on the six frescoes in the Neues Museum, which he completed only in 1865, reflects a shift from purely idealistic representations toward a more realistic approach. She suggests that Kaulbach responded over the course of almost two decades of engagement with the frescoes to changes not only in historiography and the philosophy of history but also in historical painting which had occurred in Germany since the mid-1840s.[359]

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353 [Kaulbach], *Erläuterungen*, p. 3.

354 Blumner's choice of title may have been an attempt to distance himself from Kaulbach's painting, though it may also have been inspired by Henry Hart Milman's dramatic poem *The Fall of Jerusalem* (1820), which is discussed in chapter II.

355 No author other than Blumner is identified in the published score or the textbook.

356 See Müller, *Kaulbach*, I, 394.

357 Ibid., I, 404: "ein Stück gemalter Hegelscher Philosophie."

358 Ibid.: "Der rein historische Boden ist verlassen. Statt des geschichtlichen Vorgangs wird symbolisch das Ergebnis einer Katastrophe gezogen und Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft wirksam zusammengebracht."

359 Menke-Schwinghammer, *Weltgeschichte als "Nationalepos,"* p. 160.

Blumner's approach similarly reintroduces historicity in that he quite clearly specifies date and place of action of his oratorio, Jerusalem in the years 66–70 CE, and in that he sympathetically elaborates the cruel oppression of the Jews at the hands of the Roman procurator of Judaea, Gessius Florus. However, within that specific setting the composer chose to focus not only on the known major historical figures but on more marginal, partly invented characters. His *dramatis personae* does not include the High Priest but the commander of the Temple guard, Eleazar, and his two daughters.[360] With the latter, Blumner splits the figure of the Beautiful Jewess into two. In contrast to the earlier oratorios, the composer in this instance also chose to give names to both sisters, another indication of his interest in their personal fate. At the same time his choice of names, Mary (Maria) and Deborah, adds a further dimension.

Mary, Eleazar's daughter, is conflated with the tragic figure mentioned by Josephus who supposedly devoured her infant son, an act of perversion depicted with some sensationalism in Kaulbach's painting. Blumner, while carefully building up the character through references to her story as known from the historian of the *Jewish War*, nevertheless makes no explicit mention of her teknophagy. Mary is obviously the older sister who married out of Jerusalem but who, having lost her home and husband in the devastation of the ongoing war, returns with her child to her father and unmarried younger sister Deborah for the peace that Jerusalem offers in a time of turmoil.[361] In what is, against the historical source, a bitterly ironic remark, Mary imagines her son to grow up to avenge her slain husband.[362]

Deborah's response introduces for the first time and without warning the Christian perspective. She reinterprets the city's name, "Peace has Come," invoked by her desperate sister, in relation to Christian soteriology:

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360 Eleazar, son of the High Priest Ananias and commander of the Temple guard, is mentioned by Josephus as having incited the wrath of the Romans and treacherously having massacred the Roman garrison of Herod's Palace under Metilius after its surrender, see Josephus, *Jewish War*, pp. 164, 167–8 (2.17.2; 2.17.10). Josephus does not mention any daughters of Eleazar.

361 See Blumner, *Fall Jerusalems* [piano reduction], no. 4: "O sister! Cruel is the Lord's punishment. / He has visited His wrath upon me. / You see us orphaned here and with no home, / Me and the boy, left to me by the Lord. [O Schwester! Grausam züchtiget der Herr. / Er hat mich heimgesucht in seinem Zorne. / Du siehst verwaist uns hier und ohne Heimath, / Mich und den Knaben, den mir Gott gelassen.]"

362 See ibid.: "Slain was my husband, / As he wrestled for Your Might, Jehovah! / His avenger will you awaken in his son! / Me, the Lord hath delivered from distress. / Now I look for peace in Jerusalem, that is called: / 'Peace has Come.' [Erschlagen ward mein Gatte, / Da er stritt um deine Macht, Jehova! / Du wirst ihm erwecken einen Rächer in dem Sohn! / Mich hat der Herr errettet aus der Noth. / Nun such' ich Frieden in Jerusalem, die da genannt: / 'Erschienen ist der Friede.']"

Yes, peace has come!
The Lord's Anointed gave it to us.
You will find Him, as I found Him.
In His name: peace be, peace, with you![363]

Mary is offered solace and the peace she craves by her sister through conversion. Deborah introduces her to the Christians who welcome her. Yet like the High Priest's daughter in Görres's libretto, Mary invokes the past and her observance of the Mosaic laws as a guarantee of the present and rejects the new covenant.

In fact, in striking contrast to the eponymous historical figure with whom she is otherwise associated and who transgressed against the most fundamental laws of humanity, Mary insists in an exhortatory mode reminiscent of the prophets on observance of the commandments of which the reward is freedom as in the deliverance from Israel's bondage in Egypt.[364] She implicitly even gives voice to the promise of the Jewish mission evoked by Hiller and Steinheim's Jeremiah: "From Zion will come the lovely light of the Lord, / Our Lord will come and will not be silent."[365] However, when the military collapse is inevitable and Eleazar himself has been slain, she misguidedly offers her own life in sacrificial suicide.[366] Mary fails to see that the sacrifice has already been made by Jesus and that redemption is offered exclusively to those who follow him, as does her sister Deborah. Indeed, this earlier sacrifice implicates Jerusalem and the Jews who exacted it, as Deborah insists:

363 Ibid.: "Ja, erschienen ist der Friede! / Ihn hat des Herrn Gesalbter uns gebracht. / Du wirst ihn finden, wie ich ihn gefunden. / In seinem Namen: Friede, Friede sei mit dir!"

364 See ibid., no. 27: "Walk in the Law of the Lord, / Observe His commandments. / For He alone is the Lord and God, / Whose hand led you from Egypt, / Whose might broke your yoke, / So you would be servants no more. [Wandelt in des Herrn Gesetze, / Haltet, was er euch geboten. / Denn er allein ist Herr und Gott, / Dess Hand geführet euch aus Egypten, / Dess Macht gebrochen euer Joch, / Auf dass ihr nicht mehr Knechte wäret.]"

365 Ibid., no. 18: "Aus Zion bricht an der schöne Glanz Gottes, / Unser Gott kommt, und schweiget nicht."

366 See ibid., no. 36: "The unheard-of burden of sins, / It cries out for an unheard-of sacrifice. / Receive as a sacrifice, Jehovah, myself! / So that once again shall shine around Zion, o Lord, / The diamond shield of your grace, / I give my blood, with pure hands / For Israel I shed it. [Die unerhörte Last der Sünden, / Sie schreit nach unerhörtem Opfer. / Als Opfer nimm, Jehova, mich! / Dass wieder blitze rings um Zion, Herr, / Deiner Gnade Demantschild, / Geb' ich mein Blut, mit reinen Händen / Vergiess' ich es für Israel.]"

> Now it has come to pass according to thy sin,
> And the iniquity of thy priests,
> The blood of the Lamb that thou hast shed,
> Hath come upon thee terribly.[367]

Deborah's name, like Mary's, carries relevant connotations. It alludes to Judges 4 and 5 in which is recounted the story of Deborah, prophetess and (the only female) judge in Israel. Deborah led the successful campaign against Sisera to end the oppression of Israel at the hands of the Canaanites and the Israelites were blessed after her victory with peace for forty years. In Blumner's text the biblical Deborah's exploits are countered with the image of a new Deborah who is a spiritual leader, not a political or martial one. Once again, the Chosen People has transgressed, it is oppressed and engages in a military campaign. But the new Deborah would lead her people to Christianity and to a different, ever-lasting peace:

> Yet the Lord wills that all nations of the earth
> Shall be helped by the Son of Man.
> He calls Israel, too, He calls
> Israel, too, to His grace.[368]

This is of course the reiteration of the familiar supersessionist claim, but it explicitly includes Israel among those who may be redeemed. Perhaps this is the reason why Blumner did not resort to the figure of Ahasuerus who is entirely bereft of hope.

The final chorus, as did Görres,[369] evokes a vision of the New Heavenly Jerusalem that is to supersede the earthly one:

> The Lord, when He returns,
> Shall show us Jerusalem, the holy,
> Descending from the Heavens from the Lord.
> And there will be no Temple in it,
> For the Lord, the omnipotent, will be its Temple.[370]

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367 Ibid., no. 38: "Nun ist gescheh'n nach deiner Sünde, / nach deiner Priester Missethat / Des Lammes Blut, das du vergossen, / Ist schrecklich kommen über dich."

368 Ibid.: "Gott aber will, dass allem Volk auf Erden / Geholfen werde durch des Menschen Sohn. / Er ruft auch Israel, er ruft / Auch Israel zu seiner Gnade."

