

# JOURNAL OF SYNAGOGUE MUSIC

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**Di Agudas Hazzonim d'America v' Canada,** better known as the **Hazzonim Farband**, celebrated its 30th anniversary with a "monster concert" at New York's Madison Square Garden on Sunday evening, February 3rd, 1924.

According to its President, Jacob Rappaport, 15,000 wildly enthusiastic men and women attended. The occasion was also marked by the publication of a 250 page volume of essays, poems, critiques, scholarly papers and historical reportage, as well as a large section of short autobiographies of its members, replete with picture in full hazzanic regalia. The volume was titled "Di Geshikhte fun Hazzones" (The "History of the Cantorate"), edited by Aaron Rosen.

The membership roster in those days reads like a "who's who" of hazzanic greats: Jacob Rappaport, Pinhas Jassinowski, Abraham Singer, Joshua Weisser, Haim Kotlyanski, Moshe Erstling, Berele Chagy, Gershon Ephros\*, Mordecai Hershman, Zavel Kwartin, Yossele Rosenblatt, David Roitman, Abraham Friedman\*, Pinchos Minkowski, Jacob Beimel, Yaakov Leib Wassilkowski, Alter Karniol, Abraham Shapiro\*, Reuven Kasimirsky, Sholom Zvi Zemachson and Joshua Meisels among others. (\* Deceased members Cantors Assembly).

We might have expected that the mood of the **Farband** would be a joyous one. But, if we are to judge from the contents of the "History" it was one of deep sadness for the failing state of the profession. Amid the to-be-expected articles of self-congratulation there are a number of heart-tugging poems of lament for a lost art and several articles of dark prophecy. But after reading the auto-biographies of even the most modestly endowed hazzanim, one must be led to believe that the American Jewish community was blessed with a cantorate which was, to a man, brilliant, creative and at the top of its form.

One of the more realistic assessments of hazzanut was contributed by B. Shevlin, Music Editor of the Jewish Morning Journal, one of the three great Yiddish dailies of that era. Even in those days of the great Yiddish speaking and shul-going immigrant generation, Shevlin's mood was already pessimistic about the future of the American synagogue and the American cantorate.

We reprint the article here, in translation, not because we are in need of pessimism, but because it constitutes an intelligent appraisal; because it is a piece of history worth studying, and because much of it, in a more sophisticated vein, could have been written yesterday.

## THE FUTURE OF HAZZANUT IN AMERICA

# B. Shelvin, Music Editor of "Der Morg'n Jurnal"

If one were to glance at an American Yiddish newspaper, especially in the weeks before the high holidays, or before a festival, one might get the impression that hazzanut is enjoying a renaissance.

The notices in the newspapers tell how this or that cantor impressed worshippers in this or that synagogue with his Kabbalat Shabbat; that the synagogue was packed with an appreciative congregation and that they were stirred to deep spiritual emotions; that the hazzan shed many a tear and that even though the synagogue was a holy place (where applause is normally forbidden) the worshippers could not contain their ecstasy and applauded the hazzan as though they were in a concert hall.

The newspapers also report that this or that cantor had just been engaged in a wonderful position at a high salary; that he is a hazzan only recently arrived from Europe and was the center of a great competition among a half-dozen congregations as to who would finally land him.

You also get the impression that people go to hear hazzanim not only in synagogues, but that concerts are arranged in their honor in various halls and that audiences by the thousands run to these concerts to hear this or that famous cantor. It seems that wherever one looks in a Yiddish paper you hear news about hazzanim, pictures of hazzanim and nothing but reports of their glowing success.

Whether you want to or not you must come away from such notices with the impression that there is a "boom" in hazzanut and that hazzanut is currently experiencing the most golden period of its existence.

Is hazzanut really flourishing so brilliantly in our day? The answer, sadly, is a negative one. The golden era of hazzanut is already long gone by and the "boom" in America is no more than a lovely sunset which covers the landscape with golden rays but which in a few moments will disappear.

The golden era ended when the younger generation stopped coming to the synagogue and the synagogues were left to the hands of the older generation. The diminishing number of shul-goers led to a corresponding decrease in the number of people who were concerned with and loyal to the synagogue. Therefore, the whole concept of hazzanic excellence has been narrowed almost to the point of oblivion. The lessening interest in synagogue affairs brought with it a lessening of interest in hazzanim, and hazzanut ceased to become a marketable product. As you know, when a profession ceases to be in demand it becomes increasingly difficult to raise the standards for that profession or to continue to work for the betterment of its practitioners. Along with this comes the death of ambition by the practitioners to do anything about it.

In olden times, choir boys always dreamed of becoming full-fledged hazzanim. Today choir singers and even professional hazzanim dream of becoming concert or opera singers. Some succeed. Many others, however, merely illustrate the sad fact that an appearance on the concert stage even under the most inappropriate circumstances, is more important to them and to their careers than an appearance, under the best circumstances, at the synagogue amud.

The amud no longer is the great magnet for young hazzanim. It is, therefore, only natural that hazzanut should slowly disappear from the scene and that even those who are concerned with hazzanut should contribute very little new to its development. Where there is no competition there is little creativity. The hazzanut of the last few years has produced very few creative or original hazzanim.

The number of such hazzanim grows steadly smaller while the foundation on which hazzanut must stand gradually disappears. East European Jewry which produced the greatest hazzanim no longer has the economic wherewithal to continue to produce them. Literally thousands of congregations have become impoverished. Many of them have been destroyed or have just disappeared. The remaining congregations have more important concerns than to support a hazzan. Even major congregations in the important cities of Odessa, Minsk, Berdichev, Warsaw, Vienna, Budapest and Bucharest can no longer enjoy the luxury of a fine hazzan.

The hazzanim who used to serve these communities run away to America where they often will make an impression until, in short order, the excitement they create dies out and the European hazzanim boom goes the way of all other booms.

And even if the boom lasts a long time hazzanut cannot expect any great salvation from America. First of all, hazzanut in this country is overcommercialized; second, what is missing is the Jewish environment, the synagogue ambiance where hazzanut can freely flourish. Hazzanut has historically nurtured itself on a rich Jewish life, on the sensitive Jewish soul, on deep Jewish thought, on Jewish sorrow and Jewish joy. In America, at the moment, there is no real Jewish life, there is no unique Jewish atmosphere. Whatever there is here that is Jewish is a weak reproduction of the genuine Jewish environment which was present everywhere in Europe. A weak reproduction can hardly serve as an inspiration for hazzanut or for any other Jewish creativity.

In a country where a Jewish woman can teach herself some hazzanic recitatives and parade herself on the concert stage as a *hazzente* and where true hazzanim are pushed away and forgotten, it is a little too much to expect that out of this atmosphere will come a Rozumni, a Nisn Belzer, a Yisrolik Minsker, or a Boruch Shorr.

Hazzanut in general, even in Europe, is now different than it once was. It lacks creativity and the important skill of improvisation. A modern hazzan is no longer the sensitive prayer leader as were his predecessors, and as a result what we hear hardly reflects true hazzanut, true *amud-melos*. Poorer still is the situation in America where a hazzan is often compelled to cheapen his art in order to please his congregants or in order to please an audience that cares little for hazzanic taste.

The most influential force in the life of a hazaazn in America today is the newly-risen Jew, who in olden times in one of the hundreds of thousands of Yiddish *shtetlach* used to stand at the door in the Shoemaker's Synagogue, the Tailor's Synagogue, the Butcher's Synagogue or some other *shtibl*. Such a Jew, who does not understand the meaning of the liturgy, can hardly be expected to understand what it is that hazzan does, what is the meaning of a particularly special cadence or coloratura which gives meaning and casts light on the text for someone who understands.

Under such circumstances, hazzanut in America must go from bad to worse because the competition will influence the hazzanim to move along the path of least resistance. Therefore, it is apparent that America, instead of helping to revive hazzanut, will become itself the cause of its demise; even though the American economy could provide a rich source of support for hazzanut.

The tawdriness in hazzanic taste is already evident in the way in which hazzanim are presented in the newspapers. It goes without saying that the great hazzanim of the European past would never have permitted such announcements in 'newspapers about their own accomplishments. Moreover, the American hazzanim themselves will admit that in Europe they themselves would not have permitted such announcements about themselves.

America could be a source of support for hazzanut for a long time to come. The Jewish community grows and becomes more and more conservative, more synagogue-oriented and a hazzan can be an "attraction" for American shul-goers but something must be done to insure that American hazzanut will not chant in inverse proportion to the rate at which American hazzanim are paid less they be guilty of killing the goose that lays the golden egg.

This is a problem which the Hazzonim Farband must take as its prime concern. The Farband should have all along done something to prevent the cheapening of the honor of hazzanut. The organization is to a great extent responsible for the development of these tasteless publicity conscious methods which hazzanim use in advertising themselves and for the attitude which hazzanim take in imitating other professional entertainers and *the way they talk about themselves* and their achievements. (Italics are ours).

The Hazzonim Farband should also be concerned with the growth and development of a hazzanic literature by publishing the best creativity of today's hazzanim. Such a literature will help to extend the life and existence of hazzanut because it will provide the younger hazzanim, the hazzanim of the future, with an opportunity to become acquainted with the great hazzanic creativity of the past, in the time when hazzanut was truly in its glory.

If the present anniversary of the Hazzonim Farband in America leads to a beginning of action on both of the aforementioned proposals, American hazzanim will have more cause to be proud of the future achievements than they have for the achievements of the past.

# HISTORICAL ETHNOMUSICOLOGY: RECONSTRUCTING FALASHA LITURGICAL HISTORY

KAY KAHEMAN SHELEMAY

In recent decades, the concerns of our discipline have grown from analyzing music as sound phenomenon to approaching sound as an integral part of a particular cultural system. We have become aware that "musical knowledge is cultural knowledge" (Hoffman 1978:69). Yet, we do not often enough employ the insights gained through studies of living music cultures to better understand their pasts. The subject here is what may be termed "historical ethnomusicology." Although a range of topics can be included under that rubric, this discussion will focus upon the potential that a synchronic study holds for illuminating the historical continuum from which it emerged. A brief discussion of the past and potential contribution of ethnomusicology to historical reconstruction will be followed by an illustrative case study.

The lack of emphasis upon historical studies within ethnomusicology can be largely attributed to the lasting impact of the break from historical musicology. Despite activity of early ethnomusicologists in the historical arena, musicology was seen as an essentially historical pursuit while ethnomusicology had as its subject matter living traditions. Although suggestions were made intermittently for the use of oral materials in historical studies, most discussions of the relationship of musicology and ethnomusicology continued to reinforce a diachronic/synchronic dichotomy (Chase 1958:7)

historical musicology and ethnomusicology complement each other in time rather than in space. Might not these two allied and complementary disciplines divide the universe of music between them, the one taking the past as its domain, the other the present?

During the years since this statement, scholars of both camps have dismissed divisions of musicology as arbitrary and inappropriate\* (Brook 1972:xi):

The prevailing dichotomy between historical and ethnomusicological research is artificial and damaging to the growth of our discipline the proper subject of musicology is man

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Reprinted with permission from "Journal of the Society for Ethnomusi-cology", May 1980.

Within ethnomusicology, an increasing involvement with materials and methodologies of the social sciences has broadened our concept of our tasks when studying a music culture. We now seek to understand music cultures in their total environment as well as in past and present time. Most ethnomusicological studies today take history into account when discussing the ethnographic present. Also prominent in the literature of the last two decades are histories of specific musical traditions that have written theoretical and historical resources, such as those of the Near East and Asia. However, recent inquiries into the history of oral traditions remain primarily organological studies (Epstein 1975) or reviews of documentary sources (Maultsby 1975).

I wish to suggest here that ethnomusicologists can contribute more to the understanding of history than the record indicates. The potential role of musical studies in historical reconstruction has been set forth by Merriam (1967: 114):

Music study, then, contributes in a number of ways to the reconstruction of African culture history. In certain uses it is corroborative: that is. its own history contributes to the knowledge of history in general, and both music sound and music instruments can be and are handled through techniques of historic documentation and archaeological investigation

These suggestions were realized in the volume *Essays on Music and History in Africa* (Wachsmann 1971). Yet we find that historians are not encouraging about potential ethnomusicological contributions to their field. A shortcoming of the corroborative role of ethnomusicology in the study of history is discussed in a historian's response to essays within the Wachsmann volume (Fage 197 I :259):

These pictures are perfectly intelligible in broader historical terms. Indeed, they have not told me very much about the general history of their two areas that I did not already know... or that I probably could not discover for myself from more or less accepted historical accounts...

