Some are built in response to traditional Jewish injunctions to remember, others according to a government's need to explain a nation's past to itself." In 1993, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum opened in Washington, D.C., adjacent to the national mall and within view of monuments to U.S. Presidents Washington, Lincoln and Jefferson. During the 1990s with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the reunification of Germany many more Holocaust memorials and museums have been created or are in the planning stages. Perhaps most symbolic among them, a Holocaust Memorial in Berlin is situated close by the restored Reichstag (parliament) under a law passed on the Tenth Anniversary of the Treaty of German Unity, the so- called "Foundation for Remembrance, Responsibility and Future." (See also *Holocaust: Museums.)

[Grace Cohen Grossman (2nd ed.)]

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MUSHER, SIDNEY (1905–1990), U.S. food and pharmaceutical chemist, born in New Jersey. His career was in industrial chemical development and he was vice president of Cooper Tinsley Laboratories Inc. from 1963. He took an active interest in the economic development of the State of Israel, being treasurer of the Pan-American-Israel Economic Corporation, president of the American Committee for Palestine Inc., and a board member of Palestine Endowment Funds Inc., as well as being member of the Jewish Reconstruction Foundation and the American Jewish Historical Society, etc.

MUSHROOMS, fungus. Israel is rich in various species of mushroom which grow chiefly in the winter. A large number of them are poisonous. The poisonous ones are mainly of the genus *Amanita*. Easily recognizable among edible mushrooms are those of the genus *Boletus*, called in modern Hebrew *orniyyot* because they grow on the roots of the pine (mod. Heb. *oren*), of which most of the forests planted in Israel consist. The mushroom is not mentioned in the Bible, though some exegetes (Rashi, D. Kimi) identify it with the poisonous *pakku'ot* of II Kings 4:39–40. The *pakku'ot*, however, are the colocynth. In rabbinic literature the combination *kemehim u-fitriyyot* ("truffles and mushrooms") is usually found. They have in common that, although they "grow in the soil," one does not recite over them the blessing for vegetables but the blessing "by whose word everything was created." The Talmud gives as the reason that, unlike ordinary plants, "they do not draw their nourishment from the ground but from the air" (Ber. 40b). In this way they explained the fact that they possess no true roots, being fed by other plants, and absorbing moisture from the air. Mushrooms and truffles are also exempt from tithes (see: *Ma'aser), "because they do not grow by being sown, or, because the earth extrudes them" (TJ, Ma'as. 1:1, 48d). The latter reason refers to their quick growth, which makes it seem as if the earth is expelling them. The extensive sprouting of mushrooms after rain is reflected in the *aggadah* about *Honi ha-Ma'agel who prayed for rain after drought. After rain had fallen in abundance and the heavens were free from clouds "the people went into the fields and brought home mushrooms and truffles" (Ta'an. 23a). Truffles are found chiefly in the light soils of the Judean wilderness and in the sands of the Negev. In contrast to mushrooms, they grow under the surface. In addition to *kemehim*, truffles are called *shemarka'im* (Uk. 3:2) in the Mishnah.

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[Jehuda Feliks]

MUSIC. This article is arranged according to the following outline:

INTRODUCTION

The most workable definition of Jewish music would seem to be the functional one proposed by Curt *Sachs: "Jewish music is that music which is made by Jews, for Jews, as Jews" (in his opening lecture, to the First International Congress of Jewish Music, in Paris 1957). This defines the scope of inquiry without prejudicing its results, leaving it free to undertake the tasks of description, analysis and whatever conclusions may be drawn.

As in all other national and ethnic cultures, the musical dimension of Jewish culture is both determined by its origins and modified by its history in proportions peculiarly its own. Through their dispersion, the Jews came into contact with a multiplicity of regional musical styles, practices, and ideas, some of which were more closely related to their own patrimony (as in the Near East and around the Mediterranean) and others intrinsically different (as in Europe north of the Alps and the Pyrénées).

These factors shaped the character of the mainstream of Jewish music. They have also determined the nature and location of the sources, which the musicologist must explore in order to obtain his facts. The problem can be most easily understood by a comparison with the source situation of European historical musicology. There the sources of information can be ranked as follows: compositions by individuals, created and preserved by musical notation; theoretical treatises; historical documents; instrumental relics; evidence from the visual arts (iconography); and complementary evidence from the fields of religion, the verbal arts, philosophy, political history; and other complementary evidence exploited at the discretion of each scholar. Among the latter, the most important source is the folk music of the area, which survives both in tone and word by a purely oral tradition, except for a few accidental notations made in the past by curious savants, and is in itself the subject of a parallel discipline – ethnomusicology.

The source situation of Jewish music is completely different. All the factors listed above are present, but in entirely different proportions – both absolutely and for each Diaspora area and period. A particularly complicated case is that of musical notation. On the one hand, no tone script, in the European sense of the term (one sound = one symbol) was evolved in Jewish musical culture. Even European Jewry adopted the tone script of the surrounding culture only in a few communities during certain periods and only for certain sections of its total musical activity. On the other hand, the masoretic accents serve as universal indicators of certain melodic motives for the cantillation of some of the biblical books (according to principles basically common to all Jewish communities), and their syntactical and grammatical function is supported by a written tradition of doctrine and discussion. Nevertheless the melodic content of this cantillation differs in each Diaspora area and is transmitted by a purely oral tradition (cf. *Masoretic Accents, Musical Rendition).

Although this oral tradition cannot convey information of its own past, some motives (of both the Ashkenazi and the Sephardi tradition) have been preserved in notation from the beginning of the 16th century onward. Thus even for this single category of Jewish music, the "art" and "folk" components, the historical and ahistorical, musical and extra-musical, and the local and universal are woven together so tightly that no single strand can serve as the base for any generalization.

As in all other parts of the mainstream tradition of music in Jewish culture, the notated document is not the point of departure, but a fortunate find which may occur on the way but

more often is absent. The same holds for autonomous treatises on the "art of music," whether technical or philosophical. Literary sources of all kinds are the main storehouse of historical fact, and very often the only source, since it is here that Jewish life has always documented itself most fully, including its musical actions and thoughts. Yet another important source are the relics of actual musical instruments (especially for the biblical period) and the depictions of instruments and music making ranging from the dawn of history through *illuminated manuscripts to the photographs of *klezmer* ensembles in Eastern Europe before the Holocaust. The living oral traditions preserved and studied through sound recording, followed by sophisticated techniques of acoustical analysis and musical transcription, are equal in importance to the written, notated, and visual relic, and the application of the historical evidence can very often give them a great measure of historical dimension. Finally, there are the external sources. Judicious comparisons with the musical heritage of those cultures, with which the Jewish people came into contact, taking and – especially in the case of the formation of Christianity – also giving, can yield valuable insights. In addition, through still wider comparisons, even with historically unrelated cultures, Jewish music can be put into the overall perspective of the music of mankind.

The following survey of the sources is intended to give a general picture of the situation.

WRITTEN SOURCES OF DIRECT AND CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCE

Most of these do not appear as independent literary units but as parts of larger works. Potentially, the field includes the entire written heritage of Jewish culture. Some source categories have proved to be particularly fruitful in information, such as rabbinic Responsa, community registers and regulations, the literature of philosophy and the sciences, the early Midrash, travelers' accounts and various kinds of traditional exegesis. In many cases, textual criticism must be applied before the source can be utilized. Manuscripts of medieval and later poetry very often contain indications that the poem is to be sung "to the tune of …" (*be-laḥan, be-noʿam, be-niggun*); even if the tunes themselves cannot be recovered, the existence of the repertoire itself is thus documented. When the tunes are taken from a gentile environment, which uses notation – as in the German-speaking areas – even the tunes themselves can often be recovered from contemporary manuscripts or printed music. A further stage is reached by the libretti of the cantata-like works, which were written mainly in Italy from the 16th century onward. The music for some of these has also survived or still waits to be recovered from the archives; but even if only the texts remain, they often contain indications such as *aria*, *solo*, and *duetto*. Finally, there are also a certain number of theoretical and practical treatises on music, as independent works or more often as chapters in larger treatises. Except for the "cantors' books" (such as Solomon Lipschitz' *Teʿudat Shelomo*, Offenbach, 1718), the material naturally reflects the theories and practices of the surrounding culture, in the Islamic regions of Spain and the Near East or in Italy and France. Direct biographical and social evidence can be gleaned from inscriptions (including tombstones), community registers, the **Memorbuch* sources, and other archival material. A special contribution is made by extra-Jewish sources. Both non-Jewish writers and apostates from Judaism often give very detailed descriptions of musical practices in Jewish society, in works written for enlightenment or polemic, and echoes of the musical life of a Jewish community are also bound to appear in official documents of the local and state authorities. They range from a tax collector's list from Ptolemaic Egypt, mentioning "Jacob the son of Jacob, an aulos-player," to the petitions of gentile musicians to the municipality of Prague against their Jewish competitors in the 17th century.

THE MATERIAL RELICS AND ICONOGRAPHY

For the biblical and Second Temple periods, the written sources are complemented by literally hundreds of archaeological finds from Palestine itself. The soil conditions of Palestine are generally not favorable to the survival of instruments made of organic material, such as drums or string instruments. The archaeological finds, including metal cymbals, bells, pottery rattles, bone and ivory clappers, however, are effectively supplemented by figurines, frescoes, mosaics, pottery decorations, graffiti, images on coins, etc. External sources, such as the Phoenician ivories and bowls which reached the neighboring countries by way of commerce or booty, the decorations of synagogues in the early Diaspora (particularly important for the history of the form of the *shofar*), or the trumpets depicted in relief on the Arch of *Titus, further add to the evidence. It is, therefore, no longer necessary to "illustrate" the story of music in ancient Israel by archaeological finds from the Egyptian or Mesopotamian cultures. Such material may still be used for purposes of comparison, but only if corroborated by a local find.

The correlation of these material relics with the textual ones, above all the Bible, is a task as difficult as it is important. In later periods, the wide choice of instruments in other cultures is limited, for Jewish society, to the *shofar* and simple noisemakers, such as decorative bells on the *rimmonim* of the synagogal scrolls or the various forms of rattling and banging devices for *Purim. The iconographical evidence, however, is to be found in many sources: illuminated manuscripts and marriage contracts, printed books (especially those written by gentiles on "Jewish customs"), synagogue decorations, embellished ritual objects, and, in later periods, even portraits.

NOTATED SOURCES

As indicated above, one cannot expect the notated sources of Jewish music to be plentiful. For the entire period before the 19th century, these notations come only from the settlements of the Ashkenazi, Italian and European Sephardi communities (except for the earliest specimen so far discovered, the 12th-century notations of *Obadiah the Norman Proselyte,

which was found in the Cairo *Genizah*). These documents are most conveniently divided into two categories: notations reflecting oral tradition, liturgical, religious, and secular; and manuscript or printed compositions in the style of contemporary art music.

Several German humanists of the 16th century included specimens of masoretic cantillation in their works on the Hebrew language, *masorah*, etc. The best known of these is the notation in Johannes *Reuchlin's *De accentibus et orthographia linguae hebraicae* (Haguenau, 1518). Some 15 other gentile writers up to the end of the 18th century feature such notations of masoretic cantillation in works on Judaist subjects and later on also in chapters on the "Music of the Hebrews" in histories of music. As a rule, they copied and recopied the specimens from their predecessors, so that the total stock of notated documentation rises very slowly. The most prominent additions are those by Athanasius Kircher (*Musurgia Universalis*, Rome, 1650), who features the German-Italian cantillation which he heard in a Roman synagogue; by Daniel Jablonski, in his edition of the Hebrew Bible (Berlin, 1699), where a specimen of notated cantillation of the Pentateuch according to the tradition of the Amsterdam Sephardi community was supplied by David de Pinna (cf. *Masoretic Accents, Musical Rendition); and the 12 specimens of Ashkenazi and Sephardi cantillation, psalm intonation, and hymn tunes collected by the composer Benedetto Marcello in Venice in order to base his collection of Psalm compositions, *Estro poetico-armonico* (1724–27, and subsequent editions), on "authentic Jewish tunes." They are featured in his own notation at the head of the respective settings. The musical scholar Giovanni Battista Martini gathered all the notations of his predecessors in the first volume of his *Storia della Musica* (Bologna, 1757–81, repr. facsim. 1967), whence they were taken over (with one omission) by Johann Nikolaus Forkel in his *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik* (Leipzig, 1788–1801, repr. facsim., 1967).

A few notations of other kinds of traditional music are found from the beginning of the 17th century onward, such as the "learning tune" of the Talmud, some of the songs of the Passover **seder*, the *Priestly Blessing, and the 13 religious folk song tunes printed by Elhanan Kirchhan (Kirchhain) in his *Simḥat ha-Nefesh*, part 2 (Fuerth, 1726/27). The earliest cantorial manual found to date is that of Judah Elias of Hanover, dated 1740, and it is followed by many others, especially toward the end of the 18th century (cf. Aaron *Beer; Isaac *Offenbach). Whether the "Jew parodies" found in the works of several Renaissance and baroque composers actually reproduce what was heard in a synagogue or played by a Jewish musician still remains to be ascertained in each case.

Art music composed in the Western European style is documented by a certain number of scores and parts of scores from Italy, southern France and the "Portuguese" community of Amsterdam. The earliest work of this kind is Salamon de *Rossi's *Ha-Shirim Asher li-Shelomo* (Venice, 1622/23); for a more extended description of these sources see *Cantatas, Hebrew.

ORAL TRADITION

The chief treasure house of Jewish music is the living oral tradition – the many thousands of melodies and variants still current in the synagogues, schools, and homes in all Jewish communities, which adhere, or at least have kept in some measure, to the ways of the past. Their systematic collection, now being made by sound recording, is an awesome and theoretically endless task. A fairly representative selection of several regional traditions was collected by A.Z. *Idelsohn in Jerusalem at the beginning of the 20th century and published in his *Thesaurus of Hebrew-Oriental Melodies* (10 vols. 1914–32): Yemen, Iraq, Persia (with some material from Bukhara and Dagestan), the "Jerusalem Sephardic" tradition, Morocco and Eastern Europe. Earlier and contemporary collections of synagogal music (see bibliography), mainly of the Ashkenazi and European Sephardi areas, also contain varying amounts of truly traditional melodies, even if these are sometimes distorted by inadequate notation or attempts at "modernization." Much essential material still remains to be recorded.

[Bathja Bayer]

ARCHIVES AND IMPORTANT COLLECTIONS OF JEWISH MUSIC COLLECTIONS

Since most of the traditional Jewish music was transmitted orally from generation to generation, there was a need to create a sound archive to document the music and promote its study. This need was fulfilled by the establishment of the National Sound Archives in Jerusalem (NSA) in 1965 as a section of the Music Department of the Jewish National and University Library (JNUL). The musicologist Israel *Adler founded the archive incorporating the field recordings of Jewish music (and recordings of other people living in the area) that were made since the 1920s. The NSA also holds a large collection of commercial recordings of Jewish and Israeli music as well as music and other sound documents produced by Kol Israel (Israel Broadcast Authority).

The first great scholars who recorded Jewish music were Abraham Zvi *Idelsohn and Robert *Lachmann. Idelsohn's recordings are at the Austrian Phonogramm Archive in Vienna; those of Lachmann are mainly at the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv but some copies as well as unique records are at the NSA.

Important collections at the NSA are known by the names of their creators such as: The Robert Lachmann collection (300 wax cylinders, which are copies of the originals of Berlin), 960 unique ethnographic records, most of which are made of tin, and 167 early commercial records of Oriental music. Robert Lachmann (1892–1939) recorded in North Africa and in Palestine. His interest was Oriental music. His recordings were made during the 1930s. His lectures and the musical demonstrations survived and are preserved at the NSA and at the Music Department (Mus. 26). Other collections are that of Johanna *Spector, who recorded in the late 1940s and early 1950s, including about 60 hours of music performed by Jewish immigrants just arriving in the new State of Israel from Yemen, Tunisia, Morocco, Pakistan, and Iraq as well as the

Samaritans of Israel; the collection of Leo *Levi made during the late 1950s and the 1960s, including about 70 hours of Jewish musical traditions of the Italian Jews, Greek Jews, and Jews from Holland, Ethiopia (in Israel), Georgia, Czechoslovakia, and other locations; and the collection of Edith *Gerson-Kiwi, who was a student of Lachmann, including 700 records and 240 reel-to-reel tapes of new immigrant Oriental traditions made between the 1950s and 1970s.

A historical collection of commercial records and broadcasting material is included in the Jacob Michael Collection, collected in New York during the 1950s and 1960s. The Jacob Michael collection contains 3,000 records and 480 tapes, mostly of Yiddish radio material.

Since 1965 the NSA has continuously expanded its collections by promoting new recordings both through fieldwork and recordings at the NSA studio. Most of the Jewish liturgical recordings are made in the studio or other locations, but not during actual prayer services, since it is forbidden to use any electrical equipment on the Sabbath and holidays. The NSA also benefits from donations from scholars who deposit their recordings at the NSA; to mention just a few of them: Amnon *Shiloah, Shoshana Weich-Shahak, Mark Kligman, Yaakov Mazor, Simha *Arom.

Since 2000, the Depository Law for books and prints in Israel has been expanded to include all non-book material. Thus a copy of all CDs and videotapes produced in Israel must be deposited at the NSA. Also, recordings made by Kol Israel during the 1950s and the 1970s were deposited at the NSA. These include mainly Israeli songs, Israeli art music, and some traditional music. The NSA catalogue is available online on the JNUL website. It is open to the public (at the JNUL) and serves mainly scholars and educators. The NSA continues to collect, preserve and publish its collections.

Other collections in Israel are at The Institute for Religious Jewish Music – *Renanot*, which has its own archive as well as copies at the NSA. It contains recordings of experts in Jewish musical performance, especially *ḥazzanim* of different traditions and their liturgical repertoire. The Beit Hatefutsot Music Center has a good collection of commercial recordings, which are available on site. All the departments of music and musicology in Israel have collections of recorded sound; however, their focus is not on Jewish music.

In America, universities, libraries, museums and Jewish institutions also have collections of recorded sound. Some of the important collections of Jewish music are: The Robert and Molly Freedman Jewish Music Archive, which was donated to the University of Pennsylvania's Rare Book and Manuscript Library. The Freedman Jewish Music Archive comprises over 1,800 recordings, primarily in Yiddish and Hebrew. The Harvard University Judaic Library has a large collection of Israeli popular music. The YIVO Institute in New York holds a good collection of commercial and broadcasting material of Yiddish music. The Library of Congress Folklife Center and the Sound Archives also have Jewish recordings, both field recordings and commercial records.

Some institutions and private music lovers and collectors provide Jewish music databases and music online for research and teaching, for example Hazzanut Online and Virtual Cantor.

[Gila Flam (2nd ed.)]

HISTORY

BIBLICAL PERIOD

The Bible is the foremost and richest source for knowledge of the musical life of ancient Israel until some time after the return from the Babylonian Exile. It is complemented by several external sources: archaeological relics of musical instruments and depictions of musical scenes; comparative material from the neighboring cultures; and post-biblical sources, such as the writings of *Philo and *Josephus, the *Apocrypha, and the *Mishnah. A truly chronological ordering of the biblical evidence on music is hardly possible, since it frequently happens that a relatively late source attributes certain occurrences to an early period, in which they could not have existed. A case in point is the chronicler's reports about the ordering of the Temple music by King David. Many details – above all the prominent status of the Levitical singers, which almost overshadows that of the priests – are probably a projection back from the chronicler's own time. Some of the reports may even be nothing more than an attempt to furnish the Levitical singers with a Davidic authorization in order to strengthen their position. It is therefore more prudent to draw a synthetic picture in which most of the facts can be assumed to have existed for at least a considerable part of the time.

The mythical dimension of music is represented in biblical tradition only by the story of Jubal, who was "the ancestor of all who play the *kinnor* and *uggav*" (Gen. 4:21; for names of instruments see below). Another relic of the same kind may well be found in the allusion, in God's speech to Job, to the day on which the creation was finished, whereupon, "the morning stars sang together and the Sons of the God[s?] Raised a shout of acclamation" (Job 38:7). Most of the evidence concerns the place of music in the cult. Music is conspicuously absent in the stories of the Tabernacle in the desert wanderings. The bells (perhaps only rattling platelets, see below) on the tunic of the high priest had no musical function but an apotropaic one. The trumpets served mainly to direct the movements of the camping multitude, and their function for arousing God's "remembrance" is common to their use in the sacrifice and in war (Num 10:1–10). In the transport of the Ark to Jerusalem by David, which is accompanied by the playing of lyres, drums, rattles, and cymbals (II Sam. 6:5; I Chron. 13:8), the context is that of a popular fête, not an established cult ritual. Even the description of the inauguration of Solomon's Temple in the first chapters of I Kings lacks an explicit reference to music. Only the trumpets are mentioned in the reconstitution of the Temple services in the time of Joash (II Kings 12:14).

In Chronicles, the musical element suddenly appears as the most prominent part of the service, with detailed and repeated "duty rosters" (and genealogies) of the levitic singers

and instrumentalists, as planned by David and established by Solomon. Since the lists of the returned exiles from Babylon, in Ezra and Nehemiah, include a certain number of families of Temple singers, it can be assumed that, at least toward the end of the First Temple, there was already some kind of organized cult music in Jerusalem. On the other hand, there are grounds to believe that the role of music in the First Temple was minimal. In the sanctuaries outside Jerusalem, it was probably much more prominent: witness the "prophets' orchestra" at the high place of Gibeah (I Sam. 10:5) and Amos' fulminations against the external pomp in one of the cult centers of the northern tribes, perhaps in Shechem, "take away from me the roaring of thy songs and the playing of thy lyres will I not hear" (Amos 5:23).

After the return from Babylon, music as a sacred art and an artistic sacred act was gradually given its place in the organization of the Temple services. It seems that this did not pass without opposition. Some scholars have even tried to adduce a power struggle between the levites and the priests. Although the evidence does not mention music as a subject for quarrel, the striving of the levitic singers for prestige is implicit in the chronicler's descriptions, and may even be the reason for the insertion of the poem, or set of poems "By the waters of Babylon," in the collection of Psalms (Ps. 137). The weepers by the waters of Exile were not an abstract personification; they were the levitic singers, whom their captors would have join the other exotic court orchestras that the Assyrian and Babylonian kings kept for entertainment and took care to replenish by their expeditions of conquest. The court and temple orchestras of Mesopotamia in this period are the prototype for the Temple music established in Jerusalem after the return: a large body of stringed instruments of one or two types only (in Jerusalem *kinnor* and *nevel*); a small number, or a single pair, of cymbals; and a large choir. The trumpets of the priests constituted a separate body in every respect, with a ritual but not really musical function. In the earlier stages of religious organization, centered on inspirational ecstatic prophecy, the role of music was understandably important (cf. I Sam. 10:5 and the story of Elisha's musically-induced prophetic seizure in II Kings 3:15). David's playing and singing before Saul belongs to a related psychological aspect.

At coronations, the trumpets were blown as part of the formal proclamation (II Kings 11:14), and the spontaneous and organized rejoicings after victory in war were accompanied by women who sang, drummed and danced; (a practice still current among the Bedouin), cf. The Song of the *Sea, and the women's welcome of David and Saul in I Sam. 18:6–7. Music at popular feasts is described in Judges 21:19 ff. Finally, the musical accompaniment at the feasts of the rich and, of course, at the king's court is also described several times, often with a note of reproach (II Sam. 19:36; Isa. 5:12; Amos 6:5; Eccles. 2:8). The musical expression of mourning is implicit in the verses of David's lament for Saul and Jonathan and explicit in the mention of the male and female mourners who repeated specially composed dirges (II Chron. 35:25). True folk music is mentioned only rarely, such as the songs and rhythmic shouts of the workers in the vineyards (probably the grape treaders) alluded to by the prophets.

The number of identifiable terms for musical instruments in the Bible comes to about 19. Some other terms, notably those appearing in the headings of the Psalms, have also been taken to represent instruments but probably mean some kind of indication of the melody. For many of the terms, a precise archaeological equivalent can already be proposed. Others still await the yield of future excavations. In the following section, the instruments will be listed and described briefly.

(1) *Asor* (עָשׂוֹר), see below, under *nevel*.

(2) *Ḥalil* (חָלִיל), double-pipe wind instrument, with the mouthpieces probably of the single-reed ("clarinet") type and probably made up of one melody pipe and one drone pipe. A folk and popular instrument, it was used for rejoicing and also in mourning ceremonies.

(3) *Ḥaẓozerah* (חֲצוֹצְרָה), trumpet, made of precious metal, generally silvers. Blown by the priests, it was used in the sacrificial ceremony, in war, and in royal coronations.

(4) *Kaitros/Katros*, see below, under "Daniel instruments."

(5) *Keren* (קֶרֶן), Aram. *karna* (קַרְנָא), see below, under *shofar*.

(6) *Kinnor* (כִּנּוֹר). A stringed instrument of the lyre family, constituted by a body, two arms, and a yoke. The Canaanite type of the instrument, which was certainly the same as used by the Israelites, is asymmetric, with one arm shorter than the other, and its body is box shaped. The instrument was probably of an average height of 20–23 in. (50–60 cm.) and sounded in the alto range, as evinced by surviving specimens from Egypt (which took over the form and even kept the name of the instrument from the neighboring Semites). The *kinnor* is the noble string instrument of Semitic civilization, and became the chief instrument of the orchestra of the Second Temple. It was played by David and was therefore held in particular honor by the Levites. According to Josephus, it had ten strings and was sounded with a plectrum (Ant., 7:306), and according to the Mishnah, its strings were made of the small intestines of sheep (Kin. 3:6).

(7) *Mashrokita* (מַשְׁרוֹקִיתָא), cf. below, under "Daniel instruments."

(8) *Menaʿaneʿim* (מְנַעֲנְעִים), mentioned only in II Samuel 6:5 among the instruments played during David's transport of the Ark to Jerusalem. The parallel narrative in I Chronicles 13:8 substitutes *meẓiltayim* (cymbals). The numerous finds of pottery rattles make it highly probable, by etymological analogy (נענע "shaking"), that the term can be applied to them. After about the seventh century B.C.E., these rattles disappeared and were replaced by the newly-invented metal bell (see below, under *paʾamon*).

(9) *Meẓiltayim, Ẓilẓalim, Meẓillot* (צֶלְצָלִים, מְצִלּוֹת, מְצִלְתַּיִם), the first two forms probably standing for cymbals. The cymbals found in excavations were made of bronze, in the form of plates with a central hollow boss and with a metal

thumb-loop. The average diameter of the finds is about 4.5 in. (12 cm.). They were played by the Levites in the Temple. The *meẓillot* of the horses, mentioned in Zechariah 14:20, are probably the same metal ball-jingles as those depicted on Assyrian reliefs.

(10) *Minnim* (מְנִים), an unclear term (Ps. 150:5 and perhaps also Ps. 45:9), presumably a stringed instrument, and perhaps the lute, which was never an integral part of the Canaanite and Israelite instrumentarium.

(11) *Nevel* (נֵבֶל), a type of lyre, perhaps originating in Asia Minor, constructed differently from the *kinnor*-lyre – larger, and therefore of deeper tone. The coins of Bar Kokhba show it in a schematized form. According to Josephus, it had 12 strings and was played by plucking with the fingers (Ant., 7:306). Extra-biblical sources, which describe it under the name of *nabla* mention its "breathy" or "rumbling" tone. It was the second main instrument in the Temple orchestra. According to the Mishnah (Kin. 3:6), its strings were made of the large intestines of sheep. The *nevel asor* (נֵבֶל עָשׂוֹר), or, in its brief form, *asor* (Ps. 33:2; 92:4; 144:9), was perhaps a slightly smaller *nevel* with ten strings only.

(12) *Paʿamon* (פַּעֲמוֹן), mentioned only in Exodus 28:33–34 and 39:25–26 (and later by Josephus), as attached to the tunic of the High Priest alternating with the ornament called *rimmon* (pomegranate) and made of gold. The usual meaning of the term is a bell. Bells came into use in the Near East only in the seventh century B.C.E., so that the noise-making attachments to the high priest's garment in the desert Tabernacle could not have been bells proper. If the description in Exodus is not a pure projection back from the period of the First or Second Temple, the original *paʿamonim* must have been metal platelets. Later on, real bells substituted these. Most bells found in Palestine are small, made of bronze and have an iron clapper.

(13–14) *Pesanterin* פְּסַנְתְּרִין and *sabbekha* (סַבְּכָא/שַׁבְּכָא), see below, under "Daniel instruments."

(15) *Shalishim* (שָׁלִישִׁים), mentioned only in 1 Samuel 18:6–7, as played by women. By analogy with Ugaritic *tlt*-metal (and not *tlt* and *shlsh* as meaning "three"), these may be cymbals or struck metal bowls.

(16) *Shofar* (שׁוֹפָר), the horn of the ram or a wild ovine, and the only instrument to have survived in Jewish usage, probably identical with the *keren* (קֶרֶן) and *keren ha-yovel* (קֶרֶן הַיּוֹבֵל). In the Bible, its function is that of a signaling instrument especially in war; its famous appearance at the siege of Jericho must be understood in this sense and not as a magical noisemaker. The *shofar*-like sound at the receiving of the Ten Commandments is also a transfer from the same domain. Only after the *shofar* was taken into the service in the Second Temple did it regain its primitive magical connotation.

(17) *Sumponyah* (סוּמְפּוֹנְיָה), cf. below, under "Daniel instruments."

(18) *Tof* (תּוֹף), a shallow round frame drum, frequently played by women (cf. *Miriam), and associated with the dance.

(19) *Uggav* (עוּגָב), still unclear, but very probably not the wind instrument which medieval exegesis would have it to be. Perhaps the harp, which, like the lute (*minnim*?) was never an integral part of the Canaanite and Israelite instrumentarium.

(20) "Daniel Instruments." Daniel 3:5 describes, in Aramaic, an orchestra at the court of the Babylonian king, which includes the *karna*, *mashrokita*, *kaitros*, *sabbekha*, *pesanterin sumponyah*, "and all kinds of instruments." *Karna* is the horn, and *kaitros*, *sabbekha*, and *pesanterin* are but Aramaized versions of the Greek *kithara*, *sambyke*, and *psalterion*. *Mashrokita* is a whistling or piping instrument; *sumponyah* parallels the Greek *symphoneia*, which, in itself, means only "the sounding together." It is highly probable that the term does not stand for an instrument at all, but means the concerted sound of those mentioned before. The closing of the sentence, "and all kinds of instruments," would thus be nothing but an explanatory gloss.

The forms of music can only be surmised from the forms of those parts of biblical poetry, which are clearly meant to be sung. The most important of these are the Psalms, or at least a great part of the 150 poems gathered into the canon of the Psalter. Many of these, open with an "invitation to music" ("Let us go and sing," "Sing to the Lord a new song"). Before the body of the Psalm itself, a shorter or longer heading formula often appears, in which at least some of the elements have a presumably musical meaning. *Mizmor* and *shir*, also combined as *mizmor-shir* and *shir-mizmor*, are clearly of this kind, but their musical difference has so far remained obscure. The term *lamenaẓẓeʾaḥ* has often been thought to mean "to the choirmaster." Most tantalizing of all are the phrases prefixed by *al* ("upon"?) such as "*al-ayyelet ha-shaḥar*" (Ps. 22, literally "upon the hind [?] of the dawn"), or "*al ha-sheminit*" (Ps. 6, literally "upon the eighth"), and others which are untranslatable even literally. The most reasonable hypothesis is that these designate certain melodic types. Whether the term *selah* which appears at the end of certain verses in many psalms (and often creates a tripartite division of the psalm) has a musical meaning still remains to be proved.

The sounds themselves are lost. Although comparative studies of living Jewish and other Near Eastern traditions may be able to point to certain melodic and formal elements as "very old," their attribution to the biblical or early post-biblical period can never be confirmed by objective proof.

SECOND TEMPLE PERIOD

Only the last part of this period is documented by contemporary literature (chiefly Philo, Josephus, and in the writings of the sectarians of Qumran). Much of the mishnaic narrative concerning music in the Temple service is based on eyewitness memories. The information is often very precise, such as the description of the daily morning sacrifice in Mishnah *Tamid* and the numbers of instruments in the Temple orchestra in Mishnah *Arakhin*. The figure of the Temple musician himself appears much more clearly. Thus there is Hogras ben

Levi, who was prefect of the singers and would not teach his own technique of virtuoso voice production to others (Shek. 5:1; Yoma 3:11). Of the instruments mentioned in the Bible, only the Temple instruments proper appear again: *kinnor*, *nevel*, *tziltzal* and *metziltayim*, *ḥaẓoẓerah*, and the newly accepted *shofar*. The *ḥalil* is also mentioned as a popular instrument, which was played in the Temple only on 12 days of the year (Ar. 2:3). The term *abbuv* (pipe) is used for the separate pipes of the *ḥalil*.

Other terms proposed as musical instruments by later commentaries, from the *Gemara* onward, are very probably not instruments at all, such as *niktimon*, *batnun*, *markof*, *iros*. Neither is the *magrefah*, a rake, which was noisily thrown on the floor after the cleaning of the altar to signal to the singers in their chambers to proceed to their stations, which talmudic exegesis later turned into the equivalent of the Byzantine organ.

A separate body of musical practice and doctrine was evolved by the dissident sectarians of the period. The choral singing of the *Therapeutae in Egypt is described by Philo and Josephus and seems to be the musical base of some of the hymns found in the Dead Sea Scrolls. The sectarians seem to have eschewed the use of musical instruments, holding "the fruit of the mouth," i.e., singing, as the more pure expression of devotion. Some passages in their writings and in Ben Sira may indicate the existence of ideas, which approach very closely to the sphere of musical, or rather musical-poetical theory. The catastrophe in 70 C.E. put an end to the Temple-centered music of the Jewish people and opened a new period, in which the *synagogue became the focal point of creativity in word and tone.

[Bathja Bayer]

THE EMERGENCE OF SYNAGOGUE SONG

Late Hellenistic civilization made music an all-penetrating cultural activity. The Eastern scene was dotted with theaters, arenas, and circuses where singers and virtuosos flocked together at musical contests (organized even by Herod; Jos., Ant., 15:269 ff.; 16:137). Amateur philosophers at social gatherings of every kind discussed music. Jingling, banging, and rattling accompanied heathen cults, and the frenzying shawms of a dozen ecstatic rites intoxicated the masses. Amid this euphoric farewell feast of a dying civilization, the voices of nonconformists were emerging from places of Jewish and early Christian worship; *Philo of Alexandria had already emphasized the ethical qualities of music, spurning the "effeminate" art of his gentile surroundings. In the same spirit, early synagogue song intentionally foregoes artistic perfection, renounces the playing of instruments, and attaches itself entirely to "the word" – the text of the Bible.

The new style of Jewish music made its appearance at a specific and fateful moment. When the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E. demanded a complete rearrangement in the religious, liturgical, and spiritual fields, music became involved in several ways. The abolition of Temple worship also put an end to the refined instrumental art of the levites. The use of instruments in the synagogue service was prohibited (and remained so, with certain exceptions), leaving music a strictly vocal art. Needless to say, this limitation left its imprint on musical style and form. Moreover, the musical skill of the Levitic singers and their tradition, accumulated over generations, were not utilized in synagogue song, and their professional teaching and rules had not survived in writing. Synagogue song was thus a new beginning in every respect – especially with regard to its spiritual basis.

In the new era, prayer was to take the place of sacrifice in providing atonement and grace (RH 17b). Levitical music had been an integral part of the order of sacrifices (Er. 13:2; Ar. 11a; TJ, Pes. 4:1, 30c). Its nature probably was to be as pure and flawless as the offering itself, for it was directed at the heavens and not at a human audience. It must have striven for objective and transcendental beauty and have been "art music." The task of synagogue song was a different one. The individual and the congregation both appeal to God by means of the spoken word. Prayer, regarded as "service of the heart" (*'avodah sheba-lev*), had to express a broad scale of human feelings: joy, thanksgiving, and praise, but also supplication, consciousness of guilt, and contrition. All these emotions urge subjective expression in song and human warmth, rather than abstract beauty. The strong human element in synagogue music made itself acutely felt as soon as the professional solo singer began to appear. Before this, however, any member of a congregation could be called up to lead in prayer as a "delegate of the community" (*sheli'aḥ ẓibbur*). The gift of a fine voice obliged a member of the community to accept the function of lay precentor (PR 25: PdRK 97a).

Among the different singing styles in which the early nonprofessional *sheliḥei ẓibbur* may have performed, are elementary ones that can be ascribed with certainty to the early synagogue. They are suited to a gathering of people assembled for singing prayer and praise and for the majority of whom artistically contrived song and complicated tunes were normally out of range. Such congregations had to be cemented together by a kind of music that was easily grasped and performed. The musical forms of psalmody, chanted Bible reading, and prayer tunes bases on a simple melodic patternfullfil these conditions. These are the archetypes of synagogue song and have been preserved by the whole range of Jewish communities over the ages.

THE ROOTS OF SYNAGOGUE SONG IN THE NEAR EASTERN COMMUNITIES (C. 70–950 C.E.)

The Formation of the Basic Pattern (c. 70–500 C.E.)

A strong similarity of style can be detected in the recitation of the Psalms or chapters from other biblical books by different Jewish communities. Exactly the same recitation style is to be found in the most ancient traditions of the Catholic, Orthodox, and Syrian churches. Since there was a close contact between the faiths only at an early period, the musical structure or styles of singing must have been accepted by Christianity

together with the Holy Scriptures themselves. Many of its different forms, which are still employed by Jewish communities in many different parts of the world, were also described in ancient literature. The findings point to a common source of Bible song in the early synagogue.

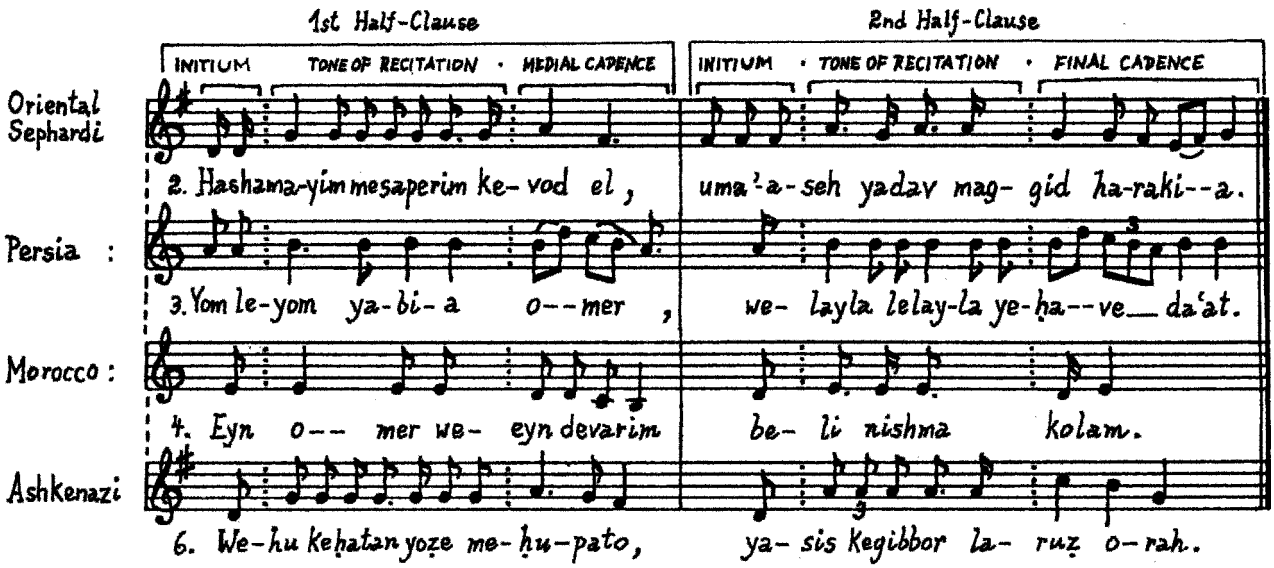
PSALMODY. The singing of Psalms occupies an important place in Jewish and in Christian worship. Both creeds share a musical pattern, traditionally and also in musicological parlance known as psalmody (Greek-Christian *psalmodia*). Its outlines and internal organization follow closely those of the poetic form. Each psalm may consist of a smaller or greater number of verses, without being organized in symmetrical stanzas. Accordingly, the melody of one verse may become a musical unit, which is repeated, as many times as there are verses in the psalm. Most of the verses are subdivided into two equal parts (hemistichs) by a caesura; similarly, the psalmodic melody is given a bipartite structure. The biblical verse is formed and characterized solely by the number of its stressed syllables, disregarding completely how many weak syllables there are between the stresses. The verse of a psalm may consequently vary widely in length, since the overall number of syllables is not constant. The tune has to be adaptable to these floating conditions; a "recitation note," which may be repeated according to the particular situation, provides for the required elasticity.

In practice, the singer of a psalm verse reaches the "recitation note" through a short initial motion of the voice, dwells on the former for the main part of the text, and concludes the first hemistich with a medial cadence. The second hemistich is performed in the same manner, but concludes with a final cadence. Thus the basic psalmodic formula consists of:

> Initial motion/recitation note/medial cadence//
> initial motion/recitation note/final cadence (see Mus. ex. 1).

The simple melodic material of this basic formula can be grasped and reproduced by an average audience after listening to a verse or two. In this respect, psalmody is a truly collective genre of music. Its aesthetic and psychological effect is governed by the recurrent repetition of the same melodic phrase – an element of stability coupled and contrasting with the constantly changing text. The tune, after a few repetitions, loses all its interest: the attention automatically turns to the words, which continually offer something new. The accompanying vocal inflections merge and form an acoustical background which infiltrates the subconscious and creates a distinct mood, which eventually becomes associated with a certain feast or time of prayer or with grief and other emotions. The unchanging repetition of the formula throughout a psalm, which is the rule in Gregorian chant, is, in fact, seldom practiced in Jewish song. Apparently, even an unsophisticated congregation wanted to avoid dullness and to enliven the sound of the Davidic hymns (Song R. 4:4).