369 Görres, "Zerstörung Jerusalems," 60.

370 Blumner, *Fall Jerusalems* [piano reduction], no. 39: "Der Herr, wenn er wiederkommt, / Wird zeigen uns die heilige Jerusalem / Herniederfahren aus dem Himmel von Gott. / Und es wird kein Tempel darinnen sein, / Denn der Herr, der allmächtige Gott ist ihr Tempel."

The destruction of the Temple is in this way theologically necessary in that it appears as the material manifestation of a revelation that has now been superseded and elevated to another, spiritual realm.[371]

Blumner's representation of the two sisters—perhaps in emulation of Henry Hart Milman's dramatic poem *The Fall of Jerusalem* (1820), discussed in chapter II—construes both of them as Beautiful Jewesses who are, however, representatives of two very different articulations of the type.[372] Mary remains the unassimilable and exoticized Jewish other who, though commanding compassion and pity, nevertheless is doomed together with the historical Jerusalem, while Deborah is another domesticated incarnation of the exemplar of the conversion route. She is invested with the spiritual beauty of the Jewess who sees the light and who prepares to gain the New Jerusalem that is forfeited by her sister. Both women are reminiscent of traditional representations of the defeated Synagoga and triumphant Ecclesia, respectively, which, as Richard Cohen argues, are also evoked in Kaulbach's painting.[373]

The subject was finally once again taken up toward the end of the century by August Klughardt (1847–1902) in his oratorio *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* (1899; op. 75; *The Destruction of Jerusalem*).[374] The libretto, written by Leopold Gerlach (1834–1917), if not based in detail on Kaulbach's painting, certainly makes use of some of its elements and finds inspiration in it. In fact, Gerlach, who became Klughardt's biographer after the composer's unexpected early death in 1902, notes that his friend (and son-in-law) had frequently seen the original painting in Munich and that he displayed an engraving of it in his home. Gerlach moreover maintains that Klughardt had variously intimated his intention of composing an oratorio that was to treat the topic in a manner "analogous" to Kaulbach's creation.[375]

This analogy was noticed also by the critic Adolph Brandt in his musical guide to the oratorio in the Schmitt series of *Der Musikführer* (c. 1900; The Music Guide) in apparent contradistinction to earlier engagements with the subject by

371 As such it had occurred already in Mendelssohn's influential *Paulus* (1836), see Mendelssohn, *Paulus* [piano reduction], no. 35.

372 This dichotomy occurs also in other engagements with the historical subject, such as Charles Peers' epic *The Siege of Jerusalem* (1823) and Friedrich von Uechtritz's novel *Eleazar* (1867), discussed in chapters II and IV, respectively.

373 Richard I. Cohen, "The 'Wandering Jew' from Medieval Legend to Modern Metaphor," in *The Art of Being Jewish in Modern Times*, eds Barbara Kirschenblatt-Gimblett and Jonathan Karp (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), pp. 147–75, p. 163.

374 See August Klughardt, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems: Oratorium in zwei Abtheilungen* [piano reduction] (1899; Bayreuth: Giessel, 1903). For Klughardt's biography, see MGG (2003), X, 317–18.

375 Leopold Gerlach, *August Klughardt, sein Leben und seine Werke* (Leipzig: Hug, 1902), p. 122.

Hiller and Blumner.[376] The very fact that Klughardt's oratorio was included after three performances in April and May 1899 in the series of musical guides indicates its perceived prominence and relevance. Brandt's assessment is correspondingly enthusiastic. He claims that with *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* Klughardt all at once entered the ranks of the most significant composers of oratorios. He situates the composer within the sphere of the New German school, whose influence he traces in the oratorio's dramatic quality, programmatic density, and effective orchestration.[377] To the oratorio's easily intelligible tonal articulation, to its persuasive truth and intensity, he credits the enthralling effect of Klughardt's *Zerstörung Jerusalems*.[378] Brandt, an important figure in the musical life of Magdeburg, was in fact familiar with the oratorio not only as a critic. He had also organized its second performance in April 1899 under the composer with the *Brandtsche Gesangverein* founded by him in Magdeburg in 1872.

If perhaps somewhat overly enthusiastic, the musicologist Hugo Riemann saw Klughardt, whom he considered to have mastered both the old and the modern styles of composition, in a line with Händel and Mendelssohn. Based on his appreciation of *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems*, he expected Klughardt to become "the re-creator of the highest and most solemn art form, the re-creator of the German sacred oratorio!"[379] More recent musicological appraisals similarly emphasize Klughardt's successful blending of established techniques of composition, such as the Wagnerian *leitmotif*, counterpoint, and dramatic arrangements, in order to create a psychologically detailed, illustrative, and propelling interpretive role for the orchestra.[380]

Gerlach's libretto may be based on the visual source of Kaulbach's famous painting, yet it nevertheless offers an idiosyncratic reading of the historical episode which distinguishes it also from all of the other oratorios discussed so far. Most intriguingly, though opening with the Archangels' prophecy of doom, the first part of the oratorio ends on a hopeful, if ominous, note. There is no mention

376 Adolph Brandt, *August Klughardt, Die Zerstörung Jerusalems. Oratorium. Der Musikführer* No. 155 (Stuttgart: Schmitt, n. d.), p. 5. The guide is not dated but was obviously published prior to the composer's death in 1902 and following the first performances of the oratorio in 1899.

377 Ibid., p. 4.

378 Ibid.

379 Quoted in Gerlach, *Klughardt*, p. 136: "der Neuschöpfer der höchsten und weihevollsten Kunstgattung, der Neuschöpfer des deutschen geistlichen Oratoriums!"

380 See Günther Eisenhardt and Marco Zabel, "August Klughardt: Förderer und Bewahrer bewährter Traditionen," in *Musikstadt Dessau*, ed. Günther Eisenhardt (Altenburg: Kamprad, 2006), pp. 133–57, pp. 149–51.

of internal Jewish discord and, following the resistance to the idolatry imposed on the Jews by the Romans, the High Priest vows adherence to the covenant with Jehovah, a vow that is repeated by the people in unison. Yet, though the threat of conquest is averted with the death of the emperor (Nero) and the successful revolt against the Roman legions, the Archangels reiterate their dire prophecy. The High Priest and people rejoice in what Brandt describes as a tonal fabric of elementary force only to launch a passionate imagined visualization of the concluding Siciliano which has no equivalent in Kaulbach's painting but serves to emphasize the programmatic and highly visual quality attributed by the critic to the composer's music:

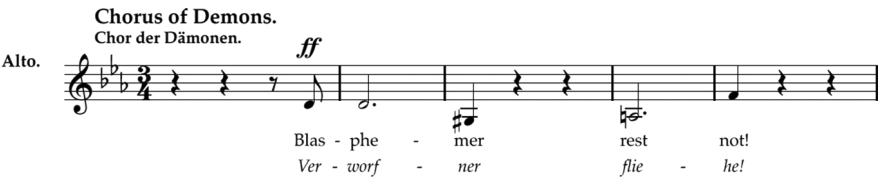
> We see now in our mind the daughters of Israel dance a dainty roundel, enter together with the people into the Temple, see how the curtain is drawn away from the Holy of Holies, hear the solemn call of the trombone to the sacrifice and behold in the arpeggios of the harps wafting up the fumes of the thanks offering made by the High Priest with fervent prayer and supplication to the Highest (G flat major), and finally see the curtain in front of the Holy of Holies drawn close again. All distress and peril appear to be at an end, the people reconciled with its God. But suddenly, above an uncanny, muffled drum roll on the lower F sharp into which, like inexorable fate, flashes time and again the pizzicato of the double basses, there rings out the voice of the angels: "And though ye raise your hands unto Me, pleading, yet will I hide My countenance from you"; like from afar once more the motif of the Romans rises menacingly up (bassoon). We feel that the punitive judgement over Israel is only postponed, and that its execution is nigh. This peculiar conclusion to the first part is of truly harrowing effect.[381]

I have quoted this at some length in order to illustrate the dramatic quality and specifically visual power the music was perceived to have; similar, perhaps, to Hiller's oratorio of half a century before. It is a characteristic ascribed by Brandt to Klughardt's *Zerstörung Jerusalems* which correlates also to its interaction with

381 Brandt, *Klughardt*, pp. 11–12: "Wir sehen nun im Geiste die Töchter Israels einen anmutigen Reigen aufführen, ziehen mit dem Volk in den Tempel ein, sehen den Vorhang vor dem Allerheiligsten hinwegziehen, hören den feierlichen Ruf der Posaune zum Opfer und erblicken in den aufsteigenden Harpeggien der Harfen den emporwallenden Rauch des Dankopfers, das der Hohepriester mit innigem Gebet und Flehen dem Höchsten darbringt (Ges-dur), und sehen endlich den Vorhang vor dem Allerheiligsten sich wieder schliessen. Alle Not und Gefahr scheint vorüber, das Volk mit seinem Gott versöhnt. Da ertönt plötzlich über einem unheimlichen, dumpfen Paukenwirbel auf dem tiefen Fis, in den wie das unerbittliche Schicksal immer wieder das Pizzicato der Bässe hineinzuckt, die Stimme der Engel: 'Und ob ihr auch eure Hände ausbreitet, verberg ich doch mein Angesicht vor euch'; wie aus der Ferne steigt noch einmal das Motiv der Römer drohend empor (Fagott). Wir ahnen, dass das Strafgericht über Israel nur verschoben, und dass seine Vollstreckung nahe ist. Dieser eigenartige Schluss des ersten Teils ist von wahrhaft erschütternder Wirkung."

