# Constructing history from music reportage: Jewish musical life in South Africa, 1930-1948

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## Declaration

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# Abstract

A Jewish cultural life in South Africa is cast by secondary literatures as being English in form and Jewish in spirit. This established understanding of a South African Jewish identity is informed by cultural analyses that focus on tensions arising from being Jewish citizens of South Africa. The present thesis draws on socio-musical sources not yet introduced to general historiographies to question this construction of Jewish identity. These sources refer to music-related items that appear in the *South African Jewish Chronicle* and the *Zionist Record* newspaper publications of 1930-1948. The purpose of subjecting music reportage in local Jewish newspapers to a rigorous content analysis, is to open understandings of Jewish culture in South Africa from wider, cosmopolitan perspectives and to locate the function that music might have had in cultural processes of identity formation.

Jews exercised South African musical citizenship through supporting the forming of musical institutions, as well as through pedagogy, the performing arts and composition, representations of which align with English cultural forms in the music reportage. While also concerned with securing the Jewish position in South Africa, Zionism developed a vision of and for Palestine by translating the act of making aliyah (immigrating to Palestine) into a symbolic, musical practice.

The makings of the community's internal Jewish identity forged around tensions between Eastern European and Western European (most notably German) Jewish immigrants. Musical representations of Eastern Europe, which emanated from Russia, America and South Africa, generated a volume of content that reflected a Jewish preoccupation with Russian Jews as both ignobly backward and commendably Jewish. German Jews fell out of favour with the South African Jewish community because of their proclivity to assimilate, which could explain why they received little musical attention in these newspapers. However, engagement with contemporary events in Europe, and strong depictions of German culture in the primary source material, emanated from the United States. American musical representations reveal the degree to which the internal tensions of European Jewry were racial.

The musical geographies of England, Palestine, Russia, Germany and America in a South African Jewish imaginary reveal a cosmopolitanism of Jewish whiteness and the musical vision it harboured for Palestine as a Jewish country of the West.

# Opsomming

Sekondêre literatuur suggereer dat Joodse kultuurlewe in Suid-Afrika histories Engels in vorm en Joods in gees was. Hierdie verstaan van Suid-Afrikaanse Joodse identiteit word ingelig deur kulturele ontledings wat fokus op spannings rondom kwessies van Joodse burgerskap in Suid-Afrika. Hierdie tesis ondersoek sosio-musikale bronne om hierdie spesifieke konstruksie van Joodse identiteit in algemene geskiedenisbronne te bevraagteken. Primêre bronne van hierdie studie verwys na musiekverwante items wat verskyn in die koerantpublikasies die *South African Jewish Chronicle* en die *Zionist Record* gedurende die jare 1930-1948. Joodse musiekartikels word in hierdie tesis onderwerp aan ŉ streng inhoudsanalise met die oog daarop om Joodse kultuur in Suid-Afrika vanuit breër, kosmopolitiese perspektiewe te beskou en om die funksie wat musiek in kulturele prosesse van identiteitsvorming mag hê, te identifiseer.

Jode het Suid-Afrikaanse musikale burgerskap uitgeoefen deur die stigting van musiekinstellings te ondersteun, sowel as deur middel van pedagogie, die uitvoerende kunste en komposisie. Berigte oor hierdie aktiwiteite in die musiekverslaggewing stem ooreen met wat verwag kon word van gevestigde Engelse kulturele gebruike. Sionisme was ook gemoeid met die sekuriteit van Jode in Suid-Afrika, maar het terselfdertyd ŉ visie van en vir Palestina ontwikkel deur die vereiste van immigrasie na Palestina te verander in ŉ simboliese musikale praktyk.

Die gemeenskap se interne Joodse identiteit het vorm aangeneem rondom die spanning tussen Oos-Europese en Wes-Europese (veral Duitse) Joodse immigrante. Die hoeveelheid musikale beriggewing van Oos-Europa wat uit Rusland, Amerika en Suid-Afrika gekom het, weerspieël die gemeenskap se beheptheid met Russiese Jode, wie gesien was as ongesofistikeerd, dog trots Joods. Die gemeenskap se gesindheid was minder gunstig gestem teenoor Duitse Jode, vanweë laasgenoemde se neigings om te assimileer. Dit kan verduidelik hoekom Duitse Jode in die Suid-Afrikaanse konteks min musikale aandag geniet in hierdie koerante. Verslaggewing vanuit die Verenigde State in die primêre bronmateriaal toon ŉ groter belangstelling in kontemporêre gebeure in Europa, en gee ook sterk uitbeeldings van Duitse kultuurlewe in plaaslike kontekste. Amerikaanse musikale voorstellings toon die mate waartoe spannings rondom Europese Jode rasverwant was.

Die geografiese gebiede van Engeland, Palestina, Rusland, Duitsland en Amerika in ŉ Suid-Afrikaanse Joodse musiekverbeelding dui op ŉ kosmopolitiese grondslag van Joodse witheid en die musikale visie wat dit inhou vir Palestina as ŉ Joodse land van die Weste.

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# Glossary

**Aliyah (Hebrew: To ascend):** In religious contexts, a person ‘makes aliyah’ when he is called to the altar (the bimah) to read from the Torah. In national contexts, the term refers to the act of immigrating to Palestine/Israel.[1]

**Ashkenazi:** Jews who come from Northern and Eastern Europe, as opposed to Sephardic Jews, who come from Spain and the Mediterranean.

**Bimah (Hebrew: altar):** In synagogues, the platform from where the service is led.

**Cantor:** The Latin form of the Hebrew word hazan.

**Eretz Israel (Hebrew):** The land of Israel. Before 1948, Jews used the term interchangeably with Palestine. Also a term that religious Jews use to denote the Land of Israel, without invoking the State.

**Habimah (Hebrew: The Stage):** Israel’s national theatre.

**Halakhah (Hebrew: The path):** Jewish law.

**Halutz/Halutzim (Hebrew, single/plural):** Pioneers in agricultural Palestine before 1948.

**Hamabit (Hebrew: Housekeeper):** Pseudonym for the author of the column ‘Current Communal Comments’ in the *Zionist Record*.

**Hanukah (Hebrew: Dedication):** A Jewish holiday that commemorates the Maccabees’ victory over the Hellenists and the rededication of the Jerusalem temple in ancient times. Also known as the Festival of lights.

**Hasid/Hasidim (single/plural):** Follower of Hasidism.

**Hasidism:** Movement in Judaism founded by the Baal Shem Tov in early eighteenth century Galicia. It emphasizes Kabbalah (Jewish mysticism) and prayer.

**Haskalah:** An intellectual movement that emerged in the late eighteenth century in Central and Eastern Europe. Its followers, known as Maskilim, sought to integrate Jews into modern society, while also nurturing a Jewish particularity. Moses Mendelssohn was one of its earliest intellectual exponents.

**Hatikvah (Hebrew: The Hope):** Before 1948, the anthem of the Zionist movement. Today, the national anthem for the State of Israel.

**Hazan/Hazanim (Hebrew, single/plural):** A cantor is a musical specialist who leads the liturgy during synagogue services.

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[1] The rationale for employing the Palestine/Israel dichotomy in the context of this thesis is historical, rather than political. The study focuses on the years 1930-1948, when the region was known as Palestine, before the State of Israel was formed.

**Hazanut (Hebrew, plural):** The term could refer to a tradition of music created and performed by cantors, or a genealogy of hazanim who pass religious musical tradition from one generation to the next.

**Kibbutz/Kibbutzim (Hebrew, single/plural):** Communal, agricultural settlements in Palestine/Israel.

**Landsmannschaft/Landsmannschaften (single, plural):** Immigrant fraternal societies for communities from particular regions in Eastern Europe.

**Litvaks:** Lithuanian Jewish immigrants. They were the majority of Eastern European immigrants to South Africa.

**Maskilim (Hebrew, plural):** Adherents of the Haskalah, the Jewish Enlightenment.

**Mitnaged/Mitnagdim (Hebrew: The opponents):** An orthodox Jewish religious movement that formed in opposition to Hasidism in Eastern Europe, specifically in Lithuania.

**Sephardi:** Sephardi Jews are from Spanish or Mediterranean origin.

**Succoth:** Feast of the Tabernacles; a holiday that marks the biblical exodus of Israelites from Egypt and also the end of harvest time in Palestine/Israel.

**Talmud (Hebrew: Study, learning):** Rabbinical literature expounding on Judaic law and thought.

**Talmud Torah:** Traditional Jewish religious public schools; afternoon schools in South Africa. Also known as heder.

**Torah:** The five books of Moses, but also refers to a whole body of sacred Jewish texts.

**Yishuv:** Jews who lived in Palestine in the period preceding the formation of the State of Israel.

# Preface

My grandmother used to visit us every Friday afternoon when we were little. The purpose of her visits was to teach us from the Bible. Like many children before and after us, we learned about Abraham, Isaac and Jacob; about the Israelites in Egypt, the Exodus, Moses and Joshua, the Promised Land; about King Solomon, King David and the prophets. We also learned about Mary and Joseph; about Jesus and his disciples; about the crucifixion, Pentecost and the Apostles. We learned that, even though these wonderful things happened many, many years ago in lands far, far away, their narration continued to be important in the present. Our present. For the Word that taught us about these events transcended time and space. It was powerful and prophetic. We learned that the Bible prophesied about us, the Afrikaners, who were a chosen people just like the Israelites of the Old Testament. The Great Trek was our Exodus; South Africa our Promised Land. During my postgraduate studies, I discovered that this narrative formed part of formal Afrikaner historiography: that many Afrikaners viewed themselves as a chosen people in the same way that many Jewish people do.[2] This discovery piqued my curiosity about the Afrikaner's historical relationship with the Jewish people. The history of this relationship includes distinct moments of antisemitism, most notably of the Ossewabrandwag of the 1930s, contrasted with a controversial alliance between apartheid South Africa and Israel, the self-proclaimed Jewish State, during the second half of the twentieth century. It seems that the Afrikaners' historiographical narrative could have rendered conditions for both antisemitism and political alliance possible by merely suggesting that the Afrikaners are a chosen people *like* the Jewish people as opposed to *instead of* the Jewish people. It never posited that the Afrikaners *replace* Jews as God's chosen, though its silence on the matter could be construed both ways.

The historical and political relationship between Afrikaners and Jews, as well as the cultural and political relationship between Israel and South Africa, is in many respects puzzling. Sometimes, these realms intersect. In his memoir, Rabbi Moshe Silberhaft, an esteemed leader in South Africa's Jewish Country Communities, writes an anecdote about an unexpected summons to old-president P.W. Botha's retirement home in the Wilderness in 1998 (Silberhaft and Belling 2012:33-34). Botha showed him a Chumash (the five books of Moses), a gift from the Jewish Board of Deputies which he always kept on his person. He explained to Silberhaft his attachment to Israel and the Jewish people 'from military […], religious and political perspectives.' Silberhaft (2012:34) closes the anecdote as follows:

> Although *persona non grata* in the new South Africa, he [Botha] was still very well disposed towards Israel and the Jews and their contribution to the world. A photograph of me with him hangs on my office wall. I wish the ANC would be as accepting of Israel as he was until his passing on 31 October 2006.

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[2] See Stimie (2010: 9-10) where I discuss the works by Moodie (1975), De Klerk (1976) and O'Meara (1983).

For me, this photograph of an old Afrikaner president and a Jewish leader, hanging in the office of a South African Jew, captures the contradictions of Afrikaner-Jewish/South African-Israeli relations. My curiosity about this relationship developed from the religious training of my early childhood, and intensified during my Masters' studies when I examined music reportage in Afrikaans publications and discovered the 'chosen people' narrative in Afrikaner historiography. It prompted me to embark on what I foresee to be a lifelong professional journey.

Without realising it, writing the Masters' thesis on early twentieth century Afrikaans music reportage was the first step on this journey. The degree taught me to question assumptions. It compelled me to reflect on my own history and Afrikaner identity, which made me aware of previously unchallenged notions about the self. I then interrogated these notions by a critical reading of music texts in my home language. Asking questions about the self also prompted me to question assumptions about others. I started interrogating the Jews who my grandmother introduced to my imagination. Before approaching complex questions about Afrikaner-Jewish (and other) relationships, I thought it necessary to deconstruct this uniquely romanticized Jewish figure, which became the object of my next big project, the present PhD thesis. When I started, I was, of course, uncertain about how to go about this self-assigned project. In this, my Masters' thesis prepared me too. It offered me a methodological strategy that I employ again in the present study: reading music texts in newspapers. In the present thesis, I therefore focus on music-related texts in South African Jewish newspapers.

The premises of my two postgraduate studies are different. I wrote my Masters' thesis as an insider: I am an Afrikaner, accustomed to certain cultural idiosyncrasies, reading Afrikaans texts, recognising cultural nuances of language and codes. My reading of Afrikaans music reportage was therefore more intuitive and eclectic than comprehensive and systematic. In the present study, I am an outsider. I am not Jewish. I am not accustomed to Jewish cultural idiosyncrasies; to me, they are strange. While I am proficient in English, I do not readily recognize cultural nuances of language and codes, especially not Jewish ones. An eclectic and intuitive approach would have been inappropriate.

Working out a refined methodological strategy for writing music history using newspaper sources was a challenge that consumed the greater part of the four years this project took to complete. As a result, a large portion of this thesis is a methodological detailing of the strategy I followed. As a personal document, this thesis is a blueprint to my professional ambitions for the future. As a research project, it offers a methodological option for cultural researchers to consider, especially researchers who, like me, are outsiders to their fields of study.

## Notes on style and referencing

The nature of the research project posed several challenges to the writing of this thesis, which is partly addressed by unconventional methods of referencing and style. Some decisions made in this regard are explained here.

The primary material of this study refers to two newspaper publications, the *South African Jewish Chronicle* and the *Zionist Record*, which are respectively associated with two institutions, the South African Jewish Board of Deputies and the South African Zionist Federation. Throughout this thesis, the first publication is generally identified as the *Chronicle*, and the institutions are shortened to the Jewish Board and the Zionist Federation. A large part of the analysis concerns two social stereotypes, namely 'Peruvians' and 'Yekkes'. These terms appear in inverted commas when they are first introduced and when the terms refer to themselves. In the remainder of the text, they do not appear in inverted commas.

During the course of this study, I enrolled for Hebrew language lessons on eTeacher.com, which I recently completed up to Ulpan 3. The elementary language skills I acquired, together with Google's translating tool, enabled me to decipher some of the Hebrew script that appears in the primary sources. There are not many instances where Hebrew script appears in these newspapers and they are usually no more than a few short lines at a time. However, since my research assistant and I lacked this language skill during the data collection phase, it is possible that music-related items in Hebrew text may have been overseen.

Many cultural terms of Hebrew or Yiddish origin are used in this thesis. These terms are not written in cursive, since their frequency would make the text visually untidy. The terms throughout the text are linked to their explanations in the glossary, which should aid digital readers. Furthermore, since most of these terms are transliterated from Hebrew script, one finds a wide variety of spellings for the same terms across sources. While I standardize spellings in my own narrative, I keep spellings in quotations as they appear in the original text. This is also the case in quotations from English and American sources.

Music items in the *South African Jewish Chronicle* and *Zionist Record* comprise mostly newspaper-clippings of advertisements, notices, some longer reviews and a few substantial reports or articles, which have all been digitized, as explained in the thesis. The sample of digitized PDF-documents that form the primary material of this study add up to 333 documents, many of which include up to 5 relevant items for analysis. Compiling a bibliography of such items, of which only a rare few identify its authors, posed a challenge to referencing and citations. Instead of identifying a source conventionally by its author, this thesis identifies the primary material by the number of the document as it appears in Atlas.ti, the software used for textual analysis. The documents are listed in the bibliography with their numberings and the name of the document as they appear in Atlas.ti, followed by the details of the entry/entries on that page.

Articles from the *Chronicle* are listed chronologically from numbers 1 to 163, and the *Zionist Record* articles are numbered 164 to 333. When the narrative in the chapters refers to a primary article, but not a specific quotation, the reference identifies the number of the article in brackets, preceded with a 'P' that indicates 'primary document' (i.e. P, followed by a number). Quotations from these documents are created in Atlas.ti during a coding process. The software assigns a unique number to each of the quotations, most of which inform the analysis of this thesis. Where conventional referencing methods normally list a page number, quotations from the primary documents of this study are instead identified by the quotation number generated in Atlas.ti. Thus, a system of referencing uses the following template: '(x:y)' in which 'x' refers to the number of the primary document and 'y' refers to the number of the quotation. Secondary sources are treated according to standard academic conventions.

# Chapter 1:
# Introduction

The relevance of the *Zionist Record* and the *South African Jewish Chronicle* as primary source material of this thesis lies in their respective associations with the South African Zionist Federation and the South African Jewish Board of Deputies. These institutions have worked to organize and represent the local Jewish community since the beginning of the twentieth century. Today, their relationship is one of a friendly alliance. However, during the early years of their existence, each was competing to become the sole representative institution for the local Jewish community.

The Zionist Federation was established in Johannesburg in 1898 and advocated Zionist values. Lithuanian Jews formed the majority of its members. The *Zionist Record* was the Federation's official newspaper and first appeared in Johannesburg in 1908. The paper was to keep the community informed on the activities of the Federation and its affiliated societies. Its policy was to be a 'non-political, literary publication' that focused on 'Zionist news from South Africa and from all over the world' (Poliva 1961:19).

A section of the Jewish community, many non-Zionists, objected to the Federation's ambition to be the representative body for Jews in South Africa. They established two Jewish Boards of Deputies, one for the colonies in Transvaal and Natal, and a separate one in the Cape colony. These boards merged in 1912 to become the South African Jewish Board of Deputies (Mendelsohn and Shain 2008:56-69). The *South African Jewish Chronicle* was founded in 1902. It was South Africa's first Anglo-Jewish paper (Poliva 1961:13), an offspring of the London *Jewish Chronicle* (Krut 1987:157). Shain (2011:98) describes it as 'the voice of the Anglo-Jewish establishment' as it came to be closely associated with the Jewish Board. However, the association between the *Chronicle* and the Jewish Board was not official. During the 1930s and 1940s, the *Chronicle* was based in Cape Town. It was edited by Marcia Gitlin, who was succeeded by Rebecca Gitlin. The *Chronicle* belonged to the Dorshei Zion Association, served as the official organ of the Western Cape Zionist Federation, and 'covered all aspects of Jewish life in the Western Cape' (Musiker 2011:37). I nevertheless continue reading the *Chronicle* as representing English values, based on general literatures' analysis of the newspaper's English character.

Mendelsohn and Shain (2008) put forward the tension between the Zionist Federation and the Jewish Board to argue that the Jewish community in South Africa was divided during the early twentieth century.[3] These tensions gradually dissipated and the community consolidated into a homogeneous collective in the second half of the twentieth century.[4] The histories of the two newspapers associated with these organizations seem to support Mendelsohn and Shain's metanarrative of gradual homogenization: in 1959, the publications merged into the *Zionist Record and S.A. Jewish Chronicle*. However, the literature on Jewish history in South Africa suggests a continuing ambivalence concerning which organization best represented the South African Jewish community. Mendelsohn and Shain (2008:65), for instance, maintain that the Jewish Board came to represent the public face of South African Jewry, which was 'anglicised, respectably bourgeois, upwardly mobile, comfortably integrated into the English-dominated cities.' In contrast, Gideon Shimoni (2003:4) writes that 'the Zionist movement enjoyed a form of hegemony in the life of the organized Jewish community' and that 'the Zionist Federation became the preeminent institution in the life of the community'.[5] In a similar vein, Marcia Gitlin (1950:178) argues that by 1924 the *Zionist Record* 'was far more than only the official organ of the Zionist Federation. It was in fact what it professed to be – the organ of South African Jewry.'[6] The way in which the literature vacillates on the respective importance of these institutions and their associated publications indicates a gradual alignment and balancing between Zionism and anglicism. This alignment could also be seen in these institutions' membership. Even during the first half of the century, Zionists served on the Jewish Board and were noted leaders in the community. In many ways, Zionism became equated with Jewish anglicism and meshed into a hybrid unique to the South African Jewish community. Gustav Saron (1965:17) famously described this as 'a case of pouring Litvak spirit into the Anglo-Jewish bottles.'

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[3] See Chapter 2, entitled 'Litvaks'.

[4] This process is signalled by the titles to the ensuing chapters in Mendelsohn and Shain (2008): 'Chapter 3: South African Jews' and 'Chapter 4: Jewish South Africans'.

My study enters history at a moment, in 1930, when the institutional divide described above was still apparent in struggles for executive power in the various domains of local Jewish and extra-local Palestinian and/or European matters. It also marks a moment that has seen the earliest instances of institutional collaboration. The period that this study covers witnessed the Second World War and the Holocaust, a time of trial and tribulation for world Jewry. The Zionist Federation and Jewish Board were concerned about the rise of Nazism in Europe, which increased a sense of urgency around securing a Jewish homeland in Palestine. On the home front, these institutions also took on the challenge of organizing and unifying a culturally diverse local Jewish community. An influx of Eastern European Jewish immigrants, which commenced in 1880, slowed down after the passing of the Immigration Quota Act in 1930, but from 1933 was replaced with an influx of German Jewish refugees to South Africa. The community was also confronted with a growing and unpredictable antisemitism among radical right Afrikaner factions, which informed mainstream politics during the late 1930s (see Shain 2015). These tribulations increased the tension between the Zionist Federation and Jewish Board. Gitlin (1950:320-321) explains:

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[5] In 1984, the Federation was described as 'by far the largest Jewish communal organization on the African continent' (Arkin 1984a:81).

[6] 'The words "Organ of South African Jewry" were added to its masthead on August 29, 1924' (Poliva 1961:17).

> The Board, whilst officially sympathetic to Zionist aims, held that the Federation and the Zionists generally were insufficiently concerned with the defence of Jewish rights in South Africa, concentrating all their efforts on Palestine. There were anti-Zionists, or at best non-Zionists, on its Executive who went further, who maintained that Zionism was undermining the Jewish position in South Africa and was helping to provoke anti-Semitism. The Federation, on the other hand, whilst among the first to acknowledge the importance of the Board's work, contended that that work should be viewed in its correct perspective and that it should not be allowed to overshadow the primacy of Palestine in the solution of the Jewish problem.

By 1948, the year that bookmarks the end of the present study, 'fully 99 percent of South African Jews were Zionist affiliated' (Stevens 1971:125). By then, the Zionist Federation and the Jewish Board 'shared a largely overlapping leadership' and they had negotiated 'a harmonious separation of responsibilities', the former focused on Palestine and the latter on local Jewish matters (Shimoni 1980:173). This signals a substantial degree of unification between these former contenders. This year also intersects with two historical events that were significant for local Jewry: the founding of the State of Israel in Palestine and the Afrikaner Nationalists' assumption of political power in South Africa.

This introduction suggests a direct correlation between, on the one hand, the Zionist Federation, the *Zionist Record* and Zionism, and on the other, the Jewish Board, the *Chronicle* and anglicism. However, the affiliation between the Dorshei Zion and the *Chronicle* makes it clear that these correlations are not straightforward. The details of actual institutional conflicts are of lesser importance here. The tensions they signify in processes of communal identity formation are more significant. That these tensions were influenced and directed by institutions remain important as a reminder that other processes of Jewish identity formation were happening beyond the margins of the present study's primary material. The focus of this study is not the institutions, however, but the community that these institutions represent. Music reportage emanating from the *Zionist Record* and the *Chronicle*, along with the historical trajectory of gradual communal homogenization, allowed me to identify in the primary source material an assemblage of differences and overlaps with regards to a variety of musical, social and cultural values. This provided a nuanced and rich diversity of insights into the ways in which an organised South African Jewish community negotiated the making of its identity.

**Research problem and literature review**

The research problem of this study, in the first instance, is methodological and arises from the scope and nature of the research data. The primary material that informs this dissertation is music reportage in Jewish publications aimed at a Jewish readership. The publications are the *South African Jewish Chronicle* and the *Zionist Record*. The scope of the study focuses on the years between 1930 and 1948. The research problem concerns the construction of a historical narrative from such writing.

This project approaches the research problem by implementing an electronic mode of content analysis. Krippendorf explains that 'content analysis is an *empirically grounded method*, exploratory in process, and predictive or inferential in intent' and that 'content analysts examine data [...] in order to understand what they mean to people, what they enable or prevent, and what the information conveyed by them does' (2013:2). The value of content analysis lies in the opportunities it creates and the concomitant strategies it offers to research and write larger, overarching cultural music histories.

To implement the methodology effectively requires pertinent historical research questions. In this study, these questions pertain to what these writings reveal about Jewish musical life in South Africa and how music shaped South African Jewish cultural life in the early twentieth century. A Jewish cultural life in South Africa is cast by secondary literatures as being English in form and Jewish in spirit. This established understanding of a South African Jewish identity is informed by analyses that focus on tensions arising from being Jewish citizens of South Africa. The present study draws on socio-musical sources not yet introduced to general historiographies to interrogate this particular construction of Jewish identity. The purpose of analysing music reportage in local Jewish newspapers is to open an understanding of Jewish culture in South Africa from wider, cosmopolitan perspectives and to locate the function that music might have had in cultural processes of identity formation.

Few studies speak to themes that relate to arts and music in the South African Jewish context. The present study is one of the first to focus on this lacuna in the country's respective Jewish and music historiographies on a large scale.

Veronica Belling's *Bibliography of South African Jewry* (1997) is an invaluable reference tool for researchers interested in the Jewish history of South Africa, since it lists a wide range of relevant materials according to categories and sub-categories of interests. 'Music, opera and dance' appear in a category that points to the Jewish 'contribution to South Africa' (Belling 1997:130-132). The majority of articles listed here are clippings from *Jewish Affairs* or (very) short extracts from books on South African histories, including, for example, Grut's *The history of ballet in South Africa*. My own search for secondary sources on Jews and music in South Africa resulted in a bibliography that resembles Belling's work. It comprises only fragments that can be traced in general histories and are scattered across the musicological landscape.

Due to the weight of apartheid, most sources that address the twentieth century Jewish experience in South Africa (Shain & Mendelsohn 2002; Shimoni 1980; Shimoni 2003) tend to grapple with political and moral questions regarding racialism and assimilation. They focus on politics, economics and social concerns, whereas arts and culture hardly feature. In contrast, Arkin's multi-authored *South African Jewry: A contemporary survey* (1984) includes a specific music-focus in a chapter by Margaret Nabarro on Jewish cultural life in South Africa. Nabarro's survey of 'the music scene' stretches over slightly more than two pages of this book and it highlights the names of Jewish individuals who participate in what she calls the 'South African music scene' of the twentieth century (Arkin 1984:158-160). This refers primarily to the art music scene. Individuals include impresarios (Hans Adler, Hans Kramer and Milly Harris) and teachers (Betty Pack, Marian Lewin, Alan Solomon, Solly Aronowsky). She draws attention to the Jewish presence in institutions and organizations, including the South African Society of Music Teachers, several local orchestras, and music departments at local universities. Religious music features in a short paragraph that merely states '[m]usic plays a prominent part in both Orthodox and Reform religious services throughout the Republic' (Arkin 1984:159). Arkin's *South African Jewry* offers a narrow view on Jews and music in South Africa, a view that focuses on 'the institutional structure', but that does not speak to the outlook of the community itself.

Mendelsohn and Shain's *The Jews in South Africa* (2008) is the most recent addition to a body of literature that deals with the general history of the Jewish people of this country (Herrman 1935; Hotz & Saron 1955; Saron 2001). As is characteristic of broad historical surveys, religious, institutional and political perspectives dominate, while matters of culture, including music, feature only as small constituents of the larger narrative. Mendelsohn and Shain's text is the most wide-ranging and up to date. It traces the economic, political, social and cultural history of the South African Jewish community from the beginning of the nineteenth century into the twenty-first. Music features pertinently in only one vignette on the arts (2008:160). The vignette mentions the names of two Jewish music patrons, Hans Adler and Hans Kramer, and it refers to Jewish role players in the successful 'jazz opera' of the sixties, *King Kong*.

In February 2011, Pamela Tancsik read a paper on *King Kong* at a conference about *Music and Exile*, which took place at the Goethe Institute in Johannesburg. This paper also points to the Jewish connection of this musical, but does not examine its specificities or meaning (Tancsik 2011). Information on *King Kong* appears in Lucia's *The World of South African Music: A reader*, but neither these two entries, nor any others, provide any references to Jewish-related content (De Beer 2005; Trewhela 2005). Another one of Tancsik's publications (2009) has a German-Jewish conductor, Joseph Trauneck, as its subject. The article's references to Jewish individuals,[7] institutions[8] and spaces[9] points to a substantial Jewish network in which Trauneck functioned. However, the article does not explore the importance of this network. Its narrative merely highlights the individual experience of two exiles: one imposed by antisemitic Germany and the other self-imposed from apartheid South Africa.

Apart from the larger historical narratives discussed earlier, many studies narrow their focus to smaller geographical regions, such as centres like Cape Town, Johannesburg, Pretoria, Pietersburg or Natal (Shapiro 199AD; Abrahams 2001; Miller 1981; Katz 1988; Kaplan & Robertson 1991; Shain 1983) or country communities like Pietersburg and Oudtshoorn (Wiener 2006; Feldman 1989). The most important and perhaps most interesting example is a series of five volumes published between 2002 and 2012 entitled *Jewish Life in the South African Country Communities* (South African Friends of Beth 2002). Researched and compiled by the South African Friends of Beth Hatefutsoth (the Diaspora Museum in Tel Aviv, Israel), these volumes offer a counter-narrative to the urban histories of diaspora Jewry that one can find at this institution in Israel. Themes, as explained in the introduction to the first volume, include economics and civic pride in individual achievements and success (2002:11). It draws on archives, oral histories (interviews) and information derived from questionnaires, and the material is arranged geographically. The first volume, for example, looks at the Northern Great Escarpment, The Lowveld, The Northern Highveld and the Bushveld. Each of these regions is addressed in a large section subdivided according to towns. A historical narrative for each town is supplemented with a list of Jewish family surnames, population statistics (for 1904, 1936, 1951, 1980 and 1991) and Jewish organizations (where the information is available). This information may point music researchers to potential subjects and/or archival materials.

The following two sources move closer to culture and the arts. The first is an anthology of Jewish writing in South Africa (Braude 2001), the selections of which 'trace the construction of memory and racial identity in South African Jewish literary and cultural history' (Braude 2001:ix). It draws attention to an 'ambivalent racial in-betweenness' of a people who were classified as white in a fascist state influenced to a certain extent by German Nazism (Braude 2001:x). Braude situates this anthology firmly and unambiguously in the political landscape of twentieth century South Africa. The second text is Veronica Belling's *The history of Yiddish theatre in South Africa from the late Nineteenth century to 1960* (2008). My work intersects with that of Belling, since music played an important part in Yiddish-language Theatre.

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[7] Stanley Glasser, Betty Pack and Joseph Friedland.

[8] Jewish Guild Orchestra, the Pro Arte Society and the Musica Viva Society.

[9] The Jewish Guild Hall in Johannesburg.

The Jewish lacuna in South African music history includes sacred music. It is only in recent years that a scholar from Leeds University, Stephen Muir, first showed academic interest in music at South African synagogues (Muir 2013). His initial enquiry is an ethnomusicological one into the contemporary music practices at two synagogues in Cape Town. The most recent study in this field is a thesis (Kirsten 2018) about an early twentieth century cantorial anthology that belonged to Cantor Leib Kirschner and which is held in the DOMUS-archives at Stellenbosch University. Kirsten's thesis uncovers a valuable history of liturgical Jewish music in South Africa.

## Research scope and methodology

The primary source material that informs this thesis is music-related content in Jewish publications aimed at a Jewish readership in South Africa: the *South African Jewish Chronicle* and the *Zionist Record*. The scope of the study focuses on the years between 1930 and 1948. I do not impose any a priori limitations on the type of content that forms part of this study. The pieces selected from these newspapers include reports, reviews, columns, opinion-pieces, letters addressed to editors, advertisements, communal notifications, etc. Music is not always the focus of the selected piece. Often articles on social gatherings with Zionist, religious or other communal agendas are included when they contain references to music-items performed at these events, no matter how brief these references are. These articles give a sense of the place of music in these meetings, providing a context for understanding and interpreting musical signification. Furthermore, I do not focus on any particular genre or style. For instance, music activities are not limited to Jewish-specific cultural activities. The specificities of religious Jewish musical articulations (i.e. hazanut) and other cultural ones (i.e. Yiddish and Hebrew folk songs) only feature as they emerge from the material. Rather, music practices are considered in a range of manifestations that include popular music styles, Western European art music, and more. This allows for nuanced understandings not only of the ways in which Jewish identities were constructed, expressed and negotiated through musical activities, but also of the ways in which music facilitated affiliations within and beyond the borders of the community.

The present study makes an important methodological contribution to musicology in South Africa. The value of employing a methodology of content analysis in a reading of a vast collection of music reportage lies in the opportunity that it creates and the concomitant strategies it offers to researching and writing larger, overarching cultural music histories, instances of which there are currently few in the literature. Attempts (see Lucia 2005 and Muller 2008) have been made to capture something of the country's general music history, though the information these studies offer tends to be eclectic, largely incomplete, non-comprehensive/non-inclusive or fragmentary. Larger histories have been written about certain popular music styles (Ansell 2005; Ballantine 2012; Coplan 2008 and others), but few delimit their studies according to cultures, perhaps understandably so, given the sensitivities of this country's history of apartheid.

Apart from my own master's thesis (Stimie 2010), two local musicological studies employ a similar methodology of reading newspapers: Michael Titlestad's *Making the Changes: Jazz in South African Literature and Reportage* (2004) and Wayne Muller's comparative reading of opera reportage in *Die Burger* and *Cape Times* (2018). My work differs from theirs in that it addresses music in an array of manifestations within a circumscribed cultural context. Titlestad's study focusses on a single genre, jazz, without explicitly foregrounding any population grouping. His reading of these materials follows a logic of the author's own design. Muller delimits his study in two ways. Like Titlestad, he focusses on a single genre, opera; like in my research, his choice of primary material determines clear cultural contexts. Another resemblance between Muller's study and the present one is that his research design builds on a methodology of content analysis.

Content analysis is a methodology designed specifically to facilitate the processing and interpretation of large quantities of qualitative material. An electronic mode of content analysis offers even further assistance in tackling challenges that normally face studies with large scopes (Krippendorf 2013: Kindle location 4765). This was the primary and overruling consideration for choosing this methodological strategy, anticipating the value of implementing and shaping this methodology for musicological purposes in South Africa. Content analysis was initially a methodology directed at quantitative analyses of qualitative data. The methodology has evolved to accommodate qualitative readings, of which several modes exist today. In this study, I employ content analysis as prescribed by Klaus Krippendorf (2013). His is a stringent and detailed formula that leaves little to chance, as the underlying philosophy is that researchers' subjectivities should be kept at bay. While I hold different research values, Krippendorf's work offers in the first instance clear strategies for handling a colossal volume of data and second, it provides a structure and a vocabulary that could adequately describe analytical procedures and thereby account for the findings of this thesis. The application of Krippendorf's methodology in this project was opportunistic, deviating from its formula according to the demands of the material.

The software Atlas.ti, designed specifically for the analysis of qualitative data, was used to conduct an electronic mode of content analysis in this project. The sophistication of this electronic tool held the project together during the four years of its duration and enabled a level of argumentation in ways that a manual reading of the material might not have achieved. The sample of primary material was stored and sorted in the software's library, which aided the researcher in the managing of the primary source material. Atlas.ti also enabled the design and implementation of elaborate coding procedures.

Coding refers to the act of capturing themes or other types of data fragments in primary source materials in the form of quotations. The software allows for a fluid coding structure to develop continuously and mutate without necessarily having to discard any of the coding as ‘mistakes’. Several tools for analysing data captured by these codes are built into the software, which are employed in this project both to design an analytical construct and operationalize an abductive inference mechanism that Krippendorf promotes. Much of what the software made possible for this study is evident in Chapter 3, which outlines the methodology.

### On institutions, Jewish identity and whiteness

The primary material of this thesis is institutionally embedded publications. Remarks and observations on ‘Jewish’ identities, qualities, values, characteristics, etc. are therefore qualified with an acknowledgement that the material offers particular *institutional* representations of Judaism and whiteness. These representations are partial – they include some Jewish groups, individuals and perspectives and they exclude others. This applies also to categories like ‘South African Jewry’, the ‘South African Jewish Community’, etc. These configurations refer to a community or communities who chose to associate or dissociate[10] with Jewish representative institutions such as the Zionist Federation and Jewish Board. There are, however, expressions of Judaism and modes of Jewishness that move beyond the borders of these institutions’ frame of reference. There are, for instance, a lack of reports on activities of communities like Hasidic Jews, Sephardim, and a large contingent of secular, largely assimilated Jews.

A concern about this study is that its emphasis on whiteness places blackness under erasure. This aspect of the present study reflects the nature of the primary source material, which are two newspaper publications intended for Jews who were either actual or potential citizens of the Union of South Africa. At the time, of course, only white people were eligible for citizenship. One could therefore expect that the content in these publications would address matters that speak to whiteness, while concerns around blackness would be ignored. Where racial concerns appear in the material, I try to address them explicitly and directly, highlighting the complexities of the tension between whiteness and blackness. However, such instances are limited. I should qualify, nevertheless, that while this study speaks to whiteness and not blackness, I do not hold that other considerations of Jewish identity in the context of South Africa *cannot* speak to blackness. I only acknowledge that the primary source material and the historical context of the present study impose particular parameters on the reading that logically leads to engagements with whiteness, and not blackness.

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[10] The choice to dissociate speaks to an assumption of a normative identity that takes association for granted.

Campbell (2000:99) argues that ‘understanding Jewish political experience requires looking closely at the specific institutions through which consciousness was shaped and expressed – not only at “representative” bodies such as the Board of Deputies, but at book clubs and boarding houses, synagogues and schools, *Landmanschaft* associations, Zionist movements, youth groups, workers’ clubs, trade unions, and, last but not least, the Communist Party of South Africa.’ Adler (1979) carries out this injunction with his history of the Johannesburg Jewish Worker’s Club’s activities between 1928 and 1948. So does Sherman (2000b) in his study of the representation in Yiddish literature of immigrant Jews employed at what was commonly known as ‘kaffir eating-houses’ (shops and eating houses for African mine workers). In further explorations of Jewish marginalities, van Onselen (2000) studies Jewish involvement in the worlds of organised crime and Buijs (1998) writes on ‘Black Jews in the Northern Province’, which focuses on the Lemba people’s claim to Jewish identity.[11]

The present study does not address alternative expressions of Jewish identity as directly as these studies do. However, it was a priority not to confine alternative Jewish expressions to a documentary or archival blind spot in this study. Therefore, a few methodological strategies for unearthing alternative Jewish modes, even if minor from institutional perspectives, were devised and implemented.

Since the primary materials of this thesis are newspapers – vehicles for public communication and civic engagement – one finds various advertisements, reports and notices on events and activities of an array of religious institutions, literary societies, social clubs, orphanages, old-age homes, individuals, and many other social entities that participate in communal life and contribute to its social fabric. These include some of the organizations Campbell may have had in mind. A first methodological strategy for keeping minor identity formation processes in view, then, was to capture information on Campbell’s institutions in a registry/index. An awareness of less important (from institutional perspectives) organisations and their unique value systems could enhance the meanings of references that may seem trivial on the surface.

A second methodological strategy, central to content analysis, involves identifying patterns in the content of the primary material. Krippendorf (2013:73) cites Adorno when he writes that ‘the institutionalized repetitiveness of the mass production of messages preserves and strengthens social stereotypes, prejudices, and ideologies rather than corrects them’ and that researchers ‘conducting content analysis of institutionalized texts – which most mass communications are – have to observe whether communications constitute new patterns, strengthen what has been said before through repetition, or weaken a pattern by omission or attention to alternatives.’ Working inductively, I code these patterns in the primary material as themes (see Chapter 3 for more detail).

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[11] See also Spurdle and Jenkins’ (1996) genetic study on ‘The Origins of the Lemba “Black Jews” of Southern Africa’.

A final methodological strategy involves drawing together the results of the inductively created index and patterns in the material in relation to the analytical construct as a contextualization, in Krippendorf's terms. The analytical construct that forms the theoretical frame of this study is constructed from a close reading of secondary literatures about the history of the Jewish community in South Africa. The historical context allows me to introduce questions about alternative Jewish representations into a reading of the primary source material.

## Chapter outline

The second chapter constructs a broad historical context that provides the frame for a reading of the primary source material. This historical context is informed by literatures about the South African Jewish community and its history. The focus is therefore not yet narrowed to music or music reportage. Instead, the chapter provides details on the broad historical and social settings within which the music would have sounded and the reportage would have been written and read. The historical context precedes the methodology chapter for two reasons. First, it allows the reader to become familiar with the landscape of South African Jewish culture as the researcher understands it. Second, and more importantly, the historical context informs the analytical construct, which is an important part of the methodology. Prior knowledge of the historical context would thus advance an understanding of the analytical construct's function in this study.

The methodology chapter (Chapter 3) outlines the particulars of the methodological steps taken while conducting this study. With the research question as the point of departure, methodological activities entailed several phases of collecting, processing and sampling of physical material in digital formats, after which the data was submitted to a rigorous coding process with computer aids. The data generated by this coding was interpreted through an analytical construct, which is 'an operationalization (formalization) of the content analyst's knowledge of how text is used in the chosen context' (Krippendorf 2013:380). The analytical construct draws on the content of Chapter 2. Once all the elements were brought together—the research question, the coded texts and the analytical construct (context)—they were processed through an abductive inference mechanism, the outcome of which informed the final narrative of this thesis.

The remainder of the thesis is divided into three parts, each addressing a broad theme: Anglo-Jewish bottles, Litvak spirit and Whiteness. The primary source material is furthermore analysed from four different angles relating to four social entities: two institutions (the Jewish Board and Zionist Federation) and two stereotypes (Peruvians and Yekkes). Content related to each of these entities was identified in the primary source material and are discussed in chapters 4 through to 10. A more detailed outline of these chapters' content form part of the methodology chapter.

# Chapter 2:

# Historical context: ‘Pouring Litvak spirit into Anglo-Jewish bottles’?

## Anglo-Jewish bottles: English, Yiddish, Hebrew

In the nineteenth century, the Jews in South Africa were largely of Anglo-German origin. They belonged to the middle-class and adopted British customs. Between 1880 and 1930, a large influx of Eastern European immigrants arrived in South Africa. There were two waves of immigration to South Africa: the first arrived at the close of the nineteenth century, while the second followed the 1917 Revolution in Russia. The majority of new Jewish immigrants came from Lithuania. Known as Litvaks, this immigrant group was peculiarly homogeneous compared to other Eastern European diasporas in the world (Belling 2008:2). In her analysis of the South African Jewish community during the early years of the twentieth century, Riva Krut (1987) positions the bourgeois Anglo-Jewish establishment at the opposite end of a dyad that also contains Eastern European immigrants. She refers to the immigrants as Yiddish-speaking Peruvians, thereby constructing a divide in the Jewish community in terms of class, not of culture or tradition. There are several theories surrounding the origins of the term ‘Peruvian’, none of which can be confirmed. The word has nothing to do with Peru, but is a ‘distinctively South African term’, a deprecatory one, used by non-Jews to describe ‘a slovenly, unkempt and generally unwashed edition, in various numbers, of the wandering Jew’. It was also used by Jews ‘as a term of opprobrium for uncouth and vulgar fellow Jews’ (Mendelsohn & Shain 2008:45). Adler (1979) also privileges class when he draws attention to the competing ideologies of working class Jewish socialism and middle-class Zionism among the immigrants. These readings associate both Zionism and anglicism with middle-class values, despite their ideological differences. Zionism and Jewish socialism, in contrast, share their origins in Eastern Europe, but they have different interests when it comes to class, language and culture. Small socialist gatherings, such as those hosted by the Johannesburg Jewish Worker’s Club, provided opportunities for Litvaks to nurture Yiddish culture and focus on workers’ class politics (Adler 1979:77). Clubs or societies like these aligned with the international Jewish socialist movement, held on to Yiddish as a means to communicate to the masses and ‘espoused various forms of diaspora nationalism’ (Belling 2008:3). Zionism, however, associated Yiddish with the past and a history of exile and oppression. Zionists instead advocated for the revival of Hebrew as the future language of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. Adler (1979:76) explains that the Hebrew/Yiddish conflict in South Africa was ‘part and parcel of the more general conflict within Jewish society’. Sherman (2000a:32) observes that ‘[a]lthough the Jewish population of South Africa was virtually doubled by the influx of Yiddish-speaking immigrants […], their language and culture has left no significant mark on our communal structures’. These ‘communal structures’ had their own particular agendas, of course: the Jewish Board aimed to anglicize the community and the Federation was cultivating a culture centred on modern Hebrew, both with middle-class aspirations not associated with Yiddish and socialism. However, historical complexities lurk behind these structures' relationships with the immigrant community and Yiddish culture.

When the immigrants arrived in South Africa, they did not receive a warm welcome. In 1902, the Cape Immigration Restriction Act was passed with the aim of curbing the entry of Eastern European 'undesirables' (Mendelsohn and Shain 2008:57). This Act spurred the formation of the Cape Jewish Board of Deputies, who took up the Jewish immigrants' plight. Unlike their northern counterparts, the Cape Board did not come into being as a counter-organization to the Zionist Federation, but rather as an advocate for the Yiddish language. They convinced the government to recognize Yiddish as a European language, as opposed to an oriental one, which secured entry for Eastern European Jews. Once this objective was attained, however, Yiddish did not remain a cultural priority for the Jewish Board (Sherman 2000a:39).

Yiddish's newly legislated European status did not reduce social prejudices against the language, its speakers or their culture. If anything, the influx of immigrants drew attention to unassimilated Jews and, by extension, to Jewish difference as a socio-political question. Their physical presence rendered Jewishness both visible and audible. This gave birth to the stereotype of Peruvians, as described above, in the social imaginary. Despite these prejudices, however, the immigrants were 'automatically privileged in the wider social formation because of their "white" skins' (Sherman 2000a:39). Desperate to eke out a living for themselves in their new country, however, many immigrants found occupation in what were known as 'kaffir[12]-eating houses', concession stores where they served black miners (Sherman 2000b). Most white people in South Africa would have found this line of work beneath them, and this very strategy of economic survival undermined Jewish immigrants' claim to whiteness. The immigrants' Yiddish peers, their predecessors who were already familiar with the racial order of their new country, were no less prejudiced in their views. They considered the newcomers '*vayse kaffirs* (white kaffirs)' who 'became "less green[13] and more black"' (Stein 2007:793). In an overtly racist South Africa, Peruvians put the already-tenuous whiteness of all Jews at risk. For the local Jewish establishment, including both the Jewish Board and the Zionist Federation, these immigrants were an 'embarrassing excrescence that had to be integrated into society's mainstream "white" culture as quickly as possible' in order to relieve 'tension within the Jewish community' and to stave off 'hostility from without' (Sherman 2000a:39). The first priority for the Jewish Board was therefore to teach the immigrants the English language.

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[12] In South Africa, 'kaffir' is a derogatory term that has similar connotations and sensitivities to 'negro' in the United States.

[13] The new immigrants were known as 'grieners' in the Jewish community. 'Grieners' may have been a safer term to use in this study, as it seems more neutral than 'Peruvians'. However, 'grieners' is an appellation that emerged as an insider-term. It would have been useful only if this study offered an intimate reading of an exclusively Jewish identity. However, the racial charge of the category Peruvians, which was used by insiders (Jews) and outsiders (non-Jews) alike, is more productive in my analysis, which concerns broader construct of South African whiteness.

Despite these levels of class and political challenges, the second generation of immigrants established a vibrant Yiddish culture. Some of the societies they formed were Zionist and became important in the Zionist Federation (Belling 2008:64). While the Immigration Quota Act of 1930 effectively ended the second influx from Eastern Europe, it did not stifle Yiddish, which subsequently entered a period of bloom. Belling (2008:106) notes that Johannesburg was more open to Yiddish culture than the Cape. In 1936, 'Yiddish emerged as the third largest language group' among whites in the Transvaal, 'after English and Afrikaans' (Belling 2008:61). 'Yiddish writing in and about South Africa blossomed,' writes Sherman (2000a:29), 'reaching its full fruition between 1947 and 1975'. Despite the upturn, however, the 'Jewish press contains repeated protestations that the immigrants are quite capable of coping in the two official languages, English and Afrikaans, and do not require Yiddish anymore' (Belling 2008:60).

This patronising attitude towards Yiddish, according to secondary literatures, emerged from the fragile position of the Jewish bourgeoisie. '[M]embers of the aspirant middle class were uncertain of their own access into the South African bourgeoisie', explains Riva Krut (1987:149-150), therefore 'they had to break any association made between being a South African Jew and being a Peruvian' and 'they had to undertake active work within their community to excise the Peruvians in their midst.' The communal structures, the Zionist Federation and the Jewish Board, had this approach in common:

> Despite the best efforts of its cultural leaders, Yiddish was rejected alike by the Zionists and by the Westernised heirs of the Enlightenment. Perceived as the language of Exile, it was despised as the coarse folk tongue of the uneducated masses, denied respect as a literary medium, and deemed incapable of expressing 'higher thought', for which either the major languages of Europe or a revived modern Hebrew were judged exclusively suited. (Sherman 2000a:32)

The two publications of this study played a strategic role in these institutions' pursuit of social and material advancement. The Zionist Federation's ill feeling towards Yiddish, however, was not only material or economic. It was also political, because Yiddish 'was associated with anti-Zionist socialist organisations' (Belling 2008:7). This resulted in a deliberate lack of coverage regarding the cultural activities of organizations like the Johannesburg Jewish Worker's Club in the *Zionist Record* (Belling 2008:7). The Jewish Board, through the pages of the *Chronicle*, 'embarked upon a vigorous campaign to capture Yiddish as a language of the past: a "foreign", pre-modern hangover, the subject of occasional anthropological comment.' In this way, the publication became important in the forming of a Jewish identity that was supposed to be 'compatible with South African citizenship' (Krut 1987:151). Shain

(2011:98) writes that the *Chronicle* ‘consciously ensured that the Eastern European Jewish newcomers identified with British values and the white population’.

It would seem as if the institutional suppression of Yiddish culture was not greatly resisted by the community and that its members went along readily with the establishment’s programme of social advancement. Indications of Yiddish’s decline were evident as early as 1940, when ‘Yiddish was not being transmitted to the second generation’ (Belling 2008:84). Sherman (2000a:39) argues that the immigrants did not concern themselves with literature or culture and that they ‘declined to nurture a sentimental attachment to a language they spoke only for convenience until they were fluent enough in English.’ They adopted the attitude of a larger Jewish community in South Africa who valued language ‘not as the vehicle of an enriching culture but as a tool for material betterment.’ They wanted to share ‘all the privileges of upward mobility in white South Africa’ (Sherman 2000a:39).

This section draws attention to the economic and political roles that languages played within the context of a racial public order. The rationale behind a campaign against Yiddish was to facilitate Jewish immigrants’ acceptance by the broader white society in South Africa. Zionism’s preoccupation with an elsewhere (rather than the local) helped to ease tensions between anglicism and Zionism (the Jewish Board and the Zionist Federation) even as it was also responsible for creating friction. The South African Jewish community needed English to function in their here and now, while Hebrew projected a future Zion. Zionism nevertheless became one of the distinguishing characteristics of the South African Jewish community. ‘The allegations of “dual loyalty” that dogged Zionism in other places’, writes Campbell (2000:109), ‘rarely surfaced in South Africa, where loyalty to one’s *volk* was not only acceptable but praiseworthy.’ English and Hebrew each had their own delimited public territories in which to function.

In South Africa, Jewish socialism was weakened by the absence of a Jewish proletariat, that central figure for whom socialism constructs his ideology.[14] Jewish bodies merged almost naturally into white society, while the proletariat’s body was black (or, at least, not white). According to scholars, the absence of a Jewish proletariat in South Africa is one reason why Zionism has prevailed over socialism, despite arguments that their history of oppression in Russia should have compelled them to side with the victims of racist exploitation in South Africa (Arendt 1973:205).

From its inception, Zionism, like socialism, asserted itself as a secular ideology. However, unlike socialism, which did not require a history of belonging and collective cohesion to legitimate its vision, the Zionist assertion was fraught with contradictions. Zionists had to draw on an ancient history of dwelling in Palestine to legitimate their claim to the land. The strongest evidence they had for this was the Bible, which complicated the secularization of their ideology.[15] Zionism in South Africa was certainly not monolithic in its secularism. In many ways, South African Zionism was intensely religious. This feature of South African Zionism can be traced to its proponents, the Litvaks, who were 'deeply rooted in religious tradition' (Belling 2008: 5).

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[14] ‘The relatively rapid upward mobility of the immigrants in South Africa’s pre-industrial and racially divided society, where unskilled and semi-skilled work was done by Blacks, also mitigated against the formation of a Jewish proletariat’ (Belling 2008:4).

Earlier I argue that Zionism and anglicism in South Africa meshed over the first decades of the twentieth century into a unique hybrid. Shimoni (2003:3) discusses a similar hybrid in relation to the religious composite of local Jewry:

> The outcome in South Africa was a blend of Litvak *misnagdi* religious orthodoxy, in rather lax fashion, with Anglo-Jewry's already acculturated United Synagogue form of synagogue ritual. This issued in a normative mode of religiosity that has been characterized as conservative traditionalism and also as 'non-observant orthodox,' an apt description of the reality notwithstanding the apparent oxymoron. It has as well been described as the 'pouring of Litvak spirit into Anglo-Jewish bottles.'

The word 'misnagdi'[16] refers to a Jewish religious faction that formed in Lithuania in opposition to Hasidism, which is an ultra-orthodox, mystic mode of Judaism. Hasidim regard Hebrew as a sacred language reserved only for worship. By using Yiddish in their everyday life, they protect Hebrew from being profaned and they keep their community unified and separate from society. Although the number of Hasidic Jews who came to South Africa in the early twentieth century was small, [17] much of the Litvak character associated with the South African Jewish community was shaped in opposition to Hasidism in the Old World. Belling (2008:11) maintains that where Hasidic Jews were known for their 'spontaneous exuberance', Mitnagdim were 'totally lacking in a romantic spirit' and conducted themselves with 'sober emotional restraint.' It would seem, then, that processes of internal Jewish communal identity formation forged around tensions that Jewish immigrants brought with them from Europe.

## Litvak spirit: Zionism, religion, domesticity

The histories and experiences of Western and Eastern Jews in Europe are interwoven in complex ways. This was especially true during the age of imperialism when jurisdiction over regions were constantly shifting, with Poland the most pertinent case in point. Also, there was a continuous migration of communities: Eastern European Jews fled pogroms in Tsarist Russia and sought refuge in the West. Similarly, German Jews, like many German nationals, were spread all across Central and Eastern Europe, where they encountered and lived alongside Eastern Jews. In broad strokes, the tension between Western and Eastern Jews was caused by their respective needs to assimilate into modern Western civilization and to maintain a separate, traditional Jewish identity. This tension was complicated by a variety of internal ideological, cultural and religious divisions between different groups within the respective Jewish communities of East and West. Jewish tensions in Europe that were brought to South Africa were associated with four main groups: Maskilim, Hasidim, Mitnagdim and Yekkes. These groups are introduced and discussed in the remainder of this chapter.

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[15] 'Jewish nationalism had undertaken an almost impossible mission–to forge a single *ethnos* from a great variety of cultural-linguistic groups, each with a distinctive origin. This accounts for the adoption of the Old Testament as the storehouse of national memory' (Sand 2009:255).

[16] In my text, I use the term 'Mitnaged' (singular) or 'Mitnagdim' (plural)

[17] As a community, they only became prominent in the 1970s (Hellig 1984:108). There is a dearth of research on the Hasidic community in South Africa, despite its considerable contemporary following in the country (Chabad South Africa [O])

The Haskalah, or Jewish Enlightenment, was an intellectual movement that emerged in the late eighteenth century in Central and Eastern Europe. Its followers, known as Maskilim, sought to integrate Jews into modern society by means of education, while also nurturing a Jewish particularity. An early intellectual exponent, Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1786), and other Maskilim in Germany sought to shift the locus of Jews' language identity from Yiddish to Hebrew and German (Feiner 2002:261). Sander Gilman (1986:114-115) argues that Maskilim needed to project self-doubt and insecurity on an external locus, which they found in stereotypes of Eastern European Jews, who were cast as 'limited, ignorant' and 'bound by their hobbled language, whether Talmudic discourse or Yiddish.'

Hasidism emerged in Eastern Europe around the same time as the Haskalah in Central and Western Europe. Hasidim are known by their apparel: they typically wear black cloaks, black hats and they grow beards and side locks. During the course of the eighteenth century, a cultural barrier formed between Hasidism in the East and the Haskalah in the West (Feiner 2002:9 and 303). The Hasidic movement was marked by an exuberant and joyous mode of worship, one that was critiqued under the rubric of *Enthusiasm* in discourses of the Haskalah (Gilman 1986:108; see also Feiner 2002:70). Gilman (1986:270) notes that 'a surprising turnabout occurred in the late nineteenth century' in Western European Jewish discourses on Eastern European Jewry. The turnabout pivoted primarily on a growing awareness of the consequences of assimilation. Whereas before, Eastern European Jews 'had provided the touchstone for the exorcism of feelings of insecurity' for Western Jews, the qualities of Hasidic Jews came to be seen as a corrective to the decline of Judaism due to the assimilation of Western European Jewry. Positive projections of a stereotype of Eastern European Jews, Gilman argues, can be found in the writings of Ahron Marcus and Martin Buber in the West, and in the works of the Czech poet Jiří Langer and Franz Kafka in the East. The irony of these authors' embrace of Eastern European Jewish culture is that the positive stereotype 'was invented by Western Jews, who articulated their sense of self within a Western understanding of the realities' of Eastern European Jews (Gilman 1986:271).

Mitnagdim refer to a group of Rabbis and their followers who shaped their orthodox and traditionalist views in opposition to that of Hasidim. Their preferred mode of worship included serious study of the Talmud and strict observance of halakhah (Jewish law) (Feiner 2002:303). Their main centre was Lithuania, the seedbed for the majority of South Africa's Jewish community. The Mitnagdic tradition, more than Hasidism, informed Jewish practice and Jewish identity in South Africa. However, the Mitnagdic emotional reticence that came to mark the Litvak spirit in South Africa was not dispassionate. Hellig (1984:98) describes Litvak immigrants as 'optimistic, courageous, adaptable, industrious and generous'. According to Gitlin (1950:12-13), 'they possessed something which South African Jewry yet lacked: a deep Jewish consciousness, a rootedness in Jewish culture, a respect for Jewish learning.' Their contribution, she adds, was not only spiritual, but also material:

> [A]mong the pots and the pans and the samovars, the family photographs and the feather-beds which were seldom absent from those dreary pieces of luggage, there were invariably other things too: a pair of Sabbath candles, a *Kiddush* cup, a *chalah* cloth – and books. Books in Hebrew and books in Yiddish, sacred books and secular books, copies of Hebrew journals […]
>
> Not, perhaps, intrinsically very valuable things. But beyond value for the part they played in shaping the South African Jewish community. For they were symbols of that intensely Jewish life which the immigrants had led in Eastern Europe. (Gitlin 1950:12-13)

Litvak immigrants brought with them 'their attachment to traditional orthodoxy' (Hellig 1984:98). Orthodoxy was also the preferred mode of religious practice among the established Anglo-German Jews, though the Anglo-German approach was less traditional than that of the Litvaks. In South Africa, a formal orthodox structure was already established in accordance with the British model. The Cape Town Hebrew Congregation was the community's earliest leading institution, and they showed loyalty to the English language and the sovereignty of Britain. The Litvak mode of worship did not easily adapt to this English structure. Their differences manifested in mutual 'distrust and dislike, which gave rise to the splitting of congregations and to the establishment of separate institutions' (Hellig 1984:99). As was the case with the other fault lines mentioned in this chapter, however, the English and Litvak modes of worship would align, eventually to merge until 'externally, Anglo-Jewish patterns prevail[ed]', while 'their inner content has been transformed by the Litvak spirit' (Hellig 1984:99). It is possible to trace this development musically. Hellig demonstrates this with reference to the mixed choir of the Yeoville synagogue in Johannesburg in the 1920s. According to traditional Orthodox principles, females were not allowed to sing in the synagogue choir and the matter of Yeoville's mixed choir was debated for some time. It was 'defended as being "not contrary to Orthodox principles", but could never have fitted in with Lithuanian tradition' (Hellig 1984:99). In time, however, the choir was dismantled and reconstituted as a male choir.

In 1933, the orthodox community established the Federation of Synagogues. At the same time, the Reform tradition, also known as Progressive Judaism, came into being in South Africa.[18] Hellig

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[18] This development is interesting for the discipline of musicology in South Africa, because its origin can be traced to a lecture on Reform Judaism that was given in 1929 by Abraham Z. Idelsohn, who was a music professor in the United States and a pioneer in the field of Jewish musicology (Kaplan 1997:27).

(1984:112) argues that Reform Judaism was the ‘only official formulation of Judaism as a direct response to modernity’. Compared to other diasporas, Reform Judaism arrived late in South Africa and it did not become as strong a force as it did in other places. It nevertheless attracted many German Jewish refugees who arrived in South Africa after 1933 (Stone 2010:131). Today, the Reform tradition is the second most important stream of Judaism in South Africa, though it remains significantly smaller than orthodoxy. One explanation for its small local support, Hellig (1986:238) posits, is that Progressive Judaism pushed against the traditionalism of the larger South African Jewish community. This was at the heart of the hostility aimed at Reform Judaism during its early years of existence in the country. One of the early compromises Reformers made was to adopt a pro-Zionist attitude. This ensured their continuance in South Africa, and distinguished them from the world Reform movement that was anti-Zionist (Hellig 1986:238). Another reason why Reform Judaism did not become a strong force in South Africa is that there were ‘comparatively low rates of assimilation of South African Jewry and assimilation is a condition classically associated with the rise of the Reform movement.’ Hellig (1997:72) nevertheless observes that, ironically, the lifestyle of orthodox Jews in South Africa, which emphasizes a casual observance of tradition and ritual over that of deep devotion to doctrine and belief, ‘is closer to reform Judaism’ than to the strict piety generally associated with Orthodox Judaism.