The following study is presented to demonstrate that an ethnomusicological study can move beyond corroboration of established historical theory and provide the basis for new and alternative explanations. It also seeks to show that the potential of the ethnomusicological contribution to historical reconstruction rests with the richness of our materials. These materials, including both music and the ritual complexes of which it may be a part, are primary cultural documents within which crucial evidence is encoded. We preserve these oral documents on tapes accessible to a range of analytical methods. As participant-observers, we gather data concerning the expressed and implied behaviors of our informants as they maintain and transmit these traditions. We can also juxtapose our considered perceptions of "reality" with the interpretations of others researching outside the musical arena. Hence an ethnomusicological study of a living music culture provides a multi-faceted and unique data base, which in its totality may well illuminate important aspects of a culture's history.

The discussion below suggests a new approach to the history of the Falasha of Ethiopia. During my fieldwork experience, I suspected that accepted notions of Falasha history did not adequately account for the musical-liturgical tradition I was observing. The central questions of when and under what conditions the Falasha liturgy was formulated were not satisfactorily answered by existing theories. However, the data I gathered from the Falasha oral tradition provided evidence for a new perspective.

The consensus theory of Falasha history, and the apparent incompatibility of this historical framework with evidence derived from the musical-liturgical tradition extant today, will be outlined first. The central documents found with the oral tradition will next be presented; these two types of oral testimony will be classified as ritual formulae and commentaries.3 Supplementary information, drawn from non-musical sources, will be cited to corroborate these data. Finally, the emerging hypothesis will be tested against existing anomalies, and further testing procedures suggested.

# THE HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK: PERCEPTIONS AND MISCONCEPTIONS

The lack of documentary evidence about the early history of the Falasha, and subsequent speculation about their origin, have given rise to a variety of traditions about and interpretations of the history of the "black Jews" of Ethiopia. Because their religious practice incorporates Saturday Sabbath observance, selected Biblical injunctions, and a monotheistic theology, most observers have assumed that the Falasha maintained intact a Judaic tradition acquired directly from a Jewish source. The Falasha today maintain several oral traditions about their history. none of which can be supported by documentary evidence. 4 However, evidence from both physical anthropology and linguistics indicates that the Falasha are descendents of an indigenous Agau people who inhabited areas of northern Ethiopia for millenia. Therefore, scholarly speculation has centered upon possible sources of Judaic traditions, Egypt and Southern Arabia.' The summary of Falasha history found in **The** Ethiopians by Edward Ullendorff (1973: 107) is typical of the contemporary scholarly view of the Falasha in its emphasis upon the Jewish elements in Falasha religious practice, and the attribution of many elements within general Ethiopian culture history to a Semitic source:

The writer feels convinced that all the evidence available points to the conclusion that the Falashas are descendents of those elements in the Aksumite Kingdom who resisted conversion to Christianity. In that case the so-called Judaism is merely the reflection of those Hebraic and Judaic practices and beliefs which were implanted on parts of southwest Arabia in the first post-Christian centuries and subsequently brought to Ethiopia. If this opinion is correct, then the religious pattern of the Falashas may well mirror to a considerable extent the religious syncretism of the pre-Christian Axumite Kingdom. It is in their living testimony to the strangely Judaicized civilization of the South Arabian immigrants and their well-nigh complete cultural ascendency over the Cushitic and other strata of the original African population of Ethiopia that we must seek the value and great interest of the Falashas today.

The above quotation indicates that the Jewish element in Falasha culture has been the major factor instrumental in shaping theories of Falasha origin and history. However, there are other problems beyond simply accounting for the presence of a Jewish element in Falasha culture that must also be resolved. One must provide some explanation for Jewish elements that pervade Ethiopian Christianity today, and conversely, clarify the presence of traditions not of Jewish provenance that are shared by the Falasha and other Ethiopians. The following brief discussion of documented Falasha history takes all these factors into account.

The first firm record of Falasha history is found in Ethiopian Royal Chronicles dating from the early fourteenth century (Hess 1969b: 101-106). At this period, they were a powerful, semi-independent polity in the Semien Mountains who successfully rebelled against attempts of a series of Ethiopian emperors to absorb them into the expanding empire. By the early seventeenth century, the Falasha had been decisively defeated; by the end of that century, they were dispersed and forced southward to the regions near Lake Tana. Here they settled in their own hamlets or in separate quarters of larger towns and became active in metalworking and pottery-making. Today the Falasha number less than 25,000, and live mainly in the Gondar area of the Begemder-Semien Province.

The Judaic traditions of the Falasha attracted western missionary attention in the mid-nineteenth century. Shortly thereafter, the first western Jewish visitors arrived, sponsored by various Jewish communities abroad, to document the existence of these reputed co-religionists. By the early twentieth century, curiosity had been transformed into a movement to incorporate the Falasha into the western Jewish mainstream. In the 1930's, schools were established in Ethiopia to instruct the Falasha in Hebrew language and liturgy.8 In 1973, the Falasha were recognized as Jews in an official decree by the Chief Rabbi of Israel, and granted the right "to return" there as immigrants.9 Only the advent of the Ethiopian revolution in 1974 and the subsequent closing of borders intervened to slow this process.

The impact of western Jews upon Falasha villages during the last century, and resulting Falasha identification with western Jews of whom they knew nothing until the nineteenth century, has predisposed writers of popular and scholarly literature to frame all discussion of the Falasha within the context of their assumed Jewish heritage. Current views about the Falasha are therefore shaped first, by a myopic concern with the Judaic elements of their religious tradition, to the exclusion of numerous indigenous and Christian elements of equal prominence; and secondly, by an attempt to tie the entire Falasha religious practice directly to the source (or sources) from which Jewish influence stemmed. The result is a closed historical circuit, which isolates the Falasha past from other historical explanations that can more adequately account for the presence of Judaic elements in the Falasha liturgy, as well as in a cross-section of other Ethiopian liturgical traditions.

The accepted account of Falasha history does not provide an adequate context within which to analyze newly gathered data. Particularly disquieting is the historical comer into which the Falasha are swept. Most observers, while operating within the boundaries of the accepted history of the Falasha, have commented upon the marked similarity of Falasha and Ethiopian Orthodox Christian ritual; these traditions share a liturgical language (Geez), ritual objects, and clerical structure, including monastic orders. Likewise, the Falasha share certain Judaic traditions with a number of Ethiopians, including a neighboring people, the Oemant. The Oemant, termed "pagan-Hebraic" by the one anthropologist who investigated their religious life, pray to a pantheon that includes the sky-god 'adära; the name 'adära is found within sections of the Falasha liturgy in the Cushitic language once spoken by the Falasha (Gamst 1969). Therefore, the liturgical reality in Ethiopia is extremely complex, with multiple layers of influence between and within the separate liturgical traditions. It is ironic, given the marked degree of syncretism extant in the Falasha tradition, that a unitary historical theory could have gained such credence.

#### THEDOCUMENTS: COMMENTARIES

During my fieldwork with the Falasha in the Gondar area of Begemder-Semien Province during fall, 1973, I gathered histories of the liturgical tradition from my informants, priests (qesoch) of the Falasha clergy. 10 The priests related similar liturgical histories that focus on one of the significant non-Judaic aspects of Falasha religious practice. The priests credited a Falasha monk named Abba Sabra, who lived in the fifteenth

century, with the organization of Falasha religious laws, formation of the liturgical cycle, and composition of the prayers.

One of the most striking and neglected aspects of Falasha liturgical history is the monastic institution, which the Falasha adopted from Ethiopian Christian monks during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Hess 1969b: | 14; Leslau 195 1:xxv; Quit-in 1977:62). The Royal Chronicles and other indigenous historical sources record the names of monks who went into exile during a period of doctrinal dispute within the Ethiopian Church and who sought refuge among politically and militarily powerful Agau peoples such as the Falasha at that period. The Falasha have other oral traditions, both recorded incidentally in earlier souces, and confirmed by myself and recent fieldworkers, that credit the monastic institution with a wide range of religious and liturgical reforms. In addition to the central narrative concerning the role of Abba Sabra in formulating the liturgical cycle and composing the prayers, monks are said to have instituted the Falasha laws of isolation, the fast days in the liturgical cycle, and the rite of confession (Leslau n.d.). The traditional structure of the Falasha prayer house (selot bet) with a special door for monks is credited to monastic influence (Halevy 1877b:203). One account from the nineteenth century reports that the main spiritual center of the Falasha at that time was a monastic cavern (Hess 1969b: 113).

My own observations confirmed that the primacy of the monastic institution as described in oral traditions continued into the recent past. All of the Falasha priests of the area in which I worked stressed that, until very recently, the monks had played a major role in training priests and in transmitting the oral tradition. Indeed, the relative authority and prestige of each of the Falasha priests with whom I worked is largely based upon the length of their training with monks of their respective areas.

The Falasha commentaries concerning the influence of the monastic institution since its inception are intriguing, but do not alone provide enough evidence to permit historical reconstruction. I suggest that a primary document that points to a realignment of Falasha historical theories does exist, in the interaction of yet another level of commentary with liturgical formulae.

#### THE DOCUMENTS: COMMENTARIES AND RITUAL FORMULAE

One of my informants was said to be the liturgical expert of his area by the other priests. During an interview session, in response to my inquiry concerning classification of the prayers in the Falasha liturgy, the priest began to discuss prayers performed by Falasha monks. He told me that the monks "kept the time" by performing seven daily prayer services. Although not a monk himself, this elderly priest had studied with monks during his many years of apprenticeship, and had remained in close contact with the monks until the last one in his area died about a decade ago. During the subsequent discussion, he both outlined the structure of the seven monastic prayer Hours (sa'atat) and performed the opening section of each Hour (sa'at). A second Falasha informant present at that interview confirmed these data.

According to the summary provided, the Falasha monks celebrated a Monastic Office that consisted of seven Hours in each twenty-four hour cycle, the same number of Hours found within contemporary Ethiopian Christian monastic practice. This priest named the Falasha monastic Hours by their textual incipits, and provided the general time of performance; a list of the Hours is presented in Figure 1. My informant was able to sing only the first section of each monastic Hour,' so the data does not permit reconstruction of the complete order of service for each Hour. However, the ability of this priest to discuss and perform the initial section of each Hour indicates that the monastic Hours were a vital part of Falasha monastic practice until its demise. 12

At this juncture, another aspect of the Falasha oral tradition, a second body of ritual formulae, must be added to the equation. These materials are the Falasha liturgy, performed by the priests as an oral tradition within the village prayerhouse. I taped a number of these rituals

Hour (sa'at) and Translation	Time of Performance
I. egzi'o sarahku Lord,	before dawn
<ol> <li>hallelujah. genayu lä egzi abher Hallelujah. worship the Lord</li> </ol>	before dawn
3. měsraqä şähäy Rising of the sun	at sunrise
<ol> <li>'ahadu semu, maharanna 'adonai His name is one. be merciful to us, Adonai</li> </ol>	daytime (unspecified hour)
5. qeddus, qeddus Holy. holy	daytime (unspecified hour)
6. mahari. mahari Gracious one, gracious one	daytime (unspecified hour)
7. yetbarek 'egzi'abher amlaka esra' el Blessed be the Lord. God of Israel	sunset

Figure I. Falasha Monastic Office

in 1973 and possess complete orders of service for Falasha daily, Sabbath, and holiday rituals. The data therefore include sections of two sets of ritual formulae: the reconstructed Falasha monastic Hours, and complete rituals of the daily, holiday and Sabbath prayerhouse liturgy as performed by Falasha priests in 1973. Comparison of the textual and musical content of the current liturgy to the reconstruction of the Falasha monastic liturgy provides striking evidence: the prayerhouse liturgy contains portions of all the prayers that my informant specified belonged to the Falasha monastic Office. Furthermore, these prayers, said to be part of the Falasha monastic tradition, are found within the prayerhouse liturgy in positions equivalent to their occurrence within the respective monastic Hour. For example, the větbärěk'ěgzi'abher (blessed be the Lord, God (of Israel)), was performed by the Falasha priest as the initial prayer of the monastic Hour occurring in the early evening; this prayer is performed at the beginning of all evening prayerhouse services at sunset. Likewise, sections of the first and third morning monastic Hours occur in the prayerhouse liturgy around dawn.

In Appendix 1 are found transcriptions of the opening sections of the first (Example I) and the third (Example 2) monastic Hours. The texts of these two examples are provided in Appendix 2.