Kaulbach's eponymous painting to which the second part of the oratorio relates more closely in terms of its narrative.

Most conspicuously, Klughardt and Gerlach include once again the figures of Ahasuerus and the demons, contrasted—similar to Görres's and Schüller's treatments as well as Kaulbach's painting—to the "withdrawing" Christians. As no. 11 of his fifteen pieces, Klughardt offers: "Chorus of Demons, Ahasuerus, the Christians (withdrawing)."[382] With the use of chromatics, diminished harmony and the therein immanent tritones—also known as *diabolus in musica* and associated with evil[383]—and a restless pervasive surface rhythm (see Music Examples 13–14), it contrasts in a dramatic intertwining of voices the utter despair of the Wandering Jew pursued by the demons with the deliverance of the Christians from the cataclysmic destruction of the city which is appositely rendered in the form of a chorale setting. The diminished fifth interval, already introduced at the very beginning of the oratorio (see Music Example 15), and developed as a *leitmotif* throughout, was attributed by Brandt with a pervasive symbolic meaning; indeed, he saw it as the epitome of the work as a whole: "Judged and cast aside."[384] The libretto thus not only demonstrates the undiminished popularity—or at least the relevance—of Kaulbach's painting but also the continuing validity of the antisemitic image disseminated by the painting in its various versions, although in the context of Klughardt's oratorio this becomes less straightforward.

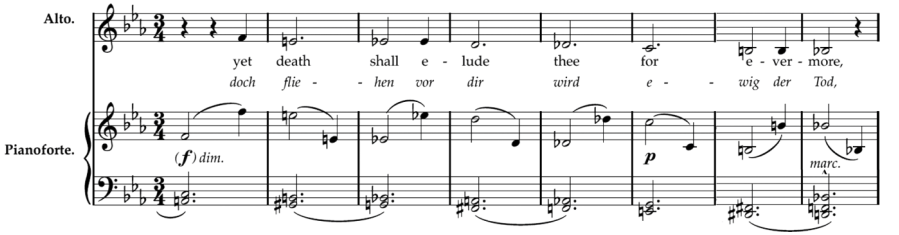


Music Example 13: August Klughardt, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems: Oratorium in zwei Abtheilungen* [piano reduction] (1899; Bayreuth: Giessel, 1903), no. 11, pp. 143–62, p. 144, bb. 38–42: Chorus of Demons, Ahasuerus, the Christians (withdrawing).

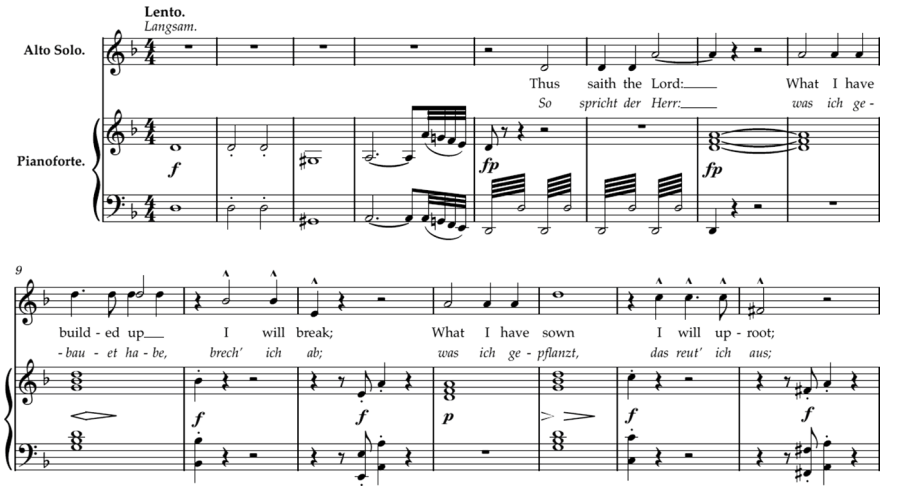
382 Klughardt, *Zerstörung Jerusalems* [piano reduction], no. 11.

383 For the medieval origins of this conception and its further transmission, see, e.g., Reinhold Hammerstein, *Diabolus in Musica: Studien zur Ikonographie der Musik im Mittelalter* (Bern: Francke, 1974) and Marcello de Angelis, *Diabolus in musica: lingua e pensiero nella musica tra sacro e profano* (Firenze: Le lettere, 2001). The tritonus is considered one of the most dissonant musical intervals.

384 Brandt, *Klughardt*, p. 5: "Gerichtet und verworfen"; see also p. 14.



Music Example 14: August Klughardt, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems: Oratorium in zwei Abtheilungen* [piano reduction] (1899; Bayreuth: Giessel, 1903), no. 11, pp. 143–62, p. 146, bb. 106–13: Chorus of Demons, Ahasuerus, the Christians (withdrawing).



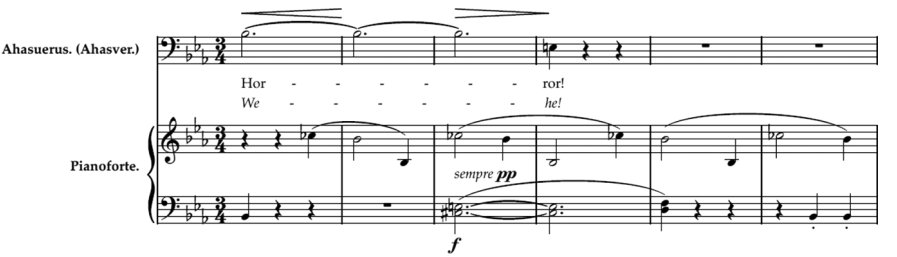
Music Example 15: August Klughardt, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems: Oratorium in zwei Abtheilungen* [piano reduction] (1899; Bayreuth: Giessel, 1903), no. 1, pp. 3–20, p. 3, bb. 1–15: The Archangel, Chorus of Angels and Prophets.

The final chorus (no. 15), interlaced with the alto solo of "A Voice," otherwise associated with the angels, concludes with the divine promise of restoration:

> He who hath scattered Israel can gather again together, and He will protect His people, and guide as a shepherd His sheep. I have compassion, saith the Lord, and will not chide for ever. And the Lord shall wipe away all tears and there shall be no more weeping, and He shall remove the burden of shame from His people. For the Lord hath spoken the word.[385]

