



*“So Wild and Strange a Harmony”*  
Synagogue Choral Music of Salomon Sulzer

Coreen Duffy

Many of Western music's most influential composers are inextricably linked with Vienna: Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven in the first Viennese School; and Schoenberg, Berg, and Webern in the second. Jewish music scholar Peter Gradenwitz argued that a new category of "Viennese School" should be added: the school of Jewish music by Salomon Sulzer (1804–1890).

Sulzer's birth in Hohenems, Austria, coincided with a flurry of growth in Jewish business and culture in Austria, especially Vienna. Eighteenth-century Austria had been particularly inhospitable to its Jewish residents, when Holy Roman Empress Maria Theresa (reigned 1740–1780) imposed severe financial and cultural restrictions against all Jews. Under the Empress's orders, Austrian Jews were largely constrained to ghettos; they could not own land or build a synagogue, were subject to heavy taxation, and were required to wear yellow arm badges. These restrictions largely prevented Jews from partaking in or contributing to Austrian musical culture of the Enlightenment period.

An Edict of Toleration, implemented in 1781 by Maria Theresa's son, Joseph II (reigned 1780–90), eradicated many restrictive policies, making the new Holy Roman Emperor "one of the first European monarchs to relax anti-Jewish legislation."<sup>4</sup> What would become known as "Jewish emancipation" soon spread across Europe as nations began to abolish discriminatory laws, tear down ghetto walls, and allow Jews to participate in society.<sup>5</sup> "For the first time since the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple and the termination of Jewish autonomy in Israel, Jews could claim

individual citizenship in a state."<sup>6</sup> Inhabitants of the Jewish ghetto in Vienna commenced the building of infrastructure, including a hospital, a Hebrew printing press, and plans for a new synagogue building, which would be called the Seitenstetengasse. This synagogue—with its renowned cantor/composer Salomon Sulzer—would soon become the European leader in Jewish liturgical music.

To complement the marked improvement in quality of life in Vienna at the turn of the nineteenth century, Jewish reformers sought to join the Jewish Enlightenment

movement that was gaining followers in Western Europe. Reformers opined that worship services should evolve to reflect Jews' newfound immersion in secular society. German-Jewish reformers began integrating vernacular prayers, use of the organ, and congregational singing into regular services.<sup>7</sup> Israel Jacobson (1768–1828) established the first Reform temple in Seesen, Germany, where he instituted an extreme reform of music for worship:

[Jacobson] provided the temple with a bell for calling the worshipers to prayer; he introduced German chorale tunes set to Hebrew and German texts; he abolished the chanting of Torah cantillation as well as synagogue prayer modes [nusach ha-tefillah], and with this last change went the abolition of the hazzan [cantor].<sup>8</sup>



In Vienna, the Jewish community recruited Rabbi Isaac Noah Mannheimer (1793–1865) to devise for its synagogue "an order of divine service in keeping with the era of Enlightenment," which later became known as the "Mannheimer Rite" or "Vienna Rite."<sup>9</sup> However, the Seitenstetengasse members required Mannheimer, a radical reformer from Copenhagen, to modify his

# “So Wild and Strange a Harmony”

outlook somewhat to suit their views, which were far more conservative than Jacobson's.<sup>10</sup> In 1826, Mannheimer demonstrated his break from the severity of Jacobson's musical model by inviting a young cantor from Hohenems named Salomon Sulzer to work with him in reforming the *Seitenstettengasse* service. Whereas Jacobson had eliminated traditional chant and the cantor's role entirely from Jewish worship, Mannheimer, the son of a cantor, chose to appoint the best Jewish baritone voice in Austria to reform synagogue music at the *Seitenstettengasse*.