The texts of Examples 1 and 2, identified as excerpts from the monastic liturgy, contain centonization of Psalm texts, entire Psalm verses taken out of context, and additional phrases that cannot be attributed. Example 1 (Hour I) is a prayer of petition drawing upon the Prayer of Habbukuk in two places. Example 2 (Hour 3) is a prayer of praise, incorporating sections of Psalm 113, verse 3, and Psalm 19, verse 5.

The text settings of both monastic excerpts are primarily syllabic; punctuating melismas occur near the middle of phrases one, two, three, and six of Example 1, and before the final reciting tone in every phrase of Example 2. In Example 2, texts are repeated.

The melodic structure of Example 1 is that of simple recitation; each line occupies the ambitus of a fifth, beginning on the third scale degree, ascending to the fifth, and descending to the final, which also functions as the reciting tone. The melodic setting of Example 2 has a wider ambitus of nearly an octave and a half, and frequently moves disjunctly. The melodic style is more elaborate, with the second scale degree lowered on descending passages.

Example 3 in Appendix 1 contains an excerpt from the prayerhouse liturgy for the morning of *běrhan säräqä*, an annual Falasha holiday today heavily overlaid with Jewish New Year significance. The portion of the service cited here occurs within the body of the three-hour ritual approximately at dawn; indeed, within the recording of this excerpt a cock is

heard crowing in the background. This section of the prayerhouse liturgy contains both textual and musical parallels to the two monastic excerpts cited above. 13

The musical setting of Example 3 begins with an accompanied, responsorial performance style typical of much of the prayerhouse liturgy. However, after a full statement by soloist and chorus of a phrase of text, the drum (nagarit) and gong (qačel) drop out, and the soloist, without pause, begins a section unaccompanied by instruments. Note that the text does not change at this musical juncture, but is repeated at the beginning of the new section. This is an example of a device found throughout the Falasha liturgy, which I have termed "textual foreshadowing." I have elsewhere pointed out (Shelemay in press) that this is one structural level not defined by the informants, and have suggested that the dovetailing of textual and melodic change is a crucial device that enables oral transmission and performance of rituals many hours in length. Textual foreshadowing also fuses sections of the liturgy and thus effectively prevents interpolations.

Example 3 begins with a portion of the text found in Example I, continues with a textual "proper" for the holiday *běrhan sărăqā*, and concludes with part of the text of Example 2. Although the performance style is different because of the solo rendition of Examples 1 and 2, in contrast to the initial responsorial setting of Example 3, note that the melodic contour found in Example 1 is identical to that of the accompanied section of Example 3. The primary difference between the two is the rhythmic pattern imposed on Example 3 by the instrumental ostinato. and that example's slightly larger ambitus. An examination of the melody of the initial line of Example 2 will likewise show a striking correspondence in contour to that of the first line of each verse in the unaccompanied section of Example 3.

The demonstrated parallelism between portions of the monastic Hours and the prayerhouse liturgy discussed above is only a small part of the shared materials in similar positions within both liturgical orders. These data raise provocative questions. One must ask why similar liturgical materials are found within both the Falasha monastic and prayerhouse liturgies. One would not expect parallelism between these two orders of service if indeed the monastic Hours were of Christian provenance and the prayerhouse liturgy of Jewish origin. Even in Christian liturgical practice the liturgy of the monastic Office and the public Mass are distinct in both form and content (Apel 1958:14-15, 20).

The relationship between the two liturgies is particularly important since we are able to date Falasha adoption of the monastic institution to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. If indeed, as accepted historical theory would have it, the Falasha liturgy is a direct survival from pre-Christian Jewish sources in Ethiopia, how can we account for the similarity to the monastic liturgy, which was transmitted by an order that we know the Falasha received at least 1000 years later? The liturgical parallelism assumes even greater importance when one considers that Falasha priests today credit a monastic practice adopted at a relatively late date with a wide range of liturgical innovations and reform. Furthermore, the Falasha continue to emphasize the importance of their monastic tradition despite contemporary emphasis upon Jewish traditions in the Falasha villages in which this information was gathered.

It appears to me that we are compelled to rethink the possible course of Falasha history, particularly since there is an explanation that can account for both the Judaic and Christian aspects of the Falasha religious tradition. I am therefore advancing a hypothesis that will be more fully illuminated by additional data presented below: that the Falasha liturgy extant today is primarily a product of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, dating from the period during which this Agau people had intense contact with Ethiopian Christian monks and adopted a monastic institution.

#### THE CORROBORATING SOURCES

Where the primary documents leave unanswered questions, an abundance of corroborating and clarifying information is found scattered in literature concerning the Falasha and other pertinent aspects of Ethiopian studies.

My informant's testimony concerning the order and content of the monastic Office is partially corroborated in an earlier source. In an introduction to a translation of Falasha prayers in his **Falasha Anthology**, linguist Wolf Leslau provides an outline of "prayer types" that he elicited from Falasha priests in the late 1940's (Leslau 1951:112-1 14). These prayers are divided into six daytime and four nighttime prayers, each named by its opening text. When this list is realigned and telescoped, it matches my informant's list of the Falasha monastic Hours, omitting only the second Hour of my list (gěnayulä'ěgzi'abḥer). 14

The **Falasha Anthology** summary indicates that Falasha priests thirty years ago described the liturgy in terms of monastic order (the daytime and nighttime divisions); their summary also closely corresponds to what my informant specifically described as the order of the monastic Office. If Leslau's informants were not describing the basic monastic divisions, terming them "prayer types," they then described the prayerhouse liturgy in terms remarkably similar to monastic practice. Likewise, my

	Prayer Type	Time of Performance
	Daytime:	
1.	měsraqä şähäy The rising of the sun	sunrise
2.	ně`u něsgěd Come and let us prostrate ourselves	forenoon
3.	mähärännä Be graceful to us	midday
4.	qeddus Holy	afternoon
5.	mähari mähari Gracious one, gracious one	before sunset
6.	yětbaräk May he be blessed	sunset
	Nighttime:	
1.	`ēgzi`o 'aquērēr 0 Lord, soothe (your anger)	bedtime
2.	wäbĕzuh And numerous	midnight
3.	kalhu Proclaim	before dawn
4.	'egzi'o sarahku 0 Lord.   called	dawn

Figure 2. Falasha Prayer Types (Falasha Anthology)

Sa'atat Only	Common Titles	Prayer Types Only
gěnayu lä'égzi'abher	'egzi'o şâraḥku	
genayu ia egzi aonei	měsräqä şäḥäy	mx+ mxx.d
	mäḥärännä qeddus mäḫari mäḫari yĕtbarēk	në'u nësgëd
	·	ʻegzi'o `aquĕrĕr wäbĕzuh kalhu

Figure 3. Comparison of Sa' atat and Prayer Types

source volunteered information concerning aspects of monastic practice of which I was unaware when I tried to elicit data concerning basic categories of liturgical prayer. Since all FaIasha priests with whom I worked were unable to excerpt prayers from the body of a service for purposes of discussion or performance during interview sessions, it seems unlikely that my informant simply performed sections of the prayerhouse liturgy and misrepresented them as (or confused them with) the monastic Office. Rather, a system of classification in which sections of the liturgy are named by the opening text of the first prayer of each section is found throughout the entire Falasha liturgical tradition. Further segmentation of a service is made difficult because of the elaborate dovetailing of musical and textual change.

In addition, a large body of historical evidence lends support to a hypothesis that these Ethiopian Christian monks were the source of liturgical reform, rather than converts to an existing Falasha religious practice. Thanks to recent historical research, we have growing documentation for the period in the fourteenth century during which several monastic groups left the Ethiopian Church rather than give up their observance of the Saturday Sabbath and other Biblical traditions (Taddesse 1972:206-42). These monastic groups were carriers of what has been termed a Jewish-Christian tradition (Ephraim 1973) and were the object of great controversy during a period in which the Ethiopian Church was seeking to purge itself of elements not sanctioned by the Church hierarchy in Alexandria. Several "schools" of Jewish-Christian monks went into exile, primarily in northern Ethiopia, and sought refuge among the Agau groups powerful at that time. A leader of one of the prominent monastic orders was Ewostatewos, who, while in exile, made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and then proceeded to Armenia, where he died in 1352. His followers returned to Ethiopia and dispersed to found monasteries among the Agau peoples. Notable among these disciples of Ewostatewos was the monk Gabra Iyesus, who is mentioned in manuscripts of that period as having proselytized actively among the Falasha and as having instituted monasticism among them. Another Ethiopian Christian monk of slightly later period, named Qozimos, is identified in the Ethiopian Chronicles as having been a renegade from the Church who both copied the Geez Bible ('orit) for the Falasha and served as a political-military leader among them as well. Both written sources and oral tradition record the career of the monk Abba Sabra, who in cooperation with another holy man, Tsege Amlak, is said to have organized the Falasha prayerhouse liturgy and liturgical calendar. Strikingly, the names of these two monks are found in manuscripts of Falasha prayers (Aešcoly 1951:201).

The monks credited with liturgical reform among the Falasha were capable of doctrinal reform as well. Monks who went into exile from the

Church must have been strong proponents of their belief system, given a stance inflexible enough to trigger a schism. Perhaps the most telling evidence in favor of the hypothesis advanced here is that the central issue that prompted the crisis within the Ethiopian Church and resulting exile of several orders of monks was the monks' insistence upon celebrating the Saturday Sabbath; likewise, the facet of contemporary Falasha practice consistently noted as "Judaic" is the colorful Sabbath observance. Several manuscripts have recently been examined that provide descriptions of these dissident groups known to have been part of Ethiopian Church history until the late fourteenth century reforms (Ephraim 1973). The traditions of these so-called "Jewish-Christians" are strikingly similar to a range of contemporary Falasha traditions.

#### ANOMALIES RESOLVED

If the Falasha liturgy stems in large part from the impact of Ethiopian Orthodox monastic groups, who were themselves Judaized, upon the Falasha, this hypothesis should be effective in resolving numerous enigmas surrounding the tradition. Several puzzling facets of Falasha liturgical practice indeed can now be explained for the first time.

Although Falasha instrumental usage of a drum (nägärit) and gong (qäčel) is not found in post-Temple Jewish liturgical practice, it can be attributed to the influence of the Ethiopian Christian musical tradition. The nägärit is used in monasteries in Ethiopia in combination with stone slabs (merawiyä) to announce the evening prayers. It is possible that in the seventeenth century, when the Falasha were forced economically into the trade of metal-working, that the stone instrument was replaced by a metal gong. It is noteworthy that other observers have mentioned seeing other idiophones used in combination with the nägärit in the Falasha prayerhouse. These include a bell (dowel) and the sistrum (senaṣĕl), both still used in the Ethiopian Church today (Krempel 1972:199).

That the Falasha liturgy shares a liturgical language with the Ethiopian Church certainly indicates strong historical ties; indeed, to postulate that the two traditions share liturgical language and texts without sharing history seems to deny the obvious. There is no firm indication when the Falasha acquired Geez, although recent inquiry has tended to date the Falasha acquisition of Geez literature to the period of Christian monastic influence in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Hess 1969b: 113; Taddesse 1972: 199; Leslau 195 1:xxxvii; Quirin 1977:62, 64).

Within the primarily Geez liturgy of the Falasha, scattered texts are found in an Agau dialect; this Cushitic language was spoken by the Falasha before Amharic entered their area. Considering the hypothesis ad-

vanced above, it appears possible that Geez was unknown to the Falasha before the fourteenth century and was introduced during the period of intensive monastic reform. If so, it was likely that rituals before that period were in Agau. During the period within which the Geez literature was copied, and the Geez ritual taught to members of the Agau-speaking community, sections may have been retained in the vernacular to aid both congregation and newly trained monks and priests to follow the order of service. Agau texts may also have insured continuity with pre-existing rituals. Indeed, references to the Agau sky-god 'adāra are found within the Agau sections of the liturgy, and Agau texts are positioned near the end of prayers and at important structural points.

Within the context of this hypothesis, yet another provocative interpretation exists for the name "Falasha." The term is usually said to derive from the Geez root fälläsä, meaning "to emigrate" and "to wander" (Dillman 1865: 1340). Recent research into the pivotal fifteenth century has uncovered a decree by the Emperor Yishaq, who in attempting to stop resistance to his expanding empire, ruled: "He who is baptized in the Christian religion may inherit the land of his father; otherwise, let him be a falasi" (Taddesse 1972:200-01). In this context, the word means tenant or visitor, a likely designation for a group without land rights. The people today known as the Falasha did indeed forfeit their rights to own land between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries. In addition, within the context discussed here, it is germane to note that falasi also means "proselyte" and the word falasyan "monk" (Dillmann 1865: 1342). One can only speculate if there is a relationship between the religious-political rebels at times led by monks, and the infidels threatened in the decree of Emperor Yishaq.