Hellig (1984:100) links this ‘attachment to old tradition’ with a ‘concern for the preservation of eastern European culture.’ Sherman (2000a:31) links orthodox South African Jewry’s ‘attenuated respect for the tenets of Judaism’ with the way in which they ‘probingly scrutinise[d] the self-seeking materialism of the nouveaux riches who use the outward forms of religious and communal service as a convenient handle on social purchase.’ Material conditions compelled men to work on Saturdays, the Sabbath, which contributed to a weakening of the faith. With this new reality, Belling (2013:63) argues that ‘the focus of Judaism, that in eastern Europe was the synagogue, shifted to the home’ and the family. Here, Eastern European immigrant women ‘recreated the life they left behind’. By preserving ‘the Jewish customs in the home’ (Belling 2013:69), women imbued the South African Jewish community with traditionalism. This ‘level of observance of Judaism within the home’ became yet another feature that distinguished the newcomers from their West European counterparts who, early in the twentieth century, were more acculturated in South Africa (Belling 2013:60).

Immigration, Campbell (2000:160) reminds us, was a ‘disruptive experience.’ ‘Jewish families’, he writes, ‘were fragile things, complex webs of reciprocal obligations, held together by implicit understandings and unstated, or highly sublimated, bonds of affection and concern.’ The Litvak father had become a remote figure and family life was characterised by ‘emotional reticence’, lacking ‘open displays of affection’ and ‘overt expressions of approval’ (Campbell 2000:105). Emigration often required men to leave their home countries months, or even years ahead of their families. Marital disruptions occurred during these periods of distance when women often had to raise children alone (Belling 2013:36). When families reunited in South Africa, more disruptions took place as they adapted to their new environments. In the Old World, for instance, Jewish learning was highly valued and belonged to the domain of men. Women often worked, selling homemade produce at the market, in order for their husbands to spend their time studying the Torah (Belling 2013:24, 90). In South Africa, these educational imperatives changed, and so did gender roles.

Jewish immigrants found that in South Africa, a secular education held greater utility than religious education (Belling 2013:90). At the close of the nineteenth century, a number of Jewish public schools were established. These schools offered Jewish subjects as well as secular ones. However, their primary objective was to anglicize immigrant children, while the teaching of Hebrew took second priority. For this reason, Mendelsohn and Shain (2008:80) describe these schools as 'schools for Jewish children and not for Jewish education'. Many parents opted to send their children to non-Jewish public schools or to appoint private tutors to teach them in the morning. They would then send their children to the Talmud Torah in the afternoons where the children would receive 'a more intensive Jewish education' (Mendelsohn and Shain 2008:80), which included the 'rudiments of Hebrew and of Jewish customs and observances' (Shimoni 1980:29). Here, boys' education generally continued only until the age of thirteen and was prioritized over that of girls (Shimoni 1980:29).

Although neither the Zionist Federation nor the Jewish Board established formal platforms for Jewish education within their own ranks, they came together in 1924 to form a joint advisory body on the matter. This body then organized and hosted a conference in Bloemfontein four years later where the South African Board of Jewish Education was formed (Mink 1984:118). One could thus argue that questions pertaining to Jewish education in South Africa fast-tracked the process of institutional alignment referred to earlier. The Board of Jewish Education was an autonomous institution with the mandate to 'coordinate educational efforts of some 50 Hebrew congregations and *Talmud Torahs*' (Mendelsohn and Shain 2008:99). Shimoni (1980:29) explains that, despite its autonomy, 'the ideological premises of Jewish education which they fostered were distinctly Zionist.' Even while they belonged to religious institutions, the Jewish schools affiliated with the Board of Education worked towards 'an integrated Zionist and traditional mode of Jewish identity.'

However, from within Zionist ranks a strong religious and critical voice emerged during the late 1930s. The Mizrachi Zionist movement opposed the Board of Education's policy to include schools affiliated to Reform institutions, pressing for 'deeper orthodox-religious content in Jewish education' (Shimoni 1980:181). The matter was debated until 1945 when the Board of Education's constitution was reformulated to direct Jewish education in South Africa along 'broadly national-tradition lines.' The implication was that the curriculum had to include 'traditional elements, such as the prayer-book and the

Bible', a focus on modern Hebrew language skills and on Eretz Israel (Shimoni 1980:182). Modern Hebrew was not a priority in Reform curricula and the Jewish Board was constitutionally obliged to terminate their relationship with Reform schools.

The independent Folkshuls, which focussed on Yiddish language and culture, received similar opposition from the Jewish establishment. These afternoon-schools were established by the Yiddish Literary Society, which was dominated by 'left-wing Yiddishists'. They were also regarded as 'a threat to the Hebrew *Talmud-Torah* school system' (Shimoni 1980:55), and in the 1940s were described as being both anti-religious and anti-nationalist (Belling 2008:84).

The ideal education for Jewish children in South Africa, in summary, was first secular and English. A Jewish education, which was not purely religious as in the Old World, but also nationalist (meaning Zionist and Hebrew), was a second priority.

Just as educational needs in South Africa differed from those in the Old World, gender roles were also modified. Men now became the primary providers and women no longer had to earn an income at the marketplace. Women's duties and responsibilities centred first on the home and the children. However, black domestic servants shared their workload, if not bearing all of it, which freed time for white Jewish women (as indeed most white women) and allowed them to enter the communal scene (Belling 2013:118). This development occurred, of course, against the background of international feminism at the turn of the twentieth century. Belling (2013:117) explains that:

> [W]omen's moving out of the purely domestic realm, into the 'public' world of organizations always required them to demonstrate some 'usefulness', some 'purpose'. They had to make it very clear that they were not abandoning their homes, or abrogating prior domestic duties, but rather taking those duties to a logical conclusion.

Belling argues that Anglo-Jewish women entered the communal scene in the domains of charity, whereas Eastern European immigrants preferred to enter the public domain as Zionists. She discusses the roles of Anglo-German Jewish women in Jewish[19] as well as Christian[20] welfare organizations. These organizations were largely anglicized and some, like the Jewish Ladies Benevolent Society in Johannesburg, took it upon themselves to teach English to Litvak immigrants. Among the welfare organizations that fell under the purview of women were the Cape Jewish Orphanage and the South African Jewish Orphanage in Johannesburg. The welfare organizations' most prominent form of fundraising was the hosting of society balls. Many of these organizations were affiliated to the Hebrew Congregations, which were explicit about their loyalty to Britain.

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[19] These include the Cape Jewish Philanthropic Society, Chevra Kadisha (Jewish Burial and Helping Hand), Jewish Women's Benevolent Society and the Jewish Ladies Communal League.

[20] Including the Salvation Army and the Guild of Loyal Women, which was formed after the end of the South African War.

Women from Eastern Europe were reluctant to join welfare organizations dominated by Anglo-German Jewish females (Belling 2013:137). They directed their attention to the Zionist movement instead. In its early years, men dominated the Zionist movement, but the role of women grew both in size and in importance during the early twentieth century. Belling (2013:144) refers to this development as the 'feminization of Zionism.' 'While communal affairs were conducted by the men,' she writes, 'the women organised concerts, balls and collected money.' Their activities were limited to 'secretarial work, blue-box clearance, [and] fund-raising functions'. By 1930, however, the women's Zionist movement had overtaken the men's movement. And throughout the thirties, they assumed additional responsibilities that traditionally belonged to men. Jewish education, for instance, became 'a central feature of women's Zionist work in Cape Town until 1939' (Belling 2013:140). The Bnoth Zion Association (Daughters of Zion) founded the first Hebrew Nursery School in 1930. According to Belling (2013:150), by teaching the Hebrew language along with Zionist versions of Jewish history and culture, these Nursery Schools were 'regarded as having the potential to help stem the flow of Jewish assimilation' and were 'deemed all the more necessary after the Quota Act of 1930 that had stemmed the flow of eastern European migration'. In 1932, the Union of Jewish Women was established to facilitate the work of these various organizations, both welfare and Zionist. The Union also took on the fight for women's rights in religious and communal institutions. With this, Belling (2013:136) argues, 'South African Jewish feminism and welfare had come of age.'

Generational differences in the Litvak community became apparent in the 1930s, when the first South African born or South African educated Jews reached maturity and moved into the leadership of religious institutions and the establishment (Shimoni 1980:17). Due to the education received in South Africa, this generation had acculturated to the Anglo-Jewish pattern, which Shimoni (1980:18) describes with the familiar metaphorical trope: 'while the flavour of Jewish life in the community was deeply influenced by the Litvak background, the forms remained basically Anglo-Jewish.'

Jewish youth movements also first emerged in the 1930s. The societies of these movements 'identified with the Zionist movement rather than with any other communal agencies such as the synagogues or the Board of Deputies' (Shimoni 1980:31). During the course of the twentieth century, the Zionism of these movements infused a South African Jewish identity with their particular nationalist values, which found expression in ideological commitments to a Jewish heritage and to Eretz Israel as 'a complement rather than a substitute for their South African Diaspora' (Shimoni 1980:32). In other words, practical commitments to making aliyah (immigrating to Palestine) and halutziut (pioneering) did not galvanize the movement as a whole, and belonged only to factions within the youth Zionist movement. These factions, which emerged as late as 1936, made inroads until 1948 when the State of Israel was established, but continued to remain 'modest in scale' (Shimoni 1980:34).

My reading of South African Jewish historiography is informed by the literature's oft-quoted references to Litvak spirit and Anglo-Jewish bottles (Saron 1965:17), which I encountered in the source literature as a metaphor for the homogenized form adopted by the South African Jewish community over the course of the twentieth century. Anglicism as embodied by the Jewish Board, and Zionism as promoted by the Zionist Federation, were the two principal perspectives that informed the decisions of organized Jewry in South Africa, initially in opposition, but eventually aligning. In the politics of language, it appears as if English took the lead in suppressing Yiddish, since the latter put the community's South African citizenship at risk. Hebrew became complicit in this programme, although for different reasons. It is important to acknowledge that not every South African Jew was a Zionist and that many individuals held strong anti-Zionist views. On the other hand, almost every Zionist was indeed Jewish and some Zionists looked askance at the Anglo-Jewish establishment. The source literature for this study nevertheless suggests that support for the Zionist cause was strong among Anglo-German Jews and Litvaks alike. Even if valued unequally by individuals, it therefore appears that these two positions received more or less equal support from the community.

If this is true, then the metaphor of Anglo-Jewish bottles is problematic as it either denies Zionism as a legitimate constituent of a South African Jewish organizational structure, or subsumes Zionism into a predominantly English structure that renders Zionist ideals subservient, secondary or maybe just separate and therefore less important than anglicism.

The problem with the metaphor as applied in the secondary literature, in my opinion, is that it is not clear where it positions Zionism. Saron (1965:41) originally postulates Zionism as an outcome of the 'Litvak legacy.' To read Zionism in this way, I hold, is to misjudge the organizational and structural importance of Zionism in South Africa during the 1930s and forties. In other words, the metaphor cannot account for those properties of Zionism that solidify it into a structure able to contain Jewish content.[21] Yet, if Zionism is to be cast as a constituent element of the Anglo-Jewish formal surface of Jewish identity, the implication could be that in this process Zionism has betrayed its Litvak roots.

In this regard, the Anglo-Jewish/Litvak metaphor also draws attention to the South African Jewish community's complicated relationship with Eastern European immigrants, which could indicate a twofold preoccupation with Peruvians that embodies both a rejection and an embrace. After the Jewish Board had facilitated Eastern European Jews' entry into South Africa at the turn of the twentieth century, they all but rejected the immigrants. It appears to me that Peruvians could gain access to society only by becoming invisible, ridding themselves of those qualities that white society ascribed to non-whites. Once their difference was effaced and they had replaced their Peruvian character with an English one, they could be accepted.

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[21] The inverse could also be argued: casting anglicism as a reifying structural device only denies its ability to animate subjects. In other words, the metaphor is blind to anglicism's fluid properties that could percolate subjectivities.

Zionists too were tentative in their welcome of Peruvians, although they appeared to have been less embarrassed by Peruvian difference than were the Anglo-Jews. Difference was precisely what legitimized Zionists' nationalist-ideological aspirations; aspirations that were peculiarly laudable in white South Africa. The Peruvians' perceived naivety, on the other hand, their suspected lack of sophistication, and purported backwardness and unworldliness did not inspire social confidence. Eliciting social contempt, these qualities posed a danger to the Jewish community, since South African white society was already susceptible to antisemitism. For that reason, many Zionists wanted Peruvians to shape and nurture their difference in the privacy of their homes and the safe spaces of Jewish society, but they also had to adapt to and adopt the social norms of public white society. In summary, then, it would appear that Anglo-Jewish embarrassment *by* Peruvian difference resulted in a social posture of rejection, whereas Zionist embarrassment *for* Peruvians because of the latter's lack of sophistication could have been a tentative embrace that was subjected to conditions of self-modification.

The preoccupation with Peruvians, or Litvak immigrants, can thus be read as a racial obsession with the Jewish self, a need to dissociate from blackness in order to be accepted as white. It emerges as a psychological project, a delicate act of self-preservation that involved balancing self-acceptance with strategic efforts to protect the self by modifying its fundamental alterity in order to gain acceptance in South Africa's white society. This is what Krut (1987:151) means when she writes that the 'Peruvian was made into a litmus test for a white South Africa'. The security that whiteness could offer the Jewish community depended on the assimilability of Peruvians.

## Whiteness: Jews in South Africa and Yekkes

Saron's Anglo-Jewish/Litvak metaphor obscures an important sector of South African Jewry: the 1930s German Jewish refugees. Like the Eastern European immigrants who came before them, German Jews were also associated with a stereotype. Called 'Yekkes', they were typified as 'assimilated, formal, cold, pompous' (Ascheim 1989:Kindle location 5370). Both stereotypes – Peruvians and Yekkes – originated in Europe where their complex legacies were closely bound up with political and social developments of the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[22] In Europe, shifting tensions between the stereotypes mirrored different Jewish endeavours to position themselves in relation to the opposing forces of the Occident and the Orient. Eastern European Jews, known as *Ostjuden* in Europe, were at different times admired or vilified by Western Jews for their commitment to Jewish tradition and values. In turn, Western Jews were eschewed for turning their backs on Judaism and wanting to modernize and assimilate into their adopted nations. Yet Steven Ascheim (1989: Kindle location 5370) argues that 'the respective East-West stereotypes were inverted images of each other.' I suggest in this study that in South Africa, racial concerns were also projected onto these stereotypes. The ambivalence toward Peruvians introduced above could signify a communal fear that Jewishness would become associated with blackness, which would bar Jews from entering white society. Similarly, I suggest that Yekkes, who came from a history of assimilation in Europe with its attachment to the ideals of Western civilization, could have been seen as embodying whiteness in South Africa. By examining the ways in which the Jewish community integrated these two immigrant groupings while also securing citizenship, one could get a sense of the peculiar elements that informed ideas of what it meant to be white and Jewish in the South African context.

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[22] See Ascheim (1989) and Gilman (1986).

The few studies that address German Jewish history in South Africa tend to foreground the challenges of a growing local antisemitism. They also speak to the ways in which these immigrants integrated into a wider South African society, while their contribution to the formation of a South African Jewish identity features only marginally.[23] In fact, Saron (1965:19) contends that German Jews as a *collective* 'do not seem to have made a specifically "German-Jewish" contribution' to Jewish communal life in South Africa. Their contribution to Jewish life was instead *individual* 'in the careers of persons like Moritz Leviseur and Wolf Ehrlich' and others.

Saron (1965:19) speculates about reasons for this lack of a collective German influence on South Africa's Jewish communal life. It could be that 'as a group' German Jews 'did not have strong religious and cultural ties with their homeland (indeed, many of them were rather estranged from Judaism)' or 'because the English tradition was already too strongly entrenched' in South Africa. It could also be that the influx of a mere 6000 Jews constituted only a small percentage of all the Jews who fled Germany after Hitler came to power (Stone 2010:1). Their number was equally meagre in comparison to the estimated 40 000 Eastern European Jews who entered the country before them (Mendelsohn and Shain 2008:33). In other words, numerically, they were too few significantly to alter or influence the hegemony of the Anglo-Jewish/Litvak/Zionist community. Although Saron does not support his observations with empirical evidence, I could not find any study that contradicts his suggestions. Perhaps the historiographical silence on the matter could signify an implicit assumption that his thesis is correct. However, one could postulate a number of other reasons for this neglect in historiography.

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[23] See Arkin (1989), Coetzee et. al. (2003); Hellig et. al. (2005), Mendelsohn and Shain (2008), Sichel (1966).

One such reason could speak to the relationship between immigrants and the local Jewish community. In his chapter on German Jewish Refugees in South Africa, Arkin (1989) portrays this relationship as mutually supportive. He ascribes the refugees' initial reluctance to join the community to their 'circumstances of insecurity and loneliness', which they overcame. They established 'religious, welfare, and cultural associations' that were to 'enrich Jewish life' (Arkin 1989:188). However, he does not elaborate on how these aspects enriched Jewish life. He also argues that 'the constant material and emotional support which the refugee group received from South African Jewry at large should not be overlooked' (Arkin 1989:190).

Stone's thesis (2010) paints a more complex picture. Her work is a comparatively late addition to South African Jewish historiography and comprises the most comprehensive engagement with this aspect of the community's history. Her thesis draws attention to the long and complicated history of assimilation from which German Jews came. In South Africa, German Jews continued to see themselves as German first and Jewish second. They brought their European prejudices with them to South Africa and preferred to keep themselves separate from the local Jewish community. They established their own religious institutions and cultural organizations, many of which did not affiliate with either of the two communal representative bodies for a considerable time. If they did not establish their own congregations, they preferred to join the Reform tradition, which, as observed earlier in this chapter, was something of a pariah tradition with the orthodox elements of the establishment during the 1930s and forties. Stone (2010:113-114) suggests that, even as the refugees deliberately dissociated from the Jewish community, the local community also did not welcome them. The community remained suspicious of the German Jews' superior attitudes and their perceived snobbery, which they remembered from the Old World. German Jews were labelled 'Yekkes', a stereotype of them as 'extremely punctual, polite, formal, and utterly devoid of humor' (Stone 2010:114). Where Arkin's chapter suggests a mutual embrace between immigrants and local Jews, Stone's work implies, instead, a mutual rejection.[24]

The origins of Yekkes as stereotype are not clear, but its features were known in Jewish diasporas across the world, including in America and Palestine. Palestine was seen, locally as well as internationally, as the ideal destination for European refugees. In Palestine, one would therefore find similar dynamics of the relationship between Eastern and Western European Jews. Weinbaum and McPherson (2000:25) write that '[u]ntil 1933 very few Jews in Germany – not even the Zionists – had given any serious thought to leaving their homes.' They fled to Palestine in search of shelter, not because of Zionism or a commitment to a reviving of Hebrew culture. In this context, Yekkes 'were the unabashed bearers of Central European urban bourgeoisie culture and lifestyle', which stood in stark contrast to

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[24] After Stone's thesis appeared, the journal *Jewish Affairs* has published several articles that address German Jewish culture in South Africa. See Klepper (2013), Schrire (2010 and 2015) and Zulman (2017).

Eastern European Jews in Palestine who ‘idealized physical labour, glorified agriculture and scorned the blandishments of city life’ (Weinbaum and McPherson 2000:25-26). Furthermore, Yekkes saw themselves as a civilizing force: they ‘would introduce to Palestine the ambience and amenities of “western culture and civilization”’ (Weinbaum and McPherson 2000:27). They asserted themselves in Palestine, as they did in other places of the world, as Germans, not as Jews: ‘it mattered not if other Germans, and Germany itself, had changed. The Jews in Germany had assimilated, without being assimilated’ (Weinbaum and McPherson 2000:29). Since a large section of South African Jews held strong Zionist convictions, it is likely that similar conflicts of values would have been present in South Africa too.

There could be yet another reason for the South African historiographical hiatus on German Jewish refugees. It pertains to the Jewish Board’s conduct regarding refugees’ immigration during the later years of the 1930s. In 1936, D.F. Malan proposed to parliament that all applicant immigrants should possess valid return passports to their own countries. The purpose of this was to curb the influx of German Jews who would not have had such documentation. The Jewish Board was informed of Malan’s proposal, argued against it and the subsequent introduction of the Bill failed. However, the Board feared that future proposals by Afrikaner right-wing parties would succeed. Concerned about this rise of political antisemitism in the country, the Board devised and executed a two-part action plan: first, they advised international aid organizations to restrict the number of refugees they sent to South Africa, and second, they sent a deputation to engage with the government on their concerns about immigration. This deputation informed government authorities of the steps the Board was taking to curb the numbers of refugees coming to the Union. They also requested, should legislative amendments be discussed, that parliament avoid racial discrimination against Jews. If the government wished to reduce the number of immigrants, they suggested alternatives: that selection criteria focus on vocations, or that immigrants be required to pay an increased cash deposit as guarantee (Stone 2010:71-72). This decision was, of course, one of strategic and diplomatic expediency, as the Jewish Board attempted to appease the ruling government whose policy-making discussions were already informed by antisemitic ideas. Just a few months later, in September 1936, the government took the deputation’s suggestions on board by adapting immigration regulations to include an increased cash deposit.

The Stuttgart incident, which caused some diplomatic embarrassment for the Board, happened shortly thereafter. Without the Board’s knowledge, the Council for German Jewry in London had chartered a ship, the Stuttgart, with about 500 refugees to South Africa. There was urgency to have these refugees enter South Africa before the deadline of 1 November 1936 when the increased cash deposit regulation was to come into effect. When the Board became aware of these plans, the Stuttgart’s departure was already imminent. The Board called an emergency meeting to discuss the implications of welcoming so many refugees against the establishment's efforts to restrict their numbers. Pressed for time, the Board finally sent a telegram to the Council in London to say that they could not legally prevent the ship from coming. The Stuttgart's subsequent arrival in Cape Town was met with public protests from anti-Semites and the Board was accused of encouraging German Jewish immigration, an allegation the Board denied repeatedly in the press (Stone 2010:72-105).

The Stuttgart incident was a prelude to the Aliens Act that was passed in January the next year. This Act 'reverted to the principle of selective immigration on the criterion of the "desirability" and "assimilability" of each individual applicant' (Shimoni 1980:121). Two Jewish members of parliament voted in favour of this Act. They felt that 'some such legislation was unavoidable' and that the Act's formulation was 'universal and non-prejudiced', ostensibly 'free of insult to Jews' (Shimoni 1980:143, 149). When it became known, their actions provoked debate in the Jewish press and at meetings of the Jewish Board (Shimoni 1980:149 and Stone 2010:97-98). These events – the Board's steps to appease government, the Stuttgart incident and the Jewish support of the Aliens Act – could be understood and defended in light of the historical context of South African antisemitism. However, the events of the Second World War and the Holocaust that followed, the scale of which Jewish leaders in South Africa could not have anticipated at that time, place these decisions and actions in an unkind historical perspective. In his article 'The attitude of South African Jewry to German Jews seeking asylum in South Africa', retired Judge Ralph Zulman (2017:46) writes:

> They were no doubt driven by political expediency, fears of rising antisemitism and the possible job losses by local Jews if German Jews were given free access to the country. Furthermore they no doubt believed that their prime task was to look after the interests of local Jews. Nevertheless their capitulation in supporting the Act showed a heartless lack of humanity, Jewish conscience and a basic failure to heed the plight of its German brethren trapped in the Nazi Reich.

This consideration of the European historical context creates resonances with Hannah Arendt's reading of the relationship between Jewish Councils in Germany and the Nazi regime. When her controversial *Eichmann in Jerusalem* appeared in 1963, many Jews across the world were outraged at what they read to be charges of complicity. The purpose of relating the strategies and actions of the Jewish Board here is not to accuse South African Jewish leaders with complicity, nor to defend their actions in terms of diplomacy. These events clearly reference a vulnerable intersection of one of the worst histories of mass atrocity with that of a community concerned about its own future. To make a moral argument one way or the other risks reducing these complexities. However, these historical events provide a different possible reason for the relative historiographical silence on the German Jewish community in South Africa, speaking, as they do, to the matter of conscience. Shimoni (1980:144) writes that 'one of the greatest frustrations of the Jewish community was its failure to bring more than the most meagre number of

Jewish refugees and concentration camp survivors to South Africa.' It is possible that the Jewish community, ashamed of the historical actions of their leaders, did not know how to embrace Yekkes as they did Peruvians.

While the general secondary literature does not elaborate on the German Jewish community's activities in South Africa to the same extent as it does on the Eastern European's, it does contain some socio-cultural remarks that are useful in the coding of content in the primary source material of the present study. Arkin (1989:188) describes the German Jewish refugees as a 'youthful group on arrival', many of them not married. 'By South African standards,' he continues, 'they were exceptionally well-educated, and over a third of the men had held professional, administrative, or managerial positions before leaving Europe.' In South Africa, they had to accept jobs below the occupational status they had been used to.

The material culture of this immigrant group also witnessed to their unique cultural values. Where their Eastern European counterparts brought with them modest items that spoke to their 'deep Jewish consciousness', the affluence of Jewish life in Germany was evident in the possessions German Jews chose to bring to South Africa:

> German Jewish emigrants were not allowed to take their savings but could send a 'liftvan' of furniture and other possessions to their countries of refuge. These might include Biedermeier furniture, paintings, fur coats and Leica cameras. Helga Bassel, mother of the concert pianist Tessa Uys and satirist Pieter-Dirk Uys, sent her Bluthner grand piano to South Africa in 1936. (Mendelsohn and Shain 2008:112)

A distinctive characteristic of this group was their preference for the German language. Their religious institutions, which they established on arrival, conducted services in German. One of these was Etz Chayim, a conservative Hebrew congregation in Doornfontein (Johannesburg), which eventually assimilated in the local Jewish community by affiliating with the Jewish Board and the Federation of Synagogues. The ultra-orthodox Adath Jeschurun in Yeoville 'chose to remain unassimilated' (Stone 2010:134-135). In 1936, German Jews established the Unabhängige Kulturvereinigung (Independent Cultural Association), with the stated aim 'to bring the best of German culture and society to South Africa'. Stone (2010:136) writes:

> The founders believed that they had the duty to give back to their new home by contributing to the experience, education, and culture in South Africa, but this could also be seen as another attempt by the Germans to remain separate from the community and to impose their own superior experience and culture.

Furthermore, programmes, presented in the German language, 'included philosophy, literature and poetry readings; concerts by refugees; and lectures on cultural matters, as well as legal problems of refugees, the history of South Africa, and current events' (Stone 2016:137). These activities suggest that assimilation to the broader white society in South Africa was more important to German Jews than assimilation to the Jewish community.

When War broke out in 1939, South Africa sided with the Allies against Germany, which complicated the position of German Jews in the country: 'Ironically, in Germany they had been persecuted as Jews, now they were singled out in their new homeland as Germans' (Stone 2010:166).

While German Jews are neglected in discourses pertaining to a particular Jewish identity, they are acknowledged for their contribution to 'the broader cultural life of the South African city, enriching the worlds of theatre and of music' (Mendelsohn and Shain 2008:113).[25] As indicated earlier with reference to the Independent Cultural Association, this was also a stated aim of German Jews. Arkin (1989:192) writes:

> As a result of the initial interest displayed by the German Jews, the regular patronage of symphony concerts and the theatre have become accepted community habits; individual musicians, painters, and sculptors from the refugee group have added new dimensions to the country's artistic life; overcoming the language handicap and the intellectual re-adjustment involved, others have achieved recognition in the academic field.

Generally, discourses on Jewish history associate the wish to contribute to culture and intellectual life with a diasporic need to be accepted in their broader social contexts. According to Slabodsky (2014:136), who explains the decolonial propositions of Albert Memmi, this phenomenon can be understood within a much longer historical trajectory of a narrative on barbarism and civilization. The Jew, who was typically cast in European literatures as barbarian, first reacted 'to this narrative negatively, rejecting her own identity and striving toward assimilation.' One reason why assimilation failed as a project is that it created a 'psychological tension' for Jews who lived 'in the eternal agony of being discovered'. A strategy of self-acceptance, on the other hand, could have had a different outcome. Historically, Slabodsky (2014:137-138) explains after Memmi, self-acceptance has taken one of two forms. The first was a move to 'physical or cultural segregation', which 'emphasized difference' and offered a 'Messianic justification of suffering'. However, this strategy hid 'the structural depth and magnitude of racialization', which kept its proponents complacent in their apolitical slumber. The second expression of self-acceptance emphasized 'Jewish attachment to civilization: the contribution to universal culture.' But Kafka, Mendelssohn, Freud and Einstein 'merely achieve normativity in the process.' The Jewish appropriation of these individual successes, in other words, 'represents a failure as a Jewish escape from her condition'. Memmi argues that this 'path ultimately gets the worst of both world[s], terminating in simultaneous self-acceptance and self-rejection' (Slabodsky 2014:137).

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[25] See also Stimie Behr (2015).

It appears then that German Jews opted to follow the second strategy of self-acceptance in Memmi's terms, namely that of contributing to local culture as a means of contributing to 'universal culture'. In South Africa, they directed their socio-cultural aspirations towards a broader South African citizenship as opposed to a focussed communal identity. The contrasting first strategy of self-acceptance, namely 'cultural segregation', belonged to the Anglo-Jewish and Zionist establishments.

I deploy the figures of Peruvians and Yekkes in South Africa as important markers in the Jewish community's strategies to balance a need for self-acceptance with the imperatives of self-preservation. It would seem that the stereotype of Peruvians marked a private Jewish self, a self that had to be hidden from public view, a self that was not entirely 'white', at risk of becoming black. Yekkes, in contrast, figured as ideal South African white citizens. Inserting Yekkes into Mendelsohn and Shain's metanarrative of communal homogenization, which transformed South African Jews into Jewish South Africans over the course of the twentieth century, it is clear that German Jewish immigrants contributed to this South African Jewish identity by successfully facilitating the community's entry into broader white society. However, Yekkes' strategy for 'becoming white' also implied turning their backs on Peruvians, which could have introduced a complicated tension to a Jewish communal psyche. Peruvians, who figure in this chapter as a metonym for Saron's 'Litvak spirit', introduced particular values that bound Jews in South Africa together in their private spaces and that allowed them to take pride in their unique Jewish identity, keeping in mind that the community continued to imagine and re-imagine this identity. Yekkes, in contrast, pulled South African Jews away from these safe spaces and brought the community into the public sphere. Here, the community had to learn what it meant to be white and they had to put their white identity into practice. They had to assert their whiteness if they wanted to become or remain citizens. The ways in which the South African Jewish community negotiated the conflicting values of their immigrant progenitors speaks in the first instance to the makings of a Jewish self. But then, significantly, these strategies also speak to the making of a Jewish whiteness in South Africa.

'Whiteness' as an analytical tool is taken from Stone's thesis.[26] She writes that Jews' white status in South Africa came into question with the arrival of Eastern European Jews and by the 1930s, Jews had become 'off-white' in South Africa (Stone 2010:216). The 'watchword' for German Jewish refugees' acceptance as immigrants was 'assimilability' as deployed, but not clearly defined, in the Aliens Act of 1937 (Stone 2010:218). The community thus had to meet undefined criteria for assimilating into white South Africa. This could explain why Riva Krut (1987:150) writes that the *South African Jewish Chronicle*, to which I add the *Zionist Record*, 'defined the ingredients of a South African Jewish identity'. This project was most critical during the 1930s and forties, the period examined in the present thesis. By uncovering in music reportage which elements of the Jewish self had to be suppressed or hidden from public view – confined to the private sphere, at least; eradicated, at worst – and by identifying elements that were deemed acceptable in certain social contexts, this thesis contributes to an understanding of what Jewish whiteness meant in early twentieth century South Africa.

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[26] There are several studies that consider Jews in relation to whiteness. See Sacks (1997) and López (2005). For a study of whiteness in South Africa, see Steyn (2001).

# Chapter 3:

## Methodology: Content Analysis

In this chapter I detail the methodological steps followed in writing this study. Coding the primary source material, designing an analytical construct and deploying the abductive inference mechanism are activities that move close to the material. As a result, an explanation of these activities already includes a cursory description of the study's findings. This could direct the reader's expectations for the argument to follow. It should also illustrate that the findings are not eclectic, but the outcome of a systematic and carefully worked-out methodological procedure.

### Data collection and sampling

The *South African Jewish Chronicle* and the *Zionist Record* are housed at various institutions nationwide, including the national libraries in Pretoria and Cape Town, the Beyachad Library in Johannesburg and the Jacob Gitlin Library in Cape Town. They exist in two formats, microfilm and/or physical bound collections. The content of these publications is not catalogued, indexed or digitized. Music-related matters therefore had to be manually searched, scanned and prepared for an electronic mode of content analysis. A database project was set up to facilitate this process. This project was a joint venture between the researcher, DOMUS (Documentation Centre for Music), Stellenbosch University's Library and Information Service and the National Library of South Africa. It comprised the following activities:

1. selecting relevant music-items from the above-mentioned journals and compiling them into a bibliography;
2. scanning these selections;
3. converting scanned material into a format suitable for upload and
4. compiling a searchable digital database and making it available online.

From the outset, the principle for sampling units of music-items was to be as inclusive as possible. The selection criteria did not focus on any one genre. 'Jewish' music, entertainment music, film music, stage music and Western art music were all included. For this reason, this study interfaces with many disciplines, including theatre studies, film studies, popular music studies, Jewish cultural studies, etc. The search was also not limited to a specific type of content, such as articles or reviews. It included advertisements and notices as well as editorials and correspondence. Many reports on social gatherings or religious events briefly referenced musical activities, which were also included. The contextual settings of items in which music was not the subject proved invaluable for understanding the ways in which communities expressed particular Jewish identities through music. They allowed for a rich reading of music's place and function in society.

The database delivered a dataset of about 6500 items, which included items from 1912.[27] A dataset covering the years 1930-1948 was still more than 5000 items, which exceeded the scope of what was deemed manageable for this research. A second phase of sampling was implemented, following guidelines of content analysis. In a process of systematic sampling, 'the researcher selects every *k* th unit from a list after determining the starting point of the procedure at random' (Krippendorf 2013: Kindle Location 2881). I decided to compile the final sample to comprise approximately 18 articles for each of the 19 years of material. This sample was created on a year-to-year basis: Once all the scans from both publications for a particular year had been assembled, the total of the items was divided by 18 to determine the value of *k*. The sample was then created for that year by selecting every *k* th unit. The implication for the final sample was that the items were selected more or less equally over the period of the study; but within each year, the ratio of the number of items between the two publications was kept. Figure 1 shows a summary of the final sample of documents analysed in this thesis. This sample of digitized items was transferred to the qualitative data analysis software programme Atlas.ti in the form of PDF-documents where they were sorted into document groups according to their metadata: document groups were created in the first instance for each publication, and in the second instance, for each year. The software was used to implement coding procedures as well as to generate various forms of data-sets with the aid of built-in digital analysis tools.

| **Year** | ***South African Jewish Chronicle*** | ***Zionist Record*** | **Total** |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1930 | 6 items | 12 items | 18 items |
| 1931 | 5 items | 13 items | 18 items |
| 1932 | 7 items | 11 items | 18 items |
| 1933 | 6 items | 12 items | 18 items |
| 1934 | 8 items | 10 items | 18 items |
| 1935 | 10 items | 8 items | 18 items |
| 1936 | 9 items | 10 items | 19 items |
| 1937 | 7 items | 11 items | 18 items |
| 1938 | 5 items | 13 items | 18 items |
| 1939 | 11 items | 6 items | 17 items |
| 1940 | 9 items | 9 items | 18 items |
| 1941 | 10 items | 8 items | 18 items |
| 1942 | 10 items | 8 items | 18 items |

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[27] The initial research proposal was to cover the entire twentieth century's publications.

| **Year** | ***South African Jewish Chronicle*** | ***Zionist Record*** | **Total** |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1943 | 9 items | [publications missing] | 9 items |
| 1944 | 11 items | 7 items | 18 items |
| 1945 | 12 items | 6 items | 18 items |
| 1946 | 9 items | 9 items | 18 items |
| 1947 | 9 items | 9 items | 18 items |
| 1948 | 9 items | 9 items | 18 items |
| **Total** | **163 items** | **170 items** | **333 items** |

**Figure 1 Table of sample**

### Inductive coding procedures

Krippendorf (2013:127) explains that coding is the ‘process of categorizing, describing, evaluating, judging, or measuring descriptively undifferentiated units of analysis, thereby rendering them analyzable in well-defined terms’ (Krippendorf 2013:381). Two types of codes were used to analyse the material: abstract, deductive codes and inductive codes. Deductive codes are predesigned and imposed onto the primary source material, whereas inductive codes emerge from a reading of the material (Friese 2014:3, 13). The deductive codes of this study are also abstract, which means that they were not used to collect quotations from the primary material. They were rather used to create a visual outline of the analytical construct, which in conventional research terms can be viewed as a theoretical framework. Deductive coding procedures as they pertain to the analytical construct are discussed in the next section of this chapter. The present section explains inductive coding procedures.

The initial approach to inductive coding was intuitive and unconscious. The coding structure was fluid and it kept developing, not only until the entire sample was coded, but throughout the analytical process up to the final stages of writing. Inductive codes are divided into two units – themes and indices – each of which is subdivided. Quotations captured by theme-codes have clear qualitative value. For the present purpose of outlining the coding structure, Figure 2 provides a comprehensive list of the theme-codes. The codes are divided into four groups, according to the four different angles from which readings of the primary source material were approached. These angles – Zionism, anglicism, Peruvians and Yekkes – are introduced and discussed in the context of the analytical construct in the next section. The content of thematic codes in relation to the analytical construct is discussed under the heading ‘Abductive inference mechanism’ below.

| | |
|---|---|
| %PER hasidism | |
| %PER in south africa | %ZPH Hebrew |
| %PER russia | %ZPH hebrew_education/school concerts |
| %PER socialism | %ZPH hebrew_language/culture |
| %PER yiddish | %ZPH Palestine |
| %SA afrikaners | %ZPH palestine_aliyah/chalutzim |
| %SA anglicism_britain | %ZPH palestine_cultural life |
| %SA anglicism_people/cultural products | %ZPH palestine_idea/ideal |
| %SA english | %ZPH palestine_palestine/diaspora |
| %SA south african citizenship | %ZPH self_defined as nationality |
| %SA south african jewry | %ZPH Zionism |
| %YEK america | %ZPH zionism_cultural concerns |
| %YEK antisemitism and assimilation | %ZPH zionism_political concerns |
| %YEK europe | %ZPH zionism_social concerns |
| %YEK german | |
| %YEK germany | |

**Figure 2 List of theme-codes**

Index codes collect quotations in the material that on the surface appear to have little qualitative value. These quotations populate the historical record with the content responding to questions of *who*, *what*, *where* and *when*. There are two groups of indices: an index that focuses on music and context (identified in the software as **index_music and context**[28]), and an index of people, institutions, places and music as they appear in the material (identified in the software as **index_people, institutions, places, music**).

Codes in the 'music and context' group capture information about the broad aspects of the newspaper-clipping being analysed. They form the backdrop onto which the rest of the codes (both index and themes) are mapped. A list of these codes appears in Figure 3 below.

**#CONTEXT** codes gauge the nature of the context of each item, whether it speaks to matters of culture, society, politics, etc. **#EVENT** codes mark instances in the material that refer to specific types of small events. However, they do not mark the large number of Zionist meeting or concerts of Western art music. **#GEOGRAPHY** codes are used to mark items that report on events in places outside South Africa. **#SOCIETY** identify the section of society to or from which the content speaks, whether that be Zionist, Jewish (and therefore not necessarily Zionist) or civic (i.e. non-Jewish) society. Another set of codes classifies, where possible, the music content according to a number of broad music categories (**#MUSIC**), which includes Jewish, popular, stage and Western art music.[29] The codes labelled as **#TEXTS** identify certain types of items in the sample of source materials, differentiating between adverts, anecdotes, reviews, etc.

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[28] Throughout this thesis, text in bold typeset refers to descriptions as they appear in the coding of the material in Atlas.ti.

[29] These categories do not derive from a specific source, but developed organically as inductive coding proceeded.

| **#CONTEXT** | **#MUSIC** |
|---|---|
| #context_cultural | #music::jewish |
| #context_cultural aspiration | #music::jewish general |
| #context_education | #music::jewish_e-europe::yiddish plays/film |
| #context_entertainment | #music::jewish_liturgical, cantorial, religious |
| #context_material culture | #music::popular |
| #context_political | #music::popular general |
| #context_religious | #music::popular_ball, dance, cabaret |
| #context_social | #music::popular_film |
| | #music::popular_jazz |
| **#EVENT** | #music::stage |
| #event::camps, rallies, congresses, festivals | #music::stage_ballet, dance productions |
| #event::fundraising | #music::stage_operetta, musical comedy, pantomime |
| #event::jewish calender | #music::stage_variety/vaudeville/revue |
| #event::jewish life cycle | #music::WAM |
| #event::jewish school/orphanage event | #music::WAM general |
| #event::literary, gramophone, memorial | #music_music items |
| #event_at home/zionist conversazione | **#TEXTS** |
| | #texts::adverts |
| **#GEOGRAPHY** | #texts::adverts_wanted baal tefillah/baal musaf |
| #geography_america | #texts::adverts_wanted chazan/cantor |
| #geography_europe | #texts::anecdotes, jokes, limericks, poems |
| #geography_palestine | #texts::annotations |
| #geography_russian | #texts::eisteddfods, music examinations, prizes |
| | #texts::individual profile |
| **#SOCIETY** | #texts::irony/parody |
| #society_civic | #texts::language_hebrew |
| #society_jewish | #texts::language_yiddish |
| #society_zionist | #texts::letter |
| | #texts::notices |
| | #texts::reports, obituaries |
| | #texts::review |

Figure 3 List of index codes in 'music and context' group

The second group of index-codes captures smaller bits of information, providing detail on people, institutions, locations and certain musical utterances. A comprehensive list of these codes appears in Appendix A at the end of the thesis. This list was used to identify active subjects such as groups, individuals and institutions. Each of these subjects was identified in the first instance as a discreet entity. For example, **$GROUP** refers to collective performing subjects who are identified as choirs, ensembles and orchestras. If an entity was identified many times in the material, it was assigned a unique code, such as **$group::orchestra_palestine orchestra**. The majority of individuals (**%INDIVIDUAL)** are performers, but other entities include cantors, composers, conductors, etc. **$INSTITUTION** marks a variety of institutional and organizational structures in the spheres of education, religion, Zionism, etc. Where possible, all of these subjects were categorised according to the geographical regions they represent. For this, **$IDENTIFIER** codes were used. For each type of subject, a set of identifier-codes was designed, which categorized the subjects as either American, English, Eastern European, European, German, Palestinian, or something else. Examples of a few identifier-codes are **$IDgroup::american**, **$IDindividual::anglicised/english** or **$IDinstitution::german**.

Places, marked in this index as **$LOCATION**, include references to cities, suburbs, towns and venues. **$MUSIC** codes mark detailed instances of the broader music categories included in the 'music and context' code group. These include mentions of specific anthems like 'God Save the King' or 'Hatikvah', as well as specific instances of, for example, Eastern European musical expressions (Hasidic melodies, Russian and Yiddish songs, etc.).

### The analytical construct

In Krippendorf's mode of content analysis, the analytical construct 'accounts for what the content analyst knows, suspects, or assumes about the context of the text'. He further clarifies that an analytical construct is 'a function, a collection of "if-then" statements' (Krippendorf 2013:170). The analytical construct in this thesis could be seen as an elaborate system of such functions. Krippendorf does not instruct content analysts to create analytical constructs with the aid of abstract codes. However, given the complex design of the present study's analytical construct, Krippendorf's approach was adapted to suit the demands of the analysis. Rather than a collection of 'if-then' statements, the analytical construct of this thesis is an arrangement of abstract codes. These codes were not used to collect quotations from the primary source material. They provided instead a stable frame around which inductive codes continuously shaped and mutated during coding and analytical processes. This is not a formally tested approach in the field of content analysis. In the present study, this approach nevertheless allowed the researcher to keep the possibilities of qualitative interpretation as open as possible, while at the same time rooting that interpretation in a frame.

The codes of the analytical construct are based on keywords taken from a reading of secondary literatures on South African Jewish history and culture, which is documented in Chapter 2. The historical argument in Chapter 2 comprises three sections: Anglo-Jewish bottles, Litvak spirit and Whiteness. The first two sections respond to a metaphor that describes a South African Jewish identity as 'pouring Litvak spirit into Anglo-Jewish bottles.' The third section takes its impetus from questions about whiteness that emerge from a particular reading of this metaphor. The historical argument also introduces four important entities that shaped a South African Jewish identity. They include two institutions and two stereotypes: The Jewish Board, Zionist Federation, Peruvians (Eastern European Jewish immigrants) and Yekkes (German Jewish refugees of the 1930s). The argument in Chapter 2 suggests that the Jewish Board and Zionist Federation shaped the community's Anglo-Jewish character, that the origins of the community's

Litvak nature are found in the histories of the Zionist Federation and Peruvians, and that an understanding of Jewish whiteness in South Africa may be gained from comparative readings of Peruvians and Yekkes in history. The four entities' significations do not discreetly speak to any one of the historical argument's three sections. Part of the question that the historical argument asks is whether a close reading of these institutions and stereotypes would not complicate our understanding of the community's Anglo-Jewish structures and Litvak nature. It becomes then a strategical obligation to design an analytical construct that creates a matrix between the three sections and the four entities of the historical argument. Figure 4 introduces the keywords of Chapter 2 into such a matrix, which then forms the structuring device behind the abstract codes of the analytical construct in Atlas.ti.

The first column in Figure 4 introduces the main sections of the analytical construct, while the second column identifies the categories relevant to each of these sections. The remainder of the columns present the four entities of the historical argument. While the institutions and stereotypes are placed at the centre of this enquiry, the objective of this study is not to uncover any information about these entities per se. It is not possible to make any conclusions about the Jewish Board or Zionist Federation unless quotations from the primary material explicitly identify these institutions. However, inferences can be drawn about institutional values as they are known by history. Similarly, inferences can be made about communal attitudes to these values as they appear in these newspapers. Furthermore, the terms 'Peruvians' and 'Yekkes' do not appear in the primary material of this study. The aim of the analytical construct is not to uncover the features of these stereotypes in their crude forms, but rather to employ the stereotypes as analytical tools in a reading of these newspaper clippings. The structures of these stereotypes inevitably affect the reading of the material. The inverse is equally unavoidable: the reading of the material modifies our understandings of the configuration of the stereotypes. To emphasize the point, the institutions and stereotypes are not points for historical inquiry. Their codes in the analytical construct function rather as core magnetic fields around which constellations of codes are positioned through the attraction or repelling of particular content in the primary material. The tensions between these different knowledge structures kept the data in constant flux during analysis: slight adjustments created new and interesting patterns for interpretation. Reading Jewish music reportage through these lenses yielded a startlingly nuanced analysis of complex processes of identity formation. What follows is a row by row explanation of the table of keywords, illustrated below as Figure 4. The information presented in the discussion is a re-ordering of the content presented in Chapter 2, explaining how its elements are deployed analytically in a reading of music reportage. For this reason, citations are included only when new information is introduced.

'Prototypes' bring together codes that could speak to the respective entities as well as any one (or all three) of the sections of the analytical construct. Significations of geography on the one hand, and language and culture on the other, are prototypical elements of each entity that could capture quotations relevant to any of the three main sections of the analytical construct. The Jewish Board's primary concern was the immediate social and economic condition of the Jewish community in South Africa. During the early twentieth century, this geographical space was still under British authority. The Board thus employed language to align the community's public projection with English culture.

| | **entities** | **institution_jewish board** | **institution_zionist federation** | **stereotype_ peruvians** | **stereotype_yekkes** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **PROTOTYPES** | **geography** | south africa | palestine | europe | europe |
| | | | | europe east | europe west |
| | | | | russia | germany |
| | **language/ culture** | english | hebrew | yiddish | german |
| **ANGLO-JEWISH BOTTLES** | **ideology** | anglicism | zionism | jewish socialism | |
| | **objective** | south african citizenship | nation-building | jewish consciousness | assimilation |
| **LITVAK SPIRIT** | **religion** | orthodoxy anglicised | orthodoxy eastern european | orthodoxy eastern european | progressive judaism |
| | | | traditional/ritual | hasidim vs mitnagdim | |
| | **education** | secular | nationalist | religious | |
| | **domesticity** | women | women | women | |
| | | communal scene | communal scene | family | |
| | | charity (women) | zionism (women) | mothers | |
| | | | | intergenerational relationships | |
| | | | | remote father | |
| **WHITENESS** | **traits** | | | emotional reticence | punctual, polite, formal, humourless |
| | | | | optimistic, courageous, adaptable, industrious, generous | |
| | | | | spontaneous exuberance | |
| | | | | unsophisticated, backward, unworldly | |
| | **self-acceptance** | self-acceptance | cultural segregation | | universal culture |
| | **self-rejection** | | | self-rejection | self-rejection |

Figure 4 Analytical construct: Table of keywords

Similar to the Jewish Board, the Zionist Federation also directed their attention to local Jewish affairs, which often caused conflict between the two representative institutions. For the Federation, however, South Africa was of secondary interest. Their primary interest was to invite South African Jews to participate in a Hebrew culture that was being inscribed on the geography of Jewish Palestine. ‘Peruvians’ as a term refers to Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe who were also known as Russian Jews at the time that this study considers. The geographical significations of this group are complex, including Russia, the regional power in Eastern Europe, but also Central and Western Europe where many Eastern European Jews had spent time before coming to South Africa. Their histories in these widespread geographical regions impacted their cultural practices in complex ways. While many of these immigrants were Zionists loyal to the ideals of a Hebrew culture, the stereotype of Peruvians in a South African imaginary is closely connected to significations of Yiddish as a language and culture. German-speaking Jewish refugees of the 1930s are internationally known as Yekkes. They came to South Africa from Germany and from all over Europe. Historiography suggests that in South Africa, they continued to speak German as a first language and continued to support German culture.

‘Anglo-Jewish bottles’ as a concept refers metaphorically to a (multi-ethnic and multicultural, but white) public sphere in which representative Jewish affairs could be undertaken by individuals, communities and/or organizations. Human conduct in the public sphere is often informed by cultural groupings’ ideological convictions and the objectives that motivate their entry into this space. The descriptor ‘Anglo-Jewish’ is most closely associated with the Jewish Board’s anglicism. The Board’s programme to anglicize Jewish immigrants was motivated by their objective to secure South African citizenship for Jews. The ‘Jewish’ of ‘Anglo-Jewish’ could also refer to the institutional input of the Zionist Federation. However, it is important to keep in mind that while Zionism could be seen as a Jewish movement, not all Jews were Zionists and Jewishness is therefore not synonymous with Zionism. It is perhaps more accurate to view the structural composition of the communities that gather around these two institutions as ‘Anglo-Zionist’, rather than ‘Anglo-Jewish’. It is documented that the majority of Eastern European immigrants who came to South Africa were Zionists, rather than Jewish socialists. At the same time, the international movement of Zionism included a large faction of members who incorporated socialist ideals into their nationalism. However, in a South African imaginary, Peruvians were denigrated for their perceived socialism. There was, of course, a contingent of Yiddish-speaking socialists among these immigrants who formed their own clubs and disseminated their socialist ideas in their communities. Jewish socialism was therefore historically a heterogeneous construct that sometimes formed part of Zionism, other times signified a Jewishness stripped entirely of religious, spiritual and nationalist connotations, and in some instances was territorial, without being Zionist. Based on these observations about the complexity of Jewish socialism, as well as the general consensus of historiography that Jewish socialism made a small impact on the development of a South African Jewish identity, it would be a reasonable hypothesis that markers of Jewish socialism in these newspapers would be negligible. Another hypothesis, I suggest, was that a bigger section of Yiddish-speaking immigrants to South Africa than hitherto suspected, held no specific ideological position, but wished only to maintain their religious, traditionalist values in private. Unlike the congruence between ideologies and objectives with reference to the institutions, a Peruvian objective to nurture a Jewish consciousness was perhaps seated more in religious convictions than ideological ones. This hypothesis draws the weight of Peruvian significations into the domesticity of the Litvak spirit, in accordance with what the historical context behind the analytical construct suggests. Finally, it was not possible to identify a single ideology that belonged to German Jews who found refuge in South Africa. However, historiography suggests that they continued to hold assimilation as an objective in South Africa, just as they did in Europe. Their proclivity to assimilate rendered German Jews the bane of Jewish society (Ascheim 1989; Gilman 1986; Feiner 2002).

‘Litvak spirit’ metaphorically describes the Jewish community’s characteristic features, collectively nurtured in predominantly Jewish contexts of communal and domestic spaces. The categories of religion and education occupy a position between private, Jewish spaces and the public sphere of South African society. Religious institutions, most notably synagogues, have permeable precincts that occasionally accommodated the fostering of civic, interfaith relationships, as the present study will show. Orthodoxy is the dominating form of Judaism associated with the Jewish Board, the Zionist Federation and Peruvians. Progressive Judaism of the German Jews is viewed as a South African anomaly, which separated the refugees even further from fellow Jews in South Africa. Orthodoxy is nevertheless also a varied construct. In South Africa, an anglicized form of Orthodoxy has historically been associated with the Jewish Board. Historiography suggests that Litvak immigrants introduced Eastern European modes of worship into South African synagogues. Some Zionists, who were perhaps less inclined to adhere to a spiritual transcendentalism of religion, nevertheless translated religious practices into folkish traditions and rituals that, for them, became markers of national identity. The Eastern European mode of Orthodoxy that was transplanted to South Africa was most strongly associated with Mitnagdim, who shaped their cerebral religious worldview in opposition to the spontaneity of Hasidim in the Old World. An understanding of Orthodoxy in South Africa could thus come clearer into view when compared and contrasted to Hasidism. Different Orthodox modes of worship are associated with different synagogues in South Africa. Judaism as expression of tradition and ritual belonged to domestic spaces too. Similarly, a combination of secular and religious education equipped Jewish children with the necessary skills to navigate between their different worlds. The Jewish Board advocated a secular education that could ease the next generation’s entry into South African society. The Zionist Federation, in contrast, supported the idea of a nationalist or Hebrew education shaped by the prospect of establishing a Jewish homeland in Palestine. Traditional Litvak immigrants preferred a religious education over a secular or nationalist one. No particular form of education is specified in writings about German Jews in South Africa.

The category of ‘domesticity’ refers to exclusively Jewish communal spaces such as Jewish concerts or Zionist gatherings, as well as to domestic spaces where family relationships were cultivated. Often, these spaces would merge, such as when Zionist meetings were hosted at private residences. The patriarchy of Jewish society reserved public spaces for masculinity, with the result that female participation in public events was limited to domestic and communal spaces. Historiography suggests that Anglo-German Jewish women tended to enter the public sphere in the domains of charity or welfare organizations. In contrast, Eastern European Jews became increasingly involved in advancing the Zionist movement. It was also Eastern European mothers who cultivated the traditionalist culture that came to be associated with the South African Jewish community during the course of the twentieth century. This culture was nurtured at home in the absence of fathers who had to work to provide for their families. Intergenerational differences in immigrant families caused rifts along lines of language and cultural preferences, differences that emerged most starkly during the 1930s and 1940s. It would seem that it was in the privacy of homes that the Litvak spirit was imparted to the next generation, who internalized it and kept it from public view. The historiographical silence on German Jews’ contribution to a South African Jewish identity explains the lack of keywords in the domains of education and domesticity in this section of the analytical construct.

The final section of the analytical construct focuses on the question of Jews and whiteness in South Africa. The relevant content in this regard holds as its premise Riva Krut’s suggestion that Jewish newspapers played an important part in shaping a South African Jewish identity by differentiating between characteristic social traits that were acceptable, and those that were less desirable. The first category for interrogation in this section is therefore ‘traits’. There are not any specific traits in historiography that can be directly linked to the Jewish Board or the Zionist Federation. However, a few could be identified concerning the stereotypes. As a positive attribute, Eastern European Jews were described as optimistic, courageous, adaptable, industrious and generous. On the negative side, Peruvians were also seen as unsophisticated, backward and unworldly. Some traits were associated with different Eastern European groups. Spontaneous exuberance was ascribed to Hasidim, while emotional reticence was associated with Mitnagdim. From an Eastern European perspective, Yekkes were criticized for being punctual, polite, formal and humourless.

The final categories in the ‘Whiteness’ section refer to the arguments made by Slabodsky. He suggests that, historically, Jews have implemented two modes of self-acceptance: by advocating cultural segregation or by emphasising the significance of difference in a universal culture. I include here two codes, one for self-acceptance (which could refer to any mode that may differ from Slabodsky’s), and one for self-rejection.

In this study, the abstract codes represent the analytical construct, the design of which is based on the historical narrative introduced in Chapter 2. These abstract codes were used to create networks designed to aid theorising and interpretation. Visual examples of such networks are included in the discussion below. Theorising happened while abstract and deductive codes were being designed; and interpretation started when networks were created by linking deductive codes with inductive codes. Creating these networks required a closer reading of quotations captured by inductive codes, while keeping in mind their relevance to abstract codes of the analytical construct. The analytical function of the abstract codes should thus become clear as the methodological explanation unfolds over the remainder of the present chapter.

### Abductive inference mechanism

Interpreting the data generated by coding involved a mode of reasoning that Krippendorf calls 'abductive inference'. This refers to 'the process of proceeding from true propositions in one logical domain to propositions in another logical domain, believed to be true on account of presumed empirical relationships between them – that is, from particulars to particulars without generalizations governing both' (2013:380). One domain refers to the texts and the other refers to context as portrayed by the analytical construct.

The first methodological step towards interpretation was to create links between the deductive codes of the analytical construct (the context) and inductive codes that capture qualitative content from the material according to different themes (texts). The next step was to read and analyse the qualitative content of these thematic codes. Often, this qualitative content had little relevance to music, because the scope of content selected from these newspapers was not limited to items with music as primary focus, but included items that mention music only in passing. The latter included a variety of social or religious events where music items formed part of the proceedings. This allowed the researcher to explore the relationship between social themes and music: to determine where and how music sounded in relation to these themes in the reportage, and to venture some observations about the possible meanings of their resonances. Two optional methodological steps, generating different data sets, made such an exploration possible. One option was to search for points in the material where different codes may co-occur (a term used in Atlas.ti), and another was to take a closer look at selected index codes. In generic terms, the first optional reading strategy was to interrogate the points of intersection between indices and themes. Inductive coding produced two sets of codes: themes that can be analysed qualitatively, and indices that could be mapped in relation to the themes for them to generate analysable co-ordinates. These co-ordinates are determined by locating the instances in the material where thematic codes and index codes co-occur. These co-occurrences need not be exact. In other words, when a quotation of a thematic code was also coded with an index-code (when both codes capture exactly the same quotation), they co-occur.

However, they also co-occur when their quotations overlap or when the quotation of one code occur within another. Atlas.ti has a specific analytical tool in the software that allows the user to create a cross-tabulation of codes that occur in close proximity to each other in the material. The tool, called ‘codes co-occurrence tables’, create an output in the form of a table (an Excel spreadsheet) with a set of theme codes in rows and index-codes in columns, while the corresponding table-cells are populated with the number of instances where the relevant codes occur together. During the analytical process, two such tables were created, one for each of the indices, in which thematic codes were placed in columns and index-codes appeared in rows. A reading of these tables proceeded in two general steps: the data of each category in the index was sorted from highest to lowest frequency of co-occurrences for all the themes together. It became possible to identify, for example, in which contexts all these themes appear most often or what categories of music were associated with them. Occasionally, particular instances of co-occurrence warranted further investigation. These may have been instances where two codes have unusually high frequencies of co-occurrence, or instances where the frequency of co-occurrence were surprising – if their count went against expectations. Further investigation involved creating output of the actual quotations and reading their content to allow these quotations to inform interpretations of the meanings emerging from such co-occurrences. Datasets created by the co-occurrences tool in Atlas.ti are included as evidence, and explained at the relevant points below.

The second optional reading strategy was to supplement the reading of theme-codes with a closer reading of index-codes. Index-codes and their quotations offered small fragments of information that, read individually, had little meaning. However, once they were read with other quotations captured by the same index-code, patterns started to emerge with reference to names of people and institutions, places, meetings and events, programmatic information, etc. From these patterns, a narrative could be constructed. Relevant index-codes were first selected manually from the list of codes. However, a function in Atlas.ti also allowed for a digital approach to selecting codes: During the coding procedure, networks were created between ‘identifier codes’ and a variety of index-codes that captured information regarding groups, individuals and institutions. The identifier-codes were used to categorize these entities as English, Zionist, Eastern European or German subjects. By using the Network function of Atlas.ti, the software was used to generate lists of codes and individual quotations that the researcher could then analyse individually.

The following sections explain the detail of the methodological steps towards interpretation that are generically outlined above: they provide evidence in the form of data outputs created in Atlas.ti and they explain the processes by which the analytical narratives of later chapters were constructed. Each section corresponds to specific chapters in this thesis and cross-references are included to guide the reader.

## Anglicism

Matters pertaining to anglicism and South African citizenship are associated with the Jewish Board and inform the narrative in Chapter 4. The English orientation of the quest for South African citizenship is supported by the language in which these publications were published and in which Jewish affairs were largely conducted in South Africa. At the time, the Union of South Africa was still under British rule and English dominated public spaces. As the century progressed, this was increasingly challenged by Afrikaans and the rise of Afrikaner nationalism. Concurrently, the numbers of boerejode, Jews who learned Afrikaans and integrated into the Afrikaner communities, also increased. However, it is generally accepted that the majority of Jews aspired to a British model of citizenship. The narrative in Chapter 4 thus focuses on content about English language and culture in South Africa.

