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CONTENTS

THE PRAYERS OF DAVID . . . ARE ENDED Max Wohlberg 3

THE RELIGIOUS ELEMENT
IN SCHOENBERG'S WORK

Karl H. Worner 10

THE SABBATH EVE AMIDAH; A NEW
TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

Elliot B. Gertel 20

GLEANINGS FROM "DI HAZZONIM VELT" Samuel Rosenbaum 37

HIGH HOLY DAY HYMN MELODIES IN THE
PORTUGUESE SYNAGOGUE OF AMSTERDAM

Maxine Ribstein Kanter 45

THE SOUND OF SINGING IN THE CATSKILLS Mordecai Yardeini 63

With this issue, the "Journal of Synagogue Music" becomes a semi-annual publication to be published in July and December of each year. The change will make it possible for us to publish more in-depth articles and thereby attract many more serious and acknowledged experts in the field of Jewish musicology.

Although there will be only two issues each year we pledge to our readers that they will suffer no loss in content and will gain immeasurably from the higher publication standards.

We hope to be able to continue with the same subscription price of \$12.50 per year.

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"THE PRAYERS OF DAVID . . . ARE ENDED" PS. LXXII:20

MAX WOHLBERC

It was more than half a century ago when David Putterman and ${\bf I}$ met at the Hazzanim Farband on the lower East Side of New York.

Being among the youngest members of the Farband (he was, I believe, seven years my senior) not realizing that our careers were destined to run in a parallel course and not suspecting that we were fated to collaborate in a number of significant ventures in behalf of our profession, we were instinctively drawn to one another.

Actually, we were in many respects dissimilar. He was an English speaking American who, as a child, sang in local synagogue choirs and was, more or less, a passive member of the Farband. Whereas, I was a recent immigrant whose favorite language after Hungarian and German was Yiddish. (My mother spoke Hungarian to her daughters, Yiddish to her sons and in a Slavic dialect to the peasants and servants.) My experience as a choir singer was limited and I had asssumed an active role, as a member of the board and secretary, in the affairs of the Farband. The *lingua franca* at the Farband was Yiddish.

Notwithstanding our differences, David and I found that on matters of importance we invariably agreed. In conversations we had, he advocated the Americanization (a process as yet not clearly delineated) of hazzanut and the arrangement of in-service courses for cantors.

As a result of his enthusiastic and persistent promptings I proposed to the Farband that we invite a number of guest lecturers to our meetings. My proposal was received with condescending smiles, subtle tolerance and was voted upon favorably. I was, of course, appointed chairman of the project.

The first lecturer I invited was Lazare Saminsky. He was received with polite reservations and patronizing cordiality. Since he neither introduced an effective recitative nor suggested practical means wherewith to strengthen our positions materially the op-

Max Wohlberg is Professor of Hazzanut at the Cantors Institute of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America who has had a long and distinguished career as a hazzan, composer, writer, lecturer and scholar. He is a frequent and welcome contributor to these pages.

ponents of a lecture-series had no difficulty in mounting their opposition. In the memorable words of Hershman "If you have the goods and can deliver (*derlangen die s'khoyre*) *you* need nothing else. If you don't, nothing will help you." After a few fairly well-received lectures the project gently expired.

David and I despaired of the *eirev rav* at the Farband where many of the members only officiated on the high holidays and for the rest of the year followed diverse professions. Ultimately, with the cooperation of like minded colleagues the Cantors Cultural Organization was founded. (Its minutes appeared in a previous issue of the Journal of Synagogue Music.)

By this time David was convinced that the welfare of our calling in this country depended on the realization of a two-pronged goal:

1) an organization of professional (full-time) cantors and 2) a school for cantors where young men aspiring to serve as cantors in the American Synagogue would receive instruction in the various essential disciplines.

Again, as a result of David's incessant promptings we, joined by Jacob Beimel and Leib Glantz, went to see Dr. Cyrus Adler, then President of the Jewish Theological Seminary. He received us graciously and expressed smypathy with our views. With his arm around my shoulders he wished us well; unfortunately, he passed away soon thereafter.

David relentlessly pursued his goal and we ultimately presented our case to Dr. Louis Finkelstein, Chancellor of the Jewish Theological Seminary. This time, our efforts were crowned with success. With the help of Dr. Albert Gordon, Dr. Moshe Davis, Dr. Max Routtenberg and others, the Cantors Assembly and later, the Cantors Institute, became realities.

While it may seem somewhat premature to attempt a valid evaluation of these institutions, it may be safely stated that they have already given ample evidence of their ability to contribute measurably to the perpetuation and to the enhancement of our profession.

Having successfully launched these two organizations David pursued his third and final goal: the enrichment of the synagogue repertoire. Encouraged by his congregation he began commissioning Jewish and non-Jewish musicians of renown to compose for our liturgy. These new works were festively premiered at the Park

Avenue Synagogue. Among the sixty-nine American and Israeli musicians who participated in this effort are to be found most of our eminent composers. 'Synagogue Music By Contemporary Composers' published by Schirmer in 1947 includes selected compositions by some of the best known of these: David Diamond, Alexander Gretchaninoff, Heinrich Schalit, Bernard Rogers, William Grant, Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Jacques de Menasce, Arthur Berger, Henry Brant, Paul Dessau, Darius Milhand, Morton Gould, Frederick Jacobi, Max Helfman, Roy Harris, Leonard Bernstein, Leo Smit, Isadore Freed, Herbert Fromm, Kurt Weill and Lukas Foss.

In recent years, David was persuaded to preserve on recordings some of the high holiday liturgy that he chanted with so much warmth and devotion. The result was an album commemorating his 35th Anniversary with the Park Avenue Synagogue. A unique value of this album lies in its having been taped during actual services. It includes items from Musaf of Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur and from Kol Nidrei and Neilah services.

The composers represented are: Weintraub, Abras, Sulzer, Lewandowski, E. Birnbaum, Blumenthal, Silver, Zilberts, Alman, Schorr, Stark, Nowakowsky, Helfman, Rapaport, Volkert, Schlesinger and Putter-man.

While vocally David was, of course, past his prime when these selections were recorded, one can still discern the warmth and the spirit that pervaded his cantorial art — an art so beloved by his congregants. His mellow tenor, musicianship and good taste are still in evidence.

"Mizmor L'David," an anthology of synagogue music compiled, edited and arranged by David J. Putterman and published by the Cantors Assembly in 1979, is a handsome and imposing volume of 409 pages. It contains a brief biography of the editor, a laudatory preface by Samuel Rosenbaum and an abundance of worthwhile and useful material.

The following lines are an attempt to react, however briefly, to its rich and varied content.

"Ma Tovu" (original spellings are retained here) by Marc Lavry is as almost everything by him, well done. At one point, the phrasing (eit ratzon elohim) is regrettable.

Alexander Tansman's setting of "Ma Tovu," in English, is excellent.

The third "Ma Tovu" is by Zavel Zilberts. Since his is the most frequently encountered name in this anthology, a word or two about him seem warranted. Zilberts breaks no new paths and presents no surprising novelties but whatever he writes "sings". The very notes on the page seem to ring tunefully. He, it seems to me, is one of our most gifted melodists. Practically everything he wrote in whatever genre: liturgical, hassidic, folkstyle, romantic, dramatic is "cantabile". The 38 numbers he contributed to this volume (some had appeared in print before) are invariably good.

"Psalm 99" and "Psalm 92" are arranged by Putterman for alternating lines by cantor and congregation.

"Psalm 93" by Ben Haim is an elaborate and intricate setting with a lengthy organ introduction that has a life of its own. It has an "eastern" flavor. While it is a fascinating selection I would not consider it likely to become an integral part of the synagogue repertoire.

Edward Eirnbaum's "Adonoy Moloch" is a simple and forthright presentation of the traditional mode.

"Lekha Dodi" by Y. Admon is good and attractive. The same text set to music by Maier Kohn is improved by the arrangement of Samuel Adler.

"Barechu" of Chayim Alexander is a gem. "Ahavat Olom" by Aviassaf Barnea is delicate and elusive. The graceful "Ahavas Olom" by Reuven Kasakoff, based "on an ancient hassidic melody", is as is this composers general work, a testament to his esthetic sensitivity.

Moshe Lustig's "Shema" is striking but not appropriate for an actual service. Yehuda Wohl's setting of "Mi Chamocha" is powerful.

The "Hashkivenu" of Edward Birnbaum follows the so-called "traditional" style of the recent past minus the usual "excesses". Putter-man's "Hashkivenu" is in the popular East European vein. A. M. Rabinowitch's setting of the same text is prototype of the "better" (should I say "cleaner"?) examples on which so many of us were weaned. "Ush'mor Tsesenu" by Putterman is rooted in what may be called "folkstyle".

Of the 6 "V'shomru" settings, Leon Algazi's is admirable in its frugality. It is probably the "leanest" setting of this text. The one by Schorr-Geller is in the romantic mold and is quite popular.

The two by Mark Silver are tuneful and well done. (The composer, one of Zilberts' five brothers, all of whom adopted the surname Silver, was a competent musician and a modest, soft-spoken gentleman.) The final two by Zilberts became popular concert numbers.

The "Yih'yu L'ratson" of Hugo Adler is spare and utilitarian. A slight rearrangement of the words is recommended. The two versions (of this text) by Neil Robinson are good and practical. These are followed by two workmanlike and effective settings by Zilberts. The latters "M'en Sheva" is pure *nusah*.

Putterman's "Omar Rabi Elozor" affords me the opportunity to remark on this as well as other items appearing in this volume under his name. To the best of my knowledge David had no pretentions to the title, composer. And if we do not consider him as such it is not our intention to denigrate his enormous contributions to our profession. No doubt the success with which he performed these selections prompted him to include them here. As for the items designated as: "Arr. by D. P." he undoubtedly introduced some textual or melodic alteration for which he assumes responsibility.

Binder's "Kiddush" (as all his work — good, to the point and useful) is followed by five additional settings: two by Putterman, two by Zilberts and one (hassidic) by Edgar 'Mills.

The Sabbath Morning section contains music for "El Odon", "Or Chodosh", "Tsur Y'israel" and "Yismach Moshe". A solid "En Komocho" by Minkowsky is followed by a virtually complete Torah service by Zilberts. The latter is also represented by items appropriate for Bar Mitzvah celebrations.

Three "Y'hi Ratson" settings for Rosh Hodesh (by Alman, Minkowsky and D. P.) are followed by "Uvnucho Yomar" in five versions. The first of two by Zilberts is very good. The others are by Schlesinger, Putterman and Anon.

A "K'dusho" arranged by Robinson is fair. One by Birnbaum and one arranged by Putterman are good. In Zilberts'

melodious "Yism'chu" the accentuation of the text is better than in many of his compositions.

In a somewhat reduced form the "Birchas Kohanim" of Putterman could be useful. The "Y'vorechecho" of Zilberts is more suitable for a wedding solo than for a Sabbath Musaf.

For some reason the items in the high holiday section appear in alphabetical order.

After two congregational tunes for "Areshes" we find Rapoport's (old faithful) "Ato Nosen Yod". Music for "B'rosh Hashonoh" and "B'sefer Chayim" is provided by Putter-man and Zilberts who also supply short recitatives for "Haven Yakir Li" and "Hanshomo Loch".

Kirschner's "Ki Onu Amecho" reminds us that an opportunity was missed in not correcting the numerous faulty accents appearing throughout the volume. Zilberts' "Kodosh Ato" is simple, direct and effective.

The Putterman-Bruch "Kol Nidre" is followed by the former's "L'chu N'ran'noh", "Lishmoa" and "Min Hametsar" verses, Two rewarding versions of "M'loch" (by Joseph Goldstein and Zilberts) precede a number of solos (mostly) by Putterman. The "Sh'ma" (concluding verses of Neilah) with its ascending scale is attractive.

Goldfarb's "Shomer Yisroel" appears in Kosakoff's graceful arrangement, while Birnbaum's "Shuvu, Shuvu" and "Un'sane Tokef" are sparse and pleasing. Sections of the latter are set by Zilberts (very good), Goldstein and Putterman.

The "V'al Ham'dinos" of Sukoenig is inadequate. Nisse Spivak's "V'chach Hoyo Omer" is a classic. Two tunes for "V'Korev P'zurenu" are provided. In "Yaale", one of Zilberts' early compositions, the "Ahavah Rabbah" mode is effectively manipulated and is employed to good advantage.

The high holiday section concludes with Putterman's "Yhi Rotson" for Neilah and a fine arrangement of "Yigdal" by Edward Birnbaum. The editor deserves particular praise for the inclusion of Birnbaum's not readily available compositions.

The Sholosh Regolim section contains a rewarding "Od'cho" by Zilberts and seven settings of "Adonoi, Adonoi". The first of these, an uncommon arrangement by Hugo Adler is worthy

of attention. Number 5 is by B. L. Rosowsky. Two items for Geshem and Tal by M. Weintraub conclude this group.

The final, miscellaneous, group includes four selections by Putterman and three ("Adonoi, Mo Odom", "Shivisi" and "V'hu Rachum") by Zilberts. Appended are cantillations according to Rosowsky.

This is a most uneven, yet rich volume containing as it does items of little value as well as numerous most welcome selections. An added value of this handsome book is its inclusion of many numbers not encountered elsewhere. Surely, Putterman has put us into his debt with his industry and with his eclectic preferences as exemplified here.

I realize that as I recall our friendship, events spanning half a century, the many projects in which David and I participated, our numberless discussions, arguments and compromises, my judgement is subjective. As we all do, David had his faults. He was obdurate in his opinions, stubborn in his prejudices. But, unlike many of us, he was ready to listen to a contrary view, willing to acquiesce to a convincing argument and act in accordance with a majority decision.

To him the achievement of a noble aim superseded a particular method utilized in reaching it. As he was totally sincere in, and utterly committed to, his beliefs and ideals he could also be unswervingly severe to those who would violate a mutually avowed principle.

He loved Jews, Judaism and Jewishness. He was a gracious host as well as a demanding friend, not hesitant to criticize a questionable word or deed. But once having done so, the slate was wiped clean arid warm friendship resumed.

Perhaps his greatest strength lay in his steadfastness and persistence in pursuit of one idea he was convinced is worthy of pursuit.

David, the man, will be missed by his dear ones. David, the cantor, will be remembered by his congregation. Our people as a whole will enjoy the fruits of his labors but we, his colleagues, are the ultimate *yorshim* of his dreams.

The Cantors Assembly is an abiding monument giving witness to his deep concern and the Cantors Institute is an eternal memorial eloquently eulogizing his enduring idealim.

David was a rare individual whose dreams were realized during his lifetime.

The prayers of David were answered.

THE RELIGIOUS ELEMENT IN SCHOENBEBRG'S WORK KARL H. WORNER

Reprinted from the authors major work, "Schoenberg's Moses and Aaron," with permission of the publishers, Faber and Faber, Ltd., London, 1963.

