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Under this heading we shall republish important articles
in the field of Synagogue music not easily available to the
general public today.
THE KOL NIDRE TUNE, A. Z. Idelsohn
(Reprinted from the 1931 Hebrew Union College Annual.)

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A NEW LOOK AT MUSIC IN JEWISH EDUCATION

JUDITH K. EISENSTEIN

The proper way to take a new look at music in Jewish Education would be to make a survey, with a carefully worded questionnaire, and to conduct interviews and personal observation of activities across the country. One ought to ascertain, for example, how many specialists in music education are employed, and what training in music, in education, in Jewish music each one has been subjected to. One should measure the time devoted to music in all of the institutions from nursery school through youth groups and summer camps. A careful study would need to be made of the materials available in each institution: the instruments, recording machines, books, records. Perhaps someone could investigate all the children's, or youth choruses and orchestras, their size, the quality of their singing or playing, the quality and difficulty of the music selected for performance. and finally, one would ask how many youngsters who continue into the field of music devote any portion of their talents to the Jewish world, either as composers, performers, musicologists or teachers. After all the statistics would have been gathered, one could presumably draw unchallengeable conclusions.

None of this has been done. Nearly forty years ago this writer, with the rash courage of youth, published an article as part of a master's thesis from Teachers College, Columbia, setting forth in brave terms a program for music in Jewish education. At the time there was scarcely any need for a survey. The handful of people who were active in the field all knew each other. The field under consideration was limited to the schools, to formal education on the elementary, and to a slight degree, on the secondary level. The materials available were minimal: a few books of songs published in this country, were available for distribution to the schools but were rarely distributed in quantity; some of us could get hold of old European publications, such as the songbooks of the *Tarbut* schools, copies of some of the music of the Russian Jewish nationalist composers, the tomes of liturgical music of the nineteenth century, and if we were very lucky some volumes of Idelsohn's *Thesaurus*.

Judith Eisenstein is a well known composer, teacher and musicologist who has devoted herself particularly to music for Jewish children. She is a member of the faculty of the School for Sacred Music of J.I.R.-H.U.C.; is the editor of a number of comprehensive volumes of Jewish songs for young people. The Union of American Hebrew Congregations this winter will issue a major volume on Jewish music by Dr. Eisenstein, "A Heritage of Music."

Recordings were almost non-existent, except for cantorials and Second Avenue Yiddish songs and dances. The tape recorder had not been invented, and the word "creative" had not come into the educational vocabulary. There were no academic institutions where people could be trained in the field, so that teachers were necessarily auto-didacts. No English text on the history of Jewish music had yet appeared. We had to scrounge for materials, take dictation, make our own arrangements, make do with bad pianos (I sometimes wonder that we all maintained any sense of pitch!) and plead with principals for time.

Today, even without a scientific survey, one knows that the situation has changed beyond recognition, certainly with regard to opportunities for some kind of training, and to the availability of materials. The existence of schools of Jewish music, Colleges of Jewish Music, Cantors Institutes, the establishment of some libraries of Jewish music, the spread of music councils and organizations for promotion, the awareness of the value of folk instruments, the development of the LP record and the tape recorder, but above all, the tremendous impact of the State of Israel, with its output of art and popular and folk music and dance, its vigorous pursuit of the music of its ingathered communities, its facilities for study and research—these are only some of the factors in the vast expansion of the past four decades.

With the expansion of the field has come some degree of expansion of our view of the scope of music education, beyond the confines of the classroom, into the summer camp and the youth organization. There has also been a rapid burgeoning of special music produced for children's choirs, religious services. There are extant a few curricula for music in the early grades through the Junior High School, that have appeared in different parts of the country in the past few decades. Certainly a great many more teachers of music are on the staffs of schools and centers. The role of the hazzan in many synagogues has been extended to that of music educator, and in a few instances composers of merit have been invited to conduct seminars, courses, lectures, or some form of teaching in youth camps.

The general impression of growth and progress could be reinforced here and there by some of the delightful incidents that come to one's attention: for example, we hear of a group of young NFTY boys and girls making a careful study of Yiddish art songs, under the leadership of Lazar Weiner, and preparing to perform them in a concert. One comes across a recording of a charming children's

choir, singing a tasteful and graceful musical service by Abraham Salkov. One visits a BBYO leadership training camp, and hears young people singing in parts, — not as a choir, but as the whole of the congregation at Friday Evening Service, — singing with youthful, fresh, clear voices, the music of the late Max Helfman, and of their teacher Richard Neumann. Individual youngsters in all parts of the country are playing guitars, and, in the wake of the Folk-Rock-Renaissance attention to modal chords, they are able to provide more appropriate music to the songs of Israel than were many teachers of four decades ago. All of these experiences would have been undreamed of in the early thirties.

On the other hand, a statistical survey might well reveal that it is too soon for complacency. There are still very few trained music educators with Jewish education operating on a full-time basis, in direct contact with the children and the youth. It will reveal that printed music is rarely purchased in quantity, — that one copy per school or organization will serve as a source from which words are lifted and mimeographed in English transliteration for general distribution to all age groups, (and subsequently for littering the floors of classrooms, synagogues, assembly halls.) It will show that much of the fine material listed in the bibliographies of the National Jewish Music Council is already out of print, or otherwise impossible to find in ordinary sources of distribution. A study of time allotment will undoubtedly show up a prevalence of brief assemblies or even briefer classroom music periods, with perhaps an increased allowance immediately before holidays. More detailed examination would probably reveal almost complete absence of instrumental music, or of listening to recorded art music. Choral groups will turn out to be unison singing clubs, and cantatas are medleys of old familiar songs.

While we cannot yet document this gloomy estimate with facts and figures, we can only offer a set of personal experiences, — enough to shake the optimism that might have been induced by the series listed above:

Item: A curriculum for Junior School Children lists for listening Bloch's *Sacred Service* alongside *Fiddler on the Roof*, with no explanatory or discriminatory notes.

Item: A camp schedule allows time for "creative arts" during which no creative activity takes place, except that the teachers has composed the music.

Item: A record for little children produced in 1970 contains *I Have a Little Dreidel* (from the Home Study project of the twenties, at a time when misguided arts and crafts teachers tried to teach babies to make dreidels out of clay!) and *Ahat sh'tayim, le-malah ha-yadayim*, one of the old didactic "language songs" which was discarded by a forward-looking teacher back in 1932 in favor of genuine play songs and imaginative singing games.

Item: In the name of Hasidism, loud handclapping, foot-stamping and grotesque gesturing accompany the raucous singing of synthetic East-European sounding songs, which vulgarize some noble texts.

Item: A teacher sits at a piano (still out of tune!) Back to his students, teaching *Once there was a Wicked Wicked Man* line by line, verse by verse, trying to make sure the children are letter perfect in each line before proceeding to the next. One or two children are singing loudly. The rest are throwing spit balls, hitting each other on the head, and otherwise creating havoc in the classroom.

Item: A teacher plays a loud accordion, singing the latest song he has picked up with a few errors from an Israeli record, trusting that the "kids" will pick it up after him, complete with errors, humming, inventing their own words, or simply clapping and stamping. He can't hear them, in any case.

Item: At a Friday evening service in a summer camp, the campers sing, switching from the soprano part to the alto to the tenor, *Tzaddik Ka-tamar Yif-rah* from the middle of the psalm setting composed by Lewandowski for four part chorus. This is described as traditional Jewish liturgical music, and nobody knows the name of the composer.

Item: A little boy of nearly thirteen, sits huddled over a recording of teacher or hazzan singing a Haftarah from beginning to end. He is learning his Bar Mitzvah portion by rote. He is not aware of the existence of "*ta-amay neginah*."

Item: A group of youngsters perform a rock service composed by a non-rock composer, with all solos sung by a non-rock hazzan, with any new ideas spoken, and only the old revered texts rendered in the idiom of last year which is already "out." This is recorded and distributed as "new music of the synagogue."

One could continue *ad infinitum* with an inventory of similar items. The total is a reflection of the attitude toward music in the adult Jewish community whose musical activity today is centered mainly in the synagogue. The basic flaw is that leaders and educa-

tors regard music principally, if not entirely, as a "come-on." The immediate result of such an attitude is a sort of see-sawing between a catering to nostalgia on the one hand and a mindless pursuit of the latest fad on the other. It leaves no room for musical literacy, the simple recognition that we are not any longer a musically pre-literate people, and are capable of learning from musical notation at least as readily as our Christian hymn-singing neighbors. It leaves no room for the serious compositions of contemporary composers whose experiments in new sound make some demand on the mind of the listener, and are therefore set aside for the so-called Hasidic, or Rock, or even Israeli-style religious music. It leaves no room for the strange line of oriental Jewish melody, and the enrichment which it offers both to our musical vocabulary and to our Jewish experience, — ignoring it in favor of rehashed East-European tunes. It leaves no room for the subtleties of an art song or the intricacies of chamber music, which cannot be heard above the wail of the sentimental popular song or the noise of the electric band.

The most dangerous aspect of this condition is that it is constantly being justified verbally, on the one hand by spurious musical arguments, and on the other hand by the careless use of valid education concepts. The musicians tell us that in all periods of Jewish history our people borrowed freely from the melodic repertory of their neighbors: in the middle ages from troubadour and minnesinger song, from church chant and chorale; in later times the hasidim themselves, from gypsy tunes and marching songs of passing military bands. And some of the greatest hazzanim of all time made free to sing the words of scripture and prayer to the setting of Italian operatic arias. This affords the "Hekhsher" they seek for persistent parody, for setting words to the latest popular song, or a close copy of it. This is done without making the distinction between the condition of the "golus Jew" of past centuries and the Jew of America in our day. The former had no access to the techniques of Western composition, was excluded from the courts and the concert halls and the opera houses. He used what he heard as well as he could, infusing the simplest song with his own sense of joy, or longing, or mystic striving. The latter is in the forefront of every sophisticated musical activity, in the study and appreciation of the music of the past, in the experiment in, and support for, the sounds of the present and the future. He is too musically aware to borrow unconsciously, — too urban and urbane to relapse sincerely into the naivete of our ancestors.