Figure 5 provides a view of the codes in the analytical construct (in green) that are linked to several inductive codes (in purple). This network forms a constellation of codes that flank the code **@institution_jewish board**. Deductive codes of the analytical construct include **@language_english**, **@geography_south africa**, **@objective_south african citizenship** and **@ideology_anglicism**. These deductive, abstract codes are linked to inductive codes that are used to collect quotations from the primary source material.

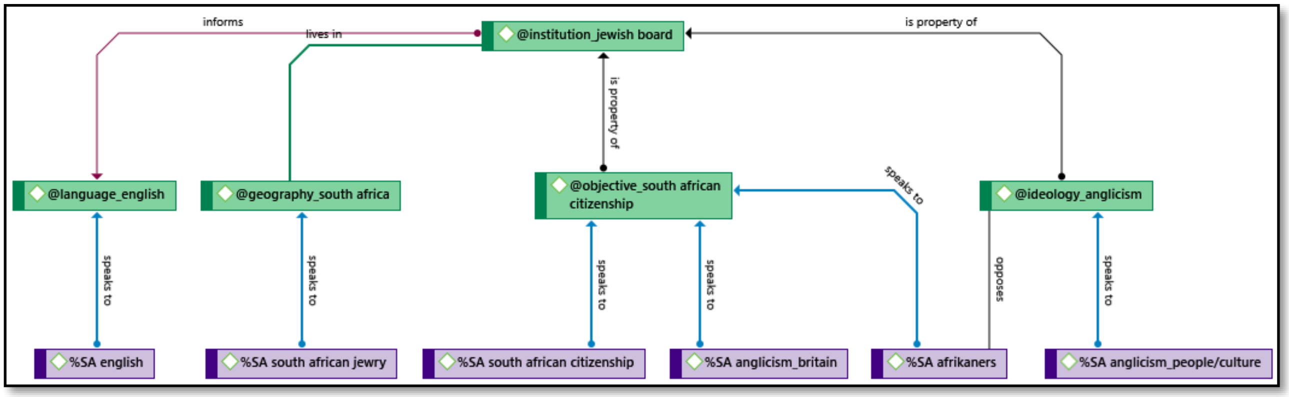
informs
lives in
@institution_jewish board
is property of
is property of
@language_english
@geography_south africa
@objective_south african citizenship
speaks to
@ideology_anglicism
speaks to
speaks to
speaks to
speaks to
opposes
speaks to
%SA english
%SA south african jewry
%SA south african citizenship
%SA anglicism_britain
%SA afrikaners
%SA anglicism_people/culture

Figure 5 Anglicism: Network of deductive and inductive codes

References to the English language in the primary material are captured with the code **%SA_english**. However, the quotations captured by this code are less telling than anticipated. The themes of anglicism and English are implicit, rather than explicit. Few ideological utterances in the primary material can unambiguously be linked to anglicism, and none promote the English language to match the largely Zionist campaign for the Hebrew language. The reason for this is perhaps that English was the accepted new norm for immigrants, at least from an institutional Jewish perspective. Propaganda for English would actually have suggested an active move towards an unachieved goal. Its absence could indicate that an anglicized worldview had been successfully adopted by the Jewish community. The code **%SA_south african jewry** collects quotations that comments on the Jewish community in South Africa. Some utterances focus on the community at large or on matters of interest to them; others focus on smaller groups within the community. The quotations collected by this code sometimes co-occur with mentions of South African citizenship, but most of the content focuses on Jewish matters and as such does not speak directly of English values. However, a close enough reading of the material suggests that English values nevertheless had an important influence in shaping a Jewish identity in South Africa. The code **%SA_south african citizenship** collects any quotations that speak of an active Jewish participation in the civic life of the Union of South Africa. Anglicized attitudes can be evaluated in utterances on Britain (**%SA_anglicism_britain**) and instances that mention British individuals or cultural elements (**%SA_anglicism_people/culture**). Since South African politics of the early twentieth century centred on the racial polarization of English and Afrikaans-speaking citizens, quotations about the Afrikaners **(%SA_afrikaners**) are included here too. Today, we view this polarization as belonging to the realm of white politics, but contemporary utterances cast the polarization in racial terms. Quotations about Afrikaners thus reveal the strategic manoeuvrability of Jewish allegiances within a white racialized discourse. The content captured by these inductive codes informs the first part of the narrative in Chapter 4.

A closer reading of the index-codes informs the narrative of the rest of Chapter 4, which offers more information about Jewish musical life than does the codes of themes addressed above. The following identifier-codes in the index point the analyst to the relevant content: **$IDinstitution::anglicised/english**; **$IDindividual::anglicised/english**; **$IDgroup::anglicised/english;** and **$IDvenue::anglicised/English**. Figure 6 and Figure 7 show networks of index codes and individual quotations[30] that are linked to these identifier-codes in Atlas.ti. Figure 6 portrays performers and institutions, and lists venues that have links to the British Empire.

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[30] Individual quotations appear in white. Due to human coders' predilection for being inconsistent, these quotations are not always labelled the same way. "Royal Academy of Music" and "London Royal Academy of Music", for instance, refer to the same institution. While the quotation name may have been unstable, the code to which these quotations are assigned would remain stable.

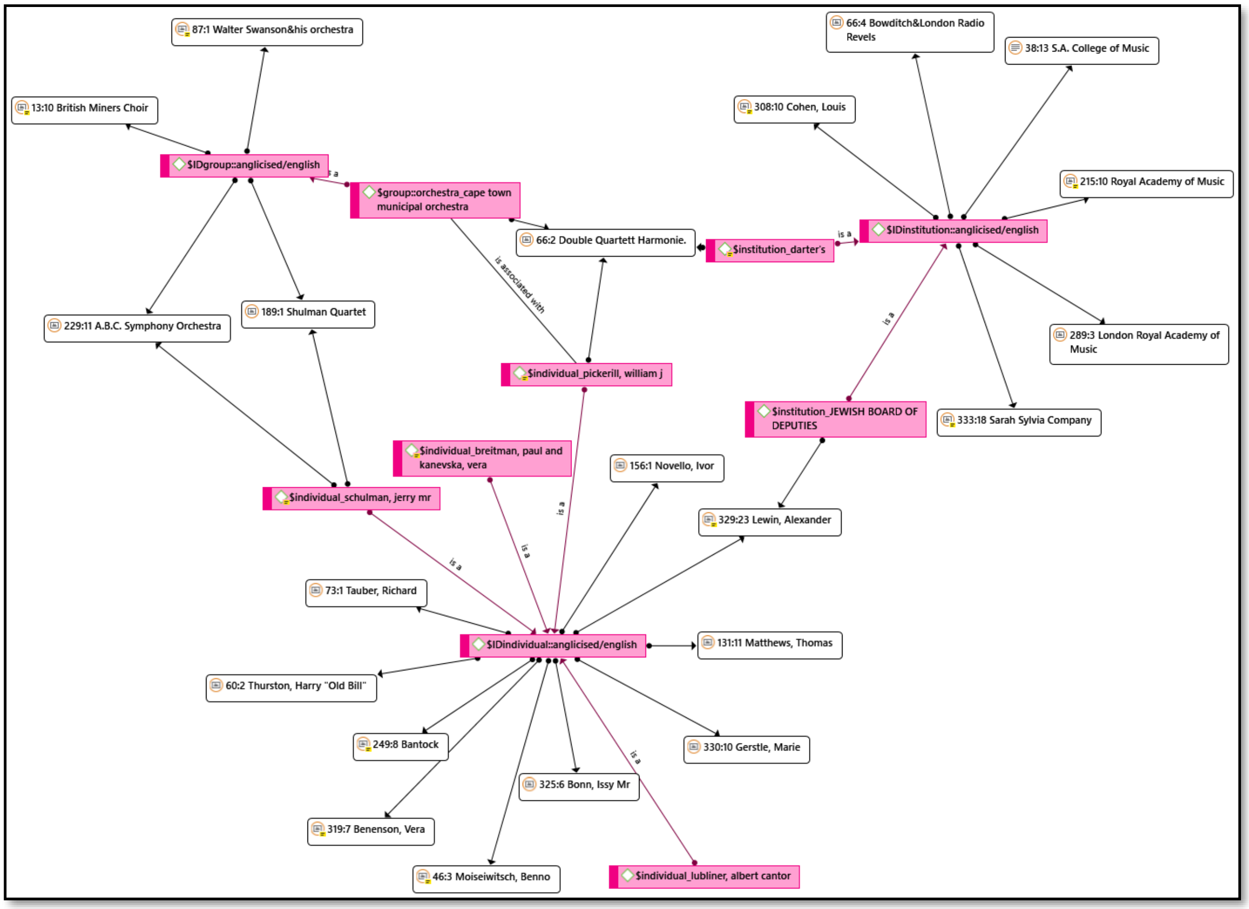

87:1 Walter Swanson&his orchestra
66:4 Bowditch&London Radio Revels
38:13 S.A. College of Music
13:10 British Miners Choir
308:10 Cohen, Louis
$IDgroup::anglicised/english
is a
$group::orchestra_cape town municipal orchestra
215:10 Royal Academy of Music
66:2 Double Quartett Harmonie.
$institution_darter's
is a
$IDinstitution::anglicised/english
is associated with
229:11 A.B.C. Symphony Orchestra
189:1 Shulman Quartet
is a
289:3 London Royal Academy of Music
$individual_pickerill, william j
$institution_JEWISH BOARD OF DEPUTIES
333:18 Sarah Sylvia Company
$individual_breitman, paul and kanevska, vera
156:1 Novello, Ivor
$individual_schulman, jerry mr
is a
329:23 Lewin, Alexander
is a
is a
73:1 Tauber, Richard
$IDindividual::anglicised/english
131:11 Matthews, Thomas
60:2 Thurston, Harry "Old Bill"
249:8 Bantock
330:10 Gerstle, Marie
is a
325:6 Bonn, Issy Mr
319:7 Benenson, Vera
46:3 Moiseiwitsch, Benno
$individual_lubliner, albert cantor

Figure 6 Anglicism: Network of identifier-codes – performers and institutions

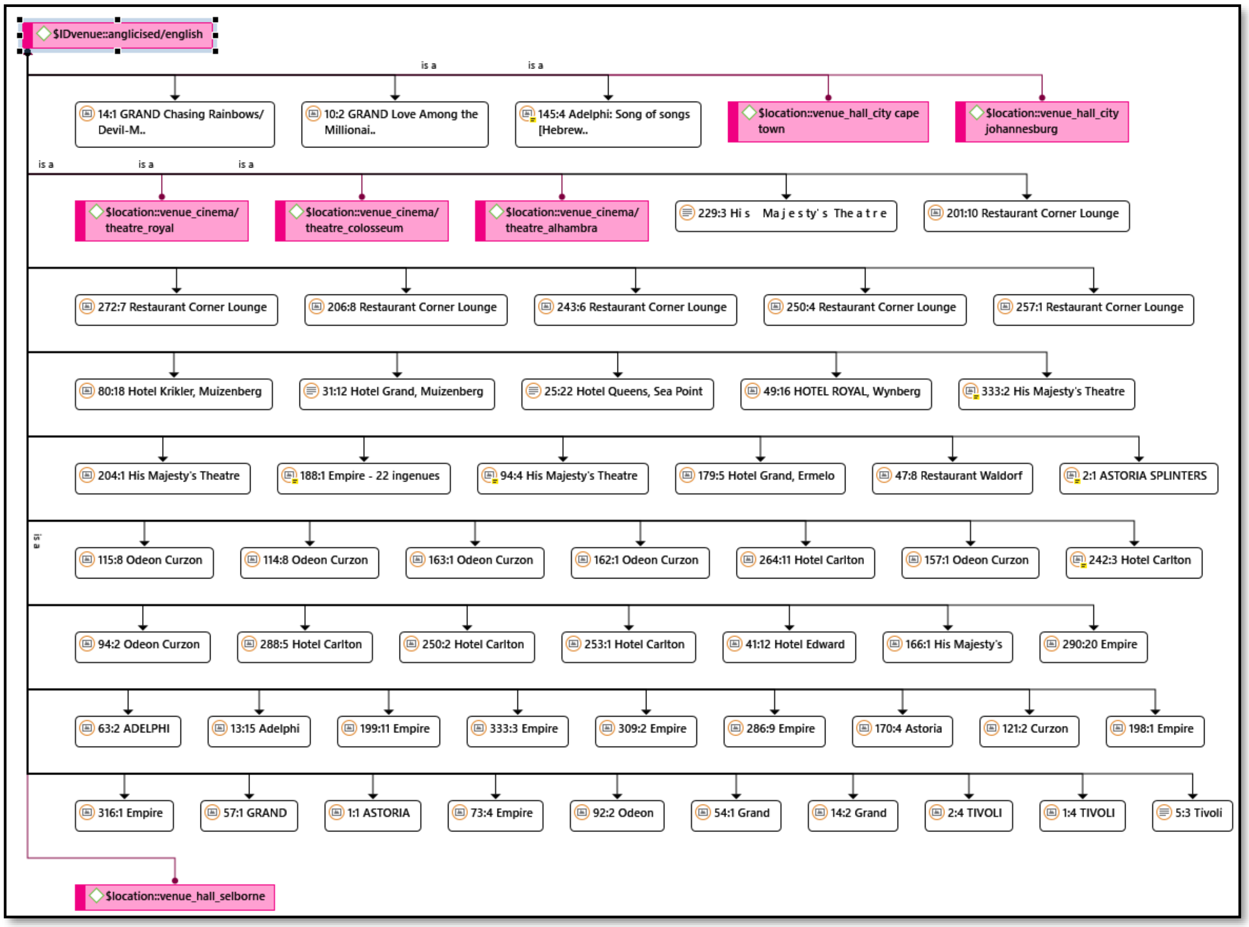

$IDvenue::anglicised/english
is a
is a
14:1 GRAND Chasing Rainbows/ Devil-M..
10:2 GRAND Love Among the Millionai..
145:4 Adelphi: Song of songs [Hebrew..
$location::venue_hall_city cape town
$location::venue_hall_city johannesburg
is a
is a
is a
$location::venue_cinema/ theatre_royal
$location::venue_cinema/ theatre_colosseum
$location::venue_cinema/ theatre_alhambra
229:3 His Majesty's Theatre
201:10 Restaurant Corner Lounge
272:7 Restaurant Corner Lounge
206:8 Restaurant Corner Lounge
243:6 Restaurant Corner Lounge
250:4 Restaurant Corner Lounge
257:1 Restaurant Corner Lounge
80:18 Hotel Krikler, Muizenberg
31:12 Hotel Grand, Muizenberg
25:22 Hotel Queens, Sea Point
49:16 HOTEL ROYAL, Wynberg
333:2 His Majesty's Theatre
204:1 His Majesty's Theatre
188:1 Empire - 22 ingenues
94:4 His Majesty's Theatre
179:5 Hotel Grand, Ermelo
47:8 Restaurant Waldorf
2:1 ASTORIA SPLINTERS
is a
115:8 Odeon Curzon
114:8 Odeon Curzon
163:1 Odeon Curzon
162:1 Odeon Curzon
264:11 Hotel Carlton
157:1 Odeon Curzon
242:3 Hotel Carlton
94:2 Odeon Curzon
288:5 Hotel Carlton
250:2 Hotel Carlton
253:1 Hotel Carlton
41:12 Hotel Edward
166:1 His Majesty's
290:20 Empire
63:2 ADELPHI
13:15 Adelphi
199:11 Empire
333:3 Empire
309:2 Empire
286:9 Empire
170:4 Astoria
121:2 Curzon
198:1 Empire
316:1 Empire
57:1 GRAND
1:1 ASTORIA
73:4 Empire
92:2 Odeon
54:1 Grand
14:2 Grand
2:4 TIVOLI
1:4 TIVOLI
5:3 Tivoli
$location::venue_hall_selborne

**Figure 7 Anglicism: Network of identifier-codes – English venues**

Zionism

The Zionist Federation is ideologically invested in Zionism, which is discussed in conjunction with the closely related themes of Palestine and Hebrew in Chapter 5. The Zionist aim to establish a Jewish home in Palestine necessitated the forging of a heterogeneous Jewish collective into a national unit, which was to centre on the Hebrew language and Hebrew culture. Even though these themes interlink in this way, they are also independent. Jews supporting Palestine were not necessarily Zionists. Jewish interest in Hebrew language and culture did not always emerge from Zionism and was on occasion divorced from Palestine. For this reason, these themes are grouped together, but discussed separately.

The abstract codes of the analytical construct that informed the selection of thematic codes in this section are **@institution_zionist federation**, **@ideology_zionism**, **@geography_palestine**, **@objective_nation-building** and **@language_hebrew** (light blue codes in Figure 8). The number of quotations that address these themes is substantial, which means that more indctive codes (purple codes in Figure 8) were linked to these deductive codes than was the case with anglicism. The three relevant themes – Zionism, Palestine and Hebrew – were coded inductively with subthemes, which were identified after a reading of the quotations collected by the main codes.

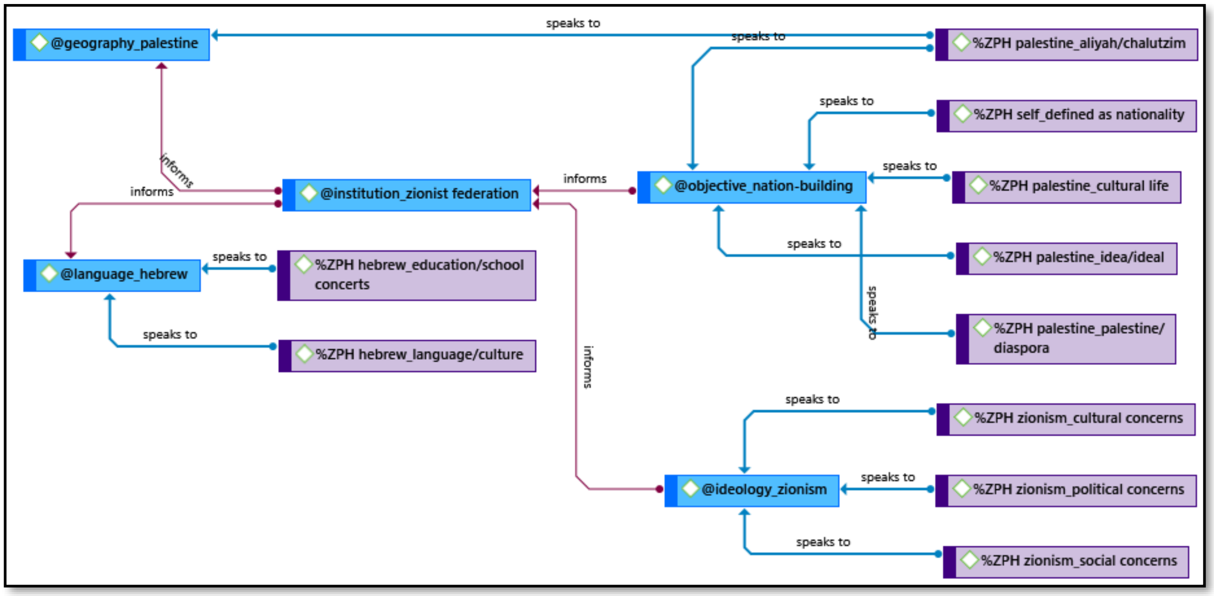

@geography_palestine
speaks to
speaks to
%ZPH palestine_aliyah/chalutzim
speaks to
%ZPH self_defined as nationality
informs
informs
@institution_zionist federation
informs
@objective_nation-building
speaks to
%ZPH palestine_cultural life
@language_hebrew
speaks to
%ZPH hebrew_education/school concerts
speaks to
%ZPH palestine_idea/ideal
speaks to
%ZPH palestine_palestine/diaspora
speaks to
%ZPH hebrew_language/culture
informs
speaks to
%ZPH zionism_cultural concerns
@ideology_zionism
speaks to
%ZPH zionism_political concerns
speaks to
%ZPH zionism_social concerns

Figure 8 Zionism: Network of deductive and inductive codes

Quotations that speak to notions of Zionism were divided into three subthemes: cultural (**%ZPH zionism_cultural concerns**[31]), political (**%ZPH zionism_political concerns**) and social (**%ZPH zionism_social concerns**). These subthemes speak to the ways that culture and society interacted with the programme of Zionism and are therefore linked to the deductive code **@ZPH ideology_zionism**.

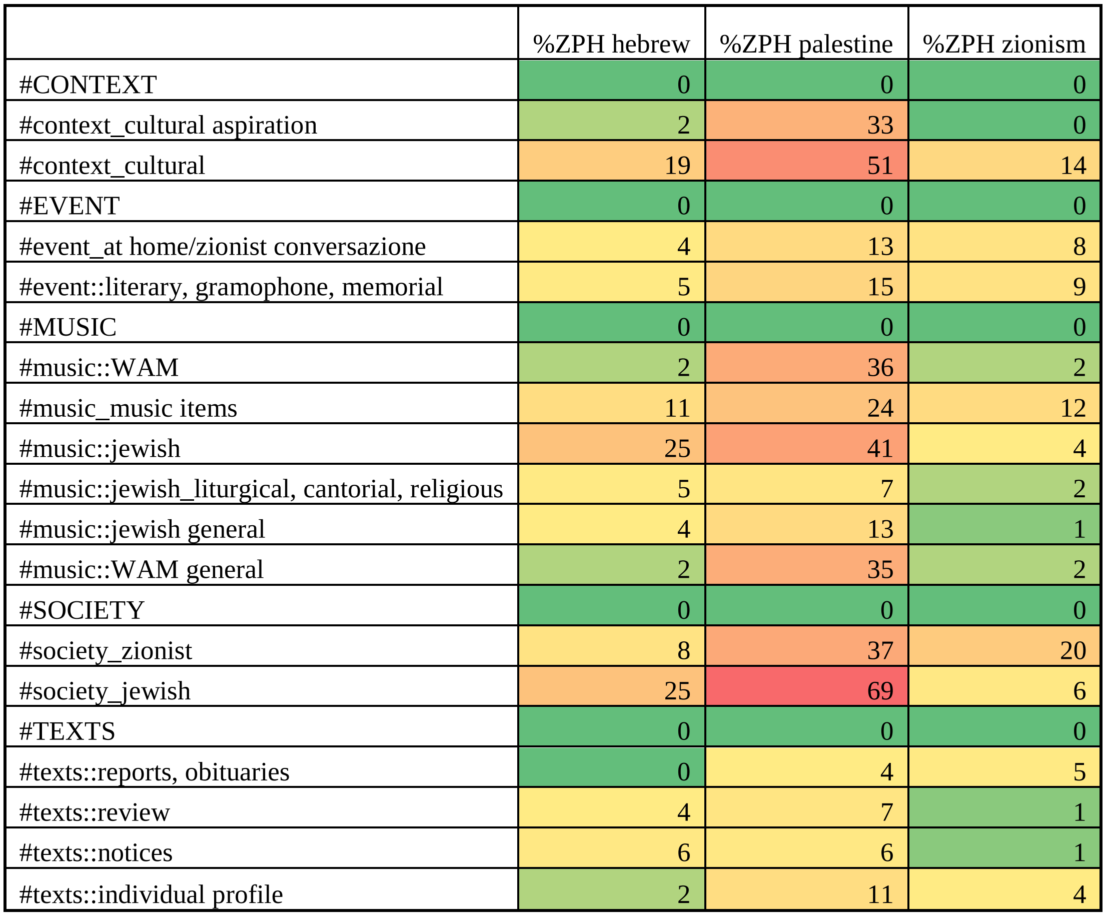
Palestine appears in these publications in the first place as an abstract notion, an idea to be cherished, or an ideal, often spiritual, something to strive for. Relevant quotations were captured with the code **%ZPH palestine_idea/ideal**. In other instances, Palestine figures as a real territory. Many of these quotations would speak of making aliyah, which refers to the act of immigrating to Palestine; or they would describe the life of halutzim, Jewish pioneers living in Palestine on kibbutzim (agricultural settlements). The code **%ZPH palestine_aliyah/chalutzim** contains these quotations. During the 1930s and 40s, Palestine was developing into a new national centre for Jews dispersed over the world. For that reason, deliberations on the relationship between Jews in Palestine and those in the diaspora emerged as another subtheme in these quotations. They were coded as **%ZPH palestine_palestine/diaspora**. Cultural life is the final subtheme to emerge from the theme Palestine. Relevant quotations appear in the code **%ZPH palestine_cultural life**. The inductive Palestine-codes were linked to the deductive code **@objective_nation-building**. While coding the material inductively, I also marked quotations that speak to notions of a Jewish identity. This identity is described in several ways, using terms of religion, culture and/or history. Discussions of the Jewish self in terms of nationalism or nationality have relevance here. For that reason, I introduced the code **%ZPH self_defined as nationality**, since its content also speaks to the deductive code **@objective_nation-building**.

---

[31] ZPH indicates the themes: Zionism, Palestine and Hebrew. I use these acronyms as a strategy to sort the codes in Atlas.ti.

Quotations about Hebrew divided into two sub-themes. The first comprises statements made about Hebrew education, most of which appear in the contexts of school concerts or other children's performances. These quotations were captured with the code **%ZPH hebrew_education/school concerts**. The second subtheme refers to the Hebrew language and Hebrew culture, the content of which was captured by the code **%ZPH hebrew_language/culture**. These two codes linked to the deductive code **@ZPH language_hebrew**

The narrative in the 'Music and context' section of Chapter 5 introduces the co-ordinates of the context and index-codes with respect to all the themes together as informed by the respective 'codes co-occurrence tables'. The table in Figure 9 maps the themes in the broad contexts of the newspaper clipping in which they appear; and the table in Figure 10 maps the detail of people, institutions, places and music in relation to these themes.



| | %ZPH hebrew | %ZPH palestine | %ZPH zionism |
|---|---|---|---|
| #CONTEXT | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| #context_cultural aspiration | 2 | 33 | 0 |
| #context_cultural | 19 | 51 | 14 |
| #EVENT | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| #event_at home/zionist conversazione | 4 | 13 | 8 |
| #event::literary, gramophone, memorial | 5 | 15 | 9 |
| #MUSIC | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| #music::WAM | 2 | 36 | 2 |
| #music_music items | 11 | 24 | 12 |
| #music::jewish | 25 | 41 | 4 |
| #music::jewish_liturgical, cantorial, religious | 5 | 7 | 2 |
| #music::jewish general | 4 | 13 | 1 |
| #music::WAM general | 2 | 35 | 2 |
| #SOCIETY | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| #society_zionist | 8 | 37 | 20 |
| #society_jewish | 25 | 69 | 6 |
| #TEXTS | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| #texts::reports, obituaries | 0 | 4 | 5 |
| #texts::review | 4 | 7 | 1 |
| #texts::notices | 6 | 6 | 1 |
| #texts::individual profile | 2 | 11 | 4 |

Figure 9 Zionism: Codes Co-Occurrence Table – Themes and Context

| | | %ZPH hebrew | %ZPH palestine | %ZPH zionism |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| $INDIVIDUAL | $individual::conductor | 2 | 5 | 3 |
| | $individual::jewish non-music | 2 | 9 | 4 |
| | $individual::performer | 13 | 38 | 14 |
| | $individual_aronowsky, solly mr | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| | $individual_connell, john | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| | $individual_huberman, bronislaw | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| | $individual_rabinowitz, rachael miss | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| | $individual_themeli | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| | $individual_ochberg, isaac | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| | $individual_schulman, jerry mr | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| | $individual_bowman, lionel | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| | $individual_rabinowitz, harry mr | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| | $individual_saltzman, pnina | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| | $individual_heifetz, jascha | 1 | 4 | 1 |
| $INSTITUTION | $institution::funds | 4 | 7 | 0 |
| | $institution::youth | 5 | 5 | 3 |
| | $institution::education | 8 | 5 | 1 |
| | $institution::zionist_socialist/labour | 0 | 9 | 5 |
| | $institution::music | 0 | 23 | 0 |
| | $institution::women | 2 | 18 | 6 |
| | $institution::zionist | 6 | 24 | 13 |
| | $institution_hebrew congregation | 3 | 4 | 0 |
| | $institution_mizrachi | 0 | 6 | 1 |
| | $institution_zionist women's league | 0 | 5 | 2 |
| | $institution_hebrew school/talmud torah | 7 | 1 | 0 |
| | $institution_jewish national fund | 3 | 7 | 0 |
| | $institution_bnei/bnoth zion | 2 | 9 | 3 |
| | $institution_friends of PSO/Habimah | 0 | 18 | 0 |
| $LOCATION | $location::venue_residence | 2 | 22 | 3 |
| | $location::venue_hall_zionist | 4 | 15 | 10 |
| | $location::venue_hall | 12 | 30 | 13 |
| $MUSIC | $music::jewish_folk/traditional/jewish songs | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| | $music::jewish_palestine::hora | 1 | 3 | 0 |
| | $music::jewish_e-europe::yiddish songs/melodies | 1 | 3 | 1 |
| | $music::jewish_communal music-making | 2 | 4 | 0 |
| | $music::anthems_hatikvah | 1 | 2 | 4 |
| | $music::jewish_palestine::hebrew, palestinian songs/melodies | 9 | 11 | 0 |

**Figure 10 Zionism: Codes Co-Occurrence Table – Themes and Index**

The remainder of the narrative in Chapter 5 is loosely arranged according to the main themes, starting with Zionism, moving on to Palestine and concluding with the specifics of Hebrew language and culture.

The details of these quotations are introduced according to the respective themes. However, culture is a subtheme of all three of the main themes and often, as one could expect, their cultural remarks intersect. It is therefore not possible to keep the structure of the narrative purely thematic, since it is inevitable for the analysis to jump between themes in order to follow the logic of the argument.

The content captured with thematic codes in this section was sufficient in quantity as well as in quality to carry the musical argument forward. Chapter 5 therefore did not require a close reading of index-codes as did other parts of the thesis. It is possible that even more interesting perspectives could come to light through a reading of codes like **$music::jewish_palestine::hora** or **$music::jewish_palestine::hebrew, palestinian songs/melodies**. It is nevertheless significant in and of itself that the qualitative data on music in this context outweighs the indices. It suggests that an articulation of Zionism, Palestine and Hebrew was more pronounced and intentional in a communal consciousness than was a programme of anglicization or an engagement with internal conflicts regarding different immigrant groupings.

### Peruvians

Part II of the thesis addresses processes of identity formation that took place within a communal Jewish sphere, away from the public space of civic society. These processes were galvanized by communal concerns around European immigrants. The secondary literature on Jewish cultural history in South Africa takes considerable interest in Eastern European immigrants. These engagements with Eastern European Jewish history and culture involve complex attitudes that blend private admiration with anxieties regarding ignominy. Interest in an Eastern European Jewish heritage documented by the primary source material matches that of the secondary literature, as is evident in the fact that the analytical narrative extends over Chapters 6 and 7. The main themes that emerge from the coding of this material are ‘Russia’, which is discussed in Chapter 6, ‘Yiddish culture’ that informs the first part of Chapter 7, and a historical tracing of Eastern European entities in the South African context, which comprises the remainder of Chapter 7. The analysis of the music reportage in these chapters also captures a sense of uneasy encounters with Peruvians, which relates to internal conflicts that have their origins in the Old World. The stereotype of Peruvians is deconstructed according to two more European stereotypes of Eastern European Jews: Hasidim and Mitnagdim (introduced in Chapter 2). These analyses open new perspectives on the Litvak spirit of the South African Jewish community.

The readings presented in Chapters 6 and 7 are steered by the following abstract codes of the analytical construct (turquoise codes in Figure 11): **@ideology_jewish socialism**; **@class politics_workers’/lower**; **@geography_russia**; **@stereotype_peruvian** and **@language_yiddish.**

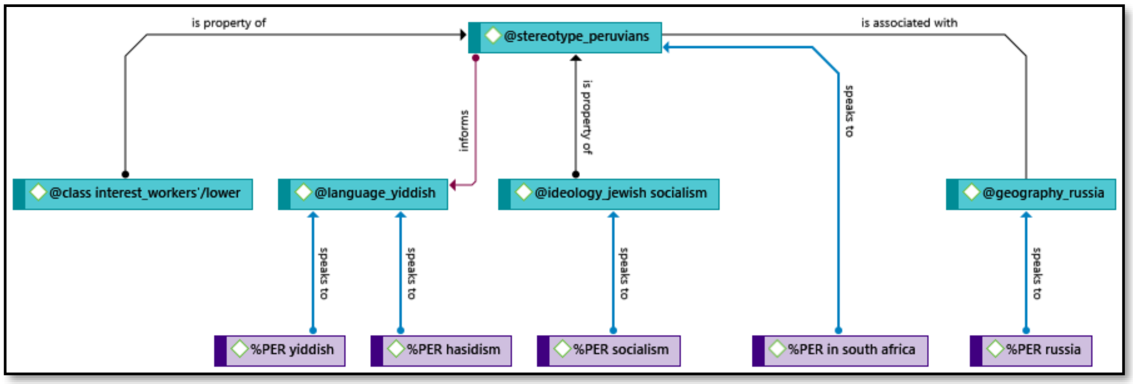

is property of
@stereotype_peruvians
is associated with
informs
is property of
speaks to
@class interest_workers'/lower
@language_yiddish
@ideology_jewish socialism
@geography_russia
speaks to
speaks to
speaks to
speaks to
%PER yiddish
%PER hasidism
%PER socialism
%PER in south africa
%PER russia

Figure 11 Peruvians: Network of deductive and inductive codes

Relevant qualitative content in the primary source material is captured with five thematic codes (purple codes in Figure 11). **%PER russia**[32] is the first code of interest here, since it captures information pertaining to Russia as a place of origin for many of the Jews in South Africa. **%PER in south africa** refers to content that reports on people or events in South Africa with references to Eastern Europe. For the most part, these quotations include items about concerts by Eastern European cantors. The code **%PER socialism** does not capture content exclusively of socialism, since mention of this ideology is almost wholly absent from the source material. It captures instead any quotations pertaining to left-wing politics. References to socialism appear often in the context of Zionism. This is to be expected, since many Zionists held socialism as an ideal form of nationalism. The wide thematic reach of these quotations means that they are not treated in depth in these chapters. Relevant quotations are nevertheless highlighted within the contexts of the themes where they appear, which in these two chapters include small references to an anti-Zionist Jewish Socialism in relation to Yiddish culture in South Africa. **%PER hasidism** captures references to Hasidism of which there are few, though their scope and depth are substantial. References to Mitnagdim are hidden in the material, which is why there is no code labelled '%PER mitnagdim'. The absence of direct references to Mitnagdim could support a hypothesis that the South African Jewish community adopted the characteristics of Mitnagdim, since Mitnagdim would represent a self that need not be explicitly acknowledged in the material. The conspicuousness of Hasidim, in contrast, could reveal this figure as an Other – in this case, an Other of the Self – that requires a more conscious and active engagement. The code **%PER yiddish** captured a substantial number of quotations, which focuses on any references to Yiddish culture, largely within the South African cultural environment.

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[32] The 'PER' is an acronym for Peruvian.

Apart from these thematic codes, content captured by some index-codes is also informative. Among the context codes are **#geography_russian (**which marks items in the material that report on contemporary events taking place in Russia) and **#music::jewish_e-europe::yiddish plays/film (**that capture entire articles about Yiddish plays or film). Several other index-codes provide more detailed information about people, institutions, places and music. The code **$contents::language_yiddish** marks instances in the primary source material that are printed in the Yiddish language in Hebrew script. The following codes capture small references to specific music utterances: **$music::jewish_e-europe::chassidic melodies**, **$music::jewish_e-europe::russian songs/melodies**[33] and **$music::jewish_e-europe::yiddish songs/melodies**. The following identifier-codes mark other Eastern European entities in the primary source material: **$IDinstitution::east european**; **$IDindividual::east European**; and **$IDgroup::east european**. The entities that link to each of these identifier-codes are illustrated in network views created in Atlas.ti. Figure 12 shows institutions and groups, while Figure 13 lists the names of individuals, including a variety of performers and cantors.

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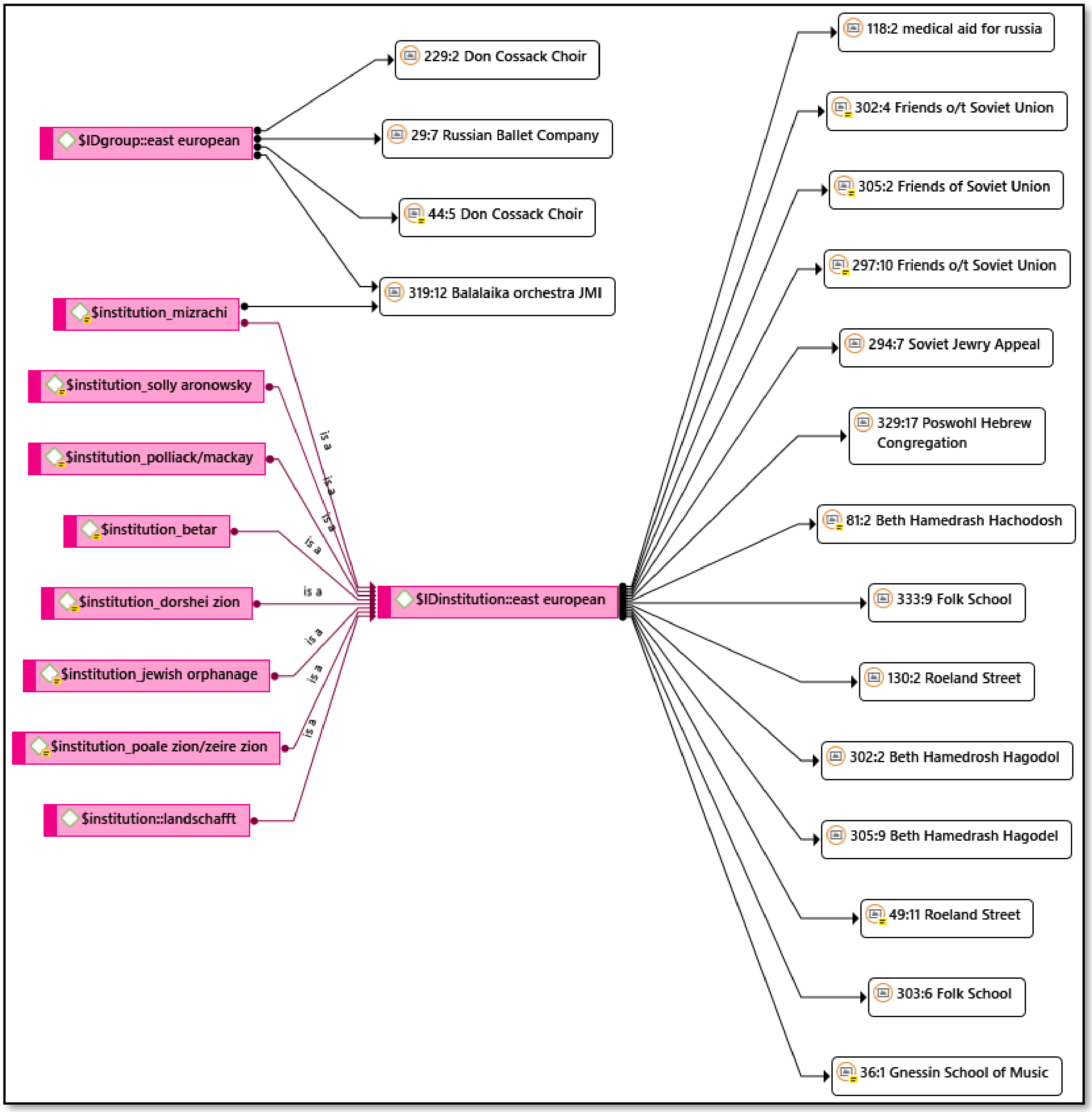
[33] Generic reports of repertoire that include names of Russian composers like Tchaikovsky, Prokofiev or Shostakovich are not examined. This would have added analytical labour to an already detailed analysis. It could nevertheless be worthwhile to analyse repertories reported in these newspapers, since repertoire could reveal something about a community's ideational cultural framework.



$IDgroup::east european
229:2 Don Cossack Choir
29:7 Russian Ballet Company
44:5 Don Cossack Choir
319:12 Balalaika orchestra JMI
$institution_mizrachi
$institution_solly aronowsky
$institution_polliack/mackay
$institution_betar
$institution_dorshei zion
$institution_jewish orphanage
$institution_poale zion/zeire zion
$institution::landschafft
is a
$IDinstitution::east european
118:2 medical aid for russia
302:4 Friends o/t Soviet Union
305:2 Friends of Soviet Union
297:10 Friends o/t Soviet Union
294:7 Soviet Jewry Appeal
329:17 Poswohl Hebrew Congregation
81:2 Beth Hamedrash Hachodosh
333:9 Folk School
130:2 Roeland Street
302:2 Beth Hamedrosh Hagodol
305:9 Beth Hamedrash Hagodel
49:11 Roeland Street
303:6 Folk School
36:1 Gnessin School of Music

Figure 12 Peruvians: Network of identifier-codes – groups and institutions

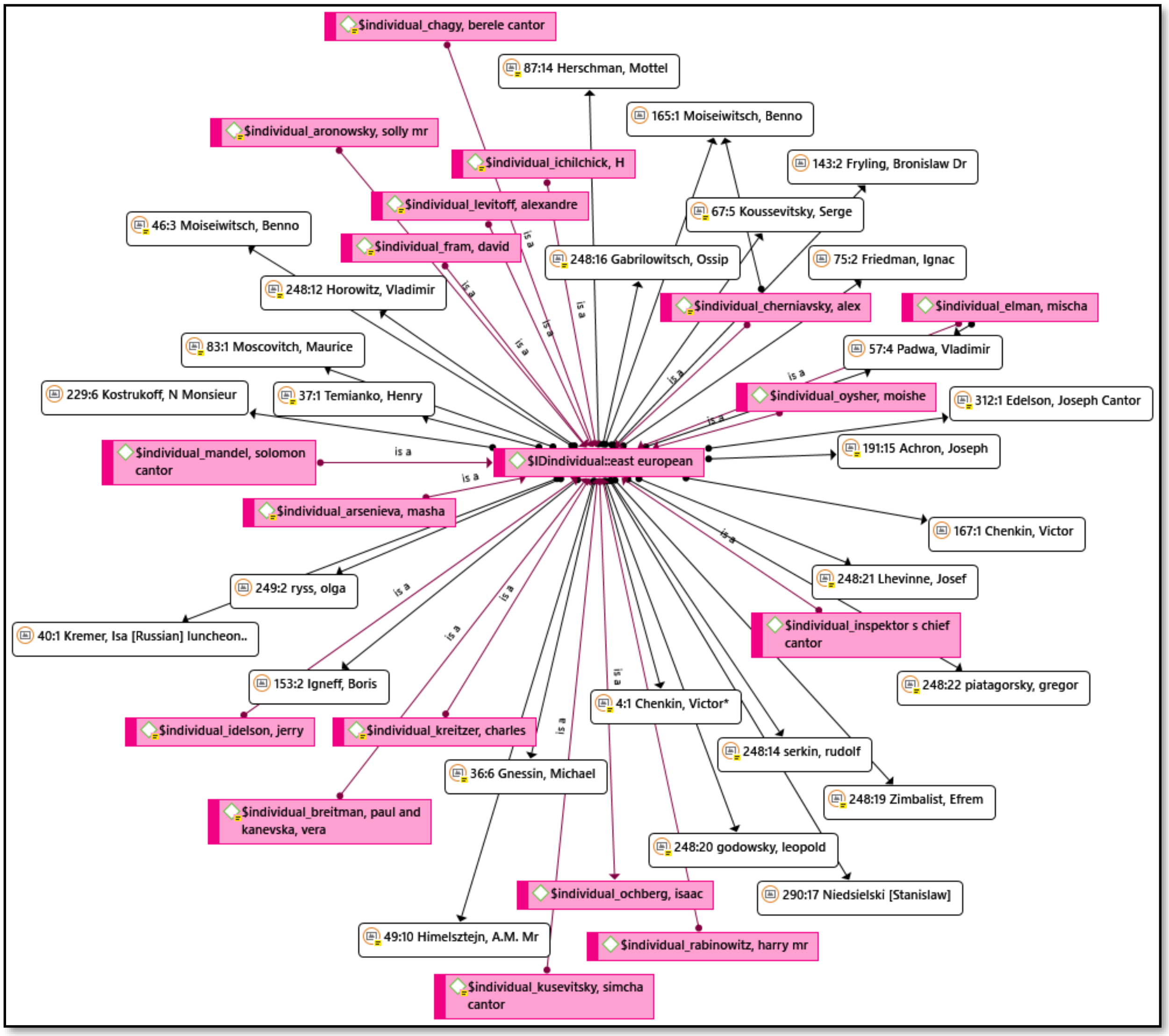

$individual_chagy, berele cantor
87:14 Herschman, Mottel
165:1 Moiseiwitsch, Benno
$individual_aronowsky, solly mr
$individual_ichilchick, H
143:2 Fryling, Bronislaw Dr
$individual_levitoff, alexandre
67:5 Koussevitsky, Serge
46:3 Moiseiwitsch, Benno
$individual_fram, david
248:16 Gabrilowitsch, Ossip
75:2 Friedman, Ignac
248:12 Horowitz, Vladimir
$individual_cherniavsky, alex
$individual_elman, mischa
83:1 Moscovitch, Maurice
57:4 Padwa, Vladimir
229:6 Kostrukoff, N Monsieur
37:1 Temianko, Henry
$individual_oysher, moishe
312:1 Edelson, Joseph Cantor
$individual_mandel, solomon cantor
is a
$IDindividual::east european
191:15 Achron, Joseph
$individual_arsenieva, masha
167:1 Chenkin, Victor
248:21 Lhevinne, Josef
249:2 ryss, olga
40:1 Kremer, Isa [Russian] luncheon..
$individual_inspektor s chief cantor
153:2 Igneff, Boris
248:22 piatagorsky, gregor
4:1 Chenkin, Victor*
$individual_idelson, jerry
$individual_kreitzer, charles
248:14 serkin, rudolf
36:6 Gnessin, Michael
248:19 Zimbalist, Efrem
$individual_breitman, paul and kanevska, vera
248:20 godowsky, leopold
$individual_ochberg, isaac
290:17 Niedsielski [Stanislaw]
49:10 Himelsztejn, A.M. Mr
$individual_rabinowitz, harry mr
$individual_kusevitsky, simcha cantor

Figure 13 Peruvians: Network of identifier-codes – individuals

As noted above, the first marker of Eastern Europe in the primary material refers to Russia. The first two sections of Chapter 6 takes as point of departure a description of qualitative content captured with the code **%PER russia** and are supplemented with a reading of two index codes: **#geography_russian** and **$music::jewish_e-europe::russian songs/melodies**. Relevant quotations include reports on events happening in Russia, as well as reports on events in South Africa referencing the relationship between these two countries. Several Eastern European markers in the source material cohere around intellectual and creative individuals who have particular links to Russia and America. They include Jascha Heifetz, A.Z. Idelsohn, Mischa Elman and his father Saul Elman, Cantor Mottel Herschman and Professor Salomon Rosowsky. The reading in this chapter brings the geography of America into view in surprising ways.

Early in the 1930s, two substantial articles in the *Chronicle* provide perspectives on the respective traditions of the Hasidim and Mitnagdim. These two articles inform the second part of the narrative in Chapter 6. An opinion-piece portrays the tension between the Haskalah and Hasidism within a reflection on a performance by the international folk-singer, Victor Chenkin in the Zionist Hall in Cape Town in 1930. The discussion of the Chenkin-article in Chapter 6 is supplemented with a closer look at the index code that marks references to Hasidic musical elements (**$music::jewish_e-europe::chassidic melodies)**. These references are not as extensive as the one on Chenkin, though they are unusually substantial in comparison to other qualitative quotations from the material. They allow for an understanding of the place that Hasidism occupied within the musical imaginary of the South African Jewish community of the time. A year later, the Mitnagdic character of Eastern European Jews appears in an article about Yiddish folksongs. Mitnagdim are not explicitly identified in this article; however, a knowledge of aspects of a Mitnagdic value system creates a connection between Mitnagdim and Yiddish song. Reading these two articles on Chenkin and Yiddish song together gives a sense of the complexities of the South African Jewish community's identity formation with reference to their Eastern European provenance.

While the narrative presented in Chapter 6 focuses largely on representations and understandings of Russia and Jewish life that originated there, Chapter 7 focuses on the South African context. In the first part, the narrative offers a reading of the content captured by the thematic code **%PER yiddish** as it appears in the contexts of literature, film and theatre. The remainder of Chapter 7 brings the discussion closer to actual music-making in South Africa. Qualitative content captured with the content **%PER in south africa** is focused on the presence and activities of Eastern European cantors in South Africa. This draws attention to the roles of religious leaders in modelling an ideal Jewish self to the community, as well as the community's willingness to follow the cantors' lead. While this code offers some qualitative insights on the Jewish community's religious relationship with Eastern Europe, the greater part of the discussion in Chapter 7 is informed by a close reading of index codes that identify a variety of subjects with strong links to Eastern Europe, including individuals and organizations. These index-codes capture quotations mostly from notices and advertisements, whereas my readings of Zionism and anglicism found its content largely in reviews.

### Yekkes

A search for historical and cultural information pertaining to German Jewish refugees of the 1930s in the primary source material aims to address a gap in historiography. Initially, the hypothesis was that music reportage in local Jewish newspapers would provide information about the musical activities of German Jews, which could open perspectives on possible contributions they may have made to the development of a local Jewish communal identity. The material partially met the expectation of this hypothesis, and relevant findings are documented in the first part of Chapter 8.

German Jewish refugees of the 1930s attracted the following abstract codes, shown in red in Figure 14: **@stereotype_yekkes, @language_german**, **@geography_germany**, **@geography_europe_west**, **@geography_europe** and **@objective_assimilation**.

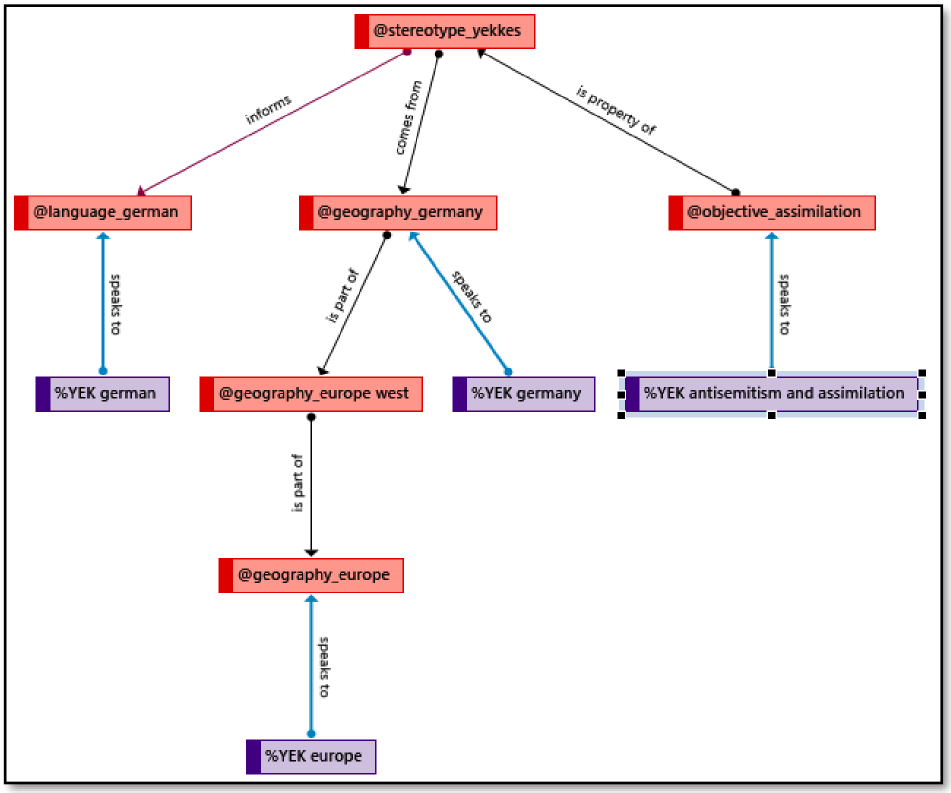

@stereotype_yekkes
informs
comes from
is property of
@language_german
@geography_germany
@objective_assimilation
speaks to
is part of
speaks to
speaks to
%YEK german
@geography_europe west
%YEK germany
%YEK antisemitism and assimilation
is part of
@geography_europe
speaks to
%YEK europe

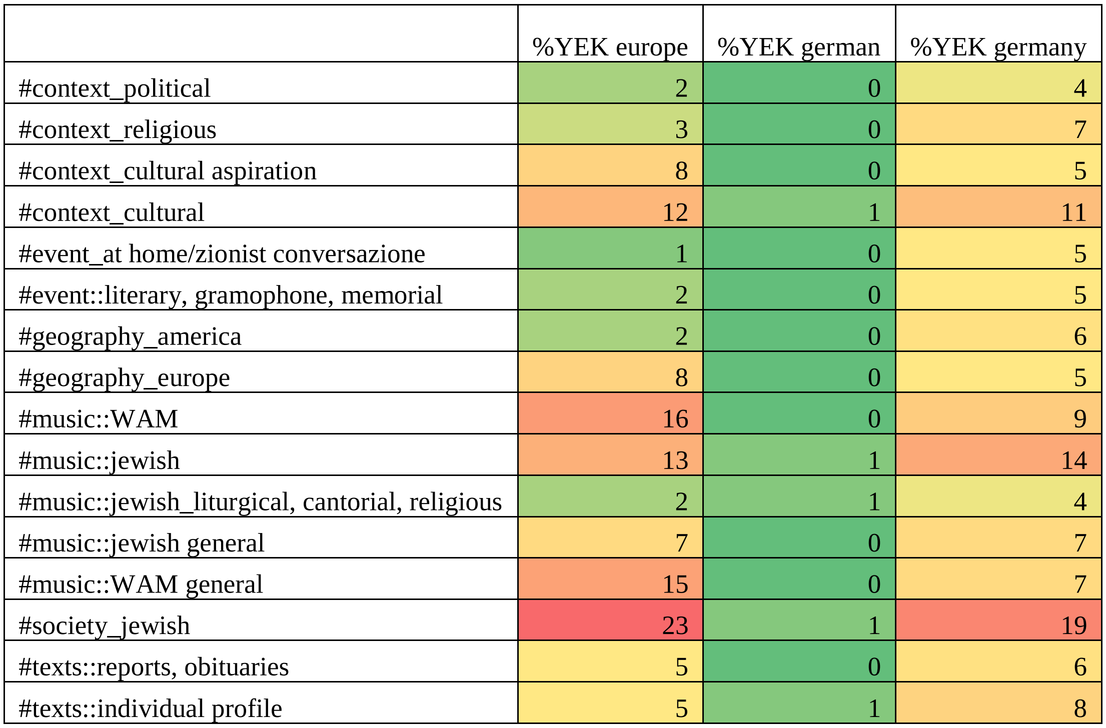
Figure 14 Yekkes: Network of deductive and inductive codes

The inductive codes used to collect relative qualitative content from the material were **%YEK europe**[34], **%YEK german**, **%YEK_germany**, **%YEK europe** and **%YEK antisemitism and assimilation**. The code **%YEK europe** collects quotations that refer to contemporary events in Europe. The events of World War II naturally involved German Jews as well as the whole of Europe and beyond. References to the German language are collected with the code **%YEK german**. It is worth noting here already that this code captured only one quotation: it was one of the languages spoken by the polyglot Professor Rosowsky in America (327:16). The lack of quotations makes it clear that the German language did not become a force to be reckoned with by the established Jewish community in South Africa. Qualitative content about German Jews is captured with the code **%YEK germany**. Even though the name of the code refers to a physical geography, the content includes quotations about anything that relates to Germany, including references to German nationals and/or German Jews. Therefore, the geographies that emerge from a reading of these quotations include not only Europe, but also Palestine, South Africa and the United States. **%YEK europe** captured content of events in Europe, which may not involve German themes directly, but within the time frame of this study inevitably affected German Jews across the world. These events relate to the tensions between assimilation and antisemitism, which are captured with the code **%YEK antisemitism and assimilation**. A straightforward qualitative reading of these themes inform the second part of the narrative under the heading 'German Jewry in a South African Jewish imaginary' in Chapter 8.

---

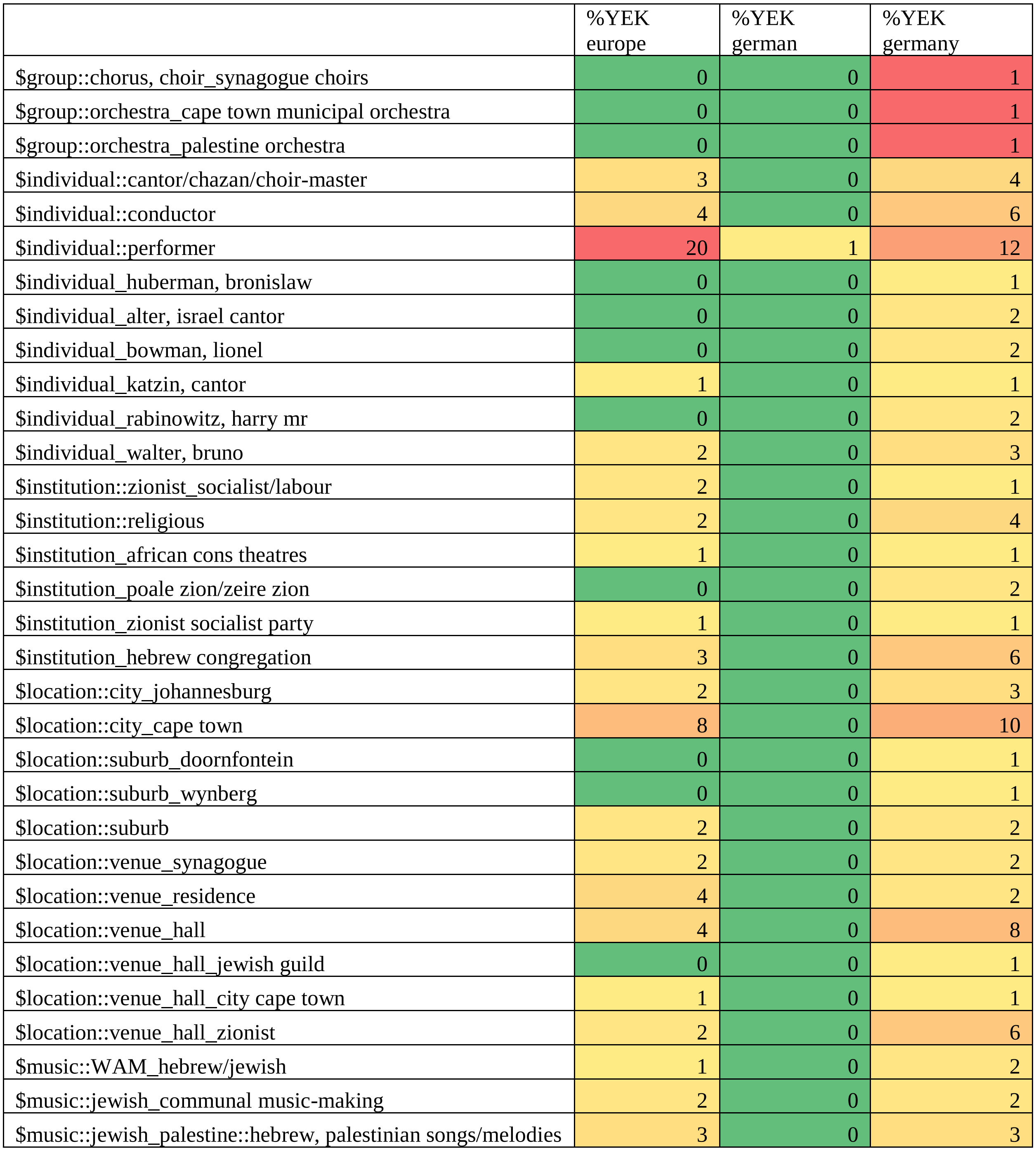
[34] YEK is an acronym for Yekkes.

The first part of that narrative is drawn from data generated by co-occurrence tables by Atlas.ti that show the number of instances where quotations captured by theme-codes and index-codes overlap in the primary source material. The first table (Figure 15) provides the context codes and the second table (Figure 16), details people, institutions, places and music.



| | %YEK europe | %YEK german | %YEK germany |
|---|---|---|---|
| #context_political | 2 | 0 | 4 |
| #context_religious | 3 | 0 | 7 |
| #context_cultural aspiration | 8 | 0 | 5 |
| #context_cultural | 12 | 1 | 11 |
| #event_at home/zionist conversazione | 1 | 0 | 5 |
| #event::literary, gramophone, memorial | 2 | 0 | 5 |
| #geography_america | 2 | 0 | 6 |
| #geography_europe | 8 | 0 | 5 |
| #music::WAM | 16 | 0 | 9 |
| #music::jewish | 13 | 1 | 14 |
| #music::jewish_liturgical, cantorial, religious | 2 | 1 | 4 |
| #music::jewish general | 7 | 0 | 7 |
| #music::WAM general | 15 | 0 | 7 |
| #society_jewish | 23 | 1 | 19 |
| #texts::reports, obituaries | 5 | 0 | 6 |
| #texts::individual profile | 5 | 1 | 8 |

Figure 15 Yekkes: Codes Co-Occurrence Table – Themes and Context



| | %YEK europe | %YEK german | %YEK germany |
|---|---|---|---|
| $group::chorus, choir_synagogue choirs | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| $group::orchestra_cape town municipal orchestra | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| $group::orchestra_palestine orchestra | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| $individual::cantor/chazan/choir-master | 3 | 0 | 4 |
| $individual::conductor | 4 | 0 | 6 |
| $individual::performer | 20 | 1 | 12 |
| $individual_huberman, bronislaw | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| $individual_alter, israel cantor | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| $individual_bowman, lionel | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| $individual_katzin, cantor | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| $individual_rabinowitz, harry mr | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| $individual_walter, bruno | 2 | 0 | 3 |
| $institution::zionist_socialist/labour | 2 | 0 | 1 |
| $institution::religious | 2 | 0 | 4 |
| $institution_african cons theatres | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| $institution_poale zion/zeire zion | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| $institution_zionist socialist party | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| $institution_hebrew congregation | 3 | 0 | 6 |
| $location::city_johannesburg | 2 | 0 | 3 |
| $location::city_cape town | 8 | 0 | 10 |
| $location::suburb_doornfontein | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| $location::suburb_wynberg | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| $location::suburb | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| $location::venue_synagogue | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| $location::venue_residence | 4 | 0 | 2 |
| $location::venue_hall | 4 | 0 | 8 |
| $location::venue_hall_jewish guild | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| $location::venue_hall_city cape town | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| $location::venue_hall_zionist | 2 | 0 | 6 |
| $music::WAM_hebrew/jewish | 1 | 0 | 2 |
| $music::jewish_communal music-making | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| $music::jewish_palestine::hebrew, palestinian songs/melodies | 3 | 0 | 3 |

**Figure 16 Yekkes: Codes Co-Occurrence Table – Themes and Index**

The section in Chapter 8 continues to a reading of the inductive codes (already introduced above) and the narrative is supplemented with a reading of the index-codes that trace a German Jewish participation in South African musical life. The following illustration (Figure 17) shows the networks of relevant codes and individual quotations associated with the identifier-codes that pointed the analyst to relevant content in this regard: **$IDindividual::german** and **$IDinstitution::german**. The code **$IDgroup::german** did not capture any data from the primary source material.