Karl H. Warner (1910-1969) was a noted German musicologist, who earned his Ph.D. at the Berlin University. He served as music critic and, for several years, as opera conductor in Stettin, Magdeburg and Frankfurt. He has written extensively on Mendelson, Schumman and Schoenberg. 'Schoenberg's Moses and Aaron," is the first of three major works which he wrote in the final decade of his life.

hroughout his life Schoenberg was active as composer, musical theorist, writer on music, essayist and painter. Everything served him as a means of communication; indeed, his form of universal productivity reminds us of the type of romantic artist whose ideal was the unity of all the arts '. The second edition (1 q2 1) of Schoenberg's **Harmonielehre** contains this revealing statement: 'The laws that govern a man of genius are those that will govern future generations of men. This may be supplemented by similar quotations. Robert Schumann wrote, ' artists are prophets ', and Beethoven spoke of 'the heavenly art which alone is the mainspring of that strength that enables me to devote the best part of my life to the Muses '(1824). The 'word of God' is manifest in the 'creations of genius', Liszt wrote to Wagner in 1852; and as early as 1885, Hugo Wolf had had the same thought as Schoenberg: 'The comet course of a genius cannot be deflected into traditional paths. Genius creates order and elevates its will to a law.' In 1896, Gustav Mahler told Anna Mildenburg that he was working on a 'great opus'. 'It claims one's whole personality: often one is so deeply involved that one is quite dead to the world outside oneself. One becomes as it were an instrument played upon by the universe. At such times I no longer belong to myself. ... 'Richard Wagner repeatedly speaks of his isolation. Thus to Friedrich Nietzsche (1872): 'In general, I have the prevailing sensation of knowing less and less of my contemporaries; this may be inevitable for one who creates for posterity. The loneliness of theindividual is boundless.' Mahler thought of himself as the instrument of the universe, while Alexander Scriabin thought of himself as 'absolute being' (*Promethean Phantasies*, 1900-1905).

First Beethoven, then Schumann, Wagner and Liszt, and then Scriabin and Schoenberg-all these artists speak of the composer as a being of a special order. He is a genius, he has a mission to fulfil, he is the harbinger of another, supra-mundane world, which is often equated with the concept of divinity; he is a prophet. He is put above ordinary mortals, and elevated to bring them light. He is a Promethean figure. He lives as an example to men, towering above them. He is in advance of his age. His path is lonely but he must pursue it. Only later ages will understand him, honour and emulate him, will perceive his genius, recognize him as a prophet, and make a cult of him; for in his lifetime he is appreciated only by the few, a circle of close friends who are his pupils and disciples, revering him as master.

This cult of the creative artist began in the second half of the eighteenth century. In music it reached its absolute climax with Richard Wagner; but there was a marked return to it in the years before the outbreak of the First World War when on the surface Europe seemed to be a secure world, while beneath could be seen the signs of dissolution, of approaching collapse and a new order of things. The great wave of Expressionism could be interpreted as a new departure, a premonition of things to come. Schoenberg stood at the centre of this age, registering its musical currents with the sensitivity of a seismograph.

Arnold Schoenberg's oeuvre, arranged as it is in continuous and nearly correct chronological order by the composer's own opus-numbers, consists of fifty works and groups of works; not included in this list are the unfinished opera *Moses and Aaron*, the unfinished oratorio *Die Jakobsleiter*, the *Gurrelieder*, and his arrangements of works by other composers. The fifty numbered compositions include vocal and instrumental works in about equal proportions.

In a letter of 1922 Schoenberg wrote that at no time in his life had he been 'anti-religious', or even 'un-religious'. A glance at

the texts of the vocal works **shows us that Schoenberg was always concerned** with religious, ethical and philosophical subjects. In the chronological grouping of these works, a rhythm is clearly discernible; a sequence of seven plus seven years, and a culmination at about every fifteenth year. 1907 was the year of the **a cappella chorus Friede aug Erden** ('Peace on Earth'), Op. 13 (Conrad Ferdinand Meyer), as well as the second string quartet in F sharp minor which employs a voice for the words of the George poems **Litanei** and **Entrückung**. In the war years 191 5-17, Schoenberg wrote the poem for the oratorio **Die Jakobsleiter**; **later he began** its composition, having already sketched at the end of 19 14 or the beginning of 1g 15 an orchestral scherzo which was subsequently to find a place in the oratorio. This work is the first culminating point in Schoenberg's struggle with the religious world.

The poetic conception of the opera Moses **and Aaron** was preceded by the writing of a drama (hitherto unpublished) called **Der biblische Weg** ('The Biblical Way'). This was written in 1926-27. The composition of the opera Moses **and Aaron**, which belongs to the years 1930-32, is the climax of Schoenberg's lifework and, at the same time, its second culminating point. In America in 1938, Schoenberg set to music the traditional **Kol Nidre**, the prayer for the eve of the Jewish Day of Atonement. In 1945 he again turned his attention to the oratorio **Die Jakobs-leiter**.

In the last years, after his grave illness, he never ceased to be concerned with religious subjects.

The publication of the correspondence between Schoenberg and the poet Richard Dehmel throws light on Schoenberg's plans, and particularly on those for 1912. On December 13, 1912, Schoenberg wrote to the poet from Berlin-Zehlendorf saying that he had long been thinking about an oratorio on the following lines: 'modern man, who has passed through materialism, socialism, anarchy, who is an atheist yet has held on to a residue of his old faith (in the form of superstition); this modern man strives with God (cf. **The wrestling Jacob** by Strindberg), and eventually finds God and becomes religious. He learns to pray! A change of heart

not to be brought about by a dramatic event, or a calamity, or, least of all, a love-story. These, at most, could only be a background, motivating and propelling the plot. Above all, it should be in modern man's idiom of speech, thought, and expression; it should show the problems that oppress us. For those in the Bible who strive with God also express themselves as people of their age; they speak of their affairs and conform to the social and mental standards of their environment. They are therefore good artistic subjects; yet they cannot be characterized by a present-day composer who is committed to his task. At first I intended writing the poem myself. Now I no longer have the confidence to do it. Then I thought of making a libretto out of Strindberg's *The wrestling Jacob.* Finally, I decided to begin with a positive religious attitude, and arrange the final chapter of Balzac's *Seraphita* entitled "The Ascension".'

How strong Schoenberg's affinity with the world of religion must have been in the years before, during, and after the First World War, is proved by a letter written in 1922 to Wassily Kandinsky. Schoenberg starts by writing of the enormous difficulties of day-to-day existence ('starvation!'). He continues: 'But worst, perhaps, is the overthrow of everything one once believed in.' He goes on to speak of 'another, higher faith' upon which he has increasingly learnt to depend. 'My poem **Die Jakobsleiter** would make it clear to you what I mean: it is religion, though without the fetters of organization. In these years religion has been my only support-I confess that here for the first time.'

The third culminating point began in 1945, and it produced **The Prelude to Genesis (1 945)**, the cantata A **Survivorfrom Warsaw (1947)**, and the triptych contained in Op. 50; the third section of Op. 50, the **Modern Psalms**, occupied Schoenberg in the last days before his death.

These periods in Schoenberg's work tell us, it is true, something about the creative rhythm of his life, but more instructive is the actual transformation of thought and faith. Conrad Ferdinand Meyer's poem *Friede auf Erden* ('Peace on Earth') is wholly conceived in the Christian spirit of 'glad tidings', of the

everlasting hope of peace on earth. Stefan George's Entrückung ('Transfiguration'), on the other hand, is born of a pantheistic creed; given to a soprano voice, it forms the finale of the second string quartet, Op. 10 ('ich fuhle luft von anderem planeten ... ich bin ein funke nur von heiligen feuer, ich bin ein drohnen nur der heiligen stimme') ('I sense the air of another planet ... only a spark am I of the sacred fire, an echo of the eternal voice'). In a pantheistic vein, too, is the poem Nutur ('Nature') by Heinrich Hart which was used by Schoenberg in the first of his Six Songs for Voice and Orchestra, Op. 8.

Very different are the spiritual worlds that had opened up for Schoenberg when he wrote the text of the oratorio *Die Jakobsleiter*. It can be shown that Schoenberg was stimulated by reading Balzac's *Seraphita*, a story into which the French novelist introduces Swedenborg's mystical theology. It is also possible that Schoenberg may have studied theosophical writings. These stimuli were absorbed in the drama *Die glückliche Hand* ('The Hand of Fate') (composed 1910-13), *Die Jakobsleiter*, and the poems *Totentanz der Prinzipien* ('Death-dance of Principles ') and *Requiem*. The idea of reincarnation here becomes the centre of religious faith.

The oratorio Die Jakobsleiter is a vision of the time-interval in the other world between death and reincarnation, expressed in dialogues between choruses and individual souls, and the archangel Gabriel, who here appears as judge and counsellor, until towards the end God himself speaks. Throughout, the individual stands for the whole: 'the called one ', 'the rebellious one', 'the wrestler ', 'the chosen one ', ' the monk', 'the dying man '. After a great symphonic interlude, Gabriel bids them make themselves ready for reincarnation. Now begins the second part of the work, the exchanges between the souls on the one hand, and the demons, genii, stars, gods and angels on the other; this in turn leads into the tripartite final scene, a chorus from the depths, a main chorus, and a chorus from on high forming a vast concerted invocation of the gift of God's grace, 'eternal love and blessedness'.

The text of **Die Jakobsleiter** is intended for repeated reading. perusal, and thought. Its subject-matter is comprehensive enough to fill entire theological volumes. Indeed, the weakness of the text lies in its vacillation between operatic libretto, sermon, contemplation and theological exegesis-an unfortunate misjudgment of Schoenberg's that sheds light on some problematical traits in his character. Yet this negative impression is entirely obliterated by the music. The score had a fate of its own. In the summer of 1917, Schoenberg, under the impulse of inspiration, wrote the first half of the work in short-score. Interrupted by his army service, he never again succeeded in finding a spontaneous continuation that might have led to the completion of the work, despite repeated attempts. The existing sketch has been worked out by Winfried Zillig. It was first performed in Vienna in 1961 at a special concert in connection with the festival of the International Society for Contemporary Music.

A highly significant composition, one of Schoenberg's great works, has thus become known to the world. Written at the peak of Expressionism, this music lays open all the heights and depths of which emotion is capable. But the work's emotional extremes and its vivid orchestral colours are bound together in great formal structures. Powerful choruses, whose dramatic impact anticipates Moses and Aaron, are found next to moving solo-scenes. Very much in the style of the period are the melodramatic manner of declamation and the expressionistic feverishness of the work's emotional world. There can be no doubt that **Die Jakobsleiter** is the greatest work of this particular period in Schoenberg's output. In the future, it will take its place) by **Moses and Aaron.** There is one passage in the work, however, that is unique in Schoenberg's entire oeuvre: the end of the musical torso. It contains a representation of death, dissolution and transfiguration. A woman on her death-bed describes her transition from life to death, she becomes disembodied, she feels that she is floating upwards. The music here reaches the realms of the spirit, the realms of transfiguration. The speaking-voice becomes a singing-voice, winging its way upwards on wordless sounds. Distant orchestras are heard through

loudspeakers distributed over the hall. The spheres begin to reverberate.

These theological beliefs were not without influence on the idea of, and the formulation of, the twelve-note principle, the beginnings of which go back to the end of December 1914, or to January 1 g 15. Swedenborg's concept of Heaven-Balzac's description does not allow for time and space in eternity-corresponds to Schoenberg's 'principle of absolute and unified experience of musical space ', a concept which is realized through the note-row, the basic set and its modifications. The 'method of composing with twelve notes'-this is how Schoenberg described the twelve-note principle-is not an exclusively musical method, or merely theoretical speculation, or a historical consequence of the situation of 1910. Not just a single idea, it is the sum of all experiences, based on a religious outlook. The Four Songs for Voice and Orchestra, Op. 22, composed in 1g13-16, was the last work to be completed before a creative pause of several years. The songs are based on texts of supra-denominational religious trends: Seraphita by Ernest Dowson (translated into German by Stefan George), and three poems by Rilke: 'Alle welche dich suchen' ('All that seek thee') and 'Mach mich zum Wachter deiner Weiten' ('Let me be the guardian of thy realms') from the **Stundenbuh** ('Book of Hours'); and *Vorgefühl* ('Premonition') ('Ich bin wie eine Fahne von Fernen umgeben': 'Like a flag, I am surrounded by distances ') from the Buch der Bilder (' Book of Images).

The *Vier Stiicke für gemischten Chor ('Four* pieces for mixed chorus'), Op. 27, were written in 1925. The first two of these are settings of original words; they are not Poetry, but rhythmical prose; in them we do not find subjectivism, but ethical tenets; we do not find lyricism, but religious imperatives. Op. 27, No. 2, 'Du sollst nicht, du musst' ('Thou shalt not, thou must') is already formulating the basic theological idea of Moses *and Aaron* when it says: Thou shalt not make an image. ... An image asks for names ... Thou shalt believe in the Spirit, thou must, chosen one. ...' In this choral work there is as yet no direct reference to

the Old Testament. It was a few years later in his drama Der **biblische Weg (The** Biblical Way), written in 1926-27, and in Moses *and Aaron*, that Schoenberg discovered the world of the Old Testament. From there it was only a short step to the public avowal of his Judaism in Paris in 1933; a formal declaration of his faith and reunion with the Jewish community.

In this context, a letter which Schoenberg wrote on May 4, 1923, to his old friend Kandinsky, is of importance. This letter is by no means a theological defence of Judaism, but a purely human vindication invoking the dignity of mankind, and of Judaism, against the vague generalized accusations and the various forms of abuse levelled at it. With regard to Schoenberg's return to the Jewish faith, a letter to Alban Berg, his friend and pupil, contains essential information. The letter was written from Paris in October 1933. 'As you must surely have noticed, my return to the Jewish faith occurred long ago, and is discernible even in the published sections of my work (Thou shalt not, thou must ') as well as in Moses **and Aaron**, of which you have known since 1928, but which goes back for at least another five years; it is particularly noticeable in my drama **The Biblical Way**, which was conceived in 1922 or 1923 but not finished until 1926-27.'

According to David Josef Bach, the drama *The Biblical Way* shows 'the right way, that is, the way of the Bible. God has revealed it.' The protagonist Max Arun's plans for founding a new Palestine come to nothing because of his human imperfections, and it is only by a martyr's death that the hero is able eventually to achieve the degree of perfection possible for him. Max Arun represents the Jewish people. In himself he unites the two personalities, Moses and Aaron, that were to be separated in the opera: Moses, the idea; Aaron, the word. In a letter, Schoenberg mentions briefly that the drama deals with the 'emergence of the Jews as a people'.

In his later religious works Schoenberg has moved completely into the world of the Old Testament. However, only one of those works has a direct liturgical basis: the *Kol Nidre* of 1938. In a letter written by Schoenberg in 1941 to Paul Dessau, we are told

of the compositional problems that faced him when he set out to use the 'traditional melody' of the **Kol Nidre**; for this is not a 'melody' in our sense of the term, but a number of juxtaposed phrases of a monodic, i.e. a unisonal and linear, character.

De Profundis, a setting in Hebrew of Psalm 130 for six-part a Capella chorus, completed on July 2, 1950, is based on the actual words of the Bible. The cantata, A **Survivor from Warsaw** (1947), to a text by Schoenberg in which the persecuted Jews intone the **Shema Yisroel**, is an avowal of Judaism and humanity, of the nobility of suffering and of the overcoming of adversity by suffering. The **Prelude**, Op. 44, composed in 1945 for orchestra and mixed choir (the latter singing vowels only), presents a theological view of God and the world, a description of the universe before the act of creation. The last group of compositions contains, as mentioned, the setting of Psalm 130 (Op. 50 B), and a four-part mixed chorus **Dreimal tausend Jahre (Three** times a thousand years'), Op. 50 A, to words by Dagobert D. Runes. The poet sings of the temple of Jerusalem, while the psalms, sounding softly from the mountains, proclaim the promised advent of God.