The educational justification is based on catch-words which are — if not deliberately misinterpreted, then badly misunderstood. “Contemporaneity,” “relevance,” “creativity,” “self-expression,” even “religious experience,” and “love of Israel.” It is hard to quarrel with such worthy aims, which are stated in curricula, on the jackets of records, and in the sermons introducing new musical services. But it is urgent that someone stop and examine the precise meaning of every one of these terms, and determine whether they are in fact being realized to any degree in the hubbub of activity.

Is this perhaps an unduly dark picture of the true state of affairs? This writer would be only too grateful for a study which would disprove it. But let the study be made with vigor and honesty. Let it go beyond mere statistics, to a meticulous definition of terms such as those listed above. And then let a group of musicians plus educators and religious leaders sit together and think. They must start with a clear understanding that music is not a “come-on,” but a vital and integral part of our heritage, the voice of a people, like the Hebrew language and the Yiddish language, and the prayer and the poetry and the festivals and the days of mourning. They must discard the old notion of music as a tool for learning something else, a mnemonic device for learning text or grammar. If Hebrew teachers want to use it that way, let them. But a curriculum for music in Jewish education has nothing to do with all that. It must provide for the discriminating ordering of a total musical heritage, and for laying down of considered guide lines in adding to that heritage. It must stretch the minds and hearts of the young, and engage the highest reaches of their imagination. It must take into account a variety of techniques, beginning with the introduction of notated music, and going on to the spontaneity and informality of the rock generation.

But a curriculum on paper will never function without teachers. Even at this late date we need to urge that the training of teachers be incorporated seriously into the schedules of our schools of higher learning. We cannot rely entirely on the good offices of hazzanim who are still primarily the sweet singers, the religious functionaries, and who can at best give only secondary time and interest to the youth. There must be somewhere for the young musician, the gifted teacher, to get formal training in the music of Jewish life, so that he need not guess and scrounge as did my generation so many years ago, but can come swiftly to join all of us in the realization of the goals we establish for our work.

LETTER FROM ISRAEL

DAVID BAGLEY

We recently received a very moving letter from Hazzan David Bagley now serving Bet Knesset Hagadol in Ramat Gan. He reports, with great feeling, the events which marked the recent observance of Yom Hazikaron, a day of memorial for those soldiers of Zahal, (Israel's army) who had given their lives in defense of their homeland.

Dear Sam:

I feel it as my duty to publicize my impression of a recent event here in Israel. I thought that you might be interested enough, to make public (in which ever way you see fit) these feelings and impressions. I was invited to participate in a memorial service for Zahal, erev Yom Hazikaron, and here is what I saw and felt that evening.

The invitation for my participation, was extended to me by the Ramat Gan branch of Yad Lebanim. This particular organization is comprised of bereaved parents; of those that lost either sons or daughters in all of the wars for the liberation of Israel. This is primarily a memorial organization.

Upon my arrival, I saw that each of the families, upon arriving, received a candle and a book of matches. They then proceeded to take their places among the rest of the assembled.

The official memorial ceremony began at 8:30 in the evening, with the sound of sirens. A boy of no more than four, together with his young mother, arrived to light the torch. It turned out that this little boy has just been orphaned. His father was killed at the Suez canal two weeks earlier. I recited a part of the Psalms, then a boy of eight came to the podium to recite the Kaddish. He, too, had lost a father, in the Milchemet Sheshet Hayamim. You can imagine the feelings that went through my heart and mind. It was an unforgettable sight. There were poem recitations by brothers and sisters, all of whom have felt the pain of death.

Suddenly, all of the lights were turned off and there was a terrible silence. The names of the departed were being read. The families present were asked to light a candle as the name of their dear one was read. Then, out of the darkness I saw one light, two lights, three lights, then many lights. I do not know how many, but there were many. The sky was illuminated with the candle lights. A total of 354 from Ramat Gan. Sam, have you ever seen 354 candles

all lit at the same time? Have you ever seen so many lights being lit in protest, and for no reason? Yes, all the names have been called and summoned to take their respective places among the Kedoshim of our history. The families are asked to rise for the El Male Rachamim. It is my duty to bring to heart and to call all of these souls that rest tachat kanfe hashchina. Many of them refuse to come out, for there, tachat kanfe hashchina have they found their menucha nechona. Yes, they have been "Laid to rest." My voice, choking with tears, begins to sing out loud, "El Male Rachamim."

I am wrestling with my feelings and emotions, I can not face it; I feel that I am breaking up. I see before my eyes the little boy of four, the boy of eight reciting the Kaddish. I see before my eyes widows, orphans, bereaved parents, and grand-parents. I see before my eyes innocent young sons and daughters dying for no reason. And I, I must say in public EL MALE RACHAMIM. I should like to ask of Him, Where is the Rachamim? However, the answer comes immediately, shochen barmomim. I can't reach Him for His answer rests on High. I proceed with the Male, then I reach a point where I say in a form of pleading "Lachen Baal Harachamim" I beg of you! Let it be the end! Please oh please, let it be the end of our mourning.

I finished the Male and while drying my tears from my eyes, I noticed that the candles were rising. Yes, the bereaved arose and proceeded in a line to go "up". Suddenly, I saw these innocent souls lined up, I saw them in white, in tachrichim. No, I am not going crazy, I see shrouds moving, I see them standing in line to see the Almighty and to complain that there is no reason for them to be there. I even hear them complain that the shrouds are not their size "they do not even look good in them". The families proceed to the top of the building and place their candles in a pile of sand. All 354 candles light our path.

I am dazed, I am not myself, I can't come to myself. I proceed to my car and drive home. I open the door of the house, all is dark, except for the little Ner Zikaron which I, together with the entire community, are asked to kindle. I sit alongside of the little Ner Zikaron, and begin to notice that even this little candle is restless, nervous, and frustrated. It seems to me that the little flame is troubled as to why he must burn, or exactly for whom does he burn. For which soul was he lit, and exactly whom does he represent? I look and look at the flame, close my eyes and ask myself how honest was I when I said El Male Rachamim. Was I positively sure that He is male rachamim?

SYNAGOGUE CHANTS OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY

The Music Notations of Obadiah the Proselyte

ISRAEL ADLER

A manuscript discovered in the Cairo Geniza collection of the Cambridge University Library in March 1965* was the subject of one of the most stimulating discussions in the Music Section of the Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies, held in Jerusalem in July last year. The leaf contains a number of verses from the Bible and a portion of a *piyyut* — a liturgical poem — written together with their melodies in the first half of the twelfth century. The significance of the discovery was fully appreciated by scholars familiar with the paucity of early Hebrew sources of musical notation. Indeed, until quite recently no more than about twenty such documents, dating from before the Emancipation (*viz.* the late eighteenth century), were known, most comprising no more than a few lines. Among the more important are notations of the *te'amim* (accents for biblical

* We are grateful to Dr. Nehemia Allony, discoverer of the fragment, for bringing it to our knowledge, and to the Cambridge University Librarian, for permitting us to publish it.

cantillation), transcribed by Christian humanists of the beginning of the sixteenth century — Johannes Boschenstein, Johannes Reuchlin and Sebastian Munster. Of the period prior to 1500 there were only two with musical notation — one with the opening verses of the Song of Solomon, in an illustrated Bible written in Spain ca. 1400 (the Mosseri ms., whose present whereabouts are unknown); the other a leaf, from the Geniza collection of E. N. Adler, containing a *piyyut* *Mi al Har Horev* together with its melody, written in neums. This latter discovery had aroused great interest for it was the earliest notation of a Hebrew melody brought to light, but the efforts of two generations of musicologists and historians notwithstanding, many important aspects remained unresolved, such as the date and place of its composition, and particularly, its musical content. Some progress was achieved at the beginning of last year when the scribe was identified (by Professor A. Scheiber of the Budapest Jewish Theo-

The recently identified music notations of Obadiah the Norman proselyte have taken our knowledge of Jewish music back hundreds of years. Dr. Israel Adler, who has lectured and written on the musicological significance of these eleventh-twelfth century fragments, is Director of the Music Department of the Jewish National and University Library, and of the Hebrew University's Jewish Music Research Centre.

logical Seminary, and Professor N. Golb of the University of Chicago), as Obadiah the Norman proselyte. Now the principal concern of Jewish musicologists has shifted to the manuscript discovered by Dr. Allony, which is also in the hand of Obadiah. The Cambridge fragment enabled us to decipher Obadiah's notation and thus to study the musical content of both documents.*

Before the connection between the Adler fragment and Obadiah the proselyte had been established, scholars assigned the date of the manuscript to anywhere between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries, and its place of origin from northern to southern France, north Italy to some country in the East. Now that Obadiah has been identified as the scribe of both manuscripts we can more accurately determine the date and also, it would seem, the place of origin.