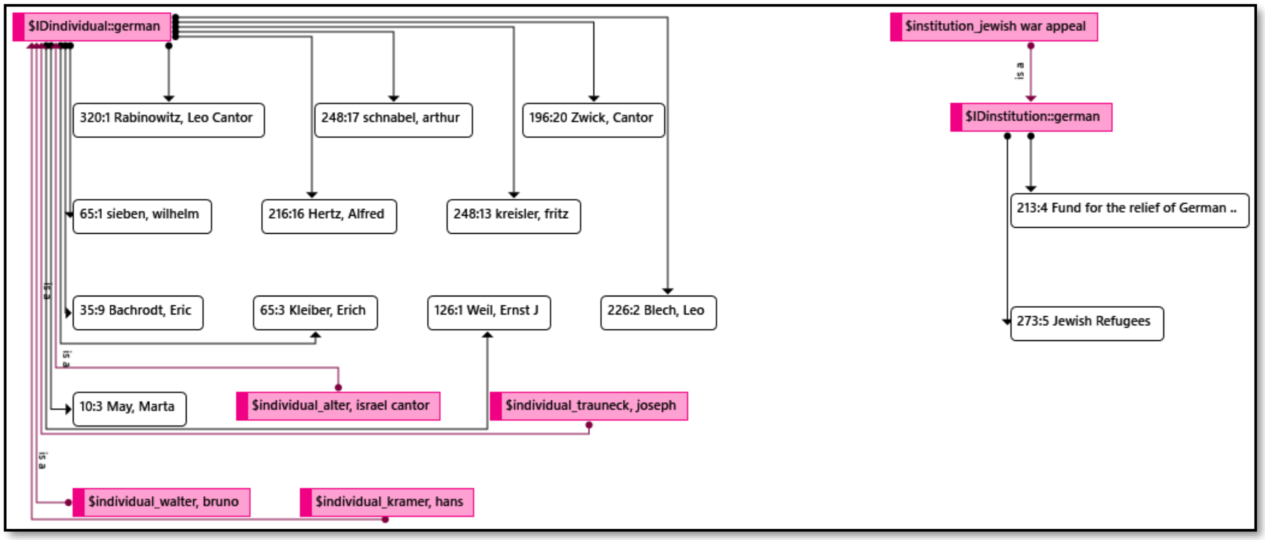

$IDindividual::german
320:1 Rabinowitz, Leo Cantor
248:17 schnabel, arthur
196:20 Zwick, Cantor
65:1 sieben, wilhelm
216:16 Hertz, Alfred
248:13 kreisler, fritz
35:9 Bachrodt, Eric
65:3 Kleiber, Erich
126:1 Weil, Ernst J
226:2 Blech, Leo
10:3 May, Marta
$individual_alter, israel cantor
$individual_trauneck, joseph
$individual_walter, bruno
$individual_kramer, hans
is a
is a
is a
$institution_jewish war appeal
is a
$IDinstitution::german
213:4 Fund for the relief of German ..
273:5 Jewish Refugees

Figure 17 Yekkes: Network of identifier-codes – individuals and institutions

Quotations captured with the inductive code on Germany concentrated in two substantial articles. The first article is an opinion-piece about a violin performance by Albert Einstein at a house concert in New York, while the second highlights the role of Jews in the history of the Metropolitan Opera House. These two articles are each discussed in some detail in the second part of Chapter 8. What makes these articles interesting is that they bring the geography of America into view, and not Europe as a place of origin or South Africa as a place of refuge as one would expect.

### America

It was thus through the search for content on both Eastern European and German Jews that the researcher became aware of the significance of the United States, which prompted a deeper delving into the primary source material for references to and from America. For that reason, a code **%YEK america** was added late in the analytical process, which means that its relevant content might be incomplete with regards to the sample of the present study. However, its findings were substantial enough for an entire chapter (Chapter 9) to be devoted to its content.

As already intimated above, the different anxieties associated with Peruvians and Yekkes appear to be racial. It is therefore significant that content from and about America combine significations of Eastern and Western European Jews in musical representations about jazz, a genre that during the 1930s captured the tension between blackness and whiteness. This and other matters concerning musical universalisms signifying whiteness are discussed in Chapter 9.

The narratives in the chapters that follow this one are informed by the analyses conducted along these methodological steps. For ease of narration and reading, however, an attempt was made to steer clear of continuous methodological remarks in those chapters, such as using full code-names that informed the discussion, describing the data in the ‘codes occurrence tables’ or explaining them in statistical terms. Furthermore, observations on the co-ordinates of index-codes by which music was mapped were integrated as far as possible to appear at the appropriate points in the argument, which means that they do not appear in clearly delineated sections, but form part of the analytical unfolding of the argument instead. Narrative flow and argumentative logic in subsequent chapters, in other words, were preferred over a dry, systematic and detailed account of the findings arranged according to the methodological steps outlined above.

# PART I: ANGLO-JEWISH BOTTLES

## Chapter 4:
## Anglicism, South Africa and English

### South African citizenship

During the thirties and forties, tension existed between matters of South African citizenship and ideas about a separate Jewish identity or Zionist ideology. The risk was that these positions could be seen as incompatible, and that Jews could be barred from society should there be reservations about their loyalty to South Africa. In light of this tension, it is not surprising that matters pertaining to citizenship in the sample of primary material appear more often in the *Zionist Record* than the *Chronicle*. Perhaps this aspect of Jewish affairs had to be foregrounded in a paper propagating Zionist ideology, whereas the notion of citizenship could have been an assumption that implicitly informed the writings in the *Chronicle*. Citizenship appears in the *Chronicle* during the 1940s with increasing frequency, often in the context of Zionist utterances. The prospect of establishing a Jewish state in the Middle East was growing more likely at this time, which meant that Jewish support of Zionism also increased. With this growing support, however, it also became necessary to protect the status quo of the Jewish community in South Africa, to not let Zionism cast Jewish loyalty in doubt in diaspora.

In a survey of 'The Position of the Jew', published in a 1932 *Zionist Record*, M. Kentridge draws attention to Jewish progressive political values:

> Both as citizens and as Jews our aim must be to help to break down racialism, foster the spirit of liberalism and bring about an economic revival, especially as the lesson of Jewish history is that racialism, illiberalism and economic depression have always proved fertile soil for anti-Semitism. (195:2)

Kentridge casts the racialism of South African society in terms of the white section of the population, without acknowledging racial tension between white and black people. He argues that a 'revival in racial antagonism between the two main white races of the Union' has brought about an 'arrest' of antisemitism in South Africa (195:2). The 'racial strife between the English and Afrikaans elements in our South African Nation' not only caused the Jew to be 'overlooked and left alone', but also brought about 'a tendency to extol his virtues and seek his friendship' (195:4). Kentridge stressed that there was no collective Jewish position on the antagonism between English and Afrikaans-speaking citizens. It would seem that this collective impartiality is put forward as the democratic feature of the Jewish community that turns Jews into ideal South African citizens who exercise their rights individually. However, Kentridge's argument is also informed by a fear of antisemitism, which is a political concern for self-survival. It was therefore a strategic imperative for Jews to become indispensable to South Africa's social and economic structure, and to reinforce a Jewish contribution 'to the development of South African Art, Music and Literature' (195:1), in order to ensure political security.

The primary material of this study gives evidence of a Jewish participation in civic life, which sometimes took place on the level of communal leadership. A *Zionist Record* of 1931 reports on a synagogue service held in Kimberley in honour of the newly-elected Jewish Mayor, Councillor R. Cohen. Rev. M. Konviser, who officiated the Mayoral Sunday service, acknowledged 'the welcome growth of political and religious toleration which is being practised in our country to-day.' To an assembly that included non-Jews, he said:

> You find yourselves this morning in our Jewish House of Prayer to pray for the Divine Guidance of, and to do honour to, a son of Israel who has been raised to the exalted position of chief citizen of our city. (185:6)

Ten years later, a *Zionist Record* reports on a special service to commemorate 'Mayoral Sunday' at the Western Road Synagogue in Port Elizabeth. The congregation in attendance represented 'all sections of the population, English and Afrikaans-speaking alike', including a delegation of important public figures, such as City Councillors, Members of Parliament, and more (285:24).

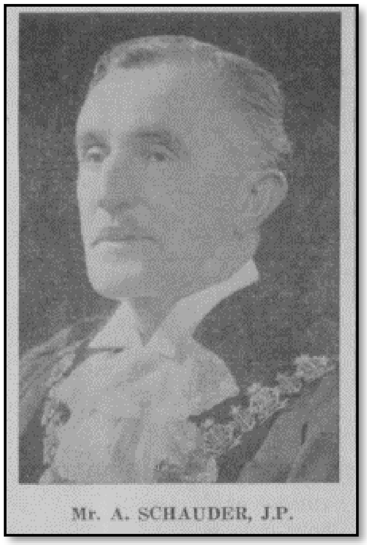

Mr. A. SCHAUDER, J.P.

**Figure 18: Mr. A. Schauder, Mayor of Port Elizabeth. *Zionist Record*. 5 December 1941. p. 21.**

The report contains no comment on the significance of the service taking place on a Sunday, instead of a Saturday, which is the traditional Jewish Sabbath. Perhaps this was a compromise: since the Mayor at the time was Adolf Schauder, a Jew, the service was held in a synagogue; but since he was serving a Christian government and the event was first and foremost a civic one, the service took place on a Sunday, in line with Christian tradition. The service itself was a diplomatic balancing of Jewish and civic elements: It was 'conducted by the Mayor's chaplain, Rev. A. Levy, who was assisted by Cantor Altschuler and a full choir' (285:25). A choral rendition of a traditional chant, scriptural reading and congregational singing of a Psalm was followed by 'the ceremony of the Opening of the Ark', a Jewish synagogue ritual, after which 'the Mayor's chaplain offered the prayer for the Royal Family, the Governor-General and the Government of the Union' (258:42). While the service on the whole aligned with a British mode of worship, reflecting the colonial character of the Union at the time, the Jewish version of non-racialism and liberalism is marked in sound at the close of the service when both 'Die Stem van Suid-Afrika' and 'God Save the King' were sung. 'Hatikvah' was not sung, perhaps underlining the civic focus of the synagogue service.

Despite arguments that Zionism and South African citizenship were compatible, there were differences of opinion about how these loyalties were to be expressed in a South African context. In a letter addressed to the editor of the *Record* in 1946, a 'Johannesburg Jew' protested against the newly-formed Jewish Musical Institute for not closing their concert with 'Hatikvah'. He writes that audience members expressed disgust at the institute for having had 'already been swayed by the prejudices of our so-called local Left cultural anti-Zionists' (311:4). It would appear, then, that some Zionists disparaged a liberalism that may have been associated with an Anglo-Jewish worldview, and that the worldview of the latter did not necessarily accommodate Zionist values.

A sure way of expressing loyalty to South Africa and England was by supporting war efforts. In 1941, a *Zionist Record* reports on a concert held in the Jewish Guild:

> [A] large proportion of the audience was non-Jewish and the manner in which they fraternised with the Jewish folk was an indication of the spirit of goodwill prevailing in this institution, due to the splendid work now being carried on at the Soldiers' Rest Room, which is conducted under the auspices of the S.A. Jewish Ex-Service league. (278:3)

Arranging such concerts also created opportunities for Jews to establish relationships with important civic figures. One person, 'the well-known Cantor Albert Lubliner, of London' (263:14), was actively involved in civic matters. According to a notice in a 1941 *Zionist Record*, he organized an 'All-"Star" Concert' in aid of the Governor-General's National War Fund. For this concert, which took place at the Johannesburg City Hall, he received 'the distinguished patronage of General the Rt. Hon. J. C. Smuts, Sir Edward Harding, High Commissioner to the Union of South Africa, Colonel the Hon. Deneys Reitz, Colonel the Hon. C. F. Stallard, and His Worship the Mayor and Mayoress of Johannesburg' (280:51). The programme featured artists like Lillian Abbot, Rachelle Wainer, Maurice Millard, Eric Egan, Glanville Davies, Irene Margo, Charlie Thompson, Olwen Whiley and others (280:3). Later that year, he organized another 'grand celebrity concert' at the City Hall 'in aid of the South African Red Cross' (285:3). The event received similar patronage from high officials and included some of the same, and other local performers (285:3).

Jews in South Africa conducted many of their affairs according to English models. Social or gentlemen's clubs could signify such a Jewish alignment with Englishness. The South Peninsula Jewish Club, formed in 1932, would 'meet in a homely atmosphere where comradeship and fellowship would be prevalent' (17:9). In 1941, the Jewish Guild Soldiers' Club conducted their affairs according to an English model: by arranging Saturday night dances and Sunday concerts where performers like the 'Musical Madcaps' took the stage (283:1).

The primary source material does not include many references to Afrikaners or Afrikaner culture. During the 1940s, as indicated above, a diplomatic nod was given to Afrikaners by including 'Die Stem van Suid-Afrika' at civic assemblies. In 1948, when the Nationalist Party took power in South Africa, the *Zionist Record* publishes a profile piece on Marie Gerstle, a singer who was born in England. She grew up in Johannesburg and was at the time living in the United Sates. The piece relays some anecdotes as told by Gerstle during an interview. She remembers the first Zionist meeting held in Johannesburg in 1899 'on the eve of the Anglo-Boer War' (330:11):

> I had finished my song and was succeeded by a lanky, 'very British,' Miss McLoughlin, playing a violin solo. Half-way through her performance, President Reitz appeared. In a burst of frenzied patriotism Miss McLoughlin struck up the strains of 'God Save the Queen.' Pandemonium reigned. (330:11)

Another anecdote about the 'top-hatted, Calvinist Oom Paul' reveals a similar awkward, but affable relationship between Jews and Afrikaners. Gerstle, who sang in the choir at the inauguration of the Great Synagogue[35], recalls President Kruger's 'famous dedication':

> There was silence in the impressive body of the building. It was a moment of great achievement. President Kruger rose to speak the solemn benediction. We could hardly believe our ears as he rolled out the phrase. 'In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ I declare this synagogue open.' (330:4)

The *Chronicle* also reported in 1946 that the Union of Jewish Women invited the Mayor of Bethlehem, Mr. S.J. van Niekerk, to attend a ball. Van Niekerk sent a financial contribution enclosed with a letter that expressed joy at 'the thought of contributing […] towards the freeing of that fair land of yours from that murderous brood of Arabs' (142:5). Van Niekerk's slight suggests that a Jewish reluctance to speak out against black-white racism in South Africa could have been linked to a white South African sympathy with Zionists regarding existing racial tensions in the Middle East. At the time, both white Afrikaner power in South Africa and Jewish power in Palestine were emerging and uncertain. It is possible that an Afrikaner-Jewish identification was partially rooted in a shared 'Other' status, especially in the context of British imperialism. Furthermore, Afrikaners had yet to introduce the bureaucratic system of Apartheid in South Africa, which would legalize basic tenets of racial separation that was already widely practiced. The difference between South Africa and Palestine was that white minority power in South Africa was established, while Jewish power in Palestine was still challenged by the presence of a large Arab population. While the instances of intercommunal mingling in the primary source material may point to a Jewish liberalism that was open to engage different people, no mention is made of 'natives' or 'non-whites' who also lived in South Africa. This underlines the place that the ideal of whiteness occupied in a South African Jewish imaginary of the early twentieth century.

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[35] Readers should keep in mind that these are personal anecdotes based on individual memory. It should therefore not be read as historical facts.

## Musical citizenship

The newspaper source material suggests that music had a particular function in facilitating citizenship for Jews. It could be seen, in the first instance, in an ambition to organize the arts on a national level. That this activity was aimed at citizenship, or at gaining the respect of non-Jews, is suggested by Mr. Schwartz's interview in a *Chronicle* of 1930:

> Why not collect the Jewish artists in South Africa, who to-day were scattered all over the country performing in various societies, he suggested, and form one big organisation – raise them above the amateur level, put them on a professional basis, and make the Gentiles round about sit up? This was a way of earning the respect and recognition of our neighbours. (5:6)

While Schwartz's suggestion was to form a Jewish organization, there was also a drive to participate in broader arts-related activities in South Africa. In 1931, Hamabit claimed in his column 'Current Communal Comments' in the *Zionist Record* that 'Jews have helped to put South Africa upon the operatic and musical map' (182:7). The author was referring to the patron, Mr. Cherniavsky, who brought the Gonsalez Opera Company to South Africa, and to the considerable number of Jews who attended their performances. In 1934, Hamabit supported the conductor Lyell Taylor's proposal to establish a National Orchestra, saying that such an institution would be 'particularly welcomed by Jews' (218:4).

The second way in which music facilitated South African citizenship for Jews was through pedagogy and the performing arts. In 1935, Hamabit introduced Isador Epstein as 'the well-known pedagogue, who is doing good work in raising the standard of piano playing in this country' (228:3). Esteem of England and specifically London is evident in the author's elaboration of Epstein's profile: 'It is not generally known that Epstein is the son of a famous London *chazzan*. His father was Cantor Epstein, of the New Synagogue in the great metropolis' (228:4). Another example that relates musical pedagogy with citizenship is a *Zionist Record* 1948 report that draws attention to 'Solly Aronowsky, Musical Director of the Jewish Musical Institute and Conductor of the Jewish Youth Symphony Orchestra' who had been 'appointed adjudicator of the Natal Eisteddfod (String Section)' for which he had also compiled the syllabus (331:11).

Pride was taken in local performers who went abroad to further their studies or who performed well in international music examinations. England emerges here as an important reference in estimating artistic success. In 1932, the *Record* reported the achievements of Joseph Sack, a cellist originally from the Rand, who was a student at the Royal Academy of Music. He was a member of a prize-winning string quartet (215:10) and an accomplished soloist:

> One of England's staunchest patrons of music, Baron D'Erlanger, has selected him to perform for the first time in England the 'cello ballad which he (the Baron) has just composed. This is a signal honour for the Johannesburg boy, and the performance, which is

> to take place shortly, should reveal him as one of the leading student 'cellists in England. (215:7)

In 1942, a *Zionist Record* reported that a scholarship fund was being established at the Royal Academy of Music in honour of David Carl Taylor. Taylor was 'an ex-South African' who went to London as the 'winner of the Overseas Scholarship for the Royal Academy of Music' where he later became professor of violin. After obtaining professorship, he volunteered for the Royal Air Force and became a Pilot-Officer. He was killed in an aircraft accident. (289:4). 'On his death', reads the report, 'high tributes were paid to his musical achievements, character and devotion to his country' (289:5).

**Figure 19: David Carl Taylor. 29 May 1942. p. 17.**

The *Chronicle* reported in 1944 that singer Florence Linder returned to South Africa from England 'with an enhanced reputation, for her recitals on the concert platforms of London evoked much praise from the press critics' (115:15). In 1945, Hyman Bress, a 13-year-old Jewish pianist, gave a farewell concert with the Cape Town Municipal Orchestra before departing for the United Study to study music. The *Chronicle* reports:

> When he was six the English violinist Ketelby heard him and predicted a great future for the boy. He won his first scholarship before he was seven. Since then he has made magnificent progress and he has broadcast and performed on several occasions with the Cape Town Orchestra. Dr. Pickerill, Director of the Orchestra, has described this talented lad as 'a violinist of exceptional merit.' (128:1)

In 1946, the *Chronicle* payed tribute to Hilda Sacks 'who went overseas for further study and experience' and who 'was recently awarded a 94 per cent. pass as solo performer in the Licentiate examination of the Royal Academy of Music, London' (148:2; see also 217:23). In almost all these mentioned instances, the individual is identified by their citizenship, not their Jewishness.

A third area in which music facilitated South African citizenship was composition. Jews contributed compositions to a South African repertoire, and they supported the performance of works by other South African composers. In 1936, a *Zionist Record* reported that the A.Z. Idelsohn group organized an international song competition for which composers were asked to set Jewish poems to music. The competition was open to contestants of any nationality and Prof. P. R. Kirby, a non-Jew, was an adjudicator. However, it is reported that 'no entries had been received from composers in South Africa' (232:8), which underlies an implicit wish for South Africa to include Jewishness in their cultural structure. A notice in a 1940 *Record* on Isadore Epstein's upcoming broadcast tour reported: 'Amongst the works he has decided to play, will be included compositions by South African composers, viz., Sydney Rosenbloom, Colin Taylor and Isidor Epstein' (277:4). Similarly, the Johannesburg Symphony Society had a policy to perform 'at each concert a work by a South African composer' (256:6). Performances of works by Jerry Idelsohn, son of the renowned musicologist A.Z. Idelsohn, are worth mentioning in this context: In 1943, cellist Betty Pack performed his 'Rhapsodic Paraphrase', which is 'based on ancient Hebrew melodies' (293:24); and in 1944, his cantata 'Israel's Marching' was performed (299:13).

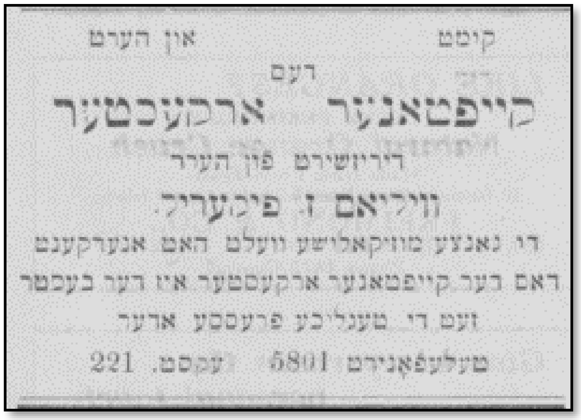
It is significant that the music that facilitated citizenship, as cited above, is invariably in the form of Western art music. The Jewish patronage of such events was boasted about:

> When the booking office opened in Johannesburg at 8:30 on a certain morning some weeks ago, one Jewish lady headed the queue which had been waiting for some time, and within a few minutes had purchased tickets for the first two weeks of the season, amounting to over forty pounds. There was quite a quarrel between this lady and an elderly Jewish gentlemen who was keen on securing some of the seats she was buying. (182:9)

A closer look at the Jewish patronage of music in civic spaces offers further insights about the place of Jews in South African society.

## Jewish patronage of music in South Africa

This section considers entities mentioned in the primary source material that may hold particular links to England or Englishness. Entities include musical institutions such as the Cape Town Municipal Orchestra and the music firm Darters, individuals among whom are conductors and performers, and venue spaces that hold historical connections with the British Empire.



קומט און הערט
דעם
קייפטאנער ארקעסטער
דיריזשירט פון הערר
וויליאם ז. פיקעריל
די גאנצע מוזיקאלישע וועלט האט אנערקענט
דאס דער קייפטאנער ארקעסטער איז דער בעסטער
זעט די טעגליכע פרעססע אדער
טעלעפאנירט 6801 עקסט. 221

**Figure 20: Advertisement in Yiddish for a performance by the Cape Town Municipal Orchestra. *South African Jewish Chronicle*. 15 January 1932. p. 47.**

The Cape Town Municipal Orchestra is one of the most featured musical entities in the *Chronicle*. Almost all their performances were both advertised and reviewed in this publication. The orchestra was conducted by William Pickerill (1892-1955), who was born in England and studied at the Royal College of Music before coming to South Africa (W.D. S. 1986). During the early 1930s, a few advertisements for the orchestra's concerts were printed in Yiddish (13:14; 14:3 and 66:2). This signifies an interesting, even if short-lived, contract between the Orchestra and the Jewish community to treat Yiddish as a sophisticated culture of Western civilization.

The relationship between the Orchestra and the Jewish community is confirmed several times in the newspaper source material. In 1944, for instance, a *Chronicle* notes that Jerry Idelsohn was to 'present a programme of Jewish music with the Cape Town Orchestra at the City Hall'. The programme would include two of Idelsohn's compositions (124:8). In 1947, Madame Mabella Ott-Penetto would be the 'star of the evening' at another performance of the Orchestra (151:2). It is noted that the programme would include 'an original rendering of "Eli, Eli"' and a 'song "In Memoriam" – to the sacred memory of those who have fallen as victims of Nazi atrocities'. The proceeds of the evening were reserved for the Jewish National Fund (151:2). Ott-Penetto is recognized elsewhere in the material as a Jew from Oudtshoorn (284:7) and at the time of this performance, her career was centred in Zürich (F.S. 1984).

Jeremy Schulman (1896-1969), born in England and son of a Hebrew teacher, came to South Africa in 1916. During the 1920s, Schulman was a violinist for the Gaiety Company at His Majesty Theatre in Johannesburg, where he later also played for the Johannesburg Broadcast Orchestra. In 1931, I.W. Schlesinger appointed Schulman to conduct the African Broadcasting Company Orchestra (Malan 1986). The source material documents more of his music activities. A review of a chamber concert by the Shulman Quartet appears in a *Zionist Record* of 1932 (189:1). Reviews of performances by the A.B.C. Symphony Orchestra, which he conducted, appear in 1936 and 1941 publications of the *Zionist Record* (229:11 and 282:2). In 1938, he joined the Sarah Sylvia London Company and other local artists at a concert in the Plaza Theatre in Johannesburg, arranged by the Women's Zionist League in aid of the Jewish National Fund (261:1). A *Chronicle* reported in 1940 that he rendered 'musical items' in Worcester at a farewell function 'in honour of Mr. Michael Rabinowitz on his departure for Palestine' (82:1). In 1946, an advertisement in a *Chronicle* named Schulman as the Cape Town Municipal Orchestra's guest conductor for the premiere of William Walton's violin concerto that was to be performed by Editha Braham (145:2).

The music firm Darter & Sons appears in the *Chronicle* most often as a ticket booking centre for the Cape Town Municipal Orchestra concerts. The firm, established by the Englishman George Blackford Silver Darter in 1850, imported pianos and supplied music instruments and manuscripts from their premises in Adderley Street, Cape Town (Malan 1979a:300). It is likely that the Darters family was not Jewish, but their commercial interests catered for the Jewish community in South Africa. According to a 1930 *Chronicle*, Darters lent a grand piano to the Committee of the Cape Jewish Board of Guardians for the evening of their Philanthropic Ball (6:19) and they sold tickets on behalf of the right-wing Zionist organization Betar for their Grand Ball at the Hotel Edward where Johnny Mills and his Rhythm Boys were to perform in 1935 (41:12). Tickets for Kanevska and Breitman performances at the Zionist Hall in

1938 (62:5) and again in 1945 (125:9) were also obtainable from Darters, as were tickets for showing of films such as *Rio Rita* at the Astoria (1:1, 1930) and the Yiddish film *The Lost Boy* at the Zionist Hall (57:5, 1937).

Several concerts mentioned in these newspapers highlight an interest in English performers and English culture. In 1935, an article on the Nelson Trio appeared in a *Chronicle* (38:1). The article reports on their performance at the City Hall earlier that week when they performed Beethoven’s Triple Concerto and Glinka’s ‘The Lark’, which was ‘specially arranged by their father’ (38:9). Then it was announced that ‘another concert of exceptional interest will be given by the three gifted Jewish sisters at the Zionist Hall’ (38:10). The programme would include ‘memorable items’ by composers like Bruch, Bloch and Achron, who were celebrated for composing Hebrew art music. The article concludes with the following statement, which establishes a clear link between a Jewish audience in South Africa and an Anglo-Jewish centre in London:

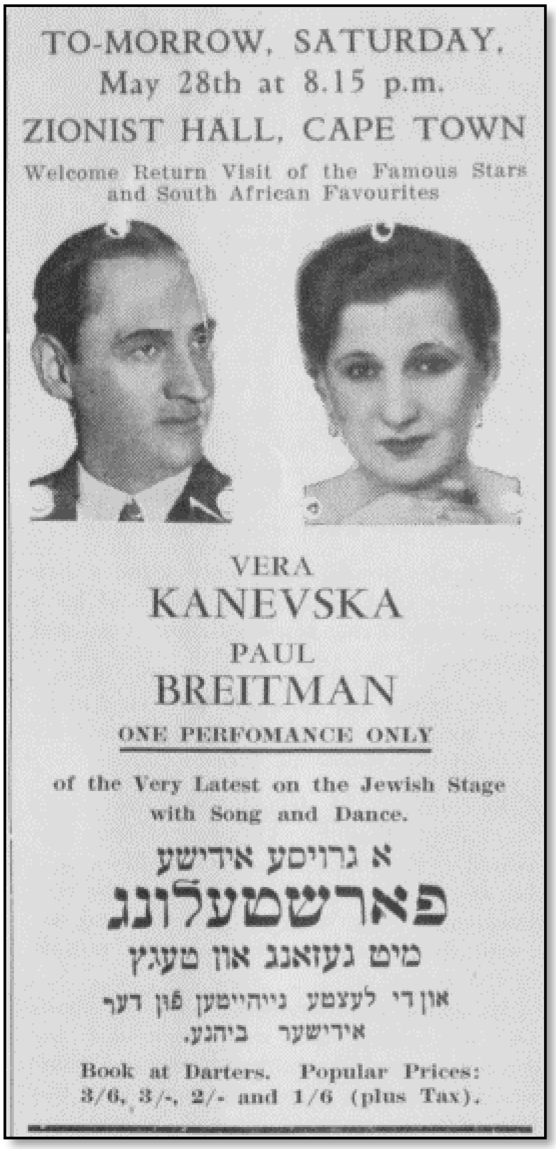
> This will be the only opportunity for the Jewish community to hear the Nelson Trio in a programme which has been heard only in London and none can afford to miss it. (38:5)

A review of a 1937 performance by Olga Ryss at a concert arranged by the Johannesburg Musical Society in the Library Theatre appears in a *Zionist Record*. The reviewer noted that a ‘series of songs by the brilliant English composer, Bantock, were of special interest’ (249:8). According to a 1945 *Chronicle*, the ‘well-known English violinist, Thomas Matthews’ gave a successful recital at the Cape Town City Hall. Similarly, Vera Benenson is described as the ‘Brilliant English Jewish Pianist’ (319:7) in a 1947 *Zionist Record* advertisement for a recital arranged by the Johannesburg Musical Society that was to take place at the Selborne Hall (319:5).

Jewish patronage of music in South Africa extended to the popular domains of vaudeville, musical theatre and films. An article in a 1938 *Chronicle* promotes a performance at the Sea Point Pavilion by ‘the famous English Character Comedian’ Harry Thurston, who would perform ‘Character Studies of London Life on the Thames Embankment.’ He was to be supported by ‘an all-star bill of vaudeville artistes including popular Vic Davis and his Merry Band of Melody Makers’ (60:5). Similarly, the ‘British Hebrew Comedian’ Issy Bonn, who was visiting ‘the Union from England’ in 1948, is described in a *Zionist Record* as ‘a comedian who is quite at home in Yiddish patter’ in addition to being ‘a singer of outstanding merit’ (325:6). A *Chronicle* of 1932 stated that the ‘wide popularity of British films ensures a warm welcome for “The Stronger Sex”’, which was to be shown at the Royal theatre in Cape Town the following week (13:7), and which included the ‘delightful singing of the British Miners Choir’ (13:10). Another article in a 1939 *Chronicle* promoted a performance of Franz Lehar’s musical *Land of Smiles* that was being ‘being presented by Richard Tauber and a London company’ at the Alhambra Theatre in Cape

Town. Even though Tauber was the star of the show and the protagonist of the article, the fact that he was an Austrian Jew is not mentioned. Instead, the article emphasizes the production's association with London by stating first that the musical was premiered at Drury Lane Theatre where 'Tauber conquered his audience with the liquid gold of his marvellous voice'; and then repeats that 'on the first night of its production in London', Franz Lehar had sent Tauber 'a message of affectionate greeting'. The forthcoming Cape Town performance was promoted while the company was in Johannesburg where the production was 'attracting crowded houses to the Empire' (73:10).

A strong marker of British Imperialism in the primary source material refers to venues, most notably theatres and hotels that hosted events frequented by the Jewish community. As was the case in other places of the world, theatres also served as movie houses during the 1930s and 40s. British Imperial theatre franchises with branches in both Johannesburg and Cape Town included the Empire, His Majesty's and Colosseum theatres. Other venues in Cape Town were the Tivoli, Alhambra, and Royal; and in Johannesburg, Selborne Hall. Hotels included the Carlton (Johannesburg), several Grand Hotels, the Edward Hotel, Hotel Krikler in Muizenberg and Queens Hotel in Sea Point. The majority of events hosted at hotels were Zionist balls.



TO-MORROW, SATURDAY,
May 28th at 8.15 p.m.
ZIONIST HALL, CAPE TOWN
Welcome Return Visit of the Famous Stars
and South African Favourites

VERA
KANEVSKA
PAUL
BREITMAN
ONE PERFOMANCE ONLY
of the Very Latest on the Jewish Stage
with Song and Dance.

א גרויסע אידישע
פארשטעלונג
מיט געזאנג און טענץ
און די לעצטע נייהייטען פון דער
אידישער ביהנע.

Book at Darters. Popular Prices:
3/6, 3/-, 2/- and 1/6 (plus Tax).

**Figure 21: Advertisement for a performance by Vera Kanevska and Paul Breitman. *South African Jewish Chronicle*. 27 May 1938. p. 359.**

The English connection to Yiddish culture observed in relation to the Cape Town Orchestra is confirmed by music reportage on non-classical music also discussed above. Another connection can be found in the performing duo, Paul Breitman and Vera Kanevska, who first came to South Africa 'with visiting troupes from London in the 1920s and settled in South Africa in 1938' (Belling 2007:205). They are first mentioned in the source material in a 1933 *Chronicle*, when they performed as leading members of the Yiddish Theatrical Company at a Cape Town celebration of the opening of the Eighteenth Zionist Congress that was taking place in Prague (23:11). Another connection is found in the Sarah Sylvia Company whose staging of a Yiddish operetta, *A Night in Mexico*, in 1948 was advertised in a *Zionist Record* (333:18).

A profile piece on Joseph Sachs, a South African-born patron of the theatre based in London, appeared in a *Zionist Record* of 1948 (327:5). The article describes Sachs's story as one of 'England's gain and South Africa's loss.' It explains that in 1910, Sachs had built the Palladium Theatre in Johannesburg and sold it to I.W. Schlesinger in 1913, whereupon South African theatres 'became picture-houses rather than places of living culture, while English theatres enjoyed many masterly productions' (327:11). Here, the material registers a prejudice for European theatre as 'living culture' over film, which was associated with America and by 1948 was already popular in South Africa. The article explains that when Sachs stayed in Johannesburg, he brought 'English companies out continually, and once a Yiddish company' and that he 'was connected with Leonard Rayne and Frank Willows, who ran all the musical comedies' (327:12). Sachs then 'went to England to fetch out more concert companies in opposition to Mr. Schlesinger' (327:7). Prevented from returning by the First World War,

> Sachs remained in London producing various types of plays, mainly musicals, most successfully, and to-day he has the reputation of being London's West End producer of the longest standing. (327:5)

A promotional article appeared in a 1948 *Chronicle* for 'Tom Arnold's production of Ivor Novello's musical romance "Perchance to Dream"' that was to play at the Alhambra (165:1). The play was thoroughly English, with its plot 'starting in Regency days, proceeding to the Victorian era and ending at the present moment'. Also, the production 'ran for well over 1,000 performances at the London Hippodrome' (165:1). Here is one instance in the primary source material where Englishness is equated with universal appeal:

> The reason for its success is the reason for the consistent success of Ivor Novello's works in general – it has a good strong story, it is human, it has thrills and sentiment (but not sentimentality) and it has some of the very best music Mr. Novello has written. It makes a universal appeal. (165:2)

A report on the founding meeting of the South African Friends of the Palestine Symphony Orchestra in 1939 in a *Zionist Record* (P265), alluded to England's power in both South Africa and Palestine, which serves as a reminder that a Jewish identification with South Africa's English community may have served a Zionist agenda too. The informal meeting that took place at a private residence was overseen by Colonel Kisch, who was 'Trustee and Treasurer for the Orchestra' (265:1). Frederick Kisch had served as 'member of the Zionist Executive in Palestine in charge of the political department' between 1923 and 1931 (Unknown 1943 [O]) and was also 'a highly decorated and respected military Englishman' (Giebels

2014:123). The *Zionist Record* article comments on the relationship between the Orchestra and Britain as follows:

> The orchestra […] constituted one of the few useful links between the Yishuv and the British Authorities in Palestine. The last High Commissioner, Sir Arthur Wauchope, had never missed a concert. Both the Military Commanders at present in Palestine attended every concert. (265:2)

At this founding meeting, the South African writer Sarah Gertrude Millin was elected Honorary President of the Society (265:7). At the time, Millin had already published biographies of Cecil Rhodes and Jan Smuts and her explicitly racist views would have been known from her 1926 publication *God's Stepchildren* (Roberts 1980). While these aspects of Millin's biography are not mentioned in the *Zionist Record* article, her position on the executive of the new society suggests historical resonances between racial prejudices of white South African society and those of Jewish Palestine.

# Chapter 5:

# Zionism, Palestine and Hebrew

## Music and context

In the sample of primary documents, the themes of Zionism, Palestine and Hebrew appear frequently in a variety of notices of forthcoming events, in short reports on recent communal events and in concert reviews. Most of the events that they report on would have held particular interest for Zionists, though these themes appear also in high frequencies at events catering for Jewish (not necessarily Zionist) society, such as cultural gatherings like literary evenings. Two regular events reported on often in these pages are 'Zionist Conversaziones' and 'At Home' events. These events normally took place at public halls or at private residences. Proceedings included lectures or debates on topics relevant to Zionism or Judaism, as well as some performance items, including recitations, dancing or music.

The institutions involved in these events were for the most part Zionist associations, with a strong presence of left-wing organizations among them. Many of the institutions were women's organizations and youth organizations. Zionist organizations, listed here in order of descending frequencies, include the Bnoth Zion (Daughters of Zion), the Jewish National Fund, the Mizrachi association,[36] the Zionist Women's League and the Zionist Youth Council. Non-Zionist institutions comprised an array of cultural or social organizations, including education, religious and music institutions. The most prominent non-Zionist institutions include Hebrew Congregations, Talmud Torahs and the Friends of the Palestine Symphony Orchestra. The themes discussed in this section – Hebrew, Palestine and Zionism – are not reported in the contexts of the following institutions: the Jewish Guild, the Jewish Ladies Benevolent Society and the Jewish Orphanage. These are Jewish associations, as opposed to Zionist ones, which confirms that Jewish interests may include, but are not the same as, Zionist concerns.

Individual performing musicians mentioned along with these themes include international figures Jascha Heifetz, Pnina Saltzman (Palestinian pianist), Bronislaw Huberman (founder of the Palestine Symphony Orchestra) and Themeli (Greek pianist). Local performers include Lionel Bowman (pianist), Jerry Shulman (violinist and conductor), Harry Rabinowitz (singer), Rachael Rabinowitz (pianist), John Connell (conductor) and Solly Aronowsky (conductor).

Most of the music reported in these contexts cannot be categorized, since it is vaguely described as 'music items' or 'a piano solo', or a performer who 'sang a number of songs', etc. Such music items constitute the largest portion of the music mentioned in these contexts. They were delivered by members of the community, sometimes by known music figures like cantors, but more often by regular community members ('Miss M Bloomberg' or 'Mr A Lifshitz', etc). In other instances, music is described as 'Jewish', though it is seldom clear whether this category refers to folk, religious or some other form of music. After the unidentified category 'music items', this vague and heterogeneous category of 'Jewish' music is the grouping most often mentioned in relation to the three themes discussed in this section. Liturgical music as a subset of Jewish music also has a prominent place.

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[36] A religious political organisation of which the women's section was the most active.

Specific types of Jewish music reported often in the material, and most often in these contexts, are Hebrew songs or melodies, also called Palestinian or halutzim songs or melodies. The points at which these songs/melodies co-occur with the themes of this section comprise a small portion of all the instances captured with the relevant index-code.[37] However, the frequency of instances in which Hebrew and Palestinian songs and melodies is reported, reinforces the importance of these themes in both publications, even if these themes do not also appear in their proximity. One specific Hebrew song, the Zionist anthem 'Hatikvah', was coded separately, which, if added to the count of other Hebrew and Palestinian songs, would bring the frequency of Hebrew melodies to almost half of the music identified in these contexts. 'Hatikvah' was often sung at the close of events, regardless of whether it was a Zionist or Jewish gathering.

Through inductive coding, the researcher identified a category of Hebrew (or Jewish) Western art music. This category includes mention of compositions by known Jewish composers such as Josef Achron (1886-1943), Ernest Bloch (1880-1959) and Max Bruch (1838-1920). Achron's *Hebrew Melodies* was reported to have been performed three times, once in 1933 as an arrangement for violin and piano performed by Mr. C. Krietzer and Miss. R. Kessel (25:35) and again in 1935, in another arrangement performed by the Nelson Trio (38:19). It also formed part of Jascha Heifetz's repertoire during his concert tour in 1932. Heifetz described the piece in a *Chronicle*: 'This composition is based on Jewish folk-songs and *chassidic* tunes gathered from visits among Jewish village folk. The tune has hitherto never been musically scored' (191:21). In 1941, the *Zionist Record* reports, Betty Pack would perform Bloch's *Hebrew Rhapsody* with the Broadcasting Symphony Orchestra. This piece is described as 'a typical work, expressing the suffering and joy of the Jewish people throughout the ages' (282:6). While the researcher views these works as a musical marker of Hebrew culture, the quotations captured in this category do not intersect with the thematic quotations discussed here, which raises the musicological and philosophical questions: to what extent do these works signify modern Hebrew culture – in other words, a Zionist vision for an emerging national identity? And to what extent are these works merely an outcome of a wider early twentieth century art music practice that sought musical material in ethnic folk traditions? I return to this question later in the present chapter.

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[37] The code **$music::jewish_palestine::hebrew, palestinian songs/melodies** captured 81 quotations in total. Only 17 of these co-occur with the themes discussed here.

Passive listening to music items being performed was, however, not the only form of musicking that happened in these contexts. Several of these quotations report guests dancing the hora, which is a folk dance that developed in the Jewish Yishuv in Palestine, and reference is often made to sing-songs. This suggests that communal music-making was common at these events. The picture that emerges is one of engaged and active music making, in addition to passive listening and appreciating. Activities included community members performing music items, communal singing as well as guests dancing the hora.

## Zionism in South Africa

In these newspapers, the relationship between world Jewry and Palestine was often discussed with reference to the tribulations of European Jewry. The earliest emergence of such political concerns in the sample of primary material dates to 1933, the year Hitler took power in Germany. These concerns are discussed in detail later in the thesis (see Chapter 8, German Jewry in a South African Jewish imaginary). Sufficient to note here that concern for European Jews mingled with critical views on the history of Jewish assimilation in Europe. During the Second World War, Zionist urgency around Palestine increased and Zionists responded to the situation in Europe by championing Palestine as a Jewish national centre. In 1948, after a Jewish State had been proclaimed, it became necessary to confirm Israel’s power with regards to Jewish concerns across the world. The newspaper source material suggests that the political function of the State of Israel was to provide security for Jews both in- and outside its borders. In other words, while a Zionist imaginary focussed first on Palestine/Israel, its political vision extended to the Jewish condition in the diaspora. This had been the case even before the State of Israel was established.

At a propaganda meeting in Vereeniging in 1936, as reported in the *Zionist Record*, attention was paid to ‘the part that a Zionist society should play in the local life of a Jewish community.’ Pleas were made for the ‘Zionist endeavour’ to ‘be increased’ and for ‘the Jewish position in this country’ to ‘be safeguarded’ (237:13). A *Chronicle* reported a lecture given on ‘Our Aims in the Galuth’ at a meeting of the Zionist Socialist Party in 1935, focussing on ‘the fight for the emancipation of Jewry in the Diaspora’ (39:2, see also 31:25). Similarly, at a meeting of the Maitland Jewish Cultural and Social Society in 1945, the *Chronicle* quoted the speaker as saying that ‘in addition to the establishment of a National Home, Zionism also stood for equal rights in the diaspora’ (129:30).

These aims resonate with arguments for the compatibility of Zionism and South African citizenship. At the Maitland-meeting, it was argued that ‘South African Jewry had a twofold role to play; not only should they be Zionists but also South Africans – and good ones at that’ (129:30). In a different report on the same page, an argument was made that ‘engaging in Zionist activity [does not] detract from good citizenship’ and that South African Zionists were ‘loyal citizens of South Africa’ (129:19). This position received support from non-Jewish South Africans too. In 1936, the *Chronicle* reported that the

Mayor of Bethlehem sent a cheque to the Union of Jewish Women 'with the request that half of it be earmarked "for any of your societies whose ideal and endeavour it is to build Palestine into a real and fine national home for Jewry"' (142:5).

Support for Palestine was often financial. This is evident in the number of fund-raising events that are captured with index codes in the material.[38] Children were also taught to contribute to Palestine. Aunt Sarah, author of a regular children's column, wrote to a specific reader in 1934: 'In your letter you say that you enclose a shilling for the Palestine Orphans' Fund. I did not find the shilling. Perhaps you forgot to enclose it' (212:15; see also 212:1). Financial support was also directed towards music in the form of the South African Friends of the Palestine Symphony Orchestra (265:6). At the founding meeting of this society, Colonel Kisch 'expressed the hope that South Africa would make a contribution of £1, 500 to £2, 000 a year to help to maintain this orchestra' (265:20).

Both publications confirm the importance of middle-class interests for South African Zionists. In a 1933 *Chronicle* report on the Labour Party it is stated that 'Eretz Israel had to be built through *Labour*' (emphasis original), but that Labour did not 'want to drive away capital from Eretz Israel nor to make it difficult for middle-class immigrants to settle in the country.' Furthermore, labour 'was preparing the way for capital and for this middle-class settlement' (23:9). The *Zionist Record* reported, also in 1933, on a farewell function in honour of one Mr. Gurland who was praised as 'the finest flower of middle-class immigration into Palestine' (199:22).

There are relatively few such testimonials of immigration to Palestine in the material, which supports historiographical claims that making aliyah (immigrating to Palestine) was not a high priority for the South African Jewish community. The idea of making aliyah appears for the first time in 1933 – once in each publication (23:9; 199:2, 22) – and it does not appear again before 1945. This suggests a correlation between the place of Palestine in a South African Jewish imaginary and the historical trajectory of events in Europe: 1933 in Germany raised concerns about the fate of German Jews; and 1945 marks the end of the War, after which the Zionist movement gained unprecedented momentum, culminating in the founding of the State of Israel in 1948.

Culture emerges as an important Zionist value in the pages of these newspapers. 'Zionists wished to build a culture of their own' (76:27), explained Dr. W. J. Fischel at an 'At Home' event in Muizenberg in 1940. He said that 'no Zionist was a real Zionist if he belittled cultural activity' (76:31). Fischel's address is cited often in the remainder of this chapter, since his subject – 'Cultural Life in Eretz Israel' – speaks to the three themes under consideration (Zionism, Palestine and Hebrew). It is worth remembering that the Zionist project was an international one: that cultural activities were not practiced only in

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[38] See the following codes: **#event::fundraising; $institution::funds** and **$institution::humanitarian**.

Palestine, but also in other places in the world where Jews formed communities. Culture thus forms an adhesive for binding world Jewry to Palestine, for consolidating a heterogeneous collective into a national unit. However, since Zionism centred on Palestine as national territory, it follows that Zionist culture had a claim on Palestinian culture, which is to say that an authentic Zionist culture was one rooted and cultivated in Palestine. One finds in these newspapers, therefore, that cultural exchanges move from Palestine to the diaspora more often than the other way around. In 1948, for instance, it was reported in the *Record* that 'the chairman of the Palestinian Composers' League is in the United States for the purpose of exchanging American and Palestinian music' (326:7). Similarly, in South Africa, it is indicated in a *Zionist Record* of 1936, that cultural products such as the 'Palestine song' have 'found its way amongst the Jewish youth of South Africa' where at 'conferences, meetings, banquets and camps Hebrew songs are now being chanted with enthusiasm and gusto' (238:5).

There are a number of slight differences between the ways in which the two newspapers approach culture in these contexts. The first difference pivots on the relationship between culture and Zionism. The *Zionist Record* contains several instances where matters of culture are cast in clear relation to Zionism. In 1937, for instance, a need was expressed at a meeting in Durban for 'a cultural basis which had been lacking in the activities of the [Durban Zionist] associations in the past' (242:15). In contrast, the *Chronicle* contains no direct value statement on culture vis-à-vis Zionism in its pages, even though the themes of Palestinian and Hebrew culture enjoy almost the same attention in this publication as they do in the *Zionist Record*. This suggests that Palestine and Hebrew may hold particular Jewish value beyond a political Zionist agenda.

The second difference pertains to the potential for cultural creativity in the local environment. Only the *Zionist Record* raises the matter of creating Hebrew music in South Africa. In 1934, Jerry Idelsohn gave a lecture on 'Jewish Music', a category of music that he argued includes 'non-Jewish' works by Jewish composers (Meyerbeer and Saint Saens) as well as 'Jewish' works by 'not professed Jews' like Mendesohn, Halèvy and Rubinstein (219:9). Following Idelsohn's lecture, Cantor Berele Chagy reportedly said that 'there was a huge virgin field of modern Hebrew music just waiting to be produced which he was sure the South African public would appreciate' (219:13). While Hebrew music in Chagy's vision may or may not have served a Zionist agenda, the context in which he spoke suggests that 'modern Hebrew music' had a particular signifying function in terms of Jewish identity. This identity was to be associated with the sound of Western art music with Hebrew superadded, whether that be in the form of text set to music, or of musical (i.e. melodic) material derived from Hebrew folk songs. In this particular context, then, the twentieth-century art music practice of drawing musical material from ethnic folk traditions serve both an aesthetic and a political agenda. It is telling that the political agenda – a politics of identity, if not of nationalism, which was particularly charged in the early twentieth century – is served by foregrounding Hebrew as representative culture, thereby disregarding other articulations of Jewish identity as articulated in Yiddish, Ladino, etc. In South Africa, Jerry Idelsohn seems to have taken Chagy's missive to heart. In 1942, a notice of an upcoming event states that:

> [O]f special interest will be a new composition by the conductor of the choir, Mr. Jerry Idelson, which will be heard for the first time in Johannesburg. The work, entitled "Rhapsodic Paraphrase," is based on ancient Hebrew melodies, and Betty Pack, the gifted young 'cellist, will be the soloist. (293:24)

The two quotations above, the likes of which I did not find in the *Chronicle*, could suggest that Hebrew culture as represented in the *Zionist Record* had the potential – even the imperative – to grow and develop in South Africa. Palestine, interestingly, does not figure in these reports, which could indicate that Zionists in South Africa took ownership of Hebrew cultural products. Perhaps they made it as much their own in their immediate context as they would have, had they been among the Yishuv in Palestine.

## Palestine as ideal, Palestine as real

Palestine appears in these publications in the first place as an abstract notion, an idea to be cherished; or an ideal (often spiritual) to strive for.

In the sample of primary source material, debate about whether or not Palestine offered a solution to the Jewish condition appears only in the pages of the *Chronicle*. In 1934, for instance, one Mrs. Levy-Stein argued that Palestine 'was not a solution to the Jewish problem, but led the way to a solution' (32:16). In 1942, it was stated that the 'youth of America was beginning to realize that Palestine was the only haven for Jewry' (99:6). Later that year, at a Zionist Conversazione, it was argued that Eretz Israel was the 'main solution for the Jews' (102:6). A year later, it was reported that a debate took place on the subject 'That a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine will not by itself solve the Jewish Problem' (113:22).

The silence on the matter in the *Zionist Record* perhaps indicates an assumed Zionist position: that Palestine would solve Jewish problems. However, it could also be a result of Zionists' reluctance to discuss Palestine in the abstract and their preference actively to work toward realising its political potential. An adage that values acting more highly than talking appears often in the *Zionist Record*, but not in the *Chronicle*. In 1933, for instance, Mr. Gurland reportedly said:

> The time had arrived for Zionists to act, not to speak, and consider what they had achieved after their work in strange lands. The time had arrived to do something for ourselves in our own land. (199:24)

Similarly, 'the Zionist, Socialist and Labour Party always believed in deeds instead of words for the benefit of Palestine, to create the possibility of a normal evolution of all factors for the establishment of the Jewish nation in Palestine' (201:15).

The contrast of these respective ideas – of the *Record*'s preference for action over words versus the *Chronicle*'s debates on whether or not Palestine was a solution – could suggest that the political Zionism of the *Record* was more active and involved than that of the *Chronicle*; that the Zionism of the latter was content with Palestine as an idea or an ideal, which stopped short of viewing it as a real destination deserving of actual occupation. In this view, the *Record* worked from the assumption of Palestine as the solution, implying that merely contemplating this idea was less productive than a call for action.

The tension between these positions finds a mirror in the associated musical practices introduced above in the 'Music and context' section. One could relate the *Chronicle*'s contemplation of Palestine in the abstract with Jewish audiences' passive listening to music performances as rendered by members of their community. Similarly, one could also connect the *Record*'s preference for action with these communities' partiality for active collective music-making in these contexts. Music-making, in other words, not only allowed opportunities for contemplating the place of Palestine in a Jewish imaginary, but it also galvanized Jewish society in their support of Palestine and/or Zionism. Sing-songs could have served to internalize and thereby embody certain ideals, while these ideals could come to life as subjects' bodies were physically mobilized in their dancing the hora. The body and physical movement in relation to musicking in Jewish contexts are important and appear several times in the remainder of this thesis.

Palestine emerges in both publications as a 'spiritual home' (see 199:21) and its imagining is informed by history and religion. In 1934, the *Chronicle* reports one Mrs. Levy-Stein stating that 'Zionism was not Judaism but led the way to Judaism'. She argued that Jews 'had the chance to rebuild the life of the people in Palestine, and to try and get a connection with the things that have been'. For her, 'a return to Palestine' should be followed by 'a return to Judaism', since the country had 'given new meaning and import to our prayers' (32:4). This applied to Jews both in and outside Palestine. And since '[n]ot all Jews could go to Palestine,' she argued that 'Palestine could come to the Jews and become part of their lives' (32:11). In this sense, the reality of Palestinian territory makes Jewish spiritual intercession possible.

But the relationship did not only flow in one direction from Zionism to Judaism as Mrs. Levy-Stein's argument implies. It was reciprocal. In 1942, a symposium was held on the Bible in relation to philosophy, literature, music and art at a Zionist Conversazione, reported in a *Chronicle* (97:12), which suggests that the Bible held an important place in the forming of Zionist culture. Similarly, a *Chronicle* of 1945 quotes Rabbi Shrock saying 'the strongest claim that Zionism can make on Eretz Israel is that based on the Jewish historical past and religion, and […] the future of our people can only be assured if it is based on the teachings of the Torah' (131:13).

The religious nature of these views resonates in the liturgical and religious music often reported in these contexts. In fact, about half the instances of ‘Jewish’ music reported here refer to religious music. Often these themes were addressed in sermons marking important Jewish holidays. In one example, at a High Festival service, it was reported that the ‘Rev. A. L. Kaplan intoned the service and a well-trained choir chanted the responses’ (235:7). In another instance, after Hanukah, it was reported that an ‘impressive service was conducted by Chief Cantor S. Steinberg, assisted by the choir under the baton of his son, Mr. Steinberg, with Professor Drutman at the organ’ (249:1). Sometimes, services were conducted in honour of non-religious institutions or events of national significance. At an Annual Dedication Service of the Union of Jewish Women, for instance, the report mentions Cantor Boris Rome ‘who acted as soloist and organist’ (136:19). In 1948, a dedication service was held at the Great Synagogue shortly after Israel was declared a state. In a letter addressed to the editor, Rev. Thos. Loose wrote that the ‘choir sang most richly and impressively, telling in song, not only of the long ago but also of the glorious future clothed in power and beauty’ (158:2).

The use of the organ in the context of Orthodoxy in South Africa is unusual, and its significance is historical. After the destruction of the second temple and for most of the Common Era, the use of musical instruments was prohibited in synagogues and in Jewish worship. Only in the nineteenth century, after political emancipation in Western Europe, did some communities reform their liturgies and introduce the organ to their services (Levine 2006:45). This phenomenon played into larger religious conflicts between tradition and modernity in European synagogues (Bohlman 2008:99 and Serroussi 2008:60-61). Edwin Serroussi (2008:62) argues that the use of the organ and other liturgical reforms in the nineteenth century ‘had a tremendous impact on the modernization of Jewish music throughout Europe’ and ‘they reached almost every liberal or progressive Jewish community in Eastern and Western Europe during the second part of the nineteenth century’ (Seroussi 2008:62). In the nineteenth century European synagogue, in other words, the organ was a marker of modernity and the liberalization of the synagogue. It is therefore significant that the organ is mentioned twice in this context, where its rare occurrence[39] in a largely Orthodox and traditional South African Jewish landscape reinforces its significance as marker of modernity and liberality. In this, I would argue, Jewish religious music practice in South Africa, when placed in relation to notions of Zionism, Palestine and Hebrew, underscored a vision for Palestine as a modern (Western) nation among modern (Western) nations.

Making aliyah, which in modern terms refers to the act of immigrating to Palestine (Israel after 1948), is also a symbolic practice in religious contexts. In synagogues, the altar (bimah) from where the service is led, is elevated to represent ‘the heights of Moriah’, which refers to the location where it is believed the patriarch Isaac was asked to sacrifice his son, a location that in modern times is associated with the Temple Mount in Jerusalem. When a congregant is called by his name to the altar to read from the Torah, he is said to make aliyah, which means to ascend, 'to go up, as the ancients went up to the sanctuary' (Cohen 2009:56). To be called to the bimah in this way is considered an honour. The following quotation comes from a cameo entitled 'Simchath Torah'[40] in a 1939 *Chronicle*. The author, Bertha Friedman, describes the practice of making symbolic aliyah in the context of a synagogue service:

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[39] It is mentioned only 6 times in this project’s sample of newspaper items.

> On the marble platform before the ark stood the cantor; a dignified figure in his black gown and long white prayer-shawl. His voice rang through the shul calling the names of those who were to have the honour of carrying the Scrolls of the Law round the synagogue. One by one they walked up, clasped the torahs in their arms and stood waiting till the ark was emptied of its holy contents.
>
> The choir sang beautifully as the procession of men carrying torahs followed the cantor seven times round the shul, commemorating the conclusion of the year's reading of the Torah. (73:17)

Rich Cohen (2009:56) associates this symbolic, religious practice of making aliyah with the modern conceptualization of making aliyah, which now means to ascend 'as the entire nation is now the Temple Mount – only, without God' (Cohen 2009:56). For that reason, I introduce here the symbolic practice of making aliyah as an instance in which the bimah symbolizes Palestine, which here, too, functions as a spiritual home and an ideal.

However, Palestine does not figure as a spiritual home in a religious sense only. It also appears as a spiritual home in a national sense. A *Chronicle* of 1941 reports on a Zionist Conversazione where Rabbi Dr. E. W. Kirzner delivered a lecture on 'Rabbi Yehuda Halevi – the Singer of Zion and his legacy these 800 years.' According to Rabbi Kirzner, the contemporary Hebrew poet Bialik championed Halevi as 'not only our greatest national poet, but the founder of our national philosophy' (87:13). Kirzner explained that during the Middle Ages:

> Halevi practised medicine in Spain but lived his life in Zion. His longing for Zion was beyond limit. He fervently loved all humanity, but to him Israel was next to God. In his philosophy and poetry we feel the spirit of God. Inspired by his life-long love of Eretz Israel he left his near and dear ones and embarked on a perilous journey to the Holy Land. On reaching the gates of Zion he threw himself on the ground and an Arab thrust a spear through his heart. His soul went out with the song of Zion on his lips. (87:25)

Nationalism, here, is imbued with religious sentiments that include images of sacrifice and martyrdom. The passage also registers love for humanity on the one hand, an attachment to 'near and dear ones' on the other, and, on a higher level, love for God and Zion, which finds expression in poetry and song.

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[40] Meaning: Celebrating the Torah; a Jewish religious holiday.

The next quotation comes from a profile piece on the famous pianist and conductor, Ossip Gabrilowitsch, in a *Zionist Record* of 1932. The author, writing under the pseudonym of Hamabit, claims that until recently it had not been known that Gabrilowitsch was of Jewish descent. He writes that 'Gabrilowitsch decided to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land.' What follows is a description that could be read as an experience of conversion:

> He stood at the portal of the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus, he cast his glance about from the hills of Jerusalem, and viewed the skies above the heights of Lebanon. He absorbed the atmosphere of the historic cradle of three great religions, and of an ethic that has remained fundamental in the moral codes of the civilised world. The scene left its mark on the artist's soul. (190:5)

According to Hamabit, Gabrilowitsch's metaphorical conversion to a Jewish nationality is evident in the donation he made to the department of music at the Hebrew University.