Opus 50 C forms an independent poetic musical work, called by Schoenberg **Modern Psalms**. The text consists of two groups. The first ten psalms were written between September 1950 and February 1951; a second group, begun on March 23, 1951, goes up to the sixth psalm which was begun on July 3, ten days before Schoenberg's death, and remained unfinished. Schoenberg's psalms cannot be compared to those of the Bible. They are neither songs of praise nor prayers, but the great confessions of an individual, a testament to posterity, a posthumous torso which Schoenberg was not able to complete or round off. They are predominantly reflective: God's almightiness, prayer, hope, an enquiry into the justice of God, the idea of grace, the self as part of the community of the chosen people-these are the themes commented upon by Schoenberg from the viewpoint of the Old Testament. He then extends his viewpoint and meditates on belief in mysteries, miracles, and the ten commandments which 'today have already become the foundation of morality, ethics and jurisdiction in almost all nations of a higher civilization, and which, one day, will enlighten all the peoples of the world'. Schoenberg then turns his thoughts to Jesus, charity, the faith of children, love, and the procreative instinct, and, finally, to prayer again, and the duties of the Jews in their role as the chosen people. His last recorded thoughts seem to be intended as a further enquiry into the question of the religious determination of moral values.

The manuscript of the first psalm bears the date of its inception, October 2, 1950. Of this 86 bars are extant: they are the dialogue of a human being with God. 'Who am I?' is the outcry of a creature seized by mystical awe at the vision of the 'only one, eternal one, all-powerful one, all-knowing one, inconceivable one'. The last words set to music by Schoenberg are 'And yet I pray as all that lives prays'. The composition remained unfinished.

THE SABBATH EVE AMIDAH — A NEW TRANSLATION AND COMMENTARY

ELLIOT B. GERTEL

... Sifotai Tiftah ...

Lord, if Thou my lips would open, I could, of Thy praises, utter token.

Avot

May Thou, 0 Lord, be praised;
Our Lord, as of each patriarch:
Master of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.
Great, mighty and revered Monarch,
Thou art a God supremely raised;
Who art kind, while owning all;
And our forebears' piety dost recall;
And Who, for Thy reputation,
Wilt send a Redeemer' to their children.
King, Helper, Savior, Shield,
Praised be Thou, Abraham's Shield.**

Gevurot

Thou, 0 Lord, art mighty forever;
Thou, strong and resurrecting Savior-3
Thou sustainest life tenderly,
And revivest the dead mercifully.
Thou supportest the fallen, healest the week,
Freest the bound, keepest faith with the meek.
Who is like Thee, Mighty One,
King Who determineth death,
Proddeth endurance, bringeth salvation?

- 1 On the doctrine of the personal Messiah, see Steven Schwarzschild, "The Personal Messiah: Toward the Restoration of a Discarded Doctrine," in Arthur A. Cohen, ed., *Arguments and Doctrines (N.Y.:* Harper, 1970).
- ${\bf 2}$ The seven benedictions of the Sabbath Eve ${\it Amidah}$ are indicated by asterisks.
- 3 Between Shemini Atzeret and Pesah, we add: "Thou causest the wind to blow and the rain to fall."

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Thou revivest the dead faithfully. Praise be Thou, 0 Lord, By Whom the dead are restored.*

A tta Kadosh (Kedushat Adonai)

As is Thy Name, Thou art holy; Sanctified beings praise Thee daily. Praised be Thou, hallowed Deity.*

At ta Kidashta (Kedushat Ha-Yom)

The Seventh Day Thou didst sanctify For Thine own reputation.

Of Thy forming of earth and sky,
Was *Shabbat* the planned conclusion.

It is the most blessed of days;
Above all seasons by Thee raised,
As explained in Thy legislation:

Vay'chulu

"Complete were the hosts of heaven and earth; And on the Seventh Day God ceased all work. From His labor He was thus rested, And so by Him was *Shabbat* blessed And consecrated for eternity, For His labor and rest are holy."4

Eloheinu R'tzei

Our God, and patriarchs' Deity Grant our rest Thine approbation; May Thy precepts make us holy; Let Torah-study be our portion. Sate us with Thy beneficence; Grant us joyful deliverance. Invest our hearts with purity, That our worship reflect sincerity. In Thy love, enable us, Lord To savor Thy Sabbath behest; May Israel, in one accord Find that hallowing Thee brings rest. Praised be Thou, Adonai, Who makest *Shabbat* holy.*

> R'tzei (Avodah)

Favor, Lord, Thy people, Israel, And their humble prayer. Restore the Service to Thy Temple; And receive in love and favor there Israel's worship and sacrifice. 0 may our offerings suffice;5 And may our eyes soon behold Thy return to Zion, as of old!

Our God, as of our fathers: May our remembrance alight, Reach Thee, be noted, and find favor In Thy hearing and in Thy sight, Along with the memory of our forebears, And of the Davidic Messiah, Thy servant, Blessed art Thou, Merciful Lord, Whose Presence, to Zion, is restored.*

Modim Anahnu Lakh (Hodaah)

We thank Thee, Lord, Who forever Is our God, as of our fathers.
We thank Thee in every generation!
Rock of our lives, Shield of salvation,
We thank Thee and Thy praises mention:
For our lives, in Thy handling;
For our souls, in Thy keeping;
And for Thy miracles, daily recurring;
For Thy wonders, for Thine every boon,
Each moment given — eve, morn and noon.
0 Thou Whose Name is GoodnessThou Whose tender mercies endure:

5 The following prayer is added on Rosh Hodesh (New Moon), and during Sucrot and Pesah:

And of Jerusalem, Thy city of holiness.
May Thy people Israel, now a remnant,
Find rescue, well-being, grace and tenderness;
Compassion, life and peace in this festivity...
Remember us, Lord, for our best interest!
Recall us for blessing; save our vitality!
Show us reprieve and compassion!
Have mercy on us; save us.
Our eyes are bent in Thy direction!
For Thou art God, sovereign and gracious.
Who withholdest not loving kindness,
In Thee we always feel secure.

Ve-al Culam

Praised be Thy Name, 0 King, Continually exalted for everything!

V'chol Ha-hayim

And all creatures will praise Thee, And hymn Thy Name sincerely. Thou, God, art Deliverer and Buttress! Blessed art Thou, Divinity, Whose very Name is Goodness, And Who dost merit praise constantly.*

Shalom Rav

Abundant peace upon Thy people shower, For Thou art Sovereign Lord of peace. May it please Thee every hour To bless us fully, and never cease. Praised be Thou, 0 Lord, Who blessest Israel with accord.*

Elohai N'tzor 6

My God, keep my tongue from evil, And my lips from spilling guile.

To slanderers let my soul be dumb; Like dust, may it, to all, be numb.

<sup>δ This was the private prayer of Mar bar Rabina. See B. Berakhot 17a,
and Job 25: 2: Psalm 34: 14.</sup>

Open my heart to Thy doctrine, That I heed Thine instruction.

Quickly foil and upset the scheme Of those who for my evil teem.

Act, Thy majestic power, to apply; And to Thy holiness, so testify.

If as Thy beloved, I merit rescue Save with Thy right hand, provide a clue!

May my utterance and meditation Win Thy favor, Rock of redemption.

May He Who makes peace celestial Fulfill us and all Israel.

Yehi Ratzon 7

May it be Thy will, 0 Lord,
Our God and patriarchs' Deity;
That the Holy Temple be restoredIn our days, yea, speedily!
And may Thy Teaching be our portion.
0 let us pray there in trembling,
As in former days, early years.
Then be pleased with our offering,
As in ancient Judah and Jerusalem.

SILENCE

If one can define rest as the absence of activity, he may surely define silence as the absence of sound. And yet, the regenerative power of rest is itself subtle activity, which restores vigor to the body by checking exertion. Subtle, too, is the power of silence. The absence of sound can be the most meaningful sound; stillness can be a threshold to the Ineffable. "Heard melodies are sweet, but unheard melodies are sweeter." (Keats)

"Silence, the Rabbis taught, "is a healing for all ailments." To the Rabbis, prayer represented the zenith and paradigm of all human discourse: "Would that man would pray all day," was the sigh and dream of Rabbi Yohanan. 2 Aware of the Psalmist's ob-

- 7 Parts of this prayer are taken from Malakhi 3:4 and Avot 5:23.
- 1 B. Megillah 18a.
- 2 B. Berakhot 21a. and B. Pesahin 54b.

servation that silence is the most profound form of praise of God (Psalm 65:2) ,3 the Rabbis fixed the *Tefillah – the* Prayer, par excellence — as recited while standing 4 in silence. The Rabbis extolled Hannah's silent worship, where "only her lips moved, but her voice was not heard" (I Samuel 1: 13). 5

Silence enables us to grow into the stillness of the universe. The Presence of God may be felt during sound, but the companionship of God, His *concern* and love, can only be appreciated when the stream of silence rushes along the fertile bed of holy words. "Silence," writes Walter S. Ong, "refers to the sound world again, but negatively. It is that enduring condition of which sound is the only interruption. Encounter with God can be realized in the spoken human word, but because human words do not endure and silence does, encounter with God is even more encounter with silence. In the Hebrew-Christian tradition this silence is known to be living and active, a communication between persons, more like a word than anything else. "6

"OPEN MY LIPS ..." (. . . Sifotai Tiftah)

To the devout Jew, Sabbath prayer is an adventure, a coveted invitation into the courts of the God of Israel. The words of the Prayer Book, no matter how often uttered, are ever sources of thrill and awe on the Sabbath. For how often does one enter the innermost courts of the King? Perhaps only once weekly — on the Sabbath — are we permitted to walk with full ease and contemplation the corridors of holiness and inspiration within the palace which is the Prayer Book, whose bricks are holy words and whose mortar are the meditations of Israel.

Each prayer of the Sabbath is a chamber of profundity. Indeed, as one enters the palace of the king, he beholds with each step a more impressive chamber. From the simple prayer alluding to the wisdom of God through the daily miracle of sunset, to the majestic announcement of his Unity in the **Shema**, is a grand adventure.

³ On the role of silence and worship, see A. J. Heschel, Man's Quest for *God (N.Y.:* Charles Scribner's Sons, 1954), pp. 37-44.

⁴ Hence, the Tefillah is also called the Amidah ("Standing").

⁵ See B. Berakhot 31b.

⁶ W. S. Ong, S.J., *The Presence of the Word (New* Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1967), p. 161.

Finally is reached the Biblical Sabbath Covenant (*V' Sham-ru*), which brings the radiance of the source of the Sabbath to every prayer. Pried open by the words of *Kaddish*, the gates of prayer swing forward, heralding with the majesty of silence the Presence of God.

Who can speak before the King? His Presence renders us breathless, speechless, numb.

But the yearnings of our hearts surge upward, our pride shattered by the Eternal. Our supplications in behalf of the self, of the family, of Israel who keeps the Sabbath and struggles for redemption, cry out to be heard. The silence beckons prayer. Grateful that the words of the *Amidah* provide us with dialogue as we stand as honored guests within God's courts, we can only declare:

Lord, if Thou my lips would open, I could, of Thy praises, utter token.

GOD OF ABRAHAM, GOD OF ISAAC, GOD OF JACOB $(Avo\ t)$

Perhaps the most illuminating sociology of faith was offered by the Baal Shem Tov:

Some persons have faith because their fathers taught them to believe. In one sense this is satisfactory: no other philosophical axioms will break their belief; in another, it is unsatisfactory, since their belief does not come from personal knowledge.

Others come to belief through conviction after investigation. This is satisfactory in the sense that they know God from inner conviction. Yet it may prove unsatisfactory if other students demonstrate to them the fallacy of their reasoning: they might abandon their tradition.

The best believers are those who stance is satisfactory in every way: they believe because of tradition and also because of their own reasoning. This is what we mean when we say: "Our God and God of our fathers" (*Eloheinu v'Elohei* avoteinu). The Lord is our Master, both because we know He is God, and because our fathers have taught us that He is God.

Commitment must precede concept. The prerequisite for belief is active experience of those practices by which belief is expressed, including prayer and the Sabbath. Sensitivity to the wonders of the universe, attention to the insight of our ancestors, and sustained study are the positive steps by which one arrives at the level of discernment, the form of knowledge, which we call "belief."

REVIVER OF THE DEAD'

In the words of the Psalmist (115: 17): "The dead do not praise God." The dulled soul does not grasp for God. Void — the Bible suggests in the first chapter of Genesis — is the absence of God from the workings of the individual in human history. Insensitivity and callousness testify to the conscious attempt of certain men and nations to smother the "breath of God." *Soulicide*, the wanton blunting of the God-consciousness, is murder out of prejudice.

Little wonder that the berakhah (blessing) which speaks, in the present tense, of God's revival of the dead, is immediately followed by praise of His holiness. To erect a fortress to religious experience, to close our lives to the possibility of a revival of God-consciousness, is to lock our souls within a citadel which mars the purview of an existence hallowed in imitation of God. Such hallowing of life occurs only as the result of Divine service, and is achieved by the *mitzvot*, holy deeds, whose "very multiplicity is the perennial spring whereby the Jewish soul is ever replenished and renewed; the spiritual power they generate confirms and strengthens morality without doing violence to human nature and to the physical and aesthetic senses." 2 The Jew who has never inhaled the piquant fragrance of the Sabbath spicebox cannot claim full inspiration at the threshold of a new week.3 The Jew who never sought to penetrate a Biblical verse with the keen insight of the Rabbinic Sages, cannot claim to have attained intellectual fulfillment. Nor can the Jew who has never blessed wife and children on the Sabbath Eve claim to have achieved full familial bliss. Only when we vigilantly maintain within ourselves a consciousness of the divine and of the holy, can we truly proclaim God the Reviver of the Dead. We must attempt to set the Lord before

¹ The blessing which praises God as Reviver of the Dead is, of course, to be understood in light of the Rahbinic doctrine of the resurrection of the dead. My reflections will offer a homiletical, rather than theological, interpretation of that blessing. For a modern reaffirmation of this long-ignominous doctrine, see Arthur A. Cohen, *Arguments and Doctrines*, pp. 519-20.

² Isidore Epstein, "The Ceremonial Laws in the Economy of Judaism," in Leo Jung, ed., The Jewish *Library (N.Y.:* Macmillan, 1928). p. 360.

³ The spicebox is used as a symbol of hope for a good week during the Havdalah service at sunset on Saturday, which marks the "distinction" between the Holy Sabbath and the mundane days of the week.

us at all times' during our lifetime, just as we affirm that in death God Himself with set us and preserve us before Him.

THE GIFT OF SABBATH (Atta Kidashta; Eloheinu ... R'tzei)

Theological apologists, obsessed with an exaggerated sense of cultural etiquette, have for centuries endeavored to "prove" to the "rational mind" the wisdom and relevance of the Biblical Sabbath, citing "benevolent" philosophers and psychologists who recognize its "social soundness," Yet despite the truth of most Jewish and non-Jewish defenses of rest and recreation, the *Shabbat* without God, without recognition that it is a Divine gift and not merely a human therapy, is grossly and pitifully fragmented.

In the *Midrash*, *we* learn that a Roman official once asked Rabbi Akibah why one day should be honored more than another. "And why should one person be honored more than another?" Akibah replied. "I hold my office," the Roman offered, understanding that Akibah referred to his own honored status, "because my master appointed me." "So, too, was the Sabbath appointed by the Master of the Universe," Rabbi Akibah replied.'