### CONCLUSION

The Falasha are carriers of a complex liturgical tradition that is an outcome of their history within Ethiopia. The reality of this tradition has captured popular imagination, but has not given rise to viable theories within which to frame on-going research. The hypothesis that the Falasha beliefs and liturgy are the product of the period in which the Agau peoples were heavily influenced by a Judaized Ethiopian Orthodox monasticism is the beginning of a historical reconstruction with multiple implications. It is only a point of departure, and does not resolve all the issues that it implicitly raises. The dating and source of the original Judaic elements that left their mark on Ethiopian culture and religious life are still unidentified. It now appears possible that the isolation and independence of

Ethiopian monastic institutions from the mainstream of Ethiopian Church life may have provided the climate in which Jewish elements were maintained, and later, emphasized and spread throughout the country. Hopefully, these unresolved issues will become soluble once the complexity of the historical process of which they are a part is more fully understood.

The immediate concern is to substantiate the hypothesis beyond the evidence presented here. The hypothesis is formulated from oral data exclusively from the Falasha liturgical tradition. The present situation in Ethiopia makes it extremely unlikely that a solution can be sought in a return to the field to gather additional, corroborating data. However, the implications of this theory directly draw Ethiopian Christianity into consideration by advancing the notion that the Judaization of the Falasha may not stem directly from a pre-Christian Jewish influence, but rather, from Judaic beliefs transmitted through the Ethiopian Church and its monastic institutions. If this is the case, then the Falasha musical-liturgical tradition is apparently a marginal survival of a Jewish-Christian tradition known to have been part of Ethiopian Church history. Indeed, given the Judaic characteristics still found within the Ethiopian Christian liturgy, it is possible that Jewish traditions may have played a much more major role than is currently suspected within the mainstream of Ethiopian Christianity itself. Therefore, the interaction of the Christian monks in exile with Agau peoples in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries perhaps provides a viable explanation of all aspects of the Falasha tradition, and accounts for practices of Jewish, Christian, and indigenous Ethiopian derivation.

Given the larger body of musical, liturgical, and historical materials available from the Ethiopian Christian tradition, comparative studies between the Ethiopian Christian and Falasha liturgical traditions may prove fruitful. Indeed, preliminary comparative analysis between the contemporary Falasha liturgy and contemporary Ethiopian Christian monastic practice are indicating marked parallels in liturgical order and prayer texts. 15 Planned quantification of these data may provide firmer proof of the historical relationshp outlined above. 16

This case study is intended to be useful in charting an instance in which powerful evidence existing in the oral tradition itself was overlooked, perhaps because it was overshadowed by the accepted historical model. I do not suggest that a diachronic study can be dredged from the materials of every oral tradition. Ethiopia does present a relatively closed culture history because of its geographic isolation and political independence. Furthermore, the oral tradition discussed here is an esoteric tradition transmitted with elaborate external controls, and with internal devices that discourage interpolation and alteration of the liturgical surface

Yet, I suspect had I structured my initial research to accommodate this inquiry, or at least explored my materials initially with the expectation that they might hold a key to history, I might have achieved this reconstruction sooner. I would propose that we need to be alert to the rich potential of our ethnomusicological materials, and their possible contribution beyond corroborative readings of history. We should be aware of the possibility that even occasionally, content may hold the key to context.

#### **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

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#### **NOTES**

- 1. This article is an expansion of a paper presented in the panel entitled "Music as the Context of Social Actions, '\* at the 1978 meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology, St. Louis. Missouri.
- 2. Chase's position shifted as well, and he later called for the development of an "ethnohistorical method" within ethnomusicology (1969:2 I I).
- 3. The classification of different types of oral sources draws upon categories suggested by Jan Vansina (1965)
- 4. Some Falasha. along with other Ethiopians, trace their origin to Menelik, the son of a reputed liaison between King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. This legend, the Ethiopian national epic, was recorded in the fourteenth century and popularized largely to reinforce the ruling dynasty's claim to the throne. Other Falasha say that they are descendents of a group of exiles who travelled south and settled in Ethiopia when Israel left Egypt at the time of the Exodus. Falasha also recount several versions of a tradition in which they claim descent from Jews who fled from Jerusalem and settled in Ethiopia. Some individuals date these migrations from the time of the destruction of the First Temple in Jerusalem in 586 B.C.E. and others from the period of the destruction of the Second Temple in the first century of the common era.
- 5. The one biological survey completed attempted to determine the extent of southern Arabian (Jewish) influence upon Ethiopian populations, including the Falasha (Tel Hashomer Government Hospital 1962) The study was unable to establish any connection to southern Arabian populations and concluded that the blood-studies indicated a closer connection with Cushitic groups of the area.
- 6. The Falasha formerly spoke an Agau dialect (Halevy 1873). There is no evidence that they knew Hebrew until the recent introduction of the language by western Jews (Leslau 1947).
- 7. A number of popular writers have subscribed to the notion that the Falasha were immigrants to Ethiopia who intermarried with the local population. This theory was advanced by Jacques Faitlovitch, who evidently coined the phrase "black Jews of Ethiopia." Faitlovitch first visited the Falasha in 1905 and began a lifelong effort to bring them to the attention of world Jewry. His writings were instrumental in shaping attitudes toward the group. He wrote in 1915: "As they lived for centuries apart from the rest of Jewry, separated completely from the outside world, they had to submit to inevitable intercourse with the natives of their new country. By reason of the scarcity of Jewish women, these Jews being at first only wanderers and adventurers, were compelled to intermarry with the daughters of the land, whom they converted to Judaism. Like all Jews, the Falashas have undergone centuries of misfortune and persecution..."

- 8. Jacques Faitlovitch set up a school for Falasha children in Addis Ababa. which was closed at the time of the Italian occupation of Ethiopia. In the 1950's. the Jewish Agency provided support for schools and teachers within Falasha villages in the north of the country.
- 9. In a letter written in November, 1973, Chief Rabbi Ovadia Yosseff recognized the Falasha as Jews: "... our brothers, the Felasheem, as was written in the books of the Law Givers, that they are Jews from the tribe of Dan-to come out of Ethiopia and make aliyah to Eretz Israel and be unified with the other Israeli tribes."
- 10. My informants were the ordained priests of three Falasha villages in the Gondar area of Begemder-Semien Province; the liturgy was taped in the prayerhouse of the current Falasha center, Ambober. Priests from outlying areas participated in the rituals at the Ambober prayerhouse on many occasions.
- 11. The priest said that each Hour was long and contained its own order of service; he said that he could not perform all Hours in full because of the time constraints.
- 12. The dissolution of the powerful Falasha monastic tradition in the twentieth-century can apparently be attributed to pressures introduced by western Jewish visitors. Several Falasha remember that Jacques Faitlovitch (see notes 7 and 8) adamantly opposed the monastic institution and actively tried to persuade the Falasha priests that a community claiming Jewish origins must not maintain monastic practices.
- 13. 'The second monastic Hour, gěnayu lä'ēgzi'abher, is found within other morning services. It is the initial prayer within a daily morning service which I taped in the Ambober prayerhouse.
- 14. However, the **gtnayu la'ègzi'abher** is among the prayers translated by Leslau. The four remaining "prayer types" in Leslau's list are found in the prayerhouse liturgy; indeed, in my own previous analyses, I had classified them as part of an evening prayer complex introduced by the **yětbarěk'ègzi'abher**, the evening prayer/Hour in both lists (See Figures 2 and 3).
- 15. I began these comparative studies during summer, 1978, under the auspices of agrant from the Columbia University Council for Research in the Humanities.
- 16. The next stage in this historical reconstruction will incorporate analysis that will be subject to statistical procedures, as suggested in Merriam 1967:108.

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#### APPENDIX I

#### Musical Transcriptions

The following symbols are used in the transcriptions:

- II unpitched percussion clef
- unpitched percussion beat
- phrase ending
- C chorus
- S solo
- approximately a quarter-tone higher than written
- approximately a quarter-tone lower than written
- slide

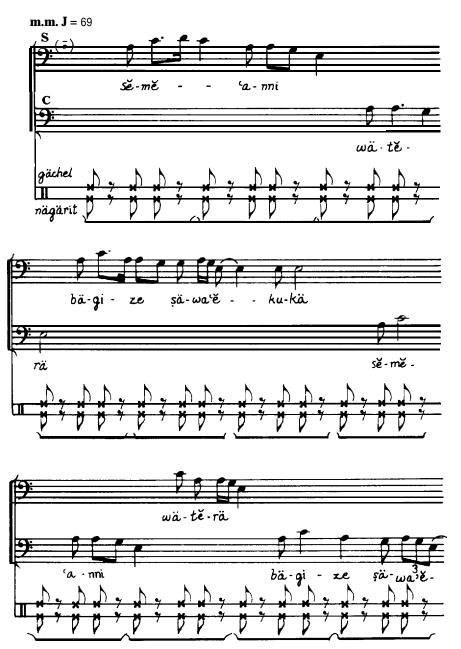
# Example I. Falasha Monastic Hour (sa'at) L



Example 2. Falasha Monastic Hour (sa' at) 3.



Example 3. Excerpt, Falasha Prayerhouse Morning Ritual for berhansaraqa.



# Example 3. (continued)



# Example 3. (continued)



#### Example 3. (continued)



#### APPENDIX II

#### Text Transliterations and Translations'

#### Example 1: Hour (sa'at) I, 'egzi' o särahku

'ěgzi'o şärahku habekä sěmě anni sä elatyä şäwa eku haba 'amlake sěmě anni şärahku habekä sěmě anni wa aděhananni bägize säwa ekukä bägize şäläyekukä 'antä hawwesänä 'emsämay 'eměnä děllwě mahadärěkä semě anni qaleyä 'ègzi'o sěmě anni děmsekä wäfärahěku

#### Translation:

Lord, I cry out to you, hear me.

When | call to you, my God, hear me.

| cry out to you. hear me and save me.

When | Call to you, When | pray to you. you visit us from heaven. from your prepared dwelling place. Hear my voice.

Lord, I heard your voice, and | was frightened

# Example 2: Hour (sa'at) 3, měsraqä şähäy

'éměsraq şähäy wä'eskä nä'arab 'èměsraq şähäy wä'eskä mě'erab yět'akut semu wäwěstä şähäy wäwěstä şähäy sem sälalotu wäwětuse kämämärawi zäyewaşe'e 'emşerhu

#### Translation:

From the sunrise to the sunset, from the sunrise to the sunset. let his name be praised And in the sun he put his shadow.

And he is like the bridegroom who comes out of his house.

## Example 3: excerpt, morning ritual. berhan saraqa2

S: sěmě anni C: wätěrä S: būgize ṣāwa ekukā (repeated)

(nägärit and qäčel end here)

- S: seme anni wäterä
- C: bägize şäwa'ēkukā sēmē'anni wātērā wābigize salāyēkukā 'antā hawwēsanā 'ēmsāmay 'ēmēnā dēllwē maḥadarēkā wēstā sērhā māqdāsākā 'ēgzi'o 'awēşa'anni bāşadāqakā tāsahalenni
- S: 'amlakä'amalekt 'egzi'abher nababa waşawa'e lamedre
- C: berhan säräqä läsadqan bäberhanomu läqeddusan saraqa berhan bäwestä selmät 'abiya berhanu kunu fesuhan bämängestä simayat negus sadqan eskä lä aläm
- S: b e r h a n sărăqă lăşadqan băberhanomu lăqeddusan 'abiya berhan rufanfesuhan wäbämängestă sămayat 'emesraq şăḥay wà'eskà nă arab wämesa'e sani sebhatihu 'egzi'abhersă găhad yemäşe'e

#### Translation:

S: Hear me C: always s: When I call to you (repeated)

- S: Hear me always
- C: When I call to you hear me always when I pray to you. You visited us from heaven. from your prepared dwelling place. Lord. save me in your righteousness. forgive me.
- S: God of Gods, Lord, spoke and called to the earth:
- C: The light appeared to the righteous in the light of the holy. The light appeared to the righteous within the darkness. His light is great. Be happy in the kingdom of heaven. righteous King, forever.
- S: The light appeared to the righteous in the light of the holy. Star with great light, happy in the kingdom of heaven. From the sunrise to the sunset comes the beauty of his glory. God comes openly

#### NOTES TO APPENDIX II

I The texts were transcribed directly from the tapes with the help of native speaker-5 of Geez. Perhaps as a result ofcenturies of oral transmission. language usage at times appears to be at variance with what is today considered standard practice in Geez: in these instances. texts are transliterated as sung. The phonetic system, seen below, enables the reader to distinguish between the seven types of vowel sounds in Geez:

11	(D)a
U-	u
n	1
J	а
ቤ	e
ብ	ě
ቦ	o

2. Words italicized in Example 3 are shared with Examples I and 2.

MAX WOHLBERG

J EWISH LITURGY has two salient qualities: it is congregation-oriented and it has to be chanted in an agreeable manner.