A brief presentation of this remarkable personage will be helpful. Our main source of information is his autobiography, the so-called "Obadiah Scroll," written in biblical Hebrew of which fragments (seven leaves) have been preserved in the Cairo Geniza. We also have a letter of recommendation that Rabbi Baruch ben Itzhak of Aleppo gave to Obadiah, and a leaf from a prayer book which—so he testifies—he copied in his own hand. Recently, Professor Scheiber has discovered another Geniza fragment, with a *piyyut* composed by Obadiah. There have been attempts to associate Obadiah with another fragment written by an anonymous proselyte, but this ascription is doubtful.

Obadiah was born in Oppido (today Oppido Lucano) in Apulia, south Italy, to a noble family of Norman origin and was baptized Johannes or Giovan'. His father's name was Dreux and his mother's Maria. The date of his birth is not known but it can be assumed not to have been earlier than 1050 or later than 1075. In contrast to his older twin brother, Roger, "a man of the sword and war," Johannes was "a man who sought wisdom and understanding in books." Apparently he was destined for the priesthood or a monastic order,

* A full discussion of the two musical fragments recorded by Obadiah was undertaken by the author in *Les chants synagogaux notés au XIIe siècle (ca 1103-1150) par Abdias, le prosélyte normand* in *Revue de musicologie*, vol. II (1965), pp. 19-51. This article, which, inter alia, surveys the contributions of research workers who have studied these sources, emphasizes the musicological problems involved in the transcription of the notation of the melodies. The Judaistic aspect was more fully treated in a lecture given by the author during the Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies: *The new music fragment of Obadiah the Norman proselyte and its importance for Jewish music research.*

in keeping with the custom prevailing among noble families of designating the older son for chivalry and the younger for the church.

For some time certainly Johannes-Obadiah was connected with a monastic order, as is evidenced by his knowledge of neumatic notation, which at that time was practiced only in monasteries. The date of his conversion, September 1102, is given us by Obadiah himself, on the same leaf of the prayer book he copied:

Obadia the Norman proselyte, who entered the Covenant of the God of Israel in the month of Ellul in the year 1403 of the Seleucids, which is 4862 of the creation of the world.

He, Obadiah the proselyte, has written by his hand.

We do not know if Obadiah converted to Judaism in the country of his birth—Italy—or after his departure for the East, where we can trace his journeyings in Babylonia, Syria and Palestine down to the year 1121. Nor have we any knowledge of the immediate motives for his acceptance of the Jewish faith. The "Obadiah Scroll" relates two incidents that might have influenced him in some degree. One was the conversion to Judaism of Andreas, Archbishop of Bari, which took place apparently in Constantinople, during Obadiah's (then still Johannes) youth, between the years 1066 and 1078. The other was a dream Obadiah dreamt, reflecting the persecution of the Jews in Europe before the First Crusade (1096-1099). But most important of all is the atmosphere prevailing in these years of the First Crusade, in which the Normans of south Italy played an active part. While the religious yearnings of his brothers sought an outlet in a triumphant earthly pilgrimage to the Holy City of Jerusalem, Obadiah's embracing of the Jewish faith may be explained in the same light though it led in a different direction.

In our present state of knowledge it is difficult to determine the order and chronology of Obadiah's travels. He set out for the East, it seems, close to the date of his conversion in 1102. It also appears that his sojourn in Baghdad, where the Jewish community provided for his needs, occurred during the first part of his wanderings. Here he embarked upon the study of Hebrew. In the "scroll" referred to we read: "And it came to pass after this and Yitzhak, Head of the Yeshiva, commanded that Obadiah be taught the Torah of Moses and the Prophets, in the writing of God and in the language of the Hebrews." The account of his stay in Aleppo, where the community also took care of him, relates events which took place after 1113. The latest date given in the "scroll" is September 1121, when Obadiah, having left Damascus, met in Banias in Palestine, Solomon the

Karaite, who tried, unsuccessfully, to dissuade him from going down to Egypt. Obadiah, we may assume, settled in Egypt after that year, for all writings related to him have been found in the Cairo Geniza.

The identification of Obadiah as the scribe of the fragments with neumatic notation in the Adler and Cambridge Geniza collections is based upon comparison of the Hebrew script in both, and with another fragment in the prayer book in the Cincinnati Geniza collection, which—as already stated—Obadiah declares is written in his own hand. There is no doubt that all three fragments in the square oriental script are by the same author. In addition to the general similarity of the lettering, the *alef*, very like a Latin “k,” is strikingly characteristic. This form of the *alef* is found in cursive Hebrew writing of the period, but its appearance in the square script seems exceptional.

Knowing that Obadiah was the scribe of these music fragments, we can fix their date more precisely. They must have been written after September 1102 and before 1150, and in the East, for we know that Obadiah acquired his knowledge of Hebrew during his stay in Baghdad.

Problems of Transcription

But these data, however interesting, are only of secondary importance. Our chief concern lies in the musical content of the manuscripts. We shall, therefore, have to solve the problem of deciphering Obadiah’s musical notation. Prior to the discovery of the Cambridge fragment major difficulties were encountered. We shall not enter here into all the details of the argument; we shall confine ourselves to a statement of the problem and a summary of the conclusions reached in the light of the Cambridge fragment.

In neumatic as in modern musical notation exact transcription of a melody can be achieved only with the aid of a clef. In the Adler fragment (hereafter referred to as ms. A), the letter *dalet* appears as a clef from the sixth to the tenth lines. The clef-letters most frequently found in notated manuscripts of his period are F and G, usually indicating the notes *fa* and *do*. Logic implies that the *dalet* here represents the Latin letter D, that is to say, apparently the note *re*. This, indeed, was the conclusion of one scholar (Avenary). Another attempt at transcription was based on the assumption that *dalet* equals *do*. A third related *dalet* to *sol*. How widely these interpretations diverge, is immediately apparent if we compare the transcriptions.*

a) *dalet*: D (re)
according to
H. Avnary

Mi 'al har h6-rev ha-'a - mi-di
'in - yan qa - sav 'a - mod tim - ma - di kema - seh

b) *dalet*: C (do)
according to
Dem. C. Beysiac

Mi 'al har h6-rev ha-'a - mi-di
'in - yan qa - sav 'a - mod tim - ma - di kema - seh

c) *dalet*: G (sol)
according to
E. Warner

Mi 'al har h6-rev ha-'a - mi-di
'in - yan qa - sav 'a - mod tim - ma - di kema - seh

* In these examples the author has presented the clef interpretations of the three scholars quoted, but has followed his own reading of the manuscript in giving the note-for-note transcription.

In the Cambridge fragment (hereafter called ms. B) Obadiah in addition to the clef letter *dalet*, also used other Hebrew letters from *alef* to *zayin*, but it seems that in this manuscript, too, the dominant clef is the *dalet*. Theoretically speaking these clef signs could lend themselves to various interpretations but, in fact, only two alternatives seem plausible in view of what is known of the systems of musical notation of this period. There is no question that the series of letters *a(lef)*, *b(et)*, *g(imel)*, *d(alet)*, *h(eh)*, *v(av)*, *z(ayin)*, *a(lef)* in ms. B is equivalent to the Latin letters A, B, C, D, E, F, G, A. This series might at first sight seem parallel to the octave of the scale of A (*la*), but at this period it could also have been used to indicate the scale of C (*do*). This means that the only alternative to reading *dalet* as D (*re*) is to read it as F (*fa*). Analysis of the melodies, and especially of the melody of the fragment of the *piyyut Va'eda ma* in ms. B, shows that if the *dalet* is interpreted as the clef F (*fa*), we arrive at a solution satisfactory from every aspect, while if

we take the *dalet* as D (*re*) the result is unacceptable. In parenthesis it may be pointed out that this method of eliminating unreasonable solutions is used by scholars of the Gregorian chant in deciphering melodies written in neums without clefs.

As already stated we cannot go beyond this short summary of the arguments raised by Obadiah's notation, which has brought us to the following transcriptions:

Ms. A. (Adler 4096b)

1

mī 'al har hō - rav ha - 'e - mī - di
'in - yan qa - šav 'a - (m)ad'im - ma dī ke - mo - šeh

2

mī mid - bar hin - h[ʔg] 'e - d[ʔr]f
[man ha - kī] li (w[ʔa]) [š] ba - e - ri ke - mo - šeh

3

mī ri [g - š] ah'a - lay ha - nūn ūm(e)ra - hem
ra - haš we 'al ha - ra šah tanna - hem ke - mo - šeh

4

mī haz hez - yān haq 'e - dēt
[ha - zah] be - mar - šah we - lō - be - hī - dēt ke - mo - šeh

5

mī zōt [š] - rah] limmed [w] - šin - nen
ze - kah we - ya - vē be - šōk he - a - nan ke - mo - šeh

6

qam ar-ba'im yâm baš-ša - ma-yim
 q[u]y-yam-ba-lô le-hem we-lô ma - yim ke-mo [šeh]

7

Del ha-e-lo - h[im] 'a-da-ft' q[û-mi]
 Kf vâ ô-rek ke-vôd a-dô - nay 'a - la - yik za-rah

Ms. B (Cambridge T.S.K5/41)

RECTO

wa-e - da' mah wa-e - da' mah a-dab-ber
 ha(š) - še-ta - rim ô-mah ô - marû-mah
 ô - marû-mah ta'on la[mma]de - nî

VERSO

1. Jer., xvii, 7

ba-rûh hagge - vera-šer yiv-tah ba'dô - nay
 we-ha - yah a-do-nay miv-ta - hâ

2. Prov., III, 5

be-tah el a-do - nay be-kol lib - be - ka
we-el bi-nat - ka al tis-ša - 'on

3. Prov., III, 6

be-kol de-ra-kê - ka da - 'e - hû
we-[hû] ye - yaš-šer ôr hê-tê ka

4. Prov., III, 13

aš-rê a-dam ma - šā hok - mah
we - 'a-dam ya-fiq te-vû - neh

5. Job, V. 17

hin-neh aš - rê e - nôš yô kîhen-nû e-lô - ha
û mù-sar šad-day al tim - es

Before embarking upon any discussion of the melodies recorded by Obadiah we must stress the irrefutable evidence presented by our sources that his collection of melodies consisted of more than the two leaves that have reached us. One of the two pages of ms. B begins with the verse *Baruch hagever* and the other with *Va'eda ma*. Which is the verso and which the recto of this leaf? This question can be answered with the aid of the "Direct" (custos), the mark placed at the end of each staff indicating the first note of the next one. The "Direct" at the end of the last staff of the page beginning with the verse *Baruch hagever* is the note F (*fa*), while the first note on the following page is D (*re*). It follows that the page starting with *Baruch*

hagever is the verso of our leaf, which had a continuation, starting on the note F (*fa*), on a leaf which has not yet come to light. The recto is therefore the page that begins with the words *Va'eda ma*, and it is clear that this text is only the final fragment of the *piyyut*. Thus this leaf indicates that ms. B originally consisted of at least three leaves.