The *berakhot* (blessings) of the *Amidah* Prayer remind us that we Jews are witnesses of God, and that the Sabbath, as His "appointed" day, is our vehicle unto Him amidst the strife of livelihood and the overwhelming temptation to forget our forebears' sense of the beauty of a sanctified regimen in life. We pray that our sanctification of the Seventh Day will express with eloquence our gratitude for the Divine gift of the *Shabbat* experience.

To be sure, the Sabbath without grasping for God is like ascending rungs with no desire to climb the ladder. Only as a gift of God does the Sabbath bring gladness and purification, only in the light of His face are we ourselves illuminated. Without a sense of His grace, we reduce the very sanity of the Sabbath — its place as an oasis of Divine concern in the desert of time — to human vanity.

DIVINE RETURN TO ZION AND JERUSALEM (R'tzei)

"The Prayer Book," writes Rabbi Max Arzt, reverberates with yearning for the return of the Jewish people to the Holy

⁴ See Psalm, 16: 18.

¹ Genesis Rabbath 11.5.

Land, for the re-establishment of the sanctuary at Jerusalem, and the restoration of the sacrificial system of worship. ... Judaism is the spiritual self-awareness of a living people. ... A restored Jewish life in *Eretz Yisrael* [the Land of Israel] means more than the establishment of another autonomous nation. It implies that Judaism can flourish best and at its highest in its natural environment. This is what the many references to *Eretz Yisrael* can mean to us in this day, when Judaism can thrive only through a reciprocal spiritual relationship between Eretz Yisrael and the Diaspora.'

Throughout Israel's millennia of dispersion, the hope for spiritual revival in Zion and Jerusalem has been bound up with the hope for the restoration of the Temple rites, whose grandeur and sanctity have left strong impress upon the Jewish spirit. Prayers for the restoration of the sacrificial cult remind us of the Levitical aesthetic, which stipulates, through intricate priestly laws, that man must employ his finest handicraft as well as God's finest handicraft (animal flesh and blood) for Divine worship. Preparation of such sacrifices was regarded as sacred work (avodah) in the finest sense of the term.

Traditional Jewish eschatology envisions a Third Temple where at least the sacrificial thanksgiving offerings will be restored to endure for perpetuity.* Although some classical Jewish thinkers, like Maimonides, regarded the Biblical sacrificial system as a compromise with parallel pagan cults, they shared the Rabbinic hope for restoration of those rites in some form 3 Of course, the Rabbis agreed with the Psalmist (51:19-20) that God "desires not sacrifice. . . . The sacrifices of the Lord are a broken spirit. . . ." Yet they did not ignore the Psalmist's subsequent yearning (w. 20-21): "Deal kindly, in Thy pleasure, with Zion; build the walls of Jerusalem. Then shalt Thou be pleased with the sacrifices of righteousness, with burnt-offering and with whole-offering; then shall bullocks be offered upon Thine altar." The Sages therefore left the reinstitution of the sacrificial rites entirely up to God.4 The hasidic rebbe, Levi Yitzhak of

¹ Max Arzt, Justice and Mercy: Commentary on the Liturgy of the New Year and Day of Antonement (N.Y.: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963), p. 177.

² Pesikta 79a.

³ See Joseph H. Hertz, "The Sacrificial Cult," in *The Pentateuch and the Haftorahs* (London: Soncino Press, 1967), pp. 560-2.

⁴ See, for example, the Midrash on Canticles 4:4.

Berditchev, compared the two Temples to the gift of a father to his son. When the son was reckless the first time, the father bought the same gift. But when the son mishandled it the second time, the father refused to purchase it again until the son could prove maturity. Israel was to receive its Temple for a third time only when the people could show that they would not repeat those sins which resulted in the two losses of their spiritual center.

Despite the prevailing aversion to slaughter of animals in worship, our continued petitions for the restoration of the Temple cult articulate two important insights of our essentially Rabbinic religion. First, we affirm our reverence for Biblical legislation, even though we recognize that change and development in Jewish law are desirable and even vital. We affirm, secondly, that Divine legislation or concrete spiritual regimentation will be as necessary for the humanity of the future as for ourselves, and that such regimentation will fulfill not only the Prophetic promise of redemption, but the Biblical vision of Divine law inscribed in our "inmost parts" (see Jeremiah 31: 32).

Yet we also indicate our open-mindedness to the Rabbinic suggestion that eschatological man may share certain psychological needs with his Biblical ancestors, and that those needs may well be the missing link between the ancient cult and a restored ritual. Man may need to cringe at blood in worship in order to refrain from shedding it in the streets.6 The dawning of universal peace may well shine over altars supporting animal carcasses slaughtered according to Biblical prescriptions. Should man's primitive lust for blood remain, he would do well to satisfy it with the vessels of gentle priests rather than with the sabres of mercenary warriors.

Meanwhile, we dwell in history between the ancient need for concrete spirituality, and the ultimate promise of spiritual concreteness, as we await God's manner of restoration of His Presence to Zion. The inspired accounts of priestly service and congregational sanctity can remind us of the psychological power once exerted by the sacrificial cult, whose "underlying rationale is for us still a valid and potent idea: that man comes to experience the nearness of God (korban — 'sacrifice' — means to 'come near' to God) by

⁵ Ironically, the best defense of retention of liturgical accounts of the sacrificial rite is offered by the "death of God" theologian, Rabbi Richard L. Rubenstein, in *After Auschwitz* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1966), pp. 93-111.

offerings of his self and his substance. "6 We yearn for God to establish a Service where His immediacy will be felt at every moment, and where our finest prayers and psalms will be compiled by Him.

FESTIVAL YEARNINGS (Yaale V'yuvo)

Special yearnings, formulated in Talmudic times, are inserted into the Sabbath *Amidah* of the Three Pilgrimage Festivals *(Shalosh Regalim)* — Pesach, Shavuot and Succot — and of the minor holiday of Rosh Hodesh (New Month). We pray that God will recall in mercy our ancient glories: the merit of our fathers, the beauty of our Temple cult, the sanctity of Jerusalem, the promise of the Messiah, the majesty of the Davidic monarchy, and the devotion of the Israelite nation.

We moderns need to share in such yearnings. We must recall that celebration is a memory we share with God. Perhaps this is why the Sabbath itself is called a "memorial of creation" and a "memorial of the Exodus from Egypt." Of course, God does not need to be reminded of us, nor should we need to be reminded of us, nor should we need to be reminded of Him — especially when we experience the twofold blessing of a festival that occurs on the Sabbath. But His concern with our history is our shared celebration with Him. We rejoice not so much in our past glories, as in His stake in our past 2

Angrily confronting the plague of assimilation, the Prophet warned: "Do not rejoice, Israel; do not seek joy as do other peoples, for ye have strayed from your God!" (Hosea 9: 1). The Three Pilgrimage Festivals are still being dismissed as minor obligations. They are superseded today by the "High Holy Days" of Rosh Hashannah and Yom Kippur which, although holy and meaningful occasions, are actually outlined in the Torah with less detail and commandment.

Through the festival yearnings as interpolated in the Sabbath **Amidah**, **we** are reminded that the weekly Day of Rest will mean nothing to one who confuses celebration with being entertained.

⁶ Arzt, p. 178.

¹ See the reasons for the Sabbath given in each of the two versions of the Ten Commandments (Exodus 20: 1-14 and Deuteronomy 5: 1-18).

² See Psalm 115.

"Celebration is a confrontation, giving special attention to the meaning of one's actions." To celebrate is "to share in a greater joy, to participate in an eternal drama," to "invoke His presence concealed in His absence." The festivals are not law-burdened days, but structures of sanctity and scaffolds of sanity in an age which delights in tinsel and excels at the trivial. Like the Sabbath, they beckon us to discover our families and not merely to pamper them; to cultivate wisdom and reverence when universities encourage competition and aspersion; to meditate instead of stroking or tuning our arkful of gadgets.

The Sabbath is an eternal covenant, but the Festivals are eternal convocations. Through the Festivals, we affirm most subtly our delight in the Sabbath commandment. We seek, as it were, to set up an appointment with God in order to show that we do not take lightly or perform mechanically the commandment to observe His appointed weekday. As Emanuel Rackman observes:

Since it was God Himself who fixed the Sabbath day and made it holy, there can be no changes whatever in its incidence. The nations of the earth may devide to change their calendars.

For Jews, however, the Sabbath will remain the seventh day computed uninterruptedly from Creation.

Not so is the Law with regard to the festivals. In fixing their incidence the Jewish people were sovereign. The oral tradition was emphatic with regard to the people's power to determine when months and years shall begin and end. Presumably God Himself had abdicated in favor of His people. . . .

What is of interest is that the highest court of ancient Israel did reckon with the people's convenience when fixing new moons and new years. If, for example, the month in which Passover occurred was proclaimed too early, pilgrims might have to wade through mud to get to Jerusalem. . . . (Bab. T. Sanhedrin llb).

Long ago the Rabbis fixed the calendar that certain festivals could never occur on certain days of the week. Thus, for example, the Day of Atonement can never occur on a Friday or Sunday. . . The Rabbis made a very precise calculation for the fixing of the new months and new years. On this calculation

³ Abraham J. Heschel, Who Is Man? (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1965). p. 117.

we have relied through almost two millennia of exile. However, this calendar is not the slave of astronomy, or nature, as the Sabbath is bound by divine history. ... If anything, history must ultimately vanquish the evil in nature itself. And that is why Jews expect that, even though their calendar as now observed needs no further improvement, they will, nevertheless, ignore it when the Sanhedrin is again reconstituted and the Sanhedrin will once again resort to the ancient manner of declaring new moons — by the examination of witnesses and by judicial decree. ... Nature is their instrument and not their master.'

Had God not invited us to call upon Him in Sabbath Covenant, we would never have been able to arrange to visit Him during the seasons of our joy, freedom, and enlightenment.

GRATITUDE TO GOD (Modim Anahnu Lakh)

Gratitude is the most fickle, the most fleetingly held, of human emotions. It is at once the most easily and the most reluctantly communicated. We can be thankful for everything one moment and oblivious to favors the next, We can feel gratitude in a flash or after a flurry of emotions. A loud "thank you" can be little more than etiquette, while a deeply-felt indebtedness may remain tongue-tied.

It is relatively simple to acknowledge some Power that presides over nature, especially since we easily find ourselves edified by the beauty that surrounds us and by the bounty that sustains us. It is not difficult to thank anything or everything from one's "lucky stars" to the Living God. The pagans thanked all that they liked, and deified everything in the process.

The **Modim** Prayer is not a mere exercise in listing the boons and pleasures of life which we might as well attribute to a benevolent Deity. While we should certainly thank Him for these gifts, the ability to articulate our gratitude in prayer is not enough — although for many people this is a difficult and significant religious achievement.

We must look to the beginning of the Modim prayer for the perfect expression of true gratitude. We thank God for being our God as He was the God of our fathers — for being our constant

^{*}Emanuel Rackman, One Man's Judaism (N.Y.: Philosophical Library, 1970), pp. 63, 64-5.

Benefactor and Companion. We thus realize that the most precious gift of God is that of His Presence. Our capacity to sense His closeness is a gift that literally encompasses the world. True thankfulness to God is thankfulness *tor* God, Whom the Rabbis described as the "Place of the world, even though the world *is not His Place."* 1 Such perfect and blessed gratitude, which we must all cultivate within ourselves, was best articulated by the Hasidic saint, Rabbi Shnuer Zalman of Liadi (1747-1812), who said: "I have no wish for Thy paradise, nor any desire for the bliss of the World to Come. I yearn for Thee, and for Thee alone."

REST AND PEACE (Shalom Raw)

Why have pious Jews throughout the ages prayed for Sabbath peace? Did they not experience such blessed repose?

While it is true that, alas, oppressors have shattered the shield of the Sabbath, our ancestors realized that peace must be cultivated within just as it can be disturbed from without. Many Jewish men and women squander the Sabbath against the din of lashing lawn-mowers, squirting sprinklers, and clanging cash registers. If only the stereos could stop syncopating, and the radios and televisions could contain their din for at least time enough to greet and to usher in the Sabbath Bride! If only <code>zemirot1</code> and other Sabbath activities could replace on Friday night and Saturday the weekend shopping and the shallow entertainment of a society which does not understand the Sabbath.

Israel's weekly repose has reminded others in every generation that peaceful living is not an illusion, nor is it a state reserved for the heavenly hosts alone. We share God's vision of peace, searching for unity and meaning beyond immediate struggles. Yet from Sabbath observance we learn that we must struggle for even Divinely-bestowed peace. The Rabbis spoke of the frantic bustle in Jerusalem on the eve of the Sabbath, when it was possible to be injured in the last-minute rush!* We withdraw from life's battles by battling for peace, by preparing for the Sabbath, so offering weekly deference to **shalom**, which the Rabbis described as God's most precious gift.

¹ Genesis Rabbah 68: 9.

¹ The beautiful folk-hymns for the Sabbath table, including Shalom Aleikhem, Yom Zeh M'khubad, Yah Ribon Olam, etc.

² See B. Baba Kamma 32a-b.

One is reminded of Rabbi Joshua ben Hananiah who, when asked by the Roman Emperor Hadrian why the fragrance of Sabbath foods is so special, responded, "We put in a certain spice called the Sabbath, which can be tasted only by those who keep the Sabbath." So it is with Sabbath peace, which can be savored and understood only by those who observe the Sabbath.

SANCTIFIED SPEECH (Elohai N'tzor)

One is most profoundly aware of the wonders of speech and silence when the sweet wine of sanctified speech is sipped from the golden goblet of silence. The tongue holds the power of life and death. (Proverbs 18:21). Awareness of its power and concern for its sanctification pervade the literature of Judaism in all ages. The Sages frowned upon slander as a "three-forked tongue," injuring speaker, hearer and subject,' and declared that he who "slanders, listens to slander, and testifies falsely ought to be thrown to the dogs." 2 They warned against *lashon ha-ra*, the evil tongue" — a term which they employed for all abuse of language.

Mar bar Rabina prayed: "God, keep my tongue from evil. . . . "3 In our time, a gentle teacher, Rabbi Israel Meir Ha-Kohen (1838-1933) became renowned throughout Eastern Europe for his purity of language, for his total aversion to gossip or to any vicious talk, and for his never having taken any manner of oath, nor having vainly uttered God's Name. He became known as the "Chofetz Chaim" ("The One Who Desires Life"), the title of a popular volume he entitled with the verses: "Who is the one who desires life? . . . Keep your tongue from speaking evil." (Psalm 34: 13-14). The "Chofetz Chaim" would frequently declare: "An entire world quarreled with me, but I quarreled with no one."

The eloquent silence of the *Amidah* Prayer is but a passing muteness if it does not lead to disciplined and deliberate speech. The *Amidah* is a silent struggle where "the fight for language becomes the fight against language" (Leo Baeck) .4

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3 В. Shabat 119a.
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¹ B. Arachin 15b.

² B. Pesahim 1183.

³ B. Berakhot 17a based on Psalm 34: 14.

 $^{{\}bf 4}$ Cited by Robert Gods in A Faith For Moderns (N.Y.: Bloch, 1960), p. 134.

PRIVATE PRAYER

Tradition reserves the *Amidah* prayer as the time when one is encouraged to add his own supplications and yearnings. For what shall we pray?

May our prayers envelop the silence, inspiring us to recall that the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel and Leah is our God, as well. Then and only then will our dulled souls respond with new life, sustained by consciousness of the Divine. We shall then perceive that Sabbath peace is a gift granted by God to free the mind and spirit with sanctity that can spill over into the days of the week as well as into the festivals of the year.