One line of development in psalmody led to the distribution of the performance between groups of singers. Responsorial psalmody was described as early as the Mishnah (Suk. 3:11; Sot. 5:4) and both Talmuds (Sot. 30b; Suk. 38b; TJ, Suk. 3:12, 53d). Precentor and congregation alternated in singing full verses or hemistichs; the precentor may intone the beginning and the choir takes over; or the choir may sing the concluding words. Moreover, a verse or part thereof may serve as refrain, "like an adult reading the *Hallel*, and they respond to him with the initial verse [as, e.g., in the Song of the Sea]: Moses said, 'I will sing unto the Lord,' and they say, 'I will sing unto the Lord'; Moses said, 'for he hath triumphed gloriously,' and they say, 'I will sing unto the Lord'…" This *baraita*, transmitted in the name of R. Akiva (d. 136 C.E.) and some of his contemporaries, treats the various forms of responsorial psalmody as



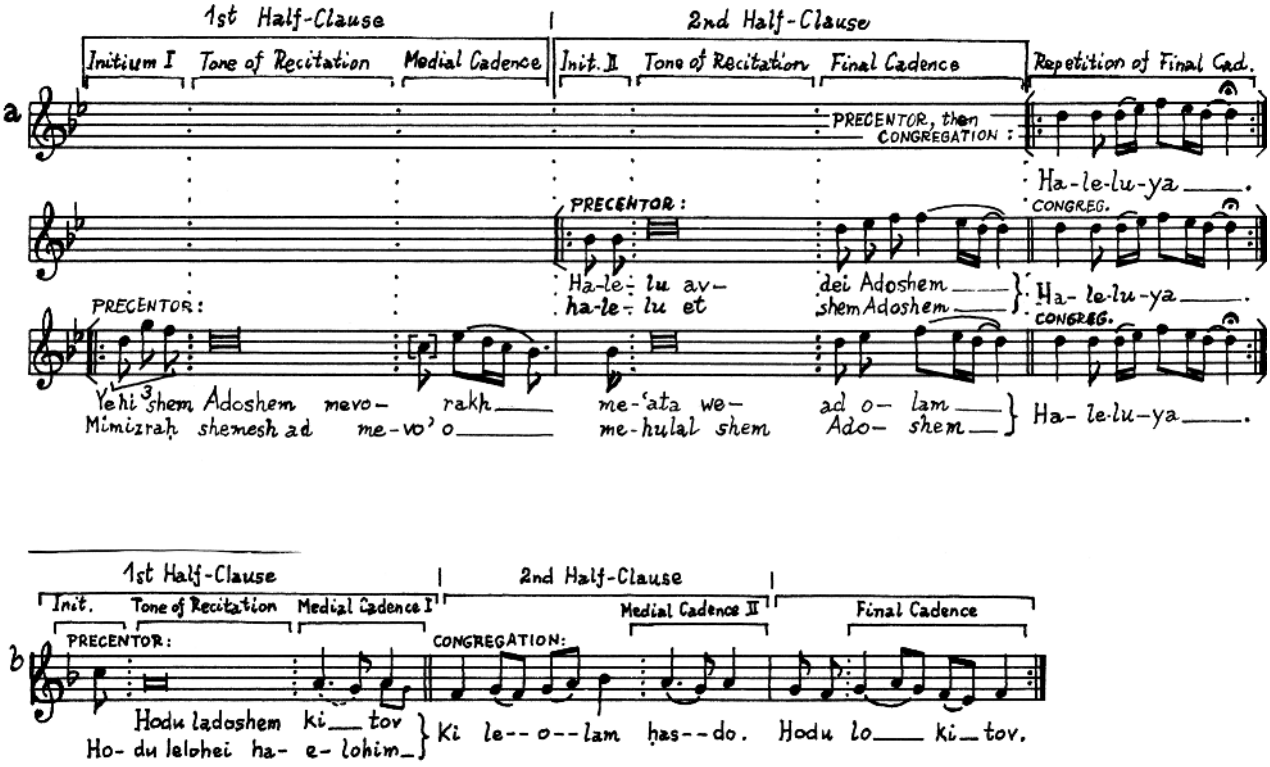
Example 1. The basic formula of psalmody. Verses of Psalm 19, as chanted in various communities. After Idelsohn, Melodien, *vol. 4, no. 25 (Oriental Sephardi):* ibid., *vol. 3, no. 51 (Persia);* ibid., *vol. 3, no. 171 (Morocco): I. Lachmann,* Awaudas Yisroeil, *vol. 1, 1897, no. 154 (Western Ashkenazi).*

old and well established. It demonstrates the transformation of the first hemistich into an actual refrain. The exclamation "Hallelujah" may be given this role when it is inserted at discretion between verses. This practice was described by Rava (c. 300 C.E.; Suk. 38b), and is found in the Christian tradition as *Psalmus alleluiatus*, and is still perpetuated by the Yemenite Jews (see mus. ex. 2a)

Additions alien to the biblical text are very rare in Jewish tradition (mus. ex. 2b) but have become the rule in the antiphonal psalmody of the churches. The Greek term *antiphonos* originally meant alternate singing in different pitches (e.g., by men and women or men and boys); Philo heard this performed by the sect of Therapeutae. However, worship in the synagogue, which was a congregation exclusively of men and lacked a separate clergy, was unfavorable to the formation of permanent choirs, and the embellishment of a psalm was contrary to the obligation of faithfulness to the holy text. There was no limitation, however, on the strictly musical development of psalmody, with the basic formula serving as a mere skeleton for more complex forms. The musical evolution is achieved mainly by means of variation – just as the poetic language of the Psalms draws largely upon variation within the framework of *Parallelismus membrorum*. Once again, musical composition enhances the poetry.

Jewish psalmody prefers to have hemistichs recited on different tone levels, which is very exceptional in Plain song. Moreover, the recitation note need not remain rigid but may hover around its axis, raising stressed syllables here, marking a subdivision there, or simply adorning the tune. The initial phrases may be redoubled as well as omitted. Finally, several psalmodic formulas may be joined within the same psalm. The device of variation is capable of producing true artistic effects by a gradual escalation of its resources as, for instance, in Psalm 29 for Sabbath eve as sung in Iran (Idelsohn, *Melodien*, III (1922), no. 3): here the melody gradually gains momentum and increasingly dense texture in accord with the intensification of the poetic images. Psalmodic music may change its features to a certain extent according to its multiple uses as well as the contents of the text, nevertheless, it must be content to strengthen, but never outdo, the effect of the words. The ancient pattern of psalmody is still extensively used in Jewish communities all over the world. It is worth noting that the detailed accents later added to the psalm text by the Masoretes were disregarded: the traditional manner of intoning psalms was already too deeply rooted (see also *Psalms, Musical Rendition).

BIBLE READING BY CHANT. Chapters from the Pentateuch and the Prophets are regularly read in the synagogue service, the other books of the Bible being reserved for certain feasts. It is characteristic of the synagogue that the Bible is never read like speech or declamation; it is always chanted to mu-



Example 2. Responsial psalmody. (a) Hallel *Psalm 113, as chanted in Yemen, with a Hallelujah response by the congregation after each verse, similar to the Gregorian* Psalmus alleluiatus. *After Idelsohn,* Melodien, *vol. 1 no. 32; (b)* Hallel *Psalm 136, as chanted in Iraq, with the unwritten response,* Hodu Lo ki tov *(Praise Him for [He] is good), by the congregation after each verse. After Idelsohn,* Melodien, *vol. 2, no. 23.*

sical pitches and punctuated by melodic cadences attached to clauses and periods. The reading of the Bible at home or at school is performed in the same way (see also *Masoretic Accents, Musical Rendition). This custom is strange to European habits. The ancient Greeks already knew well how to distinguish between the rising and falling of the voice in rhetorical speech or stage declamation on the one hand, and true musical intervals, on the other. When the Church took over biblical chanting from the synagogue, its Roman branch retained the chant in a simple form and did not develop it any further. Eastern Christianity, however, embarked on its own development and elaboration of scriptual chanting, which took a course parallel to the developments within Judaism.

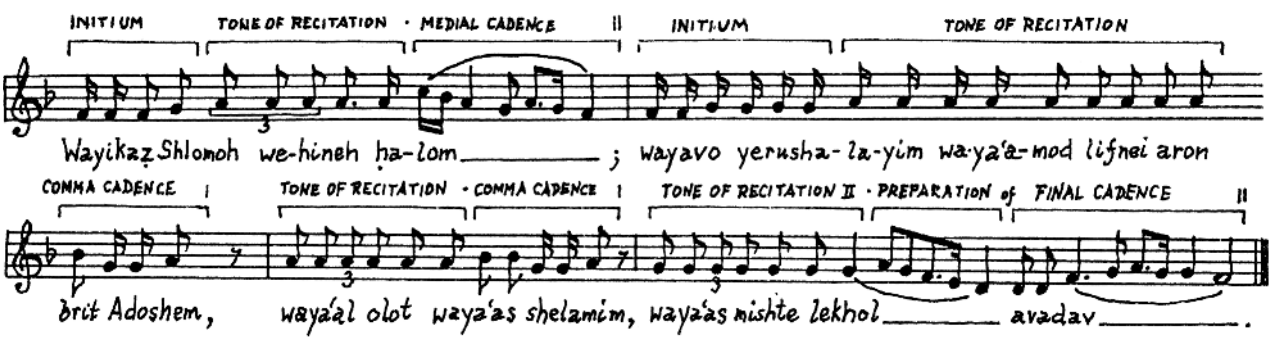
There is ample evidence of Bible chant in Jewish sources as early as the second century C.E., by which time it was an old and well-established custom. In the third century, Rav interpreted the verse "And they read in the book, in the Law of God… and caused them to understand the reading" (Neh. 8:8) as a reference to the *piskei teʿamim*, i.e., punctuation by means of melodic cadences (Meg. 3a). Still earlier, Rabbi Akiva expressed his demand for daily study – also executed in chant – by the words "Sing it every day, sing it every day" (Sanh. 99a). Finally, Johanan, head of the Tiberias Academy (d. 279), formulated the central idea of chant in this categorical manner: "Whoever reads [the Torah] without melody and the studies [Mishnah] without song, to him may be applied the verse (Ezek. 20:25): Wherefore I gave them also statutes that were not good, and ordinances whereby they should not live" (Meg. 32a). As an external witness, Jerome (c. 400 C.E., in Bethlehem) testifies that the Jews "chant off" the Torah (*decantant divina mandata*: PL 24. 561).

Talmudic sources state that the biblical verse was subdivided into clauses according to its meaning and the rhythm of speech. This division was called *pissuk teʿamim* and was strictly an oral tradition, the transmission of which was incumbent upon the teachers of children. Their method of instruction was the ancient practice of chironomy – hand and finger signs that evoked the medial, final, and other cadences of Bible chant (Ned. 37b; attested by R. Akiva, Ber. 62a). Chironomy had already been used by the singers of ancient Egypt and was later also adopted by the Byzantines. Jews practiced it in the time of the masoretes, of Rashi (comm. on Ber. 62a) and, until recently, in Italy and Yemen. On the other hand, their absence in the sources indicates that there were no written "accents" (*teʿamim*) during the Talmudic period. These were gradually developed and introduced – together with vocalization – by the masoretes in the second half of the first millennium ("Although the cadential division of the verses and the reading tune were given at Mount Sinai, they were uttered according to oral tradition and not to accent marks in the book" *Maḥzor Vitry*, par. 424; 11th century). The nature of this primitive, unwritten Bible chant can be inferred from the present custom of some communities, notably the Yemenites and Bukharans, which still disregard the written accents and read the Bible in a much simpler manner, using only the well-known cadences of psalmody plus an intermediate stop (see Mus. ex. 3).

The antiquity of this modest kind of chanting is proven by its existence in the Roman Church. Like psalmody, it appears to have been accepted there as a body foreign to Western musical concepts and remained, therefore, in its primitive state.

Psalmody and melodic reading are common traits of all the "peoples of the Bible." Repeated attempts to find an archetype of it in pagan antiquity have not succeeded. Melodic enunciation has been connected with Bible recitation from the very beginning and has accompanied the Holy Scriptures through their translation into every tongue. In contrast to sensualist tendencies in art, which take the Bible text as a mere opportunity for writing a beautiful piece of music, Bible chant is the genuine expression of a spiritual concept and, as such, is opposed to the general trend of the Hellenistic period. Its restriction to a small range of notes and limited ornamentation is intentional, not "primitive," with the purpose of ensuring that the melody will never interfere with the perception of the words and the apprehension of their meaning and spiritual message. As defined by Curt *Sachs, such music making is "logogenic" – proceeding from the word and serving the word (see *Masoretic Accents, Musical Rendition).

THE EARLY STYLE OF PRAYER CHANT. During the first period of synagogue song, the precentor was normally chosen from the ranks of the congregation, and his devotion did not



Example 3. Simple form of biblical cantillation. I Kings 3:15, as chanted in Bukhara to a psalmodic pattern. After Idelsohn, Melodien, *vol. 3, no. 138.*

always have to be balanced by musical gifts and skills. Prayer tunes thus had to be simple and, simultaneously, of a plastic and variable nature in order to be fitted to longer or shorter phrases of the prose texts without difficulty. These demands are met by the "prayer modes" (*nusaḥim*) traditional and common in the Eastern and Western synagogues of today. Although it is impossible to ascribe individual tunes heard today to the early synagogue with any degree of certainty, it is legitimate to speak of the principle of chanting according to a *nusaḥ*.

Jewish prayer chant is essentially an evolution of traditional melodic patterns classifiable as "*Tefillah*-mode," "*Yotzer*-mode," and so on. The melodic pattern of a certain *nusaḥ* consists of several motives, which are not in any fixed rhythm or meter, but are rather a melodic formula, which is apt to be expanded or shortened according to the text. The motives may be repeated or omitted, they may change places and, above all, they may be subjected to variation by the singer. Melodic patterns of this kind are used in Sephardi, Ashkenazi, and Oriental communities alike. Their nature may best be recognized from their adaptation to metrical prayer texts (see mus. ex. 4a), as well as to free recitation (mus. ex. 4b).

The musical effect of an Ashkenazi prayer mode rests on its "varied unity"; it establishes a common stock of motives for a whole group of prayers without imposing a rigid, unchanging framework upon it. The melodic development is stimulated by improvised variation – which has always been an important element in Jewish music (see **Nusaḥ*; **Shtayger*).

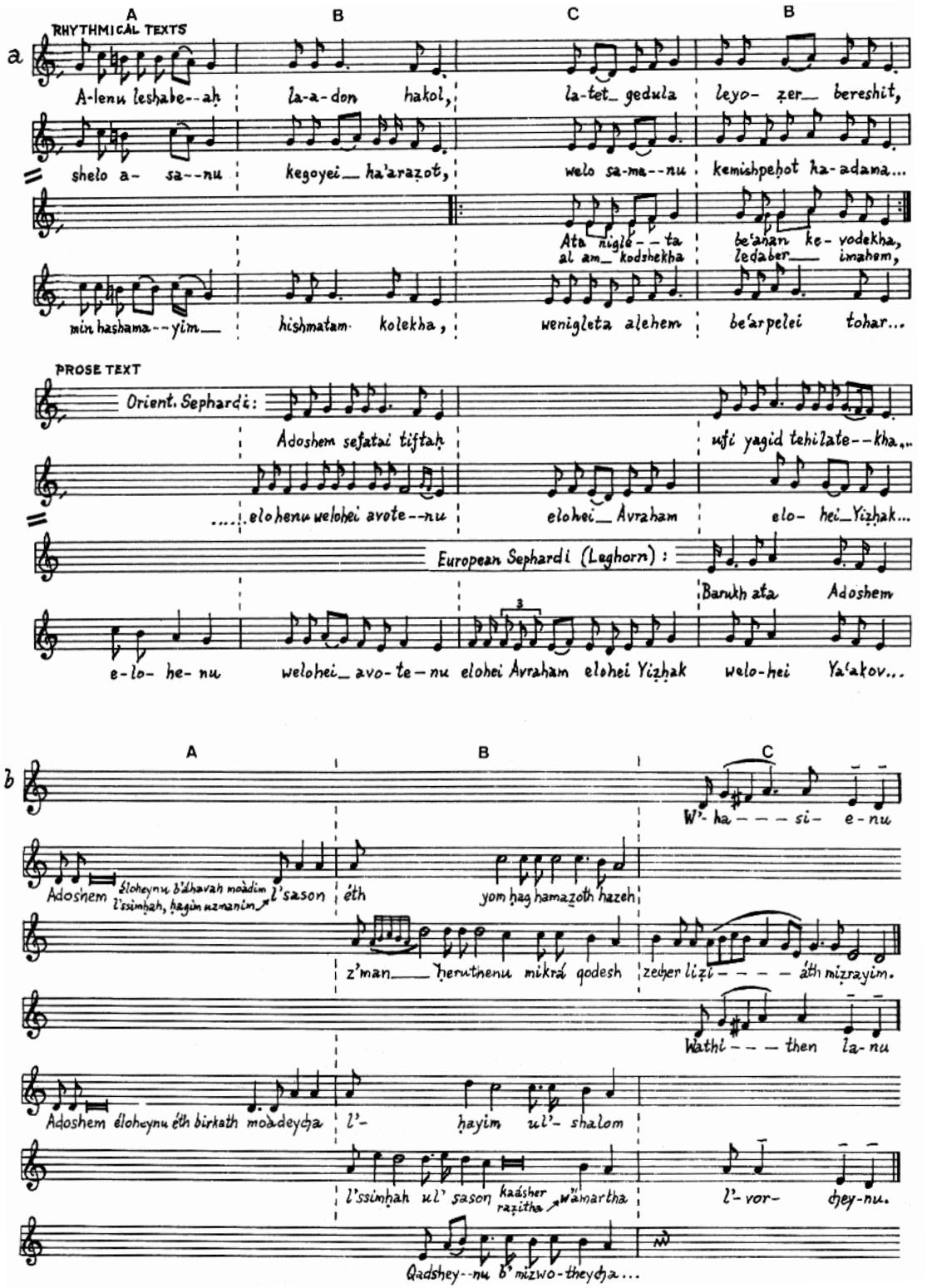
THE POPULAR BACKGROUND. Psalmody, melodic reading of Bible texts, and prayer chant were made to fulfill a function in collective Jewish worship; they grew organically from a popular treasure of forms, under the guidance of basic religious ideas. The latter excluded from worship the use of the multitude of instruments which were, in fact, in the hands of Jews in Palestine and Babylonia: the frame drum tabla (Ar. *duff*;) accompanied non-synagogal song and dance and pleased the women especially ("The sexagenarian as much as the six-year-old runs after the drum": MK 9b); the reed-pipe abbuv was blown; the long-necked lute tanbura (Ar. *ṭunbūr*) plucked. Workmen used to sing to lighten monotonous toil such as plowing, boat towing, or weaving (Sot. 48a). Song was heard in the tavern (Sanh. 101a), and every kind of musical entertainment at the fair (Ta'an. 22a; BK 86a see Rashi) and social gatherings (Sot. 48a).

Radical religious authorities of the Babylonian Jews opposed popular music making as unsuitable for a nation in distress (relying upon Sot. 9:11 and 14). Their negative attitude ("Song in the house – destruction at the threshold," Sot. 48a) became even more entrenched when the feudal aristocracy of Sassanian Persia made music part of their hedonistic enjoyment of life, and even the exilarch Mar *Ukba I, who was, according to the chronicle of the scribe R. Nathan ha-Bavli (written in the 10th century), a poet-musician himself and throughout the year composed and performed his own paeans of praise to the king, who allowed himself to be attended with music at his ceremonial levee (TJ, Meg. 3:2, 74a; Git. 7a). At this time Rav *Huna issued his famous prohibition of music, which, however, had undesirable side effects and was dropped by his successor *Ḥisda (Sot. 48a). Palestine was apparently spared this unrealizable prohibition. There was never any intention to interfere with the music making at wedding festivities (hillula); on the contrary, this was regarded as a religious duty (*mitzvah*).

Several legends tell of the rabbis' eagerness "to gladden the groom and bride" (Ber. 6b; TJ, Pe'ah 1:1, 15d, etc.). On these occasions, genuine responsorial singing was performed (Ber. 31a): an honored guest had to improvise a verse suitable for the company to answer with one of the current refrains (such as Ket. 16b–17a). Responsorial psalmody may have been influenced by such common customs. Antiphony, in its original meaning of alternating choirs of different pitch, was also employed at the popular level (Sot. 48a). Instrumental playing at the wedding hillula was officially encouraged, and this favorable attitude of the Talmud teachers became a guideline for later legal decisions.

It is not known when and why playing the flute before the bridal pair (rooted in ancient life and fertility symbolism) was abandoned; it was once a familiar and absolutely legal custom (BM 6:1). The same question arises with regard to flute playing at funerals, where this instrument symbolized life and resurrection; it was customary at the time of Josephus (Wars 3:437) and the Gospels (Matt. 9:23), and its legal aspects were still given consideration by the tannaim (Shab. 23:4; Ket. 4:4), but it, too, disappeared without any trace. Lamentation of the dead by wailing women could assume the form of a dirge (**kinah*, hesped) in responsorial patterns (MK 3:8; Meg. 3b; 6a); but it often remained a short acclamation (MK 28b), probably repeated to current melodic phrases. A funeral song of the Diaspora Jews is attested in Canon 9 of the Council of Narbonne in 589 (Juster, Juifs, 1 (1914), 368, n. 3).

A relationship between synagogal and domestic singing patterns has already been noted. Since responsorial and antiphonal song is found as a frequent practice among many peoples, it may be surmised that the related forms of psalmody also derived from popular usages. As far as can be judged from the necessarily one-sided talmudic sources, Jewish folk music remained relatively immune to the omnipresent Hellenistic influences. Near Eastern Jewry belonged to the Aramaic-speaking peoples (as evinced, for example, by the nomenclature of their musical instruments) and may have kept away from Greek theaters and circuses at the behest of their teachers (Av. Zar. 1:7; TJ, ibid., 1:7, 40a; Av. Zar. 18b, etc.). In the Diaspora, however, the Jews of Miletus, Antioch, and Carthage liked the stage and the arena (Juster, Juifs, 2 (1914), 239–41). Jewish (Purim?) plays were restricted by the Codex Theodosianus of 425 (ibid., 1 (1914), 360 n. 2). At any rate, the lasting influence of Hellenistic musical activities in the Jewish sphere cannot be proven.



Example 4. Structures of prayer modes (nusaḥ),
(a) Sephardi: Musaf *of the High Holy Days;* Aleinu le Shabbe'aḥ. *Oriental Sephardi, After Idelsohn,* Melodien, *vol. 4 no. 249.* Ata Nigleta, *ibid., no. 254;* Adonai Sefatai Tiftaḥ, *ibid., no. 233: European Sephardi (Leghorn), after F. Consolo,* Sefer Shirei Yisrael – Libro dei Canti d'Israele, *1892, no. 335.*
(b) Western Ashkenazi: prayers on feast days and the New Moon, blessing for Passover, after S. Naumbourg, Zemirot Yisrael, *vol. II. 1847, no. 141.*

IDEAS ABOUT MUSIC. The influence of religious law (*halakhah*) on the structure of synagogue music, such as the discontinuation of instrument playing and the entire Levitical tradition, has been noted above. To this should be added the rejection of the female voice from the service and other public performances, exemplified by Rav's harsh statement: "The voice of a woman is indecency" (Ber. 24a, etc.). The rabbi's indifference or hostility to the sound of music changes, however, in the aggadic parts of the Talmud, where many instances of true musical feeling and appreciation of the charm of sounds are recorded. The rabbis dwelled on King David's allegoric lyre, which was sounded by the midnight wind like an Aeolian harp (Ber. 4a, etc.), they perceived the "song of the ears of grain" in the field (RH 8a), and let trees burst into song (TJ, Ḥag. 2:1, 77a). They fostered ideas that became universal sources of artistic inspiration: the parallel singing of celestial music of the angels and the righteous (Ḥag. 12b; 14a; Av. Zar. 3b; Er. 21a; Sanh. 91b; Meg. 10b, etc.; Tosef. Sot. 6:2); and the "trump of doom" (later Midrashim: *Otiyyot de-Rabbi Akiva*, letter T; Midrash Daniel, etc.). In other Midrashim (of more or less disputed date), the eternal link between mystical and musical conceptions, already extant in some of the above-quoted Talmud passages, reveals its full strength in certain peculiar hymns aimed at inducing a visionary trance. These hymns were assembled in the treatise *Heikhalot Rabbati* ("All these songs Rabbi Akiva heard when approaching the *Merkabah and understood and learned before the heavenly throne what its servants sang unto it"). They are composed in a language rich in "word-music" and vocal harmony; and one can imagine them being sung to the repetition of short melodic phrases characteristic of suggestion-inducing and spell-casting songs all over the world.

The same *Heikhalot* treatise reveals a guiding idea of sacred song in legendary form: "R. Ishmael said: Blessed is Israel – how much dearer are they to the Holy One than the servant-angels! Since as soon as the servant-angels wish to proceed with their song in the heights, rivers of fire and hills of flames encircle the throne of glory, and the Holy One says: Let every angel, cherub, and seraph that I created be silenced before Me, until I have heard and listened to the voice of song and praise of Israel, my children!" Human song of praise is given preference over the pure and flawless beauty heard from the heavenly hosts, and the standards of sacred song are set by the warmth of devotion resounding from earthly voices, imperfect and human as they may be.

This concept differs from the basic idea of ecclesiastical song as laid down by Dionysius the Areopagite and repeated throughout the Middle Ages. This notion propounds that the perfect beauty of angelic song descends to the lower ranks in heaven and reaches earth as a faint echo. Church music endeavored by imitation to approach the heavenly model; it had to strive increasingly for superhuman, transcendental beauty, thus creating a perfect but cold product of art. This fundamental difference between the Jewish and Christian view of sacred music indicates what to look for in the evaluation of synagogue song. It must be judged by the perseverance of its original intention, which is to be an expression of human feelings, disregarding beauty for its own sake. Whenever, during its development, appreciation of the pleasant sound as such became prominent, this attitude was most often initiated by foreign influences. As a rule, however, the basic patterns set during its first period have survived as a permanent background of Jewish music.

Evolution of the Basic Pattern and Creation of New Forms (c. 500–950)

After the completion of the Talmud, c. 500 C.E., new developments began in the liturgical and musical fields. The Near Eastern communities maintained their leadership, and the innovations created there became an integral part of Jewish tradition in the entire Diaspora. During this time, as far as can be judged, Jewish music was spared serious conflict with foreign influences.

THE "LEARNED ART" OF BIBLE CHANT. According to the early, oral tradition of reading the Bible by chant, only a few main sections of a verse were distinguished by means of melodic cadences (see Mus. ex. 3 above). Although the text of the Hebrew Bible was fixed long since, every sequence of words could become meaningful only by the correct grouping of the words and a clear interrelation of clauses and sub-clauses. The division of a verse could become a matter of interpretation, or even ideology, and raise debates with dissenting sects or a foreign creed. It was no wonder that in epochs of insecurity a need was felt to mark the accepted infrastructure of biblical verses in an indisputable way – in writing. This was achieved by the masoretic accents which have accompanied the text ever since.

Written reading accents are a feature unknown in the Talmud (that is to say, until c. 500 C.E.). They appear to have developed from the sixth century onward. During the same period, the Syrian and Byzantine churches also introduced written reading signs. Even small groups like the Samaritans invented such signs, although the period of their origin is uncertain. No priority can be ascertained today, but the former hypothesis of a Hellenistic prototype has been finally abandoned, as has the idea of interdependence between the different accent systems. It was a general but variously realized tendency of this era to make a new attempt at a musical script – the first one since the ancient Greeks, and completely different from their method. Greek musicians had expressed single pitches by means of graphic signs, as is done in modern European notation. This method is based on analytical thought. Writing music with accents, however, rests upon the conception of complete melodic figures or motives, which are retained in the singer's memory. Their specific application in singing may be brought about by gestures of the hand (chironomy), as documented already in the talmudic era. The motive may be given a suggestive name (*etnaḥta* "sign of rest"; *zakef* "upright," etc.); the first letter of its name may be written above the text, as was done by the Babylonian masoretes.

Finally, freely invented signs could also be used, as was done by the masoretes of Tiberias.

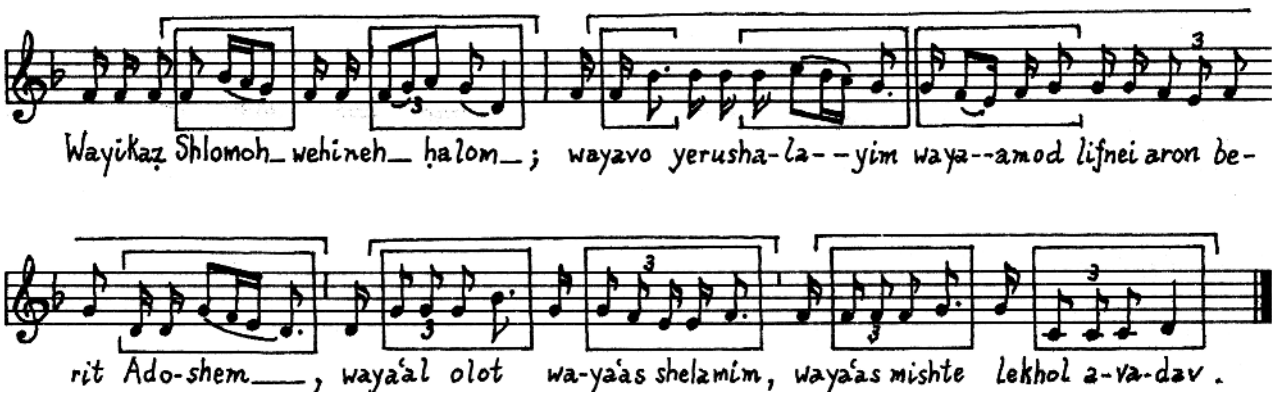
The development of biblical accents (*taʿamei mikra*) was a prolonged process which was completed definitely only between 900 and 930 by Aaron b. Moses *Ben-Asher of Tiberias. This final and authoritative system was imposed upon the whole of Jewry. The earlier Palestinian and Babylonian accentuations fell into disuse and have only recently been recovered from rare manuscripts. The general trend of development was from simplicity to complexity. The masoretes "in good faith furnished the 24 biblical books with accents of correct judgment, with a clear manner of speech, with a sweetly enunciating palate, with beautiful oration… Whoever reads shall hear, whoever hears shall understand, and whoever sees shall grasp" (Moses Ben-Asher, autograph colophon of the Cairo Codex of the Prophets, dated 895 C.E.). They proceeded from the subdivision of a sentence by accent pairs (Babylonian system) to a total accentuation of one sign, and occasionally two, on every word. Having begun with the simple indication of the traditional places of the cadences, they ultimately arrived at a "learned art" of Bible chant, prescribing how the reader was to organize his recitation.

In evaluating the musical consequences of the Tiberian "total accentuation," one basic fact should be borne in mind: an accent can seldom be regarded as a detached, self-contained unit. Not only is a disjunctive accent ("king") most often accompanied by a conjunctive one ("servant"), but also several of these pairs are frequently combined to form typical groups. In music, motive groups or melodic phrases match these accent groups: a chanted Bible verse is made into a continuous chain of musical motives (see Mus. ex. 5) and is clearly distinguished from the old-fashioned, psalmody-like style (see Mus. ex. 3 above).

Since the single motives are often linked by a short bridge of linear recitation (see ex. 5), this kind of chant may also be likened to a string of beads. An entire chapter read in this manner resembles a mosaic in which the same pieces are assembled in constantly varying combinations.

The translation of the masoretes' intentions into music was not accomplished smoothly. First of all, the Tiberian system of accentuation is too detailed and complex to be followed perfectly by even the most scrupulous reader. Moreover, there were Jewish communities with closer ties to the Babylonian than to the Tiberian school; they accepted the Tiberian system as a matter of book learning, but interpreted in song only part of it (the king accents) or disregarded it altogether. Writers of the 14th and 16th centuries (Simeon b. Ẓemaḥ *Duran, Elijah *Levita) explicitly attest that the Sephardim who used to obtain books and teachers from Babylonia neglected all the servant accents and some of the kings as well, and they still do so today. In Iran and Yemen there arose hybrid styles of melodic reading in which the three or four cadences of the old style are permutated arbitrarily in order to comply with the Tiberian rulings. Some remote communities, such as that of Bukhara, continue to recite simply in the old, psalmody-like style (Mus. ex. 3 above). In this way, Jewish reading practices of today form a living museum of chanting styles as they were at different stages of their development.

THE LITURGICAL HYMN (PIYYUT). Although the composition of religious poetry most certainly did not break off with the destruction of the Second Temple, the introduction of hymns as an integral part of synagogue liturgy is ascribed to the sixth century. An old tradition (first recorded by *Yehudai Gaon c. 760) connects the admission of hymns into the synagogue with an interdiction against studying the law and reciting the *Shema Yisrael*, generally linked with the hostile edict of Emperor Justinian I promulgated in 553 (Juster, Juifs, 1 (1914), 369–77). This, however, is not sufficient to explain the continuing production of hymns over the centuries, the immense creative power invested in them, the mystical touch present since the very beginning, nor the musical elaboration which they brought about. Hymn writing and singing must be regarded rather as an elementary religious force, effective in Jewry as in every other faith, and one of the main promoting forces of musical evolution.



Example 5. Ashkenazi biblical chant according to the masoretic accents. I Kings 3:15, following the rendition of Joshua 1:1 in Idelsohn, Melodien, *vol. 2, 50 no. 11.*

The early designation of the genre, **ma'amad*, was soon replaced by the borrowed Greek word *piyyut*. The choice of a foreign term probably indicates the introduction of innovations, such as consequent rhyming and the division of a poem into stanzas of identical structure. In time, the stanza form became highly important to musical form: it offered the opportunity of changing the unarticulated cumulation of verses into a divisive organization of the song. This possibility, however, is hardly exploited in tunes of the older style. In present-day synagogue song, *piyyut* melodies continue the traditional usage of repeating the first line throughout the entire song. The cause is certainly the poetic rhythm, which remained as it was in biblical poetry: an equal number of stresses in the verses, occurring at unequal intervals because of the changing number of unaccentuated syllables in between. Thus, a well-known hymn of Eleazar *Kallir (early seventh century?) reads:

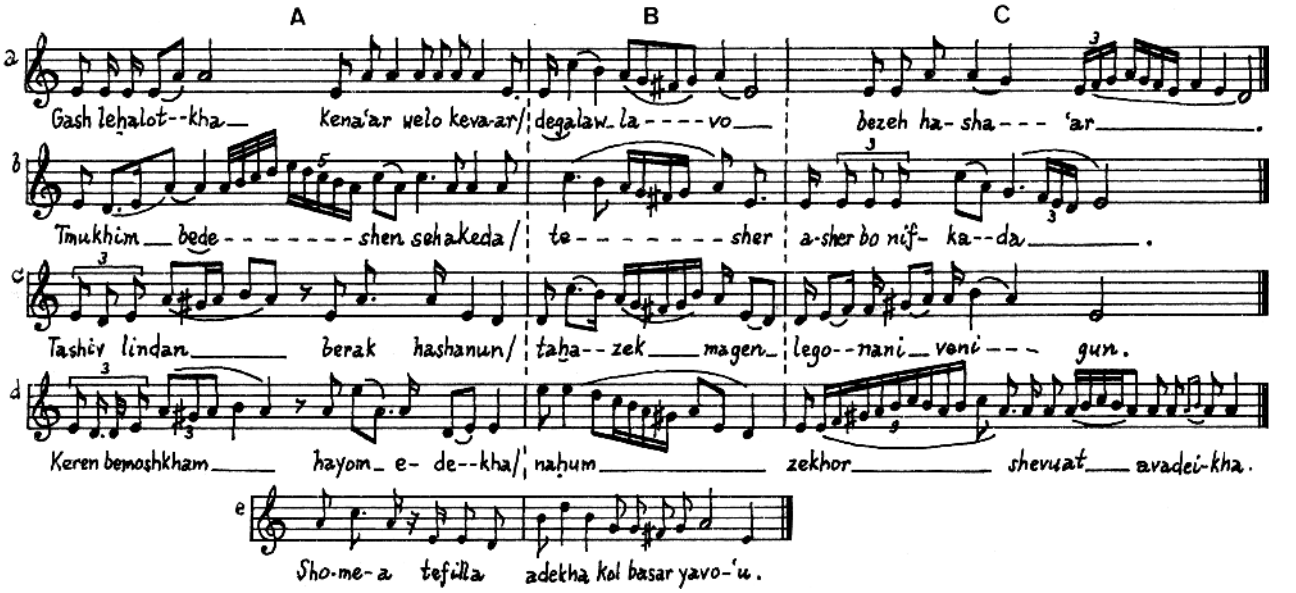
Ṭal ya'asis ẓuf harim = 3 accents, 6 syllables
ṭa'em bi-meodkha muvḥarim = 3 accents, 8 syllables
ḥannunekha ḥaleẓ mi-masgerim = 3 accents, 10 syllables

A tune appropriate to such poems in "free rhythm" must be capable of extension or contraction according to the length of the text. In addition to psalmody and the principle of prayer chant, another solution to this problem was found by singing according to modal patterns, still practiced today by the Sephardim and the Eastern communities. The basic musical idea or modal pattern consists of not more than one or two tetrachords (four-tone rows); this framework is filled, in actual singing, with melodic curves, step patterns, and ornaments of every kind. A particular musical realization of the scale model will seldom be repeated, but every verse of the stanza offers a new variation of the preconceived pattern (Mus. ex. 6b).

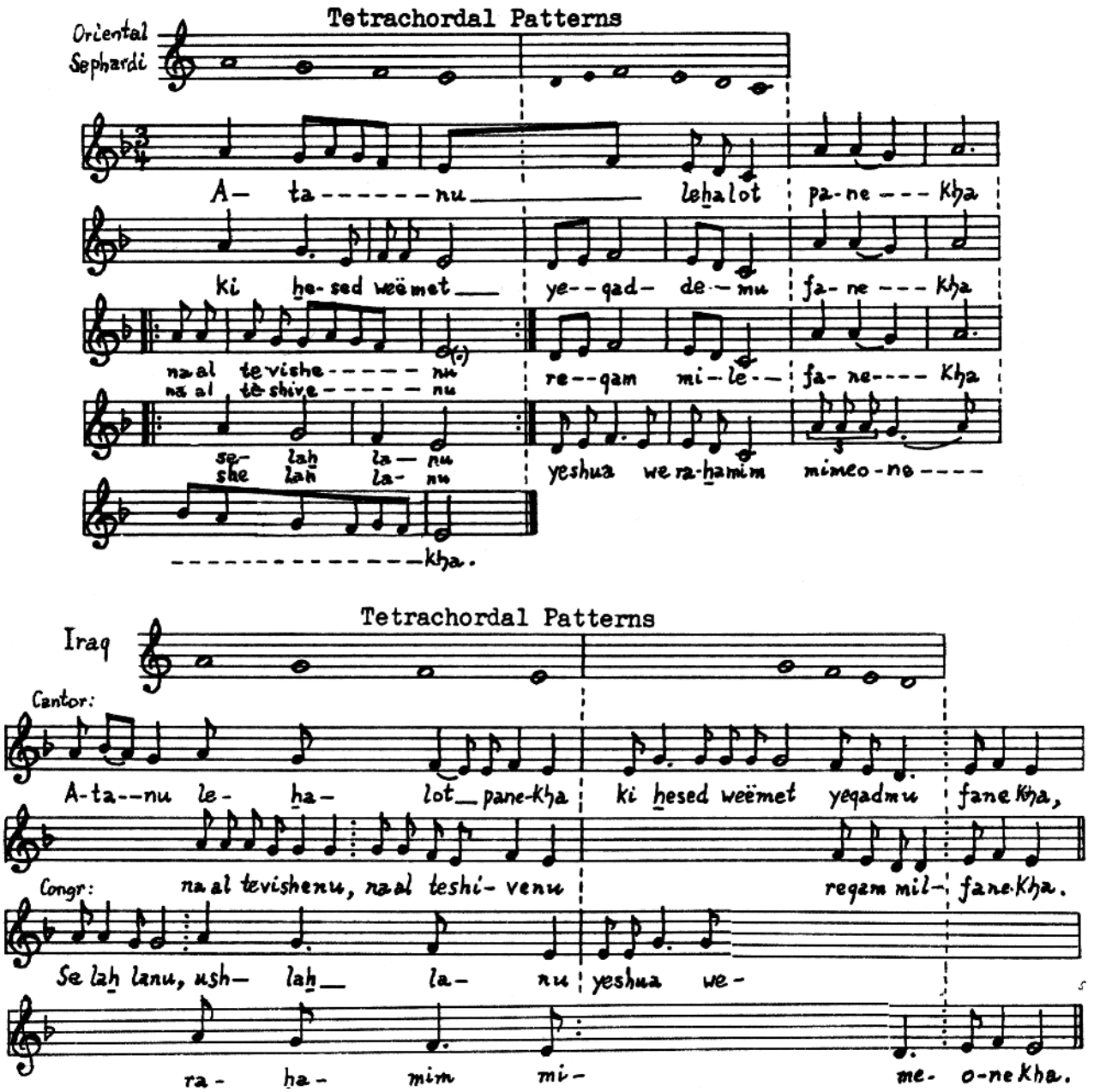
This method of "endless variation" is characteristic of the Oriental style of Jewish song. Its Ashkenazi counterpart is more closely related to the *nusaḥ* structure of prayer chant (see above), being a plastic sequence of variable and interchangeable motives (Mus. ex. 6a). The Ashkenazi style is distinguished by the clear-cut outline of its motives and the retention of the recitation tone technique related to psalmody.

It should be understood that there is no other means of evaluating the historical forms of *piyyut* singing than by inference from present-day traditions. Tunes, which show archaic features and conform neatly to the poetical form, may be regarded, as a working hypothesis, as representative of the original style. The texts of the *piyyutim* contain a considerable admixture of mystical elements recognizable, inter alia, by the exuberant accumulation of divine attributes (found as early as in the hymns of the Qumran sect and later explicitly condemned by the *tanna'im*, Ber. 33b; Meg. 18a). The exact musical consequences of these tendencies are not known, but they caused the later *geonim* (Yehudai, Nahshon) to urge the general removal of hymns from the liturgy. However, hymnal song had captivated the hearts of the people to such a degree that this proved impossible. The rabbis, therefore, looked with a certain suspicion upon the principal exponents of *piyyut* singing, the precentors who by then had already become professional ministers.