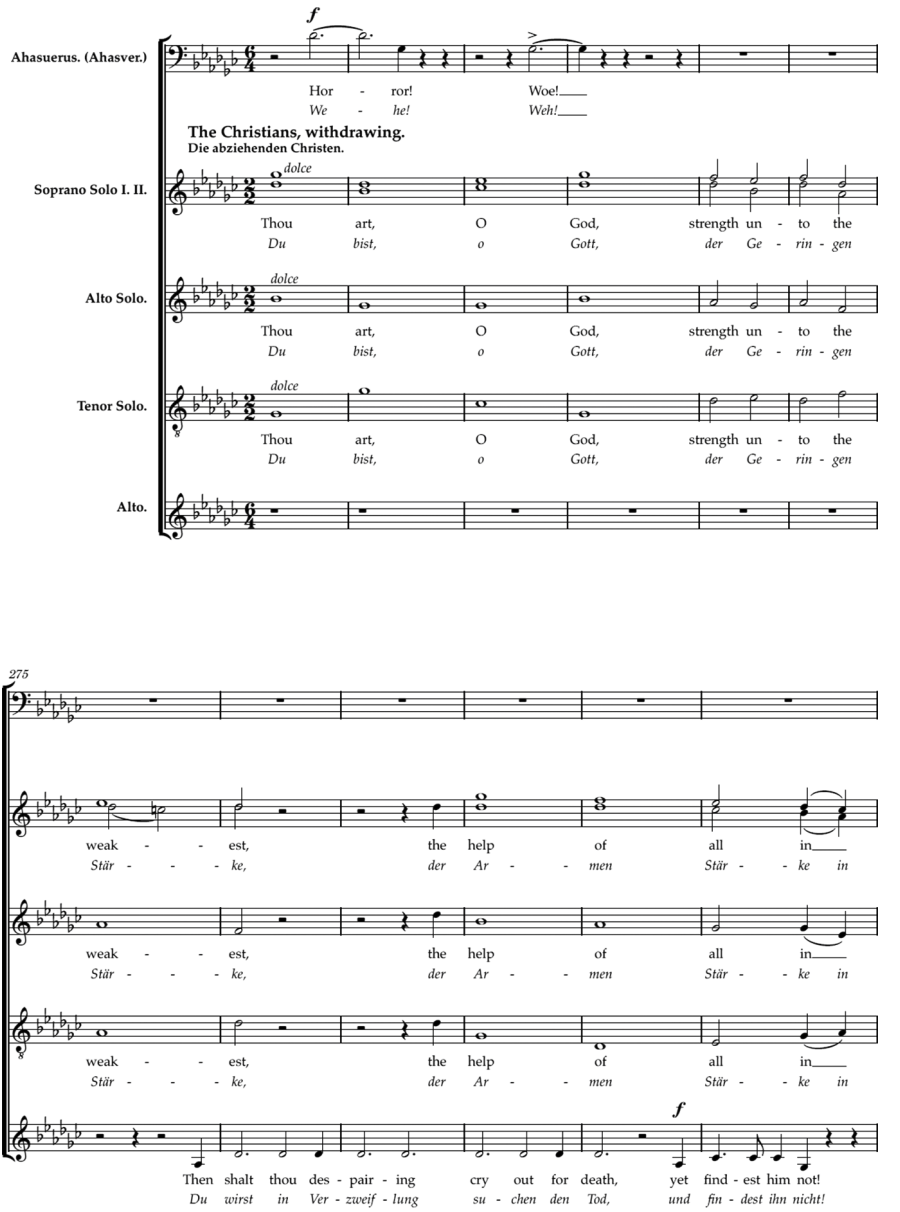
385 Klughardt, *Zerstörung Jerusalems* [piano reduction], no. 15: "Der Israel zerstreut, der wird es auch sammeln wieder, und wird seines Volkes hüten gleich wie seiner Heerde ein Hirt. Ich bin

This promise is arguably also projected onto the figure of Ahasuerus. The diminished fifth with which he initially pronounces "Horror! [Wehe!]" in no. 11 (bb. 125–28; see Music Example 16) is later replaced by the 'resolved' perfect fifth to exclaim the same word (V–I in the by then established key of G-flat major) when he and the withdrawing Christians sing in parallel (see Music Example 17). This may symbolically suggest the corrective influence of the Christians on the devil's interval which is effected through conversion.



Music Example 16: August Klughardt, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems: Oratorium in zwei Abtheilungen* [piano reduction] (1899; Bayreuth: Giessel, 1903), no. 11, pp. 143–62, p. 147, bb. 125–30: Chorus of Demons, Ahasuerus, the Christians (withdrawing).

barmherzig spricht der Herr, und will nicht ewiglich zürnen. Und der Herr wird alle die Thränen abwischen vom Angesicht und wird in jeglichem Land aufheben die Schmach seines Volkes. Denn der Herr hat solches gesagt." Translation by Constance Bache in the original.



Music Example 17: August Klughardt, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems: Oratorium in zwei Abtheilungen* [piano reduction] (1899; Bayreuth: Giessel, 1903), no. 11, pp. 143–62, pp. 153–4, bb. 269–80: Chorus of Demons, Ahasuerus, the Christians (withdrawing).

The vocal score of Klughardt's oratorio (1903) includes an English translation by Constance Bache which indicates a prospective market for the composition in the Anglophone world. Yet the translation, while idiomatic, is frequently distorting. It omits, for instance, the promise to "remove the burden of shame from His people" in every nation or country, "in jeglichem Land," as Gerlach's libretto has it.[386] The emphasis on future Jewish rehabilitation in the eyes of the world is similar to Hiller and Steinheim's insistence on the rebirth of the Jews and a new covenant among the nations. And in this sense, Gerlach's libretto, even while it includes Ahasuerus and his demons, elaborates a restoration narrative which is not explicitly tied to conversion. Consequently, as I would argue, the figure of the Beautiful Jewess as the sentimental exemplar of the conversion route is absent from Klughardt's *Zerstörung Jerusalems*, just as Ahasuerus had no role to play in Blumner's earlier oratorio.

The Beautiful Jewess nevertheless was a type that Klughardt too was interested in. His next and final oratorio, *Judith* (1901; op. 85), celebrated with its eponymous heroine the Beautiful Jewess. It did not, of course, do so within the context of the conversion narrative. Conceived in some ways as a complement to his earlier *Zerstörung Jerusalems*, Klughardt noted in a letter to a friend: "With Jerusalem a whole people was the hero, here there are but two main figures who, however, tower above all the others."[387] In the same missive, he announced the birth of his Beautiful Jewess and her Assyrian antagonist: "Hear and be amazed! Judith, wrapped in swaddling clothes wants to appear before you, the black, fiery Jewish girl and the even blacker and more fiery Holofernes."[388] Black and fiery establish the exotic otherness of both of the oratorio's main figures, but they are distinguished by an implicit gender difference and the use of the comparative: in the characterization of the "Judenmädchen," the Jewish girl, both terms appear to be positive while with her male antagonist they seem to suggest not only a darker complexion but blackness of heart and unrestrained passions, both staples of orientalist discourse. Yet the representation of Judith in Klughardt's oratorio—for which, once again, Gerlach had written the libretto—is interesting in the present context mainly for the criticism it provoked.

The writer reports that in some reviews of the oratorio Judith's heroic act was decried as "a treacherous murder at the hands of a perfidious woman, one of

386 Ibid.

387 Quoted from a letter to an unnamed friend in Gerlach, *Klughardt*, p. 144: "Bei Jerusalem war ein ganzes Volk der Held, hier sind es nur zwei, allerdings um Haupteslänge überragende Personen."

388 Ibid.: "Höre und staune! Judith, in Windeln gewickelt, möchte vor Dir erscheinen, das schwarze, feurige Judenmädchen und der noch schwärzere und noch feurigere Holofernes."

the most disgusting heroic exploits of Jewish history."[389] He explains that in support of this denunciation of Jewish mendacity the critics invoked both the German "Volksempfinden," the German people's innate sentiment, and modern sensibilities to which any heroism of this sort was supposedly abhorrent.[390] The writer then embarks on a lengthy apology of the Jewish conduct which in turn projects an image of superior morality, patriotism, and faithfulness. As such Gerlach's riposte is interesting as a document of the favorable perception of the Jews that informed the approach of the composer and his librettist. The Jews are celebrated not only as a nation, but as a nation which is ethically more than equal to the civilized nations of the past and, by implication, of the present.

In Klughardt's earlier oratorio it was the figure of Ahasuerus that had invited controversy. Gerlach presents in his biography of Klughardt opposing views on the Ahasuerus figure and the demons in a parallel layout which clearly demonstrates their contradictory nature.[391] Positive responses emphasized the characteristic use of the scene's *leitmotif* as well as the quality of the composer's realistic tone painting and its absorbing effect; the chorus of demons was considered the climactic moment of the oratorio. Others found the Ahasuerus scene to be incongruent with the rest of the oratorio and even superfluous, suggesting that it be omitted from future performances.

Klughardt's *Zerstörung Jerusalems* was nevertheless a notable success. Within three years, if Gerlach is to be believed, the oratorio was performed more than eighty times in Germany as well as in Switzerland and the Netherlands, Latvia, and the United States.[392] In this respect it may well have been the most successful of the musical adaptations of Kaulbach's monumental painting. Bohn's composition based on Görres's libretto was never published and appears to be fragmentary. Schüller's text, apparently encouraged by Kaulbach himself, may have been conceived as an improvement of the too complex earlier effort, yet Naumann's cantata appears to have been a failure.[393]

The poet and critic Ludwig Rellstab, for instance, censured in particular the composer's alleged straining after effect. More specifically, anticipating the criticism eli-

389 Ibid., p. 147: "Ein von einem hinterlistigen Weibe vollbrachter Meuchelmord, eine der widerwärtigsten Grossthaten der jüdischen Geschichte."