Although in the absence of an alternative one is permitted to pray privately, synagogue attendance and participation in communal worship is mandatory. Indeed, we are warned not even to dwell in a place that is without a synagogue. I Furthermore, we are exhorted that a community without regular worship arouses the ire of the Almighty. 2

The Talmud records a revealing dialogue between Rabbi Isaac and Rabbi Nahman. Why, asked the former, does the master not attend synagogue prayer? I cannot, the latter replied. Then, continued Rabbi Isaac, why not collect a minyan at home? That, maintained Rabbi Nahman, would involve me in too much trouble. Then, persisted Rabbi Isaac, why not ask the hazzan to inform you of the exact time of the congregational service, so that you may synchronize your prayers with theirs? But look, asked Rabbi Nahman, why all this fuss? Because, replied Rabbi Isaac, Rabbi Yohanan quoted Rabbi Simeon ben Yohai (on Psalms 69:14:, "But as for me, let my prayer be unto Thee, 0 Lord, in an acceptable time") as teaching: What time may be considered acceptable? When a congregation is at prayer?

Frequent references to public worship are found in our early history. At the dedication of the first Temple, the very inception of our formal public worship, King Solomon prayed that the Lord "may hearken to the supplication of Thy servant, and of Thy people Israel." He thus

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Sanhedrin 17b.

<sup>2</sup> Berakhot 6b.

<sup>3</sup> ibid. 7b.

<sup>4</sup> I Kings 8:30.

visualized the Temple as a place appropriate for both personal and group prayer. It is also significant that many sections of our liturgy, which had originally been in the domain of private devotion, have gradually entered the reahn of group prayer.5

We are told that theprayerof a congregation has definite advantages over that of an individual, in that the former never remains unanswered. 6 It is therefore not surprising that for the formal recitation of a number of prominent liturgical passages the presence of a minyan is obligatory.' It is an accepted rule that items of special sanctity require the presence of a minimum of ten. 8 As a matter of fact, it is suggested that even for prayers not requiring a quorum, at least three be present: one to read and two to respond. 9

The Midrash enumerates the five possible manners of prayer. Foremost is the communal prayer in the synagogue. Then, in diminishing order of value, are those in the field, at home, on one's bed, and in thought.10 If one prays in the synagogue, the *Shulhan Arukh* advises him to adjust his prayers so that he can first join the congregation and only then attend to his private prayers.11

responses

WHILE THE ROLE of the congregation is thus emphasized, we must also bear in mind that the role of the individual worshipper is not a passive one. His active participation is vital, indeed indispensible. 12 Prayer and its response, benediction and its Amen are an inseparable unit. 13 A number of responses, such as barukh shem kevod malkhuto (probably the oldest), 14 haleluyah, amen (not employed in the Sanctuary), berikh hu, form an integral part of the liturgy.

Our ancestors knew of various forms of responses, refrains and antiphonal chants. 15 The Mekhilta quotes Rabbi Nehemiah:

<sup>5</sup> Berakhot 60b. Ismar Elbogen, Der Judische Gottesdienst, Leipzig: 1913, pp. 15, 87; Eliezer Levy, Yesodot Hatefillah, Tel Aviv: 1961, p. 106.

<sup>6</sup> Devarim Rabbah 2:7.

<sup>7</sup> Mishnah Megillah 2:7.

<sup>8</sup> Berakhot 21b.

<sup>9</sup> Midrash Tehillim 113:3.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. 4:9.

<sup>11</sup> Orah Hayim, Hilkhot Tefillah 109. See also Rashi and Tosafot on Berakhot 21b and Rashi on Sukkuh 38b.

<sup>12</sup> Joseph Heinemann, Hatefillah Bitekufat Hatannaim, Jerusalem: 1964, p. 18.

<sup>13</sup> T. J. Ta'anit 3:11.

<sup>14</sup> I. Elbogen, op. cit. p. 495.

<sup>15</sup> ibid. p. 496. see also Sukkah 38b.

The holy spirit rested upon Israel and they uttered the Song (of the sea) in the manner in which we recite the Shema. According to Rabbi Akiba it was recited as is the Hallel. Rabbi Eliezer ben Taddai said: Moses would first begin with the opening words. The Israelites would then repeat them after him and finish the verse with him.16

In addition to responses, the Jewish worshipper is enjoined to recite each service almost in its entirety with the rest of the congregation. Such phrases as *veamru khulam*, *umashmi'im yahad bekol*, *kulam ke'ehad onim*, *yahad kulam kedushah yeshaleshu*, precede sign&ant passages and bespeak the ideal of prayer in unison,

### congregational song

But OUR LITURGY was not merely recited in a monotone, it was chanted bine'imah – pleasingly. It is remarkable how replete our ancient literature is with references extolling the importance of song. Not only prayers were sung, but the study of Bible and Mishnah had to be tuneful. 17 The tune, it was believed, would facilitate the memorization of the text studied. 18

In the dedicatory prayer of Solomon, 19 the Temple is designated as the forum for song (rinah) and prayer(tefillah). The Talmud stresses the dependence of the one upon the other.20 The Midrash interprets rinah as praise of the Lord and *tefillah as* prayer for the needs of man.21

A detailed description of the Temple service during the reign of Hezekiah relates: "And the singers sang, and the trumpeters sounded; all this continued until the burnt-offering was finished." 22 Indeed, according to Rabbi Meir the song had predominance over the offering.29 In an effort to assert the primacy of song, the Talmud ascribes a biblical source to it.24 Elsewhere we learn of the minutiae of the service in the second Temple, and of the important role of music in its scheme.25

The one condition required of this song was that it be pleasant. God,

<sup>16</sup> Mekhilta Ex. 15:l.

<sup>17</sup> Megillah 32.

<sup>18</sup> Sanhedrin 99b with Rashi.

<sup>19</sup> I Kings 8:28.

<sup>20</sup> Berakhot 6a.

<sup>21</sup> **Devarim Rabbah** 2:1.

<sup>22</sup> II Chronicles 29:28.

<sup>23</sup> Arakhin 1 la.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>25</sup> Mishnah Tamid 7:3, 4; Mishnah Bikkurim 3:4; Rashi on Kiddushin 71a.

we are assured, loves to hear a pleasant voice.26 In a charming homily the story is told of ten men who appeared before the heavenly throne and wished to sing a hymn to God. He said to them: "All of you are pleasing, pious, praiseworthy and capable of singing before me. But I choose this one, because his voice is mellow."27 We are also informed that, although He will accept the tribute rendered by musical instruments, His preference is for vocal music.28

Rashi, who on occasion served as a *sheliah tzibbur*, appreciated the favorable effects of fine singing. In commenting on I Kings 8:28 he says: "In the synagogue the congregation recites songs and praises in a pleasant voice." 29 Discussing the qualifications of a precentor on fast days Rashi remarks that the sweetness of a voice captivates the heart. 30 It was thus inevitable that a pleasant voice became a prime requisite for a hazzan. 31

the tunes

**CONSIDERING** our ancestors' strong attachment to congregational singing, it may be surprising to note how few congregational tunes have been transmitted to contemporary worshippers. The following reasons may explain this anomaly.

- 1) The congregational song familiar in ancient times was, as it still is in most eastern synagogues, a limited chant, a primitive form of sprechgesang, frequently with a melismatic ending. The tunes sung today are of more recent origin and have not achieved the familiarity of the old.
- 2) Many congregational tunes were associated with holiday piyutim. Not all of these were employed by all rites (minhagim).
  - 3) When a piyut fell into disuse its melody became obsolete.
- 4) Hazzanim, in an effort to be creative, sometimes replaced ancient tunes with compositions in "modem" style. (In Sephardic congregations, where the hazzan did not parallel the musical creativity of his Ashkenazic colleague, congregational singing flourishes.)
- 5) As a result of recurrent migrations and consequent exposure to new and different ethnic musical influences, old chants were altered, replaced and forgotten.

<sup>2 6</sup> Midrash Tehillim 33:1.

<sup>27</sup> Shir Hashirim Rabbah 4:3.

<sup>28</sup> Midrash Tehillim 149:5.

<sup>29</sup> Besakhot 6a.

<sup>30</sup> Ta'anit 16a.

<sup>31</sup> Mishnah Torah, Ahavah, Hilkhot Tefillah 8:11.

- 6) New communities were often denied the services of competent hazzanim with a knowledge and appreciation of the congregational chant.32
- 7) Under the influence of "star" hazzanim, the bravura recitative gained emphasis and the traditional chant and nusah were neglected.
- 8) As the knowledge of Hebrew among our worshippers dwindled, and as the frequency of their attendance in synagogue decreased, so the role of the congregational song was reduced.
- 9) Frequently the professional choir preempted the congregational melody.

recent attempts

**THE** FIRST **SERIOUS** attempt in modem times to involve the congregation musically, took place in the early nineteenth century. The founders of the Reform movement, in their effort to emulate the Protestant church service, introduced hymns in the vernacular. A few of these, serving as preludes and postludes for the sermon and appropriate to the observance of national holidays, the Sabbath, weddings and youth-services, penetrated the so-called "Moderate Reform" congregations, particularly in Germany, Austria and Hungary.

These congregations in the main followed the traditional liturgy, but adopted moderate or external reforms. Decorum, formality, choir singing (mostly male), a sermon in the vernacular (although German was often utilized in Hungary as well as in the United States), and the elimination of the excesses of cantorial improvisation, were the mark of these congregations, In essence, these were the prototypes of our contemporary Conservative congregations,

This marked the beginning of congregational participation in the music of the service. However, it must be noted that it was in the Conservative synagogue in the United States that congregational singing of the liturgy in Hebrew achieved its greatest popularity. There, as in no other place, it was welcomed and there it flourished. For decades it was a distinctive aspect of the Conservative synagogue. Gradually this "Conservative" practice began to be adopted in Orthodox and Reform congregations, and except for a few dyed-in-the-wool, ultra-traditional Reform congregations, it is today a sine **qua non** in the American synagogue.

UNFORTUNATELY, few composers concerned themselves with congregational song. Salomon Sulzer's (1804-1890) exclusive concerns were the purification and recording of the ancient *nusah* and the creation of a choral repertoire for the entire calendar.33 Of this enormous task he acquitted himself nobly. He created the model, and supplied most of the elements, of a well-organized musical service, but the element of congregational song is absent in his works.

This omission was noted and rectified by Louis Lewandowsky (1821-1894), who in the foreword to his Kol Rina Usefillah (Berlin 1871) bemoans the fact that congregations who previously shouted have been, since the introduction of choirs, condemned to silence. He also laments the fact that ungifted and unmusical individuals introduced trivial tunes into the service. In this work Lewandowsky provides abundant opportunities for the congregation to sing, and many simple tunes for the purpose.

Of other works intended solely for congregational singing, at least three must be mentioned: Gesange Fur Symzgogen (Braunschweig 1843) by H. Goldberg; Schire Beth Jacob (Altona 1880) by L. Liebling and B. Jacobsohn; and the anonymous Liturgisches Liederbuch (Berlin 1912).

In the United States the melodies of Rabbi Israel Goldfarb, who taught *Hazzanut* at the Jewish Theological Seminary, gained wide popularity. His settings for Shalom Aleikhem, *Vayekhulu*, *Magen Aoot* and others, have become staples in the synagogue repertoire. A. W. Binder and A. Z. Idelsohn contributed liberally to this branch of music. A. Goldenberg and this writer composed works -now out-dated-for congregational singing. Legions of cantors and lay-musicians have introduced original tunes, or re-arranged older ones.

### analysis

A SURVEY of these tunes reveals such heterogeneous sources as: Yiddish folk and theater song, dance tunes, pseudo-Oriental melodies, operatic and popular songs, Sephardic and Hassidic tunes and, more recently, Israeli songs. At least two-thirds of them possess the flavor of the *shtetl*.