If these concerns support our personal prayers, the "Sabbath smile" (Hawthorne) of the Almighty will illumine our lives, bringing meaning and fulfillment beyond expectation.

GLEANINGS FROM "DI HAZZONIM VELT"

SAMUEL ROSENBAUM

Although it enjoyed an altogether too short a life, "**Di Hazzonim Velt**," was the finest journal on hazzanim and hazzanut ever to see the light of day. Published in Warsaw from November 1933 to June 1935, the Yiddish journal came into being even as the black clouds of the Holocaust were gathering, preparing to engulf all of Jewish life in Eastern Europe.

The slim, 24 page issues are a mine of invaluable historical material, both of the period and of previous chapters in Jewish life. Its contributors were some of the best known hazzanim, music directors, composers and musicologists of pre-war Europe.

From time to time, it is our plan to publish in translation some of the interesting and relevant articles first published in "Di Hazzonim Velt. We begin with an article by Hazzan Moshe Kuseritsky on the Great Synagogue of Vilna. Written in Warsaw where he was the idolized hazzan of the prestigious Tlomatzker Shul, it appeared in the first issue of "Di Hazzonim Velt."

THE GREAT SYNAGOGUE OF VILNA AND ITS HAZZANIM

MOSHE KUSERITSKY

The Great Synagogue of Vilna was built, according to the best information at hand, in 1573. Around that magnificient structure there have been woven a number of myths and legends. They tell, for instance, that in the year 1812, Napoleon visited the synagogue. He stood at the threshold and marveled at its beautiful architecture; its four giant columns, which carried the weight of the building, decorated with fine art work. He was especially moved by the synagogue's beautiful pulpit and Aron Kodesh. There are still preserved in the synagogue a great number of beautiful old ark curtains and many examples of fine Polish silver Torah ornaments. The courtyard in front of the snyagogue is very narrow and reminds one of the streets in Jerusalem's Old City, which lead to the Western Wall.

Most impressive are the iron doors of the Great Synagogue which could tell secrets of many generations. The doors were a present to

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The translations from the Yiddish are by Hazzan Rosenbaum.

the congregation in the year 1638 from the artisans who participated in its construction. The synagogue lobby, or ante-room, was donated by a study group, the *Hevrah Magidey Tehilim*, in the year 1642. Near the eastern wall, to the left of the Aron Kodesh, there now stands a large monumental stone, as a memorial, setting this area apart as especially sacred. This was the location of the regular seat of the last Vilna rabbi, Rav Shmuel. After his death the Vilna community never again appointed a chief rabbi. The place is forbidden to anyone. Today, when a rabbi is called to the Torah in the Vilna synagogue, the title "HaRav" is not added to his name, as a sign of respect to the memory of Rav Shmuel.

The amud at which the Hazzan stands, is built somewhat below the main level of the synagogue in keeping with Psalm 130, *Mima-a-makim k'ratikha*, "Out of the Depths I Called Out To You." In the archives of the synagogue there is also a very old copy of *Tehilim*, handwritten on parchment and beautifully decorated; a *Siddur*, also on parchment, in which may be found remembrances, prayers honoring the righteous proselyte, Avraham ben Avraham, who was, prior to his conversion, the famed Graf (Count) Pototski. There are also notes on the philosopher Menahem Mann, who, together with the above mentioned Avraham ben Avraham, was burned to death in Vilna in the year 1780 for Kiddush HaShem.

To enter the synagogue, one must descend several steps. However, inside the synagogue proper is very high.

In the matter of hazzanim, the Great Synagogue of Vilna seems not to have had much luck. On the one hand, being appointed to the amud of the Great Synagogue of Vilna was the goal of every hazzan. Whoever earned the title of "Chief Cantor of the Great Synagogue of Vilna" was assured a great career. Not everyone could become the chief cantor of that synagogue; one had to be truly worthy of that honor. On the other hand, the tenure of hazzanim in Vilna was never long. Before they could become acclimated to the community, most of the chief cantors were grabbed up by the greatest synagogues all over the world and Vilna remained again without a hazzan. For example, note the following statistics.

The first Chief Cantor was Hersh Levenstein, or as he was called, the "*Leberer Haz'n*," since he came from Lebow. He was installed in the year 1822 and died shortly afterwards in 1830. He is buried in the old cemetery. He is, unfortunately, the only chief cantor of Vilna buried in that city.

His successor was his son, Yoel Dovid, known as the *Vilna Balebeys'l.* He died in the year 1850 in Warsaw under rather mysterious and fearful circumstances.

The third Hazzan, Archek der Haz'n, left for Vitebsk in 1843.

The fourth, Hayim Lomzher, who served the congregation from 1855 to 1867, left Vilna for London. The fifth, Yehoshua, known as *Shike Feinzinger*, came in 1870; left two years later for Berlin. Cooper, the sixth Hazzan, came in 1878, and left for New York in 1886.

The seventh, Cohen, arrived in 1889 and left Vilna in 1896. Gershon Sirota came in the same year, 1896, and left for Warsaw in 1904. The ninth Hazzan was Moshe Shteinberg, who came in 1907, left for Odessa in 1908, a year later. The tenth, Dovid Roitman, came in 1909 and left for St. Petersburg in 1912. The eleventh was Mordecai Hershmann, who came in 1913 and left for the United States in 1919.

Those who followed him were engaged only to officiate on the high holidays. These were Katzman, Helfand and Zufovich.

The twelfth Vilna Chief Cantor was the writer of these lines. I came in 1925, and in 1927 was called to Warsaw. After I left Vilna, someone sent me a Vilna newspaper in which the following appeared: "In the future the Vilna congregants will have to give more attention to the hazzanim question in order that our city will not become, as the Warsaw papers like to refer to us, a hazzanim factory for Warsaw's Tlomatzker Synagogue."

Among the dozen or so articles on hazzanim, hazzanut, synagogue modes, reminiscences and short biographical sketches in the first issue of "Di Hazzonim Velt," there was published a full page devoted to a suggested set of By-Laws for a projected Association of Hazzanim of Poland. A footnote indicates that an all-Poland conference of hazzanim was being planned at which the organization of such an association would be discussed and at which these By-Laws, in one form or another, could be ratified.

The By-Laws together with an editorial on "The *State* of Poland's Hazzanim," are published below. We believe that the nature of the items covered gives a comprehensive picture of the status of hassanim and hazzanut in Poland in the 1930's.

* * *

A PROPOSED CHARTER FOR THE "ASSOCIATION OF HAZZANIM OF POLAND"

I. General Rules

- 1. Every hazzan or choir director serving in a bona-fide congregation on an annual basis, or who serves a "responsible" congregation for the high holy days, and is recognized as being worthy (?,) The question marks are ours. They mark those items where no standards are set for the qualifications specified; i.e., what constitutes a "responsible" congregation; what constitutes "being worthy"? from the standpoint of competence in the hazzanic profession, as well as from the moral and religious and Jewish standpoints, to hold the sacred and responsible position of hazzan or synagogue choir director, may become a member of the "Association of Hazzanim of Poland."
- 2. Every recognized (?) hazzan or choir director who comes to Poland from another country and has the recommendation of three members who are acquainted with him, may apply for membership.
- 3. Before a hazzan or choir director may become a member he must be approved by a special Music Committee who will evaluate his talents, abilities as hazzan or choir director, and will pass on whether the applicant is worthy of membership in the organization.
- 4. The Music Committee will report to the administration of the Association on the suitability of the candidate. If there do not appear to be any objections to his membership, the candidate may be accepted for membership in the organization.
- 5. Every hazzan or choir director who becomes a candidate for membership thereby assumes the responsibility to faithfully obey the rules and regulations of the organization and to submit to its decisions.
- 6. Any hazzan or choir director who does not honor the constitutional requirements of the Association and does not comply with its regulations, either in a professional matter, or in his personal conduct, may, after specific warning, be expelled from the organization.
- 7. If a hazzan or choir director fails to obey such decisions or regulations which do not bear directly on the basic purposes or moral principles of the organization, he may be disciplined by the imposition of a fine or suspended from membership for a specified length of time.

II. Professional Rules

- 1. It should be in the interest of every hazzan or choir director to make every effort to conclude an agreement with a congregation covering a period of no less than three years.
- 2. No hazzan or director may negotiate with a congregation while another hazzan or director occupies that post.
- 3. No hazzan may appear for an audition in a synagogue unless he makes certain that the hazzan who previously occupied the pulpit has already left the congregation.
- 4. Two hazzanim may not appear for an audition in the same synagogue on the same Sabbath.
- 5. A committee representing the Association must be on hand at the contract negotiations between hazzan or director and a congregation. A copy of the contract must then be deposited in the files of the Association.
- 6. A hazzan or director who negotiates with a congregation while his predecessor is still on the post, will be automatically expelled from the organization and cast out of the hazzanic profession.
- 7. A hazzan or director who is charged by his congregation with having failed to live up to his contract, or who has committed an act which is contrary to the Association's religious or moral standards, may, after a thorough investigation, be expelled from the "Association of Hazzanim."

III. Relationships Between Hazzan and Congregation

- 1. Every hazzan or director must adhere strictly in letter and spirit to his contract with his congregation.
- 2. Every hazzan or director shall declare, at the time he concludes an agreement with a synagogue, that the "Association of Hazzanim" represents him and stands prepared to protect his interests as well as those of the synagogue.
- 3. Any disagreement between hazzan or director and a congregation, or between a hazzan and director, must be brought to the attention of the administration of the Association of Hazzanim. The administrator shall spare no effort to settle the dispute in a peaceful manner.

sickness, unemployment, etc., he will receive a regular weekly assistance stipend.

Our organization will be established on a strong basis and we will become a dominating factor, not only for hazzanim and hazzanut, but in Jewish life in general in Poland.

- 4. A hazzan or director may under no circumstances leave his congregation before the expiration of his contract, unless he receives permission to do so from his congregation in writing.
- 5. A hazzan may not officiate in the synagogue of another hazzan, or give a concert in the synagogue of another hazzan, without first receiving permission of the regular hazzan.

IV. The Organization

- 1. "The Association of Hazzanim of Poland" is a national religious organization with branches in the major cities of the country.
- 2. Each branch shall be locally autonomous and elect local officers, who shall, however, be responsible to the national administration in Warsaw.
- 3. Each member must pay annual membership dues of no less than 12 **zlotys** as his contribution to the maintenance of the national office.
- 4. Every branch shall forward monthly reports of its activities to the national office.
- 5. National officers shall be elected at the annual general meeting of the "Association of Hazzanim".

An editorial on the final page of the first issue of "Di Hazonim Velt" gives further insight into conditions of hazzanut at that time:

The Association of Hazzanim's goal is, first, to organize the hazzanic profession, to convince each hazzan in Poland to affiliate and to become a part of the body that can provide him with help and support.

We will shortly work out a plan for a fund to be created by the Association which will assure every hazzan that in time of need,

We ask all hazzanim in Poland, and those in other countries, as well, to send us immediately the following information:

1. Name; 2. City of residence. 3. Synagogue you serve. 4. Do

you officiate with or without a choir? 5. If you have a choir, is it of mixed voices, or a children's choir? Do women sing in the choir? 6. Name and address of your choir director. 7. Do you think there is a need for a hazzanic recitative siddur? 8. Do you compose your own choral compositions or your own recitatives? — If you compose, please send a sample of some of your works.

THE STATE OF POLAND'S HAZZANIM

These last several years, the profession of hazzanut in Poland has been living through a serious crisis. One cannot deny the fact that the material conditions of hazzanut have improved noticeably. Hazzanim today are better paid than they were years ago. Synagogue members seem now better to understand that without a hazzan there is no foundation to the existence of their houses of worship. They sense that a synagogue without a hazzan is like a body without a soul.

In the last number of years, interest in hazzanut has increased, even in those circles that are not particularly close to synagogue life. Hazzanut has begun to play its rightful role in community Jewish life, and has become a rich source of spiritual pleasure and religious enthusiasm, even outside of the synagogue's sacred precincts.

This does not mean, however, that the condition of hazzanim and hazzanut is satisfactory, or that the hazzanim of Poland can feel that they have accomplished everything for which they have striven.

It is a sad fact that many hazzanim who have a position, still are not adequately paid and cannot make a respectable living for themselves and their families.

Even more shameful is the fact that many hazzanim, after they have served a congregation for many years, and have given of their best efforts and talents, are still in danger of losing their positions,

often without any cause, causing them and their families to find themselves penniless, helpless and forsaken.

The Association of Hazzanim has, therefore, taken upon itself to root out such instances where hazzanim suffer without cause. We will extend every effort to improve the material conditions of our members and strive to raise the spiritual state of hazzanut in general.

The most serious problem from which hazzanut suffers is that hazzanim are still not organized. If all hazzanim in Poland belonged to the Association of Hazzanim, which is already in existence, every worthy hazzan would be assured of his livelihood, and the synagogues would be compelled to be concerned with the hazzan's problems and with his interests.

If every hazzan were a member of the Association, it would develop into a mighty organization which could exert great influence on synagogue life.

If every hazzan belonged to the Association of Hazzanim, the organization would be able to provide for each hazzan in need, to represent him in disputes with congregations, and to do away, once and for all, with the chaos which still rules the hazzanic world.

* * :

Careful readers with good memories will recall that the problems of hazzanim in those days, at least as they are reflected in the By-Laws, still existed in 1947, when the Cantors Assembly was founded, with essentially the same goals still not fully realized today.

Every hazzan owes it to himself to examine the state of his profession today as honestly as he can and to judge for himself whether we have come nearer to our goals than they.

HIGH HOLY DAY HYMN MELODIES IN THE PORTUGUESE SYNAGOGUE OF AMSTERDAM

MAXINE RIBSTEIN KANTER

PREFACE

Where Hebrew words have been transliterated into English, the romanization follows the *General* system adopted by the Academy of the Hebrew language as outlined in the *Encyclopedia Judaica*. 1

In particular:

- a) An apostrophe ['] between vowels indicated that they do not form a dipthong and are to be pronounced separately.
- b) The letter *dagesh hazak* (forte) is indicated by doubling of the letter, except for the letter *shin* [].
- c) The letter het [] = h (ch as in "Bach").
- d) The letter khaf[] = kh (ch as in "Bach").
- e) The letter zadei [] = z (ts as in "frets").

In addition, the following differences are to be noted in the pronunciation of Western Sephardic Jews: bet [] and vet [] both are given as b; ${}^cayin[]$ by ichis usually silent and therefore not transliterated, is rendered as ng and is represented by the diacritical mark of ${}^c.$

1Vol. I, 90-91. The 16 vol. Encyclopedia was edited by Cecil Roth, Geoffrey Wigoder, et al. (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, 1972). See also p. 10. Cf. Werner Weinberg, "Transliteration and Transcription of Hebrew," Hebrew Union College Annual XL-XLI (Cincinnati, 1969-1970), 1-32.

2 See Irene Garbell, "The Pronunciation of Hebrew in Medieval Spain," Homenaje a Milla'-Vallicrosa I (1954), 665-669.

This article by Maxine Ribstein Kanter is an excerpt from her doctoral dissertation, "Traditional Melodies of the Rhymed Metrical Hymns in the Sephardic High Holy Day Liturgy: A Comparative Study." Ms. Kanter was granted her degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Northwestern University in August, 1978. She is now an Adjunct Instructor of Jewish Culture at Spertus College in Chicago.