Sulzer strongly disagreed with reformists' "opinion that the regeneration of the service can be achieved only by a complete break with the past, by abolishing all traditional and inherited historically-evolved liturgy."<sup>11</sup> He believed that Jacobson's limitations of "the entire service to a German hymn before and after the sermon" amounted to giving "a certificate of divorce to tradition."<sup>12</sup> Rather, Sulzer advocated that "Jewish liturgy must satisfy the musical demands while remaining Jewish; and it should not be necessary to sacrifice the Jewish characteristics to artistic forms."<sup>13</sup>

His convictions contrasted sharply with that of other Jewish youth in Europe, who found "Christian-style worship an attractive alternative to 'out-moded' Jewish rituals."<sup>14</sup> Sulzer believed that traditional Jewish chant was not only worth saving, but also deserving of integration into a new musical format with choral harmony, given his strong background in three areas of study: Jewish ritual, vocal performance, and music composition. That Sulzer ultimately managed to accomplish his goal in an extremely influential manner was a result of his strong religious and musical training; his exquisite baritone voice; his commitment to building, maintaining, and providing music for an excellent choir; and his charismatic personality.

According to legend, Sulzer, a mischievous child, once wandered off and nearly drowned in a flooded creek in his native Hohenems.<sup>15</sup> His mother, thankful that he was spared, dedicated her son to a life of rabbinic service.<sup>16</sup> The boy, however, already showed interest in music and preferred to study to be a cantor rather than a rabbi. By the time of his Bar Mitzvah at age thirteen, Sulzer regularly led prayer services at his home synagogue and formally applied for the position of cantor.<sup>17</sup> The government regulated the appointment of religious officials; in this case, the Emperor Franz Josef "personally endorsed the thirteen-year-old Sulzer's appointment as cantor of Hohenems community on the express condition that he first devoted himself to further cantorial studies."<sup>18</sup> For three years, Sulzer "embodied the post-Emancipation preference for attaining both Judaic and worldly knowledge"<sup>19</sup> by studying at the *Yeshiva* in Endigen, Switzerland, the musical center of Karlsruhe, Germany, and then as an apprentice to cantors in Switzerland, France, and Germany.<sup>20</sup> Upon his return to Hohenems, Sulzer developed a reputation as an exceptional singer, a

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# Synagogue Choral Music of Salomon Sulzer

founder of a choir at his synagogue, and as an athlete and thrill seeker:

Anecdotes are told of Sulzer at this time which picture him as a combination of physical vivacity and serious piety. He was passionately fond of riding, and would often be met galloping madly into town to be in time for afternoon prayer. He is said once to have plunged wildly down a precipitous mountain side in order to reach the synagogue in time.<sup>21</sup>

Sulzer became cantor at the *Seit-entstetengasse* in 1826, at the age of twenty-two. He confronted the chaotic state of synagogue music directly, seeking to overhaul what he saw as a buildup of “foreign accretions and popular styles” in synagogue chant while integrating Western harmonizations into newly-composed choral responses.<sup>22</sup> Sulzer soon embarked upon an unprecedented, four-fold task: (1) to identify, isolate, purify, and notate traditional Jewish chants; (2) to harmonize these chants

and compose choral responses to them; (3) to compose new choral-cantorial works for the liturgy; and (4) to commission new choral-cantorial works from well-known Viennese composers. The results of this monumental undertaking appear in two volumes of music for the synagogue, entitled *Schir Zion* [Songs of Zion], published in 1839 and 1865, respectively.

Many of Sulzer’s newly-composed choral works are dramatic, well-crafted settings that largely employ Western tonal harmony.<sup>23</sup> For example, in Sulzer’s C-major setting of Psalm 21 for mixed choir, baritone, and organ (Figure 1), majestic choral entrances proclaim that “the king shall rejoice in the strength of the Lord.”<sup>24</sup> The outer voices enter imitatively, beginning at the pickup to measure nine, each proclaiming the word *Adōnoj* [God] twice, using pitches outlining the C-major triad, while the inner voices adorn the regal proclamation of the soprano and bass. The pair of upper voices then declaim the word *b’os’cho* [strength] in a high *tessitura*, as

if to emphasize that the king’s strength comes from above. At measure fourteen, on the word *melech* [king], the phrase cadences in the relative minor; harmonically underlining the relationship between God (C major) and king (A minor).