Nature and Origins of the Fragments

In examining the nature, origin and purpose of the melodies we must distinguish between the chants recorded in ms. A and on the recto of ms. B, and the chant on the verso of ms. B.

Ms. A presents a *piyyut* that has been defined as a eulogy on Moses, intended for the festivals of Shavuot (Pentecost) or Simhat Torah (the Rejoicing of the Law). It consists of six couplets, each ending with the word *Ke'moshe* ("as Moses") that serves as a refrain followed by an additional text based on a quotation from Isaiah. The author of this liturgical poem, a certain Amr, whose identity is as yet uncertain, inserted his name in the form of an acrostic in the *piyyut*. The text on the recto of ms. B is also a *piyyut* of which only the conclusion has been preserved:

"And I shall know what, and I shall know what I shall say in
the gates,

And what shall I say, and what shall I say, and what wilt Thou
answer? Teach me!"

Neither the purpose nor the author of this fragment has been determined. While the chant of five verses on the recto of ms. B belongs to a repertoire of ancient synagogue cantillations of anonymous authorship, as will be shown, the *piyyutim* recorded in ms. B belong to the corpus of religious (liturgical or para-liturgical) poems with which *hazzanim* (cantors) and congregations were infatuated throughout the Middle Ages. Very often the *hazzan* himself was composer of both the *piyyut* and the melody to which it had been set, or had adapted the melody from an existing model. In these compositions the *hazzan* of the period was inspired chiefly by a desire to present something new to his audience. Thus any attempt to mould the melodies of these *piyyutim* in the traditional style of synagogue cantillations seems to have been remote from his intentions. Further rabbinical authorities of the period show that in the Christian West as in the Islamic East *hazzanim* did not hesitate to introduce foreign tunes into the synagogue service.

The chant of the *piyyut Mi al Har Horev*, recorded in ms. A and that of *Va'eda ma* on the recto of ms. B are compositions in the style of the western monodic chant of the Middle Ages. While the second piece is too fragmentary to suggest immediately recognizable parallels with this repertoire, analysis of the first—*Mi al Har Horev*—permits identification of formulas characteristic of passages of the Gregorian chant. There is a striking similarity between the first lines of each of the six couplets of the *piyyut Mi al Har Horev*, and the first period (up to the caesura), of the first lines of the tracts of the eighth mode whose structure and melodic materials almost always follow the same pattern.

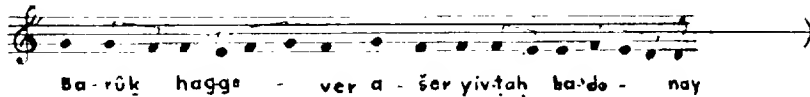
How did these two melodies recorded by Obadiah originate? Quite possibly they were composed by Obadiah himself or by someone else coming from the West—perhaps one of the European *hazzanim* who sought refuge in the East in that period of Crusades and persecution of the Jews. It has been suggested that they are pieces from a Gregorian repertoire, borrowed and adapted to Hebrew texts by Obadiah. But as long as no similar Gregorian chants have been identified, whatever resemblances exist can reasonably be attributed to the influence, natural in a composer, Jewish or Christian, brought up in a Christian environment. Indeed, it would be astonishing for Obadiah, a convert to Judaism, deliberately to borrow a melody from the religious service of the “uncircumcised” (as he himself pejoratively referred to his former co-religionists), and introduce it clandestinely into the sanctuary of his new faith.

The fact that he was led to record, and perhaps also to compose, synagogal chants, leads us to suppose that he was closely associated with cantors and teachers—two callings that often went together in that time. There is even some ground for assuming that, in the light of the social conditions then controlling the office of cantor in the East, Obadiah himself exercised this profession. In many cases it was the foreigners and refugees, coming from the Mediterranean countries, who served as cantors and teachers in the East, especially in Egypt. We know that Obadiah found it difficult to earn a living and it is quite feasible that he did so by performing the functions of a cantor or by teaching new melodies to other cantors. This hypothesis is supported by our knowledge of the extraordinary popularity of *hazzanut*, and the desperate efforts made by the cantors to learn something new. They imported *piyyutim* into Egypt, even from the south of France, and documents of the period indicate that *hazzanim* went to the same lengths to plagiarize their colleagues as they did to prevent others

from stealing their own *piyyutim*. In these circumstances it is easy to imagine that Obadiah's ability to record and transmit melodies by writing them down, was regarded by these Oriental cantors, unaware of western achievement of musical notations, as an almost miraculous stroke of good fortune.

The question whether Obadiah himself was the author of the melodies to these *piyyutim* or merely recorded another's compositions, remains open. We can, however, be certain that in the chant of the five biblical verses on the verso of ms. B—one verse from Jeremiah, three from Proverbs and one from Job—we have not a new composition but a faithful transcription of a traditional synagogal cantillation that Obadiah learned from one of the Oriental communities in which he lived after his conversion. Indeed, initial attempts to identify this piece have established that it has been faithfully preserved up to our own day in the oral tradition of several Jewish communities in the East and in the Mediterranean countries.

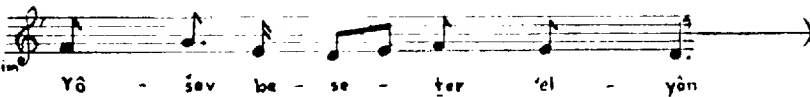
1. Ms. Cambridge
Jer. 47,7



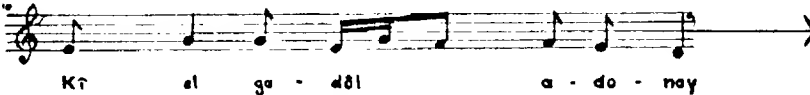
2. Prov. 4,4
Idelsohn, Toledot
han-neginah, p. 120
Syria



3. Ps. 94,4
Idelsohn,
Theol., IV, p. 228
Oriental Sefardin



4. Ps. 95,8
Coll. A. Herzog 213, 10
Djerba



5. Ex. 15,1
Congelo, Sefer
Širê Yisrael p. 202
Italy



6. Benediction of the

Maffarak

Coll. L. Levi, 31, 20

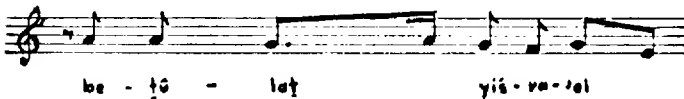
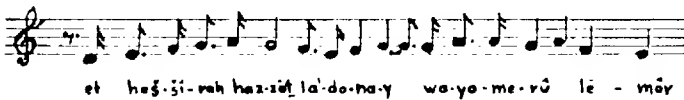
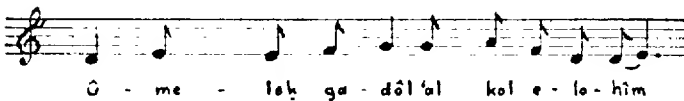
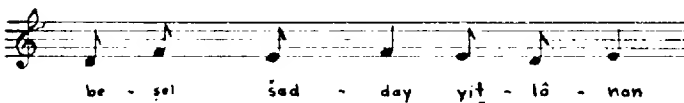
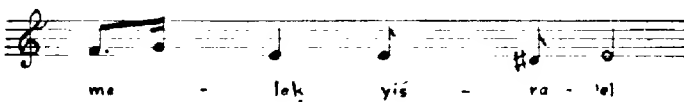
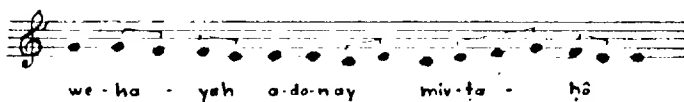
Italy



7. Jer., 31, 4

Coll. L. Levi, 59, 205

Italy



This cantillation in the mode of E, finalis in E and mediant D, with a range limited to the fourth D—G (occasionally reaching A), is to be found among the Jews of Syria in a melody used in the reading of the Book of Proverbs, among the Jews of Djerba in the reading of Psalms, and among the Jews of Italy in reading Jeremiah, the Song of the Sea (Exodus 15), and the blessings of the Haftara.

It is likewise correct to assign to the same group of cantillations the reading of the Prophets by Aleppan Jews, of Esther and Ruth by those of Baghdad, though among the former the range is extended downwards by one tone, and among the latter there is not the same precision of the caesura in the middle of the verse on the note D. But the examples prove with what fidelity this cantillation has been preserved in the oral tradition.