The Early Portuguese Jewish Community of Amsterdam

It is not certain when the first practice of Jewish rituals took place in Amsterdam. At the beginning of the sixteenth century there were dynastic affiliations between the Low Countries and Spain, and Antwerp, the greatest port in northern Europe, offered both commercial opportunity and freedom from persecution. Although there were Marranos in Antwerp as early as 1512, there is no indication of their declaring themselves openly as Jews, and when the *Bet Jaäcob* community was founded in Amsterdam in 1597 it was done in secret.

However, the spirit of freedom began to return to Holland after that country freed itself from Spain in 1579, and soon Amsterdam became known as a haven for the Marranos. In 1617 there were one hundred Marrano families, by mid-century there were four hundred, and before the close of the seventeenth century the Marrano population of Amsterdam had swelled to 4,000 persons. Although it is known that the Portuguese Marranos were observing some form of the Jewish rite since 1593, the earliest worship service occurred on the Day of Atonement in 1596 at the Joncker Street home of Don Samuel Pallache, the Jewish ambassador from Morocco to the Netherlands. These services probably constitute also the formation of the first Amsterdam synagogue, although it was not formally acknowledged as such until 1604.' Named for its founder, Jacob Tyrado, a wealthy merchant and shipowner (who has been identified as either the Marranos Manuel Rodrigues or Guimes Lopes da Costa), the new congregation arranged for rabbis and teachers to come to Amsterdam to give them religious instruction. Circumcisions had to be performed on all males, ritual slaughtering of animals had to be inaugurated, and a place had to be located and permission obtained for a lot of land to bury their dead.

A second Sephardic congregation, *K. K. Neveh Shalom*, was established in 1608, probably also under the aegis of Samuel Pallache, yet by 1618 the burgeoning ex-Marrano population in Amsterdam felt the need of still another congregation. Thus a third community, *K. K. Bet Yisrael was* formed, renting a warehouse the next year on the same street as its predecessors, in a new district in the eastern part of the city, near what is now the Waterlooplein. 2 Around 1630 they bought a plot of land next to their rented buildings in order to build a new synagogue. This building, which was opened in 1636, was later enlarged after the three Sephardic congregations merged in 1639 to form *K. K. Talmud Torah*, and served

the united congregation until it was replaced by the magnificent *Esnoga* ("sinagoga") which was opened on *Shubbat Nahamu* in **1675.9**

As part of the merger it was agreed that the contents of the libraries of the three congregations would be placed in a central location, thereby establishing *Ets Haim*, the oldest Jewish library in the Netherlands.' In 1672 Joseph de Farro and Immanuel Abenatar Mello, the two precentors of the congregation, were officially appointed librarians, sharing equally in both responsibility and the yearly salary of seventy florins. In consideration of the latter fact, it is believed that they were the first paid librarians in the history of Jewish libraries. At any rate, the two hazzanim set a precedent in their dual roles, and for several centuries the precentors kept their position as librarians at *Ets Haim*.

Music in the Synagogue

There is ample evidence of the considerable enthusiasm for music demonstrated in the Portuguese Jewish community of Amsterdam in the late 17th and 18th centuries." Some knowledge of the art of music was required in the highly cultured society to which many of its members belonged; everything points to a rich and well-developed musical milieu which may easily be compared with most of the contemporary non-Jewish secular or religious centers in Europe. Although we know of the existence of an art of music practice, we can also see by the nature of the music manuscripts and the description of their performances which have survived that much of this music was specifically created for religious use. However, we have no proof that all- or any- of it was actually performed in the sanctuary. It is certain that instrumental ensembles were permitted in the synagogue, as it was the custom to hire orchestras to play during the inauguration of a new synagogue building.

Many of the Portuguese clergy were themselves accomplished musicians. From pictures in Daniel Levi (Miguel) de Barrios' *Imperio de Dios en la harmonia del mundo*, published in Amsterdam around 1700, we can see that the author himself was a musician.6 The hahamim also understood the art of music; Haham Uziel played the harp, as did Haham Aboab. Several Dutch-Jewish poets who were writing in Spanish were also skilled musicians. Among these were Antonio de Castillo and Isaac (Juan) Mendos -both virtuosos on the *vihuela* — and Manuel (Jacob) de Pina and Lorenco

Escudero, who were versatile artists. De Pina was well known for his literary talents and Escudero for his achievements in fencing and his mastery of several musical instruments. Manuel Pimentel was admired as a dancer and harpist, and a few of the hazzanim were singled out as possessing remarkable voices and singing abilities. De Barrios writes of the extraordinary powers of Hazzan Immanuel Abenatar Mello, who was also one of the first hazzanim to be named to his post as the result of an election.

In the event of a vacancy occurring for the post of hazzan, the competitions constituted a major happening involving the entire community. David Franco Mendes has vividly described the circumstances attending the competition for the office and election of a new hazzan.

The candidates for the post presented themselves to the Mahamad ("executive board)), who established the order and rules by which the contest was to proceed. During these tense weeks in the synagogue a different applicant gave a week of trial service, called an aprova, beginning with the Sabbath eve. Hoping to impress the congregants who were judging their abilities, the contestants solicited newly-composed poetic texts, which the local poets willingly provided. In the competition of 1743 (following the death of Hazzan Samuel Rodrigues Mendes), Daniel Pimentel presented a chant to a text by Aaron da Costa Abendana, and a poem by Joseph Shiprut de Gabay was performed by another postulant.' No effort was spared by these would-be hazzanim, and there was keen rivalry among the eleven aspirants.*

When the results of the contest were announced Joseph Gomes Silva was declared the winner. This decision was not very popular with the members of the community and there was a protest made. As a consequence Joseph de Isaac Sarfati was also elected; now, for the first time in its history, there were three hazzanim functioning together at the Esnoga.

When Sarfati died in 1772 the contest for the position of hazzan again included seven rivals (amongst them was Joseph Jesurun Pinto, about whom we shall hear more later), with the entire procedure becoming even more intense and elaborate than before. 11 During the fifth week that candidate's audition had created so much excitement that six guards were needed to bar the doors of the Esnoga. Among the immense gathering in his audience were many Ashkenazic Jews and Christians, some of whom accompanied him

to his house afterwards, forming a cordon and screaming and cheering. It was this candidate, David de Imanuel da Silva, who was eventually chosen, but not until a fierce struggle had been waged by the friends and supporters of the contestants-complete with canvassing of votes and a variety of efforts to promote each candidate.

Two days before the voting was to take place, the first two postulants, Joseph Jesurun Pinto and Joseph de Abraham Benveniste, requested that the Mahamad return their applications. Feeling quite certain that they would not win, they evidently preferred to withdraw from the contest."

The commotion erupted again when the result of the election was announced and the victor was triumphally escorted to the Esnoga by a large crowd holding flaming torches, preceded by a musical ensemble of two trumpets, two horns, and two oboes. Mendes describes the scene:

The great doors of the Esnoga were opened and the Germans [Ashkenazim] stormed in, knocking down the guards, taking over the sanctuary and singing their own tunes for the various Psalms and Pizmonim ... before the joyful ceremony in which the new hazzan ... was officially installed."

This was the last occasion on which such a dramatic and extraordinary series of events attended the elections of a hazzan. It also represents the high point, both economically and culturally, in the history of the community. The failure of the Dutch West India Company in the late 18th century and the difficulties Holland endured during the Napoleonic Wars were reflected in the reduced activity and prestige of the Portuguese community."

In the late 19th century a choir was instituted in the Esnoga, but with very limited function. Named the *Santo Servico* ("Holy Services") and founded in 1886, the choir was allowed to sing in the Esnoga only since 1908. Before that time there was only a choir of young boys to sing the traditional tunes in community with the visitors to the Synagogue. After 1908 a choir of young boys joined the choir of adults. In their heyday (1910-1939) the combined choirs numbered between 60-80 singers and often sang in five parts. Most of the choir-directors also arranged the traditional synagogue tunes and composed new music. In addition, other local composers

created musical works for the choir, all of which is still in the archives of the community, though not all yet catalogued. 15

The choirs were disbanded during World War II and were not revived afterwards, just one of the many irreparable losses to this once brilliant community. In 1940 there were about 5,500 Sephardim in Amsterdam; today there are barely 800. The last five choir-directors were all deported to the camps during the war, as were two assistant hazzanim. I. Cohen de Lara and J. D'Ancona, and a dayyan named Daniel Leon. Not one of the community's religious leaders survived the extermination camps.

For the *Herdenkingsdienst*, the solemn service commemorating the 300th anniversary of the opening of the *Esnoga* on August 22, 1975, a choir was recruited and performed under the direction of Joppe Poolman ven Beusekom, a young Dutch musician whose family was partly descended from the original Portuguese founders. 16 This choir consisted of twelve volunteers (none younger than fifty years of age), four tenors, four baritones and four basses, singing traditional music of the synagogue which Beusekom had arranged and reduced from five parts to three.

Precentor's Manuals

With the establishment of the network of communities that were descended from or otherwise associated with the Amsterdam community, there was a need for documentation which could serve to standardize their liturgical musical practices. 17 A succession of Dutch-Portuguese hazzanim undertook to provide this information for their colleagues and co-religionists.

In the library *Ets Haim* there are four manuals for a Sephardic precentor. 18 The first-and most complete — dates from the mid-18th century; the second and third are 19th century documents, and the fourth is from the early 20th century. It is the first of these, the *Seder Hazzanut por o qual se deve governar hum Hazan para as Rezas e Cerimonias, conforme se estila em nossa Kehila* ("Order of Hazzanut by which a Hazzan must conduct himself for the prayers and ceremonies, conforming with the practice of our [holy] congregation") which is the most valuable to this study, inasmuch as it provides a rare insight into the religious and social customs of his community as well as a detailed record of its liturgical practices.

Pinto composed his two-volume handbook in 5518/1758. 19 He may have intended it for his own use, as a form of guidebook to

the customs and practices (Minhag) of his native community, for he left that same year in order to take up the duties of hazzan at New York's Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, *K. K. Shearith Israel.* The New York congregation had many members who had emigrated from Holland, and was originally founded by Dutch Sephardim who had settled in Brazil when it was under the rule of Holland and then been forced to flee from that country in 1654 when it was reconquered by the Portuguese.

Hazzan Pinto, the son of Abraham J. Pinto del Sotto and Ribca Jesurun was born in Amsterdam in 1729 and educated at Seminarium Ets Haim, studying under Haham David Israel Athias. He knew both Spanish and Portuguese as well as Hebrew, Dutch and English. 20 There were no vacancies for the office of hazzan toward which the young man could aspire, consequently Pinto went to London, where that congregation, apparently also unable to employ him, recommended him to the New York Congregation. Apparently arriving in time to officiate at the High Holy Day services, Hazzan Pinto remained at his post in New York for seven years (Autumn, 1758 to Spring, 1766), during which time he preached the first sermon of which we have any record as being given in a synagogue in what is now the United States. He was also the first Jew in North America to publish an English work, "The Form of ... " which was given at Shearith Israel's Mill Street Synagogue on October 23, 1760, as part of a thanksgiving service which he had arranged on the occasion of the British acquisition of Canada from the French.21 According to David and Tamar de Sola Pool, "Pinto's ministry marked a high point in the struggling congregation's spiritual development." 22

Although he became a naturalized citizen in New York on January 22, 1766, he left the Congregation soon afterwards, returning to London. Some historians have reported that Pinto became a hazzan at the Portuguese congregation in Hamburg, but there is no evidence to support this statement and it cannot be verified through that congregation's records inasmuch as most of the archives of the Portuguese community of Hamburg were lost in the fire of May, 1842.

In any case, Pinto did return to Amsterdam at some point following his tenure in New York, and shortly after May 20, 1772, he competed for the post of hazzan in his native city. As we have seen, he withdrew his candidacy before the election, and he never

had another opportunity for an appointment to this position. Nevertheless, he seems to have continued to perform some of the duties of a hazzan and to be held in high regard by the Portuguese Jews of Holland. On *Shabbat Bereshit* 5540/1779 Pinto sang a special song for the occasion at the Synagogue *Migdal David* near the town of Haarlem; an account of the event is given in the introduction to the text. 23 Pinto died in Amsterdam on March 19, 1782 and was buried in the Bet Haim for the Portuguese community, which is located at Ouderkerk.

Pinto's manual contains 129 folios in Portuguese and Hebrew written in a Sephardic cursive hand, 22 to 24 lines to each page. There is a full description of the order of prayers with frequent references to the *Livro de Reza do Hazan Mendes* ("Book of Prayer of Hazzan Mendes"), the melodies used for every portion of the service, and the manner and deportment of the hazzan before, during, and after the services.

Ros Asana begins Volume I and consists of 28 pages (14 folios), including information about **Jejum de Guedalia**. On folio 15 the instructions commence regarding **Kipur**, this section concluding on folio 21. Pinto's remarks contain not only the order and performance practice of each of the rhymed metrical hymns **[piyyutiml]** but also references to the traditional melodies to which they are sung 24 It is remarkable and demonstrable proof of the validity of oral traditions that the customs which Pinto describes in his manual correspond in almost every instance with those of the Amsterdam congregation today. 25

Performance of the Traditional High Holy Day Hymn Melodies

In the Appendix, which will be found at the conclusion of this article, are notations taken from the collection of transcriptions I made of the High Holy Day hymn melodies as sung by the present hazzan, Solomon Nunes Nabarro. Born at The Hague in 1920, but educated mostly at *Ets Haim* in Amsterdam, Nabarro had the good fortune to be further prepared for his position by Rabbi Selomoh de Aharon Rodrigues Pereira (1887-1969), haham of the Portuguese community at The Hague from 1922 to 1940, and haham of the Amsterdam community from 1945 until his death."

During the early 1970's Hazzan Nabarro recorded the entire liturgy of the Amsterdam Sephardic community in the studios of *Omroepvereniging Vara* ("Radio System Vara") .27 This agency,

an arm of the Dutch government, was commissioned to perform this task of preserving a significant but fast-disappearing heritage of an ethnic group which the Dutch officially regard as having greatly contributed to the country's cultural life. Some of the tapes have been broadcast by the radio station as part of the 1975 *Holland Festival*, the 700th anniversary of the incorporation of the city of Amsterdam which coincided with the 300th anniversary of the consecration of the synagogue building.

While some of the *piyyut* texts are no longer sung in Amsterdam — and are presumably lost — the main body of traditions regarding the performance of this unique and memorable aspect of the High Holy Day service has been carefully preserved. Most of the changes that can be noted have to do with: 1) the responsibilities of the hazzan or the congregation in initiating a piece; 2) the role of the hazzan or the congregation with regard to a repetition of a portion of the poem; 3) the length of the repetition. The following pages contain information about alterations since Pinto's manual was written or details which he omitted.

In the beginning of the *Rosh Ha-Shanah service* for the first evening, the congregation does not repeat the last stanza of Psalm 81 after the hazzan, but begins immediately with *Ahot Ketannah.* 28 The hazzan no longer repeats the entire last stanza to the melody of *Shofet*, but repeats the refrain in its entirely after each stanza. Evening services conclude with *Yigdal* sung to the tune of *Yedei Rashim*, Yehudah Halevi's great poem for the first day of *Rosh Ha-Shanah*. This melody appears many times during the Yamim Nora'im and is one of the representatives themes or "leitmotifs" of the season.

In the morning service for the first day *Elohai Al Tedineni 29* uses only the first half of the *Shema Koli* melody for the first stich of the poem, which is sung by the hazzan. Thereafter the selihah is recited by the congregation until the last stanza, in which the hazzan picks up the melody once again. After he has concluded, the congregation repeats this last stanza.