THE ḤAZZAN AND THE SYNAGOGAL SOLO STYLE. *Piyyut* as sung art-poetry demanded the expertness of a gifted soloist,



Example 6a. Hymn-tune constructed as a chain of variated motifs. Ashkenazi melody for the kerovah *hymns for the High Holy Days: (a) for* Ne'ilah *of the Day of Atonement, Bavarian version c. 1800–40 (Loew Saenger, 1781–1843), after Idelsohn,* Melodien, *vol. 7 part 3, no. 211; (b) for* Shaḥarit *of the New Year, Frankfurt version c. 1883 after F. Ogutsch (1845–1922),* Der Frankfurter Kantor, *1930, no. 179; (c) for* Musaf *of the New Year, Ukrainian version, c. 1860–80, after J. Bachmann,* Schirath Jacob, *1884 no. 90; (d) for* Musaf *of the New Year, Jerusalem version of the Lithuanian tradition as noted in 1963, after J.L. Neeman,* Nusaḥ la-Ḥazzan, *vol. 1, 1963, part 2. no. 17; (e) Psalm 65:3, chanted at* Kol Nidrei *to motives A and B of the kerovah melody, "Polish" version, 19th century, after A. Baer,* Baal T'fillah, *1883[3], no. 1307.*



Example 6b. Hymn-tunes constructed of variations on a modal pattern. The penitential hymn, Atanu leḥalot. *Oriental Sephardi, after Idelsohn,* Melodien, *vol. 4, no. 95 and Iraq,* ibid., *vol. 2, no 45. For the same as sung in Persia to a pattern comprising one tetrachord only, cf.* ibid., *vol. 3, no. 40.*

especially when the singer himself was expected to compose both text and tune. A lay precentor could hardly continue to fulfill such a task. It is surmised that the early *paytanim* performed their creations themselves, having also composed or adapted the melody. It was at this period, in the last quarter of the first millennium, that the new function of the professional solo singer came into existence – presently the well-known figure of the **ḥazzan*. The title *ḥazzan* was not new. It had formerly designated an assistant of the *archisynagogus. In addition to several secular tasks, this functionary had to arrange and supervise the ceremonies in public worship. It was an honored post: the Code of Theodosius exempted its holders from taxes in 438 and Pope Gregory the Great endorsed it c. 600. It was reasonable enough also to require musical ability of applicants for the post of this synagogue master of ceremonies. The term *ḥazzanut*, derived from the title *ḥazzan* designates, either the official post or, more often, the specific melodies and musical style of the solo singer.

For the chronological determination of the *ḥazzan's* specialization in music, a *terminus ante quem* is to be found in

*Nahshon's decision of about 875–880: "A *ḥazzan* who knows *piyyut* shall not be admitted to the synagogue" (B.M. Lewin, *Oẓar ha-Ge'onim*, 1 (1928), 70). The assumption of the title *ḥazzan* by the singer probably took place during the ninth century. Since the function of *ḥazzanut* soon came to be passed on from father to son, this vocation became almost a closed social class, where it was the custom for a *ḥazzan* to marry the daughter of his master or of a colleague. The ties of certain families to a musical profession are important for the growth and early training of talents and, in the long run, for the preservation of a musical tradition. There is mention, for instance, of a family of *ḥazzanim* flourishing in Baghdad in the 10th and 11th centuries: Joseph *Albaradani, the "Great *Ḥazzan*" (d. 1006), left sons and grandsons who became successive incumbents of his position, and all of them also wrote *piyyutim*.

The close connection between *ḥazzanut* and *piyyut* is demonstrated by some letters preserved in the Cairo **Genizah* (S.D. Goitein, *Sidrei Ḥinnukh* (1962), 97–102; idem, in: *Tarbitz*, 29 (1960), 357f.). The congregations in medieval Egypt were always eager to hear new hymns, and the *ḥazzanim* were compelled to exchange *piyyutim* among themselves, write them down secretly from the singing of a colleague, and engaged in correspondence as far afield as Marseilles.

It is difficult to imagine the musical character of early *ḥazzanut*. One can, however, attempt to demonstrate the common features of Oriental and European *ḥazzanim* of today with comparable gentile melodies taken as a control group. In addition, the tunes noted down by Obadiah the Norman Proselyte in the first half of the 12th century is available for comparison. With due precaution, it may be said that *ḥazzanut* implies the free evolution of a melodic line (without reference to any system of harmony). The tune therefore proceeds by seconds and other small steps, while leaping intervals are avoided. The melodic texture is dense: there are no empty intervals, no extended notes that are enlivened by dissolution into small steps (Mus. ex. 7).

The *ḥazzan* must command a good measure of musical creativeness. He does not simple reproduce a preconceived piece of music, but must give final shape to the general outlines of a theme by an improvisation of his own. In this way, the stanza of a *piyyut* may develop in a series of variations on the traditional theme (Mus. ex. 8a)

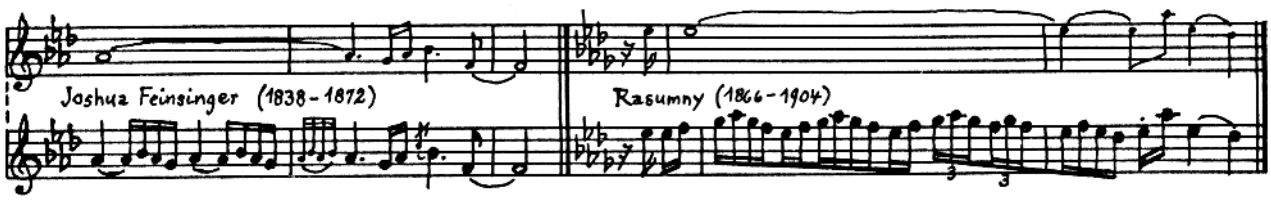
This feature is already found in the tunes notated by Obadiah the Norman Proselyte (Mus. ex. 8b) in the 12th century. The expressive element so characteristic of *ḥazzanut* can also be discovered in Obadiah's notations. The music of a *piyyut* fragment exhibits the repetition of words, the expressive motives, and the lively "pulsation" around a single note that have remained the pride of the *ḥazzan* until today.

To sum up, musical tradition in *ḥazzanut* means a melodic pattern to be followed, the choice of a specific tetrachord or other scale, which is representative of a certain mood, or a stock of motives to be arranged and rearranged in changing melodic structures. The most ancient heritage of synagogue music cannot be confined to bar lines or enclosed in a framework of symmetric phrases. Its rhythm is as free as that of the Hebrew poetry of the time. It is worth noting that melodies in free rhythm have been preserved even in European communities, as a body separate from Western music.

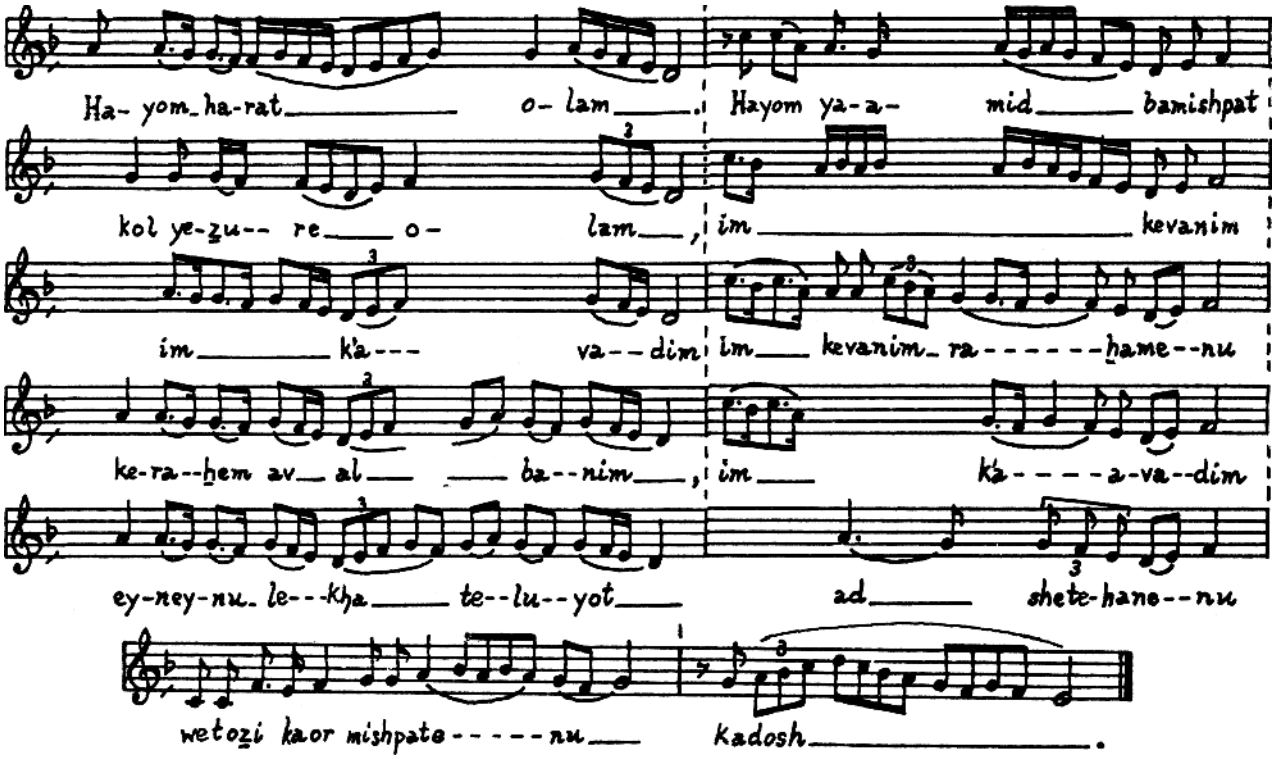
MUSIC OF THE MEDIEVAL DIASPORA (C. 950–1500)

The close connection between musical development and changes in thought and national or social conditions is demonstrated perfectly by the changes which occurred in Jewish music as a result of the Islamic conquests, which introduced strong secular and cosmopolitan traits into the cultural life of the Near East, North Africa, and Spain. The Jewish mind does not favor revolutions in sacred music, but new and powerful elements were added to the ancient stock and gave rise to mutual reactions and interactions. In the field of secular music, however, there was a strong trend towards integration, often impeded by forced separation from the gentiles, but thrusting forward as soon as conditions allowed. This general picture is colored by the existence and interplay of different spiritual factors within Jewry itself, each of which contributed to the shaping of musical ideas and forms.

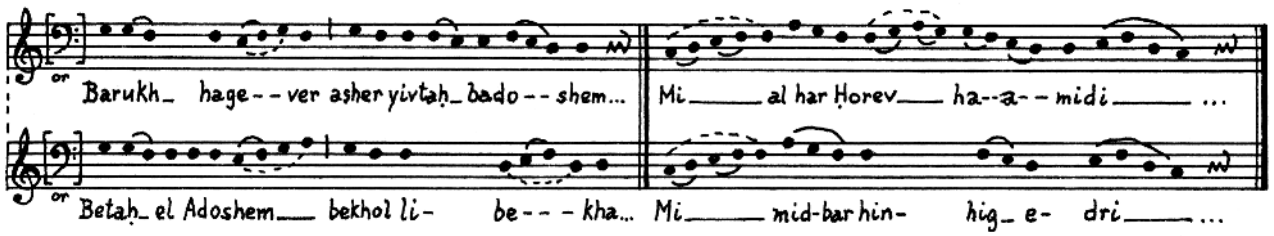
The beginning of a new period in Jewish music may be placed about the middle of the tenth century. By then, the accent systems of Bible chant had been completed; music was made a subject of philosophical reasoning; and sung poetry took on a new look by the introduction of meter and the aesthetic values connected with it. These developments in the spiritual and artistic fields went hand in hand with most important events and changes in the Near East. The conquest and unification of the Near Eastern countries by Islam brought the local Jewries into a larger world of relative liberty and open-mindedness. Art and science were no longer restricted to the service of certain religious dogmas, and Jews were free to integrate themselves into the material and spiritual realms of the general culture, but the price was paid by giving up the administrative autonomy of the Jewish population, and the



Example 7. Ornamentation of single notes in Eastern Ashkenazi ḥazzanut.



Example 8a. Improvisatory variation of a theme. Oriental Sephardi, after Idelsohn, Melodien*, vol. 4, no. 255.*



Example 8b. Variative development. Two of the melodies notated in the 12th century by Obadiah, the Norman proselyte. Transcription by H. Avenary (cf. JJS 16, 1966, 87ff.).

rapid decline of the academies and geonic authority. As a result, the hegemony of Eastern Jewry – which, until then, had supplied the Diaspora with legal decisions, books, *piyyutim, masorah*, rabbis, teachers, and *ḥazzanim* – came to an end. The dispersed Jewish communities were compelled to take matters into their own hands.

Integration in the Realm of Secular Music

THE SCIENCE OF MUSIC. The term *musica* did not exist in the Hebrew vocabulary until the tenth century, when it made its first appearance in the Arabized form, *mūsīqī*. It served to express the concept of the science of music (Ar. *'ilm al-mūsīqī*), as *ḥokhmat ha-musikah*, later also *ḥokhmat ha-niggun*. This branch of science is reckoned as the fourth in the classical quadrivium, "the most excellent and last of the propaedeutic disciplines" (*Dunash ibn Tamim). Muslim scholars followed the ancient Greeks when analyzing acoustic and musical phenomena in the spirit of an abstract science – an idea that attracted Jewish thinkers. In the early tenth century, Isaac *Israeli and his disciple Dunash ibn Tamim held that a full command of philosophical reasoning was indispensable for religious exegesis; they actually employed musical science for their commentary on the *Sefer *Yeẓirah* (ed. by M. Grossberg (1902), 16, 40, 48). Their great contemporary *Saadiah Gaon, who took it upon himself to bridge the widening gap between philosophy and religious tradition, is the author of the oldest known text on music written by a Jew. This is a paragraph at the end of the 10th treatise of his *Kitāb al-amānāt wa'l I'tiaqādāt* (*Book of Beliefs and Opinions*) written in 933. Its subject is the eight rhythmic modes known at the time and their influence on the human soul. Its approach largely expresses the prevailing doctrine of the ethos, which emphasizes the importance of harmony in its broad sense as an equilibrating force. Saadiah's 10th treatise as a whole is entitled "Concerning

How It Is Most Proper for Man to Conduct Himself in This World." It should be noted that the then prevailing ancient doctrine of the ethical influence of music formulated by the Greek philosophers, had been expressed earlier in the biblical stories of David playing before the melancholy King Saul and of prophetic ecstasy aroused by hearing musical instruments (I Sam. 10:6, 16:16, 23; II Kings 3:15).

It is quite likely that Saadiah's major source was the Arabic "Treatise Imparting Concise Information on Music" of the great Arab philosopher al-*Kindī (d. after 870). However, a close comparison of the respective passages shows that Saadiah's contains significant differences and deviations from al-Kindī's.

The historical significance of Saadiah's short chapter far exceeds that of its musical content. It demonstrates the integration of musical theory into Jewish learning. It had now become a challenge for erudite Jews in the Islamic countries to comprehend this art intellectually. Fragments of several books on music discovered in the Cairo *Genizah* were written during the 11th to 13th centuries in the Arabic language, but in Hebrew letters. Among them are extracts from the famous treatise on music of the secret 10th century Arab confraternity Ikhwān al-Ṣafāʾ, and a fragment on the elements of lute playing. Contemporary book lists also provide an indication of what could be found on music in private libraries and on bookstalls, and one can imagine how much must have been lost in Cairo and in cities like Baghdad, Damascus, Kairouan, or Cordova.

The scientific approach also makes itself felt in the fields of grammar and *masorah*, thus transferring the treatment of biblical accentuation to a higher level. The system of accents itself had been completed and summed up in somewhat naïve rhymes designed to aid memorization (*Dikdukei ha-Teʿamim*, ascribed to Aaron Ben-Asher himself). This old-fashioned method of teaching continued only by the Ashkenazim (versified teachings of Rabbenu Jacob *Tam in the 12th century and of *Joseph b. Kalonymus in the 13th century). A completely different spirit governs the dry but scientific classification given to the accents by Judah *Ḥayyuj (late tenth century), *Ibn Balaʿam or *Ibn Janaḥ (11th century). It is difficult to gauge the extent to which these works influenced musical performance proper, but they are witnesses to a new trend in the theoretical foundations of synagogue chant.

The classes of literature mentioned so far were addressed to a small stratum of society and never exerted as broad an influence as the books of biblical exegesis, whose study was everyone's moral duty. Thus the exegetes and their works achieved great power in the spiritual life of the nation and inevitably played a part in forming a body of common ideas about music. It was Saadiah Gaon who won the title "head of the speakers and first of the exegetes" in the post-midrashic era. His Arabic translation of and commentary on the Book of Psalms adheres scrupulously to the principle that all instrumental music be prohibited until the Temple is rebuilt, and he even claims that instrumental music was restricted to the Temple in ancient times. Saadiah was very particular about explaining obscure musical passages in the Bible out of the biblical text alone, but, on the other hand, he rather unconcernedly translated the Hebrew words *nevel* and *kinnor* by the Arabic names of contemporary string instruments. His practice was continued by Abraham *Ibn Ezra and innumerable others.

An example of an exegesis drawing on current philosophical opinions is *Baḥya b. Asher's comments on Ex. 32:19 and 15:20 (*Beʾur*, written 1291 in Spain). Relying upon the view of "the masters of musical science" that the nine musical instruments of Psalm 150 allude to the nine heavenly spheres and that seven of them derive their power from the seven planets, he explains why the *maḥol* (= Mars = evil) was the instrument played before the golden calf, while the *tof* (= Jupiter (*ẓedek*) = Justice) was beaten by Miriam, sister of the just priest Aaron. The *maḥol*, he points out, was the symbol of a sinful woman. In the course of time the opinion took shape that *maḥol* and other terms from the headings of the psalms, such as *ayyelet ha-shaḥar* and *alamot*, were musical instruments or names of musical "modes." This view recurs in literature until quite recent times. In general, the exegetical books spread an understanding and a high esteem of music; they endowed it with an image of strong spiritual power – not very different from that developed by philosophy – rather than of a self-sufficient art or a despised entertainment.

THE CHALLENGE OF NEW FORMS OF ARTS. The philosophy and theory of music were conceived by scholars and, as an abstract science, were detached from musical composition and performance. This did not prevent leaders like Saadiah Gaon from writing hymns in the free rhythms of Kallir's school. The following generation (about 940–950), with Saadiah's disciple *Dunash b. Labrat as its leader, introduced contemporary Arab metrics into Hebrew poetry. This was a revolutionary act of immense influence on poetry and music. Arabic poets had accepted the ancient Greek metrics based upon measured syllable durations as early as the eighth century: "Since the ancient Arabs by nature measured [their language], its very nature accorded with tonal proportions and musical composition" (*Ibn Danan, *Perek be-Ḥerez*, 15th century). The differentiation of long and short syllables is foreign to the Hebrew language; it was, rather, the intensity of enunciation that provided the poetic "weight" (*mishkal*). It may be seen, for instance, from *Yose b. Yose's *Darkekha Eloheinu le-Haʾarikh Appekha* that the singer had to utter one, two, or three syllables, as the case may be, between the accents; this precluded a regular beat and meter, and the tune had to be either psalmodic or in free rhythm. It can be said that this poetry did not include the dimension of time as an object of artistic configuration.

This old Semitic heritage was challenged by the Greco-Arab meters, which give a precise order and division to the continuum of time. The heavy pace of the old *piyyutim* was regarded as "bothersome to the public," which now preferred smoothly flowing rhythms flattering to the ear. The formal element had become autonomous, so to speak; its former depen-

dence upon an idea (expressed in a natural flow of speech) had weakened. This process was justified by the slogan "that the beauty of Japheth should dwell in the tents of Shem." Aesthetic appreciation was clearly a new aspect in Hebrew poetry and song. Of course, it had to overcome stiff opposition, but its victory was almost complete and lasted more than half a millennium. "A pleasant musical sound" was henceforth demanded when offering a prayer (Joseph *Albo, *Ikkarim*, 4:23, 8).

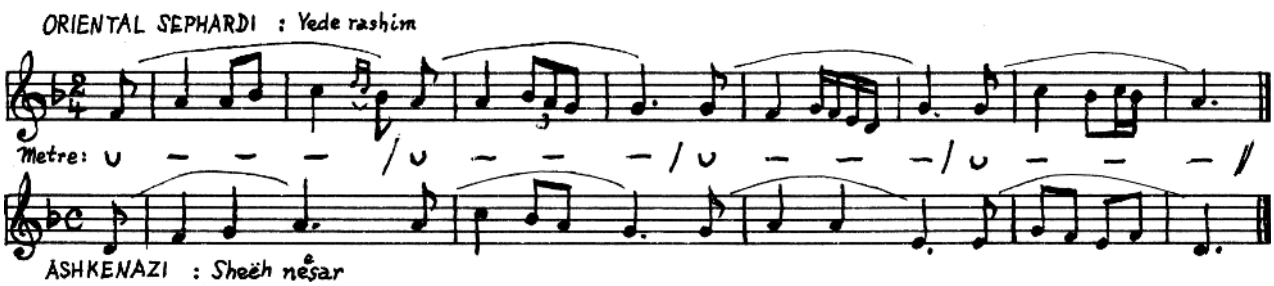
In the musical field, too, a new type of melody made its appearance. Its novelty in Jewish musical tradition is signaled by the fact that there was no term to designate it, and the Arabic word *laḥn* had to be adopted for the purpose. This type of melody demanded metrical texts, and an early Muslim theoretician, Ibn Rashik, held that meter was also the foundation of melody. This idea was repeated and developed by several Jewish writers down to the 17th century (e.g., Samuel *Archevolti). Both Moses and Abraham ibn Ezra (*Ẓaḥut* (Venice, 1546), 142a, written in 1145) advocated that a poem intended to be sung should be written in equal metrical units throughout. It is understandable that mixed meters would have led to alternating double and triple time within the melodic phrase and this seems to have been regarded as unbalanced.

Since neither Islamic nor Jewish culture record their music in writing, it is only by inference that the *laḥan* can be regarded as a "melody" according to European notions, i.e., a musical structure built of equal or corresponding sections and shaped according to a rhythmic scheme (meter). This design differs from the traditional tunes of free rhythm, as metrical poetry differs from biblical verse, and has the same advantages and drawbacks, as *Judah Halevi demonstrated (*Kuzari* 2:69).

In modern Jewish singing practice, a *laḥan* may be very closely to the cyclic structure of the stanzas and can be notated with bars according to the meter of the text (Mus. Ex. 9).

It is evident from the example that a "metrical" tune need not be syllabic; a series of short notes may appear on a long syllable. To judge from present practice, however, the absolute identity of poetic and musical rhythm is relatively rare. More often the tune is given its own rhythm, but even then it will be symmetrical or cyclic.

With the emergence of metrical poetry, the formal idea of the stanza became predominant; it constituted a major cycle, which comprised the minor elements of metrical units and rhythms of light character. Its introduction into serious songs was apt to broaden their public appeal. In the Jewish sphere, this implied the explicit invasion of musical tradition by environmental elements. This development was heralded by the extensive use of the Arabic strophic forms established in Spain: the *shir ezor* ("girdle song," *muwaššaḥ* in Arabic and the more popular genre the *zajal*, which were probably the ancestors of both the Spanish *villancico* and the French *virelai*). This form is characterized by a certain order of rhymes and by an unchanging refrain (*pizmon*) to be performed in chorus by the audience (*Tanḥum ha-Yerushalmi*, s.v. *pazzem*; see Y. Ratzhaby in: *Taẓlil*, 8 (1968), 16). The melody of a *shir ezor* could be either original or taken from an earlier composition ("With the Greeks, the song was composed together with its tune; with the Arabs, every song has a tune, but not every tune has a song [exclusively associated with it]," Moses ibn Ezra, c. 1100 (Heb. transl. B.Z. Halper, *Shirat Yisrael*, 1924, 110)). The transfer of melodies from one song to another is also a common feature of Hebrew hymns from the 11th century onward ("The scribes of Spain… would write the tune of a well-known *piyyut* above the column of the *piyyut*," Abraham ibn Ezra, commentary on Ps. 7:1). In a sample of about 80 hymns from the Cairo *Genizah*, published by J.H. *Schirmann in 1966 (*Piyyutim Ḥadashim min ha-Genizah*), the superscriptions of 32 refer the reader to the tunes of other Hebrew poems. Seventeen others, however, were written to Arabic melodies assumingly well known in their day. This shows clearly that the acceptance of a foreign form was often accompanied by the adoption of foreign music – either by the transfer of actual melodies or as an imitation of style. Simeon Duran writes (c. 1400) of "the tunes for songs and elegies:.. some were composed in the lands of Spain and taken by the poets from the songs of Ishmael [i.e., of the Arabs] which are very attractive: others were taken from the popular songs of the French countries and are driven to extreme melodic height and extension" (*Magen Avot*, ed. Leghorn 1785, 55b). Sometimes approved, but more often attacked, the custom of using foreign tunes remained a permanent feature in Jewish music. Later it even became an issue of mystical ideology and, in music itself, a source of hybrid forms.



Example 9. Melodies shaped according to the meter of the poetry. (a) Oriental Sephardi, after Idelsohn, Melodien, *vol. 4, no. 218; (b) basic Western Ashkenazi melody; cf. A. Baer,* Baal T'fillah, *1883³, no. 225.*

The new development in poetry and music may be reduced to one common formula: both arts are given a periodic ordering, an artificial structuring of the dimension of time acquired from Greco-Arabic precedents. The mere sound of speech and song thereby becomes an experience of its own. The listener may give himself up to rhythms and sounds more harmonious and relaxed than those found in harsh reality; the words may pass before him without posing a special challenge or demand. This phenomenon was alien to the older forms of Hebrew poetry in which the "weight" of accents, like pounding hammers, drove the words into the consciousness. It is difficult to imagine that one could listen to the "beautiful flow of speech" of Isaiah or Job without being moved by its message. The impact of a sensual and aesthetic appreciation of art was a new element in Jewish music, and the first tangible sign of its progressive integration with the cultural environment.

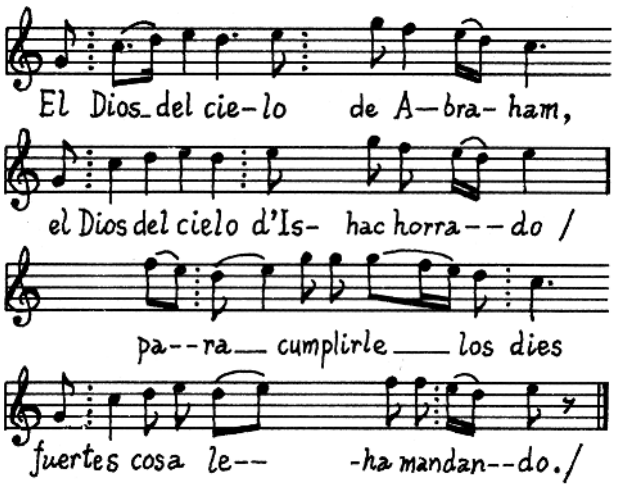
MUSIC AT THE SOCIAL AND POPULAR LEVELS. As a result of the relative freedom in daily life that the Jews were granted, musical elements that had no connection whatsoever with either religion or secular learning came to the fore. At the popular level, song and play had certainly never ceased to enliven festival and ordinary activities, exactly as is related of the Talmudic era (see above). An uninterrupted stream of reports and notices from the Middle Ages tell about Jewish minstrels and jugglers roaming the countries and performing before Jews and gentiles. The wandering artist had a very low status in medieval society; he was almost an outcast in Christian civilization and was regarded with the same suspicion, as sometimes were the Jews. Nevertheless, minstrelsy was a very old vocation, which had spread over the continent in the path of the Roman legions. When the Jews were expelled from their country, many joined the universally open class of *ludarii* (M. Jastrow, REJ, 17, 308–10), *ministrerii*, and *ioculatores*. The movement of Jews into this way of life continued during the Middle Ages and later on. Most of the Jewish communities could not offer a livelihood to all who possessed an artistic gift and felt an urge to practice it. These artists used to master not only singing and instrumental play but also the recitation of long epics and the composition of various kinds of poetry, as well as dancing, rope walking, knife throwing, etc.

This kind of "art" was acceptable not only in the villages or market places; men of high standing were also fond of hearing and seeing the minstrel and juggler, and those they liked best they would attach to their retinue. Since the roaming artist was an outsider in any case, his Jewish extraction was of no consequence in making him the court musician of a caliph or emir or of a Christian king, bishop, or knight. Some examples of the Jewish minstrels' appearance before high-class audiences may shed some light on this continuously recurring phenomenon. From Jewish tribes who settled in seventh-century Hijaz and went to war with shawm and drum came the famous singer *al-Gharid al-Yahudi of Medina, said to have pleased Muhammad himself by his song. In Andalusia, *al-Mansur al-Yahudi was appointed court musician by al-Hakam I, the caliph of Cordoba, early in the ninth century and sent to Kairouan to escort the famous musician Ziryab to Cordoba; others are known to have served the nobles of the Ibn Shaprut family, such as a certain Isaac b. Simeon (c. 1100). The Christian kings of Spain also held Jewish musicians in high esteem. Their court accounts of the 14th–16th centuries repeatedly mention Jewish *juglares* (mostly vihuela players) who received considerable remuneration and were granted pompous titles (*ministrerii de stroments de corda de casa de la señora reyna*). Wandering singer-poets of Jewish descent were welcome with kings and aristocrats since they added a popular flavor to the sophisticated, but sometimes dull, court atmosphere. "El Ropero," the son of a Jewish tailor, was maliciously called *malvado cohen, judio, zafío, logrero* by his rivals, but nevertheless allowed to address Isabella the Catholic with a protest song against the persecution of the Marranos in 1473. One of his contemporaries Juan (Poeta) of Valladolid, pleased the Spanish court of Naples.

The activities of Jewish singers immediately before the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, testifies again that they were regarded as outsiders in every respect. They also appear in the company of Provençal troubadours, French trouvères, or, like *Suesskind of Trimberg (c. 1220), at the seat of the bishop of Wuerzburg. The poetries of these Jewish singers, even the songs on biblical subjects and those obviously written for a Jewish audience, were in the vernacular. They mastered the international repertoire to no less a degree than their gentile colleagues and added to it subjects from Bible and Midrash. One of the unexpected discoveries in the Cairo *Genizah* was the notebook of a Jewish minstrel of 1382, writing German in Hebrew letters. It contains a lengthy German epic, as well as songs on Moses, Abraham, Joseph, and a parable from the Midrash. The authors, "Eizik and Abraham the Scribes," rarely use Hebrew words (but "church" is pejoratively called *tifleh*).

The wandering singers were a class between the nations and, in general, rather estranged to their origin. They spread the works and motifs of literature over the countries and continents (e.g., Samson Pine, who interpreted the French epic of Parzival to German scribes in 1335). The tales of King Arthur were introduced to the Jewish public as well when they were transferred to the Jewish idiom or imitated, as in the **Shmuel Bukh* (15th century), the *Akedat Yiẓḥak* poem, and similar compositions. Reliable sources show that such Jewish epics were sung to a fixed melodic phrase throughout the whole work like the *Chanson de Geste* and similar poems the world over. Regrettably, such tunes as the *Niggun Shmuel Bukh* were never recorded in music, but their counterparts have been preserved in the biblical ballads of the Sephardim, which show that the recurrent standard phrase was varied with every repetition (Mus. ex. 10).

Minstrelsy in general holds an important share in the formation of common European melody types. Its Jewish repre-



Example 10. Standard phrase of epic song. In this example, the phrase is varied by alternating open and closed cadences. Ladino ballad on the sacrifice of Isaac, Morocco, after A. Larrea Palacin, Cancionero Judio del Norte de Marrucos*, vol. 1,* Romances de Tetuan*, 1952, 123.*

sentatives served as intermediaries between the ghettoes and their environment. They were also the bearers of an instrumental tradition, especially in the field of dance music. When conducting the elaborate musical rites of wedding ceremonies and other occasions, they transferred part of the international repertoire to the Jewish quarter (Mus. ex. 11).

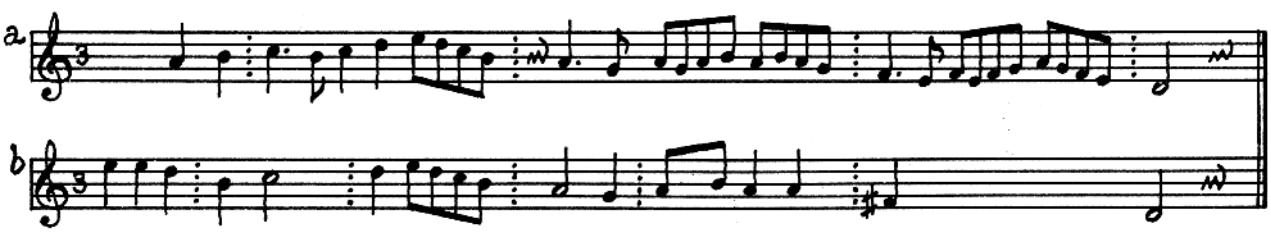
It is no wonder that common European formulas of dance melodies invaded the more popular part of religious and even synagogue song (Mus. ex. 12). Although these processes belong to the popular level, their importance can hardly be overrated. It was the broad masses of the people who sang certain hymns and regulated the musical taste by giving or denying their emotional approval to the precentor. Periods when an educated musical understanding decided the forms of liturgical song remained rather isolated phenomena. One can hardly discover any influence of that art music which was so highly esteemed during the Golden Age of Andalusian Jewry, when *Moses ibn Ezra gained relief from melancholy by listening to a lute player ("The sinew of my heart becomes one of his strings… skillful hands that feel their way and jump on a fret in just time, spread joy over the breathing souls… the dark doors closed, and the seat of the Most-High lies open to the initiated eyes…," *Shirei Ḥol*, ed. Brody, no. 72), or *Al-Ḥarizi who gave his thankful greetings to a certain Isaiah, master on the Arabic lute (he "stirs up the lute strings to sing… like a child in mother's lap who smiles and emits exultant shouts, not weeping… His playing over a dead body would awaken it, and the spirit of life would dwell upon it again…," *Taḥkemoni,* ed. Kahana, 463). Those beautiful and poetic words bear witness of the deep emotions felt on listening to elaborate art music. However, the conditions of the Jewish exile did not allow for a continued delight in the refined art; time and again the Jews were thrown back to the level of poor people and to the kind of music enjoyed by the same.

THE FORMATION OF CONCEPTS OF JEWISH MUSIC (12TH–14TH CENTURIES)

Since the dawn of the second millennium the impact of the musical idioms of the host cultures was felt more and more in Jewish life, religious and secular. In the face of powerful external influences, the traditional attitude to music was also revised and, eventually, rearranged. By the 13th century, three main concepts had developed that circumscribed the role of music in Jewish life in such a fundamental way as to retain their power through the ages down to the present.

The Rabbinic Attitude to Music

Wherever the Torah is applied to life in its entirety, the ethical potential of music is esteemed above its aesthetic values. Beauty of sound and formal perfection fade and are ranked as a mere means of reaching a higher goal, beyond the realm of art. Rabbis did not appreciate any kind of music that was merely pleasing to hear but had no edifying objective. It goes without saying that they condemned music that was likely to stir up excessive human passion. From the time of *Hai Gaon (c. 1000) the most important Talmud commentaries and legal decisions constantly uttered warnings against listening to Arab love songs (*shiʿir al-ghazal*, *Alfasi) or the popular "girdle songs" (*muwaššaḥ*, *Maimonides). The latter called the occupation with songbooks (*sifrei niggun*) a "waste of time in vanity" (Comm. to Sanh. 10:1). On the condition that the singer refrains from losing himself in sensual pleasure and evoking primitive instincts, however, most rabbis held music in high esteem. Song is regarded as a very desirable accompaniment to prayer. Musical performance at



*Example 11. International dance tunes in the Jewish klezmer repertoire. (a) Italian dance tune, "*Lamento di Tristano*," late 14th century, after A. T. Davison and W. Apel (eds.),* Historical Anthology of Music*, vol. 1, 1950, no. 59; (b)* klezmer *tune, after Elhanan Kirchhan,* Simḥat ha-Nefesh*, part II, Fuerth, 1727, fol. 4r.*

public worship was naturally subject to certain prohibitions, e.g., the prohibition on playing instruments and listening to them during the Sabbath, imitating rites of foreign worship, or listening to female singing voices. Regulations of this kind impeded the introduction of the organ or the formation of mixed choirs in synagogues, for example. Another rabbinical doctrine demands that everyone in full, including the participants in responsorial chant, should enunciate the psalms. This gave rise to the strange "concatenated" alternation of hemistichs still practiced in several Eastern communities:

> *Solo*: The heavens declare the glory of God,
> *Choir*: and the firmament sheweth his handiwork. Day unto day uttereth speech,
> *Solo*: and the firmament sheweth his handiwork. Day unto day uttereth speech,
> *Choir*: and night unto night sheweth knowledge. There is neither speech nor language,
> *Solo*: and night unto night sheweth knowledge. There is neither speech nor language (Psalm 19).

Rabbi Isaiah *Horowitz, who settled in Jerusalem in the early 17th century, recommended this custom also to the West (*Kiẓẓur Shelah* (ed. 1715), fol. 66a).

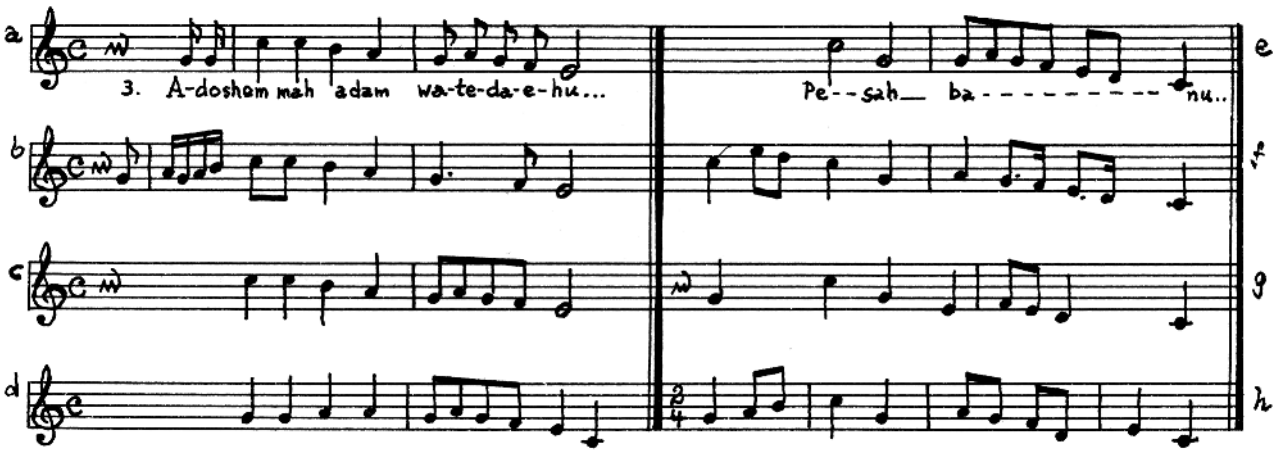
The competence of the *ḥazzan* was judged by his personal respectability and good repute rather than by musical standards. This frequently expressed view was codified later in the Shulḥan Arukh (OḤ 53:4). Time and again, rabbis were inclined to reject *ḥazzanim* of a prominently artistic or virtuoso disposition, since they were suspect of aiming at public applause alone. Nevertheless, rabbis very often had to compromise or even resign themselves to the demands of the public (Solomon Luria, *Yam shel Shelomo*; Ḥul. 1:49). The guardians of law however, did not cease calling singers to order by their warnings not to disturb the balance of word and tone or sever the bond between related words by extended coloraturas: indeed, a style of singing came into existence in which vocalized coloraturas occurred only as a sort of interlude between integral word groups, instead of being sung to the syllable or a word. In the later centuries, *ḥazzanim* were often blamed by their rabbis for a "theatrical" or "operatic" mode of performance or (in unconscious conformity with Plato) for their "imitation of nature," such as when they pictured vocally the "sound of great waters" in Ps. 93:4 (Judah Leib Zelichower, *Shirei Yehudah*, 1696, fol. 27b).

The innermost meaning of music was defined by Maimonides with reference to the perfect music of the Levites in the Temple as cognate to the faculty of discerning the pure idea (*Guide of the Perplexed*, 3, 46), with pleasantness of sound a precondition of its effect on the soul (*ibid.*, 3, 45). About three centuries later an exile from Spain, Isaac ben Ḥayyim Cohen wrote in his *Eẓ Ḥayyim* that the singing of the Levites is intended to prepare their minds for contemplation, as befits those fulfilling sacred tasks. These statements demonstrate how a well-established tradition may be corroborated by philosophical argumentation.

Philosophy and Secular Education

Music was included in the ardent debates about this problem, since it formed part of the curriculum of sciences. It remained for Maimonides' followers to establish its rightful place within Jewish education and learning. Joseph ibn *Aknin was the first to undertake this task in his book *Cure of the Souls* (*Tibb al-Nufus*, ch. 27). In Ibn Aknin's opinion the Bible itself obliges the Jewish people to learn the art of music, not only because of its association with the holy sacrifices and its high esteem in the ancient times, but because the spiritual power of music had been a source of prophecy, "guiding the mind to clear sight, to keen distinction, to the faculty of meditation." Music now penetrated education as a medium of shaping the character and developing emotional abilities. "Understanding music" (as a goal apart from practical execution) was accepted as an educational factor by the Jews of Moorish Andalusia and of Christian southern Europe, from about 1230–40. Transfer of the language of musical literature from Arabic to Hebrew marked the turning point. Already a century earlier *Abraham b. Ḥiyya wrote in Hebrew a comprehensive encyclopedia of the sciences of which the section on music, "On *Ḥokhmat ha-Niggun* called *musika* in Greek" is in manuscript in the Vatican library. Shemtov *Falaquera gave music its appropriate place in his educational work of 1236 *Ha-Mevakkesh* ("The Searcher" – after wisdom and happiness) and in his *Reshit Ḥokhmah* ("Beginnings of Wisdom," also translated into Latin); he also advocated Hebrew as the preferred language of studies. The latter idea guided the Jews of Provence when they appointed Andalusian authors to translate science books into Hebrew. Judah ibn *Tibbon had already supplied a version of Saadiah's philosophical work together with its musical appendix (see above). Judah Al-Ḥarizi translated the Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq's *Sayings of the Philosophers* (ch. 18–20 about music). Anonymous translators contributed the extensive music treatise from the encyclopedia of *Ibn Abi al-Ṣalt. Fragments of a musical treatise by *Moses b. Joseph ha-Levi have been preserved as a quotation.

The activities of these promoters of music education coincided – certainly not by chance – with the endeavors made in Christian Castile, Provençe, and Sicily to create a European spiritual culture independent of ecclesiastical dogma but following classical antiquity. A cosmopolitan and humanistic spirit governed the circles that fostered this movement, and the above-mentioned Abraham b. Ḥiyya served them as a translator, as did many Jews and Moors. This breath of fresh air awoke hopes for a normalization of exile conditions by transferring ingredients of secular culture into Hebrew. During these heydays of medieval civilization, Jews ornamented their books with excellent miniatures, sang the love songs of the troubadours ("a very bad custom, taken over from the surrounding peoples," Jacob *Anatoli, c. 1230) or romances (*Sefer *Ḥasidim* 142; cf. 3; 238, c. 1200) and listened to popular tales and epics. Hebrew poets of Provence appreciated the art of famous troubadours (Abraham *Bedersi, late 13th century) but wrote exclusively in their own tongue, albeit for a limited au-



Example 12. Common European idioms in Western Ashkenazi melodies. (a) Psalm 144, Ashkenazi, as sung on Sabbath eve, notated by H. Avenary; (b) German dance song, 1556, after W. Salmen, MGG, vol. 7, 1957, col, 227; (c) Bulgarian dance melody, ibid., *(d)* Bergamasca, *a north Italian melody widely known since the 16th century; here in a version by Salamon de' Rossi, after P. Nettl,* Altjuedische Spielleute und Musiker, *1923, 21; (e) Ashkenaz Passover hymn, after G. Ephros,* Cantorial Anthology, *vol. 3, 1948, 85; (f)* klezmer *tune, 1727, after E. Kirchhan,* Simḥat ha-Nefesh, *part 11. fol. 2v.; (g)* klezmer *tune* ibid., *fol. 5v; (h) European dance-music formula, descending the major scale, after W. Wiora in* Report, Sixth Congress of the International Musicological Society, *Bamberg, 1953, 1954, 170.*

dience ("My lyre, awaking melodies in this generation, what is it more than a forlorn song?" Abraham Bedersi).