The new musical fragment discovered by Dr. Allony in the Cambridge University Library is of the utmost significance for Jewish music research. Because of the rarity of notated documents the study of Jewish music is dependent on sources transmitted by oral tradition, exploited according to ethnomusicological methods. For the first time we are able to corroborate findings of Jewish ethnomusicology of the twentieth century, and to establish them on the solid ground of so early a source in musical notation. Furthermore the fact that this biblical cantillation was faithfully preserved in oral tradition for more than eight centuries after being recorded in the first half of the twelfth century, gives us reason to believe that it already formed a part of a more ancient Jewish heritage at the time when it was written down by Obadiah the Norman proselyte.

SALOMONE ROSSI, EBREO (c. 1570-c. 1630): OUTSTANDING JEWISH MUSICIAN OF THE RENAISSANCE

DANIEL CHAZANOFF

It was by chance that this writer first became aware of Salomone Rossi, Ebreo, in 1959 while engaged in research for a doctoral study on another subject. Completely unknown to me at the time, it was indeed a revelation to find that Rossi may have been the father of the trio sonata, the chamber music from which ushered in the Italian Instrumental Baroque. Further study on the subject was made possible through a grant from the National Foundation for Jewish Culture during the Summer of 1968 which the author gratefully acknowledges.

Derivation of His Name

The pages of Jewish history are sprinkled with family names which bear no resemblance to a Hebraic background. Such is the case of Salomone Rossi, Ebreo, court musician and composer to the Dukes of Mantua, Italy, from c. 1587 to c. 1630. His Italianized name is found in a variety of spellings and versions, i. e., Salamone Rossi, Solomone Rossi, Salamone de Rossi, Salomone de Rossi, etc. In translation it is derived from his complete Hebrew name, Shelomo Me-ha-Adumim, meaning Solomon of the Red Ones. Hence, Shelomo becomes Salomone and Me-ha-Adumim becomes Rossi, the Italian plural of red or de Rossi, of the red ones. According to Grove, he proudly added 'Ebreo' (Hebrew) to his Italian name and often signed 'Shelomo Me-ha-Adumim' in Hebrew.¹ Saminsky adds that Rossi was choirmaster at the Mantua synagogue as well as court musician.²

1. Eric Blom (ed.), *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan and Company, 1954), VII, 243.

2. Lazare Saminsky, *Music of the Ghetto and the Bible* (New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1934), p. 166.

Dr. Daniel Chazanoff is the Director of Music for the City School District of Rochester, New York. He has had almost 20 years experience as teacher, conductor, performer and administrator from the third grade exploratory level through college. He is a first-rate cellist, having served at the first desks in the Birmingham Symphony, the Berkshire Music Festival and a number of radio and television orchestras. He has written extensively in his field of Early English Chamber music for strings and has orchestrations to his credit, as well. He was a Delegate to the Eighth National Conference of the United States National Commission for UNESCO. He is an active and participating member of Rochester's Temple Beth-El.

Birth and Death Dates

This researcher has found no documents to date which establish the exact years of Rossi's birth and death. Most writers agree upon circa 1570 as the year of his birth. However, one source places his birth as early as circa 1560.³ If Rossi was born around 1570 he would have been 19 years old at the time of his first published book of compositions. Since his collection of nineteen *Canzonets* for three voices was published in 1589, Freed argues that "... it is hardly likely that a boy of 19 would have sufficiently absorbed the complex techniques of counterpoint as it was then practiced . . ."⁴ When one considers that Juan Arriaga, 'the Spanish Mozart' wrote a symphony, two string quartets, a cantata and an opera before the age of 20, it is not far-fetched to say that a gifted boy of 19 from a cultured and intellectually gifted family as the Rossis could publish contrapuntal music.

The date of Rossi's death is also open to conjecture. Either of two events was the probable cause of his death. According to Grove, the death registers of Mantua list five members of the Rossi family who fell as victims of the 'fever' between March 1629 and June 1630.⁵ Salamone's name is not mentioned as having been among the five who perished.

Another event which could have been the cause of death was the conquest of Mantua by Kaiser Ferdinand of Austria in 1630. After the death of Vicenzio II, the last of the Gonzagas, Mantua was besieged by Austrian troops; the Great Index gives 1627 as the date of Vicenzio's death.⁶ The Jewish population, which had been enclosed in a ghetto since 1610, was called upon to man the fortifications with all other citizens and to build new walls. They were not permitted to rest even on the Sabbath. When the city fell, after seven months of battle, the ghetto was ravaged and about 1,800 Jews fled.⁷ According to Holde, the 1,800 surviving Jews of the city were dispersed by Ferdinand II of Austria.⁸

3. Cecil Roth (ed.), *The Standard Jewish Encyclopedia* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1966), p. 1615.

4. Isadore Freed, *Sacred Service* (New York: Transcontinental Music Corp., 1954), unpaginated.

5. Blom, *loc. cit.*

6. L. B. Phillips (ed.), *The Great Index of Biographical Reference* (Philadelphia: Gebbie and Company, 1881), p. 444.

7. Peter Gradenewitz, *The Music of Israel* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1949), p. 150.

8. Artur Holde, *Jews in Music* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1959), p. 4.

It seems reasonably well-founded to say that Rossi did not live beyond both the plague of 1629-30 and the fall of Mantua in 1630. Gifted composers such as Salomone Rossi do not suddenly stop writing. The last of his 13 books of published compositions appeared in 1628. After that date, creativity ceased. In the words of Gradenwitz, “. . . and the short but magnificent intermezzo in the story of the music of Israel thus came to a sudden and tragic end.”⁹

Family Genealogy

Several sources trace Rossi's family lineage back to the beginning of the Diaspora. The descendent of a prominent family, his pedigree has been traced to the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 A. D. When the Emperor Titus captured Jerusalem, he brought back to Rome four important Jewish families.¹⁰ Of these, the family known in Hebrew as Min-ha-Adomim became Italianized as De' Rossi.¹¹

The earliest member of that learned family to achieve prominence in Italy was Solomon de' Rossi, whose writings we come upon in the 13th Century.¹² His book, a primer of religious disputation, was intended for Jewish scholars who “. . . were inevitably compelled from time to time to enter into discussion on religious questions or to defend their faith against attack.”¹³

An immediate forbear of Salomone Rossi, Ebreo, and once again a writer, was Azariah de' Rossi, author of the famous book *Me' or Einayim* which brought Renaissance standards of historical criticism to Jewish scholarship.¹⁴ The title, meaning “The Enlightenment of the Eyes” had its genesis in questions asked by a Christian scholar with regard to various problems of Jewish history.¹⁵ Azariah de' Rossi considered Hebrew literature and history in the light of sources available only in Greek.¹⁶ Cecil Roth refers to him as “. . . the most important Jewish literary figure of the Renaissance period in Italy.”¹⁷

9. Peter Gradenewitz, *loc. cit.*

10. A. Z. Idelson, *Jewish Music* (New York: Tudor Publishing Company, 1948), pp. 196-197.

11. Cecil Roth, *The History of the Jews of Italy* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1946), p. 13.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 149-150.

13. *Ibid.*

14. Max Wurmbrand and Cecil Roth, *The Jews in the Renaissance* (New York: Shengold Publishers, 1967), p. 206.

15. Roth, *op.cit.*, p. 218.

16. *Ibid.*

17. Cecil Roth, *The Jews in the Renaissance* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1959), p. 285.

In the life of Azariah de'Rossi we have the first indication that the family, or part of it, had moved from Rome. In 1571, while at Ferrara, he took refuge in the country from a series of earthquake shocks. He is referred to as Bonaiuto (Azariah) de'Rossi, a native of Mantua and resident of Bologna prior to Ferrara.¹⁸ Yet, the *Enciclopedia della Musica* refers to Salomone Rossi as “. . . figlio del umanista Asaria dei Rossi (m. 1578) . . .” (son of the humanist Asariah dei Rossi (died 1578)).¹⁹ If Azariah de'Rossi was not in Mantua around 1570 when Salamone de'Rossi was born, he was probably a close relative as Roth suggests.²⁰ Conversely, since Salomone's birthdate is not accurate, perhaps he was born before 1570 and outside of Mantua. In that event, it is possible, as Grove's *Dictionary* states, that he “. . . is now proved to have been the son of the humanist philosopher, Asaria dei Rossi (c. 1514-78).”²¹

In keeping with this heritage, “. . . it is significant and highly characteristic of the age, that in the same family Hebraic and secular interests, synagogal inspiration and court activities were so intimately connected.”²² One is impressed by the cultural contribution of the Rossis during the reign of the Gonzagas in Mantua. Grove mentions numerous members of the family who participated at court.²³ First and foremost, was Salamone De Rossi, instrumentalist (viol and violin), singer, orchestra conductor, composer and teacher of the violin. A famous singer and actress, known as 'Madama Europa,' from her creation of the part of Europa in *'L'idropica*, an early music drama of Monteverdi, was either the wife or sister of Salomone. The close relationship is reflected in the names of her two sons, Benaiuto and Angelo alluding to the grandfather, Benaiuto (Azariah) de Rossi, who passed away before they were born. (Angelo may have been an Italianized version of Azariah). Roth mentions Anselmo (=Asher) de'Rossi as Madama Europa's own son, who was among the collaborators in Frederico Malgarini's collection of motets.²⁴ (Motets are religious polyphonic-contrapuntal songs of the Renaissance period).