The hazzan begins *Shofet Kol* Ha' arez, 30 joined by the congregation on the second line. In stanzas two, three, and four, the hazzan repeats the entire last hemistich, *Asher le-colat ha-tamid*, not merely the final word. In the fifth stanza (beginning *Hizku*) he repeats the entire refrain line as he has already done after the first stanza. After the sixth stanza has been sung by the congregation,

to that of *Ebhai Al Tedineni* insofar as only the first part of that the hazzan repeats this final stanza alone and very solemnly. On the second day of *Rosh Ha-Shanah* the hazzan begins *Adonai Yom Lekha* to the melody of Shema *Koli*, but the performance is similar tune is utilized. The hazzan repeats the last line of each section.

Yedei Rashim 31 and Yah Shimkha (Halevi's poem for the second day)' also are sung with an amplified repetition of the refrain line. In stanzas two and three the entire second half of the refrain is repeated (in the first piyyut from Ve-et Elohai Yisrael), not only the final word. In the penultimate stanzas the entire refrain line is repeated; there is no repetition by the hazzan after the last stanza, and he immediately begins Kaddish, which is sung to the tune of "Aleinu on Kippur.

The melody of *Adonai Bekol Shofar* is used for *Lema ankha Elohai*, 32 but in the second and third stanzas only the second half of the refrain line is repeated by the hazzan (beginning with *va aseh al-teahar*). The entire refrain line is repeated after stanza four, and all of the next (last) stanza is repeated slowly by the hazzan alone. He then repeats the final refrain line again. (This procedure is also followed with *Ya aneh Bebor Abot*, the *piyyut* for the second day.)

In the long pizmon Et Sha arei Razon 33 the congregation participates from the beginning. However, after the last stanza only the hazzan sings the repetition, which is done very slowly and solemnly.

After the first stanza of *Adonai Bekol Shofar 34* the hazzan repeats the whole refrain line (*A-lah Elohim bitru ah*); after the second stanza he repeats only the last word, but after the third (penultimate) stanza he again repeats the entire refrain. At the conclusion the hazzan sings the last stanza again very slowly by himself.

The Musaf Kedushah (Keter Yitenu) is sung on the first day to the melody of *Lema ankha* and on the second day to the melody of *Ahot Ketannah*. Pinto had given alternative choices for both days, now the practice is fixed. In the *Adon Olam* which concludes this service the hazzan repeats the last two words of the final stanza, ve-lo *iyra* ("I am not afraid").

On Yom Kippur Eve the hazzan and congregation begin singing Shema Koli 35 together and continue until the end of the hymn whereupon the hazzan repeats the last four lines (from Anah Ani)

very slowly and plaintively, embellishing the melody in a style which comes as close to being *ad Zibitum* as the Portuguese tradition will allow. It is patently evident that the melody notated by Aguilar in the *Ancient Melodies* was taken from the final stich of this piyyut and not the first, as one would expect. This affects the performance of the verses which follow and accounts for the differences in the rendition of this important melody in the communities which have depended on de Sola and Aguilar's edition.

The procedure which is followed in the singing of *Anna Be-Korenu* 37 (for which Pinto provided no specifics) is to have the congregation begin the refrain line. They then alternate phrases with the hazzan, the congregation always punctuating with *Shema Adonai* or *Selah Adonai*, a motive of four notes moving downwards in step-wise motion. The melodic setting of this *piyyut* mirrors the organization of the poem exactly and was probably composed at about the same time. It is one of the few melodies — and the first one encountered thus far in the sequence of High Holy Day services — which maintains its relationship exclusively with one poem and has not been adapted for use with other texts.

The *piyyut Be-Terem Shehakim* with its refrain *Adonai Melekh 38* is also performed in an antiphonal manner, in keeping with the design of the poem. Pinto did not mention this piece at all — although it is customarily recited in all five services on Yom Kippur — since it is found among the selihot and Pinto directed the reader to the recitations of selihot (which he occasionally called by their Portuguese equivalent "rogativas"). *Yigdal Elohim Hai* (sung to the tune of *Yedei Rashim*) concludes the evening services. 39

In the morning service of Yom *Kippur* the bakkashah *Adonai Negdekha* is sung to the same melody as Shema *Koli*. However, it is performed as *Elohai Al Tedineni* and *Adonai Yom Lekha* and not as the *Shema Koli* poem. That is, only the first part of the melody is used, and the congregation continues in a reciting voice, not singing until repeating the hazzan's melody for the last line (beginning *Va ed mah*) and ending with a repetition of the first line.

Ibn Gabirol's plaintive piyyut, *Shamen Har Ziyyon*, concludes the *Abodah*; it is sung to the *Lema ankha/Adonai Bekol Shofar* melody, but all of the refrain lines in each stanza are repeated by the hazzan. (In Pinto's description the middle stanza had a repetition of only the final word of the refrain, *sefatenu*.) Pinto omitted any reference to the *Abodah*. Apparently the "Musaph" tune is one that is used for the entire *Abodah*.

In the hymn which introduces the selihot, *Yisrael Abadekha*, which is sung to the melody of *Yedei Rashim*, the hazzan repeats the refrain stanzas in the same manner as *Shin'annim*, except in the final stanza. (In the latter, he sings only the last two lines plus the refrain.) After the first stanza of Yisrael *Abadekha* the hazzan repeats the entire refrain, the second hemistich after stanzas two and three (beginning *hesed la-alefim*), *40* the entire refrain line after stanza four, and stanza five in toto after the congregation has finished singing.

The two poetic introductions in *Minhuh* are performed similarly to those prefacing the *Kedushah* in the *Musaf service*. 41 The first one, *Benei Elyon*, is sung to the *Adonai Bekol Shofar* melody (as is *Bimromei Erez*), and is also prefaced by *Ubkhen Nakdishakh*. (The hazzan repeats the final line in each stanza.)



Yah Shema Ebyonekha 42 closes the Minhah service with the congregation beginning the pizmon and the hazzan repeating the first stanza. This is then repeated by the congregation as a refrain stanza after all the remaining stanzas, and since it is sung rather slowly, actually becomes a much longer piece than the text would indicate.

Similar repetitions of the refrain stanza occur in the performance of the Ne ilah hymn, *El Nora Alilah. 43* Actually, the piece is extended by the use of a refrain stanza sung after every one of the eight stanzas, first by the congregation and then once again by the hazzan. The hazzan's repetition of the refrain is omitted after the first stanza (that would otherwise have resulted in three renditions of the same words), and in subsequent repetitions of this refrain the hazzan sings the incipit or opening phrases only once.

According to Hazzan Nabarro, the community finds that this melody lends itself to the practice of harmonization especially well— or easily. Therefore, those members with "good ears" who are present at this late service may be heard adding a simple harmony

at the third or the sixth 44 Nabarro feels that this is the reason the "second melody" has replaced what he considers the "original Amsterdam melody" in London and New York.

The two introductions to the *Kedushah* in *Ne ilah* are performed in the same manner as those of *Musaf* and *Minhah*. *Erelim*, prefaced by *Ubkhen Nakdishakh*, *is* sung to the *Adonai Bekol Shofar* melody, with the last four words in every stanza (the quotations from Isaiah) repeated by the hazzan after the community has sung that line. Nabarro says ruefully, "If the community forgets, I sing both times."45

There is no tune for *Shebet Yehudah* in the Amsterdam community; it is read quietly (silently?) by the congregation. Immediately preceding this it has been the custom in the Amsterdam synagogue to sing *Ha-Mabdil 47* to the same melody as Yah *Shema Ebyonekhu*. The hazzan introduces the refrain stanza and the congregation sings the second stanza to the same melody. The congregation then sings the refrain stanza to a slightly altered version of the hazzan's melody (see measures two and three 48 After the congregation has sung the third stanza, the hazzan repeats the last three words, *zar enu yarbeh khahol* ("May He multiply our seed as the sand"). This is done after stanzas four and five also, but after the sixth stanza the hazzan and congregation together sing the entire stanza.

There is also a Sabbath version of the hymn, used at the conclusion of the Habdalah service, and this was recorded by Haham Pereira. Upon careful checking, I found that there were two additional stanzas at the end (the one for Yom Kippur has five stanzas and the Sabbath usually has nine), and that the first of these-now the penultimate stanza for the poem-begins with the same words as the last stanza of *El Nora Alilah* ("Michael sar Yisrael, Eliyahu ve-Gabriel"). What the origin of this addition is I do not know; I suspect it comes from a mystical movement and that the reference to the redeemer which is recited at the close of the Day of Atonement is comforting to the worshipers all year through.

Conclusion

In comparing the contemporary tradition with that of the mid-18th century as reported by Joseph Jesurun Pinto, it is apparent that more responsibility for the singing of the hymns has been given to the hazzan. Some of the piyyutim which were sung wholly or partly by the congregation are now sung completely by the hazzan, and many of his responses and repetitions have grown from a few words to an entire line of text. At the same time the present tradition seems to have developed with the assumption that the community was better acquainted with the melodies and could start off a musical portion of the prayers by themselves.

This presents a paradox: the Amsterdam community is — in some respects — better prepared and more knowledgeable about its musical traditions than its forebears, but is less willing to exercise this ability and participate at a public worship service.

NOTES

1 J. S. da Silva Rosa, *Geschiedenis der portugeesche Joden te Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger, 1925), 5-7.

*Most of the Jews who came to Amsterdam settled in this area, which had been beyond the walls of the city prior to 1593. See J. F. van Agt, *Synagogen in Amsterdam* (The Hague: Staatssuitgeverij, 1974), 8-17 and 94-95.

- 3 This date became the principal festival for the Portuguese community and is still commemorated today. On *Shabbat Nahamu*, 1975, festivities were held at the "Snoge" in honor of its tercentenary. An early historiographer, David Franco Mendes (1713-1792), has written a chronicle of events in the community up to 1772, *Memorias do estabelicemento e progresso dos Judeos Portuguezes e Espanhoes nesta famose cidade de Amsterdam*. This manuscript (with introduction and annotations by L. Fuks and R. G. Fuks-Mansfeld) has been published in *Studia Rosenthaliana IX/2* (July, 1975), 1-233.
- 4 In the original inventory it is shown that **Ret Jaacob** contributed 41 books, Neveh **Shalom 161** books, and **Bet Yisrael 44 books.** (From the "Book of Resolutions" of **K. K. Talmud Torah**, February 27, 1640.)
- 5 **The** Israeli musicologist Israel Adler has written extensively on this subject. An enlarged and revised version of Part IV of his 1966 edition in French was translated into English and published by the Magnes Press, the Hebrew University Jerusalem, in 1974, under the title *Musical Life and Traditions of the Portuguese Jewish Community of Amsterdam in the XVIIIth Century*.
- 6 De Barrios (c. 1625-1701). the "Poet Laureate" of the Amsterdam community was born in Spain of new Christian parents. The *Imperio de Dios* ... first appeared in Brussels in 1673 and is the only source for the history of the first century of the Amsterdam Sephardir community.
- 7 Da Silva Rosa identifies Gabay as a famous calligrapher and one of the founders of the *Mikra Kodesh* society. (*Geschiedenis*, 126.)
- *According to D. F. Mendes (pp. 118-119) there had been 15 applicants, but only 11 were allowed to compete. This would seem to indicate that the position of hazzan represented desirable status and that there was an abundance of talent in the community from which the Mahamad could select,

- 9 De Lara may have been the *son* of Abraham Ha-Cohen de Lara, who had served as hazzan from 1682 until his death in 1708.
 - 10 D. F. Mendes, Memorias ..., 112.
- ${\tt II}$ Mendes devotes five full pages to reporting the developments in connection with this contest, (pp. 144-48).
- 12 Benveniste had been the candidate the first week and Pinto the second week. To conclude his aprova Pinto chanted a melody to the text of a poem whirh had been written for the occasion by D. F. Mendes and appears in the author's collection of poetry **Kol Tefillah** at Ets Haim.
 - 13 Memorias ..., 148.
- 14 The Dutch West India company (founded in 1621), in which many Portuguese Jews had invested heavily, was taken over by the state in 1791 and dissolved in 1794 at the start of the French invasion of the United Provinces.
- 15 Adler has described some of these manuscripts, some of which are in folio volumes, in *Musical Life and Traditions* ..., 76-78.
- 16 The program for the afternoon is listed in my Ph.D. dissertation *Traditional Melodies of the Rhymed Metrical Hymns in the Sephardic High Holy Day Litrugy: A Comparative Study* (Northwestern University, 1978), 328. On the following Sunday evening there was a concert given at the "Snoge" which featured many outstanding Sephardic hazzanim from all over the world displaying their "hazzanut."
- 17 The 1726 Hebrew edition of the prayer books represent the crystallization of the Portuguese liturgy as practiced **in** Amsterdam. It was edited and corrected by Samuel Rodrigues Mendes (born in Bayonne, France c. 1692), hazzan at the Esnoga from 1709 until his death in 1743. Mendes was highly regarded by his contemporaries for his learning and sweet voice and he was undoubtedly responsible for defining the musical traditions as well as shaping and finalizing the prayer books of the Castilian rite as we know them today.
- 18 Adler mentions several more manuals in *Musical Life and Traditions* (pp. 32, 44, 64, and 70), but from the descriptions he gives of their contents it would seem that they would be be better listed under music manuscripts.
- 19 The title page for Vol. I is missing and presumed lost. There is some disagreement among scholars as to the date, inasmuch as the last numeral is somewhat unusual for its time. It is possible that Pinto began his handbook at an earlier time. I am, however, using the date 5518 (and not 5510) which is in accordance with the interpretation of the librarians at Ets Haim and seems most reasonable to me.
- $\ensuremath{\mathfrak{D}}$ It is not known which of these languages Reverend Pinto preached in, but all of his extant writings are either in Portuguese or Hebrew.
- 21 As can be seen on the title page, Pinto's prayer was composed in Hebrew and translated into English "by a Friend to Truth." This might very well have been Isaac Pinto (1720-1791), a merchant from the West Indies who later settled in New York and became a member of *Shearith Israel*. Isaac Pinto was the editor-translator of the *Prayers for Shabbath, Rosh Hashanah, and Kippur (New* York: John Holt, 1766), and is thought to be also the author of the first printed Jewish prayer book, *Evening Service of Roshashanah, und Kcppur*, of *The Beginning of the Year and The Day of Atonement* (New York: W. Weyman, 1761). When paired, the two books constitute the complete High Holy Day prayers.

22 An Old Faith in the New World: Portrait of Shearith Israel, 1654-1954 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), 165.

23 This synagogue was built by Mosheh and Ishac, sons of the late David Henriques de Castro, and was located on their property near Haarlem. The headings for each stanza of the four-stanza poem are for: 1) the synagogue; 2) the **Hatan Bereshit** (Abraham); 3) the **Hatan Torah** (Samuel); 4) the owners of the synagogue (Mosheh and Ishac Henriques de Castro). I **a m** indebted to Dr. M. H. Gans of Amsterdam who has provided me with a copy of this handwritten song, the original of which is contained in his private collection.

24 All the material pertaining to the **piyyutim** has been translated into English by me and appears in my dissertation on pages 334-341. Sephardim customarily refer to the Day of Atonement as **Kipur** or **Yom Ha-Kippurim**.