Halevi's pilgrimage and Gabrilowitsch's journey to the Holy Land are forms of making aliyah. However, the Holy Land they encountered resembles the bimah in the synagogue: it is symbolic, rather than real. In both instances, Jewish nationality is not centred on a narrow idea of Palestine as mere national territory exclusively for the Jews. In the case of Halevi, his longing for Zion is supplemented by a fervent love for humanity. In Gabrilowitsch's scenario, Palestine appears as a cradle of modern civilization, which sanctions a territory for the cultivation of a Jewish universalism. As a national spiritual home, the function of Palestine was to facilitate Jewish access to a modern, Western understanding of universal humanity. Based on the juxtaposition of these two cases, I venture a further hypothesis about the shifts in the relationships of language and music to Eretz Israel: Halevi was an eleventh century Hebrew poet, who worked during a time when Jews' relation to Zion was metaphorical, not political. Medieval Jews had no access to the Holy Land and Halevi's pilgrimage to Zion ended in death just as he was about to enter the gates. During the time of exile, poetry and language could concretize the Holy Land in a diasporic Jewish imaginary. Fast forward to the twentieth century when Gabrilowitsch, a musician, makes aliyah. Jews' relation to Eretz Israel was no longer metaphorical, since Zionism had rendered it political. The gates of Zion opened and the numbers of Jews inhabiting the land increased. Gabrilowitsch's pilgrimage, unlike Halevi's, was successful, and we witness him at the cultural heart of Palestine. Language was no longer a prerequisite for concretising the Holy Land. Music could then start functioning as a signifier of national belonging to a demarcated territory. Poetry and language marked the ancient. Music marked modernity.

In the modern sense of making aliyah (immigrating to Palestine), Palestine operates as real territory: a real destination, and physical place to inhabit. These newspapers contain several reports on farewell functions for families, or individuals who were leaving for Palestine (132:7&8; 138:11&13; 199:2&22

and 327:2). Others describe life in Palestine, including the activities of women (136:5, 6), or life on kibbutzim 'where chaverim [friends] combined so successfully their love of the Torah with intensive physical work' (149:15; see also 161:11).

That making aliyah is a particularly Zionist practice is made evident in the following quotation from the *Zionist Record*, published in April 1948, that seminal moment in Israeli history:

> 'You are a Zionist but you don't yet know it,' Bialik told the young musical student whom he met in Berlin. And in that respect, as in so many others, the great writer was proved correct. For to-day that young man has been a Palestinian for 22 years and is honoured not only in Palestine, but all over the world, for his great research into Biblical music. His name is Salomo Rosowsky, Professor Salomo Rosowsky... (327:2)

The quotation indicates that Palestine was a place where the scholar and composer Salomon Rosowsky lived and worked (327:2), a place for habitation and creativity. Palestine also had established institutions and institutional practices:

> [Rosowsky] is the president of the Federation of Musicians' Associations of Jerusalem, Haifa and Tel Aviv, and in recognition of his musical achievements he was awarded a special honorary degree by the Municipality of Tel Aviv in 1946. In accordance with a resolution passed by the Department of Education, his 'trop' system has been included in all the seminaries and schools of Palestine. (327:15)

Even though making aliyah is strongly associated with Zionism, there are also instances in which Palestine is separated from this political agenda and imbued, rather, with a wider Jewish cultural potential. The *Chronicle* reports in 1932 that Heifetz distanced himself politically from Zionism, but nevertheless also emphasized his 'deep interest in Palestine' (19:5). It is explained that Heifetz's 'wholehearted sympathy with the ideals of his people is well known, and was particularly emphasized during the course of his several visits to Palestine' (19:8).

Palestine has become a very real place for Jews, which introduced a tension between this emerging national centre and other Jewish centres across the world. It is evident in the material of this study that this tension was also being worked out in South Africa during the 1930s and 40s. According to a 1936 *Chronicle* report, a debate on whether or not 'Diaspora wields a greater influence than Eretz Israel' took place at a meeting of the Histadrut Ivrit (Hebrew Circle). Arguing the affirmative, Mr. Natas 'dwelt on the fact that the Jews through going into exile and losing their homeland and freedom, had through the natural law of compensation developed greatly spiritually; they produced innumerable great works of culture which they might not have done otherwise.' His opponent, Mr. Avin, argued that 'Eretz Israel was the moving spirit in the production of all these great spiritual treasures, while all Jewish works not influenced by the spirit of Eretz Israel are lost to us.' He continued to say that Eretz Israel had created 'a pure Jewish type of which we can be proud' (49:8).[41] Culture emerges as an important mediator for the interaction between Palestine and a Jewish diaspora. This culture formed around the modern Hebrew language since the late nineteenth century.

## Hebrew language and culture

For several centuries before the nineteenth, Hebrew existed only as a written language as documented in ancient and sacred texts. For most of this time, a 'knowledge of Hebrew was the luxury of a small minority of educated males' (Katz 2004:4), and its use was reserved mainly for purposes of worship. Its status as a written language, and not a spoken one, informed historiographical claims that Hebrew had been dead and had, therefore, been revived at the close of the nineteenth century. Dovid Katz (2004:232) nevertheless argues that Hebrew was never dead, but had remained alive among Ashkenazi Jews, since it 'was prayed every day, studied every day, and quoted every day' as the language of the Torah.

Katz (2004:2) writes that modern Hebrew (as opposed to Biblical Hebrew) 'is a language that was artificially and tenaciously constructed by determined Yiddish-speaking East European Zionists' during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It was, in fact, a Lithuanian Jew with the Hebraized name Eliezer Ben-Yehuda who introduced the Hebrew language into everyday speech (Katz 2004:236). In 1890, he had formed a committee 'which set about establishing Hebrew terms for modern words which were in daily use, and creating a uniform system of pronunciation' (Gilbert 2008:8). According to Martin Gilbert, standardization was complicated by the conflicting interests of the various parties who had a stake in this project, including not only Eastern European Zionists, as Katz put forward, but also several 'religious communities of Jews from Arab lands', most notably Yemen (Gilbert 2008:8). The first decade of the twentieth century was marked with a struggle among immigrants in Palestine for the supremacy of their language: 'German and Yiddish were by far the most common languages spoken… with Russian a close follower' (Gilbert 2008:27). However, Zionists advocating for the Hebrew language prevailed and in 1913, at the Eleventh Zionist Congress, Ben-Yehuda and his committee's project to develop the Hebrew language and promote its cultural renaissance was authorized. The 'revival' of Hebrew formed an integral part of the Zionist vision to establish a Jewish homeland in Palestine. Culture in Palestine was to be Hebrew culture.

Both the *Chronicle* and the *Record* report lectures given in South Africa about Hebrew culture. One such lecture, reported in the *Zionist Record* in 1941, was given at the founding meeting of the Cape Town branch of the Brith Ivrith Olamith (World Union for Hebrew). In this lecture, 'Dr. Birnbaum traced the important part played by the Hebrew renaissance in the national life of the Jewish people.' He argued that the Jewish people ‘could never achieve complete freedom without a return to the cultural treasures created through the medium of Hebrew.’ This added weight to the ‘responsibility which rested upon Hebraists in this country as the result of the destruction of the large Jewish centres in Europe’ (280:2).

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[41] A notice for a similar discussion on the topic 'Galuth and Israel' is reported in a *Zionist Record* of 1948 (329:23).

With regard to culture in Palestine itself, Fischel explained in his 1940 address:

> There was not yet a static culture in Eretz Israel. There was, however, a revival of language, religion, art and music, a revival of interest in the Jewish past and a new interest in science. (76:2)

The revival of the Hebrew language in Palestine was accompanied by a revival in science and culture. There are several such references to an ongoing renaissance in music in Palestine among the quotations from the primary source material. An article in a *Zionist Record* of 1948 claims that the ‘past fifteen years have seen a musical revival of all types of Jewish music centered primarily in Palestine’ (326:7). In 1942, a lecture on ‘The Future of Jewish Music in Palestine’ was reported in the *Zionist Record* where the speaker said that he could ‘foresee the establishment in Palestine of a Palestinian National School of Music that will play a vital part in the history of world music’ (290:8). A similar hope was expressed at an informal music gathering in 1944, reported in the *Chronicle*, a hope that ‘with the Jewish renaissance in Palestine there would also be a revival in Jewish music and the unrecorded lyrics of ancient days would again re-echo in the fields of modern Eretz Israel’ (120:8). These quotations suggest two localities that could accommodate the revival of music in Palestine: the fields of modern Eretz Israel and the establishment of a National School of Music in Palestine. These localities correspond with the cultural centres of kibbutzim, Mount Scopus and the Palestine Symphony Orchestra, discussed in the next section.

Hebrew language and culture was not just an idea theorized in lectures. On several occasions, the community was encouraged to learn the language and partake in its cultural products. ‘The Hebrew language must be studied not merely as any other language’, it states in a *Chronicle* of 1934, ‘but so as to give inner satisfaction and a sense of Jewish fulfilment’ (32:5). Speaking the language was important for Jews wanting to make aliyah (199:22) and local Jewish and/or Zionist societies often included ‘modern Hebrew lessons’ along with programmes ‘to further the knowledge of its members in regard to Jewish history and culture’, as offered by, typically, ‘a dramatic section and musical section’ (106:6).

Evidence that the language has evolved to an expressive medium is found in its poetry. Profiles on two individual poets appear in each respective publication, one on the Spanish medieval poet Yehuda Halevi (c.1075–1141), the other on the contemporary poet Zalman Schneur (1887-1959). According to a *Chronicle* report in 1941, Rabbi E.W. Kirzner called Yehuda Halevi ‘the Singer of Zion’. Rabbi Kirzner explained that it was Hebrew, ‘the old and sacred language of the prophets’, that inspired Halevi: ‘In that language there descended on him the spirit of the sweet singer of Israel, and he sang on secular as well as on religious themes' (87:6). In a 1938 *Zionist Record*, Philip M. Raskin described Zalman Schneur as 'the Singer of Youth of the Jewish Renaissance' (258:13). He explained that:

> There are poets who carve or chisel or paint. Schneur always sings. Harmony is the soul of his poetry. If he lacks the pathos of Bialik, his song has a matchless rhythm, vigor, virility, and beauty. (258:15)

According to Raskin, Schneur 'has proved, perhaps to a greater extent than any other Hebrew poet, in what variety of shades and nuances modern Hebrew is capable of expression.' He noted ironically that 'a language which has been regarded as "dead" for centuries, has produced one of the world's liveliest modern poets' (258:8).

Both poets are described as singers and both articles use a language filled with musical metaphors, which suggests that language and music interweave in a Jewish imaginary of a Hebrew inclination, particularly through singing. Historically, it is not always clear where language ends and music begins when it comes to the Jewish interrelationship of Hebrew and music. This phenomenon is connected to liturgical practices. Philip Bohlman (2008:xxiv) draws attention to the logogenic origins of Jewish music, which refers to the recitation of biblical and liturgical texts in religious settings. 'Everything in the synagogue was music', writes Bohlman (2008:xix), including 'prayer, … cantillation, ritual and liturgical interjection'. He also argues that the 'liturgy of the worship service is the source of many musical practices, some of which are common to most Jewish traditions while others vary according to historical period and community practice' (2008:xxiv). The quotations on Halevi and Schneur suggest that the logogenic origins of Jewish music could also be located in a long history of Hebrew poetry. Since Halevi addressed both secular and religious themes, this part of Jewish music's logogenic history could inform the secularism of twentieth century Jewish musical practices that are both secular and religious.

The importance of the Hebrew language in religious settings in South Africa is confirmed in these newspapers. Several advertisements of vacant ministry positions state that applicants had to be 'a good Baal Tefillah' and Hebrew teacher (252:15, 16). A Baal Tefillah is often a 'layperson elected to lead the singing of prayers because of a pleasing voice, a prodigious memory, or simply religious and social prestige' (Bohlman 2008:84). A cantor (the Latin form of the Hebrew word Hazan, see Bohlman 2008:8) is a musical specialist who leads the liturgy during synagogue services. In 1932, a report was published in the *Zionist Record* to mark a decade of service by Cantor Zwick to the Pretoria Hebrew Congregation. 'It was soon recognised here', wrote the correspondent, 'that the cantor had a wide knowledge of Hebrew and was able to expound traditional *chazonuth* in a modern and intellectual style' (196:24). This quotation points to the value attached to Hebrew as a modern language, which served to render Jewish religion and tradition relevant and current in its contemporary contexts.

The *chazunoth* (hazanut) mentioned here refers to the cantorate, a tradition of music created and performed by cantors. The term could also refer to 'a genealogy of hazzanim and cantors, the very lineage of musical leaders who passed the musical tradition from one generation to the next' (Bohlman 2008:97). Bohlman (2008:97) argues that during the course of modernity in Europe, the rise of the hazanut, in both senses of the term, has moved music to the centre of communal life, and the cantor has come to embody 'the musical essence of the community'. This was certainly true in the synagogue. However, the cantor's musical and communal activities were not confined to religious services. Cantors often performed in secular contexts, where their repertoire would include both sacred and secular music. Philip Bohlman (2008:95) argues that 'the cantor's world became that of the stage'. He explains the significance of the synagogue bimah in this context: 'In theatrical usage, the bimah is quite literally a stage, as in the name of the Israeli national theater, *Habimah* (The Stage).' As explained earlier, the bimah, here identified as a stage, carries specific significance in the ritual practice of making aliyah during a synagogue service as a symbol of Palestine. However, even in the sacred tradition of making aliyah described in the cameo 'Simchath Torah' discussed earlier, the spectacle of the bimah is not lost on the author. Friedman writes that on the balcony, women did not sway over their prayer-books like their fathers, husbands, brothers and sons downstairs. 'There the chatter went on happily,' she explains. 'There was no awed silence, no humble submissiveness. The congregation was obviously on familiar terms with its Creator.' Friedman describes the scene just before the cantor calls the names of the men who would have the honour:

> Suddenly there was a movement among the women. The front rows leaned over the balcony. Those behind stood tip-toe, faces bright with interest, peering over shoulders to see the ceremony below. (73:20)

If 'Palestine could come to the Jews and become part of their lives' in diaspora, as Mrs. Levy-Stein reportedly argued (see above), it appears that the ritual of making aliyah is one way in which that could happen: In theatrical procession, the men go up to the bimah; in approaching the stage (in Bohlman's terms), I would argue that they are also ascending towards a symbolic Palestine. In the synagogue, then, the cantor prompts the ascension, the men go up to the stage of Palestine and the choir accompanies the ritual. This symbolic experience finds its mirror in the community's secular life where cantors also occupy the communal stage and share it with choirs, and the South Africa of the early twentieth century was no exception in this regard. Reports in the newspapers of this study identify the following cantors performing at non-religious Jewish or Zionist events: Boris Rome (6:3), Katzin (149:8), Berele Chagy (219:3), I. Badash (249:9), S. Mandel (293:14) and Philip Badash (329:22). The cantor's world is a stage and the stage is Palestine. It may therefore be meaningful, even if commonplace in other diasporic centres, that stage representations of Palestine are often reported in these newspapers. In 1941, for instance, one such concert is described as follows:

> The climax of the evening was the last scene ‘Chai Chalutzim,’ [pioneer life] when the stage was magically transformed into a realistic Palestinian colony, and the melodies of the new Eretz Israel were heard. (279:4)[42]

Perhaps historiography underestimates, or at least misjudges, the value that making aliyah had among Jews in South Africa. South African Jews may not have immigrated to Palestine in great numbers, but this research indicates that making symbolic aliyah held greater value in the community than heretofore acknowledged. This was true in both religious and secular cultural contexts and finds its ultimate expression in music. In South Africa, making aliyah was a musical practice.

### Kibbutzim, Mount Scopus and the Palestine Symphony Orchestra

Two centres of Hebrew culture in Palestine emerge from the newspapers studied in this research. The first centre refers to agricultural settlements known as kibbutzim. The rural kibbutz stands in this reportage for an authentic folk tradition, which includes music. Another centre is institutional and is associated with Jewish culture and sciences and a striving for sophisticated cultural and intellectual products. Such an institutional centre finds its ideal structure in the urban Hebrew University, situated on Mount Scopus in Jerusalem. Musically, it is associated first and foremost with the Palestine Symphony Orchestra.

The primary source material suggests that representing Palestine was an important educational imperative. In this, the staging of plays, as mentioned above, was important. But other means of representation were also used. One such representation appeared in Aunt Sarah’s column ‘Our Children’s Page’ in the *Zionist Record*. She introduced and explained the significance of kibbutzim in Palestine in one of these column pieces. ‘My Dear Children,’ she wrote in 1934, ‘I am sure that all of you are good Zionists […] But I wonder if you know anything at all about life in Palestine itself.’ In this piece she gave ‘a short description of the way in which Jewish land is held in Palestine.’ She advised her young readers to ‘obtain a map of Palestine’ from the Zionist Federation ‘and to study that map’, since ‘it will make it easier to “see” (of course, only in your minds) the places of which I speak’ (212:1). She then continued to discuss specific kibbutzim, distinguishing between plantation colonies (private holdings), kvutzot (where ‘everything is held in common, even clothes’) and moshevim (where each halutz works a piece of land that ‘belongs to the Jewish nation’). These kibbutzim were occupied by halutzim, Jewish pioneers, who were often cast as national heroes in a Zionist imaginary. As Aunt Sarah explained to her juvenile readers, the pioneers ‘have turned the soil of the country from a waste land into a rich and productive area’ (212:14).

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[42] Similar examples are 136:16 and 285:33.

A vivid representation of a musical encounter on a kibbutz is reported in 1935 in the *Chronicle*:

> That evening as I was seated in my room absorbed in my study of Hebrew, a chorus of young voices in accompaniment to a harmonica poured in through the open door of the zriff (barrack). Cheerful music, sung with the abandon of Kibutz rhythm, drew me to the courtyard. There in a large group were the children, some on his arms, some on his back, and some just content to keep in tune with David and his harmonica.
>
> Some of the chaverim (comrades) washed and dressed and waiting for the supper bell, came to watch the youngsters sing 'Aze Pella' and dance the 'Hora' (dance of the pioneers). Twilight was coming over us and the dance and song gave way to hunger. The children ran off to their own 'cheder haochel' (dining-room) for their broth. I was loathe to see the end of such sweet revelry. (42:5)

Another article in a *Zionist Record* of 1946 describes South Africans' experience of establishing a new settlement in Palestine. The narrative describes the party that preceded their adventures:

> That night we held a mesibah [party] to celebrate the acquisition of a new motor-truck. All were in high spirits in prospect of the new venture. The same night plans were laid, instructions given, and equipment checked. No one knew what was to be our fate the next morning. […]
>
> Within a short time huge bonfires are lit to celebrate the event. There are songs, speeches and dances which continue until nearly daybreak. (315:4)

The article continues to describe the two days that followed: driving in trucks and lorries to destinations, setting up fence-posts and huts for shelter, negotiating uncertain encounters with police and Arabs who turned out to be friendly, and preparing meals. After two days of hard work:

> Chaverim from the surrounding kibbutzim who had come to help us, return to their homes. There follows a brief but impressive ceremony as the new settlement is officially opened. Standing in an open rectangle we face the red-blue-and-white flags. Slowly they are raised and unfurled for the first time in Bir Zabella. The Techazaknah[43] is sung. Everyone feels the greatness of the moment. We shall remember it all our lives. (314:5)

A similar representation appears in a *Chronicle* of 1947, in an article entitled 'Dance Festival at Dalia', written by Dorothy Kahn Bar-Adon, a Palestinian journalist from the United States (Wikipedia [O]). Bar-Adon explained that 'Dalia is one of the settlements in the Isaac Ochberg Tract, the area of land redeemed through the generous bequest of the late Mr. Isaac Ochberg of Cape Town' (151:12). The weekend-long festival was attended by 'some 25, 000 people' and was marked with exceptional order and discipline:

> How the endless procession of buses, lorries and other vehicles got up to Dalia, how all the vast audience was seated on the mountain side, was a paragon of orderliness. It went off without a hitch […] vehicles streaming up the mountain road in an orderly unbroken ribbon. (151:10)

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[43] A Labor Zionist hymn or anthem.

The 'youth of Palestine' who participated in the dancing comprised '500 dancers, representing 20 selected troupes' and their spectacle set the 'life of the countryside' to rhythm (151:11). Early in the morning, when buses were leaving the event, 'young people and fellaheen from the neighbouring village of Richania were still dancing the Negev hora on the platform' (151:9).

These musical depictions of rural Palestine suggest that mesibot (parties) and festivals were an integral part of the kibbutz experience. Festivals were also valued in Jewish life at large, where it often followed an annual and religious cycle. Zionists appropriated this religious cycle and translated it into a national calendar for Palestine. Rabbi Dr. Shrock's address, reported in a 1948 *Chronicle,* corroborates the importance of festivals in relation to Palestine: 'in the Galuth one loses the real joy of the festivals. It was only in Israel that one would regain the real joy and recapture the spirit that prevailed in the olden days, when the ceremony of the libation of water took place during the Succoth Festival' (161:13). Again, the kibbutz is posed as an important source for the Palestinian spirit of folk festivals, one that feeds into a tradition of song and dance. In 1946, two South African halutzim spoke at a Zionist Conversazione on 'The Role of the Settlement in Recent Events in Palestine.' At this event, Mrs. Friedstein reportedly said that the kibbutz had 'played its role in the renaissance of Hebrew culture.' She explained that an 'agricultural content had been given to the Jewish festivals and a true peasant atmosphere had been introduced into Jewish life. There was a great revival of folk music and folk dancing' (141:4).

Philip Bohlman (2008:197) writes the following about the phenomenon of Jewish folksongs and its challenges in the early twentieth century:

> Folk song, the tool of Romantic nationalism, was broadly held to be something ancient and oral, whereas cultural Zionism was progressive and modern. Folk song connected the present to a distant past, indeed, a timeless past, but – and this was the dilemma for early Zionists – it did so through a history of practice and oral tradition that survived in the present. The paradox was all too obvious: The song of the ancient past was Hebrew song, but the song of the present was not.

An organic and homogeneous Jewish folksong tradition did not exist in the early twentieth century. However, for Zionists it was important to create such a tradition, since song 'was the ideal medium for conveying the message of Jewish solidarity' (Bohlman 2008:195). Music reportage in South African newspapers suggests that land and soil were seen as important for the creation of a folksong, which is why the origins of a Palestinian folksong is often placed in kibbutzim. In a 1935 *Zionist Record* article entitled 'Palestine Creates a New Folk Song', A.W. Binder[44] wrote that 'our people' had to be 'rooted in the soil again' where they could become 'saturated with the atmosphere of Palestine' before they could create 'a representative type of song' (221:3). He argues that the folksong in Palestine started to develop in 1885 and explained that ‘our people’ had been ‘composing poetry about Palestine’ ever since ‘they were exiled’ and that it was therefore easy for them to create new verses for songs. The challenge, however, was to find ‘Palestinian music to accompany’ these verses (221:6). ‘The makers of these songs are just *Chalutzim*,’ wrote Binder, ‘young men who worked on the soil in Palestine, and whose souls are filled with the spirit of the land’ (221:19). At first, he posits, hasidic melodies or ‘synagogue melodies adapted to excerpts from the prayers’ were used (221:19). In Palestine, halutzim encountered Yemenite Jewish folksongs, ‘Oriental in colour’, that they appropriated and for which Hebrew texts were provided. Binder argues that while the Arabic and Yemenite elements ‘seemed to fit in with the spirit of the soil and the atmosphere of the land’, they fell short of expressing ‘the spirit of modern Jewish Palestine’ (221:4). The ‘beginning of the new Palestinian folk-song’ eventually combined these three elements: ‘the old synagogue mode, the Yemenite and Arabic elements’ (221:19).

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[44] The author, Abraham Wolfe Binder (1895-1966) was an American Jewish composer (Unknown [O]).

Binder argues that the halutzim’s Hebrew folk songs ‘strike the imagination of the Yishuv in the Homeland’ and are sung ‘with a longing spirit not only in Palestine, but also in the Diaspora’ (221:24). It would seem, then, that Hebrew folksongs had an important function in connecting Jews outside Palestine first with halutzim and through them, with the soil on which the halutzim worked. Music reportage in South African Jewish newspapers suggest that this relationship was mediated through songbooks. Three music publications with Hebrew songs are mentioned in these newspapers, with all mentions happening in 1936. A notice appears in the *Chronicle* about Hebrew song-cards ‘issued by the J[ewish] N[ational] F[und] Head Office in Jerusalem’, which ‘should be of invaluable assistance in disseminating a knowledge of the songs of the Yishuv’. The yishuv refers to the Jews who lived in Palestine in the period preceding the formation of the State of Israel. According to this notice, the ‘singing of Hebrew songs is becoming an increasingly popular feature at all Zionist functions’ (48:1). A similar notice appears in the *Zionist Record* on a new edition of ‘Hatikvah’, which was obtainable from the Zionist Federation: ‘Printed on a good quality paper, with all the verses of Hatikvah provided in both Hebrew and English, and with the Hebrew transliterated in English for the benefit of those who cannot read Hebrew, this publication should be in the hands of every Jew and Jewess’ (213:1). The third music text, Salomon Rosowsky’s collection of Hebrew songs entitled ‘Mizimrath Haaretz’ (Songs of Zion), is discussed in a review. With this publication, Rosowsky aimed to familiarize ‘the Jewish youth in the Diaspora with the songs which are now (or were until recently) sung in Palestine and which the pioneering spirit is manifest to a lesser or larger degree’ (238:7). The reviewer explains:

> Complaints are often heard that the melodies lose much of their contents on the way from Palestine, especially when sung by musically untrained people. Since most of the songs are picked up by heart scores of grammatical and textual errors creep in, and the pedant Hebraist has to spend many an uncomfortable hour in listening to mutilations of an originally

> beautiful Hebrew song. It is for these reasons alone that a standard collection of Hebrew songs should be welcomed. (238:5)

The writings on folksong in these newspapers illustrate how song 'was malleable enough to lend itself to the molding of a new common culture' (Bohlman 2008:198). In this, language was crucial, since, as Bohlman (2008:198) argues, the 'common culture of Jewish song … did not begin with common language, but it aspired toward it, and music paved the way for reaching the common language, which in turn powerfully and publicly embodied a common Jewishness.'

However, while creating a folksong tradition was important for the Zionists' nationalist project, Binder's article finally suggests that the nationalist agenda required this folk tradition to yield an art music form too:

> For, after all, is not the supreme problem before the Jewish composer today the task of evolving a harmonic system which will reflect the spirit of our people and our land? Such a system will have to be unmistakably characteristic, certainly as characteristic as the music of the Frenchman Debussy, of the German Wagner, and the Russian Moussorgsky. (221:23)

Developing an art music tradition, of course, was a task for trained composers, not halutzim who were 'musically gifted young men without the knowledge of musical technique' (221:19). It belonged to the domain of institutions, which would include a Palestinian national school of music mentioned above.

According to a 1932 *Chronicle*, Heifetz reportedly said 'when a centre of art and culture is established in Palestine, it will … increase the economic strength of the country' as well as 'contribute to the growth of Palestine in general' (19:19). In 1940, Dr. Fischel argued in his address that the Hebrew University in Jerusalem had become such a centre:

> The University on Mount Scopus was the pride of world Jewry. Jerusalem was now the centre of Hebrew culture with the largest library in the Near East, collections of value, laboratories, students and great international professors. The University was the centre of Jewish tradition and Jewish science. (76:30)

But even if the university was the centre of Jewish tradition and Jewish science, its culture, according to Fischel, was Hebrew. In Palestine, 'the Hebrew language was a unifying power among the dispersed Jewish communities' (76:30) and 'in the work of the Hebrew University one could witness the renaissance of the Hebrew culture' (76:31).

Perhaps the most important and successful musical institution of the time, as represented in these South African newspapers, is the Palestine Symphony Orchestra. Fischel reportedly said that with the founding of the Palestine Symphony Orchestra, 'the Jewish people had become a nation with new modern expressions of thought' (76:10). A substantial profile of the orchestra appears in a *Zionist Record* of 1939, which reports the founding of a South African Society for the Palestine Symphony Orchestra. Apart from this article, which is discussed in some detail below, several reports on the orchestra's activities appear in these newspapers, which indicates the value attached to this institution by the South African Jewish community (see 110:1 and 295:5).[45] The article of 1939 states that the orchestra, which was founded in 1936 by the violinist Bronislaw Huberman, 'set a new standard for artistic achievement in the Yishuv and was symbolic of the success which is crowning the efforts of the Jewish people to rebuild their cultural life in their old-new homeland' (265:17). The Orchestra comprised 'some of the best musicians from half the orchestras in Europe, musicians who had been leaders of instruments in these great orchestras' (265:9). These musicians represented 'a sort of cross section of Jewry from countries where Jewry was persecuted' (265:19). It also meant that the orchestra 'was far from being merely a cultural enterprise':

> One of the tasks with which this Orchestra Management had to concern itself was the waging of the families of the Orchestra members. The fact that Jewish musicians had posts in Palestine meant that their nearest kin, too, had been admitted into the country. (265:19)

The orchestra's social value was most visible in the way that it 'salvaged many fine musicians who lost their livelihood and have been threatened starvation only because they belong to the Jewish race' (265:14). For this reason, the orchestra was described as 'Hitler's gift to the world' (265:18).

The orchestra's social function extended beyond its members to society when its performances helped 'to maintain the morale of the Jews during the three years of riot.' The riot refers to the 1936-1939 Arab revolt in Palestine. The report does not mention any particulars of the riot, however. Its only argument in this respect is that the orchestra had provided Jews in Palestine 'with an emotional outlet which had helped to divert their minds from the disorders' (265:16). A year later, during a solo concert tour in Palestine, Bronislaw Huberman, founder of the Orchestra, is quoted in a *Chronicle* as saying: 'I hope my music will assist Arab-Jewish rapprochement' (78:6), which suggests that music, for him, did not only offer temporary escape from conflict as was the case during the Arab revolt, but could also play a role in taking social relationships forward.

Another function of the Palestine Symphony Orchestra was to draw the nation together into a sophisticated unit, regardless of class differences. The orchestra was proof of 'the Yishuv's love of music,' which was 'regarded as a most striking aspect of the culture of the Jewish National Home' (265:2). Among the orchestra's audiences, it is reported with pride, were workers:

> We were once rehearsing at Tel-Aviv, and as there was some work going on near the building which was disturbing the rehearsal, we sent out to ask the workmen whether they could not stop for a while. They […] suggested that if we gave them tickets for a concert, they would be quite ready to lose their day's earnings. (265:4)

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[45] See also the following codes: **$group::orchestra_palestine orchestra** and **$institution_friends of PSO/Habimah**.

In a different context, Heifetz reported that when he performed in Palestine, he ‘had the pleasure of playing to a 100 per cent. Jewish audience’, which was ‘only possible in that country.’ He also noted ‘how the *Chalutzim* in many parts of Palestine left their labour in the fields’ to attend his performances (191:7).

### Occidentalism and Palestine

Philip Bohlman (2008:138) explains that the Jüdischer Kulturbund – that ‘cultural ghetto ordered by the Nazis in early 1933’ – formed the seedbed of the Palestine Symphony Orchestra’s core musicians. Through the Orchestra, then, a connection formed between Germany (read Yekkes) and Palestine. Bohlman (2008:142) asks whether music historiography has not ‘exaggerated the historical topos of transplantation from Central Europe.’ He argues ‘for the openness of an Israeli music history in the 1930s and 1940s that was profoundly affected by the contributions of immigrants from Central Europe’ (Bohlman 2008:143). It was an openness to engage ‘with the music of the other Jewish communities and of Palestinian Arabs and the religious diversity of the Levant’ (Bohlman 2008:142).

The strength of Bohlman’s argument is not of concern here. What is of concern are the questions they raise when reading music reportage in South African Jewish newspapers of the same period. How is the connection between Germany/Europe and Palestine put across in this music reportage? Is a similar critical openness present in South African representations of musical cultures in Palestine? The question is not whether Jewish Palestine was musically open to engage its others. Instead, we ask whether a similar musical openness can be found in a Jewish imaginary of a community situated in the southern hemisphere. If the question is slightly different, its line of reasoning nevertheless adds to Bohlman’s, since Jewish culture in Palestine was imagined as much in diaspora as it was created in Palestine itself.

Bohlman’s book, *Jewish Music and Modernity*, draws together a network of geographical histories and perspectives. His book is published by the American Musicological Society and its observations on modernity are firmly rooted in American and European perspectives. It argues that ‘Jewish modernism took shape as a counterhistory to the rise of European modernism’ (Bohlman 2008:xx). It presents a Jewish history that was shaped in and by Europe. It is important to note, however, that Palestine is geographically not in the West. Its location is in the Middle East. South Africa, where the present study is located and focussed, is not European either. Both these locations, Palestine and South Africa, have complex colonial histories that were deeply affected by the trajectory of European imperialisms. One could think of these countries as external borders of the Western world, in Mignolo’s terms (2012:33), places where Western and non-Western epistemologies meet and collide in colonial encounters. I would argue, then, that it is insufficient in South African representations to consider the relationship between a Jewish self and its musical others in the way Bohlman does. The Jewish self in

Bohlman's representation is European and his enquiry into musical life in Palestine takes European structures as normative. His book attempts to open up a *Western* Jewish musical identity in Palestine, and it stops short of interrogating the Occidentalism of this phenomenon in the Middle East. This portrayal, I suggest after Slabodsky (2014:6), becomes an instance in which European history universalizes into world history and in which 'a very specific narrative of European Judaism' comes to stand for world Jewry.

Slabodsky (2014:4) argues that this Eurocentric version of Jewish history gained momentum only after the Holocaust. 'For most of the modern period,' before the Holocaust, 'European discourses portrayed Jews as non-Westerners' and 'normative descriptions of Jews often oscillated between assimilable primitivity and irremediable barbarity.' He suggests that the 'portrayal of Jews as civilized subjects' in European discourses after the Second World War could be the product of a 'Western need to assuage its guilt' (Slabodsky 2014:6). Slabodsky's book explores the ways in which European discourses of civilization and barbarism entered Jewish discourses. In response to portrayals of barbarism, he argues, 'instances of Jewish "aspirancy" to civilization are in evidence throughout the modern period, especially after the last quarter of the nineteenth century' (2014:4). Zionism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and the State of Israel in the late twentieth century, contributed to this civilizational discourse. Theodor Herzl, father of Zionism, stated that Zionism aimed to establish 'an outpost of civilization as opposed to barbarism' in the Middle East (cited in Slabodsky 2014:6). After 1948, the State of Israel came to see itself as 'a civilizational force' (2014:6). Slabodsky argues that Israel achieved a 'normative portrayal as a triumphant, if besieged, Western enclave, engulfed by the forces of barbarism.' This narrative racialized 'non-Westerners, including natives (Palestinians), foreign workers (Subsaharan Africans and South-East Asians), and Jews (Mizrahim/Orientals and Beta Israel/Ethiopians).' It is in this way, he suggests, that Israeli history became associated with the West, despite its geographical location in the Middle East.

South African history, like that of Palestine, unfolds at a geographical distance from the West, but it too suffered the colonial collision between civilization and barbarism. It is perhaps for this reason – the shared, even if different sufferings of two colonial situations – that a southern perspective could approach a Jewish musical identity in a Middle Eastern location as if it could be Jewish, and not European. I propose, then, to supplement Bohlman's consideration of the relationship between a Jewish self and its oriental others with an interrogation of the occident in a South African Jewish imaginary of musical life in Palestine.

Instances of 'Jewish "aspirancy" to civilization', to use Slabodsky's terms, are present in the primary material of this study. What emerges most often in these contexts is the individual as proponent of Jewish sophistication. Sometimes, as in the case of Jascha Heifetz, one witnesses a deliberate distancing from Zionist ideals. Heifetz explained that ‘each nation must express itself in some particular activity or creative art-form’:

> We know that the English excel in sport; that Italians produce the finest and most beautiful singers in the world, and so on. With Jews scattered and living an unsettled life in many countries, there is a more extreme necessity for individual expression. This satisfies itself partly in the interpretative musical art-forms. (191:8)

Heifetz was an internationalist before he was a nationalist. However, his internationalism seems to rest on the notion that people could be internationalists only if they had a national centre of their own. His vision for a conservatoire in Palestine, in accordance, was for it to be ‘Hebrew’ (later on described as ‘Jewish’), but with an internationalist and intercultural orientation. He wanted it ‘to serve as a centre for Oriental musical culture:’

> Prominent Jewish teachers of music in Europe and America would teach at the conservatoire and would promote the study of both Jewish and Oriental music and also of world music. The conservatoire would accept students in the Orient as well as from Europe and America. (19:3)

Here, I hold, we find support for the critical openness that Bohlman argues for, a willingness to take the Orient on board and incorporate it into Jewish musical education and practice. To establish a conservatoire for oriental and world music is certainly a progressive ideal when compared to the norms of institutional music education in the West during the 1930s and 1940s. However, one should note that the teachers who would be employed would have been trained in Europe or America. Appointing teachers from the Orient does not appear to be an option, even while ‘students in the Orient’ would be accepted. It appears then, that the oriental musical culture of the future conservatoire in Palestine would be curated by the West and students would learn of their own traditions from Western teachers. Heifetz’s openness of vision for a musical centre in Palestine is informed by a prejudice that favours Western epistemology over those of its others.

In other perspectives from the primary source material, the individual’s activities are linked directly to Zionism, as is the case with Salomon Rosowsky’s life and work in Palestine introduced above. Salomon Rosowsky’s scholarship offers similar markings of the musical openness for which Bohlman argues. His study of Biblical cantillations would be followed by research into ‘Sephardic cantillations and those of the Oriental Jews’ (327:4). However, the nature of his research interests and methodologies still align with Western practices. ‘When comparative studies of civilization became a prestigious discipline within European research institutions,’ argues decolonialist Walter Mignolo (2012:504), ‘a distinction was made between civilizations that were converted into objects of study and civilizations that had the necessary frame of mind and cultures of scholarship to be the place from where to study other civilizations.’ Setting up an acoustical laboratory at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, and appointing a team of engineers to assist in data analysis, could be seen as Rosowsky's efforts to establish a culture of scholarship in Palestine that was elevated enough to study its others as subalterns.

Individuals who make appearances in the primary source material and who have a direct connection with Palestine include the pianist Pnina Saltzman, who visited South Africa several times, Bronislaw Huberman, founder of the Palestine Symphony Orchestra, and others. Promoting Palestinian performers of Western art music in these newspapers could signify Jewish aspirations to Western cultural ideals in South Africa. One should ask questions, then, about the function that Palestine assumed in such Western-oriented Jewish representations. Heifetz described the atmosphere of Palestine as 'so stimulating that it took the place of food, sleep and rest' (19:8). Similarly, a 1932 *Zionist Record* report postulates that 'Palestine has done something to Ossip Gabrilowitsch – something that will enrich the already rich art of that master musician, even as it will enrich the artistic prospects of music in Jewry' (190:8). In 1944, the *Chronicle* publishes a review of Pnina Saltzman's performance with the Cape Town Orchestra of Schumann's Concerto in A minor: 'the simplicity with which she portrayed her art was in some ways characteristic of the life of her home country – Palestine' (119:3). For the Jewish community in Cape Town, the review states, 'this young Palestinian artist stands out as a symbol of the new life of Eretz Israel.' Her performance brought them 'closer to Jewish achievement in Eretz Israel through the universal language of music' (119:4). In a final instance, according to the 1939 *Zionist Record* report on the Palestine Symphony Orchestra, when Huberman visited the Middle East, he

> recognised the creative atmosphere that pervades Palestine, and conceived the idea of a Jewish Orchestra, Jewish in composition, which would one day become the finest in the world. (265:18)

Palestine informs these individuals' performance of Jewish musical genius to the world through Western art music. Their target audience was the world, not Palestine.

Alongside these individuals, one collective entity appears in the primary source material, the Palestine Symphony Orchestra, which perhaps best signifies Jewish achievement and nationhood. The orchestra is described as 'symbolic of the success which is crowning the efforts of the Jewish people to rebuild their cultural life in their old-new homeland' (265:17). The orchestra comprised Jews who performed in Palestine, but its field of reference was unmistakably European:

> From the musical standpoint, said Col. Kisch, the standard of the orchestra was unchallengeable, and there was no better in Europe to-day. Huberman considered it as good as the Vienna Orchestra at its best. (265:9)

Arthur Rubinstein's letter, which was published along with the *Zionist Record* report, states that the Palestine Symphony Orchestra 'is going to be able to show to our enemies the genius for music which the Jewish race own in such a high degree' (265:14).

Musical representations of Palestine in South African Jewish newspapers, I argue, show glimpses of musical openness as argued for by Bohlman. However, this openness is locked in Western structures of knowledge and culture. Through these structures and their representations in South Africa, there emerges an image of Palestine as a Jewish Western location. In a historical context where the importance of Palestine increased in Jewish imaginaries, individual Jewish aspirations were no longer striving to standards of civilization by means of assimilation, which attempts to hide its Jewishness. Instead, it becomes a proud flaunting of Jewish nationality, which follows Western notions of nationalism. However, this was not a simple passing ‘from assimilationism to nationalism’. It appears rather to be a strategic change ‘from trying to make Jewish Westerners to create a Jewish Western state’ (Slabodsky 2014:157-158). I would argue after Slabodsky (2014:157) that this is the outcome of a Jewish acceptance of the West’s diagnosis and its proposed solution to the “Jewish problem”:

> The portrayal of Jewish barbarism (and/or Jewish barbarism itself) would be resolved if Jews, like any other Western people, established a state and became a civilized nation among civilized nations.

Zionism and other forms of Jewish nationalism emerge in South African Jewish newspapers as ‘a colonial project led by European Jews who sought to create a Western bastion in the Middle East’ (2014:157). Representations of Jewish and Palestinian musical practitioners advocated for this civilizing mission in South Africa. In these representations, the Palestine Symphony Orchestra appears as the musical embodiment of the success of Jewish nationalist endeavours. Ultimately, South African representations of musical life in Palestine, in a not dissimilar fashion to such representations in other places in the world, appears to be more Western than Jewish, thus confirming the European orientation of the Zionist enterprise in the early twentieth century.

# PART II: LITVAK SPIRIT

# Chapter 6:
# Russia and Jewish life in Eastern Europe

## Russia through an American prism

Russia as an actual geographical entity has a small presence in these South African newspapers. In 1935, the *Chronicle* published two reports received from the Jewish Telegraphic Agency in Moscow. The Jewish Telegraphic Agency often sent short reports on contemporary affairs in Europe to South Africa. The first was about the fortieth anniversary celebration of the Gnessin School of Music, which was recognized by the government as 'one of the most important in the Soviet Union'. The Soviet Government awarded distinguished titles to the three Gnessin sisters who founded the school. Their brother, Michael Gnessin, did not receive a title, but he is acknowledged as a leading Soviet composer 'who is well-known as a collector of Jewish folk songs, on which he builds up his monumental compositions' (36:1). The second report concerns the Jewish violinist Henry Temianko's tour of the Soviet Union (37:5). These two reports represent the Soviet Union as more accepting of a Jewish presence than the Russia many émigrés had fled during previous decades. However, the style of reporting kept the geographical unit remote, which could have allowed disinterested Jewish readers to remain detached.

Apart from these Moscow reports, other items in these newspapers hint at a link between representations of Jewish life in Russia and a cultural imaginary emanating from the United States. These centre on representations of Eastern European Jews who had emigrated to the United States, including performers like Jascha Heifetz and Cantor Mottel Herschman, and scholars like A.Z. Idelsohn, Mischa Elman's father Saul, and Salomon Rosowsky.

The famous violinist Jascha Heifetz's 1932 tour of South Africa was reported in both the *Chronicle* and *Zionist Record*. The *Chronicle* reports that Heifetz had been '[d]riven out of his native country [Russia] by the revolution' and became a naturalized American (19:20). His biography is introduced as follows:

> A Russian Jew, born at Vilna in 1901, he began his study of the violin at the age of three under the guidance of his father, Ravin Heifetz […] In 1910 the boy was honoured by being admitted as a member of Professor Auer's famous class at the Imperial Conservatory. (19:7)

The experience of many Eastern European Jews in South Africa is of an absent father, as noted in the analytical construct (see chapters 2 and 3). Although a Russian Jew, the presence and involvement of his father separates Heifetz from the South African stereotype of Peruvians. Similarly, the recognition bestowed on a young Jewish student at the Russian Imperial Conservatory could signify nostalgia for an Imperial Russia that was destroyed by the contemporary Soviet regime.

Jasha Heifetz.

Heifetz's early career as a child prodigy in Russia is linked to notions of musical universalism: 'at twelve he was recognized universally as a genius in the musical world' (19:7). However, a description of Heifetz's successes as a performer in Russia, Scandinavia and Germany, where he performed 'in Berlin, in Vienna, and at the Gewandhaus, Leipzig' (19:7), suggest this musical universalism to be an aspiration towards Western European ideals. Heifetz's personal attachment to the notion of a musical universalism manifests in a dream to establish a Conservatoire in Palestine.

**Figure 22: Jascha Heifetz. *South African Jewish Chronicle*. 27 May 1932. p. 366.**

In 1932, Hamabit wrote about the music scholar A.Z. Idelsohn in his column 'Current Communal Comments' in a *Zionist Record* (194:6). At the time, Idelsohn was 'Professor of Jewish Music and Liturgy at the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, the pioneer reform rabbinical seminary in the U.S.A.' (194:2). Hamabit lists several titles published by Idelsohn. One, *The Features of Jewish Sacred Folk Song in Eastern Europe*, links Idelsohn to the present discussion. Hamabit describes Idelsohn's research as a testimony 'of *our* characteristic devotion to musical knowledge and advancement' (194:5, emphasis added). Hamabit's language is that of Jewish aspiration. He recognizes Jewish musical roots in Eastern Europe through Idelsohn's work. These Eastern European origins are incorporated into a broad understanding of Jewish musical knowledge and contributions, the 'our' indicating a sense of a shared Jewishness. Even if specific Eastern European sacred folk songs are unfamiliar to Jews in South Africa, the devotion to musical knowledge and advancement is not. The inference would be that characteristics like these bind the diaspora into a distinguishable national unit.

In 1938, Philip M. Raskin, a Jewish poet who lived in America (Unknown 1944 [O]), published a long article about the poet Zalman Schneur in a *Zionist Record*. This is one of few instances in the primary source material where the identity of the author is stated. Raskin describes Zalman Schneur as 'the Singer of Youth', a turn of phrase connecting poetry with song (258:2). The author inserts himself into his narrative when he describes a town in White Russia (today Belarus):

> I know the town very well. It happens also to be my birth-place. This town is clustered with ancient Jewish legends and traditions. The old 'Shul' in Shklov dates from the Fifteenth Century and is an edifice of exalting beauty and grandeur. The place has played a unique role in Russo-Jewish history. Unlike Lithuania, Shklov is surrounded by great parks and gardens. It has the wonderful river Dnieper. It has also a magnificent lake in the midst of the city. It is not only replete with Jewish types and Jewish folk-lore, but also with some enchanting landscapes. Perhaps this is why Shklov was the birth place of several prominent Jewish poets and artists. (258:12)

The negative recognition of Lithuania could be the American author's way to acknowledge the Litvak origins of his South African readership. Implicit in his acknowledgement is a slight at Yiddish culture. This is confirmed by the fact that Raskin does not identify Schneur as a Yiddish poet (which he was), but only as a Hebrew poet (which was also true) (258:8). In a subtle way, then, Hebrew becomes associated with the lyricism of youthful poetry, with the 'rhythm, vigor, virility, and beauty' that marks Schneur's song. These qualities, Raskin seems to suggest, cannot be associated with Yiddish culture or Eastern European Jewishness.

A *Zionist Record* in 1940 marks the passing of Saul Elman, violinist Mischa Elman's father. He passed away in New York and is described as 'a popular figure in English and in American musical circles.' 'A passionate lover of music,' the report states, Saul Elman 'stood behind his gifted son from the day when he was brought as a child of six to play in the Imperial Court at St. Pietersburg [sic], until he achieved fame on the concert-platforms of Western Europe' (274:6). The parallels to the narrative on Heifetz are striking. The report imbues the combined musical worlds of Russia and the United States with a Western European understanding of musical universalism. The musical universalism in Saul Elman's obituary also registers a nostalgia for Russia, though this melancholy fixates specifically on the Ghetto:

> Something of a scholar, he had a host of stories dealing with the life and habits of the Jewish Klezmer, the village musicians in old Russia. It is well known that he provided Sholem Aleichem with material for the story of 'Stempeniu,' which describes the life of the Jewish musicians, wedding bards and minstrels in the Ghetto. (274:4)

In a *Chronicle* of 1941, another obituary from New York links American Jewry with Russia. Cantor Mordechai (Mottel) Herschman was an internationally famous hazan 'whose recordings of liturgical and folk songs' provided both pleasure and solace to '[t]housands of Jewish homes' (87:17). His biographical beginnings in Russia belong 'to the transition period which fell between the age of the Ghetto and the era of emancipation' (87:27). His 'greatness' is compared to that of Yiddish writers Sholem Aleichem and Mendele, who have 'expressed themselves in terms of their period', but are of no 'less stature than the more modern writers' (87:27). Herschman is appropriated as an emblem of Jewish nationality, 'an exponent par excellence of the soul stirrings of our people' (87:23).

The reportage described above does not reference the contemporary Soviet Russia. The Russia it evokes belongs to a bygone era; a Tsarist Russia admiring Western cultural values during a period that saw the end of the Russian Ghetto. Jewish nostalgia for Old Russia in these American representations seems to find its ultimate expression in musical universalism.

## Russia and South Africa

References to Russia in these newspapers are linked to the careers of three Eastern European impresarios: Alex Cherniavsky, Alexandre Levitoff and Solly Aronowsky. This section considers a representation of the relationship between Russia and South Africa through reports on the activities of these three impresarios. Russia appears in two time clusters separated by the Second World War. Cultural contact with Russia before the War evoked memories of Tsarist Russia, rather than the Soviet Union, even post-1917. The identity of the Soviet Union becomes more important as a point of reference only by the end of the Second World War when the relationship of South African Jews to this geographical entity changes from émigré nostalgia to an immigrant concern for kin in Europe. The major geo-political changes effected by the War is not the only factor informing this change; the generational turnover of émigré Jews also played a role.

Alex Cherniavsky's name appears most often in these newspapers during the early 1930s. Born in the Ukraine, he first came to South Africa in 1912 as a member of the Imperial Russian Trio (Malan 1979: 523). Cherniavsky brought international Western art music performers to South Africa, including the pianist Benno Moisseiwitsch in 1930 (165:1), the Gonsalez Opera Company (182:1), pianist Shura Cherkassky in 1931 (177:6), violinist Jascha Heifetz in 1932, and the Palestinian pianist Pnina Saltzman in 1944 (294:1). Cherniavsky is acknowledged in a *Zionist Record* for the rapport he established with the Jewish contingent of his audiences: 'Night after night the preponderance of Jews in the audience was more than obvious'. Under Cherniavsky's leadership, columnist Hamabit suggests, the Jewish community contributed to a revival of opera in South Africa:

> The fact that this revolution – for indeed it may be referred to in this manner – had been accomplished by the courageous spirit of a Jewish impresario – can be recorded as a further feather in our cap. (182:1)

This passage presents an understanding of Jewish participation in the civic music life of South Africa, which serves to bolster the legitimacy of the community's citizenship. Jews, so the implicit argument goes, exercised citizenship by raising South Africa's profile in the international arena of the Western concert stage. A review on Moisseiwitsch's performance states the following:

> Artists from abroad need no longer have any fear of their reception here – we have at last developed that concert-going mentality and look forward eagerly to the arrival of the artists that Mr. Cherniavsky has promised us for the future. (165:5)

Many artists brought to South Africa by Cherniavsky were Eastern European Jews who lived in the West, including Cherkassky, Heifetz and Moisseiwitsch. Their public personae would have been informed by both Eastern and Western geographical locales, without being reduced to either. Although the geography they signified through music on stage was more Western than Eastern European, many Jews in South Africa may have identified with these performers' Eastern European roots. In other words, the geographical signification of these performers for local Jews was international and cosmopolitan. Markers of internationalism were evident in the performers' travel itineraries as well as their repertoire, which comprised Western art music from a variety of national regions. Their internationalism could have resonated with the local Jewish community in particular ways, just as it was an integral part of Cherniavsky's project as impresario. Cherniavsky's activities, intentionally or not, were of a civic nature, contributing to an idea of exemplary South African citizenship that was liberally working towards establishing international networks in the Western world. Russia is not explicitly referenced by his career, but Cherniavsky nevertheless facilitated an Eastern European presence on the Western European concert stage.

In the mid-1930s, two Russian music groups visited South Africa: In 1934, the Russian Ballet Company was in Cape Town; and in 1936, the Don Cossack Choir toured the Union. The report on the Russian Ballet Company in the *Chronicle* contains little information. One learns that the company was brought to South Africa by Alexandre Levitoff and that their repertoire included ballet extracts, one with music by Schumann and a few with music by Tchaikovsky (29:6). The Company's performance is described as 'an experience and an entertainment which Cape Town theatregoers should on no account miss' (29:6). For many Jewish readers, then, attending this concert would have been an exercise of South African citizenship, while simultaneously being afforded an opportunity to relate to a country of origin. More information on the Ballet Company appears in an article published by Michelle Potter (2011). The performances in Cape Town formed part of a year-long international tour, during which time the Company also visited Australia, Singapore, Java, Ceylon, India and Egypt. Levitoff, who toured with the Company in person, arranged the tour along with Victor Dandré, the late Anna Pavlova's husband. Little is known about Levitoff. He was born in 1891 in Tiflis (now Tbilisi, the capital of Georgia), and he seems to have been a travelling impresario, working between the Northern and Southern hemispheres, possibly from a base in Paris (Potter 2011:62). It is curious that only Levitoff's name appears in South African Jewish reportage, and that Dandré's name and the connection to Pavlova are omitted. The rumours at the time that Pavlova was Jewish, but chose to hide the fact (Casey 2012:1), might have played a role in this decision as her name might have excited antagonism from Jews with nationalist or religious convictions. Potter further writes that the Company associated themselves with Pavlova's name 'and her commitment to classical ballet' (2011:61) and that an overt political message regarding the Company's ideological orientation was offered to Australian audiences. Finding that audiences were conservative and had no interest in Russian modernism or socialist realism, the Company concluded 'that the public had gone to the right and not to the left, or that there had been a revulsion from the revolutionary trend'. This is important, as the Company tailored their repertoire to suit their audiences' tastes (Potter 2011:63). The *Cape Times* quotes the following words by Levitoff: 'I am giving to South African audiences the pure classical ballet, which combines the Russian and Italian methods, and which will carry on the traditions of Pavlova and Diaghileff' (Potter 2011:63). The Russia that the Company represented in the West recalled the Tsarist regime, without relating to the Soviet Union. This is also the Russia that South African Jews would have encountered at the concerts reported in their newspaper.

Levitoff's name appears again in the primary material of this study as the impresario who, in collaboration with African Consolidated Theatres, brought the Don Cossack Choir to South Africa in 1936. The Don Cossack Choir's performances were favourably reviewed by both the *Chronicle* and the *Record* (44:11 and 229:4). The reviewer for the *Record* notes that '[t]here were many amongst the audience who understood Russian and were able more keenly to enjoy the various items' (229:2). This could be a reference to Russian immigrants, among whom could have been several Jews. The positive publicity provided to the Don Cossack choir in these Jewish newspapers are nevertheless perplexing when one considers the strained historical relationship between Cossacks and Jews. Cossacks perpetrated many of the pogroms that drove Jews to flee Russia at the turn of the century. The silence on the historical relationship between Jews and Cossacks suggests that the nature of the community's interest in the choir was not situated in a celebration of Jewish identity. One could ascribe the optimism of the reviews to a belief in the autonomy of music and its ability to transcend historical enmities. However, it could also be explained as nostalgia for the Old World, linking South African Jewish memories to shared experiences of having lived in, and then having had to leave Russia. The report in the *Chronicle* introduces the Don Cossack Choir as 'a group of famous Russian singers and dancers who left Russia about ten years ago and [who] have made their headquarters in Czecho-Slovakia'[46] (44:14). The article does not explain that Nikolai Kostruckoff, the choir director, served the Tsar as an officer in the White Guard, which is why he fled the Bolsheviks after the 1917 revolution (Ferensick [O]). The reviewer seems to deflect from the tension between Jews and Cossacks by focussing attention on Russia. This interpretation is reinforced by the language employed to describe the Choir's repertoire:

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[46] Kostruckoff is named as the director of this group in an advertisement that appears on the same page as the article being discussed here (44:1). There is another Don Cossack Choir, arguably more famous than the one under Kustruckoff's direction. The other choir was directed by Serge Jaroff. Kostruckoff's chorus was outspoken about, and unwavering in, their anti-revolutionary position. Jaroff's choir performed a repertoire that included socialist items (Ferensick [O]).

> Whether it was in the group of religious songs, with which the performance opened, or in the battle songs or the comic songs, there was a purity of diction, a clarity of tone and a perfection of harmony which cannot be surpassed. Their rendering of the Volga Boat song was a revelation, and though the other items on the programme were less familiar, interest and enthusiasm were sustained throughout. (44:11)

The neutrality of the reference to 'religious songs' obscures the fact that these songs were not Jewish, but Russian Orthodox. The reviewer's ostensibly disinterested description of the aesthetics of performance underlines a belief in the autonomy of music, which could indicate a universalist interpretation of Russian folk singing. However, it is also possible that the 'military masculinity' (Fauser 2016:167) of the Choir's performance, evident in their uniforms and their repertoire of battle songs, could have served as a corrective for the image of poor, unrefined Russian immigrants in the South African social imaginary. The reviewer continues to explain that the Choir had been touring the world for three years, reporting that they had visited Palestine two years earlier, where they 'had a wonderful reception' (44:14). He underscores the Choir's link to Palestine with a rumour: 'After South Africa they will visit Java, India, Malaya, Egypt and most likely Palestine once again' (44:14).[47] The emphasis on Palestine suggests, surprisingly, that the nature of Jews' interest in the Choir could have been informed by Zionist perceptions. In Russia tensions existed between Zionists and Bolshevist Jews, just as there was conflict between the Don Cossacks and the new Soviet regime. In other words, not only did the Choir evoke memories of life in Russia; they also underscored an unstated historical enmity focussed on Bolshevism. That this Zionist reading emanates from an article in a *Chronicle*, rather than a *Zionist Record*, could indicate the extent to which the Anglo-Jewish establishment had aligned with Zionists during the 1930s.

Music reportage in these newspapers suggests that the South African Jewish community had undergone an ideological shift by the mid-1940s. Jewish nostalgia for Tsarist Russia and the Zionist suspicion of Bolshevism of a decade earlier seem to have been replaced by support for the Soviet Union. The 1930s representation of the Old World was mediated through reportage resulting from the activities of an international impresario, Levitoff. A local Jewish impresario, Solly Aronowsky, would facilitate musical events that showed explicit Soviet support in the following decade. Like Cherniavsky, Aronowsky brought international artists to South Africa, including Greek pianist Georges Themeli in 1946 and again in 1948 (140:2 and 325:3), as well as soprano Salta Andigoni in 1948 (329:24). Aronowsky also gave opportunities to local artists to appear on South African concert stages. Important in the context of the present discussion, are the concerts he organized for the South African Friends of the Soviet Union in 1944 and 1945. At these concerts, Russian music was performed by local artists like Betsy de la Porte, Bram Verhoef, Gerald Cassen and Bruno Raikin (297:9, 302:4 and 305:2). One article suggests that the cultural activities of the Friends of the Soviet Union aimed at cultivating '[g]ood international relations…through a mutual appreciation of national arts' (302:4).

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[47] The current researcher could not find any reference to these supposed visits to Palestine on the blog dedicated to the history of General Platoff Don Cossack Chorus (Ferensick [O]).

The spate of concerts expressing solidarity with the Soviet Union in the years between 1944 and 1946 can be explained within the context of diplomacy and war against Germany. A short concert review in a *Zionist Record* reports that Aronowsky would present 'the first performance of the Leningrad Symphony' at a following event (297:9). Shostakovich composed the Leningrad Symphony in 1942 and its first performance in Leningrad (not the world première) took place while the Nazi's were attacking the city. Subsequently, the work had become a symbol of the Western-Soviet alliance against Nazi fascism (Fauser 2016:160; Gibbs 2004:59-113).

Similar cultural events that originated in South Africa's diplomatic relationship with Russia, but which were not mediated by Aronowsky, included a dance arranged by the Claremont Jewish Benevolent Society in support of 'Medical Aid for Russia' (118:1), and the staging of a Yiddish play by the Jewish Dramatic Circle for 'Medical Aid for Russia'. The latter instance is unique in its overt leftist positioning. The advertisement for this event states that Mr. H. Ichilchick would conduct the Radio Cossack Orchestra and the proceeds of the event would be reserved for the Soviet Jewry Appeal. The title of the play that was to be staged was *Partisans* by Korneichuk (294:3). Alexander Korneichuk (1905-1972) was a Ukrainian playwright, a member of the Communist Party and an exponent of socialist realism (Luckyj 1980:895). *Partisans* is about a village community in the Ukraine who resist the advancing Germans (Riley 2008 [O]). While the protagonists of the piece are Ukrainian, rather than Jewish, Germany as enemy would have been recognized by the Jewish audience and the relation to the Soviet Jewry Appeal would have been clear. Because traces of Jewish socialism are sparsely scattered in these newspapers, it is worth reflecting on the possible meanings of this advertisement. The element of socialist realism in the advertisement is located in the title of the play and has no direct bearing on the music. However, the name of the orchestra that was to provide the accompanying music references Russia more directly than the title of the play. This could suggest that nationalism was more easily signified in musical terms than was socialism. On the other hand, socialism, which was an important component of Zionist and Yiddish identities, might have been better served through other art-forms like drama.

The reportage on Cherniavsky, Levitoff, and Aronowsky could mark important moments in an immigrant community's process of constructing memories of their country of origin while integrating into South

African society. Cherniavsky was an immigrant impresario who worked primarily within an international network during the early years of the 1930s. The reportage suggests that he cultivated an international dimension to South Africa's concert life. His international network included artists from Eastern Europe who, like himself and many Jews in South Africa, were displaced. This made it possible for performers and audiences to identify with each other across national borders. Within this transnational identification, their internationalism could have been based on a new understanding of themselves as world citizens: an Eastern European Jewish collective spread across several countries, each community working to find ways of maintaining their original networks while also adapting to the particular conditions of their new homes.