*Schir Zion* contains a vast array of cantorial chants and choral responses for all types of services in the liturgical year; some of these are unaccompanied, some include optional organ accompaniment, and others feature significant organ solo passages.<sup>25</sup> The best of these integrate traditional chant melodies in their proper prayer modes (*nusach ha-tefillah*) with complementary choral writing featuring Western harmony molded to follow the modal contour of the *nusach*. For example, Sulzer’s haunting setting of *B’rōsch haschonoh yikkosewun* [On Rosh Hashanah It is Written] (Figure 2), a prayer for the High Holy Days, seamlessly alternates between Western tonic-dominant harmony and the Phrygian mode linked with the prayer *Ahavah Rabbah* [With

The image shows a musical score for four voices: Soprano (S), Alto (A), Tenor (T), and Bass (B). The music is in 4/4 time and C major. The lyrics are in Hebrew. The score includes dynamics such as *f* (forte) and *mf* (mezzo-forte). The lyrics are:   
 S: adô - noj adô - noj b'o - s' - cho jis - mach me - lech jis - mach me - lech   
 A: a - dô - noj b'o - s' - cho jis - mach me - lech jis - mach, jis - mach me - lech   
 T: a - dô - noj jis - mach, jis - mach me - lech   
 B: adô - noj, adô - noj jis - mach me - lech jis mach, jis - mach me - lech

Figure 1. Salomon Sulzer, *Psalm 21*, Choral parts, mm. 8–14. *Schir Zion Gesänge für den israelitischen Gottesdienst*, No. 494 Frankfurt am Main: J. Kauffman, 1922

# “So Wild and Strange a Harmony”

**Molto sostenuto**

Cantor *mf* b'rôsch hasch - scho - noh jik - ko -

T *unis. pp* b'rôsch hasch-scho - noh

B *pp* b'rôsch hasch-scho - noh

5

Cantor *f* se - wun u - w' - jôm zôm kip - pur *fp* j'cho - - -

S *f* kip - pur j'cho -

A *f* kip - pur j'cho -

T *f* kip - pur j'cho -

B *f* kip - pur j'cho -

9

Cantor *mf* se - mun kam - moh ja - aw - run w' - cham - moh *rit.*

S se - mun

A se - mun

T *unis. p* se - mun job - bo - re - nu

B *unis. p* se - mun job - bo - re - nu

14

Cantor *pp* mi jich - jeh *p* u - mi jo - mus

S *p* u - mi *unis.* mi we

A *p* u - mi *unis.* mi we

T *parlando pp* mi jich - jeh *p* u - mi *unis.* mi we

B *pp* mi jich - jeh *p* u - mi *unis.* mi we

Figure 2. Salomon Sulzer, *B'rôsch haschonoh*, mm. 1–18.

*Schir Zion* Gesänge für den israelitischen Gottesdienst, No. 354  
Frankfurt am Main: J. Kauffman, 1922

# Synagogue Choral Music of Salomon Sulzer

Abounding Love].<sup>26</sup> The text graphically depicts the awe-inspiring significance of the period between *Rosh Hashanah* [the New Year] and *Yom Kippur* [Day of Atonement], and offers an opportunity to reassess the precious nature of life, the severity of God's judgment, and the promise of renewal:

On Rosh Hashanah it is written,  
on Yom Kippur it is sealed:  
How many shall pass on, how  
many shall come to be;  
who shall live and who shall die;  
who shall see ripe age and who  
shall not;  
who shall perish by fire and who  
by water;  
who by sword and who by beast;  
who by hunger and who by  
thirst;  
who by earthquake and who by  
plague;  
who by strangling and who by  
stoning;  
who shall be secure and who  
shall be driven;  
who shall be tranquil and who  
shall be troubled;  
who shall be poor and who shall  
be rich;  
who shall be humbled and who  
exalted.  
But Repentance, Prayer and  
Charity  
temper judgment's severe  
decree.