18. Cecil Roth, *The History of the Jews in Italy* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1946), p. 218.

19. Claudio Sartori (ed.), *Enciclopedia della Musica* (Milano: G. Records and Company, 1964), IV, 61.

20. Roth, *op. cit.*, p. 288.

21. Blom, *loc. cit.*

22. Cecil Roth, *The Jews in the Renaissance* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1959), p. 288.

23. Blom, *loc. cit.*

24. Roth, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

Anselmo's composition was a three-voiced motet entitled *Aperi Oculos Meos* (I Opened My Eyes). This was printed at Mantua in 1618.²⁵ Perhaps a coincidence, or perhaps not, the title of the composition bears a resemblance to his grandfather's book, *Me' or Einayim* (The Enlightenment of the Eyes). Holde refers to Anselmo as an acknowledged lute player in addition to being a composer.²⁶ Still another musical Rossi was Matteo, a bass singer who appeared in a Mantua court pay list of 1621.²⁷ The literary heritage of the family was carried on by Bastiano de Rossi who is mentioned as a writer of the period.²⁸ Such was the lineage from which emerged the outstanding Jewish musician of the Renaissance—and a musical creator of universal importance.

25. Blom, *loc. cit.*

26. Holde, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

27. Blom, *loc. cit.*

28. *Ibid.*

KIDDUSH

L. Lewandowski

Hazan

BO-RUCHA-TO A-DO-NOY E-LO-HE-NU MELECH HO-O-LOM BO-RE P:RI HA-

Choir Hazan

GO-FEN O-MEN BO-RUCHA-TO A-DO-NOY E-LO-HE-NU ME-LECH

HO-O-LOM A-SHER KID-SHO-NU B'-MITSYO-SOV V'-RO-TSO VO-NU

V'-SHA-BOS KOD'SHO B'-A-HA-YO UY'-RO-TSON HIN-CHI-LO-NU

SI - KO - RON L - MA - A - SE V - RE - SHIS KI HU YOM T - CHI - LO L - MIK - RO - E KO -

- DESH SE - CHER LI - TSI - AS MITS - RA - YIM KI VO - NU VO - CHAR - TO

V - O - SO - NU KI - DASH - TO MI - KOL HO - A - MIM V - SHABAS KOD - SHECHO BA - HA - YO

U - V'RO - TSON HIN - CHAL - TO - NU BORUCHA - TO A - DO - NOY M'KA - DESH HA - SHA - BOS O - MIEN

Choir

Socharti Loch. *E. Kutschner*

Frei mit tiefer Empfindung vorzutragen.

SO-CHARTI LOCH CHE-SED'NU-RA-YICH A-HA-VAS K'-LU-LO-SO-YICH
 LECH-TECH A-CH-RAI BA-MID-BOR B'-E RETS
 LO Z'-RU-OH V'-NE-MAR V'-SO-CHARTI A-NI ES B'-
 -RI-SI O-SOCH BI-ME N'-U-RA-YICH VA-HA-KI-MO-SI LOCH B'-RIS O-LOM VA-HA-KI
 -MO-SI LOCH B'-RIS O-LOM V'-NE-MAR HA-YEN YA-KIR
 -LI EF-RA YIM YIM YE-LED SHA-A-SHU-YIM
 KI MID-DEY DAB-RI BO SO CHOR
 ES-K'-RE-NU OD AL KEN HO-MU ME-AY LO RA---CHEM A-
 -RA-CHA-ME-NU N'-UM A-DO-NOY RA---CHEM A-
 RA-CHE-ME-NU N'-UM A-DO-NOY N'-UM A-DO-NOY.

THE KOL NIDRE TUNE

A. Z. IDELSOHN, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio

THE tune of the Kol Nidre text became one of the most outstanding melodies of the Ashkenazic Synagogue. While the text, a mere renouncement of vows, is devoid of religious emotions, its musical setting is generally accepted as an expression of the deep religious feelings which move the Jewish heart on the eve of the Day of Atonement. There is hardly any other traditional Jewish tune that has attracted so much attention from the composers of the last century. Innumerable are the arrangements for voice with piano, organ, or violin accompaniment and violoncello obligato. We have the exalted melody prepared for choir and small orchestra. And last but not least is the concerto by Max Bruch. In the first bars of Beethoven's C# minor quartet, the opening theme of Kol Nidre is recognizable. Thus, has the music world come to consider this the most characteristic tune of the Synagogue.

It is, therefore, quite natural that the tune should have aroused much interest concerning its origin and its composer. And many writers have voiced widely varying opinions. Caught by the introductory motive, some believed that they found traces of gypsy music. Others ventured to declare the music's birthplace among the Marranos, in Spain, because to their ears the tune seems to express such fear as would suit the state of mind of the Marranos, escaping the watchful eye of the Inquisition, assembled in hidden cellars on the eve of Yom Kippur to pour out their contrite spirit to the God of their fathers. Others thought the tune a derivation of Byzantine church-song.

Before we proceed with the investigation of the tune, we shall make a brief comment on the text. The oldest known reference to the text dates back to the 9th century. Natronai Gaon, who mentions Kol Nidre, says that it was not customary to recite it in the Babylonian academies nor in any place in Babylonia, but that he had heard that there were countries where it was

used. He adds that "we never heard it from our teachers."¹ Amram Gaon says that some recite the Kol Nidre, "but the holy academy announced it as a foolish custom and it is prohibited to do so (i. e. recite it)."² Neither was Kol Nidre customary in the Palestinian ritual. As the opening of the service on the Eve of Atonement, the Palestinians recited Psalms 130 and 103.2-22.³ Amram gives a version of the text of Kol Nidre entirely in Hebrew, which is about the same as that by Saadia, who writes the opening five words in Aramaic and the rest in Hebrew.⁴ The same version, with slight variations is found in Maḥzor Roumania and Roma-Italy, as is obvious from the comparative table given below. The text in Maḥzor Aleppo (Venice 1527) is a fusion of those of Saadia, Amram, and Sephardic versions, in a combination of Aramaic and Hebrew.

The original text related to vows made in the preceding year, but Jacob Tam in the name of his father, Meir b. Samuel, shifted the reference to vows that might be made in the coming year. This version, speaking not of the past but of the future,⁵ was accepted by the Ashkenazic ritual only, while the Sephardic-Oriental and Yemenite rituals retained the old version and added the sentence ומיום הכפורים הזה עד יום הכפורים אחר שיבוא עלינו לשלום. The Aleppo ritual recites first the old version and then an abbreviated form of the revised version according to R. Tam.^{5a}

¹ Comp. Asher b. Yehiel (Rosh) to Yoma VIII end: אין נוהגין לא בשחי' אלא שמענו שבשאר ארצות אומרים ושיבות ולא בכל מקום להחיר נדרים לא בריה ולא ביה"כ, אלא שמענו שבשאר ארצות אומרים ושיבות ולא בכל מקום להחיר נדרים. אכל אנו לא ראינו ולא שמענו מרבותינו ז"ל. See also Hammanhig, Kippur 56.

² Seder R. Amram, Warsaw 1862, 47a: שפנתה שטות: אבל שגרו מתיבחה הקדושה שפנתה שטות: הוא זה ואסור לעשות כן.

³ See J. Mann, *H.U.C. Annual*, vol. II, pp. 327ff. T. Soferim 19.2 gives these psalms for Yom Kippur.

⁴ Quoted by Asher b. Yehiel to Yoma l. c.

⁵ Comp. Hammanhig l. c. and Asher b. Yehiel l. c. This change is principally based on M. Nedarim IV. R. Jacob Tam maintained that vows that have been neglected cannot be annulled, Abudraham, Kippur; Asher b. Yehiel l. c. See Kol Nidre by Israel Davidson, *American Jewish Yearbook 1923-1924*, p. 180ff.

^{5a} H. D. J. Asulai introduced into The Synagogue "Talmud Torah" in Jerusalem, the custom of repeating Kol Nidre three times according to the original version, and a fourth time according to J. Tam's correction. Cf. Luncz, *Jerusalem*, Vol. I p. 38,

Another textual correction was made by Meir Rothenburg. He omitted the words "יהא רעוא ד" and ככחוב,⁶ and inserted ראיחחרטנא כהון.⁷ The Kol Nidre is recited three successive times. The Talmud prescribes that every Rabbinic announcement be made three times.⁸ The Aleppo ritual provides that Kol Nidre be recited seven times. We see that the recitation of the Kol Nidre was not originally customary in Babylonia and Palestine. In those countries where it became customary, both words and meaning underwent revisions. Only toward the end of the 13th century did the text take final shape.

The protests that became loud after the beginning of the last century led some Reform congregations to eliminate the Kol Nidre text entirely.⁹ Others composed new texts or, following the old Palestinian custom, substituted for it Psalm 130. A. Geiger in his prayer-book (1st ed.), the editors of the Hamburg reform prayer-book (beginning with the 4th ed.) and the *Gebetbuch für das ganze Jahr* (Frankfurt a/M, 1929) edited by Seligman, Elbogen and Vogelstein, gave texts which utilize, for traditional flavor, those key phrases of Kol Nidre familiar to every Jewish tongue, yet voice not an abnegation of vows but the compelling emotions of the Jew on Yom Kippur eve.

So far as is known there is no record as to whether Kol Nidre was originally chanted or simply read. The only reference to voice is that in M. Vitry (p. 388) which prescribes the raising of the voice with each repetition of the text. The first source that mentions a musical rendition of Kol Nidre is Maharil: "אכן יאריך בו בניונים", "Indeed, he (the precentor) shall prolong it with song until night." This statement suggests rather improvised chanting than a fixed melody. Around 1600 Mordecai Jaffe of Prague speaks of the Hazzanim as using a certain fixed tune which, because of its connection with the text, was a stumbling block to any change of that text.¹⁰ From M. Jaffe's emphasis

⁶ Abudraham l. c.