Even though little is known about Levitoff, he was clearly an important cultural mediator between South Africa and Russia from 1936 to 1938. The performers he brought to South Africa evoked images of Tsarist Russia, not the Soviet Union. In South Africa, the nostalgia for a lost home was entangled with a Zionist hope for a Jewish future in Palestine. These representations could suggest a musical imaginary that was not tied to the temporal-spatiality of the Jewish community's location in South Africa.

Aronowsky followed Cherniavsky's lead by introducing international performers to South African audiences, which suggests that a broad internationalist sensibility remained part of Jewish patronage of music in South Africa. He also introduced local performers to South African stages, which indicates the extent to which the community has become established in their new environment. Similar to Levitoff, Aronowsky also mediated a particular connection with Russia in its new configuration, the Soviet Union. It seems that Jews related to the Soviet Union not as former Russians, but as South African members of the Friends of the Soviet Union, a non-Jewish organization. Their support of the Soviet Union was motivated by the role the latter played in ending the War, which claimed so many Jewish lives in Europe.

There was another Russian presence in South Africa's concert life between 1946 and 1948. Reviews and advertisements in the *Chronicle* documents performances by the 'Famous Exponent of the Modern Dance Art', Masha Arsenieva, who is invariably accompanied on piano by Boris Igneff (145:5; 153:1 and 163:6). Igneff (1895-1976) was a pianist and composer of ballet music who studied at the St. Petersburg Conservatoire, and who fled to Asia after the Revolution. He and Masha Arsenieva married in 1933 and came to South Africa in 1946 (van der Spuy 2005:4). Gerard Samuels (2016:46) identifies Arsenieva as a modern dancer of the Wigman and Laban tradition; that is, of modern and expressionist dance as practiced in Weimar Germany. The reportage on Arsenieva and Igneff provides a window on two individuals who have been neglected in South African musical history. It contributes to the understanding that Western art music and the modernist thrust of dance inspired by Russian developments contributed to a South African Jewish musical imaginary.

**Article: Hasidim**

The previous two sections consider the South African Jewish community's respective relationships to one of their countries of origin as well as their new country as represented in Jewish music reportage. This section moves the discussion closer to Jewish identity.

A regular column entitled 'On the Watchtower' appeared during the 1930s in the *Chronicle*. The author's pseudonym, Josephus, references the famous Roman-Jewish historian. One of his columns is devoted to a concert by Victor Chenkin that took place in Cape Town's Zionist Hall in 1930. Chenkin was an Eastern European emigrant, who left the Ukraine, his place of birth, in 1923 for Berlin and in the 1930s was based in the United States. He toured the world with a repertoire of international folk songs, which he performed as an entertainer in changing costumes.

Josephus introduces his piece with an apology addressed to an imaginary musical critic for his 'unscientific criticism.' He assures the critic that he merely wants to 'register the impressions of an ordinary mortal' (4:5). The erudition of the intertextual critique that follows reveals the conceit of his apology: 'nor do I wish to assume the role of my friend Diogenes Teufelsdrockh', he writes, 'who, as a "*professor allerlei Wissenschaften*," could speak authoritatively on every subject' (4:7). Diogenes Teufelsdrockh is the protagonist in a nineteenth century novel, *Sartor Resartus*, by Thomas Carlyle. The character's name means 'god-born devil-dung'. Carlyle's novel critiques Kantian Idealism and poses a Romantic challenge to the rationalism of the Enlightenment (Fincher [O]). Josephus's introduction registers dialectic tensions between the musical critic and ordinary mortal, in the meaning of Teufelsdrockh's name, as well as in the tension between rationalism and emotionalism implicit in the reference to *Sartor Resartus*. Dialecticism continues to mark the rest of Josephus's text. He writes:

> To me Chenkin was in the first place the prototype of Jewish spiritual restlessness – of that spirituality which in its eternal flow and infinite windings and sinuosities cannot be imprisoned in a definite form. Chenkin, although a master of enunciation and the possessor of a fine voice, can neither express himself fully in the congealed and stereotyped form of language nor even in the mathematically measured cadences of music which, although capable of reproducing every emotion, labours under a load of scientific discipline and is subject to the laws of time and space, of rhythm and harmony and the limitations of an art with definite forms. (4:12)

Josephus describes Chenkin as 'the prototype of Jewish restlessness' This particular kind of spirituality renders Chenkin unable to express himself fully, not because of artistic ineptitude, but because of the restrictions that the laws of language and music impose on his performance. Josephus explains that music is ‘inadequate for a full expression.’ The scientific underpinnings of music, in its attempt to contain expression, show themselves inadequate and limiting, rather than supportive and enabling. The aesthetics of Chenkin’s performance, in other words, reveal the shortcomings of music when expressing a particular Jewish spiritual essence.

Josephus shows a contempt for scientific discipline and a resistance to the rigidity of form and structure. His contempt for scientific discipline could indicate a disdain for the ideals of the Western Enlightenment and its high regard for science and reason. But it is also possible his resistance to form is a prescient resistance to the idea of Anglo-Jewish bottles (Saron’s metaphor) – an English structure, embodied by the Jewish Board, who, through their programme of anglicization, worked to contain a Litvak spirit within a particular configuration that would become a South African Jewish identity. Josephus continues his reading of ‘Jewish restlessness’ with a description of Chenkin’s anatomy and physical gestures that renders the inner life of ‘a truly peculiar people’ perceivable:

> And so Chenkin’s message is transferred to his flashing eyes and overflows like an electric stream to all his limbs, taking shape and form again at the tips of his fingers, which speak a language all their own. Chenkin’s subtly beautiful hands possess an eloquence rare even amongst Jews. These organs, in the infinite variety of their revolutions, in the endless patterns which they design, and the wealth of figures which they describe in the air, are the most marvellous instruments of human expression, and while the movement of the hand as a whole expresses the wider sweeps of thought and emotion, the delicate play of the fingers reproduces the subtler intricacies, the peculiar turns and twists of the mind of a truly peculiar people. (4:22)

Although Josephus uses Chenkin to symbolize a Jewish collective, he makes a distinction between the artist and the people when he writes that Chenkin’s ‘subtly beautiful hands possess an eloquence rare even amongst Jews.’ This indicates that Chenkin’s performance is a representation of a Jewish restlessness, an artistic performance of a spirituality in its ideal form, not its real configuration. Chenkin’s gestural performance seems to come into its own in his representation of scenes from the Old World, specifically the Ukraine. Josephus writes:

> Without his gesticulations and play of feature Chenkin’s art is nothing, for reams of words and orchestral scores cannot bridge the gulf between the Ukrainian *pogromshtchik* and the gentle *Chassid* that ‘zaidener yunger man’ whose sweet lyrical gentleness inspired the art of Peretz. One cannot describe in words the difference between the way in which these two men get drunk; the tipsiness of the *Ukrainian* and that of the *Chassid*, there are worlds which separate these similar states, this identical act of two men who may have lived together for centuries yet who are as wide apart as the antipodes. (4:8)

In his performance, Chenkin juxtaposed the Ukrainian Jew-baiter with ‘the gentle *Chassid*’. By highlighting this aspect of Chenkin’s performance, Josephus indicates that he has in mind a particularly

Eastern European mode of Jewish restlessness. This restlessness is most visible in the eccentricities of Hasidim, not in the traditionalism of the opposing Mitnagdim.

The quotation above indicates that Hasidim in the context of Peretz's work frames Josephus's understanding of Hasidism. Isaac Loeb Peretz (1852-1915) was a renowned Polish author of modern Yiddish literature whose work is associated with the Haskalah. Peretz himself was a socialist, but his work attracts a following among socialists, Zionists, and a wide variety of religious and non-religious readers. Niger (1997) describes Peretz as a humanist, and argues that where other Yiddish writers looked for 'the Jew in the human being', Peretz 'discovered the human being in the Jew' (Niger 1997:191). Although not a Hasid himself, Peretz respected Hasidim for their mode of being in the world. 'The Hasid's faith,' writes Niger (1997:191), 'his pious fervor, the holiness of his rebbe, his ecstatic singing and dancing – Peretz translated these into the universal language of man's faith in his creative potentialities, the ecstasy of human heroism, and the joy of dreaming.'

Josephus too holds Hasidism as an ideal. He is not gesturing towards a collective conversion, however. He merely posits Hasidism as a placeholder for an alternative, particularly Jewish mode of being. The reference to the gentile Ukrainian Jew-baiter serves as a reminder, however, that Jewish gestural habits, which were associated with the Hasid, often triggered or informed antisemitic social attitudes. 'Much has been said of Jewish gesticulation', writes Josephus. 'Much has been said that is deprecatory and derisive. The twist of the Jew's finger, the shrewd wink of his eye, the meaningful shrug of his shoulder have been the object of contempt and mockery' (4:18). This was also the case in South Africa of 1930 where antisemitism was emerging as a growing political feature (Shain 2015: Location 58). Josephus, however, offers an inverse perspective on Jewish gesticulation when he writes that 'on regarding Chenkin one seems to feel that the most eloquent instrument of expression is not the human tongue but the eye, and the hand comes a good second':

> For sheer economy in expression the finger or rather the thumb in the subtle potency of its turns and twists is unsurpassable. It expresses a world of meaning, the whole soul of a people, an infinity of national psychology. And in following these eloquent hands in their expressive gyration one comes to the conclusion that the gesticulation of the Jew is only partly due to his poverty in formal linguistic expression; fundamentally it is the natural expression of an extraordinarily nimble mind progressing at such a pace and renewing itself every moment with such vitality that it cannot submit to the plodding precision of formal words. (4:18)

For Josephus, Chenkin's gesticulation represents the most natural and human form of expression, since it is not subject to the formal and artificial restraints of language or music. When Josephus draws attention to a spirituality that transgresses the boundaries of language and music and spills over into bodily gestures, he recognizes that music and language figure more prominently than the human body in relation to conceptions of mind and reason within Western humanist discourses. For him, however, the eye, the shoulder, the hand, the thumb – these human organs express the Jewish mind in ways that language and music cannot. And this mode of expression, Josephus seems to argue, is precisely what renders the Jew human, even if different (from a normative, Western perspective). Gesticulation provides the expression of a specific group of people who Josephus defines not in terms of religion, but of nationality. Yet such an expression of nationality remains for Josephus an expression of humanity. He continues to write that 'Chenkin's art seems to prove that life is never the same for two successive moments, that the human soul is like a lambent flame ever flashing forth new tongues of fire' (4:23). Here is the one instance in the primary source material where music is not held up as the most fluid signifier of a national identity. Only in this article does the body itself become a site for identity construction that is more meaningful and fluid than both music and language.

The repertoire that Chenkin performed was not limited to Eastern European or Jewish folk songs. He performed a variety of international folk songs. Josephus nevertheless regards even this aspect of Chenkin's performance in relation to Jewishness and he calls it 'an experiment in assimilation.' He writes:

> On looking at Chenkin's marvellous impersonations I could not but ask myself to what extent a Jew really could enter into the skin of a Frenchman, or an Italian, or a Russian, and feel natural and comfortable in that skin. It seems fairly obvious that the Jew would not feel comfortable in the skin of an *Ukrainian*, but I doubt whether he would even feel at home in the skin of the civilised Frenchman. (4:3)

The descriptor 'civilised' suggests that for Josephus, the construct of 'civilization' drives Jewish aspirations to assimilate. If 'the Frenchman' is described as civilized, the implication could be that 'the Ukrainian', described earlier as 'the Jew-baiter', is not civilized. Historically, Jews were often regarded as uncivilized in Europe. Josephus takes no clear position on the Jew's civilized status, but he acknowledges its ambiguity when he questions whether 'the Jew with enlightened ideas' was really 'internationalist', or whether he was 'merely an ape' (4:3). It is possible that Josephus was subtly referencing Franz Kafka's 'Report to the Academy', a short story of an ape who hopes to escape captivity by acquiring human language. In the most refined language, the ape speaks about the impossibility of escaping his simian essence (Gilman 1986:282-284).[48] Josephus directs his critique at the Jew of the Enlightenment, not the Hasid. His text inverts the significations of the respective stereotypes of Western and Eastern European Jews: The Hasid, historically perceived as uncivilized in Europe, is here posited as the ideal Jew, while the sophistication of the civilized, Enlightened Jew is questioned.

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[48] Gilman recognises that Kafka's 'Report to the Academy' is not about Jews and that it stands 'in a long literary tradition of educated apes' (1986:284). However, a particular contextual analysis of the text makes a Jewish reading possible: it was first published in a journal entitled *The Jew*, whose editor, Martin Buber, was a close acquaintance of Kafka's. Buber had widely published ideas that emerged from a positive stereotype of the Hasid.

For Josephus, however, the challenge of Jewish assimilation to French civilization has less to do with the demands of sophistication than with the imperatives of nationalism. These imperatives shaped around popular interests of common society, and not around highbrow interests of the elite or intellectuals. Josephus supports his point with a reference to the popularity of Pierre Jean de Beranger's folk songs in France:

> I am afraid that no Jew, were he even a professor of French, could enter fully into the true spirit of Pierre Jean de Beranger. Wherein lies the greatness of Beranger? What is there in this rather commonplace author of folk songs which thus inflames the heart of the Frenchman? Is it possible that the glory of this rather vulgar poet should for a time even have eclipsed the fame of Victor Hugo? These questions cannot be answered by the literary critic; they form part of the problem of nationalism. (4:6)

Even if the Jew reaches the pinnacle of civilization and becomes a professor, Josephus suggests, he could still not become a Frenchman. He would still be an excluded Jew, but not because of an innate inability to become civilized, as the stature of the hypothetical professor seems to suggest that the Jew can indeed achieve sophistication. The Jew would be excluded because of his nationality, which renders the Jewish spirit unable to resonate with the nationalist sounds of French folk songs. For Josephus, then, nationalism renders the Jewish experiment of assimilation, which strives toward a Western ideal of civilization, obsolete.

Yet the Jew, Josephus writes, 'is no great respecter of art' (4:13). In his final paragraphs, Josephus directs his critique at the Jews in the Zionist Hall who probably enjoyed Chenkin's performance as a form of entertainment and who arguably did not experience his art as a social critique or an artistic commentary on a Jewish assimilationist project. Assimilation, Josephus argues, can only be achieved artificially: by a true artist, for short periods, on stage. Josephus seems to argue that the Jew who aspires to assimilate to a Western notion of man comes to play a 'false role' that renders him, in Josephus's terms, a clown, a fool, an ape. In contrast, the Hasid, for Josephus, opens the possibility for an alternative mode of being human in this world that is not subservient to Western ideals.

It has been presumed in this study that 'Peruvians' as a category for interrogating music reportage of Jewish publications possesses the analytical potential to uncover a complex and ambivalent representation of Eastern European immigrants. The extent of Josephus's epistemological resistance to this negative stereotyping is nevertheless surprising. A clearer understanding of his opposition is possible when one considers this text in relation to another, wider discourse. Josephus's text resembles a body of work produced during the early twentieth century in Europe, particularly around the time of the First World War, and that includes selected writings by Ahron Marcus, Martin Buber, Max Brod, Franz Kafka and others. Sander Gilman (1986:270-286) highlights how these authors changed the previous negative valence of the 'Eastern Jew' stereotype into a positive one. He argues that during the nineteenth century, Western Jewry projected their unconscious insecurities onto the negative stereotype. Around the time of the First World War, when the consequences of assimilation started to become apparent, the positive stereotype of the Eastern European Jew 'became the idealized self-image of the Jew' (1986:271). Gilman (1986:270) writes therefore that '[t]he image of the Eastern Jew becomes a touchstone for an understanding, not of the Eastern Jew, but of Western Jewry.' It is possible, then, that in the context of this study, Josephus's text reveals more about Yekkes than about Peruvians. Gilman perceives a double bind in these texts that is also relevant here: 'it attempted to translate the irrationality of the Chasidic brand of mysticism into the highly structured, rational language of the Western philosophical tradition' – the very tradition that is 'viewed as inimical to Jewish self-expression' (1986:272).

Josephus casts his critique of Jewish assimilation in internationalist terms. In its broadest application, it could be a critique of Western humanism. A narrower focus of the critique, it could be argued, aimed at assimilated Jews in the Western world. However, Josephus addresses the 'Jews in the Zionist Hall' directly in the conclusion of this article. At this point, his critique also becomes an implicit commentary on the institutional programmes of the Jewish Board and the Zionist Federation. It is possible to read Josephus's article as objecting to an English structure designed to contain (or, in Josephus's thinking, restrain) an Eastern European Jewish spirit. In other words, he resists not only a Western epistemological notion of man, but also a white South African notion of the English gentleman. It may stretch a point to argue this resistance as a resistance to whiteness as an ideal. The issue for Josephus was not a racial question in the same way as the stereotype of Peruvians has been constituted in the analytical construct. For him, it was rather a question of nationalism. In the South African context, Zionism provided the main ideological frame for Jewish nationalism. In his broadly sympathetic reading of Eastern European Jewish identity, Josephus might well have been influenced by the writings of Martin Buber. Gilman (1986:273) describes Buber, a Western Jew, as the 'most widely read exponent of a positive projection of the Eastern Jew' around the time of the First World War. Political Zionism was at the core of his writings on Jewish identity, and Hasidism signified, for Buber, 'the true roots' of 'Jewish uniqueness'. Deliberating on the racial identity of the Jew with reference to the Orient, Buber posits that 'the Jews can serve as the link between Eastern (or Oriental) perceptions of the world and Western (or German) perceptions' (Gilman 1986:274). It is possible that Josephus recognized the potential of early twentieth century Zionism to integrate East and West in ways that could undo the biases of Western humanism. Read in this way, his text on Victor Chenkin is an entreaty to South African Zionists not blindly to adopt Anglo-German Jewish praxes, but to seek and (re)appropriate Oriental sources of Jewishness, to nurture its elements and integrate them into a national identity that would, qua Peretz, validate the human in the Jew.

Josephus's article introduces Hasidism early in the historical period investigated by this study. The rest of the primary material mentions Hasidism only a few times. These quotations register shifting tensions between reason and emotionalism, which point to the different values held in different arenas of Judaism in South Africa.

Hasidism is briefly mentioned in an article entitled 'Palestine creates a new folk song' in a *Zionist Record* of 1935. The quotation states that for a short period in Palestine, there had been 'a vogue for *Chassidic* songs, used mainly for dances' (221:19). According to this article, none of the elements of Hasidic song were incorporated into a Palestinian folksong. It would appear, then, that Hasidic expression was suppressed in music and in language. However, if Hasidic songs were 'used mainly for dances', this could imply that here, as in Chenkin's performance, Hasidism finds its ultimate Zionist expression in the movement of the body. This is not to say that all Zionist dance is Hasidic. It is merely to suggest that the act of dancing carries Hasidic meanings in Zionist contexts.

According to a 1937 *Chronicle*, Rev. J.H. Levine gave a lecture on 'Crisis and Emotions' at a Zionist Conversazione. His lecture draws a parallel between Hasidism and Nazism: they have in common the qualities of religious movements that arise during times of crisis when people are stirred by strong emotions. Levine proposes that education could direct unspent emotional energy into proper channels. In the context of Nazism, only education could remove antisemitism, 'one of the blackest blots on civilisation' (59:3). Levine does not carry his analogy through to the end. It is therefore not clear whether Hasidism, in his view, had a doctrine equally problematic to that of Nazi antisemitism (as understood by Levine in 1937). However, what they do have in common, according to Levine, is emotionalism. In Levine's lecture, emotionalism in the context of Nazism is irrational and therefore negative. If one were to extend the analogy, the implication is that emotionalism in the context of Hasidism should also be deemed a negative force. Furthermore, taking the analogy seriously would mean that describing Nazism as a black spot on civilization would also imply Hasidism as such. Levine suggests that education is the corrective by which to address the problems caused by a surplus of emotions, an orthodox and patriarchal valuing of reason and education over feelings. The analytical construct of the present study suggests that these are also the values that inform a South African Jewish identity. These values stand in contrast to those espoused by Josephus in his reading of Chenkin's performance.

A final reference to Hasidism appears in a 1940 *Chronicle*. Cousin Helen, in her column 'Our Children's Circle', teaches her young readers about the origins of Hasidism in Galicia, Eastern Europe, 'long ago.' The story has the characteristics of religious myths and fairy tales: an angel predicting a miracle birth to an elderly couple, an enchanted child named Israel who performs wonders, a forest, wolves, and children playing and singing. The moral of Cousin Helen's story is that passion triumphs over learning: ‘Israel said that loving God was worth more than all the wisdom a man could learn in all the Jewish schools’ (76:34). She concludes her letter with the following message:

> He taught them also that if we really know God we are gay and happy. That is why the Chassidim, Israel’s followers, still worship God by dancing and singing happy, merry songs. (76:15)

Here, Cousin Helen contradicts Levine and endorses passion over reason in religious practice. The seeming contradiction of values could perhaps be explained in terms of two factors: generation and gender. First, Cousin Helen addresses children, the next generation, whose learning, in terms of their development, is still guided by their passions. It is therefore possible that valuing passion over reason is an age-appropriate message, one necessary for instilling religious values in children, values which could later be refined by learning and study. If understood in this way, the contrast between this position and that of Levine’s is less stark. The implication of this reading for Hasidism, however, is that it could be seen as an immature form of Judaism. A second interpretation of her letter is suggested by Cousin Helen’s gender. The analytical construct shows that Jewish girls in South Africa were largely excluded from the Jewish education provided at the Talmud Torah. Hasidism could therefore provide legitimacy, value and importance to a female mode of worship. This, in turn, imbues Hasidism with feminine qualities. If one accepts both these readings as possible, one could argue that Hasidism functioned in South Africa as a naïve/innocent and feminine form of Judaism. In a patriarchal, orthodox context, it could therefore have been judged as immature, emotional and irrational – qualities that are a source of embarrassment, rather than pride, to orthodox religion. However, Cousin Helen, like Josephus, attempts to turn this negative image of the Hasid into a positive one. Her joy is expressed ‘by dancing and singing happy, merry songs.’

The difference between the figures of Hasidim and Mitnagdim pivots on the respective values of emotionalism and rationalism assigned to them. Josephus and Cousin Helen endorse the passion of the Hasid, whereas Levine advocates education, study and reason. My reading of Levine’s lecture confirms what the analytical construct suggests: that his negative image of the Hasid dominates in religious contexts of South African Judaism. However, the positive image of Hasidim in the representations of Josephus and Cousin Helen also suggests that Hasidism could have attracted additional meanings in different Jewish South African contexts. For Josephus, the Hasid embodies (a term I use advisedly) a mode of Jewishness that could imbue Jewish nationalism with deep, spiritual meaning. The reading of Palestinian folksong suggests that this Hasidic Jewishness could be linked to Zionist dance, an expression of national feeling through the movement of the body. Finally, Cousin Helen’s letter suggests that Hasidic dance and merry songs offer women and children an alternative mode of religious expression within a patriarchal context.

In the previous paragraph I argue that while the figure of the Hasid could mean one thing in a particular religious context, it could have other meanings in female or Zionist contexts. Here, I venture to delve deeper into one possible alternative meaning of Hasidism. Josephus's article argues that Hasidim's passion cannot be expressed musically. Hasidism, in a musical context, animates the Jewish body: it does so in the context of Chenkin's gestural performance and in the context of Palestinian folk singing. The link between Hasidism and Zionism is present, but hidden in Josephus's text. It only comes into clearer focus when we place Josephus's article next to the article on the Palestinian folksong. Reading these two articles together makes it possible to connect Hasidim to the active music-making activities of Zionists as discussed in the previous chapter. In that context, I argue that the hora and other forms of dancing co-opted the body in Zionist musical expression and that this active form of musicking linked to the Zionist value of work over passive contemplation. Seen thus, the appropriation of Hasidic dance suggests that Hasidism informs the movement of the Zionist body and infuses Zionism with the Hasidic value of passion over reason.

The silencing of Hasidic melody is, however, not total. It features in contemporary compositions, such as Jerry Idelsohn's *Hassidic Suite* that was to be performed by the Cape Town Orchestra in 1944 (124:27) and the American composer Joseph Achron's *Hebrew Melodies* that formed part of Heifetz's repertoire (191:21). Hasidic melodies were also occasionally included in programmes of Jewish music (286:8 and 293:21). These small examples demonstrate how Hasidic sounds were assimilated into the broader categories of Jewish or Hebrew music, so that their presence could only be recognized when pointed out. It would seem then that in South Africa, despite the dominance of the negative figure of the Hasid, Hasidism could be one of the elements distilled into the South African Litvak spirit. As a sound phenomenon, Hasidism assimilates into other categories of Jewish music. Stripped from language and music, however, Hasidism finds expression in the dancing of Zionists and in feminine religious articulations.

### Article: Mitnagdim

The studious figure of the Mitnaged, as suggested already, represents the value system most associated with South African Jewry. The normativity of a Mitnagdic value system means that the stereotype is not conspicuous in the primary source material. A constellation of terms around Hasidim makes this stereotype easy to identify in the music reportage, but the term 'Mitnaged' does not appear once. I have nevertheless identified the Mitnaged in a reading of one article about Yiddish folksong. The article, like Josephus's column entry, is exceptional in its length and depth of treatment. It is, therefore, the only article discussed in this section.

In 1931, Henry Gideon's 'Folk Music of the Jews' was published in a *Chronicle*. The title leads one to believe that the article discusses the folk music of the Jews. Surprisingly, it does not. In fact, the introduction states that '[t]he Jews as a people have no folk music' (8:3). The remainder of the article is devoted to Yiddish folk songs, which Gideon describes as 'the only characteristic songs of the Jews' (8:3). He explains that these songs belong to 'the Jew in Russia.' The 'Jews as a people' – a dispersed collective – have assimilated into their respective host countries' cultures. That is why they, as a nation, do not have their own song. However, 'the Jew in Russia', writes Gideon:

> lives a life apart from the rest of the world, thrust back upon himself, shut in with himself, forced to find in his own life the material of the songs he himself shall make and sing and perhaps himself alone shall hear. (8:8)

Gideon proceeds with a narrative that unfolds chronologically according to the life cycle of Russian Jews shaped by the content of several Yiddish songs. The objective of his narrative is not to introduce these songs to an uninformed audience, but is directed at insiders. He references specific Yiddish songs in English prose, without identifying their titles and without directly quoting lyrics (not even in translation). Readers intimately familiar with these songs would promptly recognize them.[49] Gideon's article communicates directly with Eastern European Jewish immigrants and their children. The article could be read as proudly acknowledging their presence in South Africa. But it goes even further than that. Gideon uses prose to identify and highlight certain Jewish values that are embedded in these songs. In other words, these songs hold the parts of a Jewish value system that Gideon is constructing for his Jewish readers.

The following extract references two songs – 'Rozhinkes mit mandlen' (Almonds and Raisins)[50] and 'Yankele'[51]:

> Mother sings her baby boy to sleep with a lullaby full of fervent and touching hope that he may become wise, learned and pious. The child's trade is disposed of in a word – he is to barter almonds and raisins. But what is better than almonds and raisins? The Torah, the Holy Word of God, is the best possession. And Yankele shall study the Torah: he shall be learned, and shall walk in the ways of wisdom – but, above all things, he shall remain a pious and faithful Jew forever. (8:27)

Gender roles are clearly delineated in these songs. As suggested above, boys become merchants or they learn Hebrew and study the Torah at the Jewish school. Another song says girls 'help with the household tasks – and think about the important matter of a husband!' (8:5). In the song 'Vos-zhe vilstu' (What do you want; see Fonda [O, a]), the Jewish girl is presented with several options for a potential husband. She chooses a scholar over a carpenter, shoemaker, merchant or musician. Her choice confirms for Gideon that the 'traditional devotion to learning' is 'characteristic of the Jewish race' (8:5). Two things are worth pointing out here: first, within the Yiddish-Russian context of the Old World, the 'traditional devotion to learning' is a characteristic of Mitnagdim, the religious grouping who shaped their beliefs and practices against those of Hasidim, who valued passion over learning. It is thus safe to assume that the Russian Jew represented in this article would be the reserved, pious Mitnaged, as opposed to the exuberant, loud Hasid. Second, Gideon does not have a problem to ascribe a single characteristic to the entire Jewish race, whereas earlier he was careful to emphasize that the Yiddish folk song belonged only to the Russian Jews, not the Jewish people. This is one instance in which the *Chronicle* serves the function of shaping a South African Jewish identity, where one characteristic associated with the Eastern European Jew, the Mitnagdic devotion to learning, is preferred over another, Hasidic emotionalism.

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[49] Titles of songs were identified by extracting clues from the narrative and searching keywords online.
[50] See: Fonda [O] and Lullabies Unite (2015 [O]).
[51] See: Luna (2008 [O]).

Gideon discusses wedding songs and songs poking fun at the rabbi, but also soldier songs that are 'often a pathetic expression of the trials of the Jew in Russia' (8:2). These songs are 'mournful', because the Jew 'must fight for a race, a religion, a country, in which he has no place or part' and he 'must violate his most sacred traditions and live in a fashion which is, according to his religion, infamous and impious' (8:2). When the Jew becomes a soldier in the Russian army, this article suggests, when he is conscripted to serve the Tsar, he becomes alienated from the self. The Russian Jewish soldier's self-alienation can be pardoned, since it is imposed upon him, unlike the self-alienation of assimilation in the Western world, which is presented as voluntary.

In the final paragraphs of the article, Gideon describes the aesthetic features of the Yiddish folk song:

> Nearly all the Yiddish songs are sung quietly and softly, for the enemy is at the gate. And they are nearly all in the minor mode, or in the old modes which we know to-day through the Gregorian chant and the church music of the middle ages. The open joyous major mode is little used in these songs. The major is the mode of a free people, singing aloud, walking without fear. (8:17)

The diffident sounds of these songs counter the loud exuberance that one would imagine hearing in Hasidic songs. The nostalgia for these Yiddish songs could suggest that the 'Russian Jew' still remembered unfreedom and fear, even in South Africa. Gideon then emphasizes that these songs are the product of exile:

> In character, some of the music is unmistakably Germanic. More of it is evidently the assimilation of Russian folk songs with a certain orientalism super-added, and the line and colour of the melody remoulded to conform to the exigencies of the text. Few of these songs are more than three centuries old. They have arisen since the Jew has been dwelling in his latter-day Egypt. (81:7)

The world alienation of the Russian ghetto did much, it seems, to preserve Judaism, though not without affecting Jewish music:

> Within the confines of the Russian ghetto, the Jew has sung these songs whether his own in substance or the transformed melodies of lands not his own. Always the words are his own, springing from his own life and thought, expressing himself deeply and truly. (8:23)

These aesthetic observations contain subtle slippages between a particular Russian Judaism and a more general diasporic Judaism. ‘Within the confines of the Russian ghetto’ one encountered ‘the Jew’ – no longer the *Russian* Jew – who sang ‘melodies of *lands* not his own’ (emphasis added). At the beginning of the article, Gideon distinguishes between Russian Jews and assimilated Jews. It is ‘within the confines of the Russian ghetto’ that ‘the Jew treasures his race consciousness, which has endured for more than two thousand years’ (8:23). Jews’ music is that of exile and therefore not purely or authentically Jewish; it cannot be elevated to the status of a representative Jewish folk song. However, the ‘race consciousness’ and the Jewish values expressed by these songs are universally Jewish, and these are expressed in language, not music. But this language does not refer to Yiddish specifically. The language is conceptual, in a sense universal, since the values the songs express are universally Jewish. Gideon’s conceptual treatment of these songs (de-emphasizing music), and his disregard for the musico-poetic element of the lyrics, thus understates the importance of music in a two-fold manner.

# Chapter 7:

# Yiddish and music in South Africa

> The Third Annual Meeting of the Society for the Protection of Unauthorised Shochetim[52] and Reverends was held at the Wanderers.
>
> The Chairman announced that as all present were of the Jewish persuasion, all addresses in future would be delivered in Yiddish. The first speaker rose and speaking in Yiddish began: -
>
> ‘Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen, mit reference to the resolution welcher is gepassed gevoren at the last meeting of our Society....’
>
> There was much disturbance and questions were put to the Chairman whether the speaker was addressing the meeting in Yiddish or English. The Chairman calmed the meeting and said: -
>
> ‘Ich muz zugeben that the speaker zeikt asu a modne habit zu arein varwen Englische expression in reinum Jargon. It is not right....’
>
> At this stage the proceedings ended in an uproar and the meeting of the Society for the Protection of Unauthorised Shochetim and Reverends ended without a vote of thanks to the Chairman or the singing of the National Anthem.
>
> (*Zionist Record*, 1933 – 200:6)

## Yiddish culture

Music and Yiddish, as traced in the primary source material, converge primarily in three cultural contexts: literature, film and theatre. With respect to literature, the names of writers like Mendele, Peretz and Sholem Aleichem (95:7 and 136:21) occur. Mention is also made in a 1940 *Zionist Record* of the activities of the Yiddish Literary Society (303:10). However, the most substantial mention of literary Yiddish in music-related reportage is made with reference to the Yiddish poet, David Fram. In the context of film, most mentions of Yiddish culture refer to the performances of the principal actors like Molly Picon and Moishe Oysher. These references to celebrities suggest that pride in Yiddish culture may have been connected with individual fame. In contrast, reportage on Yiddish in the context of theatre hints at a collective culture disenchanted with the representations of Yiddishness on stage. These three contexts of Yiddish culture in which music participates reveal the different ways in which Yiddish signifies aspects of ideology and language within the shaping of Jewish identity in South Africa. It also points to a strategy of social upward mobility that co-opts Yiddish.

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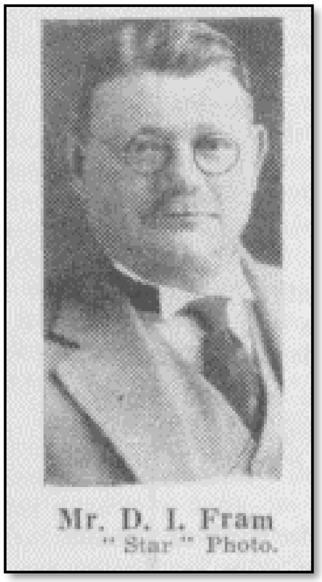
[52] Schochetim (plural) are ritual slaughterers and experts on ritual prescriptions on keeping kosher.



David Fram was an important Yiddish poet from Lithuania who spent seven years in South Africa between 1927 and 1934. During this time, he published a book, *Poems and Songs* (219:4). According to a 1931 article in the *Zionist Record*, a reception was held in Fram's honour where 'two Jewish folk songs' were 'beautifully rendered by the Rev. Mr. Backon, of Benoni' (177:16).

**Figure 23: David Fram. *Zionist Record*. 31 July 1931. p. 24.**

It is likely, but not confirmed, that these 'Jewish' songs were sung in Yiddish. The article identifies Fram as 'A South African Yiddish Poet' and reports that Richard Feldman 'referred in very warm terms to Mr. Fram's contributions to Jewish art':

> He particularly emphasised Mr. Fram's South African poems which he regarded not only as a fine contribution to Yiddish poetry but also a valuable addition to South African poetry. (177:10)

The rhetoric of this quotation suggests that Yiddish, in a sophisticated, literary form, could be mobilized in the broader social agenda aimed at legitimating a Jewish art form internationally, and at confirming citizenship locally.[53] It is rather unusual to find that language, rather than the more abstractly signifying medium of music, can fulfil the function of asserting an international citizenship. Perhaps it is not incidental in this case that it happens through poetry where the rhythm and sound (musical characteristics) of structure outweigh semantic signification.

Later in 1931, a *Zionist Record* reports on an event where Fram laid the foundation stone of the Ponewes Beth Hamedrash in Doornfontein. Margot Rubin (2004:150) explains that the Ponewes Synagogue was established for immigrants from Ponevez in Lithuania. This community's main representative organization was the Ponevez Sick Benefit Society, which was established in 1896 in Ferreirastown and was one of the oldest of such societies in Johannesburg. According to the report, Cantor Steinberg and the choir of the Berea Synagogue officiated the service. Dr. Landau described Fram at this event as 'one who for years had been known to take an active interest in Jewish communal matters.' Fram, in turn, said: '[t]o help a brother who had fallen on bad times was a principle of their [the Ponewes] society' (181:1). While Fram's Yiddish writings could be employed in a programme of local and international social mobility, his active, civic participation in Jewish communal life also suggests that there was a place for a private and intimate nurturing of Jewish values that was built on tradition and special altruism for their kin. A final report on the farewell function held in honour of Fram appears in a

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[53] For a valuable discussion on David Fram and the ideological orientation of his Yiddish poetry, see Frankel (2013).

*Zionist Record* of 1934. The function is described as ‘a homely little gathering.’ Yiddish songs, ‘whose beautiful cadences hold a message of human warmth, and human appreciation’ were performed (219:8). Linking Yiddish songs with human emotional responses imbues them with values of universality, indicating a certain flexibility of signification in Yiddish song. It would seem from this that Yiddish did not signify rigidly a fixed locale and unchanging political allegiance, but that it could function (as it did in this case) as a sentimental impulse informing a general nostalgia associated with leave-taking.

Yiddish films were often shown in Johannesburg and Cape Town. In 1937, an advertisement in a *Chronicle* for the screening of *The Lost Boy* demonstrates that Yiddish had a certain connection with Palestine, which could have enhanced the perception of Yiddish in South African society:

> For the first time in history the Jewish community of Cape Town will have the opportunity of seeing and hearing two YIDDISH all-talking and singing films written and produced in PALESTINE.
> 100% Yiddish Talkie. 100% Jewish Singing. (57:5).

In 1938, the *Zionist Record* reported that *Yiddle with his Fiddle*, which depicts the life of wandering musicians in Poland, featured Molly Picon and was screened at the Johannesburg City Hall. ‘Pathos and humour’ blended in this film, and Molly Picon’s performance showed ‘gaiety that is not unmixed with sadness’ (251:10). The reference to a melancholic joy becomes a trope with reference to Eastern European Jewry in South Africa, and is one of the characteristics the community adopted. In 1939, with reference in the *Chronicle* to a screening of *The Cantor’s Son*, it was stated that ‘if at times there are feelings of sadness, they are quickly dispelled by the brilliant comedianship of Michael Rosenberg’s Yossel’ (68:4). *The Cantor’s Son* was described as an ‘outstanding and highly interesting Yiddish musical film.’ It starred Moishe Oysher, who was a cantor in America. The notice for the film stated that Oysher’s ‘synagogue music, as well as his cabaret items, bring out the true beauty of his dramatic tenor’ (68:4). This quotation, like others discussed elsewhere in this chapter, suggests a link between religious singing and singing for entertainment in Yiddish. This aspect of Jewish musical culture has been noted and discussed in international musicological discourses (see for example, Bohlman 2008:94-96). The notice on *The Cantor’s Son* continues to explain that ‘English titles make the understanding and appreciation of the play easy for non-Jews’ (68:4), indicating that the community was confident to share a version of Yiddish culture with their fellow South African citizens. Moishe Oysher performed in another Yiddish musical film, *The Singing Blacksmith*, which showed at the Standard Theatre in Johannesburg in 1940 and was reviewed in a *Zionist Record*. The reviewer described Oysher as the ‘Jewish Caruso’ (271:2). This film also had English titles, which ‘make the story unfold itself clearly to the members of the audience who are not fully acquainted with the Yiddish language’ (271:2). This indicated that English titles were not only for the benefit of non-Jews, but also had a function for a new generation of Jews who no longer spoke Yiddish as fluently as their parents. In June 1948, shortly after the State of Israel was founded, the Johannesburg Women's Zionist League sponsored the showing of *Overture to Glory*, the proceeds of which were intended for the Israeli Emergency Funds. The advertisement stated 'Hear Kol Nidrei as only Moishe Oysher can sing it' (329:5). This quotation in conjunction with the first reference to *The Lost Boy*, which was produced in Palestine, indicates that Yiddish could function as one of the markers of a Zionist sensibility.

Belling (2008), the authoritative researcher on Yiddish culture in South Africa, notes that mainstream Jewish newspapers did not devote much attention to Yiddish plays and that Yiddish newspapers are more informative in this regard. This is important, since her observation confirms the presence of a certain institutional bias against Eastern European Jewish culture. The few instances of Yiddish theatre in which music is mentioned in the primary material of the present study nevertheless provide interesting perspectives on the complexities of Jewish feelings about Yiddish.

The names of two famous Yiddish actors, Paul Breitman and Vera Kanevska, appear often in the material. Veronica Belling (2007:198) identifies the Breitman-Kanevska duo among other Yiddish actors who came to settle in South Africa during the 1930s. They first visited South Africa in the 1920s with a London troupe (Belling 2007:205). In 1933, they performed a musical programme along with the London Yiddish Theatrical Company at an event in Cape Town celebrating the opening of the Zionist Congress in Prague (23:11). Their visit to South Africa in 1938 was noted in both the *Chronicle* and *Zionist Record*. An advertisement for an event in Cape Town noted that Breitman and Kanevska would perform 'the very latest on the Jewish Stage with Song and Dance' at the Zionist Hall. This description is repeated in Yiddish, written in Hebrew script (62:5). The duo then joined a local Jewish company in Johannesburg who was staging a Yiddish play at the Standard Theatre (256:2). Belling (2007:205) states that the duo settled here in 1938, when Breitman became a cantor in Johannesburg. An advertisement in a *Chronicle* in 1945 describes Breitman as a 'famous cantor', who was to perform 'A Rich Programme of Latest Jewish Folksongs, Arias and Chazonuth' in the Zionist Hall. Vera Kanevska would also 'render Popular Jewish Songs and Impersonations' at this event. The folksongs that were to be performed are described as 'Jewish' and not 'Yiddish'. The advertisement was nevertheless headed with an inscription in Yiddish, which reads, in Hebrew script, 'A Groysr Idisher Avond', which translates to 'A Great Jewish Evening' (125:9). A final instance in the primary material names 'Cantor P. Braitman' in an advertisement in a *Chronicle* for a Mizrachi social event that was to take place in the Zionist Hall in 1945(130:1). It is possible that this Braitman is the Yiddish actor Paul Breitman.[54] According this advertisement, Breitman was in 1945 affiliated to the Hebrew Congregation in Roeland Street.

Other references to Yiddish theatre in these newspapers are not linked to famous individuals like Breitman and Kanevska. A *Zionist Record* reported in 1939 that *Kol Nidrei*, an operetta, was performed in Johannesburg. The reviewer wrote that 'Johannesburg still boasts generous audiences ready to support the better type of Yiddish plays' (263:7). However, he did not count *Kol Nidrei* among these: 'Why "Kol Nidrei", that old and hoary tale of Jewish suffering should be resuscitated at this period of grim Jewish tragedy, is difficult to grasp' (263:6). He concluded that: '[u]ntil a group of players come here who are ready to respect the intelligence of the South Africa Jew and Jewess, it is better that energy and money should no longer be devoted to the adventure of Yiddish play production' (263:7).

In 1942, a review appeared in a *Zionist Record* of a performance by the actress Tamara Samsonov at a concert arranged by the Habimah Circle. She recited excerpts from Ezekiel 37 (a passage on the Valley of Dry Bones) and from *The Dybbuk*, a play by S. An-ski. Originally in Russian, An-ski translated *The Dybbuk* into Yiddish, and Bialik translated it into Hebrew. The play is set in a nineteenth century East European town and tells about a girl who falls in love with a young man, who dies before they marry. His spirit then enters the young girl in the form of a Dybbuk (Steinlauf [O]). The review states that Samsonov performed her programme in English and in Hebrew. It is not clear in which language she performed the excerpts from *The Dybbuk*, but it is safe to assume that she did not perform them in Yiddish. The tale is nevertheless an Eastern European Jewish one, which held implicit associations with Yiddish culture, most likely familiar to Jewish readers of the *Record*. The reviewer complimented Samsonov's 'use of gesture' in her performance of the last scene of *The Dybbuk*: 'her ability to weave a planned pattern of effective arm and hand movements is one of her distinctive gifts as an actress' (292:15). The association of gesture with the Eastern European Jew may be inferred, which could indicate a tacit acknowledgement of the Eastern European Jew's racial qualities, as has been illustrated within the context of the discussion on the Hasid. The rest of the programme included a 'selection of Hebrew folk melodies played on the 20th Century organ', arias 'from Handel' as well as from *La Traviata* and *La Boheme*, 'two Hebrew excerpts by Rubinstein and Engel respectively', and Bloch's *Baal Shem Suite* performed on violin. The principle musical referents for this concert were clearly Hebraist and European. Yiddish culture is signified, but also effaced, in the language. The signification of Yiddish culture lies in the choice of repertoire (*The Dybbuk*), in which the identification of the Eastern Jew is enhanced by the performer's gestures. Yiddish culture is nevertheless effaced by rendering *The Dybbuk* in either Hebrew or English.

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[54] The uncertainty around this person's identity is in the spelling discrepancy – spelt with an 'e' in the publicity material for the Breitman/Kanevska performances, but with an 'a' (Braitman) here. Belling also slips between the spellings Breitman and Braitman (compare Belling 2007:198 and 205.)

Two years later, in 1944, a burlesque on Dybbuk was performed in Johannesburg. A reviewer, publishing in a *Zionist Record*, opined that staging such a burlesque in the contemporary climate was ill-advised:

> As a burlesque it would have been a suitable piece of entertainment in normal times. But, to-day? In 1944?
>
> The play is intended to make fun of the Chassidic mannerisms, idiosyncracies, superstitions and mysticisms portrayed in the Dybuk. (300:14).

It seems that the sensitivity expressed in this passage does not only register events unfolding in Europe, but also speaks to well-established racialized descriptions of Hasidim. Instead of the burlesque, the reviewer suggests that a performance of a Bergelson play that 'extol[s] the Jewish past in the finest terms' would have been more appropriate (300:21). David Bergelson (1884-1952) was one of the founders of the Jidishe Kultur-lige (Yiddish League of Culture) in Russia. The League was a 'supra-political Yiddishist body that sought to cover all areas of cultural activity in the former tsarist empire.' The League was 'socialist, non-Zionist and Yiddishist' (Sherman 2007:20). Bergelson also supported the idea of an independent Jewish territory in Russia where Yiddish would be the national language (Sherman 2007:52). The reviewer recommended two Bergelson plays: *I shall not Die* and *David Ruveini*. Both these plays were written in 1944, which suggests that the reviewer was informed on the latest socialist, Yiddish literary developments. This is one of few overt socialist references found in relation to Yiddish in the primary material of this study. The other reference is the staging of Korneichuk's *The Partisans*, discussed in the previous chapter. It is from this socialist perspective that the reviewer also criticized the reception of the burlesque on Dybbuk:

> Mr. Leib Feldman complimented the company publicly on the 'relief' and 'comfort' which the play offered to the heart-broken audience. A study of the audience did not quite impress me that such 'relief' was so very urgent. It did teach me that 'tragic' or 'heroic' play was imperative. (300:21)

Yiddish in South African reportage thus gradually emerges as a fluid signifier of ideology. Here it marks a Yiddishist socialism, whereas in the context of certain talkies, Yiddish connects to Palestine and Zionism; with regards to David Fram's poetry, Yiddish culture performs work in the construction of local and international citizenship.

The language used in reference to David Fram resembles that of social mobility identified and discussed in the previous chapter. However, the previous chapter discussed high art that was merely 'interpreted' by Jewish performers. The discussion above indicates to what extent Yiddish culture functioned in a process of social mobility where it was often identified as a liability. This may not be unconnected to the sense that Yiddish came to be seen as a valid form of entertainment, which was often associated with comedy (147:2; 278:5; 325:7; 327:12). However, in these newspapers, a distinction is made between good Yiddish art and bad Yiddish art in ways that are not so prevalent in relation to Hebrew culture or Western European art forms. This distinction plays out primarily in the contexts of film and theatre, and is closely connected to the comedic value of Yiddish. On screen, this comedic value seems to be finely balanced with melancholy, which makes this aspect of Yiddish culture not only palatable, but attractive enough for it to be shared with fellow South Africans, whose presence in publicly accessible spaces of the bioscope could be assumed. However, there was something in the comedic value of Yiddish that rendered it potentially inappropriate to stage in the specific historical context of the war in Europe. This comedic value had to do with the problem of stereotyping Jewishness, a practice that would have functioned differently in less threatening circumstances than in historical situations where identifying Jews was linked to racial patterns and genocide. It seems unlikely, for example, that Josephus could have written the reflection on Victor Chenkin’s performance in 1944 in terms he used in 1930. The difference in response to comedy could also have pivoted on the imperatives demanded by the respective media: film allows for nuanced acting, while theatre demands an exaggeration of gestures and expression that could have rendered representations of Peruvians too grotesque for contemporary sensibilities. This juxtaposition of pride in Yiddish film and sensitivities around Yiddish theatre is nevertheless valuable in highlighting the complexities that surround the vulnerabilities of racial consciousness that representations of the Eastern European Jew evoked in the Jewish community. These sensitivities are displayed in the criticism of *Kol Nidrei* and *The Dybbuk* and in the absence of the Yiddish language in Samsonov’s performance of excerpts from *The Dybbuk*.

As can be expected, language contributes in important ways to the signification of Yiddish culture. In the literary context, Yiddish poetry is a primary marker of an international citizenship. When poetry becomes song, Yiddish signifies a universalism that links to humanism. Within the international context of the Yiddish talkie, produced for the most part in America, it is the translation of Yiddish into English subtitles that make Yiddish accessible not only to fellow non-Jewish citizens, but also to second generation Jews who identify more as South African citizens than the previous generation. In the context of theatre, the reportage shows evidence of a sensitivity to the language, its culture and its significations as they are presented on stage. This sensitivity seems to go so far as to efface the Yiddish language in the staging of some theatrical productions. However, an effacement of the language need not be understood at face value as a denial of Yiddish existence. It could also be interpreted as indicating an internalization of Yiddish and some of its associated values within an evolving Jewish identity.

The analytical construct creates the impression that Yiddish culture was rejected by the representative organizations of the Jewish community. If valid, this would have been a conscious strategy to anglicize the community within a South African context for the Jewish Board. For the Zionist Federation it would have been a strategy by which to move away from Yiddish socialism toward a nationalism centred on Hebrew. The silencing of Yiddish in representations of theatrical performance could bolster the argument for such an institutional discriminatory attitude toward Yiddish. However, a closer look at these representations suggests a far more complicated relationship between these institutions and Yiddish. The silence of and about Yiddish operates in a way typical to the function of a literary subtext. This means that Yiddish coloured and informed what people heard and experienced without animating the contested feelings associated with its explicit presence. In these representations, Yiddish was therefore underemphasized precisely because it was known and pervasive. The non-explicit presence of Yiddish could therefore have functioned at a deeper level of cultural understanding of Jewish culture and heritage, foregrounding what was most important for the readership by not parading Yiddish. Viewed thus, Yiddish emerges as an important identity marker in the self-understanding of Jews in South Africa.

### Solly Aronowsky's Jewish Musical Institute

Solly Aronowsky, introduced in the previous chapter, was not only important as an impresario in South Africa. He was also the founder and director of the Jewish Musical Institute, and conductor of the Institute's youth orchestra. Although the Institute was a recognized Jewish communal establishment, it was not viewed favourably by everyone in the Jewish community. In 1946, in a letter addressed to the Editor of the *Zionist Record*, an anonymous writer complained about a concert, organized by the Institution, which did not conclude with the singing of 'Hatikvah.' For some members of the community, as already argued in Chapter 4, Aronowsky's institute appeared to embody Anglo-Jewish values that did not accommodate Zionist ones.

A review in the *Zionist Record*, also in 1946, reveals that the orchestra's repertoire included Franz von Suppé's 'Poet and Peasant' Overture, Hebrew and Yiddish melodies as arranged by Aronowsky, as well as arias and other excerpts from operas. This particular concert, which took place at the Selborne Hall in Johannesburg, featured the conductor Albert Coates and the Musical Director of Johannesburg, John Connell (315:1). The presence of these two notable music figures in South African musical life in the civic space of the Selborne Hall attests to the orchestra's aspiration to be recognized as a civic entity. This conclusion is supported by the orchestra's choice of repertoire, while Jewishness was expressed in Hebrew and Yiddish songs.

A notice in a *Zionist Record* of 1947 announced that the orchestra would be broadcasting 'on "A" and "B" transmissions' a programme of 'Jewish and other music'. Readers wanting to join the orchestra were invited to the Doornfontein Government School Hall on Sunday mornings when rehearsals took place (321:1). Belling (2007) describes Doornfontein as a 'slice of Eastern Europe in Johannesburg'. It is thus within an Eastern European Jewish enclave in Johannesburg where the Jewish Youth Orchestra of the Jewish Music Institute conducted its affairs.

Later in 1947, the *Zionist Record* reported that the internationally famous Yiddish actress Molly Picon, who was visiting South Africa, ‘attended on her last day in Johannesburg, a rehearsal of the Jewish Youth Orchestra’. Her visit to the orchestra confirms that the Institute was not averse to identifying with Yiddish culture. Its support for Yiddish culture is also evident in another advertisement stating that the ‘Balalaika Orchestra of the Jewish Musical Institute’ would perform under the baton of Mr. H. Ichilchick at a Grand Concert organized by the Johannesburg Women’s Mizrachi Organization at the Selborne Hall in 1947 (319:12). An earlier mention of the Balalaika Orchestra does not make this link to the Jewish Music Institute, which could suggest that the orchestra existed as an autonomous entity before affiliating with the Institute. The material under review does not reveal any information about Ichilchick, an important musical figure in the context of South African Yiddish culture. Apart from the two mentions of the Balalaika Orchestra, his name also appears as the conductor of the Radio Cossack Orchestra (mentioned above). Belling (2007:199) writes that Hirsch Ichilchick came from Lithuania where he had been a conductor in the employ of ‘the Tsarina’s uncle’ (2007:199). He had scored original music for many Yiddish theatre productions in Doornfontein during the 1930s. These productions included a collaboration with David Fram on an operetta, *A Tsigayner Fantaziye* (A Gypsy Fantasy), which was performed at the Jewish Guild in 1932 (Belling 2008:66).

An advertisement in a 1948 *Zionist Record* states that a concert of the Jewish Musical Institute would take place at the Ginsberg Hall in Bertrams. The Institute must have moved their centre of operations from Doornfontein to Bertrams, since Belling (2008:117) identifies the Ginsberg Hall as ‘the home of the South African Jewish Musical Institute which had been decorated by Rene Shapshak with motifs from Sholem Aleichem.’ The advertisement states that the programme would include Yiddish and Hebrew music and songs as performed by the Youth Symphony Orchestra and other artists and that all proceeds would go to the Yiddish Folkschool (333:4). This is one of only two instances where the Yiddish Folkschool is mentioned in this sample of primary material. The other instance is a review of a literary musical evening held by the Yiddish Literary Society in 1945 where a representative of the Folkschool delivered a short address (303:6).

The letter addressed to the editor, mentioned above, could give the impression that the Institute preferred to stay neutral regarding its position on Zionism. The Youth Orchestra’s performance at a fundraising event for the Yiddish Folkschool, an institution associated with Jewish (not Zionist) socialism, could support this position. However, allowing its Balalaika Orchestra to appear at a Zionist event could suggest that the Institute also supported the idea of a Jewish home in Palestine, but that it espoused a cultural vision that would include Yiddish and its cultural products. It is safe to conclude that the scale of musical activities connected with performances and structures in these few sources suggest a far more extensive engagement with Yiddish culture than might be supposed by reading discourses where Yiddish was subtly de-emphasized for ideological reasons. This section provides a glimpse on a vibrant Yiddish-informed musical scene that was not exclusively bound by class or ideology.

### Eastern European cantors in South Africa

Several of the cantors whose names are indexed in the material are of Eastern European descent. These include Cantor Inspektor, Simcha Kussevitsky, Berele Chagy and Solomon Mandel. Cantor Inspektor came to South Africa in 1930 to conduct the High Festival Services at the Park Synagogue in Johannesburg. On his first visit, the *Zionist Record* noted that 'Chief Cantor Inspektor is the chief reader of the principal synagogue in Vilna, which has provided most of the world-famous *chasonim*' (170:3). He also performed in a secular context at the City Hall where his repertoire included Hebrew melodies, Yiddish folksongs and Italian operatic arias. The notice about this concert described Cantor Inspektor as 'the possessor of a rich, cultured voice' who has 'scored success as a leading world *chazan*' (173:1). The adjective 'cultured' with reference to a cantor's voice could be read as a tacit reference to a centuries-old European notion that liturgical music of the synagogue is not civilized. The cantor's achievements are emphasized: he has 'scored success', and he is not a regular 'world *chazan*', he is a *leading* world hazan. The language marks a Jewish ambition to achieve success in the Western world. Cantor Inspektor was employed at the Park Synagogue and subsequent reports refer to his conducting of Hanukah services (187:1 and 210:3) and performing at a bar mitzvah in Cape Town (105:2).

Cantor Berele Chagy's name appears in the *Zionist Record* between 1933 and 1936. In Johannesburg, he was appointed at the Beth Hamedrash Hagodel. He and his wife were active participants in Jewish communal life and he 'established his reputation as one of the finest Chazanim that South Africa ever had' (Shisler [O]).[55] According to a *Zionist Record*, Chagy performed in 1933 at a charity concert in the Orpheum Theatre (205:1). He also addressed an assembly after Jerry Idelsohn gave a lecture on Jewish music. Chagy claimed that 'there was a huge virgin field of modern Hebrew music just waiting to be produced which he was sure the South African public would appreciate' (219:13). The rhetoric of a field to be discovered is the language of a pioneer generation. In this case, the pioneer language has little to do with Palestine. It is used in terms of the opportunity to present a particular music to a South African public, which could be a strategy to situate a Jewish community, not as global, but as local citizens. Here, an Eastern European religious figure's support for Hebrew reminds of the existing tensions within a Jewish identity where Yiddish and modern Hebrew operate in interrelated ways. It is a necessary reminder that these categories, although used as discreet in this study, often overlap. Chagy's participation in local Jewish communal life is confirmed by a report in a *Zionist Record* in 1936. He performed folksongs at a concert hosted by the A.Z. Idelsohn Group.

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[55] Some of Cantor Chagy's recordings are available on Youtube. See, for instance, HartzigeZogers (2010 [O]).

A *Chronicle* reported that Mr. A. M. Himelsztejn from Warsaw was appointed at the New Hebrew Congregation in Roeland Street, Cape Town, in 1936. 'He has conducted choirs in some of the biggest synagogues in Warsaw as well as in Plotsk and Brisk,' the report stated. 'He is a pupil of the well-known choirmaster Davidowitz, of Warsaw […] He has also conducted folk choirs in Warsaw' (49:10).

Cantor Solomon Mandel's name is the only one that appears in both the *Chronicle* and *Zionist Record*, between 1941 and 1948. It seems that he visited Cape Town in January 1941. It is not clear whether this visit was from a base abroad, or whether he was already appointed in Johannesburg, as an advertisement in a *Zionist Record* of 1948 states (see below). Two Cape Town performances in 1941 appear in these records, of which one introduces him to the public, and another marks his farewell. The *Chronicle* reported that 'Cantor Mandel has occupied positions in the leading synagogues of Warsaw, Vilno and Cracow' and that he 'has a magnificent tenor voice of remarkable range, and is famous for his beautiful interpretation of sacred music'. He gave a recital at the Muizenberg Pavilion where his repertoire included 'a selection of Chazunoth, the latest Jewish folk-songs and arias' (85:1). His farewell recital was given in the Zionist Hall and included 'Maariv, and several sacred melodies and Jewish songs' (86:1). In 1942, according to a notice in a *Zionist Record*, he was to perform at a 'concert of Jewish folk music to be given by the A.Z. Idelsohn Choral Society at the Selborne Hall'. The programme for this event included 'Hebrew, Chassidic and humorous traditional songs' (293:14). A review of a performance by Mandel at the Muizenberg Pavilion in 1943 appeared in a *Chronicle*. The review stated that 'the celebrated Ober-Cantor Solomon Mandel, formerly of Warsaw, presented a long and excellent programme of sacred music, Jewish songs and arias.' The reviewer complimented his 'most beautiful lyric dramatic voice of wide range and excellent quality' (106:1). A *Zionist Record* reported in 1945 that Mandel participated in a Literary Musical Evening that was hosted by the Yiddish Literary Society at the Coronation Hall in Johannesburg. His name also appears in an advertisement in a *Zionist Record* for the official opening of the Linksfield Hebrew Educational Centre. He was to conduct the service at this event. The advertisement indicates that he was at the time appointed by the Berea Hebrew Congregation (333:10).

Simcha Kusevitsky's name first appears in the *Zionist Record* in 1947. According to Cantor Elihu Feldman (2009 [O]), Kusevitsky[56] was born in Vilna. He served as a cantor at the Great Synagogue in London during the Second World War and moved to South Africa in 1947 to take up a post at Greenside synagogue. According to a *Zionist Record*, he performed for the Magen David Adom at a concert in the 20th Century Theatre in Johannesburg (323:3). An advertisement for a concert organized by the Jewish Centre in the same year described Kusevitsky and his co-performer, Joseph Edelson, as 'world renowned cantors' and also confirms that Kusevitsky was employed at the Greenside-Parkview Hebrew Congregation. The programme of this 'Celebration Concert' included 'operatic arias, songs, music and "chazonuth" items' (324:7). On the same page, another advertisement stated that Kusevitsky would conduct a 'Consecration of the Sefer Torah' service for the Parkview-Greenside and districts Hebrew Congregation in a Communal Hall (324:21). He also performed at a 'Concert of Celebrity Artists' organized by the Women's Zionist League in the Selborne Hall in 1948,where other celebrity artists included Jean Gluckman, Jayne Sussman, Betty Pack, Anne Sacks, Jerry Idelsohn (329: 7).

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[56] Some of Kusevitsky's recordings are available online. See Florida Atlantic University Libraries [O].