The Hassidic tune, it should be noted, is in a category of its own. It is not subject to critical musical analysis. The qualities of pious fervor and ecstatic yearning which imbue its singers place it outside the

realm of analytical consideration. To introduce it into a sedate and formal service is to commit an esthetic blunder. Similarly, a pleasant zemirot tune is not necessarily appropriate for a liturgical text.

Irrespective of the melodic quality of the song, the desire of the average congregation to join in the singing is so great that it will without hesitancy appropriate the "melody" line of a choral composition. Thus, the choral music for the Torah service by Sulzer and Dunayevsky is sung today "in unison" by hundreds of congregations. As a matter of fact, the two are effortlessly intertwined. At Av Harahamim the Sulzer setting is abandoned – not without logic – for the Dunayevsky music, and at Vayehi Binesoa a return is made to Sulzer.

THE CONCREGATIONS determination to sing will not be thwarted by the excessive range of a melody (Hashivenu) nor by its chromatic alterations (Hodo – Sulzer and Lewandowsky).

Alas, all too often the urge to sing, coupled with a lack of discernment, results in a congregation intoning the majestic *Adon Olam* to a tune better fitting the atmosphere of a beer-hall. At times, a melancholy melody is attached to a text devoid of sad content while, at other times, the jolliest of tunes accompanies the description of an animal offering (Uveyom *Hashabbat*).

The area of congregational singing is an expanding one. New texts are being suggested, requiring new and appropriate musical settings. One obvious source for these is our choral literature. To reduce a full-bodied choir selection to a congregational song needs musical sensitivity. However, the fact must be faced that in doing so one not merely rearranges but transforms the music. What was before a complex edifice is now a simple house. True, the latter, in the hands of a competent craftsman, will receive the essential planning, execution and polish. Nonetheless, it has undergone a metamorphosis and to compare it with the original source would involve us in a venture of futility.

Furthermore, the musical ideas employed in a choral composition are neither identical with nor comparable to the ideas appropriate for a congregational tune. The latter requires an altogether different approach and demands unique technical considerations.

While it is not feasible to discuss here in detail the melodic elements of congregational song, it is proper at least to point to general qualities legitimately expected of it. These would embrace: congeniality with the text, consonance with the musch, harmony with the mood of the service, conformity with the dignity of the synagogue restriction to texts tra-

ditionally assigned to the congregation, limited vocal range, melodic ease and rhythmic tractability.

Although the discriminating singer can, by the manner of his singing, avoid some of the objectionable qualities inherent in a trite tune, he should never introduce tunes of vulgar quality. While a joyful, rousing song in a suitable place (*Lekha Adonai Hagedullah*, *En Kelohenu*) is perfectly acceptable, we must beware crossing the tenuously delineated borderline between joy and levity, and between enthusiasm and frivolity.

The conscientious composer, we should add, need not avoid originality, but in his search for useful melodic material he could, with profit, examine *nusah*, cantillation motifs, misinai tunes, Sephardi and Oriental-Jewish melodies.

Two volumes entitled Zamru Lo, published by the Cantors Assembly, contain an abundance of congregational tunes for the Friday evening and Sabbath morning services. However, the collection is rather more inclusive than selective. Thus, there are 14 melodies for Adon Olam, 12 for Yismah Moshe, 10 for Av Harahamim, 15 for Sim Shalom, 19 for Lekha Dodi and 18 for Veshamru. In this case the tahnudic aphorism: kol hamosif gorea, seems applicable. Nevertheless, these volumes can serve as the foundation for any serious study of the subject,

texts

CAREFUL THOUGHT should also be applied to the selection of meaningful and inspiring passages in the liturgy. (There seems to be no justification for a lusty singing of Uveyom *Hashabbat* or Atah *Hu Shehiktiru* at the end of *En Kelohenu*.)

The editors and publishers of new editions of prayer books and Mahzorim could be of great help in indicating, by contrasting type or indentation, the appropriate passages for congregational singing. Such underscoring will prompt composers to supply the needed musical settings.

Attention should also be given to the placement of these tunes in the service. It is wrong to crowd most congregational melodies in one section of the service and dole them out sparingly or withhold them entirely in other sections.

I will not dwell here on the technical aspect of accompaniment. I believe that the role of accompaniment is a subservient one. Its one task and sole justification is to be of help to the congregation. It is not to assume an independent role.

Today, a eulogy in praise of congregational singing is an anachronism. Two of the many services I attended this past summer in Jerusalem were at Beth Hillel and in a Yemenite synagogue. Musically, the two had nothing in common, but the total, vocally spirited involvement present in both congregations was stirring beyond words.

The subject of worship in song and the problems inherent thereto would seem to merit the appointment of a permanent committee of composers, cantors and rabbis. The findings and recommendations of so representative a committee would, I believe, be influential in raising the standards of a hitherto neglected area of Jewish life.

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#### A DUTY OF PRESERVATION AND CONTINUITY

IRENE HESKES

### COLLECTORS AND COLLECTIONS OF JEWISH MUSIC IN AMERICA

The Book of Koheleth-Ecclesiaste-oncludes with the admonition: "Of making many books there is no end, and much study is a weariness of the flesh." Such counsel certainly has never been heeded by bibliographers and book collectors, nor by librarians. All of them also appear to have declined the advice of the stoic emperor Marcus Aurelius, that we should free ourselves from the thirst for books.

Apparently, since those ancient times, many people have succumbed to an overwhelming desire not only to read and write, but to search out and acquire written materials related to a favored topic. Such passion could shape an entire lifetime of activity: the bibliographer compiling documentations and the collector gathering, sorting, and saving. Often the work of collecting has been combined with that of bibliography, and thereby the act of collection has become a service of veritication: an item was once written and then set into some form of public distribution; it has been found and preserved, and so here it is, ready for examination. In this context, collection has been-and continues to be-an instrument of history. One cannot, therefore, overlook the dynamic influence of collectors upon the actual direction and content of scholarly works. Often there have been symbiotic interactions among collectors, bibliographers, and scholars, with the collector serving less as passive conserver and more as active catalyst for a field of study.

Insofar as Jewish music is concerned, there have been some fascinating constellations of dynamic and influential relationships, some of which I hope to make clear by highlighting one significant music collector, Eric Mandell. By particularizing this collector's achievements, and by- placing his dedicated work within the frame of other collections in the **field** of Jewish music, I seek to underscore the very important contributions and influences which such devoted labors have had upon the growth and enrichment of our musical heritage. In this case, the col-

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lector's objectives were dual: to advance the systematic study of Jewish music and to provide sources of information which place this music within the aggregate of all musical expression.

Eric Mandell (Erich Mendel) was born in 1902 in Gronau, Westphalia. where he sang in a synagogue boy-choir and then as a young man prepared himself for a career as cantor and teacher in Jewish schools. He studied music in Berlin and Munich, and from 1922 to 1939 served as cantor and educator for the synagogue in Bochum, Westphalia. He first began to collect music books and scores in his youth, and by 1939 had accumulated a substantial number of items, remarkable in scope and quantity for the personal library of a young man of very moderate means. Among his items were significant general music material as well as Judaica.

Shortly before he had to flee to England in 1939, Mandell shipped his collection to Holland for safe-keeping there, but all of it was irretrievably lost. In 1941, he came to this country and soon took on the post of music director for Har Zion Temple in Philadelphia, where he served until his retirement. Settled in America, Mandell resumed his work of collecting, at first in the hope that his missing European materials would someday be found. His zeal for Jewish music combined with an ardent appreciation of this country, and so he particularly sought out American items.

When all efforts to recover his European collection failed, Mandell decided to rebuild by salvaging whatever might be found of any musical Judaica left on the continent in ruined synagogues or among unclaimed personal belongings of Jewish musicians. This became a mission of dedication; he searched tirelessly at great financial sacrifice, and was remarkably innovative and venturesome in making his contacts. He sought out book dealers, publishers, musicians, community leaders, and public figures, and traced all manner of "leads." In America his activities as a professional synagogue musician brought him in touch with many others in this field who either had important holdings to offer him, or were able to direct him towards available items. He became especially skillful and sensitive in approaching Holocaust survivors for their music, and they **also** helped him to locate estates of those deceased.

Mandell was truly imaginative and instinctive in undertaking his many European negotiations, never finding himself in competition with the libraries of governments or educational institutions. He simply was singularly interested in this material, and the labor was in finding, securing. and transporting it back here. Indeed, he developed an uncanny aptitude for **discovery**, **and** by these extraordinary efforts put together a treasury which literally filled the rooms of his Philadelphia brownstone house.

By 1947, Mandell's collection had already attracted local community interest, and that year 300 examples of literature, scores, and manuscripts were exhibited for two months at the Free Library of Philadelphia. The following year, a display was presented at the Jewish Museum in New York City. Then, for the 1954 celebration of the tercentenary of Jewish settlement in America, the Smithsonian Institute showed a number of Mandell's unique acquisitions. Also in Washington D.C., a special exhibition in 1961 filled the main hall of the national office of the B'nai B'rith Jewish Organization. For each of these shows, Mandell prepared a concise guide to the origins, publication styles, and iconography of the materials.'

In 1965, I first visited him to see his collection and was fascinated by its size and scope, and deeply impressed with this man's devotion to his "labor of love." He knew all his acquisitions and carefully protected them. By that time, however, Parkinson's Disease had slowed Mandell's energies, and soon he was compelled to curtail his professional work and was confined to home. It was about this time that a wonderful opportunity to transfer the collection developed, and since 1970 the Eric Mandell Collection of Jewish Music has been housed as the focal section of the Schreiber Music Library at the Gratz College of Jewish Studies in Philadelphia.?

Gratz College was constituted in 1895 under final provisions of a Deed of Trust originally executed in 1856 by Hyman Gratz (I 776-1857), member of a historic Jewish family of Philadelphia. Regular instruction began in the assembly rooms of the old Mikveh Israel Synagogue on Arch Street. In 1928, Gratz College was greatly expanded to serve the general Jewish educational needs of the Greater Philadelphia area, and since 1962 the school has been located at its present site-10th Street and Tabor Road.

While study of hymnology and folk music had always been included in the curriculum, strengthening the emphasis on Jewish music commenced with the appointment of Shalom Altman as music director in 1945. Expanded and restructured in 1958, the Tyson Music Department of Gratz College provides three main services: I) courses of study in Jewish music for educators and scholars in an academic program, accredited by the Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for the B.A. and M.A. degrees: 2) community-wide consultation and programming activities; and 3) the Schreiber Music Library. constituted as the central resource for Jewish music-literature, scores. re-

Copies of these guides arc among the catalogues in the Mandell Collection.

2Mygratitude to Shalom Akman. Director and to his dedicated staff-Minerva Robinson. Warner Victor, and Adina Moseson-for their assistance and warm hospitality during my visits to the library.

cordings, and media materials-for which the Eric Mandell Collection was acquired, largely through the efforts of Shalom Altman.

During the first years of acquisition, Mandell himself served as consultant-curator and advised directly, on the appropriate arrangements at the already excellent library facilities. Among the furnishings are a grand piano, all types of audio equipment, and many different educational aids.

At Gratz, the Mandell Collection is extensively used for scholarly studies and performance. Consisting of some 15,000 items, it includes books, articles, clippings, catalogues, anthologies, sheet music, vocal and instrumental compilations, and a variety of manuscripts. The holdings are approximately seventy percent music and thirty percent literature, and may be divided into five distinct categories:

- Americana. consisting of Jewish and non-Jewish materials from the early nineteenth century and comprising a broad range of hymnology and other liturgical music. as well as a wide variety of secular music-folk, art, and theatrical-popular:
- European synagogue and cantorial music, including liturgical items from the eighteenth century onward and anthologies for most of the leading synagogue music figures of the past two ccnruries;
- 3) European secular Jewish music-folk and art song compilations and manuscript scores in many languages;
- 4) collected articles, clippings from newspapers and journals. and other printed matter. all treating a great variety of subjects within the frame of world-wide Jewish music: 5) an array of 350 books, of which 115 date from 1705 to 1900.

Currently a volunteer archivist, Warner Victor, who is an accomplished researcher and linguist, maintains ongoing contact with Eric Mandell and is preparing an annotated listing of the rare printed **volumes.** 

With the installation of the Mandell Collection, the Gratz music **li**brary has become one of the leading sources for unique and rare materials on Jewish music. Here in America, it probably ranks second in scholarly significance only to the holdings at the Klau Library of Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in Cincinnati, with its remarkable and monumental Eduard Birnbaum Collection of Jewish Music, also the life-long labor of acquisition by one individual collector. No collection can really stand alone, as the interrelationship of these two great collectors demonstrates.