390 Ibid.

391 Ibid., pp. 126–7.

392 Ibid., p. 123.

393 Naumann's musical arrangement appears to remain unpublished; I was not able to locate either a printed version or an autograph. The extant textbooks were presumably produced for the audience of performances in Berlin and Weimar, see above in this chapter, note 309.

cited by Klughardt's Ahasuerus, he took issue with the figure of the Wandering Jew whom he would have preferred to have been completely excised from the poem:

> The composer could hardly sketch him [i.e., Ahasuerus] any differently than he has done; these jagged rhythms, these sharp modulations offer many effective moments, although in its entirety the piece is more painful than touching in an artistically soothing way. This unnerving effect is even exacerbated with the demons' chorus with its shrill instrumentation. Yet are we supposed to feel with sacred works as with the diabolical or demoniacal scenes of our new operas? We reiterate once more: what is it that we take from the whole piece? Certainly not the convulsions of the emotions, the edification or sanctification to which art of this kind is supposed to elevate us![394]

The figure of the Wandering Jew is thus not rejected because of its antisemitic provenance and hyperbole but because of its supposedly too dramatic rendering which, to Rellstab, is not sufficiently conducive to the edification and the hallowed sentiment the critic expects sacred music to create. The firm positioning of the subject within a religious framework is noteworthy inasmuch as it runs counter to Kaulbach's universalist historical trajectory as well as the cantata's performance settings in concert halls. Rellstab's assumptions about the topic clearly relegate it to the realm of spiritual edification and completely divorce it from the amalgamation of realism and idealism attempted by Kaulbach with his pursuit of a vividly expressive idiom.

It is certainly no coincidence that Kaulbach too had been accused of indulging in excessive effects. Intriguingly, in 1843 Sulpiz Boisserée compared in his diary the striking visual contrasts between the High Priest, Ahasuerus, and the withdrawing Christians with the musical pyrotechnics of Giacomo Meyerbeer whose work set the standard for the *grand opera* of the nineteenth century.[395] Similarly, when Rellstab referred to the "diabolical" and "demoniacal" scenes of the new opera, he almost certainly would have had in his mind Meyerbeer's seminal *Robert le diable* (1831;

394 Ludwig Rellstab, quoted from the *Vossische Zeitung* in *Niederrheinische Musik-Zeitung* 4 (April 26, 1856): 136: "Die Gestalt des ewigen Juden hätten wir am liebsten ganz aus dem Gedichte hinweggewünscht. Der Musiker konnte sie kaum anders zeichnen, als er gethan; diese zerrissenen Rhythmen, diese scharfen Modulationen enthalten manchen wirkungsvollen Moment, obwohl das Ganze uns mehr peinigt als in irgend einer künstlerisch wohlthuenden Weise berührt. Noch gesteigert wird diese unbehagliche Wirkung in dem Dämonen-Chor mit einer betäubenden, schrillenden Instrumentation. Soll uns aber jemals bei kirchlichen Werken zu Muthe werden, wie in den diabolischen oder dämonischen Scenen unserer neueren Opern? Nochmals kommen wir darauf zurück: Was nehmen wir aus dem Ganzen der Arbeit mit? Doch gewiss nicht die Rührung oder Erschütterung, die Erbauung oder Heiligung, zu der die Kunst auf diesem Gebiete uns emportragen soll!"

395 See Sulpiz Boisserée, *Tagebücher*, vol. III: *1835–1843*, ed. Hans-Joachim Weitz (Darmstadt: Roether, 1983), pp. 437–9.

Robert the Devil) which, with its spectacular orchestration and scenography, had propelled the German Jewish composer to the peak of European opera.[396]

In a similar vein and accusing Meyerbeer in his infamous essay of devious deception, Wagner alleged that the composer was "bent upon utilising the effect of catastrophes and involved emotional situations," so as to achieve artistic fame without substance.[397] More specifically, he accused Meyerbeer of self-deception, of trying to cover up his inadequacy against his better knowledge, and mocked his work as paradigmatic of the nature of Jewish artistic production, which he denounced as un-inspiring and ridiculous.[398]

Emil Naumann, the unhappy composer of the failed cantata who had been accused of a similar sensationalism, was in fact to become more influential as a historian of music. Though not Jewish himself, Naumann extolled in his monumental *Illustrirte Musikgeschichte* (1885; [Illustrated] *History of Music*) the contribution of the Israelites to the universal development of music. Contrary to Wagner, he attributes to the Jews an "aptitude" for music "to which the most ancient records bear witness" and which, he claims, "has been maintained to the present day."[399] Naumann identifies the root of this aptitude in the development of monotheism and the Mosaic prohibition of images:[400]

> If the belief in Jehovah forbade the introduction of images into their service, so also did music stand aloof from all emblematic representation, since it is the only art whose models are not sought for in the phenomena of physical nature.[401]

396 See, e.g., Robert Ignatius Letellier, *Meyerbeer's* Robert le Diable*: The Premier Opéra Romantique* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars, 2014), p. 114.

397 Wagner, *Judaism in Music*, p. 42; see also K. Freigedank [i.e., Wagner], "Judenthum in der Musik," 110 (29): "dieser Componist [war] auch auf Erschütterung und Vorführung von Gefühlskatastrophen bedacht."

398 See Wagner, *Judaism in Music*, p. 42; see also K. Freigedank [i.e., Wagner], "Judenthum in der Musik," 110 (29).

399 Emil Naumann, *The History of Music*, ed. F. A. Gore Ouseley, transl. F. Praeger (London: Cassell, 1888), p. 59; see also Emil Naumann, *Illustrirte Musikgeschichte: Die Entwicklung der Tonkunst aus frühesten Anfängen bis auf die Gegenwart* (Stuttgart: Spemann, 1885), p. 55: "[D]ie musikalische Begabung, von der uns die ältesten Urkunden bereits berichten, [hat] sich noch bis auf unsere Tage nicht verleugnet."

400 See Naumann, *History of Music*, pp. 58–9; see also Naumann, *Illustrirte Musikgeschichte*, pp. 54–5.

401 Naumann, *History of Music*, p. 59; see also Naumann, *Illustrirte Musikgeschichte*, p. 55: "Schloß der Jehovaglaube schon an und für sich jeden Bilderdienst aus, so steht auch die Musik allem Bildlichen und Anschaulichen fern, denn sie ist die einzige Kunst, die des Naturvorbildes nicht bedarf."

Music thus emerges as a non-mimetic art form that with the Israelites, in Naumann's words, "for the first time became the connecting link between man and his Maker."[402] The musicologist moreover emphasizes the unique socio-political function assumed by music in the context of prophecy in addition to its extensive liturgical use.[403]

At the same time, the religious significance of music as it pervaded all aspects of existence among the Israelites turned it also into a medium of transgression. Referring to the use of secular music at the royal court, Naumann observes that the "subsequent artistic and moral degeneracy" of these court musicians "drew upon them the righteous anger of the prophet Isaiah."[404] We may feel reminded, here, of Chamital in Hiller's oratorio and of the rhythmic and tonal characterization of her exotic figure offered by the composer in harmony with Steinheim's libretto, which contrasts Zedekiah's sorrowful desperation[405] with his mother's sensual and seductive abandonment:

> Up, man thyself! forget thy sorrow; give
> Thyself up to mirth—
> [. . .]
> While loud resounds the joyous song,
> And loud the revelry, and long,
> That fills the festive place.[406]

Naumann had imposed a (neo-)Hegelian teleology on the universal development of music (in relation to the other arts) already in his extensive *Die Tonkunst in der Culturgeschichte* (1869; *Music in Cultural History*). In the *Illustrirte Musikgeschichte* this conception is even more pervasive and it is perhaps only to be expected that Naumann made explicit reference to the destruction of Jerusalem in

402 Naumann, *History of Music*, p. 60; see also Naumann, *Illustrirte Musikgeschichte*, p. 56: "Die Musik ward daher bei den Israeliten zum erstenmal die Vermittlerin eines *persönlichen* Verhältnisses des Menschen zu Gott."

403 See Naumann, *History of Music*, p. 67; see also Naumann, *Illustrirte Musikgeschichte*, pp. 60–2.

404 Naumann, *History of Music*, p. 66; see also Naumann, *Illustrirte Musikgeschichte*, p. 61: "Daß dieselben in späterer Zeit einer vielfachen künstlerischen und sittlichen Entartung verfielen." Naumann's original reference to Isaiah does not mention the prophet's "righteous anger"; more graphic is a later passage which, in turn, is omitted from Praeger's translation. Here, Naumann mentions that Sirach denounced "the *sensuous* power issuing particularly temptingly from their [i.e., the female singers'] mouths [die in ihrem Munde (i.e., the female singers') besonders lockend hervortretende *sinnliche* Macht des Tones]," p. 62.