⁷ Tashbez, § 134.

⁸ M. Menahoth X, 3, b. Men. 65a.

⁹ The Rabbinical Conference at Brunswick in 1844 decided that the Kol Nidre text is not essential and should be abolished.

¹⁰ Levush, § 619, Prague 1701. The Hebrew text is given in my essay 'Song and Singers, etc.' in the *H.U.C. Jubilee Volume 1925*, p. 406.

כל לשון כל נרדי שמנגנים בו עכשו החזנים "Kol Nidre that the Hazzanim now sing," it may be deduced that this was still considered an innovation in his time. He also praises the quality of the tune וואין לו שום פרוש אלא הננייה בלבר which means that already at his time the tune was highly regarded. Since, as we are led to believe, there was no fixed tune as yet known during Maharil's time (1356–1427) while at the time of Jaffe (1530–1612) the Kol Nidre tune was established though apparently new, we may tentatively posit that the tune was created between the middle of the 15th and the middle of the 16th centuries. The assumption that the statement of Jaffe indicates that the tune was composed in Prague will be refuted later on, by the very nature of the tune.

The literary sources are vague and unconvincing. In order to determine the structure, time, and birthplace of the tune we must turn to a more reliable source, namely, to the tune itself.

In the first place we must know and bear in mind the fact that the Kol Nidre tune is utterly unknown to all but the Ashkenazim, i.e., the adherents of the tradition and the ritual of the German Jews.¹¹ Thus is evidenced the fallacy of the assumption that the Spanish Jews created the tune. Nowhere do their descendants in the Orient or in Europe use this melody supposed by some to be reminiscent of their suffering as Marranos.

But aside from all arguments based on external evidence the tune itself, by its elements and style, testifies to its being a product of the Ashkenazic Synagogue, created in Southern Germany. Musical science teaches us that a musical selection dates and places its own origin by its elements and its form, just as art objects, antique and modern, relate their own history and explain their birthplace and the period in which they were created. So also does a tune, be it folk, popular or art music, bear the stamp of a certain period, being constructed out of musical elements belonging to a certain people in a certain country. Thus we can recognize a Slavic, German, Gypsy, Tartaric, or Spanish tune. A Gregorian chant will easily be

¹¹ The Oriental and Sephardic Jews chant Kol Nidre in the Seliha or Tefilla modes, comp. F. Consolo, *Libro dei Canto d'Israele*, No. 346; A. Z. Idelsohn, *Thesaurus of Hebrew Oriental Melodies*, vol. I, No. 114; vol. III, No. 79; vol. IV, No. 259; and vol. V, No. 208.

distinguished from a Methodist hymn, and a tune by Schubert from an American jazz hit. But even within the music of a people creations of different periods can easily be recognized. Nobody who has any knowledge of music will take a piece of music by Richard Strauss as having been composed in the time of Bach, or the composer of a Minnesong as having been a contemporary of Beethoven, just as nobody will be so fooled as to believe that the "Rhapsodie in Blue" employs the same elements and style as a piece of music by Henry Purcell. The mere hearing of certain music is sufficient for the determination of its elements and style, of its people and its period. Where music is less definitely of a type, or where more detailed differentiations are sought, we must resort to careful scientific analyses and comparisons. The same elements of time and geography hold true with the Song of the Synagogue. Its oldest stratum is the Biblical modes. These though common to all Jewish groups of the Diaspora, have in the course of time developed modifications, in each group, which stamp them with local features, so that an untrained musician will fail to recognize immediately the common elements of the chants of the various groups. But everybody will at once recognize them as being of a particular and the same musical type.

Like the other Jewish communities, so the Ashkenazim created during their stay in Germany Synagogue songs of different periods. To one of these periods belong the so-called "Missinai" songs.¹² They all have the same style and are constructed to a certain extent of the same elements. To this groups of songs belong: Alenu, Aboth, Hammelech, Kaddish, Wehakkohanim, etc., and the tune of Kol Nidre. In earlier discussions I have proved the similarity of the elements of these songs as well as their common style.¹³ Here we must confine our attention to the Kol Nidre tune.

¹² The name "Missinai" is nowhere recorded in connection with songs. *Sefer Hasidim*, ed. Freimann, Frankfort a/M 1924, § 817 applies this term to the Biblical modes.

¹³ In my essay "Der Missinaigesang der deutschen Synagoge," *Z. f. M.* (Leipzig 1926) pp. 449-472; *Jewish Music*, etc. (New York 1929), chap. VIII; *Der jüdische Tempelgesang*, in Adler's *Handbuch d. Musikgeschichte*, 2nd ed. p. 149ff.

The oldest musical notation of the Kol Nidre thus far discovered is that by Ahron Beer, cantor in Berlin, 1765-1821. He included it in a collection of Synagogal songs, about 1765.¹⁴ His version contains the essential elements of the tune as it is known up to the present. We give Beer's version as No. 1, No. 2 is the version that S. Naumbourg copied in 1840 from L. Sanger, cantor in Munich, and published with slight variants in his *Recueil de Chants Religieux* (Paris 1874). No. 3 is the form into which Lewandowski shaped the tune in his *Kol Rinnah* (Berlin 1871, No. 107). His version became the standard form of the tune in the German Synagogue. No. 4 is the version used in Eastern Europe, which Abraham Baer gave with some variants in his *Baal Tfillah* (1877), No. 1301.

By comparing the four versions we see that the first part of the tune, designated (a) is alike in all, while in the parts (b) and (c) marked variants are noticeable. Nearest to part (b) in Ahron Beer's version are Lewandowski's (b) (bI) and (cI). However, the (b) parts of all versions and the (c) of the first three have several elements in common. Those elements peculiar to each version are: in No. 1 the part marked I, in No. 2 the parts I, II and III, and in No. 4 the part (c). The Kol Nidre motives are marked with numbers and presented in parallel listings:

in No. 1, 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15.

in No. 2, 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. - 10. 11. 12. — 14. 15.

in No. 3, 1. - 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. - 10. — — 13. 14. 15.

in No. 4, 1. 2. 3. - - - 7. - - 10. 11. 12. — — —16(?).

From this chart we see that No. 4 has only seven motives (1, 2, 3, 7, 10, 11, 12) in common with the other versions. On the other hand, it has elements which are not employed in the other versions. Some motives are employed several times.

The versions vary also in the order in which their component motives are arranged. The reason for this sort of shifting light from the same color material grows out of the type of song to which this tune belongs. We have in the Synagogue Song, the modal form, which consists of a number of motives that can be

¹⁴ Of this MS. an excerpt was made by E. Birnbaum, which is found in the H.U.C. Library, published in Vol. VI of my *Thesaurus*.

fused together to a melodic line, in an improvised manner, according to the momentary inspiration of the singer. On the other hand, we find fixed melodies with a stable structure, which cannot be changed. There are also tunes which retained the modal character and to these belong the "Missinai" songs. They have a fixed beginning and ending and have certain motives of their own which give them original characteristics. But within the frame of the song, these motives run fluid in the interpretation of each singer. In other words, each singer, while remaining faithful to the elements (or motives) peculiar to the tune, expresses his own personality through the order in which he uses them. In some localities nevertheless, the succession of the motives of a tune became definite; and that particular order, acquired — in its home — the sanction of "tradition". Hence the complaint of M. Jaffe of Prague that he could not correct the text of Kol Nidre, due to the fixed shape the tune had acquired among the Ḥazzanim in Prague. The partial freedom for the singer in this type of song explains the existence of the variants of the tunes in various localities.

Some motives are employed simultaneously in several "Missinai" tunes. The opening motive of Kol Nidre is found also as an opening to "Hammelech." Motive 1 is found in "Yotzer 'or ubore ḥoshech" and in "Alenu," motive 4 (in No. 1) in "Kaddish" (be'olma), motive 5 in "Aboth" and "Alenu," and motive 16 is employed as concluding motive in "Alenu" and "Aboth" (cf. No. 5b). This last-named motive was retained in the Kol Nidre tune only in the East European version.¹⁵

Thus is this tune related to the other "Missinai" songs not only in its form and structure but also in its elements. The same loose form and the predominance of the motives as well as the manner in which the same motives are employed in various tunes was common in the Minnesong which flourished in Germany during the 11th–15th centuries. And not only in form were the "Missinai" tunes influenced by the Minnesong, but also in elements some of which were borrowed and incorporated. Just as the Minnesinger built his music out of his folk-song and familiar

¹⁵ Comp. *J.E.* vol. VII, p. 546.

Gregorian chant,¹⁶ so Synagogue composers created their melodies out of their musical fund: their Biblical and Prayer modes and snatches of songs or styles from their Gentile environment. The motive 16 in version 4 which is found also in "Alenu" and "Aboth," as mentioned above, is a frequent closing motive in the Minnesong,¹⁷ (cf. No. 5b) the fact that it has been omitted from the German version of Kol Nidre (Nos. 1-3) notwithstanding. Since in Ahron Beer's writing of the "Alenu" and "Aboth" this motive is still employed,¹⁸ it seems that the omission occurred in the 18th century.

Some elements of the Kol Nidre such as motives 2, 7 and 11 show even the influence of the so-called *ars nova*, of the 16th-17th centuries. Rooted in the Biblical modes are motives 1, 3, 5, 12, 13, 14, obviously imitations of familiar musical figures of Biblical reading. Motives 1-2 are variations of *darga-tebir*, 5 from *etnathu*, 13 from *sof pasuq*, and 14 from *rebia*¹⁹—all, of the Prophetic mode, while motive 3 seems to be derived from the *tebir* of the Esther Mode.