The activities of the cantors discussed here indicate that a concertizing cantor had by this time been an accepted and conventional South African expectation, as it was in other places of the world. The repertoire they performed on the concert stage comprised songs that are identified as 'Yiddish', 'Hebrew' (these language descriptors appear only with reference to Cantor Inspektor), 'Jewish' (used only with reference to Cantor Mandel) or hazanut (liturgical, Hebrew songs). All of these cantors performed operatic arias. It is also noticeable that all the concertizing cantors discussed here were based in Johannesburg where they were appointed by Hebrew Congregations in the suburbs of Park, Greenside and Berea. Only Cantor Chagy served at an institution with a traditional Eastern European orientation, the Beth Hamedrash Hagodol. In Cape Town, the only Eastern European cantor whose name appears in the material is that of Himelsztejn, who was appointed at the Roeland Street Hebrew Congregation. Another Eastern European religious institution in Cape Town is the Beth Hamedrash Hachodosh. This institution advertised a vacancy for a principle hazan in 1940 in a *Chronicle*. The advertisement states that 'Applicants must be strictly orthodox' (81:2).

Mendelsohn and Shain identify three institutions that reflect the Jewish community's class and cultural divisions, and categorize them according to the varied styles of orthodox worship (2008:72). Their explanation could help to place the activities of the cantors discussed here into some religious-cultural context. In the Park Synagogue in Wolmarans Street, Johannesburg the congregation followed an Ashkenazi Anglo-Jewish mode that 'emphasised decorum in worship' (2008:73). The New Hebrew Congregation in Roeland Street, they argue, whose members comprised the 'upwardly mobile immigrant', represent a model of what would become a typical South African shul, where the mode of worship was a 'hybrid of Anglo-Jewish decorum and Eastern European traditionalism' (2008:78). Worship at the Beth Hamedrash Hachodosh (The New House of Study) recalled the Old World, where 'form was generally secondary to function' and where 'substance was considered more important than style' (2008:78). The atmosphere was 'fervent, expressive and uninhibited', as it was in the Eastern European shul (2008:74).[57] The quotations drawn from music reportage of the 1930s and 40s show that Eastern European cantors with their different modes of worship were welcome and cherished in all three of these configurations of orthodox worship in South Africa. One could thus argue that liturgical music was one of the carriers of Eastern Europeanness by which the Litvak Spirit was injected into a South African Jewish identity.

## Eastern European institutions in South Africa

Other institutions that clearly mark a nurturing of Eastern European traditions are landsmannschaften, or immigrant fraternal societies for communities from particular regions in the Old World. The first chapter[58] suggests that the material would contain little information about such organizations and this is indeed the case. The few occurrences in the material are nevertheless telling. At the laying of the foundation stone of the Ponevez synagogue in 1931, David Fram said:

> [F]orty years ago, when they had founded that society, they had little money, but many hopes. They had worked together all these years until now they had realised many of those hopes. In that building they would carry out the three works on which, according to their sages, the world was established – the study of their Holy Law, divine worship and benevolence to their fellow-men. To help a brother who had fallen on bad times was a principle of their society. (181:1)

Fram's words impart a sense of the values nurtured by these communities. Another trace of a similar landsmannchaft was found in the source material: the Poswohl Hebrew Congregation was to host 'the Well-known and Popular Cantor' Boris Schmulker at a service in 1948 (329:17). Like the Ponewes congregation, the Poswohl Hebrew Congregation was a product of the Poswohl Friendly Benefit Society, a landsmannchaft formed in 1904 with the aim to 'help Jews who were born, married, were resident or had family connections with Poswohl, which was a village situated north of the large town of Kovno in Lithuania' (Rabinowitz 2016 [O]). The Ponewes and Poswohl congregations did not advertise their services on a regular basis throughout the course of a year like the other Hebrew Congregations, and these two published instances are exceptional. Possibly, they only exist because of the fame of David Fram in the context of the Ponewes Congregation, and the fame of Boris Schmulker in the case of the Poswohl Congregation. In both cases, the discourse speaks to a Jewish aspiration to assimilate, not into South African society, but, intriguingly, into the broader Jewish community.

One report on a meeting of the Courland-Liefland Society appears in a *Chronicle* in 1945. The meeting of about 70 people took place at a private residence and the programme included musical items rendered by 'Miss Freda Astrinsky, Cantor M. Katzin and Mrs. Turok' (135:2). An advertisement in a *Chronicle* of 1948 was placed by the Vilno and Province Society for a Grand Concert 'in aid of relief for refugees in Europe and Palestine', where 'Don Sieradski and His Pupils' were to perform (160:1).

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[57] See also Saron (1961:35) and Stone (2010:206).
[58] See section 'On institutions, Jewish identity'.

It is tempting to argue that the scarcity of reportage on the cultural activities of landsmannschaften corroborates the notion that there was an institutional discrimination against Yiddish culture on the part of the newspapers, even in religious contexts. However, one should also keep in mind that as landsmannschaften, the objective of these organizations was not to be open to the larger Jewish community. They were focused on their kin with links to particular Lithuanian regions, and to publish in these papers would therefore make little sense. The published instances mentioned here could count as evidence that these newspapers were indeed willing to engage these societies. If historical evidence of deliberate discrimination against these societies exist, chances are that it will be found in the archives of the publishers of these newspapers.

## Zionism and Yiddish culture in South Africa

The source material often confirms the association between Yiddish culture and Palestine. In a 1933 *Chronicle* report it is stated that members of the Yiddish Theatrical Company performed music items at a function in Cape Town to celebrate the opening of the Eighteenth Zionist Congress that was taking place in Prague at the same time. In 1945, according to a *Chronicle*, one Mrs. Abromowitz performed a Palestinian folksong, as well as a poem by Bialik, translated into Yiddish by Yehuda Halevi and set 'to music by a Palestinian composer' (129:2). In 1948, a *Zionist Record* reports that the Jewish Board had received a 'selection of records of Jewish music, which included Palestinian and Yiddish songs' (325:2). Sometimes, Zionist lectures were presented in Yiddish (131:10; 138:5, 6; 293:5). Only one of these lectures, reported in a 1947 *Chronicle*, took an unambiguously left-wing position, when Mr. Padowich 'said that May Day had ceased to be a mere demonstration of May Day solidarity but had become rather a day of reckoning when Labour should be able to point to the practical things it had done' (149:17). At this event, the Zionist Socialist Choir performed 'The Shevue' and 'Techezakna', the latter being the international anthem of the Labour Zionist movement.

The following Zionist organizations that appear often in these documents have strong links to Eastern Europe: the Betar, the Mizrachi organization, the Dorshei Zion and the Poalei Zion association. The activities of these organizations and their attitudes toward Yiddish form the main focus of this section.

Betar (acronym for Brit Trumpeldor), a youth movement that started in Lithuania in 1923, was a militaristic Zionist organization that opposed the socialist Zionist organizations (Gilbert 2008: 43, 68). Ze'ev Jabotinsky was a leading figure of this movement. Martin Gilbert (2008: 68) introduces the organization as follows: ‘With its red-brown uniform, Betar was criticized by mainstream Zionists as having a “fascist character”, reminiscent of Mussolini’s Blackshirts.’ There are only three references to this organization in the primary material of the present study. They appear in the *Chronicle* in 1932, 1934 and 1935. The first instance is a short report on a social event, a ‘third Seder’ that was held at the Talmud Torah Hall in Woodstock, where there was ‘much singing and merrymaking’ until late at night (18:18). The Milken Archive describes the Third Seder as ‘a secular (sometimes even antireligious) Yiddish cultural and perhaps socialist alternative to the traditional, biblically based home and family ritual that constitutes the core of Pesah observance’. It started in America in the 1920s and 1930s ‘among elements of eastern European Yiddish-speaking immigrants and their next generation that had already consciously abandoned the religious dimensions of Jewish life and affiliated themselves with organizations that advocated ethnic-cultural aspects along with socialist aspects of a *veltlikhe yidishkayt* (secular, or worldly Jewishness)’ (Levin 2001 [O]). The socialist character of Zionism, in contrast to the right-wing militarism of Betar, is depicted in representations of kibbutzim in Palestine (212:12 and 13) and in a report on an event of the Zionist Socialist Party in 1935, where a lecture was given on the movement’s ‘leading role in the fight for the emancipation of Jewry in the Diaspora’ (39:2).

The second reference to Betar in the material is a report on a Zionist youth camp that took place in the Strand Park where their merrymaking included ‘sing-songs in which were not a few Hebrew songs’ (26:1). The final instance is an advertisement for a Grand Ball hosted by Betar at the Hotel Edward in Cape Town. None of these instances make the link between Betar and Yiddish culture apparent. The ‘third Seder’ could be seen as a veiled reference, though it is not stated explicitly whether Yiddish would have featured at this particular event. Similarly, it is highlighted that the sing-song at the youth camp included Hebrew and other songs. It is possible that the ‘other songs’ could have included songs in Yiddish. It is clear, however, that the organization favoured Hebrew culture and that music and singing in particular were a part of that.

Yiddish songs were often included in other categories of song: In 1938, a notice appears in a *Zionist Record* of a concert featuring ‘a special programme of Hebrew music’, which would include gypsy songs, Hebrew songs like ‘Kol Nidre’ and ‘Eile Eile’, as well as Yiddish songs like ‘A Brievele der Mamen’ and ‘Rosinkes Und Mandlen’ (250:8). The Yiddish folk song was thus included in a larger category of ‘Hebrew music’, which would no longer refer to a language group, but rather a cultural group. Labelling the category ‘Hebrew’, as opposed to ‘Yiddish’, reveals the extent to which Yiddish culture was expected to assimilate into a newly forming Hebrew culture.

Of the Eastern European Zionist organizations, the Mizrachi organization appears most often in these documents. This is surprising, since the secondary literature suggests that the organization was small and ‘not particularly assertive’ (Gitlin 1950:321). The organization, founded in 1902 in Lithuania, had an orthodox, religious approach to Zionism. Shimoni (1980:181) writes that '*Mizrachi* never attracted more than a few hundred supporters in South Africa. Its distinctive preoccupation in the late 1930s and during the 1940s was in pressing for deeper orthodox-religious content in Jewish education.' Gitlin (1950:276) writes:

> South African Jewry were strongly bound to Judaism by sentiment and tradition, but they were not particularly inclined towards a rigid observance of Jewish religious laws. The result was that the ideas of the Mizrach met with a cold reception among them.

Of the 19 quotations captured in these newspapers, 11 pertain to the women's section of the society. The Women's Mizrachi organized social gatherings where the agenda would typically entail a lecture and some performance items. Some of these gatherings are labelled 'Oneg Shabbat' (277:8; 136:18; 150:21), which is an informal celebration of the Sabbath. Sometimes these meetings would take place at a hotel (227:2) or a communal hall (130:1; 138:3), but the majority were held at private residences (277:8; 131:12l; 136:18; 149:13; 150:21), intimate spaces where the primary concerns were communal, rather than civic. The content of lectures focused on general Zionist issues (227:2), the need for a traditional Jewish education (277:8), the historical religious and biblical foundations for a Jewish claim on Eretz Israel (131:12), or the need for organising Rabbonim on a national level, while impressing the importance of preserving Jewishness in the home (113:8). Often, the descriptions of the music played at these events are nondescript, noting that there were violin or piano solos and dancing (227:2), and 'several musical items' (131:2; 138:3). Sometimes references to Jewish music-making at these events are equally nondescript, stating only that 'traditional songs' were performed and that those present engaged in 'community singing' (136:18, 255:1 and 150:21). Other instances make it clear that Jewish music at these events included both Hebrew and Yiddish songs and melodies (277:8; 149:13 and 107:3). One quotation suggests that references to 'traditional' songs may be a reference to Yiddish songs and that Hebrew songs were associated with modernity: At an annual concert performance by the Youth Mizrachi in 1941, the *Zionist Record* reports that the programme comprised 'traditional Yiddish folk-songs, humour, monologues, and a selection of modern Hebrew melodies' (279:1). Most performers whose names appear in these selections are not mentioned again in the material, which suggests that they were regular community members. One exception is Cantor Boris Rome. In 1943, according to a *Chronicle*, Cantor Rome performed at a welcome reception hosted by the combined Mizrachi association at the Zionist Hall in honour of the Principal Jewish Chaplain for the Union (113:8). Little biographical information about Cantor Rome is available. Online sources indicate that he officiated at the Great Synagogue in Cape Town during the 1950s (Issrof 2005 [O] and 2014 [O]). However, his name appears often in these documents as a performer at a variety of events, including Zionist events (9:1; 17:2; 113:8, 10; 157:2 and 196:8), events sponsored by the Union of Jewish Women (136:19; 154:2; 123:1; 136:19 and 154:2), synagogue services (18:3l 123:1 and 136:19) and as soloist with the Cape Town Orchestra (24:1; 33:7; 46:1 and 124:8).

While the majority of Mizrachi events were social in nature and held in intimate spaces, there is one exception worth highlighting here. An advertisement appears in a *Zionist Record* of 1948 for a Grand Concert to be held in the Selborne Hall in Johannesburg. The programme on offer included a one-act play, *A Husband for Rachel* by Bertha Goudvis, a South African Jewish writer who was born in England. Also on the programme was the Hirsch Ichilchick's Balalaika orchestra, the Yiddish impersonator Arnold Rais, and Gypsy dances (319:12). The main cultural referent for the programme was Eastern Europe. However, the event took place just a few weeks after the State of Israel came into being and was organized in aid of 'Refugee Children and Kindergarten in Palestine.' While the practice of Hebrew culture was deliberately included in Mizrachi practices as a marker of modernity and as an accepted project of a broad Zionist vision, the concern for Yiddish seems to have had a particular meaning in the Mizrachi context. Yiddish was a marker of tradition, which stood for a heritage in which to take pride. One lecture presented at a Mizrachi event in 1943 offered a critique of the South African community's disrespect towards Rabbonim, which was in contrast to the reverence these religious leaders enjoyed in the Old World. Nostalgia for the religious organization of Eastern Europe and a continued affinity for Yiddish culture could provide a model for the values and traditions that the organization aimed to transplant to both the diaspora and Eretz Israel. Jewishness was also preserved in the home for Judaism to survive. This clearly preserved Jewish religious identity, which in the Mizrachi context seems to be closely linked to Yiddish culture and traditions, to domestic spaces – out of public view. In other words, there was a move towards assimilating Yiddish identity into a broad Jewish identity. Whereas Zionism was often portrayed as a political ideology of global phenomenon, the particular references produced by this analysis show that aspects of Zionism flourished culturally in a domestic sphere in musical practices. Music resonates with particular meaning in contexts of smallness, intimacy and domesticity. This particular perspective on the Zionist imaginary only emerges through an examination of musical practices.

The Dorshei Zion ('Seekers of Zion') organization in South Africa was formed in 1899 and their membership comprised largely Eastern European Jews. Yiddish was the lingua franca of gatherings in the early years, but there was a concerted move towards using Hebrew instead (Gitlin 1950:44-45). A short review of a Dorshei Zion variety concert in a Zionist Hall appears in a *Zionist Record* in 1930. The programme included a violin solo, Jewish recitations, dances and a sketch. The Maccabean Guild Koon Concert Party, led by Mrs. N. Sariff and directed by Mr. J. Cohen, was also on the programme (174:2). It is not possible to gauge from this review what kind of music was performed at that particular concert. Another variety concert was held in the Zionist Hall in 1932 and was reported in a *Chronicle*. The programme, which celebrated Passover on one of the feast's intermediate semi-festive days, featured items by the dancer Elvira Kirsch, a piano solo, a violin solo, Yiddish recitations some songs (18:2). The *Zionist Record* reports a similar event, which celebrated Succoth (Festival of the booths) in the Zionist Hall (196:8). In 1948, the organization arranged a 'third Seder' where Cantor Boris Rome performed musical items (157:2).

The Poalei Zion and Zeire Zion ('The Young of Zion') organizations both espoused Zionist socialism. Marcia Gitlin (195:279-280) explains that the Poalei Zion conducted their affairs exclusively in Yiddish and that Hebrew was excluded from their meetings. They were accused by the Zionist Federation for not being nationalist enough, while other (non-Zionist) left-wing organizations in South Africa accused them of being too nationalist, for exploiting Arabs in the Middle East and for assisting British Imperialism. Unlike the Poalei, Zeire Zion 'favoured Hebrew over Yiddish and was not Marxist, but broadly social-democratic in ideology' (Shimoni 1980:175). In 1933, Zionist labour bodies amalgamated (201:1) and most of the quotations captured in the primary material identified both these organizations as a hyphenated unit. They hosted a concert at the Zionist Hall in Cape Town, for instance, where the programme included recitations in Yiddish and in English, while the music items included 'operatic songs', a piano solo, and performance of Achron's *Hebrew Melodies* on violin. In 1935, they staged a one-act play in which the international Yiddish actor Jacob Waislitz performed (58:1). As an amalgamated body, these two organizations worked to balance Yiddish and Hebrew in their programmes.

For the most part, a mixture of nationalist and socialist ideas mark the source material, not least because a large section of the international Zionist movement aimed to establish a socialist Jewish state in Palestine. The activities of Zionist organization as they emerge through the primary source material indicate that music played an important role in their activities. This role was not confined to public events and fundraising. It also related to the intimate and domestic sphere where identity was cultivated. As in most cases where narratives are constructed of ideologies with references only to political parties and events, a focus on the musical activities as they emerge from these newspapers allow for a more nuanced picture of how these ideologies were put into practice in the communities where they were prominent.

# Chapter 8:

# Yekkes in South Africa; Yekkes in America

## German Jewry in a South African Jewish imaginary

Mentions of Germany in the primary source material appear most often in reports and individual profiles. Some items from which these quotations are taken emanate from America and Europe. This points to the ways in which the United States might have influenced the South African process of coming to terms with the situation in Europe. Relevant reports emanate mostly from urban and suburban centres, rather than towns, and among the urban centres, Cape Town is more prominent than Johannesburg. This could suggest that Jews in Cape Town were more open to engage with the situation in Europe than those in Johannesburg.

The social contexts in which these quotations appear most often are Jewish, which emphasizes that the matter of German Jews was a communal concern, not a civic one. These quotations appear most often in contexts where there is evidence of cultural aspiration, as is evident in the reading of two substantial articles below. Discussions about German Jewry also occurred in religious and political contexts. Events where these issues were discussed were hosted by religious institutions, most notably Hebrew congregations, and political Zionist organizations like Poalei Zion and the Zionist Socialist Party, both left-wing political parties. Other institutions mentioned in these contexts include African Consolidated Theatres and the Jewish National Fund. Events included cultural gatherings for literary discussions, gramophone listening, Zionist Conversazione's or Zionist get-togethers known as 'At Home' gatherings. The events took place in synagogues and private residences, but most often in communal halls, including the Zionist Hall, Cape Town City Hall, and the Jewish Guild Hall in Johannesburg.

The music mentioned most often in the contexts of these thematic quotations is Jewish music and Western art music. The term 'Jewish' in this context is inclusive: it includes Hebrew or Palestinian folk songs, liturgical and other forms of traditional music, as well as communal music-making. The category of Western art music includes European music, but also Hebrew or Jewish compositions by Jewish composers. There is a clear correlation between these music categories and the quotations about Germany. Jewish music reflects the communal concern with the self and a wish to express that self with its own music. Western art music reflects the place of origin, the place whence the majority of the South African Jewish Community comes, and the culture with which the community identifies. A synagogue choir, Palestine Symphony Orchestra and the Cape Town Municipal Orchestra are some musical entities mentioned in close proximity to mentions of Germany in the material. Individuals mentioned most often around these discussions include cantors (Israel Alter, Harry Rabinowitz, Cantor Katzin), conductors

(Bruno Walter, Bronislaw Huberman) and performers (Lionel Bowman). Many, but not all, have German Jewish connections.

Reports from the Jewish Telegraphic Agency often mention Bruno Walter's name in relation to Nazi activities in Europe. A *Chronicle* in 1933, for instance, reported that 'the world-famous conductor Bruno Walter' was prohibited to perform at the Leipzig Gewandhaus. The report's heading, 'No Advantage for Baptised Jews' (21:1), offered a subtle warning to readers. The conductor changed his surname, previously Schlesinger, to Walter when he became baptised. His conversion did not protect him from antisemitism. In 1938, the *Chronicle* again reported that Bruno Walter was refused permission to perform, this time in Florence (61:2). This second report makes no mention of Walter's conversion. It was also reported in the *Chronicle*, first in 1937 and again in 1938, that the famous cellist and conductor Pablo Casals supported Walter by refusing to perform in Germany (53:1 and 62:1). It was reported that when 'the Nazis expelled the great Bruno Walther (sic)', Casals decided 'not to put [his] foot on German soil as long as the liberty of thought and the liberty of art do not exist in that country' (53:2). Casals' loyalty, the report seems to suggest, was less to Walter than it was to the greater ideal of the liberty of the arts.

According to a column-piece in a *Zionist Record*, Leo Blech, conductor at the Berlin Opera House, was also 'among the many brilliant men who were forced out of Germany by the Nazi Regime'. Blech's subsequent appointment as Master of the King's Music in Sweden is an instance, according to the columnist, where 'the hand of welcome [was] extended to a man of talent whom Nazi "Kultur" has seen fit to eject' (226:2). Erich Kleiber's dismissal as Kapellmeister at La Scala was reported in a *Chronicle* of 1939 (65:1). Later in that year, it was also reported that Italy had compiled a "black list" of Jewish composers whose works were not to be published in that country (71:1).

Apart from the column-piece about Leo Blech mentioned above, there are no instances in the *Zionist Record* in this sample that directly address the situation of Jewish musicians in Europe. References to these musicians focus on their new positions as musicians in the Palestine Symphony Orchestra (78:4 and 265:19) or in America. Only one satirical piece, published in 1934 and entitled 'The Daily Doings of a Nazi: As a Hitlerite Pepys Might Write It', mentions the persecution of Jewish musicians. On Tuesday, the fictional diary entry reads: 'Tried hating Emil Ludwig and Bruno Walter to-day, but sprained my tongue attempting to hiss their names' (215:1), and on Sunday, the Nazi 'spent the afternoon playing music by the Jewish Mendelssohn, off-key' (215:2). The lack of engagement with Jewish European musicians in the *Zionist Record* could mark a Zionist hostility toward assimilation, a phenomenon often associated with German Jewish performers of Western art music. This hypothesis is supported by a column-piece in a 1937 *Zionist Record*, which criticizes several European Jewish performers, including the German Jews Arthur Schnabel and Fritz Kreisler, for marrying non-Jewish women (248:9).

The situation of European Jewry in general was often analysed and discussed at Jewish and Zionist gatherings reported in these newspapers. At the 1933 Zionist congress, as reported in a *Chronicle*, it was stated that 'events in Germany were undermining not only the material existence of Jewry there but also their spiritual life' (23:2) and that 'we would suffer from the blow Germany had dealt us for many hundreds of years to come' (23:8). Despite this concern, however, opinions about German Jews captured from the primary source material are generally not positive. A 1933 *Zionist Record*, for instance, reports a lecture which argued that the Jewish condition in Germany proved 'the Jewish people were not sufficiently organized in protecting their brethren in Germany' (201:6). This utterance resembles a truism of Zionist critique aimed at Eastern European Jewry, which said that only Western Jewry possessed 'political experience and organizational capacity' (Ascheim 1989:Kindle location 2102). In 1934, the *Chronicle* reported on a lecture given at a fortnightly 'Zionist Conversazione' gathering at the Zionist Hall in Cape Town where the speaker presented a history of assimilation in Germany, a history that was overtly hostile to Zionism: 'German Jewry tried to be as German as possible and hated Herzl more than the non-Jews.' Despite this hostility, the speaker continued to argue, Zionism prevailed in Germany: 'The first Zionists in Germany dared to be called fools, and were a small minority.' However, 'gradually the youth took up the idea of Zionism and it became the movement of the future' (32:3).

A report in a 1937 *Chronicle* reinforced this connection between assimilation and antisemitism:

> The process of conscious assimilation amounting to race suicide, grew in Germany and to a large extent colours the whole of the present problem. (55:8)

The cure for antisemitism, according to the speaker, was 'the resurrection of our own self-respect and the restoration of ourselves to the family of nations from which we have been expelled'. 'Rebuilding' a national home in Palestine was an important strategy by which the Jews were to restore themselves 'to the family of nations' (55:14). This resistance to assimilation is also seen in the praise given to some South African Jews who were establishing a new K'hillah (congregation), which 'augured well for Jewry […] at a time like this when hundreds of Jewish congregations in Europe were being destroyed by a ruthless tyrant' (102:13).

The close of the war was marked in the music reportage. A sermon given at a Hanukah gathering was reported in a *Chronicle* in 1945:

> We are passing through a period of transition from war to peace. Some of our tasks must, for a considerable time, remain unchanged: we must continue to succour our Jewish survivors in Europe; we must continue to help upbuild our National Home in Eretz Israel. (136:20)

At a meeting of the Women's Zionist Organization in 1946, the speaker acknowledged South African Jewry's role in 'the remoulding of the broken bodies and shattered minds of the little children of Europe' (138:16). In 1947, a notice in the *Chronicle* announced that a song, "In Memoriam", in honour 'of those who have fallen as victims of Nazi atrocities' was to be performed at a concert in the City Hall in Cape Town (151:14).

A few references to activities in Jewish organised life testify to an investment in organizations devoted to the Jewish cause in Europe. Included among these is the Fund for the relief of German Refugees mentioned in the article about Einstein discussed below. A dance that was to be held 'In Aid of Jewish Refugees' at the Ginsberg Hall in 1940 appears in a small advertisement in a *Zionist Record*. It is not clear which organisation would have received these funds. Other references pertain to the Jewish War Appeal. It is worth noting that in this sample of material, references to this organisation appear in the *Chronicle* between 1941 and 1946, but in the *Zionist Record* only in 1948. This could be perceived as a Zionist reluctance to engage with events in Europe in ways that do not directly further the cause of Zionism. Shimoni (1980:238) explains that the Jewish Appeal was initiated by the Jewish Board 'to provide relief for the survivors of the Nazi Holocaust.' The Zionist Federation had their own fundraising initiative, the Keren Hayesod. Shimoni also suggests that: 'It was characteristic of the broad Zionist consensus in the community' that the Jewish War Appeal 'conceded precedence to the Zionist Federation's Emergency Campaign at the time of Israel's War of Independence in 1948.'

In 1941, a substantial report on a women's campaign for the Jewish War Appeal appeared in a *Chronicle*. Half of the report was devoted to promoting an upcoming concert that was to be held at the City Hall and that promised to be 'highly successful from a music and entertainment point of view as well as financially' (87:1). At the event would have appeared 'Joyce Kadish, the ever-popular pianist.' Her repertoire included an arrangement of a Vivaldi concerto. 'Sam Morris, a fine tenor, [would] sing an Aria from "Manon" by Lescant (sic).' Other musicians at this event included singer Cecilia Muller and violinist Charles Kreitzer. Walter Swanson and his orchestra accompanied dances from the Elvira Kirsch studio (87:1). In 1945, a *Chronicle* advertised a dance that was to be held 'under the auspices of the Claremont Jewish Ladies' Society' at the Claremont Communal Hall, 'in aid of the S.A. Jewish War Appeal' (130:5). The first 1948 item in the *Zionist Record* that mentions the Jewish War Appeal is an announcement of a visit to the Union by the self-styled 'British Hebrew Comedian' Issy Bonn, who was 'a singer of outstanding merit' and who would perform in Cape Town City Hall at a concert 'in aid of the S.A. Jewish War Appeal' (325:6). The second item is an advertisement for a performance by the Amsterdam String Quartet at the Metro Theatre (328:1).

A German Jewish presence in South Africa's musical life is evident predominantly in remarks about cantors who come from Europe, and references to German Jewish individuals active in the field of Western art music.

German cantors' names are easy to identify in the material, since references to their pasts are often included in the reports, as is the case with cantors from Eastern Europe discussed in the previous chapter. German choir-masters would also advertise their need for appointment in these newspapers. In 1936, for instance, a notice appeared in a *Zionist Record*, stating that 'A FIRST CLASS CHAZAN who possesses a beautiful lyric tenor voice and who served in one of the great Synagogues in Germany, seeks a position' (233:1). Similarly, in 1946, the following notice, in which a position is sought for an individual, appeared in a *Zionist Record*:

> The 'Zionist Record' has received a letter from a member of the South African relief teams in Europe stating that he has met Cantor Joseph Edelson at a concert arranged in Italy by a group of Displaced Persons. […] He was educated in Warsaw and was for two years Chief Cantor of the well-known Sinai Synagogue in Warsaw. He was in a concentration camp for three years and his ability to sing kept him alive as the Germans rewarded his singing by giving him extra food. (312:1)

In 1931, the *Chronicle* reported that the Wynberg Hebrew Congregation had appointed Oberkantor Katzin, who 'received his musical education in the Riga Royal Conservatorium' in Eastern Europe, but who also 'studied Chazonuth under Professor Zaviolovski in Berlin' (7:2). A *Zionist Record* reported in 1932 that Cantor Zwick, who had been serving as cantor at the Pretoria synagogue for eleven years, 'was engaged at the leading Vienna synagogue for fifteen years before he came to Pretoria' (196:23). The article commended Cantor Zwick for his 'wide knowledge of Hebrew' and his 'modern and intellectual style' of rendering hazanut (196:23). It was also reported that he was 'a pioneer with a Jewish adult male choir, which is the only one of its kind in the country' (196:23). In 1947, a *Zionist Record* reported, Cantor Leo Rabinowitz officiated at the Doornfontein Hebrew Congregation. He was born in Frankfurt-on-Main, where he was a child soloist 'in the leading synagogue-choir of the city' and where he later 'received training from Chief Cantor F. Peissachowitz' (320:4).

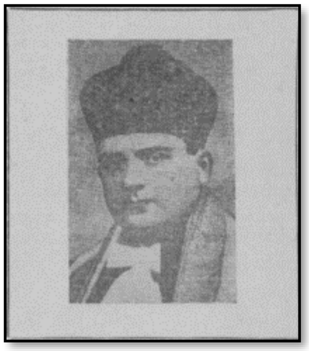
Cantor Israel Alter's name appears most often in the material. In 1935, a *Zionist Record* published an article that announced a twelve-day visit by Cantor Alter to the Wolmarans Street Synagogue in Johannesburg. It was explained that he might be appointed at this synagogue, in which case 'the cantor, accompanied by his wife and children, will come back here early in September, well in time to conduct the Holy Festival services' (224:2). He is introduced as follows:

> Cantor Israel Alter is one of the foremost chazonim of to-day. He is thirty-four years of age and was born in Lemberg. For the last eight years he has been the cantor at the great synagogue in Hanover (Germany). The difficulties of communal life in that country have

> forced him to leave Germany. He has since then been giving recitals of synagogue music and concerts of Hebrew and folk music in various countries of the world, as the result of which his reputation has been considerably enhanced. He is the possessor of a dramatic tenor voice of fine quality and his diction is reputed to be of a high standard. (224:12)

A month later, the *Zionist Record* reported that Cantor Alter had been appointed 'chief cantor of the United Hebrew Congregation' (225:1).

In South Africa, Cantor Alter continued his performing career on secular stages. In 1942, a *Zionist Record* reported that he had performed 'an aria from Handel' and 'two Hebrew excerpts by Rubinstein and Engel respectively' (292:13) at a recital organized by the Habimah Circle. A month later, in the column 'Social and Personal', a picture of Cantor Alter appeared with the following caption:



> Cantor Alter can always be relied upon, through his artistry and understanding of Jewish life, to give the right 'shtimmung' to a Jewish gathering by his rendering of appropriate songs. A notable instance of this was his appearance at the Conversazione held at Greenside recently to inaugurate the North-Western Zionist Society. (293:26)

**Figure 24: Cantor Israel Alter. *Zionist Record*. 20 November 1942. p. 21.**

In 1944, he performed 'a number of folk songs and arias' at 'an outstanding festival of Jewish music' which was organized 'in aid of the Palestinian Soldiers' Comforts' (299:8). In 1947, Cantor Alter's name again appeared in an advertisement for a 'Great Concert' that was to feature him along with Jean Gluckman and Bruno Raikin as soloists with the Johannesburg Symphony Orchestra under the baton of Joseph Trauneck (319:4). These reports suggest that further research on German cantors in South Africa could uncover a particular German Jewish contribution to the formation of a local Jewish communal identity.

Among Western art music performers mentioned in the primary source material are soloists who appeared with the Cape Town Orchestra. In 1931, according to a *Chronicle*, 'Marta May, the German pianist' would perform with the orchestra (10:3), and in 1936, 'Dr. Eric Bachrodt, a baritone, late of the Dresden State Opera Company' would sing operatic arias (35:9). German individuals in Western art music mentioned most often are Joseph Trauneck and Hans Kramer. The conductor Joseph Trauneck (1898-1975) fled Nazi Germany for South Africa in 1934. In Europe, he had studied composition with Arnold Schoenberg and conducting with Alexander Zemlinsky. Although of Jewish descent, Trauneck was raised a catholic, and became non-religious in later life. In South Africa, he established the Johannesburg Symphony Orchestra and several other musical institutions (Tancsik 2009:115). As the conductor of the Johannesburg Symphony Orchestra, Trauneck's name appears only in the *Zionist Record* between 1935 and 1948. Nowhere in this sample of material is attention drawn to Trauneck's German Jewish heritage. In that sense, his representation in these pages is no different than that of William Pickerill, conductor of the Cape Town Orchestra, who was a non-Jew. In other words, Trauneck appears in this sample of material not as a German Jew, but as an ordinary citizen of South Africa.

A review of the first concert of the Johannesburg Symphony's Orchestra's season at the Wanderers Hall was published in 1935. The review follows the conventions of European music criticism by foregrounding the repertoire and commenting on the strengths and weaknesses of the performers. As such, little can be deduced about the social context, except perhaps the predominance of German repertoire that included a Schubert Symphony, Beethoven's 'Emperor' Concerto and Weber's *Der Freischütz* overture. Further items between 1936 and 1938 in the sample material include notices (229:7 and 259:2), a review (242:7), and advertisements (252:13 and 255:6), all of which testify to Jewish citizens' civic interest in the Johannesburg Symphony Orchestra. Three items published between 1944 and 1948 suggest that the orchestra became more open about their association with the Jewish community. In 1944, Pnina Saltzman came to Johannesburg to perform with the Johannesburg Symphony Orchestra at a concert in aid of the Palestine Symphony Orchestra and Habimah Theatre (296:1). In 1947, a 'Great Concert' was arranged with three Jewish performers: Chief Cantor Israel Alter, Jean Gluckman and Bruno Raikin (319:4). In 1948, Trauneck conducted the Orchestra for a last time 'prior to his leaving for Europe' at a concert arranged by the Chalutzim Chayalim Ma'ayan Baruch, a Zionist organisation. The reasons for his departure are not explained. The repertoire performed at this concert included works by Jewish composers Mendelssohn, Mahler, Bruch and Daus (329:9).

Hans Kramer (1911-2002), born in Hanover in Germany, was among the German Jewish refugees who came to South Africa in 1934. Here he established himself as music patron and music shop owner (Stimie Behr 2015:4). His name appears three times in the sample of primary material between 1944 and 1947. As with Joseph Trauneck, Kramer's German Jewish descent is not mentioned in this sample. In 1944, according to a *Chronicle*, Kramer gave a lecture at a musical evening organized by the youth of the Mizrachi Zionist society. The lecture was about 'the Jewish contribution to music' and was illustrated with gramophone recordings. He mentioned an influence of Jewish music on Christian church music, identified Jewish composers and instrumentalists ('especially violinists') who became famous in the world of classical music, and argued that the gramophone record was 'directly connected with Jewish genius, since Emil Berliner 'was the first man who improved upon Edison's cylindrical gramophone records by inventing the flat disc' (120:2). The report frames Kramer's lecture with a citation from Cecil Roth, who writes about 'the Jewish contribution to civilisation', without which the 'tree of Western culture would be mutilated' (120:2). The report concludes with 'the hope that with the Jewish renaissance in Palestine there would also be a revival in Jewish music' (120:8). The report therefore illustrates a

Zionist acceptance of Western civilisation as a normative and universal ideal, within which Zionism hopes to insert a Jewish national entity. In 1946, another *Chronicle* reported that Hans Kramer had arranged a series of six Subscription Concerts in aid of the Jewish War Appeal. The first was to be held at a private residence, and artists included singer Alice Moolman and the piano duo Helga Bassel and Hannes Uys. The pianists would perform ‘music by Bach, Mozart and Chopin, while Miss Moolman [would] sing lieder by Hugo Wolf, Grieg and Richard Strauss’ (141:1). The prevalence of German works at the close of the Second World War is puzzling. It could perhaps indicate the extent to which German Jews were intent on maintaining a German identity. In 1946, a notice appeared in a *Chronicle* for an event at which the Scopus club would introduce Enrique Jorda, the conductor. Hans Kramer would present a ‘programme of recorded music.’ The report notes that ‘a collection in aid of the Palestine Conservatoire of Music’ would be made at the event (154:5). The Scopus club’s members engaged in Jewish social and cultural activities in Cape Town between the 1940s and 60s (UCT libraries 2013:147). It is worth noting the increasing importance of Palestine in the reportage of the late 1940s.

### Article: Einstein’s Musical Debut

An article entitled ‘Einstein’s Musical Debut’ appeared in a *Zionist Record* in 1934. The author of the article is Harry Salpeter, an American art critic and gallery owner (Smithsonian Archives [O]). Salpeter wrote his impressions of a chamber concert in which Albert Einstein participated. The concert, arranged to benefit the Fund for the relief of German Refugees (213:4), took place at Adolph Lewisohn’s residence in New York and about two hundred people attended (213:13). Investment banker and philanthropist Adolph Lewisohn was a German Jew based in America, like Einstein and Salpeter. Einstein was one of several performers at this concert. Other performers were renowned musicians like violinist Toscha Seidel, pianist Harriet Cohen, conductor Leon Barzin, cellist Ossip Gisken and conductor Emil Hilb. These musicians were not all German and/or Jewish.

The article provides a detailed, but informal account of the event. Its protagonist is, of course, Albert Einstein. It is significant that both the author and protagonist are American, that the event took place in the United States, and that the sample of primary material of this study does not contain reports of similar events in South Africa. This supports a suggestion implicit in the analytical construct: that there was difficulty around engaging Yekkes in South Africa during the 1930s (and long after). Salpeter’s article offered readers an opportunity to engage Yekkes from a distance, mediated, as it were, by an American point of view. It opens a window onto the complexities of Yekke musical culture, their representations and the meanings they may have evoked within a South African context. The reading of the article that I present here shows, first, that sensitivities around Yekke culture were not limited to South Africa, but that such sensitivities were present in other Jewish centres in the world (see Ascheim

1989), even if they might have been particularly acute in the South African Jewish community. I also argue in my reading that the Jewish community in South Africa, despite the prejudices already noted, looked to Yekkes to ensure Jews' staying power in a global context, not just a local one as Mendelsohn and Shain suggest (2008:113).

My reading of Salpeter's article takes certain cues from Philip Bohlman's chapter entitled 'Of *Yekkes* and Chamber Music in Israel' (1993). Bohlman comments on the continuities and discontinuities of Yekke musical culture that migrated with German Jews from Europe to Palestine during the 1930s. He shows how house concerts and chamber music have become sites and rituals for upholding a German ethnic particularity in Israel. While ethnic distinction is not a stated concern of Salpeter's, his article includes a similar nexus between chamber music, house concerts and the survival of German Jews. Bohlman's argument is about an immigrant community's strategic cultural continuance over a long time in Palestine/Israel, while Salpeter's article notes an immediate and temporary humanitarian concern in America for refugees from Germany. The inflections of musical meaning would inevitably be different between these situations, but the parallels are substantial. Bohlman's work suggests that the format of the concert at Lewisohn's residence was not incidental. Bohlman (1993:260) writes:

> The association of chamber music with a Central European history – with Germanness – had become a central tenet of absolute music [...], transforming a genre regarded by some as specific to Central Europe in general to one rooted in the German-speaking immigrant community.

There is thus a correlation in Salpeter's account between the chosen format of the benefit concert and the culture of the German refugees who are to receive aid from the event. The correlation is strengthened by the person of Einstein, who can be seen as a prototypical German Jew. It is also from the person of Einstein that musical meaning emanates. '[A]ll eyes were on Einstein,' writes Salpeter, 'and ears seemed to be attuned only to his solo passages' (213:12). Sounds were savoured 'for themselves – as notes of music having a particular meaning because they were brought into sound by him'.

Part of the meaning, I suggest, is found in Einstein's delight in performing works by German composers Bach, Beethoven and Mozart (213:13). Salpeter writes:

> And the eye caught his smiles of pleasure at certain passages, in the Bach and Mozart pieces especially, and the ear suspected chuckles of delight even when there were none, for there were times when he looked as if he might be chuckling. (213:12)

By taking delight in performing music by Bach, Beethoven and Mozart, Einstein was laying claim to the very German cultural identity that was politically denied him. Claiming a German identity was, of course, not a denial of a Jewish identity. In fact, it is also possible that the repertoire's association with classicism could have meant 'a dissociation from nationalism', especially a German nationalism (Bohlman

1993:260). Essentially, as Bohlman (1993:261) argues, this music then offered a means 'whereby Jews could enter the Western tradition of civilization'.

Einstein embodies German Jewish genius. Salpeter draws attention to Einstein's exceptional intellect by emphasising his competency to perform as an amateur musician alongside internationally recognized professional performers. Einstein is nevertheless also put forward in this representation as essentially human. His humanness is recognized in an amateur musical fallibility: '[E]ven if he came in a note late', writes Salpeter, 'there would not be the slightest detraction from the beauty and the value of the performance' (213:15).

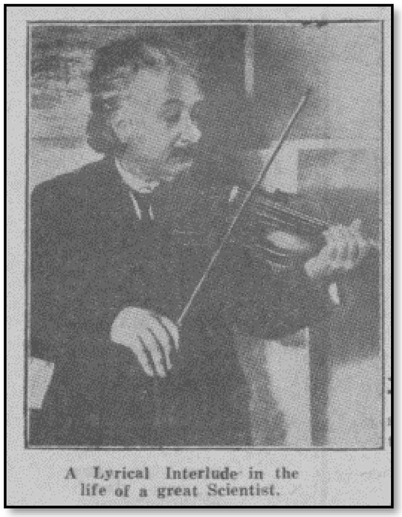

A Lyrical Interlude in the life of a great Scientist.

**Figure 25: Albert Einstein. *Zionist Record*. 13 April 1934. p. 32.**

A description of Einstein's convivial interaction with audience members serves to further humanize him:

> At the end of the first movement of the Bach concerto […] Einstein relaxed a bit to smile his delight to friends who were smiling at him, and to express his pleasure at the music, but seeing that the other performers were ready and that Mr. Hilb was all but raising his arms to start the second movement, he pulled himself into an attentive posture, ready to do his share. (213:15)

Salpeter plays up the fame of Einstein's co-performers, recognising that in normal circumstances, their playing would have to be critically scrutinized. However, in this representation, the humanness of these professional performers emerges in gestures of humility, mirroring that of the great Einstein:

> So notable a virtuso [sic] of the violin as Toscha Seidel might have been forgiven had he made a more flourishing descent upon the strings than he did, or squeezing from a run of notes all its exhibitionist opportunities, but he bore in mind […] that he was playing quartet with Albert Einstein as first violin. (213:14)

Within this musical space, Einstein interacts with two groups: his co-performers and the audience. Neither of these groups would have comprised exclusively German Jews. Reflecting the heterogeneity of American society, they would probably have included Americans, many Jews and a conglomerate of individuals from different European immigrant groups. It is therefore not only Einstein's individual fame that warrants his position as protagonist in an article published in a Jewish newspaper, but also his singular German Jewish identity. Salpeter situates him who can be seen as the quintessential Yekke at the core of an intercultural relational nexus; and he lets the record reflect the rapport Einstein established with his peers on stage and his friends in the audience. In musical representation, the Yekke is strategically positioned as equal in his disposition toward Jews and non-Jews. In other words, he becomes the supreme global citizen, lodged in a German cultural identity, unencumbered by any particular political affiliation.

Salpeter writes that Einstein's scientific achievements 'belong to the world', which implies that his work advanced knowledge and contributed to a 'universal' understanding of science. Jewish genius in this sense legitimates a Jewish presence in Western civilisation. Einstein's violin playing, in contrast to his career as a scientist, 'is his private affair, his private relaxation.' It is worth reflecting on the rationale behind a rhetoric that draws a clear distinction between public and private affairs. The 'world' seems to encompass the individual's professional space where he contributes toward the advancement of civilisation, and where his Jewishness purportedly holds little significance. Einstein occupies this space as a scientist. His fellow-performers inhabit this space as professional musicians. This is to say, perhaps unnecessarily, that music and music-making often have a public function that in this context is linked to a professional career. Naturally, for the amateur musician, playing an instrument is a private affair. Therefore, when Einstein, the amateur musician, joins professionals on stage at a house concert, the chamber concert setting becomes a hybrid space, public and private at the same time. Musical meaning accrues as a result.

Einstein's choice to play 'for the benefit of friends in distress in Germany' was 'a private affair which need not concern the music critics' (213:6). Within this private context, Salpeter joins Einstein to a collective. He does not identify the collective as Jews, since this is clear from the historical context as well as the publication in which the article is published. It is nevertheless striking that Salpeter identifies the collective in relation to a geographical locale, Germany; and that he describes the relationship between Einstein and this collective as a friendship. In other words, neither the collective, nor the relationship, is construed in customary terms of religion, nationalism, culture, race or ethnicity. Nor is it drawn in terms of family, which is often the trope that dominates general reflections on the private space. Replacing the notion of family with that of friendship could be a tacit acknowledgement of the fracture of family units due to the contemporary displacement of European Jews. However, the reference to friendship also resembles the language used earlier in the article to describe the connection between Einstein and some audience members, whose nationalities are not identified and, by inference, universal. The language in this article is aloof and impersonal, both when it conveys impressions of humanness in the public space, and when it speaks of private affairs. The public and private spaces are not clearly differentiated in language. If, for argument's sake, the article is divorced from the context of the newspaper in which it appears, its rhetoric does little to allow for a specific Jewish identification, which could have facilitated a particular Jewish affiliation. In a sense, public space is personalized in the sections that highlights humanness in my reading, while private space is depersonalized in an aloof use of language about ‘friends in Germany’. In this hybrid space, the Jew enters the universal, not as a Jew, but as a human being.

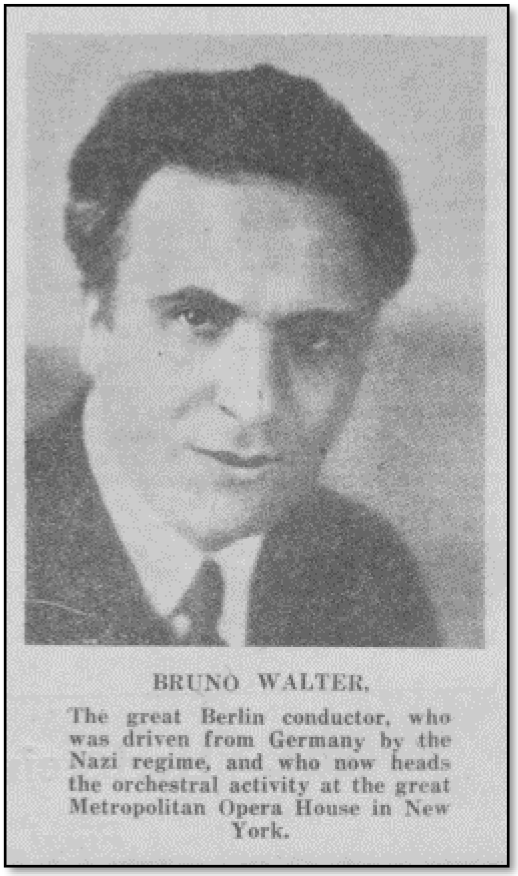
It is important to recognize that the rhetorical effect of German depersonalisation is not rejection of a Jewish self. It is possible that depersonalisation in this context could be an intensified self-protection, concealing the personal in an unspoken, yet shared, private realm. However, given the sensitivities around German Jewish assimilation registered earlier in the present chapter, it should also be clear that for Jews with strong traditional, nationalist or religious convictions, Salpeter’s silence on the Jewishness of German Jews coupled with a rhetoric that implicitly universalizes a notion of humanity could be experienced as a form of Yekke betrayal. It is likely that Salpeter was aware of these sensitivities. Perhaps this is one reason why he emphasizes Einstein’s humility in musical performance: ‘[H]e played competently and easily and correctly, without pretentiousness, without a single flourish’ (213:6). Indeed, representations of fame and genius convince only if they reference humility. Salpeter’s article could thus be read as an apologia for Yekkes, endearing Yekkes to South African Jewish readers as Einstein endeared himself to listeners, Jews and non-Jews alike:

> By his playing, by his mere appearance, he fixed himself more deeply in the affection of those who were acquainted with him and created a fresh set of admirers.

For Salpeter, true Jewish genius as embodied by Einstein reveals itself in a combination of confidence and humility: ‘He radiated the simplicity and grandeur of greatness’ (213:6).

I would argue that the agenda of Salpeter’s article supersedes aid to German Jewish refugees. It concerns Jewish survival within a global context. This is already evident in the mere fact that a German Jew in America addresses a Jewish readership in South Africa. The article also argues that Yekkes have a particular contribution to make toward the objective of global Jewish survival. The South African editor’s decision to publish such an extensive article in the *Zionist Record* indicates that there was at least an institutional openness to these ideas in South Africa. However, it remains a question whether this openness was to Yekkes, per se. It is possible that a receptiveness to Salpeter’s opinions could have been influenced by the power-dynamics implicit in the increasing influence of American Jewry in global Jewish affairs. Perhaps a South African acceptance of Yekkes was more abstract than concrete as a gesture of subscribing to an American agenda of Western globalisation. German Jews had a particular place in this agenda, in no small part due to the conditions that resulted from Western suspicion of Nazi Germany. Representations of a Yekke performing Western chamber music would be acceptable in South Africa, since the concomitant globalisation of such significations is geared toward Jewish survival, despite the risk posed by implicit connotations of assimilation.

**Article: The Jew in Metropolitan Opera**



BRUNO WALTER.

The great Berlin conductor, who was driven from Germany by the Nazi regime, and who now heads the orchestral activity at the great Metropolitan Opera House in New York.

**Figure 26: Bruno Walter. *Zionist Record*. 27 July 1934. p. 20.**

Another article in a *Zionist Record* in 1934, by American journalist Haynes A. Gilbert, is entitled 'The Jew in Metropolitan Opera: A Series of Great Achievements in America'. It celebrates the fiftieth anniversary of the Metropolitan Opera House in New York by focusing on the 'all-important role' of Jews in establishing the Opera House 'as the foremost operatic institution in the world' (216:1). The article briefly introduces the most famous Jewish conductors and singers who have performed at the Metropolitan, including conductors Leopold Damrosch, Anton Seidl, Alfred Hertz, Gustav Mahler, Artur Bodankzky and Bruno Walter, tenors Maurice Renaud, Herman Jadlowker, James Wolfe and Armand Tokatyan, sopranos Lilli Lehmann, Sophie Braslau and Alma Gluck, as well as Friedrich Schorr (baritone) and Maria Olszewska (alto). These individuals include Jews from Germany, from other parts of Central Europe and, of course, from Eastern Europe. The relevance to Yekkes is thus not clear on the surface of the narrative. However, the article emphasizes the connection between these Jewish individuals and German operatic culture. Also, at the centre of the article, which covers an entire page in the newspaper, appears a photograph of Bruno Walter (see Figure 26). Its caption suggests that the article is also a response to contemporary events in Germany.

Gilbert writes that a German Jew had facilitated the association between the Metropolitan Opera House and German opera during the early years of the institution's existence. In 1884, Leopold Damrosch had proposed that the Metropolitan institute a year of German opera. The directors accepted his proposal and 'the first great year in the Metropolitan's history came into being' (216:1). Gilbert writes: 'Dr. Damrosch reintroduced to the audiences the wealth of German opera so long neglected in New York' (216:8). One of his successors, Anton Seidl, also staged German opera, which 'made operatic history' (216:14).

Gilbert did not hesitate to emphasize Jewish performers' partiality for Wagner's works. Alfred Hertz had created 'an enormous reputation for himself and his Wagnerian interpretations' (216:16).

Friedrich Schorr is described as ‘the world’s foremost Wagnerian baritone, whose interpretations of Wotan are known all over the world’ (216:10). Maria Olszewska was also ‘a great Wagnerian singer’ in the role of ‘Brangane in Tristan’ (216:10). A small panegyric on Lilli Lehmann identifies her as ‘certainly the greatest Wagnerian soprano the world has known’ (216:12) and ‘the greatest Jewish soprano to appear at the Metropolitan’ (216:2). In further elaboration, she is described as ‘one of the glories of the musical world’:

> Like Caruso, Toscanini, Rubinstein, Liszt, she is an inseparable part of that glamorous tradition which ever inspires contemporary artists and which is ever a yardstick with which the future can measure its own achievements. (216:12, 2)

The pantheon of European musical masters of which Lehmann forms a part seems to suggest, in line with a discourse on absolute music, that the operatic tradition transcends social prejudices, which allows the music critic to take pride in identifying a singer as a Jewish Wagnerian.

While Gilbert emphasizes German operatic culture throughout the article, he balances these references with others that point to a broad-based Jewish heritage and their participation in operatic culture from other countries in Europe. The ‘French Jew’, Maurice Renaud, ‘was for many years an idol in New York’ (216:11). James Wolfe appeared in a ‘variety of French and Italian operas’ (216:17). Palestinian Armand Tokatyan, ‘one of the mainstays of the tenor section of the Metropolitan’ is known for his performances in Italian operas (216:15). Gilbert also uses opportunities to accentuate the Jewishness of some individuals. Herman Jadlowker, for instance, had recently deserted opera – and is now a cantor in one of the principal synagogues of Hungary’ (216:9). Also, James Wolfe had ‘recently endeared himself to Jewish audiences because of his excellent performance in the pageant, the Romance of a People’ (216:17). The pageant was an event that formed part of the World’s Fair in 1933 and that celebrated a hundred years of Jewish history in Chicago. It featured about six thousand actors, singers, and dancers and was sponsored by the Jewish Agency for Palestine (Unknown [O, a]).

Gilbert’s article links the Jewish history of the Metropolitan Opera House with a German operatic tradition. The link is evident in the staging of German operas at the Metropolitan, and in emphasising the successes of individual Jewish performers in the Wagnerian tradition. Although of less importance than the German operatic tradition, some quotations mention Jewish participation in non-German operas, and foreground Jewish identity. In 1934, there was still a Jewish reluctance to forego a specific German cultural tradition from which Jews were being banned in Germany. However, their attachment to German culture was supplemented with an active partaking in a wider Western European operatic tradition, as well as with a pride in acknowledging themselves as Jews. This supports the idea of a collective that sees itself as Jewish participants in Western civilization, which comprises other collectives, distinct like themselves, but equal in their social and cultural endeavours.

The intention behind a search for Yekkes in the primary source material in this thesis was to address a lacuna in historical writing about a German contribution to South African Jewish culture. It turns out that the silence about German Jews in historiography finds its mirror in this music reportage. Apart from a few cantors, the only significant German Jewish names that emerge from the material are those of Joseph Trauneck and Hans Kramer. Their German backgrounds are nevertheless not mentioned in the present study’s primary source material. Comprehensive research about other individuals whose names are captured by index-codes could perhaps yield more information about a German Jewish participation in South Africa’s musical life. However, even though the sample of material contains little information about German Jews in South Africa, this chapter yields a surprising find in representations of Yekkes: America. These American representations of Yekke culture link up with the portrayals of Russia through an American prism in Chapter 6. ‘Discovering America’ in this source material prompted a search for similar, geographically refracted, representations. The findings are presented in the next chapter.

# PART III: WHITENESS

# Chapter 9:
# Whiteness and America

## America in South African representation

The extent to which America is present in the primary source material was not anticipated, since secondary sources on Jewish life in South Africa contain little commentary on the relationship between Jewish communities in these two locales. Content in these newspapers nevertheless include American representations of musical life in the United States, as well as philosophical and journalistic perspectives by American authors on Jewish culture internationally. While these representations do not speak directly to the South African context, it is possible that they may have influenced a Jewish musical imaginary in South Africa. For this reason, they are worth considering in the present chapter.

Jewish music reportage in South Africa contains traces of the relationship between the United States and Palestine. Economic ties are evident in the three-million-pound contract between America and Rishon-le-Zion, 'the largest wine-producing centre of Palestine' (212:7). The *Zionist Record* also reported in 1948 that American Jews had raised between eight and ten million dollars in support of Palestine and the Red Cross (330:7). American support came from notable Jews, like Mottel Herschman, a famous cantor, whose 'work for the Zionist cause (particularly for the Youth Aliyah) and for Jewish charitable institutions added to the esteem in which he was held' (87:18). Americans visiting kibbutzim in Palestine tell how they sang American songs to young Jewish children (42:3). The relationship between Palestine and the United States was strengthened by their shared investment in the research of Jewish music. It is noted, for instance, that the famous Jewish music scholar, A.Z. Idelsohn, was 'Professor of Jewish Music and Liturgy at the Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, the pioneer reform rabbinical seminary in the U.S.A.' (194:2). A profile piece on Professor Salomon Rosowsky, a scholar of Biblical Cantillations, was published in a *Zionist Record* in 1948:

> Professor Rosowsky has been in the United States for a year now, having completed the first part of his research into Biblical cantillations, a work of 17 years, which he is waiting to see through the press. The book, which is called 'The Cantillations of the Pentateuch,' is being published by the Columbia University Press and the American Academy for Jewish Research. (327:4)

Similarly, another *Zionist Record* reported in 1948 that Henry Rosenblatt, a New York Jewish composer who graduated at the Juilliard Graduate School, researched Ladino music (326:3), a form of music that belongs to Sephardic Jews and that is 'sung only in Egypt', but that Rosenblatt 'intends to introduce […] to the American public' (326:9). This article on Ladino music opens a window onto this collaborative research agenda of the United States and Palestine:

> The past fifteen years have seen a musical revival of all types of Jewish music centered primarily in Palestine. To-day the chairman of the Palestinian Composers' League is in the United States for the purpose of exchanging American and Palestinian music. […] The revival of Ladino music is an important manifestation of the Jewish renascence and will assume even greater significance when audiences can listen to it and thus become aware of its beauty and value as music of a long-neglected, almost forgotten, segment of Jewish culture. (326:7)

The relationship between South Africa and the United States manifests in several forms of cultural exchanges. Local talent, like pianist Hyman Bress, would study music in America (128:4). South Africa's interest in another young pianist, Sigi Weissenberg, illustrates the esteem in which both Palestine and the United States was held locally:

> WORD has been received in Jerusalem that Sigi Weissenberg, the 18-year-old pianist who has gone from Jerusalem to Philadelphia for advanced study, has been engaged to appear with the Philadelphia Orchestra at their subscription concerts next season. Weissenberg, it will be recalled, gave a series of concerts in South Africa last year. (317:1)

Interest in Jewish life in America is evident in the number of lectures addressing the topic (49:5; 99:2; 139:9 and 259:21) and in reports on musical events that took place in America. Heifetz, himself an American citizen, explained in 1932 that most of US Jewry 'come from European countries' (191:11). It is a well-known fact that a large number of German Jewish refugees fled to the United States during the 1930s. These newspapers also register pride in the visible presence of Jews in Hollywood. It is reported in a *Zionist Record* of 1938 that the 'story of the birth of the talkies is the story of Jewish ambition and enterprise', tracing it from the invention of the microphone and gramophone by Emil Berliner to the success of the first talkie film, *The Jazz Singer*:

> The talkies brought the world the kings of Jazz, Irving Berlin and George Gershwin, two young Jews from 'Tin-Pan Alley,' who achieved world-wide fame. (260:3)

Not only people, but also cultural materials made their way there. It was reported in a *Chronicle* in 1945, for instance, that a violin concerto by Ernst Weil, found in a death camp in Poland, was sent to America where it was to be performed by the violinist Joseph Szigeti (126:1). In 1947, according to a *Chronicle*, Gus Saron gave a lecture on his visit to Europe, America and Eretz Israel in which he 'contrasted the life of the Jews in Palestine with the struggle of our people in Europe and the materialisms of America' (149:10).

Representations of American Jewry in South Africa were not always flattering. In 1947, a *Zionist Record* reported the following on a performance by Harry Rabinowitz: 'as a modern man he had no difficulty in showing up the acrobatics of the vulgarised American chazan' (3189:7). And in 1934, Hamabit reacts to news that hazanim in Chicago have 'organised themselves into a union and have affiliated themselves with the American Federation of Labour'. Hamabit asks: 'Is a *Chazan* a *reverend*, or is he merely a worker?' He continues his ironic commentary: 'The question, however is whether the "unionised" cantor will look upon the Sabbath morning service as overtime, when compared with the Friday night service' (211:4).

The analytical construct suggests that the reform tradition in South Africa is associated with German Jewry. When I started coding Reform Judaism in the material, I expected to uncover references to Germans Jews. It was a surprise to discover America, instead. Several lectures focused on congregational life in the United States, including the history of the reform movement, conservatism and Orthodox Judaism (149:9). One such lecture pointed to a characteristic South African prejudice for Orthodoxy over Reform:

> The Rabbis, he said, played an important part in American Jewish life. They had done a great deal for Zionism and had helped to improve the system of education at the Talmud Torahs. They were to a large extent the spokesmen of American Jewry. It seemed to him, said Mr. Rubenstein, that Reform Judaism had no future in America. The Synagogue that introduced traditional service and music and showed respect for ancient customs attracted the most adherents. The Jew who knew his Judaism and was not apologetic, won the greatest respect from non-Jews. (99:2)

Apart from these small quotations pertaining to America in South African representation, several substantial articles in the primary source material resemble the articles on Einstein and the Metropolitan. An American representation of musical nationalism is found in the American A.W. Binder's article 'Palestine creates a folksong' (P221), published in a *Zionist Record* of 1935, which is discussed in Chapter 5. Another American author, Philip M. Raskin, wrote about the poet Zalman Schneur in a 1938 *Zionist Record* (P258). This article is discussed in relation to Zionism (Chapter 5) and Yiddish culture (Chapter 6). As mentioned earlier in this section, a profile piece on Salomon Rosowsky, scholar of Biblical cantillations who is also discussed in Chapter 5 points to an academic and cultural relationship between Palestine and the United States. Perhaps the most interesting case here is that of Jascha Heifetz, a Russian Jew based in America, whose visit to South Africa in 1932 was marked by extensive articles in both the *Chronicle* (P19) and *Zionist Record* (P191). The content of these and other cases is addressed in the final section of the present chapter. Suffice to note, at this point, that musical representations of Zionism, Peruvians and Yekkes in these South African newspapers are in part mediated by the United States. That these representations could indicate a cultural working-through of racial awareness can be seen in a reading of the following article about Jews and Jazz in America.