405 See Hiller, *Zerstörung Jerusalems* [piano reduction], no. 11.

406 Ibid., no. 12. See also Steinheim, *Zerstörung*, p. 6: "Ermanne Dich, vergiss der Sorgen! gieb / Dich der Freude hin. / [. . .] / Und laut erschalle der Gesang / Und laut erfülle Jubelklang / Den festlich hellen Saal."

his exploration of Jewish music. Although he attributes to the "wonderful people" of the Jews that "from the earliest times of human history to the present, [they] have remained unchanged in their national integrity,"[407] he nevertheless acknowledges the disruptive impact and, once again, like Kaulbach, the pivotal significance of the historical occurrence:

> The destruction of the Second Temple by Titus, and the dispersion of the people of Israel throughout the whole world, whilst it robbed them of their kingdom, almost wholly obliterated all trace of nationality in their music. The influence of foreign civilisation on a people so widely scattered as the Hebrews could not fail, notwithstanding their exclusiveness, to leave its impress on them and on their tonal art.[408]

Thus, although Naumann insists on the continued Jewish aptitude for music, he nevertheless elaborates the notion of what in effect amounts to a musical supersession arising from the hybridization of Jewish "tonal art" and its unceasing cultural productivity. Throughout his *Illustrirte Musikgeschichte*, he links Christian music to that of the Israelites as a logical continuation and further development. In this context, Naumann specifically emphasizes, once again contrary to Wagner, the originality and the influence of synagogal music. In support of his argument, the composer maintains that an authentic Hebraic melody, "which bears the unmistakable stamp of its Oriental nationality, so plaintive, and, in a musical sense, so important," which he endeavored to harmonize, "is very suggestive of certain passages in Sebastian Bach's Passion and sacred music."[409] Similarly, he identified the influence of ancient Hebraic melodies in Mendelssohn's *Elias* and, in a secular

407 Naumann, *History of Music*, p. 58; see also Naumann, *Illustrirte Musikgeschichte*, pp. 54–5: "dieses wunderbare Volk [. . .] ist das einzige, das sich aus ältesten Menschheitstagen, aus der Urzeit der Geschichte unseres Geschlechtes bis auf die Gegenwart in seiner nationalen Integrität unverändert erhalten hat."

408 Naumann, *History of Music*, pp. 80–1; see also Naumann, *Illustrirte Musikgeschichte*, pp. 75–6: "Die Zerstörung des zweiten Tempels durch Titus und die Zerstreuung des Volkes Israel über den ganzen Erdboden vernichtete, mit dem Bestehen eines israelitischen Staates, die nationale und selbstständige hebräische Musik. Denn die Einflüsse fremder Cultur, welchen sich die, in die verschiedensten Länder und Klimate verschlagenen Volksgenossen, trotz ihrer Abgeschlossenheit nur bis zu einem gewissen Punkte entziehen konnten, ließen selbstverständlich auch ihre *Tonkunst* nicht unberührt."

409 Naumann, *The History of Music*, p. 78; see also Naumann, *Illustrirte Musikgeschichte*, p. 73: "eine so wunderbar fremdartige und zugleich musikalisch so bedeutende und von Schmerz erfüllte Melodie [. . .], deren ganzer Fortgang lebhaft an gewisse verwandte melodische Wendungen der Solostimmen in den Passionen und Kirchencantaten Sebastian Bach's erinnert."

context, observed "some themes" of Meyerbeer to "possess certain Jewish peculiarities,"[410] as noted already by Philippson.

Another fifteen years or so after the re-publication of Wagner's essay and following almost immediately on the German translation of Liszt's expanded edition of *Des Bohémiens et de leur musique en Hongrie*, Naumann's deliberations are thus in effect a reaffirmation of the "Hebraic taste in art," but with a positive turn. The composer and music historian, himself in younger years a pupil of Mendelssohn and a friend of Hiller, concluded his chapter on Israelite music with the assertion that "[if] Christian music has intensified the tonal art, and made it the language of heart and soul, it should never be forgotten that to the Hebrews we are indebted for the prolific soil on which it fructified."[411]

The question of Jewishness, of its nature and of its influence in terms of modes of expression and content or subject matter, thus continued to haunt musical production in Germany on different levels. The subject of the destruction of Jerusalem opened an arena for the negotiation of this question in intermedial variety and Kaulbach's celebrated painting, arguably inspired by an oratorio and subsequently in turn inspiring the composition of a number of oratorial works, was at the center of this conversation. Within the iconographic tradition, the artist's *Zerstörung Jerusalems* curiously never attained the same significance. A brief glance at other pictorial engagements with the subject nevertheless suggests that, as a representation of Jewishness, it was more eloquent than others and once again, as with Hiller's oratorio, provoked a defiant "Jewish" reaction—by the painter Eduard Bendemann.

Kaulbach and the Artists: Bendemann and Others

In art historical terms, the dramatic quality of Kaulbach's painting—equivalent perhaps to Loewe's operatic conception of the oratorio and Naumann's cantata—has been understood to be a response to Eduard Bendemann's moderate and restrained aestheticism and, more specifically, to his sentimental and empathetic representations of the Jews in his early and highly successful paintings, such as *Gefangene Juden im Exil* (1832; Figure 5) and *Jeremias auf den Trümmern Jerusa-*

410 Naumann, *History of Music*, p. 82; see also Naumann, *Illustrirte Musikgeschichte*, p. 77: "Dieselbe mahnt an gewisse, einen nationalen Typus tragende Themen von *Meyerbeer*."

411 Naumann, *History of Music*, p. 85; see also Naumann, *Illustrirte Musikgeschichte*, p. 80: "Sollte daher die *christliche* Musik, welche die Tonkunst in Wahrheit erst verinnerlichte und zu einer Sprache des Herzens und Gemüthes umschuf, irgendwo anknüpfen, so konnte dies nur auf dem Boden geschehen, welchen die Hebräer bereits tieferem musikalischen Ausdrucke erschlossen hatten."

lems (1834–35; Figure 6).[412] Yet the not entirely amicable conversation between both painters did not rest there.[413] Bendemann worked between 1865 and 1872 on a monumental painting, *Die Wegführung der Juden in die babylonische Gefangenschaft* (1872; The Jews Led Away into the Babylonian Exile; Figure 4), which in turn has been taken to be a corrective revision of Kaulbach's *Zerstörung* in which the polarized divergence of the Christians and the Wandering Jew has been given one specific direction—the Jews' enforced exile.[414]

The assimilated and converted Bendemann's attitude toward Judaism and Jewishness may have been ambivalent. Yet the critic and art historian Friedrich Pecht surmised in 1881 that the "power of the blood" was strong in the Jewish-born artist and emphasized that although Bendemann was decidedly Christian, he chose his subjects exclusively from the Old Testament and not the New.[415] This is true also of *Die Wegführung der Juden in die babylonische Gefangenschaft*. Thematically consistent with *Gefangene Juden im Exil* as well as with *Jeremias auf den Trümmern Jerusalems*, the monumental painting may be meant as a reassertion of the Jewish particular, not unlike Hiller and Steinheim's oratorio on the same subject of the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar.

In the final version of *Die Wegführung der Juden in die babylonische Gefangenschaft*, such an affirmative reading may be suggested with the positioning of Jeremiah's head in the center of the composition and with his gaze directly meeting that of the beholder while his left hand covers his mouth. The latter is an echo of

412 See, e.g., Christian Scholl, "Später Orientalismus: Eduard Bendemanns Gemälde *Wegführung der Juden in die babylonische Gefangenschaft*," in Scholl and Sors (eds), *Vor den Gemälden*, pp. 57–65, p. 61. For the success of Bendemann's early 'Jewish' paintings, see Wittler, *Morgenländischer Glanz*, pp. 407–9; for a contextualization and discussion of the contemporary debate, see pp. 416–25, and for the cultural influence of the paintings, see pp. 425–51.

413 For the controversy between Kaulbach and Bendemann, see Scholl, "Später Orientalismus," pp. 60–1.

414 See ibid., p. 61.

415 Friedrich Pecht, "Eduard Bendemann," in *Deutsche Künstler des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts: Studien und Erinnerungen*, third series (Nördlingen: Beck, 1881), pp. 261–93, p. 284: "Characteristic of the power of the blood in the artist is that he returned to this subject after forty years and that, anyhow, although he takes a decidedly Christian position in matters of religion, he never chose his subjects from the New Testament but always from the Old. Here, too [i.e., in *The Jews Led Away*], the lamenting Jeremiah once again forms the center of the whole composition so rich in figures. [Bezeichnend für die Macht des Blutes in dem Künstler ist, daß er nach vierzig Jahren wieder auf dieses Thema zurückkam, überhaupt, obschon er entschieden auf christlich religiösem Standpunkte steht, seine Stoffe nie dem neuen, sondern immer nur dem alten Testatmente entnahm. Auch hier (i.e., in *Wegführung der Juden*) bildet der klagende Jeremias wiederum den Mittelpunkt der ganzen figurenreichen Composition.]" For the perception of Bendemann as a Jewish artist, see Wittler, *Morgenländischer Glanz*, p. 410.