Such tendencies received fresh impulse from the movement of the Proto-Renaissance and from new trends in French and Italian music early in the 14th century. The poet and thinker *Immanuel of Rome ("O science of music, who will understand any more the art of thy flutes and drums?" *Maḥbarot*, 21) complained: "It is a well-known fact that the science of music – a wonderful and esoteric science and art – was once thoroughly understood by our nation… but nowadays, none of us knows anything of it, and it is entirely in Christian hands" (Comm. Prov. 23:13). Such ideas, of whom Immanuel was only one exponent, now gave rise to a new wave of Hebrew musical literature drawn from Latin and Italian sources. The connection of its compilers with the Proto-Renaissance movement is obvious. *Kalonymus b. Kalonymus, who served King Robert II of Anjou as a science translator, also wrote a Hebrew version of Al-*Farabi's *Classification of the Sciences* (3:5 on music), in 1314. *Levi b. Gershom, collaborating with Johannes de Muris in mathematics and astronomy, was commissioned by Philippe de Vitry to write a treatise *De numeris harmonicis* in 1343 and was thus in close touch with two outstanding figures of the *Ars Nova* in France, as was probably also that unknown music student whose Hebrew notebook refers to teachings of Jean Vaillant (c. 1400). Italian Trecento music is reflected by the notebook of another anonymous Jew who translated into Hebrew a brief compilation of musical theory attributed to the famous Marchettus of Padua from Italian. A more comprehensive treatise of musical theory was translated from Latin by a certain *Judah b. Isaac. In his preface, the translator brings forward the favorite idea of that epoch: that Jewish occupation with musical science actually means the recovery of one's own property, lost in the turmoil of exile. 14th-century Spain contributed some discussions on the role of music in medicine; they are only marginal phenomena, when compared to the strong tendency of Provençal and Italian Jewry to make the science of music a building stone of a secular culture of their own.

The endeavors of medieval Jewry to attach themselves to contemporary musical conceptions were buried under an avalanche of severe catastrophes that threatened the very existence of the Jews. These prompted the question whether the devotion to art and worldly goods was at all appropriate to a people in exile. Solomon *Ibn Verga (late 15th century) expressed such opinions in a fictional discussion between King Alfonso VIII and three Jewish leaders (*Shevet Yehudah*, par. 8): "Why should you teach your children music" asks the king, "whereas you are obliged to tears and mourning all your life since the God of Heavens called you a wretched people and dispersed you for it, which he did to no other nation." The Jewish respondents cannot proffer a real answer and demonstrate a disheartened retreat from their former aims and hopes. Pushed back by the turn taken by medieval civilization, Jews had to abandon their tentative contacts with art music and musical learning. This problem was to repeat itself several times later on.

According to a pattern that became standard, rejection led to a return to traditional standards and ideas. In music, this meant a move back to the use of musical language for predominantly religious expression. By the 15th century, however, the latter had already lost its original sober purity by the adoption of metric tunes for hymnal song and by the practice of florid melodies fostered by a strong mystical movement.

Mystical Ideas and Forms

Tradition on the lines of pure *halakhah* hardly considered the innate dynamics of musical expression, but judged it by exter-

nal (albeit exalted) standards. Direct and constant relations between religious experience and music are rather found in the mystical approach to faith, which needed music for communicating ideas that cannot be expressed by words and as a means of imparting visions and secret revelations. Such tendencies are already evident in the Midrashim of earlier Jewish mysticism. During the 13th century, the mystical trend gained in impetus and exerted an unprecedented power over both the contemplative and the active modes of life.

When the Kabbalah attempts to reveal the secrets of creation or of the heavens, it often has recourse to musical symbols, metaphors, and allegories. The reciprocal relation between the lower and the upper world, for exampe, is made comprehensible by analogy with musical resonance; divine love and grace are pictured by various allegories of song and dance. The Zohar gathers almost every musical allusion to mystical ideas found in the Talmud and Midrash, without adding anything really new; but it renovates and strengthens the impact of such visions as the angelical choirs (*Va-Yetze*, ed. Mantua, fol. 158b–159b) and their counterpart, Israel's song of praise ("so that the Holy One may be exalted from above and from below in harmony," *Shemot*, 164b; cf. *Va-Yeḥi*, 231a–b). Images of this kind had earlier been drawn in the *Heikhalot* literature (see above). Especially significant is the demand for cheerfulness in prayer, concretely expressed in song and melody: "… we know that the **Shekhinah* does not dwell in sad surroundings, but only amid cheerfulness. For this reason Elisha said (II Kings 3:15): 'But now bring me a minstrel; and it came to pass, when the minstrel played, that the hand of God came upon him'" (*Va-Yeshev*, 180b; cf. *Va-Yeḥi*, 216b; 249b). Contemporary and later kabbalists connect their allegories with a rather precise, almost scientific, description of musical phenomena (e.g., Abraham *Abulafia; Isaac *Arama). Mystical meditation, however, by its very nature, had to remain a privilege of the selected few. Its massive influence on music was made effective by books or commentaries in the prayer book and, more directly, by the personal example of individual mystics acting as cantors and rabbis.

Among the *Ḥasidei Ashkenaz, mystical ideas penetrated the particular mode of devout life taught by Judah he-Ḥasid and his followers. Their aim was to demonstrate the love of God and the joy in his commandments every day, and this strongly emotional element shaped a musical idiom of its own. Prayer and praise are the center of life, but they can be conducted in true perfection only by inseparable union with a tune. Singing is the natural expression of joy, and a frequent change of melodies prevents daily prayer from becoming mere routine. Absorption in song releases the abandonment of the self and the innermost concentration on the words uttered. Moreover, mystical prayer also has an active end in sight: **kavvanah*, the "intention" or concentration on the mystical union of world and creator, is to be brought about by contemplating the hidden sense behind the plain meaning of the words. These unspoken matters must be deliberated during the utterance of certain key words of the prayers. In this context, the tune has several tasks: to eliminate the diversion of mind by the surroundings, to make room for a chain of thoughts around a word, and to remind the congregation of a specific "intention." The technical term for this application of melody was *le-ha'arikh be-niggun, li-meshokh niggunim* (extending the tune), *be-orekh u-vemeshekh niggun*, or *niggunim arukhim* (long tunes). All these terms point to the long melismas, mostly wordless coloraturas, before or within the prayer that became a distinguishing mark of mystical prayer song.

A rather simple example of melodically expressed *kavvanah* may be found in the recitation of the Book of Esther, which does not contain any explicit mention of God. When reaching chapter 6, verse 1, "On that night the king could not sleep," the same long melisma which ornaments the word "the King" during High Holiday morning prayers is intoned, symbolizing that it actually was the King of the World who intervened at this point. Other examples are the legendary association of the **'Aleinu* prayer with Joshua and the walls of Jericho, which is evoked by inserted trumpet-like flourishes, or the extended tune of *Barekhu* on Sabbath night which was believed to give the souls suffering in hell an additional moment of relief. Undoubtedly a certain poetical element dwells in the "long melodies" and, at the same time, provides a challenge for the performing cantor. The latter always took pride in giving musical shape to these sometimes phantasmagorical ideas.

Along with this outlet of dynamic music making, medieval mysticism also opened the door to the intrusion of definitely popular musical elements. Just as everyone was obliged to say daily prayers, no one would be dispensed from doing so in song:

> You should never say: My voice is not agreeable… Speaking this way, you complain against him who did not make your voice beautiful. There is nothing that induces man to love his Creator and to enjoy his love more than the voice raised in an extended tune… If you are unable to add something [of your own to the prescribed text], pick out a tune that is beautiful and sweet to your ears. Offer up your prayer in such tunes, and it will be full of *kavvanah*, and your heart will be enchanted by the utterings of your mouth… (*Sefer Ḥasidim*, 11; 13th century).

This trend necessarily led away from every artistic or elaborate kind of music. Although the *Sefer Ḥasidim* clearly rejected "music from the tavern," the door was thrown open to a new invasion of foreign melodies, at least at the popular level of Jewish mysticism. A time was even to come when the "redemption" of a beautiful gentile tune, by its adaptation to a sacred text, was to be regarded as a great merit. The concepts of music developed by the Ḥasidei Ashkenaz deeply penetrated the communities and lasted for a long time in Central Europe. Made popular by the writings of *Eleazar b. Judah (Ha-Roke'aḥ) of Worms and numerous prayer books with commentaries of his inspiration, the musical expression of *kavvanot* became an essential task of *ḥazzanut*. It remained so as late as the 18th century, when it was replaced by the influence of East European Ḥasidism.

THE CONSOLIDATION OF REGIONAL STYLES

The spiritual developments which shaped the various concepts of sacred song were largely concluded by 1300. It fell to the 15th century to shape music itself according to the chosen ideal and to direct the accepted patterns into the channels of a continuous tradition. Differences of ideology and taste gave rise to separate musical traditions – not only of the larger groups (*Minhag Ashkenaz*, *Sefarad*, *Italyah*, *Romanyah*), but even on the community level. Important but limited groups, such as the Jews of Avignon (*Carpentras), Mainz, and Prague, developed a characteristic musical custom (*minhag*) of their own.

Musical Minhag

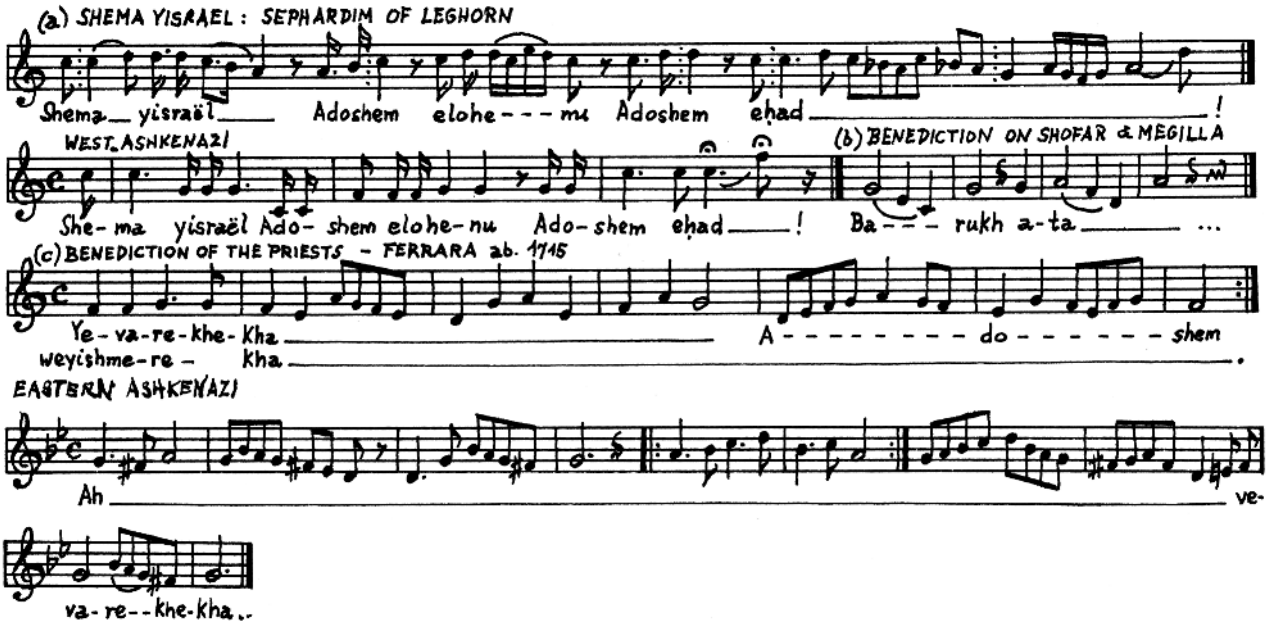
Scattered references related to the music of certain prayer or hymn texts can already be found in the earlier compendia of liturgical practice, such as *Abraham b. Nathan ha-Yarḥi's *Ha-Manhig* (c. 1205). Moreover, their disciples passed down the practices of venerable rabbis and *ḥazzanim* through oral tradition. Some of the musical *minhagim* go back to the talmudic period, such as extending the melodies of "*eḥad*" in *Shema Yisrael* (Ber. 13b; 61b), (Mus. ex. 13a), of the *Amen (Ber. 47a), and of the *Priestly Blessing (Kid. 71c), see Mus. ex. 13c. The halakhic sayings that *shofar* and *megillah* are to be treated alike (Ber. 30a; Meg. 4b, etc.) are evoked by the use of an identical tune for the benedictions of both of them (Mus. ex. 13b).

The efforts to consolidate an Ashkenazi tradition of sacred song were concentrated in the school of Jacob b. Moses *Moellin, commonly called the Maharil. Although a rabbi by rank and authority, he liked to function as a *ḥazzan* (*Sefer Maharil*, ed. Lemberg, 1860, fol. 55a–b; 49b). The musical usage taught by him was, on the one hand, a continuation of existing traditions accepted from former *Ḥazzanim* (*ibid.*, 28a; 82b), but on the other, his personal choice and example became normative. As a rule, the Maharil used to acknowledge the right of local custom:

> Maharil said: Local custom should not be altered at any price, even not by unfamiliar melodies. And he told us an event in his life. Once he was *ḥazzan* during the High Holidays at the Regensburg community and sang all the prayers according to the custom of the land of Austria, which is followed there. It was difficult for him, however, so that he said the *haftorah* in the tune customary in the settlements near the Rhine.

It is remarkable how elaborate and thoughtful the musical performance of the Maharil was. His disciple, Zalman of St. Goar, recorded many details with great care and transmitted to posterity a "score without music," so to speak, of the most important parts of the liturgy. In the service for the Ninth of Av, for instance (fol. 49b–50b), not only is the distribution of texts between congregation and cantor defined, but also what the latter had to sing in a loud, medium, and low voice, what in a mournful intonation, and where a cry of pain was to be sent up. The pauses at the end of the verses and chapters are not forgotten, nor are the extension of melodies and other discriminate implements of expression. The music of the Day of Atonement is treated in a similar way (fol. 63a; 65a).

The Maharil used to stress the importance of hymns (*Krovez*, 83b), but he wished to exclude those in the German vernacular (117a), which apparently existed then, as do such in *Ladino with the Sephardim to the present. Often the Ma-



Example 13. Old tradition of melodic extension. (a) Italian Sephardi, after F. Consolo, op. cit., Ex. 4, no. 12; Western Ashkenazi, after I. Lachmann (see Mus. ex. 1) no 8: (b) Western Ashkenazi, notated by H. Avenary: (c) Italian, after Mordecai Tzahalon, Metzitz u-Melitz, *Venice, 1715; Eastern Ashkenazi, after H. Wasserzug,* Schirei Mikdosch, *I, 1878, no. 65.*

haril points to the identity between certain hymn tunes (28b; 74b). Unlike many other rabbis, he regarded melody as an essential element of liturgical traditon.

The "musical *minhag*" of the Maharil is also full of mystical "intentions" (*kavvanot* 40b; 55b; 56a; 66a). There are striking examples of their influence on melodical configuration: "He used to extend [the tune at] the word 'Thou' very much, obviously concentrating his mind on the faculty of 'Thou' known to all the adepts of mystics" (56a). Such musical suggestions of a hidden sense of the words were indicated by remarks in the prayer books. The *Maḥzor Hadrat Kodesh* (Venice, 1512), for instance, advises the *ḥazzan* to sing a certain chapter "to a melody" or "in a long and beautiful tune" and assigns to the prayer *Nishmat Kol Ḥai* "a beautiful melody, since all the people of Israel are given *Neshama yetera* on the Sabbath." Other books attest the use of veritable leitmotifs in the recitation of the Book of Esther when, for instance, the drinking vessels of Ahasuerus are mentioned to the tune of the Lamentations (for they supposedly formed part of the booty from the Temple of Jerusalem). It was also an old custom to prolong the tune of *Barukh she-Amar* in the Morning Prayer (mentioned in *Ha-Manhig*, c. 1205 and in 1689 by the convert Anton *Margarita); the author *Samson b. Eliezer (14th century) relates that he used to sing it as an orphan in Prague with such a sweet voice that he was given the name *Shimshon Barukh she-Amar* (*Sefer Barukh she-Amar*, preface). Although directions for musical execution are found in the works of many authors, the Maharil was made the legendary patron of Ashkenazi *ḥazzanut* and the invention of traditional melodies was ascribed to him. In particular, the so-called **Mi-Sinai* melodies – a common heritage of Ashkenazi synagogues in both Western and Eastern Europe – were believed to go back to the authority of the Maharil (sometimes confused, by uneducated cantors, with *Judah Loew b. Bezalel, Maharal of Prague). As a matter of fact, these melodies, ascribed to an oral tradition stemming "from Mount Sinai," i.e., revealed to Moses, are common to Ashkenazi congregations all over the world. They kept their identity in Jewish settlements as distant from each other as eastern Russia and northern France, south of the Carpathians, and in Scandinavia or Britain. There is no doubt that they antedate the great migrations from Central to Eastern Europe in the 15th century or even earlier. The structural principle of the *Mi-Sinai* melodies is basically Oriental, inasmuch as a cycle of certain themes or motifs is used in manifold combinations and variants according to a traditional master plan. Of course, manifestations of local taste and of "acculturation" are most often present (see **Aleinu le-Shabbeaḥ; *Avodah*); however, the essential identity of all the variants is undeniable. They may well have been inherited by the Ashkenazim from a still unspecified epoch in the Middle Ages.

Modal Scales in Synagogue Song

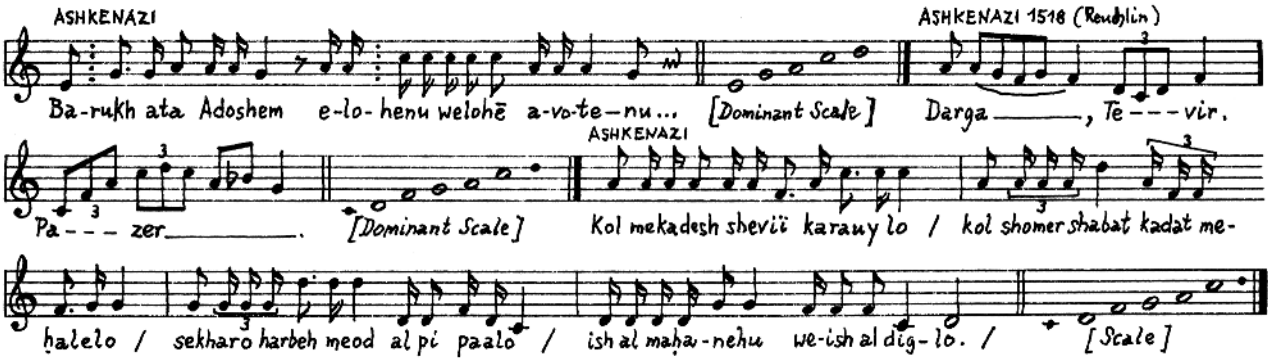
The term "modal" in music is often used (although not with scientific precision) for those tone sequences which are different from the familiar major and minor scales, an example being the Church modes. When applying the term "modal" to Jewish music, several precautions should be borne in mind. Firstly, a modal scale need not be an octave, but may be composed of more or less than eight notes. Furthermore, it must not necessarily repeat the same intervals over the whole gamut; on the contrary, an E natural, for instance, may appear in the lower octave and an E-flat in the upper one. Finally, the interval of the augmented second sometimes joins the tone and semitone as a note proper to the key. Of course, scales of vocal music will not necessarily be in the equal temperament of the piano, but may retain a certain flexibility (sharpened leading notes, neutral thirds). In Oriental Jewish song, micro-intervals in the style of the region are common.

The peculiarity of Jewish modes can be recognized and evaluated best in the Ashkenazi and European-Sephardi song, since their special character stands out against the background of the music of the gentile environment. The structural framework of West and North European song consists of chains of thirds bridged by whole tones, but repressing or avoiding semitones (as does Scotch and Irish folksong still today). Oriental song, on the other hand, is built on the **maqam* modal scale system, which is basically conceived as a combination of several small groups of notes, whether of the same intervallic structure or not, called "genera," a skeleton of consecutive notes, including a semitone or even micro-intervals as may be seen from examples 4a and 6b.

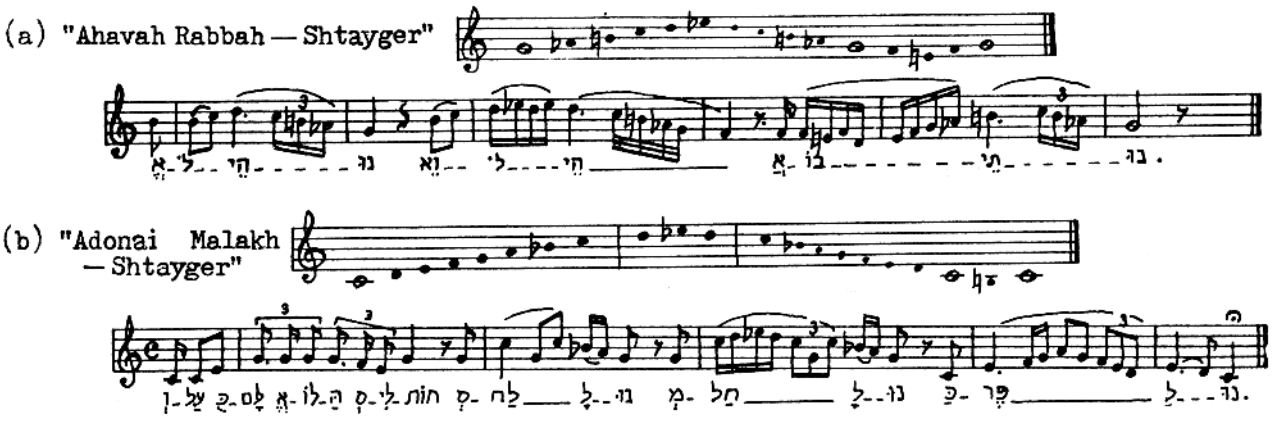
As to the Jewish settlements in Europe, tunes determined by a tetrachordal skeleton are found among the Sephardim, including the communities of Carpentras (Avignon and Com\tat Venaissin), Bayonne, Rome, and the rest of Italy (the Balkans belonging to the realm of Eastern music). In Ashkenazi song, however, tetrachordal patterns have almost entirely vanished. This has preserved, instead, some features of the earliest Western, semitoneless melodics (Mus. Ex 14)

In spite of this environmental influence on Ashkenazi song, a particular "Jewish" character does prevail there in certain scale structures, which are strange in the context of Western music. These are called **shtayger* (a Yiddish term equivalent to mode, manner). Actually there are more *shtaygers* than the "four synagogue modes" proposed by earlier research, but two of them outweigh the others by far: the *Ahavah Rabbah* and the *Adonai Malakh*. Their special features may be recognized from the melody-excerpts given in example 15 and accompanying analyses of their scales (Mus. ex. 15).

As the present Ashkenazi liturgy is an accumulation of hymns and prayers successively added in the course of time, its music also exhibits many characteristics of medieval monody. Among them are the Re- and Mi-modes (similar to the Dorian and Phrygian of plainsong), and several peculiar final clauses. A Jewish origin has often been claimed for them but can hardly be proved. An Oriental or Mediterranean character is evident, however, in most of the genuine *shtaygers*, especially the *Ahavah Rabbah* and kindred scales. Its nearest par-



Example 14. Old European scales in Ashkenazi melodies. Blessing formula, after Idelsohn, Melodien, *vol. 7, part I, no. 10: motifs of masoretic cantillation, after J. Reuchlin,* De accentibus, *Hagenau, 1518; Sabbath song after A. Nadel,* Die haeuslichen Sabbatgesaenge.



Example 15. Scales and examples of two Ashkenazi shtayger. *(a) after A.B. Birnbaum,* Ommanut ha-Ḥazzanut *2, 1912(?), no. 35; (b) after M. Deutsch,* Vorbeterschule, *1871, no. 409.*

allel is the second mode of the Greek Orthodox tradition; it may also be compared with the Persian-Arab *ḥijāz* scale, but it has no parallel in Western art or folk music.

The Sephardi communities that settled in Italy, France, Amsterdam, and London after their expulsion from Spain also preserve European elements in their melodies. The most remarkable of these is a strange chromaticism which imparts a certain soft and floating tonality to some of their tunes (Mus. ex. 16); it might possibly be defined as a superimposition of two different modes, or as a bi-modality, which is very remote from Western concepts of functional harmony. This kind of chromaticism is found most characteristically in examples of biblical chant notated in 1693 (Rome) and 1699 (Amsterdam), as well as during the 19th and 20th centuries. Similar "floating" phrases are found in prayers and hymns; they are a characteristic of the "sweet singing of Sepharad," whose Oriental roots may at present be postulated only speculatively but cannot as yet be proved by scientific deduction.

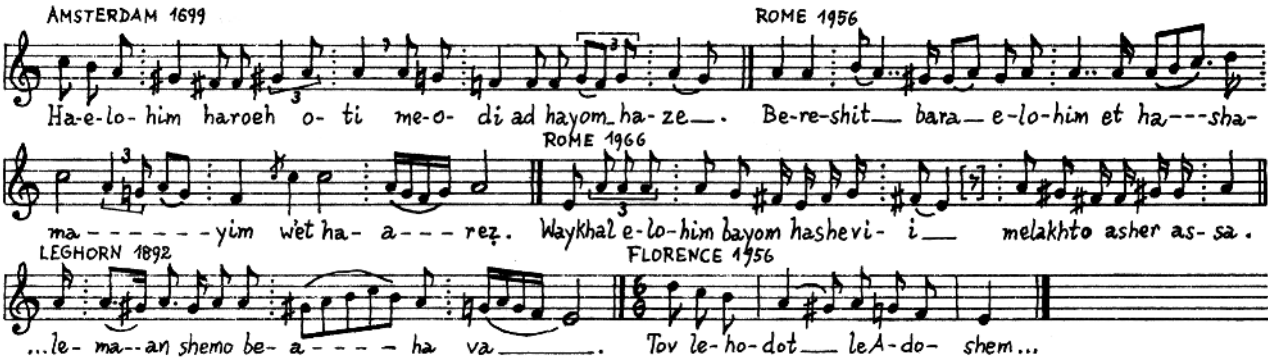
Performance and Practice of Synagogue Song

The collaboration of a soloist (*sheliʾaḥ ẓibbur* or *ḥazzan*) and the choir formed by the whole congregation represents the main feature of synagogue music. These two bodies alternate or answer each other according to a traditional division of the liturgical texts. Especially the Sephardi communities have preserved very old practices of responsorial performance. As indicated in the Talmud (Sot. 30b) and also adopted by the Roman Church, the cantor may intone the first words of a chapter, whereupon the choir takes over, or they may alternate and respond one to the other. Among the Sephardim the congregation is also accustomed to take up the keywords of the more important prayers from the mouth of the cantor. The division of tasks between solo and choir sometimes affects the melodical configuration. If a particular prayer is sung to a *nusaḥ* (see above), its original free rhythm may change into measured time when taken over by the congregation, and the *ḥazzan* may execute the simple pattern in elaborate coloraturas (Mus.ex. 17).

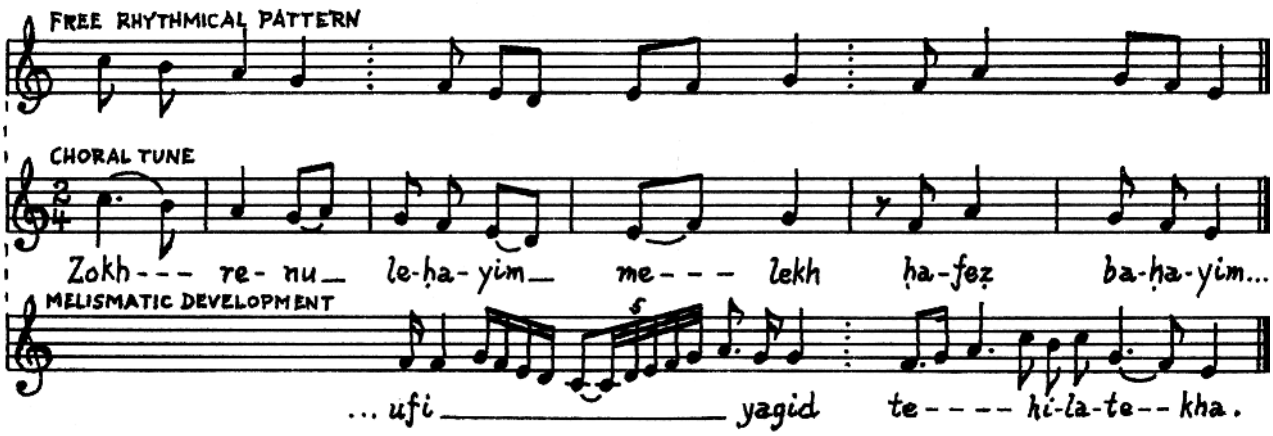
Many non-Ashkenazi communities provide the cantor with two assistants (*mezammerim, somekhim, maftirim*) who flank him at the prayer desk and take over at certain points of the liturgy. This custom is rooted in certain ideas about the community's representation before the Most High; here the participation of three singers does not influence the shape and

manner of their music making. However, a special development in this field took place in the Ashkenazi synagogues. Their cantors also attached to themselves two assistant singers, but they did so with a view to the enrichment and beauty of their singing. According to a fixed rule, one of these assistants (*meshorerim*) had to be a boy-descant, called *singer*, and the other an adult, called *bass*. It is not known, when and why this custom was introduced; a picture in the so-called *Leipzig Maḥzor* of the 14th century may be regarded as the earliest representation of such a trio. The heyday of *ḥazzanut* with accompanying *meshorerim* was the 17th and 18th centuries, and it is only from the sources of this late period that its nature can be inferred. According to it, the assistants improvised an accompaniment of hummed chords, drones, or short figures; the *singer* also intoned thirds and sixths parallel to the cantilena of the *ḥazzan*. In addition, both *singer* and *bass* had their solo parts – most often extended coloraturas to be performed while the cantor paused. Famous cantors traveled, with the *meshorerim* as a part of their household, from one large center to another as guest ministers, while the less famed undertook such wanderings in search for a hoped-for permanent post. In the late baroque period, if not earlier, the traditional number of two assistants was supplemented by performers of distinctive tasks, such as the *fistel singer* (falsetto) and specialists in the imitation of musical instruments (*Sayt-bass, fagott-bass, fleyt-singer*, for strings, bassoon, and flute, respectively).

The use of musical instruments proper is attested in medieval Baghdad by the traveler *Pethaḥiah of Regensburg, between 1175 and 1190. However, this was a rare exception and restricted to the half-holidays, since the ban on instrumental music remained in force. It was only by the influence of later mystical movements that the play of instruments was employed in some 17th century Ashkenazi synagogues before the entry of the Sabbath as a token of the joy of the day of rest. Vocal performances nevertheless remained the basic characteristic of synagogue music. An incessant struggle took place in this field between older singing styles and the musical expression of spiritual tendencies that arose during the Middle Ages. This interplay of forces kept Jewish liturgical music from the petrifaction typical of many other traditions of religious chant.



Example 16. Typical Western Sephardi chromaticism. Amsterdam, 1699, as notated by David de Pinna in D. E. Jablonski, Biblica Hebraica, *Berlin, 1699; Rome, 1955(?), after E.Gerson-Kiwi, Bat Kol, I, 1955, 15; Rome, 1966, after E. Piattelli,* Canti Liturgici di rito Italiano, *1967, 15; Leghorn, 1892, after F. Consolo, op. cit., Ex. 4, no. 335; Florence, 1956, after L. Levi,* Scritti in memoria di Sally Mayer, *1956, 174.*



Example 17. Mutations of a nusaḥ *pattern, Italian Sephardi, after F. Consolo, op.cit., nos. 335–6.*

MIGRATION AND BLENDING OF MUSIC STYLES (C. 1500–1750/1800)

The era of the Middle Ages is generally regarded as completed at about 1500. The Jews, however, were not yet relieved of the pressure that had built up during medieval times. For them the period between 1500 and about 1800 was a time of forced migrations, of many a spiritual crisis, of ethno-geographical regrouping, and the formation of new centers. The uprooting of large communities and their confrontation with new environments inevitably left its imprint on their music. The most conspicuous event was the migration of these exiled from Spain to the Ottoman Empire, Italy, and other countries, followed by a steadily trickling rearguard of *Marranos; the persecutions in Central Europe also directed a Jewish mass movement to the (then very spacious) Polish kingdom. The eastbound migrations of both Sephardi and Ashkenazi Jews share the fact that the emigrants preserved their original vernacular and their liturgical customs, as well as part of their music, and even imposed these on the local communities. In the long run, however, the musical atmosphere of the new lands permeated the intonation and scale structure of their song, while its melodic structure was affected to a lesser degree. The developments were not left to mere chance. New ideologies came into being and also became guiding stars for the forms and contents of musical expression.

[Hanoch Avenary]

The Mystical Movement of Safed

MUSIC AS CONCEPT AND PRACTICE. An ideological approach to music and its role in worship took root particularly within the mystical movement. In the mystic's world, prayer and the singing associated with it were perceived as elevating the soul to celestial realms where it could bask in the supreme glory. The mystic hears singing everywhere, in his imagination the entire universe incessantly sings the praise of the Lord, as is written in Psalm 150: "Let everything that have breath praise the Lord." Leaders of this movement claimed that music is shared by angels and the Children of Israel and is part of the music of the cosmos destined to sing the Glory of the Creator; as such it helps to establish harmony between the micro- and the macrocosmos. The role assigned to music as leading to knowledge and the constant repetition of music's revelation through mystical intention indicates, according to the Kabbalists, that music was God's creation. He created it on the third day, making angels out of his own breath to sing his glory day and night. This special attitude deriving from the cosmic meaning inherent in the kabbalist's approach to song also encouraged the use of song as an enhancement to ritual.

THE LURIANIC KABBALAH. Theories dealing with the meaning, power and function of song were, in particular, developed and given important practical application in the kabbalistic doctrine that flourished in Safed in the 16th century; this kabbalistic school had its wellsprings in the teachings of Isaac Luria, reverently called *ha-Ari ha-Kadosh* (the saintly Ari). These kabbalists, among whom were talented poets and musicians, believed in fostering poetic and musical creativity, since they could raise the individual and help him overcome the drabness and mundane tribulations of life in this world. They believed that the heavenly gates opened to receive one who intoned a Psalm and conscientiously sang hymns and supplications. He thus became a part, so to speak, of the universal singing of the celestial angels, and of the wind that stirs the trees in paradise. The systematic thinker of this kabbalistic circle, Moses Jacob Cordovero (d. 1570) wrote: "The peoples on earth are birds of varied plumage, each with its own type of music and its own song, and no sooner does the boundless power of God descend to the lower spheres than the song of the birds is heard drawing Him through all the rooms to hear the sweet music. Their singing symbolizes the fulfillment of the Divine command, and therefore great skill is required for the birds to sing the song as it should be sung; since it is part of the sage's wisdom, this skill cannot be gained unless the sage himself teaches it to the birds" (*Shi'ur Komah*, Warsaw, 1883, par. 20–44).

MAJOR THEMES CHARACTERIZING THEIR APPROACH. It should be noted at the outset that concepts relating to the importance and virtues of music that developed in the mystical doctrine and contributed to the enrichment of the musical repertoire are so interwoven with the symbols and concepts comprising the word of the Kabbalah that it is often difficult to treat them separately.

Some of the major themes that expanded considerably and influenced the development and practice of song are the following:

(1) The sanctity of the Sabbath considered as a kind of small-scale paradise and personified as a heavenly queen imprisoned in the sky, which descends to earth once a week to dispense her holiness. This idea gave birth to a fundamental rite associated with the day, **Kabbalat Shabbat*, receiving the Sabbath with the singing of appropriate hymns, as well as the introduction of the concept, *oneg shabbat* (Sabbath enjoyment), which consists of honoring the Sabbath through engaging in pleasurable activities. This includes the three obligatory meals which are times of supreme joy and exaltation expressed by communal singing while eating, etc.

(2) The idea of rising at the midnight hour to sing became very popular. This led to the establishment of choral groups of early risers and Watchmen of the Morning to perform a sophisticated sequence of special hymns called **bakkashot* (supplications). The custom has been perpetuated up to our own days and continues to be held in great esteem.

(3) The analogy between man and the universe and the sought-after resonance and harmony between them are frequent themes in mystical speculation. It is said in this regard that everything done by the individual or the community in the mundane sphere is magically reflected in the upper region. The sublime nature of Israel's singing is related to the theme of the parallel singing of the angels, the power of this singing achieves its highest expression only when both choirs simultaneously intone the praise of God. This acquires particular

importance in the performance of the *Kedushah – the Trisagion. This parallelism extends not only to the *Kedushah*, but implies full concordance between the singing of those on high and those below. Hence the singing of hymns on earth contributes to the establishment of perfect tuning and harmony between man and the macrocosm.

(4) Evil forces constantly obstruct the way leading to this perfect harmony meaning salvation; sacred music and prayer directed by mystical intention are the most formidable weapons in the combat for salvation.

(5) This combat is partly related to the magical power of the *shofar* and the symbolical roles it fulfills. Indeed many passages of the Zohar deal with its shape, the material it is made of, and the sounds it emits. Among the salient roles assigned to it are the dissipating of harsh divine judgment and to change its nature from punishment to clemency; important historical events in the life of the nation are associated with the sound of its blowing (the Exodus, the revelation of Sinai) as are events of the future – that is to say the redemption.

Some of the many symbols developed in Jewish mystical theories and practice, made their mark on and were bound up with daily activities of the past several hundreds years.

[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed.)]

The democratic tendencies in the ideology of religious song gave rise to a new wave of popular and profane tunes that infiltrated Hebrew hymnody. The Sephardim had always been very fond of singing and did not lose this predilection during the bitter days of the expulsion. This is proven by the respectable production of Hebrew hymns for extra-synagogal use, written in the popular style and connected with tunes borrowed from songs in the vernacular. An early print of **bakkashot* (Constantinople, c. 1525) attests the popularity of 13 Spanish songs with the exiles from the peninsula; six of the hymns by Solomon b. Mazal Tov (printed in 1545) were to be sung to the tune of Spanish songs, 30 to Turkish, and 29 to older Jewish ones. Solomon Mevorakh's song book of 1555 refers to only ten Turkish melodies (since it was written in Greece), and 14 taken from Jewish songs, but it quotes no less than 30 Spanish tunes that obviously were familiar to his contemporaries. Among the latter are "evergreens" of the Iberian repertoire and many pieces that have since fallen into oblivion. The natural inclination of the people to sing, both in Hebrew and in vernacular tongues, received backing from a mystical idea which, suggested that every melody, even those drawn from popular or gentile sources, may become a vehicle of elated feelings.

Menahem di Lonzano preferred to compose hymns to Turkish melodies because of their ascending "to the tenth over the note *duga*" (the note D in the Persian-Arabic scale); he held that this "utmost range of the human voice," not reached by Greek, Romaniote, or Arabic tunes, was the real meaning of the Psalm verse "On the *Asor* and on the *Nevel*" (*Shetei Yadot*, fol. 141b–142a). Thus, a rabbi and mystic used his well-founded musical knowledge for imparting high flight to his hymnal song. Religious hymns designed both for the prayer house and outside (*pizmonim*; *bakkashot*) propagated the pious mood of Safed in the Jewish world. Among the most prominent songs of this kind are: *Asadder bi-Shevaḥin* (ascribed to Isaac Luria himself), **Lekhah Dodi* by Solomon *Alkabeẓ, *Yedid Nefesh* by Azikri, and *Yah Ribbon Olam* by Israel *Najara. The last was a very productive and inspired poet-musician gifted with a sense for musical nuances. Many of his hymns (printed between 1587 and 1600) were written to the tunes of well-known secular songs in the Spanish or Turkish vernacular, less often in Greek and Arabic.

Najara continued an older custom of providing for a phonetic correspondence of the foreign and the Hebrew text. In this manner, the singer of a gentile song was reminded of the preferred religious alternative. The manuscript of Solomon Mevorakh (Greece, 1555), for instance, shows the replacement of the Spanish song "*Alma me llaman a mi alma*" by the very similar sounding Hebrew "'*Al mah ke-alman ammi, al mah*." Najara substituted for the Arabic "*Ana al-samra wa-sammuni sumayra*" the words "*Anna El shomera nafshi mi-levayim*." He strengthened the associative bridge still further by giving the plot of the gentile song a religious meaning. Thus the famous romance on the knight-errant Amadis becomes a tour de force of phonetic sound imitation and, at the same time, a fine allegory of Israel and God's errant glory:

(Spanish-Jewish romance)
Arbo*leda*, arbo*leda*,
Arboleda tan gen*til*,
La rais tiene d'*oro*
Y la rama de mar*fil*.
(Najara)
Ḥil yo*ledah* bi so*ledah*
Ḥil yo*ledah* bi so*ledah*
Keshurah al lev bi-fe*til*
Al dod meni histir *oro*
U-me'oni me-az he'e*fil*
(Mevorakh)
Ashorerah li-fe'*erah*
Azam*erah* na b*e-shir*

Najara fostered music in the broadest meaning by acknowledging the union of word and tone – not as an artistic game (as did later imitators), but for the pious inspiration of the common people by ways of a musical language that was their own.

Humanism and the Renaissance

Contemporary with the era of Safed mysticism, another encounter of East and West in the field of Jewish music was initiated by the Renaissance and Humanist movements in Italy and other parts of Europe. This was an interlude in history acted out in the circles of learned scholars and before an erudite and refined audience of art music.