Sulzer's setting (Figure 2) of the *B'rôsch haschonoh* prayer begins with unison bass voices, hushed and slowly climbing from the depths of B<sup>b</sup> minor to pause on the dominant. The cantor's part—which Sulzer wrote for his own baritone voice—picks up where the basses left off, on F3, and presents material based upon the *nusach* motif from the *Kol Nidre* prayer (sung on the Eve of Yom Kippur) before leaping up an

octave to F4. To accommodate the *Kol Nidre nusach*, Sulzer found it necessary to raise the sixth scale degree in measure four (from G<sup>b</sup> to G<sup>n</sup>), which either provides a Dorian sensation in B<sup>b</sup> minor or hints at a tonicization of F minor. The intervallic ascension of a twelfth from the basses' opening pitch on *Rôsh haschonoh*, when God's decree is written, to the cantor's high F on *Jôm Kippur*, when it is sealed, underscores the expanse and importance of the period between the two holy days. Sulzer used exactly ten different pitches in the first five measures of *B'rôsch haschonoh*, perhaps representing the ten days of prayer and reflection between the New Year and the Day of Atonement. On the word *jôm* [day], the cantor soars to a new pitch—the high F—emphasizing that this is the day of judgment and forgiveness.

The first thirteen bars of *B'rôsch haschonoh* almost exclusively use pitches in B<sup>b</sup> minor. At measure fourteen, however, the cantor, alone and pianissimo, utters the question, *mi jichjeh* [Who shall live?]. For this most dramatic moment, an augmented second signals a departure from Western tonal harmony: the music proceeds from B<sup>b</sup> to a raised D<sup>b</sup>, then descends through an exotic C<sup>b</sup> on its way back to B<sup>b</sup>, only to flutter up to a D<sup>b</sup>-grace note, passing again through C<sup>b</sup> toward B<sup>b</sup>. The tenor and bass voices in measure fifteen echo the text, *parlando* and *pianissimo*, on an open fifth. For the question, *mi jomus* [Who shall die?], both cantor and choir swell from B<sup>b</sup> minor to a C dominant-seventh chord on the word *mi* [who]. Then the cantor finishes the question alone, in measure eighteen, returning to B<sup>b</sup>, suggesting that death returns a person to his place of origin.

Sulzer managed to win support for his new musical ideas for the Jewish service in no small part due to his beloved personality and golden voice. His singing melted the hearts of worshippers at the *Seitenstetengasse*.

According to a biographical sketch about Sulzer by New York rabbi Adolph Guttman (1854–1927), one of Sulzer's co-workers, a Adolph Jellinek, marveled at Sulzer's vocal abilities:

That voice, who can describe it? Its strengths and its softness, its richness and its tenderness, its fervor and its pathos. That voice charmed, overpowered and inspired, opened the gates of heaven and penetrated the depths of the soul. That was the expression of an honest, tender heart. For he was, in the fullest sense of the word, a 'messenger of the congregation.'<sup>28</sup>

Sulzer's vocal prowess and accomplishments in both choral sound and composition drew praise from various sources. One, a "prolific writer of Romantic travelogues" named Frances Trollope, marveled at the music she heard at the *Seitenstetengasse*.<sup>29</sup>

There is, in truth, so wild and strange a harmony in the songs of the children of Israel as performed in the synagogue in this city, that it would be difficult to render full justice to the splendid excellence of the performance, without falling into the language of enthusiasm. A voice, of which that of Braham in his best days was not superior, performs the solo parts of these extraordinary cantiques; while about a dozen voices more, some of them being boys, fill up the glorious chorus. The volume of vocal sound exceeds anything of the kind I have ever heard; and being unaccompanied by an instrument, it produces an effect equally singular and delightful.<sup>30</sup>

*Seitenstetengasse* attracted and delighted diverse throngs of synagogue goers. Many of them were non-Jewish international tourists seeking musical uplifting, such as Frances Trollope. Sulzer's music program managed to attract significant attention outside of Vienna's