Michelangelo's representation of the prophet in the Sistine Chapel, yet the challenge of the prophet's gaze is an innovation, also in comparison with Bendemann's own earlier work. Its effect, like that of the wild eyes of Kaulbach's Wandering Jew, is to draw the beholder in; but where the former evokes a melancholy empathy, the latter creates horror and abhorrence.

Bendemann's *Die Wegführung der Juden in die babylonische Gefangenschaft* was produced for the stairwell of the new National Gallery in Berlin (today's Old National Gallery) opened in 1876. As such, it was given a prominent setting similar to that of Kaulbach's fresco which in fact was literally situated next door.[416] The obvious competition with Kaulbach's composition was even more evident in Bendemann's surviving oil sketch of 1865 in which he had inserted a tympanon in which God, surrounded by angels, imperiously shows the Jews on their way.[417] The figural group, reminiscent of the prophets and angels in Kaulbach's painting, was eliminated from the final version, arguably in response to the contemporary historicizing trend in historical painting which rejected allegorical components and the idealistic "Hegelian" approach still pursued by Kaulbach a quarter of a century before.[418]

Yet Bendemann resorted in *Die Wegführung der Juden in die babylonische Gefangenschaft* not only to a more historicist approach but at the same time engaged in the orientalization of the Jews.[419] As Christian Scholl has suggested, Bendemann visited Paris with the express purpose of studying for his project Near Eastern antiquities as well as representations and living models of "oriental" physiognomies.[420] The ensuing orientalist construction of the Jews and Assyrians reflected not only current trends in historical painting but was deliberately employed by the artist to achieve naturalistic plausibility and to enhance the suggestive potential of his representation.[421]

With his orientalizing conception of the Jews Bendemann invested them with an otherness which they lacked in his earlier paintings in which he had followed

416 The painting, oil on canvas, measures 416 cm × 510 cm, Alte Nationalgalerie, Berlin; it was believed to have been destroyed during the Second World War but was rediscovered in 2007, see Benjamin Sander, Tobias Helms, and Maurice Hollmann, "*Die Wegführung der Juden in die babylonische Gefangenschaft* (1865–72)," in Scholl and Sors (eds), *Vor den Gemälden*, pp. 151–5, p. 152.

417 See ibid., p. 154. The oil sketch measures 119 cm × 135.5 cm, Stiftung Museum Kunstpalast, Düsseldorf.

418 See ibid.

419 For Bendemann's rejection of obvious orientalist elements in his earlier paintings, see Wittler, *Morgenländischer Glanz*, pp. 412–25.

420 See Scholl, "Später Orientalismus," pp. 63–4.

421 See ibid., p. 64.

mainly classicist principles and Renaissance models.[422] In addition to the external reasons proposed by Scholl for this shift, the artist may also have revised his perception of Jewishness which in *Die Wegführung der Juden in die babylonische Gefangenschaft* appears to be predicated on the notion of a persistent inassimilability.[423] Indeed, the monumental painting is not so much an amalgamation of *Gefangene Juden im Exil* and *Jeremias auf den Trümmern Jerusalems* than rather the representation of an in-between, transitional state that appears to indicate the dynamic and processual nature of Jewish exile. As such the painting offers an interpretation of continued Jewish existence in exile which may be reminiscent of Kaulbach's conception but which eliminates in contrast to the earlier representation of the Wandering Jew and the Christians any connotations of accusation, condemnation, and supersession. Instead, Bendemann's secularized painting makes a plea for empathy, which paradoxically is only strengthened through the construction of a noble and unhappy orientalized otherness. In this sense it is very different from Hiller and Steinheim's *Zerstörung Jerusalems* which insists on the persistence and continued ethical significance of the Jewish particular and in which exotic features were employed not to characterize the Jews in general but only those Jews who reverted from monotheism to oriental idol worship.

It will be easier to appreciate Bendemann's strategy of directing the beholder's empathy, or even sympathy, when comparing it to an entirely different conception of the destruction of Jerusalem and the First Temple that was realized by Johann Georg Trautmann (1713–69) in the mid-eighteenth century. Trautmann's rather smaller *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* (c. 1750), which significantly does not include the prophet Jeremiah, shows the Jews being led away from the burning city in the background (see Figure 10).[424] Their long winding train, framed by stock representations of trees on the right and Assyrian soldiers guarding the captives on the left, includes camels burdened with loot and, underneath the burning gate in the background, the spoils taken away from the Temple. With the exception of the camels and the colorful costumes of the Jews nothing in the picture suggests its oriental location nor the realism of a recent siege and battle. The cen-

422 See ibid., p. 58.

423 Christian Scholl suggests instead that Bendemann was intent to demonstrate that there was a way from Judaism to Christianity, "Christliche Kunst," in Scholl and Sors (eds), *Vor den Gemälden*, pp. 73–80, p. 75.

424 Oil on copper sheet, 32.5 cm × 42.5 cm, Tarnowskie Góry Museum. See Zofia Krzykowska, *Malarstwo zachodnioeuropejskie w Muzeum w Tarnowskich Górach* (Tarnowskie Góry: Muzeum w Tarnowskich Górach, 2018), pp. 42–3. The painting was purchased by the museum in 1966; previously it appears to have been in private possession and, presumably, not widely accessible. It is not, for instance, listed by Rudolf Bangel, *Johann Georg Trautmann und seine Zeitgenossen, nebst einer Geschichte der Frankfurter Malerzunft im Achtzehnten Jahrhundert* (Strassburg: Heitz, 1914).

tral group of the Jews around the High Priest leading the exodus toward the beholder are executed in theatrical poses of lament and despair. The blazing fire engulfing the buildings in the background provides the backdrop to the rather static scene in the foreground.

Figure 10: Johann Georg Trautmann, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems* (c. 1750); oil on copper sheet; 32.5 cm × 42.5 cm; Tarnowskie Góry Museum, Tarnowskie Góry. (With kind permission.)

Trautmann, a mediocre artist at best, was nevertheless known for his exceptional representations of devastating fires.[425] The artist apparently had an eerie fascination with the destructive element and his choice of subject in relation to the destruction of Jerusalem may be indebted to this attraction. Trautmann painted various night scenes of burning buildings and villages. Among his most distinguished works are moreover two versions of Troy in flames and the biblical subject of Lot fleeing with his daughters from the burning Sodom.[426] To Trautmann, whose oth-

425 See ibid., pp. 150–61.

426 For the Troy paintings, see ibid., pp. 151–3; also not listed by Bangel is Trautmann's *Lot flieht mit seinen Töchtern aus dem brennenden Sodom* (no date); oil on canvas, 65 cm × 68 cm, from the collections of the Grand Dukes of Baden, Karlsruhe.

erwise anaemic and scenery-like rendering of the subject was highly stylized, the destruction of Jerusalem seemed to have offered hardly more than an excuse for yet another representation of a blazing conflagration.

And yet, like Bendemann more than a century later, his painting stimulates, if in a rather staged manner, the beholder's empathy with the venerable figures of the Jews. However, in Bendemann's *Die Wegführung der Juden in die babylonische Gefangenschaft* the direction of the enforced march of the captives into exile significantly is reversed. Rather than from the background to the foreground, its trajectory is in a diagonal line from the foreground of the painting toward its background. The beholder's empathy is thus engaged even more intensely with the vanquished Jews inasmuch as the line of sight suggests the beholder's identification with the captives and even their imaginary inclusion in the long train of exiles.

Significantly, like Kaulbach's, Bendemann's painting makes a pronouncement on a historical process, if in a very different manner and with different objectives. The innovative potential of both paintings may more readily be appreciated when compared to another, much earlier rendering by Nicolas Poussin who appears to have been one of the first artists to address the subject on a large scale. His *La destruction du temple de Jérusalem* (1637; The Destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem)[427] is a historical painting which does not admit into its visual semantics any of the obvious supernatural elements favored by Kaulbach in his idealist rendering, nor does it focus on the Jewish particular in the way Bendemann does. Its most prominent feature is the awestruck pose of Titus, mounted on a rearing white charger, amidst the confusion of the battle in which the menorah is carried away in the left margin of the composition. An earlier version of the painting (1625–26) was lost for more than 300 years until it was rediscovered at an auction at Sotheby's in 1995.[428] In this version the menorah is given more prominence in the center of the painting as it is removed, while more emphasis is attached at the same time to the staying hand of Titus whose futile effort to save the Temple, as reported by Josephus, has given rise to the notion that the destruction was indeed God's judgment of which the Romans were but an instrument.