THE HUMANISTIC APPROACH TO LETTERS AND MUSIC. In the world of science, a direct dialogue with the authors of antiquity replaced the traditional definitions and views of the

Middle Ages. This trend extended to the Bible and later Hebrew works. Several Christian scholars studied Hebrew language and grammar, including the rules of *masorah* and its accentuation. After a short time, the students themselves wrote books on Hebrew grammar, which contained chapters on the *teʿamim*, sometimes adding the music of biblical chants. Among these were Johannes Reuchlin (*De accentibus et orthographia linguae Hebraicae*; Hagenau, 1518), Sebastian *Muenster (*Institutiones grammaticae in Hebraeam linguam*; Basel, 1524), and Johann *Boeschenstein (Munich Cod. Hebr. 401). Many later writers, such as Johannes Vallensis (*Opus de prosodia Hebraeorum*; Paris, 1545) and Ercole Bottrigari (*Il Trimerone*, Ms. dated 1599) took over their notated examples. The Ashkenazi Pentateuch tunes, notated independently by several of the authors, are of very similar outlines and are based upon that same semitoneless scale which is still recognizable in the Bible chant of modern times. The renewed interest in grammar and *masorah* seized Jewish circles as well. Early in the 16th century, several Hebrew authors undertook the description of contemporary practices of biblical chant. The features of the Sephardi version were described by Calo Kalonymus (Appendix to Abraham de *Balmes, *Mikneh Avram*, 1523), and compared with Ashkenazi practice by Elijah Levita (*Tuv Taʿam*, 1538).

In the field of art proper, the open-mindedness of the Renaissance period favored the reconciliation of a progressive Jewish public with art music, especially in the small town-states of upper Italy and Tuscany. A very dry historical source – the book lists delivered to the papal censor by the Jewish families of Mantua in 1559 – speaks eloquently when stating that a certain Samuel Ariano had Zarlino's voluminous *Instituzioni harmoniche* in his library and that Isaac *Norzi possesed madrigal books of Cipriano de Rore, Donato, Stabile, and others. Two influential leaders of the Mantua community discussed the integration of art music in Jewish life. Judah *Moscato, rabbi of that town in 1587–94, preached a long sermon titled *Higgayon be-Khinnor* ("Meditations on the Lyre"), published in *Nefuẓot Yehudah* (Venice, 1589). He examined the subject "man and music" under the aspects of Jewish tradition from the Talmud and Midrash down to the contemporary kabbalists, as well as with reference to the Greek and Arabic philosophers. The rabbi stressed the interrelation of the harmony found in music and the harmony imagined in the soul and character of man, striving to show the legitimacy of musical art in Judaism.

His contemporary, the physician and rabbi Abraham *Portaleone II of Mantua, wrote the book *Shiltei ha-Gibborim* ("Shields of the Heroes"; posthumously printed Venice, 1612) which may be viewed as an early attempt at biblical archaeology based on the interpretation of literary sources, in the spirit of Renaissance scholarship. The author dwells at length on Levitic song and the form and nature of its musical instruments. Outstanding Christian writers soon regarded these chapters as a "source" of Hebrew music, especially after Blasio Ugolino had translated them into Latin in 1767. Disregarding its dubious informative value, this book is symptomatic of the mood governing Renaissance Jewry. Even before 1480, *Judah b. Jehiel Messer Leon of Mantua had become enthusiastic about the concordance between the Bible and ancient Greek rhetoric and other literary genres; Azariah de *Rossi took up these views, and Abraham Portaleone finally applied them to the field of music. At the time, R. Portaleone's book was likely to strengthen the consciousness of the Hebrew share in the culture of antiquity and the importance of its musical achievements.

ART MUSIC. With the partial release of external and internal pressure, a generation of gifted Jewish musicians and composers cropped up during the 16th century. They straightway were absorbed into the fervent development of Italian music, and several Jewish composers saw their works appear in the famous printing establishments of Venice between 1575 and 1628. Outstanding talents had already begun to run the social blockade early in the Cinquecento. The convert Giovan Maria, a lute player, won great fame even beyond the Alps. He successively served the courts of Urbino (1510), Mantua (tutor of the princes, 1513–15), and finally Pope Leo X (chamber musician, 1515–21) and Clement VII (1525–26). At the Gonzaga court of Mantua the harp players Abramo (Abraham Levi) dall' *Arpa and his family were appointed before 1550. They are mentioned as high-ranking musicians by the art theoretician G.P. Lomazzo (1584; 1587); Daniel Levi dall'Arpa was sent to the imperial court of Vienna between 1550 and 1560. The social situation of such Jewish musicians is understood from the fact that Abramo dall' Arpa also held a license for the ritual slaughterhouse and for moneylending in his native town; his son Daniel was granted a special passport to move freely about the country.

The first Jewish composer to see his works appear in print was David *Sacerdote (Cohen) of Rovere. His first book of six-part madrigals was dedicated to the Marchese del Vasto and printed in 1575 (until now only the *Quinto* part book has been rediscovered). For the first time the designation *Hebreo* was added to the composer's name; this became the rule with all those who came after him, most probably by decree of the censor.

The most conspicuous developments took place in the duchy or Mantua, whose court harbored composers of world-wide fame such as Monteverdi. Ensembles of Jewish actors and musicians contributed to the fervent musical life of that town, including several members of the de Rossi family ("Min-ha-Adumim"). A female singer of this family participated in the performance of one of the precursors of the opera (1608), and an Anselmo Rossi had a motet based on psalm texts printed in a collective work (1618). In 1651, Giuseppe de Rossi served the duke of Savoy at Turin. The most important musician of the family was composer Salamone de *Rossi, whose life is documented between 1586 and 1628 (see below). His works were much favored by his contemporaries, as attested by several reprints and their admission to collected editions published in

Copenhagen (1605) and Antwerp (1613; 1616). He also secured a firm place in the general history of music, especially by his progressive instrumental compositions and the early application of the thorough bass. Other Jewish composers whose works have been preserved in print were Davit *Civita (1616; 1622; 1625) and Allegro Porto (1619).

Outside Italy Jewish folk musicians were very active but were not given an opportunity to gain a footing in the ranks of art music. The relative freedom prevailing in Renaissance Italy came to a sudden end with one of the usual crises of Jewish existence. When the House of Gonzaga died out and troubles seized the duchy of Mantua, the Jewish musicians had to emigrate (most went to Venice). The prosperity of that city and its large Jewish population encouraged them to found a Jewish *accademia musicale* (concert society) called "accademia degli Impediti" and later on "Compagnia dei musici." The music-loving R. Leone *Modena promoted their activities. Attempts were made to introduce instrumental play into the synagogue at the feast of *Simḥat Torah*; but the initiators had to yield to rabbinical objections, since the organ used by them was too reminiscent of "the foreign cult." Finally it was again a catastrophe – the plague of 1630 – that cut off the manifestations of Jewish integration in art music. Severe rabbis about the middle of the century quenched the last flickering of such intentions, but not before the first works of synagogal art music had come into existence.

EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH ART MUSIC IN THE SYNAGOGUE. From the eloquent recommendation of Judah Moscato and the delight in art music fostered in wide circles of Renaissance Judaism, it was not a far cry to welcome art music in the synagogue as well. The enthusiasm for the ancient Temple music (Abraham Portaleone, see above) suggested its reinstitution in the house of prayer. The power of conservatism and exile – conditioned humility and pessimism, however, proved hard to overcome. The power behind these progressive tendencies was Leone Modena, who, although ordained as a rabbi, was actually rather one of the errant literati and jack-of-all-trades like many a learned humanist or his younger contemporary Joseph *Delmedigo. While music was for Delmedigo a matter of science (*Sefer Elim*, Amsterdam, 1629), it was one of the 26 crafts in which Leone Modena claimed to have been engaged.

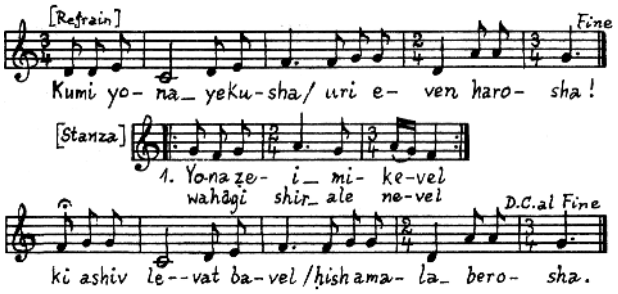
As a rabbi in his native Ferrara about 1605, he saw to the installation of a synagogue choir and to the systematical instruction of its six to eight singers in music. They performed hymns such as **Adon Olam, *Yigdal, *Ein ke-Eloheinu*, and *Aleinu le-Shabbe'aḥ* on the occasion of feasts and special Sabbaths, "in honor of God according to the order and right proportion of the voices in the art [of music]." This innovation met with the stiff resistance of a local rabbi who held that music was prohibited in exile; but Leone Modena secured a decision of four other rabbis in favor of polyphonic synagogue singing. This document was to become the main weapon for many later attempts in this direction. It was reprinted by the progressive cantor Solomon Lipschitz in 1718, as well as by Adolf *Jellinek of Vienna in 1861 (Ben Chananja 4, no. 27 suppl. as "topical for the still pending question of introducing choir singing in the sacred service of the Hungarian communities"). The most prominent place in which this decision was printed, and, at the same time, the recompense of Leone Modena's efforts, was the edition in print of Salamone de Rossi's collected synagogue compositions *Ha-Shirim Asher li-Shelomo* (Venice, 1622/23). The preface of the editor (de Modena) states that de Rossi, after his success in secular music, "dedicated his talents to God… and wrote down psalms, prayers and praises. As soon as one started singing [them], all the listeners were taken away by their ear-flattering beauty." The wealthy Moses Sullam and other notabilities of Jewish Venice (including the editor himself) worked hard in persuading the composer to have these liturgical works published in print.

If the flowery language of this preface can be taken at face value, de Rossi's choral works for the synagogue had already been performed from the manuscript at Mantua (possibly also at Ferrara where a Benjamin Saul Min-ha-Adumim was *ḥazzan* before 1612). The three-to eight-voiced compositions of the *Ha-Shirim Asher li-Shelomo* are not only a "first" and a solitary phenomenon in early synagogue music, they have also a particular standing within the musical work of Salamone de Rossi himself. Considering his way from the youthful freshness of the *Canzonette* (1589) down to the ripe and dramatized lyricism in his *Madrigaletti* (1628), the restraint and objectivity of his religious works becomes obvious. Rossi had no Jewish tradition of choral polyphony to start from; he could not use the idiom of church music, nor did he wish to employ his command of madrigalesque expressivity. Thus he turned to a sort of objective choral psalmody, on the one hand, and to the representative chordal columns of Gabrieli, on the other, interspersed with fine specimens of polyphonic voice weaving and a diversity of nonfunctional chords. The expressive values and musical declamation are austere, however, as compared with Rossi's secular works. They comply with Pietro Cerone's rules for psalm composition (*El Melopeo*, 1613) rather than evoking the customary conceptions of synagogue style. It should be emphasized that Rossi's compositions were intended only for particular occasions, such as "special Sabbaths and feasts," and were not designed to replace the traditional synagogue chants.

At the Crossroads of the East and West

In the course of the 16th century, a rearrangement of the Jewish population in the lands of the Diaspora had taken place. The most important moves were the influx of exiles from Spain and Portugal into the Ottoman-ruled East and the immigration of Ashkenazim into Poland and the rest of Eastern Europe. These mainstreams of migration led to the formation of an Oriental-Sephardi and an East-Ashkenazi branch of Jewish music each developing a special character that had not previously existed.

CONSOLIDATION OF THE ORIENTAL STYLE OF JEWISH MUSIC. The obstinacy shown by the Sephardim in their cling-



Example 18. Hymn in Spanish villancico form. Poem by Israel Najara, from his Zemirot Yisrael*, Safed, 1587; melody as sung in Iraq, beginning of 20th century, after Idelsohn,* Melodien*, vol. 2, no. 120.*

ing to the Castilian vernacular and folk song did not prevent them from yielding to the powerful influence of Oriental, especially Turkish, music. This is indicated, for instance, by the increasing use of Turkish melodies for Hebrew hymns. Musical assimilation became more spectacular when the system of **maqām* was adopted in Jewish song. Israel Najjara, late in the 16th century, appears to have been the first to assign every poem to a cetain *maqām*, even when he demands a Spanish folk tune for it. His *Kumi Yonah Yekushah*, for instance, is accompanied by the instruction "Tune: *Linda era y fermosa*" but, at the same time, is classified as belonging to the *maqām Ḥusaynī* (today it is sung to the *maqām Nawā;* see Mus. ex. 18) According to the Eastern custom, Najjara arranged his hymns for publication in a *diwān* of 12 *maqāmāt*. The framework of *maqāmāt*, each of which also represents a certain mood or "ethos," was imposed on synagogue song in general and extended even beyond hymnody proper. The majestic *Siga* became the mode for reading the Torah and all texts referring to it; the gay *Ajam-Nawruz* was used on *Shabbat Shirah*, *Simḥat Torah*, and for weddings; the mournful *Ḥijāz* expressed the mood of the Ninth of Av, funerals, and pericopes mentioning death. *Ṣabā* ("chaste love, filial affection") was reserved for texts connected with circumcisions. The most systematic adherence to the mood conventions of the *maqāmāt* was by the Aleppo community.

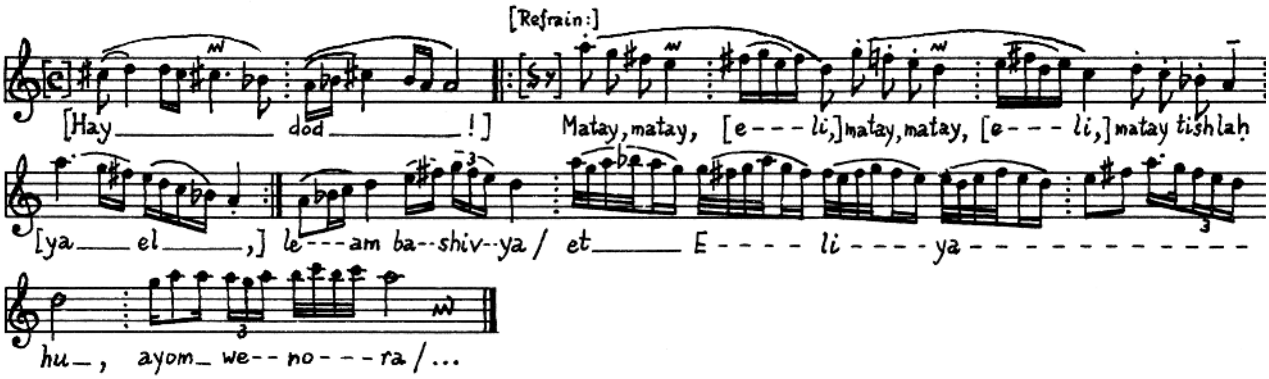
Poetry books dating from the 17th century onward open the section of every *maqām* with an introductory verse or independent verses called (*petiḥah*) – an improvised vocal piece rhythmically free and highly ornamented underlining the characteristics of the *maqām* as well as the art skillfulness of the performer. The Jews of North Africa (Maghreb) adhere to the Andalusian modal system called *ṭubuʿ* ("natures," *maqāmāt*), which include sequences of rhythmical pieces introduced and interspersed with improvised free rhythmical short pieces similar to the *petiḥah*, which are called *Bitain* and *mawwāl* and constitute part of the prestigious compound form, the *Nuba* (see *North African Musical Tradition).

All musical characteristics quoted up to now demonstrate the progressive Orientalization of the Jews who came from the Iberian Peninsula and intermingled with the veteran settlers. However, while the melodic configuration itself came to follow the ways of the East, some formal traits of European origin were retained such as the syllable-counting verse known from the Romance literature.

After Najara's time, the Orientalization of Eastern Sephardi music went on both at the popular and the artistic levels. In major centers of the Muslim world Jewish musicians became powerful agents in the exchange of tunes and styles; they were also fully accepted by the gentiles and their rulers. Jewish ensembles and entertainers were active in the major cities of Morocco. The most famous of them was Samuel ben Radan's group in Marakesh. Sultan ʿAbd al-Aziz, who ruled from 1894 to 1908, was particularly fond of Jewish musicians. In Iraq there were ensembles that excelled in the art of the prestigious *Iraki maqam* genre. In Tunisia, Iran, Central Asia, and elsewhere, Jewish musicians formed famous bands. The Turkish traveler Evliya Tchelebi describes the parade of the guilds before Sultan Murad IV in 1638: 300 Jewish musicians were led by their chief, Patakoglu, together with the famous Yaco and the *tunbur*-player Karakash; later on marched the Jewish dancers, jugglers, and buffoons. The reliability of the recorded numbers is proven by Ludwig August *Frankl, who found 500 Jewish musicians of Turkish nationality in Constantinople of 1856 forming 5.6% of all the craftsmen registered by the Jewish community.

The ranks of respected Turkish musician-composers were joined by Aaron Hamon (Yahudi Harun) late in the 17th century. Some of his *peshref*-suites were preserved in the so-called Harpasun notation. After him, Moses Faro ("Musi," d. 1776) and Isaac Fresco Romano ("Tanburi Issak") won great fame in the late 18th century. Turkish art music left its unmistakable imprint on the *ḥazzanut* of that country (Mus. ex. 19), as it did also in the case of the *maftirim* choirs (see above) that sometimes claim dependence on the fine melodies of the dervish orders.

As to the Sephardim settling in Italy, Amsterdam, and other parts of Christian Europe, the situation was quite different. Certainly they preserved modes and tunes of an old standing, which they held in common with their Oriental brothers; there was also a steady immigration from the Eastern communities. On the other hand, Marranos escaping from the peninsula permanently reinforced the European Sephardi congregations; they were most often highly-educated people with a flair for contemporary music. The writer Daniel Levi de *Barrios (born in Spain, from 1674 in Amsterdam) mentions several newcomers to the "Portuguese community" who excelled in playing the harp and *vihuela* (guitar) or flute, as well as in singing. As these returning converts were setting the fashion in cultural life, it is not surprising that the preserved music exhibits the character of contemporary art. It was in this style that Purim plays and comedies with music were performed and cantatas were composed for *Simḥat Torah* and other festive occasions. One of the better-known composers of this style of music was Abraham *Caceres in Amsterdam early in the 18th century. De Barrios also refers to the cantors of the Amsterdam Portuguese community, some of whom re-



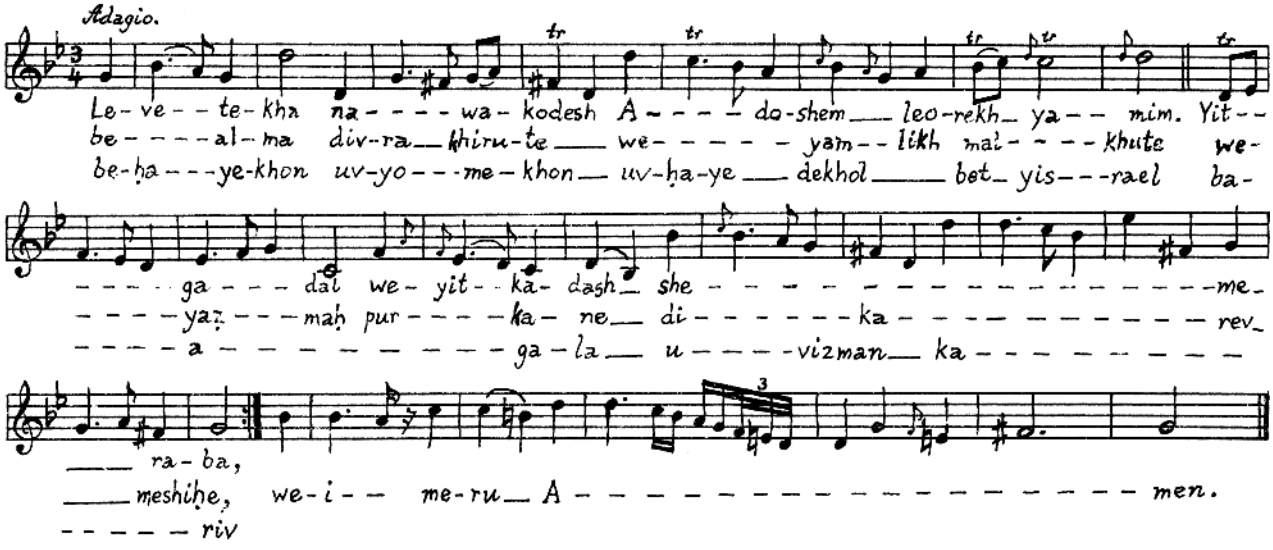
Example 19. Turkish style of ḥazzanut. *Refrain of a* pizmon *by Israel Najara. The addition by the singer of words and interjections such as those shown in brackets is typical of this style of art music. Notated in Istanbul in 1936 and published by Th. Fuchs in* Ommanut, *Zagreb, 1, 1936–37, music supplement, 2.*

ceived commissions from the London, Hamburg, and other Sephardi synagogues. A musical manuscript of the *ḥazzan* Joseph de Isaac Sarfati (mid-18th century) contains liturgical solo pieces composed in the taste of his time or directly taken over from contemporary secular works Mus. ex. 20). It must be born in mind, however, that the *ḥazzanim* of that period used to write down only "composed" music of their own production or that of their contemporaries; there was no need to notate traditional melodies and recitations that every cantor knew by heart.

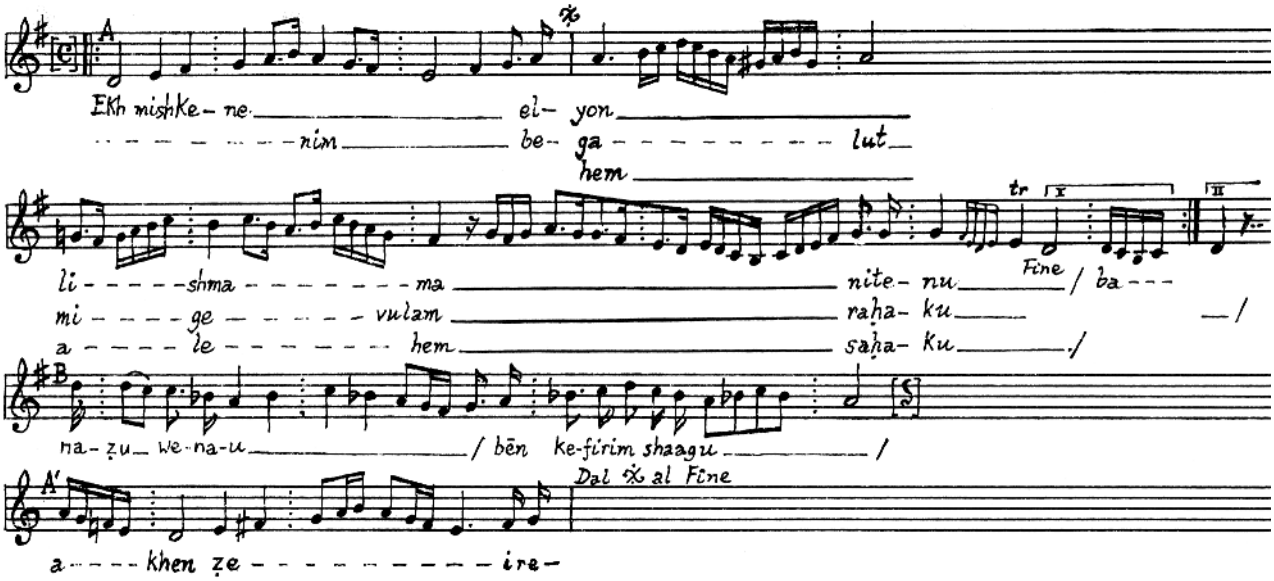
Traditional Amsterdam-Sephardi song as it is intoned or recorded today makes a deep but somewhat strange impression on the listener. One is tempted to say that this Oriental music is misunderstood both by singers and notators and nevertheless performed in naïve faithfulness. Further research may perhaps disclose that it was brought to the Netherlands by *ḥazzanim* recruited from Tunis or other Eastern areas in order to fill the vacuum of traditional song felt by the Marranos. The sound of Hebrew prayers was like a revelation to them and was faithfully preserved in spite of its displaced Oriental character. But the transplantation of Eastern music to the north inevitably ended in degeneration. That this was a slow process is indicated by a tune of a *kinah* (lament) for the Ninth of Av notated in 1775 (Mus. ex. 21): the modality, the articulation of the profuse coloraturas, and especially the attack of every new phrase after a caesura still bears the unmistakable mark of Eastern origin.

The biased character of Amsterdam Portuguese music is found in the other Sephardi communities of Europe in varying degrees. London proved more "progressive" in the direction of Westernization, while the Bayonne and other Carpentras communities preserved more of the Mediterranean character (see **Avi Avi*). Leghorn and Rome retained many a non-European feature in their synagogue songs, such as tetrachord scales, free rhythm, and the variative development of modal patterns. Side by side with this conservative attitude, the Italian congregations liked to celebrate certain holidays, weddings, circumcisions, and special events (like the dedication of a new prayerhouse) by Hebrew *cantatas written in the contemporary style. Their music was of a strictly utilitarian character and significant only for the very average taste of their respective times.

THE EASTERN BRANCH OF ASHKENAZI SONG. An uninterrupted flow of Ashkenazi emigrants poured forth to the East European countries beginning in the Middle Ages and accumulated to form the most powerful Jewish community until the 20th century. The Eastern Ashkenazim preserved their old German-Jewish idiom but developed a rich religious and secular culture of their own. The special flavor of their melodies and singing habits can be distinguished from that of the Western Ashkenazim even when the tunes are identical. The material roots of this musical evolution are uncertain. The proposed influence of the *Khazars or of Byzantine Jews is only hypothetical and cannot be proven. What remains credible is the effect of country and surroundings, just as these factors imparted a Slavic tint to the song of the German settlers in the Volga region. Such influence has been proven to alter intonation and rhythm and promote the favoring of certain modal shades, as well as supply a predominantly sentimental disposition of the singer. The Eastern Ashkenazi way of singing was first discerned at its appearance in Western Europe after the renewed migration in about 1650 caused by the *Chmielnicki persecutions. A small but steady flow of rabbis, teachers, and cantors continued infiltrating the West during the 17th and 18th centuries. Thus, in 1660, Ḥayyim Selig from Lemberg was appointed *ḥazzan* at *Fuerth: Judah Leib served in several synagogues of western Germany and published a critical essay entitled *Shirei Yehudah* (Amsterdam, 1696); Jehiel Michael from Lublin established, in about 1700, *ḥazzanut* with assistant singers in the Amsterdam Ashkenazi synagogue; a traveling *ḥazzan* of great fame during the years 1715–25 was Jokele of Rzeszow; and Leib b. Elyakum from Gorokhov-Volhynia was made the first cantor of the new Ashkenazi prayerhouse of Amsterdam (1730). Through the activities of cantors from Poland in the most prominent places, Western Jewry



Example 20. Kaddish *for Sabbath eve, from the notebook of the* ḥazzan *Joseph Sarfati, Amsterdam, middle of 18th century. The melody is adapted from the composition* Ha-Mesi'aḥ Illemim *by Abraham Caceres (fl. 1720). Jerusalem, J.N.U.L., ms. 8° Mus 2, fol. [21]v.*



*Example 21. Oriental singing style in the Amsterdam synagogue, 18th century. Lamentation (*kinah*) for the Ninth of Av, after H. Krieg,* Spanish Liturgical Melodies of the Portuguese Israelitisch Community, Amsterdam, *vol. 2, 1954, 2.*

was confronted with the Eastern Ashkenazi style of singing and came to like it.

Among the special features of the East Ashkenazi *ḥazzanut* was its emotional power, which was stressed in particular by the early writers. The chronicle of martyrdom *Yeven Metzulah* (by Nathan *Hannover) tells of the surrender of four communities to the Tatars in 1648. When the *ḥazzan* Hirsh of Zywotow chanted the memorial prayer *El Malei Raḥamim*, the whole congregation burst forth in tears, and even the compassion of the rough captors was stirred, until they released the Jews. A similar story was told much later of the *ḥazzan* Razumny; his *El Malei Raḥamim*, said after the *Kishinev pogrom of 1913, has been taken over by many cantors (Mus. Ex. 22).

Common to the Russian and other East European peoples is the tendency to attribute to music a decisive power over human behavior and mode of action; the same is true of the Jews living among them. A highly significant characterization of East Ashkenazi *ḥazzanut* was given by Rabbi Selig Margolis in 1715 (*Ḥibburei Likkutim*, 4b–5a): a *ḥazzan* who delivers his prayers devotedly and with beautiful melodies, he holds, may stir up hearts more than any preacher. Margolis gives as an example the fact that the *ḥazzan* Baruch of Kalish

moved the congregation to tears by his expressive rendition of "Perhaps the feeble and miserable people may vanish" or even by the recitation of the "Thirteen Attributes of God." In particular, during the penitential days, when he chanted the prayers that had always been the domain of individual cantorial creation (*Zokhrenu le-Ḥayyim; Mekhalkel Ḥayyim*; *Seder ha-Avodah*), "there was nobody in the synagogue whose heart was not struck and moved to repentance… all of them pouring out their hearts like water – the like of which does not occur in other countries that have neither melody (*niggun*) nor emotion (*hitorerut*); the *ḥazzanim* of our country, however, know well how to arouse penitence by their voices." This self-assertion stresses the emotional attitude, which already distinguished Eastern Ashkenazi *ḥazzanut* in the pre-ḥasidic period. Since the late 18th century, the Jews of the West have called it "the Polish style." This designation implied, *inter alia*, a certain profile of rhythm shaped by syncopes and dance-like configurations. Western cantors wrote down some early examples around 1800. It is possible that some of them reflect the practices of ḥasidic singing, such as the dance tune to the words "He redeemeth from death and releaseth from perdition" (Mus. ex. 23a); dancing is suggested here by the four-bar strains repeated with open and closed cadenzas and, especially, by the "bridge bars" between the phrases, which are also known from the *oberek* and other Slavic dances.

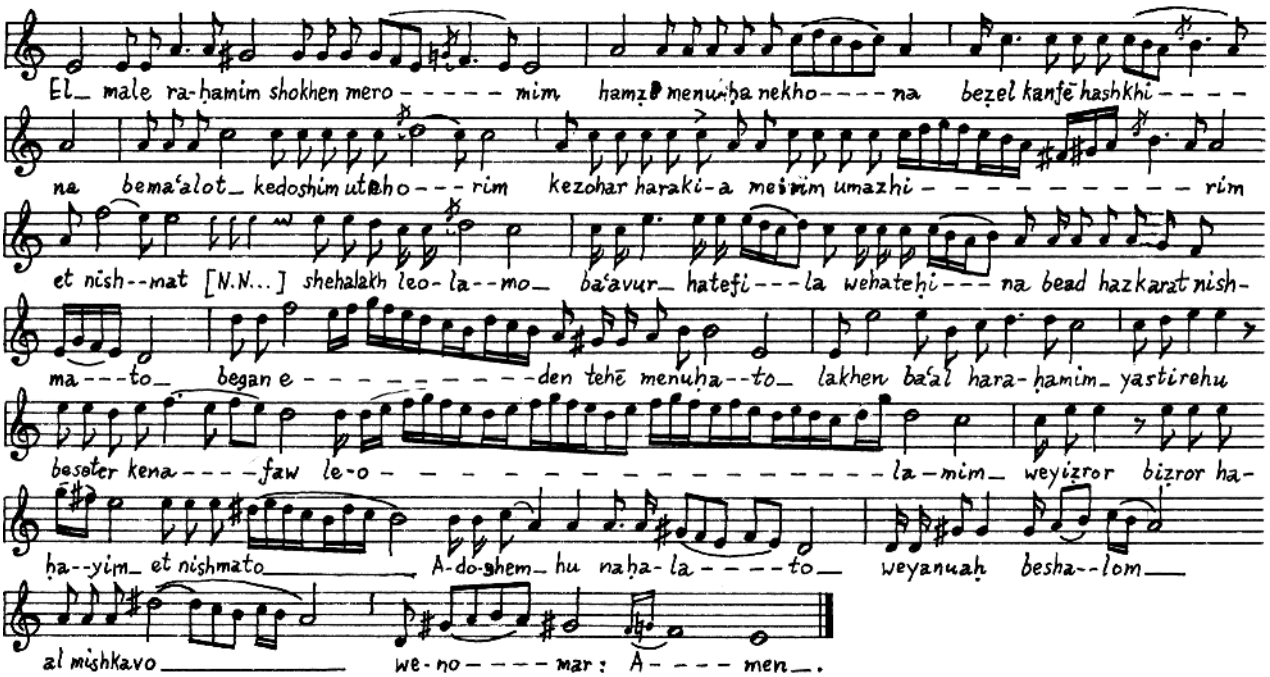
A minor tune of the same type (Mus. ex. 23b) embodies the full pattern of what is called "a Jewish dance." Since it is very remote from the music written by Western cantors of the 18th century, this may also be regarded as an echo of the East Ashkenazi style.

The vigor of musical life in Eastern Europe is reflected by several historical sources. It is proved by the very restrictions that the Council of the Four Lands imposed on it. As early as 1623 this board of congregations limited the creative impulse of its cantors to three or four extended works on Sabbath day; the victims of the 1650 and 1655 pogroms were mourned by reducing the instrumental music of the wedding celebration to those ceremonies where it was regarded as essential ("covering" the bride and during the night after the wedding). The council also protected the *sheli'aḥ ẓibbur* and the beadle from arbitrary dismissal (1670). It controlled the livelihood of popular singers and entertainers (*marshalek, *badḥan*) by obliging them to apply for a special license (*ketav badḥanut*).

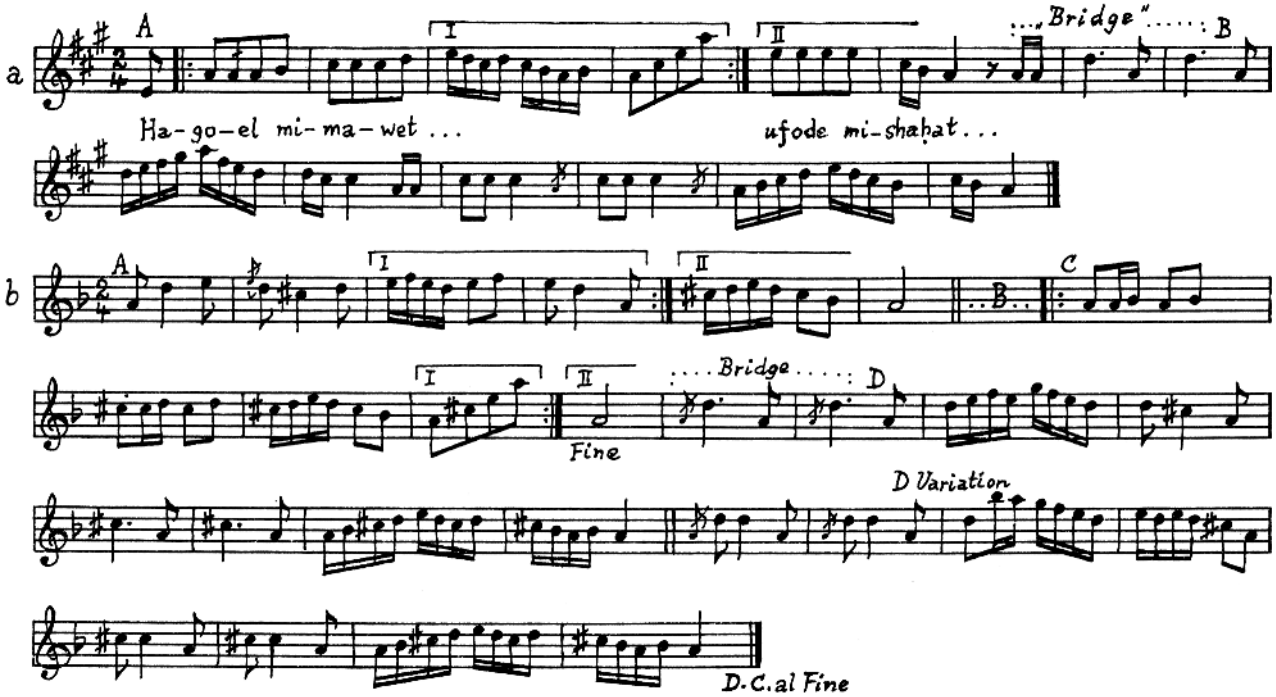
Incipient Westernization of Ashkenazi Song

It was for good reasons that the music of the Jews from Eastern Europe was appreciated in the West as a genuine and heartwarming manifestation of the true Jewish spirit in song. Whether its special character resulted from the intense "Jewishness" of life in the Eastern countries or was the outcome of a happy merger with the melos and rhythms of Slavic music, Western European Jewry has welcomed it with a sort of nostalgic feeling down to the 20th century. Apparently it was felt to be a counterpoise to the Westernization that progressively displaced national music.

This process of Westernization started and developed first at the bordering strata of Jewish society, one of which was the substratum of folk musicians (*klezmerim*) who had ever been "wanderers between two worlds" and agents of musical exchange between peoples. Their instrumental performance



Example 22. El Malei Raḥamim, *as sung by Shlomo Razummi, 1903. After A. Nadel, EJ, vol. 6, 1930, cols. 381–2.*



Example 23. Dance-like melodies from cantorial manuals of the late 18th century. (a) After Idelsohn, Melodien*, vol, 6, part 2, no. 20; (b)* ibid.*, vol 10, no. 245; cf. sections C and D with sections A and B of the first melody.*

was accorded a definite social function, since wedding music was regarded as a sort of religious obligation, and *klezmerim* were regularly employed at the feast of Simḥat Torah and Purim, the transfer of the Torah scrolls to a new synagogue, and numerous other occasions. Even the rabbinical authorities were willing to make special legal arrangements in order to secure instrumental performance wherever it was desired.

The folk musicians of Ashkenaz used to play the lute or form small ensembles of bowed strings, preferably two violins and a gamba. They were mostly true professionals and sometimes formed trade unions or guilds (Prague, 17th century). The more important communities put their musical capacity to full display at festival processions in honor of their sovereigns (Prague in 1678, 1716, 1741; Frankfurt in 1716). At the Prague festival of 1678 (described in a special Yiddish booklet) five of the usual string trios, cembalo with two fiddlers, a harpsichord with two fiddlers, a portable organ, two choirs with organ accompaniment, and a choir of *ḥazzanim* with their *meshorerim* (who "carried a sheet of music in their hands and pointed with the finger") marched in procession. The many trumpeters and drummers were probably hired from the outside, but Jewish dilettante musicians played the organs and the keyboard instruments..

Splendid performances of this kind did not take place every day; as a matter of fact, professional musicians seldom found a base for a decent living in their community alone. The rule was that Jewish musicians also served their Christian neighbors, and the *klezmerim* met stiff opposition from their Christian colleagues and their guilds. In 1651 the *arme Prager Juden Musicanten und Spielleuthe* had to appeal to the authorities to retain the privilege of 1640 granting them the right to play "when we are demanded by various people of rank and Christians to make music at Sundays and holidays" lest "we are bound to die miserably and to perish together with our folks" since "we poor people have to make a living of the art acquired by ourselves." Serving a broad and diversified audience called for a repertoire that pleased wide circles. The Jews in their closed quarters thus obtained their share of popular songs and fashionable dance music, besides their traditional Jewish dances and tunes.

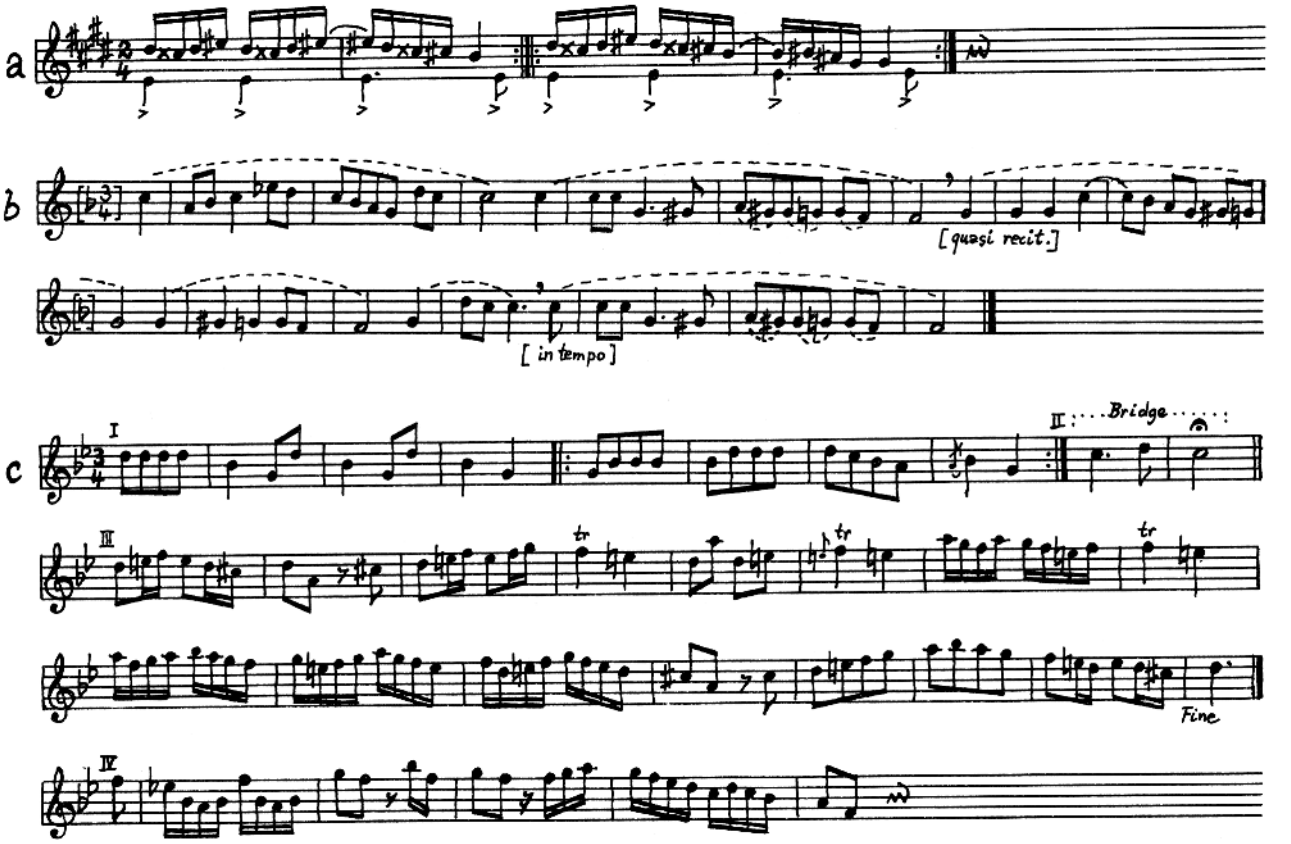
The musical features of *klezmer* music are largely unknown today, but there is some circumstancial evidence that the Jewish minstrels played in a kind of "hot style" of unusual scales and lively rhythms. This becomes obvious from Hans Newsidler's parody of a "Jews' dance" (Mus. ex. 24a) and from the scornful description by their gentile competitors (Prague, 1651) that "they keep neither time nor beat, and mockingly deprive noble and sweet music of its dignity." It appears that people nevertheless liked the exotic spices of *klezmer* music, which may perhaps be compared with the fascination exerted by gypsy tunes.