## Article: Jews and Jazz

In March 1939, Joshua M. Brauer's article 'Jews and Jazz' appeared in a *Chronicle*. Brauer probably formulated his ideas in response to ongoing musical debates about the merits and drawbacks of Jewish involvement with jazz in the United States. As recently as 2017, Charles B. Hersch published a book entitled *Jews and Jazz: Improvising Ethnicity*, in which he argues that Jews in America have used jazz in three ways: 'to become more American, to emphasize their minority outsider status, and to become more Jewish.' The discourse on Jews and jazz of the past century is not engaged with here in a systematic or comprehensive fashion. Secondary sources, most notably Hersch's text, are nevertheless drawn on to contextualize and interpret the ideas in Brauer's text. As a result, much of what is written here is not new. However, these debates take on different meanings when introduced outside the context of the United States. The objective of the present discussion is to analyse the content of the representation about Jews and jazz in the context of the United States, and to reflect on the possible meanings these representations may have assumed in the context of 1930s South Africa.

Like Salpeter and Gilbert, fellow-Americans whose articles are discussed in the previous chapter, Brauer indirectly wrestles here with the events taking place in Nazi Germany. The article opens with the following statement:

> In Germany the playing of Jazz was recently banned on the grounds that it was the 'Judaic abuse of music, and alien to the Nordic idea of music.' It was damned as 'vile stuff.' (67:3)

Brauer continues to explain that an evaluation of the genre should be informed with knowledge of its origins and an understanding of its structure.

He starts his narrative in 1925 when 'that gifted Jewish conductor, Serge Koussevitsky, introduced a form of modernistic music through the Boston Symphony Orchestra.' This music was met with 'a storm of protest.' Koussevitsky defended the 'jazzy music he was playing,' as 'the classic music of tomorrow', saying that 'Bach and Wagner were the jazz players of the past' (67:3). At the close of the article, Brauer makes a similar argument:

> The works of Schubert and Beethoven were once shunned by the high-brows, and Wagner's early music was as noisy as early jazz. (67:22)

Bach, Schubert, Beethoven and Wagner belong to the pantheon of German masters who were important in German nationalist cultural discourses. To compare their music with jazz, which was regarded as 'vile' in Germany, is a defensive Jewish response to the accusation that rendered jazz a 'Judaic abuse of music'. These quotations register tensions between Germans and Jews, and between high and low culture.

Brauer argues that jazz started out as 'the music of the slums: the vulgar noise that corrupted taste and manners, an escape from the real and a substitute for good classics.' Since then, the genre had shed some of its bad connotations as critics have come to accept it as a legitimate form of music (67:7). Brauer writes:

> Jazz has educated the public to rhythmic variety. It has made the world music conscious; it has made people appreciate the classics; it has helped people to face the realities of life. (67:7)

The value of jazz, for Brauer, lies in its educative qualities, and its ability to give ordinary people access to high art, that marker of sophistication, previously reserved for the elites of society. However, unlike the (Western art) music of the high-minded elites, jazz is not disconnected from the realities of everyday life. It has a specific psychological function in the lives of humans.

Brauer responds as follows to the racial connotations of jazz:

> But what has the Jew got to do with Jazz? Isn't it an American development of Afro-American thematic material. [sic] Doesn't it belong to the negro? (67:11)

The language Brauer employs moves his argument dangerously close to one of cultural appropriation, a notion that remains contested in musicological discourses, especially in relation to Jews and jazz.. 'Jazz is a product of African tribal music,' writes Brauer, 'but it has been refined. It has been moulded to suit European tastes' (67:1). Here, African tribal music signifies primitivism and barbarism, while Europe signifies sophistication and, of course, Western civilization. A subtle hybridisation of Africa and Europe is hidden in these quotations. While African tribal music (what Brauer perhaps saw as 'bad' jazz) has been moulded to European tastes, jazz has retained its 'primitive' rhythmic qualities. This phenomenon could, of course, be explained with reference to a wider European interest in primitivism, associated in music with Stravinsky's *Rite of Spring*. Brauer's narrative suggests an evolutionary process of refinement. He writes:

> The good in Jazz has been cultivated and in the hands of Jews such as Irving Berlin, George Gershwin and Jerome Kern it has acquired international recognition. But it has reached the symphonic realm, too, and that genius, Aaron Copland, has brought it to the high-brow and the intellectual. (67:12)

Berlin, Gershwin and Kern's involvement with jazz as songwriters for Tin Pan Alley is most associated with popular music that appealed to white audiences. For Brauer, the first step to elevate jazz was to remove it from the world of blackness to that of whiteness. The next step was to move it from the world of popular music to the realm of the symphony. According to Brauer's evolutionary model, one would assume that Gershwin straddled the worlds of low-brow and high-brow. However, Brauer pays no attention to Gershwin's popular songs and writes only about his Rhapsody in Blue, his Piano Concerto and his Prelude. According to Brauer's narrative, Gershwin introduced jazz to the symphony, where the style developed its full potential in the compositions of Aaron Copland.

Brauer continues: ‘Copland has explained that Jazz is not the melody nor even the single well-pronounced rhythm, but the interplay of rhythms around, above and under the melody’ (67:13). Jazz, in Brauer’s representation, retained the rhythmic component of the African, and added the melodic component of Jewish religious music: Copland has imbued jazz ‘with old Jewish airs which have greatly enriched it.’ Discursively, rhythm is a musical marker of primitivism, while melody is associated with sophistication. With these markers, Brauer first subtly places the Jew above the African American within a hierarchy of Western civilisation. He then continues to state this position explicitly: ‘Modern Jazz is more Jewish in character than negro [sic]‘ (67:13).

The question of race in 1930s America was freighted. Before the civil rights movement, whiteness was the ideal, but its meanings and scope were less stable than it might have seemed on the surface. Whiteness in America has received much attention from scholars in recent years (for example, Goldstein 2008 and Jacobsen 1998). These sources explain that during the period of ‘mass European immigration’ to the United States, the category of whiteness was most unstable and the racial status of the variety of immigrants were under question (Rogin 1998:12). Jews, at the time suffering the consequences of racialization in Germany, had a particular investment in securing their ‘white’ status in America. For them, it was a question of survival.

Brauer recognizes jazz as expressing the ‘sad and almost hysterical psychology of the oppressed race.’ Brauer cites Isaac Goldberg’s 1930 book *Tin Pan Alley*, in which the oppressed race refers to Jews, not African Americans. Brauer continues to write:

> The sweet sadness in the cantor’s song blends readily with jazz, and the minor mode of the typical ‘blues’ as Isaac Goldberg so aptly puts it, is by no means a stranger to the Jewish ear. ‘The simple fact is that the Jew responds naturally to the deeper implications of Jazz, and that as a Jewish American he partakes of the impulse at both its Oriental and its Occidental end.’ (67:16)

Here, a hybridisation of the Oriental and the Occidental comes into play, the purpose of which is to articulate a Jewish particularity within the larger configuration of Americanism. However, the subtle erasure of African Americanism in this citation makes it clear that the configuration is that of an exclusively white Americanism, of which Jews wanted to be part. At this point, Brauer mentions ‘Al Jolson, whose father was a cantor’ and who was ‘known for his ‘mammy songs’ (67:2). Al Jolson’s blackface performance in the film *The Jazz Singer* has been the subject of much debate. Michael Rogin argues that motion picture blackface ‘inherited the function of its predecessor [blackface minstrelsy]: by joining structural domination to cultural desire, it turned Europeans into Americans’ (1998:12). Al Jolson occupies a central position in Rogin’s book. In Brauer’s article, the coupling of Jolson’s blackface performance with jazz seems congruent with Rogin’s argument. When Brauer writes it is ‘not surprising that jazz lives because of the Jewishness it has acquired' (67:2), the implication could be that jazz entered white society through Jewishness.

Brauer classifies the music of George Gershwin and Irving Berlin as 'progressive jazz', which does not belong to the dance hall, but to 'the world of symphony' and 'classical music' (67:4). Brauer nevertheless acknowledges the hybridized nature of jazz:

> Irving Berlin is a household world [sic], and ironic as it seems some of the 'purified' bands in Berlin are still playing his immortal 'Alexander's Rag Time Band.' (67:4)

The reference to 'purified bands' in the city of Berlin reminds us of the German antagonism against Jews and jazz, which Brauer mentions in the introduction of the article. The irony that Brauer points to is that 'Alexander's Rag Time' is associated with a short period when the composer Irving Berlin experimented with incorporating blackness into his identity (Hersch 2017:location 937). The song's lyrics also include African-Americanisms. One would think that these qualities would have made the piece controversial in Germany, but it became popular instead.

According to Brauer, jazz came into its own in the music of Aaron Copland. Brauer's biographical details on 'this genius' shows that Copland received his early music education in America from Jews like Clarence Adler and Rubin Goldmark. Copland's formal music education and early professional success confirm a particular cultural interchange between America and Europe:

> [I]n 1921 [Copland] went to Paris where for three years he was a student of Nadia Boulanger. In Paris he greatly enriched his musical background, and he returned to America, only to return to Europe as the recipient of a Guggenheim Memorial Foundation fellowship. (67:9)

Brauer writes that Aaron Copland's Piano Concerto 'made the critics sit up and hail him as "the Maestro of Jazz"' (67:9). The argument is, in other words, that jazz has reached a higher form of sophistication after Jews had introduced it into the symphonic world of Europe. Brauer makes the following statement:

> The world is not poorer for jazz. What began as savage Afro-American folksong has become transformed into cosmopolitan culture. The symphonic works of Gershwin and Copland have changed the savage into the civilised. (67:15)

Whereas Brauer's earlier citation of Goldberg indicated that jazz was used to attain a place for Jews in white America, this quotation identifies a second objective as a striving for a cosmopolitan and civilized culture.

Brauer writes: 'The world at large is still the same: slow to take to new things' (67:17). For Brauer, Jews' contribution to jazz turned it into a marker of modernity: 'Modern music is richer for the growth of jazz, and jazz, richer for the works of Gershwin and Copland' (67:23); '[s]o blaming the Jew for Jazz is no crime' (67:22).

Brauer concludes his article as follows:

> The Jewish trend in modern music is growing. There is a tendency for old Jewish tunes to become the hit songs of the day. Remember that popular tune, ‘Bei Mir Bist Du Shein’? (67:20)

Brauer does not elaborate on this final statement. The song ‘Bei Mir Bist Du Shein’ was originally composed for Yiddish Theatre. Translated into English, it became one of the (non-Jewish) Andrews’ Sisters’ hit songs, and was also a popular item in Benny Goodman’s repertoire. Goodman’s Carnegie Hall performance in 1938 (a year before this article was published) became particularly famous for including a klezmer-like solo passage on trumpet. Hersch (2017:1) argues that after this performance, the song became ‘an “anthem” for American Jews, who saw in the song’s success a sign of their growing acceptance by the majority’. He continues to show, however, how Goodman’s renditions have ‘de-ethnicized’ the song: first, by the English adaptation (not translation) of the original Yiddish; and second, by rendering the song in ‘a straight ahead swing arrangement’ (Hersch 2017:location 1515). In the final analysis, Hersch (2017:location 1540) concludes that:

> Goodman’s allegedly Jewish performances were in fact simultaneously an expression of universal sentiments and an exotic flavour among many ingredients in the American stew.

Brauer’s article on Jews and jazz does not make an explicit claim about an American identity, as Hersch suggests in his book. It does, however, emphasize a distinct Jewish identity in America and creates the impression that Jews had already successfully integrated into American society. The article’s claim is instead for an international, cosmopolitan culture, one that responds to the Nazis’ rejection of Jews. Regardless of references to Jews as an oppressed race, Brauer’s article does not emphasize the Jews as a minority, or as outsiders either. They are instead cast as important actors in the universal world of jazz.

The interplay of rhythm and music hybridizes notions of the primitive and of sophistication. Similarly, the idea that the transcendental qualities of music ‘has helped people face the realities of life’ hybridizes jazz as at once absolute and socially embedded. These hybridisations in Brauer’s text could signify a Jewish liberalism within a framework of Western civilization that expresses a new kind of sophisticated musical expression for ordinary, liberal white individuals. The purpose of appropriating a perceived lowly art form and civilizing it was to position Jews in a cosmopolitan culture. The indictment, however, is that a cultural product – jazz – was appropriated by an oppressed race – Jews – from an oppressed race –African Americans. The product was then ‘improved’ – essentially distorted – into a form that hardly resembles the original. In this article, Jazz is marketed as a Jewish cultural product, used in a transaction of social purchase into an idealized cosmopolitan culture from which the creators of the original product are excluded. It is a cosmopolitanism of whiteness that, perhaps unwittingly, contributes to an American imperial project.

## All the world's a stage

This section returns to various newspaper items in the primary source material that have already been introduced in other chapters of this thesis. These include a number of extensive articles whose authors are American, as explained in the first section of the present chapter. Other American references in earlier chapters are also highlighted and considered in relation to the content already introduced.

The first part of the present chapter suggests that language serves musical universalism in the form of research and scholarship. It does so by emphasising a plurality of Jewish ethnicities with projects that focus on Klezmer (Eastern European), Ladino (Sephardic) and other music. A profile piece on the scholar Salomon Rosowsky appeared under the title 'Biblical Cantillation His Life's Work' in a *Zionist Record* of 1948. While on a visit to the United States, the author of the article had personally met Rosowsky 'at the home of two ardent American Zionists'. At the time of their meeting, Rosowsky had been in the country for a year, working on a book that was to be published by Columbia University Press and the American Academy for Jewish Research. The author elaborates on Rosowsky's scholarly activities in America (327:17), whose research activities in Palestine have already been discussed. An impression of Rosowsky's Russianness is also sketched:

> Looking just as one expects a musician to look, with long grey hair and flashing brown eyes, Professor Rosowsky has all the volubility of the native-born Russian, and all the Slavic intellectual's gift for languages. He conducted our interview partly in German, partly in English, and during the rest of the evening his conversation with the Rosoffs alternated between Yiddish, Russian and occasionally English. (327:16)

Rosowsky's multilingualism could be a subtle reminder of the unique qualities of Jewish internationalism. The representation of Rosowsky's internationalism in this South African Zionist publication draws the ties between Russia, the United States, Palestine and South Africa at the pivotal historical moment of 1948.

Saul Elman's scholarly interest in Klezmer musicians of the Russian Ghetto (274:4) could be an instance in which an Eastern European Jewish ethnicity was being introduced into American musical contexts. When placed next to Philip Raskin's article on Zalman Schneur, which ignores the poet's Yiddish work in favour of his Hebrew work, it would seem that an Eastern European ethnicity in America could find adequate expression in music, but not in language. At the same time, when considering a Jewish identity in the American context, it is possible that A.W. Binder's 1935 article on creating a folksong in Palestine could be read as one instance among others where 'a distinct construction' of a Jewish identity developed 'at the convergence of American ethnicities and their points of origin abroad' (Fauser 2016:161). In the case of an American Jewish identity, however, there was not a single point of origin abroad that could root their ethnic identity. It was therefore an imperative to oversee, or at least write about, the creation of an appropriate ethnic folksong tradition in a respectable national centre, which could unify a heterogeneous people who wished to secure citizenship in what was colloquially known as the American melting-pot. It is also possible that by publishing this article in a South African publication, Binder was participating in an American imperialist project that sought to assert its power in the Jewish world. As an American, he was mediating a musical network between Palestine and a Jewish diaspora in South Africa and the United States. Victor Chenkin, the protagonist of Josephus's representation, was an Eastern European immigrant living in the United States whose act comprised folksongs from a variety of national regions. Traditionally, folk songs are associated with nationalism. However, Fauser (2016) shows that in America, the phenomenon is different, since an 'American nationality' comprised an immigrant heterogeneity, which in music becomes marked by a hybridity of different folk idioms, as represented in, for instance, Henry Cowell's 1940 composition entitled *American Melting Pot* (Fauser 2016:162). Outside Josephus's representation, Chenkin's performance could thus have been linked to an American project that sought to consolidate a heterogeneous demography on home-soil, while also pursuing power in a global context by posing as the ideal democracy with an internal tolerance for difference. In a South African reading of his performance, however, the author declares the medium of song to be an inadequate medium for expressing a European Jewish identity. In South Africa, the European stereotypes of Hasidim and Mitnagdim both contribute to a single image of Eastern European Jews known as Peruvians. A reading of Jewish music reportage shows how elements of both these figures are included in a South African Jewish value system. However, neither of these two figures evokes particular musical sounds. It would seem, then, that Josephus's instinct was correct: A South African Litvak spirit cannot be contained in a musical form. Perhaps this indicates the particular intensity of racial sensitivities, which was more palpable in the South African context than in America during the 1930s.

These sensitivities are also registered in a juxtaposition of the different reception histories of Yiddish film and Yiddish theatre in South Africa. Yiddish theatre, with its origins in Europe, received negative criticism in these newspapers, in part due to its subject matter, but also for its racial significations in gesture and performance. In contrast, American representations of Yiddish culture on film seem to have been favourably received in South Africa, with some indications that the Jewish community felt comfortable sharing these experiences with fellow South African citizens. Yiddish films can be seen as part of a history of an American commodification of culture, which implies a refashioning of cultural expression to meet the imperatives of popular consumption. Hollywood's refashioning of culture would also imply an Americanisation – a whitewashing, if you will – of ethnic cultural expression. Despite these modifications, Gainer (2000:116) nevertheless suggests in his thesis on bioscope culture in Cape Town that the consumption of American films allowed South Africans to imagine themselves part of a larger world, which refers to the modern West (Gainer 2000:116). Jews in

South Africa too might have felt themselves part of this larger world when watching Yiddish films. In contrast, perhaps they felt exposed and Other when witnessing racially suggestive representations of Jews on stage. Victor Chenkin's impersonation of the Hasid could be an exception here. Grotesque though it may have been, the Hasid was one item among several impersonations of other national stereotypes. A Jew was included among other ethnicities, which rendered Jewish difference and other differences the same, thereby mitigating racial sensibilities. Josephus' interpretation of Chenkin's performance nevertheless also points to the possibilities of an alternative Jewish mode of being that embraces Hasidism and pushes against Western modes of being.

Against this backdrop, it is possible to venture some hypotheses about other Jewish stage-dwellers: concertizing cantors and Jewish virtuosi performers. Both these exponents had better success on stage than Yiddish theatre productions. This thesis shows that the concertizing cantor was as popular in South Africa as in other places of the world. These cantors include both Eastern and Western European Jews. Two cantors mentioned here have ties to the United States. Cantor Israel Alter had given recitals of religious and Hebrew folk music 'in various countries of the world' before coming to serve in 1935 at the Wolmarans Street Synagogue in Johannesburg. By then, he was already known as 'one of the foremost chazonim' of the day (224:12). His status as world cantor suggests that he probably performed in America too, before coming to South Africa. He was to immigrate to the United States in 1960.[59] According to a secondary source, Cantor Berele Chagy studied music and hazanut in the United States where he was an active cantor for several years before coming to South Africa in 1932. He returned to America in 1941, where he took up a post at 'one of the largest Orthodox congregations in Brooklyn' (Shisler [O]). It is not insignificant that Cantor Chagy is the only one among other concertizing Eastern European cantors whose name is associated with a traditional Eastern European synagogue, the Beth Hamedrash Hagodol. The congregation was known for its refusal to conform to so-called Anglo-Jewish norms in South Africa, which could mean that Cantor Chagy too would have been exceptionally loyal to his Eastern European roots. Perhaps his connection with America prior to, and after his time in South Africa could suggest a personal preference for the United States. While there was probably a myriad of reasons for Chagy's multiple relocations, perhaps one reason can be deduced from his association with the non-Anglo Jewish Beth Hamedrash: the United States may have had a greater tolerance for (white) ethnic difference than South Africa. These two cantors, Chagy and Alter, connect the religious Jewish communities of South Africa and the United States on stage. In Chapter 5, it was argued that the stage could refer to the bimah in the synagogue where these cantors officiated as well as the secular concert stage where they performed. The concertizing cantor hybridizes the religious and the secular on stage. Chapter 5 also argues that the stage signifies Palestine. The stage thus becomes a space for developing a performative Jewish identity that is simultaneously religious and secular, as well as European. Performances in South Africa and the United States suggest that the stage accommodates an international, diasporic identity, while the geographical significations of the stage also imbues this identity with Zionist sensibilities.

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[59] For biographical information, see: Levin [O].

With the exception of Pnina Saltzman, the most notable Jewish virtuosi who appear in the primary material are violinists Jascha Heifetz and Mischa Elman. Both individuals are of Eastern European extraction, with particular links to the United States. Analyses of their representations in Chapter 6 reveal that they have similar biographies. In South Africa, their biographies could have been representational interventions aimed at altering the image of Peruvians: Heifetz and Elman were not confined to the Russian Ghetto; both their fathers were actively involved in directing their musical careers, which contradicts the experience of many Eastern European Jewish immigrant families in South Africa where fathers were either distant or absent; their musical education and careers were linked to Imperial Russian institutions, which held Occidental cultures in esteem; and both musicians were lauded as sophisticated musical geniuses, whereas Peruvians were generally cast as backward and unrefined. The sophisticated appearance of the Eastern European Jewish violinist on the concert stage for Western art music could have set an example of a performance of Jewish identity that is more acceptable, perhaps even ideal.

References to Jascha Heifetz uniquely interlaces the pages of this thesis. He is the only figure whose visit to South Africa is covered by substantial articles in both the *Chronicle* and *Zionist Record*. In this research, his name appears in references to Hebrew culture in Palestine, with reference to Occidentalism, as well in the context of American representations of Russia. Many of the issues that concern this project seem to come together in these representations of Heifetz. It is therefore worth pausing to let the force-field of Americanism reorient these references. These quotations are documented in 1932, a historical moment when concern about the situation in Europe was on the rise, but had not yet reached the intensity of 1933, nor the crisis of 1939.

An internationalist dimension of Heifetz's views on Jewish identity is noted in the *Zionist Record* article. These ideas, it is argued earlier in this thesis, resonate with a musical universalism that also appears in other American musical representations of Russia. Chapter 6 nevertheless uncovers the Occidentalism of this musical universalism, despite its association with Russia in the East. Heifetz's musical universalism, which operates in the West, also accommodates socialist proclivities: The envisioned Conservatoire in Palestine introduced in the *Chronicle* article was not meant to serve Zionism, but was to 'be the most valuable element in a movement for the brotherhood of the peoples' (19:3). The *Record* article elaborates on Heifetz's ideas about Jewish musical genius, which he formulates in terms of nationality (191:8). However, in Heifetz's formulation, the Jewish diasporic condition – of being a people without a land – explains ‘the basic genius for interpretation in music’, since ‘the musical executant needs less of a foundation than is necessary in the expression of other forms of art.’ The report emphasizes the unrooted quality of individual Jewish musical genius. At the same time, it was growing increasingly likely that Jews would be accepted into an ethnically plural white society in America, which could mean that the idea of Jewish musical genius might have resonated with widespread notions of American exceptionalism. If this is the case, Heifetz’s musical universalism, which accommodates both an Occidentalism and a Jewish socialism of Eastern European inflection, could have found an enabler in American exceptionalism. A sense of Jewish ethnic identification for Heifetz nevertheless occurs when the Jewish genius performs for Jewish audiences in Palestine and in the diaspora. Heifetz reportedly said that ‘it is pleasant for me to observe that [in South Africa], too, Jews represent a considerable portion of my audiences’ (191:19).

While Heifetz may have disavowed Zionism, an obituary of the American concertizing cantor from Russia, Mottel Herschman, suggests that musical universalism in America had the capacity to accommodate a Zionist socialism too:

> When in America his fame reached its highest point, he continued to be a man of the people and found pleasure in contact with the masses. His work for the Zionist cause […] and for Jewish charitable institutions added to the esteem in which he was held by the masses of Jewry all over the world. (87:18)

American representations of a musical universalism that emanates from Eastern Europe bristles with contradictory articulations. The ideology of Zionism is sometimes endorsed, other times denied, but almost always kept in view; even while Palestine operates in almost all these instances as an ideal Jewish centre. Musically, universalism is expressed through Western art music performances by the likes of Heifetz and Elman. Jewish genius and American exceptionalism seem to align in a project that would establish international networks between Jewish Palestine and other Jewish centres in the diaspora.

# Chapter 10:

# Whiteness: Pouring Litvak spirit into Anglo-Jewish bottles

As the first large-scale study of Jewish musical life in South Africa, this study draws attention anew to the names of several Jewish artists and impresarios who have contributed to a wider South African musical culture. They include pianists like Isador Epstein and Lionel Bowman, cellist Betty Pack as well as conductors Jeremy Schulman and Joseph Trauneck. Impresarios include Alex Cherniavsky, Solly Aronowsky and Hans Kramer. Apart from these individuals, there seems also to be a rich, as yet unexplored, history of Jewish liturgical music-making in South Africa in the activities of cantors like Albert Lubliner, Berele Chagy, Solomon Mandel and Israel Alter.

A strategy for Jewish survival was to secure citizenship in South Africa, which is why the analysis steers toward whiteness in this thesis. Music reportage in South African Jewish newspapers offer new perspectives on the qualities that whiteness may have had at the Southern tip of the African continent during the early twentieth century. It suggests, in the first place, that Jews did not speak out against black-white racism, because of the sympathy they received from white South Africans due to perceived similarities of Arab-Jewish tensions in the Middle East (see the argument on page 68). It is possible that such racial prejudices could have informed Jewish-Palestinian culture through the South African Friends of the Palestine Symphony Orchestra Society and their executive committee. The study thus shows that an aspiration to whiteness goes beyond a concern for local Jewish survival and informs ideas about Zionism as well as various forms of Jewish internationalisms. Yet South African Jewish attitudes to Peruvians and Yekkes reveal a discomfort that underlies Jews' identification with whiteness. Labelling Peruvians as 'vayse kaffirs'[60] could have indicated a racial anxiety that Jews would be seen as black in South Africa. At the same time, the whiteness that emerged from Yekkes' assimilation into German society was condemned as a betrayal of Jewish roots, a rejection of an authentic self. An unexpected find in the primary source material of this study is the extent to which the tension between Eastern and Western European Jews is mediated by musical representations emanating from the United States, and the way in which one of these representations, 'Jews and Jazz', addresses matters of race with a directness one does not find in the rest of the material. The conspicuousness of these articles, differentiated from local reportage both in terms of scope and style, points to the cultural importance of American Jewry in local Jewish affairs that has not heretofore been unacknowledged. It is equally significant that these representations address matters of race. This is not to argue, however, that Jewish musical life in South Africa was modelled on American examples. There appears to be distinct differences in the respective ideals of South African and American musical discourses in the two newspapers of this study.

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[60] white negroes.

The remainder of this chapter returns to the Anglo-Jewish/Litvak metaphor, considering the ways in which the making of a South African Jewish identity as expressed in music reportage speaks to notions of whiteness. The ideas in the first two sections draw from Parts I and II of the thesis. First, when considering the organizational structures of Anglo-Jewish bottles, notions of anglicism and Zionism are introduced, since these were the most publicly visible aspects that Jews presented to civil society both locally and internationally. After that, the community's professed Litvak character is evaluated through the musical representations of Eastern and Western European Jews, introduced in this study according to their South African stereotypes, Peruvians and Yekkes. The final section on whiteness takes a step back to consider the evidence holistically, highlighting aspects of Jewish musical life in South Africa as presented in all three parts of the thesis. It draws attention to the influence that American musical representations may have had on the shaping of a South African Jewish identity, while also highlighting the independence of these identities in relation to each other.

### Anglo-Jewish bottles

Securing South African citizenship and safeguarding the Jewish position locally were the institutional objectives for anglicizing the Jewish community, as the analytical construct suggests. Music reportage demonstrates that Jews also exercised musical citizenship by contributing to debates about organizing the arts on a national level, by being actively involved in musical pedagogy and the performing arts, by supporting and contributing to the field of composition; and by supporting music events in concert halls, theatres and cinemas.

Chapter 4 suggests that Jewish progressive political values might have been shaped along the lines of a white, British liberalism that was preoccupied with white racial antagonisms of the time, and paid no attention to the plight of the black population. The primary source material furthermore suggests that a shared racial prejudice between Afrikaners and Jews may have been informed by the similarities of social enmities in South Africa and Palestine: between white and black people and between Jews and Arabs. Music reportage finally suggests that a musical institution like the Palestine Symphony Orchestra might not have been exempt from being infiltrated with similar racist attitudes. Racial biases might have been informed by English prejudices of Jewish members of the South African Friends of the Palestine Symphony Orchestra. Thus, when music reportage evokes the human and the universal in these contexts, it calls on a notion of whiteness in the image of the English gentleman.

In Chapter 5, a Romantic narrative of music nationalism construes a connection between an authentic folk song and land or soil. The narrative goes something like this: While in exile, Jews had no land and therefore no music. This idea mirrors a Jewish religious narrative in which musical instruments were banned from synagogue worship after the destruction of the second temple. However, the symbolic act of making aliyah in the synagogue becomes a real practice when Jews started returning to Palestine during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Making aliyah made Jewish music-making possible again. These representations suggest that an authentic Jewish musical culture had to be cultivated in Palestine. For that reason, one finds that culture facilitated a relationship from Palestine to the diaspora, rather than the other way around. When Palestinian folksongs reached South Africa in the form of songbooks where Jews started singing them, South African Jews became connected to the land of Palestine through music. It is in this sense that making aliyah in South Africa first became a musical practice. According to a European model of musical nationalism, folk music should inform the development of a national art music. South African music reportage suggests that an authentically Jewish folk music could be rooted only in Palestinian soil, but that a Hebrew art music could be created in Palestine as well as in diaspora. In such a developmental trajectory, modern Jewish music thus had its folk roots in Palestine from where it was disseminated to diaspora where Jews sang the songs and contributed to a Hebrew culture by also composing Hebrew art music. As far as genre classification goes, it would be irresponsible to regard works with ‘Hebrew’ in its title, or seemingly Jewish works by composers like Bloch or Achron, neatly to fall within the ambit of a Hebrew or Jewish art music, especially one with nationalist connotations. These composers were producing their work within a framework of Western art music, where it was also received and treated as such. However, when introduced into South African music reportage of the 1930s and forties, the Jewish associations implicit in these works shimmer on the surface of the text – not because of the music itself, but because of the context of its representation. To treat such compositions as examples of lectures on ‘Jewish music’, followed by a prompt that composers in South Africa produce similar Hebrew works (219:13) was to imbue the music with a musical nationalism. However, the idea that Hebrew art music could be produced anywhere in the diaspora also supports the vision of a Jewish nationalism that finds its legitimacy in the soil of Palestine, yet transcends geographical boundaries to contribute to ‘universal’ (read Western) cultural discourses. In a South African public sphere, musical exchanges between Palestine and South Africa consolidated the relationship between the South African Jewish community and the emerging Jewish national centre: Pnina Saltzman came from Palestine to perform with the Cape Town Municipal Orchestra and the Johannesburg Symphony Orchestra; the South African Friends of the Palestine Symphony Orchestra was formed; and in South Africa, composers like Idelsohn followed in the footsteps of composers like Bloch and Achron by composing art music that was performed by the Cape Town Orchestra. Hebrew music thus arrived on the stage of the Western concert hall in South Africa, a space that was not exclusively Jewish, but was shared with other white South African citizens. The stage in a Jewish musical imaginary, as we have seen, transformed into a simulacrum for Palestine. I would argue then that a Hebrew art music on a Western concert stage, where music is shared with fellow South

Africans, locks Palestine in this simulacrum, a space suspended between the real and the ideal. In this space, music marks modernity and functions as a signifier of national belonging. Making musical aliyah connects Jews to Palestine, but also facilitates Jewish access to a modern, Western world.

In Chapter 2, I suggest that Saron's metaphor of the Anglo-Jewish structure of Jewish society could be blind to the reach and importance of Zionism in the public persona of the Jewish community in South Africa. The sheer volume of quotations from the primary newspaper sources that address themes related to Zionism, which informs chapter 5 of this thesis, already suggests that 'Anglo-Zionist' could be a more accurate description of the structural frame of a communal Jewish identity in South Africa. However, Jascha Heifetz's interest in Palestine that accompanies a frank distancing from Zionism serves as an important reminder that Jewish nationalist sympathies were not always Zionist. Therefore, even if an analytical field of gravity with Zionism at its centre attracts content that speaks of a musical nationalism operating in local and global public spaces, it would be a mistake to equate all Palestinian or Hebrew music entities (genres, performers, institutions) with Zionism. One should therefore be careful when making conclusions based on a quantitative reading of qualitative material. It is nevertheless important to acknowledge that in South Africa, a programme of anglicisation did not foreclose an Anglo-Jewish structure with respect to Jewish nationalisms, nor did it isolate itself from other Jewish cultural expressions. This is evident in the coverage of Zionist matters in the pages of the *Chronicle* as well as in the alliance between English and Yiddish culture.

Although the Cape Jewish Board of Deputies came into being as advocates for the Yiddish language, secondary literature that informs the analytical construct of this study suggests that the Board's programme of anglicization resulted in a neglect of Yiddish. Drawing on her history of Yiddish theatre in South Africa, Belling (2008:18) contends that Johannesburg was more open to Yiddish culture than the Cape. A close reading of music reportage in the two newspapers of this study suggests that the institutional attitudes to Yiddish was more complex. More specifically, an analysis of anglicism in the content of the primary source material suggests that an English-minded Jewish community might have been more sympathetic to Yiddish than previously believed. This can be seen in the Yiddish advertisements for Cape Town Orchestra performances; it is evident in the Yiddish presence in British stage comedies and in the success of Yiddish performance companies from Britain, and the popularity of performers like Breitman and Kanevska from London; and it is suggested by the English company Darters' patronage of Yiddish film and theatre in Cape Town. Perhaps the two articles on Hasidim and Mitnagdim discussed in Chapter 6, both of which appear in the *Chronicle*, are the strongest markers of a liberal English willingness to engage with Eastern European Jewish culture. Even though the reports on Yiddish culture in the *Zionist Record* are similar to those in the *Chronicle*, the sample of items from the

*Record* does not contain the same large-scale engagements with Eastern European culture. In fact, it is mostly in the *Record* that a virulent criticism of Yiddish theatre appears. Johannesburg might have been more open to Yiddish culture if one considers the social realities beyond what is captured in the reportage discussed in this thesis. It nevertheless appears that critical attitudes toward Yiddish might have been more charged in the Zionist contexts of Johannesburg than in the more English-oriented Cape Town.

These pieces of evidence contradict a suggestion made in Chapter 2, which states that an Anglo-Jewish establishment was embarrassed *by* Peruvians and therefore rejected them; while a Zionist embarrassment on Peruvians' behalf was accepting Peruvian difference, provided the difference be subjected to self-adjustment. In contrast to this argument, music reportage suggests that the positions are switched: Zionists might have been embarrassed *by* Peruvian-difference, while English Jews might have been embarrassed *for* Peruvian-difference. However, neither of these positions expresses an unambiguous posture of social rejection. Instead, both appear to embrace difference, even if only tentatively. The English embrace appears sympathetic as it sensitively attempts to draw Yiddish into the modernity of Cape Town City Hall and the language worlds of nationalisms. A Zionist embrace is stern and critical, preferring a glossed difference as projected onto the film screen of American modernity. The site for the divergence of embrace is the body. An English endorsement of Chenkin's gestural rendition of Hasidic folksong appears to be a Jewish resistance to an Anglo-Jewish structure in South Africa, which is also a critique of Western humanism. Paradoxically, a particular instance of an Anglo-Jewish relationship to the Jewish body infuses Zionist dance with Hasidic meaning. A Zionist critique of gesture on the Yiddish stage, in contrast, attempts to discipline Jewish bodies to conform to seeming global norms, thereby proscribing an instance of Jewish difference exclusively to the domain of the Yiddish language.

### Litvak spirit

The intention behind choosing only certain codes in the analytical construct to guide a reading of the primary source material was to uncover the structural elements of a communal identity that concerns ideology and social objectives. However, the hermeneutic fields constituted around Peruvians attracted content on religion and domesticity instead. This supports the principle underlying Saron's Anglo-Jewish/Litvak metaphor which points to the religious and traditional values from Eastern Europe that shaped a private Jewish communal life in South Africa. Although there was no conscious search for mentions of Hasidism or a Mitnagdic value system, nor for the position of fathers in Jewish society, these were some of the themes that emerged from a search for Yiddish and Eastern European content.

Representations of Eastern European virtuosi of Western art music present images of fathers who were present and actively involved in their children's careers, which contradict – and perhaps pose as a corrective to – the trope of absent fathers that the analytical construct construed in relation to Peruvians.

A positive evaluation of Hasidism is registered in the primary source material with references to an epistemological resistance to Western humanism and a feminine resistance to dominant, patriarchal modes of worship. In contrast, A Mitnagdic value system is delineated with references to Yiddish folksongs. One also gets a sense of the domesticity of Zionism, in which the women's section of the Mizrachi organisation draws religion and Yiddish cultural traditions together, which establishes an intimacy between religious rituals and Yiddish cultural traditions. Intergenerational differences are noted in references to Yiddish film, but also in representations of the Jewish Youth Orchestra. The Litvak character of the South African Jewish community seems to have been shaped by elements of Zionism as well as other Eastern European religious and traditional rituals and values. This character developed in domestic spaces of communal halls, hotels and private residences.

The social objective to nurture a Jewish consciousness moved beyond the intimate spheres of Zionism, religion and domesticity and moved into the domains of South African citizenship and internationalism. David Fram's Yiddish poetry and active participation in Jewish communal life directed Yiddish creativity as contributing to a larger South African culture, while also bolstering the legitimacy of Yiddish in international contexts. In the context of Fram's private farewell function, Yiddish song was associated with notions of human warmth and appreciation, which served to confirm the humanity of Jews. Yiddish film and theatre drew patrons, Jews and non-Jews, to civic spaces of theatres and bioscopes. Here, both Yiddish culture and Jews found access to South African society. It is also here that the vulnerabilities of a racial self-consciousness emerge. The stage, which in the context of Chapter 4 is associated with the past and with Europe, became a platform for a Jewishness that evoked defensive attitudes in Jewish critics. In most cases, these productions were rejected for their inappropriate repertoire and grotesque treatment of gestural habits. Screen representations of Yiddish were generally more positively received. Film was of course a modern medium. Yiddish talkies could therefore have propelled Jewish entry into an international modernity's commercial, cultural and social structures, while Yiddish theatre chained Jews to their complicated pasts in Europe, the psychological effects of which were exacerbated by contemporary Nazism.

Chapter 6 also demonstrates that a Jewish musical modernism had particular Russian origins and qualities or resonances. The readings of visiting performers like Heifetz, Elman, the Russian Ballet Company and Don Cossack choir suggest that before World War II, musical universalism marked nostalgia for both the Russian Ghetto and Imperial Russia with its reverence for Western culture. Music reportage in these newspapers also confirms that Jewish socialism had only a small impact on the shaping of a communal identity. However, it nevertheless notes that after the War, Jewish identification with Russia became more open to the Soviet Union in its capacity as Western ally against Nazi fascism. In a broader historical context, the way in which music reminds us in this reportage of sympathy among Jews towards the Soviet Union in the aftermath of the Second World War helps to explain another phenomenon in South African Jewish history. This is the gradual development of a relationship with Russia as a country of origin, which changed from a nostalgia for the Tsarist regime to an anti-German support for the Soviet Union. In a final stage of transformation during the years of Apartheid, the Jewish support for the Soviet Union could have informed a conspicuously Jewish declaration of solidarity with the repressed black majority population who had become victims of racial discrimination. Their solidarity may therefore have had less to do with socialist ideology, and more with Russia's role in ending the Holocaust.

A notion of internationalism appears in Josephus's critique of Victor Chenkin's folksong performance. Josephus's take on internationalism is unique. Other representations seek to legitimate a Jewish presence internationally with arguments of belonging and contributing to distinct national units – for example as South African citizens or as Zionists. However, Josephus resists both South African Englishness and Western humanism in favour of an Eastern European Jewish restlessness as embodied by Hasidim. Here is one instance in which a stage representation of a potentially racialized Jewishness among other white ethnicities is endorsed and not rejected.

The activities of Eastern European cantors are also directed at the two public spheres of local and international citizenship. Cantor Berele Chagy's case for composing Hebrew music aims to communicate with a wider South African public, instead of composing merely for exclusively Jewish audiences. Similarly, the frequent emphases of Eastern European cantors' fame and successes in the world signifies a Jewish ambition to be recognized in international contexts and to achieve success in the Western World. Cantors' visible loyalty to Judaism stands in contrast to the dangers of assimilation often associated with virtuoso performers of Western art music. Cantors on secular stages could therefore signify an ambition to enter Western civilization *as Jews*.

Three distinct geographies are associated with German Jews in the primary source material: Europe, South Africa and America. A South African concern for fellow Jews in Europe is evident in reports about events affecting European Jewry, and in reviews of lectures and discussions about the European situation that took place in communal spaces of Jewish society. These instances also register critical attitudes about European tendencies to assimilate, which were widely believed to have been the cause for antisemitism on the Continent. In these representations, Palestine as the potential new Jewish national centre was always kept in view. Nationalism was posited as the antidote to assimilation.

German Jews appear in the second instance as active participants in South Africa's musical life. A German Jewish presence in Western art music sheds more light on the place of Yekkes in South African society. Apart from a few soloists who performed with the Cape Town Orchestra, two individuals are identified: music patron Hans Kramer and conductor Joseph Trauneck. Neither of them are acknowledged as German Jews in the primary source material. Kramer presented a lecture on a Jewish contribution to Western civilization at a Zionist meeting, where he also expressed a hope that Jewish music would be revived in Palestine. Again nationalist rhetoric is directed not at nationhood per se, but at securing a place for Jews in Western civilization. Representations of Trauneck cast him on the surface as an ordinary South African citizen conducting the Johannesburg Symphony Orchestra, rendering his Jewishness ostensibly non-significant. Reports on the musical activities of German cantors like Cantor Zwick suggest that a distinct German contribution to Jewish communal identity, hitherto believed to have been almost non-existent, could be located in the domains of liturgical music. This hypothesis would require further research.

American representations of Yekkes centre on two spaces: the hybridized private/public space of Einstein's chamber concert at Lewisohn's home, and the civic space of the Metropolitan Opera House. Einstein, a German intellectual and amateur Yekke musician, embodies Jewish genius and human fallibility at once. In performance, Einstein established human solidarity with fellow musicians (who were professionals), his audience and his friends in Germany. Human solidarity took the form of friendship that made no distinction between Jews and non-Jews. In this case, drawing on a German repertoire was not a claim on Germanness. It was rather, as Bohlman argues, a dissociation from nationalism, which in this instance drew different people into a shared universal space, transforming them into citizens of the world.

With reference to the Metropolitan Opera House, a language of aspirationalism (that does not reference human fallibility) dominates the discourse. The subtitle of the article, 'A Series of Great Achievements in America', clearly indicates that the site for aspiration is the United States. It would have been in the interest of global Jewish survival to gain favour in America, since the United States was the new world power. By describing the Metropolitan Opera House as 'the foremost operatic institution in the world', the author widens the arena of Jewish competition from America to the globe. American cultural standards nevertheless continued to draw on those of Europe. An American idea that emerges in this article is that different nationalities could contribute to a World culture. It is within this framework of American imperialism that a Jewish presence on the world's Western concert stage was secured by their exceptional performances of Wagner's operas at New York's Metropolitan Opera House.

## Whiteness

This study shows that the following geographies informed a Jewish musical imaginary in early twentieth century South Africa: England, South Africa, Russia, Palestine, Europe, and America. Each geography signified complex ideological structures, which included anglicism, Zionism, assimilation, universalism and a Jewish consciousness that comprises a contradictory range of Jewish nationalisms, Jewish socialisms and religious configurations. Significations of these geographies and ideologies found musical articulation in different spaces in South Africa: civic spaces like theatres, bioscopes and city halls; domestic spaces like synagogues, communal halls, hotels and private residences; and the Western concert hall in a category of its own, for reasons clarified below.

The transition from a retreating British Imperialism and the rise of America as a Western superpower played out in the arenas of theatres and bioscopes. Within an English context, one instance in the primary source material registers a nostalgia for the 'living culture' of theatre over what one could assume to be an artificial culture of film. Other instances mark a civic pride in both English theatrical and cinematographic products. A nostalgia for theatres thus emerged within the Anglo-German context of an established South African Jewish community, while a rejection of theatre was associated with Europe and the raciality of Peruvians. The respective reception histories of Yiddish theatre and film indicate that the tension between geographical significations map differently onto South African theatres and bioscopes from a European perspective beyond the United Kingdom. Musical representations of Yiddish culture in theatres would have evoked sensitive collective memories of life in Europe, eliciting old sensitivities around a racial self-awareness and a prohibition on Jewish access to Western modernity. American Yiddish film, in contrast, offered a modern representation of Jewish life that made possible a vision for Jews to boldly enter the public spheres of Western civilization.

Tensions of Eastern and Western European Jews in South Africa were addressed in domestic spaces where lectures and debates about a variety of related subject matters were discussed at a variety of Zionist and Jewish gatherings. Musical articulations in these settings included Yiddish, Hebrew and traditional folk and liturgical idioms, as well as Western art music at more serious meetings, and popular music at dances or balls. On the one hand, representational rhetoric on Eastern European Jews evoked a private realm of domesticity, referencing different aspects of family life such as father-figures, femininity and inter-generational concerns. Yiddish song was imbued with values of universality associated with notions of the human. In contrast, representational rhetoric situated German Jews in a hybridized private/public musical space that gave precedence to friendship, rather than family. In this context, a connection was made between German Jewish genius and human vulnerability. However, the potential for human fallibility was countered with depictions of Einstein's meticulous precision and musical cooperation. While a Jewish vulnerability could have been acknowledged in theory, actual failings might not have been tolerated. The notions of the human and universalism were connected. However, where an Eastern European universalism was rooted in a Jewishness associated with family life, a German universalism required a degree of distance from Jewish life. Peruvians wanted to enter the universal first and foremost as Jews. Yekkes endeavoured to enter as humans in a configuration that fit a Western frame of humanism.

Up to this point, the argument in this section followed the model of the Anglo-Jewish/Litvak metaphor, focussing first on a structural frame of Jewish identity as presented to the outside world, and second on a community's inner Jewish life. It touched on anglicism and Americanism in civic spaces that lie at the borders of Jewish life, and a bifurcated European Jewishness in domestic spaces, which denotes a complex essence of Jewish communal life. At this point, significations of Zionism and Palestine operate in both the outer and inner realms of South African Jewish musical life. Representational rhetoric of public Jewish musical life in Palestine is institutional, referencing facilities for music education, research and performance. In South Africa, music associated with these institutions finds articulation in both city and communal halls. Similarly, representational rhetoric focusing on a musical expression of an inner Jewish life in Palestine are agricultural, referring to kibbutzim and rural dance festivals. In South Africa, the associated music practices of folk singing and dancing belonged to domestic spaces. Public and private Jewish identification with nationalism and Palestine were drawn closer together on the symbolic stage, which encompasses both the bimah in the synagogue and the secular stage of theatres and concert halls, sites in South Africa where the Jewish community participated in rituals of making musical aliyah.

Musical universalism is a category that appears often in this thesis and gradually emerges as a central theme. The difference between the musical universalisms of Eastern and Western European Jews pivot on the sensitivities of their racial and ethnic significations, which were addressed from American perspectives in South African musical representations. Jacobsen's (1998) hypothesis on the alchemy of race suggests that whiteness in America during the early twentieth century was fluid and growing tolerant of ethnic difference. However, it would seem that American tolerance was shallow and superficial, limited to a diluted difference covered in commercial gloss. This thesis suggests that musically, some sonic differences were tolerated only when speaking through Western art music. An Eastern European understanding of musical universalism in the primary source material had its origins in Imperial Russia and drew on a vocabulary that at times referenced a subtle socialism. Eastern European Jewish virtuosi performing a Western canonic repertoire nevertheless allowed discursively racialized Jews to embody (metaphorically and literally) whiteness on the Western concert stage. But perhaps the connection between Eastern European musicians and the Western European canon did not go far enough on a journey toward whiteness. It was rather the racial and ethnic hybridisations of Jews and jazz that paradoxically allowed Jews to become white in America. For it was as second-generation Eastern European Americans that Gershwin and Berlin had set jazz on its path to whiteness. A reading of Brauer's representation suggests that for him, whiteness was finally achieved in the symphonic works of Copland. American musical representations posed a hybridized whiteness as an ideal to the Jewish community in South Africa.

Among the musical spaces in South Africa, the Western concert hall is listed in its own category. It is the only space that accommodates musical articulations of all the different geographical and ideological varieties and it is closely associated with musical universalism discussed above. In the primary source material, each prototype of the analytical construct also finds a musical representative in the form of an orchestra on the Western concert stage. Anglicism is connected to the Cape Town Municipal Orchestra in Cape Town City Hall where whiteness was inhabited as English citizens of South Africa. Zionism and other forms of Jewish nationalisms were associated with the Palestine Symphony Orchestra, a musical body that inhabited both external and internal Jewish worlds, in line with the earlier argument about Zionism. Active at a geographical remove, the Palestine Symphony Orchestra's public performances could not be witnessed by Jews on a South African concert stage. However, the founding meeting of the orchestra's representative body in South Africa took place at a private meeting in a domestic space. Proceedings were overseen by a British official whose descriptions of the Palestine Symphony Orchestra's history allowed the community another musical opportunity to make symbolic aliyah to a Palestine of the West.

Peruvians find a representative orchestra in the Youth Orchestra of the Jewish Musical Institute. Comprised as it was by members of a younger generation, this orchestra marked the westernisation that separated children from the Yiddish culture of their parents. The orchestra paraded in the first instance as a civic entity, modelling Jewish citizenship in South Africa. While the orchestra was not associated with Yiddish culture, it did not turn its back entirely on Eastern Europeanness or Yiddish either, as is evident in the fact that their operational centre was located in Doornfontein (a slice of Eastern Europe in Johannesburg) and that the orchestra occasionally collaborated with Eastern European musical entities like Hirsch Ichilchick's Balalaika Orchestra. The case of the Youth Orchestra suggests that while the Yiddish language may have decayed in South Africa, residues of its associated cultural practices could still be detectable in a Jewish cultural landscape. Finally, the orchestra's choice of repertoire, which included Western art music, operatic excerpts as well as Yiddish and Hebrew melodies support the notion of a Jewish aspiration toward cultural standards associated with Western civilization.

A tenuous link is made between Yekkes and the Johannesburg Symphony Orchestra's which could perhaps still be investigated by further research into the orchestra's archives. Trauneck never features in these pages as an individual, but appears only as the conductor of the Johannesburg Symphony Orchestra. It is nevertheless based on his German Jewish identity that I propose we consider the activities of the Johannesburg Symphony Orchestra as representing Yekkes. Early reviews of Johannesburg Symphony Orchestra performances show a preference for a German repertoire, while items of the late 1940s report collaborations with Jewish performers and an interest in repertoire by Jewish composers.

The hypothesis is that the Johannesburg Symphony Orchestra's activities were influenced by an individual's gradual turn from a German identity to a Jewish one.

The Western concert stage with reference to America in these representations did not have a representative orchestra. However, it did have a representative institutional structure: the Metropolitan Opera House where Jews from a variety of backgrounds performed German opera and other works from the Western canonic repertoire. One could conclude that American Jews had found a collective musical voice on the operatic stage. However, the Jewish voice blended with other ethnicities into a unified and uniform Western assertion of musical universalism. If the analysis stops here, it might argue that the orchestras representing the different parts of South African Jewry might have given Jews in South Africa a musical voice, but that the community had yet to learn to sing like their American counterparts. However, such a conclusion is premature. There is one musical figure that uniquely traverses the pages of this thesis: the concertizing cantor. He is the only musical entity to appear in civic spaces, domestic spaces as well as the Western concert stage; and he is the only figure to represent anglicism, Peruvians, Yekkes and America, while also mediating a unique musical relationship with Zionism and Palestine. Juxtaposing a Jewish operatic voice in America with the cantorial voice in South Africa could therefore highlight some of the differences between Jewish musical expression in these geographical situations, at least as they appear in the musical representations of these newspapers. Blending a Jewish voice with other ethnicities in operatic performance could have sanctioned an American agenda to expand a certain version of Western civilization. For Jews, this required a degree of distancing from Jewish identity in public and it could have linked a notion of Jewish musical genius with American exceptionalism. In this way, a Jewish musical imaginary in America signified an imperialism of whiteness. In contrast, South African Jewry opposed the idea of distance from Judaism and condemned any move toward assimilation. The religious cantor might therefore have been held in high esteem in a South African musical imaginary, since his religious commitment kept him rooted in a religious Jewish identity. Furthermore, the concertizing cantor had a unique ability to move between all the different musical spaces and to express himself musically in a variety of folk and liturgical idioms as well as Western art music. This showed an ideal Litvak capacity to carry a Jewishness cultivated in the domesticity of family and communal life into the civic spaces of South Africa and the international arena of the Western concert stage. On the South African stage, a variety of musical universalisms thus blended into a South African Jewish musical imaginary of a unique white shade. It was a whiteness born in Russia and Europe, rooted in a South African Jewish identity, influenced by America and projected onto Jewish Palestine. In South Africa of the 1930s and 40s, making musical aliyah denoted a cosmopolitanism of whiteness.

## Appendix A: List of index codes

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **$GROUP** | $individual_herrick, dean | $institution_JEWISH BOARD OF DEPUTIES |
| $group::band/dance orchestra | $individual_hirschmann, gertie mrs | $institution_jewish clubs/associations |
| $group::chorus, choir | $individual_huberman, bronislaw | $institution_jewish guild |
| $group::chorus, choir general | $individual_ichilchick, H | $institution_jewish ladies (benevolent) society |
| $group::chorus, choir_cape town municipal choir | $individual_Idelsohn, a. z. | $institution_jewish musical institute |
| $group::chorus, choir_synagogue choirs | $individual_Idelsohn, jerry | $institution_jewish national fund |
| $group::ensemble | $individual_inspektor s chief cantor | $institution_jewish orphanage |
| $group::orchestra | $individual_jorda, enrique | $institution_jewish war appeal |
| $group::orchestra general | $individual_kadish, joyce miss | $institution_jhb musical society |
| $group::orchestra_broadcast symphony orchestra | $individual_kantor, ray miss | $institution_jhb symphony society |
| $group::orchestra_cape town municipal orchestra | $individual_katzin, cantor | $institution_keren hayesod/I.U.A. |
| $group::orchestra_jewish youth orchestra | $individual_kirby, p.r. prof | $institution_magen david adom/palestinian soldiers' comforts |
| $group::orchestra_jhb symphony orchestra | $individual_konwisser, b cantor | $institution_mizrachi |
| $group::orchestra_palestine orchestra | $individual_konwisser, herzl mr | $institution_poale zion/zeire zion |
| **$IDENTIFIER** | $individual_koorland, ralph | $institution_polliack/mackay |
| $IDgroup::american | $individual_kramer, hans | $institution_solly aronowsky |
| $IDgroup::anglicised/english | $individual_krause, lilli | $institution_union of jewish women |
| $IDgroup::east european | $individual_kreitzer, charles | $institution_union theatres |
| $IDgroup::european | $individual_kusevitsky, simcha cantor | $institution_young israel society |
| $IDgroup::german | $individual_levitoff, alexandre | $institution_ZIONIST FEDERATION |
| $IDgroup::international | $individual_lubliner, albert cantor | $institution_zionist socialist party |
| $IDgroup::jewish | $individual_mandel, solomon cantor | $institution_zionist society |
| $IDgroup::palestinian | $individual_miller, geoffrey | $institution_zionist women's league |
| $IDgroup_ballet/dance | $individual_morris, samuel | $institution_zionist youth (council) |
| $IDgroup_religious | $individual_muller, cecilia miss | **$LOCATION** |
| $IDindividual::american | $individual_ochberg, isaac | $location::city |
| $IDindividual::anglicised/english | $individual_oysher, moishe | $location::city_cape town |
| $IDindividual::east european | $individual_pack, betty | $location::city_durban |
| $IDindividual::european | $individual_pickerill, william j | $location::city_johannesburg |
| $IDindividual::german | $individual_R.M. | $location::city_pretoria |

$IDindividual::jewish
$IDindividual::palestinian
$IDindividual:international
$IDindividual_ballet/dance
$IDindividual_religious
$IDinstitution::american
$IDinstitution::anglicised/english
$IDinstitution::east european
$IDinstitution::european
$IDinstitution::german
$IDinstitution::jewish
$IDinstitution::palestinian
$IDinstitution:international
$IDinstitution_ballet/dance
$IDinstitution_religious
$IDvenue::anglicised/english
**$INDIVIDUAL**
$individual::cantor/chazan/choir-master
$individual::composer
$individual::conductor
$individual::jewish non-music
$individual::music critic
$individual::music scholar
$individual::patron/impresario
$individual::performer
$individual::producer
$individual::student/pupil
$individual::teacher
$individual_abbott, lillian
$individual_alter, israel cantor
$individual_aronowsky, solly mr
$individual_arsenieva, masha
$individual_badash, philip cantor
$individual_bowman, lionel
$individual_breitman, paul and kanevska, vera

$individual_rabinowitz, harry mr
$individual_rabinowitz, rachael miss
$individual_raikin, bruno
$individual_rome, boris
$individual_roseman, rita
$individual_sacks, anne
$individual_saltzman, pnina
$individual_schulman, jerry mr
$individual_schwalbe, hilda
$individual_steinberg, d chief cantor
$individual_susman, jayne
$individual_sylvestri, rosita
$individual_szigeti, josef
$individual_themeli
$individual_trauneck, joseph
$individual_verhoef, bram
$individual_wallis, reinet
$individual_walter, bruno
$individual_weinbrenn, dolly miss
$individual_wendt, theo
$individual_wessels, cecilia
**$INSTITUTION**
$institution::charity
$institution::commercial
$institution::cultural/social
$institution::education
$institution::funds
$institution::humanitarian
$institution::landschafft
$institution::men only
$institution::music
$institution::patron
$institution::performing company
$institution::religious
$institution::religious_reform

$location::suburb
$location::suburb_berea
$location::suburb_claremont
$location::suburb_doornfontein
$location::suburb_green/seapoint
$location::suburb_maitland
$location::suburb_muizenberg/kalk bay
$location::suburb_woodstock/salt river
$location::suburb_wynberg
$location::suburb_yeoville
$location::town
$location::town_kimberley
$location::town_oudtshoorn
$location::town_paarl
$location::town_port elizabeth
$location::town_worcestor
$location::venue
$location::venue_cinema/theatre
$location::venue_cinema/theatre singular
$location::venue_cinema/theatre_20th century
$location::venue_cinema/theatre_alhambra
$location::venue_cinema/theatre_colosseum
$location::venue_cinema/theatre_plaza
$location::venue_cinema/theatre_royal
$location::venue_hall
$location::venue_hall singular
$location::venue_hall_city cape town
$location::venue_hall_city johannesburg
$location::venue_hall_jewish guild
$location::venue_hall_selborne
$location::venue_hall_talmud torah
$location::venue_hall_zionist
$location::venue_hotel
$location::venue_residence
$location::venue_restaurant

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| $individual_britton, granville | $institution::women | $location::venue_synagogue |
| $individual_cassen, gerald | $institution::youth | **$MUSIC** |
| $individual_chagy, berele cantor | $institution::zionist | $music::anthems_god save the king |
| $individual_cherniavsky, alex | $institution::zionist_chalutziut (pioneering) | $music::anthems_hatikvah |
| $individual_cherniavsky, leo | $institution::zionist_revisionist | $music::anthems_stem van suid-afrika |
| $individual_connell, john | $institution::zionist_socialist/labour | $music::anthems_techezakna |
| $individual_coscia, m signor | $institution_a.z. Idelsohn group | $music::jewish_communal music-making |
| $individual_D | $institution_african cons theatres | $music::jewish_e-europe::chassidic melodies |
| $individual_elman, mischa | $institution_betar | $music::jewish_e-europe::russian songs/melodies |
| $individual_epstein, isador | $institution_bnei/bnoth zion | $music::jewish_e-europe::yiddish songs/melodies |
| $individual_farrel, timothy | $institution_cherniavsky | $music::jewish_folk/traditional/jewish songs |
| $individual_fram, david | $institution_darter's | $music::jewish_liturgical::chazunoth, religious |
| $individual_gibbs, alfred j | $institution_dorshei zion | $music::jewish_liturgical::choir mixed |
| $individual_gluckman, jean | $institution_elvira kirsch dance studio | $music::jewish_liturgical::organ in synagogue |
| $individual_goldstein, ella | $institution_friends of PSO/Habimah | $music::jewish_palestine::hebrew, palestinian songs/melodies |
| $individual_gross, freda miss | $institution_habonim/hashomer hatzair | $music::jewish_palestine::hora |
| $individual_haas, hedy | $institution_hebrew congregation | $music::title |
| $individual_hallis, adolph | $institution_hebrew kindergarten | $music::WAM_hebrew/jewish |
| $individual_haynes, willa miss | $institution_hebrew school/talmud torah | $music::WAM_operatic arias, operettas |
| $individual_heifetz, jascha | $institution_histadrut ivrith (hebrew circle) | |

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