# “So Wild and Strange a Harmony”

Jewish community for two reasons. First, Sulzer regularly reached out and interacted with non-Jewish musicians and statesmen. For example, upon moving to Vienna, Sulzer studied with Ignaz von Seyfried (1776–1841), who had studied with Haydn and socialized with Mozart and Beethoven. Sulzer also studied composition with Seyfried’s student, Josef Fischhof (1804–1857). He commissioned liturgical contributions from both of these masters, and Joseph Dreschler (1782–1852), who turned out to be “Sulzer’s most industrious Christian collaborator, eventually contributing no less

than fourteen Hebrew numbers to the first part of the collection *Schir Zion*.<sup>31</sup>

Most famously, Sulzer associated and collaborated with Franz Schubert (1797–1828). Scholars suggest that Sulzer may have met Schubert through Seyfried, who had composed operas based upon Old Testament subjects.<sup>32</sup> The two forged a friendship; Schubert “considered Sulzer’s lyrical yet vigorous tenor voice ideal for the rendition of his songs.”<sup>33</sup> According to one account, Schubert once requested that Sulzer sing *Der Wanderer* three times in a row.<sup>34</sup> The camaraderie between the two mu-

sicians culminated in Sulzer’s commission of Schubert to compose a new choral setting of Psalm 92 in Hebrew (*Tôw l’hôdôs*) [It is good to give thanks]. Sulzer’s extensive study and collaboration with prominent non-Jewish musicians such as Schubert certainly helped him to build a strong musical reputation and attract interest to his synagogue beyond the Viennese Jewish community.

A second reason for significant non-Jewish interest in Sulzer’s music at the *Seitenstettengasse* relates to the diminished state of Viennese music in general following the deaths of Beethoven and

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# Synagogue Choral Music of Salomon Sulzer

Schubert.<sup>35</sup> The first Emperor of the new Austrian Empire, Francis I (reigned 1804–1835), along with his chief minister, Metternich (who also served as chancellor of Austria from 1821 to 1848), imposed restrictive policies of censorship and regimentation of the arts. Viennese opera, church music, and orchestra suffered and so disappointed both local and non-local music lovers that the *Seitenstettengasse* earned a reputation for being one of the few venues where one could experience quality—even transcendent—music in the city. Frances Trollope complained bitterly about the state of the Vienna opera house in 1836, writing: “They have not a single voice in any degree capable of sustaining an opera in such a style as one seems to have a right to expect in Vienna.”<sup>36</sup> Moreover, after attending high Mass at St. Stephen’s, she wrote, “the voices of the Jews of Vienna have made those of the Christians appear feeble by comparison.”<sup>37</sup> Joseph Mainzer, a German-born priest who later popularized choral singing in England, first visited the *Seitenstettengasse* in 1827 (“at a time when it had not yet become

fashionable to do so”) and later wrote extensively about what he saw and heard.<sup>38</sup> For example, Mainzer noted: “The Synagogue was the only place where a stranger could find, artistically speaking, a source of enjoyment that was as solid as it was dignified.”<sup>39</sup>

The praise lavished upon Sulzer and his choir was extraordinary, especially considering that virtually none of the non-Jewish devotees had had previous experience with Jewish music or worship, and many in fact were also anti-Semitic. Trollope, for example, “heartily disapproved of Judaism and frankly expressed her contempt for Jews in general, and Viennese Jewish bankers in particular.”<sup>40</sup> Mainzer, however, felt somehow relieved of his anti-Semitism through his experiences at *Seitenstettengasse*:

In seven months, I did not miss a single service. One has to attend no more than once, however, in order to find oneself instantly freed, as if by some sudden reaction, of all the odious prejudices against the Jews instilled in us with baptism in early childhood.<sup>41</sup>

Perhaps the most famous composer to write of his own transcendental experience with Sulzer’s voice and music was Franz Liszt:

[I]n order to hear [Sulzer], we went to the Synagogue where he was in charge of the music and performed the principal solo part as well. Only rarely has emotion taken such a deep hold of us, have we been so irresistibly stirred, surrendered our entire being without reservation to nothing but prayer and devotion, as on that night when by the light of a thousand candles the muffled, hollow voices of a strange chorus arose around us like stars on a vast firmament.<sup>42</sup>