Several old *klezmer* tunes were notated by Elhanan Kirchhan of Fuerth in 1727 (*Simḥat ha-Nefesh* 2; facs. repr. New York, 1926). Mus. ex. 24b shows a Purim song obviously composed in a humorous mood. These specimens of 1727 indicate that the general trend was already directed toward

adoption of the European baroque style. A Purim *niggun* notated by cantor Judah Elias in 1744 (Mus. ex. 24c) exemplifies the inorganic linking of a traditional Jewish tune (I, G minor) through dance-like "bridge bars" (II), with a continuation in the contemporary taste (III, D minor; IV, B-flat major, modulation and *da capo*); some strains of the melody are echoed in the 1794 Purim tunes of Aaron Beer (Idelsohn, *Melodien*, 6, nos. 117–8) suggesting a common popular source. Songs in the vernacular followed the same direction as instrumental music. Although their foreign melodies were balanced by original invention, their constant use advanced the Westernization of music at the popular level.

Since the 17th century, the affluent classes had become accustomed to have their children, especially daughters, instructed in singing and instruments (cf. Jos. Kosman, *Noheg ka-ẓon Yosef*, 1718, 18a; Jos. Hahn, *Yosif Omeẓ*, 1723, 890). *Glueckel of Hameln relates that her stepsister knew how to play the harpsichord well (c. 1650). During the Prague festival of 1678, the granddaughter of the community chairman played the cembalo, and Isaac Mahler's daughter the harpsichord. The tendency toward integration in music grew stronger among the upper classes during the late 18th century, when Rachel (Levin) *Varnhagen could report: "My musical instruction consisted of nothing but the music of Sebastian (Bach) and the entire school [of the period]." Heinrich *Heine's mother, Peierche van Geldern (b. 1771), had to conceal her flute ("my truly harmonious friend both in joy and grief") from her strict father. Sara Levi, daughter of the Berlin financier Daniel *Itzig, was the last and most faithful disciple of Wilhelm Friedemann Bach (d. 1784) and preserved many of his autograph works for posterity. These developments in the upper class prepared the way for the emergence of composers like Giacomo *Meyerbeer and Felix *Mendelssohn.

The trend of integration in European music finally came to affect the broad masses of the people, and the *ḥazzan*, their speaker and representative, was too dependent upon the goodwill of the public not to gratify its taste. Whereas early in the 17th century only the use of foreign melodies had been protested (by Isaiah *Horowitz and Joseph *Hahn), about 1700 and thereafter the entire style of cantorial performance was challenged by practices adopted from secular music. Violent discussions about the unstable state and reputation of cantorial art are reflected in several pamphlets. The deeper reasons for this crisis were exposed by Judah Leib Zelichover (*Shirei Yehudah*, Amsterdam, 1696). The author still clings to the medieval idea that *ḥazzanut* should be the musical expression of mystical intentions (*kavvanot*) by means of extended vocalises; he begrudges the cantors applauded by his genera-



Example 24. Characteristics of early klezmer *music. (a) parody, "*Der Juden Tantz*," lute piece by Hans Newsidler, 1554, after P. Nettl,* Alte juedische Spielleute und Musiker, *64–65; (b) Purim song, after E. Kirchhan,* Simḥat ha-Nefesh, *part II, fol. 7r.; (c) "*Purim Niggun*" from the manual of Judah Elias of Hanover, 1744, no. 224, after A. Nadel, unidentified facsimile publication, Jerusalem, J.N.U.L., Jakob Michael Collection of Jewish Music, JMA 3997.*

tion for neglecting the traditional mode of singing ("saying: It's outdated and does not satisfy us") and replacing it by their own inventions or borrowings from the opera, dance bands, of street singers.

Considering the isolation of Judaism in those days and its divorce from secular art, these declarations could hardly be called overstatement. A remedy was suggested about one generation later by the cantor Solomon *Lipschitz (*Teʿudat Shelomo*, Offenbach 1718, no. 30). He also censures the ambitious individualism of his colleagues ("everybody builds a stage for himself"), which mostly turned out to be imitations of the simplest forms of music, since the cantors lacked any formal musical education. Lipschitz wishes to replace the old form of Jewish singing leaning on the lower strata of the music of the gentile environment, by more accomplished forms of art: "Making music without knowing the rules of *musica* is like a prayer without true intention [*kavvanah*]!"

The results of such ideas soon became manifest. Close to the middle of the 18th century, cantors began to use musical notation and thus began the "literary period" of Ashkenazi *ḥazzanut*. It was not the old and venerable traditions of synagogue song, however, which were put on paper, but rather the new compositions of the individual *ḥazzanim*. The earliest known document of this kind is a manuscript from 1744 written by the *Herr Musicus und Vor Saenger Juda Elias in Hannover*. After this work come the manuscripts of the most eminent cantor of his age, Aaron *Beer (1738–1821); famous as *der Bamberger Ḥazzan*; from December 1764 in Berlin). His collection contains both his own versions or new creations of synagogue melodies and those of a dozen contemporaries (published in Idelsohn, *Melodien*, 6). Other important manuscripts go back to *meshorerim* who also served their cantors as "musical secretaries" (Idelsohn, op. cit.).

The character of these cantorial works is defined, first of all, by its strict homophony, tailored to the needs of a virtuoso singer wishing to display his coloraturas (*lenaggen*), while the text is given a subordinate role. The structure of these compositions remains in the line of traditional *ḥazzanut* by developing a theme by means of variative improvisation. The resources of the basic melodies, however, are borrowed from the post-baroque music of about 1700 to 1760, often recalling the fashionable composers of that period (Monn, Wagenseil, Zach). There is little left of the strong pathos and dramatics of the true baroque, although the artistic evolution of the opening theme statement and the extensive use of sequences were imitated, as was the instrument-like treatment of the voice (Mus. ex. 25a); later in the century, some influence of the early classicists can be observed (Mus. Ex 25b).

The "new trend" of cantorial art catered to the musical taste of about 1720, but the merger of traditional and modern style was far from complete. The customary Jewish freedom of rhythm and the roving melodical line could not easily be harnessed; attempts to do so resulted in asymmetrical phrases, awkward modulation, and other flaws in conventional workmanship. Most of these cantorial compositions shared only the platitudes and the most insipid musical idioms of the period. They were the product of a superficial connection between incompatible styles – the first sign of that dualism in the West Ashkenazi musical practice that was to become the hallmark of the 19th century.

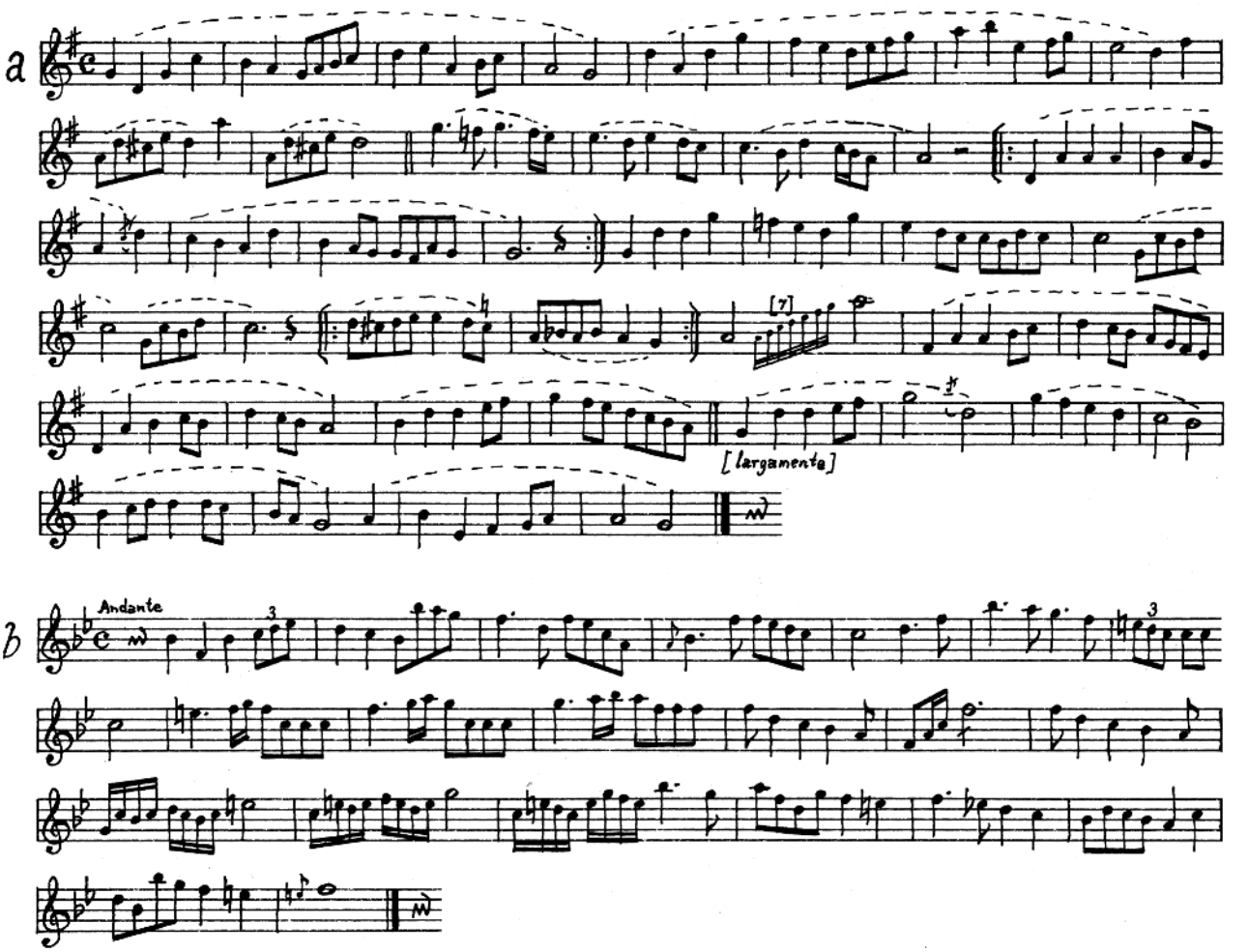
MODERN TIMES

The Nineteenth Century

By the 18th century, conditions of life had become almost unbearable in the ghettos and crowded Jewish settlements of the continent. The protracted persecutions aimed at economic, moral, and physical ruins nearly accomplished their purpose and were balanced only by the firm belief in final redemption, unbroken self-confidence, and vital energy. The growing pressure put European Jewry on two different paths of self-deliverance, as divergent from each other as the leaders Moses *Mendelssohn and *Israel b. Eliezer Baʿal Shem Tov. Assimilation, aiming at civil emancipation, was the external way toward joining the society of an enlightened Europe; *Ḥasidism, on the other hand, was entirely directed toward intrinsic values and was coupled with a certain abrogation of bitter reality. Both tendencies penetrated all aspects of life and had strong repercussions on music. A specific kind of music could demonstrate a certain ideology (e.g., use of the organ in synagogue service) or be made an essential means of spiritual exaltation (the ḥasidic *niggun*); music became a vehicle of both social integration and spiritual escapism.

THE ḤASIDIC NIGGUN. East European Jewry, suffering from increasing pauperization and the incessant menace of extermination for centuries, underwent a critical disillusionment with the failure of *Shabbetai Ẓevi and its aftereffects. At this doleful juncture, between 1730 and 1750, arose the ḥasidic movement, with its message of delivery of the soul from its detention in the body and the troubled earthly life by its ascent to spiritual, true values, thus partaking of a higher existence. As a continuation of the mystical tenets of Safed (see above), "a joyful heart and a devoted soul learning for our Father in Heaven" were made the cornerstone of prayer, and singing became a focal point of religious experience. For the first time, music of Jewish mysticism itself becomes known and may still be heard today. Ḥasidic singing spans the entire gamut from grief and deep concern to extreme joy, from a meditative mood to ecstatic exaltation, from purposeful melodic construction to open forms or shallow banality (see *Ḥasidism: Musical Tradition).

THE ABSORPTION OF THE EUROPEAN ART STYLE. While the Jews of Eastern Europe decided to overcome their miseries by a spiritual divorce from the environment, those of the West witnessed Lessing declare the equivalence of religions and the French Revolution proclaim freedom and equality for all men. This atmosphere encouraged their striving for integration in a future society of enlightened Europeans and tendencies of assimilation that ranged from slight external changes to total surrender. Music was regarded as an essential part of future



Example 25. Cantorial compositions in 18th-century style. (a) Hodu *for* Ḥanukkah *from the manual of Judah Elias of Hanover, 1744, after A. Nadel,* Der Orden Bne Briss *9–10, 95; (b) from Hodu for* Ḥanukkah *by Moses Pan (before 1791), after Idelsohn,* Melodien, *vol. 6, no. 55. Both compositions use the traditional melody of* Ma'oz Ẓur *as a point of departure.*

integration. Therefore, both tradition and acquired practices (which could barely be kept apart) were put to a test against the taste, rules, and forms of contemporary music. The prolonged prelude of this process has already been mentioned; by the 19th century, it gained sway and momentum of decisive power. As soon as the obstacles of personal advancement were removed, musicians of Jewish birth broke away from their faith, either formally or tacitly. The Jewish community suffered from a heavy drain of talent of higher and medium caliber. This incessant process principally affected synagogue music until, in the second half of the century; it became partly dependent upon immigration of cantors from Eastern Europe – not to speak of the lack of high-ranking composers.

The extent and nature of this exodus can be gauged by the numerous Jewish-born musicians who entered the fields of European art and were famous enough to merit entries in general encyclopedias. Among those born between 1790 and 1850, the most prominent categories were instrumentalists, especially virtuosos (28), and composers (21); next came singers and the scholars and pedagogues (11). Allegedly "typical Jewish" occupations are as yet clearly in the minority: conductors (6), publishers (2), impressarios (1), critics (0). A peak (60%) is formed by those born in the decade 1830 to 1839 who chose their profession about 1848, hopeful of being granted full civil rights. These forces were practically lost for the cultivation and development of the Jewish musical heritage. As to synagogue music, the impetus for immediate and drastic innovations came from a sudden turn at the political level. Napoleon wished to promote the social integration of his Jewish subjects by granting the superintendents of all communities with over 2,000 members an official status. Consequently, organized and binding changes in liturgy and its music could be enforced against the will of any opposition.

The Reform Movement. Napoleon also conferred his synagogue constitution upon some annexed countries, such as the

Kingdom of Westphalia; among them, the Koeniglich Wuerttembergische israelitische Oberkirchenbehoerde even survived his rule. These authorities gave the official and legal framework to the already existing tendencies of correcting and amending the synagogue service. The disregard of external form, dignity, and beauty was regarded by many as an abasing stigma of exile conditions. The mystical ideas and symbols that provided so much content to *ḥazzanut* and its coloraturas were no longer understood; the congregations had changed into an audience that expected music to evoke feelings they could not find within themselves. A small but energetic circle of extremists used the communal constitution given to Westphalian Jewry to materialize its vision of a liturgy modeled after European ideas and aesthetics. Perspicaciously, they started working with the young generation, on the initiative of Israel *Jacobsohn, court factor of Jerome Bonaparte and fervent champion of synagogue reform. The pupils of the Jewish mechanics school at Seesen were given formal instruction in music from 1804; they formed the choir and sang to the *organ installed in the prayer hall of their institution (1807). The music consisted of chorale-like melodies composed by their Christian music teacher to Hebrew and German texts. Soon afterward, Jacobsohn opened another Reform synagogue with organ and part-singing in the Westphalian capital of Kassel. Both his institutions were forced to close, however, with the end of the kingdom in 1814. The reformer and his musical assistant went to Berlin and opened a private synagogue with an organ and a boys' choir from the free school (1815). Two years later (1817), they moved to the private synagogue established in the house of Meyerbeer's father, the banker Jacob Herz Beer, where an organ with two manuals and pedal was put at their disposition. The bold innovations of liturgy and liturgical singing aroused disputes and quarrels with the conservatives, whereupon the government ordered the synagogue to be closed (1818).

Meanwhile, the Reform movement has spread to other communities. The Hungarian rabbi Aaron *Chorin published a book in defense of the synagogue organ (*Nogah ha-Ẓedek*, Dessau, 1818). Reform congregations had been founded at Frankfurt (Philanthropin orphanage, 1816), Hamburg (1817), and during the Leipzig Fair (a synagogue opened in 1820 with tunes composed by Meyerbeer). The Hamburg synagogue was joined by many of the local Sephardim and their cantors, was very active, and existed until 1938. Its members regarded the melodic recitation of prayers and Bible reading as opposed to the spirit of the age and replaced them by plain declamation. On the other hand, some Sephardi tunes (of the "civilized" kind favored by the Marranos) were adopted. Above all, Reform congregations created German-language hymnals on the pattern of the Protestant *Gesangbuch* (first: Jos. Joelson's *Shirei Yeshurun*, Frankfurt (1816)). The Hamburg hymnal (1819, many editions) contained some melodies composed by well-known musicians like A.G. Methfessel and, later, the Jewish-born Ferdinand *Hiller.

Reform congregations, however, were generally unable to recruit composers with both stature and real involvement with the task. The original tunes of their hymnals, mostly the products of music teachers, match the feebleness and absence of inspiration found in the texts. Furthermore, there existed an ideological impulse to integrate prayers with the Christian environment by adopting the tunes of well-known Protestant chorales. Banal new texts were connected with the melodies of Christological songs (*Sefer Zemirot Yisrael*, Stuttgart, 1836). After all the effort, a few jewels also took root outside Reform synagogues (*Seele, was betruebst du dich*, music by J.H.G. Stoewing; *Hoert, die Posaune toent mit Macht*, poetry by Abraham *Geiger). More important are two achievements of a general nature. First, the instruction of the youth in part singing – no longer in the old, improvised manner, but of music written according to the rules of harmony – through the schools, orphanages, and seminaries spread the understanding of European music to the less-privileged classes as well. Another innovation of lasting effect was playing the organ during the service. An object of raging and never-settled debates, the use of the organ in synagogues was made a cornerstone and symbol of later liberalism against strict observance in religious matters.

The "Improved Service" and Its Music. Attempts at radical reformation of the liturgy and its music did not go beyond a certain sector of the larger communities; in the provinces, they failed almost completely. This does not imply indifference or sluggishness on the part of the majority. In fact, a more decided and massive move toward musical "acculturation" has seldom been observed. Even where the liturgical tradition was handled with caution or left untouched, the conditions prevailing in prayer performance caused much indignation. Western Jewry strove for an improvement – for a *geordneter Gottesdienst* – and this concept included the entire field of sacred song ("orderly music of the divine service"; Sulzer).

First came the renunciation of the brilliant coloratura in the cantorial solo, once regarded as an asset in its own right. By 1800 *ḥazzanut* was hopelessly pervaded with foreign elements (mostly baroque) and had developed as a sort of half-breed that, unfortunately, demonstrated the weak spots of both its ancestors. Independent attempts at modernization were initiated by provincial cantors (Mus. ex. 26) whose abilities and taste were not up to their exaggerated aspirations. Therefore, these experimental works were discarded by the more urbanized taste.

The changed attitude toward musical performance also wished to dispose of the usual trio consisting of the cantor and two assistant singers (*meshorerim*). The improvised accompaniment executed by the latter was to be replaced by harmonies of academic regular structure, and their solo coloraturas were to be clipped as eccentricities of an outmoded taste. Likewise, the boisterous chorus of the entire congregation lost its value as a moving acoustical experience with ancient roots and was to be silenced and substituted by well-rehearsed part singing. Such ideas and tendencies materialized during the period between the Congress of Vienna (1814–15;

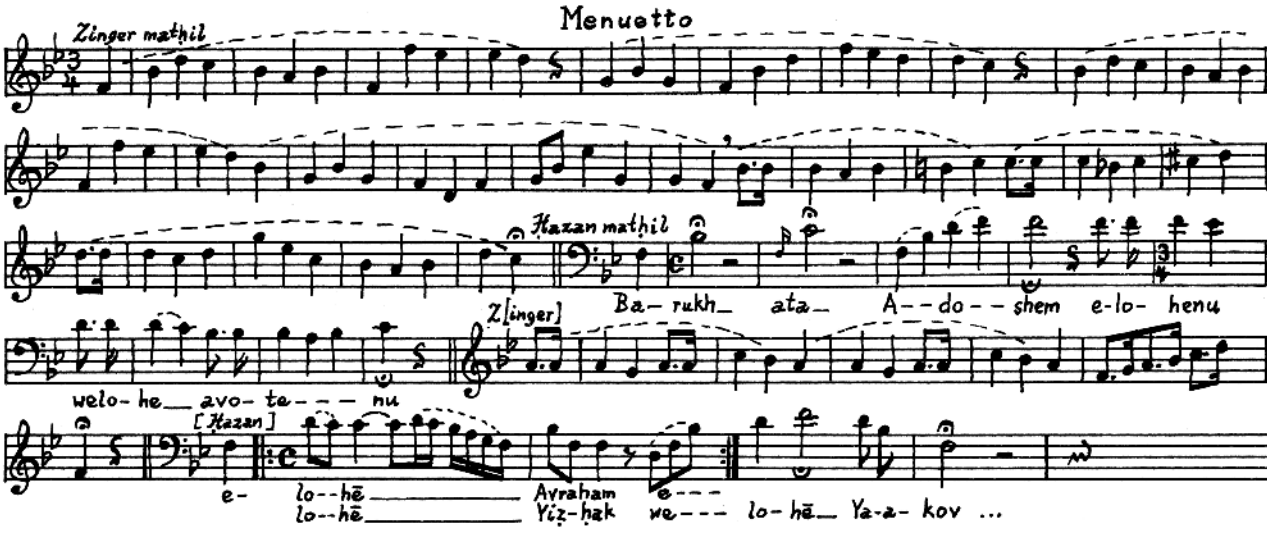
disappointing the hope for emancipation) and the revolutions of 1848 that led to the admission to citizenship. In the meantime, synagogue music was remodeled according to the ideas of the "Jewish European." Fortunately, a cadre of real talents remained after the great exodus of musicians to devote itself entirely to this task. All of them were proficient in synagogue song and were backed by family tradition in this vocation. Most of them were gifted with extraordinary voices, and some had already excelled as child prodigies; rich patronage had paved their way to studies of musical theory and instrumental playing. They were given the chance to realize their ideas on a large scale when they were between 19 and 30 years of age: the ardent idealism of youth contributed much to the breakthrough of the new trend.

Two forerunners had already set the first standards. Israel *Lovy, a cantor and concert singer with a phenomenal voice, established a four-part choir in the new Paris synagogue in 1822. The music he composed for this body indiscriminately combined the old *meshorerim* tradition and the choral style of the *opéra comique*. The other precursor of things to come, Maier (Meir) *Kohn of Munich, did not demonstrate Lovy's creativeness when he was commissioned to establish a choir of boys and men in 1832. He had to resort to local non-Jewish musicians for choral compositions or, at least, the harmonization of melodies arranged or composed by himself and others. Kohn's compilations, (*Vollstaendiger Jahrgang von Terzett-und Chorgesaengen der Synagoge in Muenchen…*) known as the *Muenchner Terzettgesaenge* (1839), became, for some decades, a vademecum for small to medium-sized communities. The compositions offered by the early proponents of the "improved service" extended to selected chapters of the liturgy and touched upon only a small part of the highly important role of the *ḥazzan*. Thoroughgoing changes of the whole extent of the musical liturgy were finally put into effect by Solomon *Sulzer in Vienna (from 1826), Hirsch *Weintraub at Koenigsberg (1838), Louis *Lewandowski in Berlin (1840), and Samuel *Naumbourg in Paris (1845). The principles guiding the various renovators of synagogue music have much in common:

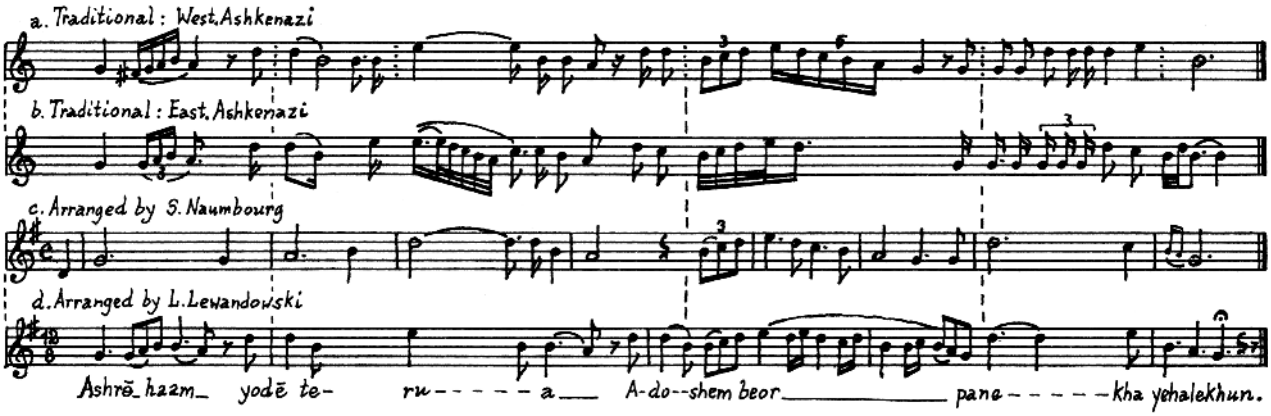
> We might find out the original noble forms to which we should anchor ourselves, developing them in an artistic style… Jewish liturgy must satisfy the musical demands while remaining Jewish; and it should not be necessary to sacrifice the Jewish characteristics to artistic forms… The old tunes and singing modes, which became national should be improved, selected, and adjusted to the rules of art. But new musical creations should also not be avoided (Sulzer, *Denkschrift*, 1876).

The point of departure had to be a survey of the entire body of tunes and recitatives transmitted by oral tradition. For the first time in history, the complete cycle of obligatory or commonly accepted melodies was recorded in musical notation (until then, only the extraordinary, individual compositions and arrangements had been written down). In examining these invaluable documents, one should disregard the enclosure in bars of recitative and free-rhythmic tunes by which the notators paid tribute to contemporary usage; the obligation to fill the bars regularly resulted in shortening and lengthening of notes, and most of the ornamental passages do not disclose their deliberate *rubato* tempo.

The tendencies of "improvement, selection, and adjustment to artistic forms" (Sulzer) enter the picture at this point. They were justified for their time, however painful to the adherents of modern historicism and folklore conservation. However, personal liberty in the aural interpretation of traditional melody patterns or "ideas" had been the characteristic procedure of Jewish music at all times; it was also the duty of the 19th-century cantor, as it had been of his predecessors. Therefore it was not a fault but their right when can-



Example 26. German provincial setting of the Amidah *prayer for* ḥazzan *and "singer." The indications are: singer begins,* ḥazzan *begins. From an anonymous Ms., possibly Bavarian, probably early 19th century. Jerusalem, J.N.U.L., Jakob Michael Collection of Jewish Music, Ms. JMA 4249 (1), fol. 15v.*



Example 27. A traditional melody and its 19th-century adaptation. (a) A. Baer, Baal T'fillah, *1883[3], no. 1158; (b) Ch. Vinaver,* Anthology of Jewish Music, *1955, no. 23; (c) S. Naumbourg,* Zemirot Yisrael, *vol. 2, 1847, no. 228; (d) L. Lewandowski,* Todah W'Simrah, *part 2, 1882, no. 179.*

tors now followed the earlier trend toward classicism with a new trend oriented toward the early romantic style in music. Consequently, their arrangements of traditional material tend toward melodies of clean-cut outlines and logical, if possible symmetric, structures. The old modes were preferably transformed to major or minor; if the specific *shtayger* scales are preserved, they are sometimes disturbed by leading notes and other dressings of modern tonality (Mus. ex. 27). The recitatives were toned down to a rational declamation, in which melismatic figures are admitted only for scoring meaningful words or marking the clauses of the sentence.

The intended "improvement" of the cantor's part demanded a gentle touch guided by sensitivity for genuine and authentic values. A bolder approach was suited to the passages assigned to the choir. Precedents of choral performance were the *meshorerim* accompaniment of the cantor and the largely turbulent responses of the entire congregation. The traditional singing of *meshorerim* contained elements that could be rearranged to form a choral style of genuine flavor. Naumbourg, Sulzer, and Lewandowski made attempts at this. Naumbourg's arrangement of one of the *Mi-Sinai* tunes demonstrates the special features of this style (Mus. ex. 28).

The melody is given to one of the inner parts, the cantor's tenor, embedded in the chords of male voices and tender boy sopranos. The latter proceed very often in parallel thirds or sixths (both in relation to the cantor's tune and between themselves) and produce an effect similar to certain mixture stops of an organ. The basses refrain from a steady accompaniment, entering only with hummed chords at melodic vantage points or acting like a community that joins in with the cantor's prayer. There are also solo sections provided for the bass and the soprano, frequently exhibiting an instrumental character; a sweet soprano could become a favorite of the public, and many of them later became famous cantors. The resources of this original style were tapped but not developed to any importance in Western Ashkenaz, but they became preeminent in East Ashkenazi synagogue music, as shall be seen later.

The free composition of choral works in the contemporary style was challenged by still another factor–the need to give shape to the songs and responses of the congregation itself. Sulzer and Lewandowski were gifted with the inventiveness and skill for creating choir pieces of high quality. The religious element in Sulzer's music exhibits delicate feeling with a sentimental timbre, clad in simple but sweet harmonies, while Lewandowski expresses himself in a more forceful manner and avoids that common intelligibility which is apt to turn into triviality in a short while.

The first synagogue choirs were quite an experience to the congregations who had been annoyed by singing habits perpetuated by inertia alone or by barren experimentation. Sulzer's choir in the Vienna Seitenstettengassen Synagoge, was also praised by Christian visitors such as Liszt, the Abbé Mainzer, and others as both a human and musical experience. The impact of Sulzer's achievements was felt very soon by the brisk demand for his scores. Synagogue choirs were founded in Prague, Copenhagen (before 1838), Breslau, Berlin, Dresden (1840), and London (1841). Sulzer's disciples or choir singers transmitted the music of the "improved service" to the United States as well (G.M. Cohen, New York 1845; A. Kaiser, Baltimore 1866; M. Goldstein, Cincinnati 1881; E.J. Stark); their appearance antedated that of East Ashkenazi synagogue song in the Western hemisphere (New York, 1852). Cantors from the East European communities came to Vienna in order to perfect themselves with the "father of the new song in Israel" (Pinchas *Minkowski). The more important of Sulzer's Eastern disciples or followers were Osias *Abrass, Jacob *Bachmann, Nissan *Blumenthal, Wolf *Shestapol, Spitzburg ("the Russian Sulzer"), and others.

In these ways and by these men, the stage was set for musical life in the Western houses of prayer. During the second half of the century, after 1848, the liberal wing of conservative (non-Reform) synagogues added organ playing to the service order. A progressive cadre of communal leaders had decreed its admissability during the second Assembly of Rabbis held

at Frankfurt in 1845. It was, however, a partial vote that did not oblige or convince any sworn opponent. For instance, five years before the Berlin New Synagogue was finally furnished with an organ (1866), seven rabbis were consulted; Rabbi Michael Sachs was among the opponents, Abraham *Geiger was with the advocates. In the end 74 German-Jewish communities came to have organs played at their service, according to a count made in 1933. In Russia, the first synagogue organ was installed not before 1901 (Union Temple, Odessa). Very few of the composers writing for this instrument understood its technique and spirit. Lewandowski, a pupil of E.A. Grell, was the first to produce real organ music for the synagogue.

The absorption of European standards in the musical service was paid for later in the 19th century with the weakened understanding and cultivation of the old tradition, especially of the cantor's role. The impending loss of acknowledged values was noticed in time and was averted by collecting and publishing what remained of oral tradition. Some of the related publications exhibit a remarkable sense of authenticity: outstanding is Abraham *Baer's voluminous, almost single-handed, collection, *Baal T'fillah* (1877); relatively reliable is F. *Consolo's *Libro dei canti d'Israele* (Leghorn-Sephardi tradition, 1892). Other authors who intended to create handbooks for the cantor's training imparted a little polish to the original tunes, but may still serve well for critical research (Moritz *Deutsch, *Vorbeterschule*, 1871; Meier Wodak, *Ha-Menaẓẓe'aḥ*, 1898; etc.). The Sephardi rite of Carpentras was noted by J.S. & M. Crémieu (1887), that of Paris by E. Jonas (1854), and a selection of London Portuguese melodies by the piano virtuoso E. *Aguilar and D.A. de *Sola (1857, unfortunately in a harmonized and metricized arrangement).

Parallel with the activities in collecting and editing, inquisitive minds strove to answer the question of the distinctive elements in Jewish music. The particular nature of the *shtayger* scales or modes, already noted by Weintraub (1854) and Naumbourg (1874), was demonstrated by the Viennese cantor and disciple of Sulzer, Josef *Singer in an attempt at systematization (1886). Outstanding in this first generation of researchers was Eduard *Birnbaum, Weintraub's successor at Koenigsberg from 1879. A sound Jewish education enabled him to place musical questions in the context of history and literature and achieve an unusually high level. His inconspicuous article (later a booklet) *Juedische Musiker am Hofe von Mantua* (1893) has become a classic in its field. An asset of lasting value is Birnbaum's collection of cantorial manuscripts and other source material (at present in the Hebrew Union College Library, Cincinnati); partly exploited by Idelsohn, it holds research tasks for generations to come.

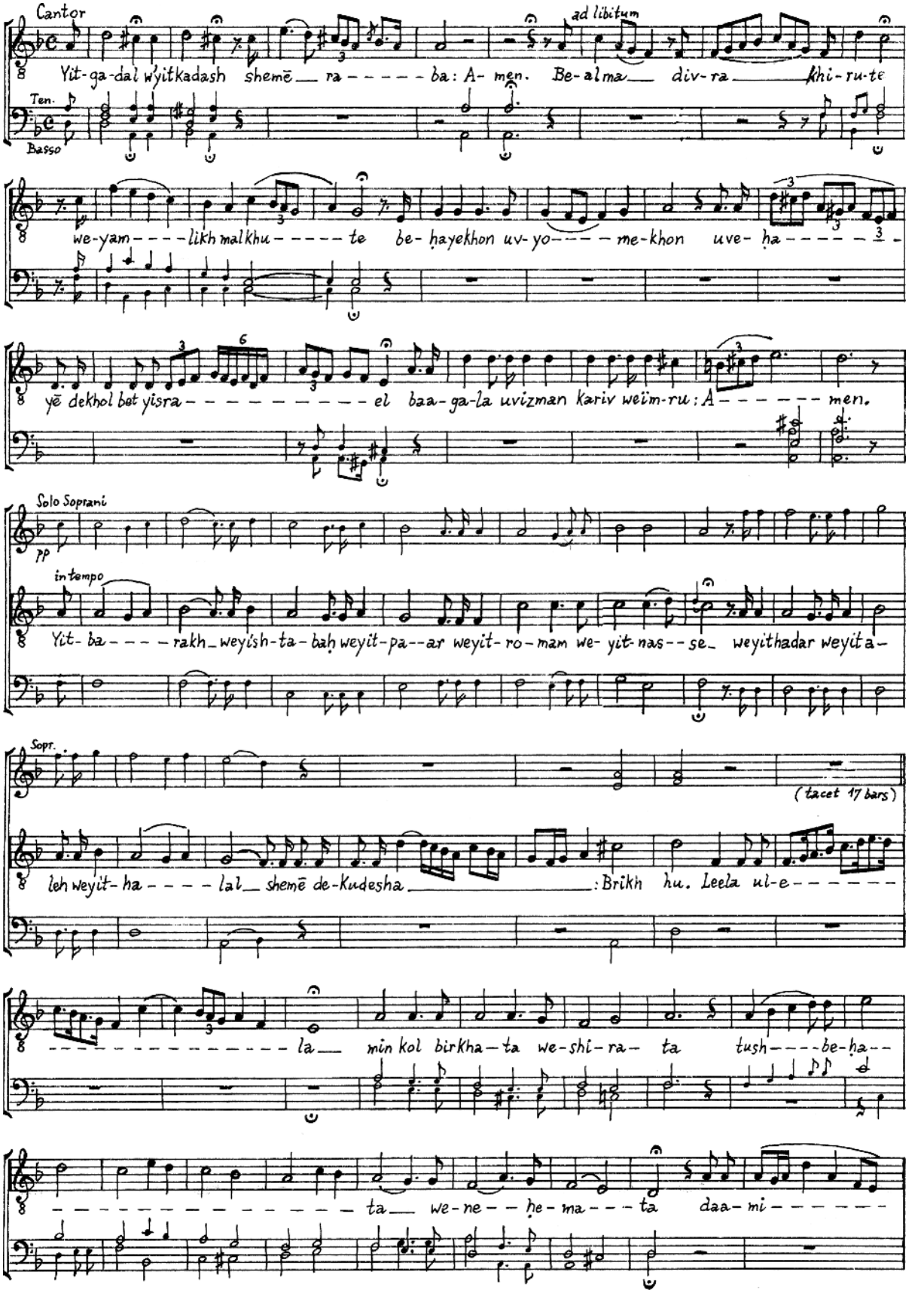
The 19th century also witnessed the professional organization of West European cantors and the edition of periodicals in which the publication of source material and research had a place (*Der Juedische Cantor*, ed. A. Blaustein, 1879–98; *Oesterreichisch-Ungarische Cantorenzeitung*, founded by Jacob *Bauer, 1881–1902). In spite of all the activity and alertness in matters of synagogue song, the West European communities were drained more and more of its musical talents, including cantorial candidates. The gap was filled by immigrants from Eastern Europe, especially after the Russian persecutions of 1882. The Western synagogues could maintain their musical standard by recruiting the often-brilliant singers originating, on a nearly equal scale, in Russia, the Baltic states, Poland, Hungary, and the neo-Prussian provinces. Finally, they outnumbered their local colleagues in the ratio of three to two. The newcomers, mostly ambitious and studious youths, learned the melodies of the Western rite with great zeal; as prescribed by Jacob Moellin (Maharil), there was no intermingling of regional traditions before 1900. Exceptions were Joseph Goldstein's enclave of Eastern virtuoso song in Vienna (1858–99), and Ḥayyim Wasserzug (Lomser), who went to London (1875) as a famous *ḥazzan*.

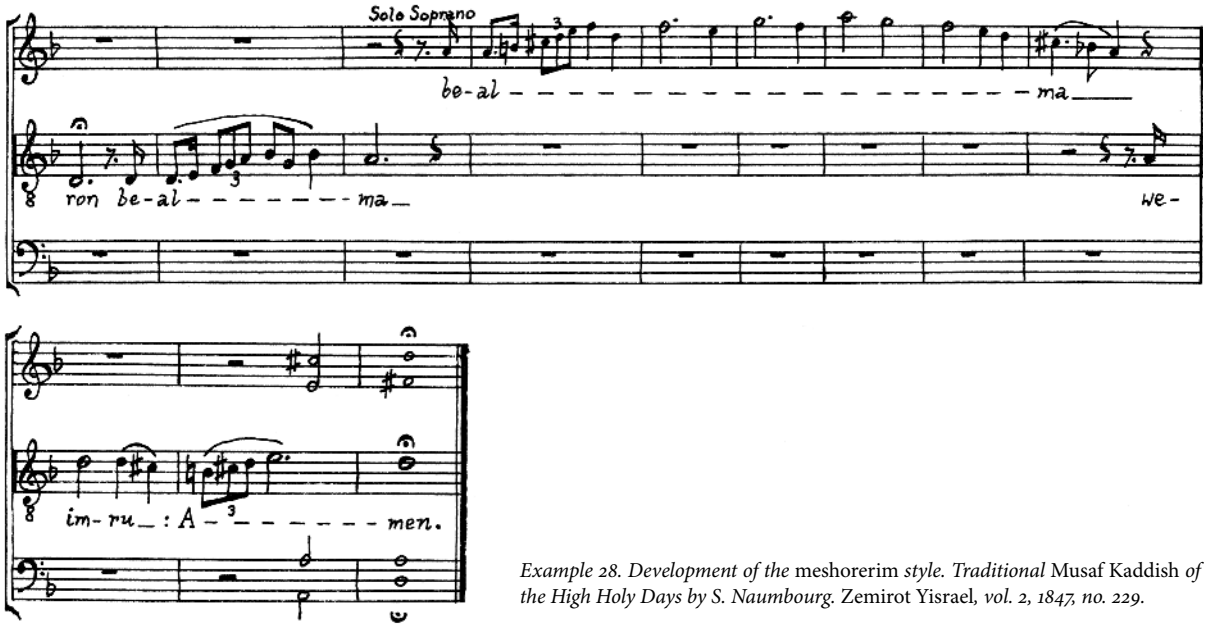
THE EVOLUTION OF EAST ASHKENAZI ḤAZZANUT. The breakdown of inherited musical forms in the West was the work of a few decades and generally affected synagogue and Jewish communal life, albeit to varying degrees. East European Jewry remained completely immune from the advance of the times and kept its ears shut before art music, which had now become available to the middle classes throughout Europe. The developments there, however, occurred by way of a gradual and organic evolution.

The reasons for this development in Eastern Europe must be sought both in social and intellectual conditions. The Jewish population of Eastern Europe was massed in its assigned *Pale of Settlement and bound by almost medieval restrictions. Even outstanding musical talents could find an outlet only in synagogue song or, alternatively, in popular music making and entertaining. They had to contribute their sometimes- considerable gifts compulsorily, to the musical life of their community, which was deeply concerned with all matters of music. Within that responsive musical microcosm, synagogue song represented the highest level of art; the interest and knowledgeability of the public was focused on the solo performance of the *ḥazzan* and subjected it to both relentless criticism and unconditional adulation. P. Minkowski, for example, commented:

> The Odessa community was not an ordinary one, but was split in two factions, accusers and defenders… When I had sung ancient melodies known to every listener, a dispute arose on the spot… as to whether my song was in the style of Abrass [Pitche] or of Bachman, and people of venerable age also conjured Zalel [Shulsinger] up from his grave in Ereẓ Israel in order to pitch my singing against Tzalel's… (Recollections).