In 1875 Hebrew Union College was founded in Cincinnati by Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise (1819-1900), "father" of organized Reform Judaism in the United States.' A library was immediately begun with donations of private holdings, and by 1881 this already constituted the country's largest repository of Judaica. In 1907 Adolph S. Oko (1883-1944), who

<sup>&#</sup>x27;For a detailed history see Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion: One Hundred Years, edited by Samuel E. Karff (Cincinnati, 1976).

had worked in the cataloguing department of The New York Public Library, became the first professional librarian at the school. Until he left in 1933, Oko built up the library through fine acquisitions, expansion of the facilities. and catalogue organization. After World War I he traveled in Europe on behalf of the library, seeking out and purchasing many valuable items. Among Oko's triumphs was securing in I923-by transaction with family heirs-the personal library and collection of Eduard Bimbaum: a treasury of books, manuscripts, study documents, research papers, scores and sheet music, cantorial compilations, and synagogue compositions. In this important endeavor, Oko was fortunate to have the active support of the Synagogue Music Committee of the Central Conference of American Rabbis.'

In 1925 Abraham Zebi Idelsohn (1882-1938) was invited to join the college faculty and KIau Library staff, where he served as archival consultant for the Bimbaum and other music holdings. Failing health forced his premature retirement in 1934. During the years he spent at the school and library, Idelsohn completed his monumental lo-volume Thesaurus dociental Hebrew Melodies,5 basing the contents of volumes 6, 7, and 8 upon examination of Birnbaum's studies and in particular upon his extensive thematic catalogue of traditional synagogue melodies of the period 1700 to 1900. Subsequently, Eric Werner joined the Cincinnati faculty in 1939 (moving to the New York campus in 1948). and his

<sup>&</sup>quot;Committees' Reports,' in Central Conference of American Rabbis (CCAR) Yearbook (Cincinnati), vol. 32 (1922) and vol. 33 (1923),

Unlike Gratz Col e, which established a separate music library facility, the Hebrew Union College has always music materials at that branch library. In 1931, a campus building was erected in Cincinnati to house what by then constituted a major resource, and an even larger structure was dedicated there in 1961 as the Klau Library. In New York City in 1922, Rabbi Stephen Wise (1874-1949) had created another school for the training of rabbis in the Reform movement, the Jewish Institute of Religion. Here, a library was created by Joshua Bloch (1890–1957) before he left in 1923 to become librarian of the Jewish Division of The New York Public Library. The two schools merged, commencing in 1948. At the present time, there are four campuses of the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion: Cincinnati, New York City. Los Angeles, and Jerusalem. All have libraries to serve students and aculty and art maintained under unified policies and practices. Inasmuch as HUC-JIR established a School of Sacred Music in 1948 on its New York City campus, there is an extensive selection of music materials at that branch library—literature, scores, and records—integrated into the catalogue. Philip Miller is branch librarian.

The major library at Cincinnati constitutes a chief repository for scholarly research and houses a great array of materials, from which all branches may draw loans while building up their own collections. Herbert Zafrenserves as Director of the Klau Libraries of HUC-JIR. The Birnbaum Music Collection is maintained at Klau in Cincinnati, kept in a secure area for rare books, and accessible for examination only at that location. There is no inter-library Joan. Cataloguing was recently completed and a fourteen-leaf inventory also has been compiled for reference use. Some of this collection and its finding aids are now on microfilm which is available at cost to schools. libraries, and individual

In am indebted to Philip Miller, librarian of the Klau Branch in New York, for invaluable aid and information as to the structure, contents, and services of the Klau libraries complex and the Bimbaum Collection.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>Hebraish-orientalisher Melodienschatz (also in English as Thesaurus of Oriental Hebrew Melodies, but title varies) 10 vols.: Leipzig. 1914-32.

own significant scholarship has been nourished by direct contact with the Birnbaum Collection.6

Cantor Eduard Birnbaum (1855-1920) was born into a family of notable rabbis and scholars, and combined his own scholastic inclinations with fine musical aptitude in a life of liturgical service and musicological study. For over forty-five years, despite modest financial means, Birnbaum accumulated an enormous collection of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European synagogue music. He was also an enthusiastic teacher and maintained wide-ranging intellectual contacts. Much respected by his colleagues, he soon became a sort of "role model" for many younger Jewish musicians. Of Birnbaum's own teacher-mentors. Cantor Salomon Sulzer (1804-1890), the celebrated music leader of the great synagogue in Vienna known as Seitenstettengasse Shul, was especially, influential.' Sulzer collected, arranged, composed, and published liturgical music, and he commissioned religious works from such notable composers as Franz Schubert and Ignaz Moscheles. During the years of his study with Sulzer, Eduard Birnbaum began his own collection by copying many old manuscripts from Sulzer's personal materials. Decades later, for the tribute marking the celebration of Sulzer's 100th birthday. Birnbaum wrote a series of biographical and bibliographic studies of the life and work of Sulzer. Among those studies was an essay "Franz Schubert as a Composer of Synagogue Music." which details Sulzer's role in the commissioning of this music.'

Although the Birnbaum Collection in the Klau Library contains those copied-out Sulzer materials, many of the actual items from his Vienna synagogue-rare scores and old choir books-may now be found only at Gratz College! This music was acquired by Eric Mandell with the holdings of Heinrich Fischer, who was the last cantor at Sulzer's congregation before its desecration in 1938. Moreover, the Gratz music library also has unique scores and papers of Eduard Birnbaum himself. These materials came by way of Mandell's acquisition of the music estate of another collector, Arno Nadel (1878-1943), who had been a pupil and devoted protege of Bimbaum. In turn, Nadel had been the mentor and dear friend of Eric Mandell, and the two had shared their interests in the collection of Jewish music. The legacy of Amo Nadel is a significant component of the collection at Gratz.

Amo Nadel came from Vilna to Konigsberg to sing in Cantor Birnbaum's boy-choir and remained on as his cantorial student. Nadel saved

<sup>6</sup>Eric Werner. 'Manuscripts of Jewish Music in the Eduard Bimbaum Collection of the Hebrew

Union College Library." Historew Union College Annual 18 (1943/44): 397428.

Teric Mandell, "Salomon Sulzer," in The Jews of Austria, edited by Josef Fraenkel (London. 1966).

Reprinted in Contributions to a Historical Study of Jewish Music, edited by Eric Werner (New York,

all of his music from those years, including Birnbaum's handwritten scores and inscribed manuscripts. He took them with him to Berlin, where he settled as an educator and choirmaster for the Rottbuser Ufer svnagogue. There Nadel began to develop his own extensive music library. In 1923, the Berlin Congregational Community commissioned Nadel to compile an anthology of synagogue music, which he completed in 1938. This was intended for publication as an encyclopedia in seven folios to be used for musicological research. Arno Nadel perished in Auschwitz. Before he was taken away, he **left his entire library** with a neighbor, who managed to save a good part of the material and after the war returned it to Nadel's estate. Eric Mandell sought out Nadel's widow and purchased the music from her.

Over the years, Mandell has had much active and fruitful contact with other musicians, scholars, and collectors in this country. For a time he was a member of the Jewish Music Forum, a society which flourished from 1939 to 1960, sponsoring lectures and concerts in New York City. Among the other members of the Forum were A. W. Binder, Lazare Saminsky, Curt Sachs, Joseph Yasser, Paul Nettl, Stefan Wolpe, Gershon Ephros, and Alfred Sendrey. In those years, Sendrey was completing his monumental bibliography of Jewish music literature and scores,' and Ephros, who had been a young protege of Abraham Zebi Idelsohn in Jerusalem, had launched his own preparations for a sixvolume anthology of cantorial music."

Those years of meetings and interactions among so many gifted musicians were stimulating and fruitful, producing a multitude of projects which have shaped an arena of international leadership in America for the advancement of Jewish music study, composition, performance, publication, and education. Not the least of those varied accomplishments has been the development of excellent training schools for the cantorate. Indeed, a history of the fifty-year period in American Jewish music-1915 to 1965-would document that process by which Jewish music leadership passed over into this country, and incidentally also enriched the general musical climate here. From 1945 onward, Eric Mandell was a part of that milieu as synagogue musician and collector.

At present there are some extensive collections of musical Judaica abroad, notably in libraries in England, France, the Soviet Union, and at the Vatican. In Israel much has been gathered and continues to be collected for university archives, libraries, and museums. Especially noteworthy are the materials at the Jewish Music Research Centre of the National Library at Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Also of interest are the holdings at the Haifa Music Museum and AMLI Library.

Bibliography of Jewish Music (New York, 1951)

In this country, there are Jewish music scores and literature in the libraries of many universities and religious seminaries, at the Library of Congress, as well as in numerous public libraries. There are some good materials at The New York Public Library in the Jewish Division (in the 42nd Street building) and also in the Music Division of the Performing Arts Research Center at Lincoln Center." Yet the two sources which afford extraordinary scholarly advantages still remain the Klau Library in Cincinnati with its Birnbaum collection and Mandell's collection in Philadelphia. The essential focus of Birnbaum is European liturgy; Mandell provides not only European materials but an important selection of Americana. Both of these collections-representing the life-long labors of two dedicated and knowledgeable collectors-should sustain generations of scholars.

In the 1963 volume of **Fontes artis musicae,12** Eric Mandell contributed a brief article "A Collector's Random Notes on the Bibliography of Jewish Music." In it he remarked that "the true collector is an eternal student." Perhaps Mandell is too modest. Others might rather consider the collector as a devoted caretaker of continuity, as someone who serves the future. Some individuals seem by nature to be dedicated collectors. Like Mandell and Birnbaum, they combine a scholarly musicality with a sense of history. Directing their energies and resources towards goals of conservation, they have gone about that mission with educated selectivity, almost limitless attentiveness, and a healthy respect for the luck of a fortuitous discovery. In this manner those collectors influence the trend of scholarship. For better-and, one hopes, seldom for worse-our educated society is dependent upon their collections.

There is a mystique to the work of the inspired collector, part idealistic philanthropy and sometimes impractical preoccupation. Simple possession may be one objective, devotion to certain traditions or topic may be another motivation. Still another may relate to the convenience of having various research materials at hand for personal study. The collector may also wish to "connect up" tangibly with others in the same field of interest, across time and place. To **some** extent, many of us are music collectors, and we may even have acquired some unique things. By these acts of conservation and preservation, we too are sustaining a continuity. We are choosing whatever we happen to value in this art, and what seems to reflect **our own particular purposeful** endeavors. In saving, we are passing ourselves along with those items into the uncharted time ahead.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup>Including the Mailamm Collection. a small group of books and published music acquired by The New York Public Library in 194 1 from the organizational holdings of rhe Mailamm-American Palestinc Music Association (1932-39).

<sup>12</sup> Fontes artis musicae IO (1963): 34-42.

### MUSIC SECTION:

### RINAT HAHECHAL

The First International Conference on Liturgical Music was convened in Israel by the Cantors Assembly during the summer of 1964. It was an historic event in that it seemed to presage an era of revived interest in synagogue music throughout the Jewish world. The American hazzanim were most anxious to construct a **gesher nigunim** between the west and the State of Israel.

In Jerusalem the delegates to the conference attended a Sabbath service in Hechal Shlomo, the seat of the Israeli Chief Rabbinate. They had an opportunity to hear there the exceptionally fine male choir directed by the well known composer and conductor, Zvi Talmon. Most of the compositions were created by Talmon. What made them especially attractive to the visitors was the tunefulness of the selections and the many opportunities provided by the composer for congregational participation within the choral structure. As a result of this experience the Cantors Assembly, in 1965, published a 141 page volume of compositions for the Sabbath by Talmon.

Two especially successful examples of Talmon's craft follow: One B'choach and Hashkivenu.

Zvi Talmon was born in Jerusalem in 1922. He was educated in Yeshivat Etz Hayim and Bet Hamedrash L'morim. He received his early musical training under the beloved teacher of hundreds of hazzanim, Shlomo Zalman Rivlin. He continued his studies at The Jerusalem Music Institute, The Israel Conservatory of Music and The Israel Academy of Music.

Talmon has composed extensively not only for the synagogue but for the Jewish school and youth groups.

Rinat Hahechal is currently out of print, but an avalanche of requests accompanied by advance orders might easily convince the Cantors Assembly's Publication Committee to republish this valuable work.

