In keeping with his manifestation of goodwill toward Jews and Christians, Sulzer adapted and composed several works that seem designed, at least in part, for inter-faith relations and outreach. For example, Sulzer based a four-part choral setting of Psalm 21, verse 5, on *Volkshymne*, a song Haydn had composed for the birthday of Holy Roman Emperor Franz II in 1797 (Figure 3).<sup>43</sup>

Figure 3. Salomon Sulzer, *Volkshymne: Psalm 21, verse 5*, mm. 1–4.  
Quoting a song by Joseph Haydn

*Schir Zion Gesänge für den israelitischen Gottesdienst*, No. 495  
Frankfurt am Main: J. Kauffman, 1922

# “So Wild and Strange a Harmony”

Sulzer appropriated this secular tune by replacing the original text (which praises the Emperor), with a Hebrew transliteration of Psalm 21, verse 5 (which extols the military victories that God has afforded the king). Sulzer's *contrafactum* of Haydn's song joins a multitude of others, the most famous of which is *Deutschland über alles*, which

has served as the German national anthem since 1922.

Sulzer also set German texts and translations to his own newly-composed choral works. For instance, Sulzer composed a new setting of Psalm 133 and included both Hebrew and German singing texts (Figure 4).<sup>44</sup> The particular text of Psalm 133 (How good and

pleasant it is when brothers live together in unity!) seems to have presented a perfect opportunity for Sulzer to reach out both to his Jewish and Christian brothers in composing this tuneful and well-crafted work for mixed choir; baritone soloist, and organ. Incidentally, the score calls for “Bariton Solo” rather than Sulzer's typical indication of “Cantor,” perhaps suggesting that the composer hoped for performances of the work outside of the *Seitenstettengasse* and the Jewish community.

Twentieth-century Jewish musicians such as Abraham Wolf Binder (1895–1966), a synagogue composer and music director, criticized Sulzer's ambivalence between usage of traditional, Eastern European *nusach* featuring augmented seconds and Western, Protestant harmonizations: “Sulzer frequently followed an exquisite cantorial recitative with a choral response in Western style, which was incongruous. He did not achieve the ability to develop a Jewish tune or mode.”<sup>45</sup> Binder also criticized Sulzer's mission to cleanse traditional chant of its inauthentic accretions, claiming that the result was too thorough: “In paring off unnecessary musical accumulations on the cantorial chant, which Sulzer set as one of his most important tasks, he sometimes cut down to the bone and even into the marrow.”<sup>46</sup> Finally, Binder lamented that Sulzer fell “victim” to the waltz craze that commandeered Vienna during the reign of Johann Strauss, too often composing prayers in triple meter. In a bizarre and unfortunate twist of history,

**Figure 4.** Salomon Sulzer, *Psalm 133*, “Hineh Ma Tov,” Choral parts, mm. 12–18.  
*Schir Zion Gesänge für den israelitischen Gottesdienst*, No. 483  
 Frankfurt am Main: J. Kauffman, 1922

# Synagogue Choral Music of Salomon Sulzer

the melodies of Sulzer still used regularly in contemporary synagogues are his triple-meter settings of prayers such as *Sch'ma Jisroel* [Hear, O Israel] and *Ki mizijôn* [For from out of Zion (will come the Torah)].<sup>47</sup> For the most part, the great choral-cantorial works contained in the two volumes of *Schir Zion* remain largely forgotten in Jewish synagogues, and unavailable and almost completely unknown to the non-Jewish music community. One possible explanation is that Binder's criticisms of Sulzer's works were largely shared by other twentieth-century cantors and synagogue musi-

cians, or eclipsed by the music of Louis Lewandowski (1821–1894) and other synagogue composers who followed in Sulzer's footsteps.