Poussin's historical paintings were followed, in the nineteenth century, by another large-scale painting that was exhibited in Paris at the Salon of 1824. Yet while showing some formal similarities with Poussin's versions of the subject, the focus of François-Joseph Heim's (1787–1865) *Destruction de Jérusalem par les Romains* (The Destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans)[429] is not on the historical

427 Oil on canvas, 147 cm × 198.5 cm, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
428 Oil on canvas, 145.8 cm × 194 cm, Israel Museum, Jerusalem.
429 Oil on canvas, 405.5 cm × 478 cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

drama of the destruction of the Temple. Rather, it privileges the central group of a Roman soldier mounted high on a rearing charger trampling the prostrate figures of a woman and her little child together with the futile effort of her husband to seize the bridle and unseat the axe-wielding attacker. Heim in this way, to some extent similar to Blumner half a century later, directs attention to the human face of the catastrophe whose larger historical context is indicated only sketchily. Indeed, there is hardly any clear visual identification of the Jewish context at all.

In contrast, eschewing the focus on human detail, Poussin's historical approach was taken to extremes less than three decades later by David Roberts (1796–1864) in his *The Destruction of Jerusalem* of 1850. Now lost, the Scottish artist's large-scale composition survives in a colored lithograph by Louis Haghe (see Figure 11).[430] Initially a scene painter, Roberts, like so many of his contemporaries, was interested in the pictorial representation of catastrophe. His fantasy of the *Destruction of a City* (1832)[431] is an earlier, as yet small-scale, example in which the artist already attempts the depiction of a desperate heroic struggle within the invented setting of a magnificent yet doomed city. Roberts's *Destruction of Jerusalem* is clearly beholden to the earlier effort as well as the panoramic spread of an operatic backdrop. And yet it is no less influenced by the artist's engagement with the ruins of antiquity in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. Emerging as a prominent orientalist, Roberts had extensively traveled the Middle East in 1838–40. His various sketches of Jerusalem manifestly informed his representation of the historical conflagration.[432] His *Destruction of Jerusalem* moreover suggests a mood similar to that evoked in "On the Day of the Destruction of Jerusalem by Titus" from Byron's *Hebrew Melodies*. The painting, like the earlier *Kunstlied* by Carl Loewe, may indeed have been inspired by the poem. Reminiscent of the wistful look back of the captive in Byron's poem, it shows the city in a sweeping vista from the Mount of Olives as it is besieged by the Romans and parts are already ablaze. In the right foreground, on a plateau jutting out from the mountain, Roman archers launch an attack across the Kidron valley; next to them cower (mostly female) captives and a slave drops loot from the city.

430 The original oil painting is said to have measured 213.4 cm × 365.8 cm. Haghe's lithograph was published as *The Siege and Destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans under the Command of Titus, A.D. 70* (London: Hering & Remington, 1851), 68 cm × 105.4 cm. For the history of Roberts's painting, see Joseph S. Peeples, *The Destruction of Jerusalem* (North Richland Hills, TX: D. & F. Scott, 1998).

431 Pencil and watercolor heightened with gouache and gum arabic on paper, 20.3 cm × 31.1 cm; private collection.

432 See David Roberts, *The Holy Land, Syria, Idumea, Arabia, Egypt, and Nubia: After Lithographs by Louis Haghe from Drawings Made on the Spot*, ed. George Croly, 6 vols (London: Moon, 1842–49).

Figure 11: Louis Haghe, after David Roberts, *The Siege and Destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans under the Command of Titus, A.D. 70* (1851); colored lithograph; 68 cm × 105.4 cm; the original is lost. (Public domain.)

Once again zooming in, as it were, though not as much as Heim, Francesco Hayez's *La distruzione del Tempio di Gerusalemme* (1867; The Destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem)[433] is an orientalist fantasy of the Temple that is dominated by the vaguely Assyrian architecture of the central building on whose roof the battle still rages and against whose light-colored stone ashlars the menorah is clearly visible as it is carried away. Like Kaulbach, Hayez included some angelic figures, but in his painting they occupy a marginal position and are not presented as avengers. Presumably, they represent the withdrawal of the divine spirit from the doomed building.[434] The whole painting, completed two decades after Kaulbach's, otherwise rather seeks to eschew any symbolism and instead to convey a sense of historicist realism. In this it is similar to Bendemann's effort which, however, does not attempt the realistic representation of a battle but presents a carefully composed assembly of figures in order to tell a much more complex narrative than Hayez in his painting.

433 Oil on canvas, 183 cm × 252 cm, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice.

434 See Josephus, *Jewish War*, p. 361 (6.5.3): "Let us go hence."

In 1875 appeared a print of Carl von Häberlin's original drawing of the *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems durch die Römer unter Titus* (The Destruction of Jerusalem through the Romans under Titus) in *Das Buch für Alle* (see Figure 12).[435] The popular magazine with the subtitle *Illustrirte Blätter zur Unterhaltung und Belehrung. Für die Familie und Jedermann* (Illustrated Sheets for Entertainment and Instruction. For the Family and Everyman) was published since 1866 in Stuttgart and made Häberlin's rendering of the subject widely accessible. The wood engraving (executed by M. Michael) is of interest mainly because, in the year after Kaulbach's death, it may once again have been a kind of homage to, or at least an acknowledgment of, the painter and his famous historical painting. Häberlin studied in the early 1860s with Karl Theodor von Piloty in Munich and in all probability would have been familiar with Kaulbach's monumental canvas at the Neue Pinakothek. His pictorial composition demonstrates how the Ahasuerus figure and the withdrawing Christians were transmitted as established elements within the iconography of the subject even as the parameters of historical representation had shifted.

Figure 12: M. Michael, after Carl Häberlin, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems durch die Römer unter Titus*, in *Das Buch für Alle* 10.1 (1875): 4–5; wood engraving; edges slightly cropped, framed copy. (Public domain.)

435 M. Michael, after Carl Häberlin, *Die Zerstörung Jerusalems durch die Römer unter Titus*, *Das Buch für Alle* 10.1 (1875): 4–5.

In Häberlin's print no indication remains of divine intervention—even less than in Hayez's painting in which the Elohim are shown to withdraw from the Temple. The symbolic potential of the subject has also been largely reduced to a large-scale figural representation, consistent with the contemporary approach to historical painting which favored realism and the easy readability of the pictorial composition. The supersessionist context, however, has been retained by the artist. In emulation of Kaulbach, Häberlin articulates this with the figures of Ahasuerus, inserted into the left foreground, and of the withdrawing Christians, represented in the far right corner of the foreground.

However, Kaulbach's multiple attributes connoting martyrdom have been reduced to the symbol of the small wooden crosses borne by the Christians which, moreover, mainly serve identificatory purposes. The references to the Flight to Egypt and to the guiding angels with the Eucharist have been completely eliminated. Instead the boy at the front of the group carries a pointed shield in crusader fashion that is clearly anachronistic in the ancient setting. Its (presumably) red cross may symbolize the victory over death as in the cross banner of the risen Christ, though the intention may also have been to invoke the image of a militant and triumphant church.

As a substitute for Kaulbach's juxtaposition of the Eucharist with Mary's teknophagy, Häberlin placed next to the group of withdrawing Christians a woman gnawing on a bone not unlike a human femur, to which is contrasted the Christian mother's protective gesture of sheltering her child under her cloak. While indicating the moral superiority of the Christian figures, the reference to the sacrament of the transubstantiation as the central redemptive mystery of their faith has been omitted, presumably in deference to Häberlin's Protestant sensibilities.[436]

The symbolic potential of Häberlin's Ahasuerus figure has also been much reduced in comparison to Kaulbach's. What little symbolic significance Ahasuerus has in his design is achieved mainly through another anachronistic inconsistency. As an indication of his eternal restless wanderings, he is dressed atypically for the historical period in a manner that might even associate sartorial conventions contemporary with the creation of the pictorial composition. Under his cloak, he wears long trousers and a garment with long sleeves. Where Kaulbach's Ahasuerus exposed his guilt by ripping the tunic off his chest and exhibiting the marks he gouged into his flesh, which in the woodcut vignette in Görres's libretto were given the shape of the cross, Häberlin's hides by fully covering himself. Making as if to walk, he nevertheless leans his head on his staff. His face, slightly turned

436 See *Lebensbilder aus Baden-Württemberg*, ed. Kommission für geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2005), XXI, 271.

away from the observer, is completely concealed behind his right arm, his cloak, and a rag wound around his head in orientalizing fashion. The figure conveys not so much a sense of horror, as did Kaulbach's Ahasuerus, but of despair coupled with shame.

None of the other figures in Häberlin's teeming composition associates similar symbolic potential. It is certainly no coincidence that it is precisely the two types of figures adapted from Kaulbach's neo-baroque conception of the pictorial representation of the destruction of Jerusalem which in Häberlin's otherwise realistic effort retain a symbolic dimension even though this has shifted and the implications are to some extent different from those of the earlier painting. Here too, as in compositional detail, Häberlin's conception is a product of the modernization of Kaulbach's.