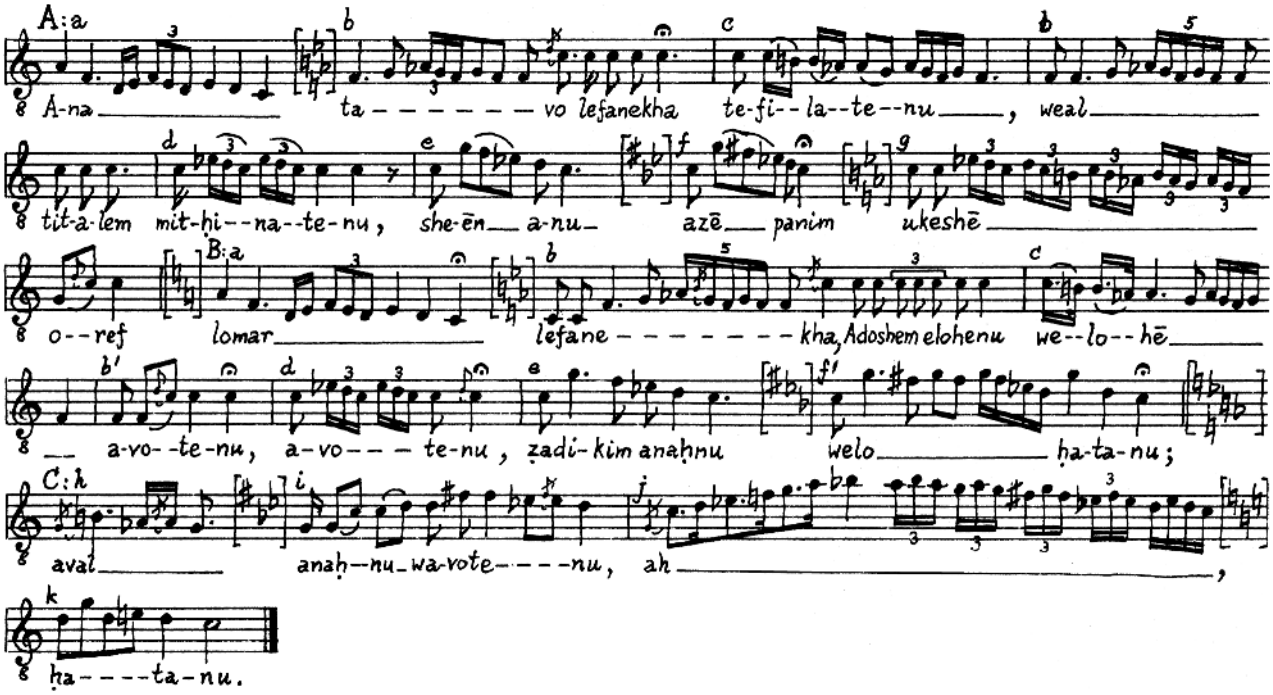
Ashkenazi *ḥazzanut* represented an original and self-sufficient kind of music, comparable only with certain Oriental styles of song. Its most conspicuous attribute is its expressivity, the prayer of the community subsiding, as soon as the *ḥazzan's* voice is heard, and the mind completely identifies itself with the voice. Unlike the self-imposed restraint of the Western cantor, the aim is to produce an upsurge of religious feelings (*hitorerut*) and a strong and immediate response. The


Cantor
ad libitum
Yit-ga-dal w'yitkadash shemē ra ba: A- men. Be-alma div-ra khi-ru-te
Ten.
Basso
we-yam likh malkhu te be-ḥayekhon uv-yo me-khon uve-ḥa
yē dekhol bet yisra el baa-ga-la uvizman kariv weïm-ru: A men.
Solo Soprani
pp
in tempo
Yit-ba rakh_weyish-ta-baḥ weyit-pa-ar weyit-ro-mam we-yit-nas-se_ weyithadar weyita-
Sopr.
(tacet 17 bars)
leh weyit-ha lal_ shemē de-Kudesha _____: Brikh hu. Leela ul-e
la_ min kol birkha-ta we-shi-ra- ta tush be-ḥa-
ta_ we-ne-ḥe-ma-ta daa-mi

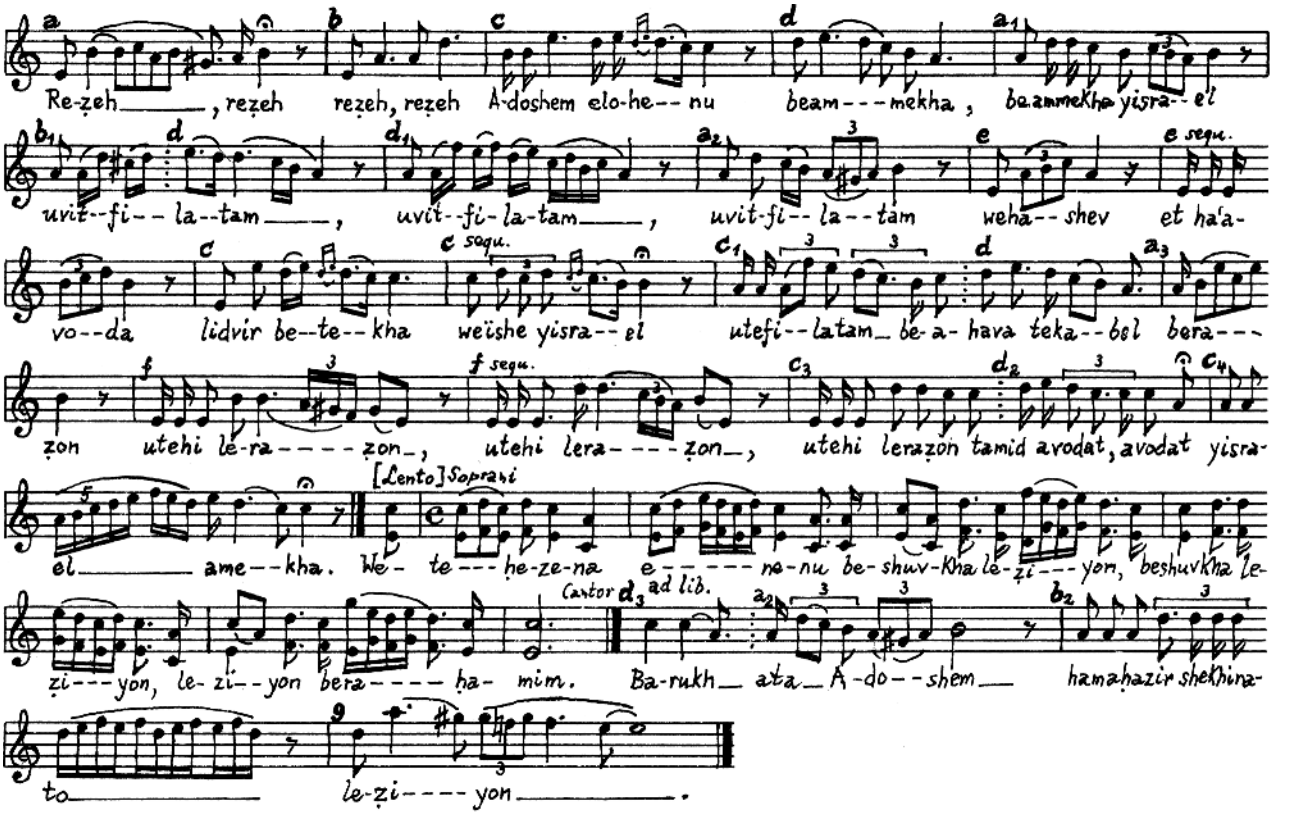


Example 28. Development of the meshorerim *style. Traditional* Musaf Kaddish *of the High Holy Days by S. Naumbourg.* Zemirot Yisrael, *vol. 2, 1847, no. 229.*

impressive capacities of this particular kind of song are not easily described in precise technical terms. The cantorial melody develops as a strictly monodic line, with structural points of support quite different from those of European harmony. It proceeds by many small movements, creating melodic cells, which build up the body of the tune (Mus. ex. 29 and 30) Phrases composed of long-drawn single notes are nonexistent: they appear to be dissolved into flickering. Rhythm is not confined to bars and stringent symmetry, but is as free as in the music of the Oriental ancestors and relations of this style. Melodies are often shaped to *shtayger* scales; modulations are rather frequent and a proof of mastery, like the Oriental singers' shifting from *maqām* to *maqām*. Another archaic element is still in full vigor: the principle of variation



Example 29. Eastern Ashkenazi ḥazzanut, *c. 1800. Introductory prayer to the confession of sins on the Day of Atonement, by Solomon Weintraub (Kashtan), as notated from oral translation by D. Roitman, after G. Ephros (ed.),* Cantorial Anthology, *vol. 2, 1940, 135.*



Example 30. Eastern Ashkenazi ḥazzanut *with "singer" soli, c. 1990.* Retzeh, *by Aryeh Lev Schlossberg (1841–1925), after G. Ephros (ed.),* Cantorial Anthology, *vol. 4, 1953, 368–9.*

governs both the melodic cells at every instance of recurrence and the whole structure of a piece. Often a cantorial composition contains a "double course" of the same section – first as an original statement and then as a variation of the same (Mus. ex. 29). At times, the work is composed of melodic cells arranged without any apparent order (Mus. ex. 30) exactly as the ancient *nusaḥ* style demands (see above).

One of the rules of *ḥazzanut*, however, is that there is no rule of adhering to one plan or the other: expression is the element, which counts. The expressive intention is overwhelming: it dissolves the form of the underlying poetic text past recognition; single words may be repeated over and over (Mus. ex. 30), in spite of halakhic prohibition; emotional exclamations intermingle and long coloraturas expand certain syllables, in particular towering above the penultima at the end of compositions. These traits may appear exaggerated to a taste accustomed to classicist restraint, but they are capable of the most suggestive presentation of sentiments, mostly in the pitiful and lachrymose mood (the expression of joy being channeled mostly through imitations of foreign song). The *ḥazzan*'s voice plays on a variety of sound colors, complemented by a high falsetto (in the old contralto manner) and prefers techniques such as the gliding passage from tone to tone, slowly entering trills, and other characteristics of an advanced vocal culture.

The development of East Ashkenazi *ḥazzanut* is known only since its early 19th-century protagonists, whose exploits and compositions had been preserved in the memory of their congregations and disciples. Besides, regional schools and stylistic subdivisions, such as the Jewish-Lithuanian, Ukrainian, etc., a parting line is recognized between an older, "classical" *ḥazzanut* and a younger style influenced by Western art music.

The "classical" stage is represented in the communities of the Ukraine and Volhynia by the impressive personalities of Bezalel *Shulsinger ("Tzalel Odesser"), Yeruḥam *Blindman ("Yeruḥam ha-Koton"), Yeḥezkel of Zhitomir, and Solomon *Weintraub (Kashtan). The old style was perpetuated by Israel Shkuder (1804–46) and Nissan *Spivak ("Nissi Belzer"). To judge from the small part of their music preserved, the early cantors did not indulge in the excessive coloraturas and superficial tricks preferred by the later synagogue singers. In Lithuania and Poland, the old style was upheld by Sender *Polachek of Minsk, who excelled in particular melodic formations (Sender's *shtayger*), and his disciple Baruch *Karliner, a master of spontaneous improvisation "when the spirit dwelled upon him." Galicia and Hungary had David'l

Strelisker ("Dovidl *Brod"), who assumed the airs of a noble dilettante and would not give in to the modernistic tendencies of the Budapest *chor shul* of 1830.

The first waves of Sulzer's musical reform reached Eastern Europe promptly and impressed both singers and ambitious community leaders. Cantor Nissan *Blumenthal of Odessa was the first to adopt Western ways by cultivating a smooth bel canto style. Some went or were sent to Sulzer himself in Vienna (see above). Others acquired their formal education in Eastern Europe, such as Joel David Strashunsky (the "Vilner Balabess'l") with Moniuszko in Poland, and Jacob *Bachmann with Anton Rubinstein in Russia. The "Westernizing" *ḥazzanim* limited the influence of art music to choral composition, while the solo parts of their own were left almost untouched. In general, choral composition kept to the *meshorerim* style, touched up with more regular harmonic sequences; but those who were tempted to introduce fugues or other musical devices of advanced academic training also inserted showpieces of artful elaboration indiscriminately. In addition, their works frequently reflect the fascination exerted by Rossini and other idols of the day. The so-called choral synagogues soon brought forth specialists in choral leadership and composition, such as A. Dunajewski, Eliezer *Gerovich, and David *Nowakowski. Their creations do not lack touching moments, but are "conductors' music," incompatible with the strong and style-conscious works of their older contemporary Nissan *Spivak ("Nissi Belzer").

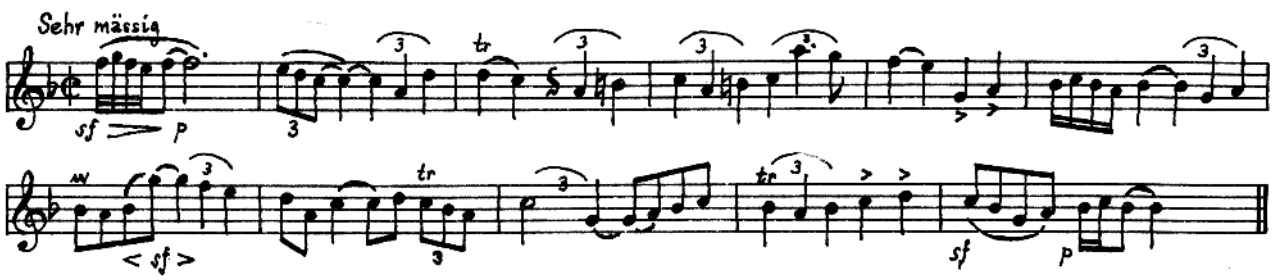
Research in traditional Jewish music was taken up by cantor Pinchas *Minkowski, one of the prominent *ḥazzanim* who left for the West. Immediately before the mass emigration of star cantors, the splendor of Ukrainian *ḥazzanut* flashed once again with Solomon *Razumny.

The Twentieth Century

At the beginning of the 20th century, the specific kind of music inherited by European Jewry had no good expectations. The spiritual and social landslides in the West had buried the characteristic features under the quicksand of fashionable tastes, leaving the original outlines barely recognizable. The traditional solo style, still fostered in the East, drifted toward brilliant but shallow display and mingled with the first attempts in formal artistry. The musical situation reflected the general conditions of European Jewry during the period. A major part of the Jewish musicians seemed to have been integrated into the gentile environment as composers and performers; nevertheless, they were looked upon as outsiders by society.

Even the most liberal individuals referred disparagingly to these Jewish musicians. *Moscheles was referred to by Schuppanzigh in a letter to Beethoven in 1823 as "this Jewish boy"; H.A. Marschner in a letter to his wife referred to the "Jews' music fabrication" while *Tausig is referred to as "the little Jew" (Esser to the publisher Schott, 1861). They vary from the single reference to descent (with certain overtones) to the blunt identification of Jewish musicianship with the negative elements in art (a point driven home in Richard Wagner's pamphlet *Das Judentum in der Musik* (1850) and accepted by certain composers from Pfitzner's standing downward). The keen observer Heinrich *Heine held (1842) that Jewish-born artists, *Mendelssohn among them, were characterized by "the complete lack of naiveté; but is there, in art, any ingenious originality without naiveté?" He obviously intended to ascribe a certain degree of mannerism to their works of art. The general validity of this sweeping statement is not easily proven; but the greatest Jewish talents did go to the extreme boundaries of stylistic means or sentiment, as if they were looking for an indefinable something that would bestow ultimate perfection upon their creations. Arnold *Schoenberg has demonstrated (*Style and Idea*, 82–84) how Gustav Mahler probed into the subconscious and unknown in his last major work of 1911 (Mus. ex. 31), "An extraordinary case, even among contemporary composers, is the melody from *Abschied*, the last movement of Mahler's *Das Lied von der Erde*. All the units vary greatly in shape, size, and content, as if they were not motivic parts of a melodic unit, but words, each of which has a purpose of its own in the sentence."

The free rhythm of this truly "talking" passage; its construction by means of addition, instead of subordination of elements; and even certain melodic idiomatics have a familiar ring to an ear trained in Jewish singing and belonging to a sphere of sound forms which includes Jewish music. A similar structural affinity is also found with the "principle of permanent variation" that governs the formation of Schoenberg's serial compositions from the early 1920s onward. It was, how-



Example 31. Gustav Mahler, Das Lied von der Erde, *opening melody of the last movement, "Abschied" ("Parting"), singled out by Arnold Schoenberg for its unique melodic character (see A. Schoenberg,* Style and Idea, *1950, 85–86). Music, courtesy Universal Edition Vienna.*

ever, a far cry from the visionary and subconscious achievements of the great masters in the open field of pure music and the practical solutions demanded for applied music, such as synagogue song, which had to cope with tradition and habitude. But its composers also felt the need to express Jewish identity much more strongly than in the past century. The first obstacle to be overcome was their estrangement from the genuine sources of inspiration; moreover, these sources lay buried under much debris.

THE COLLECTION AND EXAMINATIONS OF THE INHERITANCE. Gathering and transcribing the oral tradition of synagogue song had begun in the Western countries during the 19th century and was almost completed by the end of that era. This labor and the incipient research had been the work of cantors personally involved in maintaining the vocal traditions. It became the task of the present century to approach the material under broader aspects and, above all, to extend its scope to the Oriental Jewish communities. The decisive step was taken by Abraham Zvi *Idelsohn (1882–1938), a disciple of Eduard Birnbaum – who imbued him with the inquisitive and historical approach to tradition – educated at German conservatories and in the principles of the Leipzig school of musicology.

The impact of Idelsohn's publications made itself immediately felt in general musicology, especially in Plainchant research (Peter Wagner, *Einfuehrung in die Gregorianischen Melodien* 3, 1921; frequently borrowed and repeated in later research). The reaction of specialized Jewish research came with the confrontation of European and Oriental music in Israel. A wave of re-recording and extensive or intensive surveying swept over the fields of folklore, now widened beyond expectation by the "ingathering of the exiles" (from 1948). These activities form a base for present research, in addition to historical and liturgical studies by modern methods. The integration of Jewish music in the general history of music (especially its comparative branch, foreshadowed in Curt *Sachs' writings) is close to being accomplished.

Parallel to the research in Jewish Oriental song went the collection of musical folklore in the European communities. The collection and transcription of these treasures began about 1900. It was not necessarily in the wake of Herder's ideas on folk song and national character that the Warsaw watchmaker Judah Leib *Cahan began his famous collection of folk song texts and music in 1896 (published from 1912); rather he felt the waning of his Jewish world so lovingly described in I.L. *Peretz's and *Shalom Aleichem's novels. The menace came from secularization (*Haskalah) and the attraction of the Russian big cities but it was the progressive and assimilated circles themselves that approached Jewish folk music with the methods of ethnomusicology. In 1898, the writers Saul *Ginsburg and Pesaḥ *Marek initiated a collecting campaign of folk song texts (published 1901), and the critic and composer Joel *Engel began noting down Jewish folk tunes. Their motivation sprang from the conscious acceptance of the national trend in music, already realized by the Czechs, Spaniards, and the Russians themselves. Texts alone were still published by Noah Prilutzki (1911–13); but music was the foremost issue in the phonograph recordings of "expeditions" sent to the countryside by the *Petrograd Society for Jewish Folk Music and Baron *Guenzburg in 1912–14 (under the direction of S. *An-Ski). The output of Edison cylinders found its way into Soviet archives in Kiev, and the recordings were transcribed and published in part by M. *Beregovski.

After World War I, An-Ski's Jewish Historical-Ethnographical Society took over (1925–39) and published the first volume of its *Muzikalisher Pinkas* (1927, ed. A.M. *Bernstein). Only a fraction of its members as well as some of their collections reached the United States and set up the YIVO Society, New York, among others. Yiddish folk song found warm and intelligent attention there (such as the collecting activity of Ruth *Rubin). Several smaller anthologies, like those of Menahem *Kipnis (Warsaw, from 1930) and Fritz Mordecai Kaufmann (Berlin, 1920) were instrumental in deepening the appreciation of Ashkenazi folkways in song.

The development was quite different as regards the Judeo-Spanish folk song of the Sephardim. The first texts, published by A. Danon in 1896/97 (REJ, 32–33), aroused the interest of historians of Spanish literature (see Romancero Musical Tradition).

THE REVIVAL OF NATIONAL VALUES IN MUSIC. The idea of imprinting a "national style" on art music of nonreligious description came late to the Jewish composers. It sprang up in Russia, but not from those composers who were linked to traditional or folk music (M. Dulitzki, D. Kabunowski, A.M. *Bernstein) and had set to music the Hebrew lyrics of the Haskalah and *Ḥibbat Zion authors. It cropped up, rather, within the thin layer of gifted students paying their precious admittance to metropolitan conservatories by complete assimilation. They were either unaware of their people's special singing style or ashamed of it and did not follow the model of the national trend in Russian music, from Glinka to Mussorgsky. The impulse had to come from the outside. In St. Petersburg in about 1902, Rimsky-Korsakov used to refer all his non-Russian students to their folk music. He also urged the Jews among them to cultivate their "wonderful music, which still awaits its Glinka" (according to *Saminsky). In a similar way, the young critic Yuli Dmitrevich (Joel) *Engel of Moscow was aroused to think of his cultural identity after having been asked point-blank by the mentor of the Russian national school, Vladimir Stassov: "Where is your national pride in being a Jew?" (according to Jacob *Weinberg). Many of these Jewish musicians, born between the 1870s and 1890s (the generation of Scriabin and Stravinsky), had little inner relation with living folk and traditional music (except for the few who had been disciples of cantors, such as E. Shkliar, M. *Gnesin, S. *Rosowsky). Saminsky, *Milner, *Zhitomirsky, *Achron, Lvov, and *Engel became enthusiasts of folk song collecting and arranging.

The rediscovered treasures were quickly brought before the public in unsophisticated arrangements for concert performance. Engel presented his folk song arrangements at concerts of the Moscow Ethnographical Society as early as 1901–02. The Petrograd Society for Jewish Folk Music (1908–18) had a statistically splendid record of concert performances. Its publishing house, Juwal, produced 58 works of 16 composers up to 1914, in addition to Engel's numerous songs and a collective songbook for schools. The results were sound craft-productions but not creative art. In consequence, the works of the National School did not gain ground beyond a certain sector of the Jewish audience. Talents like Joseph Achron struggled tragically for the fusion of Eastern-rooted Jewish and Western art music. The important problem of connecting self-sufficient melodic lines and modal (anti-harmonic) structures with harmonies was not solved; experiments went on in the tracks of Balakirev and Mussorgsky and later with the application of sound shading à la Debussy.

A short Russian spring after the October Revolution promised a new efflorescence of national aspirations in art. Hebrew and Yiddish *theaters (after having been banned since 1883) were founded (*Habimah, 1917; Vilna Troupe), and gave a fresh stimulus to Jewish composers. In fact, the latter's performances were at their best with incidental music such as Engel's *Dybbuk Suite* (op. 35), or A. *Krein's music to I.L. Peretz' *Night in the Old Market Place*. But very soon Jewish national art was dispersed for political reasons and its exponents went westward. After a short rallying in Berlin (about 1920–22), they made their way to the United States or Palestine. Others rode the tide and became useful members of the Soviet musical establishment (M. Gnesin, A. Krein, A. *Veprik).

Those who remained in Central Europe continued the national trend. The Juwal publications of music were transferred to Vienna and carried over to the new Jibneh series (closed in 1938). This group of composers did much to foster the conscience of Jewish identity in the Western communities (J. *Stutschewsky, A. *Nadel, J.S. Roskin, and singers like cantor L. Gollanin); they also became closely associated with the Zionist movement.

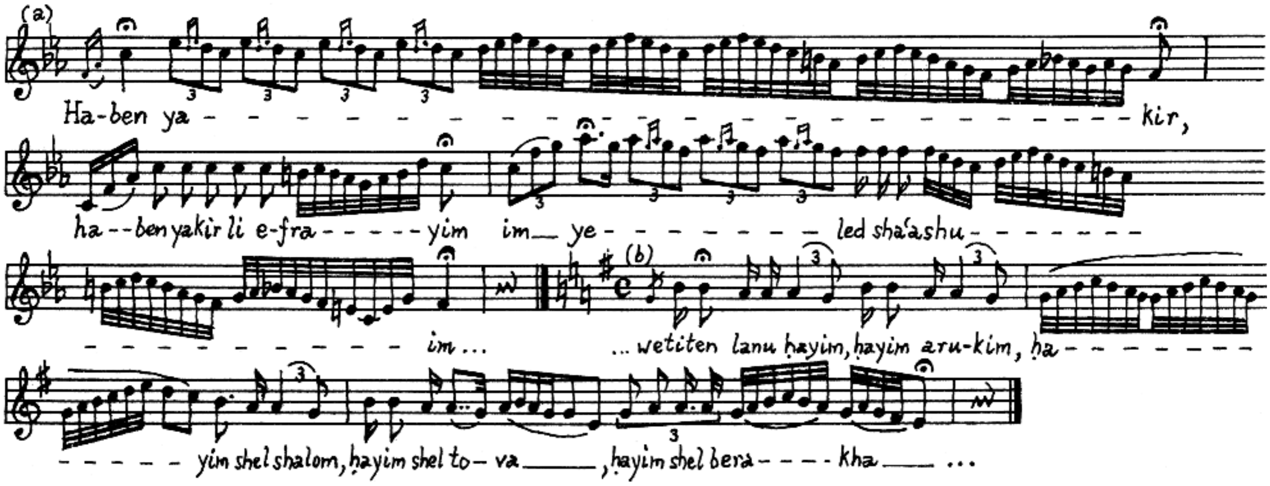
The earlier delegates of the National School who went to Palestine left only a superficial and transitory imprint on local art development because of their inflexible views and frozen stylistic traits; but a few representatives of the old guard, such as J. Engel and J. Stutschewsky (from 1938) played important roles in musical life.

The massive immigration of Jewish composers and musicians to America was quickly absorbed in the well established communities of East Ashkenazi extraction with their own music theaters, choral societies, and virtuoso star cantors. Members of the National School such as Lazare Saminsky, Joseph *Yasser, and others became important organizers of both sacred and secular music. They remained indebted to East Ashkenazi folk song or the styles based upon it, as can be seen, for instance, from the proceedings of the Jewish Music Forum (New York, from 1939) and similar institutions. The hope of deriving a universal Jewish style from that particular sector, with a directness bordering on imitation, is still nurtured by composers who have not experienced the pluralism of forms brought together in Israel – especially the Oriental components.

The production of Jewish music in America was well appreciated within its own small province of well-disposed listeners, but it did not conquer the general and international audience of the concert halls. This was accomplished by those few Jewish composers who were gifted enough to assimilate tradition and folkways to their own language and make them part of a profound expression of musicality. They are represented by Ernest *Bloch, Darius *Milhaud, Arnold Schoenberg, and Leonard *Bernstein – each in his own, highly individual way. A new leaf in national music was turned by the generation of composers who witnessed the reestablishment of the Jewish state in Israel (for the artistic problems to be overcome and the ideas and tracks followed by them, see *Israel, State of: Cultural Life).

NEW WAYS IN SACRED MUSIC. The trend in art-music of Jewish orientation was from the display of an upgraded Ashkenazi idiom to a more universally understood language. This language was the common musical vernacular; it also encroached upon liturgical music, but did not altogether supersede the traditional style. The contribution of the 20th century to synagogue song must therefore be evaluated in the light of the development of East Ashkenazi *ḥazzanut* in the West. It is true that the image of this original art has been marred by virtuosity for its own sake, the search for external effects, flattering the tastes of an undiscriminating public, and by the inroads of the record industry. The field is too wide and variegated for generalizations, however, and any judgment should Orient itself to the outstanding accomplishments. The development of East Ashkenazi *ḥazzanut* in the United States was initiated and furthered by immigrants from about 1880 until the end of World War II. Earlier arrivals, such as *Minkowsky and Samuel *Morogowski ("Seidel Rovner"), were followed by Joseph *Rosenblatt, David *Roitman, Moses (Moshe) *Koussevitzky, and many others, who continued the traditional personal union of performer-composer. From the ranks of this generation, Zevulun (Zavel) *Kwartin (immigrated 1920) created and published works that can be taken as models of progressive *ḥazzanut* (Mus. ex. 32)

The most evident mark of this purely single-voice composition is the coloratura. Although it includes some recurrent patterns, these appear in no way as merely decorative adornment and avoid the brilliance for the sake of brilliance displayed by J. *Rosenblatt and others. The ornament often underlines the sense and expressive contents of the text, sometimes recalling the old cantors' musical *kavvanot* (mystical "intentions"). Coloraturas are affixed to points of internal or external tension, concentrating on the essential, while the intervening, preparatory words may be passed by with a certain indifference. Kwartin claimed that he absorbed "genuine



Example 32. Eastern Ashkenazi style ḥazzanut *from the United States. Two compositions by Zawel Kwartin. After Z. Kwartin,* Zmiroth Zebulon*, vol. 1, 1928, nos. 35 and 18.*

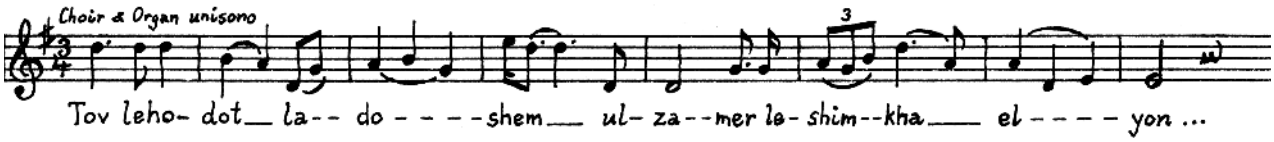
Oriental formulations" during his stay in Palestine (1926–27), and took them as a model for his compositions (*Zmiroth Zebulon* 1, preface, 1928). He succeeded in combining the two related musical styles and paved the way for a revival of the venerable, but outworn, art of *ḥazzanut*.

This sphere of music, well circumscribed by tradition, barely raised the problem of harmonic accompaniment or choral harmonies; the latter was left to the usual semi-improvisatory *meshorerim* style, with the spontaneous congregational responses. However, where the service followed the Western trend of part singing and eventually came to include the organ accompaniment of choir and cantor, the problem of harmony became acute. Out of dissatisfaction with the solutions propounded during the 19th century, three specific questions – old and new – came to the fore: how to harmonize melodies of an unharmonic conception, by what means to replace romanticism in synagogue composition, and how to write choral tunes inviting the participation of the congregants. Since there was no ready-made solution, the demands of the various communities had to be met by trial and error. From the 1920s, American synagogues did much to encourage the search for solutions of this problem, by sponsoring the composition of complete services or sections, often according a great measure of freedom to the composer.

The initiative in composing new synagogue music was taken by immigrant adherents of the National School, such as Lazare Saminsky (in the U.S. from 1921) and Joseph Achron (from 1925). Previously, these had dealt with the folkloristic manifestations of sacred song, or, occasionally, with single pieces of concert appeal; now they had to adopt a modern musical language appropriate to the Jewish service or, at least, had to modernize the traditional idiom (a venture quite legitimate in the flexible ideological framework of Jewish music). They understood that they should abandon the well-trodden ways of romanticism as well as the feeble "edifying" style and obtrusive sentimentality ("to vitriol away the 'cello sentimentality' of Messrs. Bruch, etc."; A. Schoenberg on his *Kol Nidrei* version, letter to Paul *Dessau, 1914). Saminsky, for instance, consciously renounced the plaintive *shtayger* scales in favour of what he called "the beautiful and majestic major and Aeolian minor of Hebrew melodies" (*Sabbath Evening Service*, preface, 1926). He drew much inspiration from the motive stock of Ashkenazi biblical chant and its basically pentatonic structure (*ibid.*, ch. 36). He has the Sabbath Psalm 93 sung to a tune derived from the motive-chains of Bible reading (Mus. ex. 33). The effect is an unusual relaxed expression of joy, Jewish in substance, but completely divorced from the perpetual tension of *ḥazzanut*. The composer evaded the problem of harmony by prescribing the unison of choir and organ.

Lazar *Weiner, too, relied upon pentatonics (Mus. ex. 34a), but in a more schematic way and took some of his inspiration from the earlier Israel song composers (Daniel *Sambursky, Marc *Lavry). Russian-born Isadore *Freed, educated in America and in France with Vincent d'Indy, approached the problem of harmony by employing the subtle, somewhat pallid, chords of late French romanticism (Mus. ex. 34b).

The harder line of the "expanded tonality" featured by Ernst *Toch or Hindemith, with its tonal flexibility and harsh harmonies, had a refreshing influence on modern synagogue composition: here was an antithesis to romanticism, and a certain affinity to the antiharmonic elements and heterophonic performing habits of the earlier synagogue. Heinrich *Schalit applied some of these topical principles to his *Sabbath Eve Liturgy* (Munich, 1933; revised ed. New York, 1951), using several original Oriental-Sephardi tunes (e.g., the radiant ecstasy of the *Kedushah* in Idelsohn's *Melodien* 4, no. 41). A remarkable, but isolated, progress toward a synagogue choral style was made by American-born Frederick *Jacobi in one of his later works. The harmonies brought forth by the four-part choir have been severed from functionalism; the doubling of the



Example 33. Choir tune developed from motifs of biblical cantillation. From L Saminsky, Sabbath Evening Service, *op. 26, 1930.*

voices serves rather for the acoustical strengthening and coloration as known, in principle, from *meshorerim* practice. The voices go in unison at one time and move apart at another, as in the natural heterophony of a praying congregation; there are also reminiscences of choral psalmody.

Perhaps the most prolific innovator was Hugo Chaim *Adler, cantor and disciple of Toch. When still in Germany, in Mannheim, he recoined the concept of Brecht-Hindemith's ethical cantata to the ideas of Buber's *Juedisches Lehrhaus*. After escaping to the United States in 1939, he gave a new shape to the musical service and community life of his Worcester, Massachusetts, congregation (synagogue compositions 1934–52; cantatas 1934–48). Drawing upon the same techniques as Schalit and Jacobi, Adler was more consistent in stressing the specific Jewish elements. Traditional features such as *shtayger* modality, and restraint to the musical essentials endow his works with character and stature.

The specimens quoted so far may demonstrate some important trends and achievements in adapting contemporary musical language to the synagogue. Among the considerable number of commissioned works are the liturgies of L. Saminsky (1926), J. Achron (1932), Darius *Milhaud (op. 279; 1947), and L. *Algazi (1952). In a different category are the para-synagogal cantatas and prayer arrangements with obligatory orchestra accompaniment that are suited to concerts or meetings of religious or national celebration; this class is represented by the important works of Ernest *Bloch (*Avodat ha-Kodesh*, 1930), which was commissioned for a Reform synagogue and which entered the concert repertoire, and Arnold Schoenberg (*Kol Nidrei*, 1938). Selected prayers were set to music, on the commission of prominent communities, by Leonard Bernstein (1946), Mario *Castelnuovo-Tedesco (op. 90; 1936), Lukas *Foss, Morton *Gould (op. 164; 1943). Alexander *Tansmann (1946), Kurt *Weill, and others. The composers' names suggest the wide range of schools and individual styles employed but do not guarantee a degree of personal involvement and familiarity with the actual demands of the service. At any rate, the publication of new synagogue compositions, both on the traditional and the decidedly contemporary line, is growing in number, the output of the 1960s exceeding by far that of the 1950s. The impact of modern tendencies on synagogue music as a whole is checked, however, by the differences of approach to liturgy and service which form part of more comprehensive principles and ideological controversies. A new factor has been added to the question of conservativism or progress in sacred music by the meeting and clash of widely differing ritual and singing cultures in Israel. The most ancient fundamentals of Jewish song form the only common ground left for any synthesis that may be in the offing.

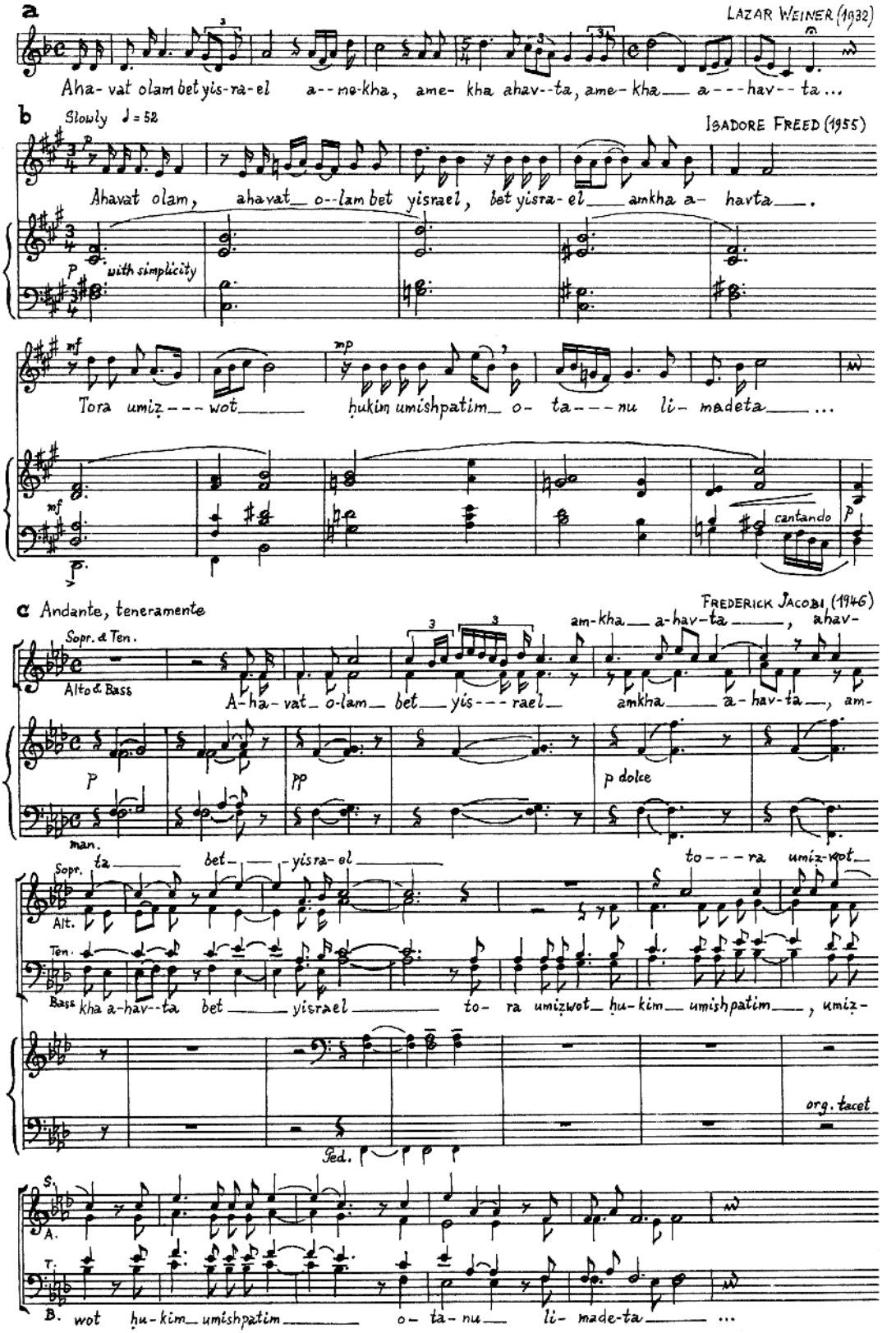
[Hanoch Avenary]

FOLK MUSIC

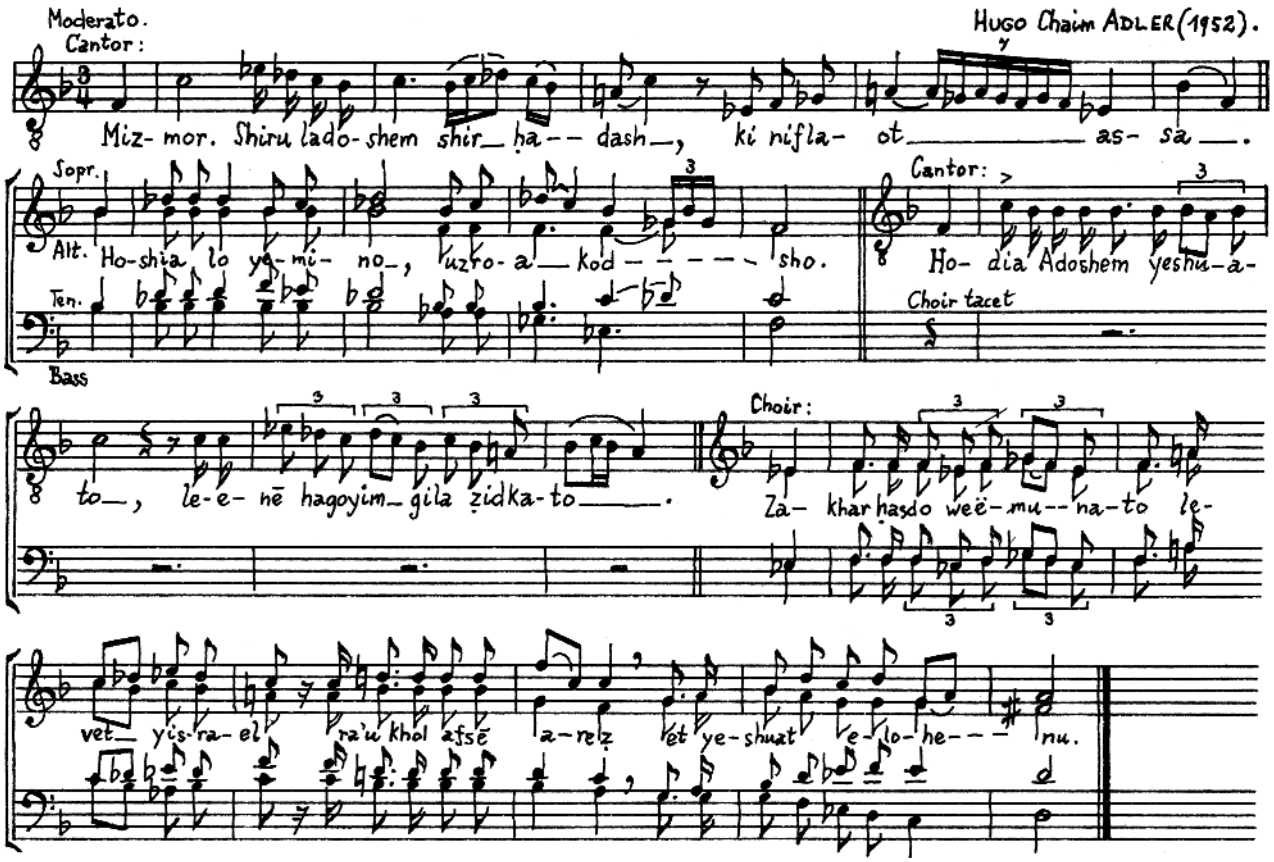
It is today acknowledged that differences between folk music and art music, and what is called "popular music," are not clearly defined. However, major features are usually noted as characteristic of folk music. It is transmitted orally from mouth to ear and learned through listening rather than through written notated documents. This suggests that the music can change when passed from one individual to another depending on the memory and creative power of the performer and the measure of acceptance in the performer's community. Gifted individuals who gave of the fruits of their poetical and musical talents frequently borrowed familiar pre-existing melodies and made new songs out of them. In many cases the names of the composers were forgotten and the compositions became anonymous. Folk song, primarily rural in origin, is functional, meaning that it is associated with other activities; yet it also exists in cultures in which there is a technically more sophisticated urban musical tradition and where this cultivated music is essentially the art of a small social elite.