Through a different lens, however, Sulzer's vacillation between disparate styles was fitting for a Jew who straddled different worlds in several capacities. Sulzer's lifetime began in the vestiges of severe Jewish persecution and ended during a time of unprecedented Jewish freedom. His music is of and for the people of Vienna, a city that straddles Eastern and Western Europe. His birth came toward the end of the first Vien-

nese school, while his death heralded the beginning of the second. When Viennese secular and sacred music fell into disrepair in the decades following Beethoven's death, it was Sulzer, a Jewish composer, who brought a musical flowering—and interfaith following—to the culturally-beleaguered city. His compositions retain traditional chant within the context of a new, harmonically vibrant choral structure. His choral-cantorial hybrid form served as the model for Jewish composers for the next hundred years. Similar to the composers of the traditional Viennese schools of Western

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# “So Wild and Strange a Harmony”

art music, Sulzer’s works and philosophy of music influenced musicians and listeners far beyond Vienna. Just as his choral music gained recognition by Jewish and non-Jewish admirers alike during his lifetime, Sulzer’s music now deserves to be rediscovered and performed by contemporary choirs of all backgrounds.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Peter Gradenwitz, “Jews in Austrian Music,”

in *The Jews of Austria*, ed. Josef Fraenkel (London: Vallentine, Mitchell & Co. Ltd., 1967), 17, n7.

<sup>2</sup> Elaine Brody, “Schubert and Sulzer Revisited,” in *Schubert Studies*, ed. Eva Badura-Skoda and Peter Branscombe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 49. The Empress Maria Theresa referenced here should not be confused with Maria Theresa of Naples and Sicily (1772–1807), a patroness of Haydn, who later became the last Holy Roman Empress and the first Empress of Austria.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Jonathan L. Friedmann, “Introduction: Sulzer, Idelsohn, and the Revival of Jewish Music,” in *Music in Jewish Thought: Selected Writings, 1890–1920*, ed. Jonathan L. Friedman (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2009), 7.

<sup>6</sup> Marsha Bryan Edelman, *Discovering Jewish Music* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 2003), 54.

<sup>7</sup> Abraham W. Binder, “A Rebirth of Biblical Chant,” in *Studies in Jewish Music: Collected Writings of A.W. Binder*, ed. Irene Heskes (New York: Bloch Pub. Co., 1971), 277.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Eric Mandell, “Salomon Sulzer, 1804-1890,” in *The Jews of Austria*, ed. Josef Fraenkel (London: Vallentine, Mitchell & Co. Ltd., 1967), 222–224.

<sup>10</sup> Brody, “Schubert and Sulzer Revisited,” in *Schubert Studies*, 51–52.

<sup>11</sup> Salomon Sulzer, *Denkschrift* (Vienna, 1876), quoted in Gradenwitz, “Jews in Austrian Music,” *The Jews of Austria*, 19.

<sup>12</sup> Sulzer, *Denkschrift* (Vienna, 1876), quoted in Friedmann, preface to *Music in Jewish Thought*, 12.

<sup>13</sup> Sulzer, *Denkschrift* (Vienna, 1876), quoted in Friedmann, preface to *Music in Jewish Thought*, 3.

<sup>14</sup> Friedmann, introduction to *Music in Jewish Thought*, 11.

<sup>15</sup> Mandell, “Sulzer,” in *The Jews of Austria*, 222.

<sup>16</sup> Benjamin F. Peixotto, “Solomon Sulzer: Reminiscences of Vienna (1890),” in *Music in Jewish Thought*, 136.

<sup>17</sup> Mandell, “Sulzer,” in *The Jews of Austria*, 222.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. at 222–223.

<sup>19</sup> Friedmann, introduction to *Music in Jewish Thought*, 10.

<sup>20</sup> Brody, “Schubert and Sulzer Revisited,” in *Schubert Studies*, 49.

<sup>21</sup> Peixotto, “Sulzer,” in *Music in Jewish Thought*, 136.

<sup>22</sup> Friedmann, introduction to *Music in Jewish Thought*, 3.