25 In his second volume Pinto takes up the question of differences in the **minhag** of London and Amsterdam later, and New York, London and Amsterdam. A discussion of this material will appear in a subsequent article to be included in a forthcoming issue of the **Journal of Synagogue Music.**

26 In an effort to maintain the knowledge of the traditional synagogue melodies, Haham Rodrigues Pereira, urged by his son, Dr. Martinus Rodrigues Pereira, recorded "that music which he thought most difficult and most worthwhile to keep for posterity." This project took place during the summers of 1955, 1957, and 1966, in the Haham's home at Hilversum, Holland. Haham Periera also made some professional recordings under the auspices of the VPRO ("Free Protestant Broadcasting System"), in Hilversum in 1956. These contained Sephardi melodies that are of a semiliturgical nature, and were mostly zemirot that were sung in the home.

27 Thirty-four nine-inch reel-to-reel recording tapes were produced; the first tape was made on January 17, 1972, and the project was completed at the end of 1974. These are now at the Secretariat office of the Portuguese Community where they are kept in a locked vault. It was almost impossible to discover their whereabouts. I was finally able to locate them after a two-year search through the generous assistance of L. Alvares Vega, the retired Executive Secretary of the Community, and was permitted to re-record some of the melodies on my own cassette tapes. In addition, I recorded the melodies directly from Hazzan Nabarro's performances at his home (which adjoins the synagogue) in August, 1975 and August, 1977. The hazzan was most cordial and helpful throughout this extended project and I am very grateful for all his endeavors on my behalf.

28 Appendix, a-b. The texts for these hymns may be found in the Book Of **Prayers According to the Custom of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews,** edited and translated by David de Sola Pool . . , 5 vols. (New York: Union of Sephardic Congregations 5696-5707/1936-1947).

29 Appendix, b. Also see Appendix i. for $\it Shema$ $\it Koli$, the hymn for the eve of $\it Kipur$.

so Ibid., c-d.

31 **Ibid.**, e-f.

32 **Ibid.**, f. This piyyat text is unique inasmuch as it is the only (holiday) one which is included in both the Rosh Ha-Shanah and Yom Kippur services. Originally it was read only on the latter holiday; when or why it was added for New Year is not clear, although around 1700 there are notes added in

the margins of the Rosh Ha-Shanah Shaharit prayers directing that it be inserted there.

- 33 lbid., g. This version of the Akedah (the binding of Isaac) is a favorite among all Sephardim, and the melody which is associated with it furnishes one of the familiar and repeated "special" themes for the holidays.
- 34 *Ibid.*, h. Although the practice of adapting certain traditional tunes to substitute texts is understood, only the *Adonai Bekol Shofar* melody is specifically referred to in the prayer books. The earliest books I have studied (14th and 15th centuries) have headings to various poems which contain the rubric "Lahan *Adonai Bekol Shofar.*" (Sing to the tune of ...). It is also noteworthy to observe that this melody does not have a refrain, although it is used over and over for hymn texts with poetic refrains.
- 35 *Ibid.*, i. I did not notate the hazzan's repetition of the last four lines as it was performed with considerable variation each time I heard it and none could be said to be a "definitive" rendition.
- 36 The Ancient Melodies of the Liturgy of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews. Harmonized by Emanuel Aguilar. Preceded by a Historical Essay on the Poets, Poetry and Melodies of the Sephardic Liturgy by the Rev. D[avid] A[aron] de Sola. (London: Wessel and Co., 1857). 32. This pioneer attempt at the documentation and research into Jewish musical practices was reprinted as Sephardi Melodies being the Traditional Liturgical Chant of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews' Congregation London. Part I is a photographic reproduction of the 1857 edition without the Essay or de Sola's translations of the hymn texts. Part II consists of melodies harmonized by E[lias] R[obert] Jessurun (London: Oxford University Press, 5691/1931.
 - 37 Appendix, j.
 - 38 **Zbid.**, k.
- 39 The Yedei Rashim melody is used also for the Yehe Shemeh Rabba, the Barekhu and in the morning service for the Kaddish and ibn Gabirol's hymn which introduces it, Shin'annim Sha'anannim.
- 40 Perhaps this phrase can provide us with an explanation about the origin of the custom in London and New York for singing this pizmon to the Adonai Bekol Shofar/Lema ankha melody. Ya aneh Bebor Abot, chanted on the second morning of Rosh Ha-Shanah to the Lema ankha tune, has a refrain ending with the words "hesed le-Abraham," which bears a strong phonic resemblance to "hesed la-alefim." Moreover, in some prayer books Yisrael Abadekha follows Lema ankha in the section of selihot, thus reinforcing the presence of the melody in the memory of the reader.
 - 41 The first piyyut is Bimromei Erez and the second is Erez Hitmotetah.
- 42 Appendix 1. The hazzan's repetition of the refrain stanza is identical to the congregation's, except for the last two measures.
 - 43 *Ibid.*, m.
- 44 Hazzan Nabarro is not including the women's voices in his comments about singing at the Esnoga. The women are not active participants in the services. Even if they were to try to blend their voices with those of the men seated downstairs, their singing could not be heard to any significant degree, as the distance from the women's gallery to the main floor is considerable and the acoustics are very poor.
- 45 At my interview with the Hazzan at the Esnoga on July 31, 1977, he added that he feels "on the whole, the community does a good job at the

High Holy Day Services." Undoubtedly it is one of the few times during the year that the large building is well-attended and serves its original function. The community will never be able to recover from the results of the Holocaust, and if it were not for the support of the Dutch Government, the community would have had to close its doors long ago. During the winter months, when there are few tourists and it is not possible to heat the sanctuary (there is no electricity in the building), services take place in the "Winter Synagogue," a small room located in one of the complex of buildings which surround the main building on three sides.

- 46 The same is true of the magnificent triology **Ashrei Ayin** at the conclusion of the **Abodah**. These three variations on the same theme-a nostalgic lament for the splendor which once existed in the Temple at Jerusalem— one by Gabirol, one by Halevi and the last by Abraham ibn Ezra, were probably sung at one time, but the custom was lost many years ago.
- 47 **Ha-Mabdil** follows **Kaddish Le ela** in S. Mulder's **Orde voor den Verzoendag** ("Service for Yom Kippur") published in Amsterdam in 5610/1850, and still in current use at the synagogue.
 - 48 Appendix, n.

THE SOUND OF SINGING IN THE CATSKILL MOUNTAINS

MORDECAI YARDENI

An Observer at the 33rd Annual Convention of the Cantors Assembly Gives His View.

In my long career as singer, hazzan, and writer I have participated in many conferences, but I have never before participated in a conference attended by so many young professional, Americanborn hazzanim, musicians, music directors, singers, music students, composers, professors and musicologists from all over America, Canada and Israel.

I am referring to the annual convention of the Cantors Assembly, which is affiliated with the Conservative Movement and the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. The convention began on Sunday, April 27 and concluded on Thursday afternoon, May 1, in the luxurious Grossinger Hotel in the Catskill Mountains.

According to my impression, this event was more a music festival than an ordinary conference; an exhibit of musical creativity for solo and choir, a demonstration of words and music which reverberated mightily in the beautiful Catskill Mountains.

The large auditoriums of the hotel were constantly filled with a variety of music and tonalities: liturgical and secular, songs in *mame-losh'n*, Yiddish, and also in Hebrew. Understandably, the lectures given by well-known musicians and academicians in the musical world were given in English. Among those who participated were: Shelly Secunda, noted photographer, son of the late Sholom Secunda; Rabbi Morton Waldman, now the dean of the Cantors Institute and the son of the late great Hazzan Leibele Waldman; Israel Goldstein, Hazzan in Jericho, New York, who is the son of the late well-known Hazzan of London, Jacob Goldstein; Dr. Moses Zucker, Professor of Talmud Emeritus of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America; Dr. Tzippora Yochsberger, Director of the Hebrew Arts School. There were also the reports of the President, Hazzan Morton Shames, and of the Executive Vice President, Hazzan Samuel Rosenbaum, the two prime leaders of the Cantors Assembly.

In addition, there were lectures by Professor Max Wohlberg, Professor Emeritus of the Cantors Institute of the Jewish Theological

Mordecai Yardeini is a well known hazzan, composer, lecturer and Yiddish journalist. While no longer an active hazzan he continues to compose and is a regular contributor on hazzanut and music in general to leading Yiddish newspapers and periodicals.

Seminary of America; Professor Abraham J. Karp, Philip S. Bernstein, Professor of American Jewish History at the University of Rochester; Dr. Bruce Charnov, Professor at Hofstra College; Dr. Gladys Rosen, Program Director for the American Jewish Committee; Rabbi Seymour Cohen, newly elected President of the Rabbinical Assembly; Rabbi Simon Greenberg, Vice Chancellor of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. Each of the participants brought moments of excitement and insight which added weight and meaning to the festive conference.

The most important moments of the convention were, as one might expect, a number of varied and exciting musical performances either in concerts or in workshops.

Among these was the particularly memorable and highly successful cantata, "A Time For Freedom," a poem built on the famous Shcharansky trial in MOSCOW, for choir and tenor and baritone soloists. The text is by Hazzan Samuel Rosenbaum and music by Hazzan Charles Davidson. The work is a most successful one from all points of view. It deserves to be heard, as well, in a Yiddish translation. The text has in it all the elements of poetic depth and psychological insight, as well as a sense of the sweep of history. The music helps to illustrate the tragic words of the text, highlighting the most dramatic points. It would appear that the poet and the composer found a unity of soul in producing the work, and as a result, we have this highly successful cantata. The tenor solist, Hazzan Jacob Mendelson, carried through his assignment to my complete satisfaction, as did the baritone soloist, Michael Riley.

A second highlight of the conference was the illustrated lecture by Hazzan Saul Meisels on the theme of "Preparing Yiddish Songs for Concert Performance." Saul Meisels was for many years well-known in New York as a singer, both in concert and on the radio. His singing did much to help popularize Yiddish song. Later, he became a hazzan and served for 40 years at the Temple on the Heights in Cleveland, but he has not forgotten his old love for the Yiddish song. His wife, Ida Meisels, was a fine co-worker with him in her complimentary piano accompaniment.

A third highlight: the one hour recital of Hazzan Louis Danto, who presented a program of classic arias and songs with the excellent piano accompaniment of Leo Barkin. Louis Danto is a tasteful bel-canto singer who knows how to perform a classical song. He also has the voice with which to function. Even though I may have some

quarrel with his choice of program, nevertheless, his singing through out the recital was impressive: lovely, lyrical, professional and precise. There are not too many singers who can do as well with the classic art song, or with operatic arias.

The students of the Hebrew Arts School in New York, under the guidance of Dr. Tzippora Yochsberger, presented a program in honor of the 100th birthday of the world famous Jewish composer, Ernst Bloch. The choices of the student performers mirrored fine examples of the creativity of the composer. Dr. Yochsberger's comments on the Bloch's life and works were cogent, informative and very well received.

Hazzan Isaac Goodfriend presented a group of Yiddish folk songs in a program devoted to the works of the late Hazzan Israel Alter. These were performed with great taste, and in an artistic interpretation of the music and texts. One felt in his performance a serious approach and a clear understanding for the Yiddish song.

Mordecai Yardeini delivered a lecture on "Hazzanim and Hazzanut in America" in which he reminisced about the hazzanim of the golden age. Kwartin, Rosenblatt, Roitman, Hershman, Pinchik, Leib Glantz. Unlike the other lectures, Yardeini's was presented in Yiddish. It would appear that a larger percentage of the audience than might be expected understood his presentation and applauded it warmly. Hazzan David Bagley, accompanied by Leo Barkin, gave ample evidence of why he is considered an outstanding hazzan, in a short recital of four of Yardeini's compositions for voice. Both the lecture and the illustrations received a standing ovation.

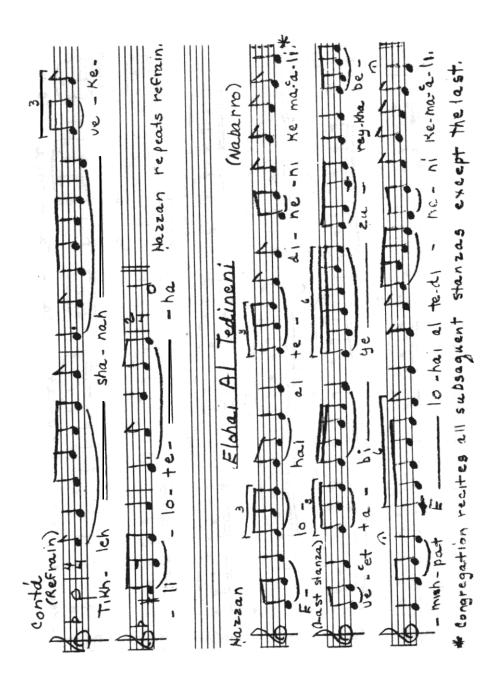
The convention was extraordinarily well planned for which a debt of gratitude is owed to the Cantors Assembly, to its President, Morton Shames, to its Executive Vice President,, Samuel Rosenbaum, and to all who had a hand in the planning and execution.

It was a rare pleasure and an honor for me to participate in such a conference.

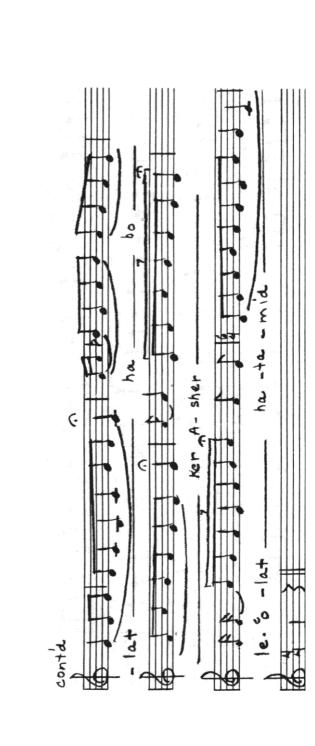
Appendix

High Holy Day Hymn Melodies as sung for the author by the hazzan of the Portuguese Synagogue of Amsterdam, Solomon Nunes



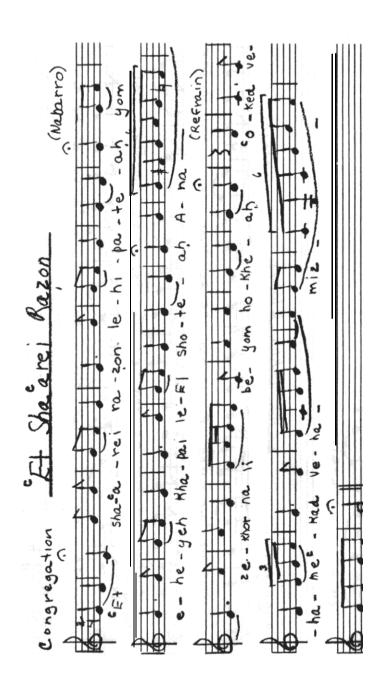


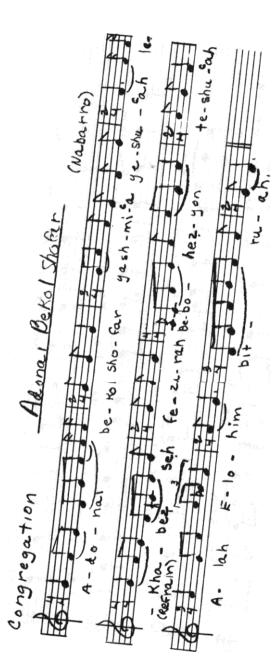
























Congregation sings second stanza to this melody (A), then entire refrain stanza (B) Sings