As a whole, these and other characteristics are hardly applicable to the complex web of Jewish musical traditions, which have been rooted in many and diverse cultures through the long years of dispersion where alien traditions impinged on Jews wherever they resided. Viewed as a unit they represent a multiplicity of idioms, simple and more sophisticated musical styles in which the sacred and secular overlap. Considered separately, each tradition has numerous forms of expression, being partly folkloristic in character and partly drawing upon the sophisticated art of the surrounding environment. Thus, for instance, non-Jewish art music from the surrounding culture insinuates itself into the Oriental synagogues and other forms through the the art music spread through the areas under Islamic control, which in itself, despite its considerable sophistication, is based on oral transmission.

Another characteristic that sets Jewish musical traditions apart from other musical traditions is the use of Hebrew as a common language and the recourse to the same corpus of sacred classical texts for reading from biblical books and the liturgy. This has created a special blend of highly varied musical lore transmitted orally from generation to generation and written textual lore that operates as a unifying and stabilizing factor.



Example 34. Modern compositions for the synagogue. (a) Lazar Weiner, 1932, in G. Ephros (ed.), Cantorial Anthology, *vol. 5, 1957, 64; (b) Isadore Freed, 1955, in G. Ephros,* ibid.,*66; (c) Frederick Jacobi, 1946, in D. Puttermand (ed.),* Synagogue Music by Contemporary Composers, *New York, 1951, 180–2.*



Example 35. Modern psalmody for cantor and choir. Hugo Chaim Adler, Nachlat Israel – Sabbath Eve Service*, 1952, 28–29. The organ accompaniment has been omitted here.*

Although Hebrew is dominant and shared by all Jews in the religious hymns enhancing events marking the cycle of life and the Jewish year, extra-synagogal music displays a complex and diversified idiomatic picture in both language and music.

Celebrations of circumcision, the bar mitzvah, and weddings usually consist of two musical parts: the distinctly paraliturgical, which is almost indistinguishable from synagogue music, and what may include an almost unlimited use of secular music from the surrounding society, including instrumental accompaniment, despite the fact that musical instruments continue to be banned inside the synagogue. The accompaniment is often no more sophisticated than simple rhythm instruments but professional singing and playing is often included. One famous example out of many instrumental entertainers is that of the *klezmerim*. This represents a purely oral tradition, with its practitioners true professionals who, although of relatively low social status, are often given an important place in social life and public events.

The musical manifestations found in the various Jewish communities that have exclusively or predominantly folk elements are associated with the aforementioned events; at other times it focuses on the private life of the individual. There are times when the singing has a defined function, but it may also be entirely dissociated from any specific happening. Individuals may express themselves in lyrical song even if there is no apparent relation between the song and whatever evoked the urge to sing. The themes and contents of the songs are as extensive as the range of occasions that inspire them. Generally speaking they encompass events associated with (1) the Jewish calendar such as Sabbath songs (*zemirot*), the Purim plays, the Passover *Seder* and the like; (2) general festive gatherings such as the songs of *hillulot* or pilgrimage to the tombs of saints. Among those whose holiness has been recognized by the entire nation the outstanding figure is certainly Simeon bar Yoḥai, whose grave at Meron attracts great masses from all Jewish groups. One can add to this category the celebrations of the **Maimuna* by the Moroccans and the *Seherane* by the Kurds; (3) The third category and undoubtedly the richest concerns the life cycle. A person's lifetime, from birth to death, is filled with a succession of outstanding occasions, many of which are celebrated in song and dance. A new element enters the scene here, one that is totally nonexistent in synagogue singing: women take part and even create texts that are performed in suitable circumstances and on occasions have unique reference to their world, some being

considered their exclusive province, such as cradle songs and dirges (see below).

WOMEN'S FOLK MUSIC

The phenomenon of women singing for other women on various occasions was undoubtedly a way of circumventing restrictions engendered by religious and social bias that limited their public musical activities and their participation in synagogue rituals. Women are also circumscribed by the talmudic injunction to the effect that "hearing a woman's voice is an abomination," which was interpreted as a prohibition against their singing in public. In his extensive response to the Jews of *Aleppo concerning the lawfulness of music, Maimonides, the prominent religious authority, included among the major prohibitions "Listening to the singing and playing of a woman."

All this seems to have encouraged the emergence and crystallization of songs with unique values and characteristics, as women singing for other women became a way of getting around these prohibitions. In their songs women can express their world of experiences and the Jewish and human values they uphold. The songs seem to have been a form of release through which they could express – even if only to themselves – those experiences and aspects of their lives that were special. They also often included Jewish ethical instructions, reaction to public and political events, as well as various communal happenings.

The song's texts have a broad thematic scope: comments on important historical and current events; songs of religious character, which are in the form of translations or paraphrases of biblical stories; the life cycle from birth to death with special emphasis on the wedding and its colorful attendant ceremonies; lyrical songs that accompany a woman when she is alone, when doing housework, when remembering the bitter experiences in her life, her troubles, complaints, and dreams, whether in a lullaby or a song of love or jealousy. There are also humorous and satiric songs like the songs of curses ostensibly meant to entertain women by introducing a light atmosphere.

With few exceptions, women's songs are in the language and Jewish idiom spoken locally. Their singing falls within the realm of oral tradition and consequently their songs are usually not fixed in permanent form so that gifted women can exhibit their creative ability by adding verses of their own or by rearranging the material they include in their repertoires.

The songs are sung in public on occasions of a folk nature either by a group of women or by one individual with a good voice. There are also professional performances by female musicians who are specialists in specific genres; particularly notable is the performance of funeral laments and dirges, which are considered the province of women who excel as keeners. Professional performances, much like of those of men, are given by one or two specialists – the main singer and her "assistant." They are usually performed in responsorial form and the women accompany themselves on the most characteristically feminine instrument, the frame drum. This phenomenon goes back to ancient times; one finds such instances in biblical stories like that of Miriam the prophetess in the Book of Exodus.

There are also female ensembles that enhanced women festivities such as the professional singers called *tañaderas* (drummers). This is a group of three women who sing and drum and are well versed not only in the musical repertoire but in all the customs. Another, larger all-female ensembles is the *daqqaqat* (drummers) in Baghdad, which at one time was a Jewish ensemble comprising four to five women beating various drums (frame drum, kettle drums, two-headed drum). The leader of the band was noted for her fine voice and, being a talented performer, she was the soloist.

From a musical standpoint, are the women's songs different from those of the men? Reflecting on the sexual aspect in the development of music, the prominent musicologist C. *Sachs wrote in *The Rise of Music in the Ancient World:* "If singing is indeed an activity of all our being, sex, the strongest difference between human-beings must have a decisive influence on musical style … woman's influence was particularly strong in shaping the structure of melody" (1943). Another great figure, composer Bela Bartok, who studied the folk songs of Hungary, Romania, and elsewhere, noted in his "Essay on the Collecting of Folk Music" (1976) the uniqueness and archaic nature of women's singing. He was of the opinion that an ancient stratum of song was reproduced therein because in the traditional societies they had little contact with the external world.

In recent decades, great interest in the subject has arisen, particularly in the United States and Canada, with deepening focus on gender as an analytical category in music research. In the realm of Jewish music, one should note in this respect Ellen Koskoff's article: "The Sound of a Woman's Voice: Gender and Music in a New York Ḥasidic Community," which has been included in the collection essays of which she is the editor: *Women and Music in Cross-Cultural Perspective* (1989).

In this context, it would be interesting to briefly draw attention to the phenomenon of the emergence of a professional class of talented Jewish women musicians by the beginning of the 20th century. These artists gained prominence and recognition as outstanding vocalists and creative artists in Muslim societies in a broad cultural region extending from Central Asia to the major centers of North Africa.

[Amnon Shiloah (2nd ed)]

ART MUSIC IN MODERN ISRAEL

Musical life in the *Yishuv* and in Israel has always been dominated by dialectical contrasts. In the broader spheres of musical activity, each Jewish ethnic group conducted intensive daily musical activity within its traditional community life, ruled by the yearly and life cycle. Such activity was inherently compartmentalized and intended only for members of the specific group (as may still be observed in the older, Ortho-

dox neighborhoods of Jerusalem). By contrast, the national ideology – first carried forward by the Zionist movement and then as an official policy of the State of Israel – activated a drive for national unification around common values, most importantly the revival of the Hebrew language. In the case of music the national ideology was expressed in the endeavor to create a new and inherently national style of folk, popular, and art music, which acted as a powerful unifying social agent, including social gatherings in contexts of music making and concert activity. At the same time, the immigrants from Europe were reluctant to discard their rich cultural heritage. The immigrants from Europe were thus dominated by the dialectical conflict between the Vision of the East and the Heritage of the West.

Within the narrower sphere of art (concert) music and concert life, the maintenance and practice of European music – whether as active music making at home or in passive attendance of concerts – played a paramount role in softening the trauma of immigration and resettlement. By contrast, composers, strongly guided by the Vision of the East, endeavored to create a new, intrinsically national Israeli musical style. Reaching beyond a blurred vision to actual musical parameters proved a nearly insurmountable obstacle, which composers have been struggling with to the present day.

THE YISHUV PERIOD

Music was second only to the revived Hebrew language as a powerful agent in the creation of a unified, national culture in the *Yishuv* and in Israel. As the most sociable art, it had the power to bring people together, mostly for singing folk songs at work and in leisure time, but also for group performance and for passive listening.

Transplantation of Music Institutions

The Jewish immigrants from Europe took the momentous step of transplanting the European institutional model to the social setting of the *yishuv*. In 1895 a community orchestra was founded in the early settlement of Rishon le-Zion. It was a well-organized amateur wind band with a paid conductor, which took part in all festive and social functions of the settlement (including playing at the historical visit by Herzl in 1897). The model was soon adapted by all other settlements, such as Petaḥ Tikvah, as well as in the Jewish community of Jaffa. All of the orchestras were grouped under the rubric "Kinnor Zion" (the Violin of Zion).

The German-born singer Shulamit Ruppin founded in Jaffa in 1910 the first music school (named after her upon her untimely death in 1912). The Shulamit School maintained a pure German curriculum, with individual instrumental instruction of violin, piano, and voice, theory classes, and a student chorus and orchestra. The first director was the versatile violinist, conductor, and concert manager Moshe Hopenko, who also owned a music store and imported pianos to Palestine. The school stimulated lively interest with an unexpectedly large enrollment. Shulamit Ruppin founded a branch in Jerusalem, which soon became an independent school. The Shulamit School served as model for additional music schools such as Bet Leviim (Levite House) in Tel Aviv and Conservatoire Dunya Weizmann in Haifa.

The horrendous hardships of World War I dealt a heavy blow to all musical activities of the *Yishuv*, yet recovery after the institution of the British Mandate in Palestine was strikingly quick, especially due to the renewal of Jewish immigration. In 1923, conductor Mark Golinkin made the daring step of founding the Palestine Opera, which lasted against all economic odds for four seasons. Golinkin presented mostly mainstream operas such as *La Traviata*, *Otello*, *Faust*, and *The Barber of Seville*. Yet he placed special emphasis on operas by Jewish composers, with Meyerbeer's *Les Huguenots*, Halevy's *La Juive*, and Anton Rubinstein's *The Maccabeans*. The performers were fine singers, mostly from Russia, and the productions enjoyed full houses. Yet the lack of funds, which did not allow a proper orchestra and chorus, and the bad physical conditions of performances in badly equipped movie houses plunged the opera into deep financial crisis and it collapsed in 1927. Between 1941 and 1947 composer and conductor Marc *Lavri established the Folk Opera, which presented operettas, occasionally accompanied by two pianos. Yet the Folk Opera also pioneered the first production of a local opera, Lavri's *Dan ha-Shomer* ("Dan the Watchman").

There were several short-lived attempts in the 1920s to form symphony orchestras, such as conductor Max Lampel's extremely popular outdoor concert series in Tel Aviv. The performances of these groups attracted large audiences, which showed that they answered a deep need among the immigrants to maintain their connection to European art music. But these were ad hoc ensembles that recruited musicians at their miserable venues in cafes and silent movie houses, and no regular orchestra could emerge from such initiatives.

A European quality prevailed in the unique Chamber Music Association founded in Jerusalem by cellist Thelma *Bentwich-Yellin and her sister, violinist Marjorie, in 1921. They performed full seasons with their fine string quartet, including an all-Beethoven series, as well as concerts by piano trios, piano recitals, and baroque ensembles.

The most significant developments occurred in the 1930s with the Fifth Aliyah, which was called the German Aliyah. While most immigrants in the 1930s came from Poland, the Fifth Aliyah effected a major cultural change in general and in music in particular in the *Yishuv*, due to the high musical standards of the Jews who came from Central Europe (Germany, Austria, and countries strongly affected by German culture such as Hungary and Czechoslovakia). The so-called German immigration brought to Palestine not only well-trained composers, performers, and music teachers but also a discerning audience.

The Palestine Orchestra

The momentous act which violinist Bronislaw *Huberman undertook in founding the Palestine Orchestra (later the

Israel Philhamronic Orchestra) in 1936 was of paramount importance in placing musical activity in Palestine on a high international level. Huberman's original vision was to turn the Jewish community of Palestine into an international center replacing what he considered "the declining West." The rapid deterioration of conditions in Europe made him take the emergency step of establishing a first-class philharmonic orchestra. He obtained the consent of the British Mandate authorities to grant entry certificates to the musicians he auditioned in Europe from among the fine Jewish instrumentalists who had been fired from their orchestras by the Nazi and Fascist managements. In this way he saved scores of musicians and their families from the Holocaust. The Palestine Orchestra was inaugurated in December 1936 with a concert, which served as a national celebration, conducted by the legendary Arturo Toscanini, who turned it into a powerful, internationally publicized anti-Nazi demonstration. The best international conductors and soloists followed Toscanini and performed with the orchestra, most of them gratis, and in this way it maintained the strict professional standards, which Toscanini had demanded. The core of the repertoire was the mainstream Classic-Romantic symphonic repertoire, but the orchestra also performed almost every new orchestral composition composed in Palestine. The members of the orchestra also founded fine chamber music ensembles and provided high-level instrumental instruction to children.

The Palestine Conservatoire

In 1933 violinist Emil *Hauser founded the Palestine Conservatoire in Jerusalem, with a large faculty of over 30 teachers and a comprehensive curriculum for most instruments as well as classes in composition, history, and theory in addition to instruction in the Arabic *'ūd* given by Ezra *Aharon and courses in non-Western music given by Edith *Gerson-Kiwi. The conservatoire also initiated advanced professional studies. Hauser received 70 certificates from the Mandate authorities and in this way saved the most brilliant young Jewish music students from the Nazis. The conservatoire gave rise in the mid-1940s to the Academies of Music in Jerusalem and Tel Aviv, which have continued to be the leading professional music schools in the country

The Palestine Broadcast Service

In March 1936, the British founded the Palestine Broadcast Service, which alternated broadcasts in Arabic, English, and Hebrew. The Music Department included a large chamber ensemble, which soon became the radio orchestra, later the Jerusalem Symphony. The Music Department also initiated an ensemble of Arabic instrumentalists and singers headed by Ezra Aharon.

Bridging East and West

Pioneer individuals made the first attempts. The great researcher Abraham Zvi *Idelsohn (1882–1938) settled in Jerusalem in 1907 with the original vision of rediscovering the original chant of the ancient Hebrew Temple through thorough fieldwork which would reveal elements common to all Eastern ethnic groups, Arabic music, and Plainchant. Idelsohn's hypothesis was that the groups of Jews in the Middle East, such as in Yemen and Babylon (Iraq) were barely influenced by the neighboring Arabs, unlike the European Jews whose liturgical chant and music were strongly imbued with Western influences. Idelsohn selected Jerusalem as the center of his activity since it presented to him a unique concentration of all Jewish ethnic groups in one location. Idelsohn's ambitious project could not be realized, yet he did extensive and unprecedented fieldwork, using the newly-invented Edison phonograph. The first volume of his monumental and influential *Thesaurus of Jewish Melodies*, the one including the Yemenite chants, was published in 1914. The travails of World War I and the lack of public support made his life in Jerusalem unbearable and in 1921 he left Palestine and settled in the United States, where he continued his monumental Thesaurus.

In 1924 the researcher and collector Yoel *Engel moved the center of activities of the Society of Jewish Folk Music, founded in St. Petersburg (1908) and briefly domiciled in Berlin (1922), to Tel Aviv. His main project was the publication of hundreds of Jewish folk songs, which he and his colleagues had assembled, as cheap sheet music, easily available. His project was curtailed by his untimely death in 1927.

Proceeding from the East westwards, singer Bracha *Zefira (1910–1990) started a unique project. Born to a Yemenite family, she was orphaned in childhood and raised by foster families of different ethnic origins, registering in her superb memory scores of traditional songs. After studies in Jerusalem and Berlin, she initiated in 1931 public concerts of songs of diverse ethnic Jewish and Arabic groups with improvising pianist Nahum *Nardi, which revealed the wealth of Eastern traditions to Western-educated concertgoers. From 1939 she commissioned arrangements from most local composers, deliberately using piano and Western chamber ensembles, as well as performing with the Palestine Orchestra. The Yemenite composer, singer, and choreographer Sara *Levi-Tanay made a lasting contribution to Israeli folk song, with her *Kol Dodi* and *Ali Be'er*. In 1948 she founded the *Inbal Yemenite Dance Company. The Yemenite singer Shoshana *Damari was one of the most important performers of the newly-invented Israeli folk song, having frequently performed with composer Moshe *Wilensky at the piano.

The Yemenite artists effected a major change in the self-image of Yemenite women in Palestine and Israel and were pioneers in the liberation of the Yemenite woman from her traditional boundaries.

Composition, First Generation

About 30 composers immigrated from Europe between 1931 and 1938. Most of them were of German origin and had finished their studies also in Germany. A smaller group originated from Eastern Europe, most of whom did their advanced studies in Paris. Having never met before, they did not coalesce into any "school." The often mentioned concept of a so-

called "Mediterranean School" is misleading. Each composer responded to the powerful internal and external ideological pressure in an individual way. Moreover, most composers found ways to compose in different idioms and techniques at the same time, thus maintaining their Western heritage on the one hand and trying to find links with the East – whether ethnic or imaginary – at the same time. Such was Stefan *Wolpe (1902–1972), who remained dedicated to the powerful expressionism and dodecaphonic technique of *Schoenberg in his orchestral and piano works (1935–38) while composing at the same time simple settings of modern Hebrew poetry for voice and piano and arrangements of folk songs for kibbutz choirs. Wolpe's avant-garde approach was not accepted in Jerusalem and in 1939 he emigrated to the U.S. All other major immigrant composers overcame the immigration trauma and initiated intensive activity in creation and instruction in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem.

The only person who produced a clearly defined ideology was Alexander U. *Boskovitch (1907–1964), who demanded that the Israeli composer acts as a *shali'aḥ ẓibbur* representing the collective and responding to the local "static and dynamic landscape," i.e., both the visual and acoustical scenery of the country, especially the sound of biblical and modern Hebrew as well as Arabic. Boskovitch created the regional concept of "Mediterranean Music," according to which Jewish music from Europe had nothing to do with the future Israeli national style. Boskovitch turned to the sonorities and the melos of Arabic music, but stressed the difference between "the Jewish and the Arabic shepherds." Boskovitch systematically realized his ideology in his early works, the Oboe Concerto (1943), Semitic *Suite* (1946), and *Adonai Roʿi* ("The Lord is my Shepherd," 1943).

The other composers never subscribed to his ideology, and the term itself was quoted only once, by Menahem *Avidom, in his *Mediterranean Sinfonietta*. Still, all composers responded to the ideological call of the Vision of the East. Most characteristic was the substitution of modes (in the romantic sense of scales with no leading tone) for the Western major-minor tonal system. Erich Walter *Sternberg (1891–1974) rejected all external ideological pressures and in his introduction to his large-scale *Twelve Tribes of Israel* (1938) he proclaimed his commitment to the inner call of a composer to respond to new surroundings in his own individual way. His language was deeply ingrained with late Romanticism, especially under the influence of Brahms, Bruckner, Reger, and *Mahler. Joseph *Tal (1910) repeatedly declared that the very fact of his being a composer creating in the social and cultural environment of Israel would shape his music in a new way. Tal insisted on staying abreast of new developments in Western music. A concise illustration of Tal's attitude is found in the second movement of his Piano sonata (1952) in which an ostinato quote of simple, modal melody by his friend Yehudah *Sharett serves as the basis for a series of extremely chromatic and dissonant variations. The prolific Paul *Ben-Haim found his own manner of proceeding in simultaneous tracks. He produced over 30 arrangements for Bracha Zefira, whose melodies he later quoted and interpreted in his large scale works, such as the Clarinet Quintet and his two symphonies. In his early piano works he resorted to naïve, romantic depiction of imaginary Eastern pastorals, whereas his First Symphony (1940) is a powerful artistic response to the horrendous first months of World War II, with strong Mahlerian influences. Ben Haim also initiated the genre of the Hebrew Lied, setting great poetry by Bialik, Rachel, Sh. Shalom, and Leah Goldberg. In his *Sabbath Cantata* (1940) Mordechai *Seter made a strongly personal synthesis of melodic quotes of Baylonian Jews from Idelsohn's Thesaurus, cast in a combination of contrapuntal Palestrina style and 20th century modal-dissonant harmony. Marc *Lavri (1903–1967) departed from the ideology of creating an easily accessible, tuneful, and popular style, which would obliterate the dividing line between folk and art music, as in his extremely popular Emek (Jezreel Valley) song which he developed into a folk-like symphonic poem. Lavri was the first to incorporate the Hora dance into chamber and symphonic music (the Palestinian Hora has nothing to do with the Romanian Hora Lungha; it is a dance cast in regular, brief phrases in common time, with constant syncopations, and it came out of ḥasidic dance).

During the last two decades of the British Mandate period the immigrant composers created a large repertoire of symphonic, chamber, and especially piano music, as well as songs, which was the basis of Israeli art music.

AFTER THE FOUNDATION OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL

Institutional Expansion

By the time the State of Israel was proclaimed in 1948 the institutional and ideological musical infrastructure had been established. The Palestine Orchestra was renamed the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra, which continued to be the leading representative ensemble of Israel, attracting large subscription audiences. Concert life evolved in the direction of expansion and diversification. Orchestras were formed in Haifa and Beersheba. In 1972 the small radio orchestra was expanded and became the Jerusalem Symphony.

Soprano Edis *de Philippe founded and directed the Israeli Opera from 1948, but financial difficulties and abrasive personal relations hindered its progress for more than 30 years. New municipal orchestras emerged such as in Haifa and Beersheba. The first wave of immigration from the Soviet Union in the early 1970s made possible a significant expansion of the radio orchestra, which as mentioned became the Jerusalem Symphony. Direct initiatives of the government, other than providing for limited financial subsidies through the Public Council for Culture and the Arts, were realized in a few large-scale ventures, most importantly the establishment of the annual Israel Festival in 1960, which from the start introduced some of the foremost international artists such as Pablo Casals and Igor Stravinsky to the Israeli audience. Once every few years the State of Israel has granted the prestigious Israel Prize to composers and performers.

Following the demise of the Israeli Opera following de Philippe's death, a new opera company was founded in 1985 with a new house erected in Tel Aviv. The New Israeli Opera (later named The Israeli Opera) soon reached high professional standards and brought about a significant change on the Israeli musical scene, collaborating with major opera houses in productions of operatic masterpieces. It started a project of commissioning new operas from Israeli composers, the first of which was Tal's *Joseph*.

The large wave of immigration from the former Soviet Union after 1990 effected an unprecedented expansion of the community of professional musicians, leading to the founding of several new orchestras, foremost among them the Rishon le-Zion Symphony (which is also the opera orchestra) and the Raʿanannah Orchestra.

Musicological Research

The immigration of the ethnomusicologists Robert *Lachmann and Edith (Gerson) Kiwi in 1935 initiated a highly productive period of field research, now preserved and digitalized at the Sound Archives of the Hebrew University. The Music Department of the National and University Library and the Center for Jewish Music Research, founded by Israel *Adler, initiated studies and publications and became the world repository of archives of Jewish and Israeli music. The first Department of Musicology was founded at the Hebrew University in 1965, with scholars doing high-standard historical and ethnomusicological research, including extensive field work and recording in the ethnically extremely diverse Jewish and Arab society in Israel, among them ethnomusicologists and historians Amnon *Shiloah, Ruth *Katz, Dalia Cohen, and Don *Harran. This was followed by musicology departments at Tel Aviv University (1966) whose faculty included Edith Gerson-Kiwi, Herzl *Shmueli, and Judith Cohen, and Bar-Ilan University (1969) with Bathia *Churgin, Uri Sharvit, and Judith Frygesi on the faculty.

Composition, Second and Third Generations

The founders of Israeli music persisted in their individual ways of coping with the expectations of critics, fellow musicians, and the composers themselves for a new Israeli style to emerge as a fusion of east and west. After the long period of isolation during wartime, the country was reopened to the west and composers renewed direct contacts with new music, such as when Haim *Alexander (1915) participated in the Darmstadt workshops, interpreting the serial techniques in his personal way (*Sound Patterns* for piano) while retaining folk-like modal tuneful writing such as in *Nature Songs*. Mordekhai *Seter developed an extremely individual synthesis of Eastern chant and primeval dissonant harmony, combined with direct quotes of traditional Yemenite tunes in his monumental *Midnight Vigil*. Paul *Ben Haim persisted in simultaneous tracks, ranging from the daring adoption of Arabic melos and sonorities in his *Sonata a tré* for mandolin, guitar, and harpsichord, to the dense contrapuntal texture of his Metamorphoses on a Bach Chorale, written a year apart (1967–68). Joseph Tal composed dramatic, innovative symphonies, and founded the first studio of electronic music in Israel, his work there culminating in the opera *Metzada* for singers and magnetic tape, and the large-scale vocal work *Death Came to the Wooden Horse Michael* to a poem by Nathan Zach.

The second and third generations of composers included Ben-Zion *Orgad, Zvi *Avni, Yehezkel *Braun, Ami *Maayani, Noam *Sheriff, and others. They all received their initial training under the founders of Israeli music, but then went abroad for advanced studies. Their styles branched in new directions of increased pluralism. Yehezkel Braun always maintained flowing tuneful melodies, even in his dodecaphonic works, Orgad found his inspiration in the rhythms and sound qualities of the Hebrew language, whether biblical or modern. Avni established his own individual synthesis of Eastern declamation and rich Western atonal harmony, such as in his powerful *Meditations on a Drama*, and Maayani likewise turned to syntheses of Arabic maqams with Western counterpoint, such as in his tense and dramatic String Quartet.

New waves of immigrations, such as from the Soviet Union in the early 1970s, further diversified Israeli music. Mark *Kopytman (1929) found his own strongly personal heterophonic technique with strong influences of Eastern music, such as in *Memory*, which is a complex orchestral interpretation of a traditional Yemenite song which opens and closes the composition, and of traditional Jewish prayer chant of Eastern Europe such as in *Beyond*.

The younger generations of composers further diversified the extreme pluralism of Israeli music, in response to the increasing diversification of Western music since the 1970s. Haim Permont (1950) turned in his powerful opera *Dear Son of Mine* to a direct commentary and critique of painful issures in contemporary Israeli society. The endeavor to achieve a synthesis of Jewish traditions continued and reached its peak with Betti *Olivero (1954–), whose rich repertoire presents a strongly personal interpretation of Jewish Eastern, ḥasidic, and Sephardi traditions within advanced Western harmonic techniques.

Since the 1980s several composers have achieved new breakthroughs in Arab music, strongly influenced by the contemporary emergence of "World Music." Ensembles combining Arab and Western instruments such as Bustan Avraham with the *ʿūd* and violin virtuoso Taisir Elias were founded, and the Music Academy in Jerusalem opened a department for applied study of Arab music. Composer Tzipi *Fleischer (1946–) undertook full academic studies of Arab music and culture and composed vocal works to classical and modern Arabic poetry, culminating in her Hexaptichon – six versions of the same composition moving from a powerful Arab rendition to a purely Western version for two pianos. Michael Wolpe (1960) combined the *ʿūd* and Arab drum with a string trio and the voice of a Persian-born singer in his poignant *Songs of Memory*. Wolpe also turned to nostalgic evocation and commentary in the style of early instrumental and folk music, such as in his Piano Trio no. 3 "On Israeli Songs."

The musical scene was further expanded with the large-scale immigration from the former Soviet Union in the 1990s, especially with a group of composers coming from the Central Asian republics, such as Joseph *Bardanashvili and Benjamin Yosupov (see below).

Interest in the performance of contemporary music was stimulated through the regular performances of three fine ensembles: Musica Nova, The Ensemble of the Twenty-First-Century, and Caprizma.

(See also "Israel, State of: Culture Life – Music and Dance.)

[Jehoash Hirshberg (2nd ed.)]

Immigrant Artists

The wave of over one million immigrants from the former Soviet Union since 1989 brought to Israel a great number of musicians. To the 1,500 active professional musicians in Israel, another 5,500 arrived from the U.S.S.R. Some of them went back to their countries of origin; some moved on to other countries, and some even changed their professions. Those who continued their careers in Israel changed the musical life of the country. They were employed in existing orchestras, chamber ensembles, and ballet troops, founded new orchestras (the Israel Symphony Orchestra of Rishon Le-Zion, Camerata Jerusalem, the Hed Big Band of Tel Aviv and others). They have also filled pedagogical positions at academies and conservatories. New concert halls were built for some of these orchestras, like those in Rishon le-Zion and in Kefar Shmaryahu. Concert life has also been enriched by the performances of new soloists. The most noted among them are the singers Susanna Poretsky, Felix Lipshitz, and Yuri Shapovalov; pianists Raimonda Sheinfeld, Irena Berkovich, Dinna Yoffe, Gabriela Talrose, and Evgeny Shenderovich; jazz-pianists Viacheslav Ganelin and Leonid Ptashka; violinists Maxim Vengerov and Sergey Ostrovski; cellists Mikhail Homitzer and Oleg Stolpner; clarinetist Evgeny Ehudin; bassoonist Alexander Fain; harpist Julia Sverdlova, and others. Many of the new artists appear as guests in concerts.

As many as 50 new composers from the former Soviet Union have joined the existing 150 members of the Israel Composers' League. The musicians imported a variety of styles, from followers of "socialist realism" to followers of Gubaidulina, Kancheli and other representatives of the Russian post-modernism. Among the post-modernists, the highest achievements were attained by Josef *Bardanashvili, who in a few years won the most prestigious Israeli awards and became one of the leading composers (especially in the fields of theater and film scores). His piano composition was selected as the compulsory piece at the 2005 International Rubinstein piano competition. Even though he spent only his last years in Israel (from 1994), Valentin Bibik (1942–2003) had significant achievements and produced important new works. The composers who came from the Asian republics of the former Soviet Union also had interesting achievements combining the elements of modernism and post-modernism along with a variety of local musical elements from their regions. In Israel, Jewish elements were added (Yusupov, Pigovat, Davydov, Fel, Perez, Freidlin, Heifets). Most of the composers from this group display a growing interest in Jewish themes. Many new compositions have been written in the "Jewish style." In most cases it is only a simple rearrangement of popular Jewish melodies. However, some composers have created remarkable works (Bardanashvili, *The Children of God*; Yusupov, Sonata for Two Pianos).

Among the winners of the Klon Prize for the best young Israeli composer are also some newcomers: Benjamin Yusupov, Karel Volnianski, and Uri Brener.

In the field of electro-acoustic music, the most noted newcomer artists are Marcel Goldmann (from France) and Simon Lazar (from Bulgaria). Among the musicologists, Marina Ritzareva and Yulia Kreinina achieved the best works.

[Dushan Mihalek (2nd ed.)]

MUSIC AND THE HOLOCAUST

Life during the Holocaust, the suffering of the Jews under the Nazi regime, has been reflected in music and musical life. Musical performance created venues to express humanity under inhuman conditions, it was a way to escape from reality, a way to find comfort and hopes and express freedom.

Shortly after the Nazi rise to power in 1933, the regime established a central office to control all musical activity in Germany. The composer Richard Strauss was appointed its president, and the conductor Wilhelm Furtwangler his deputy. All Jewish professional musicians in Germany were dismissed from their posts and works of Jewish composers were banned. Many of them immigrated to Palestine and the U.S. and resumed their careers there.

In July 1933, Jewish performers set up the Kulturbund Deutscher Juden (Cultural Society of German Jews) for promoting music and the arts among German Jews. In its eight years of existence the Kulturbund organized over 500 concerts of opera, operettas, symphonic and chamber music, Jewish cantorial music, and other genres. When the Kulturbund could no longer function, some of the musicians left Germany while others were sent to ghettos and concentration camps and continued to perform there, like those at the Theresienstadt (Terezin).

During the war, there were public musical activities in some ghettos as well as performances for private occasions where people sang, played, and even danced. Street performances were known in some ghettos, such as Lodz, Warsaw, and Cracow, where several singers performed songs, some of them composed ad hoc, on ghetto life while others were set to pre-composed melodies. One of the popular street performers in the Lodz ghetto was Yankele Hershkowitz (1910–1970).

Professional musical performance was censored and controlled by the authorities; however, the freedom to sing and compose music could not be controlled or censored totally. Thus music became a symbol of freedom. In Warsaw, Adam Furmanski (1883–1943) organized small orchestras in cafés and in soup kitchens. In the Warsaw ghetto a symphonic orchestra

played until April 1942, when the German authorities put an end to the orchestra, punishing it for having performed works by German composers. In Lodz, the Jewish Council chairman, Mordechai Chaim Rumkowski, centrally directed musical activities. The community center organized musical and theatrical performances, a symphony orchestra, the Zamir choral society, and a revue theater appeared on its stage. In the Cracow ghetto, chamber music recitals and concerts of liturgical music were performed. The Vilna ghetto had an extensive program of musical activities, with a symphony orchestra and several choirs. A revue theater presented many popular songs composed in the ghetto on ghetto life. A conservatory with 100 students was established in the Vilna ghetto.

Many songs were heard in the ghettos – some old, perhaps with new words, and some new. One of the first anthologies of songs was published in 1948, under the title *Di Lider fun Getos un Lagern* ("Songs of Ghettos and Camps"), which was collected and edited by the poet, teacher, and partisan from Vilna Shmerke Kaczerginski (1908–1954). The anthology contains 236 songs (lyrics) and 100 melodies. However, many songs were lost forever.

Among the best-known songs composed and performed during the Holocaust are songs of the Vilna Ghetto *"Zog nit Keymol"* ("Never Say"), also known by its postwar title "Song of the Partisans," written by Hirsh Glik (1922–1944) to a melody of Russian composer Dimitry Pokrass; *"Shtiler, Shtiler"* ("Quiet, Quiet") with words by S. Kaczerginski and music by the 11-year-old Alexander Volkoviski (*Tamir; 1931–); *"Friling"* ("Spring"), words by S. Kaczerginski, music by Abraham Brudno (1910(?)–1943), and *"Yisrolik,"* words by Leyb Rozental and music by Mischa Veksler (1907–1943). Songs of the Vilna ghetto inspired the writer Yehoshua *Sobol in his play *Ghetto*, which made the songs popular in many languages around the world. Many of the Vilna ghetto theater songs became songs of remembrance and are still performed in commemoration ceremonies, mainly in translation, especially in Hebrew and English. The songwriter Mordecai *Gebirtig (1877–1942) from Cracow wrote another song *"Es Brent"* ("It Burns") that became popular during the Holocaust and afterward. The song was written in 1938 under the impact of the pogrom in Przytyk and became a prophecy of the Holocaust. It became after the war a symbol for the fate of the Jews in Eastern Europe.

Those who became partisans composed songs in a variety of languages, which were performed mostly in group singing. Some of the partisan groups also used an instrument for accompaniment. The best-know partisans' songs from Vilna gained fame thanks to the collection work of Kaczerginski.

Many songs performed and composed in the camps were popular prewar songs in a variety of languages and were not transmitted from one ghetto to another. However, after the war, at the DP camps, songs were also transmitted and were shared by Holocaust survivors.

In the Theresienstadt ghetto, where professional composers as well as classical and jazz musicians were interned, many compositions were created and many musical pieces were performed. Viktor Ullman (1898–1944) composed there three of his piano sonatas (No. 5, Op. 45, 1943; No. 6,Op. 49, 1943; No. 7, 1944), String Quartet (No. 3, Op. 46, 1943), three songs for baritone and piano, and arrangements of songs for choir. His last piece, the opera *The Emperor of Atlantis*, was never performed, and Ullman was sent to the gas chambers in Auschwitz in August 1944. In the same transport, his colleagues Pavel Haas (1899–1944), Hans Krasa (1899–1944), and Gideon Klein (1919–1945) were also sent to Auschwitz. Gideon Klein composed in Theresienstadt a Piano Sonata (1943), Fantasie and Fugue for string quartet (1942–43), Trio for violin and cello (1944), Two Madrigals (1942–43), and arrangements of folk songs. One of the more memorable performances was of the children's opera *Brundibar* by Hans Krasa (1899–1944) (in Czech), which was composed in 1935 and performed in the ghetto with a children's choir, soloists, and piano. Hans Krasa also composed a Theme and Variations, based on Brundibar's song for string quartet (1942), Songs (1943) for baritone, clarinet, viola and cello, Dance (1943) for trio, Passacaglia and Fugue for trio, and more. Other composers interned in Theresienstadt who composed there were Zigmund Schul (1916–1944), Erwin Schulhoff (1894–1942), and Carlo S. Taube (1897–1944), who was also a singer and conductor.

In most of the big concentration and extermination camps, the Germans formed orchestras from among the prisoners and forced them to play when Jews arrived at the camps, on their way to the gas chambers, when they marched to work, and also for the pleasures of the SS men.

The Auschwitz camp had six orchestras at one point. The biggest one, in Auschwitz I (the main camp), consisted of 50 musicians. A women's orchestra in Auschwitz-Birkenau consisted of 36 members and eight women who wrote musical notes under the musical direction of the singer Fania Fenelon. All four of the extermination camps – Treblinka, Majdanek, Belzec and Sobibor – had orchestras as well as Mauthausen and Buchenwald camps. Dachau had four orchestras and a string quartet.

The written documentation published after the Holocaust includes the earliest anthologies of ghetto and camp songs compiled by Yehuda Eisman (Bucharest 1945); that of Zami Feder (Bergen-Belsen, 1946), and that of Kaczerginski (New York, 1948). Kaczerginski also made recordings among survivors in Displaced Persons camps in 1946, some of which survived at Yad Vashem archives. Composers and poets who immigrated to Israel, the U.S., and other countries composed new songs about the Holocaust, such as Henek Kon in the anthology *Kdoishim-Martyrs* (New York, 1947). Later even popular musicians such as the Israeli Yehudah *Poliker composed songs to lyrics of Yaakov Gilad, like *"Efer ve-Avak"* ("Ashes and Dust," 1988). Both of them are sons of Holocaust survivors.

Several organizations of people from the same home city or ghetto, the State of Israel, other countries around the world, etc. organized commemoration gatherings for Holocaust survivors. In these ceremonies the song *"Zog Nit Keynmol"* of the

partisans of Vilna became the Holocaust hymn. Other ghetto and camp songs were never performed again while new songs about the Holocaust or related themes such as survival, uprising, belief, and hope were added to the ceremonies.

New compositions have been composed since the Holocaust, including Arnold Schonberg's *Survivor from Warsaw* (1947), *Dies Irae* of the Polish composer Krzystof Penderecki, the *Thirteenth Symphony Babi Yar* by the Russian composer Dimitry Shostakovich, *I Never Saw Another Butterfly* by Charles Davidson, and more.

With the growth of research on music of the Holocaust and the revival of Jewish Yiddish music since the 1980s more songs were recorded, especially by American musicians, and performed to mixed audiences around the world. (See also: *Israel, State of – Cultural Life, Music and Dance; *Hasidism; Dance.)

[Gila Flam (2nd ed.)]

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°MUSIL, ALOIS (1868–1944), Czech Orientalist, born in Rychtarov in Bohemia. He studied at the theological faculty of Olomouc and was ordained a priest in 1891; in 1895 he went to Jerusalem to join the Dominican Ecole Biblique. His field exploration began with a trip to *Egypt in 1896 and to Petra in 1897, when he traveled from *Gaza to *Damascus by way of the Negev and Transjordan. In 1898 the Vienna Academy sent him on a mission to Arabia Petrea, which he explored until 1902, discovering the desert palaces at Quṣayr ʿAmra, Ṭūba, al-Bāyir, and al-Muwaqqar. He was one of the first explorers of the ancient cities of the Negev. In addition to archaeology, he was greatly interested in mapping and in the manners and customs of the Bedouin. From 1902 to 1909 he taught at Olomouc and from 1909 to 1918 at Vienna. He explored the Syrian Desert in 1908–09, the northern *Hejaz in 1910, and the Palmyrene and northern *Arabia to the Hejaz in 1912–15; the last mission was semipolitical. In 1920 he began to teach at Prague University. Musil published *Ḳuṣejr ʿAmra und andere Schloesser…* (2 vols., 1902); *Arabia Petraea* (Ger., 4 vols., 1907–08), which contains the first good map of the Negev; and a four-volume series of topographical itineraries through northern Arabia, including maps of the region (1926–28). He was an exact observer, although his archaeological training was insufficient.

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[Michael Avi-Yonah]

°MUSOLINO, BENEDETTO (1809–1885), Italian statesman who foretold the return of the Jews to Ereẓ Israel. Born in Pizzo (Calabria), Musolino was an exile in his youth and later joined Garibaldi's army. From 1861 he served as member of the Italian parliament and later as a senator in united Italy. He published seven books on philosophy, law, and social justice. Musolino visited Ereẓ Israel four times and wrote *Gerusalemme ed il Popolo Ebreo* (1851, first published in 1951). Based upon an analysis of the situation of the Jews in the Diaspora and their yearning to return to Ereẓ Israel, the book suggests that Britain support the establishment of a Jewish principality in Ereẓ Israel under the Turkish Crown. Musolino even formulated a complete constitution, which stipulates a prince at the head of the principality and a bicameral parliament. The official religion of the principality is Judaism and the language is Hebrew. The right to vote and to be elected would be granted only to those who read and write Hebrew. All the public offices, including jurisdiction, would be determined by the elections for one-year terms. Citizenship would automatically be granted to Jews settling there and to non-Jews who request it. Other laws include freedom of speech and assembly, the prohibition of polygamy, and compulsory education between the ages of four and sixteen. Immigration and absorption would be under the control of a domestic settlement company, and the principality would guarantee the right to work.

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