### HASHKIVENU

















## ספר רננו צדיקים

# Tunes and Songs of the Rabbis

Collected and arranged by M. LIEBERMAN

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHOR

PRINTED IN ENGLAND BY
LOWE AND BRYDONE PRINTERS LIMITED, VICTORIA ROAD,
LONDON, N.W.10

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### **PREFACE**

In publishing these ancient and modem Hebrew tunes and marches, which I collected in Warsaw, Poland, where I was brought up and educated since childhood (though born in London) and where my people met the same fate as the other six million Jews who were massacred in the great upheaval that came to our people and to civilisation general@.

I owe all my Hebrew education to my Mother, who struggled in her widowhood to give me knowledge. I collected these songs among various Tort chassidim. Song I heard sung by the Bresslaver, it is attributed to the Besht בעש"ט ז"ל the founder of Hassidisim. There is a little story attached to it He had a daughter named Odil, once she asked him for a new dress he rebuked her that a material dress is not as important as a spiritual one, and he started singing in great ecstasy עווהדר which refers to a spiritual dress. These songs however, were not composed but just sung by the great mystics when in meditation and came down by word of mouth. The Gerer and Madhitzer were composed by hassidic composers. The former songs I heard in Ger, where I went for the high holidays to the world famous Thadick; memories of which are unforgettable. The latter I heard among the Madhitzer chassidim.

In my first book "Degel Menaseh" I wrote down all my comments so nothing was lost, but the music I did not write then, so unfortunately much was forgotten.

I may add however, that five songs by the Besht Bresslauer, Kohnitzer Magid, were published by the late Rev. Mayrovitz to whom I lent them. As he adapted them to other Zemirath I thought I would publish them in the original form, as sung through the centuries by the Russian and Polish Rabbis in moments of ecstasy.

I hope you will find as much enjoyment in these songs, as my memories of the singing of them have given me.

I offer them for your enjoyment.



### אשת חיל משלי ליא

עוז והדר לכושה. ותשחק ליום אחרון. פיה פתחה כחכמה. ותורת חסד על לשונה. צופיה הליכות ביתה. ולחם עצלות לא תאכל. קמו בניה ויאשרוה. בעלה ויהללה. רבות בנות עשו חיל ואת עלית על כלנה. שקר החן והבל היפי. אשה יראת ה' היא תתהלל. תנו לה מפרי ידיה ויהללוה בשערים מעשיה.

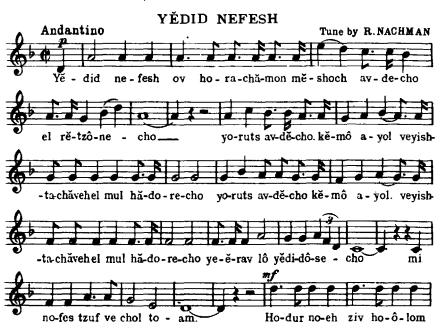


אשת חיל מי ימצא. ורחק מפנינים מכרה. בטת כה לב בעלה. ושלל לא יחסר. גמלתהו טוב ולא רע. כל ימי חייה.

### MĚEIN ÔLOM HABO



מעין עולם הבא יום שכת מנוחה. כל המתענגים כה יזכו לרוב שמחה. מחבלי משיח ינצלו לרוחה. פדותנו תצמיח ונס יגון ואנחה.





### ידיד גפש

ידיד נפש אב הרחמן, משוך עבדך אל דצונך, ידוץ עבדך כמו איל,
ישתחות אל מול הדרך, יערב לו ידידותיך, מנופת צוף וכל טעם.
הדור נאה זיו העולם, נפשי חולת אהכתך, אנא אל נא רפא לה,
בהראות לה נעם זיוך, אז תתחזק ותתרפא, והיתה לה שמחת עולם.
ותיק יהמו נא רחמיך, וחוסה נא על כן אהובך, כי זה כמה נכסוף
נכספתי לראות בתפארת עזך, אלה חמרה לבי וחוסה נא ואל תתעלם.
הגלה נא ופרוס חביבי עלי את סכת שלומך, תאיר ארץ מכבודך נגילה
ונשמחה בך, מהר אהוב כי בא מוער וחננו כימי עולם.





יה אכסוף זמר של ר׳ אהרן הגדול מקארלין, זצ"ל

יה אכסוף נועם שכת המתאמת ומתאחדת כסגולתך. משוך נועם יראתך לעם מכקשי רצונך, קדשם בקדושת השכת המתאחדת כתורתך, פתח להם

נועם ורצון לפתוח שערי רצונך. יה אכסוף וכוי. היה הוה שמור שומרי ומצפים שבת קדשך, כמו איל תערוג על אפיקי מים. כן נפשם תערוג לקבל נועם שבת המתאחדת בשם קדשך, הצל מאחרי לפרוש מן השבת לכלתי תהיה סגור מהם ששה ימים המקבלים קדושה משבת

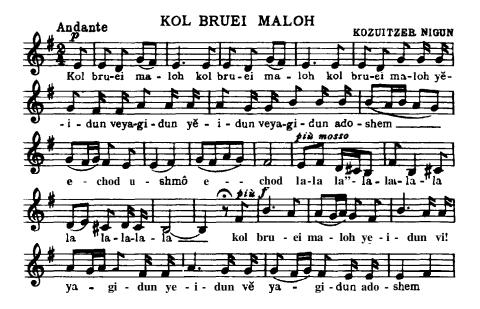
קדשך, וטהר לכם כאמת וכאמונה לעכדך. יה אכסוף וכר.
ויהיו רחמיך מתגוללים על מדותיך. ויהיו רחמיך מתגוללים על עם
קדשך להשקות צמאי חסדך, מנהר היוצא מעדן לעטר את ישראל בתפארת
המפארים אותך כיום שכת על ידי שבת קדשך. כל ששה ימים להנחילם
נחלת יעקב בחירך. יה אכסוף וכר.

השבת נועם הנשמות והשביעי עונג הרוחות ועדן הנפשות להתעדן באהכתך וביראתך, שבת קודש נפשי חולת אהכתך, שכת קודש נפשות. ישראל בצל כנפיך יחסיון ירויון מדשן ביתך. יה אכסוף וכוי.



## זמירות למוצאי שבת אל תירא עבדי יעקב

אל תירא עברי יעקב. אמר ה׳ ליעקב אל תידא עבדי יעקב. בחר ה׳ ביעקב אל תירא עכדי יעקב. גאל ה׳ את יעקב אל תירא עברי יעקב. דרך כוכב מיעקב אל תירא עברי יעקב. הכאים ישרש יעקב אל תירא עבדי יעקב. וירד מיעקב זכר זאת ליעקב אל תירא עכדי יעקב. אל תירא עכדי יעקב. חרות ישועות יעקב אל תירא עברי יעקב. טבו אוהליך יעקב יורו משפטיך ליעקב אל תירא עבדי יעקב. כי לא נחש ביעקב אל תירא עברי יעקב. אל תירא עכדי יעקב. לא הביט און ביעקב אל תירא עבדי יעקב. מי מנה עפר יעקב אל תירא עבדי יעקב. נשבע ה' ליעקב אל תירא עברי יעקב. סלח נא לעון יעקב עתה השב שבות יעקב אל תירא עבדי יעקב. אל תירא עברי יעקב. פרה ה׳ את יעקב אל תירא עכדי יעקב. צוה ישועות יעקב אל תירא עבדי יעקב. קול, קול יעקב רני ושמחי ליעקב אל תירא עברי יעקב. אל תירא עבדי יעקב. שב ה׳ את שבות יעקב אל תירא עברי יעקב. תתן אמת ליעקב





כל ברואי מעלה יעידון ויגידון ה׳ אחד ושמו אחד.



מאיר בני, פאר וועמען שטעלסט דו זיך דאוונען זונעשי? דריי מאל.
לפני מלך מלכי המלכים הקדוש ברוך הוא. דריי מאל.
וואס פארלאנגסטו פון איהם?
סליחה מחילה כפרה טאטעשי. דריי מאל.
וואס גיכסטו איהם דאפיר?
חטאים עונות ופשעים טאטעשי. דריי מאל.
אפשר באשטעהסטו גלייך אויף גלייך,
אפשר באשטעהסטו גליין אויף גלייך,
אבער איך לוי יצחק בארדיטשעווער מעקלער בעשטעה נישט דארויף,

בנים חיים ומזונות אויך דאצו. ווען וועט עס זיין, אז די תפלות וועלען ארויף גיין מעומקא דליבא. דאמאלט וועט זיין יתגדל ויתקדש שמיה רכא.

וואס דען פערלאנג איך.

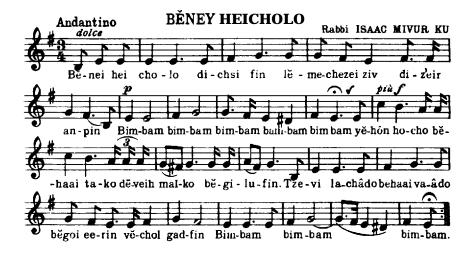




הניגון נמסר לי ע"י ירירי המוסיקאי י. ביאלסקי שדבו הישיש חסיד דיז'ינאי היה רגיל לפזמן לתלמידיו בשעת הלימוד ושלפי דברי הארמו"ר ברוז'ין בשיר זה הלויים היו אומרים בבית המקדש. נתונה תורתי למר ביאלסקי בזה.

#### תהלים

אל נקמות ה' אל נקמות הופיע. הנשא שפט הארץ השב גמול על גאים.



### בני היכלא

בני היכלא רכסיפין, למחזי זיו דזעיר אנפין.
יהון הכא בהאי תכא. רביה מלכא בגילופין.
צבו לחרא בהאי וערא. בגו עירין ובל גרפין.
חדו השתא בהאי שעתא. רביה רעוא ולית זעפין.
קריבו לי חזו חילי. רלית רינין דתקיפין.
לבר נטלין, ולא עאלין, הני כלבין דחציפין.
והא אזמין עתיק יומין, למנחה עדי יהון חלפין.
דעו דיליה דגלי לה. לבטלא לכל קליפין.
ישוי לון בנוקביהון, ויטמרון בגו כפין.
ארי השתא במנחתא. בחדותא דזעיר אנפין.







### לכה דודי

לכה דודי לקראת כלה פני שבת נקבלה.

שמוד רזכור ברבור אחר, השמיענו אל המיחר, ה' אחד ושמו אחר, לשם ולתפארת ולתהלה. לכה דודי וכר.

לקדאת שבת לכו ונלכה. כי היא מקור הברכה. מראש מקדם נסוכה. סוף מעשה במחשבה תחלה. לכה דודי וכוי.

מקדש מלך עיר מלוכה. קומי צאי מתוך ההפכה. רב לך שבת בעמק הבכא. והוא יחמול עליך חמלה. לכה דודי וכו׳.

התנערי מעפר קומי, לבשי בגרי תפארתך עמי, על יד בן ישי בית הלחמי. קרבה אל נפשי גאלה. לכה דודי וכר.

התעודרי התעודרי, כי בא אודך קומי אודי, עודי עודי שיר דברי, כבוד ה' עליך נגלה. לכה דודי וכו׳.

לא תכשי ולא תכלמי, מה תשתחחי ומה תהמי. כך יחסו עניי עמי, ונכנתה עיר על תלה. לכה דודי וכרי.

והיו למשסה שאסיך. ורחקו כל מבלעיך. ישיש עליך אלהיך. כמשוש חתן על כלה. לכה דודי וכו׳. ימין ושמאל תפרוצי, ואת ה' תעדיצי, על יד איש בן פרצי, ונשמחה ונגילה. לכה דודי וכוי. בואי בשלום עטרת בעלה, גם ברנה ובצהלה, תוך אמוני עם סגלה, בואי כלה, בואי כלה, שבת מלכתא. לכה דודי וכוי.





שיד המעלות. כשוב ה' את שיבת ציון, היינו כחלמים. אז ימלא שחוק פינו ולשוננו רנה. אז יאמרו בגוים הגדיל ה' לעשות עם אלה. הגדיל ה' לעשות עמנו היינו שמחים. שובה ה' את שביתנו כאפיקים בנגב. הזרעים בדמעה ברנה יקצדו. הלוך ילך ובכה נשא משך הזרע, בא יבא ברנה נשא אלמתיו.







אמר רב יהודה, אמר רב בכל יום ויום בת קול יוצאת מהר חורב. ומכרזת ואומרת כל העולם ניזון בשביל חנינא בני וחנינא כני די לו בקב חרובין מערב שבת לעדב שבת.



# קהלת פסוק ג

מה יתרון לאדם בכל עמלו שיעמל תחת השמש.



וזכר את כוראך כימי כחורתיך עד אשר לא יכאו ימי הרעה יהגיעו שנים אשר תאמר אין לי כהם חפץ.