The reason for this drawing of the musical material so largely from the mode of the Prophets would seem to lie in the nature of that mode with its minor scale, and its pleading and consoling character so suitable to this occasion.

These motives are all according to the Ashkenazic tradition, as they are used in southwestern Germany,²⁰ differing in several details from the East-European tradition. The composer of the tune would seem to have lived in Central Europe and have been reared and educated in the Southwestern tradition. This placement of the composer is further determined by the evident influence upon him of the Minnesong which flourished in southern Germany.

¹⁶ Cf. H. Riemann, *Handbuch d. Musikgesch.* vol. III, p. 232ff.; A. W. Ambros, *Musikgeschichte*, vol. III, 3 ed., p. 271ff.

¹⁷ See *Die Jenaer Handschrift* ed. E. Bernoulli and F. Saran (Leipzig 1901), pp. 8-9, 40, 69.

¹⁸ See *Jewish Music*, etc. pp. 148, 150.

¹⁹ See illustrations in No. 5.

²⁰ Comp. *J.E.* vol. III cantillation pp. 540-545; S. Scheuermann, *Die Gottesdienstl. Gesänge d. Israeliten*, Frankfort a/M 1912, p. 88.

In summary: The tune of Kol Nidre shows direct influence of the Minnesong. It is composed in great part of motives drawn from the Biblical mode of the Prophets. The mere fact that the mode of the Prophets is employed according to the Ashkenazic tradition and that the *etnahta* motive²¹ is used according to South German custom, (cf. No. 5a) determines the locality of the composer as Southern Germany, while the influence of the Minnesong sets the creation into the period of the Minnesong probably the later part of the period, since Maharil did not know of a set melody for Kol Nidre.

The composer did not intend apparently to voice the literal meaning of the text; he rather wanted to give musical expression to the intention of the text, to the emotions of the Jew as he approaches God on the most solemn Day of Atonement. In the first part of the tune he expresses his contrition and his plea for forgiveness. In the second part he voices his hope in the mercy of God; and finishes in the third part with strong confidence that God will pardon him and inscribe him in the Book of Life.

Saadia

כל נדרים וחרמי ואסרי ושבועי
וקיומי שנדרנו ושהחרמנו ושאסרנו
ושנשבוענו ושקיימנו על נפשוחינו מיום
כפורים שעבר עד היום הזה הבא עלינו
כלנו חזרנו בהם ובאנו לפני אבינו
שבשמים אם נדר נדרנו אין כאן
נדר ואם איסור אסרנו אין כאן
איסור אם חרם חרמנו אין כאן
חרם, אם קיום . . .

follows Amram

Amram

כל נדרים ואיסורים ושבועות
וקיומין וחרמין, שנדרנו ושאסרנו
ושחרמנו ושנשבוענו ושקיימנו על נפשנו
בשבועה, מיום הכפורים שעבר עד
יום הכפורים הזה הבא עלינו, בכולם
חזרנו ובאנו לפני אבינו שבשמים, אם
נדר נדרנו אין כאן נדר, ואם שבועה
נשבוענו אין כאן שבועה, אם קיום
קיימנו אין כאן קיום, בטל הנדר
מעיקרו, בטלה השבועה מעיקרה, בטל
הקיום מעיקרו, אין כאן לא נדר, ולא
איסור ולא חרם ולא שבועה ולא קיום,
יש כאן מחילה וסליחה וכפרה, ככתוב
בתורתך ונסלח . . .

²¹ Comp. the difference between the German and the East-European versions of the *etnahta* motive. The latter version is best given in *Liedersammlung* etc. ed. Juwal, Berlin No. 87.

Aleppo

כל נדרי וכל אסרי וכל חרמי וכל שבועי דנדרנא ודאסרנא ודחרמנא ודאשתבענא מיום כפורים שעבר עד יום כפורים הוה כולם חזרנו בהם ובאנו לפני אבינו שבשמים, כל נדרא דנדרנא לא יהא נדר, וכל אסר דאסרנא לא יהא אסר וכל חרם דחרמנא לא יהא חרם. וכל שבועה דאשתבענא לא תהא שבועה, כדכתיב ונסלח . . . (וחזרין ואומרין זה שבעה פעמים ואח"כ אומרים): כל נדרי וכל אסרי וכל חרמי דנדור ודנאסור ודנשתבע ודנחרים מיום הכפורים הוה עד יום הכפורים הבא כלם יהיו בטלים ומבטלים לא שרירין ולא קיימין כדכתיב ונסלח . . . (ואומרים זה גם כן שבעה פעמים).

Ashkenazic (Heidenheim)

כל נדרי ואסרי וחרמי וקונמי וכינויי וקינוסי ושבועות, דנדרנא ודאשתבענא, ודאחרמנא ודאסרנא על נפשטנא*, מיום כפורים זה עד יום כפורים הבא עלינו לטובה, כלהון אחרטנא בהון, כלהון יהון שרן, שביקין, שביתין, בטלים ומבטלין, לא שרירין ולא קיימין, נדרנא לא נדרי ושבועתנא לא שבועות**, ונסלח . . .

Hamburg Prayer-book

כל נדרי בני ישראל אשר המה נודדים לך אבינו לשוב אליך בכל לבכם, ללכת בדרכי תורתך באורח צדקה ומשפט, מיום כפורים זה עד יום כפורים הבא עלינו לטובה. כלם

Ital.

כל נדרים . . . אם הקדש הקדשנו אין כאן הקדש . . . בטל ההקדש מעקרו . . .

Sephardic (London)

כל נדרי ואסרי ושבועי וחרמי ונדויי וקונמי וקונחי וקונסי די נדרנא ודי אשתבענא ודי חרמנא ודי נדינא ודי אסרנא על נפשטנא מיום כפורים שעבר עד יום הכפורים הוה, שבא עלינו לשלום. נדרנא לא נדרי ושבועתנא לא שבועי וחרמנא לא חרמי ואסרנא לא אסרי. כלהון יהון שביתין ושביקין לא שרירין ולא קיימין, ונסלח . . .

Sephardic Oriental

כל נדרי . . . מיום הכפורים שעבר עד יום הכפורים הוה שבא עלינו לשלום (ומיום הכפורים הוה עד יום הכפורים אחר שיבוא עלינו לשלום) . . . ואסרנא לא אסרי, כלהון אחרטנא בהון יהא רעוא די יהון שביתין . . .

A. Geiger's Prayer-book 1854

כל פשעי ופשעי הקהל הזה ופשעי כל עמך ישראל מחם והעבירים מנדר עיניך, וטהר לבנו מיום כפורים זה עד יום כפורים הבא עלינו לטובה. לבנו נשבר, רוחנו נדכאה, מעשים אין

יעלו ויבואו ויגיעו ויראו וירצו וישמעו
 מלפניך ברחמים. וכף נא את יצרם
 ותן בלבבם לאהבה וליראה את שמך
 הגדול והנורא.

Sefer Maḥkim

* . . . מיום כיפור שעבר עד יום
 כיפור הבא עלינו לטובה . . .
 ** . . . וחשובין כחרס הנשבר שאין
 לו תקנה ככתוב ונסלח . . .

אחנו, בצדקתך נשעננו, נא רחום אל
 תעזבנו כי עפר אנחנו, כעוונותינו
 נא אל תגמול.

Gebetbuch 1929

כל נדרי בני ישראל אשר נדרו
 לך היום ה' אלהינו ואלהי אבותינו
 באמת ובתמים, קולנו אנא שמע נא,
 ודריינו ותחנונינו קבל ברצון, מיום
 כפורים זה עד יום כפרים הבא עלינו
 לטובה. אלהינו לך חטאנו הרע בעיניך
 עשינו. סלח־נא מחל־נא עבר־נא על
 פשע חנון ורחום ומרבה לסלח. אליך
 נשואות עינינו, בטחנונו בך תלינו, עשה
 עמנו כאשר דברת.

Ahron Beer, 1765

(a)

1. 

 1. *tr.* *tr.*



2. 

3.  *tr.*



 4. (b) 5.

6.  7.

 8. (b)

 *tr.* 9.

15.  Fine 10. (c)



S. Naumbourg, 1840-74



II

(c) 10.

11. 12. 10.

11. 12. 14.

4. 5. 6.

7.

III

15.

L. Lewandowski, 1871

(a) opening

3.

1. darga tebir Prophets

3. darga tebir Es-

ther: sequence opening

(b) 4. ethnahta, Prophets 5. 6.

7. (c) 10.

10. 3. s darga tebir,

13. pesiq sof pasuq, Esther Prophets 14. rebia Prophets

(b) I 4. 5. etnahta Prophets 6.

15. 10. (c) I 3. s

darga tebir Esther 13. pesiq sof pasuq Prophets

6. (c) II. 7. Minnesong and ars nova

8. 15.

According to Abrahams Baer, 1877

4. (a)

3. 1.

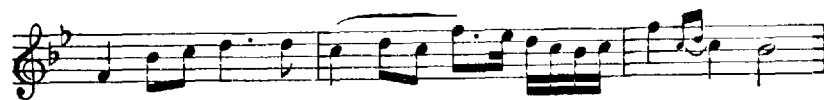
2. 3.

3.

10. (c) 11. 12.

(b) (c)

16. 10.

*D.S. al Fine*

(a) Mode of the Prophets



darga tebir

etnahta



tifha sof pasuq

pesiq sof pasuq

Mode of Esther.

(East European)



rebia

darga tebir

etnahta.

(b)

(Minnesong by Meyster Kelyn)