<sup>23</sup> Only one composer had previously sought to create a comprehensive collection

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# Synagogue Choral Music of Salomon Sulzer

of choral settings of the Jewish liturgy: Salamone Rossi (ca. 1570–1630), whose publication of unaccompanied, polyphonic Jewish choral music, *Ha-shirim asher li-Shlomo* [The Songs of Solomon], remained largely hidden in obscurity during Sulzer's lifetime.

<sup>24</sup> Salomon Sulzer, "No. 494, Psalm 21," in *Schir Zion Gesänge für den israelitischen Gottesdienst*, (Frankfurt am Main: J. Kauffmann, 1922), 415. The transliterated Hebrew published in *Schir Zion* follows the Ashkenazic pronunciation favored among Eastern European and Yiddish-speaking Jews through 1948. Contemporary Israeli and American Jews use the Sephardic pronunciation, originating with Jews from Spain. For example, Sulzer transcribes the Hebrew *Adonai* [God] as *adōnoj*.

<sup>25</sup> Tina Frühauf, *The Organ and Its Music in German-Jewish Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 38. Sulzer originally opposed the use of the organ, but his perspective evolved to the point where he argued that "an instrumental accompaniment for the singing in the worship service should be introduced everywhere, in order to ease the active participation of members of the congregation in the same.... To provide the requisite accompaniment to this end, the organ deserves to be recommended, and no religious reservations conflict with its use on the Sabbath and holy days." Cf. Frühauf, *The Organ*, 230, n4.

<sup>26</sup> Sulzer, "No. 354, B'rōsch haschonoh," in *Schir Zion*, 266–267.

<sup>27</sup> Chaim Stern, *Gates of Repentance: The New Union Prayerbook for the Days of Awe = Sha'are Teshuvah* (New York: Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1996), 108–109.

<sup>28</sup> Adolph Guttman, "The Life of Salomon Sulzer (1903)," in *Music in Jewish Thought*, 143.

<sup>29</sup> A. L. Ringer, "Salomon Sulzer, Joseph Mainzer and the Romantic a Cappella Movement," *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 11, no. 1/4 (1969): 355–356.

<sup>30</sup> Frances Trollope, *Vienna and the Austrians With Some Account of a Journey Through Swabia, Bavaria, the Tyrol, and the Salzbourg* (London: R. Bentley, 1838, Vol. 1), 367, quoted in Ringer, "Sulzer," 356. Trollope's comparison of Sulzer to "Braham" references Jewish tenor John Braham (ca. 1774–1856), a star on the London opera stage.

<sup>31</sup> Ringer, "Sulzer," 357, n9.

<sup>32</sup> Brody, "Schubert and Sulzer Revisited," *Schubert Studies*, 53.

<sup>33</sup> Ringer, "Sulzer," 357.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, citing Aron Friedmann, *Der synagogale Gesang: eine Studie. Zum 100. Geburtstage Salomon Sulzer's und 10. Todestage Louis Lewandowski's (1904) nebst deren Biographien* (Berlin: C. Boas Nachf, 1904), 125.

<sup>35</sup> Ringer, "Sulzer," 355–356.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 355.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 356.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 359.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 359 (quoting Joseph Mainzer, "La Chapelle-Sixtine à Rome," *Gazette Musicale de Paris* I (1834): 39).

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 356.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 360.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 365, quoting Franz Liszt, *Die Zegeuner und ihre Musik in Ungarn* (Pesth: G. Heckenast, 1861), 52–53.

<sup>43</sup> Sulzer, "No. 494, Volkshymne: Psalm 21, v.5," quoting a song by Joseph Haydn, in *Schir Zion*, 415.

<sup>44</sup> Sulzer, "No. 483, Hineh ma-tôv, Psalm 133" in *Schir Zion*, 382–385.

<sup>45</sup> Binder, "Salomon Sulzer's Legacy to the Cantorate," in *Studies in Jewish Music*, 286.

<sup>46</sup> Binder, "Sulzer's Legacy," in *Studies in Jewish Music*, 285.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Friedmann, introduction to *Music in Jewish Thought*, 14–